

## Basarwa subordination among the BaKgatla: a case study in northwestern Kgatleng, circa 1920–1979

*Phanuel Richard*

*Most studies of the Tswana-Basarwa relations have focussed on the BaNgwato. This case study examines the Western Kgatleng, where a Kgatla family established itself in the Kgomodiatshaba area in the 1920s and 1930s. Initially relations with local Basarwa engaged in hunting and gathering were on terms of equality and mutual assistance, but the conversion of bush to cattle land gradually reduced the resource base for the Basarwa and they became dependent on working for the BaKgatla farmers.*

For most of his existence man has survived by hunting and gathering. Only in comparatively recent times has he changed his life. Thousands of years ago, 99 per cent of the world's population were hunters and gatherers. Today this figure is about 0.001 percent.<sup>1</sup> The Basarwa of Botswana are one of the peoples who make up the 0.001 percent figure. Basarwa are believed to have occupied the whole of Southern Africa in prehistoric times.<sup>2</sup> They were pushed into the drier areas by expanding Bantu speaking peoples who were organized into states and settled communities and who eventually occupied two thirds of Southern Africa.

According to the 1964 and 1971 censuses about 5 percent of Botswana's population, or about 30,000 people, are Basarwa.<sup>3</sup> Of this number, 4000 are found at Ghanzi ranches, 6,000 still hunt and gather, and the rest are found in Batswana villages and cattle posts. Silberbauer's Bushmen survey of 1965 reveals that Basarwa are sparsely distributed in Botswana, except the area south of the 24th parallel, nowhere else was the Basarwa population concentrated.<sup>4</sup> Admitting a 20 percent inaccuracy possibility, Silberbauer estimated the total Basarwa population to be 24,652. Of this number, 4,000 were in Ghanzi ranches either employed or as dependents, 6,000 gathered and hunted and 14,000 were in villages and cattle posts. The 1977 Location of San Survey shows that Basarwa are concentrated in pockets throughout the country. In the Okavango Delta Basarwa are found in settlements of as few as 30 people, 2,500 live in western Serowe and 5,000 in Ghanzi area, which has the largest Basarwa population.<sup>5</sup> In other districts in Botswana, Basarwa range in number from below a hundred to over a thousand.

In Kgatleng District Basarwa are found on cattle posts in Western parts of the District. Kgomodiatshaba, one of these cattle posts, has a dense Basarwa population of about 200 people.<sup>6</sup> In Western Kgatleng, Basarwa spill over into the Kweneng District. Little is known about Basarwa settlements elsewhere in the District. Except for Basarwa herders at cattle posts in the East and Central Kgatleng, it is doubtful whether any Basarwa live in their own settlements.

Their distribution in Kgatleng, as in the North East District, shows that Basarwa are found least in these areas of Botswana.

Oral tradition indicates that Basarwa have been in Western Kgatleng long before the 1920s. Western Kgatleng was a disputed area until 1899 when the Ngwato-Kwena-Kgatla border was delineated. Basarwa informants claim that their forebears were occupying this region well before the Bakgatla moved in. An old Mosarwa man in

Kgomodiatshaba still recalls how he would track down a bushbuck within the area, by chasing it until it was exhausted:—

O taboga mabelo a le motlhano wa motlhano le nngwe kemo sela fela a lapile.<sup>7</sup> (He runs for five laps, the sixth one—I just pick him up tired).<sup>8</sup>

Bakgatla say that Masarwe is one area where Basarwa were settled when Bakgatla arrived in the 1860s.<sup>9</sup>

Before Western Kgatlang had been colonised in the 1920s, Basarwa and Bakgatla elsewhere in Kgatlang had already come into contact, especially in the cattle posts in the east of the District. Linchwe's cattle, for instance, were looked after by the Basarwa, commonly referred to as *Bana ba Kgosi* ("the Chief's children"), who looked after his cattle in return for milk, daggas and meat.<sup>10</sup> The *Bana ba Kgosi* had no special privileges. They could not, for instance, own cattle. Similarly, Isang's cattle overseers and herdsman were sons of the *Bana ba Kgosi* of Linchwe. Isang used these Basarwa, together with sons of Bakgatla commoners, and he paid Basarwa with food and blankets.

Information related to early interaction between Basarwa and Bakgatla is scarce, but studies of other Tswana groups provide a much fuller picture of pre-1900 Tswana-Basarwa relations. Hitchcock shows how relations between Bangwato and Basarwa have passed through distinct phases.<sup>11</sup> In the 1860s Basarwa traded skins, ostrich shells, and beads from Bangwato for metal tools, tobacco and pottery. Sometime before 1900, Basarwa began to assist Bangwato in such duties as driving ox-wagons and herding. After 1900 Basarwa were incorporated into the Bangwato economy. As Bangwato expansion drove game from the area, Basarwa became dependent on the Bangwato and their cattle.

Attachment to Bangwato was accompanied by social and political change. Districts were divided into *dinaga* (grazing areas), each under the authority of a *modisa* (overseer). Headmen and overseers collected tribute from Basarwa and Bakgalagadi. In this manner, Basarwa became more sedentary around cattle posts.

Similarly Elizabeth Wily argues that through contact with the stronger and more aggressive economy of mixed agriculturists, the hunter-gatherer economy and culture are invariably destroyed.<sup>12</sup> Wily notes that hunter-gatherers survived only in the inaccessible areas, unsuited for agriculture and herding. This probably accounts for the small number of Basarwa (6,000) who still live from hunting and gathering.

The study of Tswana-Basarwa relations since 1900 has placed most emphasis on the Bangwato. In his report of 1931, Tagart observed that Basarwa were more or less like Bangwato serfs.<sup>13</sup> Sebolai argues that with the advent of European traders, the introduction of capitalist values and the increase in large-scale hunting resulted in Basarwa becoming completely dependent on the Bangwato who merged as a group with hereditary servants (*batlhanka*).<sup>14</sup>

For Basarwa elsewhere in Botswana, information is scanty, but points to increased subordination of Basarwa to Batswana groups. Schapera refers to Bakgalagadi serfs of Bngwaketse and Bakwena.<sup>15</sup> After 1900, Gaseitsiwe allowed Basarwa to sell their spoils rather than give them to him as tribute. This was a means of encouraging them to pay tax.<sup>16</sup> In 1888, Lury Captain, Officer Commanding of the Bechuanaland Border Police reported that Bakgalagadi people were complaining that all Barolong were demanding tribute from them instead of the chief only.<sup>17</sup> Silberbauer concluded that relations between Basarwa and Batswana were of clientage and patronage.<sup>18</sup>

In Western Kgatleng, relations between Bakgatla and Basarwa developed along lines similar to Tswana-Basarwa relations in other parts of Botswana. It is not clear as to which Basarwa ethnic group the Western Kgatleng Basarwa belong to, however it is likely that they could be of Masasi group.

Sebolai established that his Basarwa informants in the South West Bangwato area, were Masasi originating from Lephophe.<sup>19</sup> It is possible that the same group moved into Kgomodiatshaba, especially as the two settlements are only twelve kilometres apart. This possibility is strengthened by informants who for most part claimed that they were from Kwenemg District.<sup>20</sup>

Basarwa in Western Kgatleng claim they are indigenous people of Kgatleng area. Their tradition states that they used Kgomodiatshaba as a hunting ground before Bakgatla moved in with their cattle.<sup>21</sup>

Before Bakgatla penetrated the Kgomodiatshaba area, Basarwa production was typically communal. They gathered, hunted and continued to migrate in the process.<sup>22</sup> Their material culture included skins used as clothes, bows and arrows. Their arrow was unique. Its head was made out of stone, bone, wood, iron, porcupine quill or glass. The arrow head was poisoned at the edges. The poison was made from the larvae of beetles hosted by certain trees.<sup>23</sup> For the bow and arrows, flexible wood was essential. Hunting was predominantly men's work, while women concentrated on gathering wild fruits and roots, such as *morama* and *digwere*.<sup>24</sup>

The Bakgatla who occupied Kgomodiatshaba in the 1920s were part of the Bokalaka ward in Mochudi. The people of Bokalaka ward<sup>25</sup> are descended from Bakalanga immigrants into Kgatleng in the 1870s and who lived by producing maize, sorghum, nuts and dried melons and exchanging these locally for cattle. As they acquired cattle, their importance in Kgatleng increased. By 1920, Moswetse Kgakole of Bokalaka ward was made ward headman and represented the ward in Linchwe's kgotla. Before 1900, Moswetse's people pastured their cattle along the Limpopo river, but the spread of *mogau* (a poisonous succulent plant), cattle disease, droughts and the Boer threat made the Limpopo less desirable.<sup>26</sup> At the turn of the century Moswetse Kgakole, the founder of the presently dominant Kgakole family, asked Linchwe for permission to graze in Kgomodiatshaba. Moswetse's mophato had put up there for a night, long enough for Moswetse to recognise the area's potential.

His request to establish a cattle post in Kgomodiatshaba was granted. Occupation waited until the late 1920s because of the problem of water and the threat of lions<sup>27</sup>. The name Kgomodiatshaba (the cattle are running away) refers either to a situation caused by streams drying up or lions prowling in the area. Kgomodiatshaba, with scenery highly attractive to cattle owners, is characterised by rolling hills that except for a few open fields are covered by thick bush, open fields, woodlands and undergrazed grasses.

Between 1925 and 1939, the Kgakole family gradually established itself in Kgomodiatshaba.<sup>28</sup> Moswetse Kgakole dug the first well in Kgomodiatshaba in 1927, with sticks. At that time the Kgakole family had a little over two hundred cattle. Then Moswetse's sons, the herdboys of their father's stock in Eastern Kgatleng along the Limpopo, brought Moswetse's cattle over to Kgomodiatshaba. Because of the threat of lions, the Kgakole women did not join their menfolk. Moswetse's sons thus found themselves in large area of thick bush that was infested with lions. Only those with guns and dogs, knives and spears were safe. Women and young children remained at home in Mochudi. The Kgakole family did not lay firm control over the entire area at

once. Its extent was not actually known, and the presence of lions made it necessary for cattle to be kept together within close reach of the post kraal.

From their entry into the area, the Kgakole family used local Basarwa to assist them, as these knew the area well. Basarwa were also asked to assist in hunting. Motsisi Kgakole,<sup>29</sup> who was an adolescent in the 1920s, recalls how Basarwa helped to track a lion that had killed a cow. By moving stealthily through the bush, the Basarwa spotted the lion in an amazing manner. Basarwa identified animal prints in the bush and directed the Kgakoles to herds of kudu, buffalo, antelope and lion. Basarwa also provided the Kgakoles with medicine and some labour for opening wells and (to a limited extent) for herding cattle.

On their part, Basarwa regarded these Bakgatla of Kgomodiatshaba as a new source of food, water and material goods. On hunting expeditions, Basarwa shared equally in the sizeable spoils, for which Kgatla guns were responsible. New Bakgatla wells were opened to Basarwa, who previously depended on water stored in ostrich eggs. From the Bakgatla, Basarwa obtained milk and meat, and in some instances they were rewarded with clothes, blankets and shoes.<sup>30</sup>

Animals skins were also exchanged between the two. Basarwa, in turn, introduced Bakgatla to eating such wild fruits a *morama* and to making khadi beer, a traditional Basarwa brew, from water, honey and wild berries.

It is proper to view early Basarwa-Bakgatla relations in terms of equality. Both peoples were dependent on each other. The Basarwa, who had depended on hunting with bows and arrows, were happy to join hunting parties with gun-toting Bakgatla. Conversely Bakgatla guns were the more effective because of game tracking skills of Basarwa and their willing assistance—digging wells, providing traditional medicine, selling skins and sharing hunting spoils, and remuneration for the rest—was not a form of compensation, but rather an equal sharing of labour and resources. Olemetse, an old Mosarwa recalls that "During the early days, we could hunt together, there was much wildlife. I stayed with Keitseng when he first started his cattle post, he never paid me because I was just helping him."<sup>31</sup>

In spite of their economic co-operation as equals, Kgakole's people regarded the Basarwa as an inferior people. The Basarwa were economically self-sufficient, however, and were not easily victimized.

They would call us Basarwa,<sup>32</sup> but this didn't bother us because we were living on our own, hunting and gathering, and finding something to live on.<sup>33</sup>

Although initially on equal basis, economic relations between Bakgatla and Basarwa soon operated at the expense of the latter. The animals shot in abundance by Kgatla guns diminished the Basarwa's principal food source, and Bakgatla cattle grazed and trampled wild fruits and berries gathered by Basarwa. As Bakgatla hunted with help from Basarwa, and increased their herds through rich grazing, game and gatherable foods began to disappear in the Kgomodiatshaba area, thus weakening the traditional Basarwa economy.

Between 1940 and 1960, the cattle based economy of the Bakgatla in Kgomodiatshaba weakened the Basarwa reliance on hunting and gathering and turned them into clients. Continuing a process that began in the late 1920s, the Bakgatla and their guns transformed the Kgomodiatshaba area by removing the threat of lions, and securing it for cattle and depleting game herds they shot for meat.

Aside from taking a high toll among the game population, guns frightened animals from the area and beyond the reach of Basarwa hunters. Ostrich eggs, which had enabled Basarwa to trap summer rains, became scarce as the Kgakole killed ostriches for feathers.

Unable to hunt, or to survive on gathering alone, the Basarwa had little choice but to herd, plough and do other work for the Bakgatla.<sup>34</sup> In so doing, such traditional Basarwa material culture as bows and arrows fell into disuse and gave way to "*lenyetse*", a long sharpened stick for spearing rodents in holes. During this period, Basarwa families began to appear at cattle posts offering their services, having no other alternative. Thus Basarwa became increasingly a ready pool of cheap labour for the Bakgatla. Basarwa men ploughed their patrons' fields; women scared off birds and harvested grain. Basarwa children were taken from their families and placed in Mochudi where they became servants in their master' houses. Basarwa girls did the cooking, washing and taking care of babies. Similarly Basarwa boys were turned into gardeners and drivers. As a result, Basarwa family units were dismantled, with authority coming from the cattle owners, who could use young Basarwa without reference to their parents.

The more the Basarwa depended on Bakgatla families for their livelihood, the less the Bakgatla felt obliged to reward them for their services. It appears that before 1950 the Bakgatla continued to give their Basarwa clients milk and clothes. In the 1950s however, monthly payments in cash were sometimes made, though never more than a pound and usually less. Cash payment was not a sign that Basarwa were becoming better off working as clients of the cattle owners, but that as herdsmen they were becoming poorer. The introduction of tractors and engine-driven borehole pumps reduced even more the demand for Basarwa labour, thereby increasing its survile status and job insecurity. Mmualefe<sup>35</sup> was driven out of work by a Mokgatla after having stayed with him for fifteen years. Basarwa children in Mochudi received only old clothes, food and shelter.

In contrast with their Basarwa clients, the local Bakgatla enjoyed continued economic prosperity. Availability of cheap Basarwa labour afforded freedom to their young men. They gave up herding and attended school. Some, on completion, joined the colonial administration and used their salaries to buy more cattle to be herded by Kgomodiatsaba Basarwa. The size of the family herd during this period multiplied five times. In 1936 when Moswetse Kgakole<sup>36</sup> died the Kgakole family had about 400 cattle which were divided among his five sons. By 1960, the average herd size at five independent cattle posts was 400. After 1930, the adoption of a capitalist mode of agricultural production throughout Kgatlang is reflected by the fact that between 1940 and 1960 fields were brought into production in Kgomodiatsaba and that sizeable quantities of grain from Kgomodiatsaba were marketed in Mochudi. In this manner, the Kgakole family acquired control of land in Kgomodiatsaba and emerged as a family of landlords. Crop cultivation was done by Basarwa. In the 1950s Bakgatla women used to go to the cattle posts to supervise in ploughing, and harvesting. Women would stay in Kgomodiatsaba in summer through autumn, and go back in winter with bags of corn, biltong, skins, and all agriculture produce—nuts, cane and melons. These were numerous cattle as well, and the landowners increased their economic strength and were able to build large concrete houses for themselves in Mochudi.<sup>37</sup>

By 1960 Basarwa were trapped in an economic situation from which escape was nearly impossible. They were poor and at the mercy of cattle owners. Their helplessness exposed them to all sorts of abuse. Basarwa girls found themselves

bearing children with their masters. No Mosarwa dared mention that her child was half Mokgatla. Taking sexual liberties was what Rramatiki, a Mokgatla of Morwa, calls "Go ja mmutla wa dintsa tsa gago."<sup>38</sup> (Eating one's dog's food) Tshekiso, a Mosarwa man, says "Our masters could have children by our daughters, in some cases, our wives. This is never mentioned for fear that we would be driven away and suffer from hunger."<sup>39</sup>

Basarwa girls in Mochudi also found themselves bearing illegitimate children. Motsisi Kgakole states that in the early days of contact this was unheard of. In the 1940s, when Basarwa women began to wear western type of clothes, however, Bakgatla provided for Basarwa children they had fathered. Some were taken to Mochudi, where they became drivers or were sent to school.

Thus, by 1960, Basarwa independence was completely lost. All directives came from their masters. Basarwa could be called upon to milk cows, drive them to markets or any other similar duty. Bakgatla did not resort to beating or scolding Basarwa who refused to work or slacked on the job—they had only to refuse them food.

It was also rare that Basarwa could refuse to perform duties assigned to them, as this would mean immediate dismissal, and immediate replacement by others. Examples of dismissal include cases where a Mosarwa might leave cattle on his own mission for a day, only to find that on his return somebody else had taken his duties. This increased the number of Basarwa who were unemployed and who found themselves without any source of livelihood. In this regard, the years after independence became characterised by government attempt to solve Basarwa poverty.

After 1960, the landlords abandoned their colonial government posts and joined national political parties.<sup>40</sup> At present all are members of the ruling Botswana Democratic Party. They became District Councillors and Land Board Officials and took part in what became known as "Remote Area Dweller" programmes of development. Thus the local Bakgatla have acquired an official role in the administration of their own territory. In the 1960s the Kgakoles took part in District Council planning for the development of the rural areas and advocated improved water facilities and relief programmes for their Basarwa servants.<sup>41</sup>

In the post-independence period, the Bakgatla of Kgomodiatsheba acquired even greater wealth. The number of cattle increased, and new breeds such as the Afrikander, Hereford and Brahman were introduced at the cattle posts.<sup>42</sup> As a result these Bakgatla have become economically powerful, building large houses in Mochudi and participating in National Agricultural shows. In 1974, Charles Kgakole won the National Stock Breeding Medal. Their fields became highly mechanised with planners, harrows, tractors and fertilizers.<sup>43</sup> Their cattle posts became commercial enterprises. Herding as well as farming became increasingly capital-intensive, making fewer Basarwa hands necessary.

As of the 1960s, Basarwa were being paid in cash for the most part. Salaries for those still working as herders ranged from the equivalent of one to two pula per month. The Basarwa who assisted in ploughing were paid with bags of crops. For the rest there was under-employment, working part time on such duties as uprooting trees in fields, collecting thatching grass and scaring birds. These went around from cattle-post to cattle-post in search of any job in order to get enough to eat.

Thus since independence Basarwa have not experienced any improvement in their economic status. If anything their position has become worse. Other than working for cattle owners, the only way of living open to Basarwa is to continue gathering scarce wild fruits. Basarwa cannot plough because they do not have land. Similarly Basarwa

do not have easy access to the boreholes. In the rare instances when he acquired a head or two of cattle, a Mosarwa would be forced to sell them because Bakgatla refused them use of water.<sup>44</sup>

In August 1979, Kgomodiatshaba was characterised by Basarwa settlements around cattle posts. These settlements were occupied usually by old people, children and mothers of small babies. Economic strains have forced young men and women to leave the area seeking jobs in Mochudi and other village areas. In the process family organisation has weakened because fathers have been unable to maintain their families. Basarwa have attempted to supplement their meagre incomes by making such handicrafts as mortars, baskets, chairs and carved decorative works.<sup>45</sup> In some instances, Bakgatla pay their Basarwa workers by paying their taxes, buying them new clothes and giving them food. Cattle owners also make cash payments to servants, but the Basarwa are forced to buy from their employers, who bring all the necessary goods to cattle posts.

Since 1970, the Basarwa in Kgomodiatshaba have suffered from malnutrition and other forms of misery created by exploitation. Small children often have to subsist on wild fruits, while their mothers run the risk of starving. It is common for members of an entire family to wake up in the morning without knowing whether they will eat that day. During my research at a cattle post, families came to the owner begging for mercy. Wily observes that after school and during holidays, Basarwa children can be seen working in Bakgatla's fields.<sup>46</sup>

Basarwa dependency on the cattle owners has been made even more acute by the continued influx of Basarwa from Kweneng District. Most Basarwa believe that Bakwena are ruthless, giving this as the reason why they moved east. Most Basarwa in Kgomodiatshaba left the Kweneng District after 1960, with immigration continuing into the 1970s. Recently migration has been increased by drought in North Eastern Kweneng region, an area which in 1979<sup>47</sup> was considered to have ended drought stage two. Some Basarwa have entered Kgomodiatshaba from the Central District, and in this process worsened conditions that were already unfavourable—complete dependency, sometimes abated by hunting. Even though animals are scarce, government prohibition of unguided hunting has further limited this resource.<sup>48</sup> Generally, however, Basarwa not occupied in any form of work gravitate to a cattle post where one of their relatives is working, sharing with him his income in whatever form—lunch, money, meat or milk.

The history of relations between Bakgatla and Basarwa has parallels elsewhere in Botswana. Early Basarwa-Batswana relations were usually peaceful, characterised by Basarwa providing such things as ivory and ostrich feathers to Batswana. With the increase in human and tame animal population, more of the land that the Basarwa used as hunting ground was apportioned for grazing and cultivation. Basarwa had thus to subsist as herders of Batswana cattle. Hitchcock also analyses Basarwa-Tswana relations as reaching a final stage wherein Basarwa are dependents of Batswana cattle owners. As early as 1930, it was clear that Basarwa were becoming poorer because of their relations with Batswana. Since that time, Government officials have constantly expressed concern for the fate of the Basarwa. Tagart regarded Basarwa servility as the result of their failure to demand higher wages. Silberbauer had suggested protecting the hunter-gatherer economy in Central Kalahari Game Reserve by drilling a total of fifteen boreholes. In Kgomodiatshaba, however, Basarwa have experienced government intervention only after independence in the form of relief programmed and National Sarwa Policy.

Up to 1974, Government Policy was concerned with paying Basarwa as poor people. In 1974, government discovered that not only Basarwa were poor, and non-Basarwa began to receive government relief.<sup>49</sup> As indicated earlier, the Kgakoles were in fact encouraging Government Relief Fund. However the Kgomodiatshaba cattle owners were able to use this to their advantage. To the Basarwa, food donation was not from the government as such, but from an agent lured through the sympathy of the Kgakoles for the Basarwa. According to the Rural Development Officer, from a government perspective, the school has to provide a means of gradually changing Basarwa and, make them realize the importance of education. Those who will go through the school would become an example for the rest to imitate. On their part, cattle owners see advantages in having an educated workforce. Charles Kgakole observed that "We want Basarwa children to know how to read and write so that they can be able to read the relevant doses when cattle are sick."<sup>50</sup>

Although government is attempting to improve Basarwa conditions in Kgomodiatshaba, it is clear that is not going to be easy. For instance the government is encouraging Basarwa to start arable farming, with the objective of providing them with implements. But the problem is land. Although they have fields in Kgomodiatshaba, Bakgatla of Kgomodiatshaba argue that Kgomodiatshaba is a cattle post area and may not be apportioned for arable farming. As a result Basarwa have continued to rely on the Relief Programme for foodstuffs, clothing and schooling for their children.

But in some instances even the relief programme has been turned by cattle owners to their advantage, with Basarwa receiving the relief in the form of payment for services. It is clear then that in Kgomodiatshaba the subordination of Basarwa and their subsequent economic dependence are the result of environmental factors and a rapidly changing economy and technological advance. Although societies are capable of change, the impact of herding on Basarwa economy has been so sudden that Basarwa have had insufficient time to adjust. Similarly, in their relations with the Basarwa, the Batswana have consistently taken advantage of these vulnerable hunting and gathering people and have found numerous means with which to oppress Basarwa to further their own economic interests.

## Notes

The late Phanel Richard completed this essay in 1980. It was supervised by Fred Morton. Some reference to individuals included in the original essay have been removed.

<sup>1</sup> L. Wily: "Official Policy Towards San (Bushman) Hunter Gatherers in Modern Botswana: 1966-1978" (Gaborone: National Institute of Development and Cultural Research, 1979) p.1

<sup>2</sup> S. Johnston: "The Distribution and Characteristics of the Bantu Languages" in Robert O. Collins (ed.), *Problems in African History*. (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1968) p.63

<sup>3</sup> M. Russell: "Relations between Bushmen, Tswana and Boers in the Kgalahari" *Journal of Southern African Studies* 2, 2 (1976), p.180

<sup>4</sup> G.B. Silberbauer: Report to the Government of Bechuanaland on the Bushmen Survey, (Gaborone: Bechuanaland Government, 1965), p.13

<sup>5</sup> L. Wily: "Official Policy Towards San" p.6

<sup>6</sup> V. Caye and S.R. Koitsiwe: "Report on a survey of Basarwa in Western Kgatlang"

<sup>7</sup> Basarwa tend to personalize animals—thus the quotation sounds as if the bushbuck is a person.

<sup>8</sup> Kgomodiatshaba interviews, Nwenee' (ca. 100 years.), Traditional doctor (Kgomodiatshaba) 14 July 1979

<sup>9</sup> Interview with Selogwe Pilne, 78 yrs, Kgabo-totem, Masiana-ward, farmer, 30 July 1979 (as recorded by R.F. Morton).



- <sup>10</sup> Interview with Leitsholo Leitsholo, Kgabo-totem, Makgopane-ward, Mochudi, Farmer, Lechama-regiment 19 Aug 1979 (as recorded by R.F. Morton)
- <sup>11</sup> R.K. Hitchcock: "Socio-economic change among the Basarwa in Botswana: An Ethnohistoric Perspective" (U.B.S. Department of History 1979)
- <sup>12</sup> Elizabeth Wily, "A brief historical perspective on Bushmen in Botswana", 1 Dec 1975, typescript, 5pp, University of Botswana Library (catalogued as "The Bushmen: A brief historical perspective").
- <sup>13</sup> Botswana National Archives, Gaborone (hereafter B.N.A.), 5204/8 *Masarwa Commission Report by E.S.B. Tagart on Masarwa and Corporal Punishment in Bamangwato Reserve, 1931*
- <sup>14</sup> M. Sebolai: "A History of the Socio-political changes in the Condition of the Masarwa (Bushmen) in the Bamangwato Reserve c. 1700-1940" (U.B.S. B.A. Dissertation 1978) p.1
- <sup>15</sup> I. Schapera, *Tribal Innovators: Tswana Chiefs and Social Change, 1795-1940* (New York: Athlone Press, 1970) p.88
- <sup>16</sup> *Ibid.* p. 90.
- <sup>17</sup> BNA HC 18/13, J.H. Lury to Administrator, British Bechuanaland, 27 Jan. 1888.
- <sup>18</sup> Silberbauer, "Bushmen Survey" p.127
- <sup>19</sup> Sebolai: "A History of the Socio-political changes in the Condition of the Masarwa", p.9
- <sup>20</sup> Most Basarwa confuse Kgatleng and Kweneng, as they seem not to recognise the District Bounary.
- <sup>21</sup> Kgomodiatshaba interviews, No. 1: Ncwenee 14 Aug 1979
- <sup>22</sup> Most Basarwa and Bakgatla informants agree on this assertion.
- <sup>23</sup> B.V. Rippen: "Notes on Bushman Implements" v.3 (Lancaster: American Anthropological Association 1918) p.82
- <sup>24</sup> Mochudi interviews, Motsisi Kgakole, (75 yrs) Bokalaka Ward, Mochudi, Kgabo-totem, farmer 25 July 1979
- <sup>25</sup> Mochudi interviews, Letsebe Kgakole, (c.a. 55 years) Bokalaka-ward, Mochudi, Kgabo-totem, farmer, 18 July 1979
- <sup>26</sup> Mochudi interviews, Ranko Rramotswetla (c.a. 66 yrs) kupe-totem, Mosanteng-ward, Mochudi, Traditional Doctor 24 July 1979
- <sup>27</sup> Mochudi interviews, Motsisi Kgakole
- <sup>28</sup> Most Basarwa informants are agreed on this point
- <sup>29</sup> Kgomodiatshaba interviews, Rramutlwa Tshekiso (60 yrs) Kgomodiatshaba 15 Aug 1979
- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid*
- <sup>31</sup> Kgomodiatshaba interviews, Olemetse mmualefe (70 yrs) Kgomodiatshaba, 15 Aug 1979
- <sup>32</sup> Editor's note: probably this should read *Masarwa*, the traditional and less polite form of the word.
- <sup>33</sup> Mochudi interviews, Esther Kgakole (50 yrs) Kgabo-totem, Bokalaka ward, Mochudi 22 July 1979
- <sup>34</sup> Mochudi interviews, Ruth Kgakolr, (58 yrs) Kgabo-totem, Bokalaka ward, Mochudi 22 July 1979
- <sup>35</sup> Kgomodiatshaba interviews, Olemetse Mmuualefe
- <sup>36</sup> Mochudi interviews, Esther Kgakole
- <sup>37</sup> Mochudi interviews, Motsisi Kgakole.
- <sup>38</sup> Morwa interviews, Moeti Rramatik, Leduma-regiment, Kgabo-totem, ward-Morwa, farmer, 7 Aug 1979
- <sup>39</sup> Kgomodiatshaba interviews, Charles Kgakole
- <sup>40</sup> Mochudi interviews, Chrles Kgakole, (58 yrs) Kgabo-totem, Bokalaka ward, Mochudi Council Officer, 20 July 1979
- <sup>41</sup> Mochudi interviews, Morakanyane, (27 yrs) Phoho-totem, Madumeng ward, Mochudi Council Officer, 20 July 1979
- <sup>42</sup> Kgomodiatshaba interviews, Charles Kgakole
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid*

- <sup>44</sup> Kgomodiatshaba interviews, Mokotedi Tselapedi (70 yrs) Kwena-toem Kgomodiatshaba, herdsman 15-8-79
- <sup>45</sup> Kgomodiatshaba interviews, Kengadile Reetsang (ca. 70 yrs) Kwena-totem Kgomodiatshaba, traditional doctor, 15-8-79
- <sup>46</sup> Mochudi interviews, "Morakanyane"
- <sup>47</sup> V. Cage and S.R. Koitsiwe: "Report on a survey of Basarwa in Western Kgatleng."
- <sup>48</sup> Mochudi interviews, Morakanyane
- <sup>49</sup> Kgomodiatshaba interviews, Tswaiwa Lucky tau-totem, Kgomodiatshaba, herdsman 15 Aug 1979
- <sup>50</sup> Mochudi interviews, Charles Kgakole

## References

### Oral sources

#### *Mochudi interviews:*

1. Charles Kgakole, (58 yrs), Kgabo totem, Bokalaka ward, Mochudi, Councillor 22 July 1979
2. Keitseng Kgakole, (ca. 79 yrs) Kgabo totem, Bokalaka ward, Mochudi, headman, 5 Aug 1979
3. Letsebe Kgakole, (ca. 55 yrs) Bokalaka ward, Mochudi, Councillor, 25 July 1979
4. Motsisi Kgakole (75 yrs) Bokalaka ward, Mochudi, Councillor, 25 Aug 1979
5. Ruth Kgakole (58 yrs) Kgabo totem, Bokalaka ward, Mochudi, 22 Aug 1979
6. Esther Kgakole (49 yrs) Kgabo totem, Bokalaka ward, Mochudi, Housewife, 22 Aug 1979
7. Kgweefane Kgweefane, Leduma regiment, Kgabo totem, Magwadi ward, Mochudi, 9 Aug 1979
8. Serufe Moloi, (59 yrs), Kwena totem, Madibane ward, Mochudi, Housewife, 23 July 1979
9. Sebotsanyang Moroke, Legata refiment, Khupe totem, Mosanteng ward, Mochudi, Housewife, 20 July 1979
10. Rranko Ramotswetla, (66 yrs), Khupe totem, Mosanteng ward Mochudi, Traditional Doctor, 24 July 1979
11. Mmoga Tladi, (66 yrs), Kolobe totem, Manamakgotla ward, Mochudi, 12 July 1979

#### *Kgomodiatshaba interviews:*

1. Bantse Kagiso, (40 yrs), Kgabo totem, Kgomodiatshaba, Herdsman, 15 Aug 1979
2. Kalagokeng Kelapile, (65 yrs) Kwena totem, Kgomodiatshab, Herdsman 14 Aug 1979
3. Kegopotswe Jaagole, (70 yrs) Kwena totem, Kgomodiatshaba, Herdsman, 16 Aug 1979
4. Khana Mmamoswaanyane, (65 yrs) Kgabo totem, Kgomodiatshaba, 15 Aug 1979
5. Khana Kailo, (70 yrs) Kwena totem, Kgomodiatshaba, Herdsman, 15 Aug 1979
6. Lucky Tswaiwa, (c.a. 79 yrs), tau totem, Kgomodiatshaba, 15 Aug 1979
7. Mmualefe Olemetse, (c.a. 30 yrs), tlou totem, Kgomodiatshaba, 15 Aug 1979
8. Nncwenee' (90 yrs) tau totem, Kgomodiatshaba, Traditional Doctor, 14 Aug 1979
9. Rrachabaesele Ontametse, (65 yrs), Kwena totem, Kgomodiatshaba, 15 Aug 1979
10. Rretsang Kengadile, (70 yrs) Kwena totem, Kgomodiatshaba, 15 Aug 1979
11. Tshekiso Rramorutwa (60 yrs), Kwena totem, Kgomodiatshaba, 15 Aug 1979

#### *Morwa interview:*

Rramatiki Moeti, Leduma regiment, Kgabo totem, Morwa ward 7 July 1979