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THE BAWENDA: A SKETCH OF THEIR HISTORY AND CUSTOMS.

By the Rev. E. Gottschling.

[WITH PLATE XXVII.]

A. Name.—That part of the Bantu race of which I have to treat in this paper calls itself Bawenda, that is to say, people of Wenda, or inhabitants of Wenda, a country in which they had been living formerly, but the position of which has not yet been ascertained. However, the Bawenda have transferred the name of their native country to their present abode in the north-east corner of the Transvaal, roughly speaking, between the rivers Limpopo and Levuvu.

The Bawenda are called by the Bathonga, Bapfeša, and by the Basotho, Bathsoetla.

The inhabitants of the Magato country (the western portion of Wenda) are named after an old chief, the Baramapulana, and this name is often mistaken as the name for the whole Bawenda nation.

Very few Europeans know the real name of the Bawenda: either they mix them up with the Basotho, or simply call them "Mountain-Kaffirs," because they live in the precipitous Zoutpansberg mountain range.

B. The History of the Bawenda.—The Bawenda, like all Bantu, have no written books, and in consequence very little is known about their history, and up to 1872 they never allowed a missionary or any other European, who could have learned their history from the old people, to settle down amongst them.

However, the tradition and legends as well as the language of the Bawenda prove that they have crossed the interior of Africa in coming down to their present habitation.

The late Rev. C. Beuster, to whose researches I am indebted for most of the information I can give under this heading, and who has been living about thirty years as a missionary amongst the Bawenda, has come to the conclusion that they came originally from the Lower Congo. But a comparison of their language with the languages of the other Bantu in West and East Africa, as well as in the interior, has led me to the opinion that the Bawenda originally came from the great lake regions of Eastern Central Africa.

From their tradition and legends I gather that the Bawenda are a degenerate nation which has seen better times.

According to the tradition of the Bawenda, as explained by the late Rev. C. Beuster, they were led into their present abode, in the beginning of the eighteenth century, by their great king Thoho ea Ndoü = "elephant head," who ruled not only the whole Bawenda nation, but also the Bakalanga in the north, and portions of the Basotho in the south.

The capital of Thoho ea Ndoü is said to have been Dzada in Nšelele land. There he erected buildings with the same material as is found in the ruins of Zimbabwe, which, as I am led to believe, was simply taken from these ruins.

The Bakalanga had to carry these stones down from Zimbabwe as part of their tribute to Thoho ea Ndoü. The rule of Thoho ea Ndoü marks the golden era of the Bawenda. They say that he never died, but is still living somewhere hidden in Bokalanga, and that sometime he will come back again to bring them a new time of peace, prosperity and happiness.

All this would tend to intimate that Thoho ea Ndoü was the ruler of the Monomotapa Empire towards the end of its existence, during the latter half of the seventeenth century.

After Thoho ea Ndou's death the power over the Bakalanga in the north and over the Basotho south of the Mononono or Dwars river was lost for the Bawenda, and the government was divided amongst the three sons of Thoho ea Ndoü. Peace and unanimity, however, could yet be preserved for some time. During the last century the Bawenda country unfortunately has been the scene of frequent disturbances by war both foreign and intestine.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century, the Bapedi, under Tulare, the grandfather of Sekukuni I, invaded the country of the Bawenda, but the mountains secured the victory for the Bawenda. Until this day they call one of their mountains Tšekhundamalema, that is to say, "Conqueror of the Bapedi" (in their language malema is the name of the Bapedi and khunda means to conquer).

After the Matabele kingdom in Mashonaland had been established by Moselekatse in 1838, they were troubled by the Zulu hordes crossing their country in order to follow the Matabele to Mashonaland. About 1840 a Zulu horde under Ngoana played havoc amongst the Bawenda, and was followed by a strong Zulu force led by Songandawe, but the latter went over the Limpopo and joined Moselekatse. The mountain fortresses again saved the Bawenda from destruction.

But when they were in no danger from invaders, they made war between themselves, especially after the death of a chief. When, about 1859, Chief Mphefo I of south-west Wenda died, Ramavona his son was appointed by him as his successor, but the brother of the latter, Ramapulana, aspired after the authority. He, however, had not enough followers to conquer Ramavona. Ramapulana, in order to gain his object, went to Lydenburg, then an independent republic of the Boers, for assistance, and returned with a Boer force under Commandant H. By their aid Ramapulana became chief of that part of the Bawenda country, at present know as Magatoland.

Ramapulana, in order to make sure of his chieftainship, had his brother Ramavona strangled. This is the manner of removing dangerous princes among the Bawenda, for the blood of princes must not be shed. Ramapulana did not long enjoy his power, because the Boers remained near his residence Dzanane, and founded the village of Schoemansdaal. They soon found that Ramapulana proved ungrateful for their assistance. In order to avoid the Boers, Ramapulana appointed his son Davana as prince regent, and fled to Tšewase, the grandfather of the present chief of that country.

When Ramapulana died, his people suspected Davana of having killed his father, and chose his younger brother, the well-known Magato, as their chief, pretending it had been the last wish of the dying Ramapulana. Magato gained the recognition of the Boers by certain promises. Davana fled into the country of Pafuli.

Magato thus owed his chieftainship to the Boers, like his father, but did not mean to keep his promises, intending to break them as soon as possible. In 1867 he succeeded in destroying Schoemansdaal, and freed himself from the power of the Transvaal Republic.

In September, 1895, Magato died, and his son Maëmo was made chief, but he was not able to stand against his elder brother Mphefo, who ruled the Bawenda of Magatoland until 1899, when the late General Joubert with a strong force conquered Magatoland, and Mphefo, with part of his followers, crossed the Limpopo and fled into Mashonaland. Over the remainder of the Magato tribe Senthumule was appointed chief. Ramapulana is said to have been a direct descendant of the great Thoho ea Ndoü.

Towards the north-east of Magatoland we find the second Bawenda kingdom, the country of Tševase, who is also a direct descendant of Thoho ea Ndoü. Old Tševase was a very prudent man, who always minded his own business and did not allow himself to be misled by Magato to assist him in his warfare against the Transvaal Republic. As a reward for his prudence he retained his independence during his life.

Still further to the north-east is the third great Bawenda kingdom, that of Pafuli, with the well-known Makoarela as its present chief or Pafuli. As the kings of Egypt of old were invariably called Pharaoh, so the chiefs of the three great Bawenda kingdoms are called Ramapulana (or Makato), Tševase and Pafuli respectively, whatever their personal name may be. The same is the case with the smaller chiefs, Rambuda, Motele, Matzebandela and others.

Those desirous to know more about the history of the Bawenda are recommended to read W. Gründler, *Geschichte der Bawenda Mission in Nord Transvaal*, in which the reports of the late Rev. C. Beuster have been published.

C. The Nationality of the Bawenda.—The Bawenda are one of the numerous Bantu nations, showing every sign of a separate tribe. They are distinguished markedly from all the Bantu tribes, the Bakalanga in the north, the Magwamba in the east, the Basotho in the south and the Bethšuana in the west of their present country, in appearance, in their customs and habits of life, and especially in their language.

Their appearance shows at once that they belong to the interior tribes and that their blood has been mixed with that of Asiatics. The custom of circumcision

¹ Berlin N.O. 43. Buchhandlung der Berliner Evang. Mission's Gesellschaft: Georgenkirch Strasse, 70.

was not practised by them originally, but they are adopting it now. Their habits of life are also different, but the greatest difference is shown in the language—in the vocabulary as well as in the grammar—and proves that the Bawenda are a distinct tribe of the great Bantu family.

I. APPEARANCE.

The Bawenda, with few exceptions, are of a medium stature; their complexion varies from a dull dark-brown to a fair reddish-brown. Their appearance shows the well-known characteristics of the Bantu of Eastern Central Africa, with a strain of Asiatic blood as a proof that they did not originally come from the Lower Congo, but from the lake regions.

II. CHARACTER.

This shows all the weakness of that of the Bantu of the interior; but they are known specially for their courtesy and politeness, and they have also a very strong sense of justice and honesty.

III. HABITS OF LIFE.

(a) Dwellings are constructed of poles planted one by one in a circle, covered by thatched roofs, which are sometimes little masterpieces of wickerwork. The poles are plastered nicely with clay inside and outside, and the lower part of the wall is painted with simple designs. As paint, different coloured clays are Wall and floor are made by the women.

As building sites, the wooded slopes or even the highest tops of the mountains

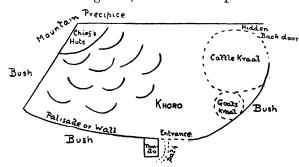


Fig. 1.—Sketch plan of Kraal.

quite a labyrinth of narrow footpaths and gates.

chosen by preference. The "kraals" of the Bawenda are mostly very small; kraals of a hundred huts are rare. The huts of the chief occupy the highest terrace in the kraal.

The huts are scattered about irregularly, and the different yards can only be reached by

The whole kraal is hidden in the bush, so that a stranger will pass by unconscious of the fact that there is a native village near. Often long winding narrow footpaths are kept open only by the support of a single pole here and there; they are so narrow and low that it is a very difficult task to bring a horse into such a village. In times of war the poles are taken away and the thorny creepers allowed to fall down, and thus form a natural bulwark against the enemy, who can neither enter the kraal through the thicket nor destroy it by fire. The Bawenda kraals in the mountains are, moreover, often protected by walls of from 6 feet to 8 feet in height, by which they are surrounded and subdivided. The walls are from 4 feet to 6 feet thick at the base and from 2 feet to 3 feet at the top. A double wall of raw undressed stones is built, without mortar, but the space between the two sides of the wall is filled up with dry soil.

The narrow entrance to the village is closed every night with strong and heavy poles standing almost upright and kept in position by a framework of poles. In daytime only a few of the gate poles are put aside, scarcely enough to allow a woman with a pot of water on her head to pass through.

In order that the kraal may be better hidden from the view of the enemy, the tops of the walls surrounding and subdividing the kraals are sown with Indian corn or Kaffir corn, or planted with tobacco. Travellers through the country very seldom come across a Bawenda kraal. To see where the Bawenda dwell, it is necessary to climb to the tops of mountains, then the roofs of their huts can be seen peeping out of the surrounding green like clusters of mushrooms in the woods.

Near the entrance to chiefs' kraals an oblong fortress-like walled enclosure is to be found, which is the school for the young men, and is called "Tondo." In times of unrest this *tondo* serves as watch-house for the town guard.

(b) Food and drink, etc.—The Bawenda are very particular about their food. Although in time of want they will eat anything that grows in the country in the shape of grain, fruit or roots, or anything living in their woods, flying in the air or creeping on their trees—as, for instance, even locusts and caterpillars—they prefer above everything Indian corn, which they know how to prepare for food in many different ways. As a rule the grain of the Indian corn is crushed by the women in wooden mortars, with pestles of a very hard and heavy wood, into such a fine flour that it is equal to the finest flour of wheat. From this maize flour they cook a very delicious paste, which, however, is not presented for food in unsightly lumps, but by very skilful handling with a large wooden basting ladle is formed into long thin cakes, which are very accurately arranged in nice piles on very clean wooden dishes.

If they have neither meat nor milk to eat with these cakes (called *Mekonde*), they prepare from many herbs growing in the bush, field or garden, different kinds of sauces, sometimes mixed with crushed monkey-nuts, of which also they are very fond. They know how to prepare salt from the ashes of certain herbs which they burn for that purpose.

The Bawenda drink different kinds of home-brewed beer, milk, tea from a wild growing plant, also coffee which they have learned from our missionaries to grow in their own gardens. Besides that they are very fond of chewing sugar-cane and tobacco, and of smoking and snuffing. Unfortunately they have also become partly accustomed to smoking *dacha* (hemp).

(c) Clothing.—In their original state they were very little in the shape of clothing, which differed greatly from that worn by the Magwamba, and more resembled that of the Bakalanga and North Basotho,

By the influence of our missionaries the Bawenda of to-day have been taking largely to the use of European clothing and dress stuffs.

- (d) Sleeping.—The huts are used mostly for sleeping in. A smouldering fire is kept burning all night in the centre. Mats are spread on the floor, on which the members of the family lie with their feet towards the fire; their heads rest on thick wooden rollers near the wall.
- (e) Agriculture and Husbandry.—The Bawenda are very diligent agriculturists, and, wherever possible, leave no sod unturned in order to make gardens, to plant their maize, red and white kaffir corn, sweet potatoes, groundnuts, beans, mofoho, sweet cane, water-melon, pumpkin, calabash, tobacco, etc. They will plant their corn even on the steepest mountain slopes and in the narrowest crevices between the rocks. In their desire to cultivate the ground they, unfortunately, cut down many acres of very old and valuable wood which ought to be preserved for better purposes.

Their husbandry has unhappily been very much reduced by the "rinderpest" and the Rhodesian redwater. Few cattle have been left in the country. Horse sickness leaves very few horses and mules alive. Donkeys thrive pretty well. Sheep, goats and pigs are kept, also fowls.

(f) Pastimes.—Amongst the favourite pastimes of the Bawenda is the music of their various home-made but very primitive instruments, and the dance.

The men can occupy themselves for hours and hours with the game of *Mofuva*, a kind of chess. The *mofuva* board consists of the trunk of a tree which has been flattened sufficiently to allow of four rows of square holes to be hewn in it, with at least twenty-eight holes in each row. The ends of the board are nicely carved in spiral form. Small pebbles or fruit stones are used to play with.

The little boys play at hunting or at war. Out of potter's clay they form all sorts of figures, people as well as animals. They make little musical instruments or build toy vehicles with which to amuse themselves. (Plate XXX, Fig. 1.) They also play several ball games, the bulbs of wild plants serving as balls.

The little girls imitate in play the household duties of their mothers, which very soon will fall to their lot in earnest, or a group of them sits around a small hole made in the ground playing the game of "Ndode" with thirty little pebbles or fruit-pips.

(g) Their Trades.—The men prepare tobacco for smoking and snuffing; they tan and curry skins, make carosses, plait mats and bags, make corn-baskets, carve walking-sticks, spoons, chairs, head-rests, basins and dishes. They also make weapons and musical instruments.

Before there were any European traders amongst them they smelted iron and copper ore and made their own hoes, battle-axes, assegais and arrow-points from metal of their own smelting. They know how to make gunpowder and to cast bullets from lead. They make sandals, fur-caps and other things required by them.

The women sometimes are very able potters.

(h) War.—Until very recently the chiefs of the Bawenda settled their political differences quite independently by war, by invasions with murderous surprises of the enemy during the night or in the early morning, by incendiarism, pillaging or waylaying. Many a single enemy has been surprised and assassinated or deceitfully poisoned in order to get rid of him. The victory was celebrated by a dance of the victors over the dead bodies of the enemy, and parts of their flesh were mixed with beef and eaten by the heroes of the day.

IV. Curriculum Vitæ.

The curriculum vitæ of the heathen Bawenda is a long succession of fear, superstition, suppression and misery. From birth to death they are haunted by their gods, by the ghosts of their ancestors, by all sorts of hobgoblins, and tremble with fear of their witchdoctors and chiefs.

1. Birth.—When a child's birth is expected, the witchdoctor is called and has to give medicine to the mother to give her power to nurse the child (o nea damo). As soon as the child is born the witchdoctor has to come again to protect both mother and child by his medicine and sorcery. The place where the child has been born and where it is laid down in the hut is surrounded with little sticks which, through the power of sorcery, act as charms and keep the demons away so that they may not do any harm to the child. The mother has to remain three days in this hut, the new-born child one month. When the child is four days old the witchdoctor (Nanga) comes again, o thusa moana, to give the child the name which has been chosen by the mother. With a little sharp instrument the Nanga makes little cuts on the child's body and its extremities till the blood comes, and rubs some medicine in them to make the child strong and lusty. A few days later the Nanga turns up again to tie a fetish (tšetungulo) round the child's neck, arms, ankle or waist; a sacrifice is also brought for the child (ndi tšedzimo tšamaine), which is in fact nothing else but the witchdoctor's payment.

In every case of illness the Nanga has to prepare some new fetish, and sacrifices are offered again for the child. After one month has passed by, since the birth of the child, the Nanga brings again some medicine with which to anoint the child, after which procedure it may be brought outside the hut (O bwisa moana nga mošonga) (to bring the child outside by medicine).

At the age of five years, the Nanga comes again to wean the child from the mother (o lomola), when he gives it medicine to forget the mother's breast.

Father and mother are also anointed with some medicine; this is called o ola. If twins are born they are killed, for if they were left alive it would bring a calamity upon the whole country, according to their opinion.

2. Education.—Very few attempts are made at education during childhood. The little boys are sent out to look after the goats and sheep; the bigger ones have to take care of the cattle. They assist also in the agricultural work of the season. The little girls help their mothers in gathering fuel, carrying water, preparing food, weeding the gardens and in harvesting.

The intellectual education is altogether chance-work. When sitting round the fire at night the children hear from the tales of the grown-up people what they think of God, mankind and creation, and they listen as eagerly to these tales as any European child to the fairy tales of its grandmother; and at the times of sacrifice and sorcery on the part of the witchdoctor, the children see and learn all the superstitious doings of their parents.

The official training of youth is left until they enter manhood.

The Bawenda, as stated before, have not the custom of circumcision, but they send their boys into the school called "Tondo," already mentioned as part of the chief's kraal, where they are made men and used as a bodyguard of the chief. The oldest of the chief's councillors act as teachers or instructors.

In the "Tondo" stands a little round shed in which all the fetishes of the tribe are kept, together with a wood-carved image of their "totem" (sacred animal) and of a man and a woman of about two feet in height, fairly well carved in ebony. These figures are called "votambo" (feast).

The young people in the Tondo are shown all these sacred things of the tribe and acquainted with their meaning and use, which, however, they are forbidden under heavy penalty to disclose to any outsiders. No stranger is allowed to profane the Tondo by entering it, and only by the indiscretion of a chief was it possible to learn the above facts.

The pupils of the Tondo are also taught the full range of etiquette in their intercourse with their superiors and chiefs. They are taught to be brave in war, cunning in stealing, and true to their special form of heathenism, *i.e.*, to their ancestors. They are taught to bear pain without showing it, and are thus practised in self-restraint. Those who have undergone the discipline of the *Tondo* in the same year form a special brotherhood (*Morole*), and will not betray one another nor give evidence against each other.

When the whole course of the Tondo is finished, the youngsters are declared full-grown men.

The girls are not sent into this Tondo. They receive their schooling from some old woman of rank on the banks of a river. They are driven into deep water and kept there during the pleasure of the instructress, however cold it may be, till everything is done according to their particular rites. This bringing the girls in the water, etc., as a declaration of puberty, is called *Voša*.

One year's class of such girls, now declared to be grown-up persons, also form a special club, called likewise *Morole*.

3. Declaration of Manhood and Puberty.—The whole act of making boys and girls grown-up people consists of three parts. What I have said about the Tondo and the Voša constitutes the first part.

The second part is a separate dance of both sexes in daytime called *domba*. The images of the man and woman, mentioned before, together with the "totem" (?), are put in the centre of the dancing parties as they move about.

The third part of this heathen confirmation is a dance of both sexes together

at night called *hali*, which does not bear description. The young people are now full-grown adults and confirmed heathen Bawenda.¹

4. Engagement and Marriage.—The engagement of the Bawenda is a very ceremonious affair, if not performed when the girl is yet a little child, as is unfortunately often the case. Sometimes the child is even promised conditionally before it is born.

If a young man has seen a girl whom he would like to become his wife, he chooses his malidzila (matchmaker), and sends him to the father of the girl to make the necessary preliminaries for the engagement. If the would-be bridegroom is considered a welcome son-in-law, the father of the girl elects his middleman called makhade. These two middlemen, the malidzila and the makhade, have to mediate between the parties. The uppermost question to be settled is that of the number of cattle to be handed over to the girl's father by the bridegroom. With the payment of the first instalment the engagement is considered complete.

The girl's wishes are of no moment in the matter. The two middlemen are the legal witnesses of the engagement and the subsequent marriage. The bridegroom hands the cattle over to the *malidzila*, from whom it is received by the *makhade*, who in his turn hands it over to the girl's father. To avoid any future dispute, both representatives keep account of the cattle delivered by tying knots in a string, which is kept by them as a record of the transaction.

If the parties have agreed upon the time of the celebration of the marriage a farewell feast is given, accompanied by beer-drinking, at the kraal of the girl's father. The witchdoctor foretells the future of the bride by means of his dice; he anoints her from head to foot with a charm, he bewitches her ornaments and puts them on her, and last, but not least, he fixes some new powerful talisman on her necklace or girdle, or both.

The farewell fête being over, the bride is conducted in solemn procession to her husband's kraal, where she is led by the girl-friends of her father's and her husband's kraal into her hut and smeared with red clay. For the first five days she has to remain in her hut. The sixth day she has to go to the river to take a bath and for the first time to fetch water for her husband and to cook his food. The following night is celebrated by a great dance and beer-drinking, in which, however, the young bride has no share.

Not until the first night of the third month after the marriage is the husband allowed to enter his wife's hut.

No festivity takes place if a man gives one of his wives to a friend, or in the case of a childless widow being taken over as wife by her deceased husband's brother (*levirate*), for in both cases any child born belongs legally to the first husband of the woman.

¹ For the customs of the Initiation Ceremonies of the other Bantu, see A. Kropf, D.D., Berlin Mission Buchhandlung, Berlin N.O. 43, Georgenkirch Strasse 70.

5. Family Life.—As long as the Mowenda has but one wife who presents him with children, his family life may be a very happy one, but not if she should remain childless. But as the Bawenda are polygamists, and wives to them mean wealth, the Mowenda takes as many wives as he can possibly afford. Then the husband has to live by turns with his wives, who have each their separate house, and a good deal of rivalry takes place among them, which makes happiness an impossibility.

Should a man take a wife who is disliked by the others, they will soon make it very unpleasant for her, neglect her in childbed, or even poison her in order to get rid of her.

6. Daily Routine of Work, Meals, and Pleasures.—The Bawenda are very busy people, but unfortunately too much time and power is wasted by reason of the insufficiency of their tools for preparing food and for doing their household and agricultural work.

If one happens to sleep in a Bawenda kraal one is disturbed in one's deepest slumber between one and two o'clock at night by thundering sounds, which set the ground of the whole kraal quaking and make one think at the first moment of an earthquake. But this thundering and rumbling noise comes from the wooden pestles (mese; singular, mose), thrust by the women into their wooden mortars (methuli; singular, mothuli), which are filled with maize, to be crushed into the finest flour. Under the circumstances it is impossible to sleep any longer. The Bawenda men, however, try their best to sleep a few hours longer, but the noise gets too much even for them, so that they prefer to get up between four and five o'clock to sit round the fire smoking their beloved tobacco and talking in a low tone over any matter of interest.

About six o'clock the girls turn out to fetch water from the far fountain. Soon after, the men take some work in hand near the fire, preparing skins, cutting thougs, making sandals, sewing carosses, cleaning grass for thatching, preparing cords and ropes from bark or rushes for building purposes, etc.

At eight o'clock men commence milking the cows and goats, and the women begin to cook the food for the first meal (tšezutulo), which is taken at ten o'clock.

At half-past ten all set to work properly, either in building or in ploughing, or whatever the work of the season may be. At eleven o'clock the children let the cattle, goats, and sheep out of their kraals and drive them to their pastures.

At four o'clock p.m. those women and girls who have to provide the supper (tšelalelo) return to the kraal and first of all go in order to fetch water and then do their cooking. If no fuel is near, some of the women and children during the day have been out to the bush to gather dry wood, sufficient to cook the supper and to keep the fire alight during the evening, leaving some for the next morning.

Soon after sunset all the rest of the young people return with their charges to their kraals, the gate is closed for the night, the cattle milked, and the supper taken. The chief dines first, then his indunas and men in succession according to their rank and dignity.

A woman kneels near the men to serve them by pouring water over their hands before they touch the food and by handing and holding for them the dishes. All the time the woman looks away from the men, either to the other side or to the ground. When the men have finished their meal it is the turn of the women and children to eat.

Meantime the men gather round the fire smoking and telling stories. Later on the musicians sound their instruments and the young people begin a dance. A deafening concert of very melancholy tunes, as far as the instrumental music is concerned, is kept up till near midnight, when at last quiet and rest return to the kraal for scarcely a couple of hours.

This is the ordinary routine of Bawenda life, which is only altered a little during the times of festivities in favour of beer-drinking, music and dance.

7. Illness, Death and Burial.—However, life is not so happy with the Bawenda as their shouts of joy would make us believe, for their beer-drinkings only too often end in murderous quarrels, and their seeming pleasure in misery.

But besides this they are always in danger of witchdoctors, *valoi* and all sorts of evil spirits. There is no case of illness, or death, or any evil spirit, but some living person must be the cause of it by some sort of witchcraft. The family of the sick or dead set the witchdoctors at work to find out the evil spirit, the sorcerer or the *moloi* who has caused the illness or the death to be investigated.

In such case nobody is safe, but anyone may be declared a sorcerer or a *molvi*, especially if someone of high rank has a spite against him, or if he is a wealthy man.

All sorts of illness threaten the Bawenda, including the malaria called dali or tšetetemelo, the measles (tšefumba), smallpox (thomba), consumption (lofehe), leprosy (mapele), syphilis (thusula). But the most dreaded disease is the nombe, an illness in which blood oozes out, not only from the mouth, nose and ears, but even through the eyes and the pores of the skin. Those attacked by this dreadful disease are said to die within a few hours.

In any case of illness the witchdoctor is called to find out, by throwing his dice, the cause as well as the cure of the malady.

In spite of all the illness, nobody dies a natural death according to the belief of the Bawenda.

If somebody has died, a great *tšelilo* (lamentation) is raised, which is renewed again and again for a whole month, during which all the relations and friends of the family have to come to *emelela* (to comfort the surviving).

For the funeral an ox is killed, and the dead body tied up in its skin in a sitting posture. If the body has become cold and stiff, knees and elbows are cut by an axe until they can be brought into the desired position. The body is buried during the night under the enclosure of thorn branches which surrounds the cattle kraal, and the grave is covered again by these branches so that nobody can see

where the body has been buried. The house of the deceased is burned, and the survivors erect a new dwelling at some distance.

The kings of the Bawenda, however, are buried in the holy wood ($t\check{sefo}$ or $t\check{selata}$) where their ancestors have been buried before. The death of a king is kept secret as long as possible. Kings do not die (fa), but they only go away and hide for some time (dzama). In olden times the body of a king was laid on a wooden framework the height of a table and left until the flesh had fallen off, when the skeleton was buried.

D. THEIR TRIBAL CONSTITUTION.

1. Royalty.—The tribal constitution in each chieftainship of the Bawenda is an hereditary monarchy. The descendants of Toho ea Ndoü are the rulers of the different chieftainships. The three great royal families are Ramapulana, alias Magato, Tševase and Pafuli, but besides them there is a number of small chiefs who are more or less independent.

As a rule the eldest son of the great wife is the heir to the chieftainship, but sometimes a deviation of this rule is brought about either by the last will of the father or by war amongst the brother pretenders.

- 2. Constitutional Limitations of the Chief's Power.—The power of the chief is limited by the unwritten laws of old custom, and by the council of the Magota, Nduna and witchdoctors. No law can be made by the chief unless it has been sanctioned by the councillors above mentioned. However, all the honour of ruling is left strictly to the chief, even although the order or decision given may be altogether against his will.
- 3. Taxation.—Taxation among the Bawenda does not mean a contribution towards the good government of the country for the benefit of the people. It is rather a contribution towards the maintenance of the chief's household and position, either by way of a thank-offering or a fine, as the case may be. The Mowenda dare not eat and he dare not drink unless he has first given his share to the chief.

All the morula trees in the country are considered the property of the chief. Therefore all his subjects have to provide his household with mokumbi, a kind of beer made of the fruit of that tree. When the maize is ripe, or nearly so, a few cobs have to be brought to the chief. The first beer, which is brewed of the first corn, belongs to him. In case of killing an ox, a goat or a sheep, a leg has to be given to the chief.

If some death has to be reported to the chief, the message must be accompanied by a present; the same is the case if any permission or decision or prayer is asked from the chief.

The chief's subjects have to assist in building and repairing his houses, they have to work his gardens and to assist in harvesting. He receives part of the value recovered by one party from the other, and all the fines paid. The chief takes the greatest share of all confiscated property.

If some subjects have been away to earn money, they have to give to the chief at least one pound on their return. If the chief wants any money besides, he simply makes a collection, and all his subjects have to contribute towards it. So the Bawenda are very heavily taxed by their chiefs.

4. Division of the Country.—In order to make sure of their subjects in all parts of their country, the chiefs of the Bawenda have divided it into many small provinces, to which they send their wives or sons or even daughters or sisters to rule in accordance with the will of the paramount chief. Every day and night the Nduna run through the country with messages for the king, and orders for the governors in all the provinces. The paramount chief often travels himself to see whether his intentions are carried out. The more near relations the chief has to send as his governors to the several parts of his country, the stronger will be his power, and the safer his authority and kingdom.

E. Administration of Justice.

- 1. Courts of Justice.—The courts of justice are constituted by the chief and his Nduna. Every petty chief with his councillors forms the lower court for his province. The paramount chief, with some of his councillors, forms the circuit court, together with the petty chief and Nduna of the province. The high court consists of the paramount chief, some of the elder petty chiefs, and the great councillors of the whole country.
- 2. Proceedings in Court.—Criminal as well as civil cases are settled. Unfortunately the criminal cases are only too often brought before the court out of spite and covetousness. Civil cases are open to bribery. Any case laid before the chief has to be accompanied with a present, in order to find a hearing. This present is given o wula khoro (to open the gate). When the matter has been settled, the one who wins the case has to thank the chief again with a present, o walela khoro (to shut the gate). Much time and rhetoric are wasted during the proceedings, and witnesses are heard for both sides of the case. The chief discusses the pros and cons with his Nduna, and at last pronounces the verdict. The proceedings are carried on in the open air, where everybody can hear what is going on.
- 3. Punishments.—The punishments inflicted are of all possible kinds, from a mere admonition to the capital penalty:—Restitution, fines, beating, imprisonment, forfeiture of all property (eating up), and banishment. Capital punishment was carried out mostly by throwing the delinquent down a steep precipice, by beating him to death with kerries or, in case of members of a royal family, by strangling.
- 4. Some peculiar Laws.—If two persons have been accused to be valoi of having caused the death of somebody, and it cannot be decided in the ordinary way who the moloi is, they are given a special strong poisonous drink. The one of the two

who gets drunk is the *moloi*, and is punished accordingly, by being beaten to death with kerries.

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A very effective law is the following:—If a debtor does not pay his creditor, the latter will take anything of the same value as the debt, say a cow, from anybody who is living in the same kraal as the debtor. The owner of the cow misses it, and searching, finds his cow at the cattle kraal of a stranger. He goes and asks the reason why his cow has been brought there. The creditor tells him the name of his debtor, and informs the owner of the cow, who is only an inhabitant of the debtor's kraal, that the cow will be kept impounded by him until the debtor has paid his account. The owner of the cow is bound by Bawenda law to leave it in the hands of the stranger until the debt has been paid. Consequently, if he wishes to have his cow back, the only way for him to get it is to force the debtor to pay his creditor. This is called by the Bawenda molaeo oa of farela—the law of "tit for tat."

F. Religious Customs.

I. Their Gods.—The Bawenda have a dim idea of a Creator of the world, whom they call Kosane, and who, according to their saying, has left his footprint on a rock near the Levuvu river, in Lambanes country, when he went away and left the ruling of the world in the hands of Ralowimba, who is also the rewarder of good and the punisher of evil. Ralowimba is feared very much, because he is constantly watching the evil deeds of the people, in order to punish them. If they disturb the soil in a place of which the Ralowimba disapproves, it means ill-fortune to them; the same is the case if they intercept the free current of the air.

When Ralowimba is angry with anybody, he is heard rumbling underground or roaring in the air. His fire is to be seen in the bush, and his voice is to be heard in the mountains. Any fortune that comes to the Bawenda is sent as a reward from Ralowimba, and every misfortune that befalls them is a punishment sent by him. All this reminds one of the Chinese story about their dragon.

The Bawenda have, besides Kosane and Ralowimba, a third deity whom they call Thovela. Thovela is very favourably inclined towards mankind, and is, as it were, the mediator between God and man.

Thovela is the protector of the unborn child, and of the pregnant woman, also of the stranger and visitor who is travelling through the country.

Besides Kosane, Ralowimba, and Thovela, the Bawenda have their nameless Modzimo (God), which is nothing else but the totality of the good souls of their ancestors, who have not been *valoi*, with the founder of their tribe as head, and the ruling chief as living representative. Besides this *Modzimo*, of which the plural is *Vadzimo*, meaning the single souls of their ancestors, they also have

Medzimo, another plural of *Modzimo*, which denotes the many objects on earth which have been made the visible representative of the ancestors of each clan and family.

These *Medzimo*, into which sometimes the *Vadzimo* return, are either cattle, goats, sheep, or weapons and tools of old dead ancestors, as for instance a *dzembe* (kaffir-hoe), a *pfumo* (assegai), a *tzanga* (war-axe), a *mbado* (axe) and other tools. Even shrubs, flowers, or rushes may be created *Medzimo*.

II. The Priests and Witchdoctors.—The head of each clan or family chooses his Tšefi, priest, who however does duty only once a year at the annual sacrifices at the beginning of harvest. All other sacrifices are carried out by the Nanga—doctors. The Tšefi speaks with the gods and brings their answers to mankind. The Tšefi would appear to be the chief priest as it were. However, with the chiefs of the Bawenda, this Tšefi is a woman, the eldest sister or nearest female relative of the late chief. With others, the Tšefi is a man.

The witchdoctors (*Dzi-Nanga*) who usually act also as priests, are, among the Bawenda, of the following different kinds:—

- 1. Monei oa mbwula—giver of rain.
- 2. Maine lofali—the finder of the Valoi.
- 3. Maine oa Mošonga—the medicine-doctor.
- 4. Maine oa o funga—who consecrates weapons, and makes the soldiers invulnerable.
- 5. Mobwumbi—a woman who foretells fortune or misfortune by a rattle consisting of a kalabash with stones put inside.
- 6. Nanga ea o lumula—who sucks illness out of the body, by taking beforehand something in his mouth, which he afterwards shows as the cause of the illness.
- 7. Nanga ea tšepengo cures the madmen. He kills a black sheep, boils the lungs, puts his medicine in a piece, and gives it to the sick.
- 8. Nanga ea Tšele (tšele is a kind of rattle). He cures the sick by dancing during the night.
- 9. Tšefi, mentioned above.

All the causes of misfortune, illness and death are, as a rule, found out by the $\dot{N}anga$ by throwing the dice—o tungula dzi tangu—which is the speciality of the Maine lofali.

If after the death of someone the *Moloi* is to be sought for, the *Maine lofali* puts a basin containing water before him on the ground. The different families of the clan are congregated about the doctor, forming a circle; the heads of the families are the inner circle, their families being behind them according to their rank. When all have settled down, the witchdoctor throws the dice and, together with them, a little piece of wood into the water in the basin. When the contents of the basin have become perfectly quiet the *Moloi* is shown to be among the members of that family in front of which the little piece of wood remains at rest.

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After that the members of that family are arranged around the basin and the procedure with the dice repeated.¹

III. Their Places of Worship.—These are the graves of the old chiefs and ancestors in the holy groves. As a rule, however, the holy places in the kraals are used as the place of prayer and sacrifice. The altar consists of three stones fixed in the ground, in the centre of which a shrub, flower (Lohome) or rush has been planted.

IV. Their Sacrifices and Prayers.—The kind of sacrifice to be brought is decided by the Nanga. In olden times human sacrifices were allowed, but nowadays only the black sheep, goat or ox is used and all kinds of food, little bits of hide and beer. In all special cases the kind of sacrifice and the place where it has to be brought is announced by the priest-doctor. At the two annual sacrifices, at the time of ploughing and at the great festivity at the beginning of the harvest, the members of the respective families gather round their family altar in the yard of their clan's head. The Modzimo of the family is put on the altar and each member has to throw a little of the new fruit upon it, and to pour some beer over it. In case the Modzimo of the family is an ox or other animal, it is forced to swallow some of the beer of the sacrifice.

At the two annual sacrifices every chief wears only the kaross of his ancestor. All the sacrifices of the Bawenda are accompanied with prayers.

In case of sacrifices ordered by witchdoctors, on account of illness or other calamities, they pray their ancestors or the one who the doctor says is troubling them, to go to sleep and not to trouble their surviving family, but to leave them at At the annual sacrifices they pray somewhat to this effect: "O Modzimo, Thou art our father, we Thy children have congregated here; we humbly beg to inform Thee that a new year has commenced. Thou art our God; Thou art our creator; Thou art our keeper. We pray Thee: give us food for us and for our children; give us cattle; give us happiness. Preserve us from illness, pestilence and war. case of war give us victory over our enemies; give us always prosperity. See, here we bring from what we have harvested. Thou art our father, also our grandfather, grandfather's father and his grandfather," and so on as far as any ancestor is known. After this or a similar prayer, every member of the family offers his sacrifice of the first-fruits and the first beer, and then all are at liberty to harvest and to enjoy the new food and the new beer. These prayers at the sacrifices are never directed to Kosane, Ralowimba or Thovela, but always to the ancestors; but in every-day life they pray to Ralowimba.

We see that there are two elements in the religious customs of the Bawenda. Besides these two, there is also a trace of totemism to be found amongst them—whether with endogamy and exogamy I have not yet been able to

¹ Particulars about the dice of the Bawenda are to be found in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1903, pp. 338–378, in the article by the late Dr. Barthel, "Der Würfelzauber der Sudafrikanischen Volker."

ascertain. As far as my information goes at present, it seems not to interfere with the marriage customs.

- V. Superstitious Customs.—Besides the witchcraft of the doctors, there are many superstitious customs practised by the common people.
- (a) For instance, before a Mowenda crosses the Motšindute river near Pipitis, where, according to their saying, the water-spirits live (*Tšedahadžane*), he throws down a branch, a stone, or something else, with the prayer that the *Tšedahadžane* may allow him to cross the river in safety.
- (b) Old Magato died in Botokoa, but his remains had to be buried in Dzanane, in his country. Wherever his remains stayed for a rest, everybody engaged in the transport threw a stone at the resting place.

The same is done on other occasions, for instance, by a wedding party. Many such heaps of stones are to be found throughout the country.

Tšeaoelo is the name of such a heap that is to say, "resting place." Whenever a travelling Mowenda comes across such a stone-heap he says Ndi tšeaoelo tša mogede—"It is the resting place of someone." He increases the heap by one more stone and prays for bon voyage.

- (c) If a Mowenda is working outside, and he feels something like a little drop falling upon him, he says *Vadzimo va pfela mare*—the spirits spit, and in order to make them sleep again he spits on the ground.
- (d) In case a traveller is afraid that the sun might set before he has reached his destination, he takes a stone and puts it in the bifurcation of a tree, praying thereby Dova le sa kovele phanda ndo suka—" May the sun not set before I reach my destination."
- (e) Before sowing their maize or corn, the Bawenda at first pick and sow a little for their ancestors, either in their own garden or in the garden of the head of their family, or in both.
- (f) In case the maize does not grow well, the witchdoctor is then called; he throws the dice, prepares a medicine, sprinkles it on the field and the new seed to be sown; after which he orders the owner of the garden to call all the members of his family to plant the doctored seed into the doctored land; then it will grow well. This doctoring is called o eta sonda.
- (g) If a boy dies before having touched a woman, a girl is sent after him into Hades to be his wife there. Formerly, it may be, the girl was buried with him, either alive or dead. At present the girl is sent only ceremonially into Hades by the art of the witchdoctor. He prepares by his witchery a pick-handle and some little sticks. The pick-handle (handle of a Kaffir hoe) is planted in the ground at a crossway, the head of it remaining above ground; two little sticks are planted in front of it and are connected by another little stick with the head of the handle.

G. KNOWLEDGE OF NATURE AND NATURAL PHENOMENA.

1. Astronomy.—It is interesting to see what keen observers of nature the old Bawenda have been. Naturally their observations of the heavens are the scantiest of all their knowledge of nature. They only took notice of those heavenly bodies and phenomena which to them were indications and signs for season and for days and years.

The Bawenda know the so-called "Cape Clouds" as indicators of Spring and Winter, and name them accordingly. The small one they call *Tselimo*—"Spring"—and the large one *Tsefefo*; "Winter" or *Ndala*, hunger, because in winter food is very scarce and hunger has often to be endured on that account.

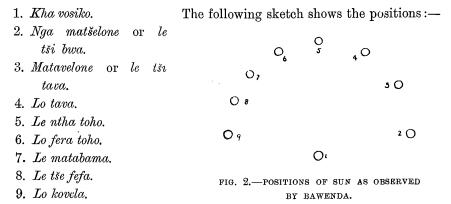
As indications of time during the night two evening stars are known to them: the one is called *Khombela tšelalelo*, and the other *Gumbila*; also two morning stars, named *Masasa* and *Khohamotšo*.

Other stars noted by the Bawenda are: Orion, called *Makhale*—Rhinoceros; Canopus, called *Nanga*—horn; Acharnar, called *Tsenangana*—the little horn. The seven stars are called *Tselimela*. The two brightest stars of the Southern Cross, together with the pointers to the cross, are named *Ditutloa*, but the two firstmentioned stars alone are the *Isadzi* and the pointers *Ndona*. *Molalavungu* is the name for the Milky Way. *Naledzi ea motšila* is the comet. Eclipses of the sun and moon are noticed. To my surprise, nobody seemed to have noticed Sirius.

2. Reckoning of Time.—The greatest attention is, of course, paid to the moon, the original time-standard of all the nations. It is a very difficult task to convince a Mowenda that a month has thirty or thirty-one days, and finally he is convinced only that he is to be cheated out of two or three days' wages. Yet their year had only twelve months, which they call Phando, Lohuli, Tafamohe, Lambamae, Šuduntule, Fulue, Fuloane, Tangule, Kufumedze, Tšemedze, Lara and Nyendavosiko, I believe that the remainder of the year was a time of festivities.

Their week has only six days; this shows that they knew a day of rest during it. There are, however, only names for three days in the week for Sunday, Monday and Saturday, which are called *La phanda*, *Mosumboluwo* and *Mogivela* respectively.

The great time-standard, the Sun, is observed in nine different positions:—



The Bawenda distinguish four seasons of the year:—

Tšelimo, the time of ploughing and sowing.

Lotavula, the time of the beginning of harvest.

Tšefefo or Mainda (autumn), the time after the harvest when they still have food.

Marcha (winter) or Ndala (hunger), when food is scarce and they have to remain more or less hungry.

- 3. Meteorology.—The Bawenda notice the falling stars. They have names for the morning twilight motso: and the aurora, mapfuvi. The evening-red is called o tsuka makole. Vosinga-vadzimo—bow of the gods—is the rainbow. Ndadzi is the flash of lightning striking anything. For every kind of rain there is a special name in their language. Khuli is the fog; Khalalu haze (Höhenrauch); Malimologoana the Fata Morgana. Mahada is the white frost, for which the star Canopus is held responsible. No snow is known, consequently there is no name for it in the language.
- 4. Geology, Botany and Zoology, etc.—The Bawenda are more at home on the surface of the earth than in the heavens and in the air. There is not a single geographical fact of their country but they have given it a name of their own. Even geological features have not evaded their notice, for they have specific names for every kind of soil and also for every sort of stone and rock.

Botany is the great field of the medicine doctor, for he knows all the poisonous plants, but besides that there is not a tree, shrub or plant that has not a name in their language. They distinguish even every kind of grass by a different name.

The Bawenda have names of their own for any living creature found in their country.

This knowledge, of course, is only to be found amongst the old people, whilst it becomes more and more lost among the younger generations.

H. THEIR PROVERBS AND ADAGES.

I am in possession of about six hundred proverbs, of which most have been collected by the late Rev. C. Beuster, to whose diligent researches I am greatly indebted. These proverbs and adages constitute quite a treasury for a psychology of the Bawenda, and they contain a good deal of worldly wisdom and prudence.

The chief subject used in the proverbs is mankind itself in all its stages. They refer to the full-grown man and to the child, to the husband and to the wife, to the father and the mother, to the old woman and to the orphan, to the chief and the witchdoctor, to the wealthy and the poor, to the fool and the rogue, to the ruler and the messenger, to the master and the servant, and also to the traveller and the stranger.

Of the animals mentioned in the proverbs, the dog is most frequently used as a lesson to mankind; also the mouse, the elephant, cattle, locusts, the hare, snakes, the goat, the hyena, the civet cat, the antelope, the guinea-fowl, the bavian, the tiger, the crow, the leguan, the chameleon, the hen, the fish, the owl and the weasel. I give them in the order of frequency with which they are used. The lessons given are: to be prudent, to be diligent and careful, to avoid evil-doing, to help the needful, to cry with the one who is crying, to honour the last will of the deceased, and so on.

Much use is made of proverbs in daily life, and if a stranger cites one or other, the Mowenda gets quite excited and finishes it as soon as he has heard only the beginning.

I. THE LANGUAGE.

This shows every characteristic of the Bantu languages of the interior of South Africa. It differs from Kaffir by the want of clicks, and has nothing of the harshness of Sesutho and the other surrounding languages; and although the grammar follows the general rules of the neighbouring Bantu, it has some special features by which it is considerably distinguished. Where in Tšewenda the same words are used, k is softened into ng, as in reka-renga, to buy.

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p into mb, as in peu = mbeu = seed, or

" mbv, as in pula = mbvula = rain.

t " nd, as in ke = ndi = I.

sh(s) " s, as in sala = sala = to remain behind.

bz " z, as in bzoala = zoala = to sow.

n " l, as in namula = lamula = orange.

by " h, as in bya = ha.

g " h, as in ga = ha.
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A greater difference, however, is shown in some parts of the grammar. For instance, where other languages form the perfect tenses of the verb by attaching the suffix ile to the stem, as in ke a reka = I buy; ke rekile = I have bought, the Tšewenda leaves the verb in all cases unaltered and expresses the perfect tenses by a change in the preceding personal pronoun: It renders the above as follows:—

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ndi \ a \ renga = I buy.ndo \ renga = I have bought.u \ a \ renga =  thou buyest.uo \ renga =  thou hast bought.o \ a \ renga =  he buys.oo \ renga =  he has bought.re \ a \ renga =  we buy.ro \ renga =  we have bought.ne \ a \ renga =  you buy.no \ renga =  you have bought.ba \ a \ renga =  they buy.bo \ renga =  they have bought.
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But the greatest difference of the Tšewenda consists in the use either of the same word in just the opposite meaning, or of quite different words. For instance,

the word in Tšewenda meaning water is blood in Sesotho, and the word in the one language meaning to renounce in the other is to follow up, and so on.

In order to show the difference of the Tšewenda from the surrounding languages—Sesotho, Tšetonga and Tšekaranga—I give a list of words in the four languages with the meaning in English:—

English.	Tšewenda.	Tšekaranga.	Tšetonga.	Se so tho.
country river to teach the will fog clouds time blood father stone the axe the door above the sun water	molambo o funza lofuno khuli makole tšefinga malofa khotsi tombo	tšenambo ropa bambo bge sano	nambo ko dzonda rerando ntsuvi mapapa nkari ngadi tatana ribye seloka revandi	naxa. noka. xo ruta. thato. mouane. maru. lebaka. madi tata. lefzika. selepe. lemati. godimo. letšatši. meetsi.

The great work of reducing the Tšewenda to writing has been done by the late Rev. C. Beuster during his nearly thirty years' stay at Tšeware amongst the Bawenda. If any difficulty arose about how the one or other sound had to be expressed in writing, he asked the advice of Dr. Lepsius, the well-known writer of the standard alphabet. Mr. Beuster collected thousands of words, which unfortunately he never endeavoured to get printed, probably because he had his hands full with the work of providing the Bawenda with the necessary books, of which the first was:—

A spelling book with reading lessons.

A hymn book with an appendix of children's songs.

A catechism.

An extract of the New Testament.

The Gospel and the Epistles of St. John.

Other books were ready for the press or in preparation when this faithful worker was called home.¹

¹ For further particulars regarding the language of the Bawenda, I refer those interested in it to *Das Tšivenda, Linguistische Studie*, of C. Meinhoff, Berlin. Missions Buchhandlung, Berlin, N. O. 43, Georgenkirch Str. 70.

K. GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF THE COUNTRY.

The Bawenda country is very mountainous, well wooded and abundantly watered by constant rivers. The soil is very fertile and the climate sub-tropical, and partly even tropical, therefore of great value for agriculture and horticulture. The missionaries have planted many kinds of fruit trees at their stations, and found the coffee tree growing at the side of the apple and pear tree, together with the peach, guava, loquat and orange tree, as also the banana, pine-apple and vine, etc.

The country seems to be also of some mineral value, for what minerals the old Bawenda had they got out of their own country, and in latter years prospectors worked throughout the country and applied to the Bawenda chiefs for mining concessions, for which they paid annually considerable amounts.

In the forests there is valuable wood to be found, ebony for instance, and other hard woods. A kind of wild cotton grows there, of which the natives make twine. Some children presented me with a ball of caoutchouc which they had prepared themselves in the bush.

Unfortunately the country is far from any market, and it is only such products as maize and other grain that will stand the transport as far as Pietersburg, and the tobacco grown and prepared by the natives, with which they trade far and wide amongst the Europeans and natives in all directions of their country.

Another drawback is that the country is very unhealthy for Europeans to live in on account of the malaria, and another difficulty is horse sickness, which admits of salted horses only being kept.



FIG. 1.—MOWENDA BOY WITH TOY WAGON OF HIS OWN MAKE.

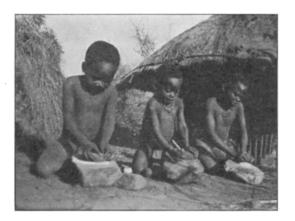


FIG. 2.—GIRLS PLAYING.



FIG. 3.—THE LATE CHIEF MATZEBANDELA WITH NDUNA.



FIG. 4.—A BAWENDA FAMILY.

THE BAWENDA: A SKETCH OF THEIR HISTORY AND CUSTOMS.