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THE BANTU-SPEAKING TRIBES OF SOUTH AFRICA

PLATE I

[*V. Ellenberger*

Girl Initiates (*Bale*) of the Tlôkwa Tribe, Bechuanaland Protectorate
(Their bodies are smeared with white clay)

THE

BANTU-SPEAKING TRIBES OF SOUTH AFRICA

An Ethnographical Survey

Edited for the (South African) Inter-University Committee for African Studies

by

I. SCHAPERA

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PREFACE

THIS book is the outcome of a resolution adopted by the (South African) Inter-University Committee for African Studies in July, 1934, to " sponsor the preparation and publication of a handbook of South African tribes ". The need for such a book has long been felt, not only by teachers and students of anthropology in the South African Universities, but also by others interested in the racial problems of the country. There exist some large monographs about individual groups or tribes, and many useful short accounts, of a more general nature, published either as articles in scientific journals or as sections of works dealing with the continent as a whole. But there has hitherto been no single comparative survey sufficiently detailed, and sufficiently catholic in scope and content, to form a satisfactory manual of South African ethnography. It is our hope that this work will be found to fulfil reasonably adequately the purpose for which it was written. Increasing specialization in study has made large-scale collaboration not only desirable but essential, and although the book may in consequence perhaps have suffered some loss of unity it has certainly gained in authoritativeness. The contributors have all had considerable first-hand experience of field investigation among the peoples dealt with, and almost all of them are or have been engaged in teaching anthropology, Bantu languages, or allied subjects in South Africa.

The present state of South African ethnography has to some extent dictated the limitations in the range of this book. Certain areas and ethnic stocks have already been dealt with sufficiently fully in standard works to make it unnecessary to include them here as well. The information relating to the Bushmen and Hottentots is summarized in Schapera's *Khoisan Peoples* (1930); the Bergdama of South-West Africa are treated exhaustively in Vedder's great work, *Die Bergdama* (1923); while the small handbook, *The Native Tribes of South-West Africa*, issued in 1928 by the South-West Africa Administration, covers the Ambo and Herero tribes of that Territory, as well as its Bushman, Hottentot, and Bergdama inhabitants. The present work is therefore restricted in the main to the Bantu-speaking peoples of the Union of South Africa and the adjoining British Protectorates, although reference has occasionally been made by some of the writers to other

groups for comparative purposes. Our aim all along has been essentially to summarize existing knowledge rather than to present merely the results of individual investigations; but most of the writers have utilized in their contributions original work whose final results have not yet been published.

The greater part of the book is devoted to an account of the Bantu as they were before affected by the intrusion of Western Civilization. The four final Chapters will, however, indicate how considerably their traditional life has already been altered by this overwhelming new influence—a theme more fully treated in another collective work, *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa* (edited by I. Schapera. Routledge, 1934). It has rightly become the fashion in modern ethnography to study "the changing Native", and not to concentrate merely upon his traditional culture. But the understanding of present-day Native life must rest largely upon a knowledge of the former culture, and the time is rapidly approaching when such knowledge will no longer be obtainable in the field. It is highly desirable, therefore, that more intensive fieldwork should be done in this country before too much of the old culture has been obliterated; and if this book succeeds in stimulating any of its readers to inquire more fully into some of the topics or peoples dealt with, it will, for that reason alone, have been worth compiling.

Some reference should be made to the forms used here in writing the names of Bantu tribes and languages. These forms have been chosen in conformity with the principles laid down by the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, and adopted by the Inter-University Committee for African Studies. All names are used in their root form, without prefixes, as nouns and as adjectives, in the singular and in the plural, e.g. *a Zulu*, *two Zulu*, *Zulu customs*, *Zulu* (the language), not *an umZulu*, *two amaZulu*, *isiZulu customs*, and *isiZulu* respectively. The spelling of the forms is that used in the languages themselves, e.g. *Sotho*, not *Suto*; but diacritic signs have been omitted in the commoner names, e.g. *Venda*, not *Venḓa*. The designations applied to the larger cultural groups are those now in common use in South Africa, e.g. *Nguni*, not *Zulu-Xhosa*; *Sotho*, not *Sotho-Tswana*. The only one calling for special comment is that of *Shangana-Tonga*, for the group hitherto known as *Thonga* (more correctly *Tonga*). Since there are at least three other tribal groups in Africa bearing the name *Tonga*, the form *Shangana-Tonga* has been chosen as an identifying designation, in conformity with the principle

that when two or more tribes have the same name they should be distinguished from each other by some appropriate geographical or other label.[1]

The task of editing the book was originally entrusted by the Committee to Professor W. M. Eiselen, of the University of Stellenbosch, and Professor I. Schapera, of the University of Cape Town. Soon after its commencement, however, Professor Eiselen was appointed Chief Inspector of Native Education for the Transvaal Province, and owing to the pressure of his new duties he felt obliged to relinquish any further share in the work. He was also unfortunately unable to contribute the various Chapters originally allotted to him, apart from his section of the Chapter on "Religious Beliefs and Practices". The committee thereupon invited Professor Schapera to carry on as sole Editor.

The Editor wishes here to thank his collaborators for the generous assistance they have given him, not only in the preparation of their own articles, but also in advice regarding the book as a whole. He would also mention Professor R. F. A. Hoernlé and Mr. J. D. Rheinallt Jones who, although not contributors to the book, have been of much help in various matters relating to its preparation. He is further indebted to Mr. V. Ellenberger for the photograph forming the Frontispiece; to Dr. N. J. van Warmelo for Plates II, III, IV, VI*b*, VIII*a*, XIX*a*, XX, and XXI, and for the map showing the location of the principal tribes dealt with; to the Publicity Department of the South African Railways and Harbours Administration for Plates V*a*, VI*a*, IX, X, and XVI; to the Rev. J. Reyneke for Plates VIII*b* and XXII*a*; to Mrs. E. P. Hellmann for Plate XXIII*a*; to Mr. A. J. H. Goodwin for Plate XXIII*b*; and to Mr. H. V. Meyerowitz for Plate XXIV.

[1] Since the above was written, and after most of the proofs had already been corrected, the Inter-University Committee for African Studies, at a meeting held in November, 1936, adopted a recommendation that the form *Shangana-Tonga* should be employed when writing of Africa generally, but that when reference is clearly being restricted to South Africa the shorter form *Tonga* is sufficiently accurate to stand alone. The occurrence of both forms in the text is due to the fact that the recommendation came too late to allow of uniform changes being made throughout the proofs.

Chapter I

RACIAL ORIGINS

By Raymond A. Dart

Introduction

Anthropologically, Africa can be divided into three parts. Two curves drawn convexly to the north-east across the continent, one running from Senegal through Khartoum to Mombasa and the other from Walfish Bay through Johannesburg to East London, separate it into northern (or north-eastern), central, and southern (or south-western) belts, predominantly populated to-day by the Brown (Hamitic or Mediterranean), Negro, and Bush races respectively. The central or Negro belt can be further subdivided. A line running parallel to the Equator from the Bight of Benin to Victoria Nyanza separates it into a northern or Sudanic and a southern or Bantu moiety. This major division is based on the languages spoken by their respective peoples. Two other lines, one running north and south through the Great Lakes to Lake Nyasa and the other running east and west through the middle of Lake Nyasa (separating the watersheds of the Congo and Zambezi) divide the Bantu territory into eastern, western, and southern regions. The Bantu of this southern region, embracing Portuguese East Africa, Southern Rhodesia, Angola, the Union of South Africa, and the British Protectorates, form the particular subject of this chapter.

For the past 300 years the southern portion of Africa has been populated by three main groups of people, European, Bantu, and Bush. Not one of these is a pure race. Each presents a rich racial pattern which, however intricate to-day, grows ever more complex, not merely by the fusion of European with European and of Bantu with Bantu, but also by the past admixture of European with Bantu and Bush, and the further intermingling of these hybrids with Indians, Malays, and other Orientals.

Miscegenation is no new feature in the racial history of Africa. The fossil finds of human bones tell a story of ancient peoples in

Africa fusing with one another and with aliens. Some ten to twenty thousand years ago Africa was inhabited by the Boskop race, so variable in itself as to be suspected of resulting from the mixing of as yet unknown, previous races. Already four distinct types of this race are known:—the type represented by the original Boskop Skull, the Matjies River type, the Zitzikama type, and the Springbok Flats type. On the arrival from the North of the Bush race, an ethnic group comprehending already like other races several fundamental types, hybridization took place with the Boskop peoples, producing various combinations and permutations of features within both groups, so that even at a very early date in South African history the physical anthropology of the country was a complex ravel. This complexity was increased by contacts with peoples alien to Africa—a fact exemplified by the discovery at Outeniqua (Eastern Cape Province) of ancient skulls with a Mongoloid (Asiatic) facies in the midst of a Bush-Boskopoid population.[1] Again, at Mumbwa in Northern Rhodesia, in the lowest bone-bearing stratum, dating back some 6,000 years, a European (Nordic) type of skull was found associated with other bones more Boskopoid than Bush.[2] Cave-deposits prove that, long before the coming of the Bantu, Southern Africa had attracted aliens. The Bush people have low-vaulted skulls, yet before the advent of the Bantu occasional high-vaulted skulls were to be found.

Following the immigrations of the Bantu further hybridization took place between them and the miscegenated indigenes. In the prehistoric Bantu era, i.e. before European occupation, we again find alien types. At Cathkin Peak (Natal) a Bantu skull, instinct with Mongoloid features, can be assigned to the sixteenth or early seventeenth century. A European type of skull has been found by Mrs. Martin in her excavations of pit circles at Penhalonga (Southern Rhodesia), and another by Dr. Laidler at East London. Shrubsall described a predynastic Egyptian type, belonging to the Brown (Hamitic) race, also from the Cape Coast.

The arrival of the Bantu was not only accompanied by extensive racial mixing but resulted in unleashing very diversified types of physical features. To-day all types of breadth, length, and height combinations are to be found in skulls called Bantu; all types of cranial form, a wide variation of stature, skin colour, and face type

[1] L. H. Wells and J. H. Gear (1931), "Cave-dwellers of the Outeniqua Mountains," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 444–469.

[2] R. A. Dart and N. del Grande (1931), "The Ancient Iron-smelting Cavern at Mumbwa," *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, xix, 379–427.

are there, and to such extent that the variation between individual members of a tribe is greater than between the averages of one tribe and its neighbour.

Hitherto physical anthropologists in Africa have been occupied primarily with the reporting of data. There has been little or no time for interpreting physical features and their origin. But the ever-increasing compilation of data makes it desirable for us to attempt some preliminary correlation of the facts as seen in mass. Our objects then will be to show how history verifies the story of the bones; to discuss the outstanding features of the Bantu physical tangle; to hint, by comparison and contact with other types, at the origin of the Bantu-speaking peoples; and, incidentally, to fill out episodes in Bantu history which can now be revealed only by their physical features.

Historical Background

The sites of early human habitation, in caves, and out in the open, south of the Zambesi throw no light on the physical or cultural evolution of the Bantu. They are aliens who entered from the North by force of iron arms, the secret of whose large-scale manufacture they had mastered. But history gives some indication of their movements and the peoples with whom they trafficked and intermingled. Before the coming of the Europeans South Africa was a dependency of the Orient.

When the Portuguese rounded the Cape they found "Strandlooper" (beachcomber) and other "Hottentot" communities of Bush peoples possessing undisturbed the whole southern end of the continent. From Sofala northwards, however, the coast was inhabited by Negroes like those of Angola and West Africa; but the shipping ports (Kilimane on the mouth of the Zambesi, Mozambique, Melinda, Kilwa, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Malindi, Lamu, and Mogadishu) were held and colonized by semi-dependent Moslem chiefs. The Arabs had penetrated deeply into the interior, settling as far inland as Sena along the Zambesi. They knew the Great Lakes and had carried their trade in Negro slaves and elephant ivory across Lake Tanganyika into the Congo. The European explorers of Central Africa followed the "roads" occupied by Arab traders.

To the Arabs the whole of this territory down to Sofala was "the land of the Zing" (or Negro) who were "Kafirs" (or infidels). Arab geographers, like Masudi (*circa* A.D. 912), Idris (*circa* A.D. 1154),

and Yakut (1179–1229), provide evidence that from the time the Saxons invaded England down to the Portuguese circumnavigation of the Cape, the approximate meeting-ground of "Wak-Wak" and "Zing" (or Bush and Bantu peoples) was in the vicinity of Sofala or Lourenço Marques.

The Moslem movement, which thrust the Arabs southwards and westwards through Egypt and over Northern Africa and finally across the Straits of Gibraltar into Spain (A.D. 711), caused the south-easterly emigration of the two Arabian chiefs of Oman, the brothers Suleiman and Said, to the "land of the Zing" (*circa* A.D. 695). During the reign of Abdul Malik they escaped, taking their families and a number of their tribes with them. According to East Coast tradition the same Abdul Malik built no less than thirty-two towns along the coast between Mogadishu and the Comoro Islands with the aid of Syrian craftsmen and placed a Governor in each of them. Arabs did not enjoy undisputed command of the coast. The Kilwa Chronicles record the founding of that centre (A.D. 975) by Persians, and in particular by Ali, the son of Sultan Hassan of Shiraz. By this time (tenth century), as Masudi reports, the Shirazis (Persians) and the Adzis (Omanis) had all the coastal trade in their hands. Hassan and his family of six sons left their native land in seven ships of which only one, that under Ali (whose mother was an Abyssinian slave), reached Kilwa in Tanganyika. There he reigned for forty years, founding the state which predominated along the coast for the following three centuries, until the coming of the Portuguese.

The Bantu slave-trade provided an unlimited source of man power and frightfulness in the Moslem wars. Abdul Abbas (brother of the first Abbasid Caliph) had 400 Negroes in his army, when he massacred 11,000 people in Iraq (A.D. 749). Ultimately, these aliens imported into Mesopotamia became so numerous and restive that their revolt under the "Lord of the Blacks" (A.D. 850) was felt all over Arabia. Their bid for freedom in A.D. 869 under the Persian, Alid Messiah, resulted in the sack of Basra (A.D. 871) and a decade of pillage at the hands of an armed force said to number 300,000. The rebels were finally defeated (A.D. 883). Thus Moslems from the littoral of the Indian Ocean were freely trading, raiding, and bastardizing with the Bantu for nearly 800 years before the coming of Europeans to the East Coast.[1]

In the century before the Moslem surges, which had these indirect

[1] *Vide* W. H. Ingrams (1931), *Zanzibar: its History and its People* (London, Witherby).

but far-reaching repercussions on the Bantu, the African coast was dominated by the King of Aksum in Abyssinia. Cosmas Indicopleustes (*circa* A.D. 547) says: "Beyond Barbaria there stretches an ocean that has the name of Zingion, bordering on the same sea is the land called Sasos which possesses abundant gold mines"; he proceeds to tell how the king sent expeditions to the country which took six months to go and return, how the people bartered oxen for gold with the natives and how "the winter of those regions coincides with the summer amongst us". This is the first distinctive record of a black man's territory (Zingion) fringing the Indian Ocean, and of gold from Africa south of the equator; it doubtless refers to Rhodesia.[1] At this time the territory embracing the Rhodesian gold country is "Sasos", that is something different from the Bantu "Zingion". Presumably we have a record here of how domestic animals were being introduced into "Hottentot" Southern Africa nearly 1,400 years ago and before the coming of the Bantu to Rhodesia.

Abyssinia gained her pre-eminent maritime position by destroying the Himyaritic and Sabæan empire in Arabia (*circa* fourth century). The importance of Sabæa (or Sheba) in relationship to South African prehistory and the movements and physical constitution of the Bantu people is demonstrated by the records in the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea* and by the study of Bantu linguistics. After Hippalus (A.D. 45) observed the change of the monsoon in the Indian ocean and made it public property, a fleet of 120 vessels sailed annually in Roman times from Myo-Hormos, in Egypt on the Red Sea, to the Malabar Coast, or Ceylon, at the summer solstice and returned in December or January. So many Roman and Greek merchants were trading in the Indian Ocean (or Erythræan Sea) about this time that one of them wrote the *Periplus*—a kind of travellers' guide. He described (*circa* A.D. 60) the ports of Pano (Las Binna), Opone (Ras Hafun), Serapion (Mogadishu), Nicon (Brawa), and the Pyralæ Islands (Patta, Manda, and Lamu) on his way down the Ausanitic Coast of the Continent of Azania (Africa) to the Island of Menouthias (Zanzibar or Pemba) and Rhapta (a port then lying on the mouth of the Rufiki or the Pangani River). The African export trade he discussed was in ivory, rhinoceros horn, tortoise-shell, palm oil, and slaves (required in Egypt and other parts of the Roman Empire); to Africa came lances, hatchets, daggers, awls, glass, wine, and wheat.

[1] Cf. F. P. Mennell (1902), "The Zimbabwe Ruins near Victoria, Southern Rhodesia," *Proc. Rhod. Sci. Ass.*, iii, 81–4.

Each port was in the hands of a separate chief; even the most southerly station mentioned (Rhapta) was administered by Arabians, who were subject to the people of Muza (Mocha). The coast itself was governed by a so-called Mapharitic chief, Charibael (Kariba-Il), identified historically from South Arabian inscriptions as a Sabæan king, who lived at Saphar (Zafar) and ruled over the Homerites and Sabarites (Himyarites and Sabæans) *circa* A.D. 40–70. By means of embassies and gifts he held diplomatic intercourse with the Roman Emperors Claudius and Nero. The Romans sent expeditions against the Sabæans from time to time; but they had found wars costly experiments against this nation, which had been predominant in Southern Arabia from time immemorial. The Sabæans rendered tribute only to the most powerful of the Assyrian kings (seventh century B.C.) and every biblical student knows of the visit of their queen (Balkis of Sheba) to Solomon's Court (tenth century B.C.).

This powerful colonizing sea-power extracted its wealth by its commanding position relative to the maritime trade between Egypt and the Indian Ocean, whose dimensions in ancient times is best attested by the fact that Seti I (1380 B.C.) connected the Nile with the Red Sea by means of a canal.[1] It fell into disrepair, and Necho (630–527 B.C.) made a spirited attempt at the sacrifice of 12,000 men to re-establish it. His unsuccessful work was completed by Darius (520 B.C.) when he attained his desire of commanding the Indian Ocean trade by subjecting Egypt to Persia. This canal of Darius was maintained, with periods of intermission, down through Roman and Moslem times until its closure by the Moslem Mansur (*circa* A.D. 770). Any weakness or strife on the part of Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, and Rome, as successive masters in the Near East, ensured the liberty and fostered the expansion of the Sabæan people, who held Egypt's eastern gateway. They were the Phœnicians of the Indian Ocean and doubtless supplied Necho with his circumnavigators of Africa, to whose maritime traffic they held the keys both in the Red Sea and in the historically recorded trading stations along the East African coast.

We do not know when the Bantu gained sufficient numerical strength, and political organization, agricultural knowledge, mining skill, and implement-manufacturing ability to render themselves independent of the coastal imports of lances, hatchets, awls, and daggers from coastal traders in the first five centuries of the Christian

[1] *Vide Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th ed., art. "Suez Canal".

Era, and to avalanche themselves down the eastern side of Africa, in the way the Goths and Huns hurled themselves across South-Western Europe. Something corresponding with the convulsive movements of the Gauls into Italy (390 B.C.), of the Teutons into Gaul (105 and 102 B.C.), and of the Vandals into Italy, Spain, and finally into Africa (A.D. 429), seems to have taken place in the region of the Great Lakes and headwaters of the Nile, whence the black flood had previously constantly threatened and sometimes over-run Egypt. After destroying the Sabæan power, the Abyssinians were able to maintain their own independence and to arrest the north-easterly flow of Bantu; but their relaxed grip on the Sabæan East Coast ports and the gold-producing South African belt left the Bush natives of that territory an easy prey to the southward-advancing Bantu from the end of the sixth century onwards. We shall probably not be far from the truth if we place the first great southern migration of the Bantu at about this period. The physical affinities between the Nilotic Negroes and our Southern Bantu attest their common origin.

Racial Features

A distribution map of the African races would have presented a very different picture 2,000 years ago. Few, if any, Negroes occupied the eastern half of the continent. There, the Bush race were in direct contact with the Brown race, whose cradle is placed by Sergi and Elliot Smith in the north-eastern part of Africa. All three races evolved in Africa and must have been, at one time, sufficiently isolated from one another to develop their distinctive racial characteristics and genetic stability. When crossed, their offspring are fertile; but the anatomical features distinctive of each type can be traced in relative purity, or in various degrees of admixture, in their descendants. Let us then consider how these types arose and what features distinguish them.

The Sahara has been for millenia a great barrier between a free intermingling of the Brown and Negro races. It has been natural for anthropologists to imagine that this barren waste, by its isolating effect, favoured the emergence of these two distinctive types of mankind. But the Kalahari desert also extended in a north-easterly direction across the Victoria Falls and the two Rhodesias in early Pleistocene times. It virtually severed the south-eastern from the west-central part of the continent. This old-time Kalahari barrier must have

fluctuated with the Ice Ages, as did the Sahara, and at one time probably separated the Bushmen from the Negro to the west and from the Brown race to the north. At any rate the cradle of the Negroes, as nearly as we can determine, was in the basin of the Congo watershed. Thence they first spread out in a north-westerly direction towards the Niger Valley and the Sahara; and, subsequent to certain racial hybridization, which we will discuss later, moved in the north-easterly direction towards the Great Lakes and the sources of the Nile.

Every intelligent person is familiar to-day with the obtrusive physical characteristics of the typical Negro: the tall and erect stature; well set-up, athletic body of sthenic type, coal-black in colour, and virtually hairless, save for the tightly-curled woolly mop protecting the oval head; the long, thin legs terminating in broad, flat feet. The skull is infantile in form, being long and relatively narrow, of moderate height and ovoid in contour, as seen from above. The eyebrow ridges are negligible or absent; the forehead is moderately wide and following the infantile form of the bone curves convexly, gently, and regularly to the crown of the head, whence it falls away with equal smoothness of curvature to the rounded occiput. The form of the orbits is almost square and their margins are strongly built. The cheeks are wide and, with their supports (zygomatic arches), are bowed laterally in keeping with the powerful jaw musculature. The eyes are widely set apart by the broad and flattened nasal bones. The nose is flat and the nostrils widely expanded. The face is large and prominent. The jaws are prognathic, accommodating large, well-formed teeth with a dense ivory covering, which slightly continue the prognathism and are covered by full, fleshy lips, whose prominent mucosa is reddish-black or purple in colour. Even the whites of the eyes are darkened by the strong pigmentation of the body, but contrast sharply with the deep black of the eyelids and iris. The chin is not prominent owing to the fleshiness of the lips and the fullness of the cheeks. The face as a whole is rhomboidal in form. The skeleton is massive, but the constituent bones are more slender than those of Europeans owing to their more compact or ivory-like texture. Their resilience has given rise to an erroneous impression that the Negro skull is thicker than that of the European. The air-spaces in the skull are more numerous and larger than those of the European and are largely responsible for the calibre, resonance and carrying-quality of the Negro voice.

These characteristics contrast sharply with those of the Brown race,

which has spread out from North-East Africa through Southern Europe to the British Isles and through Southern Asia to Malaya. They are short and slender, verging on the effeminate in bony structure and bodily physique. Their brunette bodies have scanty facial hair, except for a chin-tuft; but their heads are covered with wavy, black locks. The iris is brown or black, owing to a considerable retention of body pigment. The skull is long and relatively narrow, of moderate height, and pentagonoid (coffin-shaped), when viewed from above; the eyebrow ridges are poorly-developed, but the narrow forehead rises erect and full above them and the occiput is bulged out behind into a marked prominence. The orbits are horizontal, ellipsoid, and with thin margins. The cheeks are narrow, their bony supports flattened laterally. The nose is small and only moderately developed but is a definitely elevated ridge. The small jaws do not project and the chin is pointed. The face as a whole is straight, short, and narrow and of ovoid form. The teeth are moderate in size.[1]

The Bush race resemble the Negro in their broad, flat, and flaring nostrils and are even more specialized in respect to their loss of hair; its extremely rolled character and sparsity give origin to its peppercorn distribution. But here the resemblances end. Their bodies are shorter and more slender than those of the Brown race; while they are darker in colour than the Brown, they are not black like the Negro. The Negro skull we described as infantile in form; that of the Bushman is fœtal. It is narrow relative to its length, but extremely low, and even more markedly pentagonal than the Brown skull when viewed from above. Eyebrow ridges are entirely absent and the forehead, instead of sloping backwards or rising vertically, bulges anteriorly as it rises towards the crown of the head and then falls away abruptly, to the prominent occiput posteriorly.[2] The horizontal orbits are small and circular and have thin margins. The face is short and straight, and also pentagonoid in form, being widest opposite the cheek-bones and falling to a point in the chin region. It is flat and recessed in comparison with the Negro face, for the jaws project very little, while the bony parts below the lateral parts of the eyes bulge beyond the nose; this sub-ocular facial bellying emphasizes the width in this region. The jaws and the teeth are small and delicately built and the musculature corresponds with their

[1] Cf. G. Elliot Smith (1923), *The Ancient Egyptians and the Origin of Civilization* (London, Harper).

[2] D. Slome (1927), "Curvature of the Bushman Calvarium," *Amer. J. Phys. Anthrop.*, x, 365–378.

form. The facial parts resemble those of the Pygmy and Tasmanian in being of Australoid or fœtal type. The Bush retain primitive features in the lower jaw[1]—which also resembles most closely that of the Brown race[2]—the vertebral column,[3] the structure of the feet,[4] and the genitalia.[5]

Thus, while the Bush are in many points distinct and more primitive, the degree of affiliation between them and the Brown race is as great as or even greater than between either of these races and the Negro. The physical contrasts are of such a character, that the Negro may be regarded as a western specialized stock separating very early from the Sapient stock and pursuing an independent line of evolution towards tallness, erectness, muscularity, infantile head-form, and facial prognathism, while retaining the primitive, coal-black skin and nasal conformation. The common ancestral stock of the Bush and Brown races meantime lost some of its colour; from this stock arose the Bushman in the sluggish and unstimulating South and the Brown Race in the vigorous and favourable North. The Bushman, in specializing, surpassed the Negro in general loss of body hair and kinkiness of what remained, but retained the fœtal skull, skeletal, and facial parts which the Negro lost; the Brown Race retained the primitive, wavy, black hair (characteristic also of the Australoid Race), but lost more colour, expanded their brain-cases and, growing taller, improved their erect attitude and bodily agility. Still more adventurous and lighter-hued offspring from the Sapient stock reached North-West Africa, Europe, and Asia; there they gave rise to the Nordic (including the Ainos of Japan and the non-Mongoloid Eskimo peoples), Armenoid, and Mongoloid stocks respectively.

Cranial Characters: Asiatics in Africa

The famous Swede Retzius first drew attention (1840) to the possibility of distinguishing between people of different racial origin, by comparing the relation of the width to the length of the head

[1] L. H. Wells (1931), "Growth Changes in the Bushman Mandible," *J. Anat.*, lxvi, 50–63.
[2] J. E. Salmons (1925), "Bush and Bantu Mandibles," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxii, 470–9.
[3] R. B. Thomson (1913), "The Vertebral Column of the Bushman Race," *Trans. R. Soc. S. Afr.*, iii, 365–378; G. D. Laing and H. S. Gear (1929), "The Strandlooper Skulls found at Zitzikama," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxvi, 575–601.
[4] L. H. Wells (1931), "The foot of the South African Native," *Amer. J. Phys. Anthrop.*, xv, 185–289.
[5] M. R. Drennan (1933), *A Short Course on Physical Anthropology* (Capetown: Mercantile Press); J. Drury and M. R. Drennan (1926–7), "The Pudendal Parts of the South African Bush Race," *Med. J. S. Afr.*, xxii, 113–117.

and expressing it mathematically. It is a cardinal fact that the Negro shares with the Bush, Brown, and Nordic races the possession of a long-headed (dolichocephalic) skull, i.e. one in which the breadth is actually or even less than three-quarters of its length. This is the primitive form of the human skull. It is found in the man-like ape Australopithecus (South Africa), and in all known forms of primitive mankind, such as Pithecanthropus (Java), Sinanthropus (China), Eoanthropus (England), Neanderthal Man (Southern Europe and Palestine), Rhodesian Man (Africa), Boskop Man (Africa), and the living Australoid peoples (Veddas of Ceylon and Australian aborigines). In this human ocean of dolichocephaly, stretching from the Cape of Good Hope to the Behring Straits and from Norway to Australia, there sprang up like an erratic current in Asia the broad-headed (brachycephalic) type of mankind. This particular human stream is represented to-day by two main swirls: the Armenoid Race, which flooded from Turkestan across Mesopotamia and Egypt and through the Mediterranean area and across Russia and Central Europe to the British Isles (*circa* 300 B.C. onwards), and the Mongol Race, which percolated into the East Indies and Indian Ocean littoral and rushed like a torrent through the two Americas from Alaska to Tierra-del-Fuego at an unknown period.[1]

A preliminary application of these generalizations, rendered possible by the collective labours of anthropologists during the last century, will help to clear the ground in our attempt to interpret the physical characteristics of the Bantu South of the Zambesi. In any considerable collection of skulls from all available tribes,[2] there occurs spasmodically, in about 1 per cent. of the number, a thoroughbred brachycephal or two—Asiatic fish out of their home water. They appear also in any considerable group of Bush skulls.[3] This Asiatic influence is not confined to the Bush and Bantu of South Africa. Amongst 475 Pygmies in Central Africa Schebesta and Lebzelter found 26 per cent brachycephalic.[4] Figures published by Leys and Joyce[5] demonstrate fluctuating proportions of the same element in the various tribes of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and the Congo.

[1] G. Elliot Smith (1934), *Human History* (London: Cape).

[2] Such as that in the Anatomy Department of the University of the Witwatersrand.

[3] J. H. Gear (1929), "Cranial Form in the Native Races of South Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxvi, 684–697.

[4] P. Schebesta and V. Lebzelter (1933), *Anthropology of the Central African Pygmies in the Belgian Congo* (Prague: Czech Academy of Sciences and Arts).

[5] N. M. Leys and T. A. Joyce (1913), "Notes on a series of Physical Measurements from East Africa," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xliii, 195–267.

Amongst the Masai, they appear as infrequently as amongst the South African Bantu; but amongst the Kachamega, Kavirondo, Kikuyu, Kamba, and Swahili, they account for 10 per cent and upwards of the population. More than a quarter of the Lamu natives on the coast and of the Nyema in Belgian Congo, just west of Lake Tanganyika, are brachycephalic. The Comoro Islanders are so infiltrated with Asiatic influence that over half their number are brachycephalic; they thus resemble the Arabs of Yemen and behind Aden (Sheker tribe of Bedawi) and the coastal population of Biloch and Cutch in India more than they resemble their Bantu brethren on the mainland in cranial characteristics.

Similar *nests of brachycephaly* stretch across the Congo. Fifteen per cent of the Tetela near the headwaters of the Lomani tributary to the Congo River share this feature, and even on the Atlantic sea-board along the Gaboon Coast near Fernand Vaz more than 5 per cent are to be discovered[1]; Keith found nearly 35 per cent amongst the Bushongo, Soko, Sango, and miscellaneous tribes of Central and Eastern Congo (measured by Torday), and nearly 7 per cent amongst the tribes in the south-eastern (Oban) district of Nigeria (measured by Talbot)[2]; about 4 per cent Brachycephals occur too amongst the Hausa of Nigeria.[3] These fluctuating figures show how the brachycephalic Asiatic aliens were scattered in seemingly haphazard fashion across the Continent. More detailed observation will probably show that the isolated centres where they occur most frequently represent links in the chain of ancient trans-continental trade-routes, which supplied the Orient with marketable wealth from "the land of the Zing". Onward from the days when the old Dutch colonists detected the Mongolian appearance of the Eastern Bush peoples and called them Chinese Hottentots, many writers have encountered Mongoloid features in the Bush and Pygmy peoples and in the Negroes of South Africa, the Sudan, and the West Coast.[4] These provide no ethnographical difficulty, for Malayan canoes have been dredged out of the sea as far south as Port Elizabeth (Algoa Bay), and the Indonesian type of outrigger canoe is common at Mozambique, Port Amelia, the Comoro Islands, and other places on

[1] R. C. Benington (1911–12), "A Study of the Negro Skull with special reference to the Congo and Gaboon Crania," *Biometrika*, viii, 292–339.

[2] A. Keith (1911), "On Certain Physical Characters of the Negroes of the Congo Free State and Nigeria," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xli, 40–71.

[3] A. N. Tremearne (1911), "Notes on some Nigerian Tribal Marks," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xli, 162–178.

[4] C. G. and B. Z. Seligman (1932), *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (London, Routledge).

the coast. The Malayo-Polynesian infiltration of Madagascar ethnically is well-established.

Idris (twelfth century) records the traffic of Orientals thither and to Sofala, probably from Java and Cambodia. An Arab ambassador took a Negro slave to the Chinese court in the Sung dynasty (976 A.D.) from which time onwards Chinese familiarity with African increased. Masudi (tenth century) commented upon the Chinese African trade, which was so great in Alberuni's time (*circa* 1030 A.D.) as to be affecting the size of the ports in India (e.g. Somanath in the Gujerat Peninsula). This African trade for ivory, rhinoceros horn, gold, ambergris, tortoise-shell, animal skins, amber, sandal-wood, and particularly slaves was never forgotten by the Chinese. It was re-established during the succeeding Mongolian (1280–1360) and Ming (1358–1644) dynasties as far south as Madagascar, thus extending over six centuries. The Oriental commerce was responsible for spreading the Negro Race through the East Indies and into Melanesia in the same way as the slave-trade also dispersed the Negro Race through the West Indies and America. It made the Bantu language Swahili the *lingua franca* of the Indian Ocean.

The Malayan and Chinese people merely followed in the wake of the Hindus who " not only made trade settlements on the coast, dating from the seventh century B.C. but apparently penetrated inland towards the Great Lakes ".[1] The sacred Sanscrit poems or Puranas describe the great Krishna (Nile) River, running, through Cush-Ndipa the great lake in Chandristhan, the country of the Moon—geographical information which gave the correct position in relation to Zanzibar Island, and was used by Speke in his quest for the sources of the Nile. The Indians knew Babylon as Baberu, and there is a story dating from the third century B.C. about Indian mariners there. After his invasion of India (326 B.C.), Alexander the Great confidently and successfully sent a large portion of his Macedonian army back to Mesopotamia across the Indian Ocean in a fleet under his general Nearchus. Nebuchadnezzar used beams of Indian teak in the temple of the Moon at Ur and in his own palace. Even before the Chaldean Empire period the Oriental shipping trade was so vital to the Assyrians that Sennacherib (*circa* 694 B.C.) recorded monumentally his destroying the nests of pirates in the Persian Gulf and his compelling them to settle at Gerrha.[2] It was these Assyrians who also compelled the

[1] Ingrams, op. cit.
[2] *Vide* de L. E. O'Leary (1927), *Arabia before Muhammad* (London, Kegal Paul).

Sabæans to pay tribute. The widely diffused interest in, and intimate contact with, East Africa at that remote period is shown not only by Necho's circumnavigation of Africa and by the accurate geographical knowledge contained in the sacred books of the Hindus, but also by Darius the Persian monarch's (512–510 B.C.) sending the Greek mercenary Skylax to explore the route down the Indus across the Indian Ocean and up the Red Sea to Arsinoe near the modern Suez Canal, and his execution of Sataspes for failing to circumnavigate Africa. These further historical facts explain the maritime influences which caused so many brachycephalic Asiatics to become dispersed through the African Continent; and reveal why, amongst the Ambo and Herero tribes in South-West Africa, individuals are found to-day indistinguishable facially from Indians and Persians.

The Asiatic stigmata in the South African native population are not confined to the Mongoloid traits found in the Hottentots and other Bush peoples and occurring amongst the "Nyambaan", Shangana-Tonga, Xhosa, Sotho, and other groups of Bantu and most frequently of all amongst the Zulu of the Natal coast (*vide* Table VI). Armenoid features are more widely dispersed than Mongoloid. They are common amongst the Zulu, but even more pronounced in the Venda of North-Eastern Transvaal, the Shona tribes of Southern Rhodesia and the Rotse of the Zambesi headwaters, as well as amongst the Herero and Ambo; they are expressed in the so-called "Semitic" traits of hooked noses and hirsute faces and bodies. These physical traits, referred to loosely and popularly as "Semitic" or "Arabic", are derived not from the primitive Brown indigenes of the Mesopotamian and Arabian area, but from the Armenoids, who from their ancient homeland of Turkestan deluged the "fertile crescent" in successive victorious waves, from Dynastic Egyptian times onwards. This formed the avenue of their approach, by land and sea, to Southern Africa during the historical period.

The Racial Basis of the Bantu: A Bush and Negro Matrix

Retzius's anthropological weapon, the cephalic index, enables us to separate the Asiatic brachymorphs from the African (and European and Asiatic) dolichomorphs. As the three African human stirps (Negro, Bush, and Brown) are long-headed, we need further mathematical weapons to isolate them from one another. Confronting

similar problems in the analysis of the Brown (or Mediterranean) Race, the veteran Italian anthropologist G. Sergi discarded mathematics and classified skulls according to their shape (pentagonoid, ovoid, ellipsoid, etc.), as viewed from above. Finding these varied types of skulls recurring constantly throughout Northern Africa and Southern Europe, Sergi concluded that they were all relatively insignificant variants of one human racial type, which he called the Mediterranean Race.[1] The conclusion that one predominant race characterized the area proved correct; indeed, Elliot Smith showed that this race extended beyond Africa and Southern Europe into Arabia, Persia, India, and South-Eastern Asia.[2] Sergi's guiding hypothesis, that different forms of skull belong to one homogeneous race, is erroneous; but it called attention to a much-needed study of head form which is critical for unravelling the anthropological tangle in Africa as well as in Europe.

Another shortcoming in Sergi's system (as in that of Retzius) was that by classifying skulls according to length and breadth alone it neglected the factor of height. This deficiency in the system has been neatly overcome by Sergi's fellow-countryman, Frassetto.[3] He has shown that the dolichomorph and brachymorph groups can each be divided into three main head-form sub-groups; according as the parietal bone (which chiefly is responsible for the shape of the skull) happens to be fœtal, infantile, or adult in form. He has thus reduced Sergi's innumerable categories of skull form to six, based on biological considerations of bone growth. These six sub-groups can then be split up according to height factors. They are classified as hypsicephalic, orthocephalic and chamæcephalic; according as their cranial vaults are high, moderately elevated, or low respectively. This system provides an apparatus for separating human skulls into eighteen different categories; it is a mechanism of sufficient isolating capacity to be of great assistance in African anthropology.

Tables I and III demonstrate J. H. Gear's application in 1929 of Sergi's system (as modified by Frassetto) in examining collections of Bush and Bantu skulls respectively.[4] Previously no very clear idea existed as to what was and what was not a Bush skull. Even to-day most diverse and contradictory statements are current in the

[1] G. Sergi (1911), *L'Uomo* (Turin, Bocca).
[2] G. Elliot Smith (1934), op. cit.
[3] F. Frassetto (1909–1918), *Lezioni di antropologia* (Bologna: Coop-Tipografica Libraria Mareggiani).
[4] J. H. Gear, op. cit.

literature. Some writers affirm that the Bushmen and Pygmies are Negroes; others separate all three from one another and proceed even further to manufacture Hottentot, Strandlooper, and Korana, and other branches of the African human stock; alternatively, suggestions have been put forward that Hottentots are hybrids between the Bush and the Bantu.

Australoid and Boskopoid types do crop up in the living population, especially amongst the Bush peoples in the south-western ethnical territory of Africa. They may prove one day to be more prevalent than has been recognized hitherto; but they are so few numerically and so sporadic in occurrence as to constitute anthropological curiosities. They are atavistic links with Africa's past, heirlooms of

TABLE I

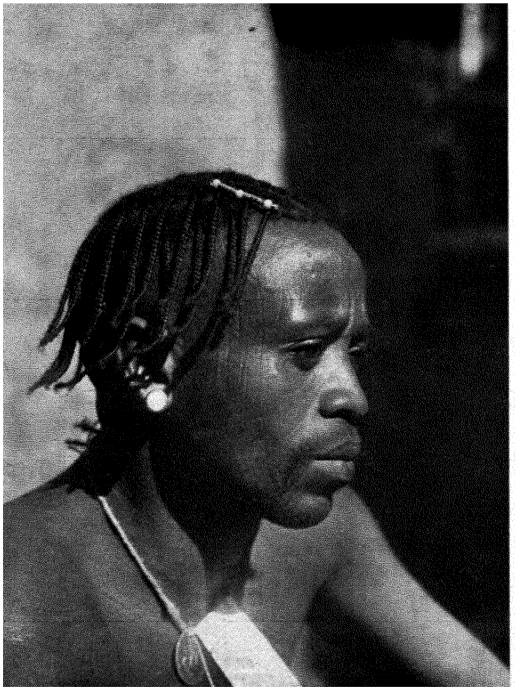
BUSH GROUP DISPERSAL (AFTER GEAR)

	DOLICHOMORPHS				BRACHYMORPHS				
	Pentagonoid	Ovoid	Ellipsoid	Totals	Eury-pentagonoid	Sphenoid	Sphæroid	Totals	Percentage
Hypsi- . .	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	3·9
Ortho- . .	13	5	1	19	1	0	0	20	39·2
Chamæ- . .	22	6	1	29	0	0	0	29	56·9
Totals . .	35	13	2	50	1	0	0	51	100·0
Percentage .	68·6	25·5	3·9		2·0	0·0	0·0	100·0	

antiquity preserved in the southern recess of the continent. They do not belong to the Brown or Negro races, and they do not represent the fundamental type to which the greater number of individuals in all branches of the Bush family belong.

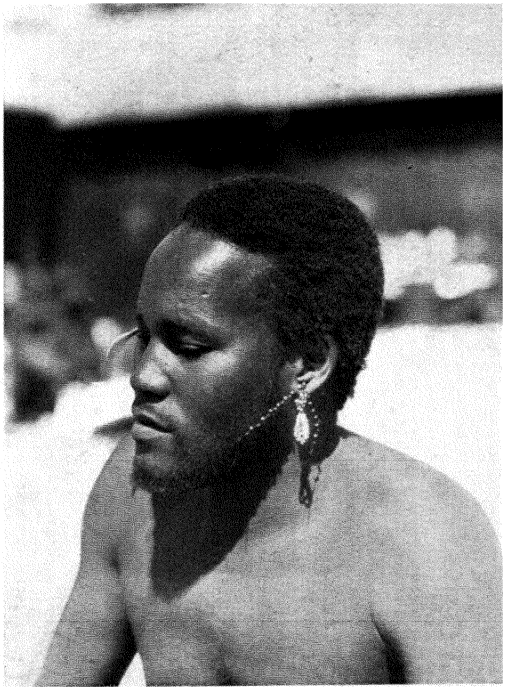
In his 51 skulls (comprising 26 Bushmen, 9 Hottentots, 7 Koranas, 5 Strandloopers, and 4 Griquas) Gear found nearly 70 per cent pentagonoid in form. Of the twenty-six known Bushmen, 70 per cent belonged to this pentagonoid group. Further, 57 per cent of the skulls were low-vaulted (chamæcephalic), and, of these, 76 per cent were pentagonoid. He therefore concluded that the fundamental type of skull, common to all Bush peoples of South Africa, is the *chamæpentagonoid.* In keeping with its baby-like form, its dolichocephaly and chamæpentagonoidy the skull has a small endocranial capacity, i.e. it is microcephalic.

PLATE II



[*N. J. van Warmelo*

(*a*) Bhaca man, Transkei



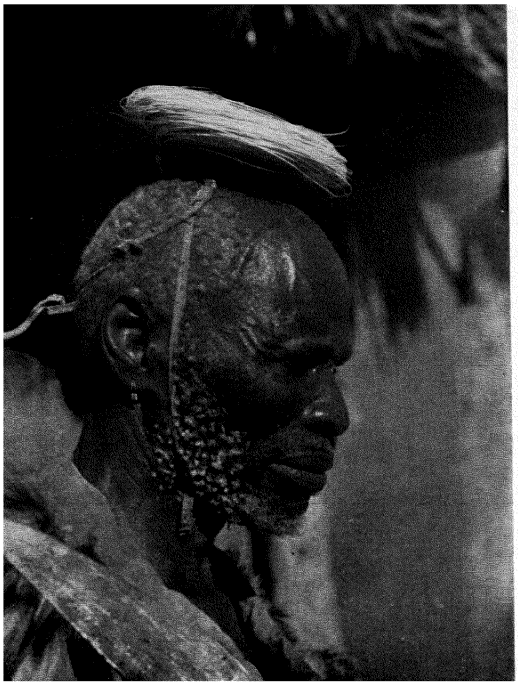
[*N. J. van Warmelo*

(*b*) Swazi man

PHYSICAL TYPES

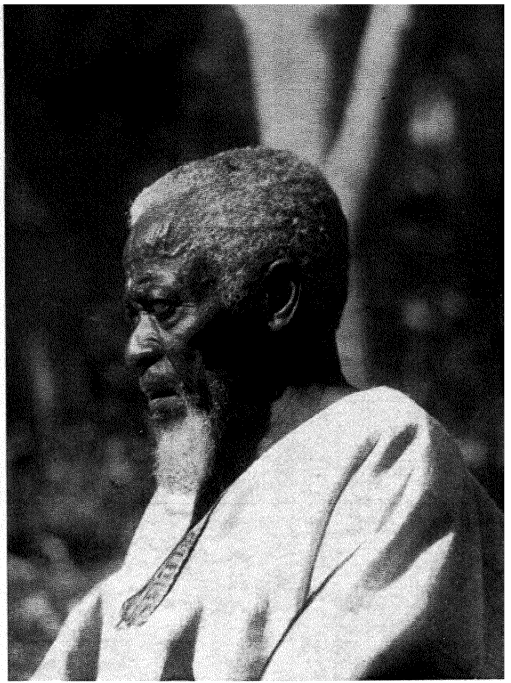
[*face p.* 16

PLATE III



[*N. J. van Warmelo*

(*a*) Kwena man, B.P.



[*N. J. van Warmelo*

(*b*) Lemba man, Transvaal

PHYSICAL TYPES

The most highly populated compartment in Table I is that occupied by these twenty-two *chamæpentagonoids, which represent the Bush race in its greatest purity.* The low vault, typical of the Bushman, appears in addition in seven other skulls (six ovoids and one ellipsoid). The pentagonoid form occurs also in thirteen other skulls, whose vaults are of greater height than is typical in the Bush race. We will consider these (and the thirteen ovoids and two ellipsoids) at a later stage; and merely note, in passing, the single eurypentagonoid—a brachymorphic, Asiatic intruder.

Recently Dr. Galloway and Mr. Wells have gathered together the information from every available published source—where measurements have been taken—of Hottentot, Korana, and Strandlooper skulls. Clumped together these 239 individuals are distributed as follows:—

TABLE II

DISTRIBUTION OF ALL REPORTED S.A. BUSH PEOPLES COMBINED

	Dolichocephalic	Mesaticeph.	Brachyceph.	Totals	Percentage
Hypsicephalic . .	5	8	1	14	5·8
Ortho- . . .	61	50	7	118	49·4
Chamæ- . . .	68	38	1	107	44·8
Totals . . .	134	96	9	239	100·0
Percentage . .	56·1	40·2	3·7	100·0	

The relative percentages of the different types of skulls are somewhat modified by the inclusion of all the variants occurring in this "Bush-Hottentot" series (such as the Boskopoid and Australoid types), but the general deduction to be drawn is that further analysis only corroborates the general truth of Gear's original postulate and demonstrates that all physical variations from the fœtalized, dolichocephalic, chamæpentagonoid skull in the Bush peoples are to be regarded as due to hybridization with other racial types.

Gear also analysed (*vide* Table III) 94 Bantu skulls (comprising 15 Zulu, 15 Sotho, 5 Xhosa, 3 Fingo, 3 Kalanga, 2 Tswana, 2 "Nyambaan", 2 Mpondo, 2 Ambo, and one each of the Swazi, Rotse, Herero, Rolong, Hlubi, Chopi, "Mozambique", Thembu, Ndebele, and Shona peoples, and twenty-six others of unknown tribe but probably Transvaal Sotho). In this unselected polyglot he found one foreign

(Sphæroid) Asiatic brachymorph. There were also sixteen Pentagonoids, six of which were Chamæpentagonoids indistinguishable from the typical Bushmen just described. The strong Bush influence in the Bantu group was further exhibited by twenty-two other skulls having a low vault (28·7 per cent in all). The best-populated single compartment in the Bantu group is that occupied by the twenty-five *Ortho-ovoids, which represent the Negro element in its greatest purity.* They actually account for less than 27 per cent of the group. On the other hand 45·7 per cent show the ovoid form of skull, which is the most frequent of the three dolichomorph types of head-form present in the Bantu. The Southern Bantu are therefore only about one-third pure-blooded Negro and are more than one-quarter pure-blooded Bush in constitution (*vide* also Tables V and VI).

TABLE III

BANTU GROUP DISPERSAL (AFTER GEAR)

	DOLICHOMORPHS				BRACHYMORPHS				
	Pentagonoid	Ovoid	Ellipsoid	Totals	Eurypentagonoid	Sphenoid	Sphæroid	Total	Percentage
Hypsi- . .	0	8	4	12	0	0	0	0	12·8
Ortho- . .	10	25	19	54	0	0	1	55	58·5
Chamæ- . .	6	10	11	27	0	0	0	27	28·7
Totals . .	16	43	34	93	0	0	1	94	100·0
Percentage .	17·0	45·7	36·2		0·0	0·0	1·1	100·0	

To discover the other racial elements that have gone to the manufacture of the Bantu we require to travel farther afield than the Zambesi River; but the nature of our problem will be greatly simplified if we consider these two Tables (I and III) a little farther. Both the Bush and the Bantu groups are admittedly very mixed, but the Bush group is more homogeneous (or racially purer) than the Bantu group. If we consider the feature *hypsicephaly*, for example, the Bush group displays only two skulls (4·0 per cent), while the Bantu reveals twelve (12·8 per cent) of this elevated type. These two high-vaulted skulls in the Bush group are Ovoids; and, as the preponderant number of hypsicephalic skulls in the Bantu group are Ovoids, it is apparent

a fortiori that the hypsicephaly found amongst Bush peoples has been handed on to them from the Bantu.

Similarly only two (3·9 per cent) of the skulls in the Bush group present *ellipsoidy*, while amongst the Bantu no less than thirty-four (36·2 per cent) of the skulls possess this feature. We are entitled to assume that the ellipsoidal impurity amongst the Bush peoples was a second gift handed on to them through the Bantu.

On the other hand, if we study the phenomenon of *orthocephaly* amongst the two principal types of skulls (Pentagonoids and Ovoids) common to the Bush and Bantu groups a contrary state of affairs exists. In the Bush group there are virtually three Ortho-pentagonoids to every one Ortho-ovoid; in the Bantu there are only two Ortho-pentagonoids to every five Ortho-ovoids. In other words, while the Bantu were transmitting their *hypsi-ellipsoid* impurities into the Bush race, the latter was responding by enriching the Bantu agglomerate with *ortho-pentagonoid* impurities which the Bush already possessed in high degree.

Racial Minglings of Bush and Bantu: The Contribution of the Brown Race (Hamites)

If we can ascertain how the Bantu became infiltrated with hypsi-ellipsoidal and the Bush with ortho-pentagonoidal impurities, we will have gone far towards understanding the curious distribution of cranial types in South Africa and the mechanism whereby it was produced.

In this quest we are materially assisted by a splendid study of 105 Abyssinian skulls from the Tigré Province, carried out by Sergio Sergi.[1] He used his famous father's method in such a manner that we are able to reclassify them in Frassetto's fashion and to compare directly the racial constitution of these Abyssinians near the Red Sea in the north-east of Africa with our Bantu and Bush peoples south of the Zambesi (*vide* Table IV).

Various facts immediately leap to light. In the first place the Abyssinians are an even more mixed group of people than the Bantu. They embrace more Asiatics (three Eurypentagonoids and three Sphenoids); and history is corroborated that Abyssinians and other related North Africans simultaneously received in greater amount

[1] S. Sergi (1912), *Crania habessenica. Contributo all' antropologia dell' Africa orientale* (Rome, Loescher).

or actually assisted in mediating the Asiatic influences, which are more sparsely represented amongst the Bush and Bantu races farther south. But a more remarkable fact is that the most densely populated compartment in the Abyssinian group is formed by the thirty-one (Negro) Ortho-ovoids; they account for an even higher proportion (i.e. virtually 30 per cent) of the Abyssinians than of the Bantu. It is not surprising that Sergi also found that 30 per cent of the Tigré skulls were prognathous like the typical Negro. While the ovoid quality only affects 36·2 per cent of the skulls (instead of 45·7 per cent as amongst the Bantu) the Abyssinians are virtually as pure-blooded Negro as the South African Bantu, and far more considerably impregnated with Negro blood than are the Bush peoples of South Africa.

TABLE IV

ABYSSINIAN (TIGRÉ) GROUP DISPERSAL (AFTER SERGI AND FRASSETTO)

	DOLICHOMORPHS				BRACHYMORPHS				
	Pentagonoid	Ovoid	Ellipsoid	Totals	Eurypentagonoid	Sphenoid	Sphæroid	Totals	Percentage
Hypsi- . .	9	4	2	15	0	2	0	17	16·2
Ortho- . .	20	31	17	68	3	1	0	72	68·6
Chamæ- . .	8	3	5	16	0	0	0	16	15·2
Totals . .	37	38	24	99	3	3	0	105	100·0
Percentage .	35·2	36·2	22·8		2·9	2·9	0·0	100·0	

Another impressive feature about this analysis is that although the Abyssinians show only about half as much chamæcephaly (15·2 per cent) as the Bantu (28·7 per cent) and about a quarter of that found amongst the Bush (57·0 per cent), it is none the less present; moreover, 50 per cent of the chamæcephalic individuals are Chamæ-pentagonoids like the typical Bushman. *Hence the Tigré Abyssinians include relatively more pure Chamæ-pentagonoids of thoroughbred Bush type than do the unselected Bantu south of the Zambesi.* Both the Bush and the Bantu are flat-nosed (platyrrhine), which accounts for the fact that Sergi found an even higher percentage (46 per cent) of platyrrhiny than of prognathism amongst these Abyssinians.

This Bush element in Abyssinia assists our understanding of the

physical make-up of the Bantu. The whole of the territory from Abyssinia to the Zambesi abounds in Bushman relics in the form of prehistoric rock-paintings and engravings; it has yielded Bush remains[1]; it harbours to-day at least two tribes (Hadza and Sanda), who preserve Bush physical features and speak languages belonging to the Bush-Hottentot linguistic family.[2] Tanganyika Bantu show 22 per cent, or nearly as much, chamæcephaly as do the Bantu south of the Zambesi.[3] More than a quarter of a large series of skulls from south-east Kenya were typical dolichochamæ-cephalic Bush skulls and hence the "Hottentot" affinities of the group are strongly evident.[4] Anatomical, linguistic, and archæological facts here all unite in demonstrating that *the territory of the long-headed, low-vaulted, pentagonoid, microcephalic Bush race extended at one time from the Cape of Good Hope to the Red Sea.*

That this state of affairs preceded the Negro intrusion into the eastern half of the continent is corroborated by our tables. While the Abyssinians are more strongly "negrolized"—if we may coin that term—than the Bush peoples, they are more closely akin to our Bush than to our Bantu group in the relatively large number of *Ortho-pentagonoids* present. Indeed, the most outstanding point of contrast between the Southern Bantu and the Abyssinians (*vide* Tables II and III) is the sudden relative increase in the number of Pentagonoids and more particularly of the Ortho-pentagonoids in Abyssinia. The Ortho-pentagonoids account for about a fifth of the Tigré population; they constitute over a quarter of our Bush group. This type of skull, which occurs nearly twice as frequently amongst the Abyssinians—and more than twice as frequently amongst the Bush—as amongst the Bantu, is characteristic of the Brown (Mediterranean or Hamitic) Race.

The racial features of the Brown Race have already been outlined. They were the indigenes of the Fertile Crescent, formed by the Nile Valley, Palestine, and Mesopotamia; in their midst civilization emerged. Owing to the bone-preserving qualities of the hot, dry, Egyptian sands and the Egyptians' profound interest in preserving

[1] A. Galloway (1933), "The Nebarara Skull," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxx, 585–596.
[2] D. F. Bleek (1931), "Traces of Former Bushmen Occupation in Tanganyika Territory," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxviii, 423–9; L. F. Maingard (1934), "The Linguistic Approach to South African Prehistory and Ethnology," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxxi, 117–143.
[3] v. Schweinitz and R. Virchow (1893), "Kopfmessungen an Ost-Afrikanern," *Z. Ethn.*, xxv, 484–495.
[4] E. Kitson (1931), "A Study of the Negro Skull, with special reference to the Crania from Kenya Colony," *Biometrika*, xxiii, 271-314.

the dead by mummification, so many thousands of Egyptian skeletons have been found and measured, that we can follow racial movements in Egypt from before the dawn of history and study the effects of those movements in modifying the skeletal features of her inhabitants with more exactitude and over a longer period than in any other part of the world.

Despite these movements the vast majority of the Egyptians, at all periods in their eventful history, are dolichocephalic and orthocephalic. These long-heads of moderate cranial height are the typical Brown people, and they are relatively far more numerous in Egypt than in Abyssinia. In very ancient Egypt they accounted for approximately 70 per cent of the population but even in those days 12–20 per cent of the Egyptians were chamæcephalic like the Bushmen. Miss Smith has described nine adult " Pygmy " skulls amongst a collection of Egyptian crania of the Third Dynasty,[1] which testify to the considerable amount of the little people present there in a relatively pure state 5,000 years ago.

These facts collectively demonstrate the intimacy of the fusion between the Brown and Bush races east of the Great Rift Valley in Africa prior to the inroads of the Negro upon the eastern sea-board. The former prevalence and continuous distribution of the Bush Race over the eastern half of Africa explains their accessibility to the Ancient Egyptians, and the deep, recurrent interest of the ancient civilized world in the dwarf people; it shows why the Bush-Hottentot languages are so intimately related to the Hamitic group of languages; it explains why the Bushmen of South Africa and the Pygmies of Central Africa and of Southern Asia, despite alien racial admixture, retain a virtually identical width of skull base[2]; it helps us to understand how and why by land and sea these primitives of nature could have become scattered from the Equatorial forests of Africa to the recesses of Papua and it assists in elucidating the fantastic part these abbreviated editions of humanity have played in the mythology and folk-lore of all civilized and semi-civilized peoples.

Subdivision of the Southern Bantu

At this point it is appropriate to remark that much detailed investigation of the tribes will have to be carried out before we can know the

[1] H. D. Smith (1911–12), " A Study of Pygmy Crania based on Skulls found in Egypt," *Biometrika*, viii, 262–6.

[2] Schebesta and Lebzelter, op. cit.

proximity of physical relationship between tribe and tribe and the order in which the various tribes entered the territory. Historically we have little to help us and the position can only be remedied by the slow process of correlating the facts of language, tradition, and culture with physical structure. The information in the former three, being more voluminous and accessible, naturally constitutes our preliminary basis of classification. Linguistically the Southern Bantu can be subdivided into three main zones:—

1. *Western*, spreading north and south of the Okavango River and including the Ambo, Herero, and Mbundu (as far north as Benguella on the Angola Coast);

2. *South-Central*, comprising the Shona tribes of Southern Rhodesia;

3. *South-Eastern*, situated principally in the Union of South Africa and Portuguese East Africa but also extending into Bechuanaland and the headwaters of the Zambesi. It includes:—

(*a*) the *Nguni* peoples (such as the Xhosa, Zulu, and Swazi) on the south-eastern sea-board, all of whose dialects are affected by Bush clicks;

(*b*) the *Shangana-Tonga* (Thonga) peoples of Portuguese East Africa, who have no clicks;

(*c*) the *Sotho* peoples, such as the Southern Sotho of Basutoland, Northern Sotho of the Transvaal, and Tswana of Bechuanaland; and

(*d*) the *Venda* of North-Eastern Transvaal.

It might be anticipated that the Nguni peoples, who have absorbed Bush "clicks" into their dialects, would also betray more Bush physical features than do other tribes; this, in point of fact, is true. An interesting investigation of certain tribes in the south-eastern zone by the blood-grouping method has been carried out by Elsdon-Dew. He finds the blood-group differences so significant that he can locate *three* different tribal groups in this zone alone. The first is formed by the Xhosa and Mpondo, who are the most nearly related to the "Hottentot"; the second, constituted by the Shangana, Zulu, Southern Sotho, and Tswana, is intermediate in type between the first and the third racial group, which is composed of the Northern Sotho, the Swazi, "Nyambaan" and Chopi (of Portuguese East Africa). Of these three groups the last-named, situated most to the north, approximates most nearly to the postulated "primitive" type of human blood-grouping. All three groups are more "primitive"

in their characters than the Bush or the " Hottentot " groups examined by Elsdon-Dew. These data corroborate our view that the Negro forms an early off-shoot from the Sapient human stock ; they accord also with the idea that the first Bantu intruders into South Africa

TABLE V

Vault Characters in Percentages				Tribal Name*	Grouping of tribes by cross comparisons of cephalic characters
CHAMAE-. Below 68.	ORTHO-. 68–73	HYPSI-. Above 73	No. in Series		
9·5	66·7	23·8	21	SHANGANA-TONGA	Group A High dolichocephaly High hypsicephaly
12·5	50·0	37·5	16	Bhaca	
20·0	70·0	10·0	20	Hlubi	
24·0	44·0	32·0	25	TRANSVAAL SOTHO	
24·1	51·8	24·1	54	Swazi	Group B Low dolichocephaly High hypsicephaly
26·5	59·8	13·7	102	Mpondo	
26·7	46·6	26·7	15	Zulu	
27·3	63·6	9·1	66	CHOPI	Group C (Similar to A, but with increasing Bush admixture).
28·0	62·0	10·0	50	" NYAMBAAN "	
35·9	59·2	4·9	103	*South Sotho*	
40·0	60·0	0·0	10	Fingo	Group D (Similar to B but with increasing Bush admixture).
44·2	48·1	7·7	104	*Xhosa*	
44·4	50·9	4·7	106	*Shangana*	Group E (Similar to A in dolichocephaly but differing from both A and B in loss of hypsicephaly probably due to profound Bush admixture).
48·6	42·6	8·8	68	TSWANA	
33·9	54·7	11·4	760	Total	

*CAPITALS = over 90 per cent. dolichocephalic.
Italics = over 80 per cent dolichocephalic.
Lower case = 70–76 per cent dolichocephalic.

—presumably found farthest south to-day—were exposed for a longer time to the effects of admixture with the hamiticized Bush race. We can confidently expect that with the extension of such observations to other branches of the south-eastern zone, and especially to tribes

in the south-central and western linguistic zones, very valuable light will be thrown on the more detailed physical inter-relations of these highly mingled peoples.

Statistics concerning the cranial characters of over 750 Southern Bantu have been collected by de Saxe, in the course of an investigation which is under way. His object is to analyse the somatometric characters presented, by comparing at least a hundred living adult males of each tribe. He has kindly allowed us to assemble the incompleted data in a tentative tribal grouping (*vide* Table V). In every tribe hitherto examined *70 per cent or upwards* of the population is dolichocephalic. The tribes have been arranged on the table in a gradually increasing order of Bush admixture: as shown by the ascending chamæcephaly and descending orthocephaly. This arrangement assists in demonstrating that some tribes resemble one another in cranial features more closely than do others; and thus makes it possible to group them. The grouping suggested is not final because, until adequate numbers have been collected for all tribes; the groups are of unequal classificatory value. Moreover the collection of data from other tribes outside the south-eastern zone, to which these belong, may seriously modify any general opinion now expressed. At the same time it is of general interest that, already, five distinct groups appear to be emerging in the south-eastern zone and that they not only confirm but expand Elsdon-Dew's triple grouping, though in some points there is slight disagreement.

Thus Elsdon-Dew's affiliation of the Shangana-Tonga with the Northern Sotho (in Group A) and close dolichocephalic relationship of these to the Chopi and " Nyambaan " (Group C) is corroborated; but our few Swazi appear more akin to the Zulu and Bhaca (Group B), while the Tswana are more akin to Group C (and A) than to the Zulu. The Mpondo approximate the Hlubi and Fingo (Group D) rather than with the Xhosa, Southern Sotho, and Shangana (Group E); but Group D is related to Group B rather than to Group A, while Group E stands apart. The extension of such cross-analyses is greatly needed, if we are to discover the more detailed physical relationships of the tribal groups.

Little detail has been gathered concerning the tribes in the south-central zone of Southern Rhodesia, and we are in little better case in respect of the western zone of South-West Africa. But an analysis of fifty-four skulls recently made available to us by the kindness of Dr. L. Gill, Curator of the South African Museum in Capetown,

has furnished data about forty-eight Ambo and six Herero. They too are over 90 per cent dolichocephalic; and, taken together, are 27·8 per cent chamæcephalic, 57·4 per cent orthocephalic, and 14·8 per cent hypsicephalic. They therefore approximate very closely in physical characteristics the Chopi and "Nyambaan" (Group C of our table).

This cross-analysis of cranial characteristics has been introduced to illustrate an avenue of approach to physical anthropological studies capable of indefinite extension and hitherto relatively unexploited. Our next table (VI) represents the results of a distributional study of facial features amongst 977 natives of various tribes, including the foregoing 760 adult mine natives and a series of 217 facial masks taken in the field by Professor Cipriani, of Florence, or by various members of the Anatomy Department in the University of the Witwatersrand over the last decade. The analysis was performed by Messrs. Wells and de Saxe. It provides further information concerning our provisional groups. The tribes are arranged in order of increasing percentages of Bush features; the only serious reversal in order, as compared with the previous table, occurs in respect of the Shangana, who, despite their chamæcephaly, only display 17·1 per cent of people with Bushman facies. The Zulu, "Nyambaan", and Sotho stand out with their relatively high percentage of Mongoloids. The unsatisfactory term "Caucasoid" has been used in this table to embrace all facial types other than the Negro, Bush, and Mongoloid; the preponderant number of these present the facies characteristic of the Brown race but there is a considerable percentage of Armenoid appearance, and even Nordic types are scattered through the groups. In all the large groups, save the strongly Bushmanized Tswana, the "Caucasoid" elements tend to account for nearly one-quarter of the population. Throughout the series the genuine Negro facies only accounts for 35–63 per cent, or an average of only half of the population.

In view of these facts it is not surprising that the mean stature measurements recorded by different observers of large series of natives is approximately 5 ft. 6 in. for males and 5 ft. 1½ in. for females. Most male measurements fall between 5 ft. 5 in. and 5 ft. 8 in., the least measurement being 4 ft. 8 in. and the greatest 6 ft. 4½ in. It is obvious that, apart from a consideration of the racial type of individuals, reliance upon stature as a racial indicator is bound to prove sterile.

A similar range of variation from individual to individual has been found by Miss Orford and de Saxe in skin coloration, the different nuances of colour in our records of approximately 1,000 individuals extending from Nos. 14–35 on von Luschan's scale. The shades lighter than 23, however, are very rare; three-fourths of the subjects fall within the 26–30 range, the order of frequency being 28, 29, 27, 30, and 26; the most frequent shade, 28, accounts for one-fourth of all individuals examined. Seiner found that the Bushmen ranged

TABLE VI

Distribution of facial features in percentages					Tribal Name*
Negro	Bush	Cauca-soid	Mongo-loid	No. of Cases	
53·5	15·5	29·0	2·2	45	"NYAMBAAN"
54·7	17·1	26·5	1·7	117	*Shangana*
59·1	18·2	22·7	—	22	SHANGANA-TONGA
43·2	19·3	22·0	5·5	109	Zulu
55·0	20·0	25·0	—	20	Hlubi
60·9	23·4	15·7	—	64	Swazi
53·0	24·2	22·8	—	66	CHOPI
55·1	26·0	17·3	1·6	127	*Xhosa*
63·2	26·3	10·5	—	19	Bhaca
46.2	27·2	24·6	2·0	195	*Sotho*
44·8	27·6	27·6	—	105	Mpondo
35·7	28·6	35·7	—	14	Fingo
43·2	44·6	12·2	—	74	TSWANA
51·2	25·0	22·3	1·5	977	Total

*CAPITALS = over 90 per cent dolichocephalic.
Italics = over 80 per cent dolichocephalic.
Lower case = 70–76 per cent dolichocephalic.

from 16–18; nine-tenths of the subjects falling between 22 and 25; the most frequent shade, 23, characterized one-third of all those examined.

As might be anticipated from these data, the tribes more infiltrated with Bush admixture, such as the Tswana, Fingo, Bhaca, Mpondo, and even the Sotho, Swazi, and Shangana, are on the whole lighter-skinned (average 28) than the Xhosa, Zulu, and Chopi (average 29), and particularly the "Nyambaan" and Shangana-Tonga (average 30).

Physical analysis of the Bantu is thus proceeding, but the data which will accumulate during the coming decade may profoundly modify our tentative scheme of grouping. All methods of grouping

—linguistic, cultural, or physical—go to prove that the Southern Bantu did not cross the Zambesi in a single migratory movement but by a series of inroads separated by centuries. Whether there were three, five, or more such major movements these records, collectively or co-ordinately read, will finally reveal.

The Contribution of the Nordic Race

We have seen how the ortho-pentagonoid Brown (Hamitic) impurity in the Bush stock became transferred to the Bantu; it now remains to discuss how hypsi-ellipsoid impurities impregnated the Negro stock and became transferred through the Bantu to the Bush peoples. If our conception be correct that the Nguni peoples, who retain Bush "clicks" in their dialects, were some of the earliest Bantu intruders into Southern Africa, it becomes very interesting that tribes in this group display a progressive loss of hypsicephaly.

Hypsicephaly is widespread throughout Negro Africa. It is clear from the averages recorded by de Quatrefages and Hamy that approximately 25 per cent of the skulls recorded by them from the Congo, Sudan, Senegambia, and Upper and Lower Guinea were hypsicephalic, the remainder being chiefly orthocephalic.[1] The percentage varies from district to district. If we go up the western half of the continent, we find the Tetela with 36·5 per cent of hypsicephaly, the Loango Natives with 69 per cent, and the Gaboon Natives with 52 per cent. Chamæcephaly is encountered very infrequently (none in 26 Loango; two in 92 Gaboon; three in 74 Tetela).[2] The hypsicephaly occurs independently of brachycephaly, in fact it is more frequent where there is least brachycephaly.

Obviously, the hypsicephaly of the Southern Bantu is only part of a continent-wide phenomenon and the explanation of its presence must be sufficiently wide to embrace its occurrence in the north as well as the south. If we return to our early tables we will see that, while there is slightly more hypsicephaly amongst the Abyssinians (16·2 per cent) than amongst the Bantu south of the Zambesi (12·8 per cent in 128 skulls, 14·4 per cent in 750 living males), there is considerably more ellipsoidy amongst the Bantu (36·2 per cent) than amongst the Abyssinians (22·8 per cent). Moreover the greater degree of Abyssinian hypsicephaly is largely accounted for by the presence

[1] A. de Quatrefages and E. T. Hamy (1882), *Crania ethnica. Les crânes des races humaines*, 2 vols. (Paris, Baillière).

[2] Cf. R. C. Benington, op. cit.

in the group of two hypsicephalic Brachycephals, such as are not found in the Bantu group. It is obvious that the Abyssinians did not have a sufficiently preponderating amount of hypsi-ellipsoidy to have been responsible for communicating it to the Bantu; it is equally apparent that it could not have come from any other North African group of peoples; the Brown Race characteristic of those parts has only moderately elevated (orthocephalic) heads, such as the Negro himself characteristically possesses.

Hypsicephaly is alien to all three of the races predominating in the three transcontinental anthropological territorial belts of Africa, and yet it has percolated through the whole continent, but with decreasing intensity as we pass from north to south. Only two hypsicephalic (Ovoids) skulls were found in the Bush group (Table I); 12 (8 Ovoids and 4 Ellipsoids) in the Bantu group; 17 (9 Pentagonoids, 4 Ovoids, 2 Ellipsoids, and 2 Sphenoids) in the Abyssinian group. Now one definite possible source of hypsicephaly is Asia—the short brachycephalic skull must be elevated, if it is to contain a human brain. We cannot doubt that the Asiatic source is responsible for the hypsicephaly of brachycephalic skulls in Africa; but nobody would have the temerity to suggest that brachycephalic admixture could transform long-headed skulls of moderate height into high-vaulted skulls without affecting their length. Unless hypsi-ellipsoidy has appeared as a spontaneous variation amongst the Negro, who passed it on to the Abyssinian and the Bush peoples, we are led to the conclusion that the hypsi-ellipsoidy came to the Bantu as to the Abyssinians from some dolichomorphic people other than the Brown Race. The only possible known source is the Nordic Race.

The so-called "Nilotes and Nilo-Hamites" along the Upper Nile Valley and in Uganda were thought by Seligman to be distinguished from adjacent Negroid tribes by virtue of their dolichocephaly.[1] Actually amongst the seventy Nuer and Dinka measured by Dr. Pirrie, 72·9 per cent are dolicho-, 24·3 per cent mesati-, and 2·8 per cent brachycephalic. In our Departmental series of 128 skulls taken at random from the different tribes of Bantu in the Union of South Africa 81·2 per cent are dolicho-, 18·0 per cent mesati-, and 0·8 per cent brachycephalic. If dolichocephaly were the test, then the Southern Bantu are more "Hamitic" than the "Nilotes and Nilo-Hamites". The proximity of relationship between the two groups is brought

[1] C. G. Seligman (1913), "The Hamitic Problem in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan," *J. R. Anthrop. Inst.*, xliii, 519–705.

out by the similarity in the above figures; it is emphasized by comparing the altitudinal (height) characters in the two groups. The Nuer and Dinka are 13·0 per cent hypsi-, 53·6 per cent ortho-, and 34·4 per cent chamæcephalic, and our Southern Bantu collection is 10·9 per cent hypsi-, 58·6 per cent ortho-, and 30·5 per cent chamæcephalic. Comparing the Nuer and Dinka measurements with the list of tribal measurements tabulated above we can see that the nearest congeners of the Nilotes and Nilo-Hamites in South Africa are the group formed by the Sotho (of Basutoland), Xhosa, and Shangana, the chief distinction being that the more northerly situated Nilotes and Nilo-Hamites are more hypsicephalic.

Various sources of evidence—such as the series of seventy-two African skulls analysed by G. Sergi [1] and the figures published by Shrubsall for Uganda Natives,[2] etc.—could be brought forward to prove the statement that, in general, hypsicephaly increases as we proceed from the south-east to the north-west of the African continent. It would lead us too far from the purposes of this chapter to discuss how and when these cranial characters of hypsicephaly and ellipsoidy became transferred from the Nordic Race to the Negro Race. It is enough to point out that the various features discussed are found amongst the Bantu and that by studying the relative proportions in which they are distributed, we can conclude that the Southern Bantu are more closely related to the Eastern Bantu and to the Nilotes than they are to the Western Bantu. The Western Bantu did not suffer Brown and Bush admixture to the same extent as did the Eastern and Southern Bantu.

The dolichomorphic hypsicephaly, which is more pronounced amongst the Western than the Eastern and Southern Bantu, has apparently spread across Africa from the Sudan by two different channels, one eastern (or Nilotic) from the Nile headwaters through erstwhile " Bushman " Tanganyika and then radiating fan-wise across the southern terrain from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean, the other western (or Nigerian) through the Equatorial forest and the Cameroons to the uttermost parts of the Congo and Angola. There finally the two streams converged.

These broad but fundamental features of racial distribution in Africa are explained satisfactorily if we assume that the Sahara was a more effective barrier against human mingling prior to the last

[1] G. Sergi, *L'Uomo*, op. cit.
[2] In H. H. Johnston (1902), *The Uganda Protectorate*, 2 vols. (London, Hutchinson).

Ice Age than it is to-day. It separated the Nordic from the Negro Race in the west and the Nordic from the Brown Race in the east. With the coming of the Ice Age climatic conditions far more congenial than those of recent times spread across that desert. The adventurous Nordic people, scattered hitherto along the Mediterranean littoral, migrated freely over the Sahara and intermingled to the east with the north-westerly moving Brown Race and to the south with the northerly expanding Negro Race. In the Sudan the Negro-Nordic admixture produced the hypsicephalized negroid stock, whose mobile history we have been reconstructing, whilst depicting the course of their transcontinental pilgrimage into their present homeland and its implications for the physical structure of the Bantu south of the Zambesi. We look to the future labours of the growing army of anthropologists throughout Africa for the gradual elucidation of the details in this prehistoric epic.

The background of our picture has been limned; various highlights have been tentatively painted in; their gaunt relief will be subdued by the labours of those artists whose detailed work is essential to the masterpieces of the future. Their books are works of the time to come and will unquestionably appear when an army, equal to that which has laboured in Europe over the last 400 years since Vesalius, has been organized in Africa to collect information about the Bantu similar to that which has been garnered over these centuries concerning Europeans.

Chapter II

HABITAT

By A. J. H. Goodwin

General Morphology

Africa south of the Zambesi consists of a great plateau, somewhat higher on the eastern side, and falling gradually towards the west. The height averages between three and four thousand feet, and the plateau is markedly cut by the valleys of the three great South African rivers, the Zambesi, the Limpopo, and the Orange, with its Molopo affluents. Balancing these valleys are three regions which exceed the 4,000 ft. level: the plateau country between the Zambesi and Limpopo rivers, which constitutes the greater part of Southern Rhodesia, the Highveld region stretching south-west of the Limpopo, and the highlands behind Walvis Bay.

The plateau formation has given rise to the flat-topped and "spitzkop" hills so typical of the Karroo country and other parts. The main plateau falls to the coastal plain in a series of terraces, each clearly delimitated by a mountainous rim. In the south these terraces are most marked, and form the Great and the Little Karroo, bounded by the Nieuwveld, the Zwartberg, and the coastal range which falls to the true coastal belt. This belt is everywhere narrow, save where it widens out to form the thornveld which is Portuguese East Africa. The western coastal belt forms the dry Namib desert strip, but the eastern edge of the sub-continent falls less steeply to the sea and is well watered. It is formed of a wide sloping plain, deeply cut by innumerable streams and their tributaries. The valleys so made are well wooded and the palm belt and other equatorial phenomena extend much farther down this coast than on the remainder of the continent.

A striking feature of the country is its watershed. In the northern part of Southern Africa the Zambesi cuts far across the continent, flowing from west to east. Balancing it on the west coast are a few short rivers, such as the Kunene, which prove a valuable asset to

that region. In the southern part of the Union the position is reversed. Here the Orange with its tributaries almost transgresses the continent from east to west, flowing from the Basutoland highlands to the Atlantic. In contrast the eastern side is here well watered by short, constant streams which run together to form considerable rivers. The Orange is mainly a flood river with high evaporation, and dies to a stream in the winter months, even ceasing altogether in dry years.

Save for the upper Zambesi, which has nursed the Rotse Empire, rivers have not played a great part in the material culture of the South African Bantu. Rivers are seldom navigable for great distances, as the shorter rivers are too swift in their flow to the sea from the plateau country, while the longer rivers lack water for much of the year. What little canoe movement has existed on the middle Zambesi and on the Ngami complex of streams and marshes has been to a great extent confined. But if rivers have had no great part in the building of South African cultures, their contents have proved vastly important. No great riparian tribes exist, no canoe peoples have integrated the country with trade routes, but the great mass of the country depends very directly upon the rainfall and the water which the rivers provide.

Climate

The bulk of South Africa lies on the track of the south-east trade winds throughout the year. These winds bring regular rains to the east coast during the summer months (December–February), rise sharply over the mountains and feed the residue of their burden to the eastern edge of the plateau. As the winds pass onwards towards the west coast they collect more moisture than they deposit, and rainfall decreases while evaporation increases. The western side, especially the Namib or coastal desert strip, is thus dry, save for the high-lying Damara-Nama plateau. In winter (June–August) the track of these trade winds moves northward towards the Equator. They still feed parts of the east coast, but the rains fail to pass the mountain rim. Synchronous with this northward swing of the south-east winds is a parallel movement of the westerly winds, which now bring rains to the southern coast from the Cape of Good Hope to Port Elizabeth.

The plateau system with its heavy eastern mountain rim, acted upon by the rain-bearing south-east wind, has thus given us a climate reflected on the eastern side by abundant rains, well-wooded country,

and the cattle regions east of 25° E. On the western side the desert reflects the increased evaporation. To these climatic factors are also due the typical mountain forms varying from softly rounded grassy hills to arid, jagged crags as we pass across South Africa from east to west.

In all Africa the distribution of the Bantu-speaking peoples coincides to some extent with the December–February rainfall area. This becomes most striking to the south, where Bantu and non-Bantu tribes have distributed themselves in direct relation to the summer and winter rain areas respectively. The Bantu have confined themselves to the region of high summer rainfall, while the Khoisan peoples have had perforce to share the winter rainfall region of the south-west and the arid marshes south and west of the Kalahari. Only the Herero and Ambo tribes slightly transgress the lines plotted by the limit of the 10 in. summer rains in South Africa.

Environmental Regions

The Tropical Belt.

The northernmost parts of Southern Africa lie within the Tropics, but the temperature is everywhere modified by low humidity and high altitude. Hot days give place to cold nights, and rain also brings a sudden drop in temperature. The tropical area is best delimitated by the distribution of the Baobab (*Adansonia digitata*) and the Mopane (*Copaifera mopane*). The former is found throughout tropical Africa and Madagascar, from Senegal to the Transvaal. It supplies the natives with bark for cordage and for string-making. The Mopane is more confined, forming the typical forest tree of the plateau country between the Zambesi and Limpopo rivers, with a westward extension to the Etosha Pan and Kunene region.

A variety of other tropical trees, including the Rhodesian teak and other water-loving timber trees, are found along river banks in the tropical region. The *Hyphæne* palm occurs in suitable environments, and this general moist-tropical vegetation has an extension down the eastern side of the continent as far as Port Shepstone on the Natal coast. The dry-loving tropical Mopipi (*Boscia rehmanniana*) is a striking tree in the more arid parts. Its soft wood is a common material used in Native wood-carvings in Bechuanaland.

The conditions in Portuguese East Africa are rendered somewhat peculiar by the wide, low-lying coastal belt, which here coincides

roughly with the political region. This thornveld is largely a game country, with relatively low fertility, and a rainfall which is adversely affected by the presence of Madagascar to the east.

The tropics have their own diseases. Malaria is prevalent everywhere north of 25° S. and extends even farther down the east coast. Man and the anopheles mosquito are both essential hosts in the life cycle of the malaria germ, and though the Natives are often carriers, they themselves are largely immune from the worst effects of the fever. The complication of malaria, known as blackwater fever, has the same distribution, but is rare among Natives.

In contrast with the rest of Africa the sleeping sickness of this region seems to be carried by *Glossina morsitans*, the same tsetse which carries the cattle nagana. The nagana comes farther south than sleeping sickness which extends only as far as Lake Ngami in the centre, and to the northern parts of Zululand on the east. In both these diseases only those tropical districts lying below the 4,000 ft. level are affected. The movements of the fly are further limited by its dislike of strong light, and by its need for the humidity which river banks afford. The Natives have thus found it possible to avoid a heavy incidence of nagana among their cattle by confining their animals to the high grasslands where light and altitude aid them. The tsetse, however, still takes a terrible toll of cattle in suitable parts of the country. Many tribes have in consequence been confined almost entirely to agriculture.

Termites are largely confined to the high sub-tropical grasslands. Their depredations affect standing timber most severely. All woodwork, even such intricate architectural forms as the Ambo village, has to be renewed every few years. This destruction and replacement continues throughout Bechuanaland, Northern Transvaal, and Southern Rhodesia.

Eastern Cattle Lands.

East of longitude 25° E. are the great cattle lands of South Africa. All this region lying south of the tropics is good grazing country, and has proved a suitable field for mixed agriculturists. South of the extended tropical region on the east coast, the eastward slope has been cut to form rounded, well-grassed hills. Deep, hot valleys yield fertile soil and sub-tropical vegetation. While the rainfall is greatest in the summer months, the winter is by no means dry, and the chief natural forest areas thus lie along the coast. Even to-day,

between George and Port Elizabeth, where the summer and winter rainfall areas overlap, the forests are composed of an extraordinary variety of excellent timber trees. The Bantu have made horrid inroads into the forest country within their areas, preferring the deep leaf-mould for agriculture, and destroying the timber trees. The Nguni tribes inhabiting these eastern slopes are mixed hoe-culturists and cattle keepers. The grassy uplands are used for grazing, while the watered valleys provide agricultural land. During the winter months the cattle are taken to the shelter and warmth of the forested valleys, where grass is abundant.

The whole region, and especially the moist grasslands, is, however, subject to tick-borne diseases, such as tick fever, gall-sickness, and especially East Coast fever, which seriously affect the cattle. Bilharzia is carried by snails inhabiting the eastward-flowing rivers only. A much more widespread pest, however, is the locust, of which two varieties, red and brown, are always to be found throughout Southern Africa. At irregular intervals either species may increase amazingly, owing to the coincidence of suitable climatic conditions and the absence of natural enemies. These swarms drive before the prevailing winds, and wherever they go, by a few hours' feeding, devastate the countryside, affecting grazing and agriculture alike.

The East Coast region rises on the west to the Highveld and the high Rhodesian grasslands, save where these are cut by the Bushveld region of the Limpopo and by the tropical belt of the Zambesi valley. The remainder of the cattle country thus lies on the plateau, and begins at the marches of the tropical savanna region, with high grasslands dotted with trees and shrubs which form the major part of Southern Rhodesia. This plateau is cut to the north by the Zambesi, and is defined to the south by the deep Limpopo valley. The rainfall, and with it the size of the timber trees, decreases fairly rapidly from Mashonaland on the east to Matabeleland on the west, so that the grain country of the east here shades to cattle country on the west.

South of Rhodesia lies the strip of Lowveld which follows the Limpopo and Komati rivers, and then virtually continues south-south-west from the Limpopo sources to form a marginal region between the Highveld and the eastern Kalahari. This Lowveld belt has been a migrational route for various tribes, many of whom were scattered directly or indirectly by the turmoil of Zululand in the early years of last century. It is thus a region where offshoots of Sotho and Nguni tribes live side by side.

On the southern edge of this Lowveld region is the Zoutpansberg where the Venda people have settled between the Shangana-Tonga tribes of the east and the Sotho tribes of the west. The Venda country is mountainous and rugged, and shows a varied climate. To the north it is dry, but the southern and eastern parts are well watered, and proved excellent forest lands before the general denudation of the countryside. Sneezewood, ironwood, yellow wood, red almond, and a variety of other timber trees were represented, together with trees suitable for tanning leather, for small timber, and other Native uses. The mountains provide good thatching grasses, and grazing. So fertile is the red soil that two crops may be raised in a single year. Like the varied flora, the fauna is typical of the usual game country.

From here the Highveld continues southward to include the Transvaal and the mountain regions of Basutoland. It is a rich cattle region, with reasonable rainfall, but high evaporation. The country is thus purely grassland with few trees, save in the more sheltered valleys. The rate of soil erosion is everywhere high, and is rendered worse by cattle-paths, annual grass fires, and the inability of the natives to appreciate its inevitable results. The Sotho have been forced towards the mountain masses of Basutoland by the white settlers of the Free State, and here depend largely upon their cattle. The high altitude and deficient soil of the eastern part of the Highveld have forced the Natives to turn to sheep-rearing. The agricultural tradition is still strong, and a considerable amount of maize and Kaffir-corn is grown, more especially towards the north-west, which with the coming of the European became the great " Maize triangle ". Wheat has taken some hold on the eastern side. The whole region is overstocked with cattle, and the results are seen in the continual exodus of the menfolk to the Union in order to obtain a living from mining or domestic work under the European.

The Karroo region, south and south-west of the Highveld, has never been inhabited by the Bantu, and little need be said of this arid sheep-raising land, save to note that the plateau formation of South Africa here gives rise to the flat-topped " tafelberg " and conical " spitzkop " hills, scattered over a wide area, and giving no enclosed valleys.

The Western Drought Lands.

The Kalahari region of central South Africa is an important ecological area. It is a region of generally low rainfall, and precipitation

decreases as we move south or west. Evaporation is high, and may even exceed the precipitation in parts. The rainfall is short and heavy, and varies from 13 inches in the north to 8 inches in the south.

The north-western limit of the Kalahari may be taken as the Omatako River, where the red Kalahari sands change to the white sands of the Omaheke. The main desert extends from the upper Molopo River to Lake Ngami, its eastern edge lies near the main railway line to the north, the western edge coincides roughly with the South-West African border. It is an arid country, not true desert, scored by old river beds, and lying between 3,000 and 4,000 feet above sea-level. Undrained depressions or pans scattered throughout the region supply brackish water after rains. The soil consists of red desertic sand, or white calcareous tufa formed by the alternating solution and reprecipitation of salts in the wet and dry seasons. The extension of the Kalahari sands as a geological phenomenon suggests that the desertic region was possibly far more widespread at one time. Here and there long parallel belts of loose sand are found, sometimes forming barkhans along the river beds.

The extreme north is regularly flooded in the summer months, sometimes heavily. The Okavango marshes are 100 miles long, choked with reeds and laced with channels of stagnant water. In the rainy season they drain into Lake Ngami and even into the Makarikari depression. This latter is a great salt-pan in which water collects in the wet season, but soon evaporates to leave a 4 in. crust of salt. After rains there is profuse vegetation, *Acacia giraffæ* and *A. detinens* thrive along the river banks, while to the north we reach the mopane, baobab, and commiphora regions.

Even in the driest parts there is a profusion of bulbs and leguminous plants, while the tsama melon (*Citrullus vulgaris*) supplies liquid to men and beasts. The north becomes tropical and less varied. Tsetse fly, white ants, ticks, and mosquitos abound. Days are hot, but owing to the altitude and the dry climate, nights are cold, and rain cools the air suddenly. Winds rise almost daily with the increasing heat, falling off with the cool of evening. The conditions are thus not suited to the Bantu cattle-keepers and hoe-culturists, and their homes are distributed in strict relation to available water.

The northern and eastern parts of the Kalahari are inhabited by the Tswana tribes. Unlike the Nguni, whose environment allows them to divide up into small family settlements, the Tswana are

forced to adopt a small town system, the town lying within easy distance of adequate water, or having its own wells. The town is loosely surrounded by scattered agricultural lands, while cattle are often grazed some distance away. During the winter months cattle-posts are built along distant streams, and the cattle migrate annually with whole families, or with the younger men of the village. Recently, with the imposition of peace on these tribes, the tendency has been to constitute the cattle-posts as permanent homes, and a more scattered economic structure is appearing.

The north-western parts of the Kalahari form an interesting complex in themselves. To the extreme north are the Kunene and Okavango rivers, lined with teak and other forest trees. The upper Kunene and upper Okavango bound the country of the Ambo peoples. Ovamboland proper consists of a great level expanse of white sand, covered sparsely with grass, acacia, and mopane, known as the Omaheke country. In natural clearings are palms and baobab trees, wild figs, and morula trees, from which last a wine is made. The Ambo tribes are dependent upon short and heavy rains which end in July, by when the whole region is inundated to form a vast morass dotted with little islands. During the remainder of the year the country dries up, and what was impassable flood now becomes a plain, here and there pitted with water-holes and wells. In order to combat the rising lime brought to the surface by the high evaporation, the Ambo build up beds of earth and cow-dung above the level of the plain. These are planted with a quick-growing millet which can take advantage of the rains. Largely owing to the environment, few cattle are kept, and the breed seems smaller and stockier than that kept by the Herero.

The Kunene as it passes through Ovamboland banks itself up above plain-level with the Omaheke sand, then falls steeply to the coastal belt of desert sand through which it seldom passes.

The Okavango or Kubango river, studded with wooded islands and riddled with malaria, flows eastward from the white sands of the Omaheke to the red sands of the Kalahari. With the Chobe or Kwango river the Okavango spreads like a trellis over Lake Ngami, which drains northwards to the Zambesi. This Ngami region, though of tremendous interest anthropologically, is the home of such a welter of tribes and mixed races and cultures that little direct comparison between peoples and environment is possible. Tswana cattle-keepers, Masarwa hunters, Herero refugees from South-West

Africa, and Mpukushu tribes all form a varied population, largely the scrapings of the Zambesi and the Kalahari.

West of Ovamboland lie the highlands of the Kaokoveld, sparsely populated by the Tjimba. This is typical game country, and a great variety of animals is to be found in the Etosha-Kaokoveld reserve. The bulk of South-West Africa is made up of a southward extension of the Kaokoveld, which forms a wide plateau at a height of some 6,000 feet, here and there enclosing valleys of typical Karroo country. In the north is the Otavi limestone area, containing underground water here and there revealed in a precipitous lake. At Tsumeb is a great copper deposit originally worked by both Bergdama and Herero smiths.

The greater part of this high country was the old Herero and Mbandieru region, a poor cattle country which they used to the limit with their heavy cattle in spite of the general dryness of the climate. Their movements southwards were checked by the Nama Hottentots. The Herero were the richest of a number of related cattle-keeping tribes, many of which after coming across the Kunene were forced back into Angola by the pressure of the Nama peoples from the south. Since the long Herero war with the Germans (1904–7) the Herero have lost much of their stock, and their movements have been rigidly confined to a small area.

The remainder of South Africa seems never to have had a great Bantu population. Here and there small groups have pushed their way, but with little permanent success. The limit of the Bantu coincides roughly with the limit of the 10 in. summer rains, and they have been confined there by the Namib strip to the west, the Hottentots to the south, together with Kalahari and Karroo thirst-lands. On the eastern side of the continent they could more easily have advanced, and once the winter rain area had been reached, these people would undoubtedly have spread and multiplied. It so happened that they came into violent contacts with the Hottentot tribes in the region of the Kei and adjacent rivers, and were held back until the European colonizers advanced from Capetown along the south coast.

Chapter III

GROUPING AND ETHNIC HISTORY

By N. J. van Warmelo

Introduction

Information concerning the history of the South African Bantu tribes comes from two sources, European and Native. The personal observations of the earliest European explorers and navigators, and of shiprecked seamen, such as Perestrello (1554), the pilot of the *Santo Alberto* (1593), and the men of the *Stavenisse* (1686), establish beyond doubt not only that the Bantu were already dwelling in South-Eastern Africa at that time, but also that in part at least they were the identical tribes found in the same localities at the present day. Much beyond that these early sources do not go. On the other hand the European writers who witnessed the subsequent phases of Native history in this country can only tell us about events of comparatively recent date, much too recent in any case to be of use in an attempt to classify the tribes. Of course, the evidence of the few men who, like Isaacs for instance, were actually on the scene of Shaka's rise to power in Zululand, is of the greatest value; but it does not supply the wealth of detail we require regarding the course of the spectacular events which changed the face of South-Eastern Africa. Above all, these sources tell us little or nothing about the distribution and names of tribes, their customs, and languages, as they were before the storm broke that all but swept away many of them.

The Native sources of history consist of the traditions, legends, and tales handed down orally from generation to generation in each tribe. Of these only that small portion is available which has been recorded in print, mostly by Europeans, and then only too often in a European language, without the original vernacular version. This latter circumstance has reduced the usefulness of many of the Native records in question to an extent unsuspected by the collectors. It is not out of place here to stress that a scrupulous regard for the

actual letter and phraseology of Native tradition is essential in the collection and editing of such material. But even were everything still extant to be rescued from oblivion, it is well to remember that this also would represent but a fraction of the wealth of traditional lore which existed up to say six score years ago, before wars and famines laid waste to Bantu culture, and caused the premature death of the aged repositories of tradition. And finally we must bear in mind that, at the very best, Native tribal tradition is weak in chronology and scanty in regard for truth. As a rule, three hundred years is the limit of possibly reliable tradition. Beyond that, legend and fairy tales begin to luxuriate.

Apart from the sources of information just mentioned, we are guided, in making our grouping, by what we know of the ethnological and linguistic characteristics of the tribes under review.[1] The grouping given below is intended to have some practical use: it should serve to indicate to the investigator where he is likely to encounter similarities and affinities as he moves from tribe to tribe. Of what nature these similarities and affinities are in each case, and what therefore are the characteristics of each group and subgroup, will appear more fully in the succeeding chapters of this book. It will further be seen that the grouping largely coincides with geographical distribution, and also that the groups are almost a picture of the language-groups of South Africa. With primitive folk it cannot be otherwise. Roads, travel, and communications being virtually non-existent, or at best feebly developed, a geographical unit inevitably becomes the seat of a particular dialect and form of culture, provided it be left undisturbed. It is the migrations, and the enclaves of not yet assimilated conquerors or conquered which these leave in their wake, that therefore make the exceptions and provide the surprises.

The Bantu peoples dealt with in this book fall into the following major groups, to be reviewed here in the order given: Nguni, Shangana-Tonga, Sotho, Venda, and Lemba. The Venda group is small in comparison with the rest, although of paramount ethnological interest; and the same applies to the Lemba group, which numerically is most insignificant.

[1] Besides the existing literature and museum collections, I have drawn upon my own observations. Readers familiar with the information already available will easily see for themselves in how far my judgment has been guided by this factor.

Nguni Group

The tribes belonging to this group live, with few exceptions, below the high plateau of the interior, between the escarpment of the Drakensberg and the sea, and stretch, in a long broad belt of hundreds of tribes, from Swaziland right through Natal far down into the Cape Province.

The Nguni are markedly a "cattle people"; and the presence of "click" sounds in their language seems to be due, almost undoubtedly, to contact with that purely pastoral people, the Hottentots. The problem is how, where, and when such contact was effected. The existence of this problem is by itself sufficient to cast serious doubt on the speculations of writers about early Nguni history, for they do not account for what we actually find. The presence of the clicks in all the Nguni dialects, even those of the Transvaal Ndebele, who have been living in that province for at least three to four centuries, seems incomprehensible except on the assumption of a focus point of Nguni development far in the South, where contact with the Hottentots was possible. All this is not in accord with the theories hitherto put forward as to the way in which the Nguni came down from the North and occupied their present home. The accepted chronology—tentative of course—also does not appear to meet the case. There is a third grave difficulty: the Lala enclave which used to occupy approximately the present Southern Natal. The Lala were largely wiped out a hundred years ago, but enough remnants are left which may be studied. Not very much of true Lala custom and speech has survived to be recorded, but even this has not yet been done, and so we know almost nothing about them. It is claimed for them that they were of Shona origin, and some features of their language certainly are reminiscent of Shona or Tonga; but beyond that nothing definite can really be said. In addition, an almost impenetrable veil was drawn over the past a century ago. In the Cape Colony destructive frontier wars were waged, while in Natal it seems that hardly a tribe was fortunate enough to be left undisturbed during Shaka's reign. Whole tribes vanished, and everywhere traditions, culture, and material possessions were lost.

Small wonder, then, that the early history of the Nguni group as a whole is still a field for inquiry, but hardly a subject to be dogmatic about. The massive volumes of Bryant (*Olden Times in Zululand*

and Natal) and Soga (*The South-Eastern Bantu*) have at least achieved this also that, by coming to conclusions which can by no manner of means be reconciled, they have shown onlookers that progress is not being made as merrily as some would have us believe. In short as regards origins we are up against a wall we are not as yet prepared to scale. The theories hitherto put forward are not worth repeating here: they appear to be fanciful, and hardly meet the case. Those further details of history which do require mention are given below for each separate sub-group.

In conclusion we should note that, had the events of the past century, due to Shaka's founding of the "Zulu" empire, not taken place, practically the whole Nguni group would have borne a different appearance. One entire sub-group, for instance, that of the "Fingo and others", owes its existence to the tremendous happenings which accompanied the birth of that empire; and several other most important Nguni offshoots, like the Rhodesian Ndebele, also came into existence in the same fashion, In the storm centre, where these disturbances took their rise, things of course took such a turn that research largely consists in the fitting together of fragments.

Cape Tribes Proper.

These are the southernmost Nguni tribes. They had already been in occupation of the present Transkei and Ciskei for centuries by the time the influx took place of the immigrant Fingo and other refugee tribes mentioned under the next sub-group. The Cape tribes speak the same language with but small variations, but, while a common descent is traceable for a number of tribes, this is not the case with most of the others, between whom no sort of genealogical relationship, as far as tradition goes, can be said to exist.

An example of a group of related tribes is found in the Xhosa, represented by the Gcaleka of Chief Zwelidumile Sigcau, the Ngqika of Archie Sandile, and smaller tribes like the Ndlambe, Dushane, Qayi, Ntinde, and Gqunukhwebe. The last-named are said to be of mixed Hottentot descent. Tradition regarding the genealogical ramifications of Xhosa royal lineage and its offshoots has been well preserved, and is of value as being virtually a synopsis of the relations of the Xhosa tribes to one another. This Xhosa tradition, according to Soga, says that some centuries ago the tribe dwelt along the upper reaches of the St. Johns River, far to the north-east of their present home. History before that is pure conjecture; while their subsequent

history, which is well described by Soga, is too recent to interest us here.

Farther east and north-east of the related Xhosa tribes are the Thembu and their offshoots, such as the Hala, Jumba, and Ndungwana. With them may be classed the Bomvana, Qwathi, Nqabe, and Mpondomise, which although not related are nearest to them in culture. All these tribes also have traditions to the effect that they immigrated from the direction of Natal. Otherwise their recorded history is meagre, containing few indications of value.

Still farther east are the numerous tribes and septs of the Mpondo, ruled over by several independent chiefs. The Mpondo are again distinct, in some respects, from the tribes mentioned above. They are divided into a great many clans, of which the largest though not necessarily the most important in rank are, amongst others, the Bhala, Kwalo, Gingqi, Kwetshube, Nyauza, Khonjwayo, Nci, and Ngutyana. There are, further, amongst them some tribes not of true Mpondo descent, but now looked upon as being practically their equals. Besides these we find many descendants of the refugees from Natal, whom Chief Faku took under his protection. While some of these managed to maintain their identity intact, others simply merged in the Mpondo population. There are for instance sections of Tolo, Tshangase, Tshwawu, Zizi, Hlubi, Bhele, Ngwane, and similar names commonly encountered amongst the immigrant Fingo. The earliest known history of the Mpondo also shows them already settled, several centuries ago, not very far to the North-East of their present country. Of their relationship to other tribes nothing definite is known.

Fingo and Other Recent Immigrants into the Cape

When Shaka embarked upon his career of empire building in Natal, numerous tribes were dislodged either directly or indirectly as a result of the ensuing state of war. Hence early in the nineteenth century many thousands of refugees from Natal began to cross over the Umzimkulu, seeking a new home among the Cape tribes, especially the Xhosa, and among the European colonists. They came both as solid tribes, and in large and small bodies of homogeneous or of composite character. Their numbers were further augmented from another direction by the fugitive Hlubi of Mpangazitha, who had been driven out of Basutoland, whither he had first fled, by Mathiwane and his Ngwane, who were themselves also fugitives from Natal.

The latter Chief presently came down into the Colony himself, where in August, 1828, his tribe was broken up in an encounter with European forces.

Many of these refugee tribes returned to Natal when peace was there restored. But many others remained behind. The real "Fingo" (Mfengu) were subsequently led out of Xhosaland, but when later on part of the Western Transkei became vacant they were settled there and still form the bulk of the local population. There are to-day many thousands of completely detribalized Fingo. Of those still carrying tribal names, whether they recognize chiefs or not, the majority belong to the big Hlubi, Zizi, and Bhele tribes. Smaller units include the Kunene, Maduna, Gubevu, Tolo, Miya, Khuze, Mbuthweni and Zotsho. The question as to how far the Fingo still form a cultural unit, and still know and submit to their hereditary heads, has not of late been studied. It is not possible, therefore, to give any indications on this point. Many of the Fingo of course live in areas of the Transkei where they fall under the control of non-Fingo chiefs.

The same applies to a large proportion of those immigrants into the Eastern Transkei who cannot strictly speaking be called Fingo. To these belong the Bhaca and numerous sections of the Wushe, and clans related to the Bhaca. Others again are independent, such as the two important Bhaca tribes in Mount Frere under Chiefs Sikhanda and Mncisana. Two others are in Southern Natal, in Bulwer and Ixopo districts. In the same sub-group as the Bhaca may be put the Nhlangwini tribes of Griqualand East and Southern Natal (Harding and Ixopo districts), and a number of small clans said to be related to them, together with the Xesibe (chiefly in Mount Ayliff) and the Xolo and Nzimakwe of Port Shepstone. Of some of these tribes we know more or less how they came to be where they are now, the exploits of the Bhaca Chief Ncaphayi especially being fairly well recorded. But of what went before, and of the original state of the people, as of their present customs and culture, we can say little or nothing.

Natal Nguni.

Were it not that from about the year 1815 onwards great changes had occurred in Natal, a very different grouping of its inhabitants would have been both possible and necessary. As it is, no other grouping than that outlined below can or need now be formulated.

This is because early in the nineteenth century Shaka, Chief of the small Zulu clan, began attacking and establishing his supremacy over his neighbours right and left. Even when due allowance is made for the inevitable exaggeration in Native accounts of fights, raids, and massacres, all on an unprecedented scale, tremendous changes undoubtedly took place in the province. Many large tribes and bodies of people left the country in all directions, never to return. Many more small tribes were wiped out completely. It also appears that at one time few, if any, people were suffered to live south of the Tugela River, although as the power of the kings weakened, many refugees returned and settled in their old homes, but only to the extent permitted by the recent occupation of the country by Europeans.

In consequence of these changes, the only grouping now practicable is to include all the Natal tribes into one common category. Before 1815 one would have classified them into separate groups: (*a*) the true Nguni or Ntungwa, with perhaps a subdivision for (*b*) the Mbo; and (*c*) the Lala tribes. But to-day this is impossible, for the rule of the Zulu kings not only introduced their own Zulu culture everywhere, but also promoted the growth of standard language and custom. This accounts for the large measure of uniformity found throughout Natal to-day. Variations in cultural detail do still exist, but they cannot be defined except in extremes, and they form such an intricate pattern that dividing lines cannot be drawn. The mixture of tribes under European rule helped further to stamp out differences. In addition, the clans originally forming the groups just mentioned are now scattered haphazardly all over the whole country. One can say neither which tribes are of Lala stock, nor which were originally Mbo. We must therefore consider the Natal Nguni as a whole. The group is named after the province, but it must be noted that provincial boundaries do not constitute the boundaries of the group. Some of the Cape tribes previously mentioned live in Natal, and on the other hand practically all the Natives of the South-Eastern Transvaal belong to the Natal Nguni.

The tribes of the Natal Nguni are mostly known by the family or clan names (*iɀibongo*) of their Chiefs. These tribal names therefore do not reflect the actual composition of the tribes. Though a tribe be known for instance as the Mthethwa, there may be twenty, fifty or a hundred different clan names, *iɀibongo*, represented within that tribe. The name Zulu is another instance, for it is, strictly speaking, only

the name of the royal clan. To call all the Natives of Natal, or of Zululand for that matter, "Zulu" is incorrect. It is of course convenient, but nevertheless, in all cases where the slightest modicum of precision is required in stating exactly what one means, the term "Zulu" proves to be a most ambiguous and exasperating instrument. One cannot discuss the "Zulus" except in the vaguest terms. The use of "isiZulu" for the language, however, seems justified.

The Natal Nguni are divided into more than two hundred independent tribes, of which we need name only a few of the most powerful. To group them in any way whatever according to their affinities is, as has been said, impossible. In the Southern and South-Western districts of Natal are a number of Nyuswa tribes, the Dumisa, Cele, Khuze, several tribes of Dlamini, the Nxamalala and many others. They are flanked, farther north, by the tribes living under the Drakensberg, the Ngwane and Ngwe (or Ngweni) and others. More towards the centre are the Mabaso and the powerful and still very raw tribes of Msinga district, the Bomvini, Cunu, and Qanyini. Proceeding farther towards the coast, we find numerous sections of Mkhize and Mafunze, the Gcumisa, two large Zondi tribes, the Makhanya, Ximba, several tribes of Thulini all near to the coast from Umzinto to Stanger, the Qadini in Ndwedwe and adjacent districts, the Khabeleni, the Ntuli, Buthelezi, Qwabe, and Mpukunyoni. Farther to the west, in Msinga and neighbouring districts, are the Sithole tribes, the Thenjini or Thembu, and, in the northernmost districts, the Hlutyini or Hlubi, Nkosi, Khumalo, and Mdlalose. Turning thence towards the east we encounter amongst others the Mbatheni, Ntombela, Gazini, Mthethwa, and in Nongoma and thereabouts the Zulu. To the extreme north-east are the tribes of Ubombo and Ingwavuma divisions: the Nxumalo, Zikhali, Myeni, Nibele, and others, and the Mngomezulu, Nyawo, and Mathenjwa, whose next-door neighbours are the southernmost Shangana-Tonga, viz. the Tembe.

Swaẓi

This sub-group is of recent origin. Before Shaka's time the present Swaziland was partly occupied by various Sotho tribes about which we know virtually nothing, but who are best represented to-day in the Pai and Pulana referred to in the Sotho group. The southern part of Swaziland was occupied by clans of Nguni origin, mostly of the variety characterized by the *tekeẓa* way of speaking, and by

the customs commonly associated therewith. Commencing with the increasing power of the Ngwane Chief Sobhuza (*ca.* 1820), the "Swazi" people gradually began to come into being, especially through the conquests of Sobhuza's descendant Mswazi (*ca.* 1840–1875), after whom they are named. The latter subjected the Sotho clans of Swaziland, or drove them out, and by extensive raiding increased his wealth and power. The Swazi, having never been subdued by force of arms, remained a nation in spite of the imposition of European control, and are intensely proud and conscious of the fact. The circumstance, however, that the many thousands of Swazi living outside the borders of Swaziland were freed from the conttol of the Paramount Chief has weakened tribalism among them. Nevertheless several Swazi tribes near the border may be considered almost integral parts of the Swazi nation.

In Swaziland itself the old Sotho population seems to have disappeared, except in name. The descendants of the Sotho clans are collectively known as abeSuthu or amaKhandzambili. Another non-Swazi element are the clans from Zululand, no distinction being made between true Ntungwa and Mbo stock. Thirdly there are the Swazi proper. To outline areas or to define groups in which these elements of the Swazi culture-unit preponderate is impossible. The difficulty lies both in the lack of attention paid to this problem, and in the comparative uselessness of tribal names as a guide. According to Nguni custom the tribes are known by the clan name (*isibongo*) of their Chief. But since in a tribe any number of clans may be represented, the Chief's *isibongo* is but a weak clue to the origin and composition of his following. There is for instance a considerable preponderance of Chiefs with the *isibongo* Nkosi, but this is explained by the circumstances that Nkosi is the clan-name of the paramount house. One infers from this that a large proportion of the followers of these men are not true Swazi, for the latter would be ruled by their own hereditary Chiefs who have other clan names. On the other hand it is likely that, where non-Swazi are in control of tribes, these latter are tribes also largely of non-Swazi origin. All we can do for the present is to give some indications based on the clan-names of the ruling families. About the elements that form the tribes mentioned below it is not possible to say anything more definite.

Taking first the Swazi proper, there are fifty-odd tribes ruled over by Chiefs with the royal *isibongo* Nkosi. Their following, as noted above, is likely to be partly non-Swazi, but on the other hand the

influence of the Chief and his entourage is not negligible. Other true Swazi tribes are likely to be those under, e.g., Malangatonke and Siboshwa (both Fakudze), and Chiefs with such *iɣibongo* as Hlophe, Hlatywako, Mamba, Katse, Madvosela, Motsa, Mndzebele, Shiba, Shongwe, and Tsabetse.

Amonst the clans of "Zulu" origin one finds such *iɣibongo* as Biyela, Mkhatshwa, Mtsetfwa (Mthethwa), and Zwane.

The original Sotho population of Swaziland is represented by the "Khandzambili" clans, some of which, however, are said to be not of Sotho origin. It is natural that when the Sotho turned Swazi in language and custom, their clan names should also have assumed a Swazi garb, and that they should now all be provided with the *iɣinanatelo* (a sort of complement to the *isibongo*) [1] demanded by Nguni usage. Amongst the Khandzambili there are such clan names as Bhembe, Gama, Gamedze, Magagula, Maseko, Nkambule, and Sukati. These are not tribal names such as commonly found amongst the Sotho, but clan names. It is accordingly difficult, if not impossible, to identify them with Sotho tribes, unless a study of the family names of the Eastern Sotho is made. But in the case of Maseko at least there is no shadow of doubt, for one of the three branches of the Pulana Sotho is named baxaMašexo. As previously stated, there is reason to believe that the Pulana are the modern representatives of the old Sotho population of Swaziland, and Maseko is doubtlessly the Swazi version of Mašexo.

The Swazi living outside Swaziland, especially far afield, have followed their own independent lines of development, while those in the Highveld districts of Piet Retief, Ermelo, Wakkerstroom, and as far west as Witbank and Rayton, have been influenced by contact with the Zulu-speaking people of these areas. Of the Swazi tribes in the Transvaal may be mentioned the Nkosi of Chiefs Mhola Dlamini, Dantyi Nkosi, and others, the Shongwe and the Khumalo, all in Barberton and Nelspruit; the Hlatywako of Mhlaba and some smaller tribes (Dlamini, Magagula, Sukazi, Shongwe, etc.), all in Piet Retief, and a few more in Paulpietersburg district; and finally those small stray groups living under independent headmen in Sekukuniland, Nelspruit, and Pilgrimsrest. The history of these Transvaal Swazi is not of much importance except to themselves. They are in part small sections who lived on the periphery of happenings in Swaziland, and were only too glad to be left unmolested in return for submission

[1] See below, p. 83 f.

to Mswazi; and in part they are people left behind by raiding columns sent abroad by this enterprising Chief. While some of these outposts subsequently had to be abandoned in the face of Pedi aggression others managed to cling on and remained where we find them to-day.

Transvaal Ndebele.

These Ndebele tribes must not be confused with the Ndebele now living in Matebeleland, Southern Rhodesia. The latter left the confines of Zululand only a century ago under the leadership of Mzilikazi, whereas the former had by that time already been settled in their present territory for at least several centuries. Living as they did surrounded by various Sotho tribes, they could not avoid being influenced considerably by Sotho culture and language. Some of them have in fact become almost pure Sotho in everything but name.

The Transvaal Ndebele fall into two sections, Southern and Northern. They are divided by a considerable stretch of country, which has only of late been bridged by movements of small groups. They are also distinct in point of language, for each of the two dialects is characterized by a number of features peculiar to it alone. The Ndebele dialects of the South are better preserved than those of the North, which have been largely superseded by Sotho. The same may be said of custom and possibly also physical characteristics.

The Southern group to-day comprises a single senior tribe, the Manala, and a junior tribe, the Ndzundza, which was broken up fifty years ago and is now represented by over half a dozen sections. These two tribes have clung to Ndebele custom and language with extraordinary tenacity. This is not the case with the Hwaduba of Hamanskraal district, who, though said to be descended from the same source, are now to all intents and purposes a Sotho tribe. The tribes of the Southern group trace their descent from the tribe of one Msi, who long ago lived near Pretoria, where the Manala still are. A rather vague tradition, which may, however, be accepted states that before Msi's time they had come from the direction of Natal. The same origin may be postulated for the Northern tribes.

The Northern group is composed of the Ndebele of Langa (commonly termed, in Sotho pronunciation, the Laka), represented by several sections, mostly in Potgietersrust; and of the Maune or Letwaba, likewise represented by several sections. The Seleka living on the Bechuanaland border are also said to be of Ndebele stock. This group finally includes the Moletlane or Sebitiêla, who, according to some

traditions, trace their origin to the parent tribe of the Southern Ndebele. They appear to have trekked away to the North very many years ago, and settled near the great bend of the Olifant River. An earlier offshoot of the Moletlane are the Mokôpane just outside Potgietersrust. There is also a recent offshoot under Johannes Kekana, now settled very near the ancient home of his tribe in Hamanskraal district.

Recent Nguni Offshoots.

Early last century three bodies of Zulu-speaking people fled from Natal to escape impending destruction at the hands of Shaka. They marched north and north-west, living by rapine and plunder. After many vicissitudes, each of these bodies eventually found a permanent home, where they perpetuated their race, customs, and language amongst the alien Bantu tribes which they subjected to their rule.

The body led by Mzilikazi trekked over the Highveld of the Transvaal and settled for a while near Pretoria, and later near Zeerust, harrying the Sotho tribes and raiding as far south as Basutoland. When he turned his attention to the emigrant colonists the latter retaliated and, the country becoming too hot for him, he led his people over the Limpopo into the present Matebeleland. The Ndebele kingdom founded there collapsed before the advance of European colonization, but the language and culture of the invaders has survived to this day, though in diluted form.

The " Ngoni " or Shangana led by Soshangane, alias Manukuza, proceeded north and after a sojourn near Chipinga settled in Gasaland, not far from Delagoa Bay. They were probably not very numerous, but they were powerful enough to subject most of the Tonga completely and to introduce their own language and customs to such an extent that the latter should now be termed Shangana-Tonga. When their empire was also overthrown by Europeans, the Portuguese in this case, a great many, including the heir apparent, sought safety in the Eastern Transvaal, where they are still found, mostly in Pilgrimsrest, but also in the Sibasa district, near the Zoutpansberg mountains.

The third body of Zulu-speaking emigrants was led by Zwangendaba. At the end of a comparatively brief rest in Gasaland, differences with Soshangane's people compelled them to seek a wider field farther north. After an amazing march of some thousands of miles, along a route which they strewed with the wreckage of raiding and bloodshed,

they eventually settled in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa. Their descendants, who still speak a Zulu of sorts, may be found dwelling on both sides of the Lake, in groups now widely separated from one another.

Shangana-Tonga Group

The Shangana-Tonga form a very large group, the northern limits of which have never yet been accurately defined. To the South and South-East they have long been in contact with the Nguni, but with the Sotho and Venda farther north contact was made only in recent times, by emigrant Shangana-Tonga.

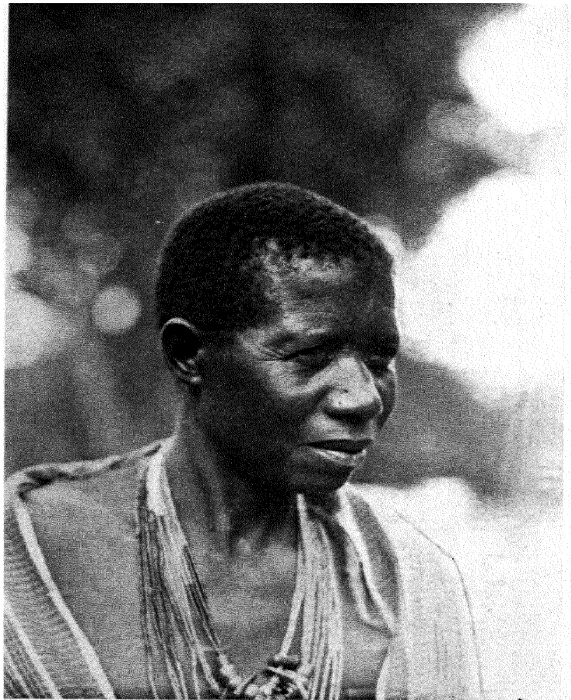
The whole of the original Shangana-Tonga group lives in Portuguese East Africa. The list and grouping of clans given of them by Junod (in his *Life of a South African Tribe*) is not altogether satisfactory, but one must add that this is due in part at least to the complexity of the situation created by the Ngoni conquerors, who purposely dismembered tribes and scattered portions of them far and wide. Generally speaking, however, it may be said that the original Shangana-Tonga group fell into three tolerably well-defined sections: Southern, Central, and Northern. To the first belong the clans of Maputa, Tembe, Mpfumo, and others, classed together by Junod under the name of Ronga. To the Central Shangana-Tonga belong the clans of Khosa, Nkuna, Mavunda, Valoyi, Maluleke, Nhlanganu, and others, classified by Junod into the sub-groups of Nwalungu, Bila, Hlanganu, and Djonga. To the Northern section belong the Hlengwe, Tswa, and others, extending far to the North and North-East.

About the early history of the Shangana-Tonga group remarkably little has been put on record. According to Junod the traditions as to the direction of immigration differ from clan to clan, some having come from the North, some from the West, and some from the South. The inference is that the immigration of the Shangana-Tonga into their present territory took place in remote times. This is supported by evidence recorded in early Portuguese writings: Junod cites the account of Perestrello (1554) as proof that "four or five hundred years ago at least, the chiefs Tembe, Mpfumu, Manhisa, Libombo, all of whom still have descendants, were already in the country round Delagoa Bay".[1] From the evidence of Shangana-Tonga culture and language it is difficult even to surmise the nature of their early history, except to say that they probably supplanted an earlier and different

[1] H. A. Junod, 1927, i, 27.

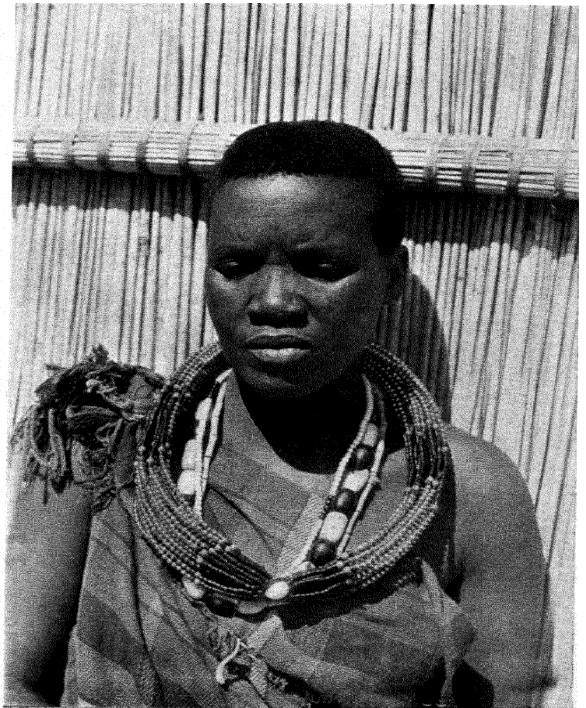
population, of which the Chopi and Tonga of Inhambane are a survival, that they enjoyed a long period of undisturbed development in their present environment, and that they may be, in origin, the closest relatives of the Nguni. But this is not quite certain, for the Shangana-Tonga were at one time a purely agricultural people, possessing no cattle; and they did not take part in that phase of Nguni development in which the languages of the latter acquired the click sounds.

After having lived undisturbed probably for centuries, the Shangana-Tonga, like the other South African Bantu tribes, were suddenly hit by the storm that arose when the rise of Zulu power caused many Nguni tribes of those parts to seek safety in flight. To the Shangana-Tonga territory came the conqueror Soshangane, with his following of Zulu-speaking tribesmen. Establishing himself in Gasaland, he proceeded to extend his rule over the Tonga tribes, while raiding, exacting tribute, and drafting their young men into his ranks in the process. After his death, his sons Mzila and Mawewe fought over the chieftainship, the former though the junior remaining victorious. His son again, Ngungunyane, was the last of the independent Ngoni kings, for his rule was overthrown by the Portuguese. From the first days of Soshangane's invasion to the end of Ngungunyane's reign, there was continual fighting and general insecurity. Many of the Tonga therefore sought safety elsewhere. It thus came about that several great emigrations took place, with a steady trickle of migration going on all the time in between. The emigrant Shangana-Tonga took the only way open to them, to the West, over the Lebombo hills into the dry low country of the Eastern Transvaal, a country they had hitherto avoided, but which, being unpopulated, offered no obstacle to their progress. Proceeding westwards from wherever they happened to be living in the present Portuguese territory, they settled all over the North-Eastern Transvaal. It is thus natural that the bulk of the Shangana-Tonga in the Northern districts should belong to the corresponding Northern sections of the Shangana-Tonga group, while those in the Eastern Transvaal are members of the Central Shangana-Tonga sub-group. The refugees came over the border in small parties, and settled down wherever they could. Very often they became the subjects of Sotho and Venda chiefs, and though the tendency to reassemble and live together was there, they usually failed to muster sufficient strength to form tribes of any importance.



[*N. J. van Warmelo*

(*a*) Venda woman



[*N. J. van Warmelo*

(*b*) Transvaal Ndebele woman

PHYSICAL TYPES

As representative of the Southern group of Shangana-Tonga there is but one tribe living within the borders of the Union, viz. Chief Mhlupheki's tribe of Tembe or (in Zulu) Mabhudu, round the west of Kosi Bay in Ingwavuma district, Zululand.

The next sub-group are the Nhlanganu of the Lowveld of Pilgrimsrest district, composed of the tribes of Šobyana, Ndjondjela and some others, whose followings are, however, much mixed with Shangana. The Shangana themselves form another sub-group. The name Shangana actually denotes only those Ngoni who came from Zululand with Soshangane (whence their name), and their descendants, who are, of course, largely of mixed blood; but it also embraces a number of Tonga who have adopted their masters' language and customs. To name these folk as members of the Nguni group is therefore only partly justified, and it is right that they should be mentioned here also. The Shangana tribes in the Transvaal are under Thulilamahashe, Gija, Bantom, and other Chiefs of more obscure descent, though with a considerable following, in Barberton district. Another sub-group is composed of the tribes living about midway, in the districts of Leydsdorp, Tzaneen, and Duivelskloof. By far the largest is the Nkuna tribe of Chief Muhlava, the others being most insignificant.

The fifth sub-group is that of the Northern Shangana-Tonga. It is composed of several fair-sized tribes under the Chiefs Mhinga, Šikundu, Šigalo, and Nwamita, as well as literally scores of small units under so-called "independent headmen", many of whom have a very small following indeed. The existence of all these tiny groups is good proof that these Shangana-Tonga actually did immigrate into the Transvaal over a long period and in the haphazard and leisurely way we have described. Their individual history has not yet been put on record.

Sotho Group

The term Sotho is used for the whole of this group because all its members, with the exception of some Tswana, call themselves baSotho. These people differ from their Nguni and Shangana-Tonga neighbours in some important respects, especially in regard to language and social organization. The group falls into three distinct sub-groups: the Southern Sotho of Basutoland and adjoining territories; the Tswana or Western Sotho; and the Eastern Sotho of the Transvaal. All these sub-groups may be further subdivided into smaller culture

areas, the transitions between which are so gradual that their boundaries are often difficult to define. The Southern Sotho sub-group as a whole is easy to define, on account of its isolation from the others; but a satisfactory dividing line between the Western and Eastern Sotho is not so easily found. Moreover the Eastern sub-group contains more diversity than any other, and the label, while convenient, is not too precise.

The early history of the Sotho tribes is still much enveloped in the haze of conjecture. That they all in the first instance came from the North is obvious, and the traditions of a number of tribes contain indications to that effect. But by what route they came, how long ago, and whether even the majority of the Sotho tribes are descended from one parent tribe is all most uncertain and doubtful. The Tswana, however, do seem to be related and to have come South in several migrations, but of many other Sotho tribes one cannot say as much, and it is hardly worth while hazarding a guess. It is not possible to connect up all the Sotho tribes with one another, even in the most fanciful genealogies. This is because there are unmistakably foreign elements amongst the Sotho, as for instance the Koni, whose name and Eastern habitat have always been accepted as evidence of Nguni origin.

Southern Sotho.

Prior to the troubled times attendant upon the rise of Shaka in Zululand, the inhabitable western part of Basutoland and the adjoining country were occupied by divers tribes, such as the Fokeng, Tlôkwa, Taung, Kwena, Kxwakxwa, Kxolokwe, Sia, and numerous others. These were all Southern Sotho, though they differed from one another in lesser points of culture and dialect, about which very little is known. The history of these tribes is admirably described by Ellenberger (*History of the Basuto*). He distinguishes between several different stocks from which the present-day Southern Sotho are descended. There were the people who had come from the West, and were therefore related to or descended from the Tswana, such as the Phuthing, Kxolokwe, Sia, and Tlôkwa, and, as later arrivals, the Lihoya (Dighoya) and Taung; and there were others who had come from the East, viz. the Phuthi, who probably formed part of the old Sotho population of Swaziland.

All these tribes lived peacefully and comparatively undisturbed until 1822, when the first fugitive Nguni hordes, fleeing from Natal,

broke over the Drakensberg into their territory, and a new era was ushered in. As elsewhere, tribes were ousted from their homes and began to wander about. Political chaos and famine reigned. The Tlôkwa under Mantatise set out on a career of rapine and conquest, but ended up by sustaining great losses themselves. Sebetwane and his followers trekked northwards through Bechuanaland and the Kalahari until they reached the upper waters of the Zambesi. Here they founded the so-called Kololo kingdom of Barotseland, in which Southern Sotho language and custom still survive to a considerable extent. Meanwhile in Basutoland itself Moshesh followed another course. With great political wisdom he accepted all stray people who came to him for protection, warded off the attacks of Mzilikazi's Ndebele, built up a great tribe, and, extending his rule, founded what we know to-day as the " Basuto Nation ". At one time probably all the Southern Sotho were under his control. This ceased when the boundaries of Basutoland were defined. Since that day the Sotho in the Orange Free State have lived a detribalized existence, with the exception of the two tribes in the Witzieshoek reserve. The few tribes resident in the Transkei remained under chiefs.

The policy of Moshesh and his successors was to put their kinsmen in charge of areas, as governors, all over the country. This favoured the general trend of development towards uniformity in custom and language. The process is not yet complete, but its end is in sight. To name, to define, and to classify the tribes constituting the Southern Sotho sub-group cannot therefore be done satisfactorily. There are a great many chiefs of varying rank, many of whom are kin of the Paramount Chief, the lineal successor of Moshesh. Others are descended from the royal houses of formerly independent tribes. The following of all chiefs is mixed up to some extent, but that of a great number is so mixed that it is hardly possible to indicate which elements preponderate. Chiefs with large tribes of this description are, for instance, the Paramount Chief himself and Seeiso, both in Maseru district, and Tsepo Nkuebe and Solomon, both of Quthing district.

A large number of Kwena are found under Chiefs Mopeli of Buthabuthe, Motsoene of Leribe, Sekhonyana and Khoabane of Maseru, and many other minor chiefs, as well as under Jeremiah Moshesh and Khorong Lebenya in the Transkei. There we also find the large Hlakwana tribe under Motheo Sibi. The Fokeng live mostly in the North, in Berea and Mafeteng districts. The Kxwakxwa (Khoakhoa)

under Matumane and the Kxolokwe (Kholokoe) under Qobela live in Buthabuthe district. Tribes of Sia and Taung are found especially in Mafeteng. The very mountainous parts of Eastern Basutoland have been partly occupied in more recent years by a mixed population drawn from all tribes; but the districts in question (Qacha's Nek and Mokhotlong) also harbour the Tlôkwa of Mosuwe. Another branch of Tlôkwa lives in Mount Fletcher district under Chief Scanlen Lehana. The Phuthi are represented by the large tribe of Chief Bereng in Mohales Hoek, by some other small ones in Quthing, and by some groups living in the Transkei, where they are subject to chiefs not of their own tribe.

In the Northern districts, finally, are a number of tribes known as Têbêlê, under such chiefs as Bošwane (Boshoane) in Leribe and Berea, Madihotetso in Leribe, and others. They are people of Nguni extraction who settled in these parts very long ago, and have in part adopted the customs and language of their Sotho neighbours. Little more is known about them, their history also being practically unrecorded.

Western Sotho.

This sub-group includes all the Tswana tribes, together with a number of tribes in the Western Transvaal which are themselves uncertain whether they should be termed Tswana or not. The Tswana proper, living all along the fringe of the Kalahari, comprise the Thlaping; the Thlaro; the Rolong, represented by four sections, viz. the Ratlou, Rathsidi, Seleka (at Thabanchu in the Orange Free State), and Rapulane, the largest being the Rathsidi Rolong of Chief Monthsiwa in Mafeking district; the Huruthse in Zeerust and Rustenburg districts; some small sections like the Kubung, Noxeng, and Kolobeng; and the powerful tribes farther north in Bechuanaland Protectorate, viz. the Kwena at Molepolole, Ngwaketse at Kanye, Ngwato at Serowe, and an offshoot of the latter, the Tawana, now living at Lake Ngami. The Ngwato rule over a number of small tribes, whom they found already in occupation of the country, and to whom they are not related, such as the Kaa and Phaleng at Shoshong, the Khuruthse, the Matswapong, and some Shona (who are not of Tswana stock).

Amongst those Western Sotho tribes whose Tswana identity is uncertain, but whose affinities all point to the West, may be mentioned the Kxatla, represented by the baxaKxafêla at Mochudi and Pilansberg in the West, the Mmakau and Mosêthla in the centre (Pretoria),

the Mothša in the East (Hamanskraal), and some smaller sections; the Fokeng or Kwena of Rustenburg, and several other Kwena tribes in the same district (Mmanamela, Modimosana, Mmatau, etc.); the Lete (baxaMmalete) at Ramoutsa in the Protectorate and in Zeerust district; the Phalane or Tlase; the Phiring; the Taung; the Thlako; the Pô; the Tlôkwa (mostly in Rustenburg, but with an outlier at Gaberones); and the Hlalerwa. The Hwaduba in Hamanskraal district belong in origin to the Transvaal Ndebele, but have so far conformed to the ways of their neighbours that they must also be mentioned here.

The history of all these tribes is imperfectly recorded and scant in volume. It appears that many centuries ago the first Tswana came southwards along the edge of the Kalahari. At first they arrived in small numbers and, finding the Bushmen in occupation, mingled with and became almost merged in them, the present-day maSarwa being their descendants. Other early Tswana immigrants degenerated into the Kxalaxadi of to-day. Of the Dighoya, probably Tswana, and still visited by Arbousset and Daumas in 1834, no trace remains. The advent of the bulk of the Tswana, from whom the present-day tribes are descended, must also date back to many centuries ago. There are traditions according to which the Ngwaketse, Kwena, and Ngwato are descended from one original tribe, and other traditions connect this latter with the Huruthse and Rolong. The Huruthse, it may be added, take precedence amongst all these tribes. There is, of course, some truth in these traditions, which are, however, on the whole only of the vaguest description. The same applies to the history of the tribes farther east, for though of late many items of interest regarding the Kwena tribes of the Rustenburg area have been published in the vernacular, there is little or nothing of importance available about the Kxatla and other tribes mentioned above.

Transvaal (Eastern) Sotho.

This sub-group consists of a large main body and several smaller members which, being numerically so weak, have not hitherto received much attention. The bulk consists of the tribes of the centre, viz. those of Sekukuniland, Pokwani, and neighbouring districts. These are the Pedi and those other tribes, either loosely called Pedi or speaking the Pedi language, which have been under Pedi control and influence for a long time, such as the Tau, Kwena (Mongatane and Kôpa), Ntwane, Koni (both those offshoots of Matlala's who migrated

hither from Pietersberg, and those numerous other small groups with the totems *tlou*, *phiri*, *phuthi*, *nare*, *kwena*, *nkwe*, *tau* and *thšwene*, which are of quite different origin), and the Rôka from across the Olifants River. Farther north, in Pietersburg district, are the tribes of Mphathlêlê, Thšwene, Mathabatha, Matlala and Dikxale, all of them Koni from the East, who scaled the mountains round Haenertsburg and settled on the plains of Pietersburg. There are further the Molêpo, the Tlôkwa and some Birwa (from South-Western Rhodesia), and the big tribes of Moletše (Kwena) and Xananwa of Blauwberg.

Smaller subsections of the Transvaal Sotho, showing various peculiar characteristics, are found in the extreme North-East and East of the Sotho area. In the North-East are the Phalaborwa, the tribes of Mašišimala, of Mamidja and of Sekôrôrô. The latter are, according to tradition, of Shona origin, and with them therefore the related Letswalo, who now live in the Woodbush. Finally there are the Kxaxa, Mmamabolo's people, and the half-dozen tribes of Lobedu who have the wild boar (*kolobe*) as totem and are more closely related to the Venda than any other Sotho tribes. In the extreme East is a subdivision formed by the Kutswe, Pai, and Pulana tribes, all except the first being represented by numerous small independent sections. They live in or just below the Drakensberg escarpment in Pilgrimsrest district.

The tribes collectively termed Pedi have had a common history. The Maroteng, a small tribe of Kxatla origin, made its appearance in Sekukuniland and gradually subjected all the tribes living there. Zulu and Swazi raids almost entirely overthrew this kingdom, but Pedi power rose to fresh strength during the course of last century. The history and origins of the tribes thus subjected by the Pedi, largely Tau and Koni, has only just been touched upon but not yet adequately investigated. Of the Tau it is said that they were originally Swazi, while the very name of the Koni indicates that they are of Ngoni origin, but beyond that we know little or nothing. With the northernmost tribes, matters are equally complicated, for while the Koni of Matlala and related tribes come from the East, other tribes appear to have immigrated from the South, others from the South-West, and the origin of still others remains quite obscure. None of these tribes seems to have come directly from the North, except the Letswalo, who claim a Shona origin. The Phalaborwa again are most certainly a people from the East. It is therefore a highly debatable question how many of these tribes actually are of Sotho stock. On

the other hand, there is little doubt that the small extreme Eastern group, where the dialects for instance present a striking departure from normal Sotho, are nevertheless true Sotho, and furthermore that they are the survivors of the old Sotho population of Swaziland, to which reference has already been made.

Venda Group

This group is distinguished by a language peculiar to themselves, though reminiscent of both Sotho and Karanga, and by a culture sufficiently characteristic to separate them clearly from other Southern Bantu. The bulk of the Venda appear to have dwelt in the mountains of the Zoutpansberg from the earliest times, as they do to-day. They are a timid, secretive people, and it seems that in their secluded retreat they have been the guardians of much that is archaic, both in language and culture. They were shielded from foreign influences by isolation. The whole country to the south-east of the Zoutpansberg was devoid of population until occupied by the Shangana-Tonga immigrants less than a century ago, while the vast area north of the mountains remains virtually uninhabited to this day. The only line of contact with other people, therefore, was to the South and South-West.

To the South the Venda appear to have extended their domain for a considerable distance. There used to be colonies of them as far as the Woodbush, amongst Mmamabolo's tribe. In a sense the latter, together with the other *kolobe* (wild boar) tribes of that area, may be regarded as related to the Venda, but the exact nature of that relationship cannot yet be defined. These southernmost Venda of Groot Spelonken, Tzaneen, and Pietersburg district, who were living far from the Zoutpansberg mountains, could not retreat thither when the Shangana-Tonga immigration commenced; and in the end their culture and language were swamped, so that little remains of either. Most Venda Chiefs living along the southern boundaries of Louis Trichardt and Sibasa districts also count numerous Shangana-Tonga amongst their following; and since, as a rule, the Venda are no match for the enterprising Shangana-Tonga, the result here also has been a serious decay of Venda culture. In the south-west, too, the Venda have been affected in both language and culture by prolonged and fairly close contacts with the northernmost Sotho tribes, mostly Tlôkwa.

We may therefore divide the Venda into three sub-groups:

Western, which has been subject to Sotho influences; Southern, which has historical associations with the North-Eastern Sotho tribes, and more recently has been in intensive contact with Shangana-Tonga immigrants, with whom otherwise they have little or nothing in common; and Eastern, which has been fortunate enough to escape being influenced in any way whatever, except of course by the thin trickle of immigrants and traders from the North and East, an influence so weak that it escapes detection and is lost to tradition. This last sub-group has therefore been able to keep traditional Venda culture almost intact.

Amongst the Venda, far more than anywhere else in South Africa, the Chief and his clan are something apart from the rest of the tribe. The royal clans of the Venda are, with few exceptions, genealogically related to one another, since most of them claim descent from a somewhat legendary chief, Thoho-ya-Ndou, about whom there are many stories. His ancestors according to tradition crossed the Limpopo from Rhodesia, and took possession of the country. They and their descendants are really the Venda people. They found others in occupation already, for instance the big tribe of Lwamondo, and the Ngoṇa, who survive in little more than name. Mphaphuli's people again are said to have some sort of Nguni origin, hailing from somewhere in the South or South-East. Only the smallest fragment of the history of all these different tribes has been collected. Such early history as still lingers refers almost exclusively to the affairs of the royal house, for commoners do not count. Indeed the tribal divisions are to such a small extent also cultural divisions that one might truly say that the Venda have been cut up into tribes for the benefit of the ruling houses. The relations between tribes are governed by the feuds or friendships existing between their respective royal houses, and a tribe consists merely of all those who happen to own allegiance to a particular dynasty. The Venda tribes, unlike many of the Sotho tribes, do not differ amongst themselves. There is nothing distinctive about a tribe as such, and in consequence even tribal names are lacking. The adherents of a certain Chief are simply known as his people. The Chief's name, however, is one which is automatically assumed by each successor to office, so that the name of the tribe does not change.

The Western Venda sub-group is composed of the tribes of Chief Mphefu and his relatives, Chiefs Sinthumule and Kutame, and the smaller tribe of Musekwa. While Mphefu and about a third of his

people live in a reserve in the Nzhelele valley, the remainder live scattered about on European-owned lands, both to the west and south-west of the reserve, where they are in contact with the neighbouring Sotho, and in and along the mountains to the South and South-East where there is contact with the Shangana-Tonga. Mphefu also has more than half a dozen Sotho headmen with their followings subject to him.

The Eastern sub-group, who have been least subject to foreign influences and are no doubt the purest Venda to-day, include the tribes of Chiefs Tshivhase, Mphaphuli, Lwamondo, Rambuḓa, Ṋe-Thengwe, and Khakhu, all of whom have reserves, and the smaller tribes of Chiefs Madzivhanḓila, Mugivhi, and Ṋe-Tsianḓa, who have no land of their own, and have accordingly forsaken Venda custom to some extent.

The Southern Venda, as explained above, were formerly linked up with the tribes farther south, and are now without exception in close contact with Shangana-Tonga or Sotho or both, the very tribes themselves being partly composed of these elements. This sub-group is composed of the tribes of the following Chiefs, none of whom is really of much importance: Rasengane, Nngwekhulu, Tshimbupfe, Masia, and Mashau. The followings of men like Nthabalala, Masakona, Molema, Mashamba, and Magoro are so mixed that occasionally one is in doubt whether the name of Venda may still be applied to them.

Lemba

The Lemba are a small people numbering probably not more than some hundreds of adult males in the Union (chiefly in Zoutpansberg district); while in Southern Rhodesia, according to Mr. F. Posselt, there may be about 1,500 males, mostly in Belingwe district, but also in Marandellas and Victoria. In the Union they have no Chief of their own, but live scattered about amongst the Venda, to whose Chiefs they are subject.

About the history of the Lemba nothing definite is known. They are strongly suspected of being Semitic in origin. The reasons for this belief are, amongst others, that they speak, not Venda as one would expect, but a dialect of Karanga, obviously acquired during a sojourn farther north; and that their features, though of course dark, are distinctly non-Negro. They eat no pork, nor any animal which has not been kosher-killed by a slitting of the throat; and they do not

intermarry with those not of their race, all such being called *vhasenzi*, which is identical with *washenzi*, a word used along the east coast for " wild folk, pagans ". They live by barter only, and used to be the best craftsmen in metal work and pottery. It is also said that they were the first to introduce circumcision: at all events, Lemba men certainly do often take a leading part in these rites.

Chapter IV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

By A. Winifred Hoernlé

Introduction

The Bantu peoples have been divided, in the previous chapter, into five groups of tribes, on the basis of data partly geographical, partly linguistic, partly historical, and partly cultural. Each of these groups has sub-groups within it. We shall, therefore, expect to find the greatest degree of cultural similarity between tribes belonging to the same sub-group; minor cultural differences between one sub-group and another; and major cultural differences between the basic groups. At the same time, even the basic groups have certain types of institution in common, though these appear in each group in distinctive forms.

In the present chapter, we shall study those institutions which together constitute what is known as "social organization" or "social structure". By this is meant the more or less permanent framework of relationships between the members of a community which manifests itself in an ordered group-life, with reciprocal rights and duties, privileges and obligations, of members, determining behaviour-patterns[1] for each individual member towards other members, and moulding the feelings, thoughts, and conduct of members according to these patterns, so that it is only in and through them that the individual can achieve his personal self-realization and participate in the satisfactions offered by the life of his community.

This framework of social organization, or social structure, is permanent compared with the stream of human lives that, in the succession of generations, flows through it. Each new generation finds it there, as an inheritance from untold generations of its predecessors. Yet the framework of social structure is not absolutely rigid or fixed for all time, but is itself a thing of growth, capable of

[1] This term is especially applied to rules of behaviour between kinsmen of different degrees.

variation in detail, sometimes giving birth to new developments, at other times undergoing disintegration and decay.

We shall deal, first with the general, or fundamental, organizing principles common to the social structure of all Bantu groups, and then go on to study the distinctive modifications with which these general principles are worked out in the social organizations of different groups. One of these groups, the Nguni, with its subdivisions, we shall study in most detail, to have a pattern of reference, as it were, for the points in which the social organization of other groups differs from theirs.

The organizing principles underlying the institutions of the Southern Bantu are to-day, as is shown in later chapters, being subjected to considerable strain under the impact of Western Civilization, but they still, to a large extent, control the communal life of the Bantu. Hence, this chapter will be written in the present tense.

Common Characteristics

The Tribe.

The most characteristic all-inclusive grouping among the Bantu is undoubtedly the *tribe* or *chiefdom*, though organizations on a national scale are by no means unknown among them. Some of these tribes number no more than a few hundred, the majority perhaps a few thousand, while a few are somewhat larger. In Zululand and the Transkei, some tribes have claimed a membership of more than ten thousand at various periods of their history, while the more important Tswana tribes have on the average between ten and twenty thousand members each.

Each tribe is, in the main, a body of kinsmen, all believing in their descent from a common far-off ancestor from whom the chief can claim most direct descent, according to the system of reckoning descent recognized by the people. But probably it would have been, even in the very early days, difficult to find a tribe consisting exclusively of people recognized as kinsmen. Even in the small original tribe of Zulu, with its 2,000 tribesmen and its few dependent clans, we hear in the days of Senzangakona (born *c.* 1757) of at least two groups of non-related people having been absorbed, the Nzuza of Sotho extraction and the Ntuli of the Bhele tribe.[1]

Membership of a tribe is determined, therefore, more by allegiance

[1] Cf. A. T. Bryant, 1929, 57, 58.

to a chief than by birth, and the unity of the tribe depends fundamentally on the common loyalty of the tribesmen to their chief. Chieftainship in consequence is a very important institution in the whole political life of the people. A popular chief gradually enlarges his tribe by accession of refugees from other chiefs, while an unpopular one loses his adherents and becomes "chief of the pumpkins", as a picturesque Native saying puts it.

The Household.

Within the tribe, the outstanding social unit is the *household*, a group consisting typically of a man with his wife or wives and dependent children, together with any other relatives or unrelated dependants who may be attached to him, but composed frequently also of other combinations of close relatives.

In the Nguni and Tonga tribes these household groups are also the local units. They are scattered over the tribal territory in fairly small settlements or kraals (Zulu, *umuzi*; Xhosa, *umzi*), distributed irregularly at some little distance apart, and generally situated near a stream or on the slope of a hill. Next to the kraal are the gardens cultivated by its inhabitants, while their cattle graze on the common pastures in the vicinity. Within this household, the individual family—or rather a mother and her children—stands out definitely as a group apart, inhabiting its own home (Zulu, *indlu*). For the Bantu universally allow polygyny in their social system, and a fair proportion of elderly men have several wives, as well as other dependants living in their household with them. Nowhere are these wives equal. "Bantu social structure knows no equals. . . . The first born of the same parents is always the superior of those born after him,"[1] and this superiority is extended to his descendants with varying consistency among different tribes. "Children of the several wives of a polygamist take their status from their mother. No co-wife of a polygamist is the equal of a co-wife, but their rank is not determined in the same way everywhere."[2] The different systems will be described presently.

The Sub-District and District.

A number of these kraals, grouped together on the same hill-ridge or in the same river valley, form a distinct social unit which we may call a *sub-district* (Zulu, *isigodi*; Xhosa, *ibandla*), with its own

[1] N. J. van Warmelo, 1931, 11. [2] van Warmelo, loc. cit.

recognized administrative and judicial system under a headman (Zulu, *unumʇana*). Varying numbers of these sub-districts are grouped together into larger *districts* (Zulu, *isifunda*; Xhosa, greater *ibandla*), and all come under the jurisdiction of the Chief, who himself controls such a district and appoints or confirms subordinates in all the others. In the Sotho tribes, the people tend to collect together in villages including a number of different household groups. In Basutoland and the Transvaal these villages are numerous and as a rule fairly small, including, say, from ten to fifty independent households. In Bechuanaland, on the other hand, the members of each tribe live for the most part in one large central town and several much smaller outlying villages.[1] The central towns, where the chiefs of the tribes have their headquarters, are often of considerable size, their population running into several thousands. Owing to this mode of settlement, which is determined largely by the scarcity of surface water and the consequent necessity of congregating together at suitable spots, the cultivated lands of each town are generally some distance away, extending as broad belts for many miles across country, while the cattle are kept at special grazing posts, often a day's journey away by foot Whatever the form of settlement, however, each household group is always clearly marked off from the rest.

The Kin—(i) Relatives by Blood.

Beyond the intimate circle of the household there is the wider circle of the *kin*, relatives either by birth (blood) or by marriage. A child begins with relatives by descent only; and these are always bilateral, relatives through the father, and relatives through the mother. It is only upon the child's own marriage that he acquires relatives-in-law of his own. The attitude of his parents to their relatives by blood and by marriage undoubtedly forms an important basis for the behaviour patterns built up between the children and their kin. Kinship bonds play a part of paramount importance in the lives of the people. None of the tribes has any great degree of economic division of labour. Each household is to a very great extent a replica of every other, so that economic interdependence is not one of the main principles of linking different households together. Instead, kinship bonds, bonds of common descent, ramify through the country and link together those, wherever they may be, who claim common descent from an ancestor, be that on the paternal or the maternal side. This

[1] I. Schapera, "The Old Bantu Culture," in Schapera, 1934, 7.

fundamental system of grouping is the same for all the tribes and so is perhaps best described here.

The type of behaviour expected of the members of a family towards one another is much more clearly defined and more similar throughout Bantu society than is the case in modern European society. In all tribes, the newly-founded family normally takes up its residence among the relatives of the husband, and the chief control over the children belongs by custom and in law to the father and his kin. Discipline and authority, economic duties, legal affiliations, and controls, therefore, play a great part in determining the behaviour of children to their father and his kin, while affection and love find less restraint in the relation of the children to their mother and her kin.

The father is undoubted head of his family and has complete authority over his children as long as they remain in his household, and even afterwards in lesser degree. If head of the household, he controls the land and the animals to a very large extent, and he directs the lives of all his subordinates. He is responsible to the outside world for all the actions of the members of his household, protecting them when they are in trouble and answering for their misdeeds. He is their representative at the tribal courts and is the intermediary between them and the world of ancestral spirits. Respect, deference, and even awe, are noticeable in the behaviour of his children towards him. The same characteristics may be found, also, in the behaviour of the wife towards her husband, however much this may be mitigated by true devotion between them.

Between the mother and her children there commonly grow up in Bantu society the deepest bonds of affection known to these people. Obedience and respect for the mother are demanded, but pure unselfish love really dominates her attitude to her children. She is devoted to their welfare, watching over them and protecting them in all aspects of their lives. Not so much obedience, therefore, but an ever-present expectancy of consideration dominates the attitude of the children to their mother.

Among the children a strict hierarchy prevails, based on the seniority which serves as a fundamental principle of behaviour in Bantu society. The elder brother always takes precedence between brothers, and so, too, between sisters the privilege of age is maintained. Between brothers and sisters the sex differentiation often dominates the behaviour. Sisterhood and brotherhood most often overrule age differences, and there is a prescribed type of behaviour for a brother

towards his sister and vice versa. Ties of affection link these people together through life, though in some tribes the marriage arrangements may bring about strain through a son's marriage depending on the *lobola* (or *boxadi*) cattle obtained for his sister.[1]

Outside this intimate circle of the immediate family, the same principles of kinship and seniority hold sway. The father forms one of a close-knit group with his brothers. The latter are everywhere grouped under a kinship term which we may translate " father " ; and these " fathers " are distinguished as " great " or " little " fathers, according as they are older or younger than the child's own father. To them, as a group, the same general deference and obedience are due as to the father, mitigated somewhat for the younger ones, and modified naturally by the experiences of life according to temperament and general closeness of contact.

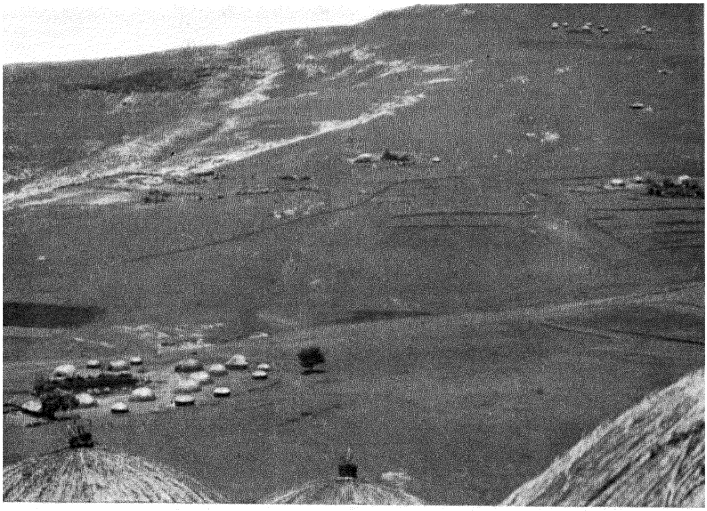
If all these men are a child's " fathers ", their children are all his " brothers and sisters ". The child behaves towards them on the same general principles that he has learnt to practise towards his blood brothers and sisters in the intimate circle of family and household life, subject to the principle of seniority. This is sometimes counted on the basis of physiological age, sometimes on the basis of the status of the parents, irrespective of the age of the children themselves. The same general system applies to the children of a number of sisters, and justifies the statement that " parallel cousins ", i.e. children of brothers on the one hand and children of sisters on the other, behave towards each other like blood brothers and sisters.

The behaviour to a father's sister is definitely controlled by her membership of the same family as the father. If he is " father ", she is " female father ", with the same background and traditions as he. She knows the peculiar ways and traditions of the paternal home far better than the mother is thought to do, so that on important occasions she may be called in to see that family ways are maintained. The most formalized relationship between such women and their brother's children is probably to be found among the Tonga and Venda.

A maternal uncle similarly plays his part in the lives of his sister's children, on the basis of the behaviour controlling his relation to his sister. If she is " mother ", he is " male mother " (*malume*) in most of the tribes, a relative of the mother's family of the same generation as she, and sharing in the whole gentle protective attitude of the mother to her children. His role is more formalized in the Sotho, Venda,

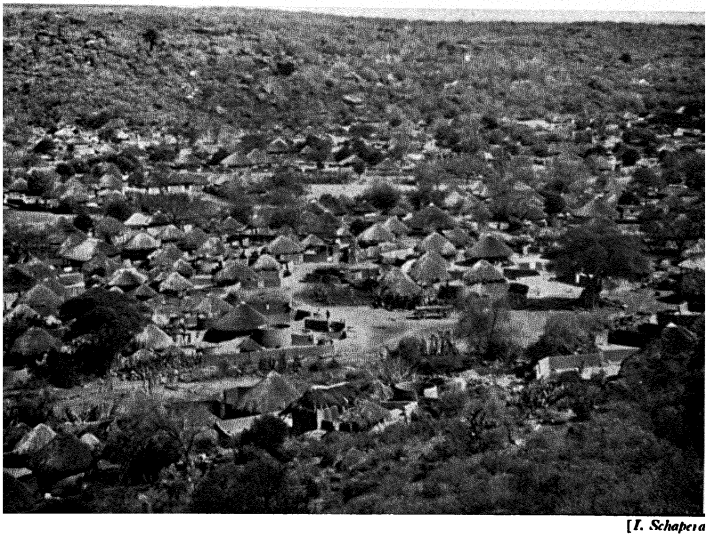
[1] See below, pp. 113 f.

PLATE V



[*S.A.R. and H.*

(*a*) Swazi kraals



[*I. Schapera*

(*b*) Mochudi village, Kxatla Reserve, B.P.

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[*face p.* 72

(*a*) Natal Nguni [*S.A.R. and H.*

(*b*) Transvaal Sotho [*N. J. van Warmelo*
(Kxaxa of Mphathlcla's Location, Pietersburg)

NATIVE HOMESTEADS

and Tonga groups than among the Nguni, for in these groups the families of brother and sister are drawn together in marriage, while in the Nguni tribes no marriage is allowed with a blood relative less than at least four generations removed, be it on the father's side or on the mother's. This difference in the attitude to "cross-cousins", i.e. the children of a brother and a sister, ramifies in very important ways throughout the whole of social behaviour.

Grandparents are inclined to spoil their grandchildren everywhere, and the Bantu are no exception to this rule. But the patrilineal principles which play so big a part among these people, giving the father's relatives the greater responsibility in the bringing-up and control of the children, tend to make the paternal grandparents stricter and more critical of the behaviour of their grandchildren than is necessary in the case of the maternal grandparents.

Here, then, is a large body of kin drawn intimately into contact with the lives of each generation. Looking out of the world from his own home, the Bantu child knows where he may seek hospitality and succour of every kind; where, also, he may of right be called upon to render assistance in case of need. The barriers of reserve shutting off human beings from one another are largely down so far as these classes of relatives are concerned, so that for economic assistance, for friendly counsel, in time of sorrow and in time of joy, these are the natural categories of people to turn to, the core of people with whom one is close-knit from birth in a web of reciprocal rights and duties.

The Kin—(ii) Relatives by Marriage.

Marriage being a contract between two families as much as between the two individuals chiefly concerned, the behaviour of a large number of people to one another is changed by each marriage that takes place. In principle, the behaviour of people related to one another by marriage is somewhat restrained and strictly regulated. Relatives by marriage, when they meet at each others' homes, behave most formally and correctly. Meat and beer are prepared as for honoured guests, but often there is no intimacy and ease of real human affection. This formal behaviour applies especially to relatives older than the husband or wife, contact with juniors being in all cases much less strained. Correct behaviour is especially demanded of a man towards his mother-in-law and of a woman to her father-in-law and all men of his status. In the Nguni tribes, the behaviour especially of wives to their elder relatives-in-law is so strictly regulated that there is a special term,

hlonipha, for this behaviour. *Hlonipha* affects all aspects of a married woman's life, regulating her movements about the household into which she is married, her liberty in eating, even her vocabulary for everyday things.

Other Groupings.

Other forms of organization, universal among these tribes, are more formal descent-groups, such as *lineage*, *clan*, *kxôrô*, and also groups based on age and, in a less organized manner, on sex. It is on one or other of these types of grouping that the military organization rests; but, as there are differences from group to group, these types of social structure are best dealt with separately for the different groups. Social groups for fellow-craftsmen are so casual that they are hardly to be called formally organized groups.

Nguni Group

The Nguni must be clearly distinguished from all other groups of tribes in their social organization, in that they rigidly prohibit marriage, or sexual relations of any kind, with people related through any of the four grandparents. This fundamental rule has most important repercussions through the social structure. In these tribes also we find the most complicated organizations of the household. The social system of the Zululand tribes was subjected to a severe strain through the wars of Shaka and his immediate successors, and many of the fundamental institutions were developed there in somewhat novel ways, whereas the Southern Nguni, in spite of the disturbances which eruptions of people from the North brought in their train, and in spite of the many wars waged between Bantu and European, have preserved their social system in a less altered form. It will, therefore, be as well to describe the Southern Nguni system first, and then indicate the differences which we find farther north, without, however, implying that the Northern Nguni system is a development from precisely the situation which we find among the Southern Nguni.

(*a*) *Southern Nguni*

Umʇi.

Among all the Southern Nguni tribes, we find that each household (*umʇi*) is an independent territorial settlement with its own name.

In each the cattle kraal forms the pivot of the arrangement of the huts. The principal hut of the household faces the entrance to the cattle kraal; and the space between them, the *ikundla* (courtyard), is essentially private to the owners of the *umʐi*, those there by right of birth. In a semi-circle to either side of this chief hut are ranged the other huts of the *umʐi*. Formerly the *umʐi* tended to be larger than it is to-day. It consisted then of a patriarch with his wives and dependent children, his married sons with their families, and possibly also unrelated married dependants (Xhosa, *iʐinduna*). An *umʐi*, then, might contain twenty to forty adult men related in the male line, each with his family, whereas to-day " an average *umʐi* contains four to five adults, and four children." [1] The basic characteristic of this *umʐi* is the overwhelming stressing of the bonds linking the adult males and all the children, through the emphasis put on descent from a patrilineal ancestor. Though from one point of view we have in this settlement a number of " families " represented by the living-huts (*iʐindlu*) of the married women, from another point of view we have a group of close-knit relatives guarding their lineage traditions against " outsiders ", i.e. the women brought by marriage into the lineage.

Polygyny is an ideal which every well-established man strives to attain, and the more important households reveal a complex grouping of wives. The first wife married is always the principal wife (*inkosikaʐi*), except in the case of a chief, whose principal wife is often chosen only after he is well-established in the chieftainship, and whose *khaʐi* cattle are collected from all the principal households of the tribe. Among the other wives, one other stands out in the typical polygynous household. She is the " right-hand wife " (*umfaʐi wasekunene*), so called from the position of her huts in the household, the Xhosa counting right and left from the point of view of a person who looks out from the hut door towards the cattle kraal.[2] Any other wives married are affiliated to the principal wives as subordinates and are called *Qadi*. Each family, or " house " (*indlu*), whether principal or supporting, forms an independent unit with its own property, except in the case of a " seed-bearer ", who may be married if the wife of a principal house proves to be barren. The house of a woman so married has no independent property, and any children she bears are regarded

[1] Cf. M. Hunter (1936), 15, and also for whole detail of description.

[2] The Zulu distinguish right and left from the point of view of one looking up into the *umʐi* from the cattle-kraal gate. Thus, what is the " right-hand " section for the Xhosa is the " left-hand " section for the Zulu.

as the children of the woman for whom she is " seed-bearer ".[1] An important chief may have yet another type of wife. He marries a woman, the *ixiba* or *isiqinda* wife, and places her, together with dependants, within the principal *umqi* (or an *umqi* called by the same name) of his father, or grandfather, or other important relative, and thus keeps " alive " a household with which much of tribal history is closely linked.

Among the Xhosa tribes, the widows of a man usually remain at their late husband's *umqi*. Any children they bear at his kraal after his death have the same status as children begotten by him. Many widows, however, establish a separate *umqi* with their grown-up sons and each becomes the principal woman in her *umqi*, while yet others return to their childhood homes (*kaya*) where they join the ranks of the numerous group of *dikaqi*, i.e. husbandless women (whether unmarried, divorced, or widowed) who have borne children. Such women, living with their own relatives, have a much easier time than do women living with their husbands among relatives by marriage. Among the Mpondo and related tribes, the widow, if still of child-bearing age, is taken by the male next-of-kin to her husband (father and ascending kin excepted). Any children born of this union are regarded as children of the original husband. This is the custom of *ukungena*.

The two principal wives, together with their supporting wives, may each have quite a large section of the *umqi* within which to some extent life runs separately; or, when there is a grown-up son in the right-hand house, or this section of the household is that of a chief, a separate *umqi* may be founded for it at some distance from the principal *umqi*, or even in some different part of the country. Each *umqi* has its own name, and each important family hut within it may have its own name. The principal son of the family of the *umqi* has the right to use this name, and many names of *umqi* of important chiefs have become the distinguishing names of groups of people, since the adherents of a headman or chief may call themselves by the name of the headquarters of their leader. This is true also of the Northern Nguni tribes.

Within the *umqi*, great or small, the principles of conduct already described are constantly at work—the principle of seniority; the principle of the categories of blood kin, with distinctive patterns

[1] W. T. Brownlee, " The Transkeian Territories of South Africa," *J. Afr. Soc.*, xxiv (1924–5), 116.

of behaviour towards each category; the principle of sex differences; the principle of distinction between kin by blood and kin by marriage.

Unless she is the *inkosikaẓi* of an *umẓi*, a woman has a large duty of *hlonipha* to the family into which she has married. She must not intrude upon the men's side of the hut; she must not cross the courtyard past this side of the hut; she must not unnecessarily cross the courtyard itself or enter the cattle kraal. She must not mention the personal names of the elder relatives of her husband or of her husband himself; nor even use words containing the principal syllables of their names. She must defer to them in every way. Should she meet them in the pathway, she steps aside; she does not eat freely with them nor appear in working undress before them until she is thoroughly established in the *umẓi* by bearing children for them. Until special ceremonies are performed to release her from the restriction, she does not drink milk nor eat meat at her husband's home. These eating restrictions may be abandoned after the performance of an appropriate ceremony, but those of speech and behaviour remain until a woman is head of her own *umẓi*.

Co-wives of a polygynist may have a strong fellow-feeling for one another. They are subject to the same restrictions; they share in the maintenance of the domestic life and care of the children throughout the *umẓi*. Yet, beneath this co-operation, there is the still more closely-knit little group within each *indlu*, the group of a mother and her children; and the supreme aim of a woman's life is to further the interests of her own children first and foremost. There is, therefore, an underlying tension and strain between the families of an *umẓi*, which often reveals itself in mutual accusations of sorcery and witchcraft.

Whilst the *umẓi* is thus to a large extent a little world of its own, with the head (*unumẓana*) controlling the conduct and fortunes of its members, it is also the smallest link in the chain of other types of organization which play important roles in the life of the community.

Ibandla and Ikundla.

The group of people living in an *umẓi* of some size constitutes what is known as the *ibandla* of the *umẓi* head. The adult men, especially, form a distinct social unit for many community purposes. In economic undertakings, on social occasions, for legal obligations, in the army, this little group constitutes the smallest unit of organization and is treated as a whole.

A number of households, generally closely related to one another and living in a conveniently marked-off area, such as a valley or ridge of a hill, constitutes the next group in the territorial, social, and political hierarchy. This little group of households, but chiefly the adult men thereof, constitutes a "great *ibandla*", that of a petty chief—perhaps the head of the principal clan represented in the cluster of households; perhaps a friend or dependant of the Paramount Chief, or some remote relative of his who has been given this small district to control. The *umzi* of the petty chief is called the *ikundla* of the district. It is the social, administrative, judicial, and military centre of the little area.

Many of these little districts are organized into a few much larger districts, known also as *umhlaba* or *ibandla*.[1] The headquarters of a chief, either a member of the ruling clan of the Paramount Chief, or the head of a clan which has *khonza*, i.e. submitted to the supremacy of the Paramount Chief in return for domicile in his area, is the organizing centre of this area, and the people in it constitute the *ibandla* of the chief. At the head of the whole hierarchy comes the Paramount Chief, with all his tribesmen organized into *amabandla*[2] under him.

The *amabandla* of the Paramount Chief are organized in the following way. The tribal area is divided out among different "houses" of the Chief, who has several household settlements in different parts of the country. The principal son of each house (or his descendant) claims all the people in his district as his *ibandla*, and these may be organized into several minor *amabandla* under sub-chiefs and headmen. Dues in meat, beer, and labour, which are owed to the Paramount Chief, are paid not to his far distant headquarters, but to the member of his family representing him in the area. Headship of an *ibandla* is inherited, but the area controlled by the head of an *ibandla* is not a fixed unit. If people do not like the head of their *ibandla*, they may take their dues and their cases to the next headman, and if this becomes a custom his area will be enlarged, that of his rival decreased. In course of time, there may be a reorganization of the headship, since each succeeding chief has sons to place, and often puts a member of his own immediate family in the area controlled by descendants of his brothers or other remote relatives. These latter then sink to the rank of sub-chiefs, and the more immediate

[1] The term *umhlaba* is sometimes used as referring to the territorial area; whereas *ibandla* refers to the group of human beings.

[2] Plural of *ibandla*.

representative of the Paramount Chief controls the area, if his personality enables him to grip the affection of his people. These *amabandla* all have recognized names, sometimes the name of the head of the clan under whom the area was first established, sometimes the name of the *umzi* of the chief of the royal clan who first administered the area.[1] In this latter case, in some of the tribes, e.g. Gcaleka, Ngqika, Bomvana, the *ibandla* name may be the name of a favourite ox in the chief's herd, and hence this name and the name of the group is called the *inkabi* (ox).[2] Among the Mpondo, this custom is unknown: *ibandla* and house names of chiefs are either descriptive or the names of the first founders.

The subordination of all district chiefs to the Paramount was formerly marked by the obligation of the district chiefs to pay the Paramount death dues and fines for murder and witchcraft, and to attend military reviews and first-fruit ceremonies. The districts were in the past the administrative areas; they were to a large extent settled by a body of related people; and they played a large part in the social life of the people. Even to-day, at a feast, meat and beer are *laula* (called out and distributed) by *amabandla* (or *inkabi*)—so many pots of beer to this *ibandla* and such and such joints to that. At small feasts, meat and beer are *laula* by the minor *amabandla* of private individuals and chiefs' sons who have no civil authority; at bigger gatherings, they are *laula* by the *amabandla* of district chiefs.[3]

Among the Mpondo, the army was formerly organized on an *ibandla* basis. Each petty headman collected his followers and made his way to his immediate superior, who in his turn led his *ibandla* to his superior, until finally in a few divisions, four or five, the army gathered at the tribal headquarters.[4]

The whole system of territorial settlement, only partly based on kinship ties, is definitely co-ordinated through the dominant position of one clan, members of which keep a grip on the different areas, and render loyal support to the head of their clan through the all-pervasive principles of rank, based on a hierarchy of seniority. From time to time, however, a dominating personality may break through this seniority principle and, wresting the leading role from a senior house, may arrogate it to himself and his own "house".

[1] For this whole account, cf. Hunter, 1936, 378 ff.
[2] Cf. P. A. W. Cook, 1931, 19 ff.
[3] Cf. Hunter, 1936, 364 ff.; and Cook, loc. cit.
[4] Hunter, 1936, 400 ff.

Isiduko or Clan.

The clan is a kinship group. It consists of a group of people claiming descent, and taking its name, from a common ancestor in the male line. Within the clan is a number of lineages (Xhosa, *usapo* or *intsapo*), the members of which generally have a common grandfather in the male line. Lineages and clans are named after a common ancestor, but in addition there are *isibongo*, praise-names, connected with each clan and each lineage, which are used on all ceremonial occasions and when it is desired to honour the members of the group.[1] These *isibongo* names are often names of still more remote ancestors and are valuable as revealing links of connection between otherwise separate clans.

In any district a large number of people may be members of one clan, that of the chief or headman, but the two types of grouping, territorial and kinship, never coincide absolutely, and members of one clan may be found even in several different tribes.

The lineage and clan are extremely important groups, the lineage being, next to the household, the most intimate social group and principal ritual group within the tribe. Among the Mpondo, the lineage is the group within which alone milk is drunk, though the Xhosa drink milk in any lineage of their clan. In all the tribes, marriage and the custom of *ukumetsha* (premarital sexual relations) are strictly prohibited within the clan, though lineages are constantly breaking away to form new clans and then marriage is allowed. The clans have a regular order of precedence, that of the Paramount Chief being most directly descended from the common ancestor of the tribal nucleus, though there are always also clans of alien origin whose affiliation is purely political, and whose position in the hierarchy a matter of historical tradition.

The lineage undoubtedly is the most important purely kinship group among most of these tribes, the group which exercises most social control over the people and within which there is the most intimate social contact and the most stable system of reciprocal rights and duties. Among the Xhosa alone would the clan seem to be a close-knit body within which milk customs, military organization, and also ritual customs prevail. While the Mpondo army was organized on the *ibandla* basis, the Xhosa army was organized on a clan basis,[2] each clan constituting a section of the force. Even to-day it is by no means unknown for representatives of a Xhosa clan, wherever they may be

[1] Hunter, 1936, 52 f. [2] J. H. Soga, 1932, 68.

domiciled, to combine in sending a sacrificial offering of oxen to the remote headwaters of that river in the Transkei which the clan members claim as the first headquarters of their ancestors. The Paramount Chief is, in all the tribes, the leading representative of the dominant clan in the tribe, the "royal" clan, to which most of the important chiefs under him also belong. The royal clan of both the Gcaleka and the Ngqika tribes is the Tshawe; of the Thembu, the Mtande; of the Mpondo, the Nyausa. Taking the Gcaleka tribe as an example, we find that there are some twenty-five clans all tracing their descent from the common ancestor, Xhosa, and strictly ranked according to their directness of descent. These clans have hived off from time to time from the common matrix, as it were, sometimes because of personal feuds and rivalries, sometimes because of intermarriage between the different lineages or "houses", after the common descent was at least four generations removed from the common ancestor. These royal clans are grouped together as the inTshinga division of the Gcaleka people. Another group of clans belonged originally to Sotho or other non-Xhosa tribes, but to-day are subordinate to the Gcaleka chiefs. They form the division called the iQauka, and though they are the commoners among the clans they have to-day the controlling influence in tribal affairs.[1]

Age and Sex Groupings.

Though the hierarchy of age is as important among the Southern Nguni as in any of the other groups, and though in many of these tribes (e.g. Xhosa and Bomvana) circumcision and group initiation ceremonies remain, while they have long since died out in other tribes (e.g. the Mpondo and all Northern Nguni tribes), yet no tribe-wide organization on the basis of age exists among them. Within the household, rigid precedence is given to seniority, as we have seen, and so also within the *ibandla* both on social and military occasions, but the age grouping is subordinate to some other (clan or territorial) grouping. It is among the Northern Nguni and tribes of other groups that we find more institutionalized groupings on the basis of age. Groupings on a sex basis form naturally on all social occasions, and sex differentiation plays its part through the whole social system, but, as far as we know, there exists in the Southern Nguni tribes no formalized organization on a sex basis.

[1] Soga, 1932, 22.

(*b*) *Northern Nguni*

It has been shown in the previous chapter that probably three different migrations of tribes are represented in the Zululand-Natal area, and it is quite possible that there were originally many differences of custom and perhaps also of social organization. Whether such exist to-day we do not at present know, since we have no scientific study of the Southern Natal tribal groups; and the changes brought about in the social system of all these tribes by the rise of the Zulu power have been so marked, that for the present it is justifiable to give an account of the system imposed on this area by the Zulu. For, even in spite of vast changes brought about by white dominance and administration, this social system shows a remarkable tenacity and to a large extent still controls the lives of the tribes, not only in these special areas, but also in other parts of Africa where offshoots of these people have settled down (e.g. Ndebele, Ngoni).

Umuʒi.

As with the Southern Nguni, so too with the Northern: the household (Zulu, *umuʒi*), or kraal, is the primary territorial unit. The organization of this *umuʒi* may, among chiefs and headmen, be even more complicated than that of the Southern Nguni, but the fundamental structure is the same. The core of the *umuʒi* is a body of patrilineal relatives whose wives are all from clans not related otherwise to them. The individual family, in its own *indlu*, or home, is a strongly integrated group, owning its own cattle, its own lands, and its own granaries, and forming through life the group with the most deep-set emotional ties and common domestic experiences.

These families have different status within the *umuʒi*. To-day, the original outer fence encircling the whole *umuʒi* is gone practically everywhere, but typically there was such an encircling wall of palisades, reeds, or bushes. With or without fence, the *umuʒi* is still organized into its different divisions all circling round the cattle kraal (*isibaya*). Important polygynous households are divided into three sections in the place of the Southern Nguni two.[1] At the top of the *umuʒi*, opposite the great gateway of the outer fence (where this exists), is the section of the *inkosikaʒi*, the mistress of the *umuʒi*. This section is known from its principal hut as the *indlunkulu*, but it may also contain the hut of a seed-bearer (*umlobokaʒi*), the huts of married sons, and unmarried

[1] A. T. Bryant, 1923, 47–51.

grown-up children, as well as the homes of servants or dependants in the background. And the whole may well be screened off by individual fences, secluding the living huts from the general gaze of members of the *umuʐi*. To the left[1] of this *indlunkulu* section is the *ikhohlo*, or left-hand branch, of the polygynous family, with its principal wife. She is in important families the first wife married in the youth of the kraal head, but is relegated to second position in the kraal when, later in life, he marries the daughter of some important man and places her in the *indlunkulu*. The *ikhohlo* wife may also have several subordinate wives (*amaɓiɓi*), as well as married sons and dependants, in her section of the *umuʐi*. Usually, at the time when the *indlunkulu* is founded, the headman also organizes the third section of his family, the *inQadi*. One of his wives is appointed head of this section, with others subordinate to her. This section is most definitely an appendage of the *indlunkulu*, and is called on to supply an heir if none is born to the *inkosikaʐi* or to the wife specifically appointed as her seed-bearer, whereas the *ikhohlo* section, once the *indlunkulu* is founded, becomes to a very large extent loosened from the other sections of the *umuʐi*, and tends to move off to found a separate *umuʐi*, as soon as a married son is able to take over the responsibility for his mother and her dependants. In addition to these three important sections of his polygynous family, a chief may keep " alive " kraals of his father and grandfather by placing in them *iʐiʐinda* in the same way as is done by the Southern Nguni.[2] Within the *umuʐi* there obtain the same rigid distinctions as among the Southern Nguni between relatives by birth and wives; the same general kinship system with its principles of seniority and deference to those of higher rank and status; and the same rigid system of *hlonipha* for married women.

Isiɓongo.

The kin also play the same part as they do farther south, and the exogamous patrilineal clan with eponymous name controls the more intimate social life of the people, and definitely constitutes a group within which sexual relations of any kind are prohibited. The clan is called *isiɓongo*, a word referring more particularly to the name of the group, while the terms *uhloɓo*, *umquɓa*, or *isiʐalo*, indicate the group itself. Each clan, in addition to its own eponymous *isiɓongo*, has an address name, called the *isithakaʐelo*, which is the name of a

[1] *Scil.* " left " as one looks up from the great gate of the cattle-kraal; cf. above, p. 75, note.
[2] Bryant, 1923, 47–51.

famous ancestor in the ancestral clan from which many have sprung.[1] Many different clans have Mnguni for their *isithakaʒelo*, which is the justification for calling the whole group "Nguni", since all the tribes, or at least very many of them, seem to claim a far-off origin from one unknown ancestor, Mnguni.

To-day, the government recognizes over 200 tribes (*isiʒwe*) in Zululand and Natal. These are composed of a central core of representatives of the chief's clan, together with sections of a number of other clans which are often more numerously represented in another tribe where one of their clansmen is chief. This situation is the aftermath of the rise of the Zulu political domination and its destruction by the Europeans. Groups of people were scattered hither and thither and now have settled down in smaller or larger tribes which are only partly bodies of kinsmen.

Within the tribal area there is the small district area (*isigodi*) with its headman, or *induna*, whose *umuʒi* is the administrative centre; and the larger district (*isifunda*), of which there are a few in each tribe, ruled over by the head of the clan dominant in that particular area and subordinate to the Chief of the Paramount's clan.

The Zulu kings, from Shaka to Cetshwayo, maintained control of their conquered domain by planting royal kraals at different spots in the conquered territory, maintaining there a military force, and putting in residence some close relative of their own who might be trusted to act as their "eyes and ears" and represent their interests, though the drudgery of administration was done by specially appointed officials (*iʒinduna*). Uncles, brother, aunts, mothers, and wives might be so placed in these royal kraals, called *amakhanda*,[2] when they were specifically the headquarters of certain regiments. More remote tribes were simply decimated and their wealth carried off, or they were laid under tribute to be paid from time to time as the dictator ordered.

Age Grouping.

The hierarchy of age is more organized here than farther south. In the large *umuʒi* of a polygynous man, the children of similar age will constantly be found together and form, together with their age mates of the little sub-district around their home, the *intanga*, the age set the members of which spend so much of their childhood days together.

[1] Bryant, 1929, 681 ff.

[2] Plural of *ikhanda*. In the *amakhanda* the royal family occupied the upper part of the kraal (in quarters called the *isigodlo*), while the regiments occupied the two wings of the *ikhanda*.

From the age of about eight, in the heyday of Zulu power, these young boys might act as mat-and-food carriers for their elders when going to regimental meetings. Between the age of 18–20 they were regularly enrolled by the king into a regiment, or *ibutho*, with its own name, its own regimental officers from a senior regiment, and its own military headquarters, which might be a newly established *ikhanda*, or a section of an already existing *ikhanda*, to reinforce the numbers of an older *ibutho*. These *amabutho* were formed very often in the days of Shaka and Dingane, less frequently later; but they are still being formed to-day, though the system of military kraals is gone. When the regiments are collected together, they constitute the army (*impi*) of the people. In the military drill the soldiers frequently march many abreast, and such lines are called *izicheme*, each consisting of from three to eight or more men. Yet another division recognized is the *iviyo* or *isigaba*, a company of about 500 men. For mobilization purposes the soldiers are assigned to one of a few royal kraals within easy distance of each other. A divisional commander is at the head of all the men so assigned to him. Sometimes the men are organized in their regiments, sometimes the divisional group of each regiment forms under its divisional commander.[1] During the Zulu domination, these regiments were undoubtedly mainly a fighting force. The younger regiments especially were a restless, unruly element in the state. They did, however, also guard the king's cattle; they built their *ikhanda* and kept it in order; and they might be called on at any time to hoe the chief's gardens; to lay out a new headquarter *umuzi*; or to do any other work that the king might order. From the regiments he drew his messengers, his administrative officers for the districts, and his councillors. All these officials were drawn from many different tribes in Zululand, as they were singled out for bravery, or for some piece of work for the king which drew his attention to them.

The independent Zulu kingdom really came to an end when Cetshwayo was defeated by the British in 1879. To-day, the descendants of Cetshwayo are still to a certain extent recognized as the supreme

[1] In 1934, at the *ihlambo* of Chief Solomon Dinuzulu, 10,000 warriors were present at his chief kraal, Mahashini, organized in the following regiments in order of rank, the highest coming first: imbhokod'ebomvu; ufelaphakati; udakwa; ucijimpi; uvukayibambe; inqab'ukucetshwa; upondolwendlovu; intabayezulu. These regiments belong to five divisions, linked with five royal kraals: (*a*) gqikazi, linked with the gqikazi kraal to which belonged both Cetshwayo's and Dinuzulu's mothers; (*b*) mpisendlini Mahashini, Dinuzulu's kraal; (*c*) kubhaza, affiliated to Cetshwayo's Usutu kraal; (*d*) nodwengu, Mpande's chief kraal; and (*e*) Undi, kraal built by Cetshwayo.

representatives of all the Zululand tribes, but there is a tendency for these tribes to split by grouping themselves round two different lines of descent of the Zulu royal clan,[1] the descendants of Senzangakona and those of his brother Sojiyisa. The one section is called the *Usutu* section, after the name of one of Cetshwayo's *umuʒi*; the other, the *Mandlakaʒi* section, after an *umuʒi* of Sojiyisa.[2]

Nguni Offshoots

Most offshoots of the Nguni group, such as the Southern Transvaal Ndebele, the Swazi, the Rhodesian Ndebele, and the Ngoni of Nyasaland and Tanganyika, have preserved the same fundamental social system. But there are one or two new principles which must be noted. Among the Southern Transvaal Ndebele, each *isiɓongo*, or clan, has a special species of animal linked with it known as its *ʒila*, or taboo, which may not be named or eaten or used by the members of that clan. This feature has undoubtedly been copied from the surrounding Sotho tribes.[3] The Rhodesian Ndebele and the Nyasaland Ngoni have introduced a new hierarchy of rank resulting from their conquest of indigenous tribes in their new homes. Both groups have attempted to maintain their purity of blood to some extent, and both have maintained an amazing pride in what they consider their stronger social system and their tradition of military prowess and might. The Rhodesian Ndebele recognize three social grades, the pure Ndebele, a middle rank with Ndebele fathers and Shona mothers, and finally the commoners, the Shona rank and file, merged in their social system. The situation is somewhat similar among the Ngoni.

Sotho Group

Kin by blood and by marriage.

The Sotho tribes all allow certain types of kin to marry. This different attitude to marriage between kinsfolk is reflected right through the social system, and makes for important differences in the social groups, even where these are based on the same principles as among

[1] Jama—[Senzangakona—Mpande—Cetshwayo—Dinuzulu—Solomon—boy (Usutu kraal)
[Sojiyisa—Mapita—Zibebu— — — — —Bokwe (Mandlakazi kraal)

[2] The Mandlakazi section sent no official representative to the *ihlambo* ceremony after the death of Solomon Dinuzulu, but on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales, the Mandlakazi regiments fell in with the Usutu regiments and formed one great *ukumbi*, or crescent of men, with them.

[3] N. J. van Warmelo, 1930, 15.

the Nguni. There is the same basic type of classification of kin into relatives on the father's side and relatives on the mother's side. Seniority is stressed, and patrilineal filiation is dominant in the social system. Relatives by marriage are, however, not strictly marked off from relatives by blood, but, on the contrary, are to a large extent the same people. There are not the same rigid categories of relatives, but a more complex range of possibilities of behaviour towards the same persons; e.g. the maternal uncle may also be the father-in-law, and so, too, the paternal uncle may be the father-in-law. Such combinations are quite impossible among the Nguni.

All Sotho tribes show a strong preference for a man's marriage with the mother's brother's daughter, though they also encourage marriage between the children of two brothers and allow marriage with the father's sister's daughter and with the mother's sister's daughter. This last type of marriage is, however, distinctly less frequent than the other types and in certain tribes is forbidden.[1] Where the bride comes to her husband's home, not as a stranger, a non-relative, but as a close kinswoman, known probably from childhood at least to the parents of the husband, if not to the husband himself, there is bound to be a less strained system of behaviour within the household. True, the relationship between mother-in-law and son-in-law is carefully controlled and regulated; so, too, is the behaviour of a bride to her father-in-law. But we find little of the rigidly enforced *hlonipha* system of the Nguni tribes. In the Sotho tribes, most of the restrictions on behaviour and in address can be terminated by the performance of a ritual ceremony once the couple has settled down.

A brother and sister are obviously very closely linked together in the Sotho tribes when the son of one marries the daughter of the other. They are intimately linked, however, in still other ways. A father frequently pairs off his sons and daughters, as far as may be possible, telling the son that he is to use the *boxadi* cattle[2] of such and such a daughter in order to obtain a wife for himself. The children of the sister, then, have definite claims on their mother's brother, since he has benefited quite considerably from the *boxadi* cattle handed over by their father. They have an honoured position in his home,[3]

[1] W. Eiselen, 1928a, 81.

[2] *Boxadi* is the term for the cattle given by a man to his wife's father when he marries her; cf. below, Chap. V.

[3] The children of a woman for whom no *boxadi* has been transferred are brought up at their maternal uncle's or maternal grandfather's home, but they are there as dependants and their position is much lowlier.

and he may be called on to help in providing *boxadi* for his sister's son. In these tribes, also, the maternal ancestors are thought to intervene of right in the lives of their daughter's descendants, and the maternal uncle may be called on to sacrifice for his sister's children when they are ill. He receives a beast when his sister's daughter is married, in return for the services he has performed for her. Between his children and his sister's there is a joking pattern of behaviour, which indicates immediately that the behaviour is exposed to stresses and strains. When two families are so intimately linked and anything goes wrong with one, the other is bound also to be upset. The sister's children, in this situation, have the whip-hand, since the brother established his home with cattle she brought into the family, so that on occasion the maternal uncle's children may feel themselves awkwardly placed in relation to their cross-cousins.

The Village.

In all three Sotho sub-groups, we find true village life in place of the independent households of the Nguni tribes. In Basutoland, these villages (*metse*, sing. *motse*) are small, rarely having more than 250 inhabitants and mostly not more than a score.[1] The inhabitants of a *motse* are mostly relatives and chiefly in the paternal line, though not necessarily so. Each close group of relatives builds its huts round the *lesaka*, or cattle kraal, so that in a large village the individual groups can be distinguished by the little paths separating the different hamlets from one another, while the character of the whole as a unity is revealed in the common *khotla* (Tswana, *kxotla*; North Sotho, *kxôrô*) which is, as a rule, to one side of the village and usually has a tree for shade. This *khotla* is the common gathering place of the men, and the centre of village administration and control. The Northern Sotho system is essentially similar, but in the Tswana tribes much greater development is seen.

The Ward.

In these Bechuanaland tribes, the people are divided into wards, consisting of a number of families united under the leadership of a *kxosana* (headman), whose position is hereditary in the male line. Most of the wards are named after some distinguished ancestor of their headman. The constituent families are in most cases directly

[1] Cf. F. Laydevant, 1931, 216.

related either by birth or by marriage to the headman, although this is not necessarily the case. Intermarriage between members of the same ward is permitted. Children normally belong to the ward of their father, but in exceptional circumstances can become members of some other ward, e.g. that of the mother or wife where this is different from their own. The ward is essentially a localized administrative unit. The central feature of each is the cattle kraal (*lesaka*), and adjoining it the *kxotla*, or court, where lawsuits are heard and other local business is dealt with under the supervision of the headman, assisted by the more important heads of families. The headman is responsible to the chief for all that goes on in his ward, and the headmen of all the wards together constitute an advisory council to the chief, being consulted by him in all cases of emergency.[1] Members of the same ward form a distinct section within the *mephato* (age-regiments) under the headship and immediate authority of the one most senior in status. In tribal gatherings the people are sometimes ordered by the chief to sit according to their wards; and one or more whole wards may be allotted to a son of the Chief as his particular adherents.[2] Among the Kxatla there are some sixty-eight of these wards in the tribe, with a population ranging from a maximum of 1,500 to a minimum of forty and an average of 280. Among the Ngwato there are no less than 300 of these wards with a somewhat larger average of population in each. A ward may constitute either a quite separate village, or more generally part of a village (whereas among the Southern and Northern Sotho the village and the ward are usually one), but in the latter case it is always socially and administratively distinct from the other wards in the village.[3]

Larger Tribal Divisions.

Among the Kxatla and the Ngwato, the wards are grouped together into larger divisions of the tribe. In the Kxatla tribe, "there are five of these major divisions, named respectively BaKxosing, BaMorêma, BaThsukudu, BaMabodisa, BaManamakxôtê. These divisions rank in precedence according to the order in which they have just been listed. The first division, the BaKxosing, embraces all the wards derived

[1] On this whole section, see I. Schapera, "The Old Bantu Culture," in Schapera, 1934, 18 ff.; and Schapera, 1935, 203 ff., from which this account is taken.

[2] Schapera, 1935, 223.

[3] A ward is called *kxôrô* or *kxotla* by the Kxatla; rarely *motse*. The Ngwato call a ward most usually *motse* and less frequently *kxotla*. The Pedi use *kxôrô* for the men's gathering place in the village (*motse*), and maintain there a central fire from which women are excluded.

from the chiefs of the ruling dynasty—for wards often come into being through separation from some parent group. The next two are more remotely connected, but are also regarded as of true Kxatla stock. The last two are made up for the most part of alien groups absorbed into the tribe in the early days of its history. Each division also contains some foreign groups more recently incorporated, the general rule being that where a group of strangers is accepted into the tribe, they are allowed to form a separate ward of their own, with their leader as headman, and are then placed by the chief within one of the five main divisions. Within each division, the wards are graded in rank according to their seniority of descent or historical status. This order of precedence was formerly strictly observed in connection with such communal ceremonies as the eating of first-fruits, the initiation of boys and girls into adult membership of the tribe, and the rites at the establishment of a new town or village; it is still of some social importance." [1] " Among the BaNgwato there are only four major divisions in the tribe, and each division contains wards of *dikxosana* (patrilineal relatives, however remote, of the reigning dynasty); wards of *bathlanka* (commoners of long-established Ngwato stock); wards of *bafhaladi* (comparatively recent accretions to the tribe); and even some wards of *malata* (subject peoples, such as the MaSarwa and MaKxalaxadi). Nor are the divisions ranked in any order of precedence, although within each division it is possible to rank the wards of *dikxosana* according to seniority of descent, and the wards of *bathlanka* according to seniority of status. Another notable point of difference is that, whereas among the BaKxatla the Chief of the tribe always belongs to the BaKxosing division and is the headman of its senior ward, among the BaNgwato the chief has no ward of his own, while different Chiefs have belonged to different divisions." [2] These major divisions do not seem to exist among the Southern and Northern Sotho and have not been reported for any other Western Sotho tribe.

The single Sotho ward certainly corresponds most closely with the *ibandla* of the Southern Nguni, but the interconnection of these organizations in the tribal whole is very different in the two systems. However, the *inTshinga* and *iQauka* divisions of clans among the Xhosa show the same tendency to separate the lineal descendants of the tribal ancestor from the descendants of ancestors taken into the political system for a variety of reasons.

[1] Schapera, 1935, 205. [2] Schapera, 1935, 206.

Households:

Within the ward we find the households, each with its own homestead or *lapa*. The members of a family—husband, wife, and dependent children—live together in the same *lapa*,[1] but where there is more than one wife each is entitled to her own *lapa*. All the huts of the same *lapa* are enclosed within a courtyard by a low rectangular wall. The *malapa* of close family connections, such as father and married sons, may be found joined on to one another by connecting courtyard walls, while separate family units will have a space between their walls and those of their neighbours. In the old days when polygyny was commonly practised, the general rule was that the wife first married ranked as the senior or great wife. The other wives were of less importance, but also ranked according to their order of marriage. The only exceptions to this rule of precedence were: (*a*) when a man, after marrying one or more wives, married the girl to whom he was first betrothed, as in cases of infant betrothal; or (*b*) when he married the daughter of his maternal uncle. This new wife then took precedence over all the others, and acquired the corresponding privileges. The most outstanding expression of this difference in status between a man's wives is found among the Pedi, where the mother of the heir to the chieftainship must be a woman chosen by the tribe, whose *boxadi* is collected from the tribe, and who, moreover, kindles with her husband, when she comes to his *mosate*, or capital, a new ritual fire, from brands of which new fires must be kindled in all homesteads of the tribe. This woman then becomes the wife of the country and an intimate relationship exists between her son and the tribe from his birth.[2]

Totem Groups.

In all the Sotho tribes we find "a wider system of grouping which cuts across the limits of the tribes. The members of such a wider group (for which there is no special native term) all regard themselves as intimately bound up, in some mystical way, with a certain species of animal or natural object, known as their *seanô* (object of reverence), *serêtô* (honour), *seila* (taboo), or *sebôkô* (praise-name). The name of this animal or object is used as a ceremonial or laudatory form of

[1] Other close relatives may also be found living in their own *lapa*, e.g. a widow and her children; cf. Schapera, 1935, 220.
[2] W. Eiselen, 1931, 38.

address, just as is the *isibongo* of the Nguni tribes. There are special myths telling how each group originally obtained the *seanô*, and all the members of a group have to observe various taboos and other usages in connection with the animal or object which they revere".[1] Formerly, "if it was an animal, no one of that group might eat its flesh, use its skin, or even touch it, lest some serious misfortune befall him. Still less would he dare kill it, unless it was harmful and did manifest damage, and in that case he had to be ceremonially purified afterwards."[2] There is no bar to marriage of people having the same *seanô*, but in cases of mixed marriage the children take the *seanô* of their father. There also does not appear to be any kind of social solidarity among the members of such a group. Frequently they may be scattered over many different tribes, as in the case of those whose *seanô* is the crocodile (*kwena*); they are found all over the Sotho area. On the other hand, a single tribe can also include members of many different *seanô* groups. In a single Ngwato ward, the following *seanô* are to be found:—*kwena* (crocodile); *môyô* (heart); *tlou* (elephant); *phuti* (duiker); *nare* (buffalo); *kxabo* (ape); *tau* or *sebata* (lion); *kubu* (hippopotamus); *kolobe* (boar).[3] Sometimes a group, or part of a group, would for some historical or political motive discard its existing *seanô* and adopt a new one, with a corresponding change in the taboos it had to observe.

It was groups of people with different *seanô* or *sebôkô* who settled in Basutoland and were gathered together in a confederacy of tribes by Moshesh in the early nineteenth century.[4] Moshesh belonged to a branch of the *Kwena*, which is the dominant group in Basutoland to-day. Gradually his family has asserted its authority over the other tribes in the country. He himself parcelled out large sections of the country among the four sons of his principal wife. Their descendants are the big chiefs in Basutoland to-day. But the Paramount Chief, the principal heir to the chieftainship of Moshesh, is gradually gathering the administration into closer touch with his own immediate family, by "placing" his own sons over the heads of the descendants of other branches of Moshesh's family. The status of the different tribes is thus being diminished, and the whole population welded together into a "nation", rather than a confederacy, with administrative authority

[1] Schapera, "The Old Bantu Culture," in Schapera, 1934, 18, 19.
[2] Schapera, op. cit., 19.
[3] Schapera, 1935, 214, note.
[4] Sections of Kxatla, Pedi, Phuti, Kholokoe, Sia, Tlokoa, Tlou, Kwena, Tswene, Hlokoana, Khoakhoa, as well as groups of people from Zululand and the Transkei. Cf. Laydevant, 1931, 207 ff.; Ellenberger and MacGregor, 1912; and J. C. MacGregor, *Basuto Traditions* (Capetown, 1905).

chiefly in the hands of the descendants of one family, the senior branch of the family of Moshesh.

Age Sets.

In the Sotho tribes, the members of an age set (*mophato*, pl. *mephato*; also called *thaka* by North and South Sotho) used all to undergo circumcision and a period of group-training of a very different nature from that of the Nguni.[1] These age sets are ranged in a hierarchy of men, and still to-day play a considerable part in the lives of the people, especially among the Northern and Western Sotho, where an age group may be called upon to perform many different kinds of communal duties for the tribe or chief. In Basutoland, it is rather specific villages, or districts, which are called upon for this work for the chief of their area, who is entitled to use free labour for ploughing, cultivating and reaping, not only a tribal land but also on land allotted to his principal wife.

Shangana-Tonga and Venda

There is no space to go into similar detail concerning the social organization of the other groups dealt with in this book. Fundamentally, the organization is of the same type, with the underlying kinship structure, the hierarchy of age, the dominance of one lineage in the political structure.

The Shangana-Tonga organization, since the overlordship of Soshangane and his descendants came to an end, is once more of the original simple tribal type.[2] Within the tribe, the patrilineal lineage is the dominant kinship organization of the same eponymous type as among the Nguni, and there is nothing corresponding to the totemic grouping found among the Sotho. Within the kinship system, attention must be drawn to a type of marriage among kin which links the Shangana-Tonga with the Ndau of Portuguese East Africa and the tribes of the Shona group. In all these tribes, marriage of cousins, parallel or cross, is forbidden, but a man who has transferred cattle for a wife has certain claims on her family which he may go far in exacting. Should his wife prove barren or otherwise fail to fulfil her marital obligations, the man can marry another woman from his wife's family, her younger sister, her brother's daughter, or, in

[1] See below, Chap. V, pp. 99 f.
[2] Cf. H. A. Junod, 1927; A. A. Jacques, 1928, 327–348.

the last resort, her brother's wife—the woman who has been established by means of his cattle ! In the Tonga tribes, further, the most extreme type of behaviour is allowed between a man and his sister's son, i.e. between the *malume* and the *ntukulu*. The *ntukulu* has a preferential position in his *malume's* home and is permitted very great liberty with his *malume's* property and his *malume's* wife. The *malume*, on the other hand, must always be solicitous for his sister's children, sacrifice for them if need be, and maintain contact with them at all times. We find, then, that the mother's family plays a much greater part in the lives of her children in these tribes than is the case with the Sotho or the Nguni.

The Venda [1] tribes practise cross-cousin marriage, and the father's sister is a person of dominant importance in the lives of her nephews and nieces. The sister is closely linked to her brother right through life, and, in the case of the chief, the father's sister (*makhadzi*) and the sister play a part in the administrative and religious life of the people not paralleled in the other groups with which we are dealing.

Here also we find the *mutupo* grouping, which is very similar to the group called by its *seanô* or *sebôkô* name among the Sotho. It is a patrilineal system of grouping, usually named after some animal with which there is a ritual connection, preventing the members of the *mutupo* from killing or eating that animal. The *mutupo* members may observe various food- and other taboos, and generally there is a number of praise phrases (*tshikhodo*) by which members can be honoured in address. They are not exogamous and are not limited in membership to any one tribe. In other respects the social organization is very similar to that of the Northern Sotho.

[1] Cf. H. A. Stayt, 1931, chaps. xi and xv; and G. P. Lestrade, 1930, 306–322.

Chapter V

INDIVIDUAL DEVELOPMENT

By Eileen Jensen Krige

Child Life

In Bantu society, where the status of a man is measured largely by the size of his kraal and that of a woman by the number of children she has borne, the birth of a child is hailed with great joy as an event of importance to the whole village. For a long time after birth the young child is believed to be weak, peculiarly liable to be injured by harmful magical forces in the outside world. It is therefore confined to its hut until the umbilical cord drops off and then is allowed out only after it has been specially strengthened. This treatment varies from tribe to tribe. Among the Zulu, Xhosa, and other South-Eastern tribes, the child is held in the smoke of burning animal charms, given medicine to drink, and scarified and rubbed with the charred remains of the charms. The amulets worn by infants, the rites performed from time to time during babyhood, the belief of the Shangana-Tonga that "the child grows by medicine", all lend support to Junod's theory that the Bantu look upon babyhood as a marginal period—a period of ill-health ended at weaning, among the Shangana-Tonga, by a rite similar to that performed after a period of illness or mourning.[1]

The Bantu child is not weaned until two or three years old. Should the mother become pregnant before this, she would "cut the road" of the first child, making him thin or paralysed, an action that is severely censured. Sexual intercourse will, however, have been resumed long before weaning, very often, as among Tonga, Lobedu, and others, accompanied by a rite to ensure the child against harm.

The name, that of an ancestor or one given to commemorate some event at the time of birth, is received usually when the child is taken out of the hut for the first time. Later in life it will be given other names, but the birth-name is the one always used by the parents and others of their generation. A very common rite found among

[1] H. A. Junod, 1927, i, 58.

Shangana-Tonga, Venda, and Sotho, the significance of which is difficult to discover, is showing the baby to the moon. The child may simply be taken outside with the words " There is your *rakhadi* (father's sister) ". Sometimes there is a special rite by means of which the child " enters the law " or the parents " take possession of it ".[1]

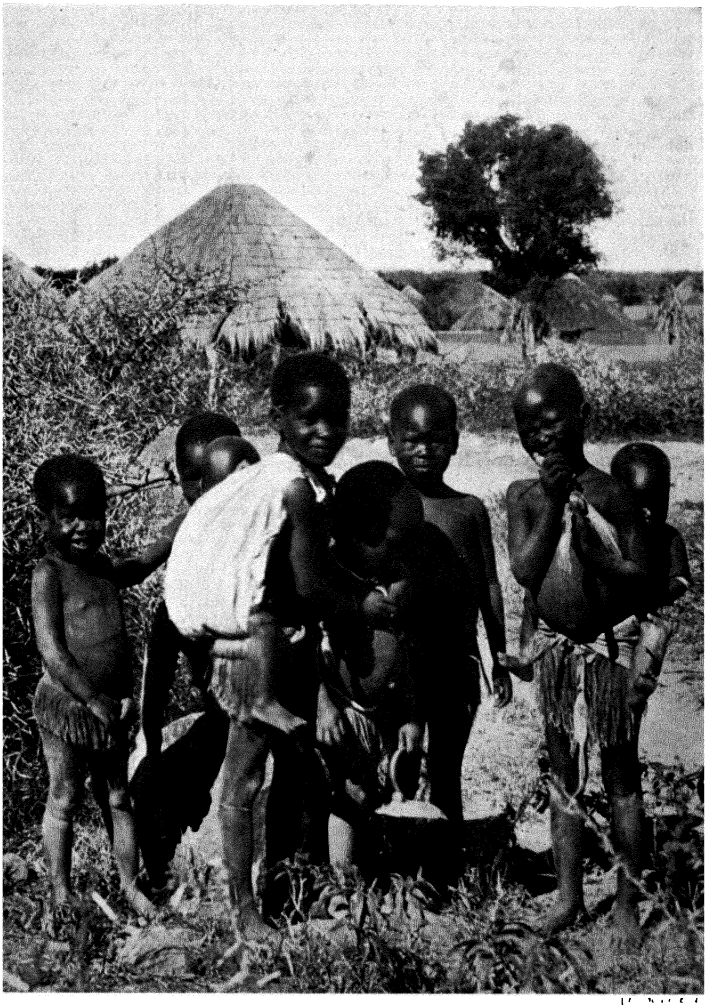
After weaning, the child becomes one of a group of many mischievous toddlers to be seen about every Bantu village.[2] It is never lonely nor does it lack playmates, for the village includes a number of adult women with children more or less the same age. Toddlers are looked after by their mothers and elder sisters, who take great pride in teaching them the correct way of greeting their elders, of receiving gifts, of dancing to the clapping of hands, and countless other things. When naughty, they are frightened by tales of monsters who, in Bantu folklore, carry off disobedient children. Their greatest danger is that of falling into the open fires that burn in the huts ; but for the rest they live a care-free life, with no clothes to keep clean, and few of the dangerous instruments of civilization that take their toll of child life. Parents are indulgent without unduly pampering their children.

At an early age children learn not to sit with or eat with people older than themselves. They spend most of their time with those of their own age, play together or work together, and are recognized by their elders as a group, from which collective responsibility in herding and other occupations is expected. At first no wider than the immediate family circle, this group, as the child grows and comes into contact with an ever-wider circle of people, includes first other children in the neighbourhood, and finally, at circumcision or enrolment into a regiment, embraces all of the same age within the tribe. The educational value of these age sets is very great: not only are selfishness, bad temper, and other faults more effectively checked by the group than they could ever be by parents, but the younger children are strictly controlled by the group just older than themselves.

The irresponsible period of early childhood does not last very long, for at the age of five to six boys begin to herd lambs and calves, and girls to nurse their brothers and sisters or help their mothers to draw water, fetch firewood, and gather spinach. Later the girl begins to grind, cook, and hoe with a light hoe, and by the time she is twelve is capable of doing all the housework expected of a woman. The boys,

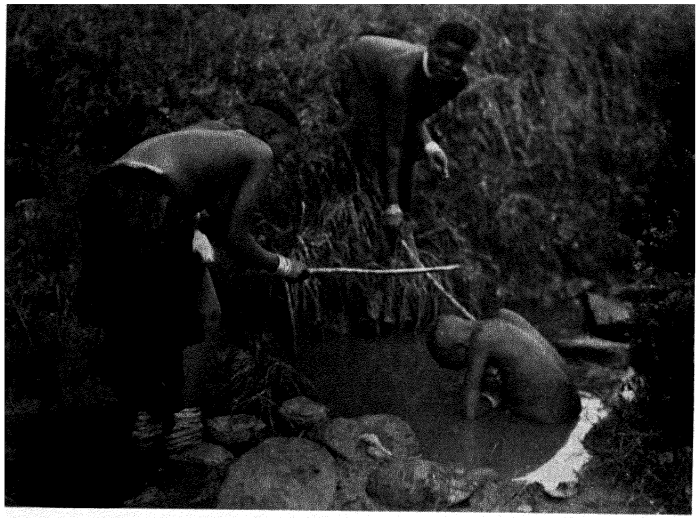
[1] Junod, 1927, i, 56; D. Kidd, 1906, 12 f.

[2] Among the Shangana-Tonga and other tribes children are sent to their mother's people for a year or two after weaning.



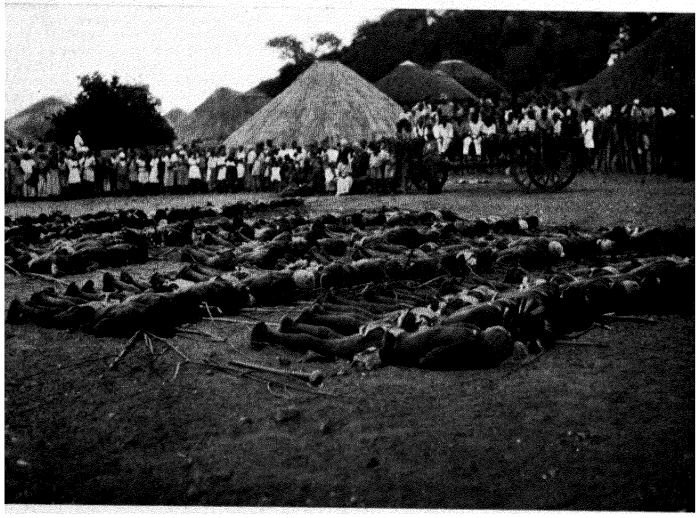
" Daughters of Africa "
Kxatla children, B.P.
(Notice the method of carrying the babies)

[*face p.* 96



[*N. J. van Warmelo*

(*a*) *Vhusha* rite of the Venda



[*J. Reyneke*

(*b*) Kxatla *maxwane* (Male novices) about to be whipped in the *kxotla*
(This ceremony is held annually until it is decided to send the boys through the *boxwéra*, or initiation proper)

INITIATION CEREMONIES

after many a beating for letting the goats stray into the gardens, will, at the age of ten or twelve, begin to herd cattle with the bigger boys, an important step in their development which, in Zulu society, did not take place in the old days till their " ears had been opened " in the ear-piercing ceremony.[1]

While herding all day, the boys acquire a wealth of veldlore. They learn to know the names of all the edible birds and plants, they learn to make traps and organize their own hunts and fights, becoming adepts at killing birds on the wing by hurling knobkerries at them.

There is great similarity in the games played by children in different South African tribes. Everywhere one finds boys and girls playing with dolls, clay oxen, and string figures ; there are dancing and singing games, tests of knowledge and also mixed games, played by both sexes together. Many of the boys' games, such as stabbing at a tuber rolled down a slope, give them an excellent training in exactness of aim, which will stand them in good stead later on when they hunt ; while the miniature villages in which Sotho and Venda boys and girls play at being grown-up, cooking, grinding, and hunting, just as they have seen their elders do, afford a valuable training in the duties of later life.

The status of the child in later life will depend upon the accidents of his birth—his relationship to the chief, the importance of the clan of which he is a member, and the position of his mother in the village (whether she is a chief wife or a minor wife). During childhood, however, he is thought to be of very little importance. But, though he has to show great deference towards everyone older than himself, his individuality and his rights over any possessions that he may have, such as goats, are always respected. There are also occasions on which, by virtue of his sexual immaturity and ritual purity, he plays a leading part in ceremonial for the welfare of the whole tribe. Among the Venda, Northern Sotho, and Eastern Tswana, it is small boys and girls who must sprinkle the country with medicine to make the rain fall[2] and, when birds become troublesome and have to be *upa*'d or scared away by magic, children again play a leading part.[3] Among the Zulu only boys under puberty may eat the remains of the black bull strangled at the first-fruit ceremonies, and for the annual *thevhula* ceremony of the Venda all preparations must be made by young and innocent girls.[4] Children in Bantu society, therefore, besides being

[1] Mahlobo and Krige, 1934, 163.

[2] W. Eiselen, 1928, 387–392 ; H. A. Stayt, 1931, 311 ; E. J. Krige, 1931, 223 ; I. Schapera, 1930, 211 ff.

[3] Krige, 1931, 228–9. [4] N. J. van Warmelo, 1932, 155.

essential for the prestige and social position of both men and women, are, as cattle-herds, nurse-maids, and general helpers in the village, of considerable importance in the tribal economy, while at certain periods their co-operation is essential in ritual for the general welfare of the tribe.

Education and Initiation

General Education.

Bantu education, the preparation of the child for the work of life, differs from that of the European, not only because the life led by adults in these two societies is so different, but also because their theory of the sort of preparation that is necessary is not the same. European education is conceived largely as the handing down to the next generation of a system of knowledge, essential for overcoming the difficulties and solving the problems of adult life. In Bantu society success and welfare are not bound up with knowledge alone, and difficulties are overcome not so much by the application of science, as by use of magic and appeal to ancestors. For the natural forces to work, for rain to fall and crops to mature, it is essential that correct ritual be observed, taboos remain unbroken, and custom be faithfully adhered to. What a man knows is therefore less important than what he does, how he lives and behaves; success and welfare are closely related to morality and any change from traditional ways is looked upon with suspicion.

The moulding of the individual to the social norm is achieved chiefly through ritual and ceremonial. By active participation in ritual he is made to feel the importance of those things that are of value to society, and the correct emotional attitude to cattle and crops comes, not so much from any conscious teaching, as from imitation and participation in rites in which these values are emphasized.

Economic education is carried on within the family with a strict dichotomy of sex. The Bantu child learns by doing and imitating. A boy watches his father cut wooden pillows, helps him make baskets and put up a door in the hut, till later on he is himself able to perform these tasks. A girl helps her mother weave mats, fetches and carries for her while she is making pots, till she becomes quite proficient herself.

Training in social behaviour comes partly from the older members

of the family, partly from one's own age set, while the educational value of play and games is as great in Bantu society as in our own. The riddles and folk-tales recounted on dark nights not only give full play to imagination, but inculcate the values and moral ideas obtaining in their society.

Initiation "Schools".

Formal education is given in the initiation schools, which play a very important part in the life of every individual. The Bantu tend to conceive of the development of the individual as a series of stages clearly marked off from one another. Puberty marks an important stage, marriage another. To pass successfully from one such stage to the next, it is considered necessary to secure the aid of forces that can influence one's life for good or bad. It is usual, therefore, at such times to have ceremonies by means of which a break with the faults and weaknesses of the previous stage is effected, the initiate is strengthened by magic and appeal to the ancestors, and is instructed in the duties and privileges he is about to assume. These rites emphasize the change that is taking place; and the emotions they evoke, together with the impressionable age of the scholars, help to give a lasting effect to the precepts inculcated.

There are not many schools before puberty. The Zulu ear-piercing ceremony takes place at the age of seven or eight, and the Venda *thondo* is said to be a school in which boys from the age of about eight may, together with others much older than themselves, receive instruction every evening till they reach puberty.[1] It is wrapped in secrecy, is attended mainly by children of high rank, and an important part of the instruction is training in stealth and individual daring, so useful for military purposes. The young men serving as warriors at the chief's kraal spend much of their time in the *thondo*, which as a permanent institution is the nearest approach to the European conception of a school. It has, however, this advantage over our schools, that it is an institution to which adults also belong and plays an important part in Venda life. There is also a *thondo* for girls, in which women and girls of rank are taught Venda etiquette.[2]

[1] According to van Warmelo (1932, 109), its main function seems to be that of a meeting-place for the garrison of warriors who regularly spend the night in the Chief's kraal, in addition to which it provides education for the young.

[2] van Warmelo, 1932, 111.

Puberty Ceremonies.

Puberty, the great dividing line between childhood and the physical maturity of adult life, is, among many tribes, notably those of the South-East, the occasion of ceremonial in which the young boy or girl is secluded in a hut for a while, given strengthening medicines or committed to the care of the ancestors, and taught a number of things.[1] The ceremonial is accompanied by much singing and dancing by the age-mates of the initiate.[2] The *Khoba* or *Vhusha* ceremony for girls in the Northern Transvaal is more severe. The girl is beaten and made to repeat formulæ (many of which concern sexual functions) while standing in water, and there is in the final dancing also a good deal of mummery. At the *Vhusha* the Venda girl is warned not to become deflowered before marriage, being shown how to have intercourse without this occurring.[3] The educational importance of these puberty ceremonies, however, lies not so much in the teachings, as in the nature of the whole ceremonial, which is meant to impress upon the individual the fact that he is now no longer a child.

Circumcision.

Circumcision is widespread in South Africa.[4] Among the tribes practising it, it is regarded as an essential step in the life of every man. The uncircumcised is considered a boy all his life, may take no part

[1] Individual puberty ceremonies for girls at or about the time of their first menstruation are found among all Nguni and Shangana-Tonga, as well as among Venda and Northern Sotho. The Tswana and Southern Sotho, on the other hand, have only the *bale* or *byale* national schools for girls, corresponding to circumcision of boys. In the North Transvaal puberty ceremonies and *byale* exist side by side. Puberty ceremonies for boys are not as widespread as for girls, being found, as far as published sources indicate, only among Venda, Natal Nguni, and, in a vestigial form, among Shangana-Tonga.

[2] For a description of such puberty ceremonies, see E. J. Krige, 1936, chap. v; and M. Hunter, 1936, chap. iii.

[3] Cf. Stayt, 1931, 108. Cf. also Junod, 1927, i, 177–9, and van Warmelo, 1932, 37–51, for descriptions of these ceremonies.

[4] Once practised by all the South African Bantu, circumcision has died out in several Nguni tribes. The Zulu discarded it in or just before Shaka's days, the Natal tribes no longer practise it, the Swazi dropped it in the days of Malunge, regent during Mbandzeni's minority (Engelbrecht, 1930, 21), the Mpondo abandoned it in 1867 under Faku's rule, though a small section, the AmaNqanda, which at the time of Faku's prohibition lived in Tembuland, as well as a few Mpondomise and Fingo groups in Pondoland, still retain it (Hunter, 1936, 165). Among the Ronga section of the Shangana-Tonga circumcision fell into disuse more than a hundred years ago (Junod, 1927, i, 72), though it is still practised extensively by the Shangana-Tonga of the Transvaal. In Bechuanaland it has been abandoned by all tribes except the Tlôkwa and MmaLete (ed.). While dying out in some tribes, circumcision has been gaining ground in others, and in recent years has been adopted by the Venda, who did not circumcise. The present distribution of circumcision cannot be fully plotted out, owing to complete lack of information on many tribes. We do, however, know from published sources that it is practised by Xhosa, Thembu, Fingo, and Bomvana; some of the Tswana tribes; the Southern Sotho; the Pedi, Masemola, Lemba, Ndebele, Matlala of North-West Transvaal, Mmamabolo of Woodbush, Transvaal Shangana-Tonga, Venda and Lobedu, Xananwa, Letswalo, and Khaha. In Portuguese East Africa it is practised by Chopi and some Shangana-Tonga.

in the councils and deliberations of men, is looked down upon by women and may not marry. Among the Sotho this school has a national character not found in other tribes: it is held by the chief every three or four years for the whole tribe, the boys are specially taught to honour the chief and the tribe and all are enrolled into a regiment at the end of the school.[1]

Preparations for the school vary: Tswana novices are for a long time previously subjected to taboos and severe beatings for the faults of their childhood; Pedi boys work for the chief for a few years before the school. The night before the formal opening is usually spent at the chief's kraal, where the first separation rites take place, such as shaving and being beaten with medicated sticks. Next day the operation takes place in a secluded valley in order of rank and amidst loud singing to drown the cries of the boys.[2] Medicines are applied to the wounds and it would seem that considerable skill is shown by many operators.[3] The foreskins may be thrown into running water, placed in the monumental stone filled with ashes at the end of the school (Matlala), hidden by each boy in an antheap (Xhosa), or even eaten in medicated meat (South Sotho).

For three months the initiates will now live in a lodge, which has been specially prepared. Here they are completely cut off from ordinary life, observe many taboos, use special terms for many objects and are in the direct charge of those who went through the previous school. The men who live in the lodge must refrain from sexual intercourse, lest the wounds of the boys do not heal, and any man who wishes to enter has to know the correct passwords. The uncircumcised may not come near, on pain of death.

One of the main objects of this school is to train the boys in courage and endurance. They are beaten on the slightest pretext, have to sleep on their backs on the bare ground without covering, and are severely punished if unable to repeat the formulæ and songs that are so great a feature of the school. They receive a good training in hunting and in some tribes wooden figures of animals are shown the initiates. Not only do many of the songs contain reference to sexual

[1] For detailed descriptions of circumcision schools of these tribes, see C. Hoffmann, 1914–15, 81–112; P. Ramseyer, 1928, 40–70; J. T. Brown, 1921, 419–427; W. C. Willoughby, 1909, 228–245; C. A. Wheelwright, 1905 251–5; N. Roberts and C. A. T. Winter, 1915, 561–578; Junod, 1927, i, 71–94; W. Eiselen, 1929, *passim*.

[2] Among the Nguni, the boys are expected to show their manliness by uttering no cries.

[3] For observations of a European doctor on the cleanliness and good results obtained, see G. A. Turner, "Circumcision amongst South African Natives," *Med. J. S. Afr.*, x (1914–15), 153.

functions, but during the whole period language that at other times would be considered obscene is used to the women who bring the food.

After the wounds have healed a great change occurs. Whereas the initiates have hitherto always sat facing the west, they are now made to face east: they turn from the darkness of childhood to the light of manhood. This is sometimes the occasion of a feast, and among the Lobedu it is now that the boys are given strengthening medicine. What this consists of, we do not know, but among the Southern Sotho and the Transvaal Ndebele it contains human remains.[1] A pole, probably of phallic significance, is now brought into the lodge. The boys have to greet it respectfully and from here instruction is given. At the end of the school the hair is shaved, new clothes and a new name given, and the initiates are received back into society amidst great feasting. The lodge is burnt. The period of circumcision is a critical one for the whole tribe: there must be no quarrels and jealousies at home and dancing is taboo.

Circumcision among the Xhosa and other Transkei tribes has neither the secrecy nor the formality of the Sotho schools. It is local in character, only from two to twenty boys forming each school, and it is not connected with the formation of regiments.[2] In fact, circumcision here differs little from the ordinary ear-piercing ceremonies of the Zulu. The seclusion, strict only until the wounds have healed, seems to have no other significance than the medical need for keeping the boys from "uncleanness", sexual and other, that is believed to affect wounds. There is said to be no formal teaching except of dancing, no hardships are undergone, and, once their wounds have healed, the boys spend their time day after day dancing and love-making at feasts held by each father in turn, till the school is concluded by a lecture on how they should behave in future.[3] Basutoland schools fall midway between those of the Transvaal tribes and those of the Nguni; the boys are in the charge of only one or two teachers, there is more formality and secrecy than among the Xhosa, while there are in addition elements, e.g. the eating of medicated meat and the manner in which boys express their desire to undergo initiation,[4] that appear to be borrowed from puberty and *ɓutwa* ceremonies in Natal.

[1] Cf. H. Dieterlen, *Sesuto-English Dictionary*, s.v. *sehoere*; and H. C. M. Fourie, 1921, 134.
[2] Xhosa regiments are clan-, not age-groups.
[3] For descriptions of these ceremonies, see P. A. W. Cook, 1931, 51–64; A. Schweiger, 1914, 53–65.
[4] Cf. H. E. Mabille, 1905–6, 247–8.

The Boxwêra.

Among the Northern Sotho and Tswana circumcision is supplemented by the *boxwêra*, a school taking place sometimes a year later, but often, as among Pedi and Letswalo, only four or five years later.[1] During the period between the two schools the boys find themselves without status: they are looked down upon even more than the uncircumcised, and should they beget a child it would be killed. This school and the girl's *byale*, which occur at the same time and in many respects supplement one another, last a whole year.[2] The lodge of the boys, like that of the girls, is in the chief's kraal, their seclusion being by no means as strict as during circumcision, though they may not be seen without the reed mask and costume characteristic of the *boxwêra*. Many months are spent in the preparation of these elaborate costumes. When addressed by the uncircumcised, the boys have to reply in the whistling language.[3] Apart from the work done for the chief, cutting poles, softening skins, hunting, the boys are taught "laws", mainly rules of conduct in married life, the necessity for providing for one's mother in her old age, and in dealings with men, keeping peace and order. An important feature is the songs and dancing in very heavy, clumsy costumes which cause real suffering to the wearer, constituting a great test of endurance. The boys are now initiated into the secret of the wonderful bird or beast, the ruling spirit of the *byale*. This consists of a conical frame covered with strings of bark, which serves to cover the man or men acting the part of this mysterious creature, the whole being surmounted by a head. It is said to come from a deep pool, it whistles out its commands on a peculiar flute and appears in the village only on moonlight nights. During the period that follows its appearance, the whole tribe is subject to strict rules: it is taboo to make a noise in the villages, it is taboo to dance in the day or get drunk or beat one's wife. The school ends in a feast for both boys and girls, after which the lodge

[1] Pedi, Khaha, Mmamabolo of Woodbush, Letswalo, Lobedu, Matlala, and probably many other North Transvaal tribes hold this school. For accounts of its nature, which has nowhere been fully studied, see Junod, 1929, 131–147; C. Hoffmann, 1914–15, 100–112; W. Eiselen, 1929, 40 f.; G. Beyer, 1926, 258–9. Note that the term *boxwêra* is used by Tswana and others who have only one school for the circumcision school. (Note by editor: Some Tswana tribes have two schools, the first being termed "the white *boxwêra*" and the second "the black *boxwêra*").

[2] Among Khaha, Lobedu, and other North Transvaal tribes *boxwêra* and *byale* occur together; but it is not clear if this is also true of the Pedi and others.

[3] Bantu languages being tone-bound, it is possible to convey by whistling almost as much as one can by the words themselves.

and costumes are burnt. Among the Pedi, Letswalo and Matlala, the boys receive cuts from chin to ear, a rite that in other tribes belongs to the *Komana* school. It would seem that this is a merging of the two schools.

The Komana.

The *komana* is a rain rite as well as a school, which, among the Lobedu, used to be held twice a year for about ten days.[1] It was opened in the usual way by running the gauntlet, after which each boy received four circular cuts from mouth to ear on either cheek, a painful and lengthy process. The main object of this school appears to be the introduction of the boys into the deepest secrets of the tribe. They are, among the Lobedu, shown the sacred drums, among which is the rain drum, and learn for the first time that the *badaja* or spirits of ancestors, who are supposed to come back to earth after certain ceremonies, throwing stones when offended, to frighten the uninitiated, and speaking in the whistling language, are in reality old and trusted men who act the part. Many special songs are sung, but there are no thrashings or hardships of any kind.

Byale or Girls' "Circumcision" School.

While the *byale* appears to be a single culture complex in South Africa, the ceremonies held in Basutoland and Bechuanaland differ from those in the Northern Transvaal in the complete absence of the mysterious beast which controls the whole school in the north.[2] The opening rites in the Northern Transvaal consist of beating the girls with medicated rods and smearing those holding official positions (the chief's daughters and some others) with the stomach contents of an ox that has been slaughtered for the occasion (Lobedu). The initiates wear skin skirts and bands across the chest of woven bark and grass,[3] which are believed to ensure fruitfulness, and they may not smear their bodies with fat. The day is spent working, and besides being made to perform various exercises, such as hopping on one leg and picking up stones, they are subjected to other hardships.

[1] There is no adequate description of this school, found among the Lobedu and other North Transvaal tribes. It is mentioned by Junod, 1929, 144, and more fully described by E. J. Krige, 1931, 216–220.

[2] For descriptions of this school, see: Mabille, 1905–6, 250–1; Ellenberger and MacGregor, 1912, 288–9; J. T. Brown, 1926, 89. For ceremonies in the North Transvaal, see: G. Thilenius 1915, 72–5; H. M. Franz, 1929, 1–5; Stayt, 1931, 138–141; van Warmelo, 1932, 79–103.

[3] In Basutoland they wear masks as well.

They are severely beaten, their meals of dry porridge must, like those in the boys' circumcision school, be eaten very quickly, and unpleasant tasks, such as that of eating fresh cow-dung, are set. They must be very humble and respectful to all and have to use the special terms characteristic of the school whenever they speak.

The nights are spent elongating the labia minora, for which medicine made of parts of a bat is effective, and in singing and dancing. Some of the songs among the Lobedu are in praise of various important sibs, others have reference to sexual functions, while the most important song of all, that in honour of the Bird of the School, contains advice (in metaphorical terms) not to be deflowered. Sometimes the Bird terrifies the girls by coming into the courtyard and stamping out their fire. When *mosabetho* songs are sung, the men who have been through all three schools come and " choose " the women they like, with whom they have sexual intercourse after the dance, and towards the end of the school the *byale* girls are allowed to join in, though, should anyone be impregnated, the usual fine will have to be paid.

The " showing of the *dikôma* ", or mummeries, plays an important part in the school. One of the Xananwa *dikôma* is called *Phudi*. It is the model of a goat with eyes of a certain red fruit used in rain medicine, and is a sign of fruitfulness. The girls are asked what it is and beaten if they do not know. Another, *Mapono*, is a woman disguised in a dress of reeds with a headpiece of horns. She comes dancing in and chases the girls, who flee in terror. Another *kôma*, *Motlankana*, is a girl dressed as a man, with imitation penis, who, after inviting every girl to accompany " him ", seizes one and simulates sexual intercourse while a song is sung. Some time during the school the operation, usually a cut on the clitoris,[1] is performed and the ceremony is ended in a dance and feast. The significance of the *byale* has not been properly studied, but there can be no doubt that it is closely associated with fertility and is, like the *boxwêra*, a preparation for marriage.

Venda boys and girls are prepared for marriage in the *domba*,[2] which appears to be a fertility rite, the central feature of which is the python dance. The python is closely associated with rain in Venda thought: when killed it must be thrown in the river lest rain be withheld, while python skin renders a barren woman fertile.[3] In the *domba*, boys and girls are, by means of formulæ and the use of mummery, taught about

[1] This is true for Lobedu and Venda. Xananwa, Tlokwa, and Moletse make a diagonal cut below the urethra (Franz, op. cit.), while the Mmamabolo deflower the girls with a cow horn.
[2] Stayt, 1931, 111–124; van Warmelo, 1932, 52–79.
[3] Stayt, 1931, 309–310.

childbirth, marriage, and sexual life, but so indirect is this teaching, and so generally unintelligible to the European who approaches the matter without a full knowledge of its significance, its context and setting and the whole configuration of values and institutions in which it fulfils its true moral function, that it is described, except by a few investigators, as merely obscene.

Methods of Teaching in the "Schools"

Every Bantu child, in addition to the education received in his own home, which enables him to satisfy his economic needs, thus passes through at least one and often more than one school.[1] If we are to understand the value of these schools in tribal life we must not judge them by the knowledge inculcated, so much as by the manner in which they fit the individual (or are thought to fit him) for the life he is to lead as an adult. The function of each school is different, but, broadly speaking, we can say that every school is a preparation for a new step in the life of the individual, in which an attempt is made to imbue him with the qualities and the knowledge necessary for that stage. The qualities believed by the Bantu to be most important for success in adult life are ability to bear children and strength, courage, and endurance in the work of life; hence these things are emphasized in the schools. In addition they learn to honour the chief and tribal custom, respect those older than themselves, value those things which are of value to the society, and observe tribal taboos, especially those connected with sex life.

The methods employed vary. Fertility and other qualities of adulthood can be obtained only by means of rites, medicine, and invocations to the ancestors for their blessings, and we must never lose sight of the fact that Bantu initiation schools are primarily rites, the inculcation of knowledge and precepts being of secondary importance. A common method employed in the teaching of precepts and of showing initiates their new duties is the use of songs and mummery, a method that has a great appeal to primitive and illiterate people. To train them in courage and endurance they are subjected to hardships and tests. Teaching in Bantu schools is seldom direct and usually symbolical: boys in the circumcision school are taught to be truthful, not by exhortations, but by having their tongues clamped with a piece of

[1] In the North Transvaal and in Zululand, girls have two schools, boys three; in Basutoland and Bechuanaland, girls and boys have one, while there are tribes that have two schools for boys and one for girls. The Venda are so school-ridden that, in addition to three of their own for both boys and girls, they have two foreign adoptions, one for girls and one for boys.

stick, and the formulæ that they learn are couched in language that only the initiated can understand.[1] Some of the formulæ teach precepts useful in everyday life, others contain sexual teachings. These formulæ, often described as licentious and valueless, may appear to the observer or reader, unaware of their setting and significance, as crude; but to the native they do not appear so. Out of their context they might convey to the native mind some obscenity, corresponding somewhat to the translation into licentious language by indiscriminate use in ordinary social relations of the scientific terminology of a professor in physiology. But even if that is so, they are taught in an atmosphere of such awe and respect for the school, and all it stands for, that their psychological effect cannot be otherwise than to emphasize the importance of the things that are taught. One cannot respect the obscene, nor can precepts approved of and inculcated by society as a whole be thought obscene by the individuals composing that society. Even when judged from the European standpoint, Bantu schools do achieve success in inculcating obedience, discipline and general good behaviour, qualities that make many a European employer prefer "boys" that have been through the schools to others.

The growing popularity of initiation schools in the Transvaal is not unconnected with the fact that they are a valuable source of income to the chief, who not only receives fees from initiates, but also enjoys their services before, during, and after the school. The secrecy and mystery surrounding the schools is an attraction to the young. The schools of the Sotho have many elements in common with the secret societies farther north, and appear to have been influenced by them.

Sex Life and Marriage

Sex Life.

Bantu initiation schools and many other customs can be better understood when looked at in the light of the Bantu attitude to sex.

[1] Many of the formulæ are so archaic as to be almost meaningless, others may not be grasped at first, but are understood better after the individual has been through a number of schools in other capacities, such as shepherd, older teacher, and so on. It is often stated that much of what happens in the schools is meaningless to the Natives themselves. Care must, however, be taken not to be too hasty in our judgments. We know very little of the schools and most of what we do know has come at second-hand from individuals who have been through the schools only as initiates. Much of what we teach in our own schools is neither understood nor remembered by the pupils. Yet it would be misleading to conclude that our schools as institutions have no value. Further, it is the ritual, rather than the teachings, that is of primary importance in Bantu schools.

The Southern Bantu have not that horror of sexual intercourse that is associated with the Christian idea that sex and sin are almost synonymous. They look upon the union of the sexes as something natural and good. Further, the value of the sex act in perpetuating the race, and its close association with human fertility and thus with social welfare, make it an integral part of a number of rites. There are times when sexual relations are essential—when moving to a new village (among the Shangana-Tonga), when a widow (Shangana-Tonga) or a homicide (Zulu) has to be purified—and there are occasions when the sex act is strictly taboo—after a death, after childbirth.[1]

The sex life and functions of the individual are believed to influence nature: a menstruating woman is a danger, not only to any man who has relations with her, but also to the cattle who would become ill if she were to go into their kraal and, among the south-eastern tribes, to drink their milk. Any irregularity in child-bearing, such as the birth of twins, an abortion, or a miscarriage, is thought by many tribes to have an effect on the rain. If a Pedi woman has an abortion, it is considered enough to desiccate the country with heat, and a rite will have to be performed before rain will fall,[2] while among the Lobedu abortions and twins have to be buried in wet soil, lest they cause drought. It is clear that here the fertility and sexual functions of human beings, and the rain, so essential for the fertility of the fields, are thought to be so closely connected that irregularities in the one easily affect the other.

If the sex act is a powerful means for good, it is at the same time considered to be full of dangers. It brings in its train a certain "uncleanness" or defilement which may prevent the healing of wounds and the recovery of sick people. Hence, among the Zulu, people who have had sexual connection, together with menstruating or pregnant women and mourners, are debarred from coming near anyone who is ill. Similarly, during circumcision ceremonies or in time of war (Shangana-Tonga) the sexual act is taboo. It is also possible for a man, through intercourse with a woman, to leave in her a mysterious power of conveying disease to the next person who has connection with her; hence the dangers of adultery.

In all the Southern Bantu tribes the birth of a child out of wedlock

[1] According to Junod, 1910, 146, it is only the sex relations of the married that are important in ritual. Among some Shangana-Tonga, when the sex act is taboo, e.g. during the mourning period, the *gangisa* custom (sex play of the unmarried) is not taboo.

[2] Junod, 1910, 140.

is frowned upon as an offence, and sexual morality consists in avoiding this and in observing sexual taboos of the type mentioned above. Bantu children, even before puberty, indulge in play at sexual intercourse; but this is either connived at or looked upon with amusement and toleration by adults because it can have no social consequences. After puberty, however, care must be taken that no children are born, and we find some form of social control, which varies from tribe to tribe.[1] Premarital sex intercourse is a recognized institution and among Venda and Zulu definite instruction is given at puberty on how to have intercourse without becoming deflowered.[2] Only external intercourse is, however, allowed, to facilitate which the Zulu pluck the pubic hair. The Swazi guard against possible consequences by placing a piece of soft goatskin over the female organ.[3]

If a Shangana-Tonga girl has no lovers people laugh at her, saying she must be malformed, while a boy who lacks lovers is subjected to a certain rite to render him more successful.[4] In this tribe, as among Mpondo and Venda, both boys and girls may have many lovers. The Zulu, however, are stricter. Here the practice of *hlobonga* is allowed only between couples that are *qoma'd* (privately betrothed) and permission has first to be obtained from the group of elder girls, who control the girl's actions very strictly.[5] A girl may thus *hlobonga* only with one man, but the man may have several lovers, since he is not confined to one wife. The Mpondo boy must send certain presents to the parents of his lover (10*s*. to the mother, goats and later an *umnyobo* beast to the father),[6] while the lover of a Venda girl works for her father, often side by side with her husband-to-be.[7] Ceremonies and occasions more particularly associated with these practices are girls' puberty ceremonies (among south-eastern tribes), marriage ceremonies, and the *domba* and *byale* schools.

Girls are periodically examined by their mothers to see if they are intact[8] and there are effective sanctions to secure virginity at marriage.

[1] Premarital sex intercourse is a recognized institution among Venda, Lobedu, Zulu, Shangana-Tonga, Swazi, Mpondo, Fingo, Xhosa, Pedi, and Mmamabolo of Woodbush. There is no definite information for other tribes.

[2] Stayt, 1931, 108; Kohler, 1933, 34.

[3] Engelbrecht, 1930, 21.

[4] Junod, 1910, 146.

[5] Krige, 1936, 105–6; cf. Kohler, 1933, 31 f.

[6] Hunter, 1936, 181. Though such unions sometimes lead to marriage, this is not generally approved of, parents preferring their daughters to marry someone she does not know so well. (Hunter.)

[7] Stayt, 1931, 111. Venda informants state that it is considered wrong for a man to *dhavula* with his fiancée. If, as among the Lobedu, a taboo sets in between couples the moment they are betrothed, this is quite comprehensible.

[8] See Kohler, 1933, 39–40, for a discussion on whether it is possible for these women to establish the virginity or otherwise of a girl.

Among Zulu and Mpondo, defloration brings defilement on the whole age-group of girls, who will maltreat her for the shame she has brought upon them, while the Kxatla songs of mockery were said to be a most powerful deterrent in the old days.[1] Furthermore, there is always a distinction made in marriage ceremonies between brides who are virgin and those who are not. Boys are discouraged both by public opinion and the fine imposed as damages.

Premarital intercourse is thus a socially recognized and socially controlled institution among the Southern Bantu, who regard it as strictly moral so long as it conforms to the rules. These practices form part of a system and philosophy of life and for this reason, while we may disapprove of them we cannot, with justice, label them as immoral.[2]

Within marriage, too, there is considerable sexual freedom, though the attitude towards adultery is not the same in all tribes. It is strictest among Shangana-Tonga and Zulu, where adultery is a ground for divorce.[3] Among the Cape tribes, the Swazi, Tswana, Pedi,[4] and others, adultery is not a ground for divorce and, though legally punishable, is very common indeed. The Sotho of Woodbush disapprove of adultery in theory, though in practice and in private it is looked upon as something desirable.[5] Boys are, moreover, taught in the circumcision school here and in neighbouring tribes to overlook adultery on the part of their wives and to refrain from gossip about the love affairs of others. Women are allowed considerable freedom as long as they act with discretion and it is not unknown for husbands to indicate to their wives men who may be suitable as lovers. Even here, however, adultery is punishable by a fine.

Men are, subject to the fine payable for adultery, allowed greater freedom than women, and there is in many tribes a recognized class of women with whom married men may have relations with impunity. This includes *amadikaʐi* (divorced women and unmarried mothers, for the seduction of whom no fine is payable unless pregnancy results)[6] among Cape tribes; "wives" of women among Lobedu; and

[1] Schapera, 1933, 67.

[2] Kohler, 1933, 34, calls external intercourse a "perversion of the natural function" and draws attention to "nervous disorders" which it brings in its train. This would be an interesting subject for investigation.

[3] Junod, 1927, i, 195. Yet adultery is common among the Shangana-Tonga.

[4] Among Pedi adultery is common and in certain circumstances considered even justifiable, e.g. if the husband remains away from home after his wife's child has been weaned.

[5] Hoffmann, 1933–34, 229.

[6] Whitfield, 1929, 413. Among Thembu no fine is payable in the case of a second pregnancy of an unmarried woman, but custom in this case varies.

widows, who among the Xhosa are expected to have intercourse with strangers to raise up seed to their dead husbands,[1] and among Pedi and other Transvaal tribes are looked upon as "every man's wives".[2]

Marriage.

When the individual has passed through whatever schools and ceremonies obtain in his tribe for initiation into adulthood, he is ready for marriage. To regard Bantu marriage as the culmination of sex love would be giving this institution a wrong perspective. In marriage it is the social, legal, and economic aspects that to the Southern Bantu are the most important—sex relations may, as we have seen, be had outside marriage.[3] Further, marriage is primarily an affair between groups, involving the two families concerned even more than the individuals. The personal predilections of the couple do not carry nearly the same weight as the good name of the family of the girl, her ability to bear children, work well, and get on amicably with her mother-in-law, for whom she will at first have to work.

The choice of a partner in marriage is thus not surrounded by the romantic conceptions of many Europeans. Further, if the individual concerned belongs to the Sotho group, he will have known all his life whom he is destined to marry, for here a man is expected to marry his mother's brother's daughter, if one of suitable age is available.[4] Marriage with the father's sister's daughter is permitted but not very common, as well as marriage with the father's brother's daughter.[5] Individual choice is further limited among the central tribes by infant betrothal.[6] The Nguni group and the Shangana-Tonga, on the other hand, do not allow marriage with relatives, and here there is therefore greater freedom of choice, though parents nevertheless arrange many marriages. Some girls, among Venda, Lobedu and other Northern Transvaal tribes, become the "wives" of women, for here any woman with the necessary *lobola* may marry a girl. She will point out some man with whom the girl may have children, allow her

[1] Whitfield, loc. cit. [2] Eiselen, 1928*a*, 49.

[3] The relative importance of social and economic factors and purely romantic love in European marriage varies greatly. Very often social factors unconsciously determine the choice of the individual.

[4] Marriage with the mother's brother's daughter is found among Venda, Sotho, and Transvaal Ndebele.

[5] Whereas the Huruthse prefer cross-cousin marriage to that with the father's brother's daughter, the Pedi prefer the latter form.

[6] Very common among the Pedi (Harries, 1929, 3), and found also among Venda, Lobedu, Tswana (Brown, 1926, 159) and Swazi (Engelbrecht, 1930, 21). In such cases *lobola* is usually handed over while the girl is still young, so that she can be nurtured on its milk. Cattle may even be handed over before the child is born.

own husband to have access to her, or leave her free to choose her own lovers.[1] If a young man dies without issue among Venda, Lobedu and Swazi, a woman may be married for him and his house will continue.[2] This is, however, rare. Nevertheless, in spite of all these customs, it does happen that a young man when attracted to a girl asks his father to arrange a marriage, which may be done in the usual way: and if things go badly, recourse can be had to elopement. If a girl really dislikes a man she is seldom forced to marry him.

Marriage negotiations may be opened either by the parents of the boy or by the parents of the girl, in addition to which there are one or two other forms. While by far the most widespread method is for the boy's parents to take the first step, both methods may be found side by side, and among the Xhosa it was, in the old days, more usual for the girl's people to open negotiations; this is still the most usual method among the Zulu in cases where the girl is of high rank.[3] The Zulu and other tribes of Natal have what is known as the *ukubaleka* or *ukuganisela* custom in which the girl, at the instigation of her lover, her father, or without the knowledge of either, presents herself at the kraal of the man she wants to marry. His people will then have to report her arrival to her father and open marriage negotiations. For a man to refuse such a girl is almost unheard of in Zululand; so much disgrace would be attached to it that the girl would immediately *balekela* someone else. This custom leaves a girl considerable freedom, for if her father wishes to marry her to someone she dislikes she can always run away to her lover.

The Nguni peoples have the *ukuṭhwala*, a kind of abduction or forced *ukubaleka* in which the boy and his friends carry off the girl (sometimes even at the instigation of her own father). Among the Zulu this takes place when an engaged girl, or her father, breaks her contract, and a penalty over and above *lobola* will be demanded only if the boy had no right to *thwala*. It is not at all clear from the evidence whether the *ukuThwala* obliges the girl's parents to accept the position or whether they may still refuse to consent.[4] Abduction or elopement among the central tribes and Tonga has not the recognition that

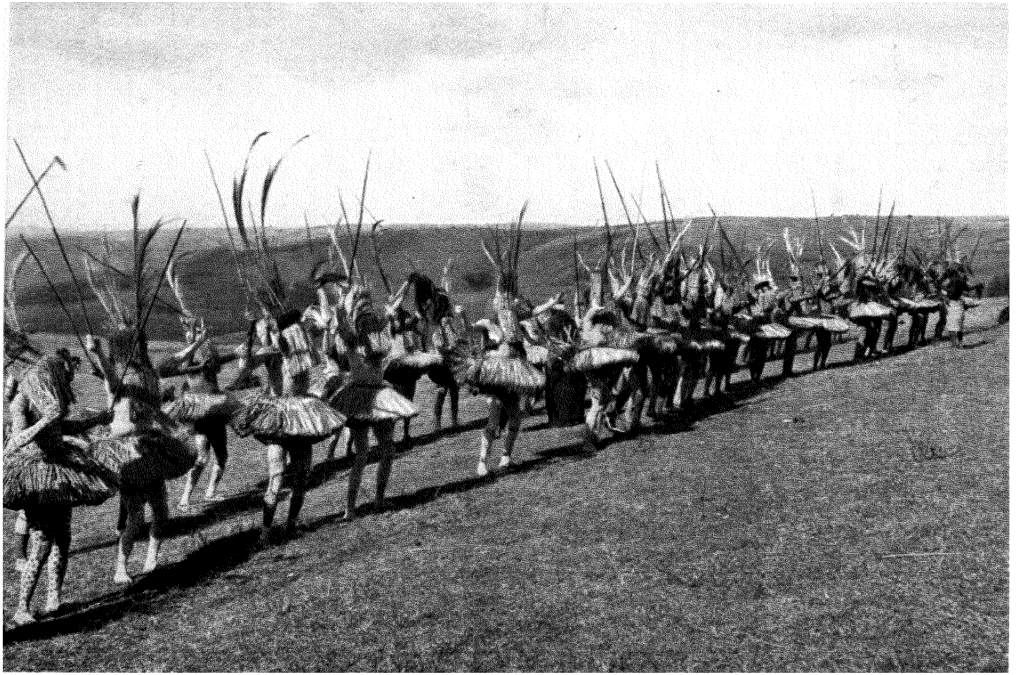
[1] A woman who has no sons herself has a claim on her brother's daughter who would have married such a son. In Basutoland a widow with cattle could marry a wife and get some male relative or friend to beget children for her. Further, if the first wife of a chief had only daughters, a wife could be married for the eldest and handed over to the next male relative to raise seed. The eldest son of this union was the heir (Whitfield, 1929, 175).

[2] Whitfield, 1929, 213; Engelbrecht, 1930, 8.

[3] Among the Mpondo there is some stigma attached to the first step being taken by the girl's people unless she is of high rank (Hunter, 1936, 187).

[4] See Whitfield, 1929, 79–85.

PLATE IX



Dance of the *abakweta* (Cape Nguni)
INITIATION CEREMONIES

[*face p.* 112

PLATE X

[S.A.R. and H.

Zulu wedding dance

ukuThwala has. The girl will run away with her lover to some indulgent relative and the boy's people have to report the matter to her father who, among Venda and Lobedu, usually accepts the position but exacts *lobola*. Such an action is considered a disgrace.

Once negotiations have been opened, the all-important question of *lobola* arises. No custom has been so widely discussed or given rise to so many misconceptions as this one of *lobola*, or the handing over of cattle in marriage. Because it involves material possessions and is often accompanied by considerable bargaining, it was looked upon by Europeans at first as a sale. Apart from the fact that the words for selling and for paying *lobola* are not the same, the husband has no rights of property or possession over the woman, nor can he dispose of her or ill-treat her. *Lobola* is not a dowry, for " the cattle are where the girl is not " and though she may, when in trouble, claim help from anyone who holds her *lobola*, she is not able to use it and does not necessarily benefit by it. Only through *lobola* can a man claim the children of a woman; once this has been paid, all her children are his, too, whether he is their real father or not. There is some truth in the idea that *lobola* is a compensation to the group that has lost a member, to restore the disturbed equilibrium. There is, however, no direct relation between the amount of *lobola* and the value of the girl and where, as has been the case in times of famine, such things as stones and mice are handed over, it can hardly be looked upon as compensation. It is rather an attempt to soften the blow and try to obtain the friendship of the girl's family. That *lobola* is not mere compensation is shown also by the fact that there is a lifelong bond between a man and his parents-in-law. He is expected to assist them whenever they need his help[1] and for this reason is called by the Zulu " the handle of a hoe ", being, like this most important implement in society, a friend and helper. Furthermore, the gifts handed over by the girl's father may sometimes equal or even exceed the *lobola* paid (Cape Nguni). *Lobola* has many aspects; but its importance lies in the fact that *lobola is* marriage and to the Southern Bantu marriage without *lobola* is inconceivable.

The amount handed over varies, according to the times and the wealth of the boy's family, though everywhere it is considered an honour to give a high *lobola*. The nearest approach to a fixed amount is found among the Lobedu, where there are seven named beasts (in addition to the virginity beast), but even here there can be variations

[1] See Stayt, 1931, 144.

between a minimum of two cows and calves and the option of giving three additional beasts.[1] In most tribes a special beast, often a cow and calf, is handed over to the girl's mother in recognition of her virginity.[2]

Among many tribes the handing over of *lobola* is a life-long process. The Swazi man need not pay a single head of cattle till late in married life, and often instalments are handed over after the birth of each child.[3] The essential feature of *lobola* among the Xhosa, according to Soga, " is that there is no finality in it. Cattle pass from the husband to his wife's parents or their family throughout the lifetime of the husband and beyond it."[4] The *ukuteleka* custom is much in vogue among the Cape tribes, whereby the father of a girl from time to time impounds her until the husband hands over an additional amount of *lobola*.[5]

The Shangana-Tonga, Pedi and most of the central tribes prefer the full amount to be handed over before marriage; but in practice this is seldom done. The Huruthse feel that *lobola* should be handed over before the birth of the first child, but it is often left till the initiation of the eldest, when it is handed over in a lump sum[6] (which these tribes prefer). The Venda complete payment of *lobola* usually only after the marriage of the wife's first daughter. Marriage can be arranged without *lobola* if a man be poor, on the understanding that the *lobola* for the first daughter will be given to the wife's father, a custom known as *ethula* among Zulu and Cape tribes, and found also in other tribes, such as the Kxatla and Pedi.

The person primarily responsible for payment of *lobola* (in the first marriage of a man) is his father, who usually pairs off brother and sister, the girl's *lobola* being used to acquire a wife for the boy. Other relatives may, however, also be liable for contributions; and among the Sotho, as among the Swazi,[7] the mother's brother is held responsible for at least one head of cattle, which the Huruthse can legally force him to pay.

In the protracted ceremonial that is necessary for Bantu marriage the most important actors are the two families rather than the

[1] J. D. Krige, 1934, 135–149.

[2] This beast, payable also by a seducer, is the *ingquthu* of Zulu and Transkei tribes, Lobedu *tsoeda ya mushene*, Huruthse *serufô*, Venda *ndzadzi*, Swazi *umsula nyembeti*.

[3] Engelbrecht, 1930, 13.

[4] Soga, 1932, 266.

[5] The Venda have a similar custom. See Lestrade, 1930*b*, 198.

[6] Lestrade, 1926, 939–940.

[7] Engelbrecht, 1930, 14. The *malume* is on the other hand entitled to one or more of his niece's *lobola*, which he holds for sacrifices when things go wrong with her or her children.

individuals. The father of the girl will neither accept nor reject a suitor without the consent and support of other members of the family or lineage, who will be called in to discuss the matter. Hence it is always said of a girl " She has been married to such and such people " or " over at such and such a kraal ". In a matter so delicate as marriage negotiations the Bantu consider it essential to have " go-betweens ", through whom all transactions are made, and who will be better able to withstand any rebuffs. There may be a go-between on each side, as among the Lobedu, or the go-betweens may be chosen by one of the parties, bridegroom's among Tswana, Zulu and Xhosa, bride's among the Venda.

The moment negotiations have been opened, there is a barrier between the two families, which must be bridged by the tireless efforts of the go-betweens. The distrust is shown in a number of ways and continues right until the marriage feasts are held. The girl's family will be rude and insulting when the first instalment of *lobola* arrives and very often a mock-fight takes place, the girl's male relatives trying to prevent the drivers of the *lobola* cattle from entering the kraal. They are made to feel that the girl is a loved and valued member of her family, who are in no way anxious to give her up. This hostility is ceremonially expressed also in the mutual vituperation between the two families when the marriage nears completion (Zulu, Shangana-Tonga). Simultaneous with these expressions of hostility are efforts at friendliness. When *lobola* is handed over the girl's father will slaughter a goat or beast, part of which may be sent to the boy's people. Meanwhile ceremonial visits between the boy and girl will be taking place; among the Tonga these visits are from both sides, among the Lobedu only on the part of the boy. Such visits help to promote feelings of friendship.

When finally, after years of negotiation, the bride sets out for her new home,[1] a beast will, in most tribes, be slaughtered to secure for her the blessings of her ancestors.[2] Among the Shangana-Tonga, this is the marriage feast at which boy and girl are publicly recognized as man and wife. The Xhosa do not hold a feast at the girl's kraal, both families contributing towards that held at the groom's; other

[1] Among Venda, Pedi, and some Tswana a man lives with and must work for his father-in-law for a year or more before being allowed to take home his wife.

[2] Among the Tswana and Southern Sotho the sheet of fat round the entrails is rubbed with medicine and placed round the girl's neck, probably to secure fertility. Among the Huruthse this ceremony seems to be associated with payment of *lobola*, for if a child whose mother's *lobola* has not yet been paid has to enter the initiation school it is performed on the child to give it the necessary status.

tribes have feasts at both kraals. The girl must show extreme reluctance to leave home. Among Sotho tribes the bridal party sits down at frequent intervals, refusing to go further till persuaded by a present; among the Zulu the bride makes various attempts at flight during the festivities at the boy's kraal.

While showing unwillingness to join the boy's group, the girl does not leave home empty-handed. She takes with her presents for various members of the boy's family, her own household utensils and, among Nguni tribes, also a number of beasts, one of which is slaughtered at the wedding feast.[1] The exchange of gifts between the two families does not stop at marriage. The Zulu woman once or twice a year carries beer to the kraal of her son-in-law and a Lobedu wife never returns empty-handed after a visit to her former home.

For the bridegroom, marriage is a transition to full manhood; for the woman it is this and more. She has to be aggregated into a new family and for her the proceedings are marked by separation from her own home and seclusion at the new one until she is accepted into the family.[2] One of the first aggregation rites for the girl takes place, among the Zulu, when she has to touch the gall of the beast slaughtered at the marriage by her husband's people. But the process of incorporation is a slow one, marked by very humble and submissive behaviour on the part of the bride and the observation of a number of taboos. The entry of bride and groom into their new life is marked sometimes by mutual inoculation or "mixing" ceremonies (Venda and Lobedu), sometimes by sitting together on one mat or being smeared with fat (Shangana-Tonga and Southern Sotho).

No marriage is complete without children. Should the wife be barren or die childless, a sister or other younger relative would have to take her place.[3] Any children born will be considered children of the barren sister, and the seed-raiser has no hut or status of her own. No *lobola* is due for her,[4] though a gift of from one to three head of cattle is usually given to thank the parents. If, however, the deceased

[1] The Xhosa girl brings from one to three beasts, and often many more if her father is rich.

[2] She is, however, never fully incorporated. When she is ill, sacrifice must be made to her own ancestors. For a comparison of the position of married women in the village among Nguni and Sotho respectively, cf. above, Chapter IV.

[3] The Huruthse go so far as to send a woman who has already been married, if necessary; while Zulu often send a younger sister of the bride as her *inhlanzi* to remain with her in her new home and take her place, if need be.

[4] This is mentioned for the Southern Sotho (Whitfield, 1929, 175), Swazi (Engelbrecht, 1930, 6), Venda (Lestrade, 1930, 202), Huruthse (Lestrade, 1926, 941–2), and is common all over the Union. Among Pedi a "nominal charge" never exceeding three head of cattle, is always made (Whitfield, 1929, 208).

has borne children, her husband would have to pay *lobola* in the usual way on marrying her sister. Among some tribes, e.g. Shangana-Tonga,[1] Ndebele,[2] Swazi,[3] marriage with the wife's sister is at all times, not only on the death or sterility of the first wife, considered very appropriate, and it is usual for a Swazi man when visiting his wife's people to engage one of her sisters to spend the night with him. If a child is born he would either give *lobola* for the girl or, if on friendly terms with her people, he might be allowed to give a beast and take the child, leaving the girl to be married to someone else.

A form of marriage related to the sororate is that with the wife's brother's daughter. Among the Venda, a man may, failing his wife's sister, be given one of her brother's children.[4] This brother, having used his sister's *lobola*, is responsible for satisfying the just claims of her husband. Among the Swazi, too, a man is entitled to his wife's brother's daughter,[5] while Shangana-Tonga and Lobedu consider this kind of marriage appropriate at any time. The Lobedu kinship term for a girl's father's sister's husband is " husband ".

Should a woman's husband die there will never be the bogey of destitution before her. She will be able to remain in the village of her husband's people and be cared for by them. The levirate obtains everywhere except among the Xhosa, where the brothers of the deceased are not allowed to have sexual connection with the widow, though even here she is expected to " raise seed " to the deceased by intercourse with strangers.[6] Though in certain circumstances an elder brother may inherit the wife,[7] it is, on the whole, the junior levirate that obtains, and the union is always recognized by the slaughter of a beast, accompanied by some sort of purification. In cases where a son succeeds his father as village-head, with responsibility for all kraal inmates it is, among Sotho and Shangana-Tonga, possible for him to have sexual relations with a young wife of his father, never, of course, his own mother. Other tribes look upon such a union with horror. The widows are always allowed to choose which of the eligible male relatives they would like as seed-raiser, and, in general,

[1] Junod, 1927, i, 247.
[2] Eiselen, 1928*c*, 417.
[3] Engelbrecht, 1930, 6.
[4] Stayt, 1931, 152.
[5] Engelbrecht, 1930, 2.
[6] The levirate is nevertheless present in all neighbouring tribes—Mpondo, Thembu, Xesibe, Bhaca, Fingo, Hlubi.
[7] Among the Venda either an older brother or a younger may " raise seed ", but among the Huruthse, if an elder brother inherits a woman, the resulting children are regarded as his own and inherit from him. Here it has, however, been known for a paternal uncle to raise up seed in the ordinary way (Lestrade, 1926, 242). It would seem that among the Swazi the eldest brother of deceased has a prior claim to the chief wife (Engelbrecht, 1930, 9).

a woman who has borne her husband a number of children would not be prevented from returning to her own home as long as her children remained in their father's kraal. The socially approved action, is however, to remain where she is and raise seed to her husband.

After marriage the individual is recognized as a full member of the community with all the privileges and duties that this entails. As the years go by, his status grows ever greater in this society in which respect for age is so marked a characteristic. Mature age is the Bantu ideal: the old man is honoured for his wisdom and experience while the old woman enjoys respect and freedom from many taboos of her younger days.

Chapter VI

DOMESTIC AND COMMUNAL LIFE

By G. P. Lestrade

Most of the aspects from which Bantu tribal life may be regarded —social, political and economic organization, law, religion, art, and ceremonial—have received fairly adequate and connected treatment in the scientific literature concerning these peoples. The more prosaic features of domestic and communal life have, however, been curiously neglected. Either anthropologists have felt that these sides of Bantu life are of minor importance compared to the other aspects with which they have dealt; or, perhaps, they have considered that daily routine and even special occasions are made up of a series of incidents forming part of one or other set of cultural activities which they have described, so that such routine and such occasions need no independent description of their own. The result of this attitude has been that these subjects have had but scant and sporadic treatment in the scientific literature, and that it is chiefly in popularized, imaginary and often rather fanciful portrayals of tribal life that we have any detailed and connected descriptions of the daily routine of a typical individual, family, clan, or tribe, or of the communal activities in which groups of these from time to time indulge.

Since the conditions under which the various Bantu-speaking peoples live vary considerably, and since their social and economic systems show many important differences, it is impossible to give one generalized picture that will be applicable to all, nor would a detailed description of the life of one particular tribe in this regard serve as a guide to the rest. Under the circumstances, it has been thought wise to adopt here a method midway between the two extremes, and to give a fairly generalized description of the domestic and communal life of a single group of tribes. The group chosen is that with which the writer happens to be best acquainted, namely the Northern Sotho. Such a description will, it must be repeated, not suit other tribes, and will not, in its details, be entirely applicable to every tribe even in the group chosen. But in its main features it may

be taken as applicable not only to other Sotho tribes but also to the adjacent Venda and Shangana-Tonga of the Transvaal; and will, it is thought, form not too inaccurate a guide to the life in these respects of the other Bantu-speaking peoples of South Africa.

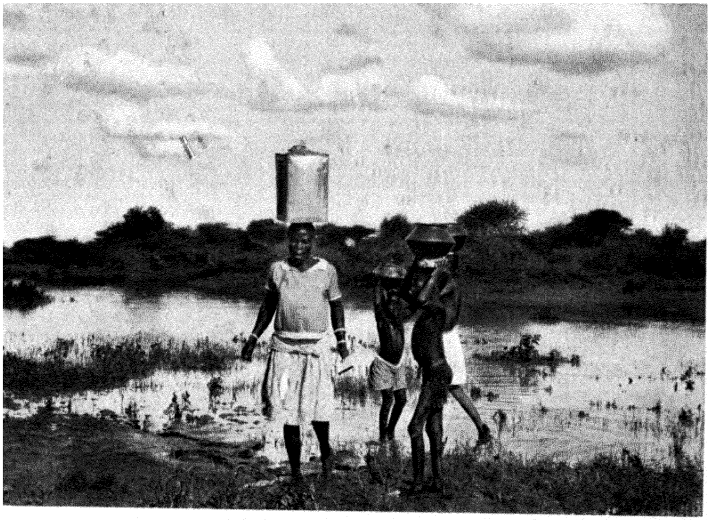
It must be stressed beforehand that daily routine and the nature of communal activities are influenced to a very important extent by a number of factors in tribal organization. Chief among these are habitat, domestic and communal organization, the division of labour among sexes and according to age, and the distribution of special offices and functions among individuals. As all these are described in detail in other chapters, it will be unnecessary to do more than merely mention them here. Further, no attempt will be made here to deal with the life of children, since this also is dealt with elsewhere. Our main concern will be with adult life as lived from day to day, and as interspersed with special occasions, in the tribal village.

The Daily Round

The Village.

Let us imagine, as the scene upon which the events we are going to describe take place, a typical village of this area: a cluster of huts, a dozen or so in number, with an open square leading into the settlement, which also has a council-place, a cattle-kraal, and smaller stockaded enclosures. Each hut is surrounded with a courtyard, and has various appurtenances, such as storage-places, drying-places, cooking-places, etc. The various courtyards are separated from each other by palisading, winding alleyways connecting courtyard with courtyard. The whole forms a compact and close unit of habitation. The lands for cultivation, the pasture-grounds for the stock, the watering-places, the drinking-water supply, the washing-places, the spots where wood is gathered—all these are, however, a considerable distance from the village which uses them. The surrounding villages are also not near-by reckoned by European standards: the average distance between villages is at least a mile or so. The chief's village is, it may be, a good many miles off. A village such as we have been describing would be occupied by a man with his wives and their children, together with perhaps an unmarried younger brother of the man and, it may be, one of his father's widows, while the wives of young married sons would help to swell the number. The huts would be allotted for occupation by the inhabitants of the village on

PLATE XI



[*I. Schapera*

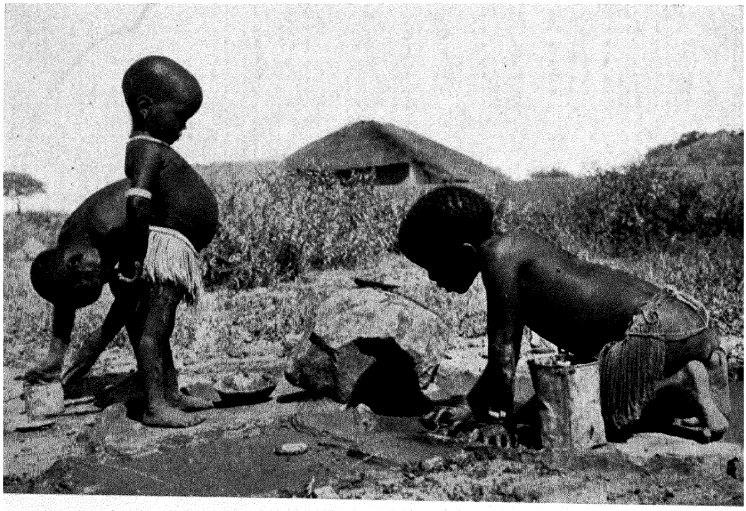
(*a*) Drawing water (Kxatla)

[*I. Schapera*

(*b*) Smearing a courtyard floor (Kxatla)
(The designs on the floor are traced out with a mixture of fresh cowdung and earth)

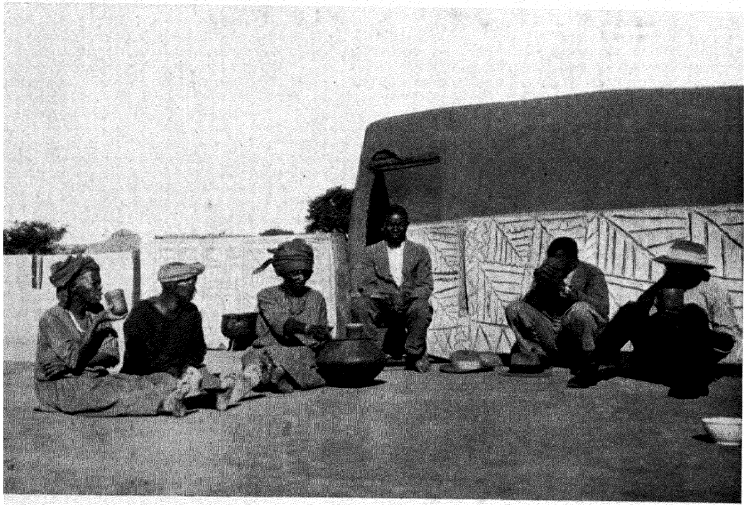
HOUSEHOLD OCCUPATIONS

PLATE XII



[*I. Schapera*

(*a*) Children at play (Kxatla)



[*I. Schapera*

(*b*) An informal beer drink (Kxatla)

DOMESTIC SCENES

the principle that each wife, with her children, is entitled to a hut of her own, while the other huts are allotted according to the sex and marital condition of the remaining inhabitants. The head of the village occupies each of his wives' huts in turn, young unmarried men and elder boys share a hut or huts as do young unmarried women and elder girls, and young married couples are allotted a hut to themselves. Let us follow such a little community through one of its typical days.

Early Morning.

The Bantu are early risers, however late a night they may have had. They get up as soon as the sun shows above the horizon, or even earlier on the slightest provocation, when, in their own phrase, the horns of the cattle are just visible. Since they sleep completely naked in their blankets, since full bathing, when done, is done at the bathing-places some distance off and later in the day,[1] and since other ablutions are performed in public view, their first action after waking is to dress, after which the huts, which have been shut tightly all night, are opened to let in some light and air. The women usually get up first, and wash before going about their morning work. They then see to it that there is water for the menfolk to wash, and proceed to their other work. If the water supply is some distance off, washing-water may have been fetched the previous evening, as well as wood for making the fires. If the watering-place is comparatively near-by, the women go out to fetch water and gather wood. In the meantime the men have got up, though, especially if they have been several times during the night to have a look at the cattle-kraal, they may sleep a little longer. Youths and boys, who have to take the stock to pasture, are up betimes, and may break their fast with some scraps of food left over from the previous evening's meal before doing the morning milking. If there is nothing left over, they may either take some uncooked meal and some cooking-utensils with them to prepare their morning meal in the veld, or they may elect to live on such small game as they can trap or kill there, or they may even go hungry till they return home ravenous for the evening meal. Those who have to be off on a journey are also away betimes, with or without some scrap of food. By this time the men are also up. Early morning washing

[1] Except by young people who have recently gone through the initiation ceremonies; these, for some period after they have returned home, keep up the habit, acquired during the initiation-period, of bathing in the early morning.

is not so obligatory with them as it is for women and recently-initiated youths, and many elect to remain unwashed till just before the morning meal. They usually sit for a little while outside in the sun, and issue orders to the younger men about what is to be done during the day. The latter are also soon off to their various tasks, such as building or repairing a hut, or any other of the manual work which falls to their share. The men then repair to the council-place, where, unless otherwise engaged, they usually spend most of their day. The younger women and girls who may not have gone with the other women to fetch water and to gather wood now set about other tasks in the home, such as sweeping and cleaning, washing cooking-utensils, stamping maize, and looking after the children.

The Morning Meal.

As the middle of the morning is reached, the women who have been out return with water and wood, and begin to prepare the morning meal, the first of the two meals of the day. This usually consists only of porridge, though occasionally some relishes are also prepared with it, such as monkey-nut sauce or a sort of *purée* of wild spinach. When this is ready, usually between ten and eleven o'clock, it is ladled out into the wooden food-bowls, and allowed to cool and harden slightly. Those who are out in the veld or on a journey of some little distance do not return home for the morning meal, nor do the men and youths who are at the council-place or engaged in manual labour respectively. The women and children eat their share at home in the courtyards, usually under the eaves of the huts. The share of the others is brought to them in their bowls by the younger women, usually together with water for washing the hands. Nothing, except perhaps a calabash of water at the end, is drunk with the meal. But the men at the council-place may already have drunk a little beer supplied to them by the head of the village. The men usually eat in age-set groups, sharing their food with one another. The young men and youths at work eat where they happen to be, the food being brought to them there by their people. After the morning meal is consumed, the bowls are fetched back by the younger women, and the work of the day goes on.

The Later Morning and Early Afternoon.

It is here that a brief reference to the activities of the men at the council-place is best made. Most of the time is spent in talk, with or

without a background of work to accompany it. The talk may be merely desultory, in which case most of the men engage in some seated handicraft as well—braying skins, carving objects out of wood or horn, making wire-work, weaving baskets, etc. The talk may also be important, in which case accompanying work tends to stop. Tribal and village news is exchanged, affairs are discussed, messengers come and go, visitors are announced and received, petty disputes are talked over and settled, lines of common action are determined upon. At ordinary times there is a pleasantly informal air about the proceedings at the council-place. The men sit about in scattered fashion, on the ground, up against a tree, on logs of wood, or, if they have them, on little stools, which they carry about with them or leave where they usually sit. They may even lie about, and, if there is no important business going on, if they have had a late or interrupted night, and if the day is warm, they may indulge in a quiet nap while the others go on talking.

But this informality changes when something occurs which demands more formal attention. Then everybody sits politely upright in a body, listening attentively to what is being said and taking an active part in the proceedings. It may be, for instance, that an important visitor arrives, or that a matter of some moment is before them. Then the loose desultory talk stops, side-pursuits are suspended, everybody is quiet, paying close attention to what is happening, and speaking each in his appointed turn as occasion requires. The formal procedure in connection with the trial of petty cases will be described elsewhere : this is perhaps the best place to indicate briefly the picturesque ceremonial, common among the people we are describing, in the formal reception of an important visitor other than the chief of the tribe. The visitor, accompanied by his own entourage of spokesmen, first comes to the outskirts of the village, where he is met by a messenger, to whom his spokesmen announce him. The messenger departs to the council-place, and soon returns inviting the visitor and his men to accompany him there. They are seated on the outskirts of the group. After a little preliminary silence, the senior man in the council-place asks after the visitor's health. The word is passed from mouth to mouth through a number of intermediaries, and finally reaches the visitor's entourage, who communicate it to him. He answers in the same way, but in the reverse order, speaking first to his own spokesmen, who pass the word to the hosts, till it finally reaches the first speaker. Several such formal questions and answers pass

between the parties for a while. After a time the proceedings become less formal and cumbersome, the intermediary spokesmen gradually fall out, and the visitor talks directly with his chief host. When the time comes for the visitor to leave, formality is resumed, ending in formal permission to depart, and the visitor and his men being formally conducted away from the council-place by the messenger. If beer is available, some will be brought and consumed, the hosts drinking first to show that it is not poisoned. If there is no beer, the hosts will apologize for its absence, usually in the hyperbolic phrase that the whole village is dying of hunger. If the visitor intends to make a somewhat longer stay, food will be cooked for him and his spokesmen and brought together with that of the other men. For a very important visitor, a goat or sheep will be killed, or, on a first-class occasion, a beast.

While the older men are at the council-place, the younger men and older boys, or such of them as are not out with the cattle, will be busy at their manual labour. The proceedings here are of course quite informal, many jokes are interchanged and much talk and shouting goes on. The exchanging of rude jokes with the younger women who pass by, on the part of the young men who may stand to them in cross-cousin relationship, forms a rather noticeable feature in the course of the day's work. Occasionally, one or more of the older men from the council-place will come to inspect the progress of the work, and issue further orders as to how it is to be carried on.

The women, in the meantime, busy themselves about their manifold household duties. One or two will remain at home, usually the older ones, to look after the home and the small children, while perhaps one or two others will busy themselves making pots or stamping maize or preparing beer. Others, accompanied by young girls, and with their small babies on their backs, will set out to the lands, where they remain till the late afternoon weeding, hoeing, sowing, reaping, etc. When the work in the fields is done for the day, they will go to the water-supply to fetch water, and will gather some wood, all in preparation for the evening meal. The work on the lands is often performed communally. In theory, every woman has her own piece of land, which she is supposed to look after herself, and for which she is responsible. In practice, women often club together over this work. One woman may invite a number of others to help her work her piece of land, on the understanding that she will help them with theirs when the time comes. As a reward for this co-operation,

she usually provides them with some beer and, it may be, some food, which is consumed when the hard work is over.

It is toward the commencement of the late afternoon that the usual time for bathing occurs. Older and younger people, men and women, have their own appointed bathing-places. The women usually bathe on their way home from the fields, and the others who have remained at home, men and women, go out to bathe when the day's work proper is done.

The Late Afternoon.

The later afternoon ushers in the less strenuous part of the day. Important matters at the council-place are settled by then, and it may be that someone, perhaps the head of the village, provides some beer for the men to drink. Beer-drinking is carried on with a fair amount of ceremonial. The pot is brought by a young woman, who places it before the men. Several calabashes are brought at the same time. One of the men, usually the right-hand man of the village-head, takes charge, ladling out the beer with one calabash and pouring it into the others, which are handed round in turns. The man whose wife has provided the beer usually drinks first, to show that it is not poisoned. Others drink after him, the few calabashes being used by all the men in turn. Older and more important men are given the first share, others wait till later. If there is nothing to do at the council-place, the men will wander off, some going to visit friends, exchanging gossip and snuff and possibly getting a calabash of beer in the process: or they may go off to a regular beer-party somewhere in the neighbourhood, perhaps at the chief's kraal, or at some other village where some festive occasion is being celebrated. As the afternoon wears on and the men are more and more full of beer, voices grow higher and tempers may rise, vociferous disputes and wranglings and sometimes actual fighting may occur. In a plentiful season, no man reaches the end of the afternoon perfectly sober.

The women also, on their return from the fields, or after their day's work at home, indulge in a certain amount of relaxation till the time comes for preparing the evening meal. They go out visiting, exchanging gossip, and, in the case of the older women, getting some snuff, and, if it is a fairly plentiful season, usually managing to obtain some beer as well. Women do not sit in on men's beer-parties, but have some beer provided for them separately, which is drunk with considerably less ceremonial. In the course of such visits, a

certain number of business transactions, such as the purchase and sale or exchange of household utensils, take place, and a good deal of good- or ill-natured wrangling takes place over such and other items.

As the afternoon wears on towards dusk, the youths and boys come home with the stock, which has fed and been watered. The men will by this time be drifting home gradually, and, as soon as the stock has returned, they will go to inspect it, after which the evening milking takes place. If a goat, sheep or beast has been slaughtered, its meat will have been cut up by this time, and the various portions will be allotted to those entitled to them. There is a regular system about the division of the various parts of the carcass, certain houses and certain persons being entitled to certain fixed portions. The same holds of any animal that may have been killed in the chase and which is brought home to be divided.

The Evening Meal.

The younger women will by this time have got the fires going and the cooking-pots on. The women, old and young, now busy themselves about the preparation of the evening meal. Its basis, like that of the morning meal, is of coarse porridge; but it is a more substantial meal. Meat, or in its absence some relishing sauce, forms a substantial accompaniment to the porridge. The porridge is once again ladled into the individual wooden food-bowls, the sauces and meat are served up in common dishes made of clay. When the food is ready, the members of the family sit down to the evening meal.

The evening meal is essentially a family affair. For the morning meal, as has been stated, the members are dispersed and served wherever they happen to be. But everybody is at home for the evening meal, including of course any guests that may have arrived. The meal is eaten outside, usually under the eaves of the huts, but sometimes elsewhere. Among the tribes under strong Venda influence, important persons, and nearly all the men, eat inside the huts. The older men, the younger men, the women, and the children, constitute little groups, each eating apart from the others, with a common meat-dish and individual porridge-bowls. Eating is done with the fingers, the hands being usually washed before the meal is taken. The children often get only the scraps of meat left over by the grown-ups, but are allowed literally to lick clean the grown-ups' platters. Since the evening meal is the only substantial one of the day, the quantities of food consumed at a sitting are very great according to European standards of capacity.

The youths and boys especially, who have been out on scant rations all day, put away enormous amounts of the thick heavy porridge.

The Evening.

After the evening meal the whole family relaxes, and family life appears in its most pronounced and cosiest form. People sit round the fires, the men and older boys in one group, the women and children in another. It is then that tales are told. The men will relate such of the day's happenings as they are disposed to communicate, or will tell hunting-stories or tales of long-ago events; or they may indulge in some of the typical men's games, such as the *moruba* game,[1] or they may exchange proverbs, or, in lighter mood, riddles, and generally joke and pass the time away. The children crowd round the older women, for this is when grandmothers' tales are told—tales of ogres and witches, animal-stories, and the many other tales referred to in the chapter on tribal literature. The children indulge freely in riddle-games, and in other games of various kinds. For the young people, the evening is the time of love-making, to which the older people, still under the benign effects of the afternoon's beer and the soporific influence of the heavy evening meal, turn a judiciously blind eye. Assignations are made and trysts are kept, especially at times when there is dancing of an evening, as often happens on moonlight nights. Dances are the only things, as a rule, that entice people away from their own homes in the evenings; but dancing of this kind, as distinct from ritual dancing, which falls into another category, is for the younger people, the elders contenting themselves with looking on and consuming such beer as may be provided.

When the evening draws on toward night, the inhabitants of the village retire to rest one by one as sleep overtakes them. Some of the men may go out for a last reassuring look at the cattle-kraal, the women will look to see that the fires are dead or at least so far died down that there is no risk of anything catching fire during the night. The courtyard entrances are barred, and then everybody retires to his or her hut. Sleeping-mats are spread out, some improvised headrests are put ready, and, dressed only in their sleeping-blankets or skins, young and old retire to rest. The doors are tightly closed, and windows there are none. Everything must be shut to keep off not only possible evildoers but, more dangerous still, the evil spirits

[1] Described for the Shangana-Tonga people by Junod (1927, i, 345 ff.), under the name *tshuba*. The name *mancala* is often applied to this game in general anthropological literature.

that go about during the night and get into the huts through any available openings to attack the defenceless inhabitants. During the night, especially if the cattle are uneasy, some of the men will be up several times and go to the cattle-kraal to inspect. For the rest, everything is peaceful until dawn, when the next day's round commences.

Seasonal Changes in Daily Life

As may be imagined, seasonal changes play a considerable part in modifying ordinary routine. During the ploughing- and reaping-seasons, for instance, when every able-bodied woman and, especially nowadays, every available able-bodied man, is at work in the fields for a considerable part of the day, the villages stand practically empty except of children and very old people for a great deal of the time; and daily routine is changed accordingly. In the middle of winter, when pasture for the cattle is scarce, the flocks with their herdsmen have to be taken far afield to graze, often so far that it is impossible for them to go out and come back in the same day, so that the cattle are kept for some period at the cattle-posts, the herd-boys staying with them, with a consequent change in the habits of the village. At another time, the chief may call out most of the young men to perform their share of labour for him, and the younger women may be similarly called upon to till the chief's fields; and again such a process results in a considerable disturbance of ordinary daily routine. It would be impossible and unnecessary to enumerate and describe such disturbances of daily routine in detail; but their possibility must be clearly kept in mind.

Occasional Interruptions of Daily Routine

But there are various occasional disturbances of daily routine which we shall have to note, since it is on these occasions that we find the communal, as distinct from the domestic, side of village life in its most pronounced and striking form. We refer here to festive occasions, such as a wedding, or a birth-ceremony, or the return of the initiates after their period of seclusion in the tribal schools, or, in fact, any occasion of the kind which serves as a reason for interrupting the normal flow of daily domestic life.

Let us imagine ourselves on the eve of the wedding of some important man's daughter. We will remember that, for a considerable

period, the even tenor of life in the villages has been slightly disturbed by the going to and fro of the messengers who have arranged the details of the marriage, which, incidentally may have formed one of the staple topics of conversation round about for some time. But now the arrangements are made, and the day for the actual wedding-ceremony is near. Messengers are sent out to the neighbouring villages to acquaint them formally with the fact that the wedding is to take place, and to invite them formally to be guests thereat. No invitations are sent to those blood-relations who will attend as of right, nor are invitations sent to those whose presence is not desired, although the absence of such an invitation seldom succeeds in keeping them away. For some days beforehand, an air of excitement prevails in the villages affected. Many preparations are made: the men decide which of the cattle are to be slaughtered for the occasion of the feast, the women are busy making beer, stamping maize, and preparing the ingredients for the dishes that will accompany the porridge and meat.

On the day itself, excitement rises to a very high pitch. Little if any work is done. All activities that can wait at all are completely suspended, and even essential services, such as the pasturing and watering of the cattle, are scamped as much as possible. In the very early morning, life goes on very much as on ordinary days, except for the prevailing air of excitement. But soon the nature of the day makes itself manifest in the unusual nature of people's activities. The men proceed with the killing of the animals destined for the feast: there is much shouting at every step in the business, much earnest confabulation about how the pieces are to be cut and distributed. The women have got the beer in readiness, and a portion of it is consumed already in the morning, while the morning meal is usually but a scanty one in anticipation of the feast to follow.

The actual wedding ceremony now begins to take place. This is described elsewhere in this book: but some indication ought to be given of the demeanour of hosts and guests, of young and old, of men and women. It is the duty of the hosts to provide the most lavish hospitality they can, aided by their relations and intimate friends: and the guests are by no means modest in their demands, or shy about accepting their rightful share of the hospitality, or about voicing their complaints when it is not lavish enough to their taste—especially when they have already had enough beer to loosen their tongues. The Bantu soon grow noisy in crowds, especially when there is some beer going, and the din at a wedding feast is enough to make the uninitiated think

that some violent free fight is going on, when in fact people are only amusing themselves talking and exchanging jokes and a few personal pleasantries. The younger people, who are not given any beer, are usually fairly quiet, although many a conversation has to be shouted to be mutually audible. The older people let themselves go fairly thoroughly, particularly the older women, who will from time to time break out into high-pitched ululations, trilling with their tongues; or, if they are very excited, doing mimic dances in *pas seul*, running about, accosting people in an otherwise quite unseemly manner, and generally behaving quite differently from the way they do on ordinary occasions. The men are a little more restrained in their enjoyment: but, as the beer begins to do its work, they too become noisy. One may start a mimic dance, imitating the killing of an enemy in battle or of an animal in the chase; another may burst forth into a praise-poem, reciting his own praise-poem or that of the bridegroom's or bride's clan; yet another may start a song, or, in quieter mood, begin telling some interminable tale to which few listen. The children lark about, playing games and generally getting in everybody's way, while dogs and pigs run about squealing and adding to the hubbub. As food is brought in the course of the feast, there is no general return home for the evening meal as on ordinary days, and the meal, being one of the central points of the day, is usually got ready and eaten some time before the usual hour. Men, women, and children all eat in separate groups, and are further divided according to age-sets, each person eating in company with his or her coevals, separately from the others.

Towards evening, a dance usually ends up the proceedings: there is more beer, more excitement, more shouting, more din generally, and merriment is kept up till late into the night. A considerable amount of sexual licence prevails, especially among the younger people. Impromptu dancing- and singing-competitions are held, "choosing-games" are played, and these usually result in a clandestine meeting later outside. When the night is so far advanced that even the most indefatigable reveller is tired out, people start going home as best they can. Soon the village sinks into the calm of exhaustion, to return next day to its ordinary humdrum routine. But the events of such a day form an ever-fruitful topic of conversation for a long time afterwards.

Chapter VII

WORK AND WEALTH

By I. Schapera and A. J. H. Goodwin

Commodities and their Production

**Foodstuffs.*[1]

The Bantu live partly upon the natural resources of their environment. Wild animals provide them with meat, and wild plants and fruits with vegetable food. But they control the bulk of their own food-supply by cultivating plants and breeding livestock. Their principal crops are maize, introduced originally from America via Europe, and millet or "Kafir corn" (*sorghum vulgare*), indigenous to the country. Kafir corn is still the staple food in Bechuanaland, but almost everywhere else is now less extensively used than maize; except for making beer. Sweet cane (*eleusine*) and several species of melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, ground nuts and sweet potatoes are also grown, but in lesser quantity. The principal domestic animals used as food are cattle, goats, sheep, and fowls. The cattle originally kept seem to have been of two main stocks, the one small, long-horned and straight-backed, the other large and humped; but they have become considerably mixed with breeds introduced by the Europeans. The goats and sheep are short-legged, long-haired animals of hardy but inferior stock. The fowls are mostly of the common small hybrid variety.

The principal daily dish in most tribes is of maize or Kafir corn. Green mealies (maize) are sometimes boiled or roasted on the cob; but more generally the shelled grains are either roasted dry to pop-corn or boiled in water until soft, or stamped and then boiled. Kafir corn is generally stamped or ground, and then stirred into boiling water to make a stiff porridge. Fire, it may be noted here, is everywhere made by friction: a thin, hard stick is twirled rapidly between

[1] The sections marked with an asterisk were drafted by A. J. H. G., and extensively revised by I. S., who is also alone responsible for the rest of the chapter. Apart from museum specimens in Capetown, studied for the sections on technology, the following secondary sources have been principally used: Junod, 1927 (Shangana-Tonga); Krige, 1936 (Zulu); Hunter, 1936, and Soga, 1932 (Cape Nguni); Stayt, 1931 (Venda). Quotations, abstracts, and specific citations are acknowledged more fully below. All references to the Tswana, unless otherwise indicated, are based upon observations in the field by I. S.

the hands into a notch cut in a softer stick, and the resulting spark caught up in dry grass. The subsidiary crops are sometimes eaten separately, but serve mainly as relishes with the staple foods. They too can all be prepared in several different ways to lend considerable variety to the daily menu. Wild fruits and berries, a welcome addition in season, are generally eaten raw. Wild herbs are boiled in a little water to form a vegetable stew, often eaten mixed with meal. They are regarded as essentially women's food, eaten by men only when away from home hunting or travelling. In times of crop failure, however, they may become indispensable food for all. Locusts, when procurable in large quantities, are dried and ground to meal; while caterpillars and flying ants are often made into sauce for flavouring food.

The milk of cattle and goats is everywhere an important item of food, especially among the Nguni, where it rivals cereals as the staple dish. It is generally allowed to ferment and thicken in a calabash or skin bag. It is then either eaten separately, or mixed with some other dish like boiled ground maize. Among the Nguni no person may take it as food at the home of people not related to him; while women may not eat it at all when menstruating, immediately after childbirth, newly bereaved, or in some other way ritually impure. Sweet milk is often given to children, but seldom drunk by adults; although when cooked it is freely used in the preparation of some vegetable dishes.

The only other beverage, apart from water, is beer. Several varieties are made. The most popular, known as *utshwala* (Nguni) or *byalwa* (Sotho), is brewed from Kafir corn. It is less alcoholic than light European beers, and must be taken in large quantities to produce any marked effect. It contains a fair amount of solid matter, and so is nourishing as well as stimulating. Children, however, are not as a rule allowed to drink it. A much milder beer, known as *leting* (South Sotho) or *mahewu* (Nguni), can also be made from Kafir corn, although maize is more generally preferred. The Venda and Shangana-Tonga make other drinks, often highly intoxicating, from the fruits of the *morula* tree (*Sclerocarya caffra*), the leaves of the prickly pear (*Opuntia vulgaris*), or the sap of the fan palm; and some Tswana tribes brew a potent honey mead. These beverages, however, are not so commonly used, and on the whole are not so well liked, as the ordinary grain beer.[1]

[1] For a detailed account of Native beverages, their alcoholic content and nutritive value, cf. Turner, 1909, 31–54.

Beer is regarded by the Bantu as an essential food. In times of plenty it is not only freely consumed, but often is the principal or even sole food for many men for days on end. But it also plays a very important part in their social life. "The whole social system of the people is inextricably linked up with this popular beverage, which is the first essential in all festivities, the one incentive to labour, the first thought in dispensing hospitality, the favourite tribute of subjects to their chief, and almost the only votive offering dedicated to their spirits."[1] Among the Lobedu, a Northern Sotho tribe, "beer is a common means of exchange or payment for services rendered, and is in evidence in a number of transactions that in other tribes are conducted by means of mealies and goats"; and "it is in evidence in almost all ritual and ceremonial—as a celebration of important occasions, binding together different groups or individuals, (and) effecting a reconciliation where things go wrong".[2] To a considerable extent this applies also to all other tribes; and it may be added that in most of them the harvest thanksgiving takes the form of a national beer-drink, preceded by an offering of beer to the ancestors of the Chief.

The Bantu are much less fastidious than Europeans about the kinds of wild animal they will eat, although carnivora, dogs, monkeys, crocodiles, snakes, as well as such birds as the owl, crow, and vulture, are generally taboo. The Sotho and Venda also prohibit people from eating their own totem animals, a taboo not found in other tribes, although certain clans among the Swazi and Transvaal Ndebele have analogous taboos. The Shangana-Tonga eat fish, but most other tribes, even those living along the coast, refuse to do so, regarding them as unclean food akin to snakes. Hunting, however, is carried on too sporadically to be a regular source of meat. The domestic animals, again, are slaughtered as a rule only on special occasions, although all dying of disease or other causes are eaten. Meat accordingly figures so seldom in the everyday diet as to be considered a distinct luxury, eagerly sought for; and whenever available is consumed in large quantities at a time. It can be prepared in several different ways, the most common being to boil it in water or to roast it on wooden spits over an open fire. Women may not eat the flesh of a domestic animal which has aborted or died in calving, lest they become similarly afflicted; nor may they eat eggs, which are held to make them lascivious. Among the Cape Nguni, too, men will not normally eat

[1] Stayt, 1931, 48. [2] E. J. Krige, 1932, 347, 357.

poultry, regarded as essentially women's food; while almost everywhere animals killed by lightning are taboo.

Meat and most vegetable foods are generally eaten salted. The salt is either collected from natural deposits along the coast or in salt pans, or, as among the Venda and Shangana-Tonga, is recovered by evaporating solutions of salted earth. Water, used for drinking, cooking, and washing is obtained from streams, springs, and other natural sources. No attempt is made to conserve it, nor are any precautions taken against pollution, cattle being allowed access to the same sources of supply.

The principal narcotic is tobacco, formerly cultivated extensively. It is taken as snuff, the ground tobacco leaves being mixed with the ashes of some special tree, such as the prickly aloe, to make it more pungent. It is freely used by both men and women. Some people also smoke hemp, which, however, is not nearly so widely cultivated or used.

**Horticulture.*

Among food-producing activities cultivation of the soil is on the whole most important. The fields are in most tribes situated within walking distance of the homesteads, from which they are visited daily when necessary. But among the Tswana they are frequently a good distance away, owing to the concentration of the people in large village settlements; and most families therefore have special homesteads alongside their fields, where they go to live during the agricultural season. Fields are scattered about somewhat irregularly wherever suitable soil is available. The Bantu realize that soils vary in fertility, and in selecting sites for cultivation are guided by such signs as the kind of grass or bush growing on the land. Fields also vary considerably in shape and size, but are on the whole fairly small, seldom exceeding two or three acres in extent.[1] Isolated fields are protected by fences of dead thorn bush or some similar material; but where the fields of several people lie side by side they are not usually enclosed, although uncultivated strips or other conventional boundary marks clearly distinguish them.

The same field is cultivated for several successive seasons until it shows signs of exhaustion. It is then left lying fallow, while new land is cleared and worked. The Bantu thus practise the shifting cultivation characteristic of primitive agriculture in many parts of

[1] Stayt, 1931, 34; Hunter, 1936, 72 f.

the world. Among the Mpondo, and probably in most other tribes also, "it is customary for each *umzi* (household) to turn over some new ground each year, either by enlarging an existing field, or taking new ground on one side, and leaving a part of the old fallow, or beginning a new field altogether. New fields when begun are quite small, but room is allowed for expansion, and the area is increased each year."[1] The bigger trees on virgin land are burned down, the smaller ones and bushes cut with axes, and the grass and weeds uprooted with the hoe. The loose foliage is then piled up in heaps and burned, the ashes providing the only fertilizer the ground ever receives, apart from the manure incidentally deposited by cattle grazing on the stalks after reaping.

Planting generally commences as soon as the first rains have fallen. The seed is scattered over the surface by hand, or spat out from the mouth, and then progressively covered in with an iron-bladed hoe or, as among the Cape Nguni, with a simple wooden spade or pointed stick. The Shangana-Tonga, however, first hoe the ground and then make shallow holes into which the seed is carefully placed, a few grains at a time.[2] All the different crops are grown together in the same field, their seeds being mixed and simultaneously sown. Since most people cultivate more than one field, planting is a fairly long task. As the young crops shoot up, they are thinned out by hand, while the accompanying weeds are removed with the hoe. This is an arduous and lengthy task, as weeding is generally done twice. Pumpkins, melons, and sweet cane ripen first, and, together with green mealies (maize), are harvested and consumed as they become available. No one, however, may eat of these first fruits until the Chief has ceremonially done so. Kafir corn and mealies take much longer to ripen. From the time they start seeding, the people spend all day at the fields, often perched on specially-erected platforms, and endeavour by throwing stones, shouting, and other methods to scare away the granivorous birds flocking there in great numbers. The agricultural season ends with the final harvest, when the ears of Kafir corn and maize are broken off by hand, loaded in large baskets, and stacked in temporary granaries until thoroughly dry. The stalks are left standing as food for the cattle. Peas, beans, and ground nuts are generally gathered in at about the same time.

Some ears of maize and Kafir corn are set aside as seed for the next planting. The remainder are threshed. Kafir corn is threshed with

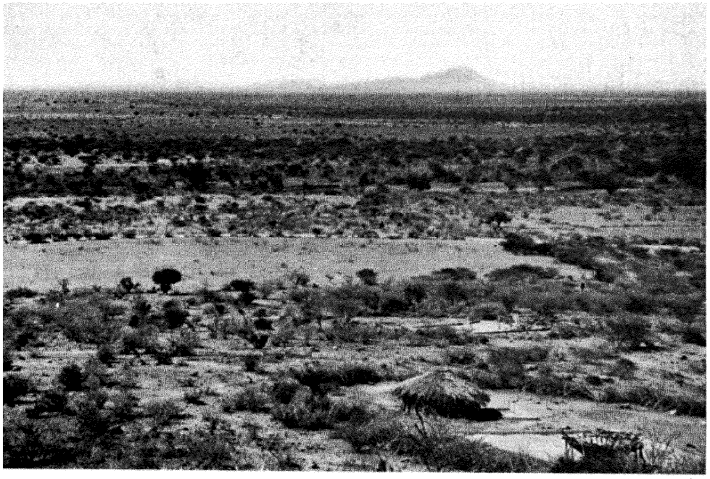
[1] Hunter, 1936, 72 f. [2] Junod, 1927, ii, 23.

heavy wooden flails on a specially-prepared floor of hard, beaten earth. Maize may be threshed in the same manner, but more often is husked and shelled by hand. All grain not immediately required is stored away. The Nguni and Venda generally bury it in pits dug in the cattle-kraal. The pits are covered with flat stones, sealed with cow-dung, and hidden by loose manure or earth. Supplies are taken out as required, and the pit resealed.[1] Sometimes, however, they store it in a wicker cylinder, plastered with mud, and perhaps raised on a wooden platform. This form of granary is found in most other tribes also; but the Sotho and Shangana-Tonga more generally use large baskets of coiled weave, or a clay drum raised on clay legs reinforced by poles or stones and covered with a small thatched roof.[2]

An essential element of agricultural technique is the employment of magic, held to be indispensable to the success of every enterprise. Certain "medicines" are buried in the corners and centre of the field, or burned so that the smoke blows over it; in order to ensure an abundant crop; others are burned, buried, or otherwise used to keep away worms, birds, hail, and other pests; and still others are used to prevent the diminution of the crops by witchcraft or theft once they are on the threshing-floor or in the granaries. There are also many taboos of various kinds to be observed by the cultivators lest the growing crops meet with disaster. These medicines and rites are independently used by every cultivator.[3]

Other rites are performed by the Chief on behalf of the tribe as a whole. The Bantu, as Miss Hunter says, have no scientific control over the supply of water necessary for growth—no irrigation is used[4]; but to satisfy this most pressing of their agricultural needs they have developed "an elaborate magical technique", in the form of numerous rainmaking ceremonies performed either by the Chief himself or by his professional rainmakers. In the well-watered parts of South Africa these ceremonies are generally carried out only in times of drought; but in the more arid regions of the west, inhabited by Tswana and Northern Sotho tribes, they take place every year. In these tribes, too, various important taboos (e.g. on the cutting of certain trees) must be observed by the whole community during the early part of the rainy season, lest drought, hail, or some similar disaster destroy the young crops. These taboos are proclaimed afresh

[1] Hunter, 1936, 86; Krige, 1936, 44; Stayt, 1931, 36 f.
[2] Junod, 1927, ii, 27; Schapera and Goodwin, field data.
[3] Cf. Junod, 1927, ii, 28 ff.; Krige, 1936, 192 ff.; Hunter, 1936, 76 ff.
[4] Hunter, 1936, 79.



[*I. Schapera*

(*a*) Kxatla fields
(Theshing floors can be seen in the foreground to the right)

(*b*) Threshing corn (Kxatla)
(The woman in the foreground, right, has a baby on her back)
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every year by the Chief, who also formally lifts them in due course. In most tribes, again, the Chief distributes among his people seed specially "doctored" with certain ingredients, including very often portions of flesh from the body of a human being killed for the purpose. This they mix with their own seeds to promote the fertility of the crops. It may finally be noted that elaborate public ceremonies are almost everywhere held before sowing, at the time of the first fruits, and after harvest, when the Chief's ancestral spirits are either invoked for a bountiful season or thanked for having provided it.[1]

**Animal Husbandry.*

Agriculture may be the principal source of subsistence, but the Bantu themselves attach more importance to their cattle. Animal husbandry is perhaps most strongly developed among the Nguni, who inhabit the most favoured parts of the country; whereas among the Shangana-Tonga and Venda disease, warfare, and other factors have greatly reduced the size of the herds, and the presence of the tsetse-fly in many parts is an insuperable obstacle to stock-farming. But cattle are kept wherever it is at all possible. They are not merely a source of food, in the form of milk and occasionally meat. Their skins provide material for clothing, shields, bags, and other useful objects; their horns are made into receptacles; and their dung is used both as fuel and as the cement plastered on walls and floors. The oxen in many tribes serve as beasts of burden and as a means of transport. Often, too, they are trained specially to race without riders, contests between them being one of the most favoured sports; and such racing cattle are sometimes commemorated in tradition long after their death.

Cattle are further "the principal medium of exchange, and the medium in which court fines are levied. . . . (They) are the means of keeping on good terms with the ancestral spirits, and so of securing health and prosperity, because the maintenance of good relations with the ancestor spirits depends upon making the proper ritual killings of cattle at various stages in the life of the individual, and in sickness. . . . Cattle are also the means of obtaining sexual satisfaction, since a legal marriage cannot take place without the passage of cattle, the right to limited sexual relations is legalized by the passage of a beast, and the fines for illegal relations are levied in cattle. The possession of cattle gives social importance, for they are the means of securing many

[1] For descriptions of these ceremonies, see below, Chap. XI.

wives and adherents, and of dispensing hospitality and showing generosity, on which virtues status largely depends. Also the possession of cattle in itself gives weight and dignity to the owner ".[1]

Cattle therefore loom largely in a man's thoughts. They are his principal form of wealth, his most treasured possession ; and anything concerning them and their welfare focuses his attention. The Bantu languages abound in terms minutely differentiating cattle according to sex, age, colour, and shape of horns, and reflecting the intense interest taken by the people in their beasts. A man often knows his cattle by name ; and his bull, the pride of his herd, is hailed in laudatory phrases as it comes out of the kraal. The slaughter of an animal is normally reserved for ceremonial occasions, whose importance is heightened by the magnitude of the sacrifice. Some Cape Nguni tribes, especially the Bomvana, even have sacred herds of cattle, held inalienably by the Chief in trust for the tribe, and sacrificed to his ancestors in times of national importance. Cattle raids are among the most frequent causes of warfare, and cattle theft one of the most serious offences. *Kxomo modimo wa moxae, modimo wa nkô e meetse ; kxomo leotlanya dithšaba, o bolaile banna ba le bantsi*, says a Tswana song : " cow god of the home, god with the moist nose ; cow that makes the tribes fight, you have killed many men "—an apt summary of both the religious and political importance of cattle.

The cattle-kraal, a circular enclosure of stout poles in which the cattle are kept at night, is not only the central feature of most village settlements, but also the centre of village life. Inside it the cattle are killed for sacrifices ; here men meet for secret discussions ; women may not enter unless they belong to the family, and even then not when they are menstruating ; and here, too, the family head is often buried, wrapped in the skin of a newly-slaughtered ox. Adjoining it is the meeting-place of the men, where they sit daily to eat and gossip round the fire and sometimes to feast, where justice is administered, and where strangers are received. Women may not come there except when bringing food, and must in other ways *hlonipha* (respect) it.

But despite this intense pre-occupation with cattle, the Bantu pay little atention to quality. For most social purposes one full-grown beast is as good as another ; and if anything preference is shown for animals of a particular colour or with horns of a certain shape rather than for well-developed oxen or good milch cows. The cows give little milk, and then only after calving, so that this important source

[1] Hunter, 1936, 69.

of food fluctuates considerably in yield. And since it is every man's ambition to have as many cattle as possible, no matter how poor they may be, there is little attempt to prevent the propagation of inferior stock. Most bulls are castrated, only one or two being kept in each herd for breeding purposes; but they are not castrated early enough, and as bulls always run freely with the herd, mating is indiscriminate, although the widespread custom of lending out cattle mitigates to some extent the dangers of constant inbreeding.[1]

No fodder of any kind is grown for the cattle. They feed solely upon the available pastures, except after harvest, when they graze on the stalks in the fields; but the practice is widespread of burning parts of the veld to provide early spring grazing. All land not actually under cultivation is common pasturage. "There are no clearly defined areas to which particular individuals have prescriptive grazing rights."[2] But among the Mpondo, and probably other Nguni tribes also, people living in the same locality regard the area surrounding their villages as their special grazing ground, and try to exclude others, even to the extent of driving away their herds; while among the Tswana each ward similarly has its own special area, where no other cattle may graze without permission.

In the rainy season cattle graze near to the villages, but during the dry winter grass must often be sought many miles from home. On the well-watered eastern side of South Africa the uplands form summer grazing, while in winter the cattle are taken down to the deep, sheltered valleys, where grass is lush and abundant. In the more arid regions to the west, where as among the Tswana the people are settled in large villages, the cattle are kept all the year round at special grazing posts, often a day's journey or more from home. These cattleposts are during the dry season located close to river beds, where pits are dug to water the cattle; in the rainy season they are moved away to fresh pastures. No cows at all are kept at the villages. Milk is sent there from time to time in the milksacks, but appears less frequently in the daily diet than it does farther east.

By day the cattle are let out to graze in the vicinity of their kraal, to which they return at sunset. In autumn, when there is plenty of grass and water after the summer rains, they may be unattended. But during the rest of the year they are always herded, especially during the dry season, when they must be taken to water. At such times, in the more arid regions, they are often watered only every two

[1] Stayt, 1931, 38. [2] Hunter, 1936, 115

or three days. The cows are in some tribes milked in the morning before they go out and in the evening after they come back; but in others they are brought back in the forenoon to be milked for the only time, and then taken out again to graze. The calf sucks first, but is soon driven off; the milker, sitting on his haunches to one side of the cow, then fills his wooden pail, after which the calf is allowed to suck again. The calves are always separately herded near the kraal, the very young ones being kept in it all day.

The Bantu know from practical experience where to find good grazing and water for their herds, how to protect them from wild animals, and what remedies to apply for such common ailments as liver disease, ophthalmia, and protracted delivery. But, as Stayt remarks, they really understand little about cattle diseases, "and epidemics are quite beyond their control."[1] In these and such other aspects of stock-raising where experience alone cannot afford them safe guidance, they fall back once again upon magic. They bury "doctored" sticks in the kraal to protect the cattle from witchcraft and disease; they sprinkle their cows and inoculate their bulls with certain "medicines" to stimulate fertility; they burn other "medicines" to promote the general well-being of the cattle; and as an additional safeguard forbid newly-widowed and other ritually impure persons to approach the animals closely. Women generally are prohibited from handling the cattle in any way, or even from walking through a herd, particularly when menstruating, newly pregnant, or in some other way "impure".[2] But there do not appear to be any tribal ceremonies relating to cattle similar to these noticed above in regard to horticulture.

Goats and sheep are kraaled and herded separately from the cattle. Sheep are not numerous, but even the poorest people have goats, which among them fulfil the same uses as cattle. They provide milk and meat; their skins are made into clothing; and they also serve as mediums of exchange, *lobola* payments, and sacrifices. "The distinguishing terms applied to cattle are applied also to goats, and they are supposed to suffer from contact with *umlaza* (ritual impurity of women). But emotions are not aroused by goats as by cattle. No one ever makes praises of goats."[3] Fowls, the only domesticated bird, are very common. They are occasionally fed with grain, but otherwise

[1] Stayt, 1931, 40.
[2] Schapera, 1934*b*, 561 ff., gives a detailed account of Kxatla herding rites.
[3] Hunter, 1936, 71.

left to fend for themselves. They generally roost on trees or on specially-erected perches in the household enclosure. They are often killed for eating or sacrificed to the spirits, and are also used as mediums of exchange. Dogs, the only other indigenous domestic animal, are used principally in hunting. They are never eaten or sacrificed, and are often half-starved and brutally treated; but good hunting dogs are much valued and sometimes well cared for.

**Hunting.*

The meat obtained by the slaughter or death of domestic animals is supplemented by the spoils of the chase. In Bechuanaland and other areas where game is abundant this may be an important source of food. But hunting is nowhere a regular occupation, except with a few people. It is carried out fairly sporadically, as occasion and opportunity permit, especially during the months when other food is growing scarce. Game is therefore "merely a welcome addition to the daily diet; compared to the importance of vegetable produce it cannot be described as in any way a staple food".[1] The skins and hair of the animals killed also provide material for clothing and certain forms of decoration, their horns are made into receptacles and musical instruments of various kinds, their teeth and claws are used as ornaments, and their fat mixed with the "medicines" for many forms of magic.

The principal weapons employed in hunting, as in warfare, are the spear, the axe, and the club. The two former have wooden shafts and iron heads; the latter is a short stick knobbed at one end. The Venda alone make much use of the bow and arrow. The Southern Tswana have borrowed this weapon slightly from the Bushmen; but it is found nowhere else among the South African Bantu.[2] For protection against the attacks of wild animals and other enemies, all the tribes use shields of untanned hide. Among the Sotho the shape varies considerably, from a wide hour-glass to a circle; the Nguni, and the tribes they have considerably affected, prefer a plain oval.

People may hunt wherever they like within the tribal territory, no private rights to hunting land being recognized. Hunting by pursuit is generally carried on collectively, and big communal hunts are often organized by Chiefs and headmen. The men sometimes form a huge circle round a spot where game is known to be abundant,

[1] A. I. Richards, 1932, 106.

[2] Cf. L. F. Maingard, "History and Distribution of the Bow and Arrow in South Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, xxix (1932), 711–723.

and close in gradually, shouting and sending their dogs ahead of them to draw the animals, which are then speared when attempting to break through. Sometimes again, as when hunting big game, they patiently stalk an animal, or pursue it with their dogs, until it is cornered. One or two men then rush in to hamstring it with their axes so that it cannot move, when it is killed by spear. This method of hunting is often exceedingly dangerous, especially against the elephant, rhinoceros, buffalo, or eland; and men skilled in it are renowned for their courage and dexterity. Single hunters similarly pursue smaller buck with their dogs until the exhausted animal is cornered. Another common method of hunting by large parties is to construct a long fence with occasional openings at which pits are made. The game is driven towards the fence, and in attempting to escape through the opening falls into the pits. Such pits, their bottoms lined with upright stakes, occasionally poisoned, upon which the animals fall and are impaled, are also dug for big game along river banks or on the way to waterholes. Smaller game and game birds are trapped in snares of various kinds, the commonest being a running noose and slip-knot, or are thrown down with the club.

As in agriculture and animal husbandry, various forms of magic are employed to ensure success. Hunters of big game are ceremonially purified before setting out and on their return; they are inoculated in the wrists with medicines to ensure steadiness of hand and aim; they carry various charms, and must observe certain taboos while out in the veld. Women may never accompany a hunting party, nor should any reference be made to matters of sex; the animal pursued must not be mentioned by its real name, a conventional substitute being employed; and careful attention is paid to omens, of which there are many. Dogs and weapons, similarly, are washed with medicines or doctored in some other way to make them more efficient. Without these precautions, the people maintain, the hunters will fail in their quest, and may even be seriously injured.

**Clothing and Ornaments.*

The old Bantu dress has been widely replaced, either completely or partially, by clothing of European material and pattern. But it can still be seen in some less influenced tribes and localities, where it is made principally of skin. The type of clothing varies somewhat from group to group, and within the group from person to person according to sex, age, and rank. Generally speaking, however, women wear long

aprons or skirts, hanging down before and behind from the waist. A much smaller apron is sometimes worn underneath over the pudenda. Nguni women further have a bodice across the breasts and under the armpits, but in other groups the upper part of the body is left uncovered. In cold weather cloaks of soft skin or fur, often carefully made and decorated, are added to the ordinary dress. Babies are carried on the back in cradleskins slung round the waist and knotted over the breast. They go about completely naked except possibly for a bead or string girdle and an occasional necklace or charm. Young girls wear short fringes of skin, beadwork, or vegetable fibre to cover the pudenda. Older girls wear similar fringes or aprons reaching to the knee, and, among the Sotho, a longer apron at the back. Among the Venda, however, they wear a loinskin brought between the legs and tucked behind into the waist girdle to hang down in a flap. Girls passing through the initiation ceremonies wear elaborate dresses of vegetable fibre ; and in such tribes as the Zulu there are also distinctive forms of dress for betrothed girls and pregnant women.

Men among the Cape Nguni and Shangana-Tonga wear nothing but a penis sheath of calabash or palm-leaf covering the glans ; but among the Natal and other Northern Nguni they also wear skin aprons or tail and fringe sporrans both before and behind. Elderly men have a hard ring of polished beeswax built into the hair of the head. The Sotho and Venda wear a loinskin, one end of which is drawn between the legs and tucked in or knotted at the back or side. They have neither the penis sheath nor the headring. In cold weather the men don skin cloaks like those of the women, but only members of the royal family may use leopard or lion skins. The bigger boys wear the same dress as the men, the smaller boys tiny skin flaps shielding the genitals. Boys undergoing the initiation ceremonies are often completely covered in dresses of vegetable fibre. Both men and women further use flat sandals of oxhide, attached to the foot by a thong, and caps of skin or fur. Among the Sotho conical hats of woven reed are often seen.

The ornaments used by women consist mainly of beads and wire. The wire, made in varying thicknesses of iron or copper, is generally twisted into bracelets worn round the neck, arms, and ankles, often in great numbers. Certain kinds of copper bracelet and ornament are among the Venda and Sotho worn only by women of rank. Beads are worked into headbands, necklaces, breast ornaments, waistbands, and bracelets of varying size and colour. Except for ostrich eggshell

beads, locally made by some tribes or, as in Bechuanaland, bought from Bushmen, beads have always been imported; and no ceramic beads of Native make are known, save for a few crude earthenware specimens, unbaked and ill-glazed. Among the Venda, Northern Sotho, and some other tribes certain kinds of beads are greatly prized and handed down as heirlooms. Other ornaments are made of shell or bone, ivory bracelets being in most tribes a prerogative of rank.

Men generally content themselves with wire bracelets worn round the wrists and ankles; but among the Nguni, young men, especially when courting, often decorate themselves with beadwork. The Zulu have developed a special "language of the beads", different combinations of colour and pattern having conventional meanings attached to them.[1] Warriors, magicians and youths in ceremonial dress also wear wild animal tails and strips of skin tied round the arms, loins, legs, and ankles in various forms and sizes, necklaces of teeth, and head-dresses of ostrich and other feathers. In some groups of tribes (e.g. Northern Sotho and Cape Nguni), bead necklaces of a special type are a symbol of Chieftainship.

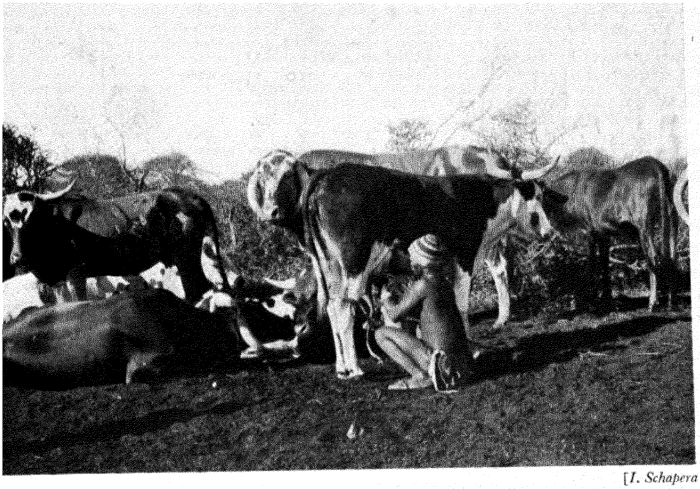
**Dwellings and Household Goods.*

Huts are used principally as bedrooms and stores, most activities taking place in the open, except in wet weather. They vary considerably in structure and shape. Two main varieties may, however, be distinguished: the beehive hut of the Nguni, and the cone-and-cylinder hut of the Sotho, Venda, and Shangana-Tonga. The former has a framework of long saplings, planted in a circle in the ground, and bent inwards and tied together to form a hemisphere. Shorter saplings are tied horizontally across the frame at frequent intervals to strengthen it. The whole is then completely covered with a strong thatch of grass. The roof is supported from the inside by one or more upright poles; and a semicircular opening, generally so low that people must crawl in to enter, is left as a door. The Cape Nguni plaster the interior with mud and cowdung, but this does not appear farther north. The Zulu, however, sometimes spread rough mats of grass on the outside over the thatch.

The other type of hut has a cylindrical wall. This generally consists of vertical poles bound together with wickerwork and plastered both inside and out with mud and cowdung, although sometimes, as

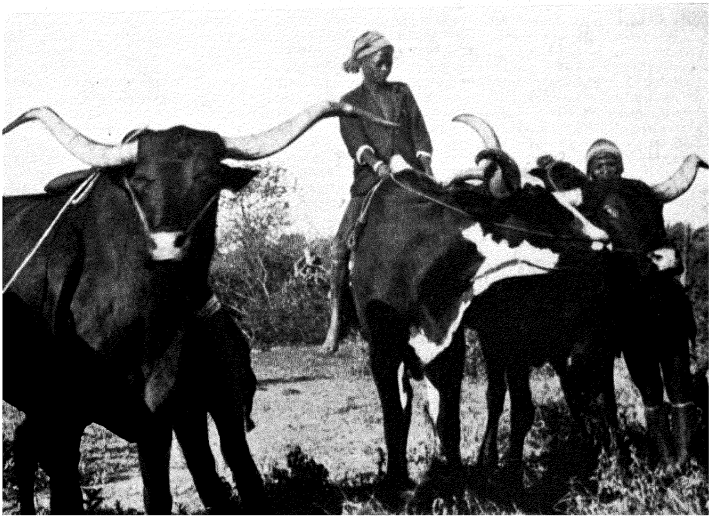
[1] Cf. F. Mayr, "Language of Colours among the Zulu expressed by their Beadwork Ornaments," *Annals, Natal Museum* (1907), i, 159–165.

PLATE XIV



[*I. Schapera*

(*a*) Milking (Kxatla)



[*I. Schapera*

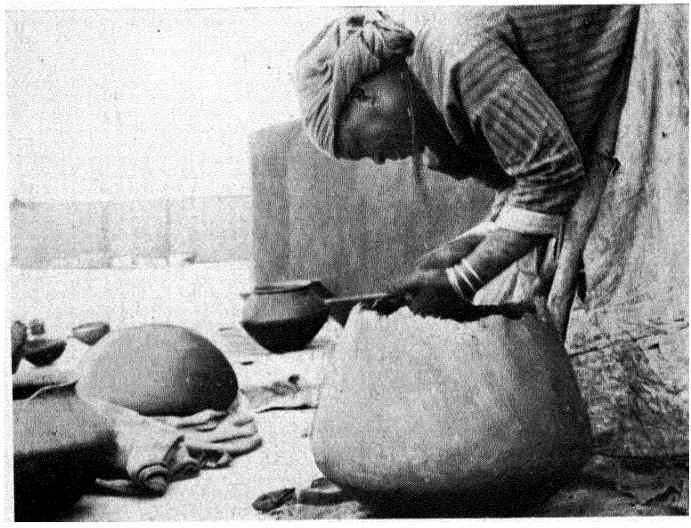
(*b*) Herdboys riding oxen (Kxatla)

PASTORAL LIFE

[*face p.* 144

[I. Schapera

(*a*) Setting a snare for birds (Kxatla)



[I. Schapera

(*b*) Potter at work (Kxatla)

among the Tswana, it is made entirely of earth. An opening big enough for people to walk through comfortably serves as a doorway. The roof is of saplings bound together with wickerwork to form a conical frame, which is then thatched. It is separately made, and when finished is put on the wall, which it often overlaps considerably. Its point is often, but not always, supported from the inside by a central pole; and sometimes its edge also rests on an outer circle of vertical poles, between which and the wall a small circular veranda is thus created. The floor in both types of hut is made of beaten earth smoothed over at frequent intervals with coatings of mud and cowdung. A shallow depression serves as a fire-hearth for cooking and warmth in wet weather. There are no windows. Air gets in and smoke escapes through the thatch and the door.

The huts belonging to one household are clearly marked off from all others. Among the Nguni and Shangana-Tonga, where the household is also a separate local settlement, the huts are ranged in strict order of seniority round the cattle-kraal. Sometimes, but not always, the whole settlement is enclosed by a wooden palisade. Among the Tswana, on the other hand, representing the extreme trend of Sotho development, great numbers of households cluster together to form large villages. The huts of each household are located irregularly within a low, rectangular courtyard, formed by a fence of wickerwork or reed mats or by an earthen wall or wooden palisade. The cattle-kraal, owing to the peculiar conditions of local settlement, is always separately built. The floor of the courtyard is made and smeared like that of the huts; and the walls of both are often ornamented with broad geometric patterns of charcoal, kaolin, ochre, and other clays.

Huts and homesteads are fairly often renewed. The ravages of white ants necessitate frequent rebuilding; while in many tribes, especially Nguni and Shangana-Tonga, huts are burned or pulled down after the death of an occupant, and on the death of the household-head the whole homestead is destroyed and a new one built elsewhere. The site is often selected beforehand by divination, and is always carefully "doctored" against witchcraft and other evils. Husband and wife must have ritual sexual intercourse in a new hut before it can be occupied. Among the Sotho the Chief must annually renew the boundary charms protecting the village and its inhabitants.

Household utensils, all made from materials at hand, are fairly numerous. Big-bellied, wide-mouthed pots for fetching and storing water, for brewing and drinking beer, and for cooking, are made of

clay. The base of the pot is moulded in a sherd; the sides are built up with clay rings or strips, pressed to shape, and the whole smoothed off. In the larger pots the lower half is moulded separately from the mouth; the two halves are then brought together, and the join made good. The pots are finally placed in a shallow pit, surrounded with piles of wood or cakes of cowdung, and fired. To protect them from spoiling in the process, various taboos must be observed, the most widespread being that no ritually impure person may be present at the firing. Both the shape of the pot and the choice of applied designs vary somewhat from group to group. The Sotho prefer a single band of recurring triangles, black on the red of the pot, painted on and burned in. The Nguni prick up the wet clay with a pointed stick to give the effect of patterns worked in raised keloids. The Sotho further make clay images of animals and human beings for use in the initiation ceremonies; while children everywhere make and play with unbaked toy cattle of clay.

Headrests, bowls, platters, spoons, grain stampers and stamping-blocks, milk pails, and porridge stirrers, as well as sticks, clubs, weapon shafts, pipes, snuff-boxes, divining bowls (Venda), certain musical instruments, poles for hut-building, and palisades for cattle kraals and fences, are all made of wood. The Nguni peoples are on the whole poorer in wooden utensils than the Sotho and Venda, some of whose products show a high artistic finish and may be elaborately carved and decorated. The common household utensils are laboriously carved from sections of tree trunks; the rest are shaped from branches according to need. An axe is employed for chopping, an adze for trimming, a gouge for hollowing and scraping, and a knife or more usually a spear for whittling. Boring and the application of design are generally done with a hot wire.

Drinking vessels, ladles, snuff-boxes, resonators for some musical instruments, and receptacles for ointments, beer, and milk are made from calabashes, specially grown for the purpose. Basket containers of various shapes and sizes, beer strainers, sleeping and eating mats, trays, brooms, and string are made of reeds, grass, and other vegetable fabrics. String is usually twined from the inner bark of such trees as the Acacia, which is stripped, chewed and rolled on the thigh. A bundle of reeds tied together makes a simple broom. Basketwork, generally of the coiled or spiral variety, is adapted to many purposes. The vast grain basket of the Sotho is of a composite grass strand, sewn together with string. The small milkpail of the Zulu is made of a

similar base, so tightly sewn together with rushes or grass into a solid receptacle that liquid poured into it quickly expands the strands and makes the basket water-tight. The conical baskets widely used for carrying grain and other commodities are made with a light alternating basketry stitch. Beer strainers, for separating the crudely-ground grain from the thinner liquid, are roughly shaped conical baskets of twilled flat reed, or a bias check or multiple plait of grass.

The horns of animals are used as holders for medicine, or converted into musical instruments, pipes, and snuff-boxes; their bones and tusks are made into ornaments of various kinds, awls for basketwork, snuff-spoons, and divining tablets; their teeth and claws are used for necklaces and other ornaments; and their hair is used as the base for wirework or made into switches and ornamental headdresses. Their skins are made into clothing, shields, bags, and bellows. Skins used for clothing are pegged out on the ground, cleaned and allowed to dry; then carefully scraped with an iron blade, rubbed with some sort of fat, beaten, and finally worked in the hands until quite soft and pliable. They are then cut to the necessary shape, or sewn together with animal sinew to make a cloak. They are not often tanned, although use and the deliberate application of ochres and fats give the impression of a heavily-loaded leather. The bag carried by every man consists of a whole game-skin worked to a soft leather and tanned or dyed in a bark infusion.

The adzes, axes, gouges, and knives used in making wooden and other utensils are of iron, as are hoes, spears, wire bracelets, and many other objects. Most tribes can mine in a simple fashion, but the Cape Nguni and Shangana-Tonga are largely dependent upon others for their supply of the metal, local deposits being rare. The Bantu are unable to melt iron ore, but can obtain sufficient heat with their double-bag bellows to reduce it to a "bloom" in an enclosed charcoal furnace, either of termite-heap or built of clay. The bloom is then wrought to shape with a stone hammer. All tools and weapons are tanged, the tang being heated and forced into the wooden handle. Copper is also worked in the Northern and Western Transvaal, where it is found in fair quantities. The ore is melted in the furnace, cast into rod-like ingots, and drawn through the graded holes of a simple drawplate to make wire. This is bound round wildebeest or cattle hair for bangles and other ornaments, or used as a lashing on spears and clubs. Gold is worked in limited areas only, of which Mapungubwe in the North-Western Transvaal may be taken as typical. Here, in

addition to wirework, gold plates and tacks are extensively used for ornamenting objects.

Calendar of Work

The activities outlined above are not all carried on simultaneously and continuously throughout the year. The Bantu, like most primitive peoples, depend essentially upon the rotation of the seasons for their food supply, and their activities are accordingly determined. This is most clearly seen among the Tswana, whose life falls every year into two clearly-distinguished phases. Their villages are fully inhabited during the winter months only, when there is much bustle and activity. As soon as the first rains fall, about November, the people go out to their fields, remaining there right through the agricultural season until the harvest is reaped in June. During this time village life is almost at a standstill. In the other tribes, whose fields are within easy distance of their homes, there is not the same sharp division; but here too agricultural work determines the time for most other occupations.

The periods of most intense agricultural activity are at planting (late November, December, and early January in Bechuanaland), weeding (January, February, and March), scaring away the birds (May), reaping and threshing (June and early July). Most other occupations are carried on at suitable moments in between.[1] The clearing of new fields is generally done during the two months preceding planting. Basketwork and woodwork are done mostly in the months between harvest and planting, but also between weeding and reaping; pot-making is confined mainly to the warm, damp period immediately before and during the early rains; while hut-building is in Bechuanaland done only after the harvest, but in other tribes between weeding and harvesting as well. Cattle-herding, too, as we have seen, is affected by the seasons, the cattle having separate winter and summer grazing; while hunting, especially of big game, is carried on most actively in the dry winter months, when the movements of the animals are restricted by the scarcity of surface water.

Running parallel to this seasonal activity is the food consumption. The first fruits of the new year become available in the latter half of the rainy season. For the next three months or so the people revel in the green mealies, pumpkins, melons, and sweet cane supplementing the staple cereals, while milk is abundant. With the gathering-in of the harvest, grain, and therefore beer is plentiful; and as the people

[1] Cf. Hunter, 1936, 110 f., for Mpondo seasonal calendar.

now have more leisure, this is the great festive season.[1] Weddings, initiations and other ceremonies of a similar nature are most often celebrated; tribal meetings, lawsuits, and other public business are most actively pursued; and there is much informal visiting and entertaining. The green foods, however, are more and more replaced by the standard diet of boiled or roasted mealie grains and Kafir corn porridge; while the milk supply gradually diminishes as grazing becomes poorer and the cattle are taken further away. The spring and early summer months see the people reduced almost entirely to the standard cereal foods and such wild plants as can be gathered after the first rains have fallen. What Bryant says in this connection of the Zulu applies equally well to most other tribes, as far as vegetable produce is concerned. "Thriftlessness was, and is, one of the characteristic defects in the Zulu nature. He has inherited nothing of the saving instinct. No sooner are the fruits of the new season mature and permitted for general consumption than he forthwith initiates a wholesale attack upon them. This habit so materially reduces the amount left over for harvesting that, after a very few months, his total store of food is at an end. In perhaps eight families out of ten there is a normal annual recurrence of severe dearth throughout the spring or early summer months. During the whole of this period, members of all such families, children as well as adults, have to be usually content with but one full meal a day, generally taken in the evening time. Very often I have known whole districts of children who got not even that."[2]

Division of Labour

In many forms of production the only division of labour is between the sexes. Everywhere among the Bantu different occupations are traditionally assigned to men and to women; and despite occasional variations, the lines of division are fundamentally the same throughout. In agriculture, the men clear the new fields of bush and grass, except among the Shangana-Tonga, where this is women's work.[3] The actual tilling of the soil, from the initial planting to the final reaping and threshing, is very largely done by women and the older girls, although younger children of both sexes assist in driving away birds, and men occasionally take part in planting, weeding and reaping. The women also look after the fowls. But all work connected with cattle, goats and sheep—herding, milking, making thick milk, washing

[1] Hunter, 1936, 112. [2] Bryant, 1908, 9. [3] Junod, 1927, ii, 21.

the milking utensils, and slaughtering—is essentially within the province of the men, women, as we have seen, being prohibited by taboo from handling these animals. Adult men really do not often herd or milk, unless poverty compels them to adopt this as a means of livelihood. The younger boys go out with the small stock and calves, while the older boys and youths look after the cattle; but the men closely supervise their activities. Hunting is done by the men and youths. Women gather edible wild plants, but men may also gather wild fruits and berries when out in the veld.

Both sexes take part in hut-building, each having special tasks to perform. Among the Nguni and Sotho the men cut wood and do all timberwork, while the women cut grass, thatch, and make the floor. Where necessary, women also plaster the wall of the hut or, as among the Tswana, themselves make the earthen wall. Among the Venda and Shangana-Tonga the men not only do all timberwork but also thatch. The women merely make the floor and plaster the wall. Cattle-kraals, grain pits, fences and wooden palisades are all made by the men, but the earthen walls surrounding many Sotho courtyards are built by the women, who also do all the decorating.

Housework is almost entirely done by women and girls. They stamp and grind corn, prepare food and make beer, wash the cooking and eating utensils, smear the walls and floors of the huts and courtyards, clean the huts and keep them in good repair. Men, however, occasionally cook meat, particularly at feasts or when by themselves, while boys at the cattleposts prepare and cook their own food. The women also fetch water and collect firewood, and do most other carrying work, such as transporting grain home from the fields, or bringing in the poles cut by the men for building.

The occupations just dealt with are in no way specialized. Every man is expected to be able to herd cattle, hunt, and do all the other work normally performed by men; and so too every woman is expected to be able to till the soil, cook, make beer, and do all the other work normally done by women. The necessary knowledge is acquired mainly through increasing participation in the work of the household. Children are required and taught from a fairly early age to be of assistance to their parents. Girls are made to help in fetching water and firewood, stamping or grinding corn, cooking, and smearing and cleaning the huts. They start by imitating these activities in their play, and are gradually drawn into actual domestic work under the instruction of their mothers and older sisters. As they grow older,

they begin to take part in agriculture. Young boys are put to herding small stock and calves. Older boys herd and milk the cattle, learn to handle weapons, hunt for themselves or accompany the men, help build the cattle-kraals, and do other work of a similar nature. At the initiation ceremonies marking the transition from childhood to manhood they are emphatically reminded that cattle-herding and warfare are the two dominant spheres of masculine activity, while girls are similarly exhorted in regard to agriculture and housework.

To a considerable extent, too, all such work is carried on by every household for itself. Each has its own fields, cultivated by its women, and generally also its own livestock, looked after by its men and boys; every man hunts, and every woman gathers edible plants. It is thus able to produce directly the food it consumes. Every household further builds its own huts as required, and all the necessary cooking, cleaning and other housework is done by its women and girls.

Household tasks are as often done collectively as individually. Even in such simple activities as fetching water, collecting firewood and stamping corn, the women and girls prefer to work in company, the presence of others affording a welcome relief from the monotony or burden of the task. The boys herding cattle spend much of their time playing together while their animals graze; and hunting, as we have seen, is undertaken for the most part by groups of men. The major activities, like clearing a new garden, planting, weeding, reaping and threshing, building the framework or wall of a hut, thatching, putting on the roof, fencing a field or cutting timber, are almost invariably done by several people working in co-operation to save time and energy. Each married woman, e.g. has her own fields, but usually the fields of the same household are worked collectively, each being planted, weeded and reaped in turn by all the women and girls.[1]

Sometimes the members of a household are sufficient for the purpose. More generally the assistance of outsiders is invited. Often enough help is given by near relatives, who are indeed expected to assist. But in all the tribes there is also found the institution of the work-party (Nguni, *ilima*; Sotho, *letsema*).[2] Anybody with a big task on hand with which he and his household alone cannot cope, or which he wishes to complete reasonably soon, will invite his neighbours and friends to help him. He brews a large quantity of beer, or slaughters an animal, and makes it known that with this he will

[1] Cf. Hunter, 1936, 87.

[2] Schapera, 1935 MS.; Hunter, 1936, 88 ff.

entertain all those coming to work with him on a certain day. Anybody wishing to do so can take part and receive his share in the feast. Payment is sometimes also made in milk, porridge, salt or tobacco. The work is lightened by rhythmical songs of various kinds and by the presence of so many other people, while the feast awaiting them is a stimulus to eager activity. But it is not only this material reward that makes people lend a hand. Poor people have no other method of getting sufficient labour to carry out big tasks and, as they are therefore all dependent upon one another for assistance, it is good policy to help others and thus ensure their willing co-operation when required for one's own work. And people notoriously slack in attending work-parties often find their neighbours equally reluctant to help them in turn.

It is only in regard to the making of household utensils and implements that some degree of specialization is found. Here there is also a primary division of labour between the sexes, determined mainly by the material employed. All work in wood, leather, bone and metals is done by men; potmaking and beadwork by women; and basketwork, except among the Shangana-Tonga, where it is restricted to men, is carried on by both sexes, although each makes baskets of a different type. But many of these crafts are known to only a small number of people of the sex concerned. The outstanding examples of such specialization are metalwork (men), and pottery (women), the craft in both cases being largely confined to certain families, within which it is handed down from parent to child. This is true also of basketwork among the Shangana-Tonga, woodwork among the Venda, kaross-making among the Tswana, and certain forms of basketwork done by men among the Mpondo.[1] But woodwork, leatherwork, beadwork and basketwork are on the whole more generally diffused. Most if not all people are able to make at least certain utensils, and thus supply their own needs. In each case, however, a few people are also noted for the superiority of their products, since there is considerable variation in skill which here is of greater significance than in food-producing or building; or else make certain objects which others cannot. Magic, seen above to be an essential part of productive technique, is also very largely a highly-specialized art. A few forms of magic connected with agriculture, animal husbandry and hunting are commonly known and practised; but most of the rites and their associated medicines are known only to

[1] Junod, 1927, ii, 125 f.; Stayt, 1931, 53; Hunter, 1936, 99; Schapera, field data.

the professional magicians, who may be either men or women. Among the Shangana-Tonga certain men are also professional hunters of big game,[1] but specialization of this kind appears to be on the whole uncommon.

No specialist, however, ever devotes himself exclusively to one particular occupation as a means of livelihood. They all herd and hunt, cultivate their fields, build their huts, and carry out the ordinary domestic work like the rest of the tribe; the special craft they also practise is merely a subsidiary source of income. This is as true of the smith and the magician as of the potter or worker in wood. Nor is there any special craft which cannot also be learned by outsiders. Any person wishing and able to do so may become a magician or smith, a kaross-maker, woodworker, or potter, although the first two occupations require an apprenticeship for which a fee must be paid to a practising professional. Perhaps the only major instance where any particular occupation is confined to a special caste is with the Lemba, until quite recently the only coppersmiths and potters of the Venda and neighbouring tribes.[2] Certain forms of magic, notably rainmaking, are however often traditionally confined to members of special clans, apart from the chief.

Exchange

The general self-sufficiency of the household in regard to food, shelter and many other products, the fact that everybody is a herdsman or cultivator, builder or housewife, and the relatively slight development of specialization in other occupations, are reflected in the marked absence of systematic trade. There is little production for exchange, except with pots, baskets, iron goods and similar utensils and implements; and even here "there are no emporia where one may regularly acquire these articles, no markets, periodical or otherwise, at which they are offered for sale, no merchants going about buying them up and selling them again".[3]

A certain amount of irregular trade is nevertheless carried on. A man requiring metal goods, pots, baskets, wooden utensils, skin cloaks or similar objects which he does not himself make will procure them from an expert craftsman. He goes directly to the latter, and either buys the object he wants, if it is already available, or, as is frequently necessary, orders it to be made. Such articles may also

[1] Junod, 1927, ii, 59 ff.
[2] Stayt, 1931, 18, 52, 58 f.
[3] Lestrade, 1934, 440.

be acquired by exchange from other people possessing more than they need at the moment. Livestock, too, are fairly often obtained in this way; while in times of food shortage grain is sought from more fortunate neighbours. There is no standardized medium of exchange. Grain, meat, cattle, small stock, fowls, hoes, and spears are all exchanged for one another and for other objects, or used as payment to magicians and herdsmen. There are, however, certain stabilized relative values. Pots and baskets are almost universally exchanged for their content in grain. Among the Tswana, again, two goats are given for a sheep or a bag of corn, and ten goats or five bags of corn for a heifer; among the Mpondo ten spears are given for a young beast and ten goats for a full-grown beast; while among the Venda two hoes are given for a goat.[1]

Barter of this description, always on a small scale, takes place not only within the tribe, but also between members of different tribes. In Bechuanaland, e.g., people are in times of famine often compelled to purchase corn in some neighbouring tribe less sorely afflicted. The Shangana-Tonga, who do very little work in iron, obtain most of their metal goods from the Venda; the Tswana buy skins from Bushmen and Kxalaxadi for spears, knives, tobacco and dogs; the Mpondo get copper rings from the tribes farther east, in exchange for corn; and the Southern Sotho formerly traded "otter skins, panther skins, ostrich feathers and the wings of cranes" to the Zulu, as ornaments for warriors, in exchange for cattle, hoes, spearheads, necklaces and copper rings.[2] Permission to trade must in such cases be obtained from the Chief, who usually expects and receives a present in return.

Commodities are not only used in this way to acquire goods which people cannot produce for themselves. They may also be given in exchange for labour. We have already seen that people helping in work parties are paid with beer, meat or other foodstuffs. So, too, the magician is paid for his special services, generally in livestock, sometimes in grain or metal goods. It is fairly common also for a man with no sons or young male relatives to look after his cattle to employ some other man or boy to do so. The herdsman is paid a heifer, which with its offspring then belongs to him. This form of wage-labour must be distinguished from the widespread custom of *ukusisa* (Nguni) or *xo fisa* (Sotho), by which the wealthy man

[1] Stayt, 1931, 75; Schapera, 1935 MS.; Hunter, 1936, 134.

[2] Casalis, 1861, 169 (S. Sotho); Junod, 1927, ii, 138 (Shangana-Tonga); Schapera 1935 MS. (Tswana); Hunter, 1936, 134 (Mpondo).

places one or more of his cattle in the keeping of another. The herdsman is entitled to use their milk for his own purposes, and may be given some of the meat when an animal dies, but he may not sell or slaughter them. It is also usual, if the cattle flourish under his care, to reward him with a heifer from time to time.

Serving another man like this is perhaps the principal way in which a poor man can acquire cattle. " Cattle raiding afforded an opportunity for enterprising men to get rich quickly, but the principal way in which a poor man acquired wealth was to serve a chief, or wealthy man, and receive in return the loan or gift of cattle . . . A fundamental idea of (Bantu) social economics is that it is in no way degrading to ask a gift of another, that to dispense gifts is the mark of a chief, and that he who is given gifts becomes the giver's ' man '. Every chief and every wealthy man has . . . men come to ask gifts, and prepared in return to perform services. The gift may be of stock or of produce ; most frequently it is a loan of cattle. . . . The services usually performed are building huts, cutting bush for the kraal, assisting in cultivation, going messages, acting as mouthpiece of his ' chief ' in public (e.g. arranging a marriage agreement for him), and praising (*ukubonga*) his ' chief '." [1] And the man lending out his cattle not only has the task of herding them simplified. It serves partly to insure against total loss from disease, witchcraft or some other agency which might annihilate them should they all be concentrated in one kraal ; and is also a means of disguising the full extent of his riches, and so of escaping the jealousy and evil designs of less fortunate neighbours. Above all, perhaps, it is a means of acquiring prestige : the greater the number of retainers thus attached to a man, the higher his status and the more considerable his influence in the tribe generally.

Barter and payment for special services are only two of the mechanisms by which goods are circulated and thus made more widely accessible. *Lobola* payments, the fines and compensations levied at the courts, the various gifts made by relatives to one another, and the various forms of tribute paid to the Chief, all serve the same end. They will be dealt with below in discussing the special obligations arising from kinship and citizenship. But it may also be noted that a good deal of miscellaneous borrowing goes on in regard to such objects as household utensils, food and even livestock ; and is a frequent means of making good any immediate deficiency in a particular commodity.

[1] Hunter, 1936, 135.

Property and Inheritance

The food, livestock, dwellings, clothing, household utensils and other objects acquired by direct production, by barter, or in return for serving others, are used by each household to satisfy its own needs. But the rights exercised over these goods by members of a household are defined in various ways by tribal law and custom. Possession of goods entails certain obligations, not only within the household itself, but towards other people also. These rights and duties vary according to the nature of the commodity.

Land.

The livelihood of the Bantu is intimately bound up with their system of land tenure. They erect their dwellings on the land, cultivate it, graze their livestock upon it, and hunt over its surface. They use its water for domestic purposes and for their herds and flocks; they eat the wild fruits and other foods it produces, and make medicines from its vegetation; they convert its wood into huts, palisades and various utensils, and its reeds and grass into basket-work, thatch and string; and they extract from it metals, clay for their pots, and earth for the floors and walls of their huts. In the regulation of the land and its resources provision is made for each method of exploitation.

All the land occupied by the tribe is vested in the Chief and administered by him as head of the tribe. This he does through his sub-Chiefs and headmen, who regulate the distribution and use of land in their respective areas. The land is not his personal possession with which he can deal as he pleases. "With the exception of that portion of land which is reserved for the Chief and his family, on more or less the same basis as for anyone else, none of the land belongs to the Chief, nor can he dispose of it except gratuitously and to members of his own tribe."[1] The natural resources of the land—earth, water, wood, grass, clay, edible plants and fruits—are all common property, never reserved for the use of any particular persons.[2] So, too, anybody may graze his cattle and hunt wherever he pleases; although, as we have seen, people living in the same area often tend to assert exclusive claims over its grazing, while in Basutoland the Chiefs reserve special areas for winter grazing. It

[1] Lestrade, 1934, 430.

[2] Little information is available regarding rights to mineral deposits. Among the Tswana it is said that their exploitation was strictly controlled by the Chief; but no further details could be obtained, as Native mining has long since disappeared.

is only in regard to land for residence and cultivation that private rights are universally recognized. Every household-head has an exclusive right to land for building his home and for cultivation. Generally he can take up such land for himself within the area controlled by his sub-Chief or headman, provided that he does not encroach upon land already occupied or cultivated by others. Failing this, it is the duty of his headman to provide him gratuitously with as much land as he needs.

Once a man has taken up or been granted such land, it remains in his possession as long as he lives there. He has a prescriptive right over his arable land, whether it is still uncleared, being cultivated, or lying fallow. Other people can graze their cattle on the stalks once his crops have been reaped, and any woman can gather firewood or wild plants from it; but no one else can cultivate it without his permission, and on his death it is normally inherited by his children. He also has the right, subject to the approval of his headman, to give away part of it to a relative or friend, or to lend it to someone else. But he can never sell it or dispose of it in any other way in return for material consideration. Should he finally abandon the spot, his land reverts to the tribe as a whole and can subsequently be assigned to someone else. The only other way in which he can lose his right to the land is by confiscation, if he is found guilty of some serious crime.

The household-head in turn must divide his land among his dependants according to their needs. Each of his wives is entitled to at least one field for her own special use. No other wife can cultivate this field, nor can her husband alienate it from her house without her permission, and on her death her own children have a preferential right to it. The household-head must similarly find arable land for the wives of other married men living under his immediate jurisdiction. Often enough he also has a common household field, not assigned to any special wife, but worked by them all for the household as a whole.[1]

Livestock.

Cattle and other domestic animals are all private property; and have their ears slit, lopped or perforated in different ways as distinctive marks of ownership. The Chief has no say in their distribution, save in regard to cattle looted in war; nor has any man the right to demand cattle from him or other political authorities by virtue merely

[1] On Bantu land tenure, cf. especially Schapera, 1935 MS.; Harries, 1929, chap. iii; Hunter, 1936, 112 ff.

of tribal membership, although, as we have just seen, he has such a claim to land. Moreover, cattle once acquired can not only be given away outright, but can also be sold, slaughtered or otherwise disposed of by the owner.[1] A man may, however, be made to surrender one or more of his cattle as damages for a wrong he has done, or as punishment for an offence he has committed. In the former instance, the cattle will belong to the victim of the wrong; in the latter, they go to the Chief or other political authority. In exceptional instances the Chief may even confiscate all the cattle of a man who has committed some very grave offence. The Chief, too, is entitled on certain occasions to receive tribute in cattle from his subjects, and a man's relatives also have certain claims upon his cattle. These special claims will be dealt with more fully below.

Men, women and children may all possess cattle in their own right. A man may acquire cattle through natural increase of cattle already owned, through inheritance, as *lobola* for his daughter or sister, by gift from a relative or friend or the Chief, by service, by barter, and through some other more or less fortuitous circumstance, e.g. as damages. A married man must set aside some of his cattle for the house of each wife. The cattle thus allocated, together with some of those received as *lobola* for the daughters of any house, belong to that particular house. No house has any claim to cattle belonging to another, except by way of loan; the husband cannot use such cattle except for the benefit of that house, nor can he alienate them without the consent of its wife and eldest son. These cattle provide food for the inmates of that house; they and their increase are used to *lobola* wives for its sons; and when the man dies they pass to its heirs. The cattle a man does not specifically allocate in this way he may do with as he pleases. He may lend them out to other people to herd as *mafisa*, or he may sell or slaughter them. He may and should consult the other members of his family before thus disposing of them, but is not bound to follow their advice. If, however, he squanders them recklessly, his heirs may appeal to the Chief, who will then take him to task. In some tribes (e.g. Tswana), a man should in any case during his lifetime set aside one or more heifers or other livestock for each of his sons if he can afford to do so. He must also both among the Sotho and the Nguni give each daughter one or more beasts at marriage. He should further, out of such cattle, make the necessary sacrifices to his ancestors on behalf of his dependants.

[1] Lestrade, 1934, 433.

Cattle belonging to an unmarried man are controlled by his father or guardian. A son has no right to give away, sell, lend or otherwise dispose of them without the consent of his father. The latter, on the other hand, may use the cattle as he thinks fit on behalf of his son. But should he dispose of them for his own ends he is expected to replace them. Once the son is married, and sets up his own household, he can dispose of his cattle as he pleases, subject to the obligations noted above.

A woman may acquire cattle in her own right by gift from her father or husband, as her share of the *lobola* given for her daughter, and as payment for specialized work (e.g. magic). These cattle run with her husband's but he cannot treat them as his own. They also do not form part of his estate, being separately inherited by the woman's own children. On the other hand, she normally cannot dispose of her cattle without her husband's consent and through his agency, although if he objects unreasonably she can appeal to her own relatives or to the headman. A divorced wife takes her own cattle back to her parental home. Her husband, however, is generally entitled to keep back any that he has himself given her, while if she has any children the cattle must remain behind to be inherited by them.

Produce.

The milk yielded by cattle belongs to the house to which they are assigned, and is reserved for the use of its inmates. Similarly, every woman normally has her own granary, in which she keeps all the corn reaped from her field, except for the small tribute which must in many tribes be paid to the Chief. From her corn she prepares daily the food for her children and other dependants, as well as for her husband. She must also send to her co-wives part of whatever dish she has prepared, so that in this way the produce of the whole household is shared by all its members. The husband does not generally interfere with his wife's use of her corn ; but she cannot sell it, give it away, or grind it in large quantities to make beer without his consent. The corn from any common household field is directly controlled by the husband. It is used mainly for brewing beer for work-parties or feasts, for purchasing cattle and other commodities, and for entertaining visitors.

Meat obtained from the slaughter of any domestic animal is shared by all members of the household. Special portions are allotted to the wives, older sons and older daughters. Some it it must also be given to such near relatives as paternal and maternal uncles and aunts ;

and in every tribe well-defined rules lay down which particular portions must be given to each category. Game is generally divided among all the people taking part in a hunt. The first man to strike an animal claims the body and the skin. Others wounding it are entitled to the legs or other portions, according to the order in which they helped kill it [1]; and some of the flesh is shared with the rest of the party. The Chief also is entitled to hunting tribute in various forms, the nature of which will be dealt with below.

Huts, Household Utensils, and Personal Belongings.

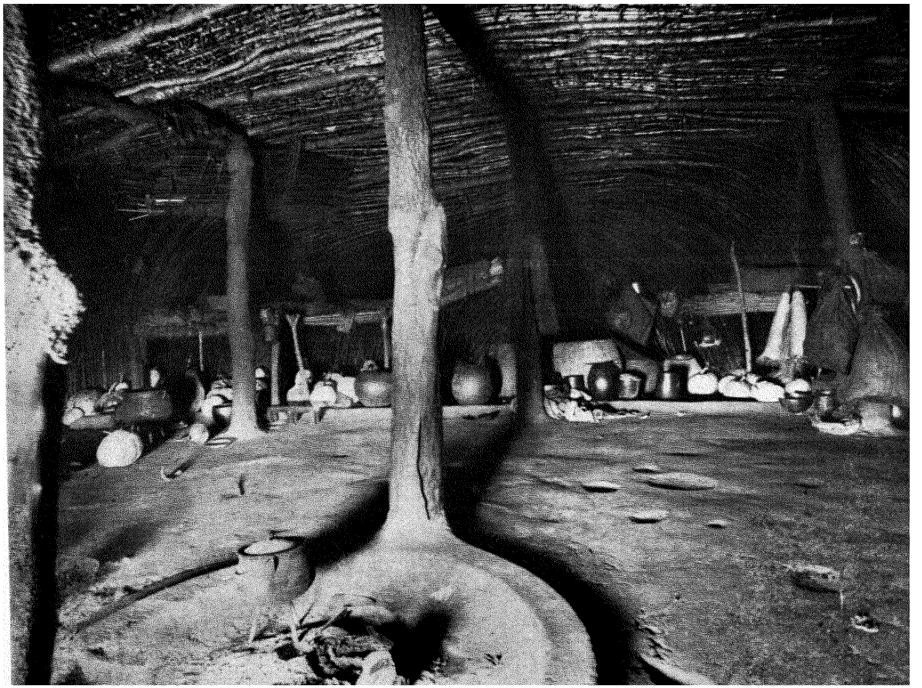
Huts, although built by the whole household, often with the assistance of outsiders, are generally referred to by the names of the wives occupying them. Each married woman is entitled to her own hut. The allocation of huts is controlled by the husband; but once a wife has been provided with her hut, she is regarded as its mistress, and supervises everything connected with it. But her husband has the right to enter it whenever he pleases; and if she is divorced, it remains behind with him.

Household utensils are for the most part controlled by the wife. She generally brings with her at marriage such things as pots, baskets, hoes, and sleeping-mats, the gift of her parents. Others, she makes for herself, or purchases with corn, fowls or beer, or is given by her husband. But among the Mpondo it is the duty of her parents to replace her utensils when they wear out or break.[2] She may do as she likes with these objects, without consulting her husband; but if he finds her dissipating them recklessly, he may intervene to stop her. If divorced, she takes back all that she has brought from her own home. The rest may also be awarded her, or divided between her and her husband, as the court decides.

Personal effects are the private property of the people for whom they are made or acquired. In the case of women and children they consist mainly in clothing and ornaments. Men also have sticks and weapons. Skin clothes are made by each man for himself, his wife and children, except among such tribes as the Mpondo, where a woman's clothes, even after marriage, are provided by her father or brother.[3] In all tribes, too, certain forms of clothing, like karosses, must often be bought from specialists. Ornaments are made by women for themselves, their lovers, husbands and children, but are as often purchased.

[1] Cf. Junod, 1927, ii, 56; Krige, 1936, 206.
[2] Hunter, 1936, 128.
[3] Hunter, 1936, 128.

PLATE XVI



[S. A. R. and H.

Interior of a Zulu Hut

[face p. 160

Men generally cut their own sticks, but purchase or inherit their weapons. The proceeds obtained by people from the sale of the objects they make are also regarded as their exclusive property. Adults may do as they please with their personal belongings, but children may not dispose of them without the consent of their parents.

Family Obligations.

We may now conveniently review the principal obligations between members of the same family in regard to property and services. As already shown, most productive activities are carried on within the household. Both husband and wife must perform on behalf of the household the various tasks imposed by tribal life. It is the special duty of the wife towards her husband and children to till her fields, cook food, and carry out her other domestic tasks. It is the special duty of the husband towards his wife and children to provide them with huts in which to stay, land to cultivate, and cattle to milk. He must further see that they are properly clothed and have the other necessities of life. The property each acquires must be administered for the benefit of the others as well. A father must help his sons with cattle to *lobola* wives; must see that his daughters receive domestic utensils to take to their new home; and must allocate cattle to his wives, so that on his death there is provision for the sons of each house. Children, again, must help in all the work of the household according to their age and sex. Sons when grown up must support their parents, and should place at the disposal of their fathers anything they obtain by hunting, purchase, or service for others.

Brothers and sisters must similarly help one another. Most tribes among the Sotho and Nguni have the custom of "linking" a sister to a brother.[1] The latter is then responsible all his life for the special needs of this sister. He must provide her with clothes when necessary, give her meat whenever he slaughters, and, as among the Mpondo, supply her "with some of the stock necessary for initiation rites before her marriage, as well as with a wedding outfit, and with clothing and utensils after marriage".[2] In return he receives the *lobola* cattle given for her, while after his own marriage she must come to assist his wife in any important domestic work. Brothers are among the Tswana, and probably elsewhere, linked together in the same way. An elder brother must support and protect his younger "linked"

[1] Cf. especially Schapera, 1935 MS.; Hunter, 1936, 123 f.
[2] Hunter, 1936, 129.

brother, help him with *lobola* cattle, and should give him other cattle from time to time. The younger brother, in turn, must always help his senior in work, and, if their father is dead, should place at his disposal whatever he earns. Each must give the other meat whenever he slaughters.

Inheritance.

Inheritance among the Bantu is governed by various traditional rules coming into force at the death of a person. A man may before his death indicate what he wishes done with some of his personal belongings; but his other property must be inherited in the customary manner and cannot be dealt with otherwise. The principal heir is generally the eldest son of the great wife. But the father, given good cause, may disinherit him by publicly disowning him before the Chief. The heir will then be the eldest remaining son.

When a married man dies, leaving a wife and children of both sexes, his eldest son, as general heir, inherits all the livestock which at the death of his father have not been allotted or donated to any special house or person. He also inherits any livestock specifically assigned to his mother's house. He must out of these provide for his younger brothers, in particular by helping them to *lobola* wives for themselves. Daughters normally receive no cattle at all, nor does the widow; but the heir must maintain and support them while they are living with him. Should he fail to do so, they can complain to the Chief. The estate of a polygamist is similarly divided. The eldest son in each house inherits all livestock assigned to that house. The eldest son of the great house further inherits such property as has not been assigned to any house; but must see that each house has sufficient stock to provide wives for its sons. The fields, the huts, and the household utensils remain with the widow or widows, who use them as long as alive. But in many tribes, especially Nguni and Shangana-Tonga, the homestead is destroyed on the death of the household-head. The heir of each house then builds his own home, where he is joined by his mother and her other children. These tribes also burn or bury most of a dead man's personal belongings. Any weapons and other objects that may be preserved go to the principal heir, who must share them with his younger brothers and with certain other relatives. Deceased's maternal uncle, e.g., is among the Sotho entitled to some of his weapons, as well as to a bull from his herd.

If a married man dies leaving no sons, his estate comes under the

control of his nearest male relative, generally his younger brother. This man must maintain and support the widow and any daughters from the property in his charge. He is expected by cohabiting with the widow, or by arranging for this to be done by someone else, to see that she duly bears a son, who will ultimately inherit the dead man's property. In a polygamous household, if there is no son by the great wife, the general heir will be the eldest son of her affiliated wife, and failing one the eldest son of the house next in rank. Failing a son in any house, the nearest male relative of the dead man becomes the general heir. But here again he is expected to " raise seed ", either in person or by proxy, to the various houses in which sons are desired.

If no heir is found by any such practice, a man's property is inherited by his father, if still living; if not, by the eldest brother in the same house. Failing a brother in the same house, the heir is the eldest brother in the great house. Failing a brother there, the eldest brother of the house next in rank inherits. In the entire failure of brothers, the heir is the father's eldest brother in the same house, or his senior male descendant. Failing one, the estate passes to the father's eldest brother in the great house, or his senior male descendant; and so on, descending from house to house according to their rank, until a male heir has been found to inherit the property and look after the widow and daughters. In the entire absence of a male heir, the estate falls to the Chief.[1]

When a married woman dies childless or without sons, her husband, if still living, may bring in another woman, generally her younger sister or some other near relative, to " raise seed " for her. This woman will then use the cattle, fields and other property assigned to deceased's house, and they will be inherited in due course by her own children. But if the dead woman leaves any children, all property belonging to her in her own right, including livestock, are among the Mpondo inherited by her youngest son, who also inherits her fields.[2] Her hut and certain personal belongings are however destroyed or buried with her. Among the Tswana, on the other hand, the youngest son inherits the huts as well as the fields and livestock; but the corn and household utensils go to the eldest daughter, who must out of them provide for her younger sisters and for the maternal relatives of her mother.[3] Accurate information regarding other tribes is not available.

The estate of an unmarried man is administered by his father, if

[1] For general discussion of inheritance, cf. Whitfield, 1929, chap. vi.
[2] Hunter, 1936, 119 f.
[3] Schapera, 1935 MS.

still alive. After the latter's death it goes to the heir of the house to which the deceased son belonged. The property of an unmarried woman goes to her mother, passing after the latter's death to the other daughters. Her cattle, however, are inherited in the same way as those of an unmarried son. But if she, although unmarried, has children of her own, they inherit all her property.

Special Gifts and Services

It has been noted above that a man's property and labour are not only utilized to satisfy his own wants and those of his household, but must on occasion be placed at the disposal of others. Among obligations of this kind hospitality plays a large part. Every visitor should be offered some food, great stress being laid upon the observance of this rule. *Moeng xoroxa dijô di a bonalê*, say the Tswana: "stranger arrive, so that there may be food." At feasts there are always a number of uninvited guests, but certain pots of beer and portions of meat are invariably set aside for them. And whenever a man slaughters he should reserve some of the meat for the neighbours attracted to his home. A selfish or niggardly man is despised; a generous man is warmly praised, and is generally a welcome guest in turn when he visits others. We have also seen that people are often asked to assist their neighbours at work. No one is compelled to do so; but the tradition of reciprocal help, without which many common tasks could not be satisfactorily accomplished, is generally a sufficient incentive, quite apart from the feast rewarding those taking part.

Obligations towards Relatives.

There are, however, in all the Bantu tribes more special obligations. Relatives by blood or by marriage are entitled of right not only to hospitality, but also to gifts of various kinds and to labour assistance. They should visit one another frequently, and must be specially entertained whenever they do so. They must be invited to all feasts, where they frequently sit in small groups according to their status, each being given special portions of meat, beer, and whatever else is available. And, as we have seen, whenever a man slaughters he must send special portions of the meat to the relatives living near him. Those out of reach should from time to time be given an ox or goat instead. They are expected to reciprocate in kind on some future occasion. A man given meat, e.g., will somewhat later repay it with several pots of beer, or with a substantial bowl of porridge. So, too, whenever a

man has any big task on hand, he may instead of organizing a work-party call upon his relatives for assistance; and they are expected to provide it. When a woman is confined after childbirth, her own female relatives as well as those of her husband help to fetch water, collect firewood, cook and do all the other household work to which she cannot attend. They help her in the same way to prepare for a feast.

A few more specific instances of kinship obligations may briefly be reviewed.[1] A man's paternal relatives are preferential partners in most co-operative activities. His senior uncles and aunts should contribute towards the *lobola* he gives for his wife, having in return the right to receive part of the *lobola* obtained for his sister or daughter. They must also contribute towards the gifts of cattle, food, clothing and ornaments made to boys and girls on passing through the initiation ceremonies. If a man is unable to pay a fine imposed upon him at court, they should assist him to do so. If childless, or having children of one sex only, they may be given a nephew to help herd their cattle, or a niece to help in the household work; and they may even completely adopt such children.

Similar obligations are created by marriage. The *lobola* transaction itself, with all the other accompanying gifts, is one of the principal means of circulating goods. Moreover, once a marriage has been established relatives-in-law must help one another at work in the same way as relatives by blood. A married woman assists and is assisted by her husband's female relatives in the various major domestic and agricultural tasks, they share their food, and generally function as interdependent units of one social group. Her own relatives make her and her family gifts of food, clothing, household utensils and similar objects, help them at work, and frequently adopt their children for a while. Her husband is expected to reciprocate in kind. He should help his wife's people at work, not only when requested but also of his own accord, make them occasional gifts of meat and other kinds of food, and invite them to all feasts in which he plays a leading part.

A child for whose mother *lobola* has been paid is always treated with great respect and has many privileges at her parental home. His maternal uncle has many special duties to perform towards him, especially among the Sotho and Shangana-Tonga. The uncle must slaughter for the feast at the birth of a nephew or niece, provide them with new outfits of clothing when they are initiated, help them with food and clothing when they get married, and contribute towards

[1] Cf. especially Schapera, 1935 MS.; Hunter, 1936, 47 ff., 121 ff.

the *lobola* paid by his nephew. The nephew has the right, among the Tswana, to slaughter a beast at his uncle's kraal for food, or to take a heifer for breeding purposes; or he may give his uncle an old bull, a damaged kaross, or some other useless object, claiming in return a young bull or heifer, or a new kaross. The uncle, in return, always receives a substantial portion of the *lobola* given for his niece; he receives the first animal earned by his nephew, part of every animal he slaughters or kills in the chase, and any object he picks up in the veld; for every animal his nephew kills or takes from his kraal he can later exercise a similar privilege; and he inherits part of his nephew's estate.[1] Cross-cousins among the Tswana similarly can help themselves freely to one another's personal belongings, the only relatives to whom this privilege is accorded.

These forms of service and gift to relatives are not compulsory, in the sense that people can be sued at court for failing to provide them. But it will be said that they do not show their relatives due honour and respect, and considerable ill-feeling may result, together with refusal on the part of the slighted relative to work with or take any interest in the welfare of the culprit. The main incentive to conformity with these obligations is reciprocity. In the relative absence of industrial specialization and consequent economic interdependence, kinship serves to establish greater social cohesion within the community, and to integrate its activities into a wider co-operation than obtains within the restricted limits of the household. The so-called "communal system" of the Bantu is largely the manifestation of this close bond of solidarity and reciprocity arising out of kinship and affecting well-nigh every aspect of daily life.

The Position of the Chief.

Apart from being obliged to help his relatives in this way, a man must pay tribute, both in labour and in kind, to his Chief and other political superiors.[2] But whereas relatives cannot in court enforce fulfilment of their special rights and privileges, the Chief has the power to punish anybody failing to render him the customary tribute. The nature of this tribute varies somewhat from group to group. Generally speaking, however, the Chief has the right to send any member of the tribe where and on what errand he likes. Moreover, he can call upon them collectively to perform various tasks for him

[1] Junod, 1927, i, 267 ff.; Schapera, 1935 MS.
[2] Eiselen, 1932*a*, 297–306; Schapera, 1935 MS.; Hunter, 1936, 384 ff.

and his household, as well as on behalf of the tribe at large. Among the Sotho and Northern Nguni work of this kind is generally done for him by the regiments, whom he summons for the purpose whenever he wishes. Among the Tswana, e.g., the men's regiments not only constitute the tribal army, but in time of peace are often called upon to round up stray cattle, to destroy beasts of prey, to hunt for the Chief, to clear new fields for his wives, or to build his huts and cattle-kraals; while the women's regiments help build and thatch the huts, fetch earth and smear their walls and floors whenever required, fetch water and collect firewood for the Chief's wives, and cultivate their fields.[1] In other tribes similar work is generally done locally, through the sub-Chiefs and headmen.

Although the Chief thus has a right to the services of every member of the tribe, he also has many servants directly attached to his household and performing its work. Among the Nguni and in many other tribes young men come from all parts of the tribe to serve at the Chief's court, where they perform such menial tasks as fetching wood and water, making fires and herding cattle. Among the Tswana he has also a large number of serfs, recruited from inferior communities like the MaSarwa (Bushmen) and the Kxalaxadi. Many of them live in the veld, hunting for the Chief; others stay at his cattleposts herding his cattle; others are brought into the town, where they live in his homestead and do all the routine domestic work. Most of them are attached to him in person, and are taken over by his successor. Others are allotted to his different houses, and are then inherited in the house to which they are attached. They are not free to leave or to transfer their allegiance to some other master, and if they desert can be followed up and brought back. Their spouses, if they marry outside the Chief's household, also become his servants. He can, on the other hand, give or lend them to someone else, whose servants they then become; and it is usual that when his daughter marries he gives her some of these serfs to help her in her new home. They are regarded now as her sole property, and will be inherited by her children. Other servants are drawn from the ordinary members of the tribe. Each house of the Chief is put under the care of a certain ward or certain families. These retainers remain attached to the same house, their children continuing to work for it and its descendants. They live at their own homes, and have the same rights as other members of the tribe; but they also have special obligations towards the house to

[1] Schapera, 1935 MS.

which they are allotted. Some of the men are put in charge of its cattle, while some of the women and girls help in the daily domestic work; and the group as a whole cultivates the fields of that house, builds its huts, and performs all similar work.[1]

The Chief is also entitled to various forms of tribute in kind. There are in most tribes one or more large public fields specially cultivated for him every year by local divisions of the tribe. He provides the seed; but the people do all the work, from clearing the field to harvesting and threshing the produce, all of which is then given to him. Among the Sotho and Shangana-Tonga he further receives a basketful of corn from every woman after she has reaped her own harvest. The presentation of this corn is an occasion of great ceremony, constituting part of the harvest thanksgiving. The Chief must also be given the breast-portion of every big game animal killed in the chase, ostrich feathers, the skins and claws of all carnivora, especially of the lion and the leopard, and the hides and tusks of the elephant, hippopotamus and rhinoceros. The skins of all animals killed in any communal hunt organized by him are also his property.

But his most important source of wealth is cattle. He possesses by far the largest herds in the tribe. All cattle looted in war are brought to him. Some of them he distributes among the successful raiders or among men who have otherwise distinguished themselves; but he always keeps a generous portion for himself. Stray cattle must be brought to him by their finders; and if not claimed within a certain period, are held to belong to him. He receives gifts of cattle from the head of every family on his installation as Chief; and among the Tswana similar gifts are made to him by the leading members of the tribe after his initiation. The *lobola* paid for his great wife is frequently made up of contributions from the tribe; while the *lobola* he receives for his daughters forms a substantial addition to his wealth, since the amount paid for a Chief's daughter is much higher than that for a commoner's daughter. Among the Sotho, again, the father of every boy going through the initiation ceremonies must pay the Chief a fee of one beast. He is entitled to all the fines imposed in his court for homicide and serious bodily assault, and to a portion of the damages paid in civil cases brought to his court for settlement. So, too, whenever an important tribesman dies, one of his cattle must be sent to the Chief as formal notification of the loss. He can even confiscate the entire property of tribesmen found guilty of witchcraft or some other

[1] Schapera, 1935 MS.

grave crime. Finally, people anxious to keep in his favour find it expedient to make him occasional gifts of cattle; and he sometimes makes special tours of his territory to collect such gifts.

But all this accumulation of wealth by the Chief, all this labour rendered to him, must be utilized by him not only for his own benefit, not only for the maintenance of his large household, but also on behalf of the tribe as a whole. One quality always required of a Chief is generosity. He must provide liberal hospitality in beer and meat for people visiting him or assisting at his court, or summoned to work or to fight for him. He rewards with gifts of cattle and sometimes wives the services of his councillors, warriors, and retainers. Many of his cattle are distributed for herding among his retainers, who live upon the milk; while in times of famine he must provide the people with corn from his granaries. The annual tribute of corn he receives he must use to make the beer given to the people at the harvest thanksgiving; every man bringing him the skin of a lion or leopard must be rewarded with the gift of a heifer; the meat of the game killed at a tribal hunt he distributes among those taking part; the breast-portions of big game animals he cooks for the men at his court, or sends to paupers or invalids. The Chief is thus looked upon as the source of wealth, of reward, and of sustenance in times of trouble; and this constitutes a powerful sanction for his authority. A Chief too niggardly to provide lavishly for his subjects readily becomes unpopular, and may even find them tending to desert him for some more liberal rival, serious an offence as this is.

The Chief, moreover, must perform certain special duties for the material welfare of his people. As we have already seen, he controls the use and distribution of the tribal land; he also organizes big tribal hunts, especially when beasts of prey have been ravaging the cattle; he organizes raids on neighbouring tribes to obtain more cattle, and must also see to the defence of his own people's herds from attack by others; he is responsible almost everywhere for the rainmaking ceremonies upon which the growth of the crops is held to depend, while in many tribes he also distributes charmed seed among his subjects. Very often he also directly organizes their agricultural activities. Among the Tswana, Northern Sotho and many others, he summons his people at the beginning of a new agricultural season to hoe and sow his various public fields. Until they have done so, they may not under penalty of punishment do the same work on their own fields. Again, when the first fruits of the

new season are ripe, no one may eat of them until the Chief has ceremonially done so. So, too, no one may harvest or thresh his crops until this has been done with the produce of the Chief's fields. In this way the Chief " ensured that these operations would be performed at a time which the experienced elders of the tribe knew to be most favourable ".[1]

Sub-Chiefs, and headmen also are entitled to exact free labour from their people for all public purposes, and to send them about freely on official business. But they cannot claim tribal labour for their own private purposes, although if popular may willingly be given assistance. They may occasionally also be given presents of beer, meat, and similar commodities. But there is no recognized form of tribute to be paid to them other than the fines levied in their courts. In some tribes, however, a Chief may permit vassal-Chiefs under his rule to claim from their own people the various forms of hunting tribute to which he himself is entitled, and also to have fields cultivated for them. But they are allowed this by grace, and not by right; and he may whenever he wishes withdraw the privilege.

The Breakdown of Tribal Economy

The coming of the European has brought to the Bantu new forms of organization largely incompatible with the traditional ways of earning a living, and fresh needs which cannot be met by the traditional methods of production and exchange. These innovations and their effects are dealt with more fully in a subsequent chapter,[2] but may conveniently be outlined here to bring out the contrast between Bantu and European systems of economy. The Native, while attempting to cling to his own scale of values, finds it impossible not to admit the competing claims of a system in which exchange is carried out and values adjusted by means of prices. This has affected domestic industries: the potter is no longer so active where the trader has tin-ware for sale; the Native adzes and axes are everywhere giving way to the European article. The traditional arrangements for storing foodstuffs come to be upset by the practice of sale to the Europeans immediately after the harvest for cash or chits giving the right to purchase goods. Imitation of the Europeans gives rise to wants unknown before, for clothing and utensils of all kinds, and for

[1] *Report of Native Economic Commission*, 1930–2 (U.G., 22, 1932), § 56.
[2] See below.

school education, which in the Native teachers creates a new class of specialists who, on account of their training, often play a larger part in public life than their age or social origins might seem to warrant.

At the same time, the spread of European rule is depriving the Chief of many of his functions, limiting his rights of dispensing justice, and, by strictly limiting the amount of land at the tribe's disposal, is even preventing him from fulfilling his primary obligations as father of his people. This again lessens the respect in which he is held, and makes difficult the full exercise of his claims over the labour and property of his subjects. The Government, moreover, demands tax payments in money, thereby increasing the breach in the old system of production and exchange. The need for earning tax money, together with their reluctance to sell cattle, drives many men out to work for wages in mines or industries or on farms away from the tribal home. Their absence, often prolonged, means changes in the organization of family work; their additional earnings mean a different scale of family incomes. The communal solidarity which is the key to the traditional Bantu methods of making and sharing wealth is lessened; ties of relationship or neighbourhood, of respect for the elders and loyalty to the Chief, become less binding.

So a new class arises, who, in the words of one Tswana Chief, are like bats: neither birds nor mice, neither Natives nor Europeans. This description is not unjust. For the Bantu have certainly not yet learned to make the most of the European method of catering for wants by means of constantly adjusted price-changes. The Native is not a close bargainer, and it will be long before his introduction to money is complete. None the less, it is a dying system which we have been describing above, a form of organization already well on the way to being transformed in many parts of South Africa.

Chapter VIII

POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

By I. Schapera

The basic unit in Bantu political life is the tribe (Nguni, *isiʇwe*; Shangana-Tonga, *rišaka*, *nyimba*; Sotho, *sethšaba*, *morafe*; Venda, *lushaka*). This may be defined, for all practical purposes, as the body of people organized under the rule of an independent Chief. Each tribe has its own name, occupies its own territory, manages its own affairs, and acts as a single united body in war. But it is primarily through their allegiance to the same Chief that the members of a tribe are conscious of their unity; and indeed the tribe is most often named after the Chief himself or one of his ancestors. So, too, the Chief himself is spoken of as Chief over his people, and not as Chief of the territory they inhabit: e.g. Griffith Lerotholi is not "Paramount Chief of Basutoland", but *morena e moholo oa BaSotho*, "the great Chief of the (Southern) Sotho."

The nuclear stock of a tribe is generally composed of people all claiming descent from the same line of ancestors as the Chief. But even the smallest tribe contains many alien families or groups, while in the larger tribes only a small proportion of the people may belong to the original stock. Usually as a Chief gains in power, prestige, and wealth his tribe will be enlarged by the accession of refugees from other Chiefs; while, on the other hand, the unpopularity of any Chief will gradually lessen the number of his adherents. Disputes over succession to the Chieftainship, or quarrels arising from other causes among members of the royal family, may lead to a split, the malcontents either seeking refuge with some other Chief or setting up as an independent tribe of their own. Then again, conquest by war may lead to the incorporation of several different tribes under the rule of one Chief, or to the disintegration of others, whose members scatter all over the country seeking refuge where they can. The tribe is thus not a closed group, like the clan. It is an association into which people may be born, or which they may voluntarily join, or into which they may be absorbed by conquest; and which they may, for one reason or another, leave again.

From time to time there have arisen in South Africa large Bantu States, in which many different tribes were amalgamated into a single political unit. The Zulu under Shaka, the Rhodesian Ndebele under Mzilikazi, the Shangana under Soshangane, the South Sotho under Moshesh, the Swazi under Sobhuza and Mswazi, the Pedi under Thulare, and the Ngwato under Kxama and his predecessors were all powerful combinations in which one Chief had brought under his rule many of his neighbours.[1] The Nguni rulers introduced certain new features of social organization, to which reference will be made below; the others simply extended the traditional system of administration to embrace the conquered tribes, allowing them a large measure of autonomy under their own hereditary leaders but often appointing sub-Chiefs to watch over them. Most of these large States have since broken up, mainly as a result of wars with the Europeans, and have reverted to the original system of small tribes. But in Basutoland, Swaziland, and Northern Bechuanaland (Ngwato) the composite "nations" still flourish. Here, however, allowing for the difference in scale, the administrative system has on the whole remained fundamentally the same as that of the smaller tribes.

At the head of the whole tribe is the Chief (Nguni, *inkosi*; Shangana-Tonga, *hosi*; Venda, *khosi*; Sotho, *morêna*, *kxosi*). He is assisted in the execution of his duties by various forms of council. Local divisions within the tribe, such as districts, sub-districts, villages, and wards, are in turn administered by their respective heads, assisted by small local councils. Each petty local authority is responsible in the first place to the head of the larger local unit within which he dwells. The latter, again, is responsible directly or through some senior local authority to the Chief. There exist also such institutions as the army, age-sets, civil and ritual assemblies, through which the tribe as a whole is on occasion marshalled directly before the Chief. In effect, therefore, the government of the tribe is ultimately concentrated in the hands of the Chief; but the existing social and territorial organization is used to delegate matters of more purely local concern to subordinate authorities.

The Chieftainship

Succession and Minority.

Chieftainship is hereditary. Many instances are known where it has been usurped or acquired in some other way by trickery or force;

[1] For the history of these tribes, see above, chap. iii.

but as a rule the Chief succeeds automatically to his office by right of birth. *Kxosi ke kxosi ka a tsetswe*, say the Tswana: "a Chief is Chief because he is born to it." But the rules of succession vary somewhat from group to group. Among the Nguni, Sotho, and Venda Chieftainship normally passes from father to son. The rightful heir is the eldest son of the Chief's "great wife", the woman for whose *lobola* cattle have been contributed by members of the tribe.[1] Among the Shangana-Tonga a Chief is usually succeeded by his brothers in turn, and only when the last brother has died does the succession revert to the sons of the eldest.[2] Failing a direct heir, the Chief is everywhere succeeded by the man next in order of seniority. Frequently, however, the succession is disputed by rival claimants, even when the real heir is well known; and there will be strife and tribal disruption. Women do not normally succeed, although they may at times act as regents. But among the Lobedu and certain other small North Sotho tribes the Chief must always be a woman. She is, however, for social purposes regarded as a male, marries "wives" (who then cohabit with her male relatives), and is succeeded by the eldest daughter of the "great wife".[3] This form of Chieftainship is, as far as the Southern Bantu in general are concerned, decidedly exceptional.

The heir is normally installed as Chief soon after the death of his predecessor. Occasionally the leading councillors of the tribe, if they consider him unsuitable for the Chieftainship, will intrigue against him and bring about the succession of a more satisfactory though junior relative. But as a rule the claims of legitimacy are more than sufficient to counterbalance personal disqualifications. The new Chief is first "doctored" with various medicinal charms to give him the power of commanding the obedience and respect of his people. He is then formally invested with the insignia of Chieftainship, the occasion often being one of elaborate public ceremonial; is entrusted with the sacred tribal regalia, and enters into the inheritance of his predecessor's household and property.

If the heir is still too young to take up office, the duties of Chieftainship are entrusted to a regent. The regent is generally, among the Sotho and Nguni, the late Chief's senior surviving brother or an older son by a junior wife. He normally acts alone, but sometimes, especially among the Swazi, the heir's mother may have as much or

[1] On the "great wife", see above, chap. iv, pp. 75, 83, 91.
[2] Junod, 1927, i, 410–14.
[3] Cf. A. A. Jacques, 1934, 377–382.

even greater authority in the direction of tribal affairs, and the male regents merely acts as her mouthpiece. The regent while in office has all the powers, rights, privileges, and duties of the Chief. He also receives and keeps as his own the various forms of tribute customarily paid to the Chief. He is expected to hand over the Chieftainship when the heir comes of age, i.e. when he has passed through the ceremonies admitting him into adult membership of the tribe. But tribal histories show that a regent has often enough been tempted by the fruits of office to retain the Chieftainship permanently. If he has been a successful and popular ruler, he is generally assured of support, with the result that there may be a split in the tribe. But if on the other hand he has abused his position, he will be forced, perhaps even sooner than really necessary, to make way for the heir; and should he resist the penalty may be assassination.[1]

Prerogatives and Wealth.

The Chief, as head of the tribe, occupies a position of outstanding privilege and authority. He is the symbol of tribal unity, the central figure round whom the tribal life revolves. He is at once ruler, judge, maker and guardian of the law, repository of wealth, dispenser of gifts, leader in war, priest and magician of his people. Among the Venda and some Northern Sotho, as among Shaka's Zulu, he is elevated to an almost godlike eminence: his person is sacred, his subjects bow before him in humble adoration and obeisance, and his smallest gesture is greeted with a chorus of fulsome adulation.[2] Among the Venda, indeed, "not only is the Chief thus regarded as semi-divine during the greater part of his life: towards the end of it, or sometimes long before, he actually confers godhead upon himself, when after abjuring all contact with women, and putting away his wives, he performs a solemn solitary dance (*u pembela*) which makes him in very truth a god (*Mudzimu*)."[3] In other tribes, such as the Tswana, he is far more approachable; but even here he is greatly revered and always treated with a good deal of outward respect. His deeds are extolled in magnificent eulogies recited on all public occasions by special bards. He himself is often addressed not merely by his official title but in words or phrases of extreme adulation, while among the Tswana he is correctly known by the personification

[1] Cf. Schapera, 1935 MS. (Tswana); Lestrade, 1930*a*, 319 (Venda).
[2] Cf. Stayt, 1931, 201–3; Lestrade, 1930*a*, 311–12; Krige, 1936, 237–9.
[3] Lestrade, loc. cit.

of the tribal name.[1] His initiation, installation, and marriage are occasions of great public festivity. There are certain insignia of rank, such as leopard skins, ivory armlets, or bead necklaces of a particular kind, which only he is allowed to wear; and he alone, in the Nguni tribes, is entitled to the royal salute *bayede*.

The Chief's household is usually far larger and more elaborate than those of ordinary tribesmen. He always has many wives, both at his own residence and (as among the Nguni and Shangana-Tonga) at military kraals or other places of importance throughout the tribe; while numerous officials, retainers and other adherents cluster round him and his court. He has the first choice of land for building upon, for cultivation and for grazing his cattle. He and his family take precedence in the tribe in matters of ritual, e.g. at the first-fruits and initiation ceremonies. This precedence is a prerogative so jealously guarded that anyone daring to infringe it is severely punished as a potential rival. The Chief alone has the right to convene tribal meetings, arrange tribal ceremonies, and impose the supreme penalties of death and banishment. He receives various forms of tribute from his people, both in kind and in labour.[2] He further has the right in general to obedience from his subjects in all matters of public interest, as well as in minor matters of more personal concern. Failure to comply with his orders is a penal offence. All other offences against him are generally punished more severely than similar offences against ordinary tribesmen; while disloyalty or revolt against his authority is a major crime, punished as a rule by death and the confiscation of the culprit's property.

Duties and Obligations.

But the Chief's life is not merely one of immense privilege. He has many duties to perform for the tribe, duties which if faithfully carried out may impose an enormous burden upon his time and energy. He must in the first place watch over the interests of his subjects and keep himself informed of tribal affairs generally. He is said to be the father or herdsman of his people, and as such has to look after them, treat them well and justly, and see that no harm or misfortune befalls them. He must give ear to all his subjects, irrespective of rank; and much of his time is spent daily in his official courtyard (Sotho, *kxôrô*,

[1] The Chief of the Ngwato, e.g., is addressed and referred to as MoNgwato, and the chief of the Kxatla as Mokxatla.

[2] Cf. above, chap. vii, pp. 166 ff.

kxotla; Venda, *khoro*; Nguni, *inkundla*; Shangana-Tonga, *hubo*), listening to news, petitions, and grievances from all parts of the tribe. His accumulated wealth, as shown in the last chapter, must be used for the tribal benefit as well as for his own maintenance; and much of his popularity depends upon his reputation for hospitality and generosity.

The Chief is the executive head of the tribe. Nothing of any importance can be done without his knowledge and authority. But in administering tribal affairs he must always consult with his councils, both private and public; and it is one of his main duties to summon and preside over meetings of these councils as occasion arises. With them he must decide upon questions of peace and war, and see to the protection or relief of his people in case of war, pestilence, famine, or some other great calamity. He must see that the local divisions of the tribe are effectively governed by their sub-Chiefs or headmen, and take any action that may be necessary to ensure this. He controls the distribution and use of the tribal land, of which he is often figuratively termed the owner; and he must in many tribes regulate the sowing and harvesting of crops, the organization of tribal hunts, trade relations with strangers, and other economic activities. He is the head of the tribal army, and as such organizes military expeditions, often accompanying them himself, performs the necessary war magic for the success of his troops, and disposes of the prisoners and loot. He is also the representative and spokesman of his tribe in all its external relations, and so must receive and entertain other Chiefs or their messengers, and communicate in the same way with his neighbours when necessary. All strangers visiting the tribe must be reported to him, while none of his own people may go away without his knowledge and permission.

The Chief is further responsible for maintaining law and order throughout the tribe. He must protect the rights of his subjects, provide justice for the injured and oppressed, and punish wrongdoers. He is the supreme judge, whose decision is final. Appeals lie to him from the verdicts of the lower courts; while certain serious offences, such as treason, homicide, assault, rape and sorcery must be dealt with only by him and his court. He may further initiate and, after discussion with his councillors and the tribe as a whole, promulgate new laws and regulations for the better conduct of tribal affairs; and similarly abolish old usages which the tribe has outgrown. Legislation of this sort does not seem to have played a conspicuous

part in the old tribal life, the Chief being more concerned to maintain the existing laws than to alter it; but in more recent times decrees have often been found necessary to meet the new conditions produced by contact with the Europeans.

As religious head of the tribe, the Chief always plays an extremely important part in its ritual life. He must arrange for the celebration of all the great ceremonies, such as rainmaking and other agricultural rites, tribal purifications, initiations, and the charming of the army, upon which the welfare of his people is held to depend. He is the custodian of various sacred objects symbolizing the unity and prosperity of his tribe, such as the *inkatha* or sacred coil of the Zulu and the *mhamba* of the Thonga, both containing among other ingredients "dirt" from the bodies of past and present Chiefs. He further possesses horns or vessels filled with a potent magical paste giving him power over his enemies, and must use them for "doctoring" the tribe in time of war or other emergency. Even if he himself has not learned to perform the necessary rites, he has official magicians to do so; and they always work at his request and under his direct supervision.

In many of these rites the Chief is the link between his people and the ancestral spirits governing their welfare. His dead ancestors are held to afford supernatural protection and assistance to the people they once ruled; and on all important occasions he will sacrifice and pray to them on behalf of the tribe as a whole. The rôle he thus plays as tribal priest—a rôle which only he, as ruling Chief, can fill—helps to explain the great reverence in which he is always held by his people. He himself becomes a tribal god after his death. He is buried in some traditionally sacred spot; and, especially if he has been renowned or well-beloved, his descendants will come there with their people to pray to him for rain and harvest, peace and prosperity.[1]

Relatives of the Chief.

The Chief's paternal relatives (Sotho, *dikxosana, borrangwanakxosi*; Venda, *magota*; Swazi, *bantanenkosi*, etc.) share to a varying extent in the rights and privileges of his exalted position. Generally speaking, the more closely a man is related to the Chief, the more powerful a person he is in tribal affairs generally. If in addition he is personally capable, his authority will be correspondingly greater. If on the other

[1] See below, chap. xi, for a fuller account of the Chief's religious position.

hand he is incompetent, a waster or a drunkard, his influence will be correspondingly less. But owing to his inherited status he will nevertheless continue to command some respect from his social inferiors. The Chief's brothers and uncles, in particular, have the right to be consulted by him on all important tribal matters, and often exert considerable influence and authority as his private advisers. One of them generally acts for the Chief during his absence or illness; and in certain tribes (e.g. Venda, Ngwato) this man's position is constitutionally demarcated.[1] Others are appointed by the Chief as sub-Chiefs over outlying districts or vassal-tribes, while among the Sotho they may further have individual jurisdiction as leaders of *mephatô* (age-regiments). Without their active support he can do little; but if they are solidly behind him his hold over the tribe will be greatly strengthened.

On the other hand, it is usually these men who form the Chief's most dangerous rivals, especially when he is weak or tyrannous. They are jealous of their rights, and actively resent any failure on his part to co-operate with them in ruling the tribe. Even if they do not dispute the succession with him before he is installed, they may subsequently intrigue against him, relying for support upon the prestige of their birth and such personal popularity as they possess. Dynastic troubles of this sort are of frequent occurrence in Bantu society; and although they may not always lead to civil war or to the secession of an ambitious brother or son of the Chief with his following, they split the tribe into factions whose continual disagreements greatly disturb the general peace and prosperity. The success of a Chief's reign is therefore often determined by his treatment of his close relatives and by their own attitude towards him.

The Chief's mother, especially when her *lobola* cattle have been contributed by the whole tribe, is its most important woman. She is spoken of as the " mother " of all his people, and is treated by them with the utmost respect, so much so that among the Sotho and others her home is a recognized asylum to which victims of persecution can flee. She sometimes acts as regent during her son's minority, or if not must be consulted by the regent in all matters affecting the royal family and estate; while after his accession the Chief frequently seeks her advice in political matters. Among the Swazi she occupies a position of unique importance. She is, next to the Chief himself, the leading member of the tribal government, and acts as the principal

[1] Stayt, 1931, 197–8; Schapera, 1935, MS.

regent during his minority. She has her own kraal, which is the ritual capital of the tribe; the annual first-fruits festival is held there, as well as meetings of the tribal councils, and a regiment is always stationed there to protect her and to work for her. She exercises separate judicial powers; she is the custodian of the sacred rain medicines, which her son uses in collaboration with her; he invariably consults her before taking action in any important matter, and should follow her advice; and she can take an active part in all council meetings.[1] Among the Venda the Chief's senior paternal aunt (*makhadzi*), or failing her his senior sister, has a somewhat analogous position. She must be consulted on all important tribal affairs, exercises a very great influence over the Chief's personal and political conduct, and is treated with most of the respect and formality accorded to him.[2]

The sisters and daughters of the Chief, as leaders of the female age-regiments, may among the Tswana also command special authority over the women of the tribe, apart from the general respect they enjoy by right of birth. It is fairly common in all tribes for the Chief to marry them to sub-Chiefs or headmen with large followings, and so consolidate more strongly his hold over his people; or to other Chiefs with whom he is anxious to be allied. The Venda and a few neighbouring North Sotho tribes appear to be exceptional in that among them a Chief may appoint one (or several) of his sisters as headman over some village or even district, the succession to this office then tending in some cases to be confined to females.[3]

Tribal Councils

In administering the affairs of the tribe, the Chief is assisted in the first place by a small number of confidential advisers, with whom he consults informally and secretly. Most of them are his own close relatives, such as his senior uncles and brothers; a few others may be influential sub-Chiefs or headmen; and there may also be one or two devoted personal friends and adherents. A Chief when he succeeds will generally retain the advisers of his father, but as times goes on may discard some of them and select his own. The office is not necessarily hereditary. These men help the Chief to formulate policy, and discuss with him every measure which will subsequently have to be referred

[1] B. A. Marwick, *The Natives of Swaziland*, MS. 1934.
[2] Stayt, 1931, 196–7; Lestrade, 1930*a*, 314.
[3] Lestrade, 1930*a*, 314–15; Stayt, 1931, 315; Jacques, 1934, 377–382 *passim*.

to the great tribal council. They should keep him informed of public opinion and of what is happening in the tribe generally, and must remind him of matters needing consideration and attention. He is not bound to follow their advice, and may even ignore it if he wishes; but he will not as a rule deliberately oppose their united opinion. They must further keep check over his own behaviour, and are expected to warn and even reprimand him if he goes wrong.

One of these advisers is the special official commonly known as the Chief's *induna* (North Nguni).[1] He is not as a rule a member of the royal family, but a commoner of conspicuous loyalty, ability, and trustworthiness. The office often descends from father to son, but not necessarily, as the Chief has the right of selection and appointment. But the *induna* of one Chief will generally continue to serve in the same capacity under the latter's successor. He is the Chief's right-hand man, acting as intermediary between him and the council and tribe, and as his mouthpiece on all formal and many informal occasions. All matters referred to the Chief for discussion or action must go to him in the first instance. He receives all cases that come to the Chief's court, makes the necessary arrangements for their hearing, and may himself act as judge in the absence of the Chief; he assists the Chief in leading the army and in carrying out the great tribal ceremonies; he is responsible for the fulfilment of all the Chief's orders; and he also supervises the running of the Chief's household. Important Chiefs ruling over large tribes may have several such officials, sharing between them the various functions just mentioned.[2]

The Chief must on occasion consult a much wider, more formal council. The exact structure of this great tribal council (Nguni, *ibandla*, *inkundla*; Venda, *khoro*; North Sotho, *kxôrô*; Tswana, *lekxotla*; etc.) varies somewhat from group to group. It is, however, made up as a rule of the Chief's private advisers, some of his more distant relatives, all sub-Chiefs and headmen of local divisions and portions of the tribe, and various influential commoners appointed because of their ability. Some of these councillors are always in residence at the Chief's kraal or village, or come to live there for a while, helping him to deal with the cases brought to his court. But on important occasions the whole body is specially summoned together.

[1] The corresponding terms elsewhere are: *umphakathi omkhulu* (Xhosa), *ndjuna* (Shangana-Tonga), *mukhoma* (Venda), *monna-kxôrô* (N. Sotho), *ntona* or *kala ya kxosi* (Tswana).

[2] Among the Venda, e.g. the *nefhasi* ("master of the ground") is the legal adviser and Assessor judge; *mukhoma* ("leader") runs the Chief's household; and *negota* is the Chief's head councillor and ceremonial assistant (Stayt, 1931, 198–9).

It deals with all matters of tribal policy; and no action can be taken nor can any new law come into force until it has been approved of here. The decision previously arrived at by the Chief and his private advisers is put before the members of the council, who then freely discuss and criticize it. They may accept, modify, or reject it; and whatever decision they reach is generally carried into effect. The Chief is in strict theory able to override their unanimous opposition, but in practice he rarely ventures to do so. Their co-operation is essential for the successful government of the tribe; and should any Chief act contrary to their collective advice the result will probably be a split. It is this council also which exercises the greatest check upon his behaviour, inasmuch as the members seldom hesitate to take him severely to task for his shortcomings.

Among the Nguni, Shangana-Tonga and Venda this council is in effect the governing body of the tribe. It represents the people and their opinion, and is the link between them and the Chief. After the meeting each local official returns to his own district, where he informs his assembled followers of the decision arrived at, which is now binding upon the tribe as a whole. But among the Sotho all matters of public concern are dealt with finally before a general assembly of the initiated men. This assembly (*pitsó*) must be summoned by the Chief whenever occasion arises. It is usually, but not invariably, preceded by a meeting of the great council. The Chief, who presides, puts the issue before the people. Anybody present can then take part in the ensuing debate, although preference is given to influential or elderly men. In theory great freedom of speech is permitted. In practice it is not always exercised, except under provocation or a sense of grievance, owing to the fear, by no means unfounded, of subsequent reprisals from the Chief. But if the occasion calls for it, he will be contradicted, criticized, reprimanded, and even violently attacked with little hesitation. Should most of the speakers express different views from those favoured by the Chief and his advisers, the latter will attempt to argue them round; but no Chief would dare oppose public opinion as here revealed unless he is looking for trouble. Normally, however, the voices of the councillors, if they support him, will carry sufficient weight with the general assembly for the decision previously arrived at to be approved, and thus enable the Chief to carry his policy into effect.[1] Similar tribal assemblies are held among the Nguni and Shangana-Tonga before war and during the annual

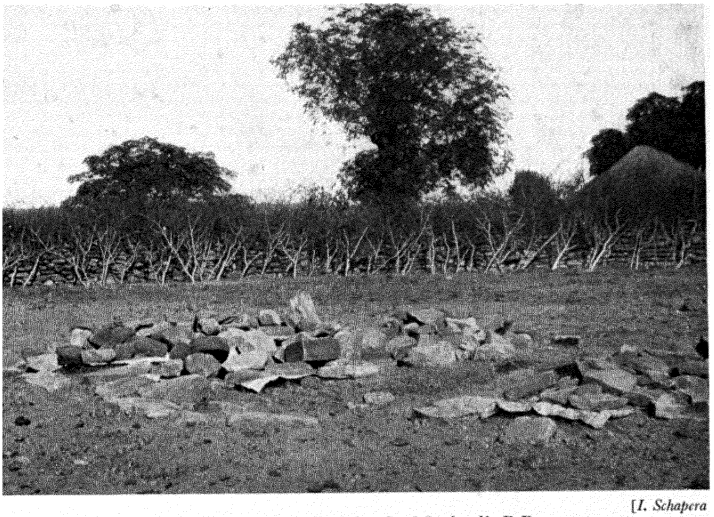
[1] Schapera, 1935 MS.

firstfruits ceremonies; but they are of comparatively rare occurrence otherwise, and do not play nearly as conspicuous a part in the system of government.

The existence of these councils greatly limits the Chief's actual exercise of his power. Political life is so organized that effective government can result only from harmonious co-operation between him and his people. *Kxosi ke kxosi ka morafe*, say the Tswana: "a Chief is Chief by grace of his tribe." Despite the fact that ultimate control over almost every aspect of tribal life is concentrated in his hands, and the very considerable authority he consequently has, he is very seldom absolute ruler and autocratic despot. In order to get anything done, he must first gain the goodwill and support of his advisers and councillors, who play a considerable part in restraining his more arbitrary impulses. Any attempt to act independently of them is not only regarded as unconstitutional, but will also generally fail. A good deal, of course, depends upon the personal character of the Chief. A forceful and energetic man can succeed in dominating his subjects and ruling to all intents and purposes as a dictator. The great Ngwato Chief Kxama (Khama) was an outstanding man of this type. Cases are even known where such Chiefs have been able for many years to exercise the cruellest of tyrannies. The most notorious of all was Shaka, although he was by no means unique. But the average Bantu Chief depends for much of his power upon the assistance of his councillors, and his behaviour is accordingly controlled. Under a weak and incompetent Chief their influence is very pronounced, factions arise, and "kingmakers" are by no means unknown.

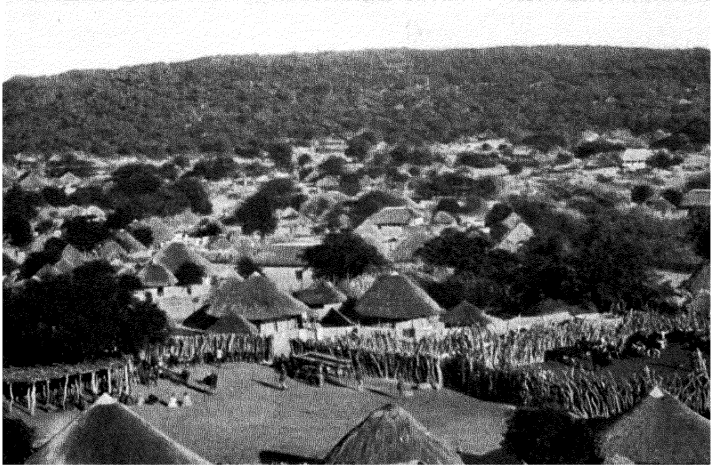
Moreover, the Chief himself is not above the law. Should his actions run counter to accepted standards of what is right and proper, he is severely criticized by his councillors and the people at large. Should he injure any of his subjects, he is expected to make the customary reparation; and in some tribes (e.g. Swazi, Tswana) may even be tried and punished by his own council. If he persists in flagrantly misruling, his people will begin to desert him; or a civil war may be instigated, in the hope that he will be overthrown and one of his more popular relatives take his place; or, as a final resort, he will be poisoned or assassinated at the first suitable opportunity.[1] Instances abound in which despotic or hopelessly unsatisfactory Chiefs have thus been put out of the way by their despairing or infuriated subjects, as happened

[1] Cf. Lestrade, 1930*a*, 312–13, for a concise statement of the limitations upon the absolute autocracy of the Venda Chiefs.



[*I. Schapera*

(*a*) The great tribal *kxotla*, Mochudi, B.P.

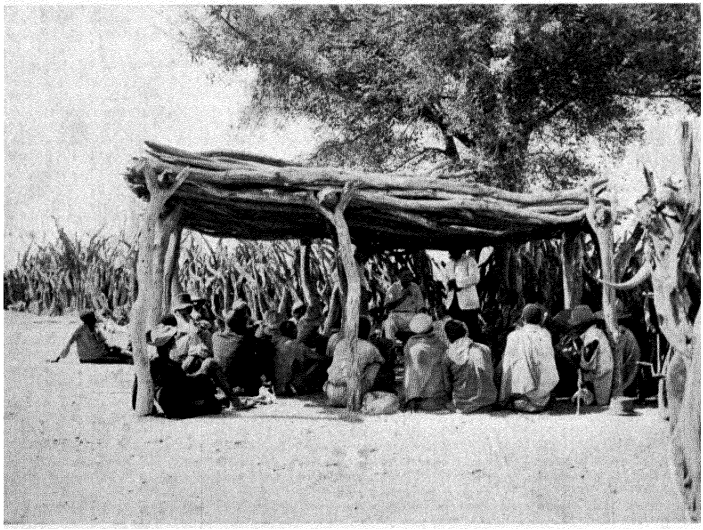


[*I. Schapera*

(*b*) **Graves of the Kwena chiefs (Sechele and Sebele) in the tribal cattle-kraal, Molepolole, B.P.**

[*I. Schapera*

(*a*) Morning gossip at a *kxotla* (Mochudi, B.P.)



[*I. Schapera*

(*b*) Hearing a lawsuit (Kxatla)

POLITICAL LIFE

to Shaka himself. So great, however, is the reverence attached to the Chief by virtue of his birth and ritual position that his people will put up with much from him that would never be tolerated in one of lesser rank; and it is only under extreme provocation that drastic action will be taken against him.

Local Administration

Apart from the central Government, composed of the Chief and the councils mentioned above, there exists in every tribe a system of local government. The territory occupied by the tribe is divided into local units, varying in size and importance, each of which comes under the jurisdiction of a recognized authority. The structure of these units has already been dealt with in a previous chapter,[1] so that we need do no more here than briefly outline the manner in which they are respectively administered.

Although every household or kraal is to some extent a distinct legal and administrative group, the smallest effective political unit is the sub-district or ward, under the control of a local headman. The headman is sometimes a member of the Chief's family, sometimes a commoner. He is either formally appointed by the Chief, or at least confirmed, the latter being the more usual since the office tends to be hereditary. The headman is responsible to the Chief for the peace, order, and good government of his area, in which he is the Chief's representative. He must help his people in their troubles, and sponsor them before the Chief; he regulates their occupation and use of land, and controls the right of strangers to settle there; he prays and sacrifices on their behalf to his ancestors, and performs other ceremonies for their well-being and protection. He deals with cases which the kraalheads have not been able to settle, or have referred to him in the first instance; and he has the power to impose fines and other forms of punishment. But he must himself refer all cases of serious difficulty to his superior authority, and there is also an appeal from his verdict. He must further see that his people pay the customary forms of tribute and carry out the commands of the Chief, conveyed to him by special messengers or at council meetings. He must himself visit the Chief from time to time, not only to assist at the council but also to report upon the affairs of his area.[2]

[1] Cf. above, chap. iv.
[2] Schapera, 1935, MS. (Tswana); Lestrade, 1930*a*, 308 f. (Venda).

His own privileges are relatively few. His home is built in the most favoured part of his area, and he has the pick of the land for cultivation and grazing. He can claim free labour from his people for such public services as building and repairing his official courtyard, taking messages or executing the verdicts of his court; but he does not as a rule receive any private tribute, either in labour or in kind, except with the special permission of the Chief. By virtue of his office, however, he is as a rule greatly respected, not only by his own people but in the tribe as a whole; and if he has a large following he may play an important part in tribal politics generally.

The headman is assisted by a small council (*ibandla*, etc.) embracing his own senior male relatives and the more important kraalheads, together with any other elderly men of repute in his area. They sit with him in judgment over the cases that come to his court; he discusses with them all other matters relating to the public life of the group, and consults them on tribal questions generally in connection with meetings of the Chief's council. They also keep check upon his own behaviour. They can, if need be, reprimand him severely; but more generally, if he is negligent, incompetent, or unduly severe, they report him to the Chief, who may then fine him or even depose him in favour of a more suitable man.

Large districts (or, among the Tswana, outlying towns) are in the same way administered by what may be termed sub-Chiefs. These men are sometimes close relatives of the Chief, or important commoners specially placed there by him as his representatives and deputies; sometimes they are the headmen of the senior local clans or wards; and sometimes they are the hereditary rulers of the vassal-tribes inhabiting that district. In the larger tribes there are often several grades of sub-Chiefs, their importance varying with the size of the area and the number of people under their jurisdiction. An important sub-Chief may thus have jurisdiction over several minor sub-Chiefs, who in turn each have separate jurisdiction over several headmen. The functions of the sub-Chiefs are on the whole similar to those of the headmen of sub-districts or wards; but they also act as courts of appeal from the verdicts of the latter, and have an overriding authority in all other matters. They are assisted by councillors embracing the headmen of their district as well as their own private advisers. They are themselves directly responsible to the Chief. He issues orders to them, which they must carry out under penalty of punishment; he can receive appeals from their courts; he can alter

their boundaries at any time; and he can, if their conduct of affairs is unsatisfactory, install someone else in their place.

The system of local administration may thus be regarded as one of ever-widening jurisdiction extending upwards from the household or kraal. In many respects the kraalhead, the headman of a sub-district or ward, the sub-Chief of a district or town, and the tribal Chief himself have identical or similar functions. The main difference lies in the size and composition of the group over which each of them has jurisdiction, and in the corresponding range of his power. But within the limits of his jurisdiction he has undivided power: judicial, administrative, economic, and on occasion also military and religious. One point of special interest in all these groupings is the extent to which the personal character of the head plays its part. The more popular a man is, and the higher his prestige, the greater the number of followers he can retain and attract. His power is based upon their support; it is therefore necessary for him, if only to satisfy his ambition and pride, to treat them generously and justly. This is as true of the kraalhead as of the tribal Chief; and its practical recognition has contributed greatly towards ensuring what, in spite of many lapses, is on the whole an equitable system of administration.

Citizenship and Status

A distinction is made in every tribe between its own members and aliens. Membership of the tribe, as previously noted, is defined not in terms of birth, but of allegiance to the Chief: it is possible for people not born into a tribe to become subjects of its Chief either by conquest or by placing themselves voluntarily under his rule. Every member of the tribe must conform to its laws, and must also carry out certain special obligations, such as working for the Chief, paying him tribute, fighting in his army, and attending tribal meetings. He is entitled in return to land on which to erect his home, cultivate his crops, graze his cattle, and to all other facilities for earning a livelihood; and to protection by the tribal authorities against undue interference with his person, his activities, and his property.

The extent to which members of the tribe enjoy the advantages and protection of the law varies according to their rank, sex, and age. Hereditary rank in the Bantu social system is largely confined to the Chiefs, sub-Chiefs, and headmen, with their respective families. The special rights and duties of these political authorities have already

been discussed. Commoners can acquire individual prestige or influence through knowledge of the law, conspicuous loyalty to the Chief, ability in debate, the practice of magic, bravery and skill in war, wealth, or some similar factor; but distinctive qualities of this kind do not necessarily lead to enhanced social status, unless such a man is made a headman or tribal councillor. Social distinctions are often also made according to tribal origin in matters of ritual and public life. Incorporated foreigners or their immediate descendants seldom command the same influence or receive the same consideration as tribesmen of long-established stock; and among the latter a similar range of differentiation exists according to seniority of descent.

Apart from the political authorities, all members of the tribe, both male and female, can generally be grouped, as far as personal status is concerned, into: (*a*) heads of households, and (*b*) other inmates of households. The head of the household occupies his position by hereditary right: he is not appointed or even formally confirmed by higher authorities, save in cases of disputed succession. He not only controls the social, economic, and religious life of his dependants, as elsewhere described, but is also their legal and administrative head. He is entitled to their respect, obedience, and service; keeps order over them, and deals with any disputes or quarrels arising among them; is responsible for their conduct in matters affecting outsiders, watches their interests at the tribal courts, and can be held liable for their misdeeds and debts. He is assisted in the performance of his duties and the exercise of his rights by the older men of his household, with whom he informally discusses matters of immediate domestic concern. But his authority is moral and persuasive, rather than compulsory. He can inflict corporal punishment upon his own wife, children, or servants, but in regard to other members of the household he has no means of enforcing his will except through general domestic discipline, and must refer all important issues to his local headman, to whom there is also an appeal from his decisions. The continuity of the household is secured by a recognized system of devolution, the eldest son of the principal wife being the general heir and legitimate successor of his father. He not only takes the latter's place in respect of the use and enjoyment of property, but also undertakes his duties and responsibilities, and must shoulder any outstanding liabilities.

Children claim descent from their father (i.e. the husband of their mother); and succession to office and inheritance of most forms of property go normally from father to son. Legitimacy is determined as

follows. The child of an unmarried woman belongs to her own family, and is subject to her father or guardian. Its own father has no claim to it unless he makes a special payment in cattle. Even then the child is subordinate to his legitimate children in social and economic rights and privileges, nor can it inherit except in default of male issue on the part of his wives. The child of a married woman, born during the subsistence of her marriage, belongs to her husband, whether he is actually its father or not. From this it follows that a child born of adulterous intercourse does not belong to its natural father, even although he may have paid damages to the woman's husband in respect of the conception of the child. The child born to a widow at her late husband's home is regarded as his; it bears his name, and has the same rights as the children born to her during her husband's lifetime. This is particularly so where the widow has been taken over by her husband's brother or some other approved relative under the "seed-raising" custom. The child born to a divorced woman by any man to whom she is not married belongs to her former husband if his *lobola* cattle have not been returned, and to her own people if they have been. If a widow or divorced woman remarries at her own home, and a new *lobola* is paid, any child subsequently born to her belongs to her new husband.

The status of a child is sometimes altered by adoption. This is most commonly practised among the Sotho, where a married couple with no children of their own, or children of one sex only, will adopt the child of a close relative or friend. An adopted child comes under the authority of the foster-parents, and has all the rights and duties of their own legitimate offspring. Such adoption must be distinguished from another widespread custom by which a child is sometimes sent to live for a while at the home of its mother's people or other relatives. Its father is expected to contribute towards its keep while it is there, which he generally does by paying an ox or more as "maintenance fee". This fee must be paid before he can regain control of the child.

Unmarried people are all regarded as minors, even if they have passed through the initiation ceremonies. They are under the particular control of their own parents, especially of the father, and are also subject, in household affairs generally, to the authority of the household-head. If they are still minors on the death of their father, one of the paternal uncles or some other close relative takes his place as their guardian. He has full control over their persons and property, but must account to the Chief for his stewardship. Should he abuse his

trust, either by ill-using the children or by squandering their property, the Chief appoints another guardian from among the members of the family. There must always be a male guardian, even if the mother is still alive. The Chief himself acts as " upper guardian " of all widows and orphans, and should see to it that they are properly cared for.

Minor children cannot leave home or marry without the consent of their father or guardian. They may not sue or be sued unless assisted and represented by him. They may own property, but cannot dispose of it without his consent. They must give him all their earnings, refer to him all their business transactions, and generally obey him in all matters. In return they have the right to maintenance, protection, and good treatment; to be informed of all household affairs; to be instructed and properly initiated into tribal life; and to be provided, when the time arrives, with a wife or husband, as the case may be.

A man when he marries and sets up his own household passes for all practical purposes out of the tutelage of his father; but even so is expected to render him a good deal of obedience and service, to show him every respect, and to support him in his old age. On the other hand, so long as he lives in the same household, he is subject to the same authority as its other inmates in matters pertaining to the household generally. But he controls his own wife and children, and must be consulted by the household-head in all dealings with them; and is capable of suing or being sued in respect of his own private dealings or transactions. He should, however, refer all such dealings to his household-head, as by doing so he is protected; and is bound to inform him of all his movements and responsibilities. The same rights and duties apply to other married male inmates of the household.

A woman when she marries passes from the legal control of her parents into that of her husband, who now becomes her guardian, and as such responsible for her actions. She cannot sue or be sued except through him, while if she does wrong he is generally held liable and must pay any fines or damages incurred. It is his duty to protect her and to treat her kindly and considerately; to cohabit with her regularly, subject however to the special taboos on sexual intercourse between married people; to provide her with a hut, food, clothing, and maintenance generally, and to assign fields, cattle, and other property to her house for her use. If ill-treated, she can go back to her own home, and her husband cannot reclaim her until he has paid one or more cattle to her people as damages. The wife, in return, must work for her husband and be faithful to him, bear and

nourish children for him, work her fields and prepare the food, and generally occupy herself with the many domestic duties which family life entails. She can acquire property in her own right, but must consult her husband in all her business dealings. She must be in all respects subservient to his will, and must live wherever he chooses to build his home.

In public life generally women do not have the same rights as the men. They are never consulted on questions of tribal policy, and all the political offices are kept in the hands of the men. Among the Venda and Swazi, it is true, the Chief's female relatives may play an important part in the tribal government; but such instances are on the whole exceptional, and in no way enhance the political status of women generally. Moreover, certain spots in all the village settlements, such as the public courtyard, and under various conditions the cattle-kraal, are reserved for men, and normally inaccessible to women. Finally, preference is everywhere given to sons, and a woman bearing daughters only is often regarded with contempt. She may even have to request her parents to provide a " substitute wife " to bear a son for her house.

Among the Tswana the most subordinate position in the tribe is occupied by the MaSarwa (Bushmen) and Kxalaxadi. The former especially constitute a distinct servile class. They are attached to the Chief and other wealthy or prominent members of the tribe, for whom they must perform all kinds of menial services. They can be transferred altogether or lent by one man to another, irrespective of their own wishes; if ill-treated they have no other remedy than to run away if they can, but are often followed up and brought back forcibly; if living in the veld, they can have their children taken away from them and brought to their master's home for domestic service; they have no right of action against their master for any wrongs he inflicts upon them, such as seducing their women; and they have no share in the tribal government, being deprived even of membership of the regiments.[1]

Inter-Tribal Relations

The boundaries between tribes are as a rule roughly defined by natural barriers or objects, such as rivers, mountains, or watersheds. If relations are friendly, a good deal of visiting takes place between them.

[1] Cf. E. S. B. Tagart, *Report on the Conditions existing among the Masarwa of the Bechuanaland Protectorate* (Pretoria, 1932), 4–10; and London Missionary Society, *The MaSarwa: Report of an Inquiry* (Tigerkloof, 1935).

Intermarriage is also fairly common, although generally people prefer to marry within their own tribe. Traders and magicians go from one to the other seeking business; the courts of the one are open to the members of another with grievances against some local tribesman; or refugees may flee from one to the other. All visitors of this kind must be reported to the Chief or local sub-Chief, and their presence explained. If they have come to trade, they must first obtain his permission to do so, generally by making him a payment "to open the way" for them. If they have come as refugees, they must offer him allegiance (Nguni, *ukukhonza*) and secure his goodwill by a similar payment, generally of livestock, in return for which they are given permission to settle. Temporary visitors mostly reside with a relative, friend, or acquaintance, who, in accordance with the widespread tradition of hospitality, must entertain them and give them presents. They are under the protection of the local sub-Chief or headman. If anyone injures them, they are entitled to justice and reparation. But they in turn are expected to behave with great circumspection and to obey the laws of the tribe; and should they commit any offence they will be punished and ordered to leave the country.

Diplomatic relations are maintained between neighbouring Chiefs by means of recognized court messengers. Each Chief informs his neighbours of all important events in his tribe, such as the holding of an initiation school, the outbreak of some pestilence, or the death of his predecessor; and invites them to his own installation or marriage. If there is trouble between a Chief and members of his tribe, it is often the practice for one of the parties to call in some neighbouring Chief to try and reconcile them. Chiefs descended from the same ancestor, but now ruling over different tribes, frequently continue to recognize in some way their relative status by birth. Thus among the Tswana no Chief would in the olden days celebrate the firstfruits festival, or hold an initiation school, until he had received permission to do so from the Chief of the Huruthse, who was regarded as senior to all the rest in line of birth.[1] So, too, among the Xhosa there exists a so-called "paramountcy", under which the Chiefs of junior tribes recognize the Chief of the tribe from which they have separated as their superior. Cases are sometimes referred by them to him for settlement, or carried to him on appeal from their verdicts; and they pay him a certain small nominal tribute.[2]

[1] J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years North of the Orange River* (Edinburgh, 1871), 356.
[2] Dugmore, in MacLean, 1858, 30; Lestrade, MS., *Notes on Xhosa Political Organization.*

Formal requests may also pass from one Chief to another for rain, or for a military or matrimonial alliance, or for the extradition of fugitives from justice. Matrimonial alliances between Chiefs are often contracted for political purposes, the two tribes henceforth regarding themselves as related and therefore often lending each other assistance in war. Where a direct request is made for military assistance, some cattle or a young girl of the Chief's family generally accompany the request as a gift to the Chief approached. A request for rain is also paid for in cattle. Fugitives are as a rule returned only if the two Chiefs are on very friendly terms, for every Chief gladly welcomes new accessions to his tribe. If the man is a criminal fleeing from justice he may be sent back; but if he has fled because of ill-treatment or other injustice, and does not wish to go back, he will be protected by the Chief to whom he has fled. His own Chief cannot follow him up and take him by force, but is expected to send messengers to ask for his return.

Hostile relations between neighbouring tribes arise most frequently out of disputes at the boundaries over land or water rights; cattle thefts; interference with visiting subjects; or the refusal to hand over fugitives. Messages will pass between the Chiefs, claiming or refusing satisfaction, until, unless one of them gives way, armed conflict is inevitable. Wars were fairly common in the olden days. They were generally short, sudden affairs. The usual mode of attack was to surround an enemy village by stealth during the night, rush it at dawn, kill as many men as possible, capture the cattle, women, and children, burn the huts, and then beat a hasty retreat home. The captive women, children, and cattle were taken to the Chief, who, after keeping for himself what he wanted, distributed the rest among his warriors and councillors. Such raids and counter-raids would continue until one of the Chiefs sent formally to beg peace from his more powerful neighbour. This granted, the weaker tribe would have to pay its conquerors a regular tribute of cattle and other valuables, in token of submission and allegiance. It was, however, often allowed to retain a large measure of autonomy under its own Chief. It might after a time refuse to continue paying tribute, in which case an attempt would be made to exact it by force. If the attack was beaten off, the people would once again regard themselves as completely independent. But if defeated, they and their territory were often wholly absorbed into the tribe of their conquerors. The vanquished Chief might in such cases be retained as sub-Chief over his own followers and district, although more frequently one or more brothers or sons of the victorious

Chief would be placed in charge with a fairly considerable following of his own.

Shaka and his imitators not only conducted their wars on a far larger scale and in much more ruthless manner, but pursued a somewhat different policy in regard to the tribes they conquered. Shaka's own policy, where he did not completely exterminate or expel a tribe from its ancestral lands, was to obliterate every vestige of tribal entity by merging under his direct rule, as integral parts of his tribe, all who survived his conquests. In this way the Zulu nation was built up out of the remnants of more than one hundred tribes.[1] His generals who fled with their armies to carve out their own kingdoms established still another form of organization, in which the Nguni nucleus became the ruling aristocracy, while the indigenous tribes were reduced to a servile condition. This is best seen among the Ndebele of Southern Rhodesia, where, under Mzilikazi and his successor Lobengula, the people were divided into three distinct social classes: *abeẓansi*, the descendants of the original Nguni nucleus; *abenhla*, the descendants of the Sotho and other peoples absorbed into the tribe during its stay in the Western Transvaal; and finally the *amahole*, Shona captives taken in raids in Southern Rhodesia. The latter were regarded as a slave class, with whom neither of the others should intermarry.[2]

Some reference is necessary here to the system of military organization. As a rule the army consists of all the able-bodied men in the tribe. But differences exist in regard to the manner in which they are organized. The Zulu army, with its system of age-regiments distributed over the tribal territory in special military kraals or barracks, has already been described in a previous chapter.[3] The kindred Swazi and Rhodesian Ndebele both have somewhat similar systems of organization. Among the Cape Nguni, on the other hand, the army is not organized on an age basis. The members of each clan (*isiduko*) together form a single unit within the tribal army, under the command of their hereditary headman or under an appointed fighting captain. These clans, among the Xhosa, are grouped into two large divisions, the first embracing all the clans of royal descent, and the other all clans of common or alien descent. Each division has a separate commander, but the two are united under the tribal Chief as supreme commander.[4]

[1] Cf. Bryant, 1929, *passim*.
[2] H. M. Hole, "The Rise of the Matabele," *Proc. Rhod. Sci. Ass.*, xii (1912–13), 144.
[3] *Cf.* above, chap. iv, p. 85.
[4] Soga, 1932, 63 ff.

In the Sotho tribes, e.g. the Tswana, age once more forms the basis of military organization. Each regiment (*mophatô*, age-set) consists of men simultaneously initiated into adult membership of the tribe. These regiments are formed at intervals of several years apart. In time of war each fights as a separate unit in the army, under the command of a son or brother of the ruling Chief, initiated at the same time as the other members. The whole army is led by the Chief, or in his absence by the commander of the senior regiment in order of formation, assisted by the Chief's *induna*. There is no formal retirement of any *mophatô* from active service, but as a rule the army in time of war is made up of those regiments still strong in numbers and whose members are not on the average too old to be active fighters. In time of peace these regiments, as among the Zulu, Swazi, and Rhodesian Ndebele, have to perform various kinds of labour service for the Chief.[1]

[1] Schapera, 1935, MS.

Chapter IX

LAW AND JUSTICE

By I. Schapera

Introduction

Nature and Sources of Bantu Law.

Bantu law in its traditional manifestations is not embodied in any formal codes. There are no written laws; and although many rules of conduct are epitomized in proverbs and kindred sayings, there is also no well-defined corpus of legal maxims and principles. The laws of the Bantu are to a considerable extent inherent in the social system of the people. They exist as rights and duties developed through the course of time out of man's efforts to adjust his behaviour in relation to his fellows and to the physical environment he shares and exploits with them; and have become accepted from their very nature, from the fact that they satisfy the more fundamental and common needs of life in society, as binding and obligatory. The Bantu themselves often speak of their laws as having always existed, or as having been created by God or by the ancestor-spirits. This does not mean that no laws at all are held to have been made by man. But it does direct attention to one important fact: the great bulk of Bantu law is derived from the authority of tradition and precedent in social behaviour.

Various mechanisms exist to ensure that all members of the tribe conform to the law. Children are carefully taught by their parents the difference between right and wrong conduct. At the initiation ceremonies associated with or following upon puberty more formal instruction of the same nature is given, certain definite rules of behaviour being firmly impressed upon the minds of the young people. Later, as an adult, every man may attend and participate in the hearing of lawsuits, and so learn in practice the legal usages of his tribe. Throughout his life his behaviour is thus being moulded into conformity with the social norms making for law and order. Diligent observance of the law earns for him the approval and respect of his

fellows, and may lead to more material rewards from the tribal authorities. Failure to comply with it is on the other hand penalized in various ways. He will suffer loss of social esteem, or be treated with ridicule or contempt; he will be denied services akin to those he has failed to render; or, it is said, he will be afflicted with sickness or other misfortune by the offended ancestor-spirits or some similar supernatural agency. The ultimate legal sanction, however, is the material power of compulsion vested in the tribal courts. They may force a man to carry out the obligations he has neglected to fulfil, or to make restitution or pay compensation for the damage he has done, or to suffer punishment for the offence he has committed.

The mechanism of the courts is used for the most part to enforce the observance of rules which have already established themselves in practice. The courts do not create or even confirm the rule: they merely recognize it as good law. But their decisions afford a precedent for similar declarations in the future. When there is any dispute regarding the nature or validity of the law, it is settled by discussions among the old men, or in rare instances by further reference to neighbouring Chiefs, appeal being made to what has been decided in similar cases in the past. It is only when no precedent can be found that the court feels called upon to supply one in the form of an *ad hoc* decision. Even when a former decision can be quoted, it may often be given a new definition or application to meet the particular conditions of the case in question; and so an addition or modification is made to the existing law. Bantu law has undoubtedly grown and expanded in the form of such decisions, so that it has become very largely a system of oral "case law".

A more direct mechanism for changing or adding to the law is legislation. As shown in the previous chapter, the Chief has the power, if he acts according to recognized procedure, to make new decrees. Any projected measure must first be discussed by the tribe in council: and if they approve of it, but only then, the Chief issues an order "which, while it lasts, has the force of law, but which may be changed, withdrawn, or neglected when the need has passed".[1] The traditions of many tribes contain instances of such changes in the law.

Civil and Criminal Law.

Bantu law is in practice, although not in theory, divided by the people themselves into two main classes. These may quite conveniently

[1] Lestrade, MS. on Huruthse law.

be called civil law and criminal law, although their categories are by no means identical with those of European systems of law. The civil law establishes *inter alia* the private rights of people in regard to personal status, property, and contracts; and provides for redress, if such rights are violated, by compelling restitution or compensation. The criminal law treats certain acts not merely as injuries to individual persons, but as offences harmful to society generally, and therefore deserving of punishment. The principal crimes thus recognized in Bantu law include all offences against the tribal authorities acting in their official capacity; homicide, serious bodily assault, and similar offences against the person; sorcery, incest, and other "unnatural acts". It must be noted, however, that many civil injuries are on occasion also treated as crimes, the offender not only being forced to make amends to his victim but suffering punishment as well. Similarly certain crimes, especially against bodily security, may on occasion also give rise to civil remedies. In European systems of law the two aspects of such an offence are kept quite distinct, and dealt with in separate proceedings. But among the Bantu the offence is tried in a single action, and it is only in the verdict of the court that its dual nature is given explicit recognition. Nevertheless, the manner in which the offence is brought to trial is generally sufficient to show whether it must be regarded as primarily civil or criminal.

When a civil wrong is committed, the victim may, if he likes, take no action at all; or he may come to a private settlement with the wrongdoer; or, if this fails, may sue him in court. He will then, if his claim is upheld, be awarded some form of redress. The court will at times go further and also inflict punishment upon the wrongdoer, if his offence is regarded as sufficiently reprehensible. But unless the victim himself, or his representative, brings the matter to trial, no such action can be taken by the courts. A criminal wrong, on the other hand, can never be compounded. It must be reported to the Chief or some other tribal authority, who will then summon and prosecute the accused person in his court. The accused, if found guilty, is punished; and where the punishment takes the form of a fine, this is paid, not to the victim of the wrong, but to the court, i.e. to the Chief (or other authority) acting in his official capacity. Here again, however, the court may on occasion also award the victim something by way of compensation.

The principal remedies open to the victim of a civil wrong are restitution and compensation. The former aims at cancelling the wrongful

act, so far as that is possible. A trespasser will be removed, borrowed or stolen property will be restored, an unfulfilled contract will be carried out, a disputed right will be upheld. Compensation is paid, usually in livestock, for a wrong which cannot be undone, such as seduction, damage to property, and defamation. In many tribes the amount of such compensation is traditionally standardized for certain kinds of wrong. Both restitution and compensation can be obtained either through agreement between the parties concerned, or through the verdicts of the courts. Another remedy sometimes exercised is vengeance or self-help, where the victim " takes the law into his own hands " and forcibly exacts what satisfaction he can. The general tendency in Bantu law has been to limit self-help as far as possible, and it is condoned only in exceptional instances, such as the killing or assaulting of an adulterer, homicide, or thief caught red-handed.

The most common punishment is the imposition of a fine, generally also in livestock. The amount varies, " according to the position of the offender, the enormity of his offence, his previous record and his ability to pay,"[1] from a single beast to the confiscation of his entire property. Among the Tswana and Northern Sotho corporal punishment is frequently imposed as an alternative. This does not appear to be practised elsewhere. The Tswana are exceptional also in that their courts may in cases of assault, particularly where women are concerned, order the application of the *lex talionis*: the victim of the assault inflicts a similar injury upon her assailant. Certain other offences, in most tribes, may be punished by bodily mutilation, such as depriving an habitual offender of his ears or hands. Serious crimes, finally, are commonly punished by death or, in some cases, banishment, both usually accompanied by confiscation of property.

Contracts

Contracts of various kinds are known in Bantu law. Apart from betrothal and marriage (including the incidents flowing out of *lobola*, to which reference will be made below), the most common forms of contract are for alienation of property by gift, barter, or sale; permissive use of property; and service. All but the most unimportant contracts must be concluded before witnesses (no special number is required); and the property to be alienated or lent, or the service to be rendered,

[1] Stayt, 1931, 221.

must be produced or specified at the time. There is no other set form or ceremony to be carried out before the contract is regarded as valid. Failure to fulfil a contract entitles the person suffering by the default to receive compensation, or an order of the court that the contract shall be carried out. Women and children are normally incapable of entering into contracts without the consent of their guardian. He has the power to nullify any independent contract they may make; but can on the other hand be held liable for their breach of any contract of which he has approved.

Special reference may be made to certain forms of contract round which litigation often develops. Most forms of property can be given freely and without consideration by one person to another, or bartered for something else. In the latter case, where the transaction is not completed on the spot, payment of the purchase price and delivery by word of mouth completes the sale, and ownership passes. A time is generally specified for the delivery of the property itself; and failure to adhere to it renders the debtor liable. If he himself is unable to pay, his near relatives, such as his father or brothers, may be required to do so for him. A dead man's heirs are in any case expected to pay all his outstanding debts before taking over his estate.

Under permissive use the most widespread form of contract is the *ukusisa* custom, by which a man places one or more of his cattle into the keeping of another. The herdsman is entitled to the usufruct of these cattle, but may not sell or slaughter them. He should look after them as if they were his own, and answer to the owner for their welfare; report immediately any losses through death, theft, or other causes, and in the case of dead beasts produce the skins as well, failing which he will be held liable; restore the cattle to their owner whenever required, and faithfully account for their increase. It is usual, if the cattle flourish under his care, to reward him with a heifer from time to time. But unless a specific agreement is made regarding remuneration, he cannot claim this beast by right.[1]

Service contracts include the maintenance of children by people other than their parents or lawful guardians. For this a special fee (Nguni, *isondhlo*; Sotho, *dikotlo*), usually of one beast, can be demanded when the parents or guardian reclaim the child. The professional services rendered by magicians fall under the same category. Their fees for "doctoring" huts, or fields, or cattle, are payable on the

[1] Schapera, 1935, MS. (Tswana); Harries, 1929, 132–3 (Transvaal Sotho); Stafford, 1935, 144–7 (Natal Nguni); Whitfield, 1929, 383–7 (Cape Nguni).

completion of the rite; but for "doctoring" illness their fee is payable only if the treatment has been successful. Payment is seldom refused in such cases, as it is feared that the magician may then use his art to undo the effects of his "doctoring", or even to bewitch his defaulting clients; but if not paid within a reasonable time he can sue in the courts and obtain judgment in his favour.

Marriage is subject to many conditions. Marriages are normally arranged by the parents of the two people concerned. Infant betrothal is fairly common among the Sotho and Venda, although apparently not in other tribes; but in either case neither boys nor girls may marry until they have passed through the initiation ceremonies admitting them into adult membership of the tribe. The Sotho tribes have no marriage restrictions outside the immediate family circle, and encourage the marriage of cousins. The Venda encourage marriage between a man and his maternal uncle's daughter, but forbid marriage with all other blood relatives, however remote. The Nguni and Shangana-Tonga not only forbid marriage between blood relatives of any kind, however remote, but further have clan exogamy.[1] Breach of these prohibitions is regarded as incest and dealt with accordingly. Apart from other punishment, the marriage itself is nullified.

The main essentials of a legal marriage are the consent of the two families concerned, as reflected in the formalities of betrothal; the payment of *lobola*; and the handing over of the woman by her people to those of the husband. Any form of cohabitation between man and woman not satisfying these conditions is treated as concubinage. Here neither party is under any legally enforceable obligation towards the other. The man is not bound to support the woman, nor she to remain with him; and no right of action lies if the one abandons the other. As mentioned previously, children born of such a union legally belong to their mother, and not to their father; although he may under certain conditions claim them by a special payment of cattle. Normally, it is only through the payment of *lobola* that a man obtains a right to the children he begets by a woman, or to any other children she may bear during the subsistence of the marriage.

The marriage contract is complete from the time that the betrothal has been confirmed. Should the girl then become pregnant by someone else, her intended husband can claim damages from her lover. Should she and her family refuse without just cause to let the marriage take place, they are liable for the return of all payments and gifts

[1] For further details, see above, Chaps. IV and V.

made to them by the boy and his people. But if the latter without good cause break the engagement, they not only forfeit their payment and gifts, but may also, as among the Tswana, be made to pay damages, according to the nature of the case.

The marriage itself is not complete until the woman has been formally handed to her husband and consummation takes place. In some Sotho tribes the husband generally lives for a while with his wife at the home of her parents, moving back with her to his own people after the birth of a child. In all other cases she joins him there immediately after the wedding festivities. These may take place either before or after the *lobola* cattle have been handed over. The number of cattle to be handed over is generally agreed upon between the two families, although in most Tswana tribes the boy's people alone decide how many should be given. In principle they should all be handed over before the wife goes to live with her husband, but in practice this is by no means always observed. The husband's people, however, are in the latter event liable to the wife's people; and where the agreed number is not completed within a reasonable time action can be taken against them to enforce payment. On the other hand, the wife's people are themselves liable if they do not allow her to join her husband after an agreed instalment has been given.

The cattle given as *lobola* for a man's first wife must be provided by his father or guardian, assisted by contributions from certain other members of the family. They are placed by the girl's father, after satisfying the traditional claims of certain relatives (e.g. the maternal uncle among the Sotho), in the "house" from which the girl came, and should be used again to *lobola* a wife for her brother. For any additional wives a man must provide the *lobola* out of his own cattle. In this connection the custom exists in most tribes that if cattle are taken from any special "house" to *lobola* a new wife, the wife thus married is affiliated to that "house".

Polygyny is practised; but, except in the case of Chiefs and other prominent or wealthy men, not to any marked extent. Among the Shangana-Tonga, Venda, and Tswana the first wife married is normally the great wife, the rest ranking as minor wives in order of marriage. The Nguni, however, also give special rank to a second wife (the "right-hand wife"), and in some cases (e.g. Natal tribes) to a third wife (the "left-hand wife"). Any other wives are attached in a subordinate capacity to one or other of these principal houses. The Southern and Northern Sotho have adopted a somewhat similar system

of domestic organization.[1] The great wife takes the lead in all domestic affairs and, as already mentioned, her eldest son is heir to the general household property and to the status of his father.

A man may repudiate his wife because of sorcery, barrenness, repeated adultery, wanton capriciousness, desertion, refusal or non-ability to render conjugal rights, or non-performance of domestic duties. A woman may leave her husband because of flagrant ill-usage, desertion, excessive cruelty, or non-support. If a reconciliation cannot be effected, the marriage is dissolved. A divorced woman returns to her parental home, where as a rule she reverts to the status of an unmarried daughter, and can be married again. If the wife leaves her husband of her own free will, and refuses to go back, or if for any good and sufficient reason he has sent her away, the *lobola* is returned to him, unless there are children, in which case none, or only some, of the cattle will be handed back. But if the wife is forced by ill-treatment or other just cause to leave her husband, he has no claim at all to his cattle. The children, in either case, always belong to him.

Civil Wrongs

Apart from breaches of contract, the main civil wrongs recognized by the Bantu are seduction, adultery, and similar offences against family rights; theft, trespass and other offences against property; defamation and other wrongs against reputation. In each case, as already stated, the matter may be settled by private agreement between the parties concerned, failing which the victim of the wrong will sue the transgressor for damages. In many instances the amount payable as damages is traditionally fixed, but it may be varied according to the particular circumstances of the case; while at times the court may in addition fine the transgressor if the nature of his offence seems to warrant it.

Wrongs against Family Rights.

These wrongs arise mainly from illicit sexual relations. In Bantu law such relations are regarded as a wrong against the father, husband, or guardian of the woman concerned, and not as a wrong against the woman herself. "In seduction and illicit intercourse cases the father or guardian is the actual sufferer because the marriageable value of the

[1] On the ranking of wives, see above, chap. iv, pp. 75 f., 82 f., 91.

girl or woman has been reduced. In adultery cases the husband has suffered the insult, and likewise in abduction cases the husband, father, or guardian is the injured person. In none of these cases may the girl or woman sue under Native law."[1] The action must and can only be brought by the injured male guardian, and the damages paid almost always belong to him.[2]

Seduction is among the Nguni an actionable wrong whether pregnancy follows or not, the only difference being that in some tribes of this group the amount of damages payable is less in the latter instance than in the former. Among the Sotho, Venda, and Shangana-Tonga, however, no action lies as a rule unless pregnancy follows, nor in some Sotho tribes (e.g. South Sotho, Kxatla) can the matter be judged in court until after the girl has given birth to a child. Most of the Nguni, as well as the Southern Sotho, allow action to be taken each time that a girl is seduced, but among the Northern Sotho and Tswana if damages have once been awarded no action lies in respect of subsequent seductions of the same girl. The amount of damages recoverable for seduction is often standardized (e.g. among the Natal Nguni at one head of cattle, among the Venda at two, and in certain Tswana tribes, viz. Kxatla and Huruthse, at four and five respectively).[3] But it is equally common for the girl's father or guardian to claim what he likes, the actual award, however, being subject to the discretion of the court. In most tribes a seducer has the right to marry the girl, if the two families consent. In such cases the cattle paid as damages are usually reckoned as part of the *lobola*. Among the Shangana-Tonga, apparently, the seducer is not liable at all if he agrees to marry the girl but her parents refuse.[4]

The adultery of a married woman does not entitle her husband to divorce her, unless the offence is frequently repeated. But he can recover damages from her lover. Some of the Cape Nguni distinguish in regard to the amount claimable according as to whether the woman becomes pregnant or not, damages in the latter event being less substantial than in the former[5]; but this distinction does not appear to be made elsewhere. The amount is sometimes standardized (among the Venda at two head of cattle; among the Cape Nguni at five

[1] Stafford, 1935, 121.
[2] Among the Nguni, however, the mother of a virgin can claim a beast (known as the *ingquthu*) in respect of her defloration.
[3] Stafford, 1935, 126–7; Stayt, 1931, 221; Schapera, 1933, 74 f.; Whitfield, 1929, 446, citing Lestrade.
[4] Junod, 1927, i, 441.
[5] Whitfield, 1929, 415.

if the woman becomes pregnant, at three if she does not; and among the Shangana-Tonga at the equivalent of a full *lobola*),[1] although generally it seems to vary according to the wishes of the husband, subject again to modification by the court. The onus of proof always rests upon the husband, who is expected in many Nguni and Sotho tribes to produce, if possible, material evidence in the form of some article of clothing taken from the adulterer. It may be noted also that the husband has the admitted right, if he catches the adulterer *in flagrante delicto*, to thrash him severely or even to kill him, such action being regarded as justifiable. Adultery with the wife of the Chief is in any case regarded as a crime subject to capital punishment or mutilation and confiscation of the culprit's property. A woman, on the other hand, has no right of action at all if her husband commits adultery.

Widows and divorced women living at their parental homes fall in general under the same category as unmarried women, their father or guardian being entitled to claim damages if they are seduced. A widow living in the home of her late husband is treated as if she were still a married woman; and any man who cohabits with her, other than the one specially approved for the purpose as a "seed-raiser", can be sued by her guardian for adultery.

The abduction of an unmarried woman is among the Nguni one of the recognized preliminaries to marriage. In such cases there is normally no liability for the abduction, apart from the incidental marriage payments.[2] But if for any reason the marriage does not take place, special damages can be claimed, especially if the girl has been seduced. The Sotho tribes do not generally recognize abduction as a preliminary to marriage, and treat it in the same way as a case of seduction. The abduction of a married woman is as a rule regarded as an aggravated form of adultery, and therefore liable to greater damage. The Tswana go so far as to permit the injured husband to take for himself all the cattle belonging to the transgressor.[3]

Wrongs against Property.

Encroachment upon the gardens of another person is not usually an actionable wrong. The transgressor is simply asked to move away. If he continues to trespass, he can be forcibly ejected, if necessary with

[1] Stayt, 1931, 221; Whitfield, 1929, 421; Junod, 1927, i, 197, 440.
[2] Whitfield, 1929, 79–85, *passim*.
[3] Schapera, 1935, MS. Lestrade, MS. notes on Huruthse law.

the aid of an order or messengers from the tribal courts. On the other hand, if cattle enter a garden and damage the crops, the owner of the garden is entitled to compensation. The parties concerned usually inspect the damage together and settle the matter between them. If they cannot agree, it is taken to court, and messengers are sent to assess the damage, compensation being awarded accordingly. This general rule does not however seem to have prevailed among the Cape Nguni. They do not regard injury to cultivated lands or standing corn as actionable, but the remedy of self-redress exists, in that the women upon whose gardens the cattle have trespassed have the right to drive them back into the gardens of their owners.[1] Damage to other forms of property entitles the owner to restitution or compensation, which in the case of arson or some other form of malicious injury may often greatly exceed the value of the damaged property.

Theft, like other offences against property, is a civil wrong which can be compounded. The thief must as a rule not only restore the stolen property or its equivalent, but pay an additional amount, equal in value, among the Sotho, to the property stolen: the general principle, that is, is twofold restitution. If the case comes to court, he may further have to pay a fine of the same value, which goes to the Chief or other tribal authority. Cattle theft is looked upon as a particularly serious wrong; and among the Tswana a man caught in the act of stealing cattle could formerly be justifiably killed or mutilated by having his hands cut off or burned away.

Defamation.

The law of defamation varies somewhat from one group of tribes to another. Among the Cape Nguni "The most serious charge that can be made against anyone, and the gravest crime that anyone could be accused of, was that of causing the death of any person by means of witchcraft, and in Native law the only action that could be entertained for defamation was if a person was said to have practised witchcraft."[2] In Natal and Zululand, however, allegations such as that a person has committed a crime, or that a girl is unchaste, are also regarded as defamatory and actionable, unless made in good faith to a person in authority.[3] The Tswana and Venda do not appear to regard defamation as an actionable wrong unless the allegation has exposed the victim

[1] Whitfield, 1929, 428, citing Warner, in MacLean, 1858, 67–8.
[2] Whitfield, 1929, 405.
[3] Stafford, 1935, 122 f.

to some risk, e.g. a trial at court, in which case, if the evidence has shown that the charge made against him is palpably false, he is entitled to damages " to clear his name ".[1]

Penal Offences

Crimes against the Person.

The basic principle underlying such cases among the Nguni has been well stated in an oft-quoted passage which bears repetition. " Native law . . . recognizes some distinction between crimes, and those wrongs which give rise only to civil remedies. But this distinction is built upon the theory that all the members of the tribe belong to, and give strength to, the Chief. Any injury to the person of any member of a tribe, whether male or female, is therefore looked upon as an injury to the Chief, to whom, and to whom alone, reparation is due. So-called " blood cases " come under the special jurisdiction of the Chief, and no reparation or damages can be claimed by the person or family injured through violence or wrong to the person. The Chief not only throws his shield over the person of every member of the tribe, but an injury to the person of anyone is a wrong to the Chief, through the " Chief's man." Hence it is that all cases of killing are dealt with in the Chief's court, and that compensation can by him, and by him only, be exacted in such cases. No member of the injured man's family can claim any benefit out of the blood of the Chief's man. As the Chief is alone wronged, he alone receives the fine or blood-money. Again, in cases of serious assault the same principle applies. No compensation can be claimed by the person injured, but a fine is levied, which goes to the Chief. The Chief may, and sometimes does, give a portion of the fine to the person injured; but this is a gift by him, and not compensation claimable of right by the injured man." [2] It will be realized, of course, that the Chief in such cases acts in his official capacity as head of the tribe. Homicide and assault are therefore not wrongs against him as a private person, but wrongs against the tribe of which he is the public representative. It may be added that if a homicide is caught in the act he may be killed on the spot; but all other cases of killing must be reported to the Chief, who will seize all the culprit's property, although sometimes a smaller fine is imposed, of from five to ten head of cattle, where the killing is

[1] Schapera, 1935, MS.; Stayt, 1931, 221.
[2] *Report of Cape Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs* (G. 4, 1883), 21–2.

not deliberate murder. Any man taking the law into his own hands and killing a homicide except when caught red-handed is himself punished for the same offence.[1]

Not all the Bantu tribes treat murder and culpable homicide in the same way as do the Nguni. Among the Venda the penalty is death, or in some cases banishment. In addition, the culprit's property is confiscated, and his whole family taken by the Chief. Here, as among the Nguni, no compensation is paid to the relatives of deceased.[2] Among the Northern Sotho, on the other hand, not only is the culprit himself killed, but his relatives must in addition give the victim's people cattle with which to acquire a woman to replace deceased, if she was a woman, or to raise seed to him, if he was a man.[3] The Shangana-Tonga formerly killed a homicide, but nowadays he and his people must pay the victim's family the equivalent of a full *lobola*, so that they may obtain a girl to bear someone to replace him.[4] The Tswana appear to have only the death penalty, modified in some instances by a heavy fine, with no compensation to the family of deceased.[5] It will be seen from this that only among the Nguni and Venda, and sometimes also among the Tswana, does the Chief, and not the victim's relatives, receive "blood-money"; that the homicide himself is in most cases killed, and not merely fined; and that among the Shangana-Tonga and North Sotho compensation is further paid to the victim's relatives, and not to the Chief. No group of tribes, however, permits the vendetta system of self-help. It may be added that any homicide who is not himself killed must in any case undergo a special purification ceremony to free him from the pollution of having shed blood.

The same variations are seen also in regard to other offences against the person. Accidental homicide is among the Cape Nguni treated along the same lines as culpable homicide, except that the fine paid to the Chief is usually not so heavy.[6] The Venda also impose a fine.[7] The Tswana impose no penalty at all if the killing has been quite accidental, but punish negligence by a fine.[8] Among the Shangana-Tonga the culprit's people must give the victim's family a girl to raise up seed to his name. The girl is afterwards free to return to her own people, unless the victim's family agree to *lobola* her.[9] The

[1] Warner, in Maclean, 1858, 60–1; Brownlee, in MacLean, 1858, 110; Cook, 1931, 151–2.
[2] Stayt, 1931, 223.
[3] Harries, 1929, 103–4.
[4] Junod, 1927, i, 441–3.
[5] Schapera, 1935 MS.
[6] Warner, in MacLean, 1858, 60–1.
[7] Schapera, 1935, MS.
[8] Stayt, 1931, 224.
[9] Junod, 1927, i, 441–2.

Pedi also do not punish accidental homicide, but if a woman is killed another must be given to her family to take her place, while if a man is killed cattle must be given to provide a woman to raise up seed to him.[1]

Certain forms of homicide, e.g. killing an adulterer or homicide caught in the act, or a nocturnal wizard found in one's homestead, or a thief taken with stolen cattle or found in the stock enclosure, are regarded as justifiable. Normally no penalty is attached to them, except among the Nguni, where a fine must be paid to the Chief, unless he chooses to forgo his claim.[2] In all groups except the Nguni it is not only justifiable but also customary to kill one or both of twins, or children born feet first, or cutting their upper teeth first, or presenting some other abnormality. Such children are regarded as evil omens who must be put out of the way as soon as possible lest they bring disaster upon their families. In such cases no action is taken against the parents. But all other forms of infanticide, including the procuring of abortion, are treated as penal offences if they come before the Chief, although often enough, especially where an unmarried woman kills her illegitimate child, the matter is kept a secret within the family. The Tswana, where such cases are brought to light, severely thrash the woman concerned, and also " doctor " her body with a strongly irritant medicine to wash away the pollution which, it is held, may keep off the rain.[3]

Assaults where blood is shed, or where maiming or serious injury has taken place, must also come before the Chief. Among the Nguni, Shangana-Tonga, and Tswana, the usual penalty is a fine, but the Chief may at will give part of it as compensation to the victim of the assault; while among the Venda the fine is a beast, killed and eaten at court.[4] Among the North Sotho, " this offence was treated more as a civil than a criminal one, and the penalty of a fine (sic), which went to the injured party, was invariably imposed "[5]; while among the South Sotho also compensation is paid to the victim.[6] The Tswana sometimes allow the victim to avenge himself by wounding his assailant with a similar weapon and upon the same part of the body as he has himself been wounded. The court mostly orders this to be done in cases where women have fought together, and one has severely bitten

[1] Harries, 1929, 103–4.
[2] Warner, in MacLean, 1858, 61.
[3] Schapera, 1935 MS.
[4] Junod, 1927, i, 441; Schapera, 1935, MS.; Stayt, 1931, 221.
[5] Harries, 1929, 109.
[6] Whitfield, 1929, 445.

or struck the other.[1] There is no penalty, in most tribes, if the assault has been provoked or purely accidental.

Cases of rape are generally treated along the same lines as assault, being tried by the Chief. The normal penalty is a fine, of which part goes to the Chief and part to the family of the woman.

Vulgar or obscene abuse against an older or senior person is among the Tswana and Shangana-Tonga an offence, for it often gives rise to fights and so to a breach of the peace. Among the Shangana-Tonga the penalty is a heavy fine, of which part goes to the Chief and part to the person abused. Among the Tswana such cases are generally dealt with by the regimental courts, which either thrash the offender or fine him, the animal being killed and eaten by the court.[2]

Crimes against Tribal Authorities.

Disobedience of any order given by the Chief or other tribal authority acting in his official capacity is an offence punishable as a rule by a fine. This applies also to actions constituting what may be termed "contempt of court", such as "misbehaviour in court, impudence, and refusal to give evidence".[3] In cases where the offender is deliberately insubordinate, and refuses repeatedly to comply with the Chief's orders, a more severe penalty may be inflicted in the form of "eating up", i.e. the sudden seizure of some or all of his stock. Actual rebellion against the Chief, or any conspiracy against him, is one of the greatest crimes in Bantu society. The offender is killed, often secretly and without open trial, unless, being forewarned, he manages to escape to another tribe. His property is in any case confiscated.

Sorcery and other Unnatural Offences.

Sorcery or witchcraft, the malicious use of magic to inflict harm upon other people or their property, is one of the things most dreaded by the Bantu; and it is usually drastically punished. The offence cannot be tried in the ordinary way by the courts, for the sorcerer or wizard himself is often unconscious of the evil he is doing; and so various forms of divination are employed, in which the legitimate magicians use their art to detect him, or some infallible ordeal is undergone by the suspected person. If his guilt is established in this way, he is brought before the Chief, and immediately, often cruelly, punished. At best

[1] Schapera, 1935, MS.
[2] Junod, 1927, i, 445; Schapera, 1935, MS.
[3] Ashton, MS. notes (S. Sotho law and procedure).

he is driven away from the locality and his property confiscated by the Chief. More generally he is killed, often by torture, and his property confiscated, while among the Venda his wives and children also are taken by the Chief.[1]

Incest, bestiality, and other perverse sexual aberrations are similarly looked upon as ill-omened actions; and the people concerned are in most cases killed, often savagely.[2] Among tribes practising clan exogamy, however, sex relations or marriage between members of the same clan are not necessarily regarded as incest if the relationship between them is sufficiently remote. In such cases it often happens that the branches of the clan to which they respectively belong will become recognized as separate clans, so as to legalize the marriage and permit of future inter-marriages between other members. It is in this way, in fact, that many Nguni clans have come into existence.[3]

Procedure[4]

Courts and their Jurisdiction.

The administration of justice is for the most part in the hands of the political authorities described in the last chapter. Each has his own court in which he tries the cases over which he has jurisdiction. He is assisted in this work by a small panel of assessors or "remembrancers", whose special function it is to advise him on points of law and to help him arrive at a verdict. They must attend and participate in all the cases coming to his court. Some of them are his own senior paternal relatives, others are middle-aged or elderly commoners noted for their sagacity and knowledge of precedents. These men, in the case of the Chief's court, are drawn to some extent, but not exclusively, from the ranks of his private political advisers; and they must be specially appointed to their office. The Chief's *induna* is always a member of this group, with the special task of receiving all complaints, transmitting them to the Chief, and arranging with him for the hearing

[1] Brownlee, in MacLean, 1858, 123; Cook, 1931, 153 (Cape Nguni); Krige, 1936, 226–7 (Zulu); Junod, 1927, i, 443–4 (Shangana-Tonga); Stayt, 1931, 223 (Venda); Schapera, 1935 MS. (Tswana).

[2] Schapera, 1935, MS. (Tswana); Harries, 1929, 106 (N. Sotho); Stayt, 1931, 224 (Venda); Krige, 1936, 224 (Zulu). Among the Shangana-Tonga, however, father–daughter incest is obligatory before a specialist hunter sets out to kill a hippopotamus! For the rest, it is merely said that the act "is strongly taboo in ordinary life" (Junod, 1927, ii, 68).

[3] See above, Chap. IV; and for examples Bryant, 1929, *passim*.

[4] For more detailed accounts, most of which have been here utilized, cf. Schapera, 1935 MS.; Harries, 1929, 98–101; Junod, 1927, i, 434 ff.; Stayt, 1931, 218 ff.; Krige, 1936, 229–232 Ashton, MS. notes (S. Sotho); Lestrade, MS. notes (Huruthse).

of cases. He must also see that all fines are paid, and detail messengers for any work to be done in connection with the administration of justice. Many Chiefs have regular court messengers, but normally any available man or men can be called upon to summon litigants or witnesses as required by the court, or to enforce the payment of fines. In addition to the permanent assessors, the Chief's or headman's other councillors generally assist from time to time in the hearing of cases, while every adult man has the right to be present at any case and to take part in the discussion.

Apart from these ordinary courts other bodies settle or help to settle disputes. "Nearly all cases affecting family relations, such as disputes between husband and wife, or the non-fulfilment of kinship obligations, are first discussed by a family council, embracing all the near male relatives of the parties concerned. It is convened and presided over by the senior man of the kinship group. Where women are directly involved, the mothers and wives will be included in the council." [1] The matter is if possible settled here, and if it is one involving the payment of damages the council will suggest that the usual amount be paid. But it cannot enforce such payment, nor can it inflict any penalty on the offender without his consent. Where the parties cannot come to an agreement, or the offender refuses to accept the decision, the case will be referred to the local court. There are also regimental courts, especially among the Sotho, which deal with offences committed in connection with the initiation schools or regimental duties. These courts have the right to punish offenders by thrashing or fining. The Sotho further have special women's courts, presided over by the leader of a female regiment, or the wife of the headman or Chief, which deal with matters particularly affecting women. They can take disciplinary action where women quarrel over a man, or break any of the sexual taboos, or neglect to carry out their regimental duties.

Cases are usually tried first in the court of the authority immediately under whom the defendant is residing. But if the court is not competent to give a final verdict on the case, it will simply discuss it, and then send it on to a higher court. "The competence of courts varies according to their importance, and corresponds roughly to the position of the different authorities in the tribal hierarchy." [2] The headman's court is the most inferior, and has, in fact, very limited jurisdiction. Immediately above it is the sub-Chief's court, which can try cases on appeal

[1] Ashton, MS. notes (S. Sotho). [2] Ashton, MS. notes (S. Sotho).

from the headman's court as well as cases beyond the latter's jurisdiction but within its own. The Chief's court is the supreme judicial body of the tribe, competent to try cases on appeal from all courts below it, as well as all other cases beyond the competence of these courts. Such cases, in most tribes, include all the penal offences, except refusal to obey orders and contempt of court, which are dealt with in the first instance by the court of the authority against whom they are committed. The headman's court can deal with all forms of civil injury, but where the matter is at all important or difficult the headman is bound, after discussion, to forward it to a superior court. Generally speaking, all cases involving a prominent person or a complicated matter are usually transferred in this way, "partly out of courtesy and partly out of commonsense in the knowledge that an appeal is sure to be made." [1]

Trials.

The procedure varies slightly in the different types of court—the smaller the court, the simpler the procedure. The pattern of procedure is, however, the same throughout the judicial system, the differences being chiefly those of detail. Generally speaking, when an injured person wishes to take action against the man who has wronged him, he officially reports the matter, either in person or through a representative, to defendant's headman, and announces his intention to prosecute. The headman then appoints a day for hearing the case, and notifies the defendant and other men of his group, who are all supposed to attend the hearing of the case. There are no fixed sessions at any of the courts. They meet only when there is a case to be settled. Cases are heard as soon as possible after they have been reported, a few days generally being allowed for the collection of witnesses.

All interested parties gather at the court early on the morning of the appointed day. The judge, together with his assessors, close relatives, and other advisers, faces the rest of the people. The latter sometimes sit in separate groups, corresponding to their rôle in the case, but more generally cluster together in a semicircle, with the actual parties to the case, surrounded by their witnesses and supporters, in front and towards the middle, where they can be seen by all. Witnesses may be present throughout the hearing of the case, and are not kept away till their evidence is required. As already mentioned, any

[1] Lestrade, MS. notes (Huruthse).

number of the tribe, even a stranger, can be present if he wishes, for all trials are conducted in the open and in public. But women may not be present unless actually involved in the case. Each party to the case is responsible for the presence of his own witnesses. If he has duly notified them, and they do not appear, messengers are sent by the court to fetch them. Failure to comply with this order is punished by a fine, the beast being killed and eaten at the court. But if one of the parties or an essential witness is kept away by sickness or some other valid reason, he is not punished. The case will be postponed until he is able to appear.

The judge opens the proceedings by outlining briefly the circumstances in which the case was brought to him. Plaintiff is then called upon to state his grievance. This he does at considerable length, while the people listen attentively and without interruption. It is held that each man should be allowed to have his fair say; and even if he strays from the point he is seldom called to order. Defendant is next asked to reply, which he does in the same way. They may then be questioned on their respective statements by any of the people present, and particularly by the judge and his assessors. Then, if necessary, the witnesses on either side are called, and after making their statements are questioned in the same way. When all the parties concerned and their witnesses have spoken and been questioned the matter is thrown open for general discussion. Sometimes, as among the Southern Sotho, the judge and his assessors then retire to some private spot, where they discuss the case and their findings, and try to agree on their verdict.[1] In other tribes they decide the matter in public. The assessors speak one by one, in ascending order of seniority, " pointing out what appear to them the rights and wrongs of the case according to the evidence, and also stating the law on the subject, referring if possible to precedents." [2] The judge finally sums up the evidence and the various opinions advanced by the people, discusses them, and gives his verdict. In theory he should base it not on his own opinion, but on what he thinks to be that of the majority. Where he agrees with it, this causes no difficulty; but if he does not he will try to win them over to his way of thinking. He cannot, however, go behind the united opinion of his assessors in giving his verdict.

The evidence relied upon in arriving at a verdict is generally that of eye-witnesses, as in cases of trespass, fighting, abuse, or breach of contract; or some material factor, such as a garment belonging

[1] Ashton, MS. notes. [2] Lestrade, MS. notes.

to an adulterer, or a thief's possession of stolen property. In some instances circumstantial evidence is also accepted: e.g. the fact that a man was found at night in the hut of a woman would, under certain conditions, be accepted as reasonable proof of adultery. The court further relies to some extent upon evidence as to the character of defendant, particularly if he has offended in other similar cases; and statements regarding the general character of any of the parties concerned or of their witnesses play a great part in determining the value placed on their evidence. Hearsay evidence is also admitted, but is not given much weight in the absence of more direct proof. No oath is taken from a man before he gives his evidence, nor is there as a rule any form of ordeal or divination, except in regard to witchcraft. But every man is expected to tell the truth, and the extensive questioning to which he is subjected if there is any doubt attaching to his statements is generally sufficient to show whether he is telling the truth or not. Moreover, if convicted of false witness, he may among the Southern Sotho be punished, while among the Tswana and Venda he can be held liable for defamation of character. A woman is competent to give evidence against her husband or in his favour; and in cases of adultery or seduction great weight is generally attached to the word of the woman concerned, just as in cases involving cattle the evidence of the herdboys is given special consideration.

If the case is heard before a junior court, and the judge, owing to conflict of evidence or of opinion, feels unable to give a satisfactory verdict, he must refer the matter to a higher court. Similarly, if either party is dissatisfied with the verdict, "he may there and then give notice of appeal; and the execution of the sentence will be stayed pending the judgment of this higher court."[1] The case is there heard all over again, from the very start. Proceedings are conducted along the same lines as before. But the headman or sub-Chief who first heard the case must be present to state how he arrived at his verdict. The Chief may either confirm the judgment previously given, reverse it, or modify it, as he thinks fit. The appellant, if again found in the wrong, must not only abide by the previous decision, but may also have to pay an additional fine to the court for having taken the matter so far without any good cause. If, however, his appeal is upheld, the verdict of the lower court becomes inoperative.

The Chief's judgment is the final judgment, and must be accepted

[1] Lestrade, MS. notes.

by both parties. But if a man feels that he has been unjustly treated, he has the right to appeal to one of the Chief's senior relatives, or to his *induna*, who must take up the matter on his behalf with the Chief. The Chief may then diminish the penalty or remit it altogether, if good cause is shown; but if he is satisfied with the correctness of his judgment he may refuse to alter it. The man's only alternative, in such cases, is to leave the tribe altogether and settle somewhere else.

The sentence, where it involves corporal or capital punishment, is carried out immediately after being pronounced. But among the Sotho a man sentenced to thrashing will, if he succeeds in breaking away and taking refuge in the homestead of the Chief's wife or mother or some other prominent relative, be regarded as having found asylum and cannot then be thrashed.[1] Where damages are awarded to one of the parties, a day is generally appointed by or on which they should be paid. Fines are paid in the same way to the headman of a district court, or to the *induna* of the Chief's court; and it is usual for one of the beasts to be killed and eaten by the men who are there, the rest going to the headman or Chief as his own property. Should any man delay unreasonably in bringing in the cattle, whether as damages or as fine, messengers will be sent to seize them at his kraal. In such cases one or more additional beasts are usually seized as penalty for contempt of court, the animals either being slaughtered at the court or taken as their fee by the messengers.

Factors affecting Liability.

Every adult person is presumed to know the law, and to have intended the results that follow an act he has committed. Motive is not generally taken into consideration; but allowance is made for provocation, e.g. homicide or assault are in certain cases held to be justifiable and so are excused, while on the other hand malicious prosecution may entitle the victim to damages for defamation. Negligence as a rule involves liability for any resulting damage, but purely accidental wrongs are almost invariably excused or far less heavily penalized. Less liability attaches to an unsuccessful attempt to do wrong than to one which has succeeded. The former, indeed, is not often brought to trial, as Bantu law in the main takes cognisance only of wrongs actually perpetrated. So, too, the amount of damage

[1] Schapera, 1935, MS.

actually inflicted is taken into consideration in assessing the punishment or compensation: a thief stealing two head of cattle is not as severely penalized as one stealing four.

The character of a wrongdoer plays an important part in the attitude adopted towards him. If he readily admits his offence, he may be dealt with lightly, and sometimes even excused altogether; whereas if he is insolent or obstreperous, even in the face of overwhelming evidence against him, he will be penalized more severely than usual. Similarly, an habitual offender is always more severely penalized than a first offender. The relative status of the persons concerned in a case is another important factor. Generally speaking, offences against a person senior to the wrongdoer in age or position are regarded as more reprehensible than they would be if the positions were reversed, and the sentence of the court is determined accordingly. This is particularly the case when the offence is committed against the Chief. Conversely, it is difficult, sometimes impossible, to obtain justice where the offender is the Chief himself or one of his senior relatives. Similarly, offences against a kinsman or member of the same local group are often treated more lightly by the victim than where the offender is an outsider. There is a greater readiness to claim nominal damages, or even to overlook the offence altogether. So, too, offending foreigners are on the whole more harshly judged than members of the tribe.

There is no law of prescription among the Bantu. *Molato xa o bole, xo bola nama*, say the Tswana: "A wrong does not decay, it is meat that decays," i.e. a case can be heard against a person whenever he is available. A case cannot be tried in the absence of one of the parties, unless he is dead, in which case, e.g., action can be taken against his heirs for the recovery of a debt. But it is held that the sooner a case is dealt with the better. Instances do occur, however, where people run away or hide if they know that they have done wrong. The complainant accordingly has the right to take up his case whenever the opportunity occurs, even if it is years after the offence was committed; and if he is dead, his successors will do so in his place. But a man is expected to lodge his complaint with the wrongdoer's people immediately after he has been wronged, even if the wrongdoer himself has fled. This will justify him in taking up the matter afterwards; whereas if he delays to lodge his complaint at the time, any subsequent attempt to bring it forward will be regarded with great suspicion.

Special mention should finally be made of the principle of collective responsibility playing so large a part in Bantu law. Every man, in the first place, is held responsible for the delicts of his wife and unmarried children, and must pay their debts, as well as any fines imposed upon or damages awarded against them. Moreover, if a man is himself unable to pay a fine or damages, his near relatives are expected, and can sometimes be forced, to come to his rescue. This does not normally apply to those cases where corporal punishment or a capital sentence is imposed; but in some tribes (e.g. Venda) if a man is sentenced for sorcery or treason not only he but his whole family may be punished.[1] The famous "spoor law" of the Nguni further illustrates the operation of this principle. If the tracks of missing cattle are traced to a certain kraal, the onus of proving that the cattle are not there lies upon the members of the kraal. If they fail to do so, they are held collectively liable for the missing animals.[2]

[1] Stayt, 1931, 223.
[2] Warner, in MacLean, 1858, 65.

Chapter X

MAGIC AND MEDICINE

By A. Winifred Hoernlé

The student who approaches for the first time the subject of Bantu medicine and magic needs more than ever to remember the famous saying of the Roman poet: *Homo sum, humani nihil alienum a me puto.* He will meet with beliefs and practices which Western Science would deem "superstitious", and European morals and law would deem immoral and illegal. But he will err gravely if, for this reason, he allows himself to regard these beliefs and practices as manifestations of a kind of mentality with which he, as a European, has nothing in common. On the contrary, they lie within the scope of our common human nature. The very same beliefs and practices—same in principle, if not in detail—were an integral part of the European civilization of our own ancestors. Right down into modern times, the belief in witchcraft was not felt to be in conflict with Christianity. It was shared, and acted on, by learned and unlearned alike—by priest and doctor, by judge and magistrate, no less than by the private burgher in towns or the peasant of the countryside. Our modern "scientific" medicine has only slowly sorted itself out from its original alliance with "quackery" or "magic", whereas among the Bantu medicine is still of one piece with magic. Compared with our "science" theirs is an unscientific approach to all natural phenomena, but so, too, is the approach of many unscientific Whites, even at the present day, in South Africa and elsewhere in the world.

Further, one thing is common to our science and their magic: both are attempts to control the environment, natural and human, in the interests of the practitioner and the community. Both exemplify Bacon's aphorism, *scientia est potentia*—knowledge is power. That their "magic" is not "knowledge" from our point of view, but error, illusion, superstition, is not to the point. The point is, rather, that witch-doctor and magician act on certain beliefs concerning the nature and behaviour of things, which beliefs are "true" to them and, therefore, constitute their "knowledge" of the universe. And,

through action, this "knowledge" becomes, or at least is believed to become, power: it is not mere "theory" of what things are or do, but practical knowledge of how to make them be or do what we want them to be or do; knowledge of how to control them "for the improvement of man's estate", as Bacon put it.

But this is not all. If we would approach the study of Bantu medicine and magic with sympathetic insight and understanding, we must prepare ourselves by reflecting, further, on two additional points, viz. (1) how man comes to experience the need for special means of controlling his environment, and (2) the difference between "scientific" and "unscientific" control.

(1) What feature of the world challenges efforts to bring it under control? Is it not the fact that amidst a great measure of uniformity and regularity in natural events, there is also an incalculable variability impinging on human life—whether individual or tribal—now as good luck, now as bad luck? In short, there is haphazard accident, there is chance. Even we who believe in cause and effect for every natural event cannot exclude the element of chance in the coincidence of causally disconnected natural events. If a man happens to be passing a scaffold where a new building is being put up, and a brick, dislodged at that moment, falls and strikes him on the head, we say that there is a cause for the falling of the brick at that moment, and a cause also for the man's being there at that moment: but for the intersection of these two events at that moment and that spot we know no cause. We can only call it an "accident". At any rate, no human agent is responsible, it is just "bad luck".

Now, where our world, in effect, exhibits order thus shot through with accident, Bantu thought, whilst apprehending less of impersonal system and order, utterly refuses in most cases to admit mere chance, or accident or luck. It conceives nearly everything that befalls the individual, or the tribe, for weal or woe, as the working out of forces in Nature, often regarded as personal or semi-personal, which intend just that effect, or of powers in the possession of certain private individuals, or of official persons, like chiefs, or of specialists in strange powers, like magicians—powers enabling their owners by the use of appropriate methods to ward off evil and to procure differential advantages.

From this point of view, there is, and can be, no sharp dividing line, e.g. in the treatment of disease, between the use of drugs to which we, too, would ascribe a therapeutic effect, and the use of magical

manipulations which, if they have any effect at all, have such effect, not on the physical plane, but on the mental plane, i.e. through the beliefs and emotions of the persons who practise magic or on whom it is practised. And, indirectly, as we, too, know and admit, intense emotion and passionate belief have their effects on the human body.

In the light of these general reflections, let us look, next, at the Bantu's experience of Nature and human nature. Economically, they have their sound, if limited, knowledge and technique for winning a living from the soil, for managing their herds and using the wild plants and animals of their environment for various purposes. But, within this general framework of economic activities, what varying success and failure ! What insecurity ! Alternating periods of plenty and want, abundant harvests one year, shortage and famine the next. One year sufficient rains fall in due season, the next a drought shrivels up the young shoots on the parched fields ; the next, perhaps, there are destructive floods. Epidemics of disease may attack man and his beasts ; locusts may ravage his crops ; or other pests destroy other sources of his food-supply. There is no counting with certainty on good fortune : evil-working forces lurk everywhere. The problem is, so to speak, to domesticate the good, and keep at bay the evil ; and the methods which the Bantu practise for this purpose vary from those having genuine causal efficiency to those which are magical and are practised by specialists—men of more than common knowledge and endowment.

Again, apart from large-scale events striking upon whole communities for good or evil, there are events which affect individuals differentially, for all that they are fellow-tribesmen on an equal footing. One man has a run of what we should call " bad luck ", whilst his neighbour prospers. One man's fields are devastated by hail, another's escape the scourge. That the industrious worker should reap and the slothful one miss his harvest is intelligible ; but when things work out quite otherwise, Bantu thought suspects that there is a power at work which is responsible for the difference and which—this is the important point—can be controlled, if only man can discover how to control it.

And, so again, there is incalculable variability in the social world of human relations. There are times when the life of the *umuzi* or of the tribe runs smoothly. The members of the *umuzi* enjoy good health ; they get on well with each other ; each is at peace with

his fellows. But then, again, friction occurs; tempers rise; enmities and jealousies disrupt the little group. Or disease comes and seizes, perchance, not upon the old and worn, but upon the young and strong, or upon the babies. Once more, the explanation is sought in the action of some hostile, as before of some friendly, power—and, once more, the demand is for some means of control which will preserve, or restore, the happy conjunction of circumstances and protect against the manifold possibilities of suffering and disaster.

(2) Now, it is just in the type of answer sought to the problem of controlling the infinite variability of all factors entering into human life, that the difference most clearly appears between the unscientific thinking of Bantu culture, and scientific thinking like that of European culture at its best. That difference may be briefly described in three ways.

In the first place, the unscientific thinker never succeeds in detaching himself sufficiently from the intense emotions aroused in him by the impact of events upon the weal and woe of himself and his group. His well-being, his success, his very existence are always at stake, are either promoted or threatened. Consequently, he is so deeply engaged with his emotions, his hopes and fears, that he cannot achieve the dispassionate objectivity of the scientist who "knows no judgments of value", i.e. who studies the concatenations of natural events as if they had no bearing on human life, or, at any rate, as if in their bearing there were no difference between good or bad, weal or woe. It is one thing to ask, What cause has what effect? It is another thing to ask, Is the effect good or bad for me? The scientific interest in truth is a disinterested interest: unscientific thinking is never disinterested.

Hence, secondly, the emotional effects of natural happenings on the men that experience and undergo them are unconsciously used as a clue to their nature. If strong emotions are aroused, a correspondingly strong power must be at work in the object or event which arouses the emotion. If a man's whole being is filled with a surge of joy, triumph, success, heightening his vital pitch, as it were; or if he is made to feel utterly downcast, defeated, powerless, his vital pitch being lowered to hopeless inertia and despair, powerful forces, friendly and inimical, must be operative. Thus the emotional effect is projected upon the objects and events in the outside world, and things and events are thought to be amenable to the sort of influence and control to which men are known to be amenable. Here, too,

comes in man's experience of the influence of mind on mind, and mind on body. We say, " stick and stones can break our bones, but names and faces can't hurt us." We do not wholly believe this ourselves: the Bantu certainly do not believe it. We know ourselves that the mere harbouring of an evil wish, of a grudge, of a spirit of hatred and revenge, can " poison " the mind of the person who has those feelings, even to the point of destroying, not merely mental balance, but also physical health. And the victim of such feelings, if he knows himself to be the object of them, is worried and agitated in his turn, and responds, perhaps, with like feelings of his own, having like effects in himself. In the often fierce competition of polygynous households, or underneath the fixed order and regular ranking of the members of age-sets, there may be rival ambitions, breeding bitter jealousies and hatreds, which may issue both in actual attempts to defeat the enemy, or rival, by sorcery, or in the conviction that one is oneself the victim of an enemy's sorcery—a conviction which may be none the less firm for being objectively groundless, and which may lead to accusations of sorcery and the fixing of an imaginary guilt on an actual enemy.

And, lastly, thinking in such an emotion-charged atmosphere fails to discriminate, in the welter of simultaneous happenings, the events which belong together and are, as scientists say, " causally connected," from those which are merely associated by the same emotional reaction to them. And so Bantu thought takes to be essentially connected—and leads to action on the basis of this fancied connection —things which for scientific thought have nothing to do with each other. It perceives identities of essence, where we can see only difference and disconnection. It assumes relevancies of power, where for science there is no relation of cause and effect at all. And so it comes about that natural objects of all sorts—leaf, bark, root, flower, birds, fishes, animals, humans, or parts of these, or excrements of these—are conceived to possess some " virtue " (efficiency), some relevance for bringing about a desired, or avoiding an undesired, effect, where science can see no connection at all. They come to be linked in Bantu thought chiefly because the effect experienced by man is charged with strong emotion, and this emotion extends to and draws into its grip things which, by the chance of their presence at the moment or by some fanciful analogy, seem to have " something to do " with the good or bad effect. This is the way of thinking which leads to " magic " as opposed to " science ", which studies Nature not dispassionately,

but through the eyes of hope and fear, desire and aversions; which lets emotion dictate identities and connections for which there is no ground in the nature of things, which projects into natural objects and processes the workings of the observer's own emotion-clouded mind.

But, given such a type of thinking and of practical dealings with Nature in terms of it, we can easily see how—just as we have our experts in scientific thinking and in the practical application of such thinking—there will develop experts, men of special skill and training and endowment, in the methods of this type of thought and of the technique of its practical uses. These men will be specialists in different fields, from practising like our doctors as healers of sick bodies and sick minds, to making rain or averting lightning, assuring the fertility of fields, herds, and wives, or success in dangerous undertakings, like hunting and war. And, just as all human knowledge and power, even modern science, can be used for immoral and anti-social purposes no less than for moral and social ones, so the specialist in magical knowledge and power may put his secret methods to dark and evil uses. Hence, the sharp distinction we shall meet with between "white" and "black" magic (where the substances used may be the same, but the purpose to be achieved is different), and again between the sorcerer or witch to be "smelled out" and the witch-doctor who discovers the social enemy.[1]

The inyanga (Sotho, *ngaka*; Xhosa, *ngqika*).

The *inyanga* is a specialist, a man skilled above his fellows; and the number of different types of *inyanga* is very great in the different tribes. Some of them are great tribal officials, for some of the conditions of life are of such vital concern to the well-being of the tribe as a whole that the chief himself and his officials are responsible for controlling them. In other cases, the *inyanga* is a practitioner at large, putting his skill at the disposal of those prepared to pay for it.

The tribesman's ever-present desire is for health in body, and success and protection in all his undertakings. Hence, it is in connection with disease and misfortune of every kind that we can best understand the place of the *inyanga* in Bantu society.

[1] Shangana-Tonga: *bungoma*, legitimate magic and medicine; *buloyi*, sorcery and witchcraft; practised by *mungoma*, *loyi* respectively. Sotho: *ngaka*, legitimate practitioner of magic and medicine (*bongaka*); *moloi*, practitioner of sorcery and witchcraft (*boloi*). Zulu: *inyanga*, legitimately using his *umuthi*; *umthakathi*, maliciously employing *ubuthi*. Xhosa: *inyanga* or *igqira*, using his *amayeza*; *umthakathi*, or *igqwira*, using *ubuthi*. See later sections of this chapter.

The Bantu have a crude knowledge of human anatomy but know practically nothing of physiology. The bones of the skeleton have their names; so, too, the organs in the body; but nerves, tendons, ligaments, veins, and arteries, are all classed together.[1] Of the function of these organs the Bantu have no real idea at all. They know nothing of the circulation of the blood, of the function of respiration, of the processes of digestion. Psychic faculties are for them the most important functions of the bodily organs. Thus, thought and memory are functions of the heart, as are also acts of will. Hatred is in the spleen and patience resides in the liver! That food passes through the body and that certain foods make them feel ill, they know: so, too, they know the relief that comes when, by the use of an emetic or purgative, they clean out their bodies. Worms they have seen in their stools, and often they think that pains in their bodies may be caused by such worms wandering about among the different organs, or even by the organs themselves getting displaced within the body. So, too, pain and disease may be caused by a "blood"[2] which moves from spot to spot, finally taking up its abode in the stomach or elsewhere. Clotted blood, of course, they often see and it is easy to understand how it is thought to act.

Many diseases are called simply by the name of the organ which is the seat of the pain: e.g. "I have a foot," "I have a neck," meaning I have a pain in these parts. As Junod tells us, "there are as many diseases as there are organs."[3] Certain common ailments are recognized which are regarded as evils that flesh is heir to—coughs and colds, fevers, rheumatism; these come and go, are treated and no more is thought of them. But apart from these the Bantu do not recognize disease as "natural". Some diseases come from "defilement" (Shangana-Tonga, *makhumo*; Mpondo, *umlaza*); from doing things which one is not in a fit state to do, e.g. before purification after childbirth; or from the "blackness" (Zulu, *umnyama*) which overwhelms a mourner. Others are sent by the spirits for neglect of custom, especially of ritual killings at transition ceremonies. But most diseases, especially if the onset is sudden or if they are long continued, are believed to be caused by sorcerers or witches. The process of the disease and the method of treatment differ in each case; it is therefore essential that the ultimate cause of the disease should first be discovered. To attend to secondary symptoms is waste of time so long as the basic

[1] Junod, 1927, ii, 333.
[2] Shangana-Tonga, *ngati*; Sotho, *madi*.
[3] Junod, 1927, ii, 431.

cause of the disease is still at work in the body. " The most important thing is that the *inyanga* have the power to tell a man everything about his illness and especially that he tell him about the beginning of the illness." [1] Diagnosis of these outside causes is, therefore, an essential in the Native treatment of disease. Hence we find many different types of divination employed to discover first of all the source of the disease, whether the cause be defilement, anger of the ancestral spirits, or the work of a witch or sorcerer. If a witch or sorcerer be responsible it is necessary further to " smell out " the particular individual, in order to make him lift his heavy hand from off the patient or to destroy him so that his influence may cease ; or at least to discover the material he relies on to make the sufferer ill. Then only can curative remedies be applied with success to the suffering body. Among the specialists dealing with disease, therefore, we must distinguish between the pure herbalists [2] and the diviners [3] who specialize in diagnosis, though they may also undertake cures and other treatments. Among the diviners the " smeller out " of witches—the witch-doctor—has a specially honoured position.

The *bamuri*, " men of the trees," are herbalists pure and simple, specialists who claim to have a wide knowledge of the properties of plants (and animals) and to be able to compound ingredients from these sources for the cure of disease and the protection of man, beast, and home, and also for securing success in manifold activities and undertakings. Some of these men know one simple technique, learnt perhaps from a relative, or acquired for a fee from another specialist. Thus, we may have the *inyanga yeɀilonda*, the man who doctors sores ; the *inyanga yomɀimbamuɓi*, who deals in abscesses, etc. ; while most have a wide range of specialities which they are willing to prepare for their clients. It is among these men that we find preparations with true pharmacological properties and techniques which at times may reveal true skill. But in all cases these true remedies are mixed with preparations and manipulations which cannot possibly have any therapeutic effect. Moreover, even the drugs which do have a specific action (emetics, purgatives, fever-reducers, etc.), are never limited in their action to such uses, but, mixed with other ingredients, are used for manifold purposes.

Among the Zulu, in the herbalist's bag " there are baked insects

[1] Kohler, 1931, 588.

[2] Shangana-Tonga, *bamuri* ; Zulu, *inyanga yemithi* ; Xhosa, *amaxwele*.

[3] Shangana-Tonga, *mungoma* ; Zulu, *isangoma* ; Xhosa, *igqira, xukaɀana*. Diviner possessed by a spirit : Shangana-Tonga, *gobela* ; Nguni, *isanusi* or *inyanga yemiloɀi*.

and dried reptiles; the dung of lions in powders and the fat of the water-sprite in bottles; the shrivelled flesh of the whiteman and the hardened menses of the baboon; an incongruous assortment of oddities —Spanish-fly powder, asbestos, glass prisms, washing-soda, flint, spa, crystal, coral, rare geological specimens of every description; skins and bones of every conceivable animal, and hundreds of barks, roots, berries, and leaves—in a word, choice selections innumerable and wonderful, medicinal and magical, useful, harmful, and inert, from the whole range of mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms, terrestrial and marine".[1] A study of the active principles of the plants used shows that there are in them innumerable acids, alkaloids, oils, gums, resins, fats, etc., but only about 5 per cent of the ingredients used have some specific reaction which our pharmacologists would recognize,[2] whereas the mere enumeration of the other types of ingredients is sufficient to show that they cannot be "medically" effective.

It is difficult to discover, in many cases, just why particular herbs have been used. Oftentimes, the *inyanga* does not know himself. His master has told him to mix his medicines so, or the remedy has been revealed to him by his ancestors. There is no doubt, however, that much remains to be done in getting at the working of the minds of the Bantu in connection with their "medicines", such as the elaborate Shangana-Tonga *shitsimbo* concoctions (parcels of herbs for making infusions), the Sotho *thsithlô* (compound of many ingredients, ground and perhaps baked, and mixed with animal fat of some kind), and similar preparations in the other tribes.

The Zulu distinguish between the *imithi emnyama*, "black medicines," which are very powerful and work mostly as purgatives and emetics, or have strongly astringent properties which are thought to take away the "blackness", the evil; and *imithi emhlophe*, "white medicines," which are soothing and purifying in their effects and are always used to settle the body after the use of the black medicines.[3]

Native methods of preparing medicines are much like our own. "There are cold infusions (Zulu, *isichonco*), hot infusions (Zulu, *infudumeẓelo*); decoctions (Zulu, *impeko*) in which the herb, bark, or root is as a rule slightly simmered, though also sometimes thoroughly boiled; and powders, in which the remedy is air-dried or roasted on a pan and subsequently pulverized or even burnt to ashes."[4] These powders or ashes are frequently mixed with fat. Preserved in horns,

[1] Bryant, 1909, 11.
[2] Cf. Watt and Breyer-Brandwijk, 1932.
[3] Bryant, 1909, 11.
[4] Bryant, 1909, 13.

they are mixed in different ways and often divided into male compounds and female compounds which are used separately or in combination for the most various purposes, from warding off lightning, to protecting the homestead, and soothing all kinds of ailments.

In treatment, blood-letting is much favoured; poultices are made; also lotions and ointments. A common method of curing local pains is by rubbing powdered medicine into incisions made on the spot. There are vapour baths and sweating baths. Above all there are purgatives and emetics. Bryant gives it as his opinion that "they resort to this means of treatment more than to any other, even than to actual dosing".[1]

Whilst the *inyanga* may do harm chiefly by over-drastic treatment, he is also the main refuge of his suffering fellows. Many are intelligent and spare themselves no trouble to get the remedies they think they require, and even to-day the vast majority of Bantu have to rely on their ministrations.

The diviner, as we have seen, is the specialist who diagnoses the "real" cause of the disease. In the Sotho tribes, the diagnosis is made by divination with bones, scrutinized according to set rules which are learnt from other diviners, and there is often no claim to any special endowment from the ancestral spirits. Among the Shangana-Tonga and Nguni, on the other hand, belief in supernatural influence undoubtedly still plays a large part, and the majority of practitioners claim to be directly guided and controlled in all their doings by the spirits of their ancestors. Among the Shangana-Tonga, there is the further belief in definite possession by alien spirits, spirits of foreign tribes. A person thus possessed is their real *gobela*.

There is no specific symptom for one who is about to become a diviner. Among the Mpondo, for example, any woman who is ill, and whose illness is prolonged, may learn through the divination of an *igqira*, or herself feel, that she is sick, *ukutwasa*![2] The woman novice is called an *umkhwetha* (as is a boy at the time of puberty). She has an *inkathazo* ("trouble")—used technically for sickness before *ukutwasa*, sent by her *amathongo* (ancestors) who wish her to become an *igqira*. In general, we may say that a man (or, far more frequently in the Nguni tribes, a woman) begins by having dreams of a peculiar kind in which the spirits speak to him and give him no peace. He becomes a "house of dreams", as the Zulu say. He begins to wander

[1] Bryant, 1909, 14, and in general for whole description.

[2] Hunter, 1936, 320. *Ukutwasa*, lit. to come out, as the moon; hence, to develop the new powers of a diviner.

about the hill-sides and lives for weeks by himself close to some river or other water. He comes back and is often seized by fits which may recur at intervals for months. He is constantly groaning and appears to endure a great deal of mental as well as bodily suffering. He hears voices calling to him in the night and goes out on to the hill-side in the darkness and cold. He may even see the faces of relatives long since dead. These are at first blurred, but tend to become clearer until there is no mistaking their identity.[1] Among the Mpondo and elsewhere, the *umshologu* or *ithongo* (ancestral spirit) takes the form of an *ityala* (a wild animal—lion, leopard, or elephant usually) which appears to him in visions all his life and guides him to the places the spirits wish him to visit.[2] Among the Zulu and the Shangana-Tonga, the spirits appear normally in human form, usually just their faces being seen and their voices being heard.

When the elders of the *umuʇi* realize that the patient is really being called by the spirits, they make arrangements for some skilled diviner of their district to undertake the training, and incidentally the cure of the worst symptoms, of the novice. Most tribes do not believe that the ancestors "possess" a man.[3] They say: *amathongo a hamba nomuntu*,[4] "the spirits accompany a man," i.e. control him and sometimes speak through him, but the spirits are not thought to possess a man, as does the alien spirit among the Shangana-Tonga.

The initiation of the diviner is a long process which varies from tribe to tribe. For months the initiate is delicate; sensitive to all things that ritually defile a person. He avoids many foods and must be very careful in all his behaviour. He is given many medicines which purge him and purify his body, others with which to wash and strengthen his body. Among the Zulu especially, a compound of roots is made, mixed with water in a vessel and twirled with a stick until a white foam froths up. This froth must be eaten each morning early by the initiate until he vomits, in order that the body may be purified. With this foam the whole body is also washed. The whole effort is concentrated upon clearing the inner vision, "making the initiate see," so that he comes to have a far-away look and is intent upon listening to his inner voice and to the visions that arise before his mind's eye. White is the special colour for the diviner; white beads are given to him as presents to put into his hair or on to his clothes; and white goat skins are used in

[1] Callaway, 1868-1870, 259 ff. [2] Hunter, 1936, 321 f.
[3] The Venda come much nearer to belief in real possession by ancestors; cf. Stayt, 1931, 302 ff.
[4] Callaway, 1868–1870, 348.

many of the tribes to adorn the top part of his body. Often, also, in dancing he holds a white cow tail, though in former days a gnu tail was more characteristic.

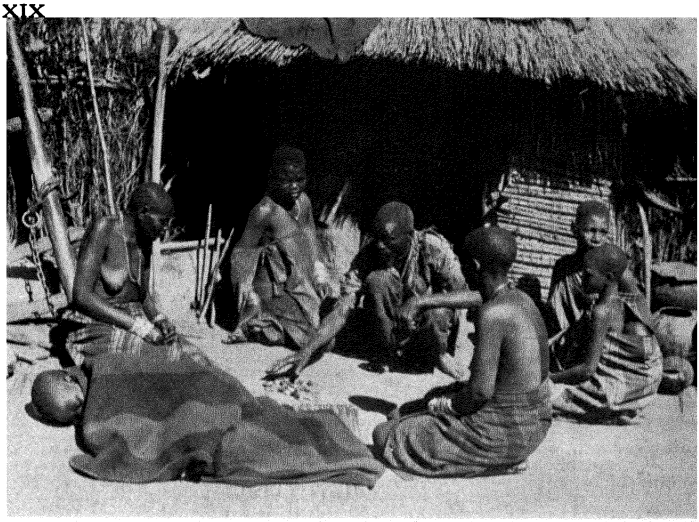
Dancing is an essential part in the initiation of diviners. Only they may dance the peculiar rhythmical dance the urge for which seems to seize those so afflicted. Each diviner has his special song, with its own special lilt and rhythm, and at all times of day or night, in season and out of season, he may begin to sing this song and plead with those around to clap the rhythm for him or beat it out on oxhide or drum. If he is not humoured in this matter, his worst symptoms may easily return.

Among the Shangana-Tonga, it is essential that the possessing spirit, if a foreign spirit, should reveal its tribe and name.[1] Among the Mpondo, the initiate must *ukulawula* (confess) everything he sees in his sleeping or waking dreams, else he can never become well. These revelations take place during the dancing and appear to be made with tremendous effort by the patient who is often completely exhausted after he has spoken.[2]

Always, also, there are sacrifices for a novice. Among the Shangana-Tonga and sometimes among the Zulu, he must drink the spurting blood from the dying beast, while among the Mpondo and the Xhosa he eats a barely-cooked portion of the *intsomnyama* (meat from the right fore-leg) and wears the bladder of the goat, if it is such, on his wrist. Meantime his training by his teacher and by his controlling spirit, or spirits, is proceeding. He learns the uses of drugs and the treatment of disease. He learns how to spy out where things are concealed. It is a usual test for a diviner that he should find such hidden things, and at the end of the probation period there is generally a gathering, not only of many trained diviners, but also of relatives and friends who come to test his performance. How the spying-out is done, where it is genuinely done, has not been properly studied. One woman says, " I have a feeling or an urge in me which drives me to the right place without my knowing where it comes from. Often, also, I see the place." [3] In many tests, made by Europeans, the diviner has failed to discover hidden things. On the other hand, many reports also exist of stolen things being recovered with their help. No scientific tests are on record. But that many diviners are shrewd and highly

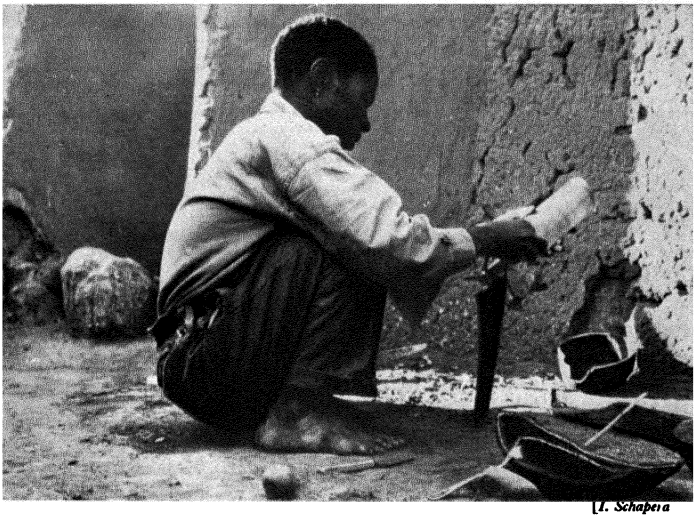
[1] Junod, 1927, ii, 441.
[2] Hunter, 1936, 325 ff. This description applies to women, who are the chief diviners of the tribe.
[3] Müller, 1907, 50.

PLATE XIX



[*N. J. van Warmelo*

(*a*) Divining cause of patient's illness (Venda)



[*I. Schapera*

(*b*) Rainmaker preparing his medicines (Kxatla)

MAGICAL PRACTICES

[*face p.* 232

sensitive to indications of various kinds coming from the people around them there is no doubt whatever. They are trained to watch for these indications, facial expressions, gestures, comments, which others miss, and among the people they know so well there is no doubt they often have a flash of insight guiding them to the truth.

Among the Shangana-Tonga, the final ritual in connection with the possessed diviners is the *hondlola* (purification rite) which takes place after any severe illness. The body is " cleansed " from top to toe with the stomach contents of the sacrificed animal, with which have been mixed drugs of all kinds, and the particles which drop off on to a mat are carefully collected and hidden in some place. This finally buries the sickness, as it were. All that then remains is to make protective amulets that the new diviner may always wear, and prepare a stock of certain drugs for which the instructor is famous. Finally, a feast of rejoicing and thanksgiving and payment of the instructor starts the new diviner on his way !

Ukutwasa is also definitely a disease and few consciously wish to go through the long process. Some resist it for months, but undoubtedly it is a way in which a woman, especially, may draw concentrated attention to herself and bind those around her to her will. It is generally conceded that diviners are often highly-strung, sensitive people, but the medical analysis of cases over a long period of time has never yet been undertaken. Nor, so far as we are aware, has any psychological study of these diviners yet been made, but since the condition occurs frequently in certain parts of the country, and seems to be becoming more frequent, it would be well worth while to make an intensive study of a number of cases.

Divination is the *igqira* or *umngoma's* speciality, but they may undertake cures of all kinds, protection of homes from wizards, from thieves, from lightning ; they may make amulets which guard against the dangers of travel, infection, or sorcery ; one or many or all of the manifold processes required by the Bantu for his peace of mind, his protection, and his cure. Believing in amulets and charms, they practise what they preach and are themselves very often loaded with little horns filled with protective and curative medicines, and carry with them skin bags filled with the ingredients of their drugs. But only the most powerful of them all, the *isanusi*, can cure possession.

Before passing to a detailed study of divination, a few examples will be given of the magician's practices, to help the student understand better how the Bantu mind works in its use of magic.

Protecting a Village.

Among the Shangana-Tonga, Junod tells us, every village is surrounded by a fence made up of charms, which competent doctors put all round to prevent witches and sorcerers from entering. One such medicine used " is a kind of ointment in which are contained different powders made up of various sea-animals, the jellyfish, . . . the sea-urchin, the sponge, and others. To these sea-animals are added some roots which have been exposed to the light by the rain which has washed out the soil in the kloof. All these drugs, which are also employed to obtain rain, are mixed with fat and burnt on charcoal at dawn on the road to the village to protect the main entrance. Stones are daubed with it and put in all directions to close other openings. Then a second fire is made before the threshold of the hut and the smoke which comes out from the magical fat will keep the *baloyi* away 'for fear of being revealed' ".[1] See how it works: as the rain has washed away the soil and exposed the hidden roots of the trees, so, too, this rain-making medicine, put in juxtaposition with the roots wrenched from their hiding, will expose the *loyi* who seeks to hide as the roots were hidden !

Heaven Doctors.

The " shepherds of heaven " (Zulu, *abelusi bezulu*) are charged with the work of guarding the homes of their people from lightning, hail, and storm, and the greatest of them with providing rain under the direction of the chief. Most Natives are terrified of lightning and hail; and little wonder, seeing the deaths that take place from these two causes year by year in certain parts of the country. The rain doctor is a man who faces up to the storm when all others hide within their huts; he talks to the hail and the lightning and bids them strike far from the homes of men. While other men shun everything struck by lightning, he dares to use just these things and prepares from them his protective mixtures. Trees and animals struck by lightning play their part, but most potent of all is the bird of heaven itself. This bird, believed in by all the tribes, is thought to flash down in the lightning and to lay its eggs or its urine where the lightning strikes. The heaven doctors watch these spots and dig up a substance, variously described as chalk-like or gelatinous, which, together with the bird's feathers, beak and bones, makes the most potent protective mixture, put on to pegs or

[1] Junod, 1905–6, 237.

stones and buried in parts of the village and also rubbed into incisions on the bodies of people to protect them. In other mixtures, parts of this same bird provide a valuable medicine for attracting the rain. The heaven bird, or rain bird, varies in different parts of the country, the flamingo and stork being often favoured. One of the most interesting, perhaps, is the sea hawk, *Haliætus vocifer*, which in certain years flies up the Limpopo and the Great Letaba Rivers. Rain makers must spend endless efforts in obtaining this bird, and one can appreciate the imagination which connects this bird of the sea, coming from the great source of all water, with the rain. This bird, together with water animals of all kinds and luscious water plants, provides the rain medicine itself. Green branches of trees which create great smoky clouds as they burn provide the medium by which the influences rise up into the sky, while powder from branches of great spreading trees induces the clouds to spread over a wide area, and powder from the clinging twisted stems of climbing plants guarantees that the clouds will not drift, but stay up over the area where rain is so badly needed.

Agricultural Ceremonies.

In the past, some of the most elaborate tribal ceremonies took place in connection with the agricultural year when the chief provided for the fertility of the fields and of the seed. These ceremonies have chiefly a religious character, as shown in the next chapter; but many magical mixtures are used at the same time. What is likely to cause fertility? Plants which grow exuberantly; plants which resist drought; plants which are evergreen; but above all semen and the sexual parts of strong virile people or of pure uncontaminated children; sometimes, too, the flesh of one who has been outstandingly successful in his harvests. From time to time, cases crop up in various parts of the country of children or adults who have disappeared. Their bodies are found with certain parts removed; and thus we know that here is one more case where a magician has needed potent human "medicine". Often, too, both male and female elements are needed.[1]

Methods of Divination.

1. Among the Shangana-Tonga and the Nguni, the evil doer of any kind—thief, sorcerer, witch—and the material concoction through which the evil is working, may be "smelt out" directly by the *isanusi*. He works himself up into a frenzy by means of his

[1] C. Brownlee, 1896, 260.

diviner's dance, while members of the village sing his song and clap his rhythm for him. He darts here, he pounces there, until finally he draws from some hidden pot the bundle supposed to be the sorcerer's deadly *uɓuthi* (destroying concoction), or he points decisively his tail of office at the guilty person in the circle around him.

2. These tribes also practise the *ukuvumisa* method of divination. " The inquirers sit down in a hut or in the *inkundla*, the *igqira* squatting directly opposite them. . . . The *igqira* first has to find out the inquirers' reason for coming, who is ill, and what the symptoms are. Then he tells who has caused the trouble and how. The *igqira's* method is to make statements ; after each statement the inquirers clap and shout *siyavuma*, ' we agree.' The *igqira* judges from the heartiness of the assent whether or not he is on the right track. If he has established his point satisfactorily, the inquirers say *phosa ngemva*, ' put it behind you.' If he is wrong, they say *asiva*, ' we do not hear.' An *igqira* is not discredited if he makes some wrong statements, but if he is slow, the inquirers take up their money and go off to try elsewhere." [1] A few diviners (*awemiloqi*) claim that their ancestral spirits give answers to their inquiries. The spirits speak in squeaky voices from various parts of the hut in which the consultation takes place.

3. The *hakati* are used in divination by the Shangana-Tonga. A set of *hakati* consists of six half-shells of a hard fruit, three large ones being male, three smaller ones female. These shells can fall on either of two sides and in so doing can point in various directions in relation to one another. They are thrown on to a mat by the diviner and the prognostications are read, chiefly bearing on hunting, but also on domestic affairs. When the convex side of the shell is uppermost, the signs are favourable ; when the shell is on its back, the signs are unfavourable. These shells have holes bored through them and are carried about on a string by their owner. This method of divination is considered a more or less childish custom.[2]

4. Similar fruit shells (*maruthu*) are used by the Venda in a most interesting method of divination. The diviner has a bowl (*ndilo*), carved out of wood, with a wide flat rim on which are cut out, in relief, figures representing the various *mutupo* (totems) found among the Venda, and also other figures of representative persons and objects in domestic and tribal life. On the floor of the bowl, in the very middle, is a hollowed out cavity in which magical substances are inserted,

[1] Hunter, 1936, 336.

[2] Junod, 1927, ii, 442.

such as portions of a man's heart, a vulture's heart, and so on, the medicine being then covered over by a cowrie shell. This represents the *musanda*, the capital of the country. Round it are cut out in relief figures of good or bad import in the life of the people. This bowl (*ndilo ya maruthu*) is filled with water, the fruit kernels are allowed to float about in it and, according to the position where they come to rest when they touch the edge of the bowl, the diviner gives his interpretation. Interrogations are chiefly made about cases of sorcery. By this means of divination the magician can tell, so he thinks, the clan of the culprit, the instruments he has used, and his accomplices or intermediaries. A bowl similar to the Venda bowl was found in a cave not far from Zimbabwe in the nineties of last century, which may possibly have been used in a similar way, but the Venda alone among the South African tribes have been known to use it in recent times.[1]

5. Four pieces of carved ivory (Shangana-Tonga, *ṭhangu*)—or, to-day, bone or wood—are the pieces in a system of divination which is spread far beyond the tribes with which this handbook deals. Among the Venda, these four dice alone are still used for tribal matters, while for ordinary matters, as also among the Sotho generally, they are used with knuckle bones and other objects. Two notched dice represent women, two unnotched ones men; one old, one young, of each. One side of the flat dice is usually smooth, the other is carved in various designs, so that the two sides are clearly discriminated. The dice must be carved by a specialist to the accompaniment of a definite ritual. Among the Venda, for example, when the bare slabs are cut, they are buried in a frequented path while the magician hides close by in a bush. When an old man comes by, the magician digs out of his hole one slab which henceforth will represent all old men, and so, as an old woman, a young one, and a young man come by, the others are extracted from their hiding place and finished.[2]

In the simple system in which only the four dice are used, there are sixteen possible combinations in which the dice can fall, since each die can fall on two different sides. In addition, the direction in which the dice point in relation to one another may also be taken into account. Each combination has its own special praise-name which gives the general principle, as it were, of the prognostication; good, bad, or indifferent, as the case may be. Each position has, in addition, its

[1] Cf. E. D. Giesekke, 1930–1, 299 ff.; Stayt, 1931, 291 ff.
[2] Giesekke, 1930–1, 267.

own special set of archaic verses from which the diviner will get some hint of what he must tell his inquirers lies before them.[1]

6. The more complicated divination sets[2] of the Sotho comprise four principal bones and a varying number of accessory bones, together with shells and other objects, according to the desire of the *ngaka* to whom the set belongs. Of the four principal pieces, the two male ones are carved from the hoof of an ox. The old male, the *more o moxolo* (" the great tree or medicine ") or the *kholo* (" the big one "), is the great chief of the *ditaola*; it is cut from an important ox (e.g. one slaughtered at a wedding feast). The young male may be cut from the hoof of a less distinguished animal ! One side only of these bones is ornamented, as a rule, but each can fall in four different ways. The two female pieces are made of bone, horn, or ivory, and can fall in two ways only, hence the four principal pieces alone can fall in sixty-four different combinations, quite apart from considerations of direction. The other bones are talis or astragali of various animals, representing totems found in the various Sotho tribes. There should be a male and female representative of each, and they must genuinely be got from animals killed by man. It is useless to pick up such a bone from a carcass in the veld. Hence a complete set takes a very long time to collect. Each talus can also fall in four different ways, and its position in relation to the other bones is of great significance in interpretation. In addition, sea shells may be used to represent white people, a flamingo-bone for rain, and many other objects can be added according to the inspiration of the diviner.[3]

The four principal bones give the whole setting for the interpretation. Before using the whole set, the diviner blows on the bones, or spits on them, or sprays a lotion over them, to wake them up, and then he throws them on a mat or skin blanket. Next, he recites a general praise-song (*serêtô*), addressed to the set as a whole. Then he proceeds to *reta* (praise) the principal bones, each of which has its own *serêtô*, in fine archaic language; and also some of the totemic bones. At length, he looks to see what combination his four principal bones reveal. Each of the possible sixty-four combinations has its own name, giving the dominant note of the interpretation, and also its own special set of verses,[4] which differ among the Northern and Southern Sotho and probably vary considerably from tribe to tribe.[5]

[1] Giesekke, 1930–1, 269 ff.
[2] Sotho, *ditaola*; from *xo laola*, to command.
[3] Eiselen, 1932*b*, 8.
[4] Though no diviner has been found who knows all sixty-four combinations.
[5] Cf. Eiselen, 1932*b*, for the whole description; also Laydevant, 1933; Junod, 1925.

A careful inspection of the throw is then made, those bones receiving especial attention which lie near to the one representing the person who has come to seek advice. " The four principal pieces determine whether the omens in general are good or bad, but the bones surrounding the questioner's representative explain from what sources good or bad fortune has come or is to be expected." [1] The ultimate pronouncement will depend not only on the lie of the dice, but also on " the diviner's inside knowledge of tribal and family affairs, his ingenuity, the fertility of his imagination, and last but not least his ability to read that which is in the minds of his audience." [2]

7. The most complicated system of divination is practised chiefly by the Shangana-Tonga and some of the Northern Nguni though it is spreading also to other tribes.[3] In the original set the four principal bones of the Venda and Sotho sets are absent, though to-day they are often included. In principle, the bones represent all the different figures in domestic and tribal life, together with objects standing for influences impinging upon them. Goat talus represent the ordinary commoners of the land. Five from he-goats of different ages symbolize the five ages of males; six from female goats the various grades of females. Five talus from sheep represent the chief's family. So provision is made to represent all the players on the stage of tribal life. In addition, the talus bones of various wild animals are used. In sets examined by Junod,[4] the male and female impala stand for the chief and his wife; the reed buck which wanders at night, for the wizards; the wild boar which grubs for roots, digs holes, and looks about on all sides, for the *nganga* who searches for roots from which to prepare his drugs. Baboons stay faithfully in one spot for long periods, hence their talus bones fittingly represent the village. That greedy carnivore, the panther, represents the rich and white people; the hyena, sycophants and parasites! Long pointed sea shells represent various things belonging to men; oval or rounded ones, things of women; and many other objects may represent special things or places of which the diviner has need in his practice.

These diviners undergo a long training, and in the end each has his bones vitalized, as it were, by contact with the bones of his instructor, while he himself is subjected to the regular purification of all specialists. This purification consists, first, of purging and emetics

[1] Eiselen, 1932*b*, 28.
[2] Eiselen, 1932*b*, 29.
[3] Shangana-Tonga, *bula* (the word); Zulu, *amatambo*.
[4] Junod, 1927, ii, 496 ff.

which are thought to draw from the man all his ordinary dross clouding his mind, so that he is left free to be then filled with clarifying forces by washings with infusions of strengthening drugs and sometimes also by injections of powerful powders.

" The art (of bone-throwing) is so perfect that bone-throwers can find any amount of satisfaction in practising it. Consider that, in fact, all the elements of Native life are represented by the objects contained in the basket of the divinatory bones. It is a résumé of all their social order, of all their institutions, and the bones, when they fall, provide them with instantaneous photographs of all that can happen to them. This system is so elaborate that I do not hesitate to say that, together with their folklore, their *lobola* customs, and their burial rites, it is the most intelligent product of their psychic life." [1] But " if this system of divination is a token of great intelligence, its results, in the psychic life of the tribe, are most deplorable. . . . I am convinced that, whatever may be the astuteness engendered by the divinatory bones, they have been extremely detrimental to the intellectual and moral welfare of the Natives ".[2]

Ordeals.

Instead of using one or other of these systems of divination, tests of guilt were sometimes made on persons themselves, though they are probably never used to-day. A person suspected of theft might be called upon to pick a stone out of a pot of hot water ; or to lick a knife heated in the fire. If the arm or the tongue was burnt, the guilt was revealed. Obviously the magician could vary the heat greatly, provided no one was allowed near to test the temperature ! The poison ordeal (so widely used farther north in Africa) was employed regularly, chiefly by the Shangana-Tonga (who term it *ku nwa mondjo*, to drink the *mondjo*), for the detection of *baloyi*. The *mondjo* is a plant of the *Solaneæ* family which possesses intoxicating properties. " With it a special magician prepares a beverage which must act as a means of revelation. . . . It seems that the *mondjo* dries up the saliva of all who drink it, but in the case of the truly guilty this effect is greatly accentuated ; the jaws become locked." [3] They lose control of their movements, cannot walk straight, cannot pull a feather out which is stuck into their hair, and so stand revealed as *baloyi*. Junod suggests

[1] Junod, 1927, ii, 521.
[2] Ibid., 523.
[3] Ibid., 486.

that the man who administers the drug is clever enough to give a larger dose to those who are more or less supposed to be *baloyi*.[1]

The Witch and the Sorcerer.

The witch and the sorcerer[2] are individuals who use their powers and the forces of Nature to harm other people. The Venda and the Shangana-Tonga peoples discriminate very clearly between the witch and the sorcerer, though calling them both by the same name.[3] The witch is the *muloi*, usually a woman, though possibly a man, who has inherited a peculiar disposition from her mother. She has a double personality. By day she is a normal, healthy individual, quite unaware of the dreadful powers she possesses. But at night she becomes an evil creature. When she is asleep, her spirit leaves her body and in shadowy human form, always stark naked and with eyes bright and shining, she goes out into the world to carry on her nefarious deeds. In her hut a wild animal is left in her place. The Shangana-Tonga say the form looks like the sleeping woman but is in reality a beast. The Venda say the other inmates of the hut are put into a deep sleep and do not see the loathsome thing. Only the magician has medicine enabling him to see the real thing. These unconscious *baloi* know each other. They form a kind of guild in the tribe and assemble to eat human flesh or to discuss what they will do to injure property or destroy life. The more powerful may compel the less powerful to bring them human flesh, and the *muloi* must then kill someone, often her own loved ones, to satisfy their greed. "A *muloi* may also act like a vampire going at night and sucking the blood of her enemies, causing them to become emaciated and anæmic. In fact there is very little that is horrible, revolting, or anti-social that the evil genius may not and does not at some time accomplish."[4]

The sorcerer, unlike the witch, consciously and deliberately, by himself or with the aid of a *nganga*, endeavours to bring about the death of an enemy by magical means. By placing concoctions[5] secretly in the courtyard or in the hut or in the pathway, or putting ill-working ingredients into a person's food, or even wishing him ill or threatening him in a quarrel,[6] he does his evil work. All cases of bad luck,[7] such as still-births, abortions, twins, broken bones, cramps,

[1] loc. cit.
[2] Sotho, *moloi*; Zulu-Xhosa, *umthakathi*; Xhosa, *igqwira*; Shangana-Tonga, *noyi*.
[3] Cf. Stayt, 1931, 273 ff.; Junod, 1927, ii, 461 ff.
[4] Stayt, 1931, 275.
[5] Venda, *phamba* ("black magic"); Nguni, *ubuthi*.
[6] Venda, *u do ri vona*, "you'll see something." Giesekke, 1930–1, 263.
[7] Venda, *madambi*.

and many more, are attributed by the Venda to such deliberate sorcerers.

All the other South African Bantu seem to have merged into one the conceptions of witchcraft and sorcery, kept distinct by the Venda and the Shangana-Tonga. They all believe in witches who go about at night in groups trying to kill and harm other people. But like the Sotho they say, " the witch goes about entire, soul and body, nothing remains on the mat when he has departed for his nocturnal ride ! He throws charms on the other inhabitants of the hut and they sleep so heavily that they do not notice anything." [1] Like the unconscious witches, they have animal familiars associated with their activities. The Mpondo, indeed, sometimes discriminate between *ukuthakatha ngesilwana* (" to bewitch with small animals ") and *ukuthakatha ngoßuthi* (" to bewitch with evil drugs "),[2] but in both cases the action is deliberate. Moreover, the evil powers are not inherited, but have to be learnt from other *baloi*, and any man or woman can become one of them. There are still other *baloi* who do not belong to the fraternity or practise the black art habitually. They are content to use magic sporadically, solely in order to secure vengeance against a particular enemy. Though there is here no idea of an unfortunate inherited disposition, but rather the belief in deliberate action due to envy and hate or revenge, yet it is best to discriminate this type of behaviour as witchcraft, for it involves belief in manifestly impossible happenings, which are none the less believed to occur and which are always regarded as nefarious and criminal, whereas many of the practices included under sorcery definitely are possible, though it is difficult to decide how often they really are deliberately performed.

" A Kxatla *moloi* who wishes to harm an enemy may accomplish his purpose by any one of the following methods :—He may simply put some poisonous substance into beer, or porridge, or other food, which he persuades his enemy to take. It is far more usual for the *moloi* who chooses food as his medium to put into it some substance (hair, skin, etc.) which he has previously ' doctored '. When the unfortunate victim swallows the food, this substance (*sejesô*, ' that which is fed ') changes into a miniature crocodile, or lion, or some similar animal, which gnaws away persistently at his bowels until he dies. . . . Again, the *moloi* may enter the hut of his victim late at night, and, after throwing him into a deep sleep, will cut him on various parts of the body, into which he introduces small stones,

[1] Junod, 1927, ii, 461.

[2] Hunter, 1936, 275.

fragments of meat, and other particles which have been doctored. These foreign elements (*dilokwa*) cause the victim to fall ill, and unless the magician is able to extract them in time he will die. . . . On the other hand, he may sprinkle doctored blood over the courtyard of his enemy's *lapa*, the blood, as a rule, being that of the latter's *seanô* or of some member of his family. Should the victim step upon the blood, his feet become affected, and he will either die or lose the use of his limbs. Sometimes the *moloi* conceals a bundle of rags, containing doctored roots or other substances, in the eaves of his victim's hut; or buries them in the ground at the entrance to the latter's *lapa*. The mere presence of these substances (*sebêela*) in the *lapa* will bring illness or death to one of its inhabitants. Again the *moloi* may take some dust from his victim's footprint and work upon it with his medicines; or he may blow prepared powder in the latter's direction, at the same time calling upon his name; or he may send some animal, such as a snake, leopard, or ox, to inflict direct bodily injury upon him. This last form of sorcery, known as *xo nêêlla*, is said to be very commonly used. Again, the *moloi* may use lightning. By working with his medicines he can either direct it so that it strikes his victim, or else he may go up into the air himself and descend upon his victim disguised as the lightning. This method, known as *tladimothwana*, is much favoured by magicians in settling their grievances against a colleague. All such different forms of sorcery are classed together as *boloi ba dithlare*, bewitching with medicines." [1]

The material substances, rightly compounded, cause these dire results. Some spell may be uttered during the making of the mixture, but this is variable and may be quite absent. Diviners must reveal the workings of these evil mixtures and magicians must extract them, if they are said to be actually in the body of the victim. This is done either by sucking on the aching spot, or by applying poultices of cow-dung, during the manipulation of which the magician can easily reveal some insect or some substance which he claims to have extracted and to which he attributes all the victim's suffering. Similar beliefs occur in all the other tribes, but attention must be drawn especially to the very peculiar types of animal "familiar" [2] of witches which are believed in among the Nguni, especially of the Cape, though the beliefs are spreading also among the Southern Sotho. Some of these familiars are used specially by women, some by men. They are employed principally to cause illness and death, but also to steal in

[1] Schapera, 1934*c*, 294 f.

[2] *Umthakathi ngesilwana.*

certain cases. Ideas about the acquisition of familiars are vague. They may be inherited, or they may be passed on from one person to another, when the person is said to be crowned (Xhosa, *uthwesile*) by the other.[1] Among the Mpondo, accusations of sorcery are actually fewer than accusations of witchcraft of this kind.[2]

Thikoloshe or *uHili*,[3] the familiar most widely believed in and most commonly adduced as the means of witchcraft, is a small hairy being, having the form of a man but so small that he only reaches to a man's knee. He has hair all over his face and coming out of his ears, and his face is squashed up like a baboon. The penis of a male is so long that he carries it over his shoulder, and he has only one buttock. All *Thikoloshe* speak with a lisp. Both male and female *Thikoloshe* wear skins, and live in dongas and on the banks of rivers. *Thikoloshe* has an *ikhubalo* (" charm ") with which he can make himself invisible, and he is only seen by adults who own him and by some children. In himself *Thikoloshe* is only mischievous, bent on thieving, and is often playful, but as a familiar he is dreaded. A woman witch (*igqwira*) who has a *Thikoloshe* always has a male one, and she has sexual relations with him. Some say men have a female *Thikoloshe*, but others say only women have them. At night, *Thikoloshe* are sent by their owners to make people ill, or to kill them.

iZulu or *imPundulu* is the lightning bird which, as a familiar, is always possessed by a woman, and it appears to her in the form of a very beautiful young man who becomes her lover. The owner of the *iZulu* employs it to cause sickness and death, but the method by which an *iZulu* kills is a mystery.[4]

The *inyoka yaßafaţi* (the snake of women) and the *impaka* (Zulu, " wild cat "; Mpondo, " small rodent ") are familiars of women, who send them to bite children so that they develop bowel trouble or sore throat, or sores, according to the place where they are bitten ![5]

" *Ichanti* is a snake which lives in rivers and which has powers of metamorphosis, appearing in any form." [6] Anyone who sees it falls ill and will die unless treated by a magician. " Some people say that the *ichanti* sometimes ' works ' on its own; others, that it is always controlled by a witch." [7]

Umamlaмbo is a dangerous charm which can turn into a snake. It is used by men and the price of its possession is sudden death in the near family of the owner.

[1] Hunter, 1936, 282.
[2] This account is taken from Hunter, 1936, 275 ff.
[3] Ibid., 310.
[4] Ibid., 282 ff.
[5] Ibid., 285 f.
[6] Ibid., 286.
[7] Ibid., 286 f.

The most usual familiar of a man, however, is the baboon, *imfene*. Riding on the back of the baboon at night, the wizard goes about his nefarious deeds, chiefly harming his neighbours' cattle, but also bringing injury and death to human beings.[1] " Familiars take different forms and certain forms are possessed by women, others by men, but it is held that a person who has one is likely to have another. ' An *iZulu* is one thing with *ichanti*, and *Thikoloshe* '." [2]

Even evil omens never come of themselves, but are always sent by a witch.[3] But perhaps worst of all their malefactions is interference with bodies of the dead. Flesh of corpses is one of the most dangerous ingredients of *uɓuthi*, and this use is bad enough. But witches can raise the dead and use them as their slaves.[4] " The witch beats the grave with a switch, and the grave opens and the body comes out. He drives a wooden splinter into the dead man's head so that he becomes foolish, and pierces his tongue with a long bone needle, so that he cannot speak. The raised person (*isithunʇela* or *umkhovu*) takes the form he had when he was alive."[5] The Zulu say it is small like a tiny child. The *umkhovu* lives in the forest and is used by a witch to do her work. It is not used to bewitch people, but if an ordinary mortal happens to see one, he is liable to go insane.[6]

Such are the evil powers and beings, many and forbidding, against which the Bantu seek protection from their magicians.

Belief in sorcery and in witchcraft has not lessened greatly among the Bantu who live in towns and in close contact with Whites. *Thikoloshe* and others rampage through the towns as well as through the countryside, and we have still a long way to travel before we can build up, in the minds of the Bantu, the dispassionate objective attitude of science, which in time will free them from many of these beliefs, the terrors they inspire, and the magical practices in which the believers seek protection.

[1] Soga, 1932, 196.
[2] Hunter, 1936, 288.
[3] Hunter, 1936, 288.
[4] Graves were often dug open by hyenas and the body partially or wholly eaten. Natives were afraid to examine the grave closely and attributed the nefarious deed to sorcerers or witches. Cf. Brownlee, 1896, 258.
[5] Hunter, 1936, 289.
[6] Hunter, 1936, 289.

Chapter XI

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND PRACTICES[1]

By W. M. Eiselen and I. Schapera

Magic, as shown in the last chapter, plays an extremely important part in the ritual life of the Bantu. But there is also a well-defined belief in certain supernatural beings able to influence for good or for evil the destinies of the living. Foremost among these are the spirits of dead ancestors, round whom there has developed an elaborate system of worship. The people believe also in a supreme being, closely associated with the sky, and in lesser deities of various kinds; but these do not enter nearly as intimately into their daily life. It should here be noted that magic and religion are closely inter-related in Bantu belief and practice. Even when sacrifices are made to the ancestor gods, the meat eaten by the worshippers is often "doctored" with medicines as protection against witchcraft; while a magician charming the foundation of a hut will strengthen his medicines not by means of a spell, as in magical rites among many other primitive peoples, but by means of a prayer addressed to his own ancestors and those of the owners of the hut. This will help to explain why many of the rites described below have a magical as well as a religious character; but in so far as they are obviously connected with the worship of supernatural beings we may conveniently regard them as forming part of Bantu religion in general.

The Spirits of the Dead

Ancestor worship is based upon the belief that man, or rather part of him, survives after death. This conviction is held by all the Bantu, who firmly believe that already during his lifetime a person consists of two separable entities, his mortal body and his immortal soul (Zulu,

[1] In this chapter the references to Transvaal Sotho and Tswana beliefs and practices respectively are based largely upon the writers' own observations, still mainly unpublished. The secondary sources principally used are Willoughby, 1928, for ancestor worship in general; and Junod, 1927 (Shangana-Tonga); Krige, 1936 (Zulu); Soga, 1932, and Hunter, 1936 (Cape Nguni); and Stayt, 1931 (Venda), who are the authorities for all statements relating to these groups. Specific references and actual quotations are acknowledged more fully below.

isitunzi; Sotho and Shangana-Tonga, *moya*). But concerning the nature of this soul and its after-life there is but little theorizing, for the Bantu are far more interested in the prosaic affairs of everyday life, in women, cattle, and war, than in such metaphysical problems as the nature and destiny of man. The soul is thought of vaguely as the "mysterious, self-evident something" making up what we ourselves term the "personality" of a human being; it is also closely connected with the breath, and frequently identified with the shadow.[1] Hence the conventional belief that a corpse, abandoned by its soul, cannot cast a shade. The soul can even leave the living body, as happens when a person swoons or is asleep. People are accordingly often warned not to awaken a sleeping person too suddenly, for fear that his soul may not be able to return immediately to its abode.

At death the soul becomes finally separated from the body. *Moya wa sukile*, say the Shangana-Tonga when anyone dies: "the spirit (soul) has gone."[2] The body itself is generally disposed of by burial.[3] Funeral rites vary considerably from one group to another, but the general procedure is fundamentally the same. As soon as death has set in, the women begin to wail, while relatives and friends assemble. Burial takes place as soon afterwards as possible. The corpse, before it is cold, is arranged in the embryonic position, with the head on the knees; and is wrapped in an old skin cloak, or, in the case of an important person, in the wet skin of a newly-slaughtered ox. Family headmen and other important people are generally buried in the cattle-kraal or close to its fence; less important men, women, and children behind or sometimes in the hut in which they dwelt, or in some other convenient place nearby. There are no communal or public cemeteries; but the Shangana-Tonga and Venda bury their Chiefs in sacred groves, while the Swazi place the bodies of their departed kings in sacred caves. The grave is normally a shallow pit, with a recess to one side, in which the corpse is placed in a sitting position. Deceased's personal belongings and weapons are often buried with him or destroyed. The hut he occupied, and in the case of a kraal-head the whole homestead, is also destroyed or abandoned. When an important person has died, his dependants must also slaughter one

[1] On this whole topic cf. Willoughby, 1928, chap. i.

[2] Junod, 1927, ii, 362.

[3] It is commonly reported of the Nguni tribes that in former times only Chiefs and prominent men were buried, the corpses of commoners being exposed in the bush to be devoured by hyenas and vultures. Whether this was the original practice, or an outcome of the disastrous inter-tribal wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, cannot be definitely asserted. More recently all dead people have as a rule been buried.

or more oxen in his honour—the more important the man, the greater the number of oxen. Both the Sotho and the Zulu used further to kill some of the councillors or bodyservants of a dead Chief, to be buried as "servitors" with their master; and in the case of the Zulu one or more of his wives might suffer the same fate.[1]

All those present at the funeral must be ceremonially cleansed. Very often an ox or goat is killed as part of the ceremony, the meat being "doctored" with strengthening medicines before they can eat it. The close relatives and other dependants of deceased shave their hair, change their clothing, refrain from sexual relations, cease all agricultural work and abstain from many other customary activities, and observe various food and other taboos for a few days or weeks. When a Chief has died, all his subjects mourn in the same way. A special purification ceremony is then performed releasing them from these restrictions. Widows or widowers, however, continue to mourn for a period of from six months to a year, during which they may not go about freely among the people, and must take various ritual precautions to prevent their contaminating any hut, field, cattle-kraal, or other place which they enter for the first time since their bereavement. An animal is then slaughtered for the final purification, their hair is dressed, they receive new garments, and may resume all their former activities. They may now also remarry.

The surviving soul, after its separation from the body, becomes a spirit (Nguni, *ithongo* or *idlozi*; Shangana-Tonga, *shikwembu*; Venda, *mudzimu*; Sotho, *-dimo*). The spirit is generally said to be "a miniature facsimile" of deceased; in dreams, at least, it appears as his exact counterpart.[2] Some people believe that it continues indefinitely to linger around its grave or former home. But the more general opinion seems to be that it ultimately finds its way into a spirit-world, vaguely located somewhere underground, where the spirits lead a life very similar to that on earth.[3] Special sacrifice must however be offered to the spirit before it can enter this underworld. The Southern Sotho do this as part of the burial ceremony, so that a person joins the ancestor gods immediately after his death.[4] Generally, however, some time is allowed to lapse for the repose of the departed soul. Among the Tswana the sacrifice does not take place until a month after death[5]; while among the Zulu, where it is known as

[1] Cf. Willoughby, 1928, 44 ff.; Krige, 1936, 171 ff.
[2] Cf. the general discussion in Willoughby, 1928, 16 ff.
[3] Willoughby, 1928, 57 ff.
[4] Casalis, 1861, 250.
[5] Willoughby, 1928, 35–6.

ukubuyisa, "bringing home the spirit of the deceased," it may be a year or two, or even more.[1]

The worship of ancestors is based upon the belief that when a man dies he continues to influence the lives of his relatives remaining on earth. But the spirits of the dead, "although they have found enlargement of power through release from the restraints of the body, are not omnipotent; nor can they read the secrets of the human heart, though they know all that their children do, say, or suffer. They are as interested as ever in their descendants who remain 'outside on the earth', but indifferent to members of other communities, unless they owe them some grudge or have to hinder them from hurting their protégés. Their characters have not been changed by death; they are as prone to jealousy as they ever were, and as rancorous towards descendants who wound their vanity, flout their wishes, squander their bequests, or infringe the ancient laws and customs of their clans; but they are also as willing as ever to help those of their lineage who treat them with becoming respect and obedience."[2] The affairs of human beings as such do not concern them; they are exclusively interested in the affairs of their own family and tribe, and without their help and guidance their living descendants cannot hope to flourish. As long as the moral code is strictly followed, they confer blessings and abundance; but if offended by any breach of custom, they can also send drought, cattle plague, tribal or personal disaster, sickness or death.

The belief in survival after death is common to all primitive peoples; but it is not necessarily accompanied by ancestor worship. The development of this cult among the Bantu can perhaps be understood if we remember how greatly respect for seniority dominates all social relations in Bantu life, and how effectively the members of a family are subordinated to its headman. This pattern is carried over even beyond death: the unquestioning respect for the living paterfamilias changes into veneration for and worship of his spirit. Ancestor worship, as Bryant puts it, "may have arisen from a sense of helplessness experienced by the relicts of the dead, which in turn drove them on to hope that he who had cared for them and theirs since life began would continue to care for them still, even though now out of sight; that, as they had prayed to him in the past and been ever heard, he could not reject them now."[3] The Bantu thus believe not only in

[1] Cf. Krige, 1936, 169–170.
[2] Willoughby, 1928, 88–9.
[3] Bryant, 1919–1920, 46.

survival after death, but also in the continuity of a person's power to help or hinder all those dependent upon him during his lifetime. Hence the close link between the spirits and their own descendants, and their indifference to other human beings.

Support is given to this contention by the fact that not all dead people become spirits of equal importance. Those who have been insignificant in this world are apt to be insignificant also in the next. The Bantu fear and honour only those spirits who during their lifetime held positions of authority; and normally women and children do not fall into this category. The father, the grandfather, and perhaps the great-grandfather, "those who are something more than a name to the living members of the family group,"[1] who during their lifetime were responsible for its welfare, whose personal characteristics are known and remembered, and whose active interest in the people they have so recently abandoned can be relied upon—it is to them above all that worship is directed. And what has been said of the family headman and the projection of his authority into the afterworld applies even more forcibly to the Chief, the head of the tribe's senior family. The tribe as a whole acknowledges the Chief's ancestors as a source of communal well-being and prosperity; just as the Chief and his family guide its fortunes on earth, so his ancestors are held to afford supernatural aid and protection to the people they once ruled.

Manifestations of the Spirits[2]

Living as they do in a world of their own, the ancestors do not often reveal themselves to their living descendants. But they can on occasion appear to warn them of danger, or to disclose new medicines to a magician of their line. More usually their visits are to demand a sacrifice, or to reproach the living for some breach of custom. After every such revelation, the person experiencing it must consult a diviner to ascertain its significance, for the communications of the spirits are not intelligible to the layman.

A common form of revelation is by calamity. In Bantu belief most evils that befall people are due either to witchcraft or sorcery, practised by the living, or to the hostility of the ancestors. The latter punish their offspring for various reasons, most important of which are neglect of prescribed sacrifices and breach of tribal law, Consequently, whenever anything goes wrong—if anyone dies, falls ill or meets

[1] Willoughby, 1928, 6.
[2] Cf. Willoughby, 1928, chap. ii, upon which this account is largely based.

with some other misfortune, if women miscarry or remain barren, if cattle die in numbers or fail to breed satisfactorily, if rain does not come and the crops are scorched in the sun, if a lawsuit is lost or the army defeated in war—the diviner is consulted. In the absence of sorcery, the misfortune is almost invariably attributed to the intervention of some offended or neglected ancestor, whose spirit must be propitiated before relief can be expected.

Often enough the ancestor spirits appear to the living in dreams. As we have seen, the Bantu believe that in sleep—the "little death", as they sometimes term it—the soul temporarily departs from the body and wanders about on its own. While doing so, it may encounter and talk with the spirits of the dead, as when a man dreams about some dead relative or friend. Such dreams always have some special significance, the nature of which must be interpreted by a diviner.

Among the Nguni an ancestor spirit frequently reveals himself in the form of a snake or other small animal, basking in the sun near his grave or revisiting his old haunts. The spirit does not enter the body of any already existing snake: he materializes into one. These spirit-snakes belong to certain well-known species, mostly harmless; and there are different kinds of snakes for different kinds of spirits. A chief or kraal-head assumes the form of a black or green *mamba*; a commoner turns into "an *umSenene*, an *uBulube*, a light-brown, non-poisonous and rather sluggish snake, or an *umZingandlu*, a small harmless snake very fond of sleeping in huts"; while elderly women may appear as tiny lizards," which climb up the roof inside the hut and fall on people underneath."[1] Such snakes are treated with respect, and never molested; and whenever seen about the village are believed to have come there to disclose the wishes of the ancestors.

The Venda and Sotho apparently do not share this belief, although many stories in Sotho folklore tell of people able to change themselves into snakes or other animals. The Venda, however, have various beliefs concerning spirit-animals, sometimes identified with the totems. Thus, the VhaLaudzi, or people of the baboon clan (*vha-ila-pfene*), believe that their forbears have been transformed into baboons. "It is believed," says Junod, "that the baboons are the *badzimu* (ancestors) themselves. Each MuLaudzi, when he dies, becomes a baboon, and goes to the sacred hill of Lomondo to dwell there. . . . There is a specially big baboon among them. . . . It is the chief of the flock, and the principal ancestor god. . . . Should a member of the

[1] Krige, 1936, 285.

clan die away from Lomondo, it is the old baboon which will go, accompanied by others, to fetch the new *mudzimu*, who has been transformed into a baboon, and it will bring the new god to the sacred hill." [1] Somewhat similar beliefs are ascribed to the " Ba-Nngwe, the clan of the leopard ", and the " Ba-Shidziwe ", who have the lion as their totem.[2]

Among the Venda there would thus seem to be some connection between totemism and ancestor worship. Most likely this is due to the influence of northern tribes like the Shona, for the Nguni tribes have practically no totemism, while among the Sotho totemism is something quite distinct from ancestor worship. There seems formerly to have been a fairly extensive ritual connected with the totem ; but little of this now survives, even in the memories of the people. The totemic name serves mainly as an emblem of clan or tribal affiliation ; people also refrain from killing, eating, or using the skin of their totem animal ; and there are certain other taboos connected with particular totems. But no religious rites at all are conducted in honour of the totem, similar to those reported of the Venda ; nor are the ancestor spirits ever believed to take the form of the totem animal.

Apart from these more common forms of revelation, likely to be experienced by anybody, the spirits sometimes appear to certain selected persons. Persons of an hysterical disposition, e.g., may have visions or fall into trances during which they experience hallucinations, taken as revelations from the spirit-world. Or, particularly among the Nguni and Shangana-Tonga, the ancestor spirits may actually enter into or " possess " women, and far less frequently men, and use them as mediums. This, as shown in the last chapter, is one of the most common methods of becoming a diviner.

On rare occasions the ancestors communicate their will through the agency of " prophets ". These are generally people predisposed to ecstasy and visions, who become aware of their vocation only after undergoing some supreme physical crisis. Frequently they claim to have died and been sent back from the spirit world with a message demanding a return to old loyalties as a remedy for the present evils of the tribe. They predict disaster for the heedless, and prosperity for those who obey ; and their appearance always causes excitement, occasionally resulting in calamity. Prophets of this kind played a prominent part in Bantu resistance to the advance of the Europeans.

[1] Junod, 1920, 218, 219 ; quoted also by Stayt, 1927, 190 ff.
[2] Junod, 1920, 219.

Perhaps the best-known case is that of Mhlakaza, whose predictions, founded upon the visions of the girl Nongqawuse, led to the disastrous "cattle-killing episode" of 1856–7 when many of the Xhosa tribes destroyed all their cattle and grain in anticipation of the miraculous new dawn—which failed to come even when they were dying in thousands of starvation and disappointment.[1]

The Worship of the Ancestors[2]

The ancestor spirits, as we have seen, have power to protect and help their descendants, as well as to punish them. Continued good fortune is attributed to their benevolence, while calamity may result from neglecting them. The good relations between them and their descendants must therefore be maintained with meticulous care. It is more essential to retain their favour than to propitiate them occasionally; and so a certain well-defined conduct towards them is traditionally prescribed.

This takes the form of making them a special offering whenever a beast has been slaughtered or beer has been brewed. The offering is made unobtrusively, and as a matter of routine; but the welfare of the group depends upon its regular performance. We have here a replica of conduct in ordinary family life, where every man slaughtering an ox or making beer is expected to share it with his senior relatives. A few people go even further, and "make some simple acknowledgment to their ancestor spirits for every new day that dawns upon them, every meal they take, every pot of beer they brew, and every batch of snuff they grind, never taking a drink of water without spewing some of it upon the ground as a libation to dwellers in the underworld, and accompanying every sneeze with a pious exclamation".[3] Such extreme recognition of the ancestors is on the whole exceptional, but it illustrates very clearly the manner in which harmony and friendship are maintained between the ancestors and their living descendants.

There are, however, certain occasions when the ancestors of the family or of the tribe must be specially approached and propitiated. In family life these include such momentous events as birth, initiation, marriage, death, the return of members long absent, or the reconciliation of close relatives who have been estranged; occasions when the

[1] The full story is told by Willoughby, 1928, 117 ff., who also gives examples of other "prophets".

[2] Cf. Willoughby, 1928, chap. iv.

[3] Willoughby, 1928, 181.

ancestors have revealed their displeasure in dreams, family misfortune, or one of the other ways described above; and occasions when some new enterprise is about to be undertaken—such as a long journey, or the building of a hut—for which the blessing and protection of the ancestors is required. Offerings to the ancestors of the Chief, on behalf of the tribe as a whole, are made on such regular occasions as planting the fields, firstfruits, and harvest, the inauguration of large hunting expeditions, and tribal initiations, as well as before and after war, when rain is urgently needed, when the land is attacked by an epidemic, or any other serious emergency arises.

Communication between the worshippers and their ancestors is generally established through prayer, accompanied by an offering or sacrifice. The offering may be no more than a little saliva spat out of the mouth, or "a little water poured upon the ground or spewed forth in a thin stream from the mouth".[1] This rite (which Junod describes as "the sacramental *tsu*" or *ku phahla* of the Shangana-Tonga[2]; cf. Tswana *xo phašha*, Venda *u phasa*) is frequently also an important element in full sacrifice. Sometimes beer, milk, grain, porridge, snuff, tobacco, or even articles of clothing are poured out instead or set aside, often with a minimum of ceremonial, for the ancestors. Sacrifices of living animals are generally reserved for important occasions, such as "transition rites", or when ordered by the diviners. Cattle are most often preferred, but goats and, among the Shangana-Tonga, fowls are often substituted by poor people. Whatever animal is selected must be in perfect condition; and for some sacrifices, e.g. in connection with rainmaking, it must necessarily be black. Sheep are seldom, if ever, sacrificed by the Nguni and Tswana, who maintain that the victim should groan or bellow loudly to prove acceptable to the spirits, whereas sheep make no noise when being killed; but they are preferred to goats by the Southern Sotho, and among the Shangana-Tonga may be sacrificed only by Chiefs.[3]

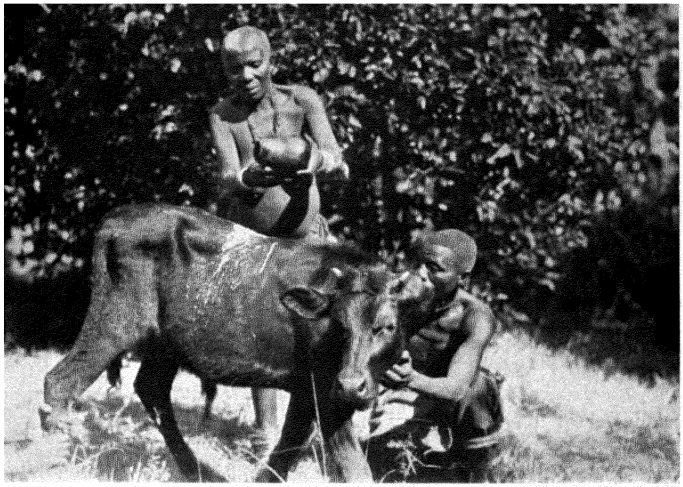
There is generally some recognized place or altar where offerings or sacrifices are made. The graves of powerful ancestors, especially of Chiefs, become places of worship where meat and beer are offered to their spirits. The Sotho consider the grave to be the proper place for most sacrificial rites; but many of the other tribes have additional altars and do not visit the graves frequently. Thus the Zulu consecrate

[1] Willoughby, 1928, 201.
[2] Junod, 1927, ii, 415 f.; i, 142.
[3] On this whole topic, cf. Willoughby, 1928, 336 ff.

part of the great wife's hut to the ancestors, and place their offerings there. It must be remembered in this connection that Zulu ancestors are believed to frequent their former homes in the form of snakes, and to enter the hut freely. The Shangana-Tonga place their offerings on a forked stick planted near the extrance to the homestead. The Venda make a small three-stoned altar in the yard of the homestead, or grow a certain bulbous plant there for the same purpose. But they also employ black bulls and black goats as the representatives of their male and female ancestors respectively. These animals are made to taste the sacrifice whenever occasion arises. They are never allowed to die a natural death, but are killed before thev become old, being replaced by young virile animals.[1]

The sacrificial process embodies several different elements. These have been so admirably summarized by Junod for the Shangana-Tonga that we cannot do better than reproduce his description.[2] "The (divining) bones are first consulted, and reveal to what god, when, how, and by whom the sacrifice must be made. The officiant, who is as a rule the eldest male member of the family, comes and presides over the sacrifice. The victims are brought by those who have either been designated, or who have volunteered to provide them. They are killed by the uterine nephews, the goats or sheep by piercing the heart, the hens by cutting the throat. Sometimes the face of the goat is directed to a certain point of the horizon. The victim bleats or, if it is a hen, jumps about on the ground in its agony. At each thrust of the assagay, or of the knife, the uterine nephews utter their cries of joy. This is their way of consenting or answering, for they accept the offering on behalf of the gods. The whole crowd joins in the manifestations of joy. The victim is cut open, and one limb, or small pieces of each limb, are put aside for the gods; the half-digested grass, *psanvi*, found in the intestines, especially in the stomach, is carefully put aside. The priest takes a little of the *psanyi* mixed with the blood of the victim, puts it to his lips, emits a little saliva, and spits out the whole, pronouncing the *tsu*, this being the means of consecrating the offering or, as we may say, dispatching it to the gods. He pronounces the prayer—occasionally interrupted by some member of the family, who has a complaint to make. In certain cases of special misfortune, whilst praying he squeezes the green liquid contained in the *psanyi* over his hearers, who rub their bodies with it. One of his

[1] Stayt, 1931, 242 ff.
[2] Junod, 1927, ii, 409–410.



[*N. J. van Warmelo*

acrifice of beer on the black bull calf symbolizing the ancestral spirits of the chief's clan

(Performed by the *makhadzi*, the senior woman of the group)

[*N. J. van Warmelo*

Sacrificing beer to the spirits of the dead (each spear represents a dead ancestor) Venda *thevhula* first-fruits sacrifices

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nephews 'cuts his prayer' (i.e. brings it to an end) by taking in his mouth a little of the consecrated beer or wine, or part of the hen's gizzard. The uterine nephews steal the offering and run away, followed by the throng, who throw pellets of *psanyi* at them. They eat the portion of the gods. Should the offering have been made on behalf of a particular individual, the astragalus of the goat, or some portions of the hen are tied to him and worn for some time on the left or right side of the body: the left if the offering was made to the maternal ancestors, the right if it was made to the paternal gods."

The prominent part played here by the uterine nephews is not found in any other group; but in other respects this description gives a fairly good idea of a typical Bantu sacrifice. A few additional comments may be made. The religious ceremonies of the Bantu are often remarkable for the spirit of irreverence among those present, except perhaps for those naturally moved by the death or illness of a close relative or friend. The prayers offered up are of a stereotyped nature, conforming to a traditional pattern. First the ancestor to whom the sacrifice is being offered may be reprimanded in strong terms for causing such trouble; he is then asked to accept the sacrifice and to protect and bless his descendants. Fervent appeals are unusual, because ancestor worship is dominated by the idea of reciprocal obligations between the ancestors and their descendants. Hence the tone of expostulation when the worshippers feel they have been unjustly treated. Repentance and self-abasement leading to change of heart and solemn pledges are altogether alien to Bantu religious life.

The sacrificial animal is generally killed by means of a spear-thrust to the heart, except among the Lemba, who always cut the throat. The latter usage is also observed by the Tswana when sacrificing goats, but not cattle, and by the Shangana-Tonga with fowls. Part of the flesh is dealt with as the special portion of the ancestors. The Zulu, e.g., set aside the blood and a portion of the caul, which are burned in "a secret place" with "incense" to make a sweet savour. The rest of the meat is eaten by the assembled people, each receiving a special portion according to his age, sex, and relationship to the person on whose behalf the sacrifice is offered. Sometimes the whole carcase is set aside for the night, in the hut of the great wife, so that the ancestors may consume the "spiritual essence" before the people eat the flesh.[1] Certain parts of the victim are of special value after the sacrifice. The stomach contents are thought of as a purifying agency,

[1] Krige, 1926, 294 f.

clearing away all pollution from the person on whom they are rubbed; the skin is often cut into strips, from which bracelets are made, worn as amulets by all those participating in the sacrifice; and similarly the astragalus bones and tail hairs may be worn round the loins or neck as a powerful protection against evil.

"The Bantu," as Willoughby says,[1] "appear to have no idea of transferring the sin of the worshipper to the victim, or of substituting the death of the victim for the merited death of the sinner. Their idea of sacrifice is rather that of communion with the spirit. There has been a breach in the normal relation of worshippers and spirits—due, of course, to the wilful or unconscious 'sin' of the worshippers; and a special meal is prepared in which the best beast is killed that the spirit and his worshipper may partake together. Nor does the commercial element seem to enter prominently into the transaction. Spirits depend apparently upon the spiritual part of the sacrifice, and often reveal to neglectful worshippers—generally in unpleasant ways—their need of beef or beer. But the idea that is most prominent in the Bantu mind is the restoration of normal relations of friendship with the spirit, not the buying off of its wrath."

The person considered most competent to offer up a sacrifice is the senior living representative of the ancestors[2]: it is he who dedicates the victim to them, and calls upon them to come to the "feast". So, if sacrifice must be made to the paternal ancestors, the family headman will do so; whereas if the maternal ancestors must be propitiated, the rightful priest is the head of the mother's family, viz. her father or senior brother. Ancestor worship thus clearly serves to maintain the social solidarity of the family and the authority of its head. The headman believes that misfortune can be avoided by intercession with his ancestors; the dependent member of a family feels that misfortune can be avoided only through the intercession of his headman, to whom he must therefore defer. Hence we find in many tribes that a man after quarrelling seriously with the head of his family must be ceremonially reconciled to him before being able to enjoy once more the protection and favour of the ancestors—he has neither the right nor the power to sacrifice independently. The Chief in the same way is the priest of his people. Only he can approach his ancestors directly on behalf of the tribe: he is the natural link between them and the powerful spirits of dead Chiefs governing their welfare, their representative and mouthpiece on all important

[1] Willoughby, 1923, 74–5.

[2] Cf. Willoughby, 1928, 333 ff.

tribal occasions. But he is also the living representative of the ancestors, a fact to which considerable importance is sometimes attached, as among the Venda, who look upon him therefore as a " god " even during his lifetime.

To conduct all ceremonies in the correct formal way and to deal with all crises of life according to traditional pattern is the foremost commandment of Bantu religion. The spiritual condition of the worshippers is of little importance: but it is essential that their bodies should be ceremonially clean. Among the things defiling the body human blood and the sexual act are perhaps most important. Almost all major ceremonies are accompanied by a sexual taboo, incumbent especially upon the leading performers. A Zulu father, e.g., who has had sexual intercourse during the night before his son's puberty becomes officially known is defiled, and may not officiate at the initiation ceremony which has to follow immediately.[1]

The views of the Bantu concerning ritual impurity must obviously debar most women from religious activity. In their case it is not only sexual intercourse but also the menstrual blood which pollutes them, and the latter, unlike the former, is beyond their control. The menstruating woman is, in fact, regarded as a source of danger, and during her monthly period must observe many taboos. On no account, e.g., may she enter the cattle-kraal, lest she pollute the animals; while any man sleeping with her at this time will become afflicted with a painful or even fatal disease. But the taboos preventing women from taking an active part in ceremonial are removed once they have passed the menopause. They are now permanently " clean ", and may participate even more freely than men in all religious rites. That such women are highly eligible for priestly office is illustrated by the fact that among the Venda and Northern Sotho the paternal aunt of the Chief often acts for him when tribal offerings are made to his ancestors. The Nguni assign this honourable role to the Chief's mother, as among the Swazi, where she shares with her son the Chief's prerogative of making rain and is the keeper of the " great medicine ". So, too, among the Shangana-Tonga the care of the royal medicines is entrusted to one of the Chief's older wives.

Family and Tribal Rites

The main varieties of ancestor worship may be illustrated by describing briefly some typical rites. The procedure followed by the

[1] Krige, 1936, 89.

Southern Sotho in cases of illness provides a sufficiently characteristic example of the domestic cult. A diviner is consulted to discover the cause of the illness. He may reveal that it is due to the anger of some particular ancestor, on either the father's side or the mother's. The head of the family indicated will then offer the sacrifice, which " alone can render efficacious the medicines prescribed by the *ngaka* (doctor). . . . The colour, sex, and age of the animal are determined by the indications drawn from the (divining) bones, a dream, or any other significative incident. As soon as the victim is dead, they hasten to take the intestinal covering, which is considered as the most sacred part, and put it round the patient's neck, after having twisted it to give it the form of a necklace. The gall is then poured upon the head of the patient, accompanied by the following prayer: 'O gods, retire; leave our brother in peace, that he may sleep his sleep.' A mixture of gall, liquid out of the stomach, and pounded herbs, is then placed upon the hut, and all defiled persons are carefully removed from it."[1]

Another illustration is afforded by the Mpondo rite when a woman is experiencing difficulty in giving birth.[2] Her attendants inform the headman of the household, who drives all his cattle up to where the woman in labour is lying. He then calls upon his ancestral spirits: " How is it that this my child is like this? This village has never had this thing!" Then he calls the names of his ancestors in ascending order. If one of the cattle passes water, or goes up and licks the woman, the child will be born, unless the woman is being bewitched. The beast thus giving the sign is never killed, but is afterwards used as *inkomo yobulunga*, the beast given to a woman at marriage by her father, and from whose tail hairs are plucked and plaited into necklaces worn as charms against illness by the woman and her children.

We may take as a final example the thanksgiving sacrifice made by the Shangana-Tonga on the return of some long-absent member of a family, say a son who has been working at the mines. The son is not allowed to enter the homestead until this sacrifice has been offered. He waits just outside, " while his father, seated at the main entrance, cuts open the neck of a hen, which he has previously selected, and throws it on the boy's luggage. The victim leaps about in its agony. The officiant then plucks out some of the blood-stained feathers, pronounces the *tsu*, and says: 'Here is your son. He has

[1] Casalis, 1861, 249–250.
[2] Quoted almost verbatim from Hunter, 1936, 151.

returned home safely, because you have accompanied him ! Perhaps he has brought back pounds sterling with him to *lobola*. Perhaps he will now take a wife ! I do not know. The great thing is that he is healthy, and you have brought him back safely." [1]

The tribal rites are, as we have seen, performed most regularly in connection with the principal phases of agricultural activity. The Venda sowing rite is a good example of those observed in connection with planting. At the beginning of the agricultural season, the Chief summons all his relatives and neighbours to till the special field he reserves for the cultivation of *mufhoho* (*eleusine indica*), the indigenous Venda grain. The women prepare eleusine beer, while young girls cook a pot of eleusine, Kafir corn, beans, and other seeds. " When these girls go over the country to gather wood and fetch water for their cooking, they handle small sticks, and are ordered to thrash everybody they meet on the road. And the people, when they see the girls approaching, must kneel down at once and cover their faces with their hands. This is meant to be an act of adoration and of self-humiliation towards the powerful gods of the royal family. By this prostration subjects declare that they are ' dead ', they have no power at all. The power belongs to the gods, the gods of the chief; they alone can make the corn grow ! " [2] After the field has been tilled, " the pot of grain is symbolically cooked over three cooking stones on a small grass fire. A sacred axe and the *ludo*,[3] to represent the women's spirits, are then brought and placed near the pot, and a little of the mixture from the pot is taken up in a roughly-made spoon and dropped on to these sacred objects. The *makhadzi* (Chief's paternal aunt) then takes up a wooden platter of water and filling her mouth from it performs the *phasa madi* act,[4] saying: ' Here is food for you, all our spirits; we give you of every kind of grain, which you may eat. Bring to us also crops in plenty and prosperity in the coming season.' Some of what is left is served on a platter for the men while the women finish what remains in the pot. The ceremony is concluded in the usual way by a general feast and beer-drink." [5] A similar ceremony is carried out in the special field of every lineage headman, whose paternal aunt officiates; but that at the Chief's place is regarded as benefiting the tribe as a whole.

Perhaps the most striking ceremony of all is the formal eating

[1] Junod, 1927, ii, 397–8.
[2] Junod, 1920, 217.
[3] " A small replica of a hoe fastened into the side of a long stick " (Stayt, 1931, 248). It is handed down from mother to daughter, and is sacred to the ancestors.
[4] Cf. above, p. 255.
[5] Stayt, 1931, 252–3.

of the firstfruits. In midsummer when the first gourds become ripe, they must be tasted ceremonially by the Chief. Before he has done so, it is taboo for his people to eat of the new crops. The Shangana-Tonga observe this rite in connection with both the *nkanye* fruit (*Sclerocarya caffra*) and Kafir corn, but other tribes have one annual ceremony only. The Chief tastes the firstfruits in his capacity as representative of the ancestors; and among the Venda and Northern Sotho first offers a dish of the new foods to them with the invocation: "I offer you the first grains of the new year that you may eat and be happy; eat all of you; I deprive none amongst you. What remains in the ground belongs to me and your little ones." [1] The sub-Chiefs and headmen in order of seniority then taste the new food, and after each the members of his group do so likewise, family by family and person by person, in strict order of precedence.

Among the Zulu, Swazi, and kindred tribes, there is a great tribal gathering on this occasion at the headquarters of the Chief. Sacrifices of cattle are made to his ancestor spirits; the army is reviewed and "doctored"; new laws are discussed and proclaimed and the enjoyment of the new season's fruits is formally initiated by the Chief. A prominent part of the ceremony is the preparation of certain medicines with which the Chief is "strengthened" on behalf of the people. Among the ingredients are the gall and certain other parts from the body of a black bull, which must be killed by hand, without the use of any weapons, by a regiment specially chosen for the purpose. The Chief, after having been doctored, eats of the new fruits; and then, by throwing a gourd to the assembled warriors, indicates that the taboo on the new crops has been lifted. The ceremony as a whole is extremely elaborate, purification rites of various kinds and military parades, dances, and songs playing a conspicuous part. It is conducted with great pomp, and is the outstanding national festival of the people.[2]

High Gods and other Deities

The Sky God.

The ancestor spirits are the most intimate gods of the Bantu: they are part of the family or tribe, and are considered and consulted on all important occasions. But all the Bantu further have some conception, generally rather vague, of a supreme power or being in

[1] Stayt, 1931, 255.

[2] Cf. Krige, 1936, 249 ff.; Cook, 1930, 205–210.

the universe not specially connected with the spirits of the ancestors. The Shangana-Tonga speak of *Tilo* ("Heaven"), a universal power acting and manifesting itself in various ways. It is sometimes spoken of as *Hosi*, "Lord"; but is more generally regarded as something entirely impersonal, regulating and presiding over all unaccountable or inevitable phenomena of human existence and the world of nature. *Tilo* afflicts children with fatal convulsions; it controls life and death; it sends storms and kills people by lightning, especially thieves; and to its influence is attributed the birth of twins, who are held to defile the land and regarding whom various special purification rites must be performed, lest the rain, another of *Tilo's* manifestations, cease to fall. In time of drought or other extreme distress the people will attempt to propitiate *Tilo*, e.g. by watering the graves of twins or by appealing to it through the ancestors of the Chief; but it is not the object of any direct or regular cult.[1]

The Zulu have a sky god somewhat similar to that of the Shangana-Tonga, but definitely personified. They speak of *inkosi pezulu*, "the Chief in the sky" or "the lord of heaven", who brings storms, causes rain and thunder, and kills by lightning those who have offended him. Certain magicians, the "shepherds of heaven", are beloved of him; and through him can influence weather phenomena, provided they lead lives of strict ritual purity.[2] They speak also of *Unkulunkulu*, about whose true nature there has been much controversy among European writers. His name means "the great, great one" or "the old, old one"; and according to the recorded myths he is the creator of all things—the sun and the moon, animals and birds, water and mountains; he is the original ancestor of all the people; and he instituted the present order of society. But he is not worshipped, "for he is said to have died so long ago that no one knows his praises, and as he has left no progeny, no one can worship him."[3]

The Cape Nguni nowadays generally speak of a supreme being *uThixo* or *Qamata*, names almost certainly borrowed from the Hottentots. His true Xhosa name is, however, *uDali*; and according to Soga he "is the creator of all things, controls and governs all, and as such is the rewarder of good and the punisher of evil. Worship is never directly offered to Him, but through the medium of the ancestral spirits, who in the unseen world are nearer to Him, and know

[1] Junod, 1927, ii, 428 ff.
[2] On these magicians, cf. above, p. 234 f.
[3] Krige, 1936, 281, and, for the whole topic, 280–2; cf. also Callaway, 1868–1870, for original texts and comments.

more than men on earth ".[1] This fits in fairly well with the beliefs of other groups. But Miss Hunter, writing of the Mpondo, says emphatically: " There is no proof that the Pondo before contact with Europeans believed in the existence of any Supreme Being, or beings, other than the *amathongo* (ancestor spirits). They had two words, *umdali* (creator) and *umenzi* (maker), which might suggest a belief in a creator, but there is no system of rites or complex of beliefs connected with these words." And she adds: " There are no beliefs not obviously introductions regarding *uThixo* which might not refer to an *ithongo*." [2]

The Tswana and Southern Sotho speak of *Modimo*, but their conceptions of this being have been so affected by missionary teaching that it is now almost impossible to obtain any clear idea of his traditional attributes. Earlier information depicts him as somewhat similar to the high gods of other groups. He was regarded as " the only Creator, Originator, and Cause of all things ", " the giver of all things "; and when people introduced new customs, or turned aside from the old, he would indicate his displeasure by sending wind, hail, or heat. But " there is no service rendered to Him as a Supreme Being. . . . He is generally ignored and well-nigh forgotten ". And here, as in most other groups, it is said also that he was better known to people of old than he is to-day.[3]

The Venda deity *Raluvhimba* is once again both creator and sky god. He " is connected with the beginning of the world and is supposed to live somewhere in the heavens and to be connected with all astronomical and physical phenomena ". " All the natural phenomena which affect the people as a whole are revelations of the great god "; and if offended he punishes people by sending drought, floods, or locusts. He is identified with *Mwari*, the Shona god whose reputation as oracle and rainmaker is widespread in the northern parts of South Africa; and there is evidence that in former times he was worshipped in caves for rain and other blessings. But he is no longer the object of any regular cult.[4]

The evidence suggests on the whole that the Bantu believe in a supreme being generally associated with the sky, and showing himself most impressively in the phenomena of the weather. Some groups look upon him also as the creator of all things and the moulder of destiny. But he has withdrawn from direct dealings with men. He remains

[1] Soga, 1932, 150.
[2] Hunter, 1936, 269 f.
[3] J. T. Brown, 1926, 114–18.
[4] Stayt, 1931, 230–6.

entirely in the background of their normal religious life, although he is to some extent sensitive about human conduct, so that irregularities in the world of man are bound to react immediately on the world of nature and call forth such signs as drought, storm, and pestilence. He is known to the ancestors, but to the living he is a stranger. No shrines are erected to him, and no sacrifices are made directly to him. They believe that he exists, but they do not think that they can worship him in any way, except through the ancestors. As Willoughby puts it: "The people never thought of praying to the Great Spirit direct. They have often explained to me that etiquette demands that a man shall approach a Great Chief, whom he does not know, through some friend of his who lives in the Great Chief's town. And so they pray to the spirits of their ancestors who have gone forward into the town of the Great Chief of the spirit-world. . . . The ancestral spirits of Bantu worship are regarded, not as independent deities, but as mediators at the court of an Unapproachable Chief. Bantu worship is Bantu social intercourse carried over into the spirit-world. The solidarity of family or clan is not broken by death. An elder in the spirit-world ought to receive the homage that was his due when he wore the garments of flesh; and the ancestral spirits are, therefore, entitled to be worshipped on their own account. And yet they are not thought of as independent deities, but as mediators whom it would never do to neglect or offend. They are, to use a phrase with which we are more familiar, the patron saints of the Bantu." [1]

Rainmaking Rites.

The connection between the sky god and the ancestor spirits is most clearly seen in the rainmaking rites, in which at the same time magic is also extensively employed. In a country so scantily watered and so subject to periodic droughts as is South Africa, rain is of the utmost importance to people dependent for their livelihood solely upon the yield of their fields and the condition of their livestock. It is therefore perhaps the most important duty of the ruling Chief to obtain adequate rain for his people. Nobody assumes that he is himself able to attract the clouds and make the rain fall. This is shown clearly in a Fedi rain-song where the people chant: "Ye gods above, give rain to the god below." The gods above are the ancestors of the Chief; and it is through their help that he must obtain the life-giving rain. But the people do not believe that even the ancestors have power to

[1] Willoughby, 1923, 78, 79.

cause rain. Rain comes from the sky god; and it is to him that the ultimate appeal must be made. In theory the Chief's task is to approach his ancestors on behalf of his people; and their spirits then intercede with the sky god, laying before him the prayer of their descendants. In actual practice, the ultimate giver of rain remains in the background, while the Chief and his ancestors are in the limelight; but the belief that "God" is the giver of rain explains why so many heathen Bantu join readily in the rain services conducted by missionaries.

All Bantu Chiefs possess special rainmaking "medicines". Among the Venda and Northern Sotho the most important ingredients of this medicine are taken from the bodies of deceased Chiefs. These tribes do not bury their Chiefs immediately after death, but allow their bodies to decay; certain portions of the corpse are carefully preserved, and added to the rain medicine. The Lobedu, e.g., use the body dirt and skin of the deceased Chief (who, as elsewhere mentioned, is always a woman). "On the death of the queen, which is kept secret for a whole year, the body is washed every day and the dirt is made to fall into an earthenware basin. This is done until all the skin comes off, and only then is the chief buried. This skin is put into the rain pots."[1] The rain medicine thus affords a direct means of establishing contact between the ruler of a tribe and past generations of Chiefs. Since the Swazi also treat the bodies of their dead kings in such a manner as to hasten decomposition, it is probable that here too portions of the corpse are added to the rain medicines. Shangana-Tonga Chiefs, again, have sacred bundles of medicine made up largely of the nails, hair, and portions of the skin of dead Chiefs[2]; while the *inkatha* or sacred coil of Zulu Chiefs includes among other ingredients dirt from the bodies of past and present Chiefs.[3] Both groups use these sacred objects in connection with all important tribal ceremonies; we are not told specifically if rainmaking is included, but this is almost certainly the case.

Rainmaking rites are exceedingly numerous and varied in character. Among the Transvaal Sotho and Tswana, the Chief has a special rain hut or enclosure behind the hut of his great wife. Here are kept the sacred rain pots, containing some of the rain medicine, and filled every year with water by the immature girls, who bring it ceremonially in miniature pots from the river or fountain. At the beginning of the

[1] Krige, 1931, 208. [2] Junod, 1927, i, 386–7.
[3] Krige, 1936, 243–4.

rainy season these girls, at the Chief's command, fill their pots with this medicated water, which they sprinkle over all the fields.[1] This ceremony may best be described as a dramatic prayer. An example is set, as it were, to the ancestors and the sky god, who is thereby entreated to sprinkle the fields plentifully with his rain. Other groups do not appear to have this regular ceremony; but all practise special rites whenever their country is threatened with drought. One of the most common is to kindle a special fire, in which are burned water animals, driftwood, and other objects connected with water; the fire is fed with green twigs, giving rise to a cloud of smoke representing rain clouds. The Tswana and Northern Sotho, again, conduct large "rain hunts", when certain animals, such as the guineafowl and certain species of buck supposed to be connected with the rainfall, are caught alive and brought to the rainmaker, who kills them, adding parts of their flesh to the mixture in his rainpots. The Venda rainmaker kindles a fire of driftwood and while it burns covers himself with blankets in his hut until he perspires freely. The drops of perspiration symbolize the drops of coming rain.[2] The Zulu, like other tribes, kill the "heaven bird" and throw it into a pool of water, whereupon "the heaven becomes soft . . . and ceases to be hard; it wails for it by raining, wailing a funeral wail".[3]

If these rites do not help, the married women pour water and beer on the graves of dead Chiefs, beseeching them to send rain to the people of their descendants. Or, as among the Tswana, tribesmen of their own accord bring oxen to the Chief, imploring him to reconcile his ancestors so that they may send the much-needed rain. The ox is sprinkled with water from the rain pots, and allowed to wander about freely, in the belief that this will "cause the rain to wander about the country". It is afterwards killed and eaten at the Chief's public courtyard, parts of the flesh being, however, mixed by the rainmaker with the other medicines burned in the sacred enclosure.[4]

If even this proves fruitless, the Chief will himself sacrifice at the grave of some ancestor. Willoughby gives an excellent account of such a sacrifice performed by Sekxoma, Chief of the Ngwato, at the grave of his great-grandfather Mathiba.[5] "From the tribal herds choice had been made of a black bull, without blemish or trace of colour, which, after being given water to drink, was slaughtered at the grave.

[1] Eiselen, 1928, 387–392; Schapera, 1930, 211–16.
[2] Stayt, 1931, 312.
[3] Krige, 1936, 320. On the "heaven bird", cf. above, p. 235.
[4] Willoughby, 1928, 204; Schapera, field notes.
[5] Willoughby, 1928, 208–9.

Many small fires were lit around the sacred spot, and the flesh of the victim was roasted. Of this sacrificial meat the Chief was the first to partake, and after him, in strict order of precedence, each man, woman, and child in the throng had a morsel. It was necessary that every scrap of the sacramental food should be consumed upon the spot. The hide, blood, and chyme of the victim were buried in the grave; and its bones, horns, hoofs, and other inedible parts were carefully laid upon the grave and consumed with fire, lest some unfriendly magician should use them to nullify the sacrifice with his charms. Then the people stood and worshipped, under the presidency of their chief, intoning the 'praise-songs' of their dead chiefs, and saying, 'We have come to beg rain by means of this ox, O Chief, our Father!' The rain-songs also were chanted; and the people dispersed with a great shout, 'Rain! Rain! Rain! Chief, we are dead—we who are your people! Let the rain fall!' As they wended their way homeward, they continued to make the welkin ring with their rain-songs; and . . . on the evening of that same day there was a drenching rain."

Occasionally a Chief whose country is drought-stricken will resort to a measure by no means in keeping with the accepted ancestor worship. He will send cattle and presents to another Chief, whose country enjoys a higher rainfall, and beseech him for a share of the rain. Such deputations frequently come to the court of Mojaji, the female Chief of the small Lobedu tribe living in the well-watered region of the Northern Transvaal. Such an action seems to betray lack of faith in one's own tribal ancestors, but in reality it proves the contention that the real giver of the rain is the universal sky god, while the ancestors are merely intermediaries.

It may well be that all efforts on the part of a Chief and his advisers are of no avail, and the country remains drought-stricken. The diviners may attribute this calamity to a medicated object hidden somewhere by a sorcerer. A thorough search is then made all over the country for things out of place, e.g. a piece of apparel or a pot hidden in the branches of a tree. All suspicious objects of this kind are gathered together and thrown into a deep pool. The people then assemble in the Chief's great place, where the rainmaker sprinkles them with some of the medicated water from his pots, while all cry out: "Rain!" as the drops fall upon them. Sometimes, as among the Tswana, ritually-impure people, such as newly-bereaved widows and widowers, or women who have recently miscarried or aborted, are gathered together and smeared with the juice of certain irritant bulbs used as

rain medicine. These people are said to have " hot " bodies and to be burning up the land ; they must therefore be " cooled " to bring back the rain they have driven away. A very general prophylactic measure, especially among the Shangana-Tonga, Venda, Tswana, and Transvaal Sotho, is to kill twins or other abnormal children, who must be buried in the moist soil of river banks or in the shade of a hut. If buried elsewhere their corpses " burn up the land " ; and in time of drought must be sought out and reburied in some " cool " spot to remove the pollution. In these and various other ways the country and the people are purified from contamination, and the rain rites now have the desired effect.

Lesser Deities.

The Bantu finally believe in local spirits of various kinds, whose sinister presence is generally greatly feared. There are sacred woods or mountains inhabited by the spirits of dead Chiefs of ancient dynasties, or by " dissociated spirits, often vague and shadowy in character, but none the less terrifying and dangerous to the traveller "[1] ; there are spirits of streams and pools, round whom collect many weird beliefs and fearsome tales ; there are, as among the Venda, numerous animal spirits, dangerous reincarnations of famous old Chiefs and warriors[2] ; there are, as among the Tswana, caves inhabited by large pythons, sight of whom is fatal to the commoner, but who assist the Chief in his rainmaking ; and there are spirits of trees and of many other places and objects of a similar nature.

Every tribe has its spirits of this kind. Reference has been made in the previous chapter to *Thikoloshe* or *uHili*, and *iChanti*, who figure so prominently in Nguni belief and practice. The Zulu speak also of a female goddess *Inkosaẓana* or *Nomkhuƀulwana*, who presides over the growth of the corn, and in whose honour the young girls perform various ceremonies in the fields in the springtime.[3] The Tswana, again, tell many myths of *Dingwe*, a cannibalistic ogre against whom children are specially protected with many charms, and of *Lôôwê*, *Tintibane*, *Matsieng*, and *Thobêxa*, demi-gods associated with caves and archaic footprints in the rocks all over their country. They appear to be deified Chiefs of peoples occupying the country long before its present inhabitants arrived there. Offerings are occasionally made to them of meat, corn, and beer, accompanied by prayers for rain,

[1] Stayt, 1931, 239.
[2] Stayt, 1931, 239–240.
[3] Krige, 1936, 197–200, 282–3.

fertility of the crops, and success in war.[1] More legendary than real even in the beliefs of the people, such spirits serve to invest with a halo of sanctity and taboo particular localities, where offerings are, as we have just seen, made to them.

Religion and Morality

It has often been said that their religion has no moral influence upon the Bantu. Viewed in the light of Christian moral ideas, this is quite true. Bantu religious beliefs do not impel the people to lead a good life in the hope of attaining salvation: there is no dogma holding out a promise of reward for the good, and punishment for the wicked, in the life hereafter. The ancestors whom they worship were also erring men, and can demand no moral goodness from their descendants. What they do demand is filial piety and an unquestioning respect for tribal law and custom. The good and moral man in Bantu society is the one who honours the ancestors by living as they have lived.

Nevertheless, most of what we consider to be evil is forbidden also in Bantu society, and what we hold to be good is also recommended by them. The Bantu would, in fact, have no difficulty in accepting most of the Biblical commandments, because among them too "the danger of taking the name of a god in vain is generally acknowledged; reverence for parents and those in authority is commonly inculcated, and disobedience punished; self-control is cultivated; men of probity are respected; brotherliness, courtesy, and hospitality are common virtues; a high respect for property prevails; mercy is highly esteemed and justice praised; murder, witchcraft, stealing, adultery, bearing false witness against one's neighbour, hatred, and arrogance are all condemned; and there is such a sense of family responsibility that orphans and destitute people are provided for".[2] But there is this fundamental difference between their approach and ours to the problem of moral goodness: the Bantu demand moral behaviour within the family and tribe rather than moral behaviour in general. And this is in complete harmony with their ancestor worship, for the common ancestor must of necessity resent any action by one of his descendants likely to harm another descendant and incidentally to upset the social order within the group.

[1] Willoughby, 1932, 36–40, 74–7; Brown, 1926, 101 ff.

[2] Willoughby, 1928, 382–3, and the whole of Chap. V. for a discussion of Bantu ethics in general.

Chapter XII

THE MUSICAL PRACTICES OF THE NATIVE RACES OF SOUTH AFRICA

By Percival R. Kirby

In dealing with this vast subject I have found it necessary to restrict myself to essentials. Moreover, limitations of space have compelled me to reduce illustrations, whether pictorial or musical, to the barest minimum. A critical bibliography will, however, enable readers to remedy these omissions to some extent should they care to do so. Further, in order to avoid repetition, I have deliberately made use of several musical terms, the meaning of which will be found in the glossary at the end of this study, and although the study is primarily concerned with the music of the South African Bantu, I find it necessary to refer also to the musical practices of Bushman and Hottentot, since their art, especially that of the latter, has in certain directions profoundly influenced that of the Bantu.

The section dealing with instrumental music gives, in outline, what it is necessary for the ethnologist to know about the instruments, their nature, history, distribution, and use. Full details on all these points, as well as copious photographs and musical illustrations, will be found in my book *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa*. In this section I have omitted, for lack of space, precise details of references made to the works of travellers. These will be found, if desired, in my book, where the quotations and translations may be readily checked and, if desired, my conclusions challenged.

The section dealing with vocal music represents the outline of a volume upon the subject which I have in hand. All the musical suggestions therein are my own, and are based on personal contact, extending over many years, with the races concerned.

Instrumental Music.

In the early days the Bushmen do not appear to have made much, if any, use of musical instruments; or, if they did, the old writers either did not see them, or, seeing them, ignored them completely. With the dawn of the nineteenth century, however, we begin to meet

with descriptions of Bushman musical performances, generally accompanying dances, which involved the use of musical instruments. In nearly every instance the instruments would appear to have been borrowed by the Bushmen from Hottentot tribes in whose neighbourhood they lived. Such instruments were the drum, made from a pot covered with skin, the *gora*, a stringed-wind instrument characteristic of the Korana, and the *ramki*, a three or more stringed guitar, made in recent times by Hottentots and Bantu, and apparently originally introduced to the Cape by slaves from the Malabar Coast of India. Bushmen of to-day in the Western Kalahari have been seen using miniature imitations of the reed-flutes which are characteristic of the Nama. The bull-roarer, or whizzing-stick, which the Bushmen use has lost any symbolical significance which it may have had, and is used mainly for attracting bees, on account of the similarity of its sound to that of the buzzing of these insects. There remain the ankle-rattles of springbok ears or cocoons, used in dancing, the little signal whistles of ostrich quill, buck-bone, or horn, and the hunting bow or *//hã*, which, when tapped with a thin stick, yielded a musical tone. All of these may have been used by the Bushmen for centuries, but there is no written evidence of the fact. A final and probably recent development (in spite of a rock-painting copied by Stow) was the fixing of a number of hunting-bows in the ground, and the tapping of the various strings by one performer. Such an idea represents the origin of an instrumental type found among the Ambo, but both prototype and its successor are unknown to the Bantu of South Africa.

The Hottentots were infinitely more advanced musically than the Bushmen. The drum (*/khais* of the Korana), formed from a *bambus* or wooden milk vessel, covered with skin, and played by beating with the hands, receives early mention in the works of travellers, being described by Dapper (1668), who, however, noted that a pot was used in its manufacture. There is evidence, however, to show that Bantu pots were an article of barter between Bantu and Hottentot at a very early date. The term "rommelpot" commonly given to the instrument is a misnomer, and should be dropped. It originated through a misreading of the work of Kolb.

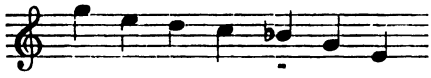
Of wind instruments the Hottentots had two types: a single "stopped pipe" of bone, blown as one blows across a key, and a quite elaborate ensemble of reed-flutes of varying length which could be tuned by means of movable plugs of fibre and which were played by men in harmony, each man's flute contributing but one sound to

the whole. The history of this, the oldest known South African native instrument, can be traced from the landing of Vasco da Gama in 1497 to the present day among the Hottentots and its adoption from them, about the beginning of the nineteenth century, by certain Bantu, and later still by some Bushmen, can be proved. These reed-flutes were tuned to the following four-note scale.

Nama, Korana, and Tswana Reed-flute Scale.

A most important discovery of the Hottentots was that of sounding a string by air-vibration. The shooting-bow, which the Hottentots appear to have acquired from the Bushmen in the early part of the seventeenth century, was developed by them into three types of musical instrument, of which the *gora* was one, the remaining two being stringed instruments pure and simple. Interposed between one end of the string and the stave of the bow of the *gora* was a spatulate piece of quill, the other end of the string being made fast to the opposite end of the bow-stave. By holding the instrument so that the quill came between the parted lips, and drawing in the breath and expelling it with force, the string was made to vibrate and to give forth its harmonics, which could be controlled by varying the force used. The resulting music was exactly similar in effect to bugle calls, the same series of sounds being present in both instruments. This instrument is only found in South Africa, but it has spread from the Hottentots who were using it in the seventeenth century (Dapper 1668) to Bushmen (Burchell 1811) and, in the nineteenth century to all the Bantu of the Union. The importance of this instrument lies in the fact that it brought the " harmonic series " vividly before the Hottentots, thus adding to the number of fixed tones which they could recognize and use in their vocal music. The *gora* was played by men only.

Scale of the *gora*.



The two stringed instruments normally used by the Hottentots (the *khas* and the */gabus* of the Korana) show that the recognition of the phenomenon of harmonics was not confined to the *gora*. In the first of these types, a simple shooting-bow, of stout construction, with the string stretched rather more tightly than usual, was held by

the seated performer against the left shoulder, the right foot steadying the lower end. The string was then tapped with a light reed, when it gave forth its fundamental tone. But by touching the string at the appropriate " nodes ", the lower harmonics could be elicited. This instrument was played by women only. The second type was also made from a plain shooting-bow, but of lighter build. One end was held in the right-hand corner of the mouth, while the other was supported by the left hand. The string was then plucked by the right forefinger and the fundamental tone elicited, but at the same time the player, by altering the shape of his mouth, could select and amplify various high harmonics. These constituted the melody, the fundamental tone serving as a tonic or drone.

Their remaining stringed instrument, the recently acquired *ramki*, I have already dealt with in discussing the Bushman instruments.

The Hottentots also used the bull-roarer, but only as a toy.

In considering the Bantu, the subject becomes rather more involved. All the Bantu peoples of South Africa use dancing-rattles, either worn on the ankles or shaken in the hand. The Sotho make their ankle-rattles from cocoons, scores of which are filled with small stones or hard seeds, threaded on *riem* and wound round the ankles of the dancers. In Basutoland, however, tiny bags of goatskin are used as substitutes for the cocoons which cannot readily be obtained there. The Nguni likewise use the cocoons, but in clusters and not in long strings, and, in addition, some tribes make similar instruments from woven palm-leaf. Among the Shangana-Tonga the rattles of woven palm-leaf are also used, but the Venda ankle-rattles are made from small hollow fruits filled with stones, and fitted on reeds in rows, giving an appearance somewhat like cricket pads. Hand-rattles, made from calabashes filled with stones and mounted on sticks, are used by Venda, Shangana-Tonga, and to some extent by Swazi and Zulu. The latter peoples seem to have derived them from the former.

Among the Sotho, we find conical wooden drums, with single heads of skin pegged in position, in regular use; they are beaten by the women, who use the hand as a beater, and are called *moropa*. They are still made and played by Transvaal Sotho and Tswana, though in Basutoland they are now made from clay, owing to the lack of suitable wood. Such drums are used chiefly for ceremonial purposes, though they are sometimes used at ordinary dances. The Nguni peoples apparently did not originally have drums in the strict sense. The hide shield served the Zulu as a drum, being hit with knobkerrie or assegai, or itself being struck flat on the ground. The use of a stiff ox-hide

(*ingqongqo*) as a temporary drum was, however, common among Zulu and Xhosa at witch-doctor ceremonies, and among the latter it was also used by women at the initiation of their sons, where it seems to have been symbolical of the manly shield, the beating-sticks representing assegais, and being called by the same name. A similar idea seems to have been present in the use by Zulu women of a bundle of sticks (*ubuxaka*) which were shaken in the hand during a dance, in imitation of the assegais similarly rattled by the men. The Zulu, however, had a temporary drum, made by securing a goatskin over a clay beer-pot. This drum, the *ingungu*, was not struck, but was sounded by the friction produced by the wetted hands of the player being slid down a reed held vertically upon the centre of the skin. The instrument was only used at the ceremonies held on the occasion of the first menstruation of a Zulu girl.

The modern *isigubu* of Zulu and Xhosa is a mere reproduction of the bass drum of the European regimental bands. Like that instrument, it has a wooden resonator (made from a tree trunk), two skin heads laced in position by thongs, and two padded beaters. The method of performance is identical with that of the European. It was unknown in early times.

The Swazi have a temporary drum made from a clay beer-pot, with a goatskin held over it by one man, while another beats the instrument with a stick. It is used in the exorcism of spirits, as is the Shangana-Tonga drum. The latter (the *mantshomane*) is made in the form of a tambourine with a single head of skin pegged in position and struck with a stick. It is played by both men and women, and is regularly used in the *gongondjela*, or exorcism of spirits, although also used in ordinary dances. Witch-doctors throughout the northern areas of the country use the *mantshomane* and it has been taken over to a slight extent by the Swazi. None of the other tribes have it.

The drums of the Venda are of two types, a conical wooden drum with a single head of skin pegged in position (*murumbu*), and beaten with the palms of the hands by women who straddle the instrument, and the *ngoma*, a large hemispherical drum with a single head also pegged in place, which is beaten by men or women with a stick. The former type is analogous to the *moropa* of the Sotho; the latter is peculiar to the Venda and is used for all sorts of ritual purposes. Both types are played with the Venda reed-flute ensembles.

Resonated xylophones (*mbila*), consisting of a number of tuned slabs of hardwood fitted on insulated frames over similarly tuned

resonators of calabash, and struck with rubber-headed beaters are found alone among the Venda. They are played by men, in pairs, the music being polyphonic. Similar instruments are found among the Tshopi, who, unlike the Venda, form bands of them. Similar bands, utilizing instruments made from such materials as are available, are organized by the Tshopi working on the Johannesburg mines.

The so-called *sansa* (also called *mbila*, though more commonly *dẹẓe* by the Venda), which consists of tuned tongues of tempered iron fixed to a wooden base and placed inside a large calabash resonator, is characteristic of the Lemba of Vendaland, formerly noted for their skill in working metals. Both these instruments came from the north, the former having been originally acquired from Malaya where it is still in use. The xylophone was seen among the Karanga on the Zambesi in 1586.

All the Bantu use animal horns as signal trumpets, antelope horns (especially those of the sable antelope) being the oldest variety and giving their names to the instruments. The *phalaphala* of the Venda is typical. The interior of the horn is removed and an opening made in the side, immediately below the solid tip. By blowing as a trumpet is blown, two sounds can be readily elicited, the fundamental tone and the first harmonic, which may or may not be in tune. Among the Nguni an ox-horn (*upondo*) is now used as a substitute, although the instrument may still retain the name of the buck, *mpalampala*.

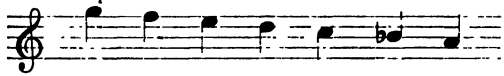
The Venda also use miniature horns made in the same way from the horns of the smaller antelopes. They are used by boys for signalling.

Whistles, made as simple stopped pipes of reed, bone, or horn are used by all the Bantu of South Africa. They are blown key-wise usually by boys although the doctors have their own varieties. A more developed form is also in use. Originally a buck horn having an opening drilled through the extreme tip, it was later made from wood, the conically shaped piece of wood being split, and, after having been hollowed, put together again, covered with skin and bound with fibre or wire to render it airtight once more. Several sounds could be produced, both when the lower hole was left open and when it was stopped by the finger. It was used by men for signalling in hunting or in war, and also by doctors.

The Tswana about the beginning of the nineteenth century acquired the reed-flute ensemble, previously described, from the Korana Hottentots, and with it also the Hottentot method of tuning the flutes. The only other Bantu people in South Africa who have a

similar ensemble are the Venda, from whom some of the neighbouring Sotho have imitated it. The Venda, however, accompany their flutes with ankle-rattles and drums. The flutes, too, are of fixed intonation, being stopped by a natural knot in the bamboo from which they are made, and tuned by cutting sections off the open end. Further, they are tuned to a seven-note scale, but the Sotho who have adopted them retain their own scale of five notes. These reed-flute ensembles are tribal, and are used for ceremonial purposes. Men alone are the flute-players, who dance while they play, though women may beat the drums.

Heptatonic Scale of the Venda Reed-flutes.



Flutes used as solo instruments by individual performers vary in type among the Bantu. A transverse flute, played in similar fashion to the European flute, is made from reed and is played by Venda, Shangana-Tonga, and, to a less extent, by Swazi who borrowed it from their neighbours. It is usually closed at both ends by natural knots and has three finger holes. Elaborate melodies may be played upon it, although its scale is largely accidental. The Swazi, Zulu, and Xhosa use an end-blown flute of reed, about three feet in length, with the mouth end cut obliquely, the lower opening being used as a finger-hole. This instrument yields the harmonic series, upon which melodies played upon it must be based. The Zulu alone make a peculiar flute from two pieces of reed, one pushed into the end of the other, and the top of the thicker being cut obliquely, the lower opening, as in the previously described instrument, being used as a finger-hole. This type is used in pairs by two male performers, the music played being antiphonal. Both types were made and used by the Zulu immediately after the feast of the first fruits.

A rudimentary " ocarina " made from the Kafir orange, with mouth-hole and two finger-holes, is made and played by the Shangana-Tonga. It is a curious fact that, with the exception of a secret instrument played by the *nonyana* of the Venda, an official who participates in the circumcision ceremonies of girls, no wind instrument with a vibrating reed as the medium of sound production is found in South Africa.

The Hottentot *gora* has been adopted by practically all the Bantu peoples of South Africa. Its gradual spread from the South-West to the North and East can be readily traced. The last to adopt it were the

Venda, who appear to have acquired it from the Zulu of Mzilikazi as he passed through their territory towards the North. The Venda retained the instrument for only about eighty years, and they called it by its Zulu name, *ugwala*. In Bantu hands it received slight improvements, but the music performed upon it was, in the nature of the case, similar to that played on it by the Hottentots. Among the Bantu it is always played by men, never by women as is erroneously stated of the Zulu by Mayr.

Eight types of stringed instrument are in use among the Bantu of the Union. All have been evolved from the shooting-bow, and it would therefore appear that those peoples who did not use the bow as a weapon derived the instruments from peoples who did. The music played upon all these instruments involves either the unconscious or deliberate use of harmonics, but in either case the player is conscious of the presence and musical value of those harmonics, which he has incorporated into his musical system. These harmonics are either (1) sounded together as a chord, (2) isolated for melodic purposes, or (3) used in conjunction with their fundamentals in order to produce elementary polyphony. In all cases a resonator is employed in order to amplify the sound produced by the string, and such resonator is sometimes the mouth of the performer and sometimes a calabash or other hollow object, which may or may not be permanently attached to the instrument. I shall therefore describe them according to the groups suggested above, in order to reveal their true musical nature.

The first group includes two varieties, commonly, though erroneously, regarded as one and the same. The first of these, undoubtedly the older type, consists of a well curved bow-stave of wood, fitted with a string of thin brass wire, but formerly of sinew or twisted hair from a cow's tail. Attached near the lower end of the stave is a calabash, with an opening on the side away from the stave. The calabash is insulated from the stave by a pad of bark, grass, or coarse cloth. The instrument, after the string has been tuned to a pitch suitable for accompanying the performer's voice, is held upright, the opening of the calabash being held close to the left breast, the second, third, and fourth fingers of the left hand grasping the lower end of the stave so as to leave the first finger and thumb free to pinch the string, and so raise its pitch. The string is struck, staccato, by a thin grass or reed held in the right hand. When so struck the string gives forth its fundamental note, together with several of its harmonics, the result being, to the performer, a clear chord. Two such chords, a tone apart, are generally

used. This instrument is found among Swazi, Zulu, and Sotho. It is mainly, though not exclusively, a man's instrument, except among the Xhosa where women are the chief performers.

The second type is similarly constructed, except that the calabash resonator is secured near the middle of the bow-stave, and the string is tied back towards the stave at that point by means of a loop of sinew. The technique is similar to that of the first type, but each portion of the string produces its own fundamental and harmonics. By pinching the string a third chord is obtained. This type is used by Venda, Shangana-Tonga, Transvaal Sotho, Swazi, and Zulu, but not by Tswana, Basutoland Sotho, and Xhosa. The second type appears to be of northern, and comparatively recent, origin. It was not used by the Zulu in the time of Shaka, so far as I can discover. The larger sizes are played by men, the smaller by women. Among the Venda it is only played by males.

The second group contains two types. The first of these is identical with the Korana *khas*, already described. It is only used by the Tswana, who unquestionably acquired it from the Korana. It is played chiefly by men, although women may also use it. The second type is of relatively recent origin, and may possibly owe its origin to European or other outside influence. It consists of a hollow tube of wood or bamboo, fitted with a wire string and tuning peg. The string is set in vibration by means of a miniature friction bow of wood strung with hair from a cow's tail, resin being applied to the hair. The mouth was originally used as a resonator, and is still so used by the Venda; more recently a one-gallon paraffin tin has been applied to the instrument, which is then held on the left shoulder, and in this form it is used by Sotho, Zulu, and Xhosa. By bowing the string with a kind of circular motion its harmonics may be elicited, and simple tunes played. By pinching the string near its lower end the harmonics of one or two other fundamentals may also be sounded. The fundamentals, however, are not normally used.

The third group contains four varieties. The first is a bow of hollow river reed, fitted with a string of sinew or fibre, which is plucked by the fore-finger of the right hand. The pitch may be altered by pressure upon the string by the fingers of the left hand. The mouth acts as a resonator of variable size, which serves to isolate certain harmonics of the string. These, together with the fundamentals, produce a simple two-part polyphony, the intervals of which are governed by natural laws. This type of instrument is found among all the Bantu of South

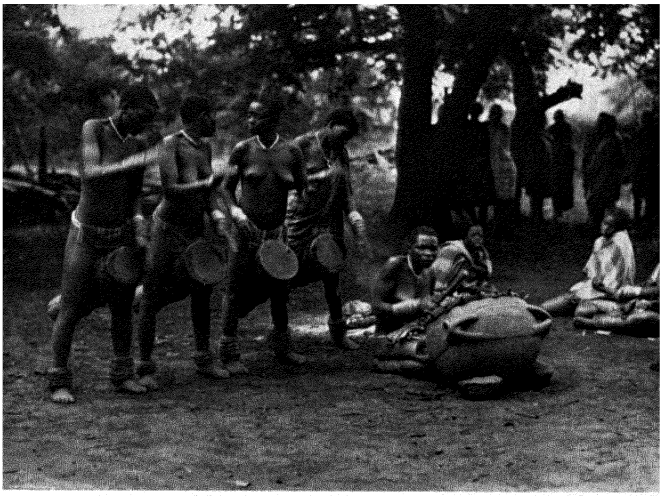
Africa without exception. It is generally played by women and girls, although I have observed it occasionally played by young boys.

The second type in this group is a bow of special construction, being either of solid wood thinned towards the tips or with a thick central portion into the ends of which thin tips of wood are fitted. The string is of wire, looped back with sinew or thread near the centre, and plucked with the finger or with a plectrum of thorn or other substance. The mouth serves to resonate the harmonics, and the pitch of the string can be altered by pressure and pinching. On this instrument, as on the first type in this group, simple two-part polyphony is performed. It is found among Transvaal and Southern Sotho, Swazi, Zulu, Shangana-Tonga, and Venda, and is played only by males.

The third type is a short bow of solid wood, thinned towards the ends, which are bent up sharply. The central portion of the bow is notched along one side. From tip to tip of the bow a flat " string " of palm-leaf or broad grass is tightly stretched. The instrument is sounded by rubbing the stick which forms the handle of a rattle, made from a dry seed-box containing small stones, across the notches, thus causing the string to vibrate. The mouth is used as a resonator, and selects and amplifies certain harmonics from the fundamentals of the open string and from two fingered notes. The resulting music is in two parts as in the case of the two previous instruments. The instrument is used only by the Shangana-Tonga and the Venda (though in a simpler form it occurs among the /Kuŋ Bushmen), the Ambo, and, farther north, the natives of Angola. It is a man's instrument.

The fourth and last instrument in this group is made from a length of hollow river-reed, or hollow piece of wood from the *umsenge*, or cabbage-tree, into one end of which a thin, pliable rod is inserted. A string of vegetable fibre or twisted rush is fixed to the lower end of the reed, and to the tip of the thin rod, which is thereby made to curve. The string, after being rubbed with the juice of a leaf, is " bowed " by a piece of thin mealie stalk held beneath it. The mouth acts as a resonator to the harmonics of the string, the pitch of which can be altered by stopping with the first finger of the left hand. The musical result is simple two-part polyphony as before. This instrument is found only among the Swazi, Zulu, and Xhosa, and, in a simplified form, among the Mpondo. It is usually played by males.

All the stringed instruments described here are normally used solo ;



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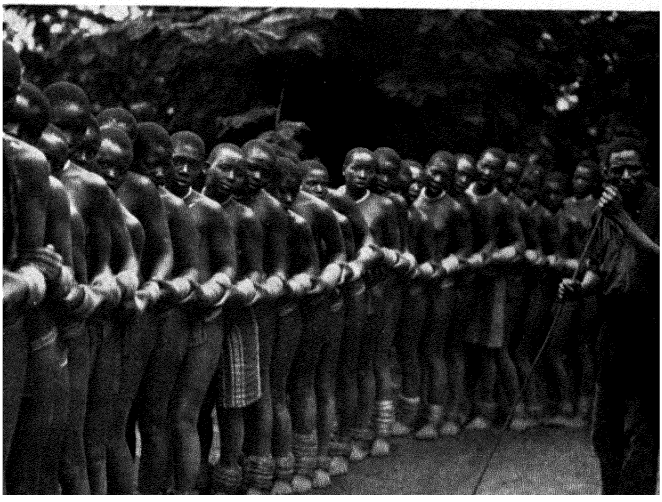

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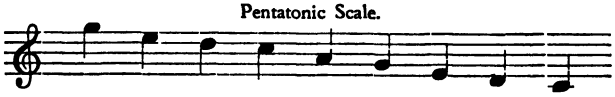
Scenes from the Venda *domba* (initiation) dance
MUSIC AND DANCING

[*face p.* 280

songs with the original texts sung by a Southern Bushman by Dr. Lucy Lloyd (1879), together with a phonograph record of a Bushman singing which I have succeeded in reconstructing, enables us to obtain a glimpse at the nature of Bushman song, as also do the texts of other Bushman songs obtained by Dr. Bleek and Miss Lloyd. All are solo songs, and are descriptive of topics of interest to the singers. Such are songs of animals, in which the animal itself is personified and supposed to be singing; songs of the stars; and songs about familiar objects such as a lament on the loss of a tobacco pouch. The only suggestion of war is in the song of a young man who saw the Korana making preparations for a foray. Moreover, the majority of the songs occur in stories, where they are manifestly introduced to heighten the effect, as is quite common in folk-tales. Vocal melodies, without specific texts, were, however, lilted as an accompaniment to dancing.

Owing to the general absence of musical instruments of more or less fixed pitch, the Bushmen do not seem to have completely acquired the use of relatively exact pitch in their songs, although it is obvious that they had a definite musical system. An examination of existing material indicates that their melodies were based upon a scale of a pentatonic type, and that they recognized definite focal points in their music. But the influence of speech-tone tended to regulate the rise and fall of the melodies of their songs, although there are signs that at times this tendency had been overcome. The form of their melodies was very simple, seldom exceeding a single musical sentence, which in several instances was achieved by the necessary repetitions of a single musical section or phrase. The powerful influence of rhythm, doubtless engendered by the dance, tended to the development of what amounts to verse-forms, with their corresponding musical rhymes.

Pentatonic Scale.



The Hottentots, having developed an elaborate instrumental ensemble at an early date, were better able to evolve vocal music of a clear-cut type. The historical references to their musical performances are many, although actual examples in musical notation are infrequent. Kolb's illustration of Hottentot song (1719), though its actual notes must be regarded with some suspicion, at any rate suggests that the singers had a clear idea of the harmonic chord, and the remarks of later writers endorse this fact. A short song of the

Hottentot Caffres (i.e. half-breeds from Xhosa and Gonaqua parents), noted down by Sparrman (1775), emphasizes the point, as also does the masterly analysis of Hottentot music by Lichtenstein (1804). The people he heard were Korana, and he heard them performing upon the *gora*, noting particularly that the sounds elicited from it were partials of the harmonic series, and writing down his impression of the tune played in musical notation. He also perceived that the sounds produced by the *gora* were used in Korana vocal music. Apparently, however, he did not hear a performance of a Korana reed-flute ensemble.

My own experiences of Hottentot music have embraced both Korana and Nama, and I have secured phonograph records from both races. I would point out that European influence is to be observed in certain of the songs performed by these peoples; but there still remain examples undoubtedly free from it. Some Korana songs associated with their reed-flute dances are constructed entirely upon the curious four-note scale characteristic of those dances. Another, a *gora* tune, sung by a *gora* player, contains only those notes which the instrument can produce, exactly as suggested by Lichtenstein. A few are obvious borrowings from missionary hymns, sung by some of the younger Korana with new and secular words in their own language, the result being a miserable travesty of the originals. The voices of the Korana men whom I have heard were very musical in quality, and comparatively highly pitched, in marked contrast to the voices of Bantu males. This fact was recorded by Moodie a century ago. And just as the Korana employed harmony in their reed-flute ensembles, so they used it in song, actually having their own expression for it in their language.

Since their social system was in advance of that of the Bushmen, they used organized musical performances at certain of their ceremonies, notably the *doro* or boys' initiation into manhood. Their solo songs dealt with a variety of domestic topics, cattle being a natural and favourite subject. Dance tunes of strong rhythm which were sung to words, or rather syllables, of no particular meaning were common. They were occasionally accompanied by the */khais* or pot-drum, previously described. All these songs were definitely strophic in character, but vocal monologues, accompanied on the *khas*, were also sung by the women. In these a definite strophic instrumental background was supplied by the *khas*, while the singer, who was also the player, intoned words, in prose, the melody of which followed the natural intonation of the voice in speech. For the speech of the Korana was, and is, very musical; that is to say, in their language

speech-tone played a vital part in determining meaning, so much so that in the case of a number of the older speakers it was possible to write down the melody of their speech in musical notation without much difficulty. But although this was so, the Korana had, in song, succeeded in breaking away to some extent from the powerful influence of speech-tone. To what degree this was due to European or other influence it is difficult to determine.

The vocal music of the Bantu peoples of South Africa presents a number of problems difficult of solution. That of the Nguni was the first to be described by travellers, and the earliest of these agree in emphasizing the savage nature of Nguni song as compared with that of the Hottentot peoples. Some of the descriptions may, of course, be exaggerations, or may have been written by observers whose musical knowledge was limited, or whose sympathy with native music was small. Both Beutler (1752) and Alberti (1800–4) state that the Xhosa did not make use of musical instruments, at any rate of their own invention, the former saying that their singing, or rather growling (he used the word *brommen*), was like the noise of a pack of English dogs. The deep, gruff voices of the singers, noted later by Moodie, is implied here. Lichtenstein, however, who was a skilful and sympathetic observer, arrived at conclusions similar to those of Beutler and Alberti, saying that " the Kosas are much behind hand with some of their neighbours with regard to music. Instruments proper to themselves they do not appear to have, for only those of the Hottentots are to be seen among them, and not so well constructed. Their melodies are insufferable to a musical ear and their song is little better than a deadened howl ". And in another place he writes " Then they sing, or rather howl, a strange melody which cannot be pleasing throughout to an European ear, and which could not be performed upon any of our instruments, because their intervals stand in a very different relation one to another from ours. Yet they imitate these intervals and the melody of their songs upon their imperfect instruments very true ". I would suggest that in the latter passage Lichtenstein put the cart before the horse, since my observation has shown me that the sounds producible from the instruments have largely directed the course of their vocal melodies.

A similar paucity of musical instruments is remarked among the early descriptions of the Zulu, who nevertheless in the time of Gardiner (1836), that is to say in Dingane's day, made and used the *ugubu* (the first stringed instrument described in Group I) and the

umtshingo (the end-blown flute played after the feast of the first fruits). Both these instruments put the Zulu in possession of a number of partials of the harmonic series, thus influencing their vocal melody by giving them not only focal points to concentrate upon, but also a basis for rudimentary polyphony which in their present-day chants they utilize to the full. I have further been able to prove that the *umtshingo* was in use even in the time of Shaka.

The songs of the Nguni cover a wide range of subjects, embracing every phase of the life of the people. The mother sings lullabies to her children, who later have their own little songs and singing games. The stories told to them frequently have songs interpolated in them. The young herds have their own songs, and likewise the girls their occupation songs. The Zulu girl had special songs performed on the occasion of her arrival at womanhood. Her suitors sang their courting songs about her, and at her wedding many songs composed for the occasion, as well as dance songs, were performed. She and her husband had their work songs, whether for ploughing, hoeing, threshing, wood-cutting, or, in more modern times, mining. There were also songs for beer-drinks, and, finally, funeral wails. In addition to all these, there were songs associated with the clan or tribe, among which were definite clan songs, songs of praise to the chief, hunting songs and songs of war. These last included songs sung before battle and those sung after it, for during the combat only war cries were heard. Lastly, and perhaps most sinister of all, there were songs of witchcraft.

Some of these songs were sung by a soloist, usually, though not invariably, without instrumental accompaniment. Such were, in the nature of the case, lullabies, herding songs, courting songs, and so on, which were the affair of an individual. Others, such as those associated with the life of the kraal, were sung by small groups of performers. The tribal songs, which commemorated history, the songs in praise of the chief, and the war songs, were performed by large choral forces. The songs of the choral groups were polyphonic in character, men being the principal performers, the main vocal part being described by the Zulu word *vuma* (the "agreeing" part), this part being sung by the deep voices of the bulk of the men. Instruments, with rare exceptions, were not used in the choral songs.

The "composition" of Nguni songs might be the work of any individual, or, in special instances, of a professional song-maker. The song thus made up (for there was no written notation as there was no written language) was the expression of the individual, and was

sung by him principally, although, if it dealt with some event of common interest, it might be picked up by others and eventually become tribal. Polyphonic songs were originated in similar fashion, the musician-poet singing over to his friends the song he had evolved, and they in turn extemporizing one, or occasionally more, voice parts according to the system of polyphony current among them. The words and the melody of the song formed an indissoluble whole; there was normally no such thing as fitting fresh words to an existing melody; the close connection between speech-tone and song usually precluded the possibility of this. The polyphonic system employed consisted principally in the singing of additional vocal parts in parallel with the original part, the musical intervals used being determined by the scale, which appears to have been originally of a pentatonic nature, although other notes have been added to it in more recent times. This device was varied by the use of antiphony, where a soloist would be answered by a chorus, or one section of a chorus would respond to another. The form of the songs rarely exceeded a single musical sentence, although, in the case of dance songs, rhythmic variety could be achieved by the gestures and steps employed.

The *isibongi*, or official praisers of the chief, utilized in their epic poetry a manner of enunciation that was frequently akin to song, by reason of the all-powerful influence of pitch upon their speech.

Shangana-Tonga song was of a character similar to that of the Nguni. The life-history of the individual could likewise be told in the songs associated with his actions from birth to death. Every type of song that I have mentioned as being characteristic of the Nguni was found among the Shangana-Tonga, who, however, employed instrumental accompaniments in several kinds of song. Professional composers are found among the Shangana-Tonga as among the Nguni. Drums were invariably used along with the voices in the exorcism of spirits, and among the Tshopi choruses might be accompanied by bands of xylophone players. These xylophones bring us face to face with a new feature; they are tuned to a heptatonic scale, in spite of the fact that the basis of Shangana-Tonga song, like that of the Nguni, is seen to be pentatonic. It would appear, therefore, that in this instance superposition of one culture upon another has taken place.

Sotho song also presents features like those of the peoples already described. Circumcision songs, however, may be added to the list and, in the case of the Tswana who inhabit the dry country bordering

on the Kalahari Desert, rain songs. The making of songs is achieved in similar fashion, and the professional song-maker flourishes side by side with the amateur. Linguistic differences between Sotho and Nguni speech bring about analagous differences between the musical idioms of the two groups; nevertheless the same general principles govern the polyphony of both. Among certain of the Tswana tribes Korana musical influence may be discerned. The main basis of Sotho vocal music is, however, pentatonic.

Among the Venda, in so far as their mode of life parallels that of other Bantu, we find song used under precisely similar circumstances. Here again, language causes the musical idiom of the people to be individual. But the use of the great *mbila*, or resonated xylophone, which is tuned, like that of the Tshopi, to a heptatonic scale, establishes an instrumental idiom sharply separated from the vocal idiom of the people. The *dẹẓe*, or iron-tongued " piano " of the Lemba is tuned in similar fashion, and so is the Venda ensemble of reed-flutes. The tune of the *tshikona*, or national dance of the Venda (one might almost call it the national anthem) consists in the sounding on the flutes of the notes of this seven-note scale in descending order, in a progression of parallel fifths, accompanied by vigorous drum rhythms, the whole sounding like the pealing of bells. Most of the flutes (or rather the sounds of the flutes) have individual names, which are also used for the corresponding sounds elicited from the xylophone. Several of these names have a non-Bantu sound, again suggesting, as does the seven-note scale itself, foreign influence. The xylophone and several other musical instruments, including the *dẹẓe*, the *ngoma* (large drum), and the *khumbgwe*, a curious flute made from reed and a " kafir orange ", have undoubtedly come from the north, the last named being essentially a Karanga type.

One curious musical practice of the Venda remains. The *Vhahwira*, or clowns who dance on the occasion of the *sungwi*, or circumcision rites of girls, are only permitted to converse with others by means of whistling. This they do by imitating the speech-tones of the words or short phrases which they use by whistling them. I have tested their powers in this direction, and have found that they are genuine if limited. The phenomenon, however, demonstrates once more the close connection between Southern Bantu speech and song.

In a short sketch such as this it is impossible to deal with the influence of the European upon the musical art of the modern Bantu. A brief outline of this aspect of the subject will, however, be found in one of

my papers listed in the critical bibliography which I have prepared.[1] It is likewise impossible to deal with the subject of dancing, save only incidentally.

A perusal of this study should show the student the way in which a thorough knowledge of the musical practices of the native peoples throws light upon many important aspects of their history and culture. For there is no doubt whatever that in an art like music, which so completely fills the life of the native peoples, there are many features which enable the ethnologist to acquire an insight into native life from a fresh angle, and from his observation of identical, similar, or borrowed musical practices, to learn much regarding the migrations of and contacts between those peoples who are the objects of his study.

GLOSSARY OF TECHNICAL MUSICAL TERMS USED IN THIS STUDY

Antiphony	Music sung by an individual or chorus in response to that of another.
Antiphonal	Performed in Antiphony.
Ensemble	Music in which several vocal or instrumental parts are performed simultaneously.
Fifth	A musical interval (q.v.) which contains seven semitones.
Fundamental	Most sounding bodies are capable of vibrating in a variety of ways, which give rise to notes of different pitches. Of these the lowest is called the fundamental, and the rest harmonics (v. Harmonic series).
Harmonics	See Fundamental.
Harmonic series	A series of sounds produced by the vibration of a stretched string or of an open pipe. They are in the ratios 1, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, etc., to infinity. They decrease in audibility the higher they are in the series (see musical illustration).
Harmony	Music in which sounds are combined to form chords. Harmony implies the simultaneous sounding of notes of different pitches by different voices or instruments.
Heptatonic (scale)	A scale in which there are seven sounds between octave and octave, e.g. C′, B, A, G, F, E, D, C.
Interval	The relation between two notes sounded simultaneously.
Musical sentence	A musical form or design consisting of two phrases (q.v.). One sentence = two phrases = four sections = eight motives. A motive contains one strong accent, and one or more weak accents, according as it is in duple or triple time.
Nodes	When a stretched string is set in vibration, it vibrates simultaneously in many different ways, each of which yields one partial of the harmonic series. When the string vibrates as a whole, producing its fundamental sound, its maximum movement occurs at its middle point, its two ends being motionless. These motionless points are known as nodes. But when the string vibrates in two equal parts, producing

[1] See below, Bibliography, pp. 441–2.

its first harmonic, which is an octave higher than the fundamental, it is motionless also at its middle point. This point is also called a node. If such a string be lightly touched at this node, and set in vibration, the first harmonic alone will be elicited. Two nodes, over and above the points of attachment of the string, are present when the second harmonic is heard, and so on to infinity.

Ocarina — A musical instrument of Italian origin, made from clay in the form of a pear-shaped whistle with mouthpiece and several finger-holes. The Chinese construct a similar type of instrument.

Partials — Name given to the sounds which compose an harmonic series.

Pentatonic (scale) — A scale in which there are five sounds between octave and octave, e.g. C′, A, G, E, D, C.

Phrase — A musical form or design consisting of two sections (q.v.). It may be in duple or triple time. (See Musical sentence.)

Pitch — This refers to the " height " or " depth " of a musical sound. These two terms are merely descriptive. Actually pitch is measured by the frequency or rapidity of vibrations which are responsible for generating musical sounds. Few vibrations per second yield " low-pitched " sounds; many yield " high-pitched " sounds.

Polyphonic — Music in which polyphony (q.v.) is the aim.

Polyphony — Music in which two or more independent vocal or instrumental parts proceed simultaneously.

Section — A musical form or design consisting of two motives in duple or triple time. (See Musical sentence.)

Stopped pipe — A tube closed at one end. When blown at the other in a suitable manner, the odd-numbered partials of the harmonic series can be elicited. An open pipe, on the other hand, is open at both ends, and from it all the partials of the harmonic series can be produced.

Tonic — The " key-note " of a piece of music; a note of the scale to which all the other notes are related.

The Harmonic Series.

Chapter XIII

TRADITIONAL LITERATURE

By G. P. Lestrade

Introduction

South African Bantu literature may conveniently be divided, as far as general nature and content are concerned, into three main categories. There are firstly those works which, though written in Bantu languages, do not express original Bantu thought. Translations or adaptations of religious and secular works originally written in European languages, as well as the majority of books of an educational nature written to acquaint Bantu-speaking people with some aspect or product of Western civilization, fall under this class. Then there are productions which, though conceived by Bantu or by Europeans well versed in Bantu cultural tradition, and though containing much that is Bantu in thought and expression, are nevertheless conditioned mainly by the impact of Western civilization upon Bantu life. They represent the initial stages of a new phase of Bantu literary activity. Such works are, for instance, a small but increasing number of tales of the short story or novel type, a few biographies, a somewhat larger number of tribal histories, accounts of Native law and custom, and descriptions of other aspects of tribal life, a few volumes of verse, and odd collections of essays. Finally we have products of the Bantu literary genius functioning either in the complete absence of non-Bantu influence or in fundamental independence of such influence. It is with this last division alone of Bantu literature that we are here concerned.

The bulk of this traditional literature was in existence before the advent of the European in South Africa, although as far as is known none of it was recorded.[1] But a certain proportion was conceived and produced after the arrival of the white man, and is continuing to be created at the present time. Its written record is largely the work of European missionaries and other scholars, although the Bantu themselves have taken and are taking an appreciable and increasing part

[1] The Bantu had no system of writing; and the Arabs, though they did reach and settle on the south-east coast of Africa before the Europeans, and penetrated some distance inland, do not appear to have left any records of the indigenous literature of the Bantu.

in this work. The more recent evolution of fresh literary material on the lines of the traditional literature, though perhaps stimulated by European precept and under European influence, is naturally fundamentally the work of Bantu minds only. And so, though not all the literature of this division is " traditional " in the narrow sense of that term, though its written form is directly or indirectly due to European influence, and though the stimulus for the production of new literature of this kind is to some extent given by Europeans, the spirit and content of all the old literature is entirely Bantu, and of most of the new literature in this class overwhelmingly so.

Kinds of Literature

The freedom of primitive Bantu literary tradition and the elasticity of its forms make it impossible to give a rigid classification into which each of the various compositions will fit. Such differentiated forms as we may find are relatively few in number and simple in nature. We may, however, make a preliminary distinction between the two broad divisions of *Prose* and *Verse*, although, as we shall see later, no hard and fast dividing line between them can be laid down. Prose embraces two main categories: *Narrative Prose*, including *Myths* and *Legends*, *Fables* and *Tales*, and *Didactic Prose*, including *Proverbs* and *Riddles* in prose. Verse embraces three main categories: *Didactic Verse*, including *Proverbs* and *Riddles* in verse, and the miscellaneous *Verse-Lore* of tribal initiation; *Lyric and Dramatic Verse*, including all the various kinds of *Songs*; and finally that *genre* intermediate between the epic and the ode which we have in the Bantu *Praise-poems*.

Myths, Legends, Fables, and Tales.

The difference between these four is mainly one of content. *Myth*, as used here, covers such types of prose narrative as deal with the creation of the world, the gods and spirits of Bantu belief, and the origins of things and natural phenomena. By *Legend* we mean such traditions as tell of long-forgotten tribal history, of famous deeds of ancient heroes, and of the origins of tribal institutions. *Fables* comprise chiefly the numerous animal-stories of Bantu folk-lore, but also such narratives about human beings and institutions as, like the animal stories, usually point a moral as well as constituting a tale. Finally, all the various narratives which cannot be definitely grouped into one or other of these three classes are called by the generalized term *Tales*.

The myths and legends, like all primitive myths and legends, resemble much in our own Classical and Teutonic mythology. But, even more than in the latter, we see in the Bantu myth and legend that the gods and spirits, the phenomena of nature, and the heroes and institutions of old, have a distinctly ordinary and human side in addition to their superhuman and mysterious qualities. The fables and tales, too, have their counterpart in European folk-lore, in the stories of Grimm and Andersen, in the nursery tales of our young years. But in such stories—and perhaps Bantu children and grown-ups like them the better for it—the moral element, which though occasionally quite absent is usually there, does not play the all-pervading part that it seems to do in our own folk tales. Some of the stories are quite pointless, mere art for art's sake. Others serve as little but a framework in which a catchy lilt and intriguing words may be repeated again and again. Others are more pointedly didactic and moralizing. Virtue is rewarded and vice punished, right conquers might, cleverness gains the victory over stupidity, the sympathy of the story usually is with the under-dog, who often comes out top in the struggle between force and wits. On the whole, however, the tales are told for delight rather than instruction and this delight is heightened considerably by the dramatic manner in which they are usually told by the reciters, the effect of which, once experienced, is unforgettable.

Proverbs and Riddles.

These have much in common with the proverbs of other peoples, giving in pithy symbolic form some bit of folk-wisdom, or presenting in intriguing shape some little mental problem. Their range of contents is extensive, for they touch upon a wide variety of topics, from the most concrete to the most abstract. Their philosophical range is equally great, since some of them are the most platitudinous truisms and others the most abstruse distillations of thought. Unlike the tales, however, they are almost exclusively didactic and moral in tone and purpose, summing up the accumulated ethical and philosophical experience of generations for the benefit of posterity, in a way not found in the more amorally artistic myths and other narratives. Their pungent wit and striking aptness render them not the least valuable of Bantu literary treasures, and they are esteemed accordingly by the Bantu—proverbs by the older generation and riddles by the little people. Indeed, there exists in some tribes a regular game consisting in the exchange of interpretations of proverbs or of solutions of

riddles, players " buying " a new proverb and its meaning, or a new riddle and its answer, in exchange for a proverb they know or a riddle with which they are acquainted. Generally, too, Bantu audiences seem to be much impressed by a person who knows many proverbs and can use them aptly on appropriate occasions, and they react to the lesson of a proverb much more readily than more sophisticated people.

Songs.

Passing over didactic verse, since the nature and content of riddles has already been touched upon, and since tribal verse-loreis of greater ethnographical than literary interest, let us now consider the songs, which constitute the lyric and dramatic poetry of the Bantu. A dividing line between lyric and dramatic compositions is extremely hard to find. It must be realized that words of songs are linked in Bantu society, not only with music, as they are in our own case—and even more inevitably, since the existence of songs not linked to music is practically unknown—but also, almost invariably, with action as well, whether that action be a dance or a ceremony, a game or a ritual performance, a movement or an immobile pose, either collective or individual. It is perhaps due largely to this half-dramatic nature of the song that nearly all such compositions contain choruses, consisting usually of purely interjectional syllables only, which often form the majority of the content of the song; or, if the songs have no recurring refrains, they are arranged strophically in parts to be sung alternately by different performers.

Bantu poetry is rich in songs of various kinds. We find *Elegiac songs*, expressive of mourning for the death of a loved one; or bringing into words of artless and simple beauty the passionate cry of the primitive heart wrung by some great sorrow; or even uttering the half-pathetic, half-comic complaint of a mind chafing under some minor hurt. Then there are *Love-songs*, in which the amorous urges of adolescence find an outlet in the sighing phrases of the lover, the frettings of the lovesick girl or the angry tirades of the jealous young wife. Next come *War-songs*, with splendidly barbaric choruses, sung slowly and in strongly-marked rhythm accompanied by earth-shaking stamping of hundreds of feet and the deafening crash of as many spears struck on shields in roaring unison; and *Hunting-songs*, with their note of triumph in the kill. With the *Satiric songs* we enter definitely upon the class of lyric connected with *concerted* dramatic action. Such songs are usually performed strophically, and are often illustrated by

mimic action parodying the thing satirized. And it is with this type of song, also, that we enter the type of Bantu poetry which, in modern times, very frequently takes the European and his ways as the objects of satire. But there is an even more definitely dramatic type of lyric in the many songs which can be roughly grouped together as *Action-songs*, including *Dance-songs*, *Mimic-songs*, *Game-songs*, *Songs in tales*, *Work-songs*, and the *Ritual-songs* sung during the performance of the many religious or magical ceremonies of Bantu life. In most of the dance-songs, the chief function of the words seems to be to provide a background of rhythmically-flowing speech for the figures of the dance, though the words of some dances are more than *vox et praeterea nihil*, being praises of the skill of some able performer, or a narration of some real or imaginary past event in the history of the tribe or of some individual, and being acted out as well as sung. In the mimic-songs, we have even more direct dramatization, some events being described at full length in the words, and symbolically imitated in vigorous action, as in the imaginary killing of a foe by a warrior-actor, or the imaginary grinding of corn by some housewife-performer. But it is in the game-songs, work-songs, and ritual-songs, and even, although perhaps less intensely, in the songs in tales, that we encounter the greatest degree of combination between the lyric and the dramatic. In these, we are not listening to a mimic narration of real or imaginary events: we are hearing, from the lips of the performers themselves, a symbolized description of a real and living action taking place in the very present before our eyes. The union between lyric and drama could hardly be closer.

Praise-poems.

These compositions are regarded by the Bantu themselves as the highest products of their literary art. They are a type of composition intermediate between the pure, mainly narrative, epic, and the pure, mainly apostrophic, ode, being a combination of exclamatory narration and laudatory apostrophizing. In form they consist of a succession of what may be called loose stanzas of an irregular number of lines, each line containing a varying number of words, with, however, a more regular number of strong stresses, the whole being in such balanced metrical form as will be described below in dealing with literary technique. In content they consist of phrases and sentences in praise of some tribe, clan, person, animal, or lifeless object which, as a group or individually, is the subject of the poem. They narrate, in

high-pitched adulatory style, deeds for which the subject has acquired fame, enumerating, in hyperbolic apostrophe, those qualities for which he is renowned; and they include a recital of those laudatory epithets applied to him either as a member of a group or as an individual, and known as his "praise-names". The origins of all the older praise-poems, which include most of the tribal, clan, animal, and object praise-poems, and many of the praise-poems of persons no longer alive, are lost in the mists of time; but those of many praise-poems relating to people still living are preserved, and indeed many such poems are originating to-day. Persons of but modest rank in Bantu society usually compose their own praise-poem, and the praise-poems of their cattle, while those of higher status have theirs composed by professional bards, the praise-poets and reciters, the only type of professional literary artist known to tribal Bantu life.[1] These bards, like those of the earlier stages of Bantu society, not only compose but also recite their compositions, in addition to declaiming the traditional poems which have come down from earlier times. Such poets, under modern conditions of Bantu life, have naturally often taken as the subjects of their poems not only the personalities of tribal community and the material objects of Bantu culture, but also the personalities and objects with which contact with Western civilization has made them familiar; and the more emancipated of them have given their poems not only new contents but new forms as well, largely under the influence of European poetic form.

Two only of the subsidiary features of these poems can receive mention here. The first is the extraordinary difficulty of their language, which, in the case of the older poems, is often so archaic as to be only partly intelligible, and which, even in the case of quite new poems, contains many archaisms and obscurities of other kinds. The second is the highly figurative and allusive nature of words and expressions used, which require a considerable amount of extensive and intensive historical as well as ethnographical knowledge for their understanding, and which are, even with such knowledge, often lost to us and still more often only partly explicable. This obscurity of language and allusion, it may be added, presents itself even to the very reciters of such poems, who, though they declaim the verses at the greatest speed at which their vocal organs can articulate, are often quite at a loss to give an intelligible explanation of their meaning.

[1] The praise-poet and reciter was and still is a much-respected and well-rewarded member of the official *entourage* of Bantu chiefs and important sub-chiefs.

Origin and Propagation

The literature described above existed only orally before the comparatively recent recording to which we have referred. Much of it—even of the new kind—is found only in oral form at even the present day, and some of it—how much it is difficult to estimate—has disappeared before being written down. What is true of the traditional literature in this regard is true also of its history. Most Bantu literature of the old type has been handed down through purely oral channels over periods of time varying in length, but all stretching far enough back for such history to have become, in most cases, legendary. The problem of the origins of indigenous Bantu literature is therefore on a par with that of the origins of primitive tradition generally. In the vast majority of cases, it is utterly impossible to say whether an individual piece of folklore owes its origin to a single person or to a group of persons, and what the relation may be between its form as originally conceived and the form in which it has been handed down to us. In almost all cases, the names of the original authors of the pieces have been entirely lost; and in the extremely few instances in which such names have been preserved it would be unwise to place absolute reliance upon the tradition. As to the forms of the pieces, comparative Bantu folklore, by comparing and contrasting different versions of the same item taken down at different times and from different tribes, may throw some light on the Protean vicissitudes of a single literary product. Little conclusive evidence can, however, be found even about the original forms of the various traditions, and practically none at all about their origins. But though we cannot say how Bantu folklore did originate, we can, perhaps, draw certain reasonable conclusions as to how it may have originated, if we observe popular Bantu literature in process of birth and propagation to-day.

Although the production and to some extent the dissemination of a body of traditional folk-literature falls somewhat naturally into the hands of individuals with special aptitude, yet this is by no means the specialized thing among these primitive folk which it has come to be among ourselves. A comparatively large proportion of Bantu, men or women, old or young, are potential creators of literature, a still larger proportion are adapters or declaimers of it, and the literature produced and propagated soon becomes the common possession of the people as a whole. Individualism and specialization, though by no means absent from Bantu society, are not found to the extent they are

in our own, nor have they penetrated into as many departments of life as they have in the more complex civilized communities. We must remember also that the Bantu possess a strong strain of conservatism in their mental composition, and tend to be averse to innovations, in literature as in other things. And, what is more important in the present connection, they tend to resist an innovation until it has itself become so well-worn that the name of the originator is forgotten, and even the names of those who first took it up are but dimly remembered. Under such circumstances, it need not surprise us that indigenous Bantu literature grows but slowly and against considerable odds—not the least of these latter being the absence or very limited practice of writing under even modern tribal conditions—and that much if not most of such literature tends to originate anonymously or to become anonymous in a very short space of time.

But there is, even apart from the work of consciously individual modern Bantu authors, a certain amount of personal creative activity even under such conditions, and a still greater amount of literary propagation by individuals. Numbers of purely tribal Bantu will, for instance, conceive a tale, perhaps quite new, perhaps adapted, perhaps based on some experience of their own; or they may compose both the music and the words of little snatches of song, or invent a fresh riddle or turn a new proverb; and may compose their own praise-poems, or the praise-poem of some person whom they wish to honour, or of some animal dear to them, or of their people or country. Such individual compositions may live for the moment only, or may last and eventually become incorporated into the communal folk-lore. In either case the names of their authors tend, with few exceptions, to remain obscure, and eventually to vanish from men's memory. The names of those who learn such compositions from their authors, incorporating them into their declamatory *répertoire*, and giving them a wider forum and longer life, are apt to suffer a better fate. But the names of even the more famous tellers of tales or reciters of poems rarely outlast the memory of a single generation. And so, though many individuals help to make Bantu folk-lore, and more help to disseminate it and keep it alive, their personal share in it tends to be forgotten as it is absorbed into the general wealth of communal tradition.

Coupled with this there is a tendency to vary the original content and form of such pieces, to adapt them to various circumstances, to change them about with the passage of time, to lay them aside and

to revive them only in much-altered guise, so that after a while there is no saying how far a piece may be altered out of its original version. A grandmother telling a folk-tale round the evening fire may forget some of it and may either omit what she forgets or make up fresh sections of her own to fill the gap in her memory. A praiser reciting the praise-poem of his chief's ancestors may, in the excitement of the moment, omit, or add, or alter the order or construction of stanzas as his memory serves him and circumstances vary. The words of a song may, by the time they have travelled from district to district and from tribe to tribe, become utterly different from what they were on the lips of their original author. Even proverbs, those change-resisting elements in Bantu literature, may acquire fresh interpretations, and, with new interpretations, new forms. Tribal Bantu literature therefore may be said to be traditional rather than innovatory, communal rather than individual, and elastic rather than fixed, in both content and form; its creators tend to be or become unknown; and those who propagate it tend to be equally obscure.

Certain exceptions to these broad generalizations must, however, be noted. The generalization in regard to the mainly traditional nature of Bantu tribal literature must not be taken too exclusively or too literally. It has already been shown that much of this literature has originated in recent times, is originating even to-day under purely tribal conditions, and is therefore not an inheritance from the past as far as content is concerned, though in form it may be largely or entirely constructed on traditional models. In content, a good deal of this modern Bantu folk-lore is quite new, treating of themes and conceived in a spirit utterly foreign to the ancestral Bantu. Radical changes in form are rarer even in the newer literature, but they are by no means absent.

Again, while what has been said above about the communal nature of the literature and the obscurity of authors and propagators is true in general, we must notice one or two modifying factors. In every Bantu community, certain people will stand out above their fellows in regard to their ability, in respect of memory or elocutionary power, or both, to recite the traditional literature. And, as the stock of such literature is too large for a single person to know it all by heart, people tend to specialize as to the type of literature they recite, or as to their *répertoire* within the same type, or in a combination of these. They may sometimes know only one or two stories, or declaim only one or two praise-poems, or come out over and over again with the

same small number of proverbs, riddles, songs, and so forth. Some persons acquire a considerable reputation for the extent of their *répertoire*; others acquire a smaller but no less definite reputation for its quality.

In this connection, also, it is interesting to note that we may sometimes observe the existence of something faintly approaching our European notion of copyright—not so much in regard to authorship, however, as in regard to performing rights. A certain tale will tend to be told, a certain praise-poem to be recited, by only one person in a community, who has made the piece peculiarly his or her own, and who has in this way acquired a sort of vested performing right in it. Others, who may know the piece as well as the person concerned, will refrain from declaiming it, or at least from declaiming it on any public or semi-public occasion, not wishing to infringe upon his susceptibilities. A very special case in this regard is the tribal praise-poem reciter attached to the chief of a tribe. He not only specializes in knowing and declaiming the traditional praises of the tribes and clans and of the chief and his ancestors, but also makes a new praise from time to time as occasion demands; and recites them whenever and wherever they have to be delivered. So, too, we find special repositories of the songs, formulæ, and other items of tribal lore communicated to the neophytes in the tribal initiation schools; and persons who, as chief performers in the many rites and ceremonies of Bantu life, recite the prayers, incarnations, exhortations, and formulæ generally which occur on such occasions, and who are generally the only people in the tribe who can or may do so. In regarding Bantu literature as mainly communal in origin and performance, therefore, we must once again not be too narrow or literal in our interpretation.

The presence of the European has brought about several important changes in regard to the production and propagation of literature even of the traditional type. European appreciation of and interest in Bantu literature of the traditional type, coupled with the introduction of writing and printing, has not only stimulated educated Bantu to collect and set down a body of this literature, but has also encouraged some to write original pieces of their own in imitation of the ancient models, with such changes in content, or form, or both, as have been or will be noted. Writing and printing and the influence of the European tendency towards standardization have further, it need hardly be stressed, tended to make Bantu tribal literature much more stable and rigid in content and form than was the case before. This

modern type of literature, then, tends to be innovatory rather than traditional; individual rather than communal, in so far as the Bantu have absorbed European ideas about individuality in authorship, about literary reputation, and about conscious, sustained, and specialized literary effort, not to mention questions of literary property; and fixed rather than elastic.

Here again various exceptions must be noted. There is still much close, even slavish, imitation of the old models, we still find numerous examples of an absence of the notion of individual literary property, and an appreciable proportion of the popular literature of the modern Bantu is still in a state of flux in regard to content and form. The dissemination of this newer literature of the old type also, in general, takes place on new lines. Private reading is beginning to take the place of public listening, and literature which would under other circumstances inevitably become communal property is beginning to be communicated only to those who can read it in its printed form. But here also there are exceptions. Public reading is often done now where public recitation was done before, and in this way these productions, instead of finding smaller, often find larger ultimate audiences than would be the case in the old days. We must also not overlook the fact that some modern productions of the traditional type have been and are being translated, not only from the original Bantu languages into European languages, but also from one Bantu language into another, and that their sphere of appeal is thus being enlarged in a way which could hardly have happened under more restricted tribal conditions. Not only in regard to content and form, then, but also in regard to the manner of its production and propagation, Bantu literature even of the traditional type is to-day something considerably different from that of pre-European Bantu life.

General Characteristics

In proceeding to consider briefly a few of the more salient general characteristics of Bantu traditional literature, we must remember at the outset that we have to do here with the folk-tradition of a primitive people, not with the individualized literary monuments of a highly-civilized community. We must accordingly be prepared to find in this primitive literature a lack of individual differentiation in its different branches, in its technique in the various types, in the different productions in its various subdivisions, and in the personalities of the

various authors who have expressed themselves through its medium; as well as a lack of sophistication, an absence of conscious literary tradition, and the virtual non-existence of a critically interpretative spirit.

On the other hand, the very lack of these qualities gives us a body of literature which, through its very homogeneity, possesses an unusual unity and individuality when regarded as a whole, a unity which tends to preserve, perpetuate, and strengthen it against the powerful factors operating towards its neglect and decay, and an individuality which goes far to counterbalance the lack of individuality in its constituent parts. The lack of conscious sophistication and purposeful criticism in its general spirit also brings with it positive compensating qualities: primitive Bantu literature is spontaneous, natural, and fresh, its themes are unaffected, its technique unhackneyed, its expression free. If its outlook is simple to the point of apparent artlessness, let us remember that simplicity is one of the corner-stones of great art; and while not losing sight of the fact that apparent artlessness may conceal a true and deep art, let us also not forget that to an artless spirit may be vouchsafed delights not given to sophistication. Further, if in this simple literature we encounter a certain poverty of interpretation and criticism of life, let us be mindful of the fact that one of the great aims of such art may be to attempt an escape from drab and oppressive reality into an ideal world beyond our power of interpretation and above our ability to criticize. And so, if we attempt to assess the value of this literature, we may perhaps be not altogether unjustified in asserting that this simple product of the primitive Bantu genius may justly claim our attention and respect both for its marked individuality of spirit and execution, and for the true and fundamental artistic principles upon which it has based itself.

Language, Style, and Technique

Language.

No treatment of Bantu literature would be complete without some reference to the part played by certain characteristic qualities of the Bantu languages in imparting to it certain of its typical features. The dominantly vocalic quality of the Bantu sound-system, the absence of neutral and indeterminate vowels, and the general avoidance of consonant-combinations, give to spoken Bantu speech and literature a sonority and beauty of utterance of a high order. And, on the other

hand, the presence in Bantu sound-systems of consonants and consonant-combinations, particularly in the languages of the South, rich in qualities of onomatopœia and picturesqueness, lends to these languages a power of effectiveness in description and narration which adds materially to their expressive qualities. Strongly-marked dynamic stresses, occurring in more or less regular positions in all words of the same language, and the fairly regular incidence of long syllables also usually in the same positions, give to Bantu utterance a rhythmic quality and a measured and balanced flow not met with in languages with irregular stresses and more staccato delivery. Moreover, the existence, in the Southern Bantu languages especially, of a system of intonation also gives to these languages a musical quality not possessed by less markedly and more evenly intoned languages.

But it is not only in respect of their sound-system that the Bantu languages possess qualities which render them apt literary media. Their grammatical system also is of such a nature that it lends itself readily to the work of precise and eloquent literary expression. Bantu grammar, with its wealth of forms, its transparency of structure, its marked regularity, its closely-knit system of concordial agreement, its simple and direct syntactical construction, possesses high qualities of precision and clarity for the expresion of thought. Its remarkable power in the creation of a wealth of derivative forms, of which the wonderful fecundity of the verb-system is perhaps the best but by no means the only example, lends to this precision and clarity the further quality of being able to make extremely fine distinctions of thought and to express extraordinarily delicate shades of meaning.

Bantu words also possess certain more purely semantic qualities which help to give Bantu speech a high degree of literary value. The total extent of the vocabulary of a Bantu language would appear to be normally appreciably less than that of a European literary language, even if we allow liberally for the fact that our knowledge and written record of such extent probably represent only a fraction of the actual range, and even if we take as our measure not merely absolute size, but rather effective calibre. But what Bantu languages may lack in the total extent of their vocabulary, they make up in the relative range of their words in the fields of experience which the languages have translated into spoken symbols. Indeed, it would be fair to say that these languages are really poor only in respect of such words which designate things outside Bantu tribal experience, and that, with regard to the fields of experience with which Bantu thought is

familiar, the extent of Bantu vocabulary tends to be rather larger than that of the average European language.

Many words, moreover, are also characterized by a high degree of aptness and picturesqueness in the facets of experience which they express, and in the imagery with which they express them. Even the commonest actions, objects, qualities, and descriptive notions may be indicated by words showing this quality of picturesque imagery. As if this were not enough, Bantu languages possess a type of word, the ideophone, as it has come to be called recently, which is particularly fit for the vivid and picturesque expression of qualities of objects or descriptions of actions. A few examples may be given here from Northern Sotho. *Mojalefa*, literally " the eater of the inheritance ", is the regular term applied to the principal son in a household, who is the principal heir, and who may possibly squander the inheritance of the other children, which is entrusted to him ; *bohlaba-tšatši* and *bosobêla-tšatši*, literally " where the sun pierces " and " where the sun goes down " respectively, are the only terms known for " East " and " West " ; and *molalatladi*, literally " the sleeping-place of the lightning ", is the name of the rainbow, as *tsela ya badimo*, literally " the path of the ancestral spirits ", is the name of the Milky Way.

Such terms, the last two more particularly, illustrate another marked feature of Bantu speech : its highly figurative quality. This comes into play particularly owing to the comparative poverty of the Bantu languages in abstract terms, although this does not of course mean that they are unable to convey abstract ideas. One sees this quality of using concrete expressions for conveying abstract ideas, and conveying them effectively and picturesquely into the bargain, in such idiomatic sayings as the Zulu phrases *ukudla ngengxwembe endala* (to eat with an old (-fashioned) spoon) in the sense of " to hold fast to old-fashioned customs or ideas " ; *uyisifuba sami* (he is my chest) in the sense of " he is my intimate friend " ; and *wakhuluma ngomlomo-mbili* (he spoke with two mouths) in the sense of " he was dissimilating " : or in the Southern Sotho idioms *a ntsena hanong* (he entered into my mouth) in the sense of " he interrupted me ", *ba mo lomile tsebe* (they have bitten his ear) in the sense of " they have whispered to him, they have informed him surreptitiously ", *seatla-kobong* (the hand in the cloak) in the sense of " a bribe ", and *ka itšoara bojaba* (I held my elbow) in the sense of " I listened attentively ". Bantu literature, like Bantu speech, is full of such delightful things.

Style.

In spite of the phonetic and semantic picturesqueness of the Bantu word and the figurative and imaginative nature of Bantu idiom—or perhaps because of such qualities—the general effect of Bantu style is one of simplicity and unaffectedness. It has been mentioned above that the syntax of the Bantu languages is of a direct and simple kind. Sentences are short, longer sentences are broken up into co-ordinate rather than subordinate parts, complex and involved constructions are practically absent. Figurative speech is used to a considerable extent. But the number of different rhetorical figures employed is small, and the figures themselves are not of an elaborate kind. With few exceptions, therefore, we get no impression of any straining after literary effect, except in the praise-poems, the one type of composition where tribal Bantu literature appears to have become fully conscious of itself and of its rhetorical possibilities, and where we get deliberate and purposeful searching after effective expression.

It will hardly need stressing, however, that the style of the various compositions to be found in Bantu literature varies at least as much as the contents of these compositions, from the older to the younger pieces and from the simpler to the more elaborate types. In the older productions, the language itself too will naturally be different from that of the younger. Words are found in earlier phonetic forms, with meanings and in functions now rare or obsolete; grammatical forms and syntactical constructions dating from a long-past period in the history of the language are preserved in these older pieces; words occur the meanings of which have been entirely lost or are only dimly remembered; expressions and idioms whose exact force cannot now be determined with any accuracy; and metaphors and other figures of speech are met with whose rhetorical effect and very significance are lost to us or only imperfectly recoverable.

Even in the younger productions, however, where the language is at once more easily comprehensible and more homogeneous, we encounter great differences of style, from the artless discursiveness and unaffected imagery of the folk-tales to the stark economy of phrasing and the elaborate figures of speech in the ritual chants, from the transparent simplicity and highly-charged emotion of the dramatic songs to the crabbed allusiveness and sophisticated calm of the proverb, and from the quiet humour and modest didacticism of the riddle to the high seriousness and ambitious rhetorical flight of the praise-poem.

Although the marked differentiation and individualism of styles in European literature is not found here, yet there is considerable variety in the styles of the different types of composition.

Technique

The comparative absence of conscious tradition and convention in tribal Bantu literature results *inter alia* in the free, unspecialized, and simple nature of the technique which we meet in its various compositions. Different types of literature do, of course, tend to be modelled in different and characteristic forms. So, for instance, the riddle is often given in a set type of formula with fixed constituent parts, the folk-tale in nearly all cases contains snatches of song repeated at various intervals, and frequently tends to be delivered in a sort of half-spoken, half-sung chant, while the praise-poem everywhere has even more set conventions of construction, form, and delivery. But, while such different types of piece tend to be expressed in different forms, the technique of these forms is in itself neither rigid nor elaborate, nor highly individual. The only aspect of Bantu literary technique that is at all markedly characterized by the three last-mentioned qualities is its prosody; and a very brief reference to some of the typical features of Bantu poetry in this regard will be made here, to give the reader some idea of such technique of construction as the Bantu possess.

But first, since the term "prosody" is apt to convey to one acquainted mainly with European conventions in this field the notion of a distinct formal difference between prose and verse, and of the characterization of the latter by fixed systems of metre, rhyme, alliteration, or other scansional mechanisms, let us remember that, in this primitive literature, the distinction between prose and verse is a small one, and that the border-line between them is extremely difficult to ascertain and define, while the verse-technique, in so far as verse can be separated from prose, is extremely free and unmechanical. Broadly speaking, it may be said that the difference between prose and verse in Bantu literature is one of spirit rather than of form, and that such formal distinction as there is is one of degree of use rather than of quality of formal elements. Prose tends to be less emotionally charged, less moving in content and full-throated in expression than verse; and also—but only in the second place—less formal in structure, less rhythmical in movement, less metrically balanced. To these very broad generalizations there are, of course, exceptions, notably that proverbs

and even riddles, which do not as a rule have a high emotional content, are often found in verse; but on the whole they may be considered valid.

The chief structural features of Bantu verse, like those of Hebrew poetry, are balance of ideas and balance of metrical form. This notional and metrical balance takes various shapes: it is found as *parallelism* in such a case as that of the Zulu proverb

Kuhlwile/phambili// kusile / emúva
(It is dark/in front//it is light/behind) [1]

where not only idea is contrasted with idea in position for position and through identical types of part of speech, verb contrasted with verb and adverb with adverb, but where also the number of syllables in each contrasted pair of words is the same and the dynamic stress on each in the same position. It is found as *cross-parallelism* or *chiasmus* in such a case as that of another Zulu proverb

Indála / kayihámbi // kuhámb' / indlála
(Prosperity/does not travel//what does travel (is)/poverty) [2]

where contrasted nouns and verbs respectively denoting contrasting ideas occur in opposite positions in the constituent phrases of the sentence, and where such correspondence as is found between number of syllables and position of dynamic stresses in the contrasted words must be looked for crosswise and not directly. It is found also as a form for which we have elsewhere provisionally coined the term *linking* in such an example as the Southern Sotho lines

E sa lemile le boea, khomohali,
Khomohali ea bo-Setebane,
Ea bo-Setebane, ea bo-Rapolile.

(It has ploughed with hair on its body, the big beast,
The big beast of the Setebanes,
Of the Setebanes, of the Rapoliles),

a device whereby some prominent word in the latter half of a line, usually the last word, is repeated in the first half of the succeeding line, usually as the first word—a process observed twice in the three short lines cited above. The purely metrical balance of such lines is more difficult to show: the reader may be assured, however, that they are perfectly balanced according to Bantu metrical feeling. We

[1] Cf. "It is easy to be wise after the event".
[2] i.e. prosperity does not spread easily, poverty does.

may note, further, that this purely formal balance, apart from the balance of ideas, may extend from contrasted words and phrases of similar grammatical function, number of syllables and position of stressed and long syllables, to correspondence of intonation as well, in such a sentence as the Northern Sotho proverb

Pala-xabedi /e phala/ pala-xangwê
(Count-twice/ excels /Count-once) [1]

where the very intonation of that contrasting words *pala-xabedi* and *pala-xangwê* is identical. Balance of form can hardly go further.

[1] i.e. it is better to think twice about any project.

Chapter XIV

LANGUAGE

By C. M. Doke

The Bantu languages are one of four main language families represented among the Natives of Africa. The Sudanic or Negro family of languages, with many sub-groups, stretches across Africa at its widest part from Cape Verde to the confines of Abyssinia, and comprises over four hundred languages of an isolating type, in which syllable tone plays as important a part as in Chinese. These languages are almost devoid of inflexions and are believed to be among the oldest in Africa. Then a remotely intrusive language family in Africa is the Hamitic, with its representatives scattered over North and North-East Africa, including such members as Hausa, Berber, Galla, and (in South Africa) Hottentot. These Hamitic languages, rich in inflexion and employing grammatical sex-gender, are related to Ancient Egyptian. A third language family, more recently intrusive in Africa, is the Semitic, also found in the North and East, to-day most noticeably represented by Arabic and several languages of Abyssinia.

The Bantu family of languages is located in a continuous area stretching southwards from a line drawn from the Gulf of Cameroons on the west, above the northernmost bend of the Congo, to the south of Lake Albert, above Lake Victoria, and across to the East Coast at the mouth of the Tana River. A few non-Bantu enclaves are found within this area, principally that of the Hamitic Masai and their neighbours south-east of Lake Victoria, and those of the Bushmen and Hottentots in South and South-West Africa. Beyond the northern, and more particularly the north-western, border is naturally to be found a number of languages with Bantu characteristics but large non-Bantu elements: those in the Nile valley bearing Hamitic or Nilotic features are termed Bantoid, and those with a strong impregnation of the Sudanic in West Africa are usually termed Semi-Bantu.

Main Characteristics

The characteristics of the Bantu languages are in some respects unique, though there is a certain parallel of form in many languages of

the South Seas. The main characteristics may be summed up as follows:

1. *Grammatical Class-gender in Place of Sex-gender.* By this the nouns are divided into a number of classes depending on the form of their prefix. Certain of the noun classes have definite significances, such as "personal", "abstract", "diminutive", "augmentative", "of length"; but sex-gender, masculine, feminine, etc., is not a grammatical consideration in Bantu. Some 23 classes have been identified in Bantu; of these Zulu uses 13, Southern Sotho 12, Shona 18, Lamba 19, Ganda 19, and Swahili 12, to instance a few typical languages. Generally speaking a change of class prefix is made to differentiate singular from plural; for instance in Sotho: *mōthō*, a person, *bathō*, people; *sēlèpè*, axe, *lilèpè*, axes. Class prefix change also at times alters significance, e.g. in Lamba: *umuntu*, person (*awŵantu*, people); *icintu*, thing (*ifintu*, things); *uwŵuntu*, humanity; *akantu*, little thing (*utuntu*, little things).

2. *The Employment of the Alliterative Concord*, by which all words grammatically connected with the noun assume an element, usually prefixal, in harmony with the prefix of the noun; for instance in Zulu:

Iɀinkomo ɀikaɓaɓa ɀonke ɀaluka kuleyo-ntaɓa ende.
Cattle they-of-my-father they-all they-graze on-that-hill it-high.
My father's cattle are all grazing on that high hill.

Aɓantwana ɓakaɓaɓa ɓonke ɓadlala kulowo-muthi omde.
Children they-of-my-father they-all they-play on-that-tree it-high.
My father's children are all playing on that high tree.

3. *An Underlying Unity of Roots.* A large number of word roots is found with phonetic variations throughout the Bantu languages.

4. *A Basic Quinary System of Numeration.* Although many Bantu languages have to-day a decimal system with names for the numbers up to ten, it is found that those representing six to nine are of later development, borrowings, as in Swahili from Arabic, or composite terms as in Nguni and Sotho, while the words for one to five and ten are the typical Bantu. In Central Bantu languages counting is in fives, ninety-nine, for instance, being "tens five and four, and five and four".

5. *A High Development of the Verb Tenses.* With a differentiated positive and negative conjugation, several moods and implications, and five time-distinctions, present, remote and immediate past, remote and immediate future, a very high and intricate development

of the verb is found in most Bantu languages, capable of subtle and minute distinctions.

6. *A Wealth of Verbal Derivative Forms.* The verbal derivatives, a feature of Semitic and Hamitic languages, are very numerous in Bantu, where, by changing the verbal suffix, passive, neuter, causative, applied, reciprocal, intensive, reversive, extensive, associative, perfective, and other derivative forms are regularly made. The following example from Xhosa will illustrate: *thanda*, love; *thandela*, love for; *thandisa*, cause to love; *thandana*, love one another; *thandeka*, be lovable; *thandwa*, be loved.

7. *The Ideophone as a Distinct Part of Speech.* This feature, also found in Sudanic languages, is widespread in Bantu, though one or two Bantu languages, e.g. Swahili, seem to lack it. Syntactically it is somewhat akin to the adverb, acting as a descriptive of the predicate. Often onomatopoeic, the ideophone represents manner, colour, sound, action, state, or intensity. It will be dealt with later.

8. *The Use of Intonation both Characteristic and Significant.* By this, not only does the system of tone-sequence label the languages but, as in Sudanic, change of tone or musical pitch sequence constitutes grammatical inflexion and distinguishes words phonetically alike but different in meaning. In Shona, for instance, note: *ìshe*, nest of rats, *ishe*, chief; *shokò*, monkey, *shòko*, word; where the mark above the vowel indicates a high tone; or in Zulu: *wàhamba*, he goes, *wa̧hamba*, thou goest, with low tone on the first syllable; *mìnà*, I; *mìna*, hey!

9. *The Employment of Open Syllables Only.* The various examples already given illustrate this. Note that even in such Tswana words as *taung* or *mafikeng*, of three and four syllables respectively, the final *ng* is a syllablic nasal and therefore comprises an open syllable.

10. *The Word-building Work of Stress.* It is most important to realize that stress in Bantu languages is not used for emphasis as in English, nor to distinguish words otherwise alike, as in *cóntent* and *conténT*. Stress is the natural word-builder of Bantu, each word having one, and only one, fully stressed syllable which draws around it certain unstressed or only partly-stressed syllables. Stress in Bantu is commonly on the penultimate syllable.

11. *A Balanced Pure Vowel-system with Three Basic Vowels.* Typical Bantu vowels are built up from the basis of *i*, *a*, and *u*; and each language has the same number and correspondence of front and back vowels, with one basic *a*. Thus Nguni and Lamba have each seven

vowels, Sotho nine, Shona five, and so on. Diphthongs and nasalized vowels are absent or rare, as also are lax and abnormal vowels.

General Classification

The correct classification of the Bantu languages is by no means certain yet. A great deal more field investigation, recording, and collating will be necessary before we can give a satisfactory classification, but the following may be suggested tentatively.

First of all the languages might be divided into zones or geographical divisions, as follows :—

North-Western (Duala, Fang, etc.)
Northern (Ganda, Rundi, etc.)
Congo (Kongo, Bangi, etc.).
Central (Luba, Bemba, etc.).
Eastern (Bondei, Yao, etc.).
South-Eastern (Nguni, Sotho, etc.).
Western (Mbundu, Herero, etc.).

A readjustment and alteration of these will probably be found necessary, as well as provision made for intermediate zones for the place of such languages as Lwena (West-Central), Swahili (North-Eastern), Nyanja (East-Central), Shona (South-Central), and so on. The language zones are distinguished one from the other by certain definite phenomena in phonetics, grammar, vocabulary, or syntax. It must be realized that individual members of a particular zone may to-day be living among members of a different zone owing to tribal migrations, but the zone label is taken from the habitat of the majority.

Within the language zones are found the *groups*, aggregations of languages possessing common salient phonetic and grammatical features, and having a high degree of mutual understanding, so that members can without real difficulty converse with one another. In the South-Eastern zone, for instance, there are four groups of Bantu languages :

Nguni, with the Zulu, Xhosa, and Swazi clusters.
Sotho, with the Northern Sotho, Southern Sotho, and Tswana clusters.
Venda.
Tonga, with the Tonga, Ronga, and Tswa clusters.

Between the clusters within the group there is always some possibility of literary unification. The name given to a group has often to be of an artificial type, as in the case of Nguni, Shona, etc., since each dialect usually has its distinct name, and no common group name may exist.

Each language given above as belonging to the groups really indicates an aggregation of dialects which contribute to or use a common literary form. For instance in the Sotho group, the Tswana cluster comprises such dialects as Kxatla, Thlaping, Ngwato, Tawana, Kwena, Kxalaxadi, Ngwaketse, Huruthse, and Rolong. Similarly Zulu, Xhosa, and the other literary forms are made up of clusters of dialects. It is the work of investigation to-day to determine how the dialects are associated in order to advise on literary development. Sometimes more than one dialect of a single cluster has been chosen by different Missionary Societies for translation and educational work, and a great wastage of energy and dissipation of effort have been the result.

Within the Union of South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia the inter-relationship of the dialects has been fairly well determined, but there are many parts of Africa where workers are still ignorant of the real position, and where a programme of language development is necessarily seriously retarded.

South African Bantu Languages

In South Africa are to be found representatives of no less than three distinct language families. The various languages of the *Bushmen* belong to the isolating type of speech, akin in structure (though not proved so radically) to the Sudanic family of which mention has been made. It is sufficient here to state that Bushman is built up on a monosyllabic basis (while that of Bantu is dissyllabic), that grammatical inflexion is practically non-existent, that intonation plays a significant part in differentiating words, and that there is a total absence of grammatical sex-gender, case, mood, and to a great extent even of number and tense.

On the other hand the *Hottentot* languages, of which Nama and Korana are the only two extant to-day, belong to the Hamitic family, with its high inflexion, having three cases, three numbers, and three sex-genders, as well as a well-developed verb conjugation. Hottentot had very early contact with Bushman resulting in the acquisition

of the clicks and a certain amount of intonation, as well as additions to the vocabulary. Hottentot too must have contributed vocabulary to Bushman.

The *Bantu* languages represent a third African language family. In the Union of South Africa the two most important groups of Bantu languages are the Nguni and the Sotho. It is not easy to obtain reliable statistics, but probably the Nguni speakers number 3,000,000 and the Sotho speakers 1,750,000.

Special Features.

The South-Eastern zone of Bantu languages is marked by certain definite characteristics. For instance, the formation of the locative of nouns is mainly by suffix, whereas Central and Northern Bantu employ prefixes for this purpose. Further, whereas in Central Bantu locatives have two functions, that of adverbs and that of nouns with locative concordial agreements, the function of the locative in South-Eastern Bantu is solely adverbial. A consideration of one word, that for "village", "kraal", will illustrate both the formation and the function. In Lamba (Central Bantu) the word is *umusi*,[1] and the locative may be *pamusi* (at the village), *kumusi* (to, from the village) or *mumusi* (in the village), by using the prefixes *pa-*, *ku-*, and *mu-*. In Nguni the word is *umuʐi* (Zulu), or *umʐi* (Xhosa), with only one locative *emʐini*, formed by suffix and prefixal change; and in Sotho the word is *mōtse* with one locative *mōtseng*, formed by suffix. Further, the Lamba locatives may be used as nouns, subject or object of the sentence, with adjectives, pronouns and verbs brought into concordial agreement. Note this sentence:—

Umu mumusi mwēsu umukulu muli aẁalwele aẁenji.
In-this in-village in-ours in-big in-are sick-people they-many.

Or with a change to *pamusi*:—

Apa pamusi pēsu apakulu pali aẁalwele awenji.
At this big village of ours are many sick people.

To express this idea in Nguni or Sotho a totally different rendering would have to be made:—

Zulu: *Kukhona aɓagulayo aɓaningi emʐini wakithi lapha.*
There-are sick-ones they-many in-village it-of-ours here.

S. Sotho: *Mona mōtseng o mōhōlō oa hesō hō na lē bakuli ba bangata.*
Here in-village it-big it-of-ours there-is-with sick-ones them-many.

The lack of locative concord in South-Eastern Bantu is at once apparent.

[1] In Lamba *s* followed by *i* or *y* has the phonetic value of *sh*.

Another differentiating feature of the South-Eastern languages is that they do not indicate the diminutive and augmentative forms of nouns by a change of class, using the diminutive and augmentative prefix, but again make these distinctions by means of suffix. To take again one word for comparison, that for " dog " ; in Lamba (Central Bantu) the word is *imbwa*, and the diminutive is formed by prefix, *akabwa* (pl. *utubwa*). The formation in South-Eastern Bantu, however, is by suffixing *-ana*,[1] e.g. in Xhosa and Zulu *inja* becomes *injana* (little dog), and in Sotho and Tswana *ntja* becomes *ntjana*. The Shona group, in Southern Rhodesia, in many respects provides a bridging between the Central and the South-Eastern zones, and here in the case of the diminutive we find alternative formations, by prefix or by suffix according to dialect. In the Zezuru dialect we have *imbga* giving *kambga* (pl. *tumbga*), in Duma *mbga* giving *mgbana*, and in Mari *mbga* giving *kambga* (pl. *vumbga*), the last two being sub-dialects of Karanga.

These suffixal formations for locative, diminutive, and augmentative (where Nguni used *-kaɀi* and Sotho *-hali*) go far to explain why typical South-Eastern Bantu languages have so few noun classes in comparison to Northern and Central zone languages such as Ganda and Lamba.

Other features of the South-Eastern zone are found in the phonetics. It is in this zone almost entirely that the peculiar lateral fricative sounds, represented by *hl*, *dl*, *tl*, etc., are to be found. It is here also that the phenomenon of palatalization of consonants (especially labial consonants) takes place. This process is not complete in the Tonga and Venda groups, where one finds such forms as *by*, but in Sotho, and especially Nguni, the process is carried out more systematically and fully. In Zulu, for instance, in the formation of noun diminutives, verb passives, and locative adverbs, in certain circumstances the bi-labial consonants give place altogether to palatals, *ph* becoming *sh*, *ɓ* becoming *tsh*, *b* becoming *j*, and *m* becoming *ny*, as for instance in the passives of *hlupha*, *loɓa*, *baba*, and *luma*, which are *hlushwa*, *lotshwa*, *bajwa*, and *lunywa* respectively. No other Bantu language zone exhibits this phenomenon.

The existence of clicks, particularly in Nguni, though also found in Southern Sotho, is due to outside influence. They are a non-Bantu phonetic phenomenon, and are due to two sources of influence, that of the Hottentots, especially in the case of Xhosa, and one possibly

[1] Except in the case of Venda which has a diminutive class, but Venda leans towards Shona.

direct from the Bushmen, whose languages provide the fountain head of this speech phenomenon.

Differences.

Bantu languages throughout Africa have a tendency, even within the same zone, to differ from one another in a very important respect—in regard to the number of syllables in the noun prefix. This differentiation is found in the South-Eastern zone between Nguni, on the one hand, and Sotho on the other. Nguni languages[1] have typically dissyllabic noun prefixes, e.g. *umu-ntu*, *aba-ntu*, *ama-futha*, *ili-ʇwi*, *ulu-tho*, *isi-fuba*, etc., whereas Sotho languages have monosyllabic prefixes, e.g. *mō-thō*, *ba-thō*, *ma-fura*, *lē-ntsoe*, *lē-thò*, *sē-fuba*, etc. The difference lies in the fact that in Nguni the noun prefix has an initial vowel (generally the same as the vowel of the prefix) which the Sotho languages lack. This has a very far-reaching effect upon the appearance of the languages, and one cannot help feeling that herein lies a fundamental difference of long standing, which might have some bearing upon the migration routes of the peoples.

The first effect of this difference is that in Nguni vowel elision and vowel coalescence play a large part—absent from Sotho. Practically all words in Bantu end in vowels. When, in addition, a great number (all the nouns and adjectives) commence in vowels, the frequent juxtaposition of vowels leads to contractions. Compare

Zulu: *Aban'abakhulu babon'iʇinkom'eʇiningi* for *Abantu abakhulu babona iʇinkomo eʇiningi* (The big people saw many cattle).

Southern Sotho: *Bathō ba bahōlō ba bòna likhomō tse ngata.*

In Lamba (Central Bantu) a coalescence of vowels takes place instead of the elision of Zulu, and the above sentence would therein read as: *Aŵantu aŵakulu ŵaŵone-ŋombe isinji* (for *ŵaŵona iŋombe*). Coalescence may only take place by a fusion of *a* and *i* to form *e*, of *a* and *u* to form *o*, and *a* and *a* to form a secondary *a*. In Zulu this occurs in word-formation, not between words. In Shona (of Southern Rhodesia) there is no visible initial vowel to the nouns, but in most dialects a latent vowel exerts an influence to cause coalescence, and the above sentence would appear as: *vanhu vakuru vavone-ŋombe ʇhinji*, instead of *vavona ŋombe*, where *ŋombe* has a latent initial *i*.

But the effect of the presence or absence of an initial vowel in the noun prefix goes further. Those languages which have no initial vowel

[1] It must be observed that Swazi savours of both forms, some of the class prefixes being dissyllabic, others being monosyllabic.

in the noun prefix may use "possessives" in a substantival way as possessive pronouns without any change of form, e.g. in Southern Sotho:

Mōsali oa haē ō teng, ēmpa oa ka ō tsamaile: His wife is present, but mine has gone away (where *oa ka* is used substantivally instead of *mōsali oa ka*, my wife).

In Shona (with no visible initial vowel) there is no visible initial vowel with the possessive pronoun:

Mukadzi wake aripo, asi wangu wafamba (where *wangu* stands for *mukadzi wangu*, my wife).

In Zulu, however, there would be a marked difference, for Zulu is a language with initial vowels to the noun prefixes:

Umfazi wakhe ukhona, kodwa owami uhambile (where *owami*, an inflected form, stands for *umfazi wami*, my wife.)

Similarly in Lamba, another language with initial vowels:

Umukasi wakwe alipo, sombi uwanji waya (where *uwanji*, an inflected form, stands for *umukasi wanji*, my wife).

The retention or otherwise of the initial vowel in languages with dissyllabic noun prefix is of real importance syntactically, and hitherto insufficient attention has been paid to this.

There are other striking differences between Nguni and Sotho, such as that in relative construction, where Sotho uses demonstrative pronouns in the indirect relative clause, whereas Nguni uses a relative concord. Nguni further has a large number of "relative stems", mostly formed from nouns, to supplement the few true adjectives available. While Sotho has a few of these, such as *thata*, hard, they are not so fully developed as in Nguni.

Again in copulative formation, i.e. in the formation of predicates from other parts of speech, the Nguni languages show a much more varied inflexion than do the Sotho. Contrast, for instance Xhosa with Southern Sotho for this:

Xhosa.			S. Sotho.	
umntu	*ngumntu*	(it is a person)	*mōthō*	*kē mōthō*
abantu	*ngabantu*	(they are people)	*bathō*	*kē bathō*
ilizwi	*lizwi*	(it is a word)	*lēntsoe*	*kē lēntsoe*
inyoka	*yinyoka*	(it is a snake)	*nōha*	*kē nōha*
isidlo	*sisidlo*	(it is a meal)	*sējo*	*kē sējo*
izidlo	*zizidlo*	(they are meals)	*lijo*	*kē lijo*

While Zulu is not so varied in these formations as Xhosa, it is by no means so rigid as are the Sotho languages, with their immutable formative *kē*.

Similarities.

The points of similarity between the two groups, however, are far greater than they appear on the surface. There are two main reasons for this: (i) the different types of orthography and word-division employed, and (ii) the remarkable sound-shiftings which have taken place.

Regarding the first point, where Nguni uses *wa-* and *ya-*, Southern Sotho and Tswana [1] still use *oa* and *ea*, a most confusing orthography: in fact *o* and *e* each represent three different vowel sounds and a semi-vowel sound.[2] Then the Sotho languages are written disjunctively, i.e. the words are divided up according to the divisions of what are conceived to be their European equivalents. The Southern Sotho verb is parallel to the French verb, and we find *kēa bòna* (je vois); Tswana followed Southern Sotho; but Northern Sotho now divides the verbs into more strict ultimate parts, parallelled to the English verb, e.g. *ke a bôna* (I am seeing). The Nguni languages are following more or less closely the conjunctive method according to the Native pronunciation in speech, e.g. Zulu *ngiyaɓona*.[3] Comparisons of parallel sentences already given will illustrate this grave difference in word-division, which seriously militates against easy reading in Sotho.

Regarding sound-shifting, a comparison of Nguni and Sotho provides a marvellous instance of this phenomenon of Bantu languages. In Bantu there are intricate laws of sound-shifting far transcending that of Grimm for Indo-European languages. Unfortunately we have got no record of a "Sanscrit" of Bantu—only a hypothetical Ur-Bantu painstakingly evolved by Professor Carl Meinhof. Nevertheless we can learn much from a comparison of Nguni and Sotho. For this I take Zulu and Southern Sotho as examples:

Southern Sotho.		Zulu.		
p	*lapa*	*mb*	*lamba*	(be hungry)
	pōli		*imbuzi*	(goat)
t	*rata*	*nd*	*thanda*	(love)
	taba		*indaɓa*	(affair)
k	*kē ka rèka*	*ng*	*ngingathenga*	(I can buy)
	bōròkò		*ubuthongo*	(sleep)
ph	*phahlò*	*mp*	*impahla*	(goods)
th	*mōthō*	*nt*	*umuntu*	(person)
kh	*khomō*	*nk*	*inkomo*	(head of cattle)
r	*mafura*	*th*	*amafutha*	(fat)
	rōma		*thuma*	(send)

[1] Northern Sotho has adopted *wa* and *ya* in the new orthography.

[2] In the Southern Sotho examples in this paper I have used Jacottet's orthography in which diacritics are used.

[3] While the new Zulu orthography is correctly conjunctive, Xhosa has still retained a few exceptions, which result, for instance, in *ngiya ɓona*. Why this has been done in an otherwise sound system it is difficult to understand.

Southern Sotho.		Zulu.		
h	*hō bònahala*	*k*	*ukuƀonakala*	(to appear)
	hantlè		*kahle*	(nicely)
l (*di*)	*tšehali*	*ʒi*	*insikaʒi*	(female)
	lijo		*iʒidlo*	(meals)
ē	*sēthō*	*i*	*isintu*	(thing)
ō	*mōthō*	*u*	*umuntu*	(person)

The above examples do not enter into some of the finer differences due to variant etymology. When the different rules of sound-shifting are understood, words, phrases, and constructions, which on their surface look totally unlike, are often found to be essentially identical. This, despite the divergence in the syllabic form of the noun prefixes, bespeaks for Nguni and Sotho such close approximation that they are rightly classed as belonging to the same zone of languages. The remarkable sound-shiftings, however, have the effect of making speakers of the two types mutually unintelligible; hence separate groups are indicated.

Grammatical Forms

A brief examination of the grammatical forms of the South-Eastern Bantu may now be made. There is only space to consider the two main groups, and again I take Zulu and Southern Sotho as the representatives. There are the usual six fundamental parts of speech, which may be subdivided according to their special signification into twelve subdivisions, which we may consider the real parts of speech, as follows:—

I.	Substantive:	(*a*) Noun	(1)
		(*b*) Pronoun	(2)
II.	Qualificative:	(*a*) Adjective	(3)
		(*b*) Relative	(4)
		(*c*) Numeral	(5)
		(*d*) Possessive	(6)
III.	Predicative:	(*a*) Verb	(7)
		(*b*) Copulative	(8)
IV.	Descriptive:	(*a*) Adverb	(9)
		(*b*) Ideophone	(10)
V.	Conjunction:		(11)
VI.	Interjection:		(12)

The Substantive.

It will be noticed that the substantive is divided into two parts of speech, the noun and the pronoun. The noun may be defined as a word which signifies the name of anything concrete or abstract, and the pronoun in contrast as a word which signifies anything concrete or abstract without being its name.

The Noun.

The noun (except in class 1a in Sotho) is composed of two parts, prefix and stem. The stem is to a great extent the constant part, while

the prefix changes to form the plural or to give some other significance. As we have already observed, the noun prefix is of extreme importance, for it determines the form of the pronouns representing the noun, and of the concord used in forming the adjectives, relatives, numerals, possessives, and verbs brought into relationship therewith.

In South-Eastern Bantu thirteen noun classes are represented, of which Southern Sotho has but twelve, though all thirteen are found in some Tswana dialects. The following list is according to the numbering of Meinhof for comparative work :—

	Zulu.			Southern Sotho.	
Class 1.	*umu-*	*umuntu*	(person)	*mō-*	*mōthō*
2.	*aba-*	*abantu*	(people)	*ba-*	*bathō*
3.	*umu-*	*umuzi*	(village)	*mō-*	*mōtsē*
4.	*imi-*	*imizi*	(villages)	*mē-*	*mētsē*
5.	*ili-, i-*	*izinyo*	(tooth)	*lē-*	*lēinò*
6.	*ama-*	*amazinyo*	(teeth)	*ma-*	*menò*
7.	*isi-*	*isifuba*	(chest)	*sē-*	*sēfuba*
8.	*izi-*	*izifuba*	(chests)	*li-*	*lifuba*
9.	*im-, in-*	*into*	(thing)	*n-, —*	*nthò*
10.	*izim-, izin-*	*izinto*	(things)	*lin-, li-*	*linthò*
11.	*ulu-, u-*	*uthango*	(fence)	...	...
14.	*ubu-*	*ubuhlungu*	(pain)	*bō-*	*bōhlōkō*
15.	*uku-*	*ukudla*	(food)	*hō-*	*hōja*

The classes are bracketed singular and plural together. Classes 1 and 2 are confined to persons. There is in addition a sub-class to 1 and 2, in which proper names and terms of relationship commonly occur. In Zulu the prefixes are *u-* and *o-*. In Southern Sotho there is no prefix in the singular, and the prefix in the plural is *bo-*. Examples: Zulu: *ubaba*, my father (pl. *obaba*); Sotho: *ntate* (pl. *bontate*). These words are treated for concord purposes exactly as nouns of classes 1 and 2 respectively.

Classes 3 and 4 are non-personal, except for one word, " friend," in Zulu *umhlobo* and in Sotho *mōtsoalle*, taking as plurals *imihlobo* and *mētsoalle* respectively.

In classes 9 and 10 we are introduced to that important phonetic subject in Bantu, nasalization. In Zulu the form of the nasal in the prefix changes to assimilate to the initial consonant of the stem, and the form of the initial consonant itself undergoes change according to very definite laws. In Sotho, except in the case of a monosyllabic stem, no nasal consonant appears in the prefix, but the initial consonant of the stem undergoes devocalization or hardening, under the influence of the unexpressed nasal, e.g. *thatò*, love $<$ *rata*; *pònò*, vision $<$ *bòna*; *tšilò*, grindstone $<$ *sila*.

Class 11 does not to-day exist in Southern Sotho, but some dialects of Tswana, in the Sotho group, still use this class with prefix *lo-*.

To-day all the corresponding words in Southern Sotho are found in class 5, with the prefix *lē-*; but it is noticeable that (i) they take a plural in class 10 (the normal plural of class 11) with prefix *li-*, in addition to the plural in *ma-* (class 6); and (ii) they almost all indicate long objects, the main significance of class 11. An examination of some of these words, comparing them with Zulu, is very interesting, as indicating the closeness of the two languages; for instance *lērakò*, wall, Tswana *lorako*, is by sound-shifting *uluthango*, fence, in Zulu; *lērōlē*, dust, Tswana *lorole*, is in Zulu *uluthuli*. An amalgamation of classes is known elsewhere in Bantu, as for instance in the *u-* class in Swahili, where *bu-* and *lu-* have amalagamated.

It might be noted that class 6 prefix *ma-* in Sotho is sometimes used to indicate a quantitative plural, e.g. *nku*, sheep; *linku*, sheep (plur.), but *manku*, many sheep.

The Pronoun.

There are four main types of pronoun in the South-Eastern Bantu languages, the absolute, the demonstrative, the enumerative, and the qualificative. Pronouns must not be confused with verbal concords, whether subjectival or objectival. The pronoun may be subject or object of the predicate, or in apposition to another substantive.

The *absolute pronouns* merely indicate the substantives, in no way limiting them or qualifying them, but they may also be used for purposes of contrast. When the sound-shiftings are remembered, the forms in Zulu and Southern Sotho are seen to be remarkably alike :—

	Zulu.	S. Sotho.
1st pers. . .	*mina, thina*	*'na, rōna*
2nd pers. . .	*wena, nina*	*uèna, lōna*
3rd pers. Class 1	*yena*	*eèna*
3rd pers. Class 2	*bona*	*bòna*

and so on. Each set has the " ultimate *-na* ", needed to make the word dissyllabic in accord with the stress needs of Bantu.

The *demonstrative pronouns* indicate three positions, " this," " that," and " yonder ", in both Zulu and Southern Sotho, though Sotho forms indicate the four real positions of Bantu, still fully used in Tswana. There are forms corresponding to each class of nouns. The representative for class 2 will suffice :

		Zulu.	S. Sotho.
1st	these	*laba*	*bana*
2nd	those	*labo*	*baō, banō*
3rd	yonder	*labaya*	*banē, bale*

In Tswana one finds *ba* (these) contrasted with *bauò* (those), and *bano* or *bana* (these here) contrasted with *bale* or *bala* (those yonder). Central Bantu provides the two contrast pairs in more regular form, and Shona, too, exemplifies them, e.g. *ava* (these) and *avo* (those), *vano* (these here) and *vaya* (those yonder). The variant forms and present confusion in Southern Sotho are indicative of a mixed origin. Nguni has entirely lost the one demonstrative position.

The demonstrative pronoun may stand alone or in apposition to a substantive, when it may succeed or precede the substantive. When the demonstrative precedes a noun, one word-group results, in the case of Zulu the initial vowel of the noun being elided, e.g. *lowo-muntu* (that person), *leẓo-ẓinkomo* (those cattle). In Sotho *baō-bathō* (written *baō bathō*) is rare, the more usual order being *bathō baō*.

The enumerative pronouns comprise the terms for " all ", " only ", " both ", " all three ", etc. These are pronouns used in apposition to or instead of the noun. They show typical pronominal concords, as in " all " :—

	Nguni.	S. Sotho.	Tswana.
1st pers. plur. .	*sonke*	—	*rotlhe*
2nd pers. plur .	*nonke*	—	*lotlhe*
3rd pers. Class 2	*ɓonke*	*bohle*	*botlhe*
3rd pers. Class 8	*ẓonke*	*tsohle*	*tšotlhe*

In this, Tswana reflects the older form of Sotho. Southern Sotho has lost the forms for the 1st and 2nd persons, but Tswana has forms even for the singulars of the 1st and 2nd persons.

The *qualificative pronouns* are qualificatives, i.e. adjectives, possessives, etc., used substantivally as subject or object of the sentence. In Sotho there is no change of form with this change of function, and in Zulu the change of form takes place only with the possessives. This point has already been discussed.

The Qualificative.

In South-Eastern Bantu there are four different qualifying parts of speech covered by the term qualificative. The important distinction between these four parts of speech is that each one has its own particular set of concords. The four qualificatives are (i) adjective, (ii) relative, (iii) numeral and (iv) possessive.

The *adjectival concord* is used with a very limited number of stems, such as :—

Zulu.		S. Sotho.
-khulu	(big)	*-hōlō*
-hle	(fine)	*-tlè*
-ɓi	(bad)	*-bē*

In all, Zulu has about twenty true adjectival stems, while Sotho has rather more, including the colour terms, which in Zulu all belong to the category of the relative. It will be noticed from the table of concords below that Zulu and Southern Sotho are very similar in adjectival concord formation.

Especially in Nguni, the *relative concord* is not confined to its use in direct relative clause construction, but is used as the concordial link with certain stems, often derived from nouns, used qualificatively. Note the following from Zulu: *umuntu ohambayo* (a person who travels), *umunto oǫe* (naked person), *umuntu onsundu* (brown person), *umuntu oqotho* (honest person), where *o-* is the relative concord. To a lesser degree this is also found in Sotho, for instance, *mōthō ea tsamaeang* (a person who travels), *mōthō ea thata* (hard man), *mōthō ea sōtō* (unhappy man), and so on, where *ea* is the relative concord.

In Central Bantu the numerals 1 to 5 have a special set of concords. In South-Eastern Bantu, with its advanced type of numeration, the numbers 2 to 5 have become adjectives, but "one" has retained the distinctive *numeral concord.* Note in Zulu: *umuntu munye* (one person), with the numeral concord *mu-*, and in Southern Sotho *mōng*, with the concord *mō-*. In Zulu the stems *-phi* (which?), *-ni* (what?), and *-mbe* (other), are associated with *-nye* in taking numeral concords.

The *possessive concords* are used with pronominal possessive stems in Nguni and for the most part in Old Sotho, though to-day in Southern Sotho special possessive stems are almost entirely confined to the singulars of the first and second persons and to class 1. Note the following comparisons:—

		Zulu.	S. Sotho.
1st pers. sing.	my	*-mi*	*-ka*
„ „ plur.	our	*-ithu*	*rōna*
2nd pers. sing.	thy	*-kho*	*-haō*
„ „ plur.	your	*-inu*	*lōna*
3rd pers. Class 1	his	*-khe*	*-haē*
„ „ 2	their	*-bo*	*bòna*
„ „ 3	its	*-wo*	*òòna*
„ „ 4	their	*-yo*	*eòna*

In certain compound and locative possessive forms in Southern Sotho, however, the stems *-isō*, *-inō*, and *-bò* are still found instead of the pronouns *rōna*, *lōna*, and *bòna*, as for instance in *hesō*, *henō*, and *habò*.

The possessive concords may also be used before nouns, in Zulu the *a-* of the concord coalescing with the initial vowel of the noun prefix, e.g. *iǫinkomo ǫenkosi* (cattle of the chief), *iǫinkomo ǫomuntu* (the person's cattle); in Sotho, *likhomō tsa mōrèna*, *likhomō tsa mōthō*, without change of vowel.

The following are specimen lists of the qualificative concords :—

	Adjective.		Relative.		Numeral.		Possessive.	
Class.	Zulu.	S. Sotho.	Zulu.	S. Sotho.	Zulu.	S. Sotho.	Zulu.	S. Sotho.
1	*om-*	*e mō-*	*o-*	*e, ea*	*mu-*	*mō-*	*wa-*	*oa*
2	*aba-*	*ba ba-*	*aba-*	*ba*	*ba-*	*ba-*	*ba-*	*ba*
5	*eli-*	*le lē-*	*eli-*	*le*	*li-*	*lē-*	*la-*	*la*
6	*ama-*	*a ma-*	*a-*	*a*	*ma-*	*ma-*	*a-*	*a*
7	*esi-*	*se sē-*	*esi-*	*se*	*si-*	*sē-*	*sa-*	*sa*
9	*en-*	*e n-*	*e-*	*e*	*i-*	*n-*	*ya-*	*ea*
10	*ezin-*	*tse n-*	*ezi-*	*tse*	*zi-*	*li-*	*za-*	*tsa*

The following examples illustrate the use of the four types of concord with classes 1 and 2 :—

(1) Adjective : *umuntu omkhulu, mōthō e mōhōlō ; abantu abakhulu, bathō ba bahōlō.*
(2) Relative : *umuntu oqatha, mōthō ea thata ; abantu abaqatha, bathō ba thata.*
(3) Numeral : *umuntu munye, mōthō (e) mōng ; abantu banye, bathō (ba lē) bang.*
(4) Possessive : *umuntu wami, mōthō oa ka ; abantu bami, bathō ba ka.*

The Predicative.

This, the essential part of every Bantu sentence, may be of two kinds, the verb or the copulative. The verb in Bantu may be defined as " a word which signifies an action connected with a substantive or the state in which a substantive is, and is brought into concordial agreement therewith by the subjectival concord ".[1] This definition excludes imperatives and infinitives ; the former are interjections, the latter nouns. Every verb in South-Eastern Bantu, then, is composed of at least two parts, the subjectival concord and the verb stem. In the disjunctive writing of the Sotho languages the subjectival (or objectival) concords are separated from the verb stem, as are the various auxiliary elements. This greatly hinders a proper understanding of the verb in those languages.

The verb stem may undergo certain inflexions, as in the formation of the perfect, certain negatives, etc., as well as in forming the various derivatives, of which more presently. The subjectival concord, which must not be regarded as a pronoun, is also susceptible of change, particularly in indicating mood. Various auxiliaries are brought in to assist in forming the tenses and moods, and these are placed some before and some after the subjectival concord.

There are two conjugations, a positive and a negative, though some writers consider a third, the relative, as properly belonging to Sotho ; it is possible, however, to treat this as one of the moods. Apart from the infinitive and imperative, there are usually recognized five moods : indicative, subjunctive, participial, potential, and contingent.

[1] Doke, *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, p. 217.

The *infinitive* is a noun with a prefix of class 15, Zulu *uku-*, Sotho *hō-*, e.g. *ukuthanda*, *hō rata* (*hōrata*), to love, loving. The negative is formed by infix: *ukungathandi*, *hō sē ratē*. Obviously the latter should be written as one word, for it is a noun.

The *imperative* is in Bantu syntactically an interjection. The singular comprises the plain stem of the verb, e.g. Zulu: *hamba*, Sotho: *tsamaea*, go! The plural is formed by adding a suffix, in Zulu *-ni*, in Sotho *-ng*, e.g. *hambani*, *tsamaeang*, go ye!

In the *indicative mood* there are three implications fully developed. Note the following examples:

	Zulu.		S. Sotho.
(1) Simple:	*ngithanda*	I love	*kē rata*
Neg.	*angithandi*	I do not love	*ha kē ratē*
(2) Progressive:	*ngisathanda*	I still love	*kē sa rata*
Neg.	*angisathandi*	I no longer love	*ha kē sa ratē*
(3) Exclusive:	*sengithanda*	Now I love	*kē se kē rata*
Neg.	*angikathandi*	I do not yet love	*ha kē e-s'ō ratē*

In addition to the distinction of implication, there is a triple distinction of manner, in all the South-Eastern languages, as follows:—

(1) Indefinite:	*ngalamba*	I got hungry	*ka lapa*
(2) Continuous:	*ngangilamba*	I was getting hungry	*kē ne kē lapa*
(3) Perfect:	*ngangilambile*	I was hungry	*kē ne kē lapile*

The last manner is confined to stative verbs.

The tense divisions, i.e. the determinations of time significance, are typically Bantu. They are remote past, immediate past, present, immediate future, and remote future. The dividing line for the remote and immediate past tenses is between yesterday and the day before yesterday. That between the two futures is rather more vague, but generally remote future is applied to actions to take place after to-day. The following examples of the tenses are of the simple implication, indefinite manner, first person singular:—

	Zulu.	S. Sotho.	
Remote past:	*ngahamba*	*ka tsameaa*	I travelled (before yesterday)
Immediate past:	*ngihambile*	*kē tsamaile*	I travelled (to-day or yesterday)
Present:	*ngihamba*	*kē tsamaea*	I am travelling
Immediate future:	*ngizohamba*	*kē ea tsamaea*	I shall travel (to-day)
Remote future:	*ngiyohamba*	*kē tla tsamaea*	I shall travel (after to-day)

The above are naturally but representatives of the tenses in the indicative mood. Each complete tense has forms for the 1st and 2nd persons and for each class of the third person. As an example of a full tense, I give the present negative tense of *ukufuna*, to want, in Xhosa:

1st pers. sing.	.	*andifuni*	plur. *asifuni*
2nd pers. sing.	.	*akufuni*	plur. *anifuni*
3rd pers.	Class 1	*akafuni*	Class 2 *abafuni*
„	„ 3	*awufuni*	„ 4 *ayifuni*

3rd pers.	Class 5	*alifuni*	Class 6	*akafuni*
„	„ 7	*asifuni*	„ 8	*aʒifuni*
„	„ 9	*ayifuni*	„ 10	*aʒifuni*
„	„ 11	*alufuni*	„ 14	*abufuni*
„	„ 15	*akufuni*		

When the object of a verb is definite (such as would be indicated by "the" in English), an objectival concord is used, and this is invariably placed immediately before the verb stem within the verb. Subjectival and objectival concords are the same in most cases, but in Zulu the 2nd person singular is *u-* (subjectival) and *ku-* (objectival), and class 1 *u-* and *m-* respectively, with slight modifications in other classes where the subjectival concords are mere vowels, e.g. *u-* > *wu-* *i-* > *yi-* and *a-* > *wa-*. In Sotho there is entire correspondence except in the 1st person singular where *kē* is subjectival concord and *n-* objectival, and in class 1 where *ō* becomes *mō*. Examples: Zulu, *ngiyamthanda*, Sotho, *kēa mō rata*, I like him. It is noteworthy that in both Zulu and Sotho there are two present tenses, and the rules governing their use are the same in the two languages, e.g. *ngithanda umuntu*, *kē rata mōthō*, I like a person; but *ngiyamthanda umuntu*, *kēa mo rata mōthō*, I like the person; the latter examples being with objectival concord.

In the *subjunctive mood*, though there are several tenses, the simple present is the one generally recognized, e.g. Zulu, *ngihambe*; Sotho, *kē tsamaeè*, that I go.

The *participial mood*, sometimes called in Sotho the "dependent indicative" is represented by many tenses. Among its uses is that after certain conjunctions and in forming relative clauses. Note: Zulu, *uma eɓiʒa*; Sotho, *ha a bitsa*, if he calls. It is also used "participially" as in Zulu, *uyogijima eɓaɓiʒa*; Sotho, *ō tla titima a ba bitsa*, he will run calling them.

The *potential mood* in Zulu and Sotho is also practically the same, as in the present tenses: Zulu, *ɓangaɓiʒa*; Sotho, *ba ka bitsa*, they can call.

The *contingent mood* is more intricate and difficult to compare.

An examination of the stem of the Bantu verb reveals the following classification:

(i) *Regular dissyllabic verbs* ending in the vowel *-a* in their simplest form, e.g. Zulu: *ɓona*, see; *thanda*, like; *hlala*, sit; Sotho: *bòna*, *rata*, *lula*, respectively.

(ii) *Monosyllabic verb stems*, limited in number, but indicating such common actions as Zulu: *-dla*, eat; *-pha*, give; *-fa*, die;

in Sotho, *ja*, *fa*, *shoa*, respectively; and including such a defective verb as *-thi* (say), in Sotho *rē*.

(iii) *Vowel verbs*, i.e. verbs commencing in vowels; e.g. in Zulu: *akha*, build; *enza*, do; *okha*, transfer fire; in Sotho, *aha*, *etsa*, and *okha* respectively. Though these are limited in Zulu to words commencing in the vowels *a*, *e*, and *o*, Sotho has vowel verbs also commencing in *è*, *i*, *ō*, and *u*, e.g. *èma*, stand; *ila*, avoid; *ōtla*, feed; *utioa*, hear.

(iv) *Derived verbs*, i.e. verbs not primitive in form. These are of three types:

(*a*) Verbal derivations, i.e. verbs derived from a simple verb by suffix formation; of these more in a moment.

(*b*) Ideophonic derivatives, i.e. verbs derived from ideophones by suffixing, in Zulu generally *-ka* (intransitive), *-la* (transitive), and *-za* (causative); e.g. from *ɓihli* (of sliding apart) are formed *ɓihlika* (fall apart), *ɓihlula* (knock apart), *ɓihliza* (scatter about). These are not common in Sotho, but extremely numerous in the Nguni language.

(*c*) Denominative verbs, i.e. verbs formed from noun and adjectival roots by suffix:

Zulu: *-pha*, *-phala*, e.g. *ihloni* (shame), *hlonipha* (pay respect); *uɓukhali* (sharpness), *khalipha* (be sharp); *-khulu* (big), *khuluphala* (become sleek).

Sotho: *-fa*, *-fala*, e.g. *bōhlalē* (wisdom), *hlalēfa* (be wise); *bōhale* (anger), *halēfa* (be angry); *nòlò* (softness), *nòlòfala* (become soft).

Verbal Derivatives.

These we can but outline here. Though the South-Eastern Bantu languages are not so rich as the Central in verbal derivative forms, they still employ the most typical and have occasional examples of a number of others. In Southern Sotho there are more derivatives than in Zulu, though they are less regular in formation. Commonly Zulu and Southern Sotho use the following verbal derivative suffixes:

	Zulu.	S. Sotho.
(1) Passive:	*-wa*, *-iwa*	*-oa*, *-uoa*, *-ēoa*
(2) Neuter:	*-eka*, *-akala*	*-èha*, *-ahala*
(3) Applied:	*-ela*	*-èla*
(4) Causative:	*-isa*	*-ea*, *-isa*, etc.
(5) Intensive:	*-isisa*	*-isisa*
(6) Perfective:	(*-elela*)	*-èlla*
(7) Reciprocal:	*-ana*	*-ana*
(8) Associative:	. . .	*-ahana*
(9) Reversive:	. . .	*-olla*, *-ōlla*, etc.
(10) Extensive:	. . .	*-aka*
(11) Diminutive:	(stem reduplicated)	. . .

There are also traces of other forms such as the Stative (*-ama*) and the Contactive (*-atha*). Note the following example of derivative formation from Zulu: verb, *ɓona* (see); passive, *ɓonwa* (be seen); neuter, *ɓoneka*, *ɓonakala* (be visible); applied, *ɓonela* (see for); causative, *ɓonisa* (show); intensive, *ɓonisisa* (see clearly); perfective, *ɓonelela* (look carefully after); reciprocal, *ɓonana* (see one another); diminutive, *ɓonaɓona* (see somewhat).

Suffixes may be added to one another, thus enabling the formation of many new derivative verbs. Apart from passives, the following from *bòna* (see) have been recorded in Southern Sotho: causative, *bontša* (show); applied, *bònèla* (see for); neuter, *bònèha* (be visible), *bònahala* (be apparent); reciprocal, *bònana* (see each other); applied of causative, *bontšetsa* (show for); reciprocal of applied of causative, *bontšetsana* (show to each other); reciprocal of causative, *bontšana* (show each other); intensive, *bontšisa* (see clearly); double intensive, *bontšisisa* (see very clearly); reciprocal of intensive, *bontšisana* (see each other clearly); reciprocal of double intensive, *bontšisisana* (see one another very clearly); reciprocal of applied, *bònèlana* (see for each other); causative of neuter, *bonēsa* (lighten); applied of causative of neuter, *bonēsetsa* (enlighten); reciprocal of applied of causative of neuter, *bonēsetsana* (enlighten each other); *bònahatsa* (reveal); *bònahatsana* (reveal to one another); *bònahaletsa* (reveal oneself for); *bontšahala* (become evident); *bontšahatsa* (make evident); *bontšahatsana* (make evident to one another); *bònaletsa*, *bònalletsa*, *bònahaletsa* (be transparent). These are by no means exhaustive from this one verb stem.

Compound Tenses.

The verb in South-Eastern Bantu is made further expressive by the employment of a large number of deficient verbs followed by complementary verbs in a subordinate mood, thus forming compound tenses, or tenses comprised of more words than one. This cannot be dealt with in any detail here, but it might be observed that, in Zulu, deficient verbs, i.e. verbs incomplete without their complement, are divided into three types: those followed by the subjunctive mood, those followed by the participial mood, and those followed by the infinitive. Note the following examples:

(i) taking subjunctive: *-ɓuye*, *-phinde*, *-ʐe*, *-ke*, etc., e.g. *ngike ngiɓone*, I sometimes see.

(ii) taking participial: *-lokhu*, *-de*, etc., e.g. *ɓalokhu ɓehleka*, they always laugh.

(iii) taking infinitive: *-sanda*, *-vama*, etc., e.g. *ʇisand'ukuphuʇa*, they have just drunk.

Similar deficient verbs are found in Sotho, e.g. *batla*, *tlōha*, *tsoatsoa*, *hla*, etc.

The Copulative.

The verb is not the only type of predicative in Bantu. Predicatives are also formed by inflecting other parts of speech, such as nouns, pronouns, and qualificatives. Such predicatives we call copulatives. In the conjugation of copulatives, auxiliary verbs, such as *-ɓa* (become) in Zulu, have to be employed, but such verbs are not used in the plain predication. It has already been pointed out that in this formation the Sotho languages differ considerably from the Nguni, the former using the formative *kē* practically everywhere, the latter having varied inflexions. It is but necessary here to note the main rules of this formation for one of the Nguni languages—Zulu.

Formation from nouns: Nouns commencing in the vowel *i*, lower the tone on that vowel and may preplace *y-*, e.g. *imbuʇi* (goat) > *yimbuʇi* (it is a goat); nouns commencing in *a*, *u*, or *o* lower the tone and may preplace *ng-*, e.g. *aɓantu* > *ngaɓantu*, *umuʇi* > *ngumuʇi*, *oyihlo* > *ngoyihlo*; nouns with contracted prefixes of classes 5 and 11 take *l*, e.g. *itshe* > *litshe*, *ukhuni* > *lukhuni*.

Formation from pronouns: (*a*) Absolute pronouns prefix *yi-*, except those with vowel *e* which prefix *ngu-*, e.g. *mina* > *yimina*, or *yimi*, *ɓona* > *yiɓona* or *yiɓo*, *wena* > *nguwena* or *nguwe*. (*b*) Demonstrative pronouns prefix *yi-*, e.g. *leʇo* > *yileʇo*. (*c*) Enumerative pronouns are not themselves inflected, but assume the inflected form from the absolute pronoun before them, e.g. *ʇonke* > *yiʇo ʇonke*.

Formation from adjectives: The initial vowel of adjectives is elided, except in class 9, when *e* gives place to *i*, e.g. *umuntu omkhulu*, a big person > *umuntu mkhulu*, the person is big: *inkosi enkulu* > *inkosi inkulu*.

There are other rules governing the formation from relatives (by substitution of verb subjectival concord), and adverbs of various types. The copulative form is also used to express the agent after a passive verb, e.g. in Zulu: *uɓonwé yimi*; Sotho: *ō bònoe kē 'na*, he has been seen by me.

The Adverb.

It has already been observed that in South-Eastern Bantu the locatives formed from nouns and pronouns are adverbs. This is not the place to consider in detail the complicated rules of locative formation which obtain in the Nguni languages, where palatalization complicates the forms. It is sufficient to note that while Nguni has such varied formations, Sotho formation is relatively simple with a suffixed *-ng*. With nouns of class 1*a* and with pronouns the more typical Bantu formation by prefix is employed, Nguni *ku-* and Sotho *hō*, e.g. *kuβaβa*, *hō ntate*.

Adverbs of manner are formed by means of a prefix to qualificatives, in Zulu *ka-*, e.g. *kakhulu*, greatly; *kahle*, nicely; in Southern Sotho *ha-*, e.g. *hahōlō*, *hantlè*, etc.

Other adverbs are achieved by means of various formatives, such as the instrumental *nga-* in Nguni, *ka-* in Sotho. It must also be remembered that in Bantu there is a close connection between the noun and the adverb, the former often being used adverbially.

The Ideophone.

Of parallel use to the adverb is the other descriptive, the ideophone. This constitutes a part of speech unknown as such to European languages. It may be defined as " a word, often onomatopoeic, which describes a predicate, qualificative or adverb in respect to manner, colour, sound, action, state, or intensity ".

" In some Bantu languages the ideophone is used with a particular defective verb, e.g. in Ronga with *kuti*, *kuku*, and *kuli*, e.g. *aku ntse* (he said nothing), *kuti mphu* (it is gloomy), *yindlu yili baa* (the hut is bright). In Zulu it is generally used with *ukuthi*, in Sotho with *hō rē*. In Lamba, usually, no special verb precedes the ideophone, e.g. *kūmfwa umwando putu* (then the string went snap), *peŋka lwē nikumusi* (then the glade opened out at the village). The ideophone acts as an intensifier with verbs, etc., e.g. in Lamba, *ukufita bwi* (to be pitch black), *ukufoŋkola fō* (to dig deep).

" The most satisfactory classification of ideophones is (i) according to syllables, e.g. monosyllabic, dissyllabic, trisyllabic, etc., and (ii) a further subdivision according to tones. It must be pointed out that generally the special rules of length, tone, and stress, applicable in ordinary grammatical forms, differ considerably in the case of ideophones. For instance, in Zulu, stress is characteristically penultimate,

but with ideophones it is initial; also length is characteristically penultimate, but with Zulu ideophones all syllables are short, except a few rare cases of the final syllable being long, as well as that of monosyllabic ideophones. Again in Lamba the ordinary tone system covers three level tones, but in the case of ideophones rising and falling tones are also found, as well as a variety of unusual phone elements, such as nasalized vowels and vowels with epiglottal friction." [1]

Zulu is unusually rich in ideophones, as a glance at Bryant's Zulu Dictionary will show. Similar richness is seen in Xhosa. The Sotho dialects, while not as rich as Nguni, also have ideophones such as *hō rē tu*, to be silent.

Note the following examples from Zulu:

Umlilo wathi be, the fire blazed.
Kumhlophe qwa, it is snow white.
Wamthi bóco ngewisa, he hit him crack (on the head) with a kerrie.
Usethi gódu, then he went home.
Usimʒe iʒinto aʒithi hlápha hlápha-nje, he simply leaves his things lying everywhere.
Wawa ngesisu wathi bábalala, he fell flat on his stomach.

In a brief grammatical outline of this type one cannot enter into any of the interesting features of syntax and sentence structure. The treatment has been an attempt to deal with Bantu grammar according to its genius. It will have been noticed that no mention has been made of the "article"—it does not exist in Bantu, despite many attempts to find it, particularly in the initial vowel of the noun prefix. There is also no place for prepositions in Bantu grammar, though disjunctive writers use the term in regard to various formatives, locative and possessive, which they wrongly write as separate words. There is no formal distinction of a substantive as subject or object of a sentence. There is no genitive case, the possessive, a separate type of qualificative, being used. The vocative is an interjection, and the adverbs supply the need for oblique cases felt in other languages. Sex-gender is never a grammatical feature in Bantu languages, while class-gender of nouns is the hall-mark of Bantu.

The brief survey here given should serve to prove the high inflexion of Bantu languages and disprove entirely the contention, often put forward, that Bantu is agglutinating rather than inflexional.

[1] Doke, *Bantu Linguistic Terminology*, pp. 118, 119.

Chapter XV

THE IMPOSITION AND NATURE OF EUROPEAN CONTROL

By J. S. Marais

Cape Colony.

Continuous contact between Europeans and Bantu started in South Africa during the 1770's. The first encounters took place in the south-eastern Cape in the region drained by the Fish River. The Europeans who made contact with the Xhosa, the vanguard of the Bantu in this part of South Africa, were Boer farmers who, in their rapid dispersion towards the east, had lost touch with the Central Government of the Dutch East India Company at Cape Town and with its nearest local official, the Landdrost at Swellendam. Regardless of warning proclamations they had trekked continually eastward, taking the frontier of the Colony with them. Both the Boers and the Xhosa were pastoralists practising agriculture " as a side line ",[1] and the contact between them soon issued in conflict for the control of valuable grazing land. Shortly before hostilities actually commenced the Governor, van Plettenberg, visited the frontier and attempted to establish the Fish River as the line between White and Black. Unfortunately for him, the Xhosa had already settled to the West of the Fish River, both Upper and Lower: in fact, the so-called Zuurveld, the land between the Lower Fish and Bushman Rivers, was definitely Xhosa country, though a number of Boers had driven their flocks and herds into it. In 1779 the Boers commenced levying private war[2] on the Xhosa, which the Government sanctioned in 1780 by appointing a Boer commandant to conduct operations. This was the first of a long series of " Kafir Wars " on the Cape Colony's eastern frontier, which resulted in the European occupation of most of the land between the Fish and the Kei Rivers.

The first phases of the struggle between Xhosa and European went on the whole in the former's favour. The Boers, who lived far apart from one another on huge ranches, found it difficult to offer

[1] E. A. Walker, *A History of South Africa* (London, 1928), 118.
[2] We owe this phrase to Professor H. A. Reyburn, of the University of Cape Town.

effective resistance to Xhosa penetration. By the year 1809, groups of Xhosa had moved far beyond the Fish River, and the British authorities, who had taken over the Cape three years before, realized that unless a big effort was made a considerable part of the Colony would be lost to the Europeans. They accordingly ordered the Boers to dismiss their Xhosa servants, and in 1811 reinforced the Boer commandoes with European and Hottentot soldiers, who at length cleared the eastern Colony of Xhosa and drove them beyond the Fish River. In order to prevent their return a number of military posts were established at intervals along the river.

The next European advance was accomplished in 1819. It was made ostensibly with the aim of ensuring complete " segregation " or separation between White and Black. That had always been the aim of the Governments established at Cape Town, but their subjects had frustrated their intentions. In 1819 the moment seemed to have come. The Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, had in 1817 recognized the young Chief Gaika (Ngqika) as paramount over the western Xhosa, notwithstanding the fact that his authority was disputed by his uncle, Ndlambe. By sending assistance to Ngqika against Ndlambe, Somerset brought the latter's people into the Colony. They were driven out, and not only they but also the followers of Ngqika, Somerset's ally, were deprived of the land they inhabited between the Fish River on the west and the Keiskama and the heights west of the Tyhume on the east—a large and well-watered tract of country. Somerset apparently intended this territory to be a " neutral belt " to be kept empty of both Europeans and Xhosa [1]—here at last was that complete segregation which had so often before and has so often since been longed for in vain. The only contacts permitted were in the way of commerce and religion. While, however, missionaries were allowed to enter Kafirland, traders were not. All trade between Europeans and Xhosa had to take place under the eyes of Government representatives at fairs established at one or two points along the Eastern frontier.

The policy of the neutral belt was not long maintained. It may, indeed, be doubted whether the Government meant what it said in this matter. Somerset himself wrote as early as October, 1819, that the belt offered a good field for " systematic colonization ". Both Boers and some of the 1820 British Settlers, who had been located in the Zuurveld in order to help strengthen the frontier, were allowed to acquire farms

[1] This is what Somerset gave the Xhosa chiefs to understand, according to the accounts of eye-witnesses. The words " neutral belt " appear nowhere in Somerset's own account of his proceedings to the Secretary of State.

in the northern, that is the broadest and most desirable, section of the neutral belt. In 1829 the Colonial frontier was advanced, in this northern section, to the heights west of the Tyhume River.

At the same time the other items in the segregation policy were also dropped. In 1828 the order which had prohibited the colonists from employing Bantu labour was cancelled, and "Kafirs" were allowed to enter the Colony in search of work under certain restrictions.[1] Labour, both Hottentot and slave, was scarce in the Eastern frontier districts, and so the Xhosa was made welcome, provided always that he came as a labourer. As with labour, so with trade. The restrictions on trading in Kafirland were gradually removed, largely in the interests of the 1820 Settlers. In 1830 the system of fairs was finally abolished, "the restrictions which prohibited crossing the boundary were entirely done away with and full liberty was permitted to persons of assured good character to pass anywhere into and to trade in the Native territories."[2] Some traders even built houses and shops in Kafirland.

In 1834 broke out the most serious war yet waged against the Xhosa. Among the reasons which prompted them to invade the Colony, a prominent one was the seizure of their land by Somerset. The Xhosa murdered farmers, burnt their houses and drove off their cattle, but spared their women and children. In Kafirland itself they spared missionaries, but murdered traders. At the end of the war, as the result of "negrophile" agitation in Britain, the Xhosa recovered the southern part of the neutral belt with the exception of the land around Fort Peddie, where tribesmen known to the Europeans as Fingo were settled by the Colonial authorities. These Fingo, the remnants of certain Natal tribes scattered by the warlike Zulu under Shaka to the north of Natal, had been allowed by the eastern Xhosa or Gcaleka, who lived beyond the Kei River, to settle in their country. But the two peoples were not on good terms and the Cape Governor, when he brought out the Fingo, hoped that they would strengthen his frontier against the Xhosa. The Fingo did, indeed, prove staunch allies of the Europeans. And not only the Fingo: from this time onward, in the many wars that Europeans fought against Bantu tribesmen in South Africa, they could usually rely upon Bantu help. Neither were they ever called upon to face anything like a general Bantu movement against them. Inter-tribal jealousies were potent and the

[1] By Ordinance of 1828. The Ordinance was suspended in 1829, but Bantu continued coming into the Colony, apparently under its provisions. Cf. W. M. Macmillan, *Bantu, Boer, and Briton* (London, 1929), 66–7.

[2] G. E. Cory, *The Rise of South Africa*, vol. ii (London, 1926), 342–3.

Europeans, who were themselves divided, gave the Bantu no cause for a general hostile combination.

The Fingo were the first body of Bantu tribesmen whom the Europeans had to administer in South Africa. In 1847, as the result of another Xhosa war, the portion of the old neutral belt which had been given back to the Xhosa in 1836 was annexed to the Cape Colony as the district of Victoria East. The Xhosa were cleared out of it and the land, with the exception of such portions as were reserved for additional Fingo locations, thrown open for European occupation. More Fingo had been brought out of Gcalekaland, and it was mainly to accommodate these that the new locations were required. Judged by Bantu standards the Fingo made very good colonists, and in the years following 1847 they showed a remarkable aptitude for acquiring new territory in "Kafirland". They were better agriculturists than the Xhosa and more acquisitive. Since they were broken up into small groups and had no powerful chief, they readily accepted a European leadership which showed itself well-disposed towards them. It is, therefore, not surprising that civilization has made greater progress among the Fingo than among any other Bantu people in South Africa.

When the Cape Government took the Fingo under its protection in 1847 it embarked upon the task of framing a Native policy which, in spite of many mistakes (due mainly to an impatience with tribal institutions and customs that it took a long time to outgrow), has proved the most progressive, "realistic" and successful, as well as the fairest, of any pursued in South Africa. That policy was erected on a twofold foundation: it was based firstly on the belief that in any thoroughgoing contact between an advanced and a primitive civilization the former must prevail; and secondly on the principle of equal rights for all civilized people. The formula according to which the Natives are to be encouraged "to develop along their own lines" never received the support of the essentially practical Cape officials; their plan was to give the civilizing process every encouragement in their power and to make no distinction between one civilized human being and another, whatever the colour of his skin. The Cape had not attained to this generous conception of human potentialities and human rights without a hard struggle. It had been fought out over the position of detribalized Hottentots and slaves within the Colony during the years 1820–34 when the Bantu were still essentially a frontier problem. In 1828 the pass and apprenticeship laws, which had the effect of making

he Hottentots tied labourers with precarious rights, were repealed, ınd the Hottentots became, at any rate potentially, citizens of the Cape Colony with rights equal to those of Europeans. Ten years ater complete emancipation came to the slaves, and they entered at ɔnce upon the full enjoyment of the rights conquered for the Hottentots.[1] The rights thus guaranteed to Hottentots and slaves, from whom our Coloured People of to-day are mainly descended, ɔecame also the rights of the Bantu whose lands were incorporated .n the Cape Colony. When the Cape received its parliament in 1853 :he same qualifications conferred the franchise on all its citizens whether white, coloured, or black—a state of affairs which has remained ınique in South Africa to this day.

Such being the underlying principles of its Native policy, there :emained for the Cape the difficult task of devising practical methods ɔf governing its tribal Natives, and encouraging the spread of civiliza- :ion among them. It began with the Fingo in 1847. European super- ntendents were put in charge of the various Fingo chiefs or headmen. The superintendents and headmen might, if they chose, arbitrate according to Fingo law in civil cases between Fingo, but they had no power to enforce their decisions. The European magistrates, whose decisions were enforced and before whom any Fingo might bring his case, could only judge according to European law. All criminal cases went direct to the European magistrate, who ignored Fingo law and custom. It took a long time for the Cape officials and parliament to realize that, however desirable and inevitable the assimilation of the Bantu to Western civilization might be in the long run, it could not be accomplished by ignoring the customs of tribal Natives; and that a real injustice was being done to the tribesmen by the refusal to recognize their law.

In order to hasten the civilizing process among the Fingo the Cape officials attempted to convert their "communal" ownership of land into individual tenure; that is, to convert the Fingo tribesman into a small peasant proprietor. The agricultural land of the locations was divided up into small allotments which were distributed among the male adults. The owner of an allotment had the right of grazing his cattle on the commonage attached to each location. An annual quitrent of £1 was levied on each allotment. A great deal was expected from the increased security afforded by individual tenure and from the emancipation of progressive individuals from the restraints imposed

[1] These reforms were due to the pressure of British philanthropists.

by tribal conservatism. After the annexation of the Xhosa territory between the Keiskama and the Kei the scheme was extended to a number of " locations " in British Kaffraria, as the annexed territory was called. All these early attempts at introducing individual tenure among tribal Natives failed.[1] Many of the Natives in the surveyed locations refused to take up their titles, which on account of the high survey fees were expensive. To those who did take them up, the new tenure made little difference. The Native could not be converted into an " individualist " by simply giving him individual title. As Shepstone, the famous Natal Native administrator, wrote in 1861 : " Any measure of land appropriation to Natives must be adapted to the social position of the Natives ; if not, it will ultimately become so ; that is, individual titles not understood would become tribal titles later on." Since no attempt was made to teach the Natives better agricultural and pastoral methods they continued farming in the traditional manner, even though men might now scratch the surface of the soil with the plough instead of women scratching it with the hoe. Since allotments could only be transferred in the European way on the payment of European fees transfers were not properly effected, and after thirty or forty years hardly any holder had a legal title to his allotment. In addition, when a man could not obtain an allotment, he simply squatted on one of the commonages which thus became more and more restricted. In the 'eighties it had become clear that some new scheme of giving " titles " had to be devised or the whole idea dropped.

Between 1829 and 1846 there had been a lull in the European occupation of Native lands on the Cape's eastern frontier. The next eleven years were years of almost unceasing strife with the Xhosa and sections of the Thembu people who lived to their north and east. The outcome of the strife was the annexation of the land of all the Western Xhosa and some Thembu and, what was much more serious, the occupation of much of the annexed land by European settlers. In 1847 the territory between the Keiskama and the Kei was annexed as British Kaffraria and ruled by Imperial officials (under the direction of the Cape Governor) as a province separate from the Cape. In 1853 the " Gaika " clans of Xhosa were deprived of their lands in and around the Amatola Mountains,[2] and moved to a less desirable part of British Kaffraria. In the fertile valleys of the Thyume and the Upper Keiskama, once the home of Ngqika and his people, there now

[1] See *Report of the Cape Government Commission on Native Laws and Customs* (G. 4, 1883); and *Report on Native Locations Surveys* (U.G. 42, 1922).

[2] These lands were occupied partly by Europeans and partly by Fingo.

lived Fingo. To the north of the Xhosa, the "Emigrant" Thembu were pushed beyond the White Kei River and their lands, occupied by European settlers, became the district of Queenstown. In 1857 occurred the famous "cattle-killing" among the Xhosa and some Thembu, as a result of which many of them perished and many others had perforce to cross the frontier into the Colony in search of work on the farms. The cattle-killing, although it proved disastrous only to the Natives, had obviously been designed by its instigators as an anti-European move, and Governor Grey seized the opportunity of reducing the locations of the hostile chiefs in British Kaffraria and settling several thousands of Europeans on the land thus made available. British Kaffraria thus became, as the district of Victoria East already was, a chess-board of interspersed Black and White areas. Kreli, chief of the Eastern Xhosa, who lived between the Kei and Bashee Rivers and had taken part in the cattle-killing, was driven with his people beyond the Bashee. His territory was ear-marked for European occupation.

For British Kaffraria, Grey, who governed the Cape from 1854 to 1861, adopted a policy which resembled that already pursued towards the Fingo. The idea of individual tenure was applied in a new way, when progressive Natives were encouraged to purchase at moderate prices as much Crown land as they could pay for. The plan was a more hopeful one than the survey into small allotments of whole locations of Natives, and it is a pity that it received only a limited application. Instead of superintendents as in the Fingo locations, Grey in British Kaffraria appointed special magistrates whose powers were considerably greater than those of the superintendents. In course of time the magistrates were entirely to supersede the chiefs, and they were expected to work unceasingly towards that end. In order to help along the process of supersession, Grey persuaded the chiefs to agree that, in return for fixed stipends, court fines should be in future payable to the European administration instead of to themselves. They therefore tended to lose interest in cases of a "criminal" type and their loss was the magistrates' gain. These officials, who had full authority to enforce their judgments, were allowed a pretty free hand as to the particular blend of their own ideas of equity, Cape and Native law they might choose to apply. In order to assist them in their work Colonel Maclean, the Chief Commissioner of British Kaffraria, compiled in 1858 his famous *Compendium of Kaffir Laws and Customs*, consisting of contributions on the subject

by various missionary and other authorities—the first compilation of its kind produced in South Africa.

Cases of a "civil" nature between tribesmen continued to be settled by the chiefs for many years to come, though they had no legal right to enforce their decisions. As time passed, however, even these tended more and more to be brought to the magistrates for decision.

Grey adopted a number of new expedients to help the Bantu of British Kaffraria and the Cape Colony to become civilized. He subsidized the missionary societies who were educating them at Lovedale and elsewhere in order that they might add an industrial education to the ordinary school curriculum and train some Natives to become bricklayers, shoemakers, carpenters, and so on. In order to teach the Natives "the dignity of labour" Grey employed them on road-building in British Kaffraria. Thus began the policy by which the Natives became, besides the farm labourers they already were, also the builders of our roads, railways, and harbours, and the excavators of our mines. Finally, in order to cure the Natives of their ailments and their faith in the "witch-doctor", Grey established a hospital at Kingwilliamstown.

If his road-building policy be excepted, Grey's expedients did not have the far-reaching results they were meant to have. Nor is the reason far to seek. When he pleaded with the Colonial Office for money to finance his schemes, he had promised that within ten years the revenues of British Kaffraria would be sufficient to meet all demands made upon them. During the time of Grey's successor, therefore, the British Treasury stopped paying its annual grants-in-aid and the Cape Parliament failed to step into the breach. The idea, generally accepted in South Africa to-day, was taking shape that Native areas must be "self-supporting", that is, that they must pay for whatever the Government does for them. The result for Grey's schemes was unfortunate. Most of the industrial departments in the Mission schools had to close down. The hospital at Kingwilliamstown continued maintaining Native wards, but there were no funds available for expansion. Since Grey's time, in fact, South African Governments have done singularly little for the cure of disease among Natives in Native areas. All they have done has been to contribute towards the support of a number of district surgeons and Mission hospitals that can only touch the fringes of the problem.[1] In Natal the Government actually licenses Native "witch-doctors" and herbalists.

[1] A scheme has recently been adopted for the training of Native medical aids.

Grey's settlement of Europeans alongside of the tribal locations in British Kaffraria was an integral part of his Native policy. He hoped that contact with Europeans would help to civilize the tribesmen and that sooner or later an " amalgamation " of the races would take place. The " chess-board " policy had unfortunate results. Every Native location in British Kaffraria now had its European frontier, and on most of the frontiers there was trouble. Instead of an amalgamation of the races continual friction led to increasing estrangement. The Natives complained of European encroachment on their commonages,[1] and the Europeans of Native stock thieving. By the 1870's a large police force was kept constantly at work in British Kaffraria. An irresponsible Frontier Press helped to increase the prevailing discontent. In 1878, the Ngqika section of the Xhosa of British Kaffraria rose in rebellion and lost their land, which became the European districts of Cathcart and Stutterheim. Another result of the settlement of Europeans in British Kaffraria was the debauching of the Natives with brandy or " Cape smoke ",[2] especially after the province became a part of the Cape Colony in 1865. While the Cape forbade the sale of European liquor in its Transkeian Native territories from the very outset, it did nothing for the Ciskei until the 'nineties: indeed the Cape " Proper "[3] was not brought into line with the rest of South Africa in the matter of liquor prohibition to Natives until several years after union.

When British Kaffraria was annexed to the Cape Colony, its Native administration had, in theory, to come into line with that of the Cape, which abhorred any legal distinction between European and Native. In actual fact, however, the Kaffrarian special magistrates continued administering Native law where they thought it desirable, notwithstanding the technical illegality of the practice.[4] It was not until 1927 that the Union parliament legalized the general use of Native law in the courts of the Ciskei, though the parliament of the Cape Colony had as early as the 1860's sanctioned the application of one branch of the Native law in the Colonial courts, namely the law of inheritance.

Sir George Grey had intended to extend the chess-board policy of British Kaffraria beyond the Kei River. He advocated the annexation of the country up to the border of Natal and the settlement of

[1] To-day the Ciskei (the old British Kaffraria) is one of the most congested Native areas in the Union.

[2] So called because of its fiery nature.

[3] i.e. west of the Kei.

[4] They came to an agreement with the attorneys that the latter should not appeal against their decisions to the Cape Supreme Court.

European colonists amongst the tribes. As a first step the land between the Kei and Bashee Rivers, where only two settlements of Bantu had been allowed after Kreli's expulsion, was to be colonized by Europeans. Grey's plan, mercifully, was never carried out. Governor Wodehouse, on his arrival, took over his predecessor's scheme. But he soon began to exhibit qualms as to its wisdom, and there are a number of indications that he was not sorry when the Colonial Office ordered him to abandon it. He settled the land between the Kei and the Bashee with Colonial Thembu in the north, Colonial Fingo in the middle, and Kreli's Gcaleka in the south. Wodehouse thus called a halt to the Colonial occupation of Native lands which had been going on since 1812, and from his time onward Colonial Governments ceased to regard the colonization of Native land by Europeans as sound policy save in exceptional cases.

Natal.

Between the years 1835 and 1840 several thousands of Boer Voortrekkers left the Cape Colony and began to colonize large tracts of country north of the Orange River and east of the Drakensberg. In the latter region the Boers overthrew the Zulu chief Dingane and established a republic to the south of Zululand on land which the armies of Dingane's predecessor, Shaka, had reduced to comparative emptiness and desolation. In 1843 the British annexed this republic, which now became the Crown colony of Natal. It was bounded by the Drakensberg on the east, the Tugela and Buffalo Rivers on the north, and the Umzimkulu on the south. Most of the Boers recrossed the Drakensberg after the annexation, and British immigrants took their place.

The Native policy of Natal developed on very different lines from that of its southern neighbour, the Cape Colony. That may have been due to the fact that in Natal the Europeans were outnumbered by Natives to a much greater extent than in the Cape, while to the north there lay the independent and potentially dangerous Zulu. Fearing lest they be overwhelmed, the small European minority in Natal developed a strong racial consciousness, which expressed itself in the desire to direct Native development "along its own lines" in contrast to the "assimilationist" Cape policy. On the whole, therefore, the typically Natal view of Native policy has closer affinities with that of the ex-republican or northern provinces beyond the

Orange[1] than with the Cape or "southern" view. Like the Orange Free State and the South African Republic (Transvaal), Natal found it desirable to make its Natives carry passes, though its pass-laws were less stringent than theirs. While the Boer republics never contemplated giving the rights of civilized human beings to any of their Bantu inhabitants, Natal, like the Cape,[2] made provision, in its exemption laws, for the emancipation of civilized natives from tribal law. But Natal's exemption laws differ radically from those of the Cape. In the Cape exemption from tribal law and from all laws differentially affecting Natives, as well as the attainment of full citizenship rights, follow automatically from the possession of the qualifications entitling a Native to the parliamentary franchise. The Government has no discretion at all in the matter. In Natal the exemption of Natives from tribal law depends on the will of the Government and its policy was, on the whole, to discourage it. Furthermore, exemption in Natal means exemption from tribal law only, and not from laws of the Natal legislature differentially affecting Natives. As for the franchise, that again depends, in the last resort, on the will of the Government. No more than three Natives have ever been on the parliamentary voters' roll in Natal at any particular time. The number to-day is one.

If we come now to the administration of tribal Natives in Natal, the first problem that the Government had to solve was to set aside locations for the large numbers of Natives who trekked into the colony in the years after 1838. Since Natal was destined for European colonization it was not desirable that natives should be allowed to hold land wherever they chose. Such Natives as were required as labourers might be allowed to settle on European farms, but the rest, so it was hoped, would be segregated on the locations. Forty-two tribal locations in all had been marked out by 1905, comprising between them about 2·2 million acres. The worst parts of the colony were, as a general rule, picked out for the locations, and only small portions of them proved to be suited for cultivation. No wonder that they proved utterly insufficient for the needs of the Natives who continued coming into Natal. These overflowed on to Crown or privately-owned land, affording the Government and private persons a considerable source of profit. By the year 1905 there were many more Natives living on private lands than on the locations.

The man who was mainly responsible for "herding" the Natives

[1] The Orange Free State and the Transvaal.
[2] When after 1872 it fully recognized tribal law in its Transkeian Territories.

into their several locations and for devising a policy for them was Theophilus Shepstone, who from 1845 to 1875 was the chief administrator of Natives in Natal. The Natal location policy as framed by Shepstone was the antithesis of the Cape's. While the Cape aimed at breaking down the tribal system, Shepstone re-established it where it had broken down and sought to foster and preserve it. He re-assembled the fragments into which Shaka had broken up the tribes with which his armies came into conflict and gave them chiefs selected as far as possible from the old ruling families. He carried on his administration through the chiefs and headmen, making them responsible for managing the locations and keeping order within them. Shepstone's system of "indirect administration" had as its main object the preservation of peace. Therein it succeeded admirably. But if compared with present-day systems of indirect administration, say in British West Africa, it was essentially unprogressive. There is no doubt that Shepstone would have preferred to administer his locations "directly" by means of European superintendents, with a Native police officered by Europeans to keep order. Being told that there was no money to pay for superintendents and police he fell back upon indirect administration as a *pis aller*. But since the whole Native tax continued to be paid into the Natal treasury, out of which but little was forthcoming for Native development, the Native administration of Natal remained unprogressive, and while Shepstone and his successors on the whole kept the peace, they made no attempt to civilize.

As time passed and European magistrates were appointed for Native areas, they tended to usurp more and more the powers formerly enjoyed by the chiefs.[1] By 1875 all serious crimes committed by Natives in Natal were tried by the Supreme Court and minor crimes by the magistrates. The chiefs still tried civil cases between Natives, but there was a right of appeal to the Magistrates. In order to assist the latter in their work a code of Native law was drawn up which was made compulsory by the legislature in 1891—the only instance of the wholesale codification of Native law in South Africa. Nevertheless, in spite of the growth of the magistrates' power, the Natal Chiefs

[1] This development was natural enough. South Africa, with its large European population and the multifarious contacts existing between Natives and Europeans, is not a good field for experiments in "indirect administration". In Natal, e.g., it would have been difficult to carry on a thoroughgoing system of "indirect administration" in the locations side by side with the "direct" administration which was inevitable in the case of Natives living on privately owned land.

still enjoy greater authority to-day than do Bantu Chiefs anywhere else in the Union.[1]

In 1897 Zululand became a part of Natal. Eighteen years previously Sir Bartle Frere, the British High Commissioner in South Africa, who thought it desirable, for various reasons, that the reconstructed Zulu army should be destroyed, had provoked a war against the Zulu. After crushing them, the British withdrew. Zululand was given over to confusion for eight years, during the course of which Boer pastoralists from the South African Republic occupied a considerable part of it. In 1887, the territory thus occupied was annexed to the Republic as the district of Vryheid, and the rest of Zululand became a Native reserve under British rule.[2] It was this reserve for whose administration Natal became responsible in 1897.

The Boer Republics.

The first Boer republic, Natal, was not allowed by the British to have a long life. But the Orange Free State and South African (Transvaal) republics, established on the highveld north of the Orange and west of the Drakensberg, survived until 1900. During the years between the Great Trek and the end of the nineteenth century these highveld regions and lower-lying regions adjacent to them, which would otherwise have remained Native territory, fell to a large extent into the hands of Europeans.

When the Voortrekkers crossed the Orange River in and after 1835 they found the present Orange Free State (with the exception of the Caledon River area in the east) and the South-Central Transvaal virtually unoccupied by Bantu. The remainder of this vast region was occupied by the tribes, most of them in a broken-up state as a result of the ravages of Shaka and his general Mzilikazi, who fled from his master in 1826 and ultimately established a new home for himself and his Ndebele (Matebele) at Mosega in the west of modern Transvaal. He was the first dangerous enemy the Boers encountered west of the Drakensberg, and in retaliation for attacks on them by his armies they drove him and his people across the Limpopo in 1837.

To the south of the Vaal River, in the present Orange Free State, the Boers found their principal antagonist in the Southern Sotho Chief Moshesh—the ablest Bantu Chief with whom Europeans have had to deal in South Africa. When Boers began trickling into the Caledon

[1] With the possible exception of British Bechuanaland, incorporated in the Cape Colony in 1895.

[2] Portions of it have since been alienated to Europeans.

region, Moshesh had already embarked on his policy of building up a strong Basutoland out of the scattered remnants of tribes along the Caledon River. For this purpose it was essential to control as much as possible of the Caledon basin, which contained excellent agricultural land, particularly since the land further east was extremely mountainous and difficult to cultivate. But the Boers also coveted these same lands, the best between the Vaal and the Orange. When the British established a temporary sovereignty (1848–1854) between the Orange and the Vaal they found land disputes all along the Bantu-European frontier awaiting solution. Boers had trekked in, obtained permission to settle from minor chiefs or from Moshesh himself, and thought themselves entitled to convert into permanent possession what in the usual Bantu manner had probably been intended as a temporary and conditional leave to occupy. The British authorities found it quite impossible to introduce order into the inextricable confusion of claims and races along the frontier, and though they drew lines they failed to enforce them. When they abandoned the sovereignty in 1854 they left its eastern frontier problem as a heritage to the independent republic of the Orange Free State. The result was two wars between the Free State and the Sotho, after the second of which the latter had to confess themselves beaten. As the reward of victory the Free Staters claimed not only the disputed territory but almost the whole of the agricultural part of Basutoland proper, leaving the mountains to the Sotho. Fortunately for the future of South Africa, Governor Wodehouse of the Cape Colony intervened at this critical moment and annexed Basutoland on behalf of Britain (1868). Though the Free State was allowed to annex all and more than all the lands in dispute and distribute them as farms to Europeans, the Sotho retained some agricultural land along the eastern bank of the Caledon River. After a period of administration by the Cape Colony, Basutoland became an Imperial protectorate in 1883.

By annexing Basutoland the British took over the Free State's most difficult Native problem. A number of Native reserves had been marked out within the republic during the sovereignty period, but all of them except the largest, that of ThabaNchu, were acquired by the Free State by cession, purchase, or conquest, within a few years after it had become independent. The ThabaNchu reserve continued to exist until 1884, when it was annexed and a considerable portion alienated to Europeans. For what was left of the reserve it was not considered necessary to evolve a "Native policy". The rest of the

Free State was a "white man's country" where Natives were welcomed as servants and tolerated, so long as it suited the convenience of their superiors, as rent-paying "squatters".

After the defeat of Mzilikazi in 1837, Boers began gradually establishing themselves in the Transvaal. Wherever they attempted to settle, whether in the south-west in the Potchefstroom area, in the north-east at Ohrigstad and Lydenburg, or in the north in the Zoutpansberg, they were from the beginning in contact with tribesmen and sometimes entirely surrounded by them. In the south-west they based their title to the land on the conquest of the Ndebele, ignoring the rights of the remnants of tribes scattered by Mzilikazi. In the north and north-east they generally obtained rights of occupation from some Bantu Chief or other. They do not appear to have inquired very closely whether the chief in question had the right to cede what he purported to cede, nor exactly what rights the cession was meant to confer. In the last resort, their title was based on the awe their horses and guns inspired among tribes already chastened by Zulu and Ndebele.

Until the end of the 'seventies the position of the Europeans in many parts of the Transvaal remained precarious—more so than anywhere else in South Africa. Though their local republics coalesced about the year 1860 into the South African Republic, this united republic revealed few of the attributes of an organized state until the 'eighties. Certainly in the matter of dealings with Natives and the occupation of land more depended on the desires of individual Boers and their local leaders, commandants, and field cornets than on those of the central authorities.

For these reasons it is to-day impossible to give a detailed and connected account of the manner in which the land was parcelled out among the Boers as farms or the numbers of Natives found living on them. From such records as survive, however, a picture can be obtained whose main lines are clear enough. Scattered groups of Natives were incorporated together with their land in the farms which Boers marked out for themselves, and were reduced to the position of tenants-at-will, paying in labour or in kind or in both for the right of continuing to occupy. In other cases tribesmen returning to their ancestral homes after the Boer defeat of Mzilikazi or simply wandering about in search of desirable spots on which to live, and finding a Boer already in occupation, settled down as his labour tenants. The position may be summarized in a few sentences: After the expulsion of Mzilikazi the land tended rapidly to fill up with Natives—more rapidly

than Boers could stake out claims to farms. How came it that by the time of the final extinction of the South African Republic in 1900 the vast majority of these Natives were living either on land privately owned [1] by Europeans, or as rent-paying " squatters " on state land, or on land they had been allowed to purchase for themselves? [2] The answer can only be that much expropriation of Native land took place in the Transvaal during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Strong tribal groups, however, or groups living at a distance from the main areas of Boer settlement, managed for many years to maintain themselves in virtual independence of the Boers. Some of these groups have managed to retain possession of their lands to this day, the lands having been officially demarcated as Native locations. It is significant that the demarcation of locations, which meant converting what had been a precarious title to tribal lands into a certain one, was first undertaken as a direct result of the British occupation of 1877–1881. A Location Commission set up by the Pretoria Convention of 1881 proceeded to mark out locations. But the Commission did not err on the side of diligence, and a number of tribes to whom locations had been promised had not yet had them beaconed off by the year 1904.

During the 'eighties, most of the available land within the republic having been appropriated, land-hungry Transvaalers pushed out on to tribal lands beyond the eastern and western frontiers. We have already mentioned the incorporation of a portion of Zululand in the South African Republic in 1887. Towards the west a similar Boer penetration took place. Boers took part in tribal quarrels and received or seized land as a reward for their intervention. On this land they established the republics of Stellaland and Goshen bordering on the South African Republic. The British, however, intervened, and while the Republic was allowed to incorporate part of Stellaland and Goshen, most of their territory became part of the colony of British Bechuanaland (1885). But the Boers retained much of the land which they had occupied. In 1895 the territory became a part of the Cape Colony. The lands north of the colony of British Bechuanaland became a British protectorate [3] in 1885, with the approval of the Native Chiefs, who wished thus to safeguard their tribal land against Boer encroachment.

The turn of Swaziland came next. Even before the 'eighties

[1] About half the total number.

[2] The Pretoria Convention of 1881, by which the British restored the Transvaal to the Boers, for the first time gave Natives the right to purchase land in that country. In the Orange Free State no such right has ever been recognized.

[3] Bechuanaland Protectorate.

individual Boers had acquired grazing rights in that territory.[1] But during that decade the Governments both of the South African Republic and of Natal began playing the game, very popular at the time in Africa, of concession-hunting. In this way most of Swaziland passed into the hands of Europeans. In 1895 the South African Republic was allowed to annex Swaziland, but after the Anglo-Boer war of 1899–1902 it became a British protectorate—the third of the present-day South African protectorates.

The Transvaal stands in South African history as the most thorough-going exponent of the " northern " attitude to Natives. It is to-day admitted that the chief cause of the great disruption which led to the establishment of a number of separate states in South Africa was the so-called Native Question. The Great Trek was the result of the attempt by the British Government to enforce in South Africa, so far as such a thing could be done by the passing of laws, that attitude to people of colour which has since become known as the Cape tradition. Rather than accept the new dispensation, the Voortrekkers left the Cape Colony and trekked into the interior, where they would be free to put into practice their own ideas as to the proper relations between " master and servant ", or, in other words, White and Black. Those ideas, which took shape during slave-holding days in the old Colony, had as their point of departure the permanent inferiority of the black man.

In the Transvaal the Boers were farthest away from civilizing influences, they were continually engaged in skirmishes with Natives, and the old attitudes towards the black man took deeper root. In the 'forties, 'fifties, and 'sixties they were able to translate those attitudes into practical action without let or hindrance. We have already seen that Native land rights were little respected. As far as labour was concerned, the Natives were expected to supply as much of it as the Boers needed for such wages as the latter thought fitting, sometimes for no wages at all. Such Chiefs as had agreed or had been forced to accept Boer supremacy (with the exception of those who occupied the privileged position of " allies ") were subjected to the labour tax, that is, they had to send tribesmen to work for the farmers at the bidding of the Boer commandants. Native children reputed to be " unprotected " were apprenticed on a considerable scale to Boer masters until their 25th year.[2] There is evidence that commandos

[1] In the 'seventies the South African Republic claimed that the Swazi were its subjects.
[2] They received no remuneration beyond their food and clothing.

sometimes went out in search of apprentices, and that the practice of " receiving " children sometimes as " presents ", at other times in return for a remuneration, was widespread. In 1865 no less a person than the State President himself gave two blankets to the Chief Mswazi for sending him three Native orphan children.[1]

Beyond insisting that Natives perform their obligations and keep the peace, the state for many years ignored them. Tribes who still lived on their own land were left to be administered by their chiefs until the first British occupation. In 1885 the South African Republic for the first time adopted a system of administration for the Bantu living in tribal areas. It was frankly based on the Natal location system. Theophilus Shepstone was the man who had annexed the Transvaal in 1877, and his son H. C. Shepstone became Secretary for Native Affairs during the British occupation. He evolved a policy which was taken over by the restored Republic in its law 4 of 1885. That law established a system of administration for tribal areas which, as in Natal in the 'seventies, gave a minor jurisdiction in civil cases to the Chiefs, subject to the superintendence of European officials.[2] To what extent the law was given effect by the Republican administration is another question, which cannot be conclusively answered in the present state of our knowledge.

The Transkei.

Between 1872 and 1894, the Cape annexed more Bantu territory than during the whole preceding century.[3] In 1872 her eastern frontier was the Kei River ; in 1894 her territory extended to the Natal border. On the whole the expansion took place peacefully. Only Gcalekaland, the territory of the eastern Xhosa, was annexed as the result of a war. All the rest of the Transkeian Territories, as the tribal lands between the Kei and Natal were called, came in peacefully. In some cases chiefs even begged to have their land taken over in order that they might be protected against their enemies. In contrast to the annexations west of the Kei the Transkeian annexations were not followed by European occupation on a large scale. In and around the present district of Kokstad, Europeans bought up the farms of the half-caste Griqua who had established themselves there in 1863 ; and further west, in the bracing highlands at the foot of the Drakensberg, the

[1] J. Agar-Hamilton, *The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers* (Capetown, 1928), 219.
[2] E. H. Brookes, *The History of Native Policy in South Africa*, 2nd ed. (Pretoria, 1927), 124–5, 130.
[3] If we exclude Basutoland, given her by Britain in 1871 and returned in 1883.

districts of Matatiele, Maclear, and Elliot became European[1] during the 'eighties, their previous Bantu inhabitants having been expropriated as a punishment for rebellion. These regions had, however, been comparatively sparsely settled by tribesmen, who preferred the warmer country nearer the coast. That country they were allowed to retain almost intact: and so the Transkeian Territories form to-day far and away the largest single block of Bantu territory in the Union. Nor is there in the Union to-day any more hopeful and progressive area of Native administration.

For her Transkeian Territories the Cape evolved a policy which embodied elements not found in her Ciskeian system. Some of the most characteristic features of the old policy were, however, retained. Such were the civilizing ideals for which the Cape had always stood, the equal franchise and the important rights and exemptions which it conferred, and, in the sphere of administration, the supersession of the Chief by the European magistrate as rapidly as practicable. But the new features are noteworthy. The first is the administrative separation of the Territories from the rest of the Cape Colony. The laws passed by the Cape Parliament did not apply beyond the Kei, unless the contrary was expressly stated. Legislation for the Territories was by way of proclamations framed on the initiative of the Minister of Native Affairs. The Territories were placed in charge of a Chief Magistrate[2] who controlled the administrative activities of the magistrates and to whom there lay an appeal against their judicial decisions. The second noteworthy feature of Transkeian policy is the full recognition accorded, for the first time as far as the Cape is concerned, to Native law and custom. That recognition was largely due to the report of the Native Laws and Customs Commission of 1883–5, which examined Native law in a sympathetic and more or less scientific spirit and pointed out the impossibility of governing tribal Natives except on the basis of tribal law. From this time onward Transkeian magistrates were expected to acquaint themselves with the laws of the tribe they administered. It is true that the Penal Code passed for the Territories by the Cape Parliament was based, in the main, upon the Colonial criminal law. But in the much more important sphere of civil law the old tribal system prevailed. In contrast to the Natal practice, no attempt was made to codify Native "civil" laws, and magistrates were thus given the opportunity of adapting the laws they

[1] As far as land-ownership is concerned.
[2] The number was gradually reduced from three to one.

applied to the changing needs of a Native society in constant touch with Western civilization.

In 1894 the Cape Parliament passed the Glen Grey Act, the most famous law regarding Native policy in South African history. The law, based on half a century's experience in Native administration, was intended to herald a great forward move. Though the Act derives its name from a Ciskeian district, it was almost immediately extended by proclamation to the Transkeian Territories, and its significance will be best brought out if we consider the way in which it worked beyond the Kei. The Act, with its various amendments, has two main aspects. It is, in the first place, a measure designed to promote the introduction of individual land tenure among the Natives. As such it embodied several of the features of earlier measures: the survey of districts into small agricultural allotments,[1] the reservation of grazing commonages, and quitrents. But with an eye on previous failures the framers (and amenders) of the Glen Grey Act sought to prevent the overcrowding of the surveyed areas by decreeing that on his death a man's allotment should pass intact to his eldest son. His other sons, so it was hoped, would thus be forced to go out and work for the Europeans. Another improvement on previous schemes was the introduction of a cheap and easy method of transferring allotments.[2] But in spite of these improvements the " tenure " portion of the Glen Grey system must be pronounced a failure. Once again the fees of the surveys, carried out to suit surveyors' rather than the Natives' needs, were excessive. Once again the education of the Natives in the meaning of individual tenure and in better methods of agriculture lagged behind the wholesale surveys. In 1922, after seven of the twenty-six Transkeian Native districts had been divided up, the surveys came to a full stop. In 1932 the only " economic " results of the introduction of individual tenure into the Territories seemed to the Native Economic Commission to be that Natives had paid out large sums in survey fees and that high land values had been created.

The application in the Territories of the second important aspect of the Glen Grey system has been attended with greater success. Councils were established in the various districts, consisting in each case of the magistrate as chairman and six Natives, some of whom

[1] Whole districts were now to be surveyed, instead of individual " locations ", but it was laid down that before a district could be surveyed the consent of a majority of its male adult inhabitants had to be obtained.

[2] The Glen Grey Act also sanctioned the " one man, one lot " principle, i.e. no Native was allowed to hold more than one allotment. This was meant to prevent too rapid a drift from the reserves.

were elected by their fellows and others nominated by the Government. These District Councils in their turn send Native representatives, three each, to a General Council consisting of the Chief Magistrate as chairman, the magistrates of the various districts (who can speak but not vote), and the Native representatives. The functions of the General Council are to advise the Government in its dealings with the Territories, including the expenditure of the "Council" rate, a rate of ten shillings levied on each adult male Native in Council districts and ear-marked for local improvements. The District Councils send up motions for discussion by the General Council and are expected to supervise the expenditure of money allotted to Council works in their particular districts. The Council system was expected *inter alia* to give the Natives a training in European forms of local government to prepare them for effective action on a wider stage. In actual fact it has helped to interest the Natives in their local administration, trained some of them in responsible public discussion, kept the Government informed of the trend of Native opinion, and enabled it to raise money for schools, roads, dipping tanks, experimental farms, and agricultural demonstrators which it would otherwise have had to find in other ways. But it should be noted that the functions of the Councils, even of the General Council with respect to Council funds, are purely advisory.[1] The Native Councillors talk, criticize, and sometimes influence policy, but the European officials do the work.

The Council system has recently[2] been extended to other districts of the Ciskei beyond the original Glen Grey into a number of tribal areas in the Transvaal. Adaptations of it are also to be found in Southern Rhodesia and in Kenya.

The Union.

In 1910 the four British colonies south of the Limpopo came together and formed the Union of South Africa. That meant that the northern and southern traditions in Native policy had now to struggle for mastery within the same state. It was hoped by many people both in Britain and in South Africa that the Southern (or Cape) Liberal tradition would gradually leaven the whole lump of Native policy in the Union. Those who cherished this hope might have asked themselves whether the Cape tradition really had the support of the

[1] The General Council has recently been allowed to elect an Executive from among its Native members, the development of whose functions it will be interesting to watch.

[2] After it had already spread throughout the Transkeian Territories.

majority of Europeans within the Cape itself, and envisaged the outcome of an alliance between the Cape dissentients and the men (and women) from the North. From the point of view of Native interests, those in the Cape who pleaded for federation in preference to union have proved themselves to be wise in their generation. For in the end all the Cape could obtain was the entrenchment of its Native franchise,[1] the cornerstone of its Liberal tradition.

After 1910, the pre-Union system of Native policy and administration continued in each of the constituent provinces of the new state—as is still largely the case to-day. Nevertheless, Union did mean the establishment of a single Native Affairs Department for the whole of South Africa, and the likelihood that a single Native policy would sooner or later prevail throughout the country. In the measures affecting Natives that have been taken since Union, the Cape tradition has had to admit defeat almost all along the line. Not only has that tradition been unable seriously to influence Native policy in the rest of the Union, but northern pressure (with considerable southern support) has effected serious breaches in the Cape system within the Cape itself.

Union has had less effect on the policy pursued towards Natives in tribal areas than it has had on those in contact and competition with Europeans. Far and away the most important Union measure affecting the administration of tribal Natives is the Native Administration Act of 1927. The Act has greatly extended the powers of the Supreme Chief,[2] that is the Minister of Native Affairs, in the three northern provinces: Natives who do not possess certificates of exemption from tribal law, which the Minister may issue or refuse to issue, or cancel at his discretion, may now be kept in prison for three months or moved "from any place to any other place" by mere administrative order without the courts having any right to intervene. Other sections of the Act give the Minister the right to extend, within limits, the powers of Native Chiefs, both in civil and in criminal cases, thus reversing the tendency long at work througout South Africa towards the gradual supersession of the chief.

Natives in contact and competition with Europeans have been severely affected by a large number of measures. The Natives Land Act of 1913 restricted the right they had hitherto possessed of acquiring

[1] The franchise can only be abolished by a two-thirds majority of the two Houses of Parliament sitting together.

[2] A title first invented by Shepstone for use in Natal and in 1885 adopted also by the South African Republic.

land outside of tribal locations in Natal and the Transvaal[1]: it was only the existence of its Native franchise that prevented the Act being extended to the Cape. A number of laws, starting with the Natives Land Act, have been framed with the object of converting the rent-paying "squatter" on European-owned land, whose tenure has always been precarious, into a labourer with or without (but preferably without) sowing and grazing rights. Another group of measures, with no counterpart in pre-Union legislation but nevertheless in the authentic northern tradition, is due to the emergence of the difficult problem of the Poor White and the growing fear that the white man will not be able to hold his own in equal competition against the Native. The result has been "colour bar" laws and regulations, designed to prevent Natives from becoming skilled labourers, and a considerable displacement even of "unskilled" Natives in numerous spheres of state, municipal, and private employment where they used to be welcomed and indeed driven by various forms of direct and indirect pressure.[2] It is the old northern idea of the Native being kept "in his place"—which must to-day be defined as any place that at any particular time the European does not think it desirable to fill. But there is this important difference between the discriminating laws of the Union and, say, the comparatively primitive South African Republic, that the Union has at its disposal all the means of law-enforcement which modern industrialized states possess.

It has been possible to mention only a few of the salient features of Union legislation concerning Natives. What has been said may give support to the conclusion that the position of Natives throughout the country has become worse since 1910. Rights they formerly enjoyed have been abolished or have become precarious; the principle of anti-Native discrimination has been extended into a number of new fields, and new ways of enforcing it have been devised.

[1] In the Orange Free State they had enjoyed no such right.

[2] The pressure still continues largely by way of taxation, which is extremely heavy, having since Union become heavier for Cape and Natal Natives, with summary imprisonment as a penalty for failure to produce a tax receipt on demand by a policeman.

Chapter XVI

CULTURAL CHANGES IN TRIBAL LIFE

By I. Schapera

The spread of Western civilization over South Africa has affected Bantu life in many ways. Among the most readily observable is the differentiation of the people into new social classes. Some of these are economic, others religious, others political. But for most purposes the modern Bantu may conveniently and simply be classified into reserve, farm, and urban dwellers. The reserve Natives inhabit specially-demarcated areas within which no European may own land; the farm Natives live on farms owned by Europeans, and the urban Natives in European urban areas. Economic life, social organization, and other aspects of culture have in each case been affected by the relation of the people to the land. The special features presented by the farm and urban Natives respectively are dealt with in the two succeeding chapters. Here we shall consider only the Native in the reserves.[1]

Mechanisms of Culture Contact

Types of Contact.

The Natives in the reserves have encountered Europeans along three main fronts. Although no European may own land in a reserve, a few administrative officials, missionaries, traders, labour recruiters, and other representatives of Western civilization live in each reserve with their families and work among the local Natives. In addition, official and private European visitors are now so frequently seen there as no longer to arouse any special comment. Many reserves are further bounded on various sides by European farms or other settlements, with whose inhabitants the Natives often have dealings. Finally,

[1] In the Union, the Native reserves, inhabited by approximately two-fifths of the Native population, comprise altogether about 12 per cent of the total area of the country. They are situated chiefly in the Ciskei and Transkei, Natal (and Zululand), Northern and Western Transvaal, and British Bechuanaland. Of the High Commission Territories, the whole of Basutoland is a Native area; in Swaziland the Native reserves form about 40 per cent of the total area and accommodate five-sixths of the Native population; and in Bechuanaland Protectorate they form about 37 per cent of the total area (the great bulk of the remainder is sparsely inhabited Crown land) and accommodate at least 90 per cent of the Native population.

large numbers of tribesmen go periodically from the reserves to work in the rural and urban areas of European settlement.

The Europeans resident in or visiting the reserves reveal to the Natives new forms of dress and decoration, of speech, and of material culture in general. Many also employ Native servants, thus creating new occupations. The missionaries introduce a new form of religion, with its associated places of worship, ritual, organization, and morality; as well as a new system of education, and occasionally new methods of treating disease. The Government officials represent a new system of administration, taxation in money, new laws and penalties for their breach, and new courts and methods of procedure. Others are responsible for such new social services as education, health, and economic development. The traders, again, bring in the material products of Western civilization and a new system of trade; while the labour recruiters introduce new forms of occupation involving a lengthy absence from home.

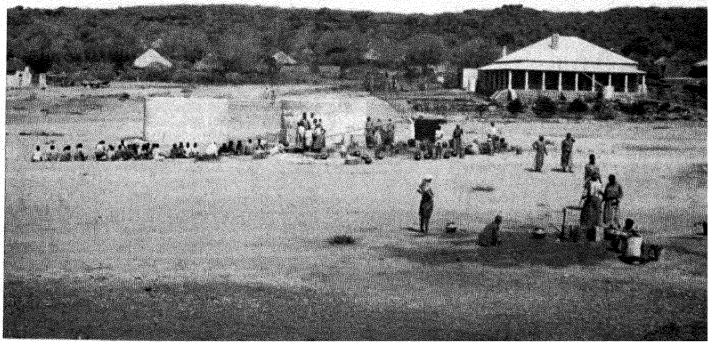
But many aspects of Western civilization do not thus directly reach the Native at home. The local white residents are too few and often too isolated to convey more than a superficial idea, even to their own servants, of European domestic and social life. Still less can they reflect adequately the social and political organization of their own people. It is equally impossible for the reserve Natives to learn much about the industrial aspects of Western civilization, apart from the slight glimpses they obtain of modern forms of transport and a few other mechanical contrivances.

The Native going out to work on the farms obtains a more intimate knowledge there of European agricultural methods, and also comes under a new system of law. But the traits of Western civilization not brought into the reserves are most fully presented only to the Native working in the towns. On the mines and elsewhere he encounters the white man's technical achievements in their most developed form; as a "houseboy" he observes fairly intimately the functioning of European domestic and social life; while in the streets he observes other elements of material culture, social intercourse, and the regulation of public life. Here also he meets members of many other Native tribes, drawn from all parts of South Africa and even from territories further north. But all this he must leave behind him when he returns. It does not as yet exist in his home, and can only indirectly through him affect those remaining there.

The various agents of Western civilization, and the elements they

[*J. Reyneke*

(*a*) Village Church Service (Kxatla)



[*I. Schapera*

(*b*) Solving the Water Problem (Kxatla)

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introduced into the reserves, did not appear simultaneously. The pioneers, as a rule, apart from stray hunters and travellers, were the missionaries and the traders. They introduced material culture, trade, and religion, the last generally accompanied by education. The wars so often preceding the extension of European control over the Native territories brought further glimpses of material culture, and new methods of fighting. The immediate concern of the Administration, this control once established, was to demarcate the occupation of land as between Europeans and Natives; to maintain law and order among the Natives, to which end it placed among them resident officials and police; and to meet through taxation the cost of the necessary machinery of government. Education, economic development, health, and similar services generally followed much later. Fairly early, too, the Natives in some areas grew accustomed to working for European farmers and other employers, the imposition of taxation aiding in the process. But the first big impetus to labour migration came with the diamond discoveries of 1869–1870, followed by extensive railway construction. The discovery of gold in the 1880's greatly increased the demand for Native labour and intensified the activities of the labour recruiters.[1]

European Aims and Policies.

The European agencies differed in their policies towards the Natives. The Administration not only introduced a new form of political control, but found it necessary, in the interests of good government, to abolish the powers of the Chiefs in regard to war, foreign policy, and certain aspects of criminal jurisdiction. It refused also to tolerate ritual homicide, the punishment of sorcerers, and similar practices held to be "repugnant to the principles of natural justice and morality". In other respects the general tendency was to interfere as little as possible with Native usages[2]; and indeed, especially within more recent times, the avowed policy in both the Union and the High Commission Territories has been to preserve and utilize as far as possible the tribal authority of the Chiefs and the laws and customs of the people. The medical and veterinary branches, however, have all along fought against Native magic, which they find

[1] Cf. H. M. Robertson, "150 Years of Economic Contact between Black and White," *S. Afr. J. Econ.*, ii (1934), 403–425; iii (1935), 3–25.

[2] Except in the Cape, where the policy was to break down rather than to perpetuate the tribal system, a tendency reversed after Union.

one of the greatest obstacles to the adoption of their own special services.

The basic aim of the missionaries was to convert the heathen Natives to Christianity. In pursuing this policy they sought also to instil a new system of morals and general behaviour conforming to Christian ideals, and used education as an instrument through which the Natives could learn to read the Gospels. Some further undertook the secondary task of uplifting the people by promoting general social and material advancement. On the other hand, in their zeal to introduce Christianity along European lines they wished to do away with everything savouring of heathenism. They accordingly forbade converts to practise polygamy, inheritance of widows, *lobola*, initiation, and other heathen ceremonies, whether or not opposed to the teaching of the Gospels. Some went so far as to insist on complete abstention from drinking beer and smoking. It is only quite recently that this uncompromising attitude has on the whole been somewhat modified.

The trader aimed simply at exploiting the Natives for his own material benefit, attempting accordingly to develop as good a market as he could for his wares; while the labour recruiter tried to bring them out to work for European employers. Both were in general indifferent to tribal custom so long as it did not actively interfere with the conduct of their business. The traders, in fact, occasionally identified themselves so completely with tribal life as to cohabit with or even marry women according to Native custom, in this way incidentally adding European blood to the many other contributions Western civilization has made to the Bantu.

The Administration was generally able to impose its wishes upon the people through physical force, in the form of punishment for revolt or disobedience. The missionaries, on the other hand, had to rely upon persuasion and propaganda, and the sanctions they introduced could affect their own followers only. They, like the traders and labour recruiters, were essentially dependent upon the goodwill of the Native authorities, especially in the early days of contact. Few missionaries hesitated, however, to stand up against Chiefs or magicians who attempted to hinder their work, whereas the traders in general tried to conciliate Native opinion and avoid giving offence. Sometimes these agencies could all rely upon not only the protection but also the active co-operation of the Administration, and so act somewhat more freely; but Native goodwill always counted with them to a predominant extent.

Native Reactions.

The aspects of tribal life most immediately affected by the impact of Western civilization were economic, religious, and political. Economic life was disturbed by the introduction of European goods, by taxation, and by labour migration, as well as by the alienation of land and the new definition of tribal boundaries. In religion the difference between Christianity and ancestor-worship was sufficiently marked to make them incompatible, while the attack upon other forms of ritual was meant to produce a definite break from tribal life. Political life generally was altered by the imposition of alien rule and by the forcible diminution of the powers and functions of the Native authorities. Social organization and domestic and communal life generally were not at first directly affected, apart from the changes in marriage and other customs attempted by the missionaries. It was only after Western civilization had been present for some time that its influence extended to these other spheres as well, facilitated by the introduction or intensification of such factors as education, labour migration, and schemes of economic development.

Certain innovations the Natives had little option but to accept. This was particularly so with political control. Sometimes, as in Basutoland and Bechuanaland Protectorate, its acceptance was dictated largely by expediency. In order to obtain the security and advantages of British protection against Boer aggression, the Chiefs and their people were willing to sacrifice certain powers and liberties and assume certain obligations. But in most cases acceptance was due to compulsion. The superior military strength of the Europeans enabled them to force their rule upon the people and to make desired changes in administration. The long series of Native wars and rebellions show that often the Natives bitterly resented these changes, but they were powerless to prevent them. Even at the present time many administrative measures are accepted largely through fear of the consequences of disobedience.

The wares of the trader, on the other hand, were accepted readily, even eagerly, because of their general superiority to Native products. They were more durable and efficient, and could be obtained without the effort of manufacture. The goods most sought after in the early days were almost all better substitutes for corresponding Native goods —guns for spears and clubs, ploughs for hoes, and metal goods generally for Native iron, clay, and wooden implements and utensils. Ornaments, too, such as glass beads and copper or wire bracelets,

exercised considerable attraction and were widely adopted. This initial tendency was accentuated by the cumulative influence of missionary activity, education, labour migration, and contact with Europeans generally. By leading to a higher standard of living, they have made trade goods indispensable.

The missionaries could neither resort to compulsion nor appeal to technical superiority. But they came to the Natives at a time when there were constant frontier wars with the Europeans. Their readiness to champion the cause of the Natives made them welcome; the message they preached undoubtedly attracted many; while in later years their virtual monopoly of education, the gateway to a knowledge of English and so to a better equipment for obtaining remunerative employment, brought many willing converts. Perhaps the greatest single factor in their success, however, was the attitude of the Chief. Where he opposed Christianity, conversions were dangerous and relatively few. Where he himself accepted it, his example was generally sufficient to bring over many of his people. In Bechuanaland, e.g., the Ngwato Chief Kxama became an enthusiastic Christian, carrying his tribe with him; whereas in Swaziland the Paramount Chief is to this day a pagan, as are the great majority of his people.

The personal influence of the Chief has swayed tribal opinion in regard to other aspects also. Some Chiefs opposed the introduction of European social and economic services, fearing they would lead to the disintegration and corruption of the people. Others, realizing that Western civilization had come to stay, and that " in adapting ourselves to the same civilization lay our future ",[1] eagerly accepted such elements as they thought would benefit their people. This tendency has already been noted above in regard to the welcome accorded to missionaries. For the same reason many Chiefs have supported education and promoted or encouraged schemes of economic development. Even nowadays, as most Europeans working in the reserves have found, the active support of the Chief is a powerful influence in ensuring the relative success of any new measure, while his opposition or indifference invariably creates obstacles and difficulties.

Misunderstanding of innovations has all along contributed towards resistance to change. The compulsory dipping of cattle, e.g., has been interpreted by Natives in many parts of South Africa as a device to kill off their animals and so impoverish them still further; the compulsory branding of cattle in infected areas to facilitate control of their

[1] Stated to the writer by Isang Pilane, formerly acting Chief of the Bechuanaland Kxatla.

movements is resented as "marking them off as Government property"; proposals for land development are rejected for fear that if it improves too much the white man will take it away; while suggestions for the formation of farmers' associations are regarded as just another scheme for robbing the people of their money. Many other examples of a similar nature are known. The Natives have so often been imposed upon by Europeans, and in particular have been deprived of so much of their land, that they tend to regard suspiciously any proposal, even for their betterment, and to seek for some ulterior motive behind it.

Reference must finally be made to the influence of European personalities. Governments or Missions may lay down a policy, but its application rests largely with their local representative. It is to him that the Native reacts. The Native's idea of Christianity does not come so much from the Bible or from the official doctrine of the Church as from the missionary who preaches to him and who works in his area, and by the latter's conduct and treatment of his people he judges the life of a Christian. So, too, the Government is to him primarily the local official with whom he mostly comes into contact, and his ideas of European government and justice are based largely upon his dealings with this man. It is not possible, in the present state of our knowledge, to generalize about the manner in which such Europeans have affected tribal culture. But no one who has ever lived in Native areas can doubt their tremendous importance in stimulating or delaying cultural changes.

Economic Changes

We have seen that economic life was among the first aspects of Bantu culture to be directly affected by contact with Europeans. The resultant changes are most readily found in technology. The Bantu have taken over new goods of many kinds, whereas their own domestic industries have gradually decayed. Ironwork, formerly a specialist craft, has almost wholly died out. Ploughs, hatchets, knives, and other metal implements are bought from the traders. Leatherwork has become far less important, now that blankets, clothes, and other dress materials have been introduced. The Sotho tribes have almost universally taken to European clothing, and even among the Nguni and Shangana-Tonga, where the change has not been so marked, the

Christians at least have also discarded the old dress. Pottery, basket-work, and woodwork are all becoming more restricted in practice and scope, although in Bechuanaland a new trade in wood and bone curios flourishes along the railway line. Iron cooking pots and tin cans are replacing the more fragile pots of clay; enamel basins and plates are used by many instead of baskets and wooden eating-bowls; and hardware buckets are preferred to wooden milk-pails. Good specimens of old Native work are increasingly difficult to obtain; and the occasional attempts in the schools to revive Native arts and crafts produce articles regarded only as curios. Matches have replaced the old fire-sticks; imported beads, earrings, bracelets, and other ornaments have almost completely displaced their Native counterparts; salt, tobacco, and even such foodstuffs as tea, sugar and bread, all find a ready sale. To some extent also rectangular dwellings are replacing the old circular huts, a process most marked in Southern and Western Transvaal, but noticeable everywhere. Most of these new dwellings are built, like the old huts, with earthen walls and thatched roofs, but wealthier or more important people have brick houses with corrugated iron roofs. In more progressive households one also notices beds, tables, chairs, and other European articles of furniture. The material standards of life have thus been improved, and the range of individual possessions increased.

The traditional pursuits of agriculture and animal husbandry have both become more efficient. Agriculture has been improved by the widespread adoption of the plough and by the better knowledge of technique acquired through work for European farmers. The Adminstration has in many parts stationed trained agricultural demonstrators; the people are being encouraged to grow in quantity for sale as well as for subsistence; new crops have been introduced, such as wheat, vegetables, fruit, and cotton; agricultural shows have been organized; and agriculture is taught in the schools. In the Cape a system of individual tenure has been introduced to stimulate improvement of the land; irrigation schemes have been carried out; and co-operative farmers' associations have been organized. Dipping and inoculation of livestock are compulsory in many areas; more adequate water supplies have been provided by bore-holes and dams; the breed of cattle has been somewhat improved by crossing with European strains; dairy industries have been introduced; while in Basutoland particularly the merino sheep and Angora goat have replaced their Native predecessors, and wool farming has come to play an important

part in the tribal economy.[1] Almost everywhere cattle have been put to a new use as draught animals with the plough and the wagon, and new domestic animals like horses, donkeys, and pigs have been widely adopted.

The men continue to look after the cattle, assist in hut-building, and do all the work in wood and skins; while the women till the fields, build and keep in repair the huts and dwelling-enclosures, make pots, look after the children, and prepare the food. To this extent the traditional division of labour is maintained. But the men no longer go to war, and hunting has become of minor importance now that the game in most parts has greatly decreased. The introduction of the plough and other agricultural implements has, on the other hand, forced them to take a more considerable part in agriculture than they formerly did. The carrying of wood, crops, and water, traditionally women's work, is now occasionally done by the men with animal transport. Moreover, many new crafts and occupations have been introduced. The government employs Native clerks, interpreters, orderlies, agricultural demonstrators, and policemen; the Missions have introduced the vocations of clergyman and evangelist; the hospitals and medical practitioners train and employ nurses and dispensers; education has created a small class of teachers, both male and female; the local European residents employ store assistants, domestic servants, and cattle herds; the Chiefs have their secretaries and chauffeurs; and some people work for themselves as traders, transport riders, builders, carpenters, licensed butchers and bakers, tailors and dressmakers, and itinerant hawkers. Most of them still herd cattle and plough in their spare time, or rely upon their families or hire people to do so for them. The new activities in which they are also engaged constitute a subsidiary even if important source of income. But others have come to rely almost entirely upon their new occupation for means of subsistence.

Progress, however, has not everywhere been as marked as these facts would suggest. Relatively few people have taken full advantage of the new farming methods. Suspicion of innovations, the recency in most areas of Government encouragement, and sheer inertia have caused the great majority to lag behind. What little progress they may actually have made is due more to active pressure from without than to enlightened self-interest. Outside the Cape the communal system

[1] Cf. R. Sayce, "An Ethno-Geographical Essay on Basutoland," *Geog. Teacher*, xii (1924), 266 ff.

of land tenure still persists; ploughing in many reserves is badly done, neither manuring nor rotation of crops is practised, very few new crops have been brought under cultivation, and little attempt has been made to introduce seed of better quality. Cattle are still regarded primarily as an index of wealth and a source of prestige. Far more value is accordingly attached to their number than to their quality. This tendency, coupled with the marked shortage of land due to the expansion of European settlement, has resulted very widely in overstocking, with consequent underfeeding and still further deterioration in quality.

In many parts of South Africa, in fact, the Bantu are no longer able to provide sufficient food for their own needs. In Swaziland, e.g., "the foodstuffs grown by Natives are only about one-fifth of their requirements, the remaining four-fifths being supplied by European farmers and by traders who import grain from the Union."[1] Similar conditions prevail in other areas. To some extent they may be attributed to the periodic droughts to which South Africa is subject. But the primary cause is the backward condition of the reserves. Overstocking, coupled with the frequent absence of water conservation, leads to denudation and erosion of the soil, a feature already most marked in Basutoland and parts of the Transkei. This again is rapidly diminishing the extent of good arable land, while too little progress has been made in farming methods to counterbalance the loss. In the Union, according to the Native Economic Commission, "we have now throughout the Reserves a state of affairs in which, with few exceptions, the carrying capacity of the soil for both human beings and animals is definitely on the down grade; a state of affairs which, unless soon remedied, will within one or at the outside two decades create . . . an appalling problem of Native poverty."[2]

Moreover, Native agricultural produce nowadays not merely supplies food for the household, but must also be sold to satisfy new wants. The Natives, as we have just seen, now buy far more goods from the traders than they make themselves. In addition, they have everywhere been obliged to pay an annual money tax to the Administration, an experience to which they had not previously been accustomed. In many parts, too, the Chiefs or other authorities have taken to raising levies in cash for such tribal purpose as purchasing land or building schools and churches. Church dues, school fees, and similar

[1] Colonial Office, Annual Report on Swaziland, 1933 (No. 1694), 17.
[2] Report of Native Economic Commission, 1930–2 (U.G. 22, 1932), § 69.

small obligations must also be paid in cash. To obtain this the Native has had to pass from a subsistence into a money economy.

The only local source of income open to the great majority is the sale of produce to the traders. But cattle, owing to their continued social value, are seldom sold except on occasions of real need, although every effort is being made to persuade the people to part with them more freely and so reduce overstocking. Embargoes due to stock disease have in many cases greatly restricted the market, while such animals as are sold seldom fetch a good price owing to their poor quality. Hides and skins, as well as such new products as wool, are no longer as profitable as they formerly were. Crops are sold freely enough, but the quantity reaped is often so inadequate that the people are later forced to repurchase corn from the traders as food at a much higher price generally than they themselves received. In some Tswana tribes (e.g. Ngwato and Kxatla), the Chiefs have in consequence prohibited its sale without special permission, very seldom granted except in times of abundance. The main alternative source of income is some new occupation. A few people have been able to find it by working for local Europeans or by setting up as independent craftsmen or dealers. But the local opportunities for such gainful employment are still greatly restricted. The younger men especially must consequently seek work outside their reserves.

Labour migration has come to play a prominent part in tribal life. The need for money, the shortage of land, the activities of the recruiters, and a growing desire to escape from parental control or to experience adventure and change have all contributed towards converting many tribal Natives into temporary wage-earners outside their homes. The number going out to work fluctuates considerably according as the harvest is good or bad; but in Bechuanaland the average percentage of men working abroad at any one time is forty, in Basutoland and the Transkei fifty, and in some Ciskeian districts as high as seventy.[1] The normal period of absence from home is a year or so. But there is an increasing tendency for men to stay away longer, and in many cases, as the growth of permanent urban populations shows, they never return at all. Of recent years, too, women also have begun going out to work, despite the almost universal disapproval of both the Administration and the tribe as a whole. Many men go to European farms surrounding their reserves, where they do work to which they

[1] J. D. R. Jones, "The Urban Native," in Schapera, 1934, 167; *Report on Financial and Economic Position of Basutoland* (Cmd. 4907, 1935), 34.

are accustomed at home. But the great majority go to the towns. Here they generally work on the mines, railways, factories, or other industrial undertakings, thus engaging in labour of a completely new type. A fair number, however, enter into domestic service, which although conflicting with all tribal ideas about the proper division of labour between the sexes appeals to them as being light work, comparatively well paid, and providing plenty of food.[1]

The sale of their labour enables the tribal Natives to maintain the standard of living to which they have attained. Without the income obtained in this way they would be far poorer than they actually are. On the other hand, through it the tribe loses the people who remain away permanently; agriculture suffers from the lengthening absence of able-bodied men; and many other aspects of tribal life, as we shall see, have been profoundly affected by the new experiences encountered in the towns.

Religion and Magic

"The rapidity and ease with which the South African Native has received the teachings of Christianity is one of the most remarkable phases in his acceptance of European civilization."[2] But the extent to which Christianity has been adopted varies greatly. Whereas in Bechuanaland Protectorate only some 10 per cent of the Natives are professing Christians, in the Union as a whole the percentage is about thirty, while in Basutoland it approaches fifty.[3] Some tribes, even in Bechuanaland, have actually adopted Christianity as their official religion. The majority, however, may still be regarded as pagan, in so far as the Chief is not a Christian and still carries out his traditional religious functions. But practically every tribe has now its resident missionary and Native clergymen or evangelists and includes among its members adherents of Christian Churches.

Cultural changes have, of course, been most marked in the tribes which have officially embraced Christianity. Among the Kxatla of Bechuanaland, e.g., little active trace now remains of the old tribal religion. Hardly any of the younger people know what is meant by the ancestral spirits, and even among their elders there is no positive cult outside Christianity. Those who are not active members of the Church merely hold vague beliefs largely derived from echoes of

[1] Report of Interdepartmental Committee on the Labour Resources of the Union, 1930, §§ 82–6.

[2] *Report of Native Churches Commission* (U.G. 39, 1925), 19.

[3] Cmd. 4907, 1935, 45.

missionary teaching blended confusedly with memories of ancestor-worship. The Christian conception of God has so effectively displaced the old Native conception of a supreme being that no clear account can be obtained of the latter and his attributes. Marriage, death, and other domestic rites have been considerably modified by the intrusion of Christian elements and the decay of traditional practices. The Chief no longer plays an outstanding part in ritual life, and almost all the great tribal ceremonies for which he was formerly responsible have been discarded. Christianity has introduced Churches and a completely new ritual; it has made Sunday a compulsory day of rest for all members of the tribe; it has created new sanctions for the behaviour of Church members; and its hymns have profoundly affected traditional music. The missionary himself has become not only the tribal priest, but also the guide and adviser of the people in many spheres of life remote from religion.[1]

Where the Chief himself has not yet accepted Christianity, and where consequently the great bulk of the people still follow him in adherence to the old tribal religion, the main effect of missionary activities has been to divide the tribe into two camps. Church members not only have their worship to distinguish them. They must also conform to the social and moral ideals preached by the missionary, dress in a "respectable" manner, and abstain from certain tribal customs regarded as incompatible with true Christianity. The conflict of loyalties thus entailed is often painful; but, despite occasional relapses, the effect generally is to heighten the devotion of the converts to their new faith. Nevertheless, considerable ill-feeling may prevail between them and the pagans, resulting at times in political dissension. The missionary himself is often regarded as an enemy whose activities disturb the unity of the tribe; but many instances are also known where the Chief, although rejecting his teaching, welcomes his assistance and advice in dealings with other Europeans.[2]

Despite its rapid progress in some tribes, the Christianity of most Bantu is by no means deeply rooted. It is on the whole too recent an innovation to compel loyalty through tradition or sentiment. Many missionaries, moreover, have laid exaggerated emphasis upon doctrinal instruction, so that the people tended "to adopt the externals of the new creed without assimilating the fundamental truths of Christian

[1] Schapera, "Present-day Life in the Native Reserves," in Schapera, 1934, 52–3.
[2] Eiselen, "Christianity and the Religious Life of the Bantu," in Schapera, 1934, 65–82 *passim*.

belief and conduct."[1] Their attendance at Church is largely a matter of routine; not many are sincere in their professions of faith, or strive to lead a true Christian life; they practise in secret many of the old customs forbidden by the Church; and in various other ways show that their Christianity is merely conventional. The modern missionary, too, is no longer himself an evangelist, but supervises the activities of Native evangelists; while the control of such outside bodies as the Administration, the Education Department, and the central Mission Committee has affected his attitude towards his work. This in turn has altered the Natives' conception of him and his duty. They contrast him unfavourably with his pioneer predecessors, and accuse him of racial discrimination, intolerance, and lack of sympathy. Native evangelists and elders, again, often appear overbearing, autocratic, hypocritical, and partial in their administration of the Church laws. The critical attitude thus developed towards the Church is greatly strengthened by the experience of the men working abroad. They observe that most Europeans whom they encounter pay little heed to religion, and that Christian ideals of brotherhood and charity do not prevail before differences of colour. They return even more sceptical of missionary aims and methods.

The situation has been aggravated by denominationalism. Formerly the spheres of Mission influence were more clearly defined, there was much less denominational rivalry, and examples of European religious disunion were not so apparent as they are to-day. In some tribal areas there is still only one Mission Church at work, and indeed in some Bechuanaland tribes the Chiefs deliberately exclude other denominations and even penalize any adherents they may have gained.[2] But now in most parts of the country several different Mission societies all operate in the same area. Their teachings differ in some respects, as do their attitudes towards such tribal customs as *lobola*, puberty rites, and beer-drinking. The pagan Natives in consequence are sceptical or confused, while the open rivalries between one Church and another may become a disruptive influence through the growth of denominational jealousy and hatred among Native Christians. It is also by no means unusual for a wily or unscrupulous Chief to play off one Church against another for his own material or political advantage.

One consequence of this new attitude towards Christianity has

[1] U.G. 39, 1925, 19; and the whole report for what follows; cf. also Eiselen, op. cit.
[2] Schapera, field observations among Kxatla, Ngwato and Kwena.

been the growth of Native separatist Churches. Of these nearly four hundred exist in South Africa, mostly in the urban areas, but well represented also in the reserves.[1] Their creation has been stimulated by such varying motives as desire for independence in Church matters, the alleged existence of colour prejudice among European missionaries, personal ambition, the desire to administer Church property and money, and the desire for a tribal Church conforming more closely to Native custom.[2] Some of the less reputable sects indulge in special ceremonies appearing to combine Biblical customs and old heathen rites, and their leaders function both as Christian priests and Native magicians. The titles of such sects and of their Church offices are often extravagant and grotesque. But for the most part the separatists have retained the same doctrine and ritual as the Church from which they have sprung. It is sometimes alleged that this movement towards Church independence has a political bias, aiming at the expulsion of Europeans from South Africa. This is not so. "The separatist churches do not start with any definite anti-European programme, [but] the bitterness involved in the secession gives the movement an anti-European colouring which is increased by the fact that their separateness from Europeans attracts to them the disaffected among the Natives."[3]

Christianity, then, has not only in many cases provided an acceptable substitute for the old tribal religion, but has even created separate Bantu Churches reproducing European doctrines and organization. On the other hand, it has had little effect upon traditional magical beliefs and practices. These persist strongly, even among many professing Christians; the tribal magicians continue to flourish, despite a new scepticism of their claims; while new forms of magic have been developed to cope with situations arising from contact with Western civilization, or have been borrowed in the towns from Natives of other tribes and brought back into the reserves. The belief in sorcery, although somewhat modified, is still vigorous. The Administration treats as murder the killing of sorcerers, and has made it a penal offence even to accuse people of sorcery. Such people are consequently no longer openly punished. But cases are known where alleged sorcerers have been secretly destroyed with the connivance and indeed active participation of the Chiefs. Even where fear

[1] A full list, as at 1932, is published by E. H. Brookes, *The Colour Problems of South Africa* (Lovedale, 1934), 193–201.
[2] U.G. 39, 1925, *passim*.
[3] C. T. Loram, "The Separatist Church Movement," *Int. Rev. Missions*, xv (1926), 481.

of the Administration protects them from harm, their living presence is a disturbing factor in social life and the cause of much ill-feeling and malicious gossip.

This persistence of magic may be attributed largely to its playing a part in tribal life which none of the new influences has so far been able to fill. It enters intimately into all every-day activities and occupations, providing the people with hope and confidence enabling them to tide successfully over difficulties and disappointments. Christianity for the average tribesman is too remote from the realities of economic and domestic life to prove an acceptable substitute; and modern scientific teaching, although explaining more satisfactorily the causes of disease and economic welfare, is too recent an innovation and too limited in its scope to have been able to make much headway as yet against the traditional system of ideas underlying the belief in the efficacy of magic.

Government and Law

The establishment of European rule deprived the Bantu tribes of their political independence. In the Union, as shown in the last chapter, the gradual limitation of tribal self-rule culminated in the Native Administration Act, 1927, whereby the Governor-General became (except in the Cape) Supreme Chief of all the Natives. He is empowered, as such, to legislate for the Natives by proclamation, to " divide existing tribes into one or more parts or amalgamate tribes or parts of tribes into one tribe, or constitute a new tribe, as necessity or the good government of the Natives may in his opinion require "; and even to remove individuals, whole tribes or sections of tribes in the public interest from place to place within the Union.[1] The Natives themselves have no control over such legislation. In the High Commission Territories, on the other hand, the Natives proudly boast that they were never conquered, but voluntarily placed themselves under British protection. They have therefore consistently demanded and been accorded considerable freedom in the management of their own affairs. In Basutoland, indeed, " the Nation is ruled by its Chiefs, and the Government can merely proffer advice ": in 1929, e.g., the people were able successfully to reject two draft Proclamations, intended to lay down the powers and duties of Chiefs and the

[1] Native Administration Act. No. 38, of 1927, Sections 5 and 25.

organization of Native Courts.[1] Everywhere, however, the tribe in all its external relations is subject to the direct control of the Administration, to which it must also pay taxes; its boundaries have been rigidly defined; and the traditional rights and powers of its political authorities have been curtailed in other ways.

The extent to which the status and functions of the Chief have been affected varies. The general tendency has been to retain him as an instrument of government, and to uphold as far as possible his authority within the tribe.[2] But succession to or tenure of the Chieftainship is subject to the approval of the Administration, which has not generally hesitated to pass over an unsuitable heir or to depose an incompetent or rebellious Chief. Under the Union Government and its predecessors the Chief's judicial powers were severely limited and his administrative functions confined largely to carrying out the orders of the Government. In the High Commission Territories his jurisdiction has also been somewhat curtailed, and he is expected to carry out the instructions of the Government. But failure to do so has only just (1934) been made a penal offence in Bechuanaland, and cannot meet with more than a reprimand in Basutoland or Swaziland. The Chief continues in these Territories to perform most of his former judicial and administrative functions, and has much greater freedom in regulating tribal affairs than is possible in the Union. In pagan tribes both in the Union and in the High Commission Territories, the Chief is still tribal priest and magician, but in Christian tribes, as we have seen, he has been displaced by the missionary. His functions in other directions have been greatly extended by the activities of the educational, agricultural, and medical branches of the Administration, with which he is expected to co-operate; but at the same time his formerly undivided control over every aspect of tribal life has in this way been diffused through various Government departments with superior authority.

These changes have reacted upon the relations between the Chief and his subjects. Despite its diminished powers, the Chieftainship as an institution is still greatly honoured and respected; and so far are the people from wishing to discard it that the Ciskeian Natives have pressed within recent years for administrative recognition to be given to their hereditary Chiefs. The Chief's commands are obeyed even by those who have been away from home for some time; despite taxes and

[1] Cmd. 4907, 1935, 49, 25–8.

[2] In the Cape, however, "Native chiefs were never officially recognized as possessing any special administrative, or for that matter judicial, powers over their tribesmen" (Rogers, 1933, 20).

other demands upon their resources men coming back from abroad often pay him tribute in money; while in the reserves the people still look primarily to him as their ruler and guide. But complaints about the behaviour of individual Chiefs are becoming increasingly common. Under existing conditions there is little or no inducement to enlightened administration by the Chief. Freed by the support of the Administration from fear of the tribal sanctions formerly restraining him, he tends to care more about asserting the rights that remain to him than about his corresponding duties and obligations.[1] He has become more autocratic and exacting, and less willing to consider the welfare of the tribe or to use his wealth for its benefit. All this the people are beginning to resent, a tendency reinforced by educational advancement and by the possibilities of escape opened up by labour migration. Civilization may not have destroyed fidelity to the Chief, but it has made the people more critical of his conduct, while at the same time European government has deprived them of such remedies as they formerly possessed against oppression and abuse.

As mentioned above, the Chief is no longer supreme judge of the tribe. The range of his jurisdiction has also been limited. In the Union the general tendency was to replace him completely by European courts, except in British Bechuanaland (Cape), where his jurisdiction was specially preserved. Under the Native Administration Act, however, Chiefs may now be empowered to settle civil disputes between their tribesmen arising out of Native Law and Custom. They may also be granted minor criminal jurisdiction in respect of offences punishable under Native law, but this privilege has been much less widely accorded.[2] In the great majority of cases, Natives accused of any penal offence must come before European courts. In the High Commission Territories, on the other hand, the Chiefs still have both civil and considerable criminal jurisdiction, certain serious crimes only having been reserved for European courts. Everywhere, however, an appeal lies from the Chief's verdicts in any class of case to the courts of the local European officials, from which there is a further appeal to special courts of higher status. In addition, any case between a Native and a non-Native (European or Coloured) must be dealt with by the European courts.

Native law itself has been gradually transformed. Throughout the Union, e.g., the greater part of Bantu criminal law has been replaced

[1] Schapera, 1934, 59; Cmd. 4907, 1935, 46 ff.
[2] Brookes, "Native Administration in South Africa," in Schapera, 1934, 249.

by European criminal law. The remainder of the law is in most areas administered as a body of unwritten customary law, " the content of which must be discovered from precedent, reported cases, text-books, and (where necessary) expert evidence." [1] But the tendency has been for it to be adapted to changing conditions. In the Transkei, e.g., it has been modified from time to time by Government Proclamation. Among other changes thus introduced, both men and women on attaining the age of twenty-one now become emancipated from the control of their family head, and the sororate has been abolished.[2] In Bechuanaland Protectorate, similarly, the Chiefs have themselves altered the law. Among the Ngwato, e.g., Kxama abolished polygamy and *boxadi* (the transfer of cattle to the wife's parents at marriage), declared that daughters were entitled to inherit cattle from their father's estate, and made beer-drinking and violation of the Sabbath penal offences.[3] Codification has taken place in two areas only. In Natal a Code of Native Law was proclaimed by the Administration as far back as 1878, " which sought to put into statutory form a synthesis of the customary law of the various tribes." [4] A revised Code, issued in 1932, " modernized slightly the substantive Native law in force in the Province, although it is still less influenced by European ideas than the Native Law of the Transkei." [5] In Basutoland, again, the National Council has issued a small collection of customary laws " intended to safeguard the prerogatives of Chiefs while maintaining rights for the common people ".[6] Such Codes are, of course, new developments in Native law.

Throughout South Africa the Natives have further been subjected to new laws of many kinds. Some they share with the Europeans, e.g., the provisions of the criminal law, and, in the case of Natives married under Christian or civil rites, the civil law applying to such marriages. Others provide specially for the administration of Native affairs. There are still other laws affecting Natives only or discriminating between Natives and Europeans. Most of these apply more particularly to the farm and urban Natives, but others affect the reserve Natives also. They provide, *inter alia*, that no Native may be supplied with European liquor, nor buy or hire land from Europeans outside certain areas scheduled for Native occupation; that every male Native over the age of eighteen failing to pay the annual poll tax or to produce a

[1] Brookes, op. cit., 246.
[2] Schapera, 1935, MS.
[3] Brookes, in Schapera, 1934, 244.
[4] Brookes, op. cit., 243.
[5] Brookes, op. cit., 246.
[6] Cmd. 4907, 1935, 24.

tax receipt is guilty of a criminal offence; and that all Natives outside their reserves must carry one or more passes.[1] Provision exists in the legislation for the exemption of specially-qualified or otherwise deserving Natives from the operation of certain restrictions imposed by these laws, but very few tribal Natives have thus been exempted.

The European Governments have not only altered the traditional system of tribal rule in the manner described above. They have also created new Native administrative bodies extending beyond the limits of single tribes. The best known are the district and general councils of the Transkeian Territories, described in the last chapter. The new Representation of Natives Act, 1936, carries this system much farther by creating a central Natives Representative Council representing all the Natives of the Union. In Bechuanaland Protectorate, similarly, there is a Native Advisory Council made up of the Chiefs and other representatives of each tribe,[2] while Basutoland has a National Council representative mainly of the Chiefs and their adherents. The Natives themselves have at various times organized associations on "National" i.e., extra-tribal, lines. Many separatist Churches are of this character, as are such political associations as the African National Congress. All these bodies, whether organized by Europeans or Natives, are tending to bring together members of different tribes for common political or religious ends; but as yet the sense of tribal unity and distinctness appears to have suffered little diminution.

Education and Health

Scholastic education, almost everywhere initiated by the missionaries, has now become an established part of tribal culture. There is hardly a single tribe where schooling facilities are not provided, and in most of them every village or small local area has its school. The schools are in most parts still owned by the missionaries, but the Administration has everywhere taken over the direction of educational policy and finance, and built many additional schools. The Bantu on the whole eagerly desire education, despite the well-founded fear of many Chiefs and parents that it will break down adherence to traditional beliefs and customs. But the number of children actually attending school is proportionately small. Basutoland, with an enrolment of 65 per cent of the children of suitable age, is exceptionally

[1] The Native attitude towards this legislation is forcibly expounded by D. D. T. Jabavu, in Schapera, 1934, 285–9.

[2] Except the Ngwato, who have consistently refused to be represented on the Council.

advanced.[1] In the Union as a whole and in Bechuanaland Protectorate the general average is as low as 20 per cent.[2] The great majority of the children, moreover, seldom remain at school for more than two or three years, so that proportionately very few ever get beyond the lower classes. Tribal factors such as parental conservatism and the continued employment of children in domestic and farming activities explain to some extent this comparative retardation. But the main reasons are the great shortage of schools, due to inadequate financing, and the fact that schooling, in contrast with European primary education, is neither free nor compulsory.

Education in the early days was confined mainly to religious preparation and the three R's. Even now, in the reserves, it is devoted mainly to ordinary literary subjects of the same kind as taught in European elementary schools, with some practice in handicrafts and gardening. Few reserves have facilities for secondary education. The more advanced students must go to one of the few central institutions, where the majority ultimately qualify as teachers or for some other clerical occupation. Not many avail themselves of the opportunities for becoming industrial craftsmen. A very small number have attained to University education, afterwards becoming teachers, medical practitioners, journalists or clergymen, or entering Government service of some kind.

It has often, and rightly, been maintained that such education as the Natives now receive tends to divorce them from their tribal environment.[3] The great majority, taught in the elementary schools of the reserves, are not so considerably affected. They are, it is true, becoming differentiated from their less literate brethren in habits of dress, speech, and behaviour; they acquire a new sense of values; they are more prone to resent absolute parental control; and they are rendered less fitted for the traditional callings of their people. But those who have received more advanced education become far more noticeably dissatisfied with the old forms of tribal life. Not many can find employment at home, owing to the lack as yet of sufficient openings in the special occupations to which they have been trained. They accordingly migrate to other areas or to the towns, and so become lost to the tribe. Those actually employed in the reserves

[1] Cmd. 4907, 1035, 104.

[2] *Report of Native Economic Commission* (U.G. 22, 1932), 90; *Report on Financial and Economic Position of the Bechuanaland Protectorate* (Cmd. 4368, 1933), 82.

[3] Cf. on this whole topic W. G. Mears, "The Educated Native in Bantu communal life," in Schapera, 1934, 85–101 *passim*.

often enjoy considerable prestige because of their superior educational and economic status, and they may gain a new influence as " scribes, interpreters, and mediators with Government officials, traders, and missionaries ".[1] On the other hand, they have tended more readily than any other section of the tribe to discard traditional practices and to embrace the ways of the white man; they affect to despise their less educated or wholly illiterate brethren; and they often complain bitterly at the lack of the social amenities to which they became accustomed in their training institutions, so that many wish to break away and seek more " civilized " surroundings.[2]

Despite these developments, of which the Natives themselves are fully conscious, any tendency on the part of the Administration to introduce a system of education more suited to the present conditions of tribal life is greeted with suspicion and even hostility. " The view is openly expressed that the European is thereby trying to foist some inferior substitute on the Natives. Education is looked upon as a standard article, and the Native will not have anything other than this supposed ' standard '." [3] They feel that any system other than that given to Europeans aims at keeping down their economic status and shutting them out of the gainful occupations to which a literary education is at present the most important opening.

One marked result of education has been the spreading knowledge of English and (alhough not to the same extent) of Afrikaans as spoken languages. It is only fairly recently that more emphasis has been laid in the schools on instruction in the vernacular, to the general disgust of the Natives, who realize the economic value of a European language to men who will afterwards have to seek work in the towns. In any case most of these men acquire some knowledge of a European language during their employment abroad. The local vernaculars, moreover, are being corrupted by the intrusion of European words,[4] while some of the educated youth regard it as quite fashionable to speak English even amongst themselves. Education has also introduced a knowledge of writing, with the result that letter-writing has come to play a considerable part in maintaining contact between the men working abroad and their relatives and friends at home. It has led further to the development of literary activity among the Bantu. Although most of the literature written for the Bantu is provided by the missionaries

[1] Mears, in Schapera, 1934, 94.
[2] U.G. 22, 1932, § 610.
[3] Schapera, 1934, 56 f.
[4] G. P. Lestrade, " European Influences upon the Development of Bantu Language and Literature," in Schapera, 1934, 105–127.

and other Europeans, more and more Natives are beginning to write books in their own language. This development has been most marked among the Cape Nguni and Southern Sotho, whose educational history goes back farther than that of other groups; but there is no South African Bantu language which does not now possess at least some publications by educated tribesmen.[1]

Certain Missions have for a long time past also attended to the medical needs of the people among whom they laboured. Others have more recently followed their example. The Administrations likewise have come to consider it one of their own principal duties. European doctors are now found in most tribal areas; a fair number of small hospitals have been built in more central or important districts; and steps are being taken to train Native nurses, dispensers and medical aids for service in their own reserves. For most cases of illness the people still prefer their own treatments and practitioners, often enlisting European aid only when every other hope has failed. But the general superiority of modern medical science to the methods of Native healers is slowly being realized, and the people are tending more and more to resort to the local European doctor. The greatest obstacle perhaps to more rapid progress in this direction is the still quite inadequate supply of qualified doctors and other medical aids. It is not at all surprising that the Natives should continue to consult their own practitioners when the nearest European doctor may be anywhere from twenty to fifty miles away—a fact not always remembered when reference is made to the considerable hold " superstition " still has over them.

Health conditions in the reserves leave much to be desired. The Natives have benefited by public health measures against such diseases as smallpox and plague, taken for the protection of the community as a whole. But sanitary arrangements are still exceedingly crude, a good deal remains to be learned about personal hygiene and the prevention of disease, infantile mortality is appallingly high, and as a result of contact with the Europeans, and particularly through labour migration to the towns, tuberculosis and venereal diseases have become widely diffused. In the last respect at least the Native has suffered very considerably from the impact of Western civilization.[2]

[1] Lestrade, op. cit.

[2] Cf. J. Bruce-Bays, " The injurious effects of civilization upon the physical condition of the Native races of South Africa," *S. Afr. J. Sci.*, v (1908), 263–8; *Tuberculosis in South African Natives* (Publication 30 of the S.A. Institute for Medical Research, Johannesburg, 1932); *Report of Committee appointed to inquire into the training of Natives in Medicine and Public Health* (U.G. 35, 1928).

Social and Domestic Life

The economic, religious, and administrative influences whose more immediate effects upon tribal life have just been reviewed have gradually reacted upon social life as well. Tribal solidarity has been affected to some extent by the partition of the land, which has often cut off sections of a tribe from the immediate jurisdiction of its Chief. Some 60,000 Swazi, e.g., live in what is now the Transvaal, beyond the modern borders of Swaziland. They still profess allegiance to the Paramount Chief in Swaziland but come under a different system of administration.[1] Increasing urbanization, too, has deprived many tribes permanently of numbers of their members. Territorial organization has been slightly altered by the tendency for local settlements to diminish in size, owing to the greater readiness of the people to distribute themselves more freely over the land now that there is no longer any reason to fear aggression from other tribes. The larger social units within the tribe, such as the Nguni clan and the Sotho ward, appear to have remained fairly intact, but less importance is attached to their associated ritual and order of precedence, especially in the tribes where Christianity has made considerable progress. Kinship, so important a feature of the old social life, still plays a fairly conspicuous part in marriage and ceremonial arrangements; but such factors in economic life as labour migration, trade, and the emergence of special occupations are diminishing its significance as a closely-knit system of mutual aid in work and the sharing of wealth.

The structure of the family has been considerably modified by the decay of polygamy. The missionaries from the first resolutely opposed it, and refused to extend Church membership to men with more than one wife. The Administration supported them by taxing polygamists more heavily than other men. Education and the influence of contact with Europeans generally further contributed to the resulting decline of the institution. It has by no means disappeared completely, and is still recognized under Native law as administered by the European authorities. But there is little doubt that the proportion of polygamous marriages is fairly rapidly diminishing. This means in turn that much of the Native law dealing with marriage, the status of wives, allocation of property and inheritance, now applies to a much smaller minority of people than it formerly did.

The early missionaries and many other Europeans also objected

[1] B. A. Marwick, *The Natives of Swaziland*, MS. 1934; citing Petition of the Swazi Tribes of the Eastern Transvaal to the Union Parliament, March, 1932.

strenuously to *lobola*, which they regarded as wife-purchase. But despite many attacks, and even attempts to suppress it, the custom has been tenaciously retained. Even Native Christians, forbidden by their Church to practice it, are known to do so surreptitiously. The European administrations explicitly recognize it as an essential element of Native marriages, and so have contributed greatly towards its continued observance. Nevertheless, it has changed in some respects. Not only cattle, but goats, sheep, horses, saddles, and even money are sometimes given as *lobola*; and with the decay of ancestor-worship and the substitution of money for cattle the custom loses much of its ritual significance and becomes a more purely materialistic and commercial transaction.[1] This is again by no means universally true, but there is certainly a marked tendency in that direction in the Cape and certain other regions.

There has also been a marked change in the relations between parents and children. The periodical migrations of the men to seek work in the towns free the children from paternal authority for months on end. The decline of ancestor-worship has deprived the father of his traditional role of family priest, formerly a powerful sanction for his authority. The abolition or modification of the old initiation ceremonies has considerably weakened their value as educational and disciplinary institutions. The school and the church do not and cannot provide as comprehensive and thorough a training as the Native child received under purely tribal conditions; and by stressing the European conceptions of individual responsibility and individual salvation they have reacted against the traditional conception of group solidarity. There has consequently been a development of youthful independence and irresponsibility which the old forms of authority are no longer able to control, and which the new influences seem unable to check. The young people no longer look to their parents for guidance in everything, but are tending more and more to do as they please.

Labour migration has contributed to this change. It provides a ready avenue of escape if parental discipline and control prove too irksome. It has also made the older men dependent upon their sons for the money with which to pay taxes and meet other needs. The latter in consequence acquire a new importance in family life to which the old conceptions of discipline must yield. The individual poll tax and the introduction of European conceptions of majority further enhance their feelings of

[1] Cf. Hunter, 1933, 271 ff.

independence. They will no longer let their parents arrange their marriages, but choose their own brides; and instead of living for some time after marriage in the home of their parents, they soon establish their own households, thus still further modifying the structure of the family.[1]

Sexual life too has been affected. The decay of polygamy has deprived some women at least of the prospects of early marriage. Labour migration has led to a shortage of young men in the reserves, and consequently to an increase in the number of unmarried women. The average age of marriage has accordingly risen for both men and women. These factors, combined with the greater independence of the young people, have led to marked relaxations of the old sexual morality. Premarital sex relations are so widely practised as to have become almost customary, and so frequent have premarital births become that the old attitude towards illegitimacy has been considerably toned down. Married men, unable for religious or economic reasons to have more than one wife, take concubines instead; while married women during the absence at work of their husbands seldom remain faithful for long.[2]

The ceremonies connected with the various "transition phases" of a person's life have lost some of their old character and taken on new features. Christians, e.g., have not only adopted the new rites of baptism and confirmation, but also celebrate births, marriages, and deaths according to the ritual of their Church. Much of the old ritual, however, is still observed even by them, especially in connection with the traditionally-associated feasts or purifications.[3] Such usages as the killing of twins and other abnormal children have had to be abandoned by all, the European courts regarding them as crimes; but sporadic instances of their practice are nevertheless still found. Practically all Mission societies, again, have condemned the traditional initiation ceremonies for boys and girls as most immoral, and forbid their converts to participate. It is only recently that some have shown a tendency to adapt these ceremonies to Christianity. In those tribes where the Chief became a Christian, the ceremonies were either completely abolished for the tribe as a whole, as among the Ngwato, or profoundly altered in character, as among the Kxatla. Where he remained a pagan, the result of the Mission attitude usually has been trouble. The Chief and his followers insisted that Christians should

[1] Cf. Schapera, 1934, 47–51; Hunter, 1932, 681–6.
[2] Schapera, 1933, 59–89, *passim*.
[3] Cf. Hunter, 1936, Chap. viii.

undergo the rites like other members of the tribe, often compelling them by force to do so. This has provoked the intervention of the Administration, which although not proscribing the ceremonies has made it an offence to secure participation by force. In the Northern Transvaal there is said to be a general movement back to these rites, but in other parts of the country, e.g. Basutoland and Bechuanaland, they are now either not carried out at all or conducted in a way which retains their most undesirable features but little of their ancient virtue.[1]

The regimental organization characteristic of the Natal Nguni, Swazi, and Sotho still survives. But the disappearance of inter-tribal warfare has deprived the regiments of perhaps their most important function in tribal life. With it the main incentives to the maintenance of internal discipline have also gone. In Bechuanaland the regiments are nowadays principally employed to work for the Chief at home or to earn money abroad for financing large public works. The people are beginning to resent this unpaid compulsory labour, and it has recently been found necessary to regulate by Government Proclamation the conditions under which it can be exacted. In Zululand and Natal the regiments now appear to function mainly at large public displays on such occasions as the visit of some exalted European dignitary or the accession or death of a Chief, when they parade in all their finery and perform traditional dances. As among the Tswana, the ceremonies accompanying their enrolment are becoming more and more curtailed. In Swaziland the whole system is more strongly preserved, owing to the Paramount Chief's adherence to traditional custom. But even here it has suffered from the hostility with which it is regarded by the missionaries and other Europeans; and in order to bridge the gap thus created between his pagan and Christian subjects the Paramount Chief has recently commenced an attempt to adapt it to the needs and conditions of modern Swazi society.

While old social groupings have thus been modified, new forms of social differentiation have developed. There is much greater variation in beliefs and customs than under the old tribal system. Some people are very conservative, while others have discarded many traditional usages in favour of European characteristics. Reference has already been made to the emergence of new occupations and to the differences in outlook and practice developing between Christians and pagans, educated people and the illiterate. The extent to which this has gone is shown by the fact that among the Mpondo, as among many other

[1] Schapera, 1934, 49; Eiselen, in Schapera, 1934, 72, 76; Mears, in Schapera, 1934, 88 f.

tribes, there are now two distinct social classes within the tribe—" the *amaqaba*, those who smear themselves with red clay, and the *amaggoboka*, those who have been pierced through, that is converted. The groups roughly correspond to pagan and Christian, but with the *amaggoboka* (converts) are included those who after attending school or working for Europeans have retained European clothes, and to some extent European ways, irrespective of whether they are or are not Church members or adherents. The leaders of the *amaggoboka* group are the Native pastors, teachers, clerks, agricultural demonstrators, and interpreters. They are influential as disseminators of European culture." [1] The magicians have in contrast been a powerful influence towards conservatism, if only because much of their livelihood depends upon maintaining in the minds of the people the belief in the efficacy of magic. The Chiefs, according to the attitudes they adopted, have either made for conservatism or been a powerful influence in the more widespread adoption of certain European elements. The older people have found it more difficult to keep pace with modern tendencies, and for this reason are now also on the whole a conservative class. In their day, too, some of them were pioneers, e.g. in the acceptance of Christianity; but they have since been left behind, especially by recent progress in education.

New lines of difference are also becoming apparent between the sexes. The men have on the whole been more exposed to European influence, owing mainly to labour migration. They have accordingly tended more readily than the women to discard traditional practices. But the women have taken much more readily to Christianity, and almost everywhere form a considerable majority in the congregations. Almost everywhere, too, girls greatly outnumber boys in the tribal schools, for their domestic duties do not hinder them from attending school regularly, while the boys are in many cases needed to herd the cattle. As a result, women have not only improved their homes and acquired new standards of dress and cleanliness: they have also become more confident and independent in their attitude towards the men, and less willing to submit to their absolute control.[2] Labour migration, by drawing the men away from home for lengthy periods, has increased the domestic responsibility of the women as well as their spirit of freedom. Many women, too, owing to the new avenues of employment now open to them, are becoming economically independent of their menfolk. Recognition has been given to this fact in the Union,

[1] Hunter, 1934, 337–8.

[2] Mears, in Schapera, 1934, 94 f.

where unmarried women can under certain conditions become legally emancipated from the control of their family head. But in the High Commission Territories their lifelong legal dependence still persists. Women, finally, still have no share in the public administration of tribal affairs, but "as teachers, nurses, and church-workers (they) play a large part in education and in leading public opinion".[1]

Communal life generally, particularly in Christianized tribes, has lost much of its old excitements. Little has so far their taken place. Children, it is true, still have their games, old and new, and their moonlight dances and songs, while civilization has given them schools and more recently various forms of youth movement to absorb some of their energy. But for adults most of the old public ceremonies and entertainments have gone. The men no longer go to war or hunt. Domestic work is monotonous and unexacting, and with the decay of home industries many old occupations have been lost, while relatively few people have taken on new work at home. Labour migration, the principal new activity, draws away most of the young men and even some of the young women, thus creating a prominent gap in social life. The activities of the Church provide some diversion from everyday occupation; but for most people the principal alternative is lounging and gossip by day, with the trading stores as convenient centres of gathering, while at night there is often little to do but sit over the beer pots or indulge in sexual intrigues. In pagan tribes the change has not been so marked. Sufficient of the old ceremonial survives to give colour to life; but even this soon appears tame to men who have experienced the bustle and variety of an urban environment. As we have already remarked, it is not merely economic necessity that draws them abroad, but also the desire for adventure and change.

The Trend of Cultural Development

Reviewing summarily the effects of European contact upon the old culture of the Bantu, one may perhaps venture upon certain broad generalizations. Some contrast may first be drawn between Christianized and pagan tribes. The culture of the former at the present time is not the traditional Bantu culture of their ancestors, nor is it the civilization of the European inhabitants of South Africa. It includes elements of both. But they have been combined into a new and distinctive pattern. The Native living under this new form of culture is no longer conscious

[1] Hunter, 1933, 276.

of a sharp breach between Bantu and European elements, as were his grandfather and even his father. It is true that the few Europeans living in his reserve differ from him in skin colour, mode of life, and cultural allegiance. But the institutions they represent are now fully part of the tribal culture. Christianity is the tribal religion, the trading store an essential part of economic life, and the Administration an integral part of the existing political system. The school is even more conspicuously part of the routine system of education, in that all the teachers in the reserves are themselves Natives. All these new elements have been incorporated into the tribal culture, in some cases enriching it, in others replacing corresponding elements formerly existent. The modern culture also displays far more variations in detail than its purely Bantu predecessor. But these variations, whether in marriage or in belief, in morals or in economic life, now exist within a single cultural whole, and no longer reflect two different cultures in opposition. The tribe is a single unit whose members do not feel themselves sharply divided.

In pagan tribes, a considerable majority, conflict between the old and the new is still observable. Many are in a comparatively "raw" state, in which it is possible to find the traditional Bantu culture functioning with but little disturbance. In others religious differences sharply divide the people, a division reflected also in education, clothing, and other aspects of culture. Even here, however, labour migration, taxation, and the trader have brought most of the people within the workings of the European economic system, while the European Government dominates over them all. In the High Commission Territories the Native political institutions retain sufficient authority and jurisdiction to bolster up much of the old culture, although evidence is not wanting of increasing Administrative intervention. In the Union, on the other hand, political and legal changes have been so extensive that tribal administration must now be regarded as part of the general governmental system of the country.

Of the Bantu as a whole it can be said that they have now been drawn permanently into the orbit of Western civilization. They do not, and probably will not, carry on that civilization in its purely European manifestations. It is more likely that in certain directions at least they will develop their own local variations. But these variations will be within the framework of a common South African civilization, shared in by both Black and White, and presenting certain peculiarities based directly upon the fact of their juxtaposition. Already

such a civilization is developing, a civilization in which the Europeans at present occupy the position of a race-proud and privileged aristocracy, while the Natives, although economically indispensable, are confined to a menial status from which few of them are able to emerge with success. There has grown up among the Europeans an ideal of race purity and race dominance, according to which the integrity of White blood and White civilization must be maintained at all costs. And so we find special legislation and usages of social intercourse directed on the one hand against miscegenation and on the other erecting artificial barriers against the cultural advancement of the Blacks. But despite all this, the Bantu are being drawn more and more into the common cultural life of South Africa, as the two succeeding chapters will show even more clearly.

Chapter XVII

THE BANTU ON EUROPEAN-OWNED FARMS

By Monica Hunter

Of the social life of the Bantu living on farms (approximately 35 per cent [1] of the Native population of the Union) very little is known. Since other material is not available, this account has been based solely on material collected by the writer in the Adelaide, Bedford, and Albany districts of the Eastern Province,[2] and therefore applies only to a small area. Conditions probably vary considerably in other Provinces where terms of service are different, and where reserves may be more distant.

On twenty-eight of the twenty-nine farms visited all the men were paid servants receiving a wage partly in cash; on one farm in a prickly-pear area there were a number of labour-tenants who in return for building plots and grazing rights cleared a patch of prickly pear each year for the farmer on whose land they lived. No cash passed between them and the farmer. Before 1914 there was, in Adelaide and Bedford districts, a comparatively well-to-do class of "half-share men", who, in return for ploughing rights, handed over the half of their crop to the farmer on whose land they lived, and who paid so much per head for grazing sheep and cattle; but with the Land Act of 1913 and the development of sheep farming the "half-share men" have been forced to become ordinary farm servants or to move to towns or reserves.

The great majority of Bantu in the districts visited have grown up on farms and have no stake in any reserve. Some are the descendants of starving Xhosa who crossed the border to take service with farmers in the Colony after the "cattle killing" in 1857; the parents of others settled on farms later on. Only one or two families have come from Ciskeian reserves for a period to earn money, and contemplate returning to their original homes. Most farm servants are Xhosa, but there

[1] Approximate figures deduced from the *Report of the Natives Land Commission*, 1916, and *Census Report*, 1921

[2] For a more detailed discussion of this material, cf. the writer's book, *Reaction to Conquest* (Oxford, 1936), Part III, where an account is also given of the methods by which it was collected, and full acknowledgment is made to the various institutions and people who sponsored the investigation and gave other assistance.

are some Fingo, Thembu, Sotho, and Mpondo living among them, intermarrying with them, and to a large extent following Xhosa custom. On some farms there are also "Hottentot"[1] servants, and there are cases of intermarriage between Bantu and Hottentot, but Xhosa despise *amaLawu*, and the two groups, speaking different languages, tend to live very much apart.[2]

The extent of contact with the reserves naturally varies with the date at which the family left the reserve and with the proximity of the farm to the reserve. Some, whose families have long lived on farms, say that they have no friends or relatives in the reserves and have never been there to visit. Others of the same class have married girls from the reserves, go to visit there and entertain visitors in return. Most of those who were brought up in reserves themselves go back to visit, and in return entertain relatives. Important channels of contact between reserves and farms are the diviners and herbalists from the reserves who tour farms on business. Not infrequently also farm servants, when ill, get permission to go to the reserves to consult a "doctor" there. Those who are diagnosed as "sick to be initiated" as diviners, normally go to the reserves for a period to be treated. Some seasonal workers, such as sheep shearers and reapers, are drawn from the reserves, and they form another link between farm and reserve.

There is also coming and going between farms and towns. In every district there is a *dorp* or town, with a Native location, to which farm servants go for shopping and to visit friends. Some from the nearer farms may go to the location for Church services, or trade union meetings, on Sundays, and children may be sent to the location school. On some farms it is usual for boys, either before or after circumcision, to get leave to go and work at a labour centre for a period to earn money for their marriage cattle. Daughters from many farms also go to town to find employment. Besides these temporary workers there are those who go to live permanently in towns. In almost every family visited on farms there was one member married, or permanently employed in town, who returned to visit at intervals. Often those who remain in towns are the most ambitious, for there is small opportunity for a clever boy to improve his economic position on a farm.

Nevertheless "farm Natives" regard themselves as a distinct group and contrast themselves with "those in Xhosa-land" who

[1] Mixed blood Afrikaans-speaking families, with distinctly Hottentot features.

[2] Xhosa told the writer that west of Cradock, where Bantu are fewer, there is much intermarriage with Hottentot; and some apparently Bantu families can speak only Afrikaans.

are their own masters and free to brew beer and visit friends, but who suffer during droughts, and who are shocking witches and sorcerers; and with those in towns whose children are so very badly behaved.

The farm community is scattered and isolated. In Bedford, Adelaide, and Albany the rural Native population is approximately 6·5 to the square mile; the average number of Bantu servants on a farm is 6·4 adults, and 10·3 children, and farmers discourage visiting. Servants must always obtain permission from their employer to entertain an adult male visitor even for a few hours. Only occasionally when the farms of relatives or close friends adjoin are the servants allowed to pass freely from one to the other.

The Household.

The social and economic group is the *umʐi*, the traditional kinship group consisting of a man, his wife or wives, unmarried children, and sons with their wives and children. Economic conditions—the difficulty of feeding two wives and their children on a farm ration and wage, and sometimes the direct intervention of the farmer who refuses to employ polygynists on the ground that they have too many children to feed—militate against polygyny, and it has all but disappeared. Only one family in fifty-nine *imiʐi* investigated was polygynous. Often as boys grow up the farmer is unable to employ them and they have to go elsewhere to find work and a place to live. When a son is employed on the same farm as his father, however, he usually lives for some years at least after marriage in his father's *umʐi*, building a hut for his wife near that of his mother. The desire to be "owner of an *umʐi*" is strong, and forces which made for family solidarity under old tribal conditions no longer operate, so a son usually sets up his own *umʐi* at an earlier age than was traditionally customary, but all regard it as the right thing for a son to live for a time with his father. The average *umʐi* on a farm contains 3·2 adults (i.e. circumcised males and women who are married, or have borne children) and five children.

All adult men in the *umʐi* are wage earners, being paid in food, sometimes grazing and ploughing rights, and cash. Most boys over twelve or fourteen years of age are hired to herd stock and lead ploughing and waggon teams, and receive in turn a small monthly wage in food and cash. Some married women are full-time servants in the farmer's house, getting their meals in the house and a small cash wage; others do part-time work in laundry or dairy, and are paid only in

cash. Often unmarried girls are also employed as part or full-time servants on the same terms as their mothers, but get lower wages.

On a proportion of the farms studied each married man has either a small field allotted to him to work for himself, or else is granted a half or third share in a strip of land cultivated by the farmer. Where a field is allotted, the wife of the man to whom it is given is responsible for weeding and reaping it; and sometimes also for hoeing before planting, if her husband has no oxen, or has not the time to plough it. She must also weed and reap a " half-share " strip without payment.

According to traditional custom the earnings of members of the *umzi* should be handed over to the senior male, " the owner of the *umzi*." Wives usually give their earnings to their husbands, or use them for food or clothes, with their husbands' consent. Most unmarried sons and daughters do likewise. Boys expect that in return their father will clothe them, supplying the two new sets of blankets necessary at circumcision, and animals for ritual killings or doctors' fees if necessary, and will help them with cattle for their marriage. A girl expects that clothing, a wedding outfit, and possibly an animal for a ritual killing at her initiation will be supplied. Sometimes, however, boys and girls claim their own wages. One girl of 15 known to the writer demanded her wage of 4*s*. a month for herself, and, backed by her employers, she got it. Married men, living in the *umzi* of their father, may give a part of their earnings to him, but more often they hand it over to their own wives to keep for them.

The produce from a field cultivated by a woman, or the ration brought in by her husband or unmarried son, is the property of her " house ", but all the members of the *umzi* pool their cooked food. Sometimes each woman in the *umzi* cooks and serves dishes for the owner of the *umzi*, the young men and boys, the women and older girls, and the children. More often one woman cooks a dish for the men, another one for the women, or there may be only one woman of the *umzi* at home, and she cooks for everyone.

How far intercourse with relatives outside the *umzi* is kept up depends very largely on where they live. As has been explained, sons and brothers often have to scatter to obtain work, and visiting is restricted. Even if permission from a farmer is obtained to visit a relative on his farm, men have little leisure to travel. Their hours of work are from sunrise to sunset for six days a week, stock must be cared for on Sundays, and the only other partial holidays are a day or two at Christmas and sometimes also at the New Year. Connection

with relatives on distant farms may be kept up by occasional visits of women and children; a man in unusually great difficulty over food or a goat for a ritual killing, or a debt with the trader, may send his wife to ask help (*ukuɓusa*) from his or her relatives; one who has more cattle than he is permitted to graze may "lend" (*ukunqoma*) a beast to a brother or son, or brother's son, who has less than the number to which he is entitled; sometimes a beast is given to a brother out of a daughter's *ikhaɀi* (marriage cattle), or a boy is helped to marry by his father's brother.

Faith in the power of the ancestors to harm or help their descendants is strong, and frequently hairs of the sacred "cow of the brush" (*inkomo yobuluunga*) are worn, or ritual killings made, to obtain their blessing. Few pagans dare neglect the killing of a white goat after the birth of a child. One mother told how they, owing to their poverty, had failed to kill, and her child had consequently nearly died. When it was very ill her husband spent a month's wages (10*s*.) on a goat, that the appropriate ritual might be performed. At circumcision, at marriage, and at the death of an adult, a goat or an ox is always killed, if the family concerned has any stock; in cases of serious illness a special offering of an ox or cow is made (*idini*), and when the general health of members of the *umɀi* or of their cattle is bad, the "owner" sometimes kills "to make the *umɀi* well".

The ancestor cult sanctions right behaviour between relatives. Failure to fulfil obligations towards kin, particularly failure to show proper respect towards parents, is believed sometimes to result in illness sent by the ancestors. All the observances of the cult by affirming the power and importance of the ancestors enhance the importance of kin, as against friends and neighbours, but since relatives on farms are often scattered, and visiting is difficult, ritual killings are not, as they are in the reserves, occasions for the gathering of all near kinsmen, and of their eating together particular portions of the beast killed.

Partly because of the believed importance of ritual killings to health, most farm servants value the grazing rights given as part wage on many farms; though economically they benefit little from these rights, and the possession of cattle reduces a farm labourer's bargaining-power—he dare not leave the farm on which he is since his stock may die on the road before he finds another place. Employers are loath to take a man with many cattle.

Everyone on farms regards himself (or herself) as a member of a clan (*isiduko*). A child always belongs to the clan of its father, unless

no cattle have been given for its mother and she has not been married by civil law, in which case it belongs to that of its mother. Clan names are commonly used as polite modes of address and as praise-names, and marriage and extra-marital sexual relations, whether full or limited, are forbidden within the clan of either parent. In the *umʐi* group the position of a wife as a stranger from another clan is emphasized by the taboos which must be observed by her. She may not drink the milk of her husband's cows until a ritual killing is made to enable her to do so. A bride in her father-in-law's *umʐi* must avoid the inner half (the men's part) of every hut except her own, the cattle kraal (or the place where it would be if there is none) round which men sit, and the *inkundla*, the space between the huts and the kraal. " She must not cross the *inkundla* even when it is dark, because the ancestor spirits are there." None of these taboos are observed by a daughter of the *umʐi* except when she is menstruating. Accusations of witchcraft are far more common against a stranger wife, than against a daughter of the clan.

Beyond regulating marriage the clan plays no part in the social system of people living on farms. Clans have no territorial headquarters and no chief, except in the reserves from which people living on farms are to a greater or lesser degree divorced ; and members of clans living on farms share in no common religious ritual. Everybody knows to what tribe he belongs, and boys in an initiation school take the name of a Xhosa, Fingo, or Thembu chief initiated in the same year as themselves, in the traditional way ; but chiefs have no authority on farms, farm servants cannot go to chiefs to get cases tried, and many are ignorant even of the name of the reigning chief of their tribe.

Community life.

The effective social group after the *umʐi* is that formed by people living on one farm. Largely cut off from relatives living on other farms, they are bound together by common activities. The children play together ; men and boys work together on the farm ; the women are constantly in and out of one another's huts, gossiping, borrowing utensils, helping one another in sickness. Where fields are cultivated on " half-shares " with the farmer, the women work together weeding and reaping, and sometimes for weeding fields worked entirely for themselves pagan women brew a little beer, or Christians provide tea or coffee or sugar, and invite their friends to come and help them. Such a work party (*ilima*) is but a shadow of the joyful gathering for

work in the reserves, for men are fully occupied and cannot attend, so there is no flirtation and dancing; nevertheless the women much prefer thus working together to hoeing alone.

Servants may not brew beer without the permission of their employer. Most farmers give permission for one of the families on the farm to brew a small quantity of beer (never more than four gallons) each month, but permission for a "beer drink" (defined by statute as "three or more persons not inmates of the kraal"—i.e. *umʇi*) may only be given by the district Magistrate, or Native Commissioner, with the consent of the farmer on whose land it is to be held, and is rarely if ever granted. In practice all the adults living on the farm on which beer is made normally drink together, and the farmer shuts his eyes to this, but the danger of being apprehended for trespass and attendance at an illicit beer drink prevents much visiting to drink on neighbouring farms. At such ritual killings as take place neighbours living on the same farm are always present; they are the guests at a wedding, the mourners at a funeral. Those living on one farm combine to carry out circumcision rites as far as possible in the traditional way, and perhaps to start a school, and pay a teacher for their children. The stability of the group on one farm varies considerably. On some farms the servants are continually changing; on others the same families remain for generations.

A number of farmers treat one of their older employees as "boss boy", making him responsible for certain tasks, and giving some of the orders to other employees through him. On five out of twenty-nine farms a graded wage was paid, the older and more capable men receiving several shillings a month more than the less capable; but not all "boss boys" receive a higher wage than their fellows. Some farmers prefer to work without a "boss boy". Others say that paying a graded wage "makes trouble". Certainly the "boss boy", unless a senior man on the farm, both in age and length of service, or of a chief's family, is liable to be resented. Accusations of witchcraft or sorcery against a "boss boy" are common, and sometimes the post is refused because a man is afraid either that witchcraft or sorcery be worked against him, or that he be accused of himself using them to kill other people. One who gains special favour with an employer is thought to do so by the use of medicines, and though the use of such medicines is not, in Xhosa or Mpondo law, illegal, there is an idea that one who has very strong medicines is dangerous to his fellows. On one farm we found that the authority of a "boss boy"

was willingly accepted because he was of the family of a Xhosa chief and all the other families on the farm were Xhosa.

Serious cases of dispute between the farm servants are tried before the European magistrate living in the principal town of the district. It is at the discretion of the courts to try civil suits in which both parties are Native by Native law, or by the Common and Statutory laws of the Union. The procedure in a magistrate's court is not well understood, and litigants have little chance of success if they do not employ a European attorney who, charging fees to keep up a European standard of living, is necessarily very costly for a non-European. Cases between fellow servants may occasionally be taken to a popular " boss boy " for arbitration, but on this point we lack evidence. Farm servants have no opportunity of attending a chief's court, and their knowledge of law is consequently much less than that of men living in reserves. An elderly man born and brought up on a farm consulted the writer as to the advisability of defending a case in the magistrates' court for a claim by his son-in-law for cattle. The son-in-law had gone to Cape Town to work, after his wife had borne two children. He had been away six years, during which time he had sent back no money to his wife. She had been ill, and while her husband had been away had been living with her own people. On his return the husband demanded his wife. Her father claimed a beast for maintenance. The girl refused to go back to her husband, saying that he had deserted her and she no longer cared for him. He then claimed for the six cattle given to her father as *lobola*. The father was completely uncertain as to whether he would have to return any cattle, and if so how many, if the matter came before a court. He thus showed great ignorance in comparison with a man of his age in the reserves, who would have had the law regarding the proportion of cattle normally returned in such a straightforward case at his finger-tips.

Disputes and jealousies often result in accusations of witchcraft and sorcery. Accusations on farms are most often against fellow servants, more rarely against relatives. They are never against one with whom the injured is not in close contact. When someone becomes seriously ill, and no ritual killing for that person has been neglected, relatives of the patient usually go off to consult a diviner. A few men and women living on farms practise as diviners, but more often one living in a town location, or in the reserves, is consulted. The traditional Xhosa method of divination is usually practised, but on one farm there was a Sotho who divined with " bones ", and he had a big

practice among both Europeans and Natives. The diviner always attributes the misfortune either to witchcraft or sorcery, or to the ancestors. Formerly some at least of those accused of witchcraft or sorcery were killed, but the British administration has been successful in practically stopping such action. Nowadays a married woman who has been accused frequently returns to her own people, who usually receive her well, refusing to believe the truth of the accusation against her. If a man is accused, or if he refuses to believe the accusation against his wife, and keeps her with him, the family is occasionally burnt out. The writer found one family moving from a farm, on which they had lived for three generations, because a member had been accused of witchcraft and their huts had been burnt.

But imputation of witchcraft or sorcery is a criminal offence, and sometimes one accused invokes the aid of European authorities. A number of children had died of pneumonia on one farm and a diviner was called in. He accused the "boss boy" of practising witchcraft. The latter was furious, and threatened to report his accusers to the police. The diviner fled, and the "boss boy" retained his position on the farm.

Accusations of witchcraft and sorcery are an expression of quarrels, and further foment them; those believing themselves to be injured are bitter against those they believe to be guilty, and against the interfering Government against whom "no one ever works witchcraft or sorcery"; but those accused are not socially ostracized. Accusations are many, and often those suspected but once may continue to live on the same farm and work alongside their accusers.

Relations between servants and employers vary considerably. On some farms the personal relationship is very friendly, servants and employers having known each other for long, and getting on well together. Sometimes the farmer takes an interest in his people's school, attending concerts, and occasionally contributing to the teacher's salary. Some farmers' wives make wedding cakes when a son or daughter of the farm marries; some are brought gifts of green maize and other fresh produce grown by their servants' wives. On other farms there is mutual irritation and fear. One employer told the writer that he never went near his servants' huts without a revolver; another said: "I think sometimes that we are cutting our own throats by stopping beer drinks. If they (Bantu servants) had them they would kill off each other. As it is now they are increasing, and will come and kill us."

The social life of farm servants is very closely controlled by their employers. The strict control of visiting, beer brewing, and of carrying out traditional rituals, has been described. Some employers refuse to permit a school on their farm on the ground that it " makes trouble between the parents over the teacher's salary " and " all the children from the district come to live on your farm ", and that learning to read and write the vernacular unfits Natives for farm work. Others refuse to allow any children of their employees to attend schools in town or on other farms because they wish to employ these children themselves. Each member of a family who is employed is paid separately, but it is expected that the wives of men engaged will work if required. On one farm families in which the men were satisfactory to their employers were dismissed because their wives refused to work in the house; another farm was always run short-handed because the mistress could not get on with maids, and when she quarrelled with one the whole family was dismissed.

On twelve of the twenty-nine farms visited the majority of servants were members or adherents (non-communicants attending services at least occasionally) of a Christian denomination. From farms near to towns servants sometimes go to the town location for Sunday services: on some more remote farms there are " out-station " churches occasionally visited by a European or Bantu Missionary, who holds services attended by Christians living near. We found a church within six miles of every farm on which the majority were Christian. On three farms one of the menservants acted as a lay preacher; on one or two the women held a weekly prayer meeting among themselves. Both Christians and pagans prefer to live with others of their faith, and so tend to congregate on different farms. It is noticeable that on all the farms where slightly higher wages are given practically all the servants are Christian, and that Christian families are, upon the whole, cleaner and better housed than pagans.

Membership of certain organizations is forbidden. The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, a Trades Union formed in Cape Town in 1919 with the object of regulating wages and working conditions of Bantu, had strong branches in Adelaide and Grahamstown locations. Farmers were unanimous in forbidding Union agents to come on to their farms, and dismissed servants who joined the Union, though farmers have their own Association, and in some areas agree not to engage servants dismissed by another employer. Nevertheless farm servants attend I.C.U. meetings in town locations on Sunday

afternoons, and at the Independent I.C.U. conference in 1925 a resolution was proposed by the Adelaide delegate pressing the Government to fix a minimum wage for farm hands and domestics at nearly eight times the existing rate. (£4 a month for a man instead of the present average of 9*s.* 10*d.*; £2 a month for a boy or woman instead of the present average of 4*s.* 8*d.* a month for a boy, and 7*s.* 10*d.* a month for a full-time woman.) Farmers oppose non-European controlled churches on the ground that they are liable to support the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, and to be anti-European. On one group of farms servants were threatened with dismissal if they continued to attend services of the Bantu Presbyterian Church, and the minister was forbidden to visit the farms. It was said that when the servants had failed to pay their Church dues and pleaded poverty, the Bantu Presbyterian minister, a Native, had urged them to demand higher wages.

Individual development.

The infancy of a child growing up in a farm community is very similar to that of a child in the reserves. A pregnant woman goes about her normal duties drawing water and firewood, cleaning, cooking, and hoeing, until the time of her delivery. From the fourth or fifth month of pregnancy some pagan mothers drink daily the infusion of a herb traditionally used by wives of their husband's clan, to insure the health of mother and child. When the traditional herb is difficult to obtain some pagans, like most Christians, use instead a European laxative. After giving birth the pagan woman is secluded in a hut which no man may enter until ten days or more have passed and she has ground beer " to wash the hands ", smeared out the hut, and carefully washed and greased herself and her baby. As soon as possible a white goat (*umbingelelo*) is killed as an offering to the ancestors, and visitors to the feast bring the child gifts of white beads. " The child will never have any health if it is not killed for." Christians are forbidden to make " sacrifices " to the ancestors, but they make a feast on the day on which the child is baptized, and most kill a white goat then. Children of pagans are treated with the traditional medicines. They are swung in the smoke of a fire on which *isifutho* leaves have been placed, and the appropriate song sung. A baby is made to wear a necklace of the hairs of the family sacred cow (*inkomo yobuluunga*) adorned with the white beads presented to it and woven with the sinew of the goat killed to secure the blessing of the ancestors; a necklace

of *tanjie* seeds or cowrie shells, as a teething charm; sometimes a key to "lock up the cough". The nursing mother nibbles charms before suckling her child, or nibbles and spits on her child when it cries. "If she does that when she visits the *umzi* of an *igqwira* (witch or sorcerer) the witchcraft or sorcery will not enter the child."

These precautions are an attempt to protect the child against very real danger. The infant mortality (children dying under one year) is 137·64 per thousand. The average number of births per mother (married women of all ages) is 7·05: women rarely become pregnant again until the previous child is two years old. (These figures are of course very approximate, as information was collected from only 101 mothers.)

The baby is strapped to its mother's back as she goes about her work or crawls about the floor, or is cared for by an elder sister or mother's sister. Girls of about six begin looking after younger children and helping their mothers with household tasks. Since farms are fenced there is comparatively little herding to be done and boys do not begin serious duties until hired by the farmer at twelve or fourteen. On many farms the servants have neither time nor materials for building, and often a family must all sleep in one hut, sometimes even share a hut with another family, so children are more often in their parents' hut at night than they are in the reserves, where usually each woman has two huts, and the children sleep in a store hut or with their grandmother.

Almost everywhere school education is eagerly desired. There are sixteen Government-aided schools, with an enrolment of 2,070 in Adelaide, Bedford, and Albany districts, an area of 3,255 square miles, with a Bantu population of 29,343, i.e. one school to every 203 square miles, and one child of every fourteen inhabitants attending school. Taking rural areas only there is one school in approximately 400 square miles, one child in every fifty-two inhabitants attending school, and one teacher to every forty-six children at school.[1] But on seven of the farms visited there were private schools started by and paid for by the servants themselves. The private schools are often run by a girl or a woman on the farm who has learned to read and write, and who takes pupils at 6*d.* per month per child. One such teacher was a deformed girl who had learned to read and write Xhosa from another girl who had been to school. In one or two cases parents had engaged a trained

[1] *Census Report*, 1921; *Educational Statistics*, 1930. The population is probably higher than the figure given.

teacher and raised the salary among themselves by subscriptions, and "tea-meetings". One private school with a trained teacher was attended by forty-nine children. On three farms one of the men-servants who could read and write ran a night school. The enterprise in starting schools and the self-denial shown in the payment of 6*d.* a month per child out of a wage of 10*s.* a month, is proof of the eagerness for education. The private schools usually teach only reading and writing in the vernacular and simple arithmetic. The Government-aided schools following the set curriculum give also some form of "manual or industrial training"—usually clay modelling, gardening, and sewing for girls—English as a secondary language from the lowest form, religious instruction, singing, and sometimes some drill, hygiene, nature study, history, and geography. One or two schools (usually those in urban centres) take pupils up to Standard VI, but the very great majority of children do not get further than reading and writing Xhosa.

All schools with a number of pupils give periodical concerts or "tea-meetings" attended by parents and friends. At "tea-meetings" an entrance fee is charged or tea and cakes sold, and members of the audience bid against one another for the right to hear particular songs, soloists, or choirs. (Always when possible the choir of a neighbouring school is invited to assist.) A pays 3*d.* that B should sing, and B buys himself off with 4*d.* or C offers 5*d.* that D should sing first. The party is kept up for the best part of the night, and parents and children enjoy themselves enormously.

Besides these schools, which touch only a small percentage of farm children, there are remnants of the traditional educational system. Boys between eighteen and twenty years, even though sons of Christian families, all go to a circumcision school. Because of the difficulty of getting permission to visit, a separate school is usually held on each farm, which is attended by all the boys of an age to be initiated, irrespective of their tribe. Sometimes one boy goes through the circumcision ceremonies alone. Xhosa are in the majority on farms, and as far as we could discover the traditional Xhosa procedure is followed.

About March the men and women of the farm build a hut in the old beehive pattern at some distance from any *umzi.* On a Sunday afternoon an ox or cow, failing that a goat, is killed ritually at the *umzi* of a senior man on the farm, and each candidate is given a piece of meat from the right foreleg. No woman may eat of the meat of this

animal. The boys go to a river to wash and are anointed with medicines. Their heads, and the heads of girls who are their contemporaries, are shaved, " that they may leave behind their dirt." After shaving these girls will no longer sweetheart (*ukumetsha*) with uncircumcised boys, but only with circumcised men. Each boy puts on a necklace made of hairs from the sacred cow (*inkomo yobuluunga*) of his father, as an appeal to the ancestors. This, it is said, will give him health and the wisdom of his ancestors. One man is appointed as " nurse " in charge of the boys. For three weeks they remain in seclusion in their hut. No woman may approach it. Until the wounds of all have healed none may speak to a woman. Later they may speak with girls, but until they finally come out they strictly avoid all women of their mother's generation. Boys get special leave for the period of seclusion, but the " nurse " usually carries on his farm duties.

The dancing contests between rival schools of initiates which play such a big part in the initiation ceremonial in the reserves are apparently never held, and the dancing skirts and masks are not made. The traditional *ukutshila* dance is prohibited by law,[1] farmers forbid large gatherings on their farms, and men have not the leisure to form the necessary audience. But on the afternoon (usually a Saturday) when the initiates are to come out the men ask for a half holiday. They chase the initiates from their hut to the river. The initiates wash, smear themselves with fat and red clay, and don new clothes. Their hut is fired, and all their old clothes burned in it. At an *umzi* they are received with singing and dancing, and given presents by the women and girls. Beer is usually provided. The initiates are exhorted by older men as to their future duties and behaviour. " They are told to put off childish things, and they are told that when their father dies they must look after their mother as their father did." On one farm visited the sons of pagans and Christians were initiated together, but on coming out they gathered with their friends in separate huts. In one there was beer and dancing, in the other hymns and prayers. After coming out the initiates resume their normal life, but in three months' time they require another outfit of clothes.

The initiation of girls at puberty, with the three months' seclusion and ritual dancing and offerings to the ancestors, is rarely carried out on farms. The traditional *intonjane* dance is prohibited by law.[2] Pagans believe that the health of their daughters both before and after

[1] Act 16, 1891. (Does not apply to the Transkei, and is not enforced in Ciskeian reserves.)
[2] Act 16, 1891.

marriage is dependent upon their proper performance of the custom. Church members never initiate their daughters after the pagan fashion, but substitute a seclusion and " party " before marriage, at which a goat is sometimes killed.

Girls from ten or twelve, and boys from twelve or fourteen, begin to go to *iintlombe* (young people's dances), which are held in areas in which pagans predominate, most Saturday nights. Friends from two or three farms gather, and spend the night dancing, singing, and sleeping together (*ukumetsha*). Only limited relations are permitted, and if the hymen of a girl is ruptured damages are demanded from the boy responsible. In the Christian community *ukumetsha* is frowned upon, and there are no *iintlombe* where all are " school people ", but the young people meet at school concerts, weddings, etc., and *ukumetsha* is common among them also. Premarital pregnancy is regarded as disgraceful and is rare except on farms near to towns. In some districts girls are periodically examined by their mothers in the traditional Xhosa way. For a girl to have a child by a boy not yet circumcised is particularly shameful.

Ukumetsha is not necessarily a preliminary to marriage—boys and girls have usually experimented with a number of partners before they get married—but when a boy has collected sufficient cattle for the first instalment of *ukulobola* and is looking for a wife, his first step is usually to make sure that the girl he wants is willing. Then, aided by his friends, he carries her off to his father's *umzi*, reports her whereabouts to her people, and opens negotiations regarding marriage cattle. If her people agree to the match the groom's father kills a goat ritually, the bride is given a certain piece of meat to eat, and the marriage is consummated. The marriage cattle are handed over in instalments. The bride shortly after her marriage goes home to fetch a few household utensils and clothes—a dress, headkerchief, blanket, and sleeping-mat for herself. Occasionally a girl is carried off against her will. This is comparatively rare, but etiquette demands that she should always cry and make a great fuss. To appear to go to a man willingly would be most immodest.

Sometimes marriages are arranged beforehand, and the traditional Xhosa marriage ceremonial is carried out in a modified form. The bride is brought to the groom's home by a party of friends, a goat is killed to entertain them, and later a goat or an ox is killed to mark the marriage. A bride brought in this way brings gifts to her husband's relatives and an elaborate wedding outfit for herself, and the number

of marriage cattle is greater. Failure to carry out this ceremonial is thought sometimes to result in the illness of the bride; the ancestors are angry at the neglect. Then although a woman has been married for years, she may be sent back to her own people to collect an outfit, and the wedding ceremonial is performed as if she were a bride.

When funds are lacking for a grand wedding "school people" also sometimes carry off the bride, but they prefer that the marriage should be arranged beforehand and solemnized in church. Negotiations are made with the girl's father, and at least part of the marriage cattle handed over. The girl is secluded for ten days or more, and her contemporaries summoned to a "party"; then the religious ceremony is performed in church, and there is a feast at the bride's home, and one at the groom's home.

The farm community as a whole, then, is extremely conservative, carrying out traditional custom as far as conditions permit. For the farmhand chiefs and the tribal group are traditions, rather than realities of every-day life, and the kinship system is modified by economic necessity, but the traditional family pattern and the ancestor cult which buttresses it to a large extent survive. Magic and witchcraft flourish as in the reserves. In spite of conservatism, there is a strong desire for education and a willingness to organize to secure improvement of economic condition; in spite of extreme poverty and severe restrictions upon his liberty the African farmhand yet manages to preserve his self-respect and to enjoy the company of his neighbours.

Chapter XVIII

THE NATIVE IN THE TOWNS

By Ellen Hellmann

The rural Native at first came to the urban centres as a temporary labourer, content to earn sufficient to pay his tax and satisfy other urgent needs. With only a few exceptions the women remained in the country. In the last two decades the townward drift has assumed sufficiently greater proportions to become a cause of uneasiness and concern to Municipal authorities. In addition to the large numbers of casual labourers whose sojourn in a town is temporary, a permanent urban population is emerging; and the Legislature has given recognition to this fact in the Urban Areas Act of 1923, whose two principles are to eliminate urban Native slum conditions and to extend to urban areas the principle of residential segregation.

In 1921, when the last non-European census of South Africa for which information is available was taken,[1] the urban Bantu population was 587,000 (of whom 200,000 were mine Natives). This showed an increase from 1911 of 7·20 per cent in the male and of 50·33 per cent in the female Bantu population. The population of the towns is to-day notoriously much larger, but, failing a census, it cannot be accurately computed. Figures are, however, available for the Bantu population of specific urban centres. The Report of the Native Economic Commission shows that in nine such centres, where Municipal censuses have been taken since 1921, the percentage increase of the Native population has been many times greater than that of the Europeans.[2] In Johannesburg alone it increased from 146,000 in 1927 to 187,000 in 1935, an increase not connected with the expansions of the gold-mining industry, as the number of mine Natives within the Municipal area has remained constant at 53,000.[3] The only other figures available since 1921 refer to the female Bantu population of fifteen urban centres, one of which shows an increase of 20 per cent and the others consider-

[1] A census was taken in May, 1936, but no figures had yet been published at the time of writing.

[2] *Report of Native Economic Commission* (U.G. 22, 1932), § 404.

[3] Evidence of Mr. G. Ballenden, manager of the Johannesburg Native Affairs Department, Johannesburg.—*The Star*, 30th August, 1935.

ably more.[1] This influx of Native women into towns is indicative of the increasing urbanization of the Bantu.

The statistical data concerning the urban Native population is admittedly scanty. The sociological information is likewise extremely limited, for the systematic exploration of the field of research offered by the urban Native has but recently been commenced. It has been found necessary, therefore, to confine the following description almost entirely to Johannesburg, where the writer has been able to study at first hand conditions in a slum yard and to a lesser extent in the locations.[2] This limitation is imposed also by the lack of published data from other investigators engaged in similar research in different localities and under different conditions.[3]

Material Culture

Two characteristics of urban Native life stand out in clear relief: the extent to which European material culture has been and is being adopted, and the individualism obtaining in the urban as contrasted with the tribal environment. European culture has made sweeping inroads on Bantu culture throughout South Africa, but the dominance of European goods is most marked in the towns, where the stimulus towards their acquisition is keenest. This process of material change is undoubtedly permanent and cumulative. It is true that avidity to acquire European goods sometimes leads to unwise purchasing, but such improvidence is characteristic not only of a people suddenly confronted with the wealth of material culture of a vastly more advanced civilization, but of the poverty-stricken proletariat the world over.

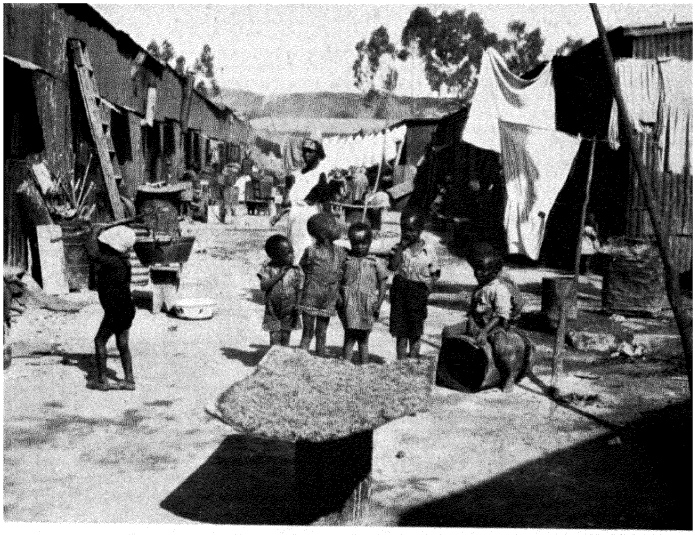
Clothing in urban areas is almost entirely European. Recent arrivals from the kraal are occasionally seen in their tribal costume. But clothing of this nature brings with it a sense of the alien and leads to the rapid substitution, as soon as funds are available, of clothing of European pattern. Small girls sometimes wear the fringed string apron of tribal life, and some of the small boys wear diminutive leather aprons. But the usual garb of even the small boys and certainly of the boys approaching school-going age consists of khaki shirts and trousers, while the girls are dressed in cheap print frocks made by their mothers. Shoes are a luxury not usually accorded to children

[1] U.G. 22, 1932, § 406.

[2] E. P. Hellmann, 1935, 34 ff.

[3] At the moment of writing the results of investigations carried out by Mrs. E. J. Krige in Pretoria and by Mr. J. P. Cooper in Bloemfontein are being prepared for publication.

PLATE XXIII



[E. P. Hellme

(*a*) Scene in a Johannesburg slum yard

(*b*) Scene in Langa Native Township, Cape Town

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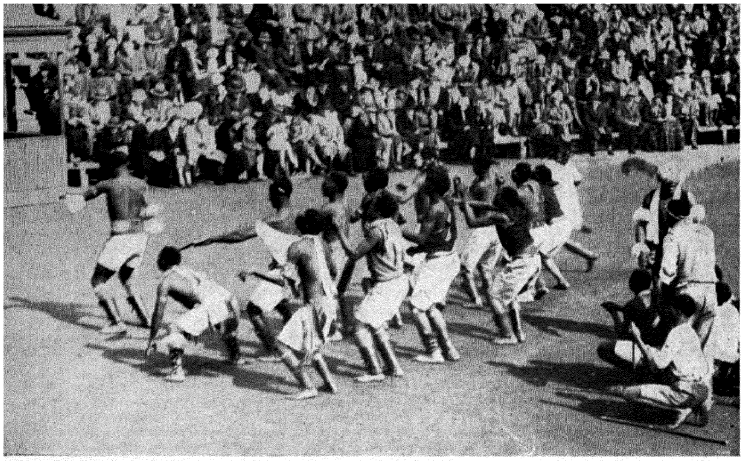
[*face p.* 406



[*H. V. Meyerowitz*

[*H. V. Meyerowitz*

"War" dances in a Johannesburg Mine Compound
URBAN NATIVE LIFE

until they reach the years of adolescence. The amount of underclothing given to children depends on the wealth of the parents: and the scanty apparel of so many urban Native children bears eloquent testimony to poverty. As children become mature, their demands for more elegant clothing increase. Adolescent boys and girls vie with each other in the variety and fashionableness of their clothing, and display the vanity invariably more characteristic of an urban than of a rural community. Personal adornment is approximating more and more to the European standard. Smooth straight hair is the ideal of most urban Natives. Scarification and tattooing, the means whereby the older rural generation enhanced their beauty, are viewed with disfavour by urban Natives, while European cosmetics are being increasingly used.

The fittings of urban Native homes reveal the effective penetration of European material culture. Few Native goods are in evidence. Earthenware pots or reed mats of Native manufacture are occasionally seen, but furniture is of European pattern and household utensils of European manufacture. The possession of furniture is gradually emerging as a criterion of status, and as a means of enhancing personal prestige. But although love of display occasionally leads to ill-advised acquisitions, the great majority of goods are purchased for use. The beds, invariably bought first, the chairs and the tables are not merely ornamental. The great distances between residence and place of employment, and the costly and inadequate transport facilities, have made bicycles not merely a luxury but a necessity. Lack of recreational facilities has led to an intense appreciation of the gramophone. Sewing-machines are needed for the more rapid manufacture of clothing of European pattern. Stoves and paraffin-cookers are being used as well as European methods of preparing food. The great range of low-priced European manufactured goods is at the same time gradually ousting Native arts and crafts. Wood, wicker and leather work are no longer taught to Native children in urban areas, and survive chiefly to supply the European market with curios.

Income and Expenditure

The desire of the urban Native to acquire European goods is limited only by his poverty. And poverty is one of the most outstanding characteristics of those Natives whose families have taken up residence in an urban area. Their items of essential expenditure

differ in no wise from those of the European. They have to pay for rent and transport, for every morsel of food consumed by the family, for fuel, for clothing, for school-fees, insurance premiums and for recreation. The dire struggle to balance income and expenditure is the dominant theme of their lives; and the difficulties which the average Native has to overcome in his attempts to support a family in town are almost stupendous.

Various estimates have been attempted of the minimum monthly income essential for the well-being of a Native family. These range from £5 6*s.* 11*d.* for a family of four to £7 13*s.* for a family of five. But all these estimates are considerably higher than the average monthly wage of the male head of the family. In Rooiyard,[1] e.g., the average monthly earnings of 100 men, taken over a period of three months, amounted to £3 18*s.* 9*d.* The average monthly wage of 500 men living in the Johannesburg Western Native Township in 1928–29 was £4 9*s.* 8*d.* At the beginning of 1935 another sample of 500 men from the same Township gave an average monthly wage of £4 15*s.* 4*d.*, although actually most of the men were earning less. It follows, therefore, either that the family revenue must be supplemented from other sources, or else the family must exist well below the required minimum for "well-being". Actually, many families manage to exist on far less; while others, by means of the combined contributions of husband, wife, and possibly one or more children, are enabled to live in comparative "well-being" or even above this minimum level. The standard of living of urban Natives varies enormously, even if within a more restricted scale than the European standard. In Rooiyard, e.g., the expenditure of childless couples ranged from £2 0*s.* 11*d.* to £8 12*s.* 1*d.* per month. On the other hand, the ready help which Natives extend to the poor and needy, not only of their own kin but of their tribe, inevitably tends to draw them down to what has often been called "the dead level of poverty".

The family budgets collected in Pretoria locations by Mrs. E. J. Krige show a similar range of variation in expenditure—a variation, it may be noted, in no way correlated with the size of the family. Sources of income also vary widely. As Mrs. Krige says: "almost every activity of the Native in the location is concerned with making money and every member of the family is kept busy in the attempt to make ends meet."[2] The gifts in cash or kind from relations or friends either

[1] The Johannesburg "slum yard" studied by the writer.
[2] E. J. Krige, 1934, 102.

on the occasion of a special ceremony or in the course of everyday life as a mark of affection, the incidental earnings of husband and children from tips, running errands, caddying on a golf-course, and the earnings of the wife from washing for Europeans, domestic service, sewing, and the sale of beer show the dependence of the family on incidental earnings, apart from the husband's regular wage. Mrs. Krige, in attempting to gauge the relation of wages to income, compared the wages and income of thirty families, regarding each family as an economic unit. If more than one member of the family was a wage-earner, the family wage was taken to be the joint contribution of all the wage-earning members. The average wage per family amounted to £4 9*s*., and the average income to £7 5*s*.

The discrepancy between wage and income, and more especially between the husband's earnings and the family expenditure, points to the responsibility resting on the wife, as the family treasurer, to make ends meet, and the duty incumbent on her to supplement the family revenue. This economic function of the Bantu woman is no new one. Under tribal conditions she was an economic asset, and on her work in the fields the family depended for its sustenance. But in the towns the nature of her work has changed. Considerable difficulties must be overcome and considerable hardships borne if she is to contribute to the family income. There are two ways in which she can earn money: legitimately, by engaging in some form of domestic service for Europeans, or illegitimately, by brewing and selling Kafir beer or one of its numerous derivatives. In Rooiyard, among 100 women, twenty-two were engaged in a legitimate occupation, but of this number only sixteen earned 20*s*. or more per month. But almost every woman in the yard was a beer-brewer, and this was the main source of her contribution to the family income.[1] The difficulties of conducting a beer-brewing and selling trade—its illegality, the constant danger of apprehension and arrest, the need for alertness and vigilance, the labour involved in burying the brew in tins sunk below the level of the ground—need no emphasis. But domestic service, which involves the separation of the mother from her children and necessitates the making of other arrangements for their care, likewise has its hardships. The Natives of Johannesburg, now that the housing policy of the Urban Areas Act is being systematically applied, are being forced into the Municipal locations in ever-increasing numbers. The distances between the locations and the city and European

[1] Hellmann, 1934, 39 ff.

residential suburbs hinder the women from carrying on their part-time washing jobs for Europeans on which so many depend for an auxiliary income. Alternative employments hardly exist. Save for the few who can become teachers or nurses, the Native woman is limited to some branch of domestic service. Even this employment is a comparatively recent one, as Native men originally held what almost amounted to a monopoly in this sphere of labour.

Sub-letting is resorted to by a number of Natives in the locations in Pretoria, and the rents paid by lodgers serve to ease the financial strain at the expense of overcrowding. In Johannesburg, on the other hand, the possibilities of increasing the family income in this manner are extremely limited. In Pimville, the oldest township there, where Natives have erected their own houses, sub-letting is very common, and the evils of overcrowding are evident. In the Municipal locations, where about 50,000 Natives live, mostly in two- and three-roomed cottages erected by the Municipality, permission to house lodgers is given only in exceptional cases. In " yards " by far the greater number of Natives live in one room, and, although temporary shelter is willingly given to relatives and friends, lack of space makes the housing of permanent lodgers an impossibility. Johannesburg Natives therefore cannot rely on sub-letting to aid them in meeting their rent. In the Municipal locations the monthly rent for a two-roomed cottage is 25*s*. and for a three-roomed cottage 30*s*. The average rentals for rooms in slum yards range from 25*s*. to 30*s*. per month. If rent is taken to amount to 25*s*., which is below the general average, it will be seen to account for about 27 per cent of the wage earned by the men of the Western Native Township.

In the slum yards of Johannesburg almost every woman brews and sells beer. In the locations, too, the women are greatly dependent on this form of trade to augment the family income, but the percentage of beer sellers is not as high. The prices for *muqombothi*, *babaton*, *shimeya* and other drinks are higher in the yards, but the fact that the yards are centrally situated and more accessible than the outlying locations is a great attraction to customers. The proceeds from beer sales vary enormously, some women having a large clientele and disposing of as much as £4 worth of beer over a week-end, while others consider themselves fortunate to earn an additional £1 per month from this source. The gross profit on beer is very high, but when trade risks, such as wastage of beer due to discovery by the police, fines and the bad debts inevitably incurred by the necessity

of extending credit to customers, are taken into account, the margin of profit is greatly reduced.

Many brewers have joined an organization known as a " stockfair ", the primary purpose of which is to function as a species of saving society. The members of the stockfair, usually from four to eight in number, gather every week at the room or house of a different member, who becomes the " owner " of the stockfair for the occasion. Each member pays a small weekly cash subscription, which the owner retains. Beer is served by her free of charge to members, but visitors are also welcomed and for an entrance fee of *6d.* are entitled to drink their fill. " Stockfair is saving," many informants explained ; and it is apparent that a stockfair member, by paying *2s. 6d.* a week for seven weeks, receives the comparatively large sum of *17s. 6d.* in the eighth week, when it is her turn to be the " owner ". Initially the stockfair was supposed to serve the subsidiary function of disposing of the surplus beer remaining after the week-end sales. Actually, the majority of the women brew a fresh supply for the stockfair meeting.

A somewhat similar institution is the *mohodisana* practised both in Pretoria and in Johannesburg. In its simplest form it is " an association of friends who contribute a weekly or monthly amount which is handed over in a lump sum to each in turn." [1] In Pretoria a further development is apparent, in that a strong sense of solidarity is growing among the members and in that the association is taking on the functions of a provident society giving support and help not only to members in trouble but also to their families. This gives the location Native, living among a conglomerate of people from different tribes, that sense of moral support provided under tribal conditions by the close-knit group of kindred. In Johannesburg neither stockfair nor *mohodisana* has taken on any new social function to implement the economic function it fulfils. Both are unstable, and lend themselves readily to abuse and exploitation by unscrupulous members.

The stimulus of an urban environment, with its insistent need for larger sums of ready money, has thus created new institutions totally different from any tribal organizations. The Natives have shown marked readiness in adapting themselves to the demands of urban life based on a European money economy. It is true that many handle money unwisely. They buy in very small amounts, and do not benefit

[1] Krige, 1934, 101.

from the reductions obtainable from larger-scale buying; they take out insurance policies in a wave of inspired enthusiasm for every member of the family and soon find the strain too great and allow all the policies to lapse; they purchase rashly, induced by the temptations of the hire-purchase system, and often find themselves forced to sacrifice initial deposits and, occasionally, subsequent payments. They are constantly struggling to extricate themselves from the morass of debt in which they seldom fail to submerge themselves. But these disabilities are more the result of financial stringency consequent upon low wages than of pure lack of foresight or prodigality.

Individual Development

In both material culture and economic life we have just noted a very marked reorganization, almost a complete remoulding, necessitated by compulsory adaptation to an advanced European economic structure. To what extent Native life in the spiritual, as opposed to the material, sphere has undergone a like revolution is perhaps best seen from a brief review of those " transition stages " in personal life which are invariably the nuclei of numerous beliefs embodied in custom and ritual. Generalizations regarding the urban Native are nowhere more difficult to apply than here. The urban Native populace is extremely heterogeneous in composition. The rapidity with which the Native adopts European ways of life depends largely on the nature of his former rural background: it may have been a Reserve, where tribal discipline still prevails, or a Mission station or European-owned farm, where European influences are pronounced. The nature of his work and residence in the urban area is also of great importance in retarding or expediting the process of assimilation. It is a far cry from the mine Native, herded in compounds and allotted accommodation on the basis of his tribal identity, or the unskilled factory worker living at the place of his employment, to the domestic servant intimately absorbed into the very structure of a European household. And between these two extremes is a great range of intermediate stages definitely influencing the articulation of the Native into the structure of urban life. To take these manifold intermediate strata into account calls for comparative data not yet made available by research workers.[1] Such tentative generalizations as we do venture can only be accepted as indicating the direction of the prevailing trend.

[1] Cf. Hellmann, 1935, 185 ff.

Birth.

The most salient feature of tribal birth ritual—the seclusion of mother and child—is still rigorously observed by urban Natives. Ten days is by far the most common period. Some mothers, still influenced by the widespread tribal custom of secluding mother and children for three months, attempt to prolong the period of their own seclusion, or at least that of the baby. But since the household must be conducted by the mother, since the husband cannot be accommodated indefinitely by neighbours, and since in an urban area there is no large and willing body of kin to care for the mother and her family during the seclusion period, it is imperative for most women to emerge as soon as possible.

During the seclusion period the husband and mature children find accommodation elsewhere. The mother is during both labour and seclusion cared for by relatives, if such are available or can be summoned from the country, or else by a paid midwife. Medical practitioners are seldom called in, and the practice of being confined in a maternity home, though on the increase, is as yet rare. A few taboos, designed to prevent difficult birth, are still observed: the women, as their time draws near, are careful not to have any knots about their persons, while their husbands discontinue wearing collar and tie, or knotting their shoe-laces. The majority of women undergo labour in a kneeling posture on the floor of the room. Only seldom does a woman use the bed or her good bedding until the seclusion period has ended. During the days following delivery she lies on the floor, often sitting up to do the washing for the child. The afterbirth and umbilical cord are almost always buried in great secrecy by the midwife, usually in a deep hole outside the room or house where the birth took place, for fear that some evilly-disposed person may obtain and use them to bewitch the child. While the woman is still secluded, neither her husband nor any other man, neither menstruating women nor women who have recently had sexual intercourse, may enter the room, lest the child be deleteriously affected. Various expedients have, however, been adopted by different tribes to make a partial evasion of these rules possible. During this period, moreover, no article of the child's clothing may leave the room. Food taboos, on the other hand, are very seldom encountered.

The "coming out" of a child is almost invariably marked by a festivity in the form of a "party". This does not necessarily coincide with the actual first appearance of the child in public. Usually the

party is held on the first week-end after the end of the seclusion, but lack of ready money, or of time to brew beer and prepare the food needed for such a celebration, or the absence of certain friends or relatives whose presence is desired, may cause it to be postponed for as long as two months. A party is a specifically urban form of celebration and, although it is held to mark occasions of significance in the life of the individual, it has lost the distinguishing characteristics of the festivals held in tribal life on corresponding occasions. It is always the same, whether held to celebrate the "coming out" of a baby, the conclusion of a girl's puberty seclusion or a wedding. It is an occasion on which relatives and friends living in the same town foregather. Gramophones provide an accompaniment to singing and dancing, or sometimes even a band is specially engaged for the occasion, while free hospitality is given in the form of beer and food. But it often happens that the hosts recover their expenses, and sometimes even show a profit, from the value of the presents brought by the guests, usually in the form of money. In fact, a party is frequently organized more with a view to profit than for celebrating a specific occasion. The recreational facilities of the urban Natives are very limited, and a party offers a happy escape from the drab routine of everyday life.

Baptism does not usually take place soon after birth. Many a mother temporarily domiciled in town prefers to wait until she returns home, where the local missionary can perform the ceremony. Some dispense with it altogether, and others decide upon it as a conveniently suitable pretext for arranging a party.

These urban aggregation rites have lost much of their traditional significance. A few parent couples still sacrifice a goat or a sheep on the first emergence of the child, and invoke their ancestors to bless the new member of the family. On the whole, however, women wishing to observe the ceremony of birth according to traditional custom prefer to return to their rural homes for the confinement. The fact that many women actually do so indicates that the urban population is neither so greatly detribalized nor so greatly dissociated from the body of rural relatives as is often maintained.

Many magical precautions, in the form of strengthening and protective roots and herbs administered both internally and externally, are taken to safeguard the life of the child from witchcraft and other evils during the first dangerous years of infancy. Most urban women feed their babies in the traditional Bantu fashion, generously but

irrationally. No work is sufficiently important for a mother to justify her ignoring the clamorous demand of her child. The suckling period varies to some extent, although most women still nurse their children for fifteen months to two years. On the whole, however, there seems to be a gradual but apparently general tendency for the lactation period to be curtailed to one year. Economic pressure has greatly influenced this tendency, as women who have to work find that nursing taxes their strength and interferes with the disposal of their time.

The taboo that a child shall not be conceived till its predecessor has been weaned carries great weight with urban women, and the premature resumption of marital relations is regarded with disfavour, especially by the older women, as tending to weaken the baby. But the disappearance of polygyny from the towns and the consequent importunity of the husband generally results in the resumption of sexual intercourse some three months after the confinement. It is the duty of the husband to prevent impregnation, and to this end he resorts to *coitus interruptus*. Some of the younger men use condoms both to avoid conception and to protect themselves against disease, but the use of these contraceptives is very restricted.

Education and Puberty Rites.

The urban Native family is not necessarily a permanent and stable unit. This is especially noticeable in Johannesburg, an urban centre of recent growth, where a permanent Native urban population is still in the formative stage. Many urban children are sent home to rural relatives for varying periods, while children whose parents live in the country are often sent to urban relatives for a period of schooling or for a short holiday in town. The reasons why parents send their children to the country or leave them behind when they themselves come to town are numerous and varied. Many parents frankly fear the results of undesirable urban contacts, and believe that a rural upbringing will benefit the morals of their children. Others, especially slum dwellers, realize that the urban environment is physically unhealthy. In many cases, where both parents are employed, there is no one to care for the children during their absence; while on the other hand some parents are merely desirous of unlimited freedom and wish to escape irksome obligations.

This oft-recurring separation of the family under urban conditions affects not only family unity but also the processes of detribalization and urbanization. The very fact that so many children are in charge

of rural relatives necessitates interdependence and close contact between urban parents and rural guardians. Complete severance from tribal interests and loyalties is not possible while the children live in a tribal environment; and the children's own attitude to Native custom and tradition must be greatly influenced by this rural training, even if only temporary. It serves to re-establish tribal bonds which would not obtrude themselves to nearly the same degree if the children were reared entirely in an urban centre.

The informal training so characteristic of tribal life and the gradual introduction of the growing child to his future tasks and duties have disappeared almost entirely under urban conditions. For the young girl training of this nature still persists to some extent. She learns imperceptibly, almost from her earliest days, such routine domestic tasks as cooking, dusting, scrubbing, polishing, washing, and ironing by watching and assisting her mother, often in a form of play imitation. But the young boy, apart from acting occasionally as nurse to his younger brothers and sisters, has no opportunity of acquiring knowledge to stand him in useful stead in later life. His father, at home only at night and over the week-ends, when he is either weary and spent after his labours in another part of the town or else seeks distraction and recreation, plays a minor rôle in rearing and instructing the children. Nor is the mother, saddled with numerous domestic tasks and obliged to supplement the family income, able to act as tutor to her son. Relatives interested in and concerned with the child's progress are generally not present in an urban area. Consequently the children, more especially the boys, spend their childhood years free and untrammelled, basking in the ready love and indulgence of their mother.

For urban boys schooling is the sole substitute for the gradual and pervasive system of informal tribal training. School represents to practically all urban Natives the "open sesame" to European culture, to progress and to economic advancement, and is considered essential to secure success in future life.[1] This belief in the value and efficacy of European educational methods almost verges on the pathetic in its blind trust. The desire to send their children to school is patently evident amongst urban Natives. But schooling is neither free nor

[1] It is for this reason that, despite the almost unanimous opinion of educationalists in favour of using the vernacular in the first years of schooling, the majority of urban Natives persist in their demand for English medium schools. Many go so far as to consider as "proper" schools only those where the English medium is used. This antagonism to the vernacular is the outcome of the everyday experience that a knowledge of English is indispensable to secure a good footing in the Johannesburg labour market.

compulsory, while school facilities are still grossly inadequate. Consequently only a small proportion of the children are able to benefit from it to any reasonable extent. Nor has school education been articulated into the body social of Native life. Under tribal conditions, children learn as opportunities present themselves in the course of everyday activities: education and normal life are intimately interrelated. European methods differ, and there is, especially in urban centres, a distinct cleavage between the education given to the Native child in school and his ordinary social life at home.

Tribal institutions provide for one period of intensive training during the course of the initiation rites, which set a seal on all the earlier informal training. In urban areas, this final intensive training is lacking. Above all, no emphasis is laid on that change from childhood to adulthood, with its new duties, obligations and privileges, which is ritualized and dramatized in the tribal initiation ceremonies. Boys of non-circumcising tribes generally enter the threshold of maturity without passing through any rite to mark their emergence as adults. Parents of circumcizing tribes make the greatest efforts to send their sons home to take part in the initiation ceremonies there. Emphasis is placed on the physical aspect, on the actual act of circumcision, and not on the socially valuable educative function of the rite. The circumcision ceremonies occasionally arranged at Pimville, the oldest location in Johannesburg, certainly have the operation as their main, and some times only, aim. Usually the rite takes the form of individual circumcision. The father hires an expert to perform the operation, and the boy, until his wound heals, is secluded in a temporary lodge erected some miles from the location. Less frequently a group of men jointly engage an expert to circumcise their sons, aged between eighteen and twenty years, at the same time. In such cases the boys are secluded for about three months, during which men only are allowed to visit their lodge. At the end of the isolation period each initiate is given a set of new clothes and, together with his companions, is welcomed home by a feast. The belief that only circumcised men are true "men" (*amadoda*), while the uncircumcised are "boys" (*amankwenkwe*), is still very current, even although circumcised and uncircumcised meet on the same ground. Intermarriage between members of different tribes is, however, tending to weaken it.

In the puberty ritual of girls also the main emphasis is placed on the physiological change that has taken place. As at childbirth, so when a girl menstruates for the first time, she is carefully secluded, even

among the most educated and assimilated of urban Natives. Underlying this insistence on seclusion is the belief that a woman, at such physiological crises of life, is dangerous and a potential source of pollution. The period of seclusion varies from three days to one month, during which the initiate is confined to her room. Men and young girls are rigorously excluded, but mature female friends and relatives may visit her, provided that they have not had sexual intercourse on the preceding night. The initiate when she finally emerges is provided with a complete set of new clothing, her old clothes being burnt or given to an older woman past child-bearing and hence immune from the danger of pollution; and a party is usually held, when presents, commonly in the form of money, are given by the guests. On the whole, however, the seclusion of a girl at the onset of her menses is a secular procedure. If terminated by a party, there is a heightening of emotional tension; if not, the ceremony concludes on the note of monotony and tedium characterizing the seclusion itself. The girl while secluded is urgently warned by her mother to discontinue all further "play" with boys, for urban mothers realize only too poignantly that the most important outcome of a daughter's puberty is her vulnerability to the danger of premarital pregnancy.[1] In so far, then, as a mother's vigilance over her daughter, usually unavailing, increases perceptibly after puberty, there is an implicit recognition of a change in status. But the daughter herself is little affected and still less influenced by this rite of seclusion, which is to her a tedious and unwelcome imposition.

In this context, as throughout the course of the individual's development, the connection between urban and rural life and between urban and rural relatives receives added illustration. Not only are the sons of circumcising Natives sent home for the rites, but many urban parents, aware of the moral dangers of an urban environment and of their own impotence to control or guide maturing children, send their daughters home for the puberty seclusion and do not permit them to return to town for some years thereafter. The parents in this way not only ensure a fuller, more complete and harmoniously-adjusted seclusion ritual, but are convinced that the continued residence of the girl among her rural kin will discipline and mould her according to Bantu concepts of good conduct and seemly behaviour more effectively than is possible in an urban area.

[1] In 1934–5 illegitimate births constituted 59 per cent of the total number of births in the three locations in Pretoria (Krige, 1936*b*, 4).

Under tribal conditions the whole system of education, culminating in the dramatic, arduous and frequently painful initiation or puberty rites, serves gradually to mould the maturing tribesmen to a definite norm and to get him to take his place in the social order. It disciplines, even if only imperceptibly, the growing child, and produces as its final product a law-abiding citizen. Education under urban conditions is producing an undisciplined younger generation. The loss of parental control is patently obvious to and bitterly lamented by the urban Native. But the social order itself is passing through a chaotic phase of transition and gradual evolution. The Native families in urban centres are isolated individual units, and as yet there is nothing to integrate them into the organic fabric of a larger social organization. Under these conditions, where no common body of public opinion has emerged which may control the actions of the individual, it is only natural to find that growing children freely go their own way.

Marriage.

Nowhere are the disintegrating effects of urban conditions more apparent than in family relationships, of which marriage is the focal point. The permanence and stability of marriage are tending to lessen; the exclusiveness of the sexual bond between husband and wife is weakening; the conception of *lobola* is undergoing a startling metamorphosis; kinship obligations and parental control are greatly diminished. But the institution of marriage is by no means totally undermined. *Lobola*, though its medium is changing, still serves to legalize the children of a union. In the marriage negotiations of the more established urban residents of Pretoria locations, the niceties and elaborate formalism of traditional etiquette are still pedantically observed.[1] And although adultery is rife, there are many urban couples whose marital fidelity is unimpeachable.

Most of the married Natives resident in Johannesburg were married in the country, the number of legal marriages taking place in the town itself being still relatively small. This is in keeping with the fact that Johannesburg is only now becoming the permanent home of part of its Native population. On the other hand, the number of irregular unions entered into along the Rand is very large.[2] That Native public opinion has been schooled to accept even if not to approve them is evident in that no discrimination, either public or private, is shown against the parents party to or the children born of them. One reason

[1] Cf. E. J. Krige, 1936*b*, 11 ff. [2] U.G. 22, 1932, § 965.

for some of these irregular unions is the general rule in urban locations that a Municipal house will not be let to a single woman. In Johannesburg itself a widow, a deserted woman or an unmarried mother can usually obtain a house if she proves her ability to pay rent. But on the Reef the position is different; and the general Native belief that no woman can obtain a house without producing the pass of a male Native encourages temporary unions of expediency.

In Rooiyard, of eighty married couples, nineteen were married according to Native Customary Union only[1]; twenty-two according to N.C.U. and the religious marriage ceremony; thirty-three according to N.C.U., religious and civil rites; three according to N.C.U. and civil rites; one according to religious and civil rites; one according to civil rites only; and one according to religious rites only. Thus in seventy-seven out of the eighty marriages, the N.C.U., wherein is included the passing of *lobola*, was a constituent part. In fifty-seven instances the European religious ceremony was performed, and in thirty-eight instances a civil contractual marriage entered into. But the great majority of these marriages were contracted in the country, where the religious ceremony is now very often part of the usual marriage procedure. In urban marriages there is a tendency to dispense with it. This is due as much to the prevailing disillusionment with Christianity as to the belief that a religious marriage affords no greater protection to a woman if her husband subsequently deserts her or enters into a second marriage than does the N.C.U.[2] On the other hand, the women clearly recognize the value of a civil marriage, and are demanding it more insistently. It safeguards their economic position, and the courts will uphold their claim for maintenance in case of desertion.

Nor is *lobola* passed as frequently in urban as in rural marriages. The available evidence tends to show further that the proportion of money to cattle *lobola* payments is steadily becoming higher.[3] *Lobola* varies from £25 to £50, although the full amount is very rarely paid. Money, as a medium, largely defeats the objects of *lobola*. It is soon dissipated, leaving no permanent record to safeguard the

[1] "Customary union" is the term employed in South African legislation for a marriage according to Native law and custom, as distinct from civil or religious marriage under European law.

[2] Although a religious marriage, when conducted by a lawfully appointed marriage officer, has the same legal implications as a civil marriage, we adhere here to the distinction drawn between the two forms of marriage by most Natives.

[3] Of the 77 Rooiyard *lobola* payments, 59 were made in cattle, 18 in money. In Pretoria, on the other hand, with long-established location dwellers, *lobola* in 56 per cent of the marriages investigated by Mrs. Krige consisted of money only (Krige, 1936*b*, 14).

stability of the marriage and to guarantee the good conduct of both husband and wife. Small wonder, under these conditions, that the concept of *lobola* as payment for women, of which the European has so painfully been forced to disabuse himself, is now gaining currency among urban Natives. Their reaction to it varies. To the grasping man or woman it may prove an inducement to "sell" a daughter; but it often also prompts people to repudiate *lobola* altogether, in the belief that its acceptance means the sundering of all ties between parents and child.

Conduct of marriage procedure and *lobola* payments is, among urban Natives, so extremely varied and individual that generalizations are hazardous. But just as urban Native children show considerable independence in choosing a mate, the natural outcome of weakening parental authority, so it seems, they themselves are largely responsible for the final decision as to whether *lobola* shall be transferred or not. Where harmonious co-operation prevails between them and their parents, they are more likely to identify themselves with and adopt their parents' attitude towards *lobola*. Where a family is disunited, the children, undeterred by any such prohibitive sanctions as function in tribal life can do as they please. The severe displeasure of the parents and relatives need not make itself felt in either the social or the economic life of the rebellious couple.

Courtship under urban conditions consists largely in going together to cinemas, dances, beer-drinks, and in paying visits. Very frequently the man and woman, who usually meet at some social gathering, first become lovers and then decide to regularize their union by marriage. The birth of a child may hasten this decision or else cause the abrupt disappearance of the father. If the case is brought to the Native Sub-Commissioner's Court, the man will be ordered to pay damages. But it is easy for him to disappear in the crowded byways of an urban centre or go to another town, and most Natives are also ignorant of legal procedure and the correct method of obtaining legal redress. The result is that the unmarried mother is left to support her child, while the father evades all responsibility.

Most marriages contracted in Johannesburg are characterized by their individualism. A marriage is primarily an arrangement between the two people concerned; and the gradual rapprochement of the two sets of kin so conspicuous in the tribal marriage ceremony practically falls away. It is rare to find the parents or even the relatives of both parties resident in town. In such cases the girl usually informs her

parents of her projected marriage and asks for their consent. Many men likewise inform their parents, but do not necessarily ask their permission. On the marriage day the couple either go to Church or, more commonly, to the registry office. Thereafter a party is given by some relative resident in town, by a friend or by the bridal couple themselves. The expenses of the party are as usual largely defrayed from the cash contributions of the guests, although often enough such presents as pieces of crockery or cutlery are given in preference to money, to emphasize the personal tie between the donor and the recipients. Where the parents or near relatives reside in town, the marriage proceedings are conducted with greater formalism and greater regard to Native custom, traditional elements such as the seclusion of the bride and sacrifice to the ancestors often being observed.

Marital infidelity is extremely common—so common indeed that many Natives state in the exaggeration of bitterness that happy marriages and peaceful homes no longer exist. This increasing sexual promiscuity is due in part to the prevailing laxity of the urban moral code, strict standards of behaviour and sanctions to enforce them barely existing. In part it is due to economic need, for many women, hard-pressed to balance expenditure and income, resort to prostitution, which, although publicly condemned, has in practice come to be accepted as part and parcel of urban life. Some women form more permanent alliances with a *nyatsi* (paramour), who pays a fixed monthly amount. The husband is not informed of this arrangement, and should he by chance discover the true state of affairs, the almost inevitable result is a fight and stabbing-affray.

Marriages and especially irregular unions between members of different tribes are very evident in Johannesburg, where Natives meet from every part of the Union and from territories further North. Such intermarriage tends to divorce a man from his own kin, especially if he comes from a distant part and marries a Transvaal woman; but it often causes him to become absorbed into the kin of his wife, thus replacing one tribal affiliation for another. Present-day kinship bonds are undoubtedly weaker than under the old tribal system, although the kinship structure still survives and proves its strength in relieving Municipalities of the duty of organizing charities for Natives, as they are forced to do for their poverty-stricken White population. Territorial or local bonds are however cutting across kinship bonds. Closeness of blood relationship is no longer the one criterion for determining the standing of relatives to one another: in urban

areas local bonds are of such weight in reinforcing kinship ties that distantly-related kinsmen now resident in the same town form the closest ritual and economic alliances. But the fact that urban children are frequently reared by rural relatives contributes greatly to prevent any marked disintegration of the kinship group.

Death.

Despite the fact that burial now follows the European pattern, the observances connected with death still have much in common with traditional Bantu customs and beliefs. Immediately after a death has occurred all relatives resident in Johannesburg and neighbouring towns are informed by messenger or by letter. People make quite unusual sacrifices to attend the funeral of a kinsman, realizing that at this time above all the survivors need the comfort which the living presence of other kindred offers. The funeral usually takes place on the day following death. Relatives and friends assemble at the home of the deceased and spend the intervening night in the company of the chief mourners. All night long they sing, usually an impartial selection of hymns and tribal songs. The chief mourners hire a waggon on which the coffin and the most intimate relatives or friends of the deceased are conveyed to the cemetery. The funeral is conducted by a Native minister of the Church to which the deceased belonged. Only when an individual is a rigid adherent of tribal religion and has not consented to the often nominal conversion does the burial take on an utterly alien character devoid of any prayer or ritual.

After the burial all the relatives and friends who have attended the funeral, and many who have been unable to do so, repair to the room or house of the bereaved family. Before entering everyone who has attended the funeral must dip his hands in a large dish of water placed on a table or packing-case outside. The dish is usually plain enamelware of European manufacture, and the water is not medicated; but the ritual "washing away" of the pollution of death is rigorously observed. The "collection" which is the one example of organized Native poor-relief is now inaugurated. Two subscription lists are started, one for men and one for women. Every visiting sympathizer donates a sum of money, his name and the amount subscribed being recorded on the list. Thereafter relatives or friends canvass other rooms in the yard or other houses in the location, obtaining donations of 1*d.* upwards even from people to whom the deceased was not personally known. The amount thus collected is used to defray funeral expenses,

unless the deceased belonged to a burial society, when it is retained by the parents or surviving spouse to meet ordinary living expenses.

The outward manifestation of bereavement is the wearing of black in obvious imitation of European custom. But the urban Native's reaction to death cannot be dismissed by considering only the external evidence of his bereavement. In the towns, no less than in the country, the old concept that death casts a shadow of pollution over the survivors persists. Until this dark shadow has been removed by the conclusion of mourning ceremonies, it is not reasonable or safe to embark upon any new venture with any hope of success. This is undoubtedly the reason why the observance of full mourning ceremonies is so rigorously maintained by most urban Natives. Where possible, these ceremonies are held in the country, preferably at the home of the deceased's paternal kin. Their actual nature varies considerably, depending on the strength of the mourners' allegiance to Christian or tribal religion. When the ceremony is performed in the country, a sacrifice is invariably offered—a sheep or goat for a child, and a cow or ox for an adult. Devout adherents to tribal religion offer this sacrifice according to traditional custom. Christians discard such elements as the invocation of the ancestors, for which they substitute the reading of the Bible; and throw away the stomach contents and bones of the sacrificed beast, instead of eating and burning them respectively. On the following day a feast is held, when the mourners make their first reappearance in coloured clothes. The mourning clothes are given to old women past child-bearing, who cannot be affected by the taint of mourning. If the chief mourners cannot go home to hold these ceremonies, the sacrifice is occasionally offered in town; but frequently the ceremony is merely postponed until such time as the survivors can get to the country.

Religion and Magic

The great majority of urban Natives are Christians, most of them having been baptized or converted by their missionaries in the country districts. Competent observers have reported that the rural belief in Christianity is weakening. In the towns this tendency is gathering momentum. The urban Native is bitterly disappointed in the Church. Residence in an urban area makes the manifest economic, legal and social inequalities between Black and White pitilessly clear to him; and the Church has, to a large extent, been blamed for its inability

to relieve him of these disabilities, and in particular to alleviate his economic distress. The reactionary influence of the old people in the kraal carries some weight. They maintain that sickness and epidemics were less prevalent, and droughts less frequent, when the people worshipped their ancestors. The neglect of the *amadlozi* (ancestral spirits) incurs their hostility and the tribe is consequently scourged by death, disease, and drought. But the enlightened Native claims attention when he points out the obvious discrepancy between the missionary's teaching and average European practice. He refers to the powerlessness of the missionaries: "they don't even fight for us, they only say that we must pray to God to be free," he says bitterly. The disparity in the salaries paid to European and to Native clergymen, and the segregation of White and Black even in places of worship, cause him especially bitter resentment. Hence, although a large number of Natives belong to a Christian Church, their allegiance is purely nominal.

It is not possible to differentiate clearly between professing and nominal Christians. There is among the urban population a body of loyal and devout Christians. There is also a very large number of occasional but not convinced worshippers, and there are many quite indifferent to Christianity. The growth of small separatist Native Churches, often conducted by clergymen who have been disciplined from the recognized Churches, is one of the results of the withdrawal from the latter. These new Churches, often of mushroom-like growth, combine both religious (Christian and Native) and magical practices and beliefs in their ritual. But, on the whole, scepticism towards Christianity has not brought about any wholesome reversion to tribal religion. The Natives have lost the sense of oneness with their ancestral spirits. Their whole religion is a religion of compromise. They attend Church services either not at all or but very rarely. They believe that God, the God whom the missionary has taught them to worship, is in heaven. The ancestral spirits are also in heaven. In ordinary life those Natives who have lost the threads of two religious systems pay no attention to the *amadlozi*. Yet when ill-health or other misfortune descends upon the family, they go to Church and either turn to the *amadlozi* themselves for help or else, through the intervention of an *inyanga* whom they have summoned in their need, they are made to realize that they have offended the ancestors and are accordingly being punished.

There is then no religious uniformity among urban Natives. On

the whole the Native feels that the religion of the White man has betrayed him and that his own religion is ill-adapted to urban life and cannot help him in the perplexities and difficulties which inevitably confront him. Magic provides a far more satisfactory outlet for the perplexed and stricken individual, and it is to magic that the average Native turns for aid. The demand for the services of the *inyanga* has not decreased among the urban population. Johannesburg, as the centre of a large wage-earning Native population, attracts herbalist-diviners from every part of the country. At the Salisbury and Jubilee Compound the herbalists have stalls and display their wares—cures for every disease and misfortune. But there are many more full-time professionals who give consultations at their own or their patients' homes. In addition many doctors are engaged in some regular employment and practise their art as a side line. As is only to be expected, numbers of these self-professed doctors are quacks and charlatans who have taken to doctoring in the hope of earning a profitable livelihood, without having learned the art in the traditional manner.

Magic has revealed great potentialities of adaptability. In addition to the staple treatments used in curing illness, protecting against witchcraft and other ills, and ensuring success and popularity, new forms have been evolved to meet new conditions. There are medicines to enable an unemployed Native to find work; medicines to attract beer customers to a woman desiring to build up a beer trade; herbs to blind the police so that they will not find a woman's beer "hole" or see a Native out after curfew without a special licence; medicines to cause a magistrate to impose a lenient sentence on an offender; and medicines to obviate the necessity of paying bills! In short, for every situation new medicines are available, composed of the same roots and herbs as are used under tribal conditions to ensure good luck, popularity, and success. The hold magic has retained over the urban Native is deplored as indicating a still unscientific and irrational attitude towards the physical universe. But it must be recognized that magic fulfils an important function in giving the harassed and perplexed patient reassurance and confidence. It is dangerous in so far as it enables the individual to exonerate himself from blame and responsibility by allowing him to ascribe his own failure to witchcraft. But the psychological approach of the Native doctor benefits the patient, whom he imbues with renewed strength in confronting the problems of his daily life.

The *inyanga* fulfils one other important function. He maintains the connection between the urban Native and his tribal religion, and re-establishes contact between them. Some Natives, after calling in an *inyanga*, immediately name their difficulty, whether it be illness, unemployment, or a languishing beer trade, and ask him for the requisite medicines to cure this ill. But the more usual procedure is to allow the doctor, by means of his bones and tablets, to divine the complaint. And during the course of divination the doctor renews his patient's consciousness of his ancestral spirits. One or other of the *amadlozi* has been neglected, and the patient must placate this spirit if his misfortune is to be removed. There is a well-known Sotho *inyanga* in Pietersburg who specializes in restoring to urban Natives the *amadlozi* they have lost during a lengthy period of urban residence. This is an unusual case; but it clearly shows that religion and magic are not two separate and independent systems. They overlap, and at certain points of contact reinforce each other.

The belief in magic is a great obstacle to progress, and the Native doctor, conscious that his very existence depends on the continued belief in the old order, must perforce be a confirmed conservative. Yet his own training and belief could offer a sound basis for the upbuilding of a more scientific attitude. For, in addition to his belief in supernatural causation, he is taught to regard certain illness as being due to organic disorders. He is taught that certain foods and excessive eating are harmful. And many Native doctors have added not only a domino piece to their divining apparatus, but European patent medicines such as aspirin, quinine, cascara, and castor oil to their stock-in-trade of medicines. In urban life the doctor, beset by competitors both qualified and unqualified, has to exert himself to maintain a status inferior to that voluntarily accorded to him under tribal conditions. It is to the Native one further anomaly of urban life that the man regarded by his own people as the repository of the accumulated wisdom and learning of generations should be continually evading the White authorities in his practice of divination, looked upon by them as illicit.

The cure of illness is still the most important sphere of the *inyanga's* activity. The deep-rooted belief that illness can be deliberately caused by the *abathakathi* (sorcerers) is to a large extent responsible for the Native's preference for Native doctors. He maintains that European medicines are effective, far more so than Native medicines, in some illnesses; but that the European doctor is powerless to combat illnesses

due to "poisoning" by a wizard. The first step, which involves summoning an *inyanga*, is hence to ascertain the cause of the illness. In the event of a serious illness, it is extremely rare to find a Native so convinced of the skill of his own or of a European doctor that he will have the confidence to dispense with the services of either. Hence in most cases of this kind both a Native and a European doctor attend the patient, unbeknown to each other. But even if an *inyanga* has attended a case from the onset of the illness, a qualified medical practitioner is called in when the condition of the patient appears to become critical. This is due to the regulation that a death certificate, signed by a registered doctor, must be produced before the burial can take place. Failing this, the corpse is removed to the mortuary, against which eventuality the Native will do all in his power to protect himself.

There is no doubt that the confidence of the urban Native in European medical science is increasing. The accommodation at the Johannesburg non-European hospital, until recently more than adequate, is now sorely overtaxed. But in the Western Native Township, on the other hand, out of 2,314 householders only 125 avail themselves of the Municipal health service. The cost of this service is *6d.* per month, which entitles members to free consultations at the location offices, medicine at *1s.* per bottle, and doctor's home visits, for the first of which a charge of *1s.* is made while subsequent visits are free. The doctors attend the location twice weekly, and there are two resident nurses. That the doctor on many days is not called upon to attend a single patient in a location of 16,000 inhabitants shows the unpopularity of the service. In Orlando location, where the monthly subscription of *6d.* for medical services is compulsory, the position is no better. The failure of this scheme must in part be attributed to the distrust which many Municipal enterprises evoke in the Natives. It is a sad paradox that the urban population never ceases blaming the Municipality for its inertia, real or apparent, in providing better facilities in transport, in medical services, in housing; and yet treats any innovation on the part of the Municipality with the profoundest mistrust. A further reason why Natives have not taken more readily to European medicine lies in the fact that doctors are so frequently called in when the patient is already beyond all hope of recovery. Thus it is not surprising that Natives maintain that as soon as a European doctor is called in the patient dies. But the main reason why European medical service has not found a ready welcome among the Bantu seems to be that the psychological methods of a European

doctor differ so radically from those of a Native herbalist. The hard and seemingly callous efficiency of our European hospitals is a cold, even if scientific, substitute for the warm emotionalism of Native medicine.

Detribalization

The urban Native population is at present undergoing three processes: assimilation, urbanization, and detribalization. The foregoing review is, in essence, an account of the degree to which assimilation is taking place. We have seen that while Bantu material culture has succumbed almost entirely to European influences, assimilation in the sphere of spiritual culture follows tardily. European influences are making themselves strongly felt and are causing manifold innovations, but Bantu institutions and Bantu beliefs continue to survive.

The urban population embraces two main divisions: temporary town dwellers and permanent town dwellers. In the locations at Grahamstown and East London, as at Pretoria, these two divisions are now almost equal in size.[1] The rapid influx of Bantu women into the towns definitely indicates that the present trend is towards the creation of a more permanent urban Native population. But in Johannesburg at least this process has not yet created a population half of which may be regarded as permanently urbanized. Among 100 Rooiyard families, eighty-one were directly linked with a rural habitat in that some or all of the children lived in the country, or that either both parents or the wife and children returned to their rural homes when the yard was demolished in 1934. In the Western Native Township, where the average length of residence is said to be three years, this alternation of residence between town and country is likewise pronounced. This evidence, however, deals with a married populace, the majority of whose marriages were contracted in rural districts. It is from among the younger people that the permanent urban population will probably emerge. Children reared in a town find it their natural habitat and feel aliens in rural surroundings. There is also a young urban population of men and women who have come to the towns urged both by economic motives and by desire to escape from the discipline, attenuated though it is, of parental and tribal control. These young people have grown to despise their rural or "blanket" relatives, and will not voluntarily reintegrate themselves into their lives.

[1] Hunter, 1934, 338; Krige, 1936*b*, 2.

But despite the tendency towards more permanent urbanization and the pronounced absorption of European culture, we cannot speak of the urban Natives *en bloc* as " detribalized ". The loose popular use of this term has tended misleadingly to merge the meanings of detribalization and Europeanization. The criteria of detribalization may be defined as permanent residence in an area other than that of the Chief to whom a person would normally pay allegiance ; independence from rural relatives both for support during periods of ill-health and unemployment, or for the performance of ceremonies connected with the major crises of life ; complete severance of relations with the Chief ; and, finally, strength of identification with or dissociation from tribe and tribesmen—a criterion which is not concrete but a standard rather of feeling-tone and attitude.

That a great proportion of urban Natives do not reside permanently in an area other than that of their chief, and that they have not cut loose from the economic, ritual, and social bonds binding them to their rural relatives, has been illustrated throughout the course of this chapter. Complete detribalization cannot be attained while a man lives, wholly or partly, in the domain of his Chief ; nor while he returns periodically for help, ritual or rest to his rural relatives, who almost invariably draw him back into the orbit of tribal interests and loyalties and reinforce his feeling of identity with his fellow-tribesmen. Native Reserves, to quote Mrs. Krige's apt phrase, act as a " reservoir of tradition ".[1] Urban and rural Natives, by frequently visiting one another and more especially by intermarriage, maintain an interrelation acting as a brake on the processes of detribalization and Europeanization.

It is true that among the younger generation of permanent town dwellers many men have almost completely severed their relationship with their Chief. Nevertheless, they do recognize him as Chief, they all name their Chief without a moment's hesitation, and they will call on him as a mark of respect and allegiance should they visit their rural homes. In addition, many Chiefs periodically send one of their most trusted councillors, or even come themselves, to the larger urban centres where a number of tribesmen are known to be employed. These systematic visits ensure a continuous contact between subject and Chief.

But how have the urban Native's attitude towards tribal beliefs and customs, his sense of tribal loyalty, and the degree of his identification

[1] Krige, 1936*b*, 3.

with it been affected? It has often been suggested that the Native in urban surroundings, through his many contacts with Natives of other tribes and through perceiving more keenly the inequalities and restrictions he suffers in common with them, is tending to become a Bantu citizen, and not remain merely a tribesman with special loyalties. Urban life yields many instances of harmonious co-operation between members of different tribes in the most diverse activities. Economic organizations, such as the stockfair and *mohodisana*, are run by members of different tribes. Differences of tribal affiliation are no bar to common religious worship. In the locations there is no evidence of any tendency for members of different tribes to live segregated from one another. The members both of the Advisory Boards in the locations and of their opposition bodies, the Vigilance Committees, hail from different tribes; and the fact that the Boards do not in most cases exert much influence either internally on the population of the location or externally by affecting the policy of the Native Affairs Committee, cannot be ascribed in any way to their non-tribal composition. There are in the locations other organizations, as yet embryonic but promising to develop into the motive force of a consciously directed communal life, such as athletic associations, football clubs, a Probation Society, and a committee responsible for organizing annually a children's picnic, in which tribal bonds play no part whatsoever. In Johannesburg the Bantu Men's Social Centre, the meeting-place of educated Natives, consciously aims at eliminating tribal differences and to this end employs English as its language medium.

A constant undercurrent of strong tribal feeling nevertheless still persists. Common persecution and common suffering have not yet brought about a triumphant national solidarity, sweeping away all petty divisions. Instead, we believe, this widening of perspective and increase of extra-tribal contacts has created a Native with divided loyalties. He is becoming increasingly conscious of his unity with the Bantu people as a whole, but he has not yet emancipated himself from the feeling of aggressive pride in his own tribe. The mine Natives display their tribalism in its starkest form: scarcely a Monday passes when reports do not figure in the newspapers of week-end faction fights in the compounds. But the mine Native cannot be regarded as a typical product of urban environment. The mine authorities deliberately try to foster tribal exclusiveness, and it is not surprising that under the abnormal conditions of compound life the consequent

expression of tribal aggressiveness is excessive. But the proprietor of Inchcape Hall—a dance hall modelled entirely on European lines and patronized exclusively by the more assimilated type of urban Native—finds it necessary, to avoid outbreaks of tribal hostility, to assign different nights to different tribes. It is, however, in the everyday conversation of the family and in the everyday contacts of life, that the feeling of tribal solidarity is most evident. The customs of other tribes are referred to with contempt, and each man avers that sorcery is more prevalent in tribes other than his own. In Rooiyard fights between individuals, usually occasioned by competition for the favours of a woman, frequently developed into affrays where the original disputants were supported by members of their own tribe. Considerations of right and wrong were of no importance: tribal loyalty alone claimed support. Intermarriage is certainly tending to weaken the bonds of exclusive tribalism, and there is no doubt that urban residence is aiding in the elimination of intertribal mistrust and suspicion. But national consciousness is as yet a tender growth requiring careful nurture.

Despite many instances of small-scale attempts at co-operation, the life of the urban Native is essentially individualistic. In slum yards, hostels, and locations alike there is no central authority to mould the populace into an integrated and cohesive whole. The Advisory Boards, the nearest approach to such centralization, have not the necessary executive power to assert themselves. Domestic quarrels are frequently brought to them for adjudication, but the disputants are not bound to abide by their decisions. The European legal code applies penal sanctions to what are in reality civil offences. The natural outcome is that imprisonment, which means for the European extreme social disgrace, carries among the urban Natives very slight or no social stigma. Their own tribal sanctions cannot be adapted to meet the conditions of urban life. With the breakdown of their own religion, the ritual and religious sanctions are losing their force. The fluctuating nature of the urban population makes the building up of a stable social order a difficult and lengthy undertaking. But with the creation of a more permanent urban Native population with interests staked firmly in the one town, a more ordered existence must emerge. The Bantu are not a supine people.

What form this more ordered existence will eventually assume is extremely difficult to envisage. Urban Native life is subject to an enormous complexity of outside agencies and stimuli emanating from

the social, economic, legal, and religious institutions of a securely-established European culture. Passing reference has already been made to the influence of missionary bodies and of European economic and educational institutions. That the Communist Party programme makes a great, even if not permanent and unifying, appeal to the urban Native is not to be doubted. The influence of the Press, both European and Bantu, is inducing a more alert Native political consciousness. There are in existence numerous associations of Native herbalists continually engaged in raising funds to send delegations to interview Ministers and request the legalization of their status. Mission societies, by organizing women's clubs and circles, are introducing new forms of social integration. The Pathfinder and Wayfarer organizations provide forms of healthy co-operative recreation to divert the restless energy of undisciplined adolescents. Sports clubs provide new forms of organized recreation. The kaleidoscopic succession of concerts, meetings, and dances in location communal halls provides a valuable index of the direction, scope, and importance of communal activities. Some of these new forms of social, political, and economic enterprise, such as the Inchcape dance hall, the Gamma Sigma debating society or the more recently established co-operative trading stores, are directly based on European models. Others, such as Pathfinder and Wayfarer organizations and women's mission clubs, are directly dependent for survival on European initiative and leadership. The stockfair, Native separatist churches, the social functions arranged at communal halls, though perhaps inspired by a European pattern or responding to a new situation caused by contact with Western culture, are a co-ordination of Bantu and Western practice.

The full force and influence of all these outside agencies on urban Bantu culture has not yet been investigated to anything like an adequate extent. The absence of scientific data concerning them makes it necessary to refrain from any final conclusions. The available evidence suggests however that, despite the extent to which cultural absorption is undoubtedly taking place, Native culture is not being generally submerged by European culture. Bantu culture is undergoing readjustment and modification, but is not suffering a complete collapse. A synthesis, to use an apt expression of Z. K. Matthews,[1] of European and Native conceptions is emerging. If the European policy were one of absorption, results might be very different. But the European policy of using the cheap labour of the Native and of creating out of the

[1] "The Tribal Spirit among Educated South Africans," *Man*, xxxv (1935), art. 26.

Native population a market for the consumption of the products of European industry, while at the same time increasing all social barriers so that he is effectively excluded from the full circle of European life, is forcing the Native, in the struggle for survival, to re-build his own social existence on the foundations which are at hand.

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MUSIC

(Compiled by Percival R. Kirby)

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(Compiled by G. P. Lestrade and C. M. Doke)

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