Monday, Aug 18th, 1952 AM.

Interrogation at Musinjan's Kraal, Gum

Interpreter Team — J.O. Brew, Brian Enslin (Afrikaans), David (Herrero), Cavitcitjue (H)

Informant — Cavitcitjue (Herrero), later joined by David (Herrero), and /Ño /Ño (Group 3 Bushmen).

(Bushmen names in this interview not according to Fredericks spelling - they are my very own)

On approach, a Bushman ♂ was twisting Eland hide from branch of tree 15 feet above the ground. Heavy log used for weight, 4 feet long, 1 foot diameter. 10 foot pole for twisting. Process, twist up as tightly as possible (highly as possible), pull out pole, log unwinds and descends. Repeat, repeat, repeat, etc.

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Many strands of the hide.

Being done by /Gaiso of Group 2

Question: How many Bushmen in kraal.

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Ans: One family. All stay here together as one family. Some that are here now are visitors.

Cavitcitjue had all the resident Bushmen lined up on one side of us.

They were 12, one ♂, 2 ♀, 8 children.

Leaving, on the other side, as visitors, 2 ♂ and 3 children.

Name of Resident man, /Ño /Ño

/Gao and /Qui, now working at our camp, also stay here.

/Ño /Ño has 2 wives, one relatively young one quite young.

1. No.1 wife — /Ñise (possibly probably //Nisa) ≠Nisa
2. No.2 Wife — Gau

Married wife No.1 first.

He has 2 huts, stays with one wife in one, then, another night, stays with the other wife in the other.

Wife No.1 stays in large Bechuana or Herrero type house with mud walls and conical thatched roof.

Wife No.2 lives in a Bushman sharm — very well made and quite large, but definitely Bushman.

/Ño /Ño was born here, at the kraal. His mother was a Bechuana and she is dead.

Wife No.1 was born in the bush near Kai Kai and he got her there.

Wife No 2 is the daughter of /Gaiso of Group 2 — he is the man over there stretching the Eland hide. (/Gaiso's wife is Di //Khao, daughter of /Gi!Ge (II))

None of the 8 children, seemingly, are out of /Ño /Ño.

One group of 3 are "adopted", mother is dead.

another has a different dead mother.

One is the son of /Gao (our /Gao)

One is the son of Cavitcitjue's sister, who had it by a Bushman. — Cavasuko

They (the Cavitcitjue menage) have adopted him and he is reckoned as a Herrero, not as a Bushman, (although she lined him up with the Bushmen).

His name is Varia

Another child is /Qui, his father stays at Kai Kai, his mother is dead

"This man (/Ño /Ño) has no children"

Monday 18th Aug (cont)

another young ♀ now joined the group coming from the direction of the hut of Wife No. 1. — there is a similar hut just beyond that one.

Her name is /in /ai, wife of /Qui (working for us)

Mrs. Marshall has this recorded in the genealogies as Di!Ai

She stays here.

Ques: Has our /Gao got a wife? (much laughter and some minor embarrassment)

Ans: He has no wife, he sleeps with that one (pointing to Wife No. 1).

(It is my impression that questions about this sort of relationship will be answered)

At this point two new children joined the group — coming from same direction as had /Qui's wife. Since we had good so little from questions about the other children, and since I had already opened the following line of enquiry, I left this alone, for future check, if desired. They may be /Qui's children.

"We would now like to know how they work at the kraal."

The tobacco that is being planted and the hut being built down at the water hole belongs to Cavasuko (Cavitcitue's sister). She is building the hut so she can stay there when the tobacco gets big to see that the cattle do not eat it.

If goats come while one man is at the waterhole, and they do not belong to that man, he will not give them water. The owner must give them water.

No specific work is doled out to anybody.

(All the above flowed out, without any questions).

Ques: Who owns the stock around here?

ans: One Herrero, Otukila (head man at Kaikai) owns goats and sheep and cows

Ques: What stock does Musinjan own.

ans: Two goats and Two cows.

Ques: What work do the Bushmen do?

ans: Bushmen men take care of stock, hunt, fetch wood, and attend to watering the cattle.

Bushmen women fetch domestic water and also fetch wood. They irrigate the tobacco plants.

Ques: What do the Bushmen get for this?

Ans: The Bushmen who stay here get a goat or a calf once a year.

Ques: Where do they trade? } This apparently applies to Bechuana and Herrero, not to the Bushmen.

ans: They go to Sau

Ques: How do the Bushmen trade their skins?

Ans: The Bushmen do not know anything about selling or buying.

(A blast of dynamite heard in the distance).

Ques: Who is digging the new well?

Ans: The owner of the well is named Stauffel. He has gone to Kaikai, The dynamite is bought at Sau

Ques: Where does Stauffel live?

Ans: They has trekked away to Kai Kai with all their cattle because there is not enough water. When the well comes in they will bring the cattle back. (Stauffel is the tall Herrero to who Bryan gave the orange at Kai Kai).
He stays at this same kraal.

Ques: What about Musinjan? Does he work for Otukile, or for Stauffel, or is he independent (The District Commission, Bent, said that "Musinjan had been placed at Gum by Otukile).

Ans: Musinjan came here first. He is independent of the rest of them.

Ques: Where did Musinjan come from?

Ans: He was born at Surure, big place in Bechuanaland (Serowe?)

Ques: How does Musinjan make a living?

Ans: They have the Tobacco monopoly and the mealie field.

Ques: Do they import tobacco for sale or do they just have what they raise.

Ans: They get seeds from Sau, plant here, sell it.
Some of the tobacco runs to seed and we plant it again. Do not always get seed from Sau.

Ques: Does anyone give them this monopoly?

Ans: When the Germans chased the Herrero out of South West Africa they were very poor, then they came here with the idea just to plant tobacco and they sold this tobacco to the Bechuanas in exchange for cattle and that is how the first cattle got here.

Ques: Where did Cavitcitue come from?

Ans: Her name means: They don't know what the will of God is; A sort of submission to the will of God, not knowing what is coming next.
She came from: her grandparents came out of South West Africa to Sau and there she was born and then they came to Kai Kai and some of her people are still living there.

Ques: Who are her relatives at Kai Kai?

Ans: Her Mother's sister and the children of same.

Ques: Who is her mother's sister's husband?

Ans: Does not know. (something funny here)

Ques: What do you know about God and who taught you?

Ans: Know there must be something like God because men and women are made and they can't be made out of nothing. The chief minister is named Lucas, at Sau. The nearest minister is named Licues and lives at /Gawa, near Kai Kai, on the other side of Kai Kai; if you leave Kai Kai in the morning on Donkeys you can sleep there at night. These ministers belong to the Church of England.

Ques: Name of man who came from Kai Kai the day before I arrived, the one whose friend went back with us on the truck?

Ans: David (a coloured Herero)

Ques: Does he work for Stauffel, or anyone.

Ans: He does not work for anyone. Has farm at /Kobe, the other side of Kai Kai, if you leave Kai Kai on donkey early in the morning you get there at 1 o'clock.
He has sheep and goats at /Kobe.
There are three families of Herreros staying there and some Bushmen staying with them.
He came to help Stauffel make the new well, so if they find water he can also come and stay here.

Ques: If they find water will all 3 families of Herreros come from /Kobe.

Ans: Only he and his family, his sheep and goats.

Ques: How many sheep and goats has he?

Ans: Can not rightly say. If he comes here then the herd at /Kobe will have to be divided and his share cut out.

Ques: What is the name of this boy (pointing to Elizabeth's prize modeler).

Ans: Jon/o
his father is /Gaisa (Group II) - the one over there working on the Eland hide.
The no. 2 wife of /No/No is his sister.
(addition by Mrs. M. — his mother is Di//Khoa, daughter of /Ti!Ka, headman of Group II.

(3 pages) (P)

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Interview: Monday, 25th Aug, '52; P.M.; at /Gam camp.
Personel: Brew, Frederick and our /Gao (only), later joined by our /Qui.
ques: What do these Bushmen around here call themselves?
ans: !Khũ (Kung)
ques: Where are located the Auen or !Auen or Kao Kao Bushmen?
ans: Don't know
ques. What Bushmen live around Rietfontain, to the South?
ans: /Nãi.
ques: Do people from Groups 1, 3, + 5 work sometimes at Musinjan's kraal? (I left out 4, because we know they do, have seen them doing so).
Ans: Some days Musinjan takes Bushmen for watering garden, and going to hunt, then he engages the Bushmen.
ques: Do Bushmen from all groups work for him this way, sometimes?
ans: Yes, sometimes 5, sometimes 10, sometimes 6.
ques: Might any Bushmen who came here on a visit work like this, if Musinjan needed help and they were around?
ans: Yes, sometimes. Work for Tobacco. He engages a few visitors for Tobacco.
ques: Does the Bushmen get paid for the individual job?
ans: Yes.
ques: But the regular Bushmen in the Kraal, do they get their keep or do they get paid by the job?
ans: Musinjan does not engage men regularly, only little boys to water cattle, pays them a goat (see interview with Cavictue, Aug 18th, AM)
ques: He does not engage men regularly, only when a job needs doing?
ans: He has only one man regularly, /Ã!nau, he is engaged for good. (this is the one I recorded as /Ñõ Ñõ in Cavictitue's interview, Aug 18th, AM)
ques: Request of /Gao to amplify morning's (Mrs. Marshall) findings on Bushman trade (Group IV interview).
ans: I only heard the Bushmen saying that they get iron, from which they make axes, arrowpoints, and assegais from Okavango. They trade with ostrich egg shells (beads) and skins.
ques: Do they send traders to the Okavango?
ans: (Gao does not know about this) "The groups do not stay around here long enough" for him "to learn about this".
ques: Why did group II go to Kai Kai?
ans: They went because of food shortage here, there is more veldkos at Kai Kai.
ques: Will they work for Stoffel or other Bechuana-Herreros at Kai Kai, if there is work to be done?
ans: Who wants to work, he will work. Who wants not to work, he will not work.
ques: Who does Thoia work for?
ans: He works for a Bechuana, Otukile.

Interview, Aug 25th, PM (cont)

ques: Is Otukile the head Bechuana around here?
ans: No, he is only a Bechuana.
ques: Who is the head Bechuana around here?
ans: He is at Maun and I have not been there so I don't know who he is. (the "princess Regent"?)
ques: Is Otukile in charge at Kai Kai?
ans: No
ques: Is there a head Bechuana at Kai Kai?
ans: Yes, only a headman, but not Chief Headman, Issac.
ques: Where does Issac live?
ans: /Gawe.
ques: Does Otukile work for Issac?
ans: No, he is by himself a rich man, with many outposts with cattle. He lives at Tsau (this does not seem to check entirely with what the D.C. (Bent) told us about the chain of command, exactly, that is – the Princess Regent, Issac, Otukile, Musinjau, in decending order – on the other hand, it does not absolutely or necessarily contradict it)
ques: Does each group of Bushmen have its own hunting territory?
ans: I can't tell you exactly, since we go out separately, I can not tell you where the different groups go, perhaps we will (go on other people's territory?).
ques: Is each group supposed to have its own separate territory?
ans: I can not tell you.
(at this point, our /Gui was added to the group as knowing more about this)
(The rest of the interview is /Gui's answers)

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ques: Does each Bushmen group have a separate hunting territory?
ans: Each has his area to hunt.
ques: How is each area marked out?
ans: They do not measure, but they do so, each group to his own side.
ques: How do the hunters of one group know if they get on the territory of another group?
ans: No, they dont know, in hunting, if they go in the other group's territory.
ques: Do they try not to go into the territory of the other group?
ans: This thing does not deal in areas but if one lives on one side, they go on that side; and if the others live on the other side, they hunt on that side, but they do not talk about it amongst themselves.
ques: That is, it is not an amount of territory, but a direction?
ans: Yes, the direction in which the groups stay.
ques: The can go as far on that side as they wish?
ans: Yes.
ques: If they go way off on that side do they ever get in dispute with groups living off there about the hunting?
ans: Yes, this can happen and thats' a war
ques: When this first happens, does someone off there say to them "you are hunting in our territory?"

~~Ques~~: ans: Myself, I saw something like that when it happen. Sometimes I saw in hunting far off was a strife with other group. "Why you coming hunt in our area?" At ≠Gi (the other side of Kai Kai) this happened to me, and that was a man called /Gi/Gis, and we nearly had a fight.

ques: Why did you not have a fight?

ans: There was one man I met, !Kham, he stopped us.

ques: How did he stop you?

ans: He says, "You mustn't fight for food. We are all looking for food, you must take it and eat, nobody is going to fight about food".

ques: Did you keep on hunting there then? (much laughter).

ans: I was frightened, I did not go to that side any more.

ques: Does any one from another group ever ask for permission to hunt on the side of one group.

ans: No

ques: Is it the same with Mangadie (Ghetti) forests, each to his side.

ans: Yes, they do not ask, but some of the Bushmen here have told you they ask. (this was Gao, headman of Group II - one gathers that Gao thinks they should ask, or this ties in with Lorna's previous findings about the present generation not doing things right)

ques: Is it the same with the women collecting roots and berries, each group to his own side?

ans: In the good rains, each group goes to own side. If one has good rains and much veldkos, and the other not, all go on that side.

ques: In that case, do the others ask permission, or what do they do?

ans: No, they dont ask permission, they just go.

ques: When /Qui is out hunting, does he always shoot antelope or does he sometimes run them until they are tired and kill them with a knobkerri (much laughter)?

ans: They run after them, shoot them or throw assegai, but not with a knobkerri.

ques: Have you ever heard of Bushmen doing this? (more laughter)

ans: But we from this side, we run after and kill them with arrow or assegai, the other is not so. You see, if the animal is tired, it is cross, therefore you shoot with arrow, or spear.

End of Interview.

Winds

June 10 1953

Is there a name for winds from dif. directions
No different names. all are Maah
very long a - rhymes with Ma in Ma-john (long)
Wind is bad if it gives their smell (enemies game)
to an animal. Respect word for wind?

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| Doh (as in Dough)
Ledimo can not make dif. between | Do
ost. egg shell bead and respect word for wind
It is a tonal diff. high is o. shell bead
| Do above (wind) is low tone. a whole
note dif: at least. When wind they
use word | Doh when they are hunting.
to respect the wind.

(Whirl wind ||gana - same as spirit. Sup.
It is ||gana ≠a
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821
~~Gan~~ ||gana ≠a It is a ||gana smell?
≠a = smell Ledimo says. Gao says not
same word as smell. Word belongs to name) wind
Any connection with smell + wind? See below.
||gana is in the wind and death is in it.
If ||gana is in the wind + his smell maybe
in it. The wind brings the ≠a which passes
through a person. He would get sick + die.
We can not see or hear the ||gana. ~~but~~
Nor can they smell the ||. The wind
blows on them and the ||gana go into
them. and makes them ~~sick~~ + may kill them.
Should they not speak | whirlwind? There
are no precautions. "We get away; we can" "they say
they call it Maah wind. They say it is a fight. let us get away.

Demi Gao Ledimo Wed. June 10 1953

Widows

Gao says no period of waiting fixed by "law"
587 Is there anything about rain & widows? They say
778 she does not stay in the rain. She could wash herself before marrying. No ceremony. Ordinary washing. I asked if this means to symbolize the ending of part of her life & beginning a new part. They say she prepares herself for the new husband by washing.

Choa

Women they say that the reason for choaling
789 is to protect the young person from
262 something too strong coming into the young body? Gao Med. says it is customary that young persons showed choa new veld-kos. Do they think this is for the safety of the young person or the safety of the veld kos? They do not say. only that it is the custom.

Are Ilgana si happy?

775 Do they think they lead a happy life after death? They think the life of the Ilganas is bad. Gao says they Ilganas may be happy among themselves, he does not know. but they cause harm to men.

June 10
1953

761 Do people fear to die? Yes. They fear death. And if a person is sick they feel very unhappy. And I bring a help to the sick too. They do not want people to die. They feel as I do. I said even though we (christian) think the life after death may be a good life (not said) still we fear death and do not want to part. Gad & Denii talking at same time said they loved their country and loved some people here and do not want to die.

Shadows

822 789 They do not believe anything about shadows. Shadow are nothing Chi Matsuma (Ito a). a little think. Like the shade of the tree. It has nothing in it. Our bodies & the trees make the trees shadow. What make a shadow move around in the day? The sun moving make it move. Is it impolite to step on any person's shadow. No Nothing to a shadow.

Breath

The creator commanded us to breath. We live by breathing. Without breath we would die. Does Ni ao come out by breath as well as by smell? No - definitely said. Does medicine within med man come out in breath when he cures some one? The med. does not come thru breath. The med man touche the person to be cured. The sickness comes thru the hands & arms into the body of the med man. & then he throws it away.

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winds
clouds
whirl winds

Sound of animals
in choa ma

754
789

Putting kept hair
away.
Do girls not choa rubbing
stomach. They do
though showed me.

#Was putting hair in bush.

June 10 1953

Saliva

Fluid from the mouth. No belief about it
754 No harm if some one steps on spittle or
578 anything. Is spitting on some one an
insult? It would be an insult if a boy
were angry & did this to the other. If he was
not angry & spit in play it would not be an
as an insult.

Hair

Can they think of any more to explain to me
778 as to why it is the hair of a person with
826 a good (rain bringing) Ni:ao that is burned
in the fire? There is nothing in the hair
but because a person has Ni:ao. his
hair is used. The hair gives the smell
of the person.

Demi says the hair has the smell & when
burned the smell goes into the weather.
The smell is very bad the rain is afraid
of the smell & the clouds go away

~~Hair~~ is part of the person's body and ~~that~~
hair of a baby is to be kept as the umbilical
852 cord. It is given to the child to put away
826 as the umbilical cord. They cut hair at
Nonna's age. A new baby is to be co-
the child does not know about the world.
has never eaten veldkos. When the hair is
cut a ceremony & washing should be done.
It is the custom to cut the hair of babies.
the child puts the hair under a bush like the
umbilical cord. At age of ≠ 9 or 1

Lammers ≠Toma 1Gui, N9ani March 23 1953

Is there always water at Deboragu? Yes
Is there a good place to camp. There are open
177 places flat. There are stones. Is there a
dune? With red sand? It is like Tsumgune
with white sand. Are there trees? Yes
Baobabs? a small one Palm trees?.
≠Toma says we would have trouble with
tires. It is very stony + rough. Only to go to the
water hole is stony.
≠Toma says that passed Gui Kao is a good
place where they are Baobabs. Passed Kaitscha
≠Toma + 1Gui say they will stay with us till we
leave the country.
L. asked if we fed them at Gautscha
will it make trouble with the others. They
say not. They will say they are working for
us and it will be all right.
≠Toma + 1Gui volunteered that they did
177 not like to stay with Moremi so much. They
464 will be glad to go and just be with us.
Moremi wanted !Nani to take 2 bags
half way somewhere + !Nani said his feet
were sore. So Moremi took !Nani's bow
+ arrow away from him.

Tuesday Sept 30

!Qui - The hunter who was with group I at !gau. wife !Naoka ~~!Haoga~~
Lives usually in Kautscha with wifes relatives - Gau -
Headman there is Gau - who took his fathers place.
At Gum couldn't come with us because he was very thin
come slowly - now got eland and lots of sour and now
very good condition.
Born at ≠Howo - other side Gum - between Eisib tracks
and Gum. mangetti place. rainy season place.
Plans to stay here till rains - then goes back to brother
at Gum ≠ Gau. Will stay alone at small waters hole
with wife.

~~Bubua is small pan • water semi to West of poison Tree.~~
~~Tama who is dead~~ • Debi - his father used to hoe that place.
who is dead
Copied

~~Old woman Gaza lived near Nama - sleeping outside skerm beyond fire felt lions wind - lots of lions - one picked her up - tossed her to another - he to another - then they tore her apart - her heads all over the place -~~
~~told to Quass~~

~~The land of the Kung Bushmen~~

~~The Kalahari - a land of~~

Feb. 6, 53

see below for interp & inform.

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I asked about Va Shekeli. ≠Tama remembered the old people told him about that people who live N.E. of Cigatte - on the other side of a certain water - if you go into that water you die.
T.K. /Qui, Gao Med, ≠Tama. Ledimo (/Tui /Kay) none knew. /Oqowe Agau Nogau ≠Kungau.
All spoke of Kausi - owners of.
T.K. spoke of Nauti - between S'Amangigii & Karakewise never been there - it is on the Pentu road. says Nautkausi live there

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People in other group at Gautscha were all at Gautscha this year
~~Kau~~ Gao - /Goishay's husband
Gao - ≠Nisa's husband
/Goishay - brother of ≠Gisa - who died
Kuao.
Khwo//o

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/Qui - ~~Gau~~ /Tsi Kaq

Katuqua's father Kaogu - lived at distr Nau Ging. (near poison bush where John & Dain went) and he left his place Red Omuramba & went to West to work for Herero's. Katuqua was born ~~there~~.

Katambain is Katuquas uncle (TSU)

There are no people at Nau Ging but ~~thing~~ remember of a /Qui Katsisi who had 2 wives lived there (white hair - two old women) - his daughter was caught in the hyena trap. - Qui Katsisi is old Xama's brother. was at Gautscha

Goo Helmet goes out to where Europeans are S.W. of Kei - (mangetti - clad place) where his son in law (Tuka), who is engaged to little Xama, is working for a relative of Fritz Metzger.

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Qui (Ve) goes to Kowowa sometimes & sees Kung people who go East. Bushmen go from Kowowa to Nokaneng to trade. Plenty of veldkos East of Kowowa - wild grapes etc. They have heard about us.

South of Eisob - do they know anyone who lives ~~there~~? #Tama only one here who knows.

Dont know anyone who goes N. of S'Amangeiqei except ~~Kowntsa~~ Gumtsa who goes N. as well as to Chadum.

Misc

!!ao + gau Hunting trip Dat 17

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On their hunting trip they were !gu!na
How many sleeps 1st at Kautschan
2nd at !gu!na A water hole had water in, from the last rain. This last rain now is from here to the Kuchin tree is lotz tent. in the pan there.
Who went? gau !!ao !gunda ǂgao!nai shi they went there because they ~~was walk~~ the were looking for animals. There had been a fire new grass had sprouted. They did not get anything. Is Ned Kos good there? It is starting they ate only gums. When there is plenty rain things will grow. Were any women with them? No.

gau !!ao + gao scay ǂgao!na

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Do they know any more stories about The man with the fire they are young only the old know. Such
What about creation?
ǂgao!na made all the people. What did the old people tell them about this?
They were told only by the old people that when they grew up to be big they must marry and have a family. And they ~~wives~~ will ~~make~~ have a home with their wives. Gau says he must have a wash. He is dirty. They don't know anything to tell me. So

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Questions:- answers below are to questions
ǂgao!na has 2 wives Has he children. Yes.
The names of the wives 1st is Bē 2nd is ?
They are laughing. All looking at me and shouting with laughter. They said ǂNani. They are screaming because that is the name of his child not his wife and the idea of his son ǂNani being his wife is very very funny. 2nd wife is Khoa!!ā
~~ǂNani is the first boy~~. 1st son is ǂgoma
2nd is ǂgao 3rd !Nai shi - those 3 are by Bē
From Khoa!!ā - 1st is !gunda 2nd is !gasa daughter
3rd is !gui Gau is telling me his wives
not ǂgao!na so they did not laugh at this mistake

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!!ao-gau miss continued Oct 17 2

they do not know if ǂGao!Na has a wife nor if !!gawa has. Even his father did not tell him that.

They have not seen ǂGao!Na him. They have only heard about him. How did they learn he wore clothes + rides a horse? They heard from their parents. ǂGao!Na's parents(?) place is to the east. He sometimes goes to the west to see !!gawa.

Could they tell me anything about his people? They hear he has parents. They heard he has a wife. Do not know her name. Children? They hear he has. They don't know.

Why does he go to see !!gawa? gau made a face. They do not know what they do together.

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When are going to learn what the old people know. The father fathers fathers knew. but have not told us, father to son. so we do not know.

Ledimo - cig Jan 9, '53 (1)

Ledimo's accou of a fight Etc. Misc Interview

Bushmen Ledimo says are short tempered.
578 They fight very often. Oftenest the cause is that one asks for food & the other refuses to give.
They fight by throwing the other down choking and biting. Or with arrows they do not hit with fists or kick.

a fight

578
626 A man & his wife. The cause he does not know. The husband & wife fought. The husband hurt the wife. Her brother came into the fight & fought the man. The husband hurt the brother. The brother who was hurt ~~went~~ got his bow & arrow. He shot one & missed. The fallen of the brother stopped the fight.

The husband threw down the wife and tried to choke her. The wife bit the husband, then he took a stick & beat her on the forehead. Semi the

Eskimo's are a gang (2)

It occurred in the camp.

blood the brother became very angry.
First they tried to choke each other
the husband was stronger. He ~~had~~
dropped him down to choke him. The
brother got up + got his bow + arrow
He went to his skeem took his bow +
arrow - ~~shot~~ right from his skeem +
Missed the husband. The husband
stood by his own skeem. Did not
try to run away or get behind anything.
~~His arm was to~~ He watches the
brother. When he saw the holler
get his bow he tried to get to his
own skeem ~~to~~ get his bow But
the brother shot an arrow at him
~~The brother cried out. The husband~~
the brother cried ~~out~~ as he shouting. When
he ran for his bow. The husband not
~~When~~ the arrow missed him he went
into his skeem ~~to~~ get his bow.
When he came out he saw that
the brother's father had caught the
brother. There was then much talking
People went to one + the other 4
separate them. Next day they was
all friends again.

No Bushmen present. Ledimo cig Jan 9

304 Circumcision. Bushmen do not practice

832 Boys compare genital organs to see who has the largest. Largeness is admired. Those with small organs boiled a root + drank the liquid to make their g. organs grow.
Root is. in Tchimana is Kaba.
When the boys took the root they did so secretly. They thought the adults would not allow them to use medicines by themselves. Ledimo says that it would be disapproved because the adults know that it is bad to have big genital organs. They would stop the use of the root he says, as he would if he saw his son chief doing this.

When ~~winning~~ urinating they tried

514 to see whose would go the farthest. The one whose went farthest was approved.

The Bushmen were Ledimo's father's

464 578 servants. He had many. They would go to hunt for a day and return. Some stayed on others came + went, bands coming

Ledimo's acc

Jan 9 (4)

to visit those who slaged at the cattle post. They were not given rations food except milk. Even Ledimo had only milk they all gathered roots therein the Bushmen hunted. They were given Tobacco. They were reliable (ans. to questions) mostly in the care of the cattle. But often from the veld would kill cattle. Occasionally a Bushman herding cattle would be beset by B. from the veld who would chase after the herder. He would run from them for his life driving the cattle. But they might drive off 3 or 4 or kill them. That is why Ledimo's father killed Bushmen. He was once arrested for killing Bushmen.

The men

Ledimo

The Mens Dance. Ledimo says
535 they have a dance which no woman
may see. No young boys are present.
Ledimo says he think it is called Toma
He believes that if a Bushman girl or
an African came upon the men at the
dance they would be killed.
The Men do not wear rattles. He knows
no more. The occasions are quite rare
when the dance is done. Always away
from the water.

Songs + dance may be performed
when they are pleased that someone
has killed an. animal.

555 Each boy hopes to be the best hunter.

619 Ledimo's names for Bushmen. Cig Gang.

He says the language he speaks, which is the language of our Bushmen is
Ma Kau Kau or Ma ! Qhoo
He says Ma Kau Kau is used for those out side Bechuanaland i.e in So West.
Ma ! Qhoo is used for those in Beah. who speak the same language
Ma Kau Kau can be found at Nai Nai + Gantsetsa
Ma ! Qhoo are in Ngami land. over border for So west. i.e up from ! gam Kai Kai
Kubi ! Qawa Nau Nau Sodeli the biggest a big mountain in Ngami land to the North east. Can be seen from Nau Nau.

Masarwa is the name in Tswana for all Bushmen
Ledimo does not know that this word means
they call some one who hide in a bush
Mosarwa (Mo refers to 1 person) They say
you are Mosarwa if you hide in a bush.

Ledimo cig. June 9

619 Ledimo was told that Makankan were enemies to African. They would kill them. African must not go alone. They must be very careful not to be killed by the Makankan. ~~Gaukiela~~ ~~Nar~~ The area of Pans called Nai Nai was dangerous to going. Makankan stole & killed cattle too, he was taught.

Manama he was told were whiter than the others ie lighter skinned and very dangerous. He dos not know where they are. Nama means meat. Were they found, meat or as red as meat he wonders.

In the South & So ~~east~~ West of Ngami land there are Bushmen. He does know much about the Mal Nai are in the so West

others are in the east of Ngami land. He does not know name.

#qao !ʼu's bro. + !ʼu Fedumo Jan 22, 53'
+ ~~#gao~~ // Kushay Cholana

591 ǂ qao lives with his wife's people
622 The place belongs to his wife's ..
ǂ qao's wife forced him to stay at her place.
Who is head man where ǂqao lives - father of his wife
Word for head man is n|iga (nika)
Bati is the place of his own father Debe. ~~Ex Gaulscha~~
His wife's people belong to Cholana - cig.
His mother's people's country ~~Hua~~ n|ua n|e
Gaulscha was the place of his mother's people.
Where did Debe come from? Twe
When a man marries + stays with his his wife's people he can be head man there if he feels like being. acts so. Or he can be headman of his father's group.
Fedumo asked how do they possess this country + how one becomes head man. Got a lot of names.

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622 Gaulscha ǂqao!nqum. He says this man is
621 the owner of Gaulscha. (qao dum sounds like)
This is ǂqao. the lame boy. !ʼu's y. bro.
+ ~~Gms~~ became head man by marrying !ʼu.

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591 Does his mo. always live with him.

+ gao broth of !'u Jan 22

591 Mostly Bushmen stay with their wives when they are first married. The reason is the wife might have refused or might have been taken by force. So you stay so she may be accustomed to you. And hunt for her there. Do the parents want the couple to stay with them? Yes it is thought that the husband must stay at first - for the first 2 children. So the parents can get used to him & see what kind of a husband he is. After 2 children the husband can decide. There is then no objection.
!'u say if a man marries a y. girl. She is not to be removed whatsoever till she menstruate. + has a child then she can be taken. A ~~woman~~ girl wants to be with her mother for her first child birth. The girl is not used to being away. Mothy must + teach her how to care for nursing.

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855 They tie ~~falling~~ things on babies so if they go, near !'u's dream. tie a warden of they wie be heard.

-child birth - 1st child woman wants to be with her mother?

591 Marriage by force. (unanswered thought -?)

855 !'u Kushay ~~guse~~ is holding Nana + nursing her.

85 + gao shows no objection.

622 Can a headman say before he dies whom he wants to be headman after him. Gao says a man first dies and does not appoint a headman. Debe told people that Gao ie K's e. bro would be headman. But instead he went to live with his wife's people & instructed Tsoma to be headman.

How does a man feel about being headman? They like to be headman. Because they are given gifts + presents by others. They have a lot of worries. After being given presents a headman must give something back. What are more troubles of a headman? Gao says nothing else troubles a headman.

Authority of a headman.

622 578 Can he say who can come to a place ~~to drink~~ to live?, to drink water?
He can chose who can live in the area If people come without permission, the headman has to persue them.
Does he know of a fight? Such a thing can cause a terrible quarrel which may result in a fight. It is their habit if some one comes hunting or looking for veldkos that they can be scolded + chased.

gao !n's bro. Ledimo a Jan 22 4

We once lived in goya
T goma + gao quarreled for veld kos.
They quarreled that we must not go
first here the other. They must g
at the same time. They did not fight.

The people at Igam sometimes quarrel
for water. Someone must not drink water
g the place where some no stays

We Bushmen can quarrel for any thing.
If a B. has food + does not share it
can cause a quarrel. That is how we
do. Gao says.

They want to work on a skin now.
gao says. While at Gautsella ! n hi sisi
and T gaose qui) they were discussing that
T goma and ! n had veld kos + tobacco
+ did not give them any. And if they
continued they would kill them.
gaose qui has 2 Kushay guse.
Gao (helmet) Si!qui is heard
they call him Gao si! qui
gao finds this bad. ~~T gao~~ gao says he
think gao expects more of everything
because he has 2 wives
gao says T goma knows him. He said it was very bad manners
E him + come after me with the assegai.

622 578

gao thinks gao helmet is jealous
and he pretends to be what he is not
gao is against him - does not like him
gao helmet tells lies about Bushmen & African.
He tells lies in order to be favored & praised.
He lives with T̄goma. He is his in-law.

Ka pugo

Any person not a Bushmen (a stranger)
!goma. Redens compare it to non European
nghoma s. this is non-Bushman
nghomi pl
He wants to be treated as head men.

622 578 192

European

Bushmen call them
goo nxhas.
nthwa si

Means Perfect Person

622 578

!Tii!Kay

qi!gae is always thinking of bad things
she does s He has not a good mind
He thinks too many things at the
same time. He does not behave well
to stranger - Not as he should.
gao is showing how q.q. says da mi
pointing to himself.
gao says he likes to be polite to a stranger because
he is expecting a gift from him.
gao says gao helmet + q.q. have the
same kind of mind. but the wonderfas
thing is they do not act together
they hate each other.

!Tii!Kay

q.q. + ≠ T̄goma are friends. They do not cause
trouble to each other.

gao says when he meets a non-Bushman he is pleased
" " Bushmans have always been fair to him.

gao.bro of !n c Jan 22

Can he tell story of such a quarrel?
He say they once lived with
gai!na and died at !Koa +
left + went to gao dum. They found
there a man named !gunda taking
wild kos. Gai!na scolded him
because he was in gai!na's place.
Name (gai is abbreviation of !Gaisay) He was
scolded him for being at !Koa !gunda
came from gao!a
!Gaisay termed !gunda Tsi.
They chased him back to where he came from.
They took spears to each other but
people separated them.

Another case. a gao has the place !gum
He was quarreling with !gui for !gum.
He did not want !gui to drink from
the well before the gao came.
ashed Fedino to int. sentence by son
gui + gao were quarreling for !gum
gao was owner of the wild kos at that place
!gui must not eat it before gao went.
What did they do? Not a fight just
a quarrel. !gui did he stop doing that?
Then they played together in peace again.

!n ran down the road waving her arms.

Debe and goats

Monday March 23, 1953

Toma, Iqui, Ngani Lammer - J

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Who takes care of the goats? an Mr. Morris gave them to Debe. He keeps them down the omaumba at his place. His wife cares for them if he goes hunting.

Did Debe want the goats? He refused the goats first. Mr. Morris said he must not say that, that he must take the goats.

Debe's brother Igaisay whose wife is Dillkhas's old Igaisay was asked to take the goats first & he refused. And to take them to Tsumque - he refused. He said he might die & no one would look after the goats. He refused because Tsumque is not his place. His place is Deboraqu. He has no young boy to look after them.

Mr. Morris gave an ax to Igaisay to be taken to his daughter & son-in-law Nao.

Why do Toma & Iqui think Mr. Morris wanted Debe to take the goats? They heard that Debe had goats - they do not know the deal.

Is this Debe's place? His place is at Deboraqu. This is not his place. His father was

Re Debe + Goats continued Mon Mar 23 (2)

at Deboragu. He is here only because of the goats. He came from Deboragu to trade for beads here + took his beads up + down to trade

They say Debe is tired of the goats. Debe wants Moremi to take the goats. But Debe did not say this to Mr. Morris. Debe want the goats to be with Moremi's goats but Moremi says he must live where he is.

They say the day we came Debe wanted to come near us. But Moremi said he must stay away down

	!Nani¹		
Debe	!Nani²	!Tooka	ǂToma-gao
gao his son	!Nani³	Bo¹	!gao¹
	gumtsa	Bo²	!gao²

The above all belong to Debe. They are his tsema si Old !Nani is the headman Old !Nani's father was Bo. ~~Debe married Old !Nani's daughter~~ No. Bo short + bitten son of !Nani is married to Debe's daughter. Bo's wife is Kliollo with the heart + sick baby Her other name is !gasa.

Does Moremi give food to them? No only melons + squashes. They get angry because they don't get food. Moremi get angry and does not want them to hunt. And when the Bushmen go hunt they must give him the meat. Moremi has a lot of food that the Bushmen bring

Debe - goats March 23

Maughetti's and other things. The Bushmen work on the mealie fields. That is why the mealie fields look so nice.

I gui saw himself that the leader at Samangai gai gives food to the Bushmen + is good to them. He cooks big pots full of mealie meal

± Toms gives meat every time to Moremi - but Moremi does not give him things. (I said Moremi gave us melons.)

How do the Bushmen live at Chobe? What eat? Do they hunt + get veldkos? When the men hunt the women work + get a little mealie meal. When the men hunt + bring meat to Moremi he gives mealies.

Lameness said Debe wished rather stay here than go to Debora gu? They say he has no thought to go back to Debora. If he goes away he wished go to ~~Kh~~ Chadum. 1 o Tamcho

Does Debe feel free to go any time he wishes? No he can not go away. He wished have to see Mr. Morris first.

Do they think Mr. Morris has ordered them to stay? Yes Mr. Morris and Moremi,

Debe's goats March 23

Mr. Morris put Moremi here. put Debe here to stay with the goats.

The goats Laurence saw are for Quintsa the headman at Sam an gai gai. Gani says they are for meat for the road work.

I gui says to have goats is not good. The better thing is cattle. You get milk. They get nothing for the goats. They can not kill one unless Mr. Morris says they may kill one.

Bo has Moremi's chickens.

Laurence asked why there has not been an increase in the herd of goats. They say the little ones die. Laurence asked who gets the milk when the kids die. ≠Toma is telling I gui goat milk is like cattle milk. the Hereros put it in calabashes. ≠Toma does not know what Debe does with the milk. ≠Toma does not know what kills the goats. ≠Toma says Moremi's goats do not die.

Is there veldkos in the area that the women can go to get? There is veldkos some is not ripe yet. There is some khoa ready now.

Debe - goats March 23

Lawrence asked if no black men were here
wned the Bushmen stay here? No ǂToma think
they wned not stay.

Are the women allowed to go to get veldkos
whenever they want? The work is finished
now. The Mealie lands need no more work. They
can go now.

About Zuma and her baby Debe -
164 I said I was worried. They say the babies
177 was very sick his stomach was not right
464 he coned not eat. Igi say he himself was
sick - got thin, thought he was going to die.
Eliz gave soup. He was better then. Igi says
was sick Hester gave medicine He is better.

ǂToma says that Zuma + her husband
can go any time. They did not go because Z
sickness. Only Debe can not go. He has to
stay with the goats. If he shoned leave the
goats Mr. Morris wned scold him.

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Ele Ele

Chadum Jan 20 +-, 53 L.K.M.

Mokava.

There are 3 groups of Bushmen at Chadum.
They only go into the bush for a day or so at time - E.g. on Sunday.
When the mealie's have ripening + old crop is about used up then go for good more. They have to walk about 1/2 day to get to good area. They go west from Chadum along murumba.
2 Kinds of food principally chacha + chaou. There is plenty there. In April they go for mangetti. very red one.
Catholic Mission at Nyangana. (Okaikuva?) also chini
Whenever he asks for it. He gives it to each Bushman who wants it + only the group around water we saw. //Tiig Naou.
Headman (Ok)
who was at Gape. Each family gets it. Man + woman work together. Each patch grows enough to last family whole year. //Tiig Naou doesn't have a plot. They all feed him. He is a lazy fellow.
They also work for Mokava - take care of cattle - water cattle - weed mealies - in payment gives them mealies - tobacco - sweet potatoes - mahango - other roots.
Mokava only gets 5 cartridges a month.
Sometimes Bushmen bring Mokava meat.
Bushmen have goats belonging to Mr Morris. When Morris comes he sometimes gives them 1 goat sometimes 2 - ~~Mr Morris also usually has one himself.~~ At first there were only 10 now there are 40 - 4 yrs. They don't milk the goats
Mr Morris pays ~~them~~ one Bushman 10/ shillings mo - Gunda son of Tiig Naou is the one.
Tiig Naou was son of S'amankumpi now dead - former headman.
Other two groups get about 15/ shillings worth of meal a month for each family - when want tobacco tells them to do some piece of work he has thought up for them - first. no other payment
~~One headman is~~ Tiig Naou is chief of all three - father was before him
There is another group of five hands who live in the Makenna Omurumba which comes into Okovango 6 mi E of Maguva Mission. Between Andara and Nyangana. !ToGa is headman - They are Kaukau. Get their water from Okovanga. Settlement of Okovango's there - Bushmen don't work for Okovangos They fish - mission gives them fish hooks - hunt + get veldkos - no mealies or goats

Chadum Jan 20 4 K.M.

He thinks a few of them are good workers - most of them not - when they want tobacco - of their own free will don't want to know anything about work.

If he + his Okovangos went away - he thinks the Bushmen would stay + work the fields. - Just a second ago he said they wanted him to stay - then he said if they had told him if he went away they would go into veld - disappear.

There is much visiting - both ways with Ojanda. S'Amangeigei. Even today 3 asked his permission to go to S'Amangeigei - sometimes they stay week sometimes 2 weeks. Visitors always come and report to Mahara first + ask permission to stay.

Bushmen use foiam - omuhango tree harbours beetle.

Franz Rudolp. Ok. name Aushiko. 2£10 mo. would leave family at Chadum

622 ~~Chadow~~ L.K.M. (1)

#Tama . /Qui . ~~Gau~~ Ngani Jan 23, '53

~~T.K~~ /Ti!Kay is headman at Gura Hausa Makuri & Mashoro

gets mangettis at /Nai in rainy season.

If anyone wanted to get mangettis there would they have to ask ~~T.K.~~ /Ti!Kay

#Tama laughed. said if anyone wanted to get man. they would say lets go to that place & get mangettis. ~~T.K.~~ /Ti!Kay told #Tama to go to that place with him #Tama refused saying No I am waiting for ~~Samko~~ my father to come back.

Gao married to (~~Qau O Hasa~~ Khwollo - I Gasa two names) is headman of Kaitcha & /Au (shoulder blades) ~~Kuru~~

/Gaishay married to ~~Di~~ Khau is headman of Dalhatu & /um /ha & /noa & /ang !ana & Daussi - Gau (medicine) will succeed him.

Nam Choa doesnt belong to /Gaishay because is is over of the line

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Headman of Nam Choa is dead - his name was /Qui. his son is /T.!Kay (just like med.) He stayed at Nam Choa all time we were at Gautscha we never saw him. /T.!Kay's wife has a sister who married Cuchay - Cuchay is now at Nam Choa while T.K is after veldkos. Cuchay came once to Dautscha - lived ~~in behind Goma & Helmet~~ across the pan while Frederick & Cicain were there the last one.

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the ~~Guma~~ to (Gau who plays music) is headman at Tsumkwe. He is dead - ~~Gau music is now~~ also Dau Ku - the open place along road over first dunes toward Chasie.

Headman at Chasie (Noma) is Gau - he is dead. his son is headman at Qmangeuge Kumtsa.

/Qui husband of Nisa & Khuanlla Gouing was headman when #Tama's father was headman #Tama didnt know where - /Qui goes to the place where we got mangettis with Helmet he doesnt like to stay near water hole - only like hot places & mangettis.

Gau Helmet is headman of Gara. (w of Nai) - /Gu's brother's father & Gau's Helmets father were brothers. Only that one place - there is another one (Thee qwa) a pan west of Gara.

#Tama's Iqui's Ngani
~~#Tama~~ ~~Iqui~~ Gani Jan 23, 53 4 PM. (2)

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I asked about - Guitsa - !Nau ! Nauma - they didn't know but they know names for every turn of the road & the hills

!Té!Kay or Gum - next to kraal is #Tama's qu//na - #Tama's mother told him !Té!Kay is #Tama's ǂsuma. !Au /Tõn or !Au /õ
!Té!Kay is headman of !Au /õ - on Orch. Border

Gao whose wife is Sãtõ. He is headman of hill right across from our camp. Gao's (Δ) mother's father was headman of Gum before Herero's came. Gao's father & #Tama's father were brothers. Gao's (Δ) father took Gao's mother at Gum. Gao's father was elder.
Two brothers came from /ah - maugetti's can be seen across, big omuramba on way to Helmut's land. When they came back to /ah #Tama's father's brother said - we are going back with my wife - to live with her people. #Tama's mother came from Gauma - far to the south of Gum. was visiting - on way to Kai Kai - #Tama's father took her right there & then. Gau said she was going fast to Kai Kai when the snake caught her too quick so people were coming from all directions from Gautscha & Kai Kai because Si//Khao was caught in trap. Then they went hunting to the gaps between Gum & Gautscha and #Tama was the first son. Then they were told - when you want to get water you must go to Gum. #Tama said then (when he was getting to be big boy) why stay in this open place - where no water. When his father goes hunting he must look for places where there is water - When he hears Gao has wife he is at Gum. Then a certain Gao from Kai Kai said to #Tama - why don't you go to fine place I will show you - my (Gao's) fathers place. Gao told #Tama that !Ui Gi was #Tama's gauma - That that was her place - that he must marry her. That's how he is headman Then he killed many beasts (list) - Thats why when people come from many places #Tama knows they won't stay long.

Fgoma / gui yani Jan 23 LKM.

≠Tama's father died in /Gum. his fathers brother died half way between Kai Kai & /Gum. The Herrero's came ~~when~~ to Nama when ≠Tama was young boy.

≠Toma old man Goma is headman of Kaugana - (on way to Kai Kai)

Debe's wife is ≠Toma (old man) Goma's sisters daughter - //Khaega - Q. what is headman of - much laughter - They have never heard of him being headman. ≠Tama said that if a man has house pots - etc - ~~people~~ he can be headman - but if he only carries his things on a stick he can't be headman. ≠Tama says if a man is sitting with axe - knives - pots - making things - he must (might) be a headman.

We looked up chart & told ≠Tama Debe was acting headman for /Te!Kay (a boy.)

Debe Konga is dead - now married to Gasa - whose brother is /Te!Kay who will be headman - hence Debe reigns.

/Te!Kay will be headman of - ≠Tama's doesn't know. he goes to other side Eiseb - //mo≠na - no water there.

/Gui - who stays with Morami - came from !Go - south of No go ~~on the~~ rocky gorge on Eiseb. calls /Gui the father of Gao (musical) !Gona - that /Gui calls this one !Gema. ~~this was father~~ /Gui says mi Tsu to Gao - Gao says mi Tsuma to him.

Headman at Kai Kai is ≠Tama gei (so called because has fat chin). ≠Tama's sisters husband's mothers father is ≠Tamagei.
≠Tamagei's wife is //Te Gishay

≠Tama doesn't know who headman of Kuk is.

~~Tonna~~ Ngani
~~Tonna~~ Igui ~~gani~~ gani Jan 23, 53 LKM

(4)

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When animal has been shot are there any precautions they must take in wraff.

When a young man has shot a giraffe - he is instructed not to eat a chung - he can eat wild grapes - when he in the evening he must fold his arms & on his knees to show he is a man - that night when people are eating food he must not eat - He can drink water He can eat wild grapes - camaco - twi - shada - he can eat meat but not fat - He must not state what he has done - he must keep quiet - they judge by the way he acts what he has done - They must know which animal - That night he must not be asked - Early in the morning they can come to him - his gina can come to him and ask why he behaved that way last night - what was wrong with you - were you sick - you were so still and dull - The first word he will say is Yes - I felt sick - my stomach was not well - I had a sickness of the body - his gina in reply will say - I thought you had shot a "leaning giraffe" i.e. a tough giraffe which had not died - and this had in reply if is was a giraffe will say it was just a small giraffe I shot - thats why I didn't eat. - if its an eland - he will say - oh its just a little gemsbok that I shot - thats why my behavior. Gina will say - oh its alright - when the sun comes up we will go - see what happened to it. And they must tell anyone - just start off - then others will notice ~~that it is~~ situation and some will follow without being told. And if its a giraffe they will wait another day - but if people see them go first morning the others will know its a gemsbok or similar. The fellow ~~the~~ ~~they find them~~ Will say nothing till get to the spoor - then will - If its a bull eland he will say - this is the gina I shot - if its a female one he will say /wara - ~~its~~ this is the thing I shot at - the

Egma Igui gani Jan 28 L.K.M.

shot was not good enough - Then they will follow the track + find the place where is sleep. If it slept frequently it is good sign - will shot.

If he has shot or something and missed he will keep quiet because his heart is not right -

In case they found is ~~a~~ killed is he will eat the fatter part. and his gema will be given the back parts -

This procedure is for adults too.

224 753 ~~The~~ If animal is going to be two or three days dying they can find place where is urinated and put the end of the bow into urine - This means it mustn't pass urine any more - This because if is urinates often it might get rid of some of the poison.

If human gets scratched would he drink lot of water to get rid of poison - Human has is as much blood as animal - dies quicker.

224 There is a certain tree - if they have followed is a day + slept in its track - must look for tree, and take a stick from is + ~~point~~ prick its track then put stick in fire - then ~~p~~ round his head three times and then point in direction animal went and then point it forward home - This is then a digging stick. !Co is an excellent wood - Do they ever pray - laughter - they dont pray after they have shot is - They could pray while hunting for it.

224 834 After a shot - When he comes back he can speak to his wife but no one else - he mustn't sleep with her. If she is menstreating he mustn't speak to her - laughter They dont want to use the word menstruation - They are afraid of saying that word in public.

224 301 They still use discs - as last year. they were using them as Gautscha - Discs are sometimes out of a tree (//geis) sometimes bear fruit that can be eaten) Cut in rectangles about this size - There must be 4 - 2 female + 2 males. Males must be little bigger.

Interview with Nahari + Khwo110 - dau of Dobe and others March 26. 1953

7 pages

Khwo110 - dau of Dobe - wife of Bo

Bo's father is !Nani !na who here working for Moremi. He is head man of his group. They belong at qura.

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Khwo110 says some black people came from Khadum and told them to come here. Franz was among them.

Lawrence is asking:

Franz has been to Dobe. On foot. 2 sleeps. When? The first time when ~~the~~ black man was brought to supervise this place. Moremi was here. ~~Who~~ It was the 1st year Moremi was here. Mokaba the headman of Kadum was with Franz and Sindimba. Sindimba was supervisor here before Moremi + was discharged. There were 3 africans + 3 Bushmen i.e 1 gunda, gao and they don't remember the other name. The 3 Bushmen were also from Kadum. They all went to Dobe. Are there any black men at Dobe? No. It is a waterhole in the omarumba which goes east. Is Dobe 2 sleeps from here or from Khadum. 2 sleeps from here. Khwo110 knows Dobe.

Khwo110 says they lived at Chan qui and went to Dobe in a day and back.

Why did Franz go to Dobe? Franz says he accompanied the headman at Khadum to go to Bushmen. i.e Sindimba. They were instructed by Mr. Morris to get Bushmen.

They got Debe? No they brought 4 girls, who were Debe's relatives. They left word for Debe to come. Khoo ll o did not among the 4. Franz said. Does Khoo ll o know the 4 girls? Khoo ll o answered she was one of them. Khoo ll o ll guse (Kushay) ! Nai and Zu/Kho. Zu/Kho has now gone to Bechuana land. ll guse (Kushay)'s husband is Iguda ~~! Nai's husband is~~ He lives at Khadum. ! Nai's husband is ≠Toma. He lives here. He works for Moremi and lives with ! Nai. In the same werft with Bo ! Nani ! na etc. Was Khoo ll o's baby born when she came. No. She was married to ! Nani at that time. The baby was born after we were here last year. The girls were brought 5 years ago, Franz says.

What did the black men say to Khoo ll o when they told her to come. I asked Khoo ll o. She say they said they were to come and live with them and they would give them food. Laurence asked if the black men ask to marry them. Khoo ll o said no. L. asked did they say they must work? Khoo ll o said yes.

Who came then with Debe? Laurence asked Khoo ll o answered Bo, ! Ti ! Kay qi qae, Igaisay Igaisay M. to Khoa (Kwan) ll a. Where is he now? at Ngae Ngae.

L. asked did they work for Moremi? No for Sindimba. Sindimba they worked for him 3 years. Moremi was here too in function of police. Sindimba was Bushman supervisor. He was discharged and

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Nahari took his place. Nahari has had this job for about 3 years.

What work did they do for Sindumba? They ploughed + took out weeds.

Do they do the same for Moreni? Yes. Why did they stop work for Moreni? Because he does not feed them. Did they work during these rains? Yes. Only while her child is sick she did not work. They worked last week.

Does he feed them on the days they work? Khwollo says he does not give food, he gives only squash.

Xama has been here for 3 yrs. (Xama is Mother of Zuma who is wife of Debe's son Geo.)

I asked: Khwollo Do you want to go away back to Gura. Yes she says she and Debe want to go back to their country. She says they asked Moreni to take the goats so they could go. Moreni refused. Xama said Moreni advised Mr. Morris not to let them go. Xama said Mr. Morris said they could go away but Moreni refused.

Laurence asked again. Do not some people go for veldkos here? Yes Xama said they do not go. Why? Because they are sick. She says there are grapes - but she does not know where they are. Laurence said Tut Tut! She laughed

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Xama says she can not ask where they are because she is not related to the people who know.

Khollo and her people have nothing to do with the goats. Have they a Mealie field? No Could they have one if they want? She does not think so. Did no one ever give them seed? No. Whom did Mr. Morris plant Mealies for when he was here? She does not know. Mr. Morris gives seed to Moremi. Moremi gets the Mealies for himself when they are ripe.

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Zuma, I asked, Does Debe have a Mealie field. Zuma says no. I said Moremi said they had. Xama said that there is a field supposed to be for Debe but that Moremi takes the crop to his home.

I asked Zuma Do you think Debe want to get rid of the goats. Yes. I asked Khollo. She said yes. She has begged Debe to take the goats to Moremi & go. Laurence asked if they could not go without Debe. She did go once and came back to get Debe. Bo would stay she said. Bo has 2 wives. He would stay with her.

Does the other wife have enough to eat now? La. asked. Khollo says Bo's other wife is taken care of. Bo kicks

an animal & gave Meat to the other wife. She is! Th.

Zuma says she gets no food here. Laurence asked why she does not go. Zuma says she will if Zuma went would her husband go too? Yes. Xama & Zuma & Qao her husband would go.

Zuma's husband is to do road work. He is not getting food because the road work has not begun. He is waiting for it to begin. What does Qao do for food now? Nothing. Why can not he go for hunting? He is sick.

Nahari was brought in to the interview. Laurence asked if Qao was working to do road work. Nahari said the Bushmen are fed while they work. Nahari says they do not feed the families while the men work. The women he says must find veldkos. Laurence asked how much the workers get. Nahari says they get food to cook morning and evening.

Laurence asked Nahari where the veldkos is here. Nahari says there is veldkos. He does not know where. He says Bushmen have lived here for years and have fed themselves. Nahari says Nongongo - ie Mangetti. Nahari says there are Mangetti's to the north near enough to go to in a day & return. Wild grapes. Does Khollo know where? She says no.

Why does not she know? She says the places she knew were burned by fire. She no longer knows where to find any.
Does Nahari know other Veldkoo.
He says one other. Are any ripe now I asked. One is smoked by the rains. Other are beginning to ripen?

~~Nahari~~ I asked Nahari how Bushmen are expected to feed themselves He said they are free ~~to go~~ even for a month. I asked Nahari to say to Khoo II o Zuma + Xama that they were free to go. He then said he could not say that because the road work was starting + they must stay.

So I said how does he expect them to eat. He says as they always did We said we had 2 starving babies.

Nahari said they are not like Europeans they cant feed all Bushmen. Laurence said then they must let them go. Nahari says he can not let them go because Mr. Morris will want them for the roads. Nahari said if he told Mr. Morris he let them go he would be afraid of Mr. Morris and Mr. Morris would send them - even in the night - to get Bushmen. Nahari says he is a servant of a master and can not do otherwise than instructed.

I asked Nahari if Debe + Bo !Nani !Na have mealie fields of their own. He says they have a mealie field but it has been burned by the sun. Did they have a mealie field last year? Last year was a starvation year. Did they have a mealie field the year before? Yes. When the mealies were harvested where was the crop put. He says after harvesting he keeps the crop at his own place + he rations it out. If he gave it to the Bushmen they would eat it all at once. The mealies are kept in a separate place. My mother is ~~He is~~ shown the Bushmen food. R. asked is there any there now? No. Was there any last year? No.

I asked Khwo llo is the crops the year before last were not given to them but to the men who were working. Did Khwo llo work on the mealie field? Yes and she was given food while she worked none after.

I asked Nahari what Bushmen were given the crop to eat? The crops were eaten by all Bushmen. He says he gave Debe a full basket of crops. Nahari said the Bushmen could eat the amount he gave in a few hours.

Ngani

!gam his children + fear

Oct 23, 52

(1)

Threats? None were brought forth when I asked.

If they tell a child not to run away + the
861 child does not listen they pick it up.
and put it on their back.
If the child is older and does not listen
they take him by the arm and say Don't
you see that will harm you.
≠ga o wa !e - Means look after yourself.
861 ga is a starting word. sisi: everything.
192 Wa twa si.
! Naie - lion.
! Ne go - porcupine black snake - Mamba
≠ gai puff adder puts his head under the gums.
They tell a child he must look at the spoor
868 and watch carefully to each side.
825 They learn to read the ground.
861 hyaenas. they teach them to fear. Would
they attack a child? Yes - very bad
to children and people. Do they know
if a child to have been killed by a hyaena?
!gam saw a child taken by a hyaena.
She was a small girl. It was her ga
!Naoka. She was inside a sherm asleep.
Took her by the leg + dragged her. The
people jumped up and yelled the hyaena
ran away They laugh as they demonstrate
the yaya you yells. She was bitten not killed
Bit right through her leg till the teeth closed.

Present are !gam answering - !Ui #Gure Mollie
!Kushay
& Tiki has is wife - who

!gam Miss - Medicine etc Oct 23

(1)

868 825 752

What did they do to heal the wound. They ~~put~~ used the Medicine Tami. This is pr Kin Bores. They put it on the sore - Do not make a cut at another part, the body to put it in. It comes from cigarette. There is none here. !gam has not seen the plant. So it made into a powder. Yes. Who has some? She has. But has no more gave it to her ga, !ti. not ours. They did not call the Medicine Man when the girl was bitten. No ceremony.

Another person !gam ~~was~~ attacked by a hyaena she heard of a boy. She did not see.

She is giving this list without questions? except any detail

Another thing to fear? - leopard.

825 861

They teach children! When you walk around and see a hole that might be a leopard hole do not go there. It is unnecessary for you to go there. A leopard is very bad thing a leopard kills a person. He takes your scalp and pulls it over your face then it hangs. Does !gam know any one to be hurt or killed by a leopard. ~~!Huga~~ !Ungka

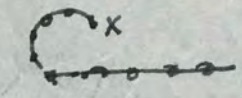
!gam's tuma was killed by a leopard. !Hum He was hunting & saw a leopard spoor. He thought it was the one with the dols (i.e. !gao (This is not the same word as a person's name there is no name with !gao. Name is

!Hum is whitish. !gao has dols & is brownish.

Some have left!

Igam miss leopards + graves oct 23

(3)

And all the time the spon. was a leopard. ! Hum
The leopard saw him just - the leopard
turned around made a ~~circle~~ turn the leopard

waited for him at X
leaped on him and killed him at that spot.
Igu ka's ~~brotha~~ son-in-law is ~~Igao~~ Igao (young son Igao has same name as our Igao
~~Pooga~~ Tuna Guka was killed
this Igao is some old man elsewhere
no me we know.

What else do they teach children to beware of?
861 Nothing.
869 What about graves? Yes, they teach children
775 not to go to the graves. If you go to a grave you get sick. The old people told them this. Any one adult or child would get sick.
Do the ghosts of the dead stay at the graves? Yes. They stay at the graves. And they go around too. (Cans to guess) and then go back to the graves because that is their place. ~~and they are called there they do not~~ (I Ngani ~~Hams~~ corrected called to belong)
Do the ghosts move about only at night or in the day time too? Only at night. The people are afraid of them? Yes. What harm might they do? They are afraid only to get sick and die and go to the same place.

This is an example of leading interrogation lead where it was.

Picture -

484 [Thorn arrived 10:30. He walked in 1 day + to 10:30 the next day.
n. not back still at Tsau.

Picture

775
789

Do there anything they do to protect themselves from the sickness that could be caused by ghosts? They have a powder that smells (Bushmen scent Name says) very good (Not Tambuli.

Ngasi

≠ Nisa gave me some from her lorlors skee. I gam showed how they wheel loss some of it into the wind to keep the ghosts away.

Is this powder something that grows here. It comes out like a grass. It smells like sweet grass. It looks something like untjies. (I gao has gone, I Name say, to throw his water away. Name is Sa

They throw the powder into the wind if the wind comes when they pass the graves. Then they stop the wind with the powder. The powder has power. The old people did not tell I gam if ≠gao! Na put the power into the powder.

Ghosts go to live with I gao! Na - am ≠ gues. volunteered. They have heard this from the Medicine man.

So the ghosts do anything besides make people sick? ans. You get sick, then you get better, then you die.

Do they ever ask the ghosts to help? Yes. They ask them that they must leave them alone not to worry them. Do they ever give food to the ghosts? No. How could they. I gam volunteered they cant see them. Can the Medicine Man see them? Yes + Talk to them? Yes.

(over)

Jean } smiles as Glass + Philip greet Theresa.] 484 576
+ Dissa } Gui ones wife

Oct 23 (5)

Do the ghosts ever helps the Medicine men. i.e tell them when or where to hunt. Yes they say go in this direction you will see game. Do the Medicine men do anything for the ghosts to please them? I Gam does not know. The Medicine men should know this.

30

Igara is pounding bone for her Karos and sticks - and red bark. to a powder

23 October 1952

Children abd fear
Medicine
Leopards
Graves and ghosts

Threats? None were brought forth when I asked. If they tell a child not to run away, and the child does not listen, they pick it up and put ut on their back.

If the child is older and does not listen they take him by the arm and say, Don't you see that will harm you.

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They tell a child he must look at the spoor and watch carefully to each side. They learn to read the ground. Hyenas -- they teach them to fear. Would they attack a child? Yes, very bad to children and people. Do they know of a child to have been killed by a hyena? !Gam saw a child taken by a hyena. She was a small girl. It was her ga !Hooga. She was inside a sherm asleep. Took her by the leg and dragged her. The people jumped up and yelled, the hyena ran away. They laugh as they demonstrate the ya ya ya yells. She was bitten, not killed. bit right through her leg till the teeth closed.

23 October 1952

Children and fear
Medicine
Leopards
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Present are !Gam answering !U #Gase mother of

Ti Khao's wife who

what did they do to heal the wound. They used the medicine

Tami -- thisisfor sores. They put it on the sore -- do

not make a cut at another part of the body to put it in.

It comes from cigarette -- there is none here. !Gam has

not seen the plant. Is it made into a powder. Yes

Notes: Brian Enslin August 18 1952 /Gam ~~46~~ Gr III

Brian, David:

Group III, interrogations, informant Cavesitjue. At Musinjan's Kraal, /Gam

Cattle:

~~Tobacco~~ A roll of tobacco 3 ft. long, 1 ft. diameter. given in trade for a young cow from the Bechuanas.

464 179 They say they have a hard time as the cattle eat a kind of bush and die. This bush is the kind that grows green all the time. In the hot time, Aug. until the rains, it is very poison. However in the rains it's not so bad. If they can stop the cow that has eated the bush-from drinking wa ter they can save its life. But if it drinks it comes to the kraal, starts shivering and dies.

(While this interrogation happened I asked them to show me a sample of this bush. Every Herrero in the group started shouting to the bushmen to get a sample. The tone was harsh, such as a white to black relation. The bushmen were not very obediant and only after considerable talking one was sent.)

A big ox is sold for approximately 20 to 25 pounds in Bechuanaland.

Bushman Herrero relationships:

The Herroros look after the bushman. Those bushmen staying with the Herreros are fed by the Herroros, who give them meat, mealies and tobacco.

The relation is as we at the camp look after our boys, give them foo d, but do not expect them to give us any if they should find it. If the bushmen shoot any game they aren't expected to give any to the Herreros.

(

(While I was doing this tea was served to all the Herreros (by Cavesitjue) in cups and saucers. The bushmen got meat doled out to them in pieces by the Herrero women who selected the choice bits for themselves. Cavesitjue seems to be the matron of the outfit as she looks after the kids, tells them what to do, helps them, ties their ~~xxxxxxx~~ breachcloths up for them. One kid stubbed his toe on a plow and ran to Cavesitjue and she comforted him.)

Informant:

~~Scrod~~x: /No!nu, man with two wives

684 884 If a bushman goes out in the veld and comes back and finds ~~that~~ another man ~~haxxxxx~~ sleeping with his wife what ?

He has the right to kill this man immediately, or the wife, depending on the circumstances and his likes and dislikes. In /Nu!nu's case, he very much loves his second wife, and has, asa consession to /Gow, the interpreter, who is his freind, allowed him to sleep with wife one.

Stoffle : A herrero headman at KyKy who owns lots of cattle. Some of his cattle are at /Gam. No bushmen here have any cattle. Bushmen do not stay with any group of Herreros long enough to acquire any cattle. If they do get any cattle they slaughter them when they are hungry and too lazy to hunt. (David from /Gam said this.) 464 179

(Also from David) Bushmen women are popular with Herrero and Bechuana men from other districts. They are tougher, last longer, and are easier to handle than other women. Some Herreros or Bechuanas take Bushmen wives, clean them up, give them a dress,

and then they are good wives. Herrero wives are more demanding and want more clothes.

628 Do Bushmen quarrell ? Asked to Cavesitjue.
685 Yes, sometimes in the velt when they are amongst themselves they fight. The fight with poison arrows and assegais. This does not often happen. They never steal other bushmens property, other than wives.

Do Bushmen steal Herreor cattle in the veld?
Yes, they did long age but the Herreros punished them and they do not do so any more.

464 ~~Kaiixxxxxx~~: Taken the evening of Monday Aug.
177 (Bushmen were stamping food in a wooden bowl, a sample of berries given to Mom. Smells sour. This was brought to /Gam by strangers from Ky Ky. By /Goma and Bau, his wife who are relatives of Thoria. The Herreros and Bushmen were friendly. They made a fire and brought a stool. The Bushmen seem to remain in groups together. Some Bushmen children came to sit around me. Thoria brought me a dry sample of the berries the bushmen were stamoing. Cavesitjue has a bag of these berries which she and the Bushmen children collect locally. The berries are scarce aroung /Gam but are plentiful around Kyky. A large dish of these berries were mixed with water and David the interpreter was invited to eat too. He says it was slightly bitter. The food looks red, mealies mixed with tomato sauce. The bushmen kids were eating these berries dry.)

Asked David from /Gam. How long have they been working this well. What did it cost?
They got the dynamite from the govt and it hasn't cost anyting except the work they've done. He says the water that Drotskey says is there doesn't exist. Says Drotskey only looks at stones lying around.

How do they punish Bushmen?
If he has killed any Herrero or stolen and slaughtered an ox, they take him to Tsau and hand him over to the police. If he omly makes a small error he is reprimandedseverly.

Have bushmen any religion?
No. Have no idea of God, and have no ministers of their own, and they curse at you when you speak of God.
~~xxQuxxxxxx~~
Question asked again. What does a bushman do if he comes back and finds anothe man sleeping with his wife.
There is only one punishment, death to the man in question. He then again stays with the wife in question, but he amy kill her later. They do not do this here as they are scared of the Herreros. They do this quite often in the veld. Thus we often hear of a child having no father or mother.

464 177 Cavesitjue says: Bushmen children run around without clothes and never get sick or get colds. (There were several groups of Bushman children running around and playing, and one of them lay down to sleep curled up beside the fire. The Herreros say he may be this way all night.)

The bushmen adults here look after the bushmen kids as a group with Cavesitjue to supervise.

If a bushman wife dies and has a small child, the father of the child has to look after it and he does not give it to another woman to look after it.

586 736 If a bushman's wife dies, does he have to mourn or can he look for another wife?
He must mourn for a long time before he can have another wife.

If he takes a second wife does she look after the children of the first wife?
No. The father has to do this. The second wife may help him but this isn't necessary

There is one child here who has been adopted by the wash woman, Cavesitjue. The child was abandoned in the veld by his parents and found by Cavesitjue who looks after it now,

847 Cavesitjue says: If a bushman woman has a child and bears another before a year of the first birth, the new child is taken out to the veld (is left in the veld) burried in the ground with his head sticking out. He is left there to die. (This is the way Cavesitjue's adopted bushman child was found,) The first child is then looked after. The reason for this is that the bushman woman wants a young son or daughter to send and use, and she can rear one alone sooner than she could rear two, one a year old and one new born. She hasn't enough food to support two children at th the same time.

Brian Enslin /Gam August 19 evening 1952
David

Interrogations:

584 How does a bushman go about taking a wife:
He has to ask the parents of the girl he wants to marry.
He has to place a string of red beads around either of their necks. The wife is then considered his. If the husband or the parents (?) are of importance a dance is organized.

If parents are dissatisfied with the son in law what can they do?
If the mother and father of the girl are present and the son in law ill treats her it leads to a lot of trouble. The parents and the girl can beat the man.

587 Can a bushamn widow take a husband soon again?
No. She has to wait till one rainy season passes. She has to stay out in the bush for the first night of the rain. Naked. She is then considered clean and may marry again.

484 177 The reims hanging in the tree belong to Stoffle. He has a bushamn making these reims for him. This man is the father of Jo/o. Stoffle isn't paying him, but he may make him a present but he is under no obligation to do this.