Conferences with Toma etc

2018.9.1

v for reader.

f 20.22

Heinie shot a kudu on July 9. 1953. Next day it was to be given to the Bushmen As John had been saying each was reluctant to take it. Those present on the hunt were: men ǂ Toma ǀqi!qae gao Med 177 Medicine ǀQui Meander ǀQui bro g gao helmet 124 224 Boys: ǂ gise, ǀ gunka h. g!Nai ǀQui from g.g. wide eyes.

We took from the meat 2 back slings one hind quarter the liver and tenderloins. Heinie had shot 2 beats - one they went back to track this am. Did not get it. The Bushmen say it was wounded only in the ear + recovered and ran off. At noon he returned. John was not here. I was called in on the distribution. We were at the boys camp. Present there were ǂ Toma qi gae ǀQui gao Medicine old + Goma old gaschag old Demi and others. I asked them to decide what to do with the meat. ~~ǂ Toma said~~ I said I was concerned that ǂ Toma had received only the head of the one before He said he would probably receive only the head of this one but he would not mind.

July 10 1953

~~He said to give it to gi gae.~~
I said would he gi gae gao med "Gui
decide whom to give it too. There was
talk. & Toma in the midst said to
give it to gi gae. The talk flowed on
about complaints being made by those.
who did not consider themselves sufficiently
favored. ~~I said~~ They said we should
distribute it. Ledimo on his own behalf
in a scolding voice said we would not
do that. Every one talked at once. I
stopped Ledimo and told him to translate
for me. I said we got the meat in order
to help provide food but we still did
not know the customs well enough to
distribute it. They were accustomed to do
this. ~~I asked if I was right in saying~~
Every body talked again. I turned to
old Gma and asked if he would
distribute it. & Toma said he had
mentioned Gi gae and would not change
what he had said. He said if there
was talk after some one had been mentioned
he would think that proper were against

him. I said I was perfectly in agreement with giving it to |Gi!Gae and asked him if he would accept it. He said he would for Toma's sake. I said I wondered if I was right in thinking no one wanted the meat. (During the previous while |Gi!Gae had been. They said proper wanted the meat but did not meant to be the one to distribute it as this brought so many complaints on the distributor.

Thoughts on subject.
When small groups of kin are together there is enough meat for all. When larger groups not enough. When hunter brings meat in normal way laws are well established + function as to distribution. Laws are accepted by all. No quarrels result. When we give meat then laws do not function. It just is not the same to be given a buck by us as to kill it ourselves. No question of favoritism, jealousies complaints arise. ~~Toma~~ This is true of European gifts too. Bushman gifts have a value they all know. All about the same Ours throw them off their sense of value. Also like meat our giving is not in normal pattern. Jealousy + covetness are not regulated by custom, as in our group.

At the jalp 10 back giving - Toma preferred not to have meat than to have the responsibility of distribution. He had distributed two bucks before. Kept only head of last one. Very little of other. Gilgal distributes only to his own weft, Toma knows he will do that - accepts it says it is all right.
Gao helmet distributes to his own side of the weft. He defended himself. He said he had received 2 pigs + a buck. He made no apology, he said, for not sharing the pigs more widely. They are too small. (He did not share the buck widely) and said today he had had his share recently in ~~having~~ being given that buck and he was not complaining.

There are values greater than food when there is food. Actually if people were starving the food would be the only value I presume that to be universal

should be note of explanation on situation involved here.

9 pages

Conference Wed. May 13, 1953

Present Ledimo - interp. Laurence
‡ Toma John
gao med
Igui Neander

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124

Laurence spoke of our work what we wanted to do as taking pictures particularly of children & ceremonies taking sound, and continuing with interviews. He said in order to have people here we were considering giving some food to a limited number. He tried to have ‡ Toma make a choice. ‡ Toma avoided making a choice by saying "Bushmen do not stay in one place. If he (‡ Toma) told them to stay they would complain that we were forcing them to stay. Laurence said they must all be free to go to get veldkos when they need to but any whose food we were contributing to should tell us when they are going away for a day or so that we may arrange our plans. Laurence then suggested, name by name ‡ Toma's group. He added old ‡ Toma and Igam saying he would like to have them. He asked if we could take them and no others. ‡ Toma said we could. Then ‡ Toma said he

!gu!na
vs
father } as source of terms

≠ qao's mother was a sister of !Qui's father
!Qui calls him !qo

Ainsuy had no people but his sister in Kai Kai. Laurence tried to state the position that since we could not take on too many people we must not take a leader a big man away from his group who depend on him. ≠ Toma again said he had only his sister and had told her to go home because there was not enough food here. He said to ask the other individually their own condition.

Qui Meander said he had only 11 Kuchag and his children - the rest of his family is independent. He mentioned ≠ gao has g Bau + gia as his ! go (≠ gao's mother was a sister of ! Qui's father.)

L. said we would go over to talk to old ≠ Toma h. of ! gom. As he was an old man we would go to him, and ask him how many are dependent on him. ≠ Toma approved of this.

~~Gao Medicin was now asked. He s.~~

Someone mentioned that gao helmet was old ≠ Toma's son-in-law but that they did not always stay together and that gao helmet was not dependent on old ≠ Toma.

Khollo has gone with her dau. Goesi on this trip.

‡ Toma says again he has no family here. but gao has connections here. Gao Med says ‡ Nisa is dependent on him and !gao his bus. They live together. Then there is Khoiio, !gao's mother who has a dau Goeshay (Goeshay is W.) ‡ gao and builds a whole band into the discussion) They talked a lot and say Khoiio showed stay with her son !gao - but that the group could cut of there and not take in the whole of Khoiio's dau's group (ie ‡ gao + goeshay.) !Qui Khuga dau of gao Med are dependent on gao !Qui, bus of Khuga, has no family here dependent on him ‡ Toma is listing - he says

‡ Nisa !Gao Khoiio !qui son of !gao
Khuga Qui
Di!ai
!Haoga
gao Med

Children are not mentioned says ‡ Toma. They are always there.

Others joined conference !!ao ‡ gama son of Nisa old gau.

Laurence spoke to gau. said he had !Nuka !gise + wl hoped but other

Laurence says he means to include ǁ'ao + ǂ'Disa
ǀGunda ǂ'ao + ? sons of ±Toma old.
I stated again our reasons for the plan.
that we needed to take a lot of their time
and if they were to give us as much time
as we wanted they would not be able to
go away for food. I said we chose this
group to offer food to because we already
had worked with them so much. Had
pictures ~~and started g~~ notes from them.
I said I was afraid others would think
we did not like them but this was not
the case. We did like them but could not
offer food because we could not provide
for so many people. I said we could not
offer to any sufficient food for their whole
need. They would go to get veldkos from
time to time and let us know when they
were going. I asked if jealousy and
unhappiness on the part of people who were
not included in the arrangement would cause
them trouble. Goo Med answered that
the principal cause of trouble between
Bushmen was veldkos, not this kind
of an arrangement.

We went to the werft to call on old ǂToma and have a conference with him.

Laurence began with statement of our liking + respecting him and that is why we came to see him. Gau h. of Be + Khuanlla joined us Uao and the old ugly visitor Gao. Evidently gau repeated the first part of the conference because, without Laurence asking anything ǂToma said he wanted to come to Cho'ana but was prevented by illness. Then he added that he had no dependents. His people were strong and able to go and hunt. His son-in-law Gao helmet he says is independent. He ǂToma follows him slowly.

The began on the list ǂToma mentioned his son Uao, his wife ǂNisa, + his sons ǂgunda + ǂgao. The ugly old visitor Gao ~~brought~~ began to ~~in~~ talk. He said Gau-h. of Be + Khuanlla wanted to include himself but that gau was independent. The old man listed ǂToma's sons + ǂNisa wife of Uao. Laurence stated again that we did not want to injure a Bushman family by taking some one on whom others were dependent and leaving out his dependents.

He then said we had to be satisfied on two points that we would not cause unhappiness and that the hut would not be bigger than we could manage to provide for.

The question of Gau and his family came up. Be Kluan || a | gunda ang K. ! Nai si ang B. other son - baby | gui. Laurence said Gau was not dependent on ǂToma to hunt for him. ǂToma old now says he has not many people. He has Gau and Gao helmet (ah) Laurence says they are not dependent on ǂToma. ǂToma says if he worked for us those people would not be unhappy they could get food for themselves. Laurence said that must be clear - that we could not provide food for them. ǂToma says again these are the people he would like to keep with him i.e. Gao helmet + Gau. Gau says that he and ||ao are the men who are guiding and caring for ǂToma. Laurence says they are nice people but they are very many. This was all said over again. Laurence reached a point here where he said we would have to think this over. A bad point in my opinion in that it leaves things open for discussion, negotiation, but it is inevitable to have it come up. L. said we did not use any of the vodka + described how hard

Plural in address
Morisi

it is for us to get food. use, petrol, spare parts as well as food and this take much time and effort. The reason we have to limit the food is not that we would not like to provide more but that we can not

≠Toma made a long speech. He said he had been with us a long time and did not ask for food. He says again he has not many people only the people who guide him that he mentioned. Ledimo said ≠Toma had tried twice to include one himself + 3 sons + son's wife ≠Nisa but gau had pressed to be included.

I said not to let the situation develop to a point where old ≠Toma is made to do the excluding. We must do that ourselves.

The old man gao said for us to take ≠Toma that he is an old man and that gaulscha is his place. It is proper for us to take him. He says he excludes himself. He visits ≠Toma but does not ask any food from him.

He comes from Nuey Otjurongumbe
Tu ka
Toogua is the son of gao's di guma
" who is going to marry Xama.
He is connected with ≠Toma and gao.
" Tum ved ≠Toma. He is married to
who was named for ≠Toma's mother

and his dam is Igan the wife of Toma
brother of Igana son of Naisi.

gno interviews with old ≠Toma

The list ≠Toma gave in addition to his family

Gao
Be
Khuau ǁa
≠Toma
gao
!naisi
!gunda

|Qui ma

≠Toma
!gau
!gunda
gao
ǁao Khuau ǁa
≠Nisa

Laurence said our arrangements before had not been satisfactory and we had had to go away. Implications of this were not mentioned nor what going away he referred to.

L. said again we wanted to take pictures especially of children. We expect some to go for beef kos but not everybody at once. ≠Toma says he never had a quarrel or anything senseless. He wants to live in peace. He s

!ǁ the wife of gao the old man who was so nice this am.

MISC

≠ goma son] gau got med. box pr no Bat. May 9
1 gise .. .. Wed May 13

gao took ‖ Kuslag's baby Sat May 9

85 Norna is being fed premasticated meat by ‡ May 14

Do men ever draw on trees as women draw aprons on Manghetti trees. Are only by women when they gather Manghetti's. It is play.
531 Men go for hunting and do not draw on trees. Old women do not draw. They do not play any more. Only the young women who feel like playing do this. Young boys do not do this. There are old drawings on the Baobab trees: Does ≠ Toma know anything about them? He think by Europeans. He means names + date. I think must show him some] the drawings. They only draw on Manghetti trees. Because bark is soft + smooth.

Term pr. 1 quinda + F 900

1

Work of hands of creator
" " creator

Stars - zebras - animals in sky
gao

Whole time now
+ Toma's group

can add
nail
moreheads

Possessions
First fruits
Man's day woman's day
Questions - reread
Identify
weddings.

Wedding
practice
again

I write up

Toma's
complaint

Conference with Bauman about Tsi Trip
gao + gi gao complained we paused some
more than others + if + Toma had asked we
would have gone when he wished. Bauman
saying he had to leave on Friday had no effect.

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Conversation when ! K'au came. July 6 1953
+ Toma was speaking. could he what was in his
mind spelled out. anxieties vented in speech.
ie that he understood ways, blacks + whites + the
Bushmen didn't. That we were being good + fair
but still people complained. We were the best Europeans
he ever saw. He did not understand why people
complained. Someone at gg. killed 2 hartebeestes
gao Medicine said he explained as best he could -
did his very best to make people understand.
Complaints are about the Mealies + Toma says
he is going away to live alone in the veld.

Ask
Ner

! Nai came sobbing. someone (? uma) had thrown a stone
at her. Di!ai calmly held her hand. She struggled
away. gestures did not show Di!ai comforting nor !Nai
seeking comfort + affection. Di was restraining. To calm her.
!Nai grabbed an assegai and set off. Di!ai held
her back + took the assegai. She was calm in 4-5 mins

copied
filed
under
children

I can omit -
in other file

Conferences with Thomas etc

(x)

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