

And today I cleaned the tent and
reorganized the medicines and did not
feel goo: u's brother whose voice it was
how I feel. Instead I was busy. I
gave people Tobaccos. Oh!

Elizabeth and I talked at supper about
why Bushmen don't make pots. If we
know that we would know what is important
to know. They trade for pots. They could
ask how they are made. They have clay
here at Cholana and at guelsha. The
children play with clay. Tsam qao - Igase
have made clay wheels for their autos.

Elizabeth and I think that
Bushmen do not want to stand out.
They do not want to take leadership - for
2 reasons. 1) They know so well what it
involves they shrink from it. 2) They do
not want to remove themselves from their
fellows to the degree that leadership
would remove them. That is because, we
think, their world is so very small.

The veld is not vast to them. It is very vast
 to people who come to it from the great
 world who know from reading books that it
 is vast. It is never seen as vast. One sees
 the bush ~~one~~ is standing beside and a
 few feet beyond. There is nothing in
 Bushman life to give them the concept of
 bigness. Home, security, everything that
 makes life for them is the being close
 together in a little ~~way~~ with ~~them~~ a few
 feet apart. There is no scope. No variety.
 no place to go & be away from others. They
 are fused together and their life depends
 on that. In the largeness and variety

of our lives ~~one~~ can be different from
 many and still have a nucleus & a place
 to go to such retreat.
 The Bushman have not such change.
 They draw together. They fear the strange.
 There is no incentive to be different.

~~+~~ Tuma has been behaving in such
 a way as to throw light on this - 21st
 + 22nd. Here he is head man. He
 knows we would give him anything he

wanted. We have offered much. He refuses. He says he does not want us to give him pants or shirts. He takes less food - less sugar less tobacco than the others, saying he still has some, ~~he~~ has enough. We follow his every wish to the best of our understanding. I have been thinking about this. He has dignity and integrity. He does not want to beg for this, and always asks for hand outs, as he sees others do. (He has said twice he would think less of Bushman than he used

to.)

1) When Fred grabbed \$100) clustered around the load of maulbeets.

2) When we did more than any Bushmen to care for the sick during the epidemic

I've been attributing his behavior to dignity. That is there, certainly, but I wonder now, if he does not want not particularly as headman - to have more - because people would be jealous of him and be against him for that very reason of his having more. Fred could think all

Manner of things. That he sold information
for things - that he sold his soul to
the devil. He is intellectual enough to
think this consciously (some thing is
inside my shirt walking about.)
was bitten by a scorpion two days ago.
Found another by me in the bath
towel this morning. The creature in my
shirt seems smaller.) whereas as other
act on the impulse of just wanting
some thing they see.

I wish I could talk to Fuma
in his own language. Oh!
Anyway I think that is why
Bushmen do not make pot.

Let see if I can stay awake & say
more about the dance.

! Nani, a solemn broad faced young
man had one of the most frenzied
suzures we have yet seen. He had
been given Medicine recently. This was
the first time it had operated in him.
It was something to see - how the whole
dance reached a fever. It had been
exhilarated before. The other medicine
men were imbued with the strength
of the new medicine. They all went
into frenzy. ! Nani shuddered, sweated,
ran about, fell into the fire, backed
over the circle of women, fell into
them, for an hour. One other young
man Dan, was like Gao says. He
had his arms around ! Nani's waist &
clung to him being half dragged by
! Nani, his face pressed against ; Nani's
back. The two were like a strange creature
with four legs, four arms and two heads.

Debe, qigae's brother is a Medicine Man too. He made low funny grunts. We ⁹ even find out why.

qigae did not come. The dance was Qao's (Bi's bw) who is a medicine man. He gave the dance to cure #Tuma. He worked over him assiduously. He is a small man, weirdly like a Non-Man faun perhaps. with his pants he got from #Tuma hung on behind his a big tail.

Cleophas, 9 feet one, feet he was there to protect us. He had never seen a Bushman dance. If I moved around in the shadows, to better see who was in there - he came too.

Fedimo did better at telling me what was said, I still had to ask every time but I got this information - piecemeal. Qao who before! Nani burst into spectacular hancs (These words don't go together Gil say fence) was the leader. Sang li songs, tuckering in sentences as Ogden Nash

! Go ms. ws

Tōn ms

! qo is used for kin ms. ws. from affine
men for wife's sister husband ms.

Wicks things into a metric line.

We said over and over, There are strangers here. The song would go in and at intervals these words would be squeezed into the beat. There are strangers here. There are strangers in our country. Then he said Bring dagga that we may smoke. Have IQui bring dagga. (There is no IQui in the group) He said

Hung about "Tsamgao" and Johna that they were among hung that whirr. About then the hyena howled so near as it broke my hair, I thought.

Next day Tuna would not have his temperature taken, nor have any medicine.

He said he still had 2 pills - the Alatrin he was supposed to take yesterday!

After the dance he went away for a day.

Danced Sun Honey Mamba giraffe Eland.

Gao + others complained that the girls did not sing well. The girls said they wanted to go to sleep. Qui said no, they were to sing all night. But we were done at 3. and our crowd came with us.

Sat Feb 21-

398 408

Elizabeth and I are troubled with a lion. It keeps us awake. We are very funny, sitting in the dark, smoking, figuring what we would do. The pistol is in the file, filed under P. Eli. says. We think we would like to have fire wood to start up - in case - so we could burn fire brands as the Bushmen say they do.

Toma is still sick - going about Feb 20 and 21

ordinary day. I cleaned the Medicine boxes. Feet good. Zuma's breast is a worry to me. I wish there were some miraculous way to heal it - as she asked me to do.

In the evening the Bushman ~~two~~ boys came to the tent at 5:30 saying there was going to be a dance across the Omaramba. They asked us to go and wanted to borrow a flash light. We gave them flash light & off they went. The young bloods, Tsangas dressed up in an undershirt. We talked over going. It was already almost 10. Eli didn't want to go. The jeep was immobile, he didn't want to go. Dodge slanted wouldn't work. There was a storm brewing. And there was the lion. We finally decided not to - when the rain actually began. # Toma insisted that he was going - to be cured. Igiffie said he was going hunting next day and wanted to dance to bring him luck. Nevertheless when it began to rain hard, he tucked in with Toma and Neither of them went. We went to bed but not to sleep. The lion began & roar just up the Omaramba. We worried about the boys for fear they wouldn't hear it at the dance and would start home. We got up & went in

Sat Feb 9th 408

To + Roma. He had decided not to go but said the
boys would stay there all night. However zigzag +
another man went home then, across the mountains
in the darkness. Undeterred by the lion. We went
back to bed. Got + sleep at some point.

Then I heard voices then a truck. I thought
it was the 2 day overdue convoy and hurried up
head in the pillow till the truck turned
onto the camp road. There were Lawrence and
John and Gari at 5:30 AM.

They had been on the road since Tuesday.

They had been on the road since Tuesday.
South West is in flood. Every dip in the road
is a river. They had been stuck in two then.
burned out a clutch. Slept in the truck - a little -
in the pouring rain waiting for dawn. John's
in the Appkaaner who tried the river -
slope of the Appkaaner who tried the river -
an ordinary car - but now. Went into a hole -
could not get out even with John's help -
tied his car to a tree on the bank with
a rope. + also waited till dawn - you
should write.

Out of Grootefontein they were all right till
they got to the flat this side of Karakawie -
they except for having to take off a break before
Narpar. The truck had been so deep in the
river where they stuck they had had to wait
half a day to get the inside cleaned out.

409
410

It was clogged with silt & grass. But one break had been overlooked & burned out by Duregas. At Rurakawina they had to get natives to push & shovel four times.

They were exhausted. John slept till five Salindeg afternoon. Then we talked till mid night - about the trip from Wind Rock, the trip home the friends & the film. The film evidently is not too bad. John is wonderful. We are so happy to be reunited it was like home coming. There were wonderful letters from Nana Reeb, Maude Mayo alias Ellis ^{To Nina}, and some Christmas card. The news of Robert's appointment to Hancock Professor is the best. Happening the moment concert was over I want to do nothing but write everyone.

Sunday Feb 2nd

We talked and poked around most of the day & worked on kim tums some. At night there was a dance here. No ceremony or carrying. No dances, just a social dance and very nice. I listened just to the music very carefully, tried to take notes of the rhythm. To bed at 3. Oh Zuma's breast. We milked her with the snake bite pump. Had a harrowing time. I am so worried about her. Her poor baby Debe put up a terrific fight at first. Now he is subdued and hischia.

409A
410A

Feb 22

We talked all day long. Lawrence and John had slept the whole of the day before. They had had only a few hours sleep on the whole trip through the floods. John is wonderful. His account of leaving home and seeing all "our people" he calls our friends made me feel near.

In the evening Igigae asked to have a ~~curing~~ dance here ~~that~~ people + Toma + other ~~might~~ because some people were going away the next day. It was a pleasant dance. No curing ceremony took place. I tried to take notes on the rhythm. Our sound equipment is out of order.

Monday Feb 23

Zuma's breast is a little better. Khollo's has recovered.
Did not get a lot done. Every one sleeps. Worked
with Lechner on names - spelling - click.

We think there are 7 clicks. At least
we do not know why 4 are recorded and the
other three sounds are not called clicks.

Ely. is taking Porteus Maze Tests. Gets

good results which disprove Dr. Porteus
finding of lowest racial group recordings. He
took tests of 25 Kalahari Bushmen, he
said the only ones he could find in
40000 miles. Ely. says she is going to
publish her stuff saying she took ~~tests~~^{tests}

200 tests Bushmen, the only ones that were in our
camp that day.

We are beginning to plan the return in.
Laurene wants to stay &
to stay till August. John wants to stay &
Deborah. He wants us to take a trip to Rumbel
first. John will stay here. Ely. & I want
to go. Though we are torn about taking this
much time away from our daily grind.

Oleavango Trip

Tues Mar 10

412

We started at 11 A.M. John and #Toma had shot a buck the evening before and tracked it Tues. morning but did not get it. John was disappointed not to have some meat for #Toma. The 2 game buck had lasted only 3 days. All the Bushmen had some given them by #Toma.

Elizabeth and I were in dresses. We hesitated about it. Fauree encouraged us to wear them. It was odd travellings in a dress & stockings.

We took Philip Gami & George with us. Fodine came along as far as his home at Nau Nau & then a few days vacation there. We were glad to have him away from camp during our absence.

We traveled to the turn where the Runter road branches from the W.N.L.A. road, 30 miles before Nokaneng. It was late and raining. We decided not to go into Nokaneng to visit the Wrights but to push on. Made camp late in gentle rain. To bed about 12:30. Tiring day. The clew bodies because of grass seed in the radiator - every few miles. We stopped to brush it out.

Wed March 11

We reached Shakawe at noon. Mr. and Mrs. Randall greeted us cordially and settled us in Mr. Mathias house in his absence. We put our beds on the floor and were very comfortable. We enjoyed having lunch and dinner with the Randalls. They are fine people, and very easy and comfortable to visit. We sat over our sandwiches till almost 10. They dined. There was no strain or anxiety. Interesting easy conversation. Mr. Randall

413

assistant to Mr. Mathias who is ^{Bachuanaland} is the head W.N.T.A. for the area. He told us there used to be 10,000 Native laborers from Angola who passed through that station. Now there are only three thousand a year. he says due to Marshall aid opening Angola. Coffee plantations etc. take up the Angola labor now.

W.N.T.A. provides 300,000 laborers a year to the many Mang mines on the Rand. if that is what the long gold bearing reef is called.

He recruits from the Many tribes, along the river across the swamps. He takes people one from Bachuanaland and Angola. The Angola men walk here to volunteer. South West recruits its own labor within its boundaries. S.W.A.N.T.A. gives some to the mines.

Thursday March 12

We pushed on to Andara Mission. Father Frölicke Father Thurnysen and Sister Chrisantha welcomed us cordially. We had beer and cheese and bread and coffee, then went off to set up camp beside a water pole, in one of Mr. Morris' camps near Andara. We returned to dinner at the Mission. The Mission as a well built church made by Father Frölicke. He did the wood work, painted the arches, the windows and an altar piece himself.

Friday March 13.

Before lunch Father Frölicke took us on the river in his boat, a remarkable dugout which held us all comfortably with 3 old Natives to row. Father Frölicke says the young Natives don't know how to row.

415
414

We went among the islands and across to the other shore. This remarkable river spread out in channels among the islands, seeps through swamps, sometimes along this stretch it is a mile, sometimes three miles wide. At Rumbi it is narrow. Below Slikane much wider. We are told there are 10,000 square miles of swamp full of papyrus & reeds. It is in this swamp that the Okavango ends. Perhaps water goes underground. Much evaporates.

Father Föliel took us on to an island to walk around a rapid. It was the stronghold of the chief when the Mission was first founded. In honor of Mr. Morris and the Missions Eliot and I were in skirt - & I in stockings. Time to go through the old palm jungle we have been in in Nylons.

We saw the rapids where a woman was thrown in by the chief as punishment for stealing food from the chief. This was the last execution by Native law of the area. She swam with her shoulder, survived the rapids, to be eaten by a crocodile in the pool below.

Rudara Mission is rich with old world flavor. The men are German Benedictines. Father Föliel is German, a young father Thurnyessen is Dutch. They have brought their old world skills. The beer, the cheese, the ham, the bread and pastry were wonderfully good. Father Föliel has been a good agriculturalist. His ranges and other fruits are luscious. His field and beasts are well cared for. It all made me think of the Spanish Mission of 2 centuries ago.

Sat. March 14

414

415

We went on Friday and camped in our
the Morris camp just this side of Nyangani
Mission. The camp is high on the bank of the
river. Swamps stretch across the other side for
a few miles to the Angolan land of trees and shrubs.
For the first time we could see a great distance
^{across plain} Africa's vastness was visible, not only imagined.
We had a wonderful evening talking together
over sundowner and supper. just the youngster
France and I. We talked about books, remembering
Water Babies, the Wind in the Willows and such. John
says he will be glad to have children to read
them to, as we read them together a family.

Saturday March 14

In the morning we stopped for coffee at
Nyangani. Father Batson was there and the
old brother who had built their church
and old father S — . We had a very pleasant
conversation about cannibals. Father S. says there
are cannibals across the river who file their teeth
and ate human flesh for meat. Not ritual.
We doubt it. But he says he converted one of them
who confessed all. There were tales, too, of
witch doctors who kill children to provide a
soul to satisfy the gods in order to cure a patient
whose life will then be spared. And tale of
burying babies alive with their dead mother. One
of the priests pulled a baby out of a grave and brought
it to the Mission.

There were tales too of the founding of the
missions early in the century, Andara being the
first. On these days the fathers trekked across &
groot fontein by ox wagon, taking 2 months.

Once Father Goddard ^{an ox fall sick on the way out} who is now Bishop of South West Africa had a ~~sick~~ ox. He left it with a band of Bushmen near Kadum, telling them to care for it, and he would bring them tobacco on his return. Months later he returned. The Bushmen were waiting for him, the ox fat and meat and skin.

On the first expedition out, two stages were too returned. The ones who stages were a father and a lag brother. They both died. Their graves have never been disclosed by the Native.

With Nyangana Mission briefly, had refreshments with Father Schaeffer. On Saturday afternoon we arrived at Sambo ^{and Badzen} mission and spent the night there. Father Hartman ^{the great father is away. He is the one who lost an eye} when a bullet ricocheted when he was shooting a leopard that got into the boys' sleeping room. He also is the one who collects stones in pendants. His implements look very exciting, big earp ones as well as unton tiny ones. Stellar book I wonder, as the big one. They look chellean to me. The levels are not recorded. Sambo is the Mission of the wonderful Scoble leopoldine and father van Roosmalen & the beautiful brother with the big nose, the Nursing sister who looks like Saint Cecilia and the other vigorous old sisters. Staying over night with them is enough to convert one to Catholicism.

Sunday March 15 416
417

We went to Mass and attended the ceremony of the Stations of the cross. It was very moving to see that little church crowded to overflowing with the children of the mission and other parishioners. The singing was beautiful, in the native language. The mass was conducted too in the native language. We shall never forget Sister Leopoldine's Month when she was singing.

We left after lunch - having taken Paul camera pictures of the father & sister to their great pleasure. Gave \$10. to the Mission.

Arrived at Mr. Morris' about 5. Had bathes, dressed up. Sundowner on the lawn. a lovely dinner, talk over coffee and to bed in bed! in embroidered sheets from Finland.

Monday March 16

Attended Mr. Morris annual tribal meeting. There are 21 tribes in his area. 5 principal ones. The 5 chiefs (one is a chief ^{feminess} + women) sat on chairs before Mr. Morris, the tribesmen on the ground below. Over 300 were there.

I am not going to put down all we learned and thought about the Okavango. I'm not going to take the time. We like Mr. Morris very much. Think he has a tremendous and difficult job, sympathize with all his efforts.

Tuesday March 16

417

418

A witch doctor was tried. His case had been brought to the chief by a headman. The chief brought it to Mr. Morris. The witch doctor pleaded guilty. His punishment was to have his kit confiscated, and to be given six lashes with a whip. The witch doctor did not seem very upset. He had not always been a witch doctor. He had been to Grootfontein to work and on his return had traded an overcoat & hat for the witch doctor equipment. It was a very poor kit, a boat and clay. When asked what each thing was for he would say to cure this & that - with the help of God Mr. Morris goes with him.

People arrived - Mr. Mathias & the W.N.T.A. Inspector ^{claims} Mr. Warren and a girl, Mrs. Miller among ~~several others~~ ^{claiming}. The girl wanted to come with Mr. Randall & others. They invited us to go to Gaulschia. We said no. They invited us to go on the barge from Sopopo to Sarong. We accepted & made plans. I. & John went off to see Father Cooper at Bungo Mission that p.m. so we could start early Wednesday.

Wednesday March 17.

Left the Morris. They have been very kind to us. It was pleasant to stay with them. Drove to Shikaua arrived about 9:30. Stayed with Mr. Mathias - C.J. or Old Man River.

Thursday March 18

The Barge left about 4:30 or 5 pm. We travelled till 6:30 then made camp on the bank. Can't take time to tell. It was very pleasant.

Friday March 19

Arrived Sarong before lunch. Fancied. Returned to Sopopo, arriving at dark. Camped there. It was all like being inside. Moving pictures.

Papercrocodiles, Conversation. Drinks. good food 418
g like Bechuanaland people. The W.N.C.A. people 419
at Shikara are very liberal - Mr. Mathias particularly
and Mr. & Mrs. Randall.

Saturday March 20

Long hair dog driving back to camp. Went to
Gomari to get a drive. Drive was sick. No go.
Arrived home about 8, too tired to eat a drink.
Elizabeth is sick.

Sunday March 21

Moremi's son's wife's younger sister Mousimata. There was a party in town, her coming out - which she liberally did after being confined in - but for 3 days. She was brought out by Makenna covered with a cloak which Makenna removes like unveiling a statue.

Some Huip is on Makenna's mind. Also on Moremi's. He talked a great deal about our friend Huip. How we seemed nice & friendly but he did not know what we were going to report to Mr. Morris. All whites stand together he said. He said he hoped we would not appoint his serving beer at the party. It was a custom he said, but since the white man's rule, the Native customs were almost all prohibited.

Monday March 22

Two babies, Debe, Zuma's son, and Debe Khwissa son are very ill. I am afraid they are going to die. I watched all day over them, getting medicine and liquids into them. Elizabeth is sick too.

Tuesday March 23. 410

I am in an agony of worry about the babies.

I write again on April 29. I do not keep up the diary - something has to go undone I can not do any more than I do. The choice I make seems at the time to be the most right. I will write what I remember of this interval.

The babies recovered. Now both are blooming. They can walk again and smile. I do not want to remember too vividly their being near death. I wonder if all babies die quietly. I never saw babies so ill as these. They had given up ^{they did not nurse.} They made no struggle, no cry or protest. They lay inert drifting away into death. We set up a hospital for them in the round hills, hoping Mr. Morris would come to see. Both mothers brought their babies each morning. We did nothing else but care for them. We would rouse them to have medicine, let them rest, clothe them with medicine, let them rest ^{mealie gruel}, in hour, rouse them again ^{the middle of} for milk, "soup" & orange juice. I squashed ^{vitamin} pills + rubbed the stuff on their tongue. They were too weak to nurse. I'd have to get every thing from half spoon full by half spoon full. I wished slipped into the sides of their mouths. I wished I'd worked in the children's hospital & seen how they do things. They would vomit - and it would all to be done over. But I made beds for them on the ground with covers over them so in between efforts they lay down & slept.

424

The mother's patients lay close beside them all day long. After 4 days they improved so much that the care was not so constant. They made steady gains. Now I see 2 una's. Dobe every day walking again and gaining weight.

One baby died at Cho' ana - at this time the parents brought it for medicine which we gave, 2 times. The baby looked so fat and blooming that I did not have it much on my mind. When they did not return with the child I assumed it was all right. Then I was shocked to hear it had died. The father said they had come back for medicine but that Franz had driven them away. He said the evil spirit of his ancestor the Higau or had entered the child.

On the 25th ^{F 27th} Mause John & Heinie went to Gautsch & Debbragu to decide where we would settle when we go. They were away a few days. Decided not enough water at Debbragu. John was enchanted with the quiet country & the pure now blue lake. He wanted to go back for pictures before we all came to mess things up. This they did. He & Heinie were back for ~~to~~ ^{to} back Mar 30 - Apr 4

On Thursday May 26 Elizabeth decided to go home. On Monday May 30 she left - Lawrence taking her out. She flew to Johannesburg. had to wait for reservation in Durban till Thurs. Apr 9.

Maria was very ill. Bedrun. I took care of her assiduously. Lawrence wired to Dr. Kuske. He sent a

on the trip with all the auto equipment & the Bushmen. They had stuck in the snow. It took us 3 days too, they had to be pulled, there was water in the gas. Grass seed in the radiator. one thing and another.

When we arrived at 3 pm. Wednesday there were flamingoes on the pan. John took pictures. As he finished we heard a truck and there was Lawrence right behind us. With him was a Mr. Kirok who had been kind brought him in. Mr. K. has a garage at Frostfontein. He was a pleasant guest during the day & setting the camp. We then did Saturday we rested. Monday Lawrence & Mr. K., Sunday we rested. Tuesday Lawrence & Mr. K. went out taking Ivan with them. I will bring back a sound engineer. I began work again. I am troubled about the sound. I'll have to stop and else to do that the man from the U. of London gave Lawrence lists of sentences and words that he wants recorded. Lawrence thinks it will be very simple to record this material. I hope the sound engineer can do it himself. I'd be very happy if he can. I have a few plans of my own. To record for instance words which show not only the 4 clicks but the 3 other sounds that Shapera does not list as clicks. I wouldn't know what to call them; and the long and short pronunciation of the same syllable, the more and less explosive pronunciation. All names and kit terms. Some

4234

Telling a story, conversation, sounds of the west
night sounds day sounds of the veld. Wind bid.
To feel into blank place in the film instead
leaving them as dead vacuum. Also how the
clicks sound different when different people say them.

Sunday Apr 26 We had a conference
about plans with #Toma, Qui, Qao Med, Gas helmet.
We asked #Toma's advice. We proposed & he agreed.
#Toma tend more to agree than advise, except
about John's plans. Here #Toma advise
strenuously. We plan to give tobacco
every 3 days. We took #Toma measure &
what he thought enough and have a
tin. It is 2 of my hands full. We give to
every one and have explained that
we expect to take pictures & ask
questions at the west of anyone. When
the time involved in each is short. For
long interviews & will have people come here
to the camp and will give ^{for 2 hours or more} ~~measure~~ one cup of ^{cup is} yellow ~~one~~
Meals Meal. This has worked well so far. The
cup. This has worked well a week and
expect to shoot one buck a week and
give it to each head man in turn.
John wants to spend his month
going on trips for hunting & wild life
on foot. He says if he take the truck
or the jeep even part way the party
has a different quality. People look less

425

tried. He has been several times already this way. He carries film and the heavy Bolex and a gun. Gani carries 2 blankets and a little food and water. He can not carry enough to supply John + himself. They have to manage as the Bushmen do. Last time they were without water from one afternoon to the next night with about 20 miles to walk in heat. John says it is best to try not to think about water.

+ Toma's advice about this is not to do it. He says they feel pity for John. They are accustomed to being without water and can without. They are afraid go three days. John can not do this and they say that he will become exhausted from thirst. Of course this makes John the more determined to do just as they do. Laurence is confident that John will not die of thirst. That John ought to remember that when some body follows game for 3 days without the Bushmen follow game for 3 days without water they carry only their bows and arrows. When the game is killed they have to get back to water and the rest of the band and then plan how to carry the meat.

In the conference on Sunday the men said they were glad to have us back. They missed us. They listened for trucks and heard only the wind.

426

When John left on the Tsi trip on Wed. Apr. 29
Toma said to me that it was all right
for John to come on this trip. It was not
far. Heine could bring him food + water
+ flint (as he did Thurs Am.) But # Toma
said he strongly advised John not to come
on the next trips which would be far away.
Toma said they might meet hostile
people there. He said he was telling me
because I listened to his advise
whereas Launee and John did not.
He said Launee persisted in thinking
Bushmen were like other people who
met each other in peace and were glad
to see each other. Bushmen he says are
not like that. They fight each other when
they meet unless they are used to each
other. And they could on this next far trip
meet people who would resent John as
a shanga. He made gestures with a bow + arrow ^{is shooting} shoot at his point. Evidently
Toma does not want John to go on that
trip for some reason. How to evaluate what
he says? Theory like the dangerous people
at Nuricas? or reality? or some reason
hidden? Toma talked about his fear of ^{that way} hostiles
for John on Sunday. Now it is hostile people
John takes his gun to do his share of hunting
over his share to keep up his end of the food getting
He lives like the Bushmen when he is with them —
Sharing pipes and every thing else, blankets, pots
eating bread & beans meat

190
191
192
193
194
195
196
197
198
199
200

Sat. May 30

437

This is May 30. For one month I have not written a word in the diary. I do not bemoan this. Much must be left undone. One makes the best choice we can as to which to do which to let go of the innumerable necessary interesting things to do.

I am sitting at the dining table just before dinner. The day is clear and breezy. Cool enough for one jacket. We have fire at breakfast and dinner time, rounding out the year when we began sitting around the fire. This morning John and I went together and got a picture of T'gao putting his umbilical cord under a bush. A little ceremony. It was very simple. No no altars. No formalities were observed. ~~He~~ ^{Today} took the cord from a bag where it had been since T'gao's birth - and took him by the hand to a bush 60 feet from the stream. She gave him the cord told him to lay it under the bush. He did as he was told, receding away in to the center of the bush. Among the stalks as they came out of the ground.

If Kuslap says it does not matter which kind of bush is used,

Then we asked T'Nia the old Medicine woman to show how they put sa powder on the head of a guest and around the eyes. T'gao the bunch back was the guest. John got the Malung of copper beads too. It was a good memory.

Mi d'air is used as an honorary term of affection. Has been called it lately a lot. People seem very pleased with us, gracious, willing to work with us. More so than ever. I wonder if the little bit of meal we give them to do with the good mood responsiveness, politeness, affection that we receive? Is it that it helps with hunger or that the symbol of giving food is pleasing to them?

Qia!gao arrived 2 days ago. We are going to leave. Qao left last Friday. It is said he is taking Anna on her way with her husband to the place the husband lives. Anna made nothing of saying good bye to us, though John & I were there.

May 30 428

This time ||Kushay² went peacefully. The time before she had refused at the last minute to go. Qao seized her baby to coerce her. He walked off with her. ||Kushay hit him with her digging stick. He glared and sputtered but did not hit back. He kept the baby. ||Kushay walked around in a big circle. Finally followed after the group. This time there was an interesting scene. Every body was talking at once, waving arms. I thought and then argument was in progress. It was a discussion about gifts.

Deni sat on top of a mound of ashes and pronounced. He said the Bushmen must stop together. They must continue their custom of giving gifts. Presently ||Kushay² gave a fine st. egg head head band to Qao, her father. Qao's helmet took off the head he was wearing, handed them to ||Kushay who gave them to her mother. John got a picture.

Laurene went out again Sat. am. May 30.

He took Frank Hesse and Mr. Ernst Westphal with him and. Heinrich Heinrich replaces Adria who wanted to leave and to do so claimed he was sick. L. dumped him into the hospital the last trip out. Frank Hesse had been loaned to us from his job in Pretoria to work on sound. Another young man will come in to take his place. If he is half as nice as Frank we shall be lucky. Frank is a darling. and very capable with the equipment. We have 36 reel of recording, singing and talking. One session on language Mr. Westphal found it impossible to record vocabulary.

Sunday May 31 was a quiet day. I thought all day with my note book and the golden Bough in my lap. I felt as though I thought with ^{penetration} ~~sight~~, and that the religion and taboos began to take shape as at one time the kinship system did - after a long period of confusion. I even thought about the kin system and got ~~an~~ idea which I still believe - days after - is the real form - reason.

Twi ma "right
not lone" P
The absent me.

Monday, June 1, John and I took pictures of Dennis showing how he lied in a battle between German and Hereros - to give a date - he was a young man then. It will give a measurement of when the Choswa came. And Maas ka wife of 99, carrying Khoa and Khani. I have to work with John. I know the strain of very wind for the camera - every time we look at the big men. My blood heart bleed for him yet. There is compensation for him - for me - and for us both together. Both of us are happier at the moment than we some time ago. The strains are less. The human relations with the Bushmen are so good that we find nourishment to our souls in mind in them in spite of slaughter, as no other relations are strained. I have never lived day after day in such manifestation of affection as surrounds us these days. # Nisa No. portrait taken.

Tuesday June 2 - John took a group of people to Tsi. We asked him to perform the ceremony of washing Noma and she said she would if John would take her to get Tsi. So John did - and so many people wanted to go that he had to take the power wagon.

U + Toma + children 4 ad + Nisa

Qao + Dilia (Haoga is not here. Don't know where she went) and children Naito and children.

Remaining here are:

Qui hunter	{ gan Be	+ gma + gan
+ god + woman	{ Khanila	
Qao children	+ children	

Qao lunch back + band

Pi' Gas and an enormous aggregation

Nerna + I alone for supper. And now writing in the tent - cold.

But as for the rest of the unrecorded month. I am too cold to want to write more. Let it go. I'm going to bed at 8 pm. to read the Golden Bough.

No. The Coleman lamp in the explorers tent warms it enough so that in sleeping bag blanket + w/ a sweater on I can face writing now. Let us take up wild life. No lions - except one early morning roar - but a leopard passed so close by the tent I thought it was Dally morning besides me. The leopard slunk up some birds I have never at night heard such a hub bub of birds. A Kudu snorted me morning - again near the tent I thought it was the puppy from Griggs's place. Heinie + John heard it - ran in their guns. Shot it before break fast.

F. Goma said to give it to G. Gao which we did. That is very important to note + think about. fast me he said to give to old F. Goma which we did. He had not wanted the first one which we gave him. It had gone away hunting all day Thursday, and chided us when he returned for not having done what he said - which was to give it to Gao helmet. After the long talk with Gao helmet took place I understood + came all the more - or at least what we had thought might be the situation was confirmed. But wild life - however got a lizard in his sleeping bag, he was both brave and active. But the wild life of the month was snakes. First Heinie found a

431

snake in the bathroom - we put that into Charlie's
jug. That afternoon it was Sunday - while I was
bathing peacefully in my tent - as I reached for
the talcum powder I saw a puff adder nosing
along the netting of the tent - about 3 feet from me.
I dressed quickly and went out the other
end of the tent. I called Frank & Bedouin. You
came too. The puff adder after scrutinizing the
collection of people went under the tent floor.
Stretchers, boxes, table & chair had to be moved.
Eventually ^{bedouin} ~~bedouin~~ began to catch it through the floor
of the tent, with a pole, Frank unhooked it
out. He caught it on the stick, tossed it
on to Jim. The snake was too upset to
bite Jim. Jim did not wait for it to
collect itself. I took moving practice. We
killed the snake. Took it to Dihai for his
supper. A few days after that - Launus
was back. We were quietly at work at the west
when ~~one~~ man from Qigai's west came
running to say there was a Mamba. The
stream of people out of our west was impressive.
I marvelled at Mr. Westphal continuing his
work in vocabulary without ³⁷⁵ finding out why
every else dropped every thing & ran.

Heine had been notified. He came along with
a gun and all our dogs. John remembered to
bring a camera. Launus pushed along to the
head of the crowd looking very grim. People
from Qigai's west had been returning with the
evening load of wood and had seen a Mamba
sunning itself on the side of an ant hill in

432

the late afternoon glow. When they approached
the snake went into a hole in the ant hill.
It was at the ant hill we congregated to talk
things over. Everyone talked at once, of course.
Lorraine led the maneuvers. Gasoline was
brought & poured into one hole on the far
side of the ant hill. We surrounded the hole
where the Mamba had gone in, all those
John with his camera. Heine with his
gun, everyone else with a stick & a shovel
etc except me! I kept looking about in the
grass & trees around us in case there be
the Mamba's wife wishing to join her
husband. A Match was tossed into the
gasoline filled hole. After a startling
whoom, a column of fire rose steadily
from the hole and burned for half an
hour. We got tired waiting. Everyone shifted
about a bit. It was next decided to try
Kerosene. A gallon was brought and poured
into the hole the Mamba had entered.
John got his camera to his eye. Heine
cocked his gun. We waited. Nothing
happened. It was getting dark. We
decided to give up and I went off to
get my coat. John folded up his camera.
Heine let down his gun. At that
instant the Mamba came out and
glided into the grass. The next period
I do not like to remember. When I returned
with my coat John and Foma were
beating about in the grass. Foma poking
with an un forked stick. John with a

broken stick like a flail. Faune was more and more worried but felt there was nothing more we could do then in the twilight. He planned an organized search in the morning. We went back to Clappa. All the Bushmen went to their home. We were having a sun downer when a great shriekup and shouting at 1919ae's werft roused us to run again. Seine with his gun the rest of us just coming along. Tsangao Ban's husband, had heard the snake walking passed the werft, he said, and turned to look - and there it was gliding toward another ant hill a few feet from Tsangao's shum. Its spoon was there - no doubt. The Bushmen begged us to leave it for the night saying that if it were disturbed again no one could know where it comes go - but if we left it in peace it would stay in the ant hill. We did as they said.

Next morning at dawn Operation Mamba began. The area around the ant hill was cleared of grass. Again gasoline was buried. The holes in the ant hill & in the surrounding ground were plugged. Gasoline again was buried. Mr. Westphal held a mirror to reflect light into the main hole so John could get a picture. The snake moved from the heated area crossed the main entrance tried to escape through another

434

hole which was plugged. Kerosene was poured from this hole - 2 quarts. The snake came to the main entrance and coiled there. John took pictures then Heinrich and Lawrence shot. Heinrich with the shot gun. Lawrence with his revolver. Heinrich was ordered to pull the snake out. He got a stick and cautiously approached the hole saying, "Kommt du raus, my little friend." He poked and pulled. Got hold of a tail - about 3 feet! Snake came out. He then poked out the head; but that was not all. At last he reached in and brought out a third piece put together. There was eight feet of horrible black mamba.

Sunday

June 7 1953

Again a delayed attempt to write a letter. At about four thirty, Sedins and I were at the werft when Gani came over to say Lawrence had arrived. We hurried back and from the rise beyond the camp saw a strange truck. With Lawrence were both Dr. & Mrs. Schleg and Hans Ernst. Mrs. Schleg is to do \$1.11 photographs, Mr. Ernst is to do sound. Dr. Schleg came because the Dodge had burned out a bearing very badly at the bridge at Ojivvarongo - a quarter of a mile from the African Motors Garage. The ways of the guardian angel are mysterious and not for man to fathom. The bearing might have burned out between Ganschas and Sam Angai-gai, or it might not have burned out at all. Dr. Schleg borrowed a truck from a friend to bring L. & Mrs. S. back. He will return this week. Mrs. S. will stay a month. They ruined two tires on the way out & have no spare now. One vehicle should not go alone in this country.

Dr. & Mrs. Schles are delightful people, full of enthusiasm for photographing and collecting. The only adverse aspect of such enthusiasm is that they burst at things and require us to follow after them. She organized my materials from the Golden Bough again and broke down to go ahead with 4 more pages of questions on subjects not yet touched, or insufficiently clarified on. Bout this next week, any way, will be given to photos. I must do this. John is going to take ceremonies. Mrs. S. must be guided to take what is significant to us. She takes pictures very quietly. She must have taken 50 or 60 this am. so much film gone. But L. says quite rightly we owe it to her to get her just enthusiasm satisfied. We are employing her at 2 guineas a day to take pictures for our purposes. She is a very very nice woman. speaks almost no English - but will do anything we can make her understand to do.

John returned from the Tai trip today. It was a very successful trip. The group brought almost as many Tai as we brought maogetes. Also John got a gems buck. He! Game (it). There had been no clouds or winds. A few moments after he killed it - it has long horns - clouds appeared. We noticed them from camp. He was on the other side of Nama. He got some good hunting pictures. He hopes they will come out well. (No shooting a sten buck).

I had the best week of the trip last week. It was like a harvest. The old men have been talking to me, apparently not only willingly but enjoying teaching me. I filled 2 note books on religious matters. I had absorbed all I could from the Golden Bough by reading it twice, setting thinking, waking up at night thinking, trying to penetrate and relate material I had and to think of penetrating questions. I feel that very much was accomplished in my understanding and in the detail gathered.

The name of the wife ~~of~~? No had been with her. There is a strong fear to say it, but the old men

Baobab fruit water bottle
Sieve

Don't forget to send Books to
Mr. Randall's children

436

told me my name and certain things about her. And one day I asked Igam and Kluuak II a to whisper once the name that may not be spoken. They promised to remain very careful, they did whisper it once. It is true. Unfortunately the day after they whispered it Igam was very ill with a burning fever, and Kluuak II a's son's mouth inside - and his lips broke out into a terrible inflammation and little ulcers. Igam's mouth too is inflamed and has ulcers. Does this end the possibility of learning more about the wife of gao:na, Kluova.

I notice that I use the same words as they. I say I fear to say the names that must not be said. They too say they fear to say them. My reason for fearing is different from theirs but the effect of the fear is the same. Their reason is an intangible and has to do with belief - that disaster will befall and that they will think this the cause.

At this point Dr. Schrey came in having collected a basket fruit water bottles from Qi gae's old screen. He said we would take it back. There are many things left in the old screen. His bag from the first trip is hanging full of things. Several pieces egg shells. He explained we did not collect Bushmen objects. Then Dr Schrey showed us his lizard which he sends alive to Europe. He is a great collector. He wants tins and pieces of screen for them, and boxes for beetles, and magazines for grass seeds etc etc.

Tom was given the genus book. There is meat and tea and an air of recreation. Groups large groups sit together. Boys and girls play. Some one is always playing up the Igua Shu. It is lovely. The girls are as gay as in the spring. No flowers in their hair but in full regalia of beads. They play games every evening.

cup'

A Kudu was killed just before the Tsi trip left. I was dressing in the little tent I heard a buck just outside. I could think of nothing to account for it but the little dog at Gi-gae's werft thought it did not sound like a dog. When I came out I found it had been a Kudu. Heinie & John had run after it and Heinie shot it. F-Toma gave it all to Gi-gae and Gi-gae gave it to his people - but none to our werft. So when F-Toma got the game-bruch I saw no meat go to Gi-gae's place.

Before that a wild-beast had been shot by Heinie at their Thuma. That - agreed by John & F-Toma together was given to old F-Toma. He shared it all around carrying the last quarter beers the first quarter there, passing fauvus & one each time to show what he was doing and saying chia ja and nodding and smiling to us.

The episode of the cap occurred. On Thursday H men who had been working for Moremi arrived here with their women. Visiting their werft I saw one of our yellow caps. I said he had it (Others are !Nau! Bo & Gumsa.) He said he had found it. I believed he could have as there was a possibility. The question was whether he had found it before or after we left. He said having found it he had the right to keep it, but later thought better of this and gave it back. I gave him a small white cap in return and a tin. This Philip said was a great mistake.

And it may have been. Philip said Bushmen turned now
steal everything and bring things back for reward
saying they had found the things. I do not think
this will happen, but the episode may have been
out of proportion from other ways. + some (old)
and others supported him. Well, it is done now
not to be undone. I want not to encourage
the visitors to be here eating up every ones food.
and have said we would give tobacco me
when they come and when they go. We
do nothing with the cigarette group. Take no
pictures ask for no interviews.

Out a few days later people from Kubu came
six women, 5 men. None of the women married to the
men. They reminded me of the 1 year situation

June 12 1953

June is almost over. So far it has been spent
in trying to work out the problems, stills and sound.
Neither are under perfect control. Mrs. Scherz is a sweet
woman, an able photographer, energetic and eager. She
goes ahead taking pictures by the score which interest
her. I can't stop her and try to keep ahead of her
organizing the pictures I want taken, with only
partial success. She wanders off on her own account,
fascinated by all she sees. I run to bring her back.
I find her taking pictures of all the things I say we
did not want picture of - tripod legs, me, etc.
She assures me that they are just for fun or
that they will be of interest to people in South West.
I want to control the pictures that are released
so that they represent our taste and our values
and our estimation of significance. Not children
playing with yellow balloons or Mr. Ernst doing
magician tricks. These will vitiate a truth.
They make the Bushmen look like dumb folk
in a location smeared with Semen talk,
which is in no wise a truth.

After supper Hans Ernst talked about his capture by the Russians on May 10 - 2 days after the war ended. With 20,000 others - soldiers of all kinds civilians of all kinds he ^{were} marched from one end of Czechoslovakia to the other and then sent to prison camp at Constantinople. He was there 1 year. He had nothing to eat but a watery soup with a few beans. He said he could scarcely get up from sitting. Everything around him black for a while when he stood. Then he could move. He was 20 and strong, so he survived. But when the female Russian doctors examined him, and other prisoners, to determine whether they were fit to work in Siberia a while ago, and he was rated No 1, he escaped. He was 2 months with a friend Franz, walking up to the border to Vienna. These friends smuggled him into Germany on a train in a little compartment for dogs. He & his friend then had to cross the border breaking with guards at night. The story is too long to write. How they met 4 girls and a man with a rucksack, running the border. How those were caught, Franz & his friend escaped while the guards were diverted. How they came to an American Red Cross & were given food and railway tickets home.

I do not remember if I wrote about Mr. Morris coming to Gaultha. I should do so, but it is late and cold. I wish I were ^{at home} cozy, and had a story to read in bed and that Laurence was happy asleep, and Elizabeth and John safe at home and Nana well and that we were going to have a party with all the friends tomorrow.

#gas, husband of Ban. Iglia had been to Kai Kai to visit. He returned saying Mr. Morris had been in Kai Kai was going to Kuli, and then coming here.

One Sunday afternoon, May 17, 1953 it was, we had caught the puff adder who had tried to get into my tent while I was bathing, and had taken it to Dilai for her supper when we heard a truck. By the time we got back from the west Mr. Morris and Mr. Mathias had partly unloaded. After greetings, they told us that Dr. Tschoke (sp?) was left. Laef was between here and Kuli, with Mr. Mathias luxury vehicle which had a biopic loosely braced out bearing! John set off at once with the Dodge & Mr. Mathias, to pull in his car. Mr. Morris and I had supper together and a long talk. I like him very much. He told me about having to leave his 7 year old son when he went to war and wept while he told me. We talked about many things besides. About nine thirty John and the others came along, the Dodge roaring in low gear & 4 wheels drive, hauling Mr. Mathias' truck. It was a happy arrival. We all had a drink and the late comers had supper and so to bed. Lawrence & Hennie were away. Frank Hesse was here, John & I. Next day Frank and Mr. Mathias worked over the radio to send a message to Shakaue to send a new engine down by truck. They failed to get contact in the morning. I took Mr. Morris Mr. Mathias Dr. Tschoke & gonna gas feeding goni & som & the dogs & thin thuna. We took Mr. Morris' truck & the jeep. Had lunch there and a drive around the pen. I was relieved to get them all safely back. Frank had got contact at 3 pm with Shakaue and arranged for a talk next morning. Dr. Tschoke took over the kitchen. I was like a guest enjoying excellent food which I had to take no responsibility for. Tuesday afternoon they left. John escorted them in the Dodge. They slept on the road, reached Sam au gai gai Wednesday,

441

John waited for the rescue truck. Mr. Mathies took it back and John brought the part & the mechanic here, arriving Thursday night. Did he leave Monday or Tuesday? And what was his name?

While Mr. Morris was here he held a meeting of the people at the werft. He & I sat on a log under the big tree. The entrance was arranged. Cigarette, Supo and Chakunga, Mr. M's interpreters, gathered everyone in a big semi circle facing the tree. When they were assembled Mr. Morris & I entered. Everyone stood, raising their ^{right} arms, shouting "Morrow all Together" and then sat down, as we sat on our log.

Since then the children have been playing Morrisi occasionally. !Nai shi + Igase + sgoa will see the coming. They squat down, stand up, shout "Morrow" with their hands raised, sit right down again.

Mr. Morris spoke at the meeting on the following points:

1) The Law: They are forbidden, Mr. Morris told them to burn the veld or to shoot guaffe or to kill each other. ~~except~~, Mr. Morris, added that if a man killed another because the other had taken his wife the law would be lenient with him keeping him in prison only a few months.

2) The road: Mr. Morris had had the Samangai Bushmen work on the road down here. They had widened and grassed the spoor as far as the Noma omarumba and finally found a better place to cross the Noma. That had taken the time that would otherwise have been spent on the stretch between Samangai gai + Chitana. The road they grassed was very heavy in the sand. I heard Harry & John talking about hardly being able to get through though I don't fully understand why.

Mr. Morris had said he would not open a post at Gantochia unless the road were maintained. At Chitana he had said this. Here at gantochia he said the rest of the road could not be built at present. (the Bushmen here + some Quin at least had said they did not wish to work on a road and had asked us to be sure to take them with us + not made to work on a road)

- 3) Mr. Morris said if there were a very grave sickness with many people sick he would send a doctor if some one would come to tell him, but that he could not send a doctor for just a few persons or a minor sickness.

4) Mr. Morris told the Bushmen they were free in regard to employment. He states explicitly no one, not the Herero or Bechuanas or anyone should enslave them. They could seek employment if they wished, and should receive compensation to be agreed upon. They are free to go when they wish, he said. He asked if anyone had anything to say, none had. Mr. Morris then asked that the head men come forward to receive a bowl of tobacco and one of salt to be distributed. No one came forward. No one admitted he was a head man. Finally Gao Medicine pointed to old & lame and some one pointed to gau (fa. of Ruskeg). There was a flurry of talk and they came forward to make the distribution.

Toma lay wrapped in a blanket looking sick to the side. Qao helmet sat in the middle forward from the circle and head a lot to say, sort of agreeing with Huiss, looking pleased. Old # goma sat near him with his beside him a bit forward & near qao. Qao Medicine sat back to the side. his people around him. Qao sat in the back row. None else was distinguished by position either forward or back.

your 7th
Dear + letter
you believe
F torn
F torn
as + torn
as + torn
as + torn

I asked F Toma when it was over and Gao was busy disturbing if he would suggest to ~~him~~ ^{the} ~~gau~~ ^{that} he tell Mr. Morris about his son Gao being detained by a Herero (see note) & Toma said ~~you~~ ^{you} must know himself what he wished to do, and would need no suggestion from F Toma.

I spoke myself to Mr. Morris about this. Mr. M. said the Bechuanas officials would not want to have any thing to do with the malta unless one) Gao's family came in person to identify gao. He said a Herero would never say he had never heard of a boy named gao and the official would look foolish and come to no thing. I can see that point.

Gao did not come to Mr. Morris so the matter dropped. When Nupka returned later from Kai Kai she said she heard her brother had gone to Maun. Nothing was to done.

Next morning Mr. Morris held another meeting with the Bushmen - for anyone to attend who had anything to say. The question has been and has been skirted on in our conversation as to whether the Hereros and Bushmen enslave and intimidate the Bushmen, and whether they accuse them in Mr. Morris name & what they do. Gantsa was here from Kebr - having guided Mr. Morris over. After this meeting which I did not attend, Mr. M. said their only complaint is that the Hereros & Bushmen charge too high a price for tobacco.

Make list before next trip out.

Pots, Pans
Pots
fire sinks
knives
ice
blankets
sears
beads

guide
gas

Pot fr 11^o
Blankets
Shirt
Pants

Qui pipe
Kho " pipe
1 gas "

Demi blanket
1 Kho
gas
Kho "
gasa
Di || Kho
old gase

count your material
" scarf left.

watch Philip
gum
Boots fedim

Khoan Ha's breast

444
Sat. June 13 1953

I am sad tonight. Everything seems pathetic down. John returned with Gani and Gao 11 as having hunted for two days and got nothing. They were cold hungry and defeated. They had seen game & all missed their shots. They are all at the bags for making a little merry with the guitar & mouth organ. I have not been tending my relations with Philip and Gani very well. I hardly see them. Philip seems depressed, as well he might be being away from home so long. I work here I am used up and have been setting by the fire talking to the guests of an evening. Making no friendly talk or a little gaiety with anyone.

Today also I feel depressed about the people from Cle'au and Reiki. Both groups left this morning early without saying good bye nor asking for tobacco. There are things more important than tobacco. What is it. The Cle'au people may have tobacco. We did not want to encourage visitors who would not otherwise be here by giving tobacco. Especially after the cup episode we wanted to hold back.

As to the Reiki group old & Anna said when I asked why they left so without returning their party gift of tobacco that he suspected some thing from their behavior but did not know what.

found of release of arrow
write up bands
statistics
marriage
gas's talk about Tma-

June 13 1953

My whole week went into still pictures & one sound recording. More deep will go into book. The whole matter is not too well thought out. You have been giving me best to get it in hand. She was & think is to go to the west to see who is there & what can be arranged. Mrs. Sherry is still taking every thing she sees. An ardent, energetic woman, a very nice woman. But God only knows what we have pictures. If I accept a sort of broad side - hundreds of pictures some will be useful, and relax in that + will be best. I have accomplished in my side of things - I extended family ^{and} ^{good} friends, his making, oracle cards, portrait of Denii & a few oddments - hair cuts. Gase & God dancing Dog showing sheets.

On June 21 Laurence and I will have been married twenty seven years.

I must write about Qao helmet & his talk about Toma. The lamp is flickering. Tomorrow will be Sunday.

Sunday June 14 1953

Bo and Qui from Clef'ana are back. They may have moved only a short distance. That is where Laurence lives. This proved to be the case.

Dam & Qui went to Kai Kai without asking for tobacco.

Naoka & Qui hunter's baby Khoa has a badly burned leg. I put on the Tanipax which Dr. Pachocha sent for burns and am worried about it. Wish I hadn't. It hardens over. I'm

afraid, infection inside. She has a temp of 44.6
109.4 under the arm. Looked at her. Her arm
bandaged. Kuan Ma's breast. Sent with 51 Gun
took a bath. Cleaned both tents, aired bedding.
The dog is almost gone. It is a beautiful
beautiful dog, clear warm and still.
A perfect dog for rendering. Lawrence is asleep.
John is testing a gun sight. Hans Ernst is
out to shoot a goose. Which shall I do
next? Write up gas helmets talk?

Qao expressed dissatisfaction with his
gifts. I was annoyed and said we gave
to the ones who did the most for us. What
brought it up - I remember now - was the
first buck John killed after returning from
from Cho! Aua. He gave it to F Toma.
This was at my instigation. I feeling we
should show our position in relation to F Toma
and our gratitude by giving the buck to him. John
had thought to give it to old F Toma, with a
kind of intuition - which would have been the proper
thing to do, according to gas helmet. Gas helmet
this morning objected. Hema asked me for
some things, I said I had given her a blanket.
Gas helmet said he had not received a blanket.
I was annoyed and bothered by hearing this taken
at that moment when I wanted to get on with
some things. I snapped some things - I said what,
gas blazed at me saying he would take his
people all away. I said he was free to take his
people all away, that we coerced him to stay.
I softened my voice and said I understood

that the Bushmen must go to get food. We went on, again the statement, that we did not take their food. Had to get ours from far away. That bush could carry more than a man - but there was limit. They would break if to have a load were put on. That we had any enough for ourselves.

(This was before we started to give Meale meat.) Gao helmet said yes, he understood that. I said that no one should force Bushmen to do what they did not want to do! Mr. Morris had said /^{had} no one should keep them if they wished to go. Gao said he understood that. Then we worked around to the real issue. It was, in short, that #Toma (or #Toma) was not a head man really and that we were sparing and acting with him as though he were. #Toma - to go back to the buck golen killed - had gone away. The buck had been brought in at night. It was skinned in the morning, one portion taken off, & the rest given to the werft. Everyone knew golen had it. When to the werft. But in the morning carp + Toma was gone - for an all day hunt. We left the buck at his deer. In the evening when he returned he said he had told Qui to tell us not to give it to him! Qui told Qui to tell us not to give it to him! Qui had told some one this, but too late & too mildly, and not to one of us. So we has given it to him with my wish that it be given to #Toma. #Toma had held back, I could see in the night #Toma had held back, I could see in the night a piece that would do for one good meal for his family. (Any we say meal for a report, and meal for a round grain) I told gao that #Toma was

our head man, that when we first came to the country that we had made our arrangements with him, that he had given us permission to drink water here, that he had helped us, more than anyone else in our work. I meant to express loyalty to F Toma and to say that we were his personal guests, and that we were under his law, as his guests. This was not the way my statement was taken. It was all wrong to have said it, and it brought an avalanche from Gao's accusation against F Toma obliquely stated. He did not actually accuse F Toma of setting himself up as a headman when he was not deceiving us thereby, but his statement skirted around this point till I was frightened again for F Toma. We had heard that ^{so said} ~~Gao is impetuous, easily jealous, speaks off too hasty,~~ who told whom ^(Gao is impetuous, easily jealous, speaks off too hasty) should be killed." Who told whom? F Toma that? Qui Nander told Eli. I think so, if it will be in her note, I hope, & Gao talked on. I drew back and made the point that we wished to learn. Gao said he was not blaming me, a strange, for not knowing who was who. He was now telling me, he said. I never came to clear position on the point that F Toma had not set himself up to deceive us. The conversation did not give me a good opportunity. I decided to let it slip by instead of dragging it in in a vague hope that his last said ~~was~~ soonest mended. As it turned out I think this was all right. The point subsided - and was better left unsaid.

Gao's information was - that old Toma was
 really headman of Gantscha and that his son
 was to be the next head man. I asked
 about it. Yes, said Gao. It had the power.
 = Toma was her husband. I asked if she
 had the right to drink at Gantscha. Gao said
 and she did. Could she give us permission? Yes
 but we should have asked her instead of Toma.
 I said was it their custom to ask the man
 or the woman. Gao said the woman. If she has
 the inherited power (ownership, position) I
 said we assumed that we were given
 permission by both in and = Toma, we
 all let it go at that.

A lot of people were listening. I sat
 by = Toma a few minutes afterwards at
 his pie - but said only that we had had
 an uninterrupted and timely morning.

~~Next day~~, I never did explain to = Toma
 all we had said - it seemed as well to
 let things be understood tacitly between us.
 Next day in some conversation = Toma, said
 before others, that he had no family
 here, that he came from another place,
 that all his family was dead, except
 his sister who lived in Kai Koi. It
 was a perfect opportunity for him to
 say in public, before us, that he made
 no hereditary claim. We made no emphasis
 of the matter but said yes, we had known that.

areas &
Tear
but it's well control that
I am not prepared to
lose a tree are distinctive
and unique at
free skillfull care full
for fear, laziness or any reason
I see in summing
over other solution
resignation
- as are needed
- as are needed
like a garden
success ful in avoiding them

Another year & our
to each other & our
Human relations are + need
each give attention
like an art - not a science
Do not live in fear
what they fear
see fears & their
deep fears. The whims of
the gods under it
sickens & disruption of
mutterations, other bands.
More about
needed - If 2
desubordination & meat
of 2 masters?
who

- 1) Disdain of tools
shyness of theft.
aversion to
disruption &
social taboos.

2) Tend to avoid
disruption & tool
use.

Tend to avoid
disruption & tool
use.

place making
processes

1st stage
2nd stage
3rd stage

Since then Toma has been playing down and I quite purposely thinking it best in him have been working with other people - all over she went. Not with him at all. After a while I asked him to do some things, lest he feel I did not want to work with him He refused four times. I was very pleasant about it. Said I understood he was busy and that we stand. I think we understand each other aright.

Two more points. The next buck was given to old & Goma. Toma (ours) said to do that. That & Goma was an old man. We had said to him that we wished to give the buck to old & goma & did he agree.

The third buck & goma said to give to kpi'gaa the whole of it. & goma received nothing from it - Nor anyone else in our party. Kpi'gaa does nothing for us. His giving to him is one of those things. But his wife Naoka has been very, very nice and cooperative. Did the choa ceremony for picture, a long talk & other things.

Old Goma on the other hand was a pet. He distributed his buck at once, giving large portions all around. Qao helmet had left at the time. He left soon after our talk but not in protest - to take Xama's husband home a part way from - near Epata.

Monday June 15, 1953

I've given all my time to still pictures and recordings - for the last 9 days. It seems all agree in time, and a 2 ringed circus in form. Things are not easy to bring about & does not go perfectly. Feeling at west good - only everyone wants mealie meal. Goo helmet still away.

Baroness & I had a conference today with FToma old FToma, Gau, Qui. Others come Deni among them. We asked about the Chooma. They said they would not have it this year. Reasons - 1) There are not the old men who are the owners. here (I plan it) (But there are many old men, owners, here) 2) There are not enough young boys grown old enough. (But there are many) 3) No one not an owner could come - Not Baroness John or Bedimmo - they said. I certainly come not as a woman. 4) It takes lots of food gathered in preparation. The boys eat little during the day, & the chooma but they need meat & veal now afterwards.

So the matter rests at present.

I asked about the girl's ceremony, if some girl & women would perform it & let us picture it. FToma said he had no girl. Gau said he had no girl. Everyone laughed. I asked if it would be proper to ask a family who had a girl. They said we could ask, and the people could refuse or acquiesce as they wished. FToma said some old woman could go through the ceremony & show us. It would not have to be a girl,

June 18 1953

452

We heard a truck. Philips came to the west to say there were guests. Guests! Laurence left his evening photographing from the truck. Hans Ernst & G. Tedesco continued recording. Mr. Schey went a photographing. Some Bushmen went with Laurence to see who had come. We continued recording. After a while Khuan Ha, the sister of Igosa, daughter of Naishi, - an imp she is - were telling near *Goma's stream in a close ^{song. Naishi} bunch talking about with Iqui and *Goma. Who had returned this afternoon. It was that group that Khuan Ha said that Europeans had come from Sam Angai gai for the purpose of castrating certain Bushmen. She pointed out the ones that would be castrated and those who would not. She said they had already castrated the people ~~pass~~ at Sam Angai Gai. We have a recording of the laughter this caused. I went back to camp when we finished

and found three men, prospectors. Mr. Brusso, Mr. Peller and Mr. Blume. Mr. Blume, a young man, was with Mr. Tays when they came out the Eisel to ?Nara & the Ah ha Mts. Mr. Brusso has unless on the Rand, Mr. Peller also a young man ^{and mining} refers when speaking to Mr. Brusso to the modern methods.

They are from some company
have a permit to prospect in this area but not
to shoot for the pot, and not to enter Bushmanaland

Mr. Brusso is of German origin. His father had
a farm in the Union. Somewhere they lost the farm &
Mr. Brusso took to the mines. Mr. Brusso's grandmother
believed in witches and may have been one herself.
for the animals on her farm in Germany never feel ill.
Mr. Brusso's aunt is a spiritualist, but she has
gone too far in this. When the trolley car lights burn
on the wall and move across the room she
thinks it is her grandmother's spirit. Mr. Brusso
is not a practicing spiritualist, but is a believer.
He went to the seances of Mrs. Ritchie. Mrs. Ritchie
can preach a good sermon and Mr. Brusso likes a
good sermon. She can preach for 20 minutes
without repeating herself - about love. With her
went a friend who was an atheist. They went
to three Sunday meetings. Nothing happened.
But the fourth time Mrs. Ritchie said to Mr.
Brusso, "There are 2 spirits behind you." "Yes"
said Mr. Brusso, "have they any message."
Then Mrs. Ritchie described them. They were his
father and his brother. How could she have
known the years of their death and what they
looked like, said Mr. Brusso. She had the
details quite correct. The friend is no longer an atheist.

Mr. Brusso knows a place in the Namib
called Bushmen's Paradise where there are
diamonds. A friend, an Bushman, now dead, was
there told him the secret and left a sketch.
Mr. Brusso has been three times to look for
the place but did not find it because he
approached from the wrong angle. The

friend had been 25 miles off his reckoning of the starting place. Now Mr. Brusso knows where it is. A Mining Company wants him to show them. He would do so if they would give him enough money or shares — before they put the stock up by millions. With the news of the find. If they do not come to his terms the secret will die with him.

I am interested in Mr. Brusso's English. He says "educated" purely, with no sound in the u. What have we done in making tracks into this country? If we could go back three years and chose again in the light of what we know now. I would not come here and would choose that many more years would pass before any one came in and that the Bushmen might have their life here unmolested that much longer.

June 20 1953

We are preparing to film a dance today. Last night Laurence visited the important men to ask if they would dance. He went to ~~Tgma~~ first, he suggested going to Gau, old ~~Tgma~~ and Demi. Later Laurence asked about going to Igigae and ~~Tgma~~ agreed. ~~Tgma~~ made Laurence said he wanted to conform to the customs of the Bushmen. ~~Tgma~~ replied in a long speech that it was well to ask for advice. All the old men agreed to dance today.

However, it is now 10:45 and we are not organized. Laurence filed all the film of yesterday. John is reorganizing cameras + film after his hunting trip. I am sitting writing + hoping for some tea. Mr. Scherf is restless. We shall film in the afternoon instead [the morning].

We got very good recordings yesterday of women singing with the II guashu. A whole new (to me) concept of Music was revealed. The longer we stay the more I wonder how wrong can one be. I should have said something about music that would have been entirely false had it not been for yesterday's recording. I did not suggest to them what they sing - though I had a list of songs I wanted. I asked them what they were going to sing and out came the songs about the two Baars, short Tu and Kluwova.

John + Choama

June 81 1953

Last night, June 20, 1953, while we were recording quiet conversation in the west, a choama dance was started. A few young men (4) who had been sitting at Hao's shore with F Goma and one ! Nyka went to the dance circle and began to sing and call to others. Soon they gathered. Neine sent some one over for John - who was in bed. When John arrived the dance was in progress.

Hao told John to come and dance. John went over and then went into the middle. The following took special care of John - holding him back if he got out too far were Bo, bro. ! Haoga, ^{Tuskey} Haa? from Gas house back Gas Med. particularly & I Qui, brother, John's Hao semi danced at the very outside of the circle and held ^{the arm} ~~the hand~~ over the circle like "blessing". The F Goma blew in John's ear at the end. I Qui Igasa's brother led him out after the dance ended.

Hao, h. of Khuanra dan of old gasa. rubbed the legs of the young men and went back and then they hopped on one leg a few hops.

The young men must not laugh or talk. The others who already have the choama song can laugh and talk and play. The older ones can dance as they wish. The young men must be circum spect. John says that F Goma told

I gunde not to dance Too fast. John think
 They must not show off - Not peet every sleep
 They come into the ~~dance~~ - but be
 moderate quiet unobtrusive. They
 must not "goof off". What does that mean
 "bugger off" if not stop now put nothing
 at all into their dancing.

The boys were:

I gunde ^{h. t. Mai} + goma son of gao, Kauila son of Deu
 gao son of Mai Si, with blue beads
 gao son of = gao • Klio Ho

July 11, 1953 458

Blank white paper instead of writing. This is my diary. I have not wanted to write down what happened or what I thought or felt. But this is a loss of experience. I shall remember much but not all. Not enough. As I go over the pages of note or diary that I wrote at the time I realize how very much is lost in memory. It is so vivid for the moment we think we shall not forget - but this is not so. I shall regret every day I did not write. There is no use now in going back to recapture the forgotten days. But tonight it is only ten o'clock. I am in bed in the queer little tent, the lamp buzzing beside me. I'll write a while for my very own sake just to keep experience.

The time is fulfilled. The end of it has come. As a life begins fulfills starts and ends so does this experience. We must go very soon. Perhaps we shall go in ten days. That would be good. We should stay no longer. It is best for the Bushmen and for us that we go now. They have been strained by adyustus to us. I want them to ship away in little family groups into the veld and slip back into their own ways. I have one passionate desire for them, that they remain as they are as long as is possible on this earth. They have had a fine life, in a delicate balance. I wish them to have as much of it as they still can.

This last period is a hard one for me. I feel as though I were in the surf and remember the last time I almost drowned. I miss Laurence so terribly. The hurricanes come into my mind and the night John did not return. I want us not to be so separated. Elizabeth John Laurence and I. I know I can't be unseparated from Elizabeth and John any more but Laurence - I need not set up situations like this when he goes out on these arduous trips. I am tormented about the gifts as well. Though this is mine to Laurence's trip. Tonight I walked back & forth in the tent listening, hoping I would hear the trucks. Underneath however like the rip tide in the surf is a joy at the thought of going home. I think of Elizabeth and Nana and Tom and Kushti and all our friends and imagine greeting them.

I worked all day on gifts - lists - planning how to keep things even. I missed being at the West. My theories are that human relations among the Bushmen are more important than anything else. More important than food - given enough food so that people are not desperate. The jealousy that could arise if the gifts were not even would disrupt the delicate balance they live in. Harm could come to Tom. Left alone with their own things & own customs. This has all been worked out and adjusted. Our things are different they have no pattern established for the relationship our work puts upon them, nor our things.

I feel the best we can do - since we have been here a year, over and they have the feeling they worked with us to further our desire & do our breeding, is to make them feel satisfied, to give evenly - even to so many and then leave. It is not too hard to create the illusion who should receive. Certain groups have staged & and all of them have been willing to do anything we asked. What they want is clothe. * is a provider but I do not wish to try to discipline them or teach them. I wish to satisfy them. The gifts must be alike - even. In there will be disruption & hard feeling.

The sunset was beautiful tonight. I walked alone in the last warm glow, it thumping quiet need that we know is around us but do not see. I have been up to the camp back and forth since June 1st. I have not even been to the Baobab tree. Such is work. I work all the time. I feel as if there were so precious bundles for me to choose among. Each precious. I can carry my two. Which shall I take, which abandon. Each day. Work is based on such a choice & rejection.

The morning sky is something I wish to remember. Orion and Venus Betelgeuse and Alcan in the dawn, the horizon smudged pink with the smoke of wild fires.

We shall have mail soon - when Lawrence

* Foma said: We are in our country. Meaning he had no insecurity about other peoples complaints or coming staying or going. He was in his place.

return. I think I never suffered so much about his being away as this time. All my worries, anxieties and regrets seemed to tell the vacuum of his absence, I am going to read a little of Shapera - lacking an Agatha Christie - on Holt's in order to stop thinking (hope) him out the Camp.) I wonder if we shall ever meet Shapera. He will never know how a person he never heard of read and reread his book of a night in a little tent. He has tried to be judicious and cautious in his Khoisan People. He had little enough to go on and handled the better very well.

It was Fraser who put life into my work. It was the Golden Bough and I belong in the same area. I thought of the Golden Bough when I saw the Cham plants on the edges of the pans before I had any inkling that they were called Cham. Notes and Queries is my technical preparation. The publication about chudien which says it hopes to improve reporting on chudien as Notes & Queries did on kinslips just didn't help me. It threw me off. Made me feel hopeless, defeated, hopeless & slanted. What I tried to do, taking its guidance as best I could, didn't come off.