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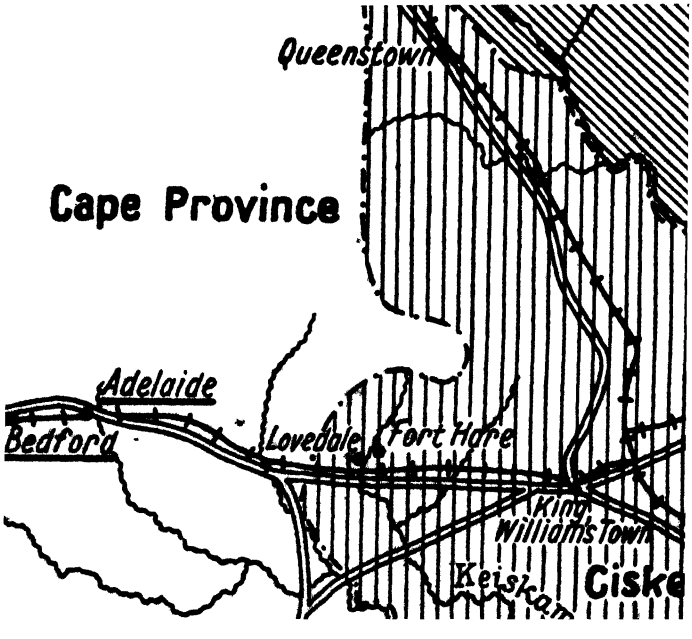

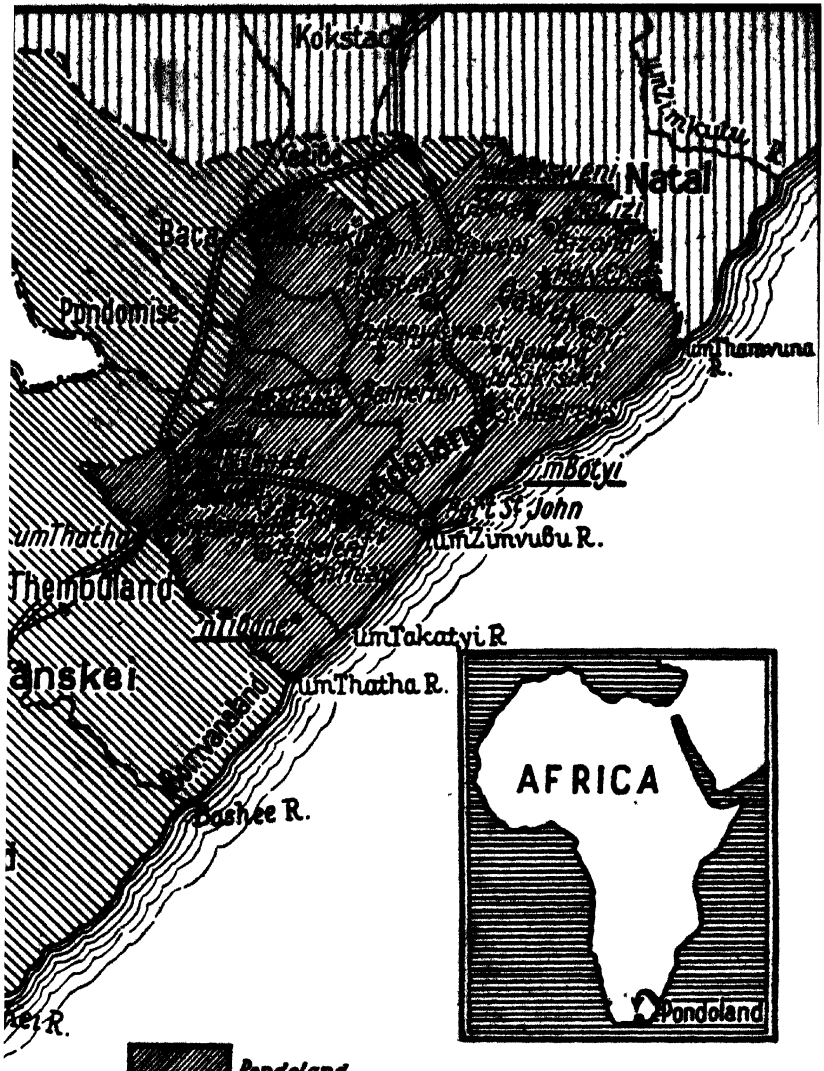
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Pondoland.
Other Native Territory.
European farms and Native "locations" mixed.
European farms.
Railways
Main Roads
Magistracies in Pondoland.
Mission Stations in Pondoland.
Centres of work underlined as 'nTsone.

REACTION TO CONQUEST

In the broken coastal belt of Pondoland

REACTION TO CONQUEST

EFFECTS OF CONTACT WITH EUROPEANS ON THE PONDO OF SOUTH AFRICA

BY

MONICA HUNTER, M.A., PH.D.

Anthony Wilkin Student, Cambridge, 1931
Wyse Student, Cambridge, 1934

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

GENERAL THE RIGHT HON. J. C. SMUTS

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To

D. A. H. *and* J. M. H.

FOREWORD

I FIRST met the writer of this work some years ago when as a young student she was on her way from South Africa to Cambridge to study social anthropology. I then warned her against a common failing of South Africans to be unduly preoccupied with the larger political aspects of our native problems, and urged her to get at the facts and cultivate a disinterested scientific outlook before forming large-scale conclusions. How well this advice has been followed is proved by this book. It is a study of Pondo life in its present-day contact with European influences. The Pondos are a native tribe living between the provinces of the Cape and Natal, and are generally considered somewhat backward in comparison with other native tribes in the Union of South Africa. Their territory was not annexed by the Cape till 1894, and they have not been so intensely subjected to European influences as the neighbouring Bantu tribes. They have retained their ancient tribal domains, and have not an acute land question such as obtains among many other native tribes.

Into this Arcadia came first the missionary, with the disturbing influence which Christianity must necessarily have on the native outlook and way of life. As, however, about 90 per cent. of the Pondos are still pagans, it cannot be said that this influence has gone very deep yet. Later on, especially since the annexation of 1894, the trader has appeared, and with him the deeper reaching disturbance of the economic factor. To the ancient native life the traders dotted over Pondoland have proved a far more potent factor of change than the missionary with his ideal spiritual message of Christianity. More recently still, employment on the mines and in the big industrial centres of South Africa has given an enormous impetus to change. Here, too, as over the whole civilized world of to-day, the economic factor is proving the most disturbing of all to the old order of things. It has become the usual thing for Pondo men to go out and work on the European farms, in the gold and diamond mines, on government works, and in industries in the centres of white population. The impact of the new experience must be very far-reaching. New economic needs are developed, new ideas are learnt, a whole new mental horizon is growing which is carrying the native far beyond the old native outlook and the self-contained economy of primitive native society. More and more the mines are becoming the most important factor of change for the native. Johannesburg, with its glittering prizes (on native standards) in wages, the fantastic

excitements of its large vivid life, its opportunities of larger more adventurous experience, the prestige of familiarity with the great unknown which attaches to those who have returned from employment there—Johannesburg has become a sort of Mecca of the native, and quite the biggest factor of change to the native all over Southern Africa. It has profoundly disturbed the ancient immemorial life of Africa, and the Pondo has also felt the force of this disturbance.

Even so, however, the Pondo is unusually conservative and tenacious of his old culture, and in Pondoland the disintegration of native life is by no means so alarming as in other parts of South Africa. He forms, therefore, good material for a study of this kind—of native life under the stresses and strains of the European intrusion.

The result is that in this book we have a valuable and vivid picture of Pondo society to-day, both in its fixities and its transformations. As a whole it is probably as detailed and exact an account of the social system and ideas of a tribe as is to be found anywhere. It is worthy to be placed by the side of Junod's *Life of a South African Tribe*, and that is high praise indeed.

The writer has exceptional qualifications for the task. Not only has she been trained in the most modern and up-to-date methods of research, but she was brought up at Lovedale—the great native educational centre in South Africa, not far from Pondoland. She has, therefore, an understanding of the native mind and native ways which is not often found in the case of researchers into native sociology. She is able to view native life from within, and not merely as an external spectator. She has also thus been able to make most effective use of the opportunities afforded by two long sojourns among the Pondos for the purposes of this study.

To me, who have been in contact with the native mind all my life, this book is a fascinating account of a native tribe, full of curious facts and sidelights not only on the native mind but on human nature as a whole. The enormous and pervasive influence of the two factors of sex and magic is very fully brought out, and in this way light is thrown not only on the Pondo system, but on many features that have survived in other societies even under civilized conditions. The primitive foundations of human society in general seem to be in part exposed. We seem to see the deep roots of many strange beliefs and practices which still persist in fairly advanced communities. And even those who are not deeply interested in the African native may here find suggestive lights thrown on human society and human nature in general. In transformed, sublimated forms, sex and magic still remain part

and parcel of the dynamics of human society, even in its most advanced stages. I commend this book as a most interesting account of native life in process of modification under European influence and as suggestive of curious sidelights on the primitive foundations of human society.

J. C. SMUTS

CAPETOWN
May 1936.

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THE friends of this book have been so many that it is impossible to mention them all by name, but I wish to acknowledge my debt to Professor Hodson of Cambridge to whom I owe my training in Anthropology, the stimulus to undertake field-work, support in obtaining necessary funds, constant aid and encouragement while I was in the field, and help in the preparation of this book.

I would thank especially, also, the paramount Chiefs of Eastern and Western Pondoland without whose support no progress could have been made, Michael Geza my clerk, and a host of Pondo friends, Dr. and Mrs. Rubisana and many others in East London and Grahamstown locations, Archdeacon Leary and Dr. Gavin of Pondoland, Mr. and Mrs. J. E. H. Milne formerly of Grahamstown, and Dr. Laidler of East London for help and hospitality, Mr. Frank Brownlee, Professor Jabavu, Mr. W. G. Bennie who gave much help with the new orthography, magistrates who produced statistics and blue books, farmers of the Eastern Province to whom I owe most gracious hospitality, and traders of Pondoland with whom I lived for many months. Particularly am I indebted to Mrs. T. F. Dreyer of 'nTißane who gave me much of her time, and whose popularity with, and knowledge of, her Pondo neighbours made it easy for me to get to know them.

Mrs. A. W. Hoernlé of Witwatersrand University found time, among her many duties, to correspond with me in the field, read draft notes, and the manuscript of this book, and I owe much to her encouragement and stimulating suggestion.

Professor Malinowski, through his books, seminars, and personal contact, has set for me, as for many others, a standard of research which although unattainable for most of us, incites to further effort in the field, and inspires to constant struggle to get beyond mere description to the analysis of Institutions. I am very grateful to him.

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M. H.

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INTRODUCTORY

IN South Africa to-day it is evident to the most casual observer that in the meeting of Bantu and European cultures both are modified. European culture is influenced by the fact that Europeans in Africa are in daily contact with Bantu, and Bantu culture is influenced by the presence of Europeans. This book deals with one aspect of this culture contact—the effect of contact with Europeans upon a Bantu community. An attempt is made to show how a society is changing when subject to certain influences.

To gauge this change it would be satisfactory to study the society as it was before it came under these influences, to study the nature of the influences, and then to observe how it differs from the old society. But unfortunately for the student of culture contact, the science of social anthropology has been developed since the opening up of Africa, and in the areas to which Europeans first came there are no adequate data on Bantu life as it was before contact with Europeans.

The nature and degree of European influence has, however, varied in different areas, and an attempt has been made to study the changes taking place by comparing Bantu communities in three different areas—reserves,[1] towns, and European-owned farms—which have been subject to different contact influences. These communities are not an evolutionary series, for not only the degree, but the nature of the contact in each area differs, yet the background of each community is the same, and a comparison affords some indication of the lines of change resulting from contact. Among the Pondo, in the reserve community studied, those still living can tell a great deal about life before European influence was strong, and so, besides comparing areas subject to different contact influences, we observe change within the one community by comparing accounts of ancients with present conditions, conservative with less conservative families.[2]

A knowledge of the history of the contact of Bantu and European is essential to an understanding of the present conditions of contact, and the attitude of Bantu and European towards one another; but since material on the history is easily accessible,[3]

[1] Blocks of territory set aside for occupation by Natives only.

[2] For an exposition of the reasons for my methods of approach see Hunter, 'Methods of Study of Culture Contact', *Africa*, July 1934.

[3] W. M. Macmillian, *Bantu Boer and Briton*; E. A. Walker, *A History of South Africa*; *The Frontier Tradition in S. Africa* (lecture at Rhodes House, Oxford, 1930); E. H. Brookes, *History of Native Policy in S. Africa*; F. Brownlee, *The Transkeian Native Territories. Historical Records.*

and space is limited, only brief mention of the events which produced the present conditions is made here.

Dutch settlers spreading eastward from the Cape first encountered the Bantu, west of the Gamtoos River, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. There followed a struggle between settler and Bantu for land, and in a series of 'Kaffir wars' the Bantu were pushed farther and farther back, until by 1857 the territory west of the Fish River was entirely in the hands of Europeans, and the land between the Fish and Kei was a patchwork of European farms, and Bantu 'locations'. British control was extended over the territory still occupied by Bantu, until in 1894, Pondoland, the last block of territory in the Cape to remain independent, was annexed.

East of the Fish River missionaries and traders were ahead of settlers and government agents. In 1816 a London Missionary Society agent built the first mission station in 'Kaffirland'; other societies followed hard on his heels, and in spite of the continually recurring wars the number of stations grew rapidly. By 1830 the chain of stations stretched as far as Buntingville in western Pondoland. In spite of government prohibitions settlers had from the first traded with Bantu, and shortly after 1830 when 'persons of assured good character' were permitted to trade freely in the Native territories, there were trading stations all through Kaffraria up to the umThatha River.[1] Long before Pondoland was annexed traders were there buying hides and skins, ivory, horn, cattle, and selling blankets, hoes, and axes, besides doing an illicit trade in guns. Trade developed until the modern network of stores, each seldom more than five miles distant from its neighbours, was spread over the territories.

From the first the settlers required labour for their farms. The Dutch East India Company had, in the early days, imported Malay slaves; but even before 1836, when slavery was abolished, the cattle farmers on the eastern frontier had worked chiefly with Hottentot servants. Their prejudice against 'those incorrigible thieves' the Kaffirs, made them unwilling to employ them as servants, but the labour shortage was acute, and Ordinance 49 of 1828 provides for the issue of passes for the admission of 'Kaffirs' desirous of entering the service of farmers into the colony. During 1856–7 the Xhosa killed their cattle and planted no grain believing that by so doing they would cause their ancestors to rise, and Europeans would be swept into the sea. During the famine that followed they poured into the Colony, prepared to work in return for food. Many of those who came after the cattle

[1] S. Kay, *Travels and Researches in Caffraria*, 1833, pp. 452–3.

killing never returned to their former homes, parts of the territory they had occupied were given to Europeans or to Fingos (refugees driven from Natal by Tʃaka), and they were the nucleus of the class of farm servant who has no stake in the reserves, and has remained for several generations on farms in the Eastern Province.

As the towns and trade grew unskilled labour was needed. Already in 1850 Natives were being employed to unload ships at East London, and by 1875 the Native urban population was 858.[1] A party of Fingos was settled near Grahamstown and they supplied service for the town.

The discovery of diamonds in 1870 and of gold on the Rand fifteen years later enormously increased the demand for cheap labour, and in spite of the introduction of a poll tax in British Kaffraria (the land between the Kei and Keiskama) by Grey in 1857, and later by Rhodes in the Glen Gray district (where those who worked for more than three months of the year for Europeans were exempt), there was a continual shortage of labour. The Transvaal Labour Commission for 1903 reported a shortage of 129,000,[2] hence the introduction of Indians to the sugar estates of Natal, and of indentured Chinese to the mines. The supply of labour has increased with increasing population, increasing economic pressure (a rise in direct and indirect taxation, and a growing shortage of land), and increasing wants. In 1927 it was calculated that over half the able-bodied men of the reserves were away at labour centres, but the supply is still dependent upon the production of the reserves. In 1924, when there was an exceptionally good harvest, there was a shortage of 16,000 labourers at the mines,[3] and the depression of 1929–33 is the first long period during which many Natives desiring work in the mines have been refused it.

From these circumstances have emerged the three distinct sections of the Bantu community—those in reserves, those living on European farms, and those in European towns. Statistics as to the relative proportions of Bantu in the Cape living in reserves, farms, and towns, are lacking, but it is estimated that in 1921 7·7 per cent. of the total Bantu population in the Cape was urban,[4] and that in 1916 about 15·1 per cent. was on European farms.[5]

[1] *Census Report, 1875.*

[2] Quoted, R. S. Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa*, vol. i, p. 17.

[3] *Report of Native Recruiting Corporation, Sept. 1925*, p. 3. Quoted, Buell, p. 18.

[4] Deduced from *Census Report, 1921*. As many Cape Natives work in the mines in the Transvaal the percentage working in towns is really higher than 7·7 per cent., but no exact figures can be obtained. The percentage in urban areas for the Union is 12·5 per cent.

[5] Deduced from figures quoted by Buell, p. 75, from *Report of Natives Land Commission, 1916*. The total Native population for 1916 is not known, so the

There is a steady stream of labourers moving from reserves and farms to towns in search of work, and returning again to their homes after a longer or shorter period in a town. There is also an increasing number who move from reserves and farms to towns and settle there permanently. A comparison of the census figures for 1911 and 1921 show a marked increase in urbanization, particularly of females.[1]

	Number		*Rate of Increase per cent.*
	1911	*1921*	
Males (Bantu)	410,161	439,707	7·20
Females	97,981	147,293	50·33

No Native census has been taken since 1921, but it is certain that the proportion of Bantu living in towns has increased since then. A private census taken in East London location in 1926 showed an increase in the Native population of 44·17 per cent. between 1921 and 1926.[2]

Formerly labour was so badly needed in towns that the increase in the number going to town was looked upon with favour. Now that unemployment is appearing there is an attempt to control the growing urbanization. Natives cannot enter town locations without passes, and since the depression with its accompanying unemployment these are being issued in many towns for a few days only, after which, if the holder has not found work, he is prohibited from remaining in the location.

The proportion of the Native population living on farms in the Cape Province is almost certainly decreasing. The Land Act of 1913[3] which prohibited Natives hiring land (outside certain areas) except in return for services, together with the development of farms, and the boom in sheep farming during the War, led to the eviction of Natives working on half-shares, and increased development has not necessitated a proportionate increase in labour. No figures are available, but in all the districts in which I worked I was told that the farm population had decreased within the last twenty years. Some of those who left farms drifted to towns, others moved with their stock to the reserves where they had no legal right to settle,[4] but where they were usually allowed to build

percentage calculation is based on the total population figure for 1921. Of the total Bantu population of the Union approximately 35 per cent. live on European-owned farms.

[1] *Report of Native Economic Commission, 1930–1* ('*N.E.C.*'), p. 403.

[2] *Report of the M.O.H. for East London, 1930–1.* For figures on increase in other towns, see *N.E.C.*, pp. 403–7.

[3] It operated in the Cape until 1917, when the courts declared it to be *ultra vires* in that Province.

[4] In surveyed areas only those who have title-deeds to a building site are legally

huts and graze their cattle. In time they might also hire fields. The already overcrowded reserves are further congested by these refugees from farms.

The position of a 'farm Native' who has left his job and cannot get another is, in time of depression, extremely precarious. *He has no legal right to live anywhere.* Towns are closed to him unless he can find work, he can live on no farm on which he is not a servant, and legally he has no right to go to the reserves.

The first section deals with life in the reserves. In the second and third sections communities in towns, and upon European farms, are described, and, finally, the differences between the three communities and the main lines of change resulting from contact with Europeans are discussed. The areas described are all in the Cape, the most 'liberal' Province in the Union in its treatment of Bantu. The life of the 244,000 men living in mine compounds is not touched upon because such a barrack community could not be adequately studied by a woman.

Conditions of contact.

Between the Kei and the umThamvuna River is a block of Native territory, solid except for a small area round each magistracy, the sites of mission stations, and stores, and a few European-owned farms. The territory is under European administration, which has curtailed the power of the chiefs, introduced a new criminal code, interfered with a number of the old customs, imposed taxation, and encouraged education. Throughout the territories are scattered trading stores, owned for the most part by Europeans. Through the stores are introduced European-made goods, the presence of which is killing indigenous arts and crafts, and money, which is revolutionizing social relations. The necessity of paying taxes, the desire to buy goods offered by the trader, and the growing land shortage which makes it impossible for the community while following old methods of agriculture to live on the land, drives men, and now also women, to work for Europeans. Each year a large proportion of the able-bodied men, and a number of women, leave their homes in the reserves to work at labour centres. These men and women, after living in close touch with, and working for, Europeans, return with new ideas, and are a most influential channel of contact. All through the territories are scattered mission stations with churches, schools, and a few hospitals. Magistracies, and most mission stations and

entitled to build and to graze their cattle. In unsurveyed districts strangers are legally entitled to enter only with the permission of the magistrate, and in practice must also have the permission of the chief or headman, to whom a beast is paid.

stores, are connected with each other and the outside world by roads, passable in dry weather, and by telephone. UmThatha (Umtata) and Kokstad are connected with the Cape and Natal respectively by rail.

As the result of these contact influences there are now in the reserves groups of Natives who to a greater or lesser degree have accepted European culture, and who are extremely influential in spreading European ideas in their own community. These people are referred to by Europeans and Pondo as 'dressed people', because they wear European dress, and not the blankets which are worn by the rest of the community, or as 'school people', for they are assumed to have attended school. The early missionaries laid great emphasis on their converts wearing European clothes,[1] and the discarding of Native dress is a mark of 'conversion'. No church adherent will wear blankets. But not all who wear European dress are church adherents, or have attended school. Some, having worked in town, retain the European dress which they wore there after their return to the reserve. Generally speaking, all those who regularly wear European dress in the reserves are the most ready to accept European ways, and they are one of the principal channels of contact influences.

In the relations of these two sections of the community, the 'dressed people' and those wearing blankets, we can observe the struggle between a still active native tradition and the influence of an alien culture.

Within the reserves the degree of contact varies with geographical position and historical circumstance. Pondoland, the area chosen for study, is a rugged strip of coastland separated from Natal by the umThamvuna River, from other Cape Native reserves by the umThatha River. During the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries there were a number of wrecks on this coast and several thousand Europeans and Asiatics from wrecks are known to have passed through Pondoland. Many died, some reached European settlements, a few were absorbed by the Pondo.[2] There is in Pondoland to-day a clan amaMholo claiming to be descendants of two Asiatics washed ashore, and among the Bomvana (an offshoot of the Pondo) there is a clan aßeLungu ('Europeans') which claims descent from shipwrecked Europeans.[3] In the features of members of both clans the influence of non-Bantu ancestry is observable, but the culture of these

[1] Cf. Capt. A. F. Gardiner, *A Journey to the Zoolu Country*, 1835, p. 81; S. Kay, op. cit. p. 112; W. Shaw, *The Story of my Mission in South-Eastern Africa*, p. 379.

[2] G. M. Theal, *Records of South Eastern Africa*.

[3] W. Shaw, *The Story of my Mission in South-Eastern Africa*, p. 495; J. H. Soga, *The South-Eastern Bantu*, pp. 330–2, 489–90. Also independent information.

clans is not now in any way different from that of neighbouring clans,[1] and the influence of shipwrecked persons is nowhere traceable.

In spite of shipwrecks on its coast, Pondoland has been less influenced by Europeans than any other of the Cape reserves. Far removed from the border on which Bantu and European first met, the Pondo[2] were not involved in the border wars; they were the last tribe in the Cape Province to come under British administration; and their chiefs were left more power than any other in the Cape Province. By 1894, when Pondoland was annexed, the Cape Government had some slight experience of Native administration, and although its views on the expediency of carrying out radical reforms in Bantu society may not have changed, it was less confident of immediately being able to do so by legislation than was the hasty Sir Harry Smith when he annexed Kaffraria.

The Pondo did not join in the cattle killing in 1857; taxation was introduced later than in other parts of the reserves; the country is fertile and less crowded than other parts of the Native territories. Owing to these circumstances Pondo men only began to go to work for Europeans after those of other tribes, and the proportion of men and women forced out to work is still lower than elsewhere. The remote geographical position, the broken nature of the coastal belt, and the heavy rainfall hindered the development of transport. There are still only two main roads in Pondoland, and these are sometimes impassable. Owing also to its geographical position Pondoland has fewer mission stations, fewer schools, and fewer stores than other areas in the reserves. For these reasons it is less affected by contact with Europeans than any other area in the Cape Province. Nevertheless, the difference is only one of degree, and all the contact influences cited above are at work in Pondoland. The group of 'dressed people' in Pondoland has within recent years been greatly strengthened by the immigration of a number of Fingos, and some Xhosa, from the overcrowded Ciskeian and western Transkeian districts. These immigrants come from districts which have been in longer and more intimate contact with Europeans than Pondoland, and are all 'dressed people'. They are having influence quite out of proportion to their numbers.

Europeans from their first contact with the Bantu had a strong feeling of their superiority over them. They came as a conquering

[1] An old Mholo told me that long ago the Mholo killed cattle and goats by cutting their throats. Now they kill by stabbing over the aorta, as do their neighbours. [2] Properly *amaMpondo*. Pondo is the European corruption in general use.

race, and the watchword of the Voortrekkers in matters regarding Natives was 'no equality in Church or State'. Although the humanists joined issue with them over this slogan, and civil rights for all civilized men were secured in the Cape, yet the vast majority of Europeans still maintain such a strong belief in the superiority of their race as such, that they hold that any European is necessarily 'superior' to any Bantu. The social and industrial colour bar, by accentuating the difference between the races, confirms the European in the belief in his superiority. Moreover, European and Bantu almost always meet as master and servant. The majority of the contacts are economic, and the European is almost always the employer. The less sophisticated Pondo cannot conceive of the European as anything but an employer. Again and again I was asked, 'Are there really no brown people in England? Who then does the work?' The only words of a European language which many Pondo know are 'dam fool' or some more violent epithet. Even in contact with officials and missionaries the relationship is always that of governor and governed, or master and pupil. The Europeans have always been numerically few in proportion to the Bantu, but because of the superiority of their material culture they have been able to dominate them.

There was never any very great disproportion between the sexes among the Europeans, and social feeling is strongly against intermarriage between European and Bantu; so although there is considerable miscegenation, intermarriage, which establishes conditions favourable to the rapid transference of culture, is rare.

The Bantu first encountered the European as a conqueror who fought and defeated him in the struggle for land. Submitting to the inevitable he acquiesced in the confiscation of lands he had occupied, and in the establishment of British rule. Aware that he had been defeated by the superior armaments of the European he was from the first impressed by the European's material culture, and anxious to acquire European goods. The trade in guns and blankets expanded rapidly. The generation of Xhosa who had fought the Europeans and been driven from their lands were slow to forget that the Europeans were enemies, and conquerors, but the Fingos who were protected by, and became the allies of, the British, and later the Pondo, were prepared to make the best of the domination by a stronger power, and turned towards *uRulumente* (the government) the attitude of a people towards a superior chief. The personal prefex U is used before government, and it is still thought of in remote districts of Pondoland

as a person, an old man with a white beard. The people were prepared to be loyal to this new chief, but in return expected to receive benefits from him.

Conservative tendencies in Bantu society are strong. Power is in the hands of the elders, and piety demands that there should be no departure from the ways of the ancestors, who by reason of their age must know better than their children. Non-observance of certain customs (*amasiko*) may result in sickness sent by the ancestors. But the forces making for change are too strong even for the conservatism of the Bantu when the European is the dominating power, and new ways and ideas are forced upon him through administrator, trader, and missionary in the reserves, and by the necessity of going to work outside the reserves and living in a European environment. One section abhor the new ways; another wish to be as like the dominating European as possible, and favour European education, languages, dress, styles of housing and furnishing, manners, diversions, as means towards this end. A Pondo believes that by becoming like a European he will acquire power like a European, and the fact that the most Europeanized usually get the best-paid jobs as teachers, clerks, interpreters, and ministers, fosters this belief. The European educated have prestige in the community. I have seen a chief's son swagger into the store ignoring every one there except the local teacher with whom he shook hands politely.

There is growing criticism and often dislike of Europeans, and discrimination between friendliness towards Europeans, and European rule, and the desire for European culture. There is a growing nationalist feeling showing itself in the sinking of tribal differences, the rise of purely Bantu churches, of an 'African National Congress', of a Bantu Trades Union with a strong political bias, and movements such as the 'Pioneers' organized on similar lines to European initiated movements (Pathfinders and Wayfarers, the Bantu equivalent to Scouts and Guides) but claiming to be purely African, and refusing to co-operate with movements in which there is any European control.

This section is keenly aware of the fact that European material development has given them power over Africa, admires that material development, and is determined to have European education; but the growing sense of nationalism makes them place more value on old Bantu custom and organization than did the first generation to receive European education. They are consciously outgrowing the stage of wanting to ape Europeans, and are anxious rather to absorb elements of European culture and blend it with Bantu culture.

The clash is primarily economic. A society poorly developed economically, and laying emphasis on the importance of common rather than of individual wealth, meets a highly developed, industrialized, and economically individualistic society. There is a struggle for land and a conflict of interests over labour. The restriction of land and the introduction of money and of new *goods which* are wanted alters the internal economy of the *reserves, and large* numbers go out to work for Europeans in *labour centres. For the* Bantu agricultural and industrial revolutions are telescoped—the necessity and possibility of developing agriculture, and the growth of a large population employed in industry, and entirely dependent upon wages, come at once, and radical changes follow one another with even greater speed than they did in Europe. All through three forces of change may be traced. First the economic, which alters the internal economy, and drives many out to work; secondly the political, which even non-Marxists may argue was historically but an offshoot of the economic, since the extension of political control in Africa was engendered by the desire to secure, or to prevent other nations from securing, economic control, but which may be distinguished in working from the economic; and thirdly the religious, which includes evangelistic, medical, and educational work.

Method of work.

Two visits were made to Pondoland, the first lasting seven months and the second four months. On the first visit all the time, except one week spent at a mission station, Rainy, was spent at one centre, 'nTiβane. There I lived in a European trader's store. The Pondo do not live in villages, but in household groups, averaging four to five adults, which are scattered through the country. A store serves as a club for the district, the people gathering there to meet friends, hear the gossip, flirt, and beg tobacco. Trade was brisk at 'nTiβane store, and there were always numbers of people about. The trader's wife made the cotton skirts which Pondo women wear; customers used to arrive in the morning, order a skirt, and wait until it was finished. The women were in the habit of chatting with my hostess, who was extremely popular. I was accepted as her sister, and shared the goodwill shown to her. Sitting in a corner of the store I listened to the gossip, and joined in the conversation. We talked about marriage, initiation, crops, and children. One woman would give her views, and another chip in with comments. I heard about the latest *affaires*; who had been beaten by their husbands, and why; who were pregnant; what sort of crop had been reaped;

who was sick, and who had bewitched them. I kept a bag of tobacco which helped the conversation along.

Pondo festivals are public affairs, and hearing about them in the store I was free to attend them. I went with the neighbours to beer drinks, dances, weddings, girls' initiation ceremonies, doctors' initiation ceremonies, work parties. The people grew to like the presence of a photographer. Once there was a fight. Men went charging past with sticks, and spears. I was constrained to watch from a distance. Afterwards the women complained: 'But why did you not come near and take a picture? It was better than a dance.' I went with the women to the fields, and helped to reap. I paid visits to the huts at all hours of the day, and sometimes joined in household tasks. The atmosphere became immediately more intimate when I helped to shell mealies, and the children laughed at my clumsy efforts to grind.

Special visits were made to chiefs and old men and women, to discuss customs and history. I found that I gained much by getting a ceremony described both before and after seeing it. What informants considered important was made clear, and I heard of things which I might have overlooked. By attending the same festival several times, and hearing many accounts of it, one was able to distinguish what were essential elements and what peculiarities due to individual taste; also what were the differences between ideal and practice. Details of ceremonies may vary from family to family, and often poverty or convenience necessitates modification.

At every turn there was opportunity for studying the reactions to European contact. I saw the young men going off to the mines, saw them returning, and watched how they spent their earnings. Letters they had written to wives and sweethearts were brought to the store to be read, and I heard the stories they brought back of life on the Rand. The store was doing a flourishing trade in European blankets, cloth, tinware, sugar, salt, and tea. Money was in general use. Near the store was a mission church, with a Native pastor, which I attended regularly. I made friends with members of the Christian community, and went to women's meetings, prayer meetings, school concerts, weddings, and funerals, as I did to the festivals of the pagans. The pastor and teachers were helpful in putting me in contact both with the Christian and the pagan community.

On the second visit to Pondoland the same methods were employed as on the first, except that instead of working from one centre I worked from five centres, spending six weeks at each of two stores, 'mBotyi and Ntontela, and a shorter time at 'nKantsweni

and 'mZizi stores, and at Holy Cross mission. The object of moving about was to discover what things were peculiarly local and what were general within the tribe. It will be seen from the map that the centres used are widely scattered through Pondoland. On the second visit I was accompanied by a Pondo clerk, Michael Geza. He was extremely helpful in writing reports of cases which we heard in chiefs' courts, taking down songs and folk-tales, reporting witchcraft cases, and writing accounts of customs in the vernacular. He was educated and a Christian, but came of a pagan family of doctors, his ancestors having been doctors to the imiZizi chiefs for nine generations. The office is still in his family.

I attended the 1932 session of the Bunga (the United Transkeian Territories General Council), and listening to debates, and conversing with magistrates there, learned something of the working of the administrative system. Reports of the Bunga, and Xhosa novels and newspapers have all been studied as documents throwing light on the life and thought of the literate section of the Bantu community.

As the daughter of missionaries born and brought up in Lovedale, a missionary institution, I had, before beginning field work, friends among educated Bantu, and some knowledge of Bantu life.

I was not fluent in Xhosa when I began work, and at the first store was greatly helped by my hostess who was a skilful interpreter. As time went on I began to speak easily and made my notes partly in the vernacular. In translating these notes, and texts written by Geza, I have found difficulty. Language and culture are interdependent, and there is inevitably great difficulty in an attempt to describe one culture in the language of another. Bantu culture is widely different from European culture, and again and again one is confronted with the impossibility of rendering exactly in English a concept foreign to our culture. The language relating to magic, or to the ancestor cult, for example, cannot be translated into English. Even the English equivalent for a Xhosa verb or noun referring to the simplest action or thing common to both cultures never has exactly the same content as has the original word in terms of its own culture. To eat (*ukudla*) is an action common to both cultures. To an Englishman it conveys the idea of taking food, served in a particular way, at certain set hours. To the Pondo it conveys the idea of taking quite other food, served in other ways at other hours. If we take the example of a more complicated action such as 'to make love', the meaning in the two cultures is much more widely different.

But since time and patience for learning many languages are

limited, attempts to interpret one culture in the language of another are necessary, if a number of cultures are to be compared. An attempt is made here. I have endeavoured to show clearly how the content of words used as equivalents in the two cultures differ, and where there is no English word approximating to the Xhosa word, the Xhosa word is explained, and then retained in the text. A glossary of these words will be found in the Appendix. The writing would have been more accurate had I retained many more Xhosa terms, but I feared to try further the patience of the reader. Nouns are given with their prefixes, and verbs in the infinitive form. For the sake of clarity the article and verb form are usually given also in English. Owing to exigencies of space Xhosa texts, even those of songs and invocations to the ancestors, have been omitted. As far as possible literal translations are given. Texts can be made available if required.

My object is firstly to describe life as it is in Pondoland to-day; but the past determines the present, and in a society which is changing rapidly it is impossible to explain the working of existing institutions without constant reference to the past. Further, data given by ancients on past conditions indicates lines of change within the one community. When I discussed an institution with old people they usually described it as it had worked when they were young. Many institutions I saw functioning both as described by old people and in modified forms. The most intelligible way of presenting very complex material seems to be to give an account of a custom or institution as I have seen it functioning in conservative families, or as it has been described to me by old people, and then to discuss how it is now being modified. In the text I have attempted to make clear what I have myself seen and what is only hearsay.

As in any sociological study the student is faced with a mass of facts, and there is great difficulty in selection. Much of the material collected is not presented. Since the purpose of this study is also to show the effects upon a Bantu society of contact with Europeans, special attention has been given to the aspects of Pondo life that have been most affected by the contact. Particularly have I endeavoured to show what are the forces making for social cohesion, and what are the sanctions for the law and customs by which the society is regulated; for it is the disintegration of the old society, and break-down of the old sanctions, that is the crucial problem in Africa to-day. As a woman I naturally had greater opportunity of studying the life of women than the life of men, and women's concerns are more fully discussed than those of men; but since the lives of men and women in any

community are inextricably bound up together, no attempt has been made to confine the study to women.

Except where otherwise stated in the text or footnotes, facts given are from my own observation or statements made by Pondo. Wherever identification might inconvenience an informant his or her real name is not given. Statements of customs are often given in the words of one informant, but except when expressly declared to be otherwise, these statements have been confirmed by other informants.

PLATE II

PART I

PONDOLAND

CHAPTER I

FAMILY LIFE

A CROWD of little hills tumble down to the sea, and grassy ridges, emerging like islands out of the sea mist which fills the valleys at dawn, are covered with round brown huts. Two hundred and sixty thousand Pondo live in groups of huts (*umzi*, pl. *imizi*), scattered through their 3,900 square miles of country at irregular distances, of anything from fifty yards to a mile or more apart. In each *umzi* is a man with his wives, married sons with their wives and children, and unmarried daughters. Formerly as many as twenty married men related in the male line lived together in one *umzi*.[1] Now an average *umzi* contains four to five adults, and four children.[2]

Members of *imizi* in one small area—often those on one ridge—recognize one of their number as a petty headman, fight together, and sit together at feasts. People living in one district recognize a chief who formerly had administrative and judicial powers, and they fought as a unit in the tribal army. A number of districts make up the tribe, controlled by a paramount chief.

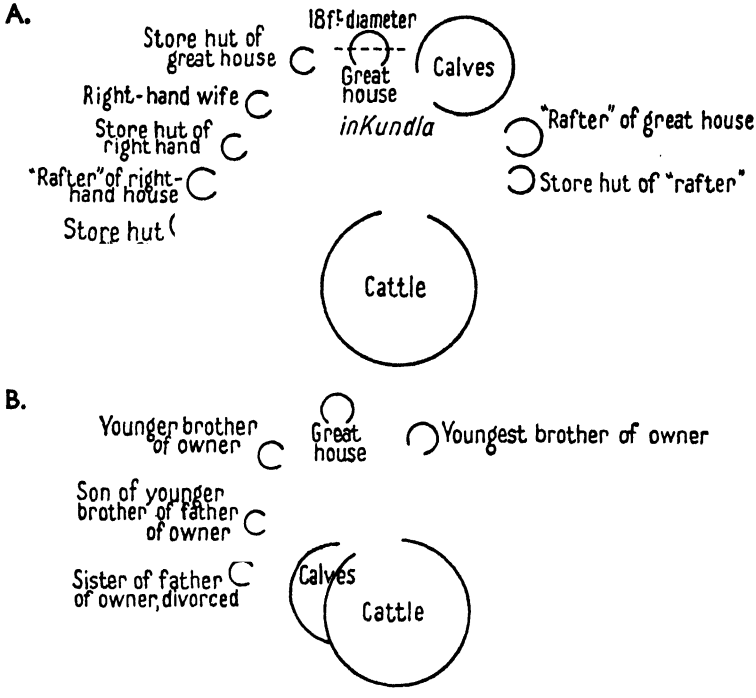
Cutting across these territorial groupings are exogamous patrilineal clans (*iziduko*). A man does not necessarily build his *umzi* near that of his father, so clans do not coincide with territorial groups. But sons tend to settle in the same neighbourhood as their father, and therefore one clan, usually that of the chief, predominates in a district, and often the district is called by the name of that clan.

Marriage is polygynous and patrilocal. Each woman in the *umzi* who has been married a year or more has her own hut, and often also a store-hut. Huts are arranged in a semicircle, which, if the nature of the site permits, faces east. The open segment of the circle is filled by a cattle kraal. The senior male of the *umzi* is 'owner of the *umzi*'. The hut of his mother, or if she is dead of his first wife (the 'great wife'), is built opposite the gate of the

[1] Statement of Pondo ancients, cf. Boyce, Missionary in Pondoland (1830). Quoted A. Steedman, *Wanderings and Adventures in S. Africa*, vol. ii, p. 268: 'A 100 kraals each of which contained 20 to 40 houses.' Also J. Barrow, *Travels into the Interior of S. Africa, 1801–4*, p. 192, *re* Xhosa.

[2] A census of 29 *imizi* was taken.

cattle kraal.[1] His second wife is 'right-hand wife' and her hut goes to the right of the great hut (speaker facing out of the great hut); the third wife married is a 'rafter' (*iqadi*) of the first wife, and her hut goes to the left of the great hut; the fourth wife is a 'rafter' of the right-hand wife, and her hut goes to the right of that of the right-hand wife; if other wives are married they are alternatively 'rafters' of the great house or of the right-hand house.



Plans of imizi. (Not drawn to scale.)

Huts are built for them below the house to which they are attached. The hut of the eldest son's wife is usually built below that of the great wife, the hut of the second son's wife below that of the right-hand wife. Store-huts are built next to the huts of their owners. There is no prescribed position for the kraal for small stock, but it is usually built either adjoining the cattle kraal or immediately to the left of the great hut. This arrangement is frequently

[1] In eastern Pondoland when the mother of the *umzi* is dead, and he has two or more wives, no hut is built directly opposite the kraal gate, but that of the great wife is built slightly to the right, that of the right-hand wife to the left (speaker facing the kraal). There the first wife is sometimes called right-hand wife and the second wife left-hand wife.

An *nnzi* of 'school people'

modified according to convenience and the nature of the site. 'School people' usually build their huts in a straight row.

Each hut and each *umzi* has its own name, given by the owner. When a man builds his own *umzi* he sometimes calls it by the name of his great wife's hut, but he may choose another name. One *umzi* I used to visit was called by neighbours 'the place of tricks', because the owner was a wily old man. No one but himself used the more reputable name he had given his home.

Let us visit Hewu (the pleasant place). Within the great hut a fire glows on the mud hearth in the centre of the floor. Maize is cooking in a three-legged trade pot. Piled up against the wall on the left side of the door as you enter (the women's side) are two grinding-stones and a mat to hold the meal ground, a trade bucket with water, a wooden pillow, a roll of sleeping-mats, a grain basket, two beer baskets, two tin cans, and a bundle of bark for rolling string. Along the back wall are beer-pots, and next to them on the right (the men's side) are the milk bucket, bowl, and six calabashes. Above these, stuck into the thatch, are six spears, the jaw-bone of an ox ritually killed, and a bunch of herbs for medicine. A bundle of blankets is hung on a loop of rope and sticks are neatly piled on a rest. Against the wall are the men's sleeping-mats and wooden pillows, a goat-skin, a yellow and blue wooden chest brought back from the mines (locked), grinding-stones, sieve for snuff, and meat trays. A basketful of spoons is hung on a pole, and in the thatch over the fire is a bunch of sugar-cane seed.

One woman is sitting on a little mat stripping mealies off the cob. Another is tending a pot of wild spinach on a fire just outside the door. Children and chickens sprawl about the floor. In the kraal two boys, supervised by their father, the 'owner of the *umzi*', are busy with the evening milking. The elder brings in a bucketful of milk and fills up the calabashes.

Each house (*indlu*), a group consisting of a woman and her children, has its own property in cattle, and the right to till certain fields; but all the members of the *umzi* eat together and work together. The women take it in turns to cook. There is no strict rotation of responsibility, but the work is fairly equally shared. All foods are not eaten by all members of the *umzi*, so usually one wife cooks one dish, another something else. Often in the reaping or weeding season one comes home early so as to have food prepared for the others when they return. At Mandeleni one day the eldest son's wife returned from the fields about 3 p.m. She went to stamp maize, borrowing a block from the next *umzi*. Three wives

of younger sons returned about 4 p.m. After suckling her baby, one prepared wild spinach which she had brought with her from the fields, the other broke maize off the cob and ground meal to cook with the spinach. The third went to fetch water. The mother-in-law did not return until dusk, when all was prepared.

A bride spends a year or more 'cooking for her mother-in-law'. She sleeps with her husband in a store-hut, and later (usually within a year), in a hut which is built for her, but she cooks in her mother-in-law's hut. The date at which she begins to cook in her own hut is not strictly determined by custom, but varies with the circumstances and the individuals concerned. Often a woman 'goes out of her mother's hut' as soon as her first child is born, but there are cases of women with children of 10 or 12 still 'cooking for their mother-in-law'. At Mandeleni five wives, of three sons, are still cooking for their mother. They explained: 'We could go out if we liked, but we prefer to live together like this, because some of us have no elder children to look after our babies, and it is easier to leave them all in our mother's hut.' The suggestion that a daughter-in-law should 'go out of her mother's hut' must come from the mother-in-law. 'A bride cannot ask, but she cannot but be satisfied if her mother says that it is right that she should go.' Ngote's aunt described the procedure graphically. 'One morning early, when the mealies are ripe, your mother puts a pot in your hut, then she gives you a grain basket and says: "My child, the family is now getting too big. Go and get mealies from your own field, and cook in your own hut. By that I am not driving you out of my hut, but the dividing of the food is too much for one." Then your mother calls the children of the *umzi* and says, "You and you will go and get food from So-and-so's hut." They will come for the dish you cook, but they will not eat it there, they will take it to the great hut. The day a daughter-in-law goes out of her mother's hut she is given a cow to be milked for her house. Then the daughter-in-law brews beer and sends the first basket to her husband's father.'

Each woman when she cooks takes from the food produced in her own field. A bride who for the first season has no field of her own, takes from her mother-in-law's store.

Even when a woman has 'gone out of her mother's hut', she does not cook only for herself, her own husband, and children, nor does she feed alone with them. She must always send a dish of whatever she has prepared to her mother-in-law, serve a dish for men (provided it is a food men eat), even although her own husband is away at the mines, and usually she serves a third dish for children. Failure to send a dish to her mother-in-law is ground

for driving a woman out of an *umzi*. While I was at 'nTißane a quarrel arose at 'ziNdlovu. Baibile lived with a second wife and her children, Sipho, a son by his first wife, and Sipho's wife. Sipho's wife never sent food to her step-mother-in-law, or to Baibile, and Sipho was told that therefore he must build an *umzi* for himself. He did so.

Usually a woman after cooking a dish in her own hut takes it to the great hut, and there shares it with her mother-in-law and the other women of the *umzi*. At Emposa Gwadiso's widow Makoɽi, her son's widow Matʃhawe, and her grandson's wife Madolikana, all cook in their own huts, but whatever is cooked is taken to Makoɽi's hut to eat. They cook more or less in turn, but not in strict rotation. 'Last night Matʃhawe cooked, and she is cooking to-night. To-morrow *makhulu* (Makoɽi) may cook if she likes, and then Madolikana, but we do not count. To-morrow Matʃhawe might cook pumpkin, and Madolikana spinach.' Women, having sent a dish to their mother-in-law, may eat in their own hut, but it is most unusual for them to do so. In two years spent in and out of huts I never saw a woman eating alone with her husband and her own children when there were other people living in the *umzi*.

There are no definite meal hours, and often different members of the *umzi* feed at different times. Nor are there prescribed places for eating. In temperate weather the men often sit and eat near the cattle kraal, while the women are in the shade of the huts. In heat or cold both sexes may eat together in the great hut. She who cooks serves. The usual dishes served are one for the 'owner of the *umzi*', one for the other men and adolescent boys, one for the women, and one for the children. The dish is set on the floor before the person or persons for whom it is intended, and if it is a liquid dish a spoon is provided for each person. The 'owner of the *umzi*' may invite any other man, or sister, or child, to eat with him, but it is his prerogative to be served with a dish to himself. A man and wife, or father-in-law and daughter-in-law, or mother-in-law and son-in-law, actual or potential, may never eat out of the same dish, but any men may eat together, and brothers and sisters, or mothers and sons, own and classificatory, or fathers and daughters.

Within these regulations the actual arrangement of the family at meal-times is determined by convenience. At Ngangaßo's a milk dish was being eaten one morning. The head of the *umzi* shared his dish with his younger brother, and then handed the remains to a married sister who was visiting. His mother was eating a dish with his great wife and a granddaughter of 15 or 16.

Ngangaßo's two sons of 15 and 18 were eating with their sister of 14, while three junior wives were eating together out of another dish. Again, at Nyawuza's, one morning the head of the *umzi* asked his sister's daughter, a young married woman, who was visiting, and his son, to share his dish of mealies and beans. The wives of the *umzi* had another dish of mealies, while a son of 12 was eating a milk dish and was told by his mother to share it with the younger children. Children up to about 3 years have their own private calabash, and may be fed separately at any time, but from about 2 they begin also to eat with the other children of the *umzi*, and from 3½ eat regularly with them. Besides having their own dish they may be given tit-bits by elders, and the remains of any dish not finished.

Food is put aside for members of the family who are away, but expected to return that day, and guests are invited to share in whatever dish their status fits them to eat from. Only for important guests will a special dish be served, or in honour of some male guest the 'owner of the *umzi*' may share his private dish.

Food is normally cooked and served by the married women of the *umzi*. Husbands, or other male relatives, may ask for a particular dish, but normally it is the woman who arranges the menu, and decides the quantity of food to be cooked. The men, however, may complain if they think the stores are being used up too fast, and they control the store-pits, which are dug in the cattle kraal, from which women are excluded.

Children must never take food, but are given it by older persons. When I inquired if they might ask for food, the reply of the women always was, 'A mother gives her children food without waiting to be asked, but they may ask if there is something they specially like.' Small children might ask anywhere; a girl of 10 would wait until given food, when with strangers, but she might ask of her own mother, or of another house in her own *umzi*. A girl of 14 or 15 becomes responsible for cooking, and may serve food. When she cooks, she would never cook in any other house than that of her own mother. Cooked food should be common property within the *umzi*, 'but it depends upon their hearts (*intliziyo*), it depends whether the women are good or not'. 'If there are always quarrels in an *umzi* a girl will not help herself to cooked food in any house other than her mother's without asking.' 'They should be good.' 'Some women do not wish their huts to be opened while they are away.' 'There are mothers who want to feed only their own children, but they should feed all the children of the *umzi* equally.' 'There are the stingy women, who give other women's children little food, and much to their

own, but good ones often give much to other people's children and little to their own.' Such are the opinions of older men and women with whom I discussed this question. In the store one day there was talk about a woman whose step-daughter was constantly running away from her to go to her mother, who had been divorced and married again. The trader was chaffing the step-mother, and said: 'Why is your step-daughter always running away from you? Are you sure it is not because you do not give her enough food?' The step-mother replied indignantly: 'No, I have many mealies.' A Pondo man standing by retorted: 'You may have many, but you may not give them to her.' Nokoranti left her *umzi* after her husband's death, because her senior co-wife gave her child very little milk. Geza's parents died when he was still a child, and he was brought up in the home of his father's junior brother's son. This man's wife, Geza said, was extremely good to him, treating him as if he were her own child. People commented on it, saying that it was because he, Geza, had many cows, of which she got the milk, and that she hoped for a reward from him when he grew up. He did not think that she was kind only because of the advantage to herself. 'She is a kind woman.'

Jealous and stingy women exist, and the difficulties of attaining generosity and harmony within the *umzi* are recognized, but great emphasis is laid on the virtue of generosity, and the extent to which it is attained is amazing to a European. It is most unusual to see a woman feeding only her own children. Often children from neighbouring *imizi* are also fed. I went to an *umzi* one morning and found six or seven children of 5 to 8 years eating together. I inquired about them, and found that none were the children of the woman who was feeding them. Two were the children of her husband's unmarried sister, and were claimed by her husband, two were her husband's father's brother's son's children from a neighbouring *umzi*, and two others her husband's brother's children, also from a neighbouring *umzi*. Her husband smiled at me and said that there were always children in his hut for his wife was *noßußele* (full of tenderness: *ißele*, a breast).

The principal delicacies, meat and beer, are not eaten and drunk every day within the family, but when an animal is killed, or beer brewed, neighbours gather to share in the feast. Special invitations are sent only to certain kin (cf. pp. 26–51), but when beer is being brewed, or a beast is to be killed, the fact is always known to neighbours, and it is expected that they should also come to the feast. When a beast is cut up certain portions are given to the women, others to the men. The division of men's meat and

women's meat is clearly defined by custom (cf. pp. 364–5); beer is likewise divided between men and women (pp. 359–60; 366).

When food is handed to a person it must be received with both hands, but no verbal thanks need be expressed. Often a dish is set before a person, who receives it in silence. Guests are given considerably more food than they are expected to eat, and it is mannerly for them to leave some in the dish, showing that they have been satisfied. After food water is passed round for every one to rinse their mouths, and it is polite to spit the mouthful either into the hearth, or on to the wall behind one.

There are some prohibitions regarding the serving of food. It must never be put into the men's dish first, because a stick (*iphini*) is used for stirring during the cooking, and it is an *umkhonto* (spear). If a man is served first, he will have a stitch when he is running, and feel as if he had been stabbed by a spear. By serving the women first the 'sickness' is given to them, whom it will not harm. Roast mealies or roast meat, which are not stirred, may be served first to men. When eating meat one must not put a knife through the meat and nibble round, for the knife is a spear, and he who eats likes that will be killed by a spear. To stir food with a knife is not done for the same reason. A boy who licks the stirring stick will get a stitch when he runs, so he leaves it to his sister, and she leaves him the pot to scrape, because if she licks it rain will fall on her marriage day. A pot in which meat is to be cooked must never be put on the fire until the meat is in it, otherwise the live stock will be harmed. The owner complains to one who does it, 'You are cooking my cattle, you are making them soft.' 'Even although the meat is only a hen, if the pot is put on without the chicken the other hens will die.' With other food this does not matter.

The members of an *umzi* feed, work, and play together. The children usually sleep together in their grandmother's hut. To the child all the men of the *umzi* are 'my father', all the women 'my mother', or 'my father's sister'; all of its own generation 'my brother' or 'my sister'. When visiting an *umzi* it is at first impossible to tell without questioning which weaned children belong to which women. A woman often carries on her back a child of a co-wife, or husband's brother's wife. A man plays with his brothers' children as with his own. Social ideal urges co-operation and the subordination of the interests of a separate house to the good of the *umzi*. Nevertheless, conflicts between house and house within the *umzi* are very usual. Mother and own children are bound together both by emotional ties and common

interests in the property of the house. Often there is rivalry between two wives of one man to secure property for their house. The insistence on the duty of a woman to feed other children as her own shows that her natural desire is to do otherwise. An orphan girl commenting on the degree of freedom allowed to unmarried girls remarked: 'It depends a lot on whether your own mother is alive or not whether they trouble when you come back at night.' The ill treatment of a child whose own mother is dead by his 'other mothers', and the attempts of one wife to secure the death of the child of another wife, are usual themes in Pondo folk-lore. Accusations of sorcery by women against co-wives, and between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, are common.

As the *umzi* grows it splits up. A brother or son of the head of the *umzi* builds his own *umzi*, and moves with his wife or wives and children to it. Sometimes a man with a number of wives builds separate *imizi* for his great house and his right-hand house. This is a means of securing domestic harmony and of getting better grazing for large herds. With chiefs it was also a means of controlling outlying districts, since each *umzi* was regularly visited by the owner, and the chief's outlying *imizi* were seats of local government (cf. p. 380). But the number of men with more than one *umzi* is now small, there only being 78 (chiefs and commoners) in the district of Ngqeleni,[1] of which the total male population is 18,415,[2] and there is no evidence that it was ever very much higher.

The suggestion that a son or brother should build his own *umzi* should come from son or brother himself. Only if he or his wife has behaved badly, or been accused of witchcraft (cf. pp. 19; 313), may he be ordered to build his own *umzi*. Frequently persons related in the male line build their *imizi* near one another (cf. p.61), or sometimes a man builds near his wife's relatives. For example, Maduba thought that his own relatives near whom he lived were killing him, so he came to live near his wife's father. But the location of an *umzi* is not prescribed by custom. It is largely a matter of personal choice. Removals are not unusual. Men move because they are accused of witchcraft or sorcery, and neighbours make it impossible for them to remain in the district, or because (as with Maduba) a member of the *umzi* is constantly ill, and it is felt necessary to get away from that which is bewitching them, or because they have quarrelled with the headman or chief of the district, or in the hope of getting better grazing or better fields.

[1] From tax records. Magistrate's office, Ngqeleni.
[2] *Census Report, 1921.* Probably inaccurate.

Women, if their near relatives die, or they quarrel with them, may go to live with others. A widow living with her own brother quarrelled with him, so she went to the *umzi* of her father's brother's son. The parents of another woman living at home died, so she went to her father's younger brother.

A very deep and tender love is expected between own mother and child. Again and again women said to me: 'You have been away from home for six months? Do you not get homesick for your mother? Does she not kiss you and kiss you when you go home? Ah, she will be longing for you. It is the way of mothers.' It was always my own mother who was meant.

Children are often left with paternal grandparents if they live in another *umzi*. A mother, when I inquired whether she did not hate having to send her eldest son to live with her husband's parents, replied: 'It is the custom. I do not complain when I leave him, for he will inherit there.' But I have seen the tears rolling down a mother's face when she went away, after bringing a child who had been ill to stay for some time with its father's mother. She sent the child, who was 5 or 6 years old, to play with the other children beyond the kraal, then hastened out round the back of the huts that she might not have the pain of seeing him cry at parting. Women are not expected to make a fuss and weep after a child is buried (the wailing stops after the burial), but the fact that they are composed does not mean that they do not feel the loss bitterly. One woman remarked to me: 'It is better to be barren than to bear children and lose them', and barrenness is regarded as a very great misfortune. Mothers hate to speak of dead children, for, it is explained, they want to forget, but there are frequent references to mothers dreaming of children who have died. It is the own mother who performs the most elaborate mourning rites.

A mother tempers paternal authority. She is her daughter's *ihlathi* (bush shelter) when a distasteful match is being forced upon her, and she will speak for her son if he gets into trouble with his father. She fights for the economic rights of her house, and when her sons are grown up it is expected that they will build an *umzi* for themselves and take their mother to live with them. Even if a woman has left her husband and has lived long at her own home, she is frequently summoned by her sons to come and live with them when they are grown up and have built their own *umzi*. Even if she has remarried, when the sons of her first husband are grown up she may go to live with them. Her second husband cannot demand either her return, or the return of his *ikhazi*. 'It is he who has been foolish to marry a woman who already has

sons.' There is an especially close relationship between a woman and her youngest son, who inherits her property. If her sons live in different *imizi*, it is usually in the *umzi* of her youngest son that she lives.

Fathers also are often devoted to their children, and make much of them when small, carrying them about in their arms, fondling them, playing with them, and teaching them to dance. Often one sees a child of 3 or 4 climbing over his father, and mauling him with impunity. Parents have fierce arguments as to whether a child's first word was *mama* (mummy) or *tata* (daddy).

As the child grows older he is taught respect and obedience which are particularly due to his father. Usually a child will carry out an order of its father's much quicker than those of any woman. He fetches and carries for his father, performing whatever of his tasks he is capable of performing. There is no age at which he is regarded as being free of parental control. In theory his choice in marriage may be vetoed by his father, although in practice a man usually marries the girl he wants (cf. p. 189). He still must consult his father in all important matters, even after he has an *umzi* of his own. Old men lament the days when 'grey headed men lived in the *umzi* of their father, obeying him in all things, as if they were children'.

Father and son have mutual economic obligations. An unmarried son lives with his father, and is maintained on the produce of the milk from his father's cattle and the grain from his mother's field. His father should, if possible, provide him with a wife. The eldest son of a house inherits the property of that house, and from the time he is old enough should be consulted by his father in the disposal of any of that property. The father is responsible for the torts at law of unmarried sons living in his *umzi*.[1] This may entail heavy economic responsibility for the father, as the punishment for all offences except witchcraft was always, and is still frequently, a fine.

In return a son is expected to work for his father, as a boy herding cattle, and later helping in the men's share of garden work, hut building, &c. Formerly his prizes in war and chase were brought to his father, and now it is considered that the money he earns at labour centres should also go to his father. A son, when he goes out of his father's *umzi*, is expected to consult his father in all important economic transactions. If he proposes to sell a beast, or a part of his maize crop, he should first consult his father. A father should also consult his son. When I wished to buy a beer barrel, worth 10*s*., second-hand, from an elderly

[1] *Native Appeal Court Records, 1912–17*, p. 139. Also independent evidence.

man, he refused to close the deal until he had consulted a son living in his own *umzi*, a mile away. A doctor at Holy Cross mission hospital told me that even adult male patients would seldom permit an operation to be performed until they had consulted elder relatives.

A father is responsible for his son's health so long as he remains in his *umzi*, and must make a ritual killing for him when necessary. Even when a son has his own *umzi*, it is obligatory for father and son to consult each other before killing ritually. Informants were shocked at the suggestion that a son might kill without consulting his father. Although a feast is always public, a father or a son must send a special message to the other inviting attendance if they have killed or made beer, whether ritually or not. If the father cannot walk, a son will send him a basket of beer or a piece of meat.

These mutual obligations are limited by practical necessity. A son living more than ten miles distant might be called to a feast, but would not be consulted in a sale of grain, if the father had sons nearer with whom to discuss the matter. 'Consultation' means discussion until some measure of agreement is reached. Informants did not think that a father could veto a son's action, or a son, a father's. A good son would listen to his father's advice; a father should be advised by his sons. It is all of a piece with a general custom in law courts and tribal meetings, that no vote is taken, but the matter thrashed out until some compromise is reached. There is a proverb, *Isaala kutyelwa siva ngolophu*. 'He who refuses to take advice hears by a hot wind.'

A father is responsible for burying a son living in his *umzi*, and the eldest son in the *umzi* for burying his father.

The respect due to a father is paid also to the father's brother, who frequently lives in the same *umzi* as the child, and is in as close daily contact with him as is his own father. The father's brother, like the father, is addressed as *bawo*, and addresses his brother's child as *nyana* (my son), or *mntanam* (my child), or by name, as he would his own child. But in reference a distinction may be made, the father's brother is referred to as *ubawokazi* (a term never used for own father), and a man may use some descriptive term as *unyana womkhuluwe* (son of my elder brother) to indicate the exact relationship of the *unyana* to him. The father's brother has the right to give orders to, and chastise, his brother's children. He often plays with them and fondles them as he would his own children. At an *umzi* where a number of brothers lived together I found them carrying about a brother's child as often as they carried one of their own. When a man marries, his wife

shows respect towards his father's brother, as she does to his father. A man becomes an ancestral spirit to his brother's son, as to his own son.

But there is a great difference between the mutual economic obligations of own father and son, and father's brother and brother's son. A boy has the right to share in the communal dish of the *umzi* because his own parents contribute to the food-supply of the *umzi*, and not because of any obligation of his father's brother to him. He is aware that he will inherit nothing from his *ubawokazi*,[1] and his *ubawokazi* is in no way obliged to assist him with his *ikhazi* (cattle given by groom's group to bride's at marriage). As a close relation an *ubawokazi* is a person from whom to ask gifts (*ukubusa*), and of grace he might assist his brother's son to (*uku*)*lobola*, but such help is rare. Of 112 marriages investigated there is only one case in which the groom has been assisted by his *ubawokazi* (cf. p. 127). Similarly an *ubawokazi* seldom benefits from the *ikhazi* of his niece, and does not do so at all unless he has helped to provide her wedding outfit, or supplied the beast for killing at her initiation. This he only does when the father is poor, and specially requests his brother's assistance. The father under these circumstances might ask the help of a neighbour, on the same terms, but it is preferred to keep the transaction within the family (cf. p. 129).

An *ubawokazi* may be consulted in economic transactions and will probably be consulted in the question of making a ritual killing. One man remarked that he would only consult his father and brothers if he was going to kill a goat or sheep, but he would also talk it over with his *ubawokazi* if it were a matter of a beast. When a man's own father is dead he frequently gets an *ubawokazi* to perform any ritual killing that is necessary. And an *ubawokazi* is called to a feast, ritual or otherwise, as a father.

Thus the pattern of behaviour between father's brother and brother's son approximates to that between own father and son; but that the difference in the relationship is quite clearly recognized is shown by the difference in economic obligation between father and son, and father's brother and brother's son.

Since a married man frequently lives in his father's *umzi*, children very often grow up in the *umzi* of their paternal grandparents. Where the eldest son of an eldest son has his own *umzi* his eldest child (and also his eldest son if the eldest child is a girl)

1 For the sake of clarity I use in the text only *ubawo* (my father), although sometimes *uyise* (your father) or *uyihlo* (his father) would be grammatically correct. Cf. p. 54.

goes after weaning to live with his grandparents.[1] The eldest grandson grows up under his grandfather's care, and on his death inherits his property (cf. p. 120). The child is taught to show very great respect to his grandfather; he sees his own father deferring to him. A man's wife avoids his grandfather as she does his father. But the avoidance of his name is not so strict as the avoidance of her husband's father's name. She could 'tell the name if asked'.[2] A man consults his grandfather regarding the disposal of property, or a ritual killing, as he would his father. 'He always goes to the source.' He sends a special message to summon him to a feast.

The grandmother is probably the *inkosikazi* (chief woman) of the *umzi*, and is seen by the children as a person with authority, treated with great respect by their mother.

Respect is due, and is paid, but grandparents are proverbially more indulgent than the children's own parents. Often I have seen a naughty child take refuge with a doting grandmother. The grandfather is often old and much about the kraal. The grandchildren when small, play with him, and later it is his business to tell the sons stories of their ancestors. Children sleep in their grandmother's hut, often under her blanket. Going into a hut early in the morning one often sees a swarm of small children emerge from under their grandmother's blanket, where they have been nestling like chickens under the wings of a hen. The grandmother is *par excellence* the recounter of *iintsomi* (folk-tales). A boy hunting in the veld should always bring a bird of his catch to his grandmother. 'If she is dead he gives it to his mother.'

The sons of the same mother and the same father grow up feeding together out of a common dish, playing together and working together, herding and ploughing. So long as they live in the same *umzi* they have common economic obligations, each married man contributing to the common food-supply from his wife's fields, and from his cattle, and to some extent to the cash needs of each house (cf. pp. 130–1). Even when they no longer live in the same *umzi* they are expected to consult one another when disposing of any property or making a ritual killing.

From childhood there is a distinction between younger and elder brother. A younger brother is ordered about by his senior. When small he has to fag for his elder brother, herding while

[1] Children of other sons sometimes also go to live with the grandparents, but these the parents 'can take back when they like'; it is not an *isiko* (custom) that they should live in the *umzi* of their grandparents.

[2] Geza stated when discussing this, 'A grandfather is like a brother. A daughter-in-law may call his name.' But all the women consulted denied that they would use his name to his face, or ordinarily in reference.

the elder hunts, going errands while the elder lies in the shade, and after both are grown up this relationship is maintained. After the death of the father the eldest brother, the heir, takes the place of the father, being responsible for the maintenance, and, if possible, the *ikhazi*, of his younger brothers, and for the torts, the provision of beasts necessary for ritual killings of those living in his *umzi*, and for their burial if they should die. They should give him their earnings, as they should their father. The difference in behaviour towards a younger and an elder brother is marked by a linguistic difference, an elder brother being referred to as *umkhuluwe*, a younger as *umninawe*. The distinction is also shown in the behaviour of a wife who must show respect towards her husband's elder brothers in speech and behaviour, but is on familiar terms with his younger brothers. The heir is *par excellence*, *umkhuluwe*, and a wife of a younger brother must be especially careful in her behaviour towards him. 'He is not equal to her father-in-law', but 'He is almost like a father-in-law'. But *mkhuluwe* is also used to any older brother, and any older brother of a husband is avoided. When the father is dead his eldest son, if an adult, is the head of the *umzi*. He is the proper person to perform the ritual killings, and his word carries most weight in family councils.

Orphaned minors are the responsibility of their father's senior brother of the same house. When Geza's parents died he and his brother went to live with X, the son of a brother of their father, of a junior house. They should have gone to their father's elder brother, but he lived in another district, and they would have lost the rich lands possessed by their father had they done so. Although they lived with X their father's elder brother was still responsible for them. When Geza wished to marry he went to consult his father's elder brother. The latter sent a man to review Geza's cattle, along with X. 'Anything he said outweighed anything X said. He said what cattle were to be given as *ikhazi*.'

'If a younger brother wants meat he says to his elder brother, "I am hungry". The elder brother may tell him to kill a goat. The younger brother does all the work, killing and skinning the goat, then he takes it to his elder brother to divide.'

So strong is the emphasis on primogeniture that when the eldest son of an eldest son is already a married man when his grandfather dies, he takes precedence of a younger brother of his father living in his deceased grandfather's *umzi*, and becomes head of the *umzi*. 'It is the nephew who kills. He is older than his uncle.' But he is expected to consult his uncle (father's younger brother) about everything.

But every brother claims authority over the wives and children of another, even although he be senior to them. A man's brothers, even his younger brothers, claim the right to order about his wife, and to beat her if she annoys or disobeys them, 'because she has been *ukulobola* with the cattle of the *umzi*', and 'her husband's brother *indodake* (is her husband)'. Nomadyetyana's husband before he went to the mines, said that Nomadyetyana might go to her mother when her time came for her first child. Her father-in-law agreed, but her husband's younger brother objected strongly, saying, 'This woman has been *ukulobola* with cattle of the *umzi*, and she must stay and work for the *umzi*.' A Yalo related how when his younger brother was distributing the beer at their *umzi* the younger brother told informant's wife to give beer to his mother, and she refused, wishing to give it to her special friends. They quarrelled, and the younger brother beat her. She went to her people, and has been with them for five months. Informant has had to go several times to fetch her; the younger brother refused to go. Informant considered the younger brother was quite justified in beating his wife. Garner at Mandeleni beat a brother's wife, because she had beaten one of the children who were quarrelling, and not the others. She ran home. 'In the old days you beat another man's wife even more than your own, but now women say they will not be beaten except by their own husbands.' Maime's wife was beaten by Maime's younger brother, Secemfu. She ran home. She said she would not have run home if Maime had beaten her, but Secemfu had no right. Mateßozi told her son that he really must get married because he was ordering about his brother's wives and they resented it. She advocated his having a wife of his own to order about.

The authority of a man over his brother's wife and children is emphasized when their own husband and father is away for long periods at the mines. The rights of a man over his brother's wives, however, does not include sexual rights. Should a man be caught with his brother's wife he might be sued in court for adultery. Only when a man dies his widows may be taken by his brothers (cf. p. 211).

Sons of the same father, but of different mothers, and sons of brothers, often grow up in the same *umzi*, and live the same intimate family life as brothers, contributing to the common expenses of the *umzi*, and even after they have moved to different *imizi* consulting one another before disposing of property or making a ritual killing. They call one another to a feast as they would an own brother. The same relationship terms are used

between them as between own brothers, the son of a senior brother of the father, or of a senior wife of the same father, always counting as a senior even although he is a junior in years. Geza told me that when he was quite a small boy living at the *umzi* of a son of his father's younger brother, the wives of his father's younger brother's son, who was older than he, were very careful to show respect towards him.

But 'a child always knows to what house it belongs'. 'Children are warned not to tell what they hear in one house in another house.' The particularly close relationship between own mother and children makes a bond between own brothers, and this bond is strengthened by their common dependence on the property of their particular house. When an *umzi* splits up, a man almost always settles in the *umzi* of his own brother, rather than in the *umzi* of a brother of another house (cf. pp. 361–4). A brother of one house may, at the suggestion of his father, or out of the goodness of his heart, assist a brother of another house with cattle for *ikhazi*, but he has no obligation to do so. There is often jealousy between different houses over property: these jealousies are exaggerated in the families of chiefs.

The following cases illustrate to what extent the obligation to consult kin before disposing of property is fulfilled, and what relatives are in practice consulted.

A. Consults his *umkhuluwe*'s sons when he is going to kill. They consult him when they are going to kill. He used to consult his *umkhuluwe* before his death.

B. Always consults with his eldest son when going to kill or do anything important.

C. Consults with the eldest brother of his house only when going to kill or sell. Many brothers of other houses, but none of them live near.

D. Head of line (eldest son of eldest son) consults with wife and mother alone when going to kill. Just calls his *ubawokazi* for the feast.

E. Consults with *ubawokazi* younger than his father.

F. Old woman. When going to kill consults with son, *c.* 40, and his brother's son who has his own *umzi*. Also grandson of her husband's *umkhuluwe* who has his own *umzi*. When latter is away she calls his younger brother.

G. Old man. He consults with his *umninawe*, and his eldest son when going to kill. Not with his younger sons. All his sons have their own *imizi*.

H. Consults with two *abakhuluwe* and two *abaninawe* when going to kill. They all live near.

I. He consults with his *umkhuluwe* and *intsapho* (household, members of *umzi*) here if going to kill; would not go to *umkhuluwe* who lives ten miles away if going to sell grain or a beast.

Between father and daughter there is often the same affection and familiarity in early childhood that there is between father and son. As a girl grows older she is more and more with her mother, but she is never segregated from the menfolk of her *umzi*, her father and brothers, and need observe no taboos towards them except when menstruating. As a small girl before puberty she may even run in and out of the cattle kraal.

A girl owes respect and obedience to her father in all things, and should, according to the social ideal, submit to his wishes with regard to her marriage. That formerly girls were sometimes forced against their will is certain (cf. p. 189), but though public opinion acknowledges the right of a father to choose his daughter's husband, and holds before her the ideal of obedience, it does not approve of a father who forces a distasteful match. In actual practice now the vast majority of marriages are of choice, and informants are clear that elopement is not a new thing in Pondoland (cf. p. 188). A girl's marriage is not only the concern of her father, but her father's, and her own brothers, her mother, and the women of the *umzi* should all be consulted.

A father owes his daughter protection and support both before and after her marriage. If he receives her *ikhazi* he is obliged to provide her with a wedding outfit, and to dress her all her life. He is responsible also for providing her from time to time with gifts for in-laws, and with articles of household furniture which require replacement. If she leaves her husband he is responsible for her support. A father is responsible for providing the beasts necessary for ritual killings for his daughter and for carrying out the ceremonial before her marriage and when he has received her *ikhazi*, also after her marriage. He summons her to any feasts he makes. He is responsible for burying her if she dies in his *umzi*.

A father usually stands by his daughter if she has quarrelled with her husband's people, giving her shelter if she is 'smelt out' for witchcraft at her *umzi* and refusing to admit the accusation. Very rarely is a daughter or sister of the head of the *umzi* accused of witchcraft. If a daughter returns home complaining that she has been ill treated, the father, if he thinks she has ground for complaint, will scold the husband and probably demand a beast[1] (*uswazi*) in compensation.

Own brothers and sisters play much together as small children, and although from about six years, when the boys go out to herd,

[1] Used throughout in the South African sense for ox, cow, or bull.

and both boys and girls begin to go about in gangs with those of their own age and sex from other *imizi*, they do not see so much of each other; nevertheless, they live on intimate terms in the *umzi*. Often I have seen a small sister snuggling up to an older brother, keeping warm under a corner of his blanket and getting tit-bits from his plate. Even when grown up sisters will sit and chat with their brothers near the kraal. To an elder brother, who in time may be in the place of her father, a girl should show respect, but 'a younger brother does not matter'.

Very often a girl's brother receives her *ikhazi* instead of her father (cf. p. 123), and then he has the responsibilities of a father towards her.

From the wives of all her brothers a woman may take what personal possessions in the way of clothing and household utensils she likes. She shares in the gifts brought by her brother's bride (cf. p. 197). A wife says, 'You come back to your hut at night, and find your new bucket or grain basket gone; you cannot say anything. You just cry, and go home to ask for another'. Mamzikinya bought a new skirt for herself with money provided by her father. Shortly afterwards she appeared at the store in rags. In reply to my query she explained that her husband's sister had taken the new one. But a wife in turn is an honoured person in her brother's *umzi*. 'If there are no utensils when you go to your own people all your brother's wives scatter to their own homes and collect things for you.'

Wives of her younger brother must treat a woman with great respect, calling her *ndodakazi* (lit. female husband) or *nina ka*—— (mother of ——). When she comes to visit her brother they must wait upon her, and make no complaint. A sister visiting her brother usually assists his wives in housework, or field work, because 'the wives do not like that there should be one lying down doing nothing', but this is of grace. It is her prerogative to be waited upon.

When visiting an *umzi* it is always possible to pick out sisters or daughters of the head of the *umzi* by their bearing. They speak to visitors much more readily than do wives. At an *umzi* one day a sister of the head of the *umzi* was very cordial to us, bustling about preparing food to offer, and answering any questions we put. Two or three days before we had visited her husband's *umzi*, and there she had not even greeted us. She apologized for her previous behaviour saying, 'I am a wife in that *umzi*, and the old people fear Europeans'. When visitors come to an *umzi* when the men are away they will always be greeted by a sister of the head of the *umzi*, if one is there, rather than by a wife. While

living with her brother or father a woman is free to go to what festivals she chooses without asking permission of any one.

By her brother's children a woman is treated with respect. It is her particular duty to hand the special piece of meat, *intsonyama*, of the beast killed ritually for the initiation of her brother's daughter. She becomes an *ithongo* (ancestral spirit) to her brother's child. When she is an *idikazi* (woman living at the *umzi* of her father or brother) the behaviour towards a father's sister (*udade bobawo*) approximates to that towards the father's brother's wife. She is another woman of the *umzi*, who helps to provide the children with food and with whom they are in intimate daily contact. I have seen a woman being very tender with the child of a brother in whose *umzi* she lived, cooking a special dish for it when it was ill, feeding it, and cuddling it, but normally she lives in another *umzi* and is only seen occasionally. A phrase applied to a child who is slow and stupid is '*Akathanga dade bobawo!*' (She does not reflect father's sister.)

Men swear by their sisters and mothers, women by brothers and male ancestors. A man says, 'I swear by my sister!' (*Ndifung' udade wethu*, or 'My mother, my sister'; or 'My sister Latʃhusi!' (her name). One woman says, 'I swear by the child of my father, Tamba (her brother), Hlahlane!' (her clan); another 'I swear by Soka (her eldest brother), Ndosine!' (her clan); another 'Godloza!' (her father's father).

Own sisters grow up together like brothers, but after marriage live in different *imizi* and have no common economic obligations. Very probably their children belong to different clans. Sisters visit one another, and may meet when visiting father or brother. Often a young married woman 'borrows' a younger sister to live with her, and act as nurse to her children. But sisters do not normally see very much of one another after marriage. There is nothing but the affective tie to hold them together.

Elder sisters make younger sisters fag for them, but there is no sharp distinction between junior and senior, buttressed by a special economic relationship, and linguistic terms, as there is between brothers. *Udade wethu* or *umnt'akwethu* is used for both younger and older sister.

A man has no special rights over his wife's sister and has to give full *ikhazi* if he marries her, but the idea that sisters are to some extent social equivalents is shown by the fact that a woman, when visiting her sister's married home, observes avoidance taboos towards her sister's husband's father, as does her sister, but does not avoid the men's side of her sister's own hut, as she ordinarily does in the hut of a clan other than her own.

The mother's sister is addressed like the own mother as *uma*, and calls her sisters' children as her own, *unyana* (son), *intombi* (daughter), or *umntanam* (my child). The same terms are often used in reference, but the exact person referred to can always be made clear by the use of *umakazi* (my mother's sister) of —— (the name of her *umzi*) and a descriptive term as *unyana wodade wethu wase* —— (name of *umzi*) (the son of my sister of ——). Since married sisters almost always live in different *imizi* there can be no very intimate relationship between them and their sister's children, and there are no economic or religious bonds to bind them together. A boy or girl goes to visit an *umakazi* who lives near occasionally, and if they are in the district where she lives they will always go to see her. Riding one day to a girl's initiation ceremony I was accompanied by a boy of 15, Mantinjana. We passed the *umzi* of his *umakazi*, about twenty miles from Mantinjana's home. He was excited when he realized that we were near it, and asked leave to pay a call. His *umakazi* received him warmly, asking him to dismount and to wait for food.

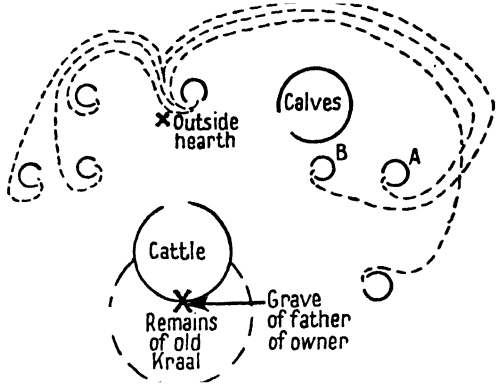
A bride must show respect towards her husband's *umakazi* as she would his mother when she meets her, but the occasions on which she encounters her are few. A woman must avoid, and is avoided by, the husband of her sister's daughter, as by the husband of her own daughter when they meet. The home names of a bride's sisters are avoided by the groom and his parents, as is the name of the bride herself.

Behaviour of a wife.

The position of a wife in an *umzi* is very different from that of a daughter or a sister. The first virtue demanded of a bride is that she should be *khuthele* (diligent, eager). She rises at dawn, before any one else, and goes to fetch water. 'If the people are not up when she comes back she must not go to sleep again, but exert herself and sweep before she goes to the fields.' Every day she should go to fetch wood, and it is she who in winter goes to gather wild spinach from the distant fields. She does the heavy end of grinding and cooking, and helps in garden work, mudding and repairing of huts. She must care for her husband's comfort. 'What is a wife for if she is not there to pick the fleas off your blanket, and put your mat in the sun so that you may sleep without being bitten?' Old Umthetho put the case in a nutshell when he called his son's wife 'Intsimßi' (the bell), 'because', he said, 'now that my wife has a daughter-in-law she sits still and calls when she wants anything done, just like a white mistress ringing a bell.'

In the light of this the anxiety of mothers to get their sons married is understandable.

A bride must show respect (*ukuhlonipha*) towards all senior relatives of her husband, particularly his male relatives. Her respect is expressed in avoidances of parts of the *umzi* frequented by men, of personal names and words like them, and if she is a junior wife of the owner of the *umzi*, of the right of the great hut, because she must respect the spears and milk sacks in the great hut. 'If dogs are eating meat, or pigs rooting in the mealies on the men's side she can only throw things at them.' Children,



when their mothers threaten to beat them, fly to the men's side of a hut of a senior relative of their father and are safe. Often one sees the right half of a hut unswept or unsmeared because the bride doing the work could not cross to the men's side. She must never go near the cattle kraal in which her husband's father or grandfather is buried, and avoids the *inkundla* (courtyard between huts and kraal) in which men sit. When entering a hut of a senior relative of her husband, male or female, she must turn sharply to left and circle round the back, so as to avoid the men's side (*ukuceza*).

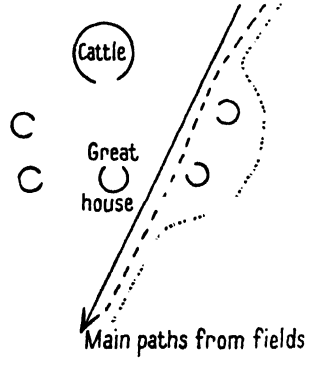
At Mandeleni the mother of the head of the *umzi* is in the great hut. Her son's wives take the paths marked when moving from hut to hut. Two wives should not really enter by the right of hut *A* as it is the hut of a senior brother of their husband's, but avoidance of the calf-kraal is more important than avoidance of the right of this hut, so they take the path marked. *B* is a store-hut, so it is not necessary to avoid the right of it.

Women agree that *ukuceza* is one of the trials of life. It adds

enormously to the work of the bride, and skirts get wet trailing through long grass. Once a man cut a path for his wife to *ukuceza* by, but every one said he was not in his right mind. At night no one *ukuceza*, 'we even walk across the *inkundla* then, but we cover our heads', says a young wife.

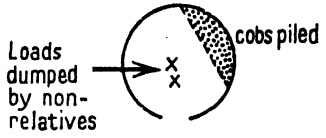
'A daughter-in-law disdains her husband's *umzi* if she does not avoid every place about where her fathers sit.' If her husband's father is sitting in the doorway of a hut she cannot pass out. If she meets him on a path on the veld she gets out of the way, 'while he is still a long way off'. She cannot work, or eat produce grown in a field made in a disused kraal where her husband's father is buried, or on the site of an old *umzi* of his, and should she have to pass his grave she makes a wide detour.

The avoidance of the right of huts, the *inkundla*, and the cattle kraal is extended to those *imizi* of her husband's seniors into which a woman might have married. Except when ritually impure she need not avoid them in her own home, or in *imizi* of the clans of her parents, or grandparents, into which she cannot marry. Neither need she avoid them in *imizi* of men junior to her husband, no matter what their clan, provided she has no son-in-law in that *umzi*. Nor does she avoid the men's side in a hut where a married sister does not avoid it. The main paths to the fields often pass through an *umzi*. Men, children, and old women walk straight on; women of marriageable age circle round. I approached Hewu with an old woman and her three daughters-in-law. The former took the path marked: - - - - - the latter the path marked: . . . . . .

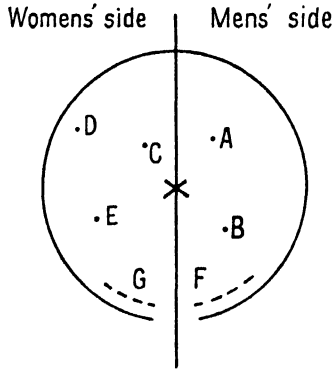


One day Maßandla made beer to shell his mealies. Women guests were carrying cobs from a store-hut to the men's side of the great wife's hut. All, except those related to Maßandla, put

down their loads in the middle of the hut from which they had to be moved by his wife and relations, thus causing double work.



In her husband's mother's hut a bride is expected to take a retired position. She may approach the hearth to mend the fire or see to the pots, but cannot sit up to the fire. Other members of the family may sit anywhere in the hut, but the places usually occupied by them are marked on the diagram. Guests sit just inside the door on the right or left hand[1] according to sex. To take a seat farther in the hut without special invitation would be very presumptuous.

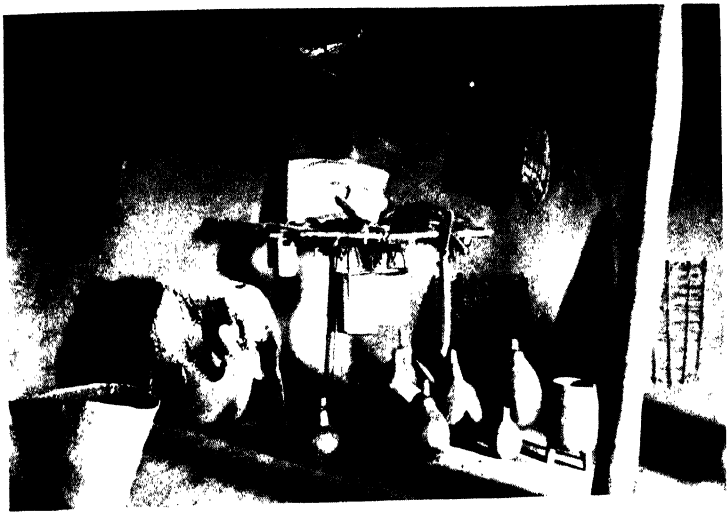


A. Owner of *umzi.*
B. Other men of *umzi.*
C. Chief woman of *umzi.*
D. Bride.
E. Other women of *umzi.*
F. Men visitors.
G. Women visitors.
X. Hearth.

A bride avoids the name, and words, of which a principal syllable is similar to the principal syllable of the name of her husband's father, his brothers, her husband's elder brothers, and his father's father, whether they are living or dead. She also avoids the personal names of her husband's mother, paternal aunts, and elder sisters, but does not avoid words similar to them. When she arrives she is told (by her husband's sister, or a co-wife) what words are avoided in the *umzi.*

For the first few days after her arrival she wears a handkerchief tied low on her forehead. She can never bare her head, or until she has a child to feed, her breasts, in the presence of a senior

[1] The Xhosa division of the hut is different.



a. Interior of a hut. Men's side (cf. p. 17)

b. Interior of a hut. Women's side (cf. p. 17)

relative of her husband, male or female. When I wore a hat I was asked, 'Whom do you, an unmarried girl, avoid that you wear that thing on your head?' Often I have seen women, wishing to take the handkerchief from their heads to tie up a bundle, twist a wisp of grass round their heads that they might not be guilty of going bare-headed before in-laws.

Young wives avoid the head, chest, udder, tongue, and entrails cooked in blood of a beast killed in their husband's *umzi*. All these may be eaten by daughters of the *umzi*, and a wife, when her husband is 'owner of the *umzi*'. The reason given for the avoidance of the chest is that 'a wife cannot eat of the meat of the chest of her husband's cattle when her head is lying on his breast'. 'She cannot eat of the tongue when she has as yet no say in the affairs of the *umzi*.' A bride cannot drink the milk of cattle of her husband's *umzi*, or even touch the calabashes. She avoids meat, although it is sometimes 'stolen for her' to eat in the privacy of a hut.

Gradually the avoidances of a bride become less strict. After a few days the handkerchief which she wears low over her forehead is raised by some old person of the *umzi*. She gives gifts to her husband's mother that she may eat with her, and gifts to her husband's father that she may hand him food. 'After about a month she will give her husband's mother a gift, perhaps a threepenny bit, and then she may eat with her mother-in-law, or she may put before her mother-in-law even two shillings, and then ask her for snuff.' After that she may receive things directly from her mother-in-law. 'After a year she goes home, gets a new dish, and a new eating-mat. She brews some beer, and with the gifts hands it to her father-in-law. After that she can hand anything to him directly and may ask him for snuff.' A goat is killed, after which she may work in a field on the site of an old *umzi* of her husband's family, and eat maize or snuff tobacco grown on it. The circles she makes behind the huts grow less wide as she grows older, and when senior relatives of her husband die, or he builds an *umzi* for himself, he becomes owner of an *umzi*. Then there is no hut of which she must avoid the men's side, and she walks straight across the *inkundla* when passing from hut to hut. Sooner or later a ritual killing is made, after which she may drink the milk of her husband's cattle except when she is ritually impure, but avoids instead milk of her father's cattle (cf. pp. 200–1). After a year she can eat parts of any beast killed, except one killed ritually for a person who is ill. The meat of a beast so killed is again sometimes 'stolen', but a wife must not eat it in the presence of a senior male relative of her husband. A wife should never

eat of the meat of a beast killed ritually for her husband's father, but in practice it, too, is sometimes 'stolen'.

A man does not specially avoid his son's wife, but he, and all the other people of the *umzi* including her husband, must not use (either in address or reference) the name by which a wife is called (both before and after her marriage) at her own home. They give her a new name, prefixing (*u*)*ma* to the name of her father or a brother, as (*u*)*Mabefile* (a daughter of *Befile*) or (*u*)*Mamsingale* (a sister of *Msingale*). The choice as to which name shall be used rests with the people of her *umzi*. 'They choose a name they like.' A wife may also be called by her clan name.

A bride does not attend any social gatherings except an occasional girl's initiation dance unless they happen to be actually at her own *umzi*. She is fully occupied with her work and it is not considered suitable that she should gad about. Once she is married she cannot go to the dances which she attended as an unmarried girl, and she does not yet accompany her mother-in-law and the older wives of the *umzi* to beer drinks and feasts. After she has been married about four years, some say 'when she has two children', she begins to go to meat feasts. 'Her mother-in-law keeps on asking her to go, but she refuses; then her mother-in-law says, "I am not going to ask you to go any more, go when you like." Then she goes.' She begins to go to beer drinks after she has attended meat feasts, and only spends the daylight hours at them, while old women may sleep there. But some young wives stay longer than they should. Old women said bitterly, 'Now it is the grandmothers who came home to cook for the children and the daughters-in-law stay to dance at the beer drinks all night'.

But even a young wife gets home to visit her people, and asks for clothing and household utensils (cf. p. 128). A bride usually returns home after four or five months to ask for clothing, and most wives visit their homes two or three times a year, staying a fortnight or more each time. If they live close they go oftener, and do not stay so long. Mandumesi had only been married eighteen months, but she had been home four times, once to get a mat for her husband's sister, once to get a shirt, once to ask for a bucket, and once recalled and held as hostage by her people who were demanding more *ikhazi*. She stayed three or four days each time. Her father's *umzi* was fifteen miles from that of her husband. If a bride breaks anything she must replace it; so homesick brides sometimes vanish, leaving a broken pot as a clue to the reason of their disappearance. The breakage is always supposed to be accidental.

After her first visit to her own people a bride is preceded on her return to her husband's *umzi* by women and girls of her own home, carrying a gift of beer for her in-laws. Once I met a dozen women each carrying a basket or pot of beer for such an offering. The gift may be sent in the morning, but a wife, until she is an 'old wife', must never arrive back at her *umzi* until dusk, and she must not eat there on the night of her arrival. A wife coming from far will sit down some little distance from her husband's *umzi* to have a meal, and wait until dusk before entering the *umzi*. Informants can give no reason for this custom other than 'it is the custom'. It is reminiscent of the behaviour of a bride who on her first arrival comes at dusk and refuses to eat that night (cf. p. 194).

So long as she lives in her mother-in-law's *umzi* a wife, no matter how long she has been married, is responsible to her mother-in-law, even more than to her husband. 'If I want to get permission to go home I ask my mother, and then tell my husband that my mother says I may go,' says one young woman. Impoliteness to a mother-in-law may result in a bride being sent back to her own people. The first time Yoyo came home to visit her own people she made some derogatory remark about her mother-in-law. Her brother's wife, whose home was near Yoyo's husband's home, repeated what Yoyo had said, and when Yoyo returned to her husband her mother-in-law drove her away.

Nevertheless, a mother-in-law is expected to be an *ihlathi* (bush, shelter) to her daughter-in-law against her husband. A son respects his mother's hut, and if a wife is beaten she may fly for refuge there. Sißeßeße's sister ran back to her own people because one night when she took her husband's lamp to see how the food in the pot was cooking he beat her for doing so, and his mother came and helped him. In the action of the mother-in-law lay the great wrong. 'The man and his mother may have been drunk', said Sißeßeße; 'but it is not the first time it has happened, and my sister will not go back until an *uswazi* (beast as fine for ill treatment by husband) has been paid.'

Even, however, when a woman becomes the *inkosikazi* of an *umzi*, she remains subject to her husband. (*Inkosikazi*—lit. female chief; *Inkosikazi ka* ——, the principal wife of ——; *Inkosikazi yomzi*, the principal woman of the *umzi*, i.e. the mother of the owner of the *umzi*, or if she is dead, his great wife.) Wife beating is common, and in certain circumstances considered quite justifiable. If a woman does not have food properly prepared for her husband when he comes home in the evening, or if she returns late or drunk from beer parties, or gives her husband cause for

jealousy, and is beaten, her neighbours will think that she has only got her deserts.

A diviner's wife who came to wash at a store at which I lived was always in a hurry to get home in the evenings to cook for her husband, for, she said, he would beat her with a sjambok if food was not prepared when he returned. Often I have seen wives scurrying round at dusk preparing food for their husbands, and looking apprehensive if he came home before it was ready. But *induku ayinamzi* (A stick has no *umzi*—proverb). If a beating is unduly severe, or without just cause, a woman will run away from her husband and take refuge with her father or brother, and will not return to her husband until he comes to fetch her. Fetching a wife who has run away is a dreaded task; when visiting his wife's people it is the man who must be polite and submissive, and if the woman's people think that she has been really misused they will demand a beast, *uswazi*, as fine; at the best they will scold the man for being rough with their daughter. If he is obdurate the beast may be sued for in court. Hence the advantage to a woman of having a home bound to give her support and protection. Running home is common, and under tribal conditions it is considered in no way degrading to a woman to do this. If she has left with just cause public opinion will be with her. While I was at 'nTißane a husband came home drunk one night, stormed at his wife for having left the beer drink without him, accused her of having gone home with another man, and finally tied her up to the hut pole and thrashed her. She ran away to her own people the next morning. Neighbours knew that the accusation was unjustified, and that she had come straight home from the beer drink alone to prepare food for her children. The only other woman on the *umzi* was an old crone beyond work. The husband found himself in difficulties for water, firewood, and food, and begged assistance from neighbours. The women refused. 'And now', they said to me with satisfaction, 'he is living alone just like a wild animal, cooking for himself.'

There is a double standard of sexual morality, and most of the quarrels between husband and wife turn on this. Premarital conception is forbidden by custom, and a married woman is forbidden relations with any except her own husband. A man may have as many wives and *amadikazi* (loose women) as he chooses or can afford. In actual practice very many of the married women have lovers, but adultery is not condoned by their husbands, who make every effort to catch and prosecute the adulterer. Many husbands keep a jealous watch on their wives, though some allow them great freedom. Gedja's husband was a genial old man,

and she used to go about to beer drinks and dances as she chose, 'just telling him where she was going'. She was about forty, and the *inkosikazi* of her *umzi*. Makoɬi, a woman of the same age and status, had to get permission. I was at Basket's one night discussing a girl's forthcoming initiation dance. Makoɬi, who was also visiting, said to me, 'Don't you want me to take you to it?' I said I should be very happy, and waited for an explanation. Then she told me that she had already borrowed ornaments for the dance and had hidden them in her store-hut, but she was afraid that her husband would not give her permission to go, but if I requested her to take me that might solve the problem. She called a child, and sent him to her husband to say that I wanted her, Makoɬi, to accompany me to the *umgquzo*. Her husband was out, but, nothing daunted, Makoɬi told him on his return that I had called myself to engage her to take me to the *umgquzo*. Her husband replied, 'Why does she not get Gedja who took her before?'

Makoɬi. Oh *inkosazana* is tired of Gedja.
Husband. But are you not reaping.
Makoɬi. One day won't matter.

Then she came to tell us that she could go. Basket's wife had also borrowed ornaments to go to the *umgquzo*, and thought to give the same excuse for attending. Basket had been out during our plotting, but on his return his wife winked and whispered, 'Go on, ask him.' I did so. Basket replied, 'Oh that is for my wife to answer, I do not know if she has clothes for these affairs.' Both women accompanied me.

Marriage being exogamous a wife is necessarily of another clan and responsible to other ancestral spirits than her husband, and in the new group she is always something of an outsider, and therefore dangerous. After her marriage she comes under the control of her husband's ancestral spirits, although still remaining responsible to her own (cf. Chap. V), and after a ritual killing has been made she drinks the milk of her husband's cattle, avoiding that of the cattle of her own clan. The longer she is married the more closely she is assimilated to the new clan; in time even the restrictions on her behaviour are gradually relaxed and she becomes an *ithongo* (ancestral spirit) to her children who belong to her husband's clan, but she is never completely assimilated. The feeling that the wife is a stranger and dangerous is expressed in the accusations of witchcraft and of bringing into the *umzi* an *ithinzi*, an emanation of her ancestral spirits which harms the *umzi* to which it is brought (cf. p. 261), and such accusations are lodged even against wives who have long been married.

But despite this conflict husband and wife are closely bound together by common economic obligations and interests. The wife is punished if she does not fulfil her duties of cooking and cultivating, but the husband has reciprocal duties in ploughing, hut building, and providing cattle. Their common concern is to increase the property of the house and provide adequately for their children. The husband cannot dispose of property allotted to a wife's house without consulting her (cf. p. 117). He is expected to consult her in all important matters, but, said Geza, 'Men don't consult women, they just tell them what they are going to do'.

Husband and wife seldom go about together. When they attend the same beer drink or festival the man usually goes with the other men of the *umzi* or men neighbours, the wife with the other women of the *umzi*, but they live in intimate contact within their own *umzi*. The men sometimes sit apart near the kraal to gossip and eat, but very often they eat with the women indoors, or sit with them just outside the huts. In a small *umzi* where there are few adults their relations are necessarily intimate. That there is sometimes real affection between husband and wife is proved by the fact that a husband sometimes stands by his wife when she is accused of witchcraft, and leaves his own family rather than leave her (cf. p. 313).

The sanction for behaviour is primarily public opinion. Custom lays down very definitely what the behaviour of a wife should be, and a breach of the code would be a sign of bad breeding. On her arrival at her *umzi* a bride is told what words she must avoid, and she makes every endeavour to do so correctly. 'A bride talks little and listens to the old women.' Women laugh and say that they 'make mistakes at first, but if the in-laws are kind they overlook them'. A girl before her marriage has some practice in avoidance, for she avoids the names of parents of her sweetheart (cf. p. 181) as if they were in-laws, and for a week after initiation she behaves as a bride in her own home. The avoidance taboo is strengthened by the threat, 'You will go bald if you say your father's name', but although this is a threat commonly spoken of, it is not generally believed that it will happen. A more effective sanction is *ukuconozisa*.

When a wife has refused to fulfil some duty, or angered a member of her *umzi*, any member of the *umzi* ('even a child') may say to her, '*Ngu ßawo lo*', 'That is father', i.e. 'You have said your father-in-law's name.' *Maconini* is an expression also used as equivalent to *ngußawo lo*. Some say that if a bride has made a slip in verbal avoidance and been overheard, she will consider herself *ukuconozisa*, even though nothing is said. When one wife is

ukuconozisa all the wives on that *umzi*, including the culprit's husband's brothers' wives, must go to their own homes and fetch some gift. The culprit brings a goat or sheep or £1 or 10*s*., the others a goat or 10*s*. or 5*s*. each. The gifts go to the owner of the *umzi*, who on the women's return kills a goat or sheep (not one they brought) 'to make peace'. No one is *ukuſwamisa* (made to take first, cf. ritual killings, Chap. V), and the killing has nothing to do with the *amthongo*, 'but it cannot be omitted'. If the killing were omitted all the daughters-in-law would go home again until it were done.

Matſhozi related how her husband's elder brother's wife was sent by her father-in-law to fetch his (the father-in-law's) pipe from her (the messenger's) husband, who was at a beer drink. When she returned with the pipe its bowl was burnt, showing that it had been smoked when dry of tobacco. When questioned, the elder brother said that the pipe was not burned when he gave it to his wife, therefore she must have smoked it, and *ngu ßawo lo*, 'It was her father'. All three daughters-in-law on the *umzi* went home. The culprit returned with 10*s*., the wife of the second son with 5*s*.; Matſhozi brought 10*s*., but 'when she saw that the second brother's wife had only brought 5*s*. she gave 5*s*. too, and kept the rest for herself'.

When Magova quarrelled with her husband, he said, 'You are no longer talking to me, you are talking to my father'. Thirteen wives, not all actually in the same *umzi*, but all wives of the old man's sons, and living in *imizi* near, went home. Magova brought back 10*s*.; the others brought smaller sums, totalling 30*s*. Their father-in-law killed two big goats.

Mantusi's mother-in-law had fetched wood. Mantusi took of that wood to make fire. Her mother-in-law said, '*Ngu ßawo lo*'. Mantusi and the other daughters-in-law went home to get money. On their return a sheep was killed. The mother-in-law said she did it because all the daughters-in-law were lazy about fetching wood. Mantusi's husband was very annoyed, saying that to *(uku)conozisa* a wife brought dishonour to the *umzi*.

Ukuconozisa is regarded as a disgrace (*ihlazo*) to an *umzi* and is not common. 'People with evil minds do it.' Some women maintain that it is 'just a device to get money', and a woman is usually *ukuconoziswa* by her sisters-in-law, who have come home in need of something.

If a woman really behaves badly she is either told to go home, or life is made so unpleasant for her that she does so of her own accord, and the marriage is dissolved. The case of Yoyo has been cited.

Umlaza.

Women's taboos are bound up with the concept of *umlaza* (ritual impurity). A woman has *umlaza* during her periods until she washes after the flow ceases, after a miscarriage, or the death of a husband or child, for about a month, and after sexual connexion until she washes.[1] A man has *umlaza* for a month after the death of wife or child, and after sexual connexion until he washes. Meat of an animal which has died, pork, and honey infect those who eat them with *umlaza* until they wash.

People with *umlaza* are dangerous to cattle and to all stock except pigs and poultry. A man with *umlaza* cannot enter the cattle kraal or milk. A woman may ordinarily walk through a herd of cattle on the veld, but when she has *umlaza* she circles round it. A daughter of the *umzi* avoids crossing the *inkundla* or going near the cattle kraal when menstruating. A woman may never step over ox-yokes and chain. One informant volunteered that this taboo used only to apply when they were menstruating. 'But the men did not always know when they were menstruating, so they forbade them all together.'

No one with *umlaza* may drink milk. Calabashes are kept on the men's side of the hut; only the individual calabashes of grandchildren are sometimes hung on the women's side so that the mothers may have access to them. After the death of a member of the owners own clan, or related clans, milk is spilled out of all except the children's calabashes. It is believed that if cattle or milk are brought in contact with *umlaza* the cattle will be weak, and cows slip their calves.

Umlaza negatives the value of medicines. A person with *umlaza* touching a medicine makes it useless, and more must be gathered, hence a woman doctor will get some one else to pick her medicines during her menses. A woman with *umlaza* never enters the hut where the chief's medicines are kept. 'A man in mourning sits on the women's side.' A man refused beer from the chief's basket because he had *umlaza*, and the basket would be affected by the chief's medicines. A person carrying medicine will not eat meat. A doctor avoids women the night before treating a serious case. If a menstruating woman disobeys the taboo and touches medicine her flow will never cease.

Besides 'killing' medicines *umlaza* is dangerous to sick persons themselves, aggravating any pain. Persons with *umlaza* cannot go near an *umkhwetha* (novice diviner) or let their shadows fall

[1] Some maintain that a woman also has *umlaza* from conception until she brews beer to 'wash the hands' ten days after delivery, but the majority of informants deny that she has *umlaza* then.

upon her, or warm themselves at her fire, or eat the remains on her plate. From fear of *umlaza* a novice does not go about freely, is always cooked for separately, or dished up for first, never shakes hands, and often sits apart behind a screen. A novice is supposed to remain chaste. Circumcised boys, *abakhwetha*, are protected from *umlaza* until they come out of the lodge. A man who had had sexual intercourse would wash before going near the boys.

Umlaza has a bad effect on weapons and warriors, making them soft (*thambekile*). A man in mourning for his wife cannot touch his spears to stab at a storm, even if thunder is crashing round. Menstruating women never touch spears or sticks and may never step over a stick. Hence sticks are always laid carefully against the wall or stuck in the thatch. If a woman disobeys these taboos her flow will never cease. Men remained chaste the night before the *ukuphothula* ceremony for strengthening the army and the night before going out to battle (cf. p. 403).

A wife may never walk in her husband's spoor. If he goes straight out of the door she must go out at an angle. To tread on his spoor would make him *thambekile* (soft) in war. A sister or daughter treading on a man's spoor does not matter except when she is menstruating. When menstruating a daughter of the *umzi* will not go to the men's side of the hut of which she is free at other times.

A person with *umlaza* is believed to aggravate a river and must tell of her state before attempting to cross a deep river (cf. p. 312).

Umlaza is the result of certain physiological states and automically causes harm to susceptible objects. It is quite distinct from witchcraft or sorcery (*ukuthakatha*), which are conscious activities to cause harm.

Relations with mother's people and wife's people.

Sometimes the *umzi* of the mother's father, or brother, is near to her husband's *umzi*, and a child grows up intimate with its mother's people. Very often the *imizi* are at some distance, and a child only goes occasionally with its mother to visit. Sometimes it lives with the mother's people for a period after being ill, or when there are few children in the mother's home, and her parents ask for the 'loan' of a grandchild. An illegitimate child not redeemed with cattle (cf. p. 208) lives with its mother's father (*umakhulu*) or brother (*umalume*), and is treated as a younger son of its mother's father or brother. He owes the respect and obedience due to a father to them, and they have a father's responsibilities towards him, providing maintenance, and if possible *ikhazi*, and performing the necessary ritual killings for him.

Normally, however, a child is not in intimate daily contact with its mother's people, as with its father's people living in the *umzi*. Once I saw a child of four or five crying and refusing to submit to fondling by a visiting mother's brother because he was a stranger. She took refuge with her father's brother who lived in the same *umzi* as herself.

There are no special economic obligations between mother's father or brother and daughter or sister's son. A boy does not inherit anything from his mother's people, and does not give them any share of his earnings. They are not expected to help him with his *ikhazi* except when he has lived for a long period with them, either as a child 'borrowed' to keep them company and assist with herding or an illegitimate child later redeemed by his father (cf. pp. 124–7). This beast cannot be sued for in a chief's court any more than a son can sue his father for *ikhazi*, but it is considered the duty of the mother's people to give it. None of the *ikhazi* obtained for a girl goes to her mother's people except when she has lived long with them. Then one beast is due to them for maintenance (*isondlo*). Mother's brother and sister's son do not consult one another when disposing of property or making a ritual killing, nor does either specially summon the other to a feast. There is no special bond between a boy and the mother's brother who benefited from his mother's *ikhazi*. One's mother's relatives are likely to be friendly, and are therefore people from whom to ask gifts (*ukubusa*, cf. p. 136), but gifts are asked in the same way from friends or a chief.

When one of the mother's people dies her children do not take any part in the funeral ceremonies, but a message is sent to tell them of the death of their relative; they abstain from drinking milk for three days, and, if adults, go to condole with those bereaved.

Except sometimes when being initiated as a diviner, a child is not under the control of its mother's ancestral spirits (cf. p. 133). Shortly after the birth of an eldest child the mother's father, or brother, kills a goat, or presents to the child a goat or a spear, that the child (and its future siblings) may drink milk of their cows. This, and the occasional ritual killing for a diviner, are the only occasions on which ritual killings are made for a legitimate child by his mother's people.

Where one drinks milk one cannot marry. Sexual relations with a member of the mother's clan are prohibited and regarded as incest. 'They are related.' So also a girl is free of the *umzi* of her mother's father or brother, as of the *umzi* of her own father, sitting on the men's side of huts, and walking across the *inkundla*, except when ritually impure.

A woman who has been accused of witchcraft at her husband's *umzi*, and also at her own home, often takes refuge with her mother's people. The hero (or heroine) in folk-tales often goes to his (or her) mother's people when in trouble.

A man's relations with his wife's family are restrained and formal. With pagans, when there is a betrothal period, it is very short, and the groom does not visit the bride's home during that time. Arrangements about *ikhazi* are made through go-betweens (cf. pp. 191–2). After marriage the groom pays a formal visit to his wife's people. Geza described this first visit.

Before paying a visit to his wife's people (*abakhwe*) the son-in-law (*umkhwenyana*) first makes preparations. He takes his best blankets, grinds snuff, and fills his snuff-pot, and also takes some money with him. He is also told by his parents not to do things that are not customary. Off he starts. When he arrives he is given a mat to sit upon. After he has sat, all come one after another to shake hands with the *umkhwenyana*, except his wife's mother (*umkhwekazi*) who will not shake hands till she has been given money by him. The people of the *umzi* show all the kindness due to him, ask after his health, ask for his relatives at home, and his wife. Then one by one they ask for snuff, which he is always supposed to possess, even though he does not take it himself. If the wife's mother asks for snuff she will have to send somebody to take it for her. Also, if the wife's mother wishes that they should touch each other, she will say, '*Mkhwenyana*, you are my child as you have married my child, I do not like that you should keep off from me, I like that we should touch each other.' Then the *umkhwenyana* gives her money and she gives the *umkhwenyana* money so that they begin to touch each other.

On learning that the son-in-law has paid a visit, the wife's father (*usomfazi*) asks his wife what the *umkhwenyana* will eat. Of course, the mother has nothing to say, but the father selects a goat to be killed. Then at sunset the goat is shown to the *umkhwenyana*. The goat is caught, led to the hut where the *umkhwenyana* is, and it is there that these words are said: '*Mkhwenyana*, as you have married our daughter, you have caused union between two families; know that henceforth you are our child, as you are the child of your parents. From this day forwards, look upon this home as yours and have the same qualities at this home as our daughter your wife has (i.e. be as a real son in this house). We give you this kid that you may eat food and drink water at your will.' Thus speaks the old man. After that the goat is led outside to be killed. When all is prepared the chest and the entrails of the goat are eaten and all the people go to sleep. The *umkhwenyana* goes to sleep in a store-hut with his wife's brothers and sisters. The remaining meat is then cooked overnight. Early the next morning the meat is all eaten. The wife's father takes the gall-bladder, blows it up, and gives it to the *umkhwenyana*, who puts it on his head as a public sign that he has been killed for. He then bids farewell to all the people and goes home.

As is indicated in this description of the first visit, there is mutual respect and avoidance between mother-in-law and son-in-law. Neither may mention the other's name, the mother-in-law is careful to cover her head and breasts in the presence of her son-in-law. She cannot cross to the men's side of the hut in an *umzi* to which he belongs. He in turn avoids the women's side of her hut (the only occasion on which the women's side is actually prohibited to a man), and also the back of the hut where the milk sacks, spears, and other objects connected with the ancestral spirits of the *umzi* are kept. He does not enter the cattle kraal until given a gift. Mother-in-law and son-in-law cannot eat of the meat of ritual killings made for one another,[1] and cannot touch one another, or take snuff directly one from the other's hand, or receive a dish of food directly, until gifts have been exchanged. Killing for a daughter's husband on his first visit is essential. Note that the avoidance and respect is mutual and gifts are given by both parties. With a daughter-in-law and father-in-law or mother-in-law the respect and avoidance is only shown by the daughter-in-law, and she only gives gifts that the taboos may be relaxed. When an elderly woman has some pretty trinket it is almost invariably found on inquiry to be the gift of her son-in-law. One old lady showed me with pride a fine beaded snuff-box her *umkhwenyana* had brought back to her from Natal. The mother-in-law avoids the name of her son-in-law's brothers, as of her son-in-law.

A man is on friendly terms with his wife's sisters (*abalanyakazi*) and may call them by name, or *dadewethu* (my sister), but he has no sexual rights over them. He sleeps in the same hut as they because it is not considered seemly that he should sleep in the hut of his wife's parents, but there is no implication of a right to (*uku*)*metʃha* (sweetheart, cf. p. 180) with his wife's sisters. Geza was emphatic about this. It is customary for men and women who have no sexual connexion to sleep in the same hut, on different sides. A man may marry his wife's sister, but, if he does so, full *ikhazi* is due, and he has no presumptive right over her. He is also on equal terms with his wife's brothers, whom he may call by name, but the relations between a man and his wife's father and brothers must always be strained because of the economic conflict between them. The *ikhazi* is usually given on the instalment system, and whenever a man encounters a wife's father or brother he must always have at the back of his mind the

[1] A man also avoids meat of a beast he has given as *ikhazi*, and pork in the home of a woman with whom he has sexual relations, 'because pigs are dirty eaters and the scavengers of the *umzi*'.

knowledge that they are likely to demand another of his precious cattle.

On the other hand, a man may be helped by his wife's relatives because they are anxious to help her. Befile remarked one day: 'It is good to marry into a rich family. My cattle have just been inoculated, and my wife's brothers are ploughing my fields for me.'

The parents of married couples avoid each other's names when addressing one another directly, and use *umkhozi* as a term both of address and reference. Once at a beer drink I heard an elderly man greet a woman of his own age by name, then he said: 'But I should not call your name now, since your daughter and my son *ukumetʃha*. We are sort of *abakhozi*.' She laughed and agreed with him. When a parent visits his (or her) daughter's married home, or a parent of the husband visits the wife's home, they are treated as honoured guests, and a goat is killed for their entertainment. A mother returning with her daughter to her husband's *umzi*, after the daughter had been with her own people during childbirth, was entertained with a goat. When Baibile went to visit his wife's father's brother a goat was killed for him. A wife's relatives, however, are not specially invited to any feast (even although it be a ritual killing for the wife), except the ritual killing made that a wife may drink of the milk of her husband's cattle. It is considered that if this is omitted the ancestors of the wife may cause her to be ill, and so her family, living and dead, are summoned to the feast.

Standard patterns of behaviour between certain relatives exist, and these I have attempted to describe, but it must be clearly understood that behaviour towards relatives among the Pondo is, as with us, much modified by personality. One mother may have great authority over her children, another very little. An intelligent informant from whom I inquired whether more respect were due to the father's sister or to the mother's sister replied: 'More respect should be shown to the father's sister than to the mother's sister, but it depends upon the kind of persons they are themselves.'

The clan.

The patterns of behaviour towards the immediate kin, mother, father, child, brother, sister, are extended towards other persons than the direct biological relatives. I have attempted to show how behaviour towards siblings of parents, and towards their children, approximates to, and yet differs from, behaviour towards own parents and own brothers and sisters, and how behaviour

towards relatives on the mother's side differs from that towards relatives on the father's side. These patterns are extended indefinitely within the clans of the parents, but the more distant the relation the less behaviour approximates to that towards the direct biological relative. A man may use the term *ubawokazi* (father's brother) of his paternal great-grandfather's brother's son's son, and must show him something of the respect due to a father's brother, but he will not ask him to perform a ritual killing if a nearer relative is available; he will not send a special message summoning him to a feast, or consult him about the disposal of property. It is unlikely that the man's name will be mentioned as an ancestral spirit troubling him.

The clan (*isiduko*) is a group all members of which trace patrilineal descent from a common ancestor. Members of a clan as such have no mutual economic responsibilities. Even when a man has no relatives of his own living near, he does not consult a fellow member of his clan about ritual killing or the disposal of property. If, however, a traveller happens to call at the *umzi* of one of his own clan he will be specially well received, and membership of a common clan may be adduced as a reason for persons not closely related living together. Malusi wished to move to a district in which he had no close relatives, but in which lived James, with whom he was friendly and who belonged to his own clan. James suggested that 'as he (James) was a sort of elder brother', Malusi might bring his wife, and live in James's *umzi*. Malusi did so. My long stay at one store was considered curious until my hostess explained that her mother and mine were of the same clan, both being *amaScots*. Then I was labelled as her 'sister', and my visit thought quite natural.

Sexual relations with fellow members of a clan and with members of the mother's, and both grandmothers' clans are forbidden on the ground that all are related. In theory they may drink the milk of one another's cows. In practice most will not drink milk of cattle other than those belonging to their own grandfathers' descendants,[1] and although they will avoid milk if they hear of the death of a member of one of these clans, they do not observe any other mourning rites for him.

The milk taboo is consciously connected with the sexual taboo. 'We do not like to drink milk at a non-related *umzi* because some day we might want to be a bridegroom-in-law in that *umzi*.' 'You do not drink milk at a strange *umzi* because you might see a girl there whom later you may want to marry.' 'Formerly, if a

[1] Some maintain that since the milk shortage after rinderpest epidemic many people refuse milk of fellow clansmen 'because it would be greedy to accept it'.

man refused milk at a district or paramount chief's *umzi*, people said to him, "Do you want to sleep with the women of this *umzi*?" And then they took him out and killed him.' 'If Ntenten (district chief) found a man refusing his milk he would know he was having sexual relations with one of his (Ntenten's) wives.'

Because of the taboo on non-relatives drinking milk special utensils—usually clay bowls and wooden spoons—are kept in which to serve milk food. Occasionally, when there is a shortage of dishes at a beer drink, a milk-pot is used for beer, but only a relative of the owner of the *umzi* may drink out of it. The milk of a cow loaned (*ukunqoma*) is drunk by the people to whom it is loaned, even though the owner is of a clan whose milk they do not drink: 'It belongs then to the people to whom it is loaned.'

In theory a woman is free of the men's side of the huts and the *inkundla* in any *umzi* of the clan of her father, mother, or either grandmother; in practice she must avoid the right of the huts and the *inkundla* in all *imizi* except those with which there is a close blood relationship. A woman avoids the name and words similar to it of the chief of the clan into which she marries.

All the members of a clan call upon at least one common ancestor when making ritual killings, and some clans share in a common ritual killing (cf. pp. 256–64). The clan name (*isiduko*) is used as a polite mode of address, and as an expression of thanks. Having received a favour from one of the Nyawuza clan one exclaims, 'Nyawuza!'[1] Frequently the clan of a district chief is numerically predominant in his district, and the district is known by the clan name. Every clan recognizes a senior male[2] of their line as their clan chief, and usually such a chief has authority under the Government as a headman (cf. p. 421). All this makes for clan solidarity.

Relationship terms are not always used between fellow members of a clan, and even when they are used, it is only in the way in which they might be used to non-relatives. For besides being used for specific relatives, kinship terms are commonly used as polite modes of address. A junior should not use the personal name of a senior old enough to be his father when addressing him, or her (although it is commonly used in reference), but should say, 'father of So-and-so', or 'mother-of-So-and-so', or use a relationship term. *Bawo* is a common form of address to an older man, *ma* or *makhulu* to an older woman. An elder speaking in a friendly fashion to a junior will say, *mntanam*, *mntakabawo*, *mnt'akwethu*, or *ntombi*. Often two or three different

[1] In Zulu the clan name is called *isibongo* from *ukubonga*, to praise.
[2] Not always the senior, for usurpations were common (cf. p. 399).

terms are used to one person by the same speaker in the course of one conversation, and even the respective ages of the speaker and the person addressed may be overlooked. I myself have been variously addressed as *mama*, *makhulu*, *dade wethu*, *mtʃhakazi*, *mntanam*, *mnta'kaßawo*, *mnt'akwethu*. The use of a kinship term in this way cannot be said to imply any definite pattern of behaviour—the fact that different terms are used between the same persons shows this—but the use of it is a mark of politeness and friendly feeling. Kinship terms are commonly used by one asking a gift. Once a man or woman called me *mntanam* I knew that they welcomed me, and were willing to assist me.

A table of kinship terms used is given here as it serves as a summary of the kinship system, but I trust that it has been made abundantly clear that the use of the same relationship terms to different persons does not necessarily imply identical behaviour towards both.

TABLE OF KINSHIP TERMS

Note. Where not otherwise stated the terms given are used by both men and women. The terms of address and reference are given separately as they frequently differ.

	Address	*Reference*
Father	*Ɓawo*	*Uɓawo* (my father) *Uyihlo* (your father) *Uyise* (his father)
Father's brother	,,	*Uɓawokazi. Uɓawo. Uɓawokazi omkhulu. Uɓawokazi omncinci* *Uɓawokazi wase Heu.*[1] (Heu being the name of his *umzi*)
Father's sister's husband	,,	*Umyeni kadade ɓoɓawo*
Mother's sister's husband	,,	*Umyeni kamakazi*
Mother's brother	*Malume*	*Umalume. Umalume wase* —— (name of man's *umzi*)
Mother	*Ma*	*Uma* (my mother)[1] *Unyoko* (your mother) *Unina* (his mother)
Father's wife		*Uma.* By married name
Mother's sister		*Umakazi. Udade ɓoma*
Mother's brother's wife		*Uma. Umkamalume.*
Father's elder brother's wife		*Uma. Umamkhulu*
Father's younger brother's wife		*Uma. Umamncinci*
Father's sister	*Dade ɓoɓawo*	*Udade ɓoɓawo. Udade ɓoɓawo wase* —— (name of the *umzi*)
Father's father	*Makhulu*	*Umakhulu. Uyise kaɓawo* *Umfo wethu*
Mother's father	,,	*Umakhulu. Uyise kama*
Father's mother	,,	*Umakhulu. Unina kaɓawo*
Mother's mother	,,	*Umakhulu. Unina kama.*

[1] Compounds with *ɓawo* and *ma*, are modified according to the person of the speaker, just as *ɓawo* and *ma* are modified.

	Address	*Reference*
Great grandparent	*Khokho*, or *Gogo*	*Ukhokho*, or *Ugogo*, descriptive *Uyise kaßawo. kama*, &c.
Elder brother	*Mkhuluwe*	*Umkhuluwe*
Son of father's senior wife	*Mfo wethu*	*Umfo wethu*
Son of father's elder brother (man speaking)	*Mnta' kaßawo* by name	*Umnta' kaßawo*
Younger brother	*Mninawe*	*Umninawe*
Son of father's junior wife	*Mfo wethu*	*Umfo wethu. Umnta' kaßawo*
Son of father's younger brother (man speaking)	*Mnta' kaßawo* by name	
Brother. Son of father Son of father's brother (woman speaking)	*Mn'akwethu* by name	*Umn'akwethu*
Mother's brother's son or daughter	*Mzala. Mza* by name	*Umzala. Umza. Umnta' kamalume*
Father's sister's son or daughter	*Mzala. Mza* *Mnta' kama* by name	*Umzala Umza. Umnta' kadade ßoßawo* *Umnta' kamakazi*
Sister	*Dade wethu*	*Udade wethu*
Daughter of father's wife	*Mnta' kaßawo*	
Daughter of father's brother (man speaking)	by name	
(woman speaking)	*Dade wethu* *Mnta' kwethu* *Mnta' kaßawo*	*Udade wethu* *Umnt'akwethu*
Son	*Nyana. Mntanam*	*Unyana. Umntanam*
Husband's son		" " *Unyana we* —— (name of mother)
Brother's son (man speaking)		*Unyana. Umntanam* *Unyana womkhuluwe*
Husband's brother's son (woman speaking)		*Unyana womninawe*
Sister's son (woman speaking)		*Unyana. Umntanam* *Umnta' kadade wethu*
Brother's son (woman speaking)		*Unyana. Umntanam* *Unyana womta'kwethu*
Sister's son or daughter's (man speaking)	*Mtfhana. Mntanam*	*Umtfhana*
Daughter	*Ntombi. Mntanam*	*Intombi. Umntanam*
Husband's daughter		" " *Intombi ka* (name of mother)
Brother's daughter (man speaking)		*Intombi. Umntanam* *Intombi yomkhuluwe*
Husband's brother's daughter (woman speaking)		*Intombi yomninawe*
Sister's daughter (woman speaking)		*Intombi yomnta'kwethu*
Grandchild	*Mntanam. Mnta' nomntanam*	*Umzukulwana*
Great grandchild	*Mntanam*	*Umntana womzukulwana*
Man speaking.		
Wife	*Mfazi. Isiduko* Married name	*Umfazi wam* *Inkosikazi yam*
Wife's father	*Bawo*	*Ußawo. Usomfazi*
Wife's father's brother		*Ußawokazi wase* —— (name of *umzi*) *Ußawokazi womkam*

	Address	*Reference*
Wife's mother's brother	*Malume*	*Umalume. Umalume womkam*
Wife's mother	*Ma*	*Uma. Umkhwekazi*
		Unina womfazi wam
Wife's mother's sister	,,	*Uma. Udade bomkhwekazi*
Wife's father's sister	*Dade boßawo*	*Udade boßawo womkam*
Wife's brother	*Mlanya*	*Umlanya*
	Sißali	*Usißali*
	by name	
Wife's sister	*Mlanyakazi*	*Umlanyakazi*
	Dade wethu	*Usißali*
	Sißali	
	by name	
Wife's brother's wife	*Sißali. Mlanyakazi*	*Usißali. Umlanyakazi*
	by name	
Sister's husband	*Sißali*	*Usißali*
Wife's sister's husband	*Mn'akwethu*	*Umn'akwethu*
	by name	*Umyeni womlanyakazi*
Brother's wife	By *umzi* name	*Umka'mkhuluwe* or *mninawe*

Woman speaking.

Husband	*Myeni*	*Umyeni. Indodam*
	Yiseka- (his child)	
	Mnaka- (his sister)	
	By name if not the eldest son of house.	
Husband's father	*Ɓawo*	*Uɓawo. Uɓawozala*
Husband's father's brother	,,	*Uɓawo. Uɓawokazi*
Husband's mother's brother	*Malume*	*Umalume*
Husband's mother	*Ma*	*Uma. Umazala*
Husband's father's wives	,,	,, ,,
		Unina ka —— (a child)
Husband's mother's sister	,,	*Umakazi. Unina ka* —— (her child)
Husband's father's sister	*Dade boßawo*	*Udade boßawo. Unina ka* ——
Husband's grandfather	*Makhulu*	*Umakhulu.* Descriptive
Husband's grandmother	,,	*Umakhulu*
Co-wife	*Mnt'akwethu*	*Umnt'akwethu.* Married name
	Married name	
Husband's elder brother	*Yise ka* ——	*Umkhuluwe*
Son of husband's father's senior wife	(name of child)	
Son of husband's father's elder brother	*Mkhuluwe*	
Husband's younger brother	By name	*Umninawe*
Son of husband's father's junior wife	*Mninawe*	
Son of husband's father's younger brother		
Husband's elder sister	*Nina ka* ——	*Indodakazi*
Daughter of husband's father's senior wife		
Daughter of husband's father's elder brother		
Husband's younger sister	By name	*Indodakazi*
Daughter of husband's father's junior wife		*Indodokazi encinci*
Daughter of husband's father's younger brother		

	Address	*Reference*
Wife of husband's elder brother and other men classed with him above	*Nina ka*——	*Umka'mkhuluwe*
Wife of husband's younger brother and other men classed with him above	By married name	*Umnka'mninawe*
Husband of husband's sister	*Yise ka* ——	*Uyise ka* —— *Umyeni we'ndodakazi*
Sister's husband	By name *Yise ka*—— *Myeni wam* *Siβali*	*Umyeni womnt'akwethu*
Brother's wife	By married name	*Umnka'mn'akwethu*

Man or woman speaking.

Daughter's husband	*Mntanam*	*Umkhwenyana* *Umyeni wentombhi*
Son's wife	*Mtʃhakazi* (bride) Married name	*Umtʃhakazi* *Umolokazana*
Parents of son's wife or daughter's husband, and their brothers and sisters	*Mkhozi*	*Umkhozi*

The usual mode of address and reference are given in the tables, but there are varying degrees of strictness with which names are avoided (*ukuhlonipha*). They may be classified thus:

(*a*) Absolute avoidance of name, and avoidance of word with any syllable of the name. Woman of husband's father, and husband's father's brothers, husband's elder brothers, and husband's mother's brothers.

(*b*) Usual avoidance of name, and similar words, but can 'tell the name' if necessary. Woman of husband's father's father.

(*c*) Absolute avoidance of name in address or reference but no avoidance of similar words. Man of wife's mother.

(*d*) Usual avoidance of name in address or reference, but speaker can mention it if asked to 'tell the name'. Man or woman of father, father's brothers, mother's brothers, and all four grandparents. Man of wife's father and his brothers. Woman of husband's mother, her sisters, and husband's elder sisters, and husband's father's sisters. Woman of daughter's or sister's daughter's husband.

As members of one clan trace their descent from a common ancestor, so a number of clans may trace back their relationship to a still more remote ancestor, each clan being a branch of one main stem, e.g. the Khonjwayo, Citwayo, and Nyawuza clans all trace their descent from Hlambangoβuβende (cf. p. 399); the Jange and Mose are offshoots from the Khonjwayo. The new clans consist of all the descendants in the male line of one chief (e.g. Khonjwayo, Citwayo, Nyawuza), or of one 'house' of a chief. Jange and Mose were houses of Nogemane, father of Gwadiso, and descendant of Khonjwayo (cf. p. 399).

There is no public ceremony to mark the splitting off of a new clan, but frequently the split is begun by the marriage or sweethearting (*ukumetʃha*) of a chief, or a chief's son, with girls of another house within his own clan. Marriage between Khonjwayo

and Jange, and Khonjwayo and Mose only began in the time of Gwadiso. 'Godlosa, Gwadiso's great son, said that he "was not going to leave these beautiful girls of Jange alone", and he sweethearted with them.' After that Mqatane, a relative of Gwadiso, married Nobelunga, a daughter of Qonqoza, a Jange. After that amaJange and amaKhonjwayo intermarried freely. Khonjwayo had not intermarried with Nyawuza until Bokleni (a Nyawuza and paramount chief) married a daughter of Sitela of the Khonjwayo royal house. Then Godloza, Gwadiso's son, married a sister of Bokleni, as his great wife. Now Nyawuza and Khonjwayo intermarry freely. Informants state that the chief begins the split, 'when he sees that the clan is too big' (cf. p. 184). Forty-six clans who can trace descent from the same stock as the Nyawuza, the Pondo royal house, and twenty-one clans, called by the Pondo 'aßaMbo', who cannot trace any such connexion, were found to be the predominating clans of different districts in Pondoland.[1] Besides members of these clans are a number of individuals living in Pondoland, of clans not related to the amaNyawuza, and predominating in no district. In Pondoland the total Bantu population is 261,467, so the average size of a clan must be under 4,000 persons.

The recognition of separate 'houses' within a clan is marked by the use of a name of an ancestor junior to the progenitor of the clan as a greeting for those who are his descendants. Ntenten, chief of the Khonjwayo clan, and others descended from Khonjwayo's son Kiwo, were addressed as Kiwo, or Khonjwayo. In time they will form a separate clan, the amaKiwo. Tandaßantu, a Nyawuza chief, was addressed as Bekameva (his great-grandfather) or Nyawuza (the progenitor of his clan, cf. p. 399).

One of the first questions always asked a stranger is 'Who are you?' and he (or she) replies, giving his (or her) clan and family. Geza was constantly cross-questioned about his genealogy by the people we visited. Men take great pride in being able to recite the genealogies of their own families, and of chiefs of their own and other clans. Some gave me genealogies for fifteen generations, and different informants were more or less in agreement, although the order of names often varied. My inquiries about genealogies and law were answered as if at last I had asked sensible questions worthy of the attention of men.

Two proverbs sum up views on kinship. *Ukuzalwa wedwa ngunmtu wenyama* (To be born alone is to be a heap of meat). To one who favours strangers above relatives it is said, *Uzi-*

[1] This list is possibly not quite complete. Some of the large clans have offshoots of which people living at a distance do not know.

phembel'emoyeni (You are kindling your fire in the wind (instead of on the hearth)).

But kinship is not the only basis of grouping in the Pondo social system. *Imizi* are often close to one another, and neighbours who are not necessarily related see a great deal of one another. Women are constantly dropping in to neighbouring *imizi* to gossip, to borrow a stamping-block, or beg tobacco. If they happen to arrive when women of the *umzi* are eating they are invited to share in the dish. Their fields are usually in the same valley, and when one makes a work party her neighbours try to attend it. When one *umzi* is grinding beer neighbours come to help; when an animal is killed they help to draw wood and water and cut up the carcass. At big feasts they sit together sharing a portion given in the name of their petty headman. When a man has a case, or is going to consult a diviner, he very often summons neighbours to advise and accompany him. Always between neighbouring *imizi* there are paths, well worn, and full of shadow-holding hollows, made by bare toes in the dust.

Tendencies in family life.

Nowadays the size of the *umzi* is decreasing (cf. p. 15). The reason cited for the change is this: now that concentration is no longer necessary for defence against man and beast there is no strong deterrent to the splitting up of *imizi*, and when a son quarrels with his father, or the wives of brothers disagree, the son or brother goes out of the *umzi* with his wives and children, and sets up an *umzi* for himself. The fact that most young men have to go to labour centres to work tends to deter them from setting up their own *umzi*, unless they have a younger brother prepared to live with them, or a son over fifteen or sixteen, for they are unwilling to leave a wife, or wives, and small children alone in an *umzi*. Nevertheless, there is a growing tendency for each married man to set up his own *umzi*. There is a decrease in polygyny (cf. p. 202) and this further tends to reduce the size of the *umzi*.

The make-up of the *umzi* necessarily reacts upon behaviour towards kin. Behaviour towards father's brothers and their children cannot approximate so nearly to the behaviour towards own father and own brothers, when they live in different *imizi*, as when they live, at least for a time, in the same *umzi*. Growing up in a small group tends to foster a sense of economic individualism.

There is much visiting of relatives—I came across a woman who had walked two days to visit a sister of her father whom she

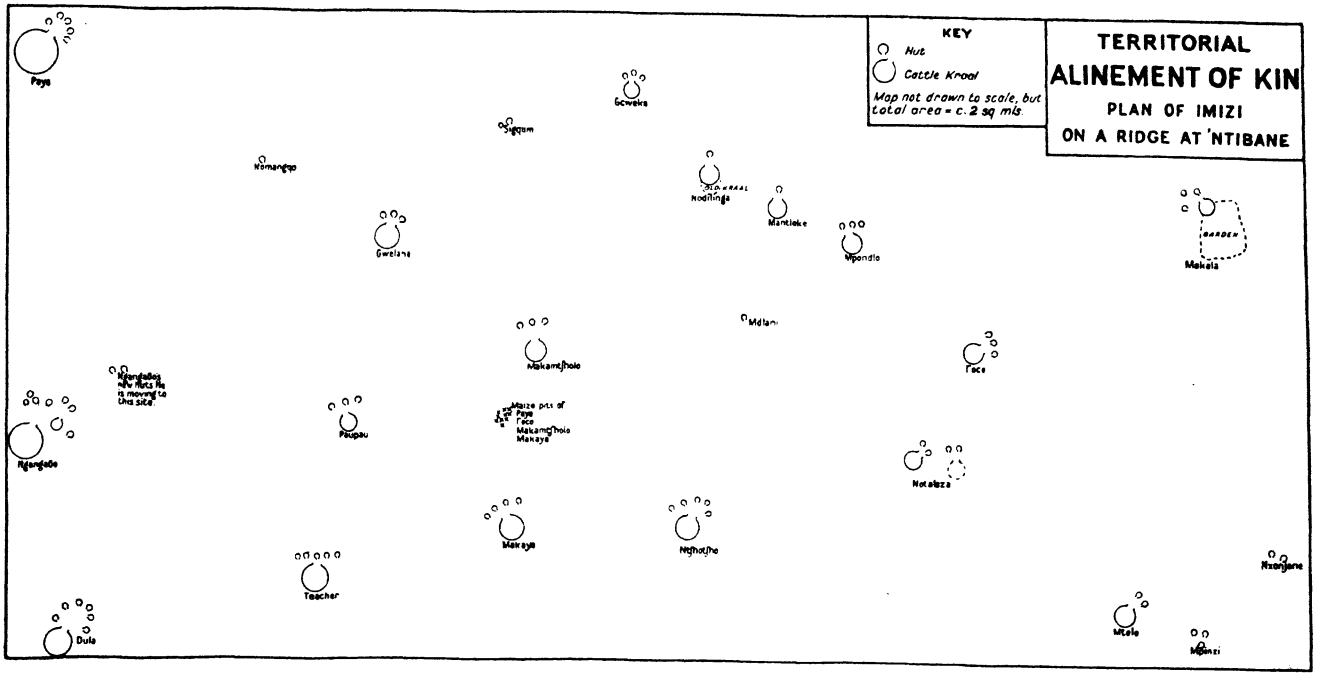
had not seen since she was a child—but the more *imizi* subdivide the more kinship bonds tend to be replaced by ties binding neighbours.

When a son sets up his own *umzi* earlier than formerly he and his wife emerge sooner from close parental control. Even while he remains in his father's *umzi* it is complained that sons show less respect than they used to do. The son is the wage earner, and this gives him power. Gidli, a great-grandfather, whose son still lived in his *umzi*, said, 'Formerly an *umzi* was under the thumb of the father, now it is under the thumb of the son. Things are bad now'. Everywhere there is complaint of the growing disobedience of children (cf. p. 177). Among school people it is less usual for men to consult brothers and sons of other *imizi* before disposing of property than it is among pagans. *Imizi* are closer together than they were when larger, and so people are in closer daily contact with those to whom they are not related.

The ancestor cult, a strong family bond in the pagan community, does not function among Christians. Where it does not function there is less emphasis on the fact that a wife is a stranger of another clan. In the Christian community there is less strict observance of avoidance taboos. A wife in a Christian *umzi* usually avoids her husband's father's name, and words very like it, but will use words not similar but which a pagan wife would avoid. For example, one Christian whose husband's father's name was Kaſe, told me that she did not avoid any words except the name itself and *ihaſe* (horse), which was 'so like the name'. A wife in a Christian family does not make such wide circuits as a pagan wife, and may be 'set free' by her husband's mother to cross the *inkundla*, or to go to the men's side of the hut. By a few Christian wives even the taboos connected with cattle are disregarded (cf. p. 66).

When a member of a family joins a church he or she acknowledges an authority superior to that of the senior relatives, and although in the Christian community great emphasis is laid on the commandment 'Honour thy father, and thy mother', where senior relatives are not also church members their authority tends to be challenged. For example, a woman may be ordered by her husband, or his mother, to brew beer, and refuse on the ground that the laws of her church forbid it (cf. p. 354). Church law forbids wife beating, and some Christian husbands complain that this reduces their authority over their wives, especially when the wives are not church members.

Christians living in a predominantly pagan community have a very strong bond in their common belief and common attempt


KEY
Hut
Cattle Kraal
Map not drawn to scale, but total area = c. 2 sq mls.
TERRITORIAL
ALINEMENT OF KIN
PLAN OF IMIZI
ON A RIDGE AT 'NTIBANE
Paya
Ngamgam
Nomangqo
Gwelane
Ngolinga
Mantleke
Mpondlo
GARDEN
Mokala
Midlani
Makamthole
Face
Maize pits of
Paya
Face
Makamthole
Makaya
Ngangabe
Ngangabe
new huts he
is moving to
this site
Peupau
Notaleza
Makaya
Ntshotsho
Teacher
Dula
Ntsonjane
Mtale
Mpanzi

to express their beliefs in their lives, and where whole families are not converted kinship bonds may be weakened by the strength of the ties to the church.

A few children are away from their kin for periods at boarding-school, or staying with a teacher, that they may attend school.

Such is the family pattern. Various aspects of family life are discussed in greater detail in the following chapters on economics, the life cycle, the ancestor cult, and magic.

TERRITORIAL ALINEMENT OF KIN

Key to Plan

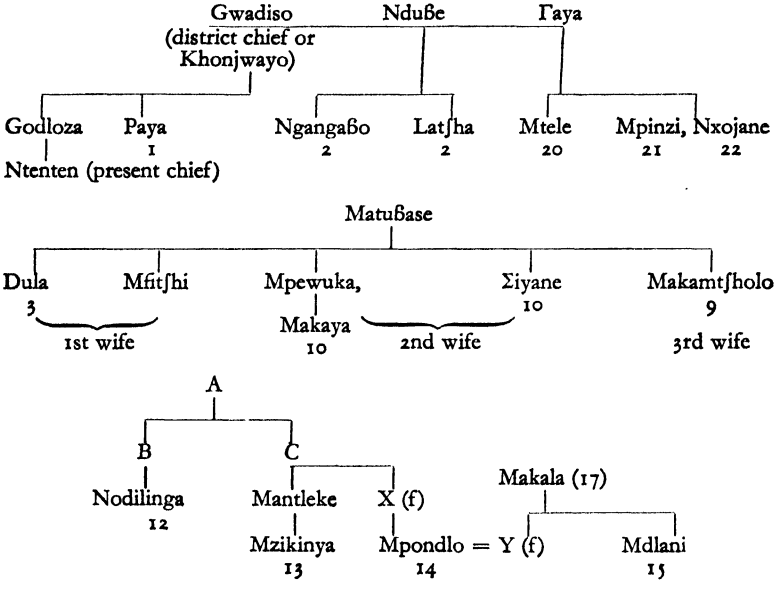
'Owner' of umzi	*Name of umzi*	*Group*
1. Paya (son of district chief Gwadiso; father's brother to present district chief)	Tekela	Paya His 4 wives: First wife. 4 children Second wife. 0 children Third wife. 1 child Fourth wife, 0 children (all died) Paya's sister, who has left her husband Paya's wife's brother and Nomangqo's son, who live with Paya and herd his cattle (cf. *umzi* 4)
2. Ngangaßo	Hlotyeni	Ngangaßo His mother Latʃha his full brother Ngangaßo's two wives First wife gone to her own people Left one son now living with Notalaza (cf. *umzi* 19) Second wife 5 children Third wife 8 children Latʃha's first wife died Left two children Second wife newly married
3. Dula (petty headman), son of Matußase (cf. *imizi* 9, 10)	'maTeku	Dula His three wives: First wife 4 children Second wife 3 children Third wife 1 child His full brother Mfitʃhi Mfitʃhi's wife Their children died
4. Nomangqo (a doctor). A widow. Has left her late husband's *umzi*	None	Nomangqo One son (cf. *umzi* 1)
5. Gwelane	eluße	Gwelane One wife and her 4 children Nqai his brother Wife of Nqai and baby Mlaplene his brother Bride of Mlaplene
6. Paupau	eZoteni	Paupau His mother His wife and baby

'Owner' of umzi	*Name of umzi*	*Group*
		His younger brother Lippan, and Lippan's wife
		His younger brother Vabantu (unmarried)
		Younger brother Sinokoto (unmarried)
		3 young unmarried sisters
		Paupau and his brothers and sisters are all children of the same mother, but have had different fathers. Their mother is a widow
7. Teacher	Qawukeni	Teacher
		His wife. No child
		His sister, *c.* 18, unmarried
		His younger brother, at present at mines
8. Sigqum (a doctor). She left her husband. Father of children with her is dead	None	Sigqum
		Her daughter, *c.* 15
		Son, *c.* 11
9. Makamtʃholo. Son of Matuβase. Different mother from Dula, and Mpewuka (cf. *imizi* 3, 10)	emaKweleni	Makamtʃholo.
		His mother (widow)
		His wife (no child yet)
		His three sisters, from 15 downwards
		Younger brother at school in another district
10. Makaya. Son of Mpewuka, son of Matuβase, by different wife from Makamtʃholo and Dula (cf. *imizi* 3, 9). Σiyane, and Mpewuka, same mother	Lusizini	Makaya
		His mother (widow)
		His father's brother Σiyane, who has taken his mother (*ukungena*)
		His wife and baby boy
		His widowed sister who lives with him.
		Her three children
		A sister temporarily detained by him (*ukutheleka*, cf. chap. x)
		His sister, *c.* 14 years (she herds)
		His younger brother Benet, and his wife
11. Gcweka (deceased, but *umzi* still spoken of as *umzi ka Gcweka*)	emƁolapo	Gcweka's two widows
		Son at mines
		Son's wife
		Daughter of son who died
		Baby boy, son of daughter, brought after weaning
		Sister of one wife. Her son at mines. His wife gone to her own people. Her husband has 'thrown her away', so she has come to visit her sister. Related to *umzi* over ridge. Man of this *umzi* officiated when ritual killing was made for one wife
12. Nodilinga	eƁuvulweni	Nodilinga
		His wife. No child
		Mamzikinya, his sister, detained by him. Her small girl
		His brother Mahlakaza. His wife and baby girl. Half-wit brother
13. Mantleke (deceased, but *umzi* still spoken	None	Mzikinya. Son of Mantleke
		His mother

'Owner' of umzi	*Name of umzi*	*Group*
of as *umzi ka Mantleke*). Fathers of Nodilinga and Mantleke were brothers. Daughter of Mantleke is married to Dula (cf. *umzi* 3)		His sister detained by him (her husband at mines) His sister, never married, and her 2 children (sister has hare-lip)
14. Mpondlo. He is Mantleke's sister's son (cf. *umzi* 13).		Mpondlo *His mother* His wife a daughter of Makala (cf. *umzi* 17) His brother and brother's wife. No children
15. Mdlani. Son of Makala (cf. *umzi* 16)	None	Mdlani away at mines His wife Son of his father's sister, *c.* 12 years come to look after his wife
16. Ntʃhotʃho, father of Γoco (cf. *umzi* 18)	eColony. (He is a Xhosa)	Ntʃhotʃho His eldest son His son's wife His daughter an *idikazi*. (She quarrelled with her husband and left him.) Daughter detained, and her small boy Son's daughter, Ngote, run away from her husband Son's daughter, *c.* 13, and son's 2 sons, small boys
17. Makala	eZoteni	Makala First wife died. Left 4 daughters, eldest *c.* 16 years Second wife, and her baby boy Msinuka, Makala's father's brother. His wife, 2 small sons and daughter
18. Γoco. Son of Ntʃhotʃho. (cf. *umzi* 16	eCitweni (the scattering)	Γoco His two wives 4 small sons
19. Notalaza	'siHlanwe	Notalaza His two wives Widowed daughter Daughter of a daughter (illegitimate), who after her marriage had fits, and is now living with her grandfather Nocelenze, son of Ngangaβo (cf. *umzi* 2) lent to Notalaza as a herd. Notalaza is an old adherent (*induna*, cf. p. 135) of the family of Ngangaβo, who is of the chief's family
20. Mtele. Son of Γaya, younger brother of Mβuβe. Mtele a brother of Mpinzi and Nxonjane (cf. *imizi* 21, 22)	eThwathwa	Mtele His first wife has left him His second wife, her 2 sons and 2 daughters, all under 14 years
21. Mpinzi. Fullbrother of Mtele	emaGqogqok-weni	Mpinzi His wife, daughter *c.* 16 years Widowed sister

'Owner' of umzi	*Name of umzi*	*Group*
22. Nxonjane. Full brother of Mtele	eLokoʃine	Nxonjane His wife Only surviving child sent to its mother's mother

RELATIONSHIPS OF GROUPS



CHAPTER II

ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

BEFORE contact with Europeans the Pondo provided food and shelter for themselves by breeding cattle, growing grain and pumpkins, hunting, and making huts, clothing, household utensils, and weapons from materials at hand. Now to make a living they also work for Europeans.

Animal Husbandry

To the cattle and goats kept by Pondo before contact with Europeans have now been added horses,[1] sheep, pigs, hens,[2] ducks, and geese. Stock is enclosed at night in circular stockades, or kraals, built within the semicircle of huts (cf. p. 16). Usually there are two kraals, one for cattle and one for calves, goats, and sheep. Where wild animals are troublesome a small enclosure is also made for hens. Usually cattle are driven out in the morning as soon as the dew is off the grass and brought back at noon to be milked, but there is no *isiko* (custom) prescribing the time for milking, and some milk before taking the cattle to pasture in the morning and again at night. Calves are left to suckle each time before milking, and those who milk at noon usually leave the calves to run with their mothers after milking until the evening, when they are shut up separately. New-born calves are often brought into the great hut and tied up against the wall on the men's side that they may have warmth and shelter. Bull calves are castrated at about nine months, not more than one bull being ordinarily kept in each *umzi*.

The cattle are taken by the herds each morning to the best pasturage available within the area in which the owners have the right of grazing, and in summer must be closely guarded lest they stray into the cultivated land. After harvest they are driven into the fields to feed on the mealy stalks and need not be herded, but are merely driven home at night. In some coastal districts stock are sent to cattle-posts inland during the summer months, and inland districts send their cattle to the coast, or to posts in the river valleys, during the cold winter months. The cattle-post of 'mBotyi was only five miles away, and from there milk was sent back every day. To the more distant posts only oxen and dry cows are sent. Goats are not milked, but they are also shut up

[1] Kay, writing in 1825–32, mentions that few Pondo could ride. Kay, op. cit., p. 374.

[2] G. MacKeurtan, *Cradle Days of Natal*, p. 49.

at night and must be herded during the summer. Hens are left to stray about the *umzi*, but often nests are made for them within their owner's hut to encourage them to lay where the eggs may be found, and identified as belonging to that house.

The care of cattle, goats, sheep, and horses is the work of men, the *umlaza* (ritual impurity, cf. p. 46) of women being regarded as dangerous to all stock except pigs and poultry. Small girls before puberty are sometimes sent to herd if the *umzi* lacks boys, and an older girl who is a daughter of the *umzi* may drive in cattle, and in cases of necessity milk, so long as she is not menstruating; but a wife of the *umzi* formerly never milked. I knew two or three wives in Christian *imizi* who milked when the men of the *umzi* happened to be away, but very few will break the old taboo. Normally, herding is done by boys who begin at about six years old to go out with the goats and sheep. Later they are promoted to be cattle herds. The age of promotion, and the age at which their duties as herds are delegated to others, depends on whether they have younger brothers in the *umzi* or not, but usually they cease to herd at 17 or 18. Boys and young men milk, but if no junior is available the head of the *umzi* may himself do the work. Cattle of one *umzi* are driven out as one herd, and the herds of neighbouring *imizi* join together on the pasturage.

As part of the technique of stock-raising cattle are treated with various medicines (*amayeza*). Certain early spring plants are poisonous, and cattle eating them are liable to get sick. The Pondo are unaware that these plants are poisonous, but they have noticed that cattle are particularly liable to get ill in spring, and they attempt to guard against it by treating with herbs. The cattle are gathered in the kraal, a fire is lit near the kraal gate, and certain herbs burnt on it so that the cattle may inhale their smoke. Cattle are in danger from *umlaza* (ritual impurity). Calves are dosed with a herb *intolwane* lest they should cross the spoor of a woman with *umlaza* and become ill. After a death or a miscarriage[1] in the *umzi* the cattle are dosed with an infusion of herbs to avert danger. If witchcraft is suspected cattle are specially treated. Maßuza told how one day when he went to inspect his cattle sent to another district for grazing he found the udders of the cows scratched. He 'thought that it was the work of a baboon' (sent by a witch, cf. p. 287), and hastened to sprinkle the cattle and the kraal with medicines. 'That finished the trouble.' Some burn herbs in their kraals every two or three months 'to make well the blood of the cattle'. The herbs used

[1] The neighbouring Xhosa dose the cattle with the water in which the woman who has had the miscarriage has washed.

are usually known to, and gathered by, the head of the *umzi*, and taught by him to his sons. Informants do not think that every one uses the same herbs, but as no one tells any one else what he uses they cannot be sure. A man knowing no herb for treating cattle, or finding the ones he uses inefficacious, may buy the knowledge of others from any one who knows them, either an ordinary person or a specialist in herbs (*ixhwele*). A generally known charm for increasing herds is to burn a tortoise in the kraal. The cattle are shut up in the kraal during the burning, but nothing is said. 'But', said one sceptic, 'it cannot really be effective, otherwise every one would be looking for tortoises instead of going to the mines to earn money with which to buy cattle. Cattle are not to be got except by working.' There is a proverb, *Inkomo imbiwa ematyeni kube lungu* (A beast is stolen out of a rock at the white man's). 'Sometimes', it is said, 'a man comes back from Johannesburg, carrying something.' He has bought there an *ikhubalo* (charm) in the form of a snake, and he puts it in his kraal and his cattle increase. 'We never see anything, but we know that he must have brought something for his cattle increase.' A calf at m'Botyi was stunted. According to local gossip the chief woman of the *umzi* had taken the dung of the hippopotamus 'Huberta' which had passed that way, and burned it in her kraal, thinking to make the cattle fertile. The result was this dwarfed calf. I heard of no charms being used for goats or sheep, although they, like cattle, are in danger from *umlaza*. No one uses medicines for fowl. Horses are treated that they may be swift.

The Government has introduced a system of compulsory dipping to combat disease in stock. Tanks have been built all through the country, and Native dipping foremen, paid by the Government, appointed. All cattle must be dipped at regular intervals, varying from a week to a month with the district and the season. Sheep and goats are also dipped. The foremen are supervised by Europeans. Compulsory dipping, and the accompanying tax (cf. p. 141), and regulations regarding the movement of stock are much resented. If one asks an old man what changes he has noticed taking place in his lifetime a usual reply is, 'I see that we now dip, and pay taxes, and are no longer ruled by our chiefs but by the Government'. It is not generally recognized by Pondo that dipping has really checked cattle disease, although the cattle population of the Transkei, decimated by epidemics between 1911 and 1918, more than doubled between 1918 and 1930, and the increase coincides with the introduction of dipping.[1] It

[1] *N.E.C.*, pp. 272–3. Figures for Pondoland alone not available.

is complained that the frequent dipping makes oxen less fit to race, and the restrictions on movement makes large gatherings of cattle for racing impossible and increases difficulties of marketing. Efficient dipping, unaccompanied by general education in animal husbandry, has, ironically enough, been one of the contributing causes of the present serious overstocking.

It is hardly possible to speak of a Native breed of cattle, since they have cattle of every colour and combination of colours. Some of the bulls, however, are humped, and the clay oxen made by children are always modelled with a hump, so it is likely that the original breed was humped. Pondo admire a big beast (most of their cattle are small) with wide-spreading horns, or with horns turned down and curving inwards. The most prized cattle were the racing oxen which were chosen for their speed and freshness in a race, and sometimes for their colour. 'The owner liked the colour of that beast, so he chose it.' Cattle, however, are not valued economically according to their points. In *ikhazi* (cattle given to a bride's group) a full-grown beast is a beast, and cannot count for more or less, no matter what its quality. For a ritual killing the size and quality of a beast is not of importance. Wealth is reckoned by quantity, not by quality. One man replied when I inquired whether no fathers aimed at getting a few good cattle rather than many poor ones as *ikhazi*, 'People do not wish for milk, they wish to be rich'.

While wealth is thus reckoned by number and not quality of cattle, and while scrub cattle are equivalent to pedigree stock as *ikhazi*, or for a ritual killing, there is little inducement to improvement in the breed of cattle. An attempt is being made by the *Bunga* (United Transkeian Territories General Council) to introduce stud stock, but no measures have yet been taken to do away with scrub bulls, and better bred stock is less able to survive on the scanty grass of the commonage. Pondoland is the least densely populated area of the Native territories of the Cape Province, but even in Pondoland there are signs of serious overstocking and consequent erosion. The more densely populated Ciskeian districts are, as the result of overstocking, approaching desert conditions, and if the present tendencies continue there is danger that Pondoland will be similarly impoverished.

Cattle are of primary economic importance to the Pondo. All informants are emphatic that formerly less land was cultivated, and that milk and meat played a greater part in the diet of the people than they do to-day, yet even to-day they are principal items in Pondo diet. Making a survey of the milk-supply during the winter months of scarcity I found that out of 57 *imizi* 43 had

some milk. In summer every *umzi* would have some milk, and most a considerable quantity. Formerly when an enemy army invaded a district, or an *umzi* was heavily fined for witchcraft, the calabashes were broken 'to show that the *umzi* was dead'. In Ngqeleni, a district with a Native population of 40,352, normally wealthy in cattle, 1,991 cattle were killed and 6,287 died during 1930.[1] Of these practically every beast would be eaten. Although the vast majority of the killings are sacrificial, wealthy people do sometimes kill just for meat. Meat and milk are prized foods and are considered much more savoury than grain.

Before contact with Europeans clothing was made of hide, supplemented by the skins of goats and wild animals, and cattle were the principal medium of exchange and the medium in which court fines were levied. Wealth was accumulated mainly in cattle. Further, cattle are the means of keeping on good terms with the ancestral spirits (*amathongo*), and so of securing health and prosperity, because the maintenance of good relations with the ancestral spirits depends upon making the proper ritual killings of cattle at various stages in the life of the individual, and in sickness. In folk-tales the hero is often saved by a miraculous ox. Cattle are also the means of obtaining sexual satisfaction, since a legal marriage cannot take place without the passage of cattle; the right to limited sexual relations is legalized by the passage of a beast, and the fines for illegal relations are levied in cattle. The possession of cattle gives social importance, for they are the means of securing many wives and adherents, and of dispensing hospitality and showing generosity, on which virtues status largely depends. Also the possession of cattle in itself gives weight and dignity to the owner.

Considering the importance of cattle, therefore, in satisfying economic and sexual needs, and in keeping on good terms with the ancestral spirits, and as a ground of social standing, it is not surprising that the thought and interest of Pondo men should centre in them as it does. As boys they spend their days with cattle. The pride of a small urchin when he is promoted from goat to cattle herd is great, and always he is conscious that cattle are a most important concern of men. Each beast in the kraal has its name, usually given by the herd, and the boys maintain that the cattle know their names. As they are driving them out one hears them shout *Bolwane, Bloom, Ntsukumbini*. As they grow older men take no part in herding, but they still take a great interest in the cattle and supervise the milking. I have seen middle-aged men walking several miles to watch their cattle

[1] Dipping register.

being dipped, although sons and grandsons were in charge of them. Men sit a great deal in the shelter of the kraal fence where morning and evening the cattle are under their eye, and conversation constantly reverts to them. They talk of the pedigrees of the cattle, boast how many calves each cow has had, and tell what happened to each. Cattle are intimately known, and a man will describe accurately any beast in a neighbour's kraal. If a stray beast comes among the cattle of neighbours it will be noticed at once. This interest and knowledge is reflected in the language in which there are at least fifty-seven different terms describing cattle of different markings, as well as five terms describing the horns. That pasturage is of importance, as well as agriculture, is shown by the number of names of the month referring to the state of the pasture (cf. p. 111). Land is appraised by its pastural and agricultural value. Again and again I was asked about districts which I had visited, and which the inquirers had not seen: 'Is it good country for cattle? Have they many cattle there?' The most usual question about England was, 'What sort of cattle do they have there?'

This intense interest in cattle is among men and boys only. The women being dangerous to cattle, and having nothing to do with them talk little about them and are more interested in their gardens and crops than in cattle. Women usually do not know many of the terms referring to cattle. I found when learning them that I could get little help from girls, and it always aroused much mirth among men when I showed an interest in, and knowledge of, terms referring to cattle.

Cattle and people are the only things about which diviners are consulted, and serious illness and death in cattle is attributed to witches and sorcerers, as is sickness in human beings.

There is what may almost be termed an aesthetic appreciation of cattle. To the Pondo they are beautiful to look upon. 'Oh, but we love to fill our eyes with cattle', pleaded a Native when a European was pointing out the dangers of overstocking, and the necessity of banking capital instead of buying cattle which the land could not support. The seriousness of the overstocking in South Africa is in itself proof that the economic aspect in the possession of cattle is not, to the Bantu, the most important. Men make praises for their cattle which are shouted aloud (cf. p. 371). Formerly at big gatherings, at a girl's initiation or a wedding, the oxen of each *umzi* were driven in triumph through the *inkundla*, and men and women cheered and shouted their praises as they passed (cf. p. 366).

The emotions centring in cattle are only extended to a much

PLATE V

a Milking

b An *ihma* for planting medics (cf p 88)

less degree towards other stock. Goats are (and were) the poor man's cattle, supplying food and clothing, being a means of acquiring wives, and of establishing good relations with the ancestral spirits in exactly the same way as cattle, but always less efficaciously. The distinguishing terms applied to cattle are applied also to goats, and they are supposed to suffer from contact with *umlaza*. But no one ever makes praises of goats. Sheep are classed with goats. They are of no value for ritual killings as they do not cry when stabbed, but they are used for meat and the wool is sold. Pigs are only useful as meat and are classed with hens rather than with goats. Hens are only of value economically, and are looked after by women. Only in relation to horses are there signs of the aesthetic appreciation of cattle being extended. Horses are admired for their points. They are exhibited at festivals, and horse races are becoming popular. They are highly valued as *ikhazi* and as evidence of wealth. Nothing will induce a Pondo who is not in dire financial straits to part with a good horse. But this is only one aspect of the attitude towards cattle, which are also food, raiment, and religion, and the whole complex of emotions is not transferred.

Tillage

Crops grown by the Pondo before contact with Europeans were maize,[1] millet, sorghum, various kinds of pumpkin, and calabashes. Sweet potatoes,[2] which are now largely grown in the coastal districts, peas, and beans are said to be comparatively recent introductions. Tobacco and hemp have been grown for long; I could get no evidence as to the date of their introduction. Maize is now the staple crop. Formerly it is said that millet was more largely grown, but in many districts it was attacked by a disease, *ncincana*, and maize was found to give a better return. The cultivation of millet also requires more labour than that of maize since the ripening millet has to be guarded from birds.

Gardens are made in the valleys, on the banks of rivers, and on the steep slopes of the valley walls. The ridges and uplands are as far as possible kept for grazing. The silt on the banks of the large rivers is known to be the most fertile land, and the next best that where bush has grown. For this reason bush is often cleared to make fields, even when open grass-land is available. Where there is no bush the richness of the soil is judged by the type of grass growing there. The length of time for which any

[1] This is what the Pondo say. Maize is, of course, not indigenous to Africa.

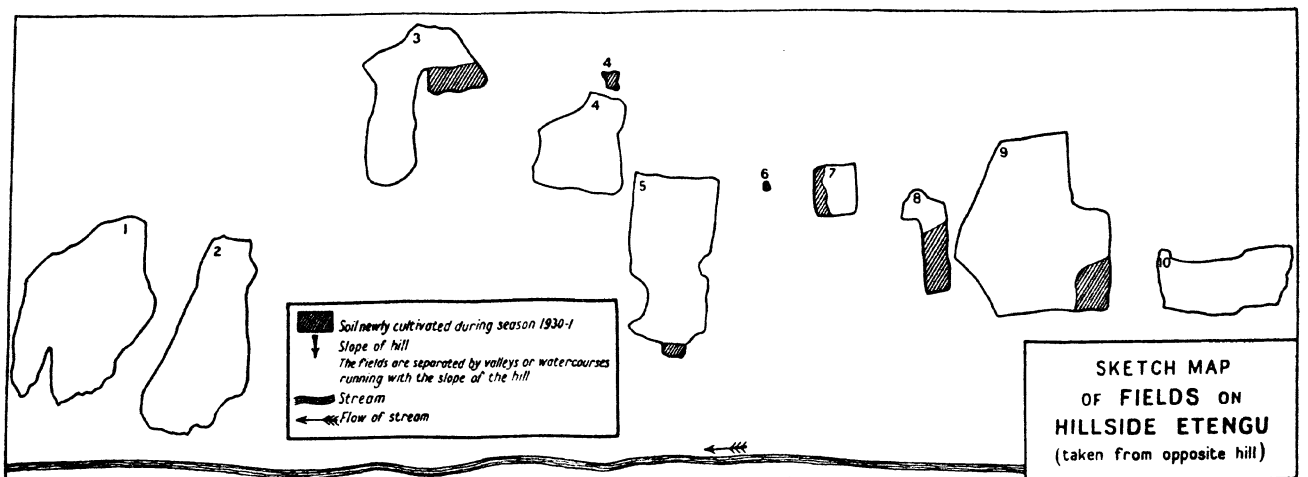
[2] Kay, op. cit., p. 360, suggests that sweet potatoes were introduced by survivors from wrecks on the Pondo coast.

patch is cultivated without leaving it fallow depends on the soil. The fields on the banks of big rivers may be cultivated for ten years on end, and a good crop still be reaped. The poor land on the valley walls is only cultivated for two or three seasons, then left fallow. In walking across the hill-sides one sees many areas that have once been cultivated and are now fallow. It is customary for each *umzi* to turn over some new ground each year, either by

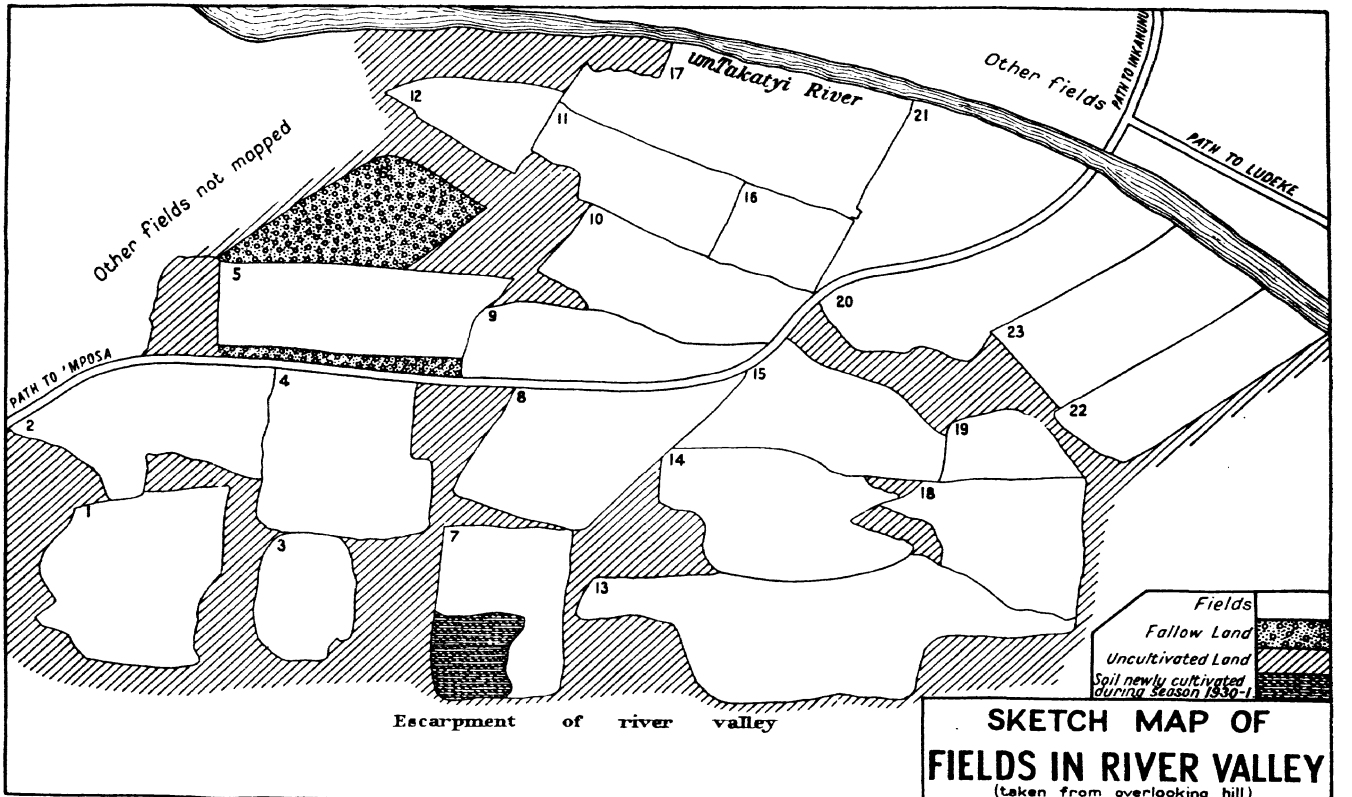
KEY TO MAP

No.	*Area[1] in sq. yds.*	*Owner of* umzi *to which field belongs*	*Cultivator of field*	*Other fields cultivated by her*
1.	6,886	Bengu	His one wife	No other field
2.	7,555	Baibile	His one wife	Other field No. 3
3.	2,722	Baibile	His one wife	Other field No. 2
4.	7,666	Ntenten (district chief)	His grandfather's widow Makoɲi	Another field. Not shown. Area 4,986 sq. yds. (Makoɲi's own); ploughed 3,476
5.	11,200	Ngeu	His one wife	No other field
6.	7,556	Ntenten	His father's widow Matʃhawe	This field fallow, other field No. 16 (Matʃhawe's own)
7.	6,600	Hlupheka (*idikazi* own *umzi*)	Hlupheka with son's bride	No other field
8.	7,811	Siɓaxa	One wife. 3 sons' wives. Mother	Other fields. All work in all fields
9.	5,666	Basket	One wife	Another field on hill. Area 8,800 sq. yds.; ploughed 5,777 sq. yds.
10.	7,200	Siɓaxa	Mother's field. Assisted by his wife and sons' wives	Other fields for other women. Mother no other field
11.	5,066	Ntenten	His wife Madolikana	No other field
12.	4,766	Ntenten	Wife Maskode	No other field
13.	11,888	Cabe	His one wife	No other field
14.	10,000	Ndiaza	His one wife	Other field
15.	7,333	Noqi	His one wife	One other field
16.	10,666	Ntenten	His father's widow Matʃhawe	Other field No. 6 (Matʃhawe's own)
17.	23,333	Ntenten	Mother of Ntenten Manyausa	One other field (Manyausa's own)
18.	5,555	Buzangula	Wife and mother	One other field
19.	3,600	Occupants left district. Field fallow.		
20.	10,666	Wright	Wife. Son's wife	Other field No. 22
21.	8,274	(Son of Ntenten's father, junior house)	His mother. Her son's wives assist	Other fields. For each of son's wives.
22.	6,556	Wright	Wife. Son's wife	Other field No. 20
23.	8,055	Lathatha	His wife. 4 wives of sons. 6 sisters. *amadikazi*	Many other fields

[1] Fields were measured by pacing, and approximate areas calculated from measurements taken.



SKETCH MAP
OF **FIELDS** ON
HILLSIDE ETENGU
(taken from opposite hill)



SKETCH MAP OF FIELDS IN RIVER VALLEY

(taken from overlooking hill)

KEY TO MAP

No.	*Area in sq. yds.*	*Owner of* umzi *to which field belongs*	*Cultivator of field*	*Other fields cultivated by her*
1.	14,400	Maliwa	Wife. Son's wife	One other field in umTakatyi valley
2.	8,800	Maßuyazi	2 wives at *umzi* (a third with own people)	Other fields in umTakatyi valley. Also No. 4
3.	10,066	Ngqunyana	One wife. 2 wives of sons. Sister, *idikazi*	One other field in umTakatyi valley
4.	4,444	Maßuyazi	2 wives at *umzi*	Other fields. umTakatyi and No. 2
5.	7,555	Filidome	One wife	No. 10
6.	35	(Owner not discovered)		
7.	1,600	Nodamile	One wife. Sister, *idikazi*	No. 8. One field in umTakatyi valley.
8.	2,533	Nodamile	One wife. Sister, *idikazi*	No. 8. One field in umTakatyi valley
9.	13,333	Gwedla	One wife. Daughter, *idikazi*	One field umTakatyi valley
10.	3,444	Filidome	One wife	No. 5

All these persons except Ngqunyana live on a ridge opposite to the hill-side on which the fields are situated.

Average area of a field 7,903 sq. yds.

Of 26 women 11 cultivate 2 fields.

Therefore an average area cultivated by 1 woman is 11,246 sq. yds.

enlarging an existing field or taking new ground on one side and leaving a part of the old fallow, or beginning a new field altogether. New fields when begun are quite small, but room is allowed for expansion, and the area is increased each year. In the river valleys where fields adjoin no increase can be made, but the same people are likely to have a field on the hill-side which allows for expansion.

To clear bush country the trees are cut down, branches piled over stumps, and when dry set alight. The fire destroys the stump, eating down to the roots below ground, and so the ground is effectively cleared and at the same time fertilized with ash. Chopping trees is the work of men, but the women may help in clearing by piling branches, and cutting grass where it is too rank to burn green. Clearing may be done by the woman whose field it is to be and her husband working alone, but much more frequently they are assisted by other members of their *umzi*, or they make *amalima* (work-parties), providing beer or meat for all who will assist in the work. Formerly, when the country was much more wooded, fields were probably frequently made in bush land, and clearing with the primitive axes made by Pondo smiths must have been very heavy work. Now European-made axes are used.

Clearing for new fields is done at the end of the winter during August, September, and October. Then follows planting. The time for sowing is judged by the position of the Pleiades (*isilimela* from *ukulima*—to hoe or plough for planting) and the flowering of the *umsintsi* (*Erythrina caffra*), but actual planting cannot begin until spring rains have fallen. In the coastal districts when rain is not delayed planting begins in September. Inland they may have to wait for rain until November. Usually each woman plants a small patch before the main planting begins that her family may enjoy early green mealies. There is no public ceremony before planting, and individuals are at liberty to begin as soon as they choose.

Formerly the implements used for cultivation were *izikhuba*, sharpened sticks, 2 to 3 feet in length, made of hard wood (*pteroxylon utile*, or *Milletia caffra*, or *Acacia horrida*). Both ends were sharpened and hardened by fire. The cultivator squatted on her heels, held the stick in both hands, and dug with the sharpened point. Iron was smelted, and iron hoes are said to have been made before contact with Europeans, but these must have been few in number. Men of 60 to 70 themselves had used wooden digging sticks when they were boys. Now ox-drawn ploughs of European manufacture are in general use, even in remote districts of Pondoland. Patches planted for early green food and very steep hill-sides are still hoed by hand, but the principal fields are ploughed. Old men and women are emphatic that since the introduction of the plough much larger areas are planted than formerly.

Planting was formerly done by men and women. Chief Poto states that it was the work of women only, but many old men from whom I inquired stated definitely that men assisted their wives in planting. The taboo on women working with cattle has prevented them from assisting in planting when ploughs are used, and ploughing is now regarded as the work of the boys and young men of the *umzi*. A man over 35 only ploughs if he has no sons of an age to do it for him, or if they are all away at the mines. Women plant what patches are cultivated by hand. Usually the fields of an *umzi* are worked together, the men of the *umzi* ploughing each woman's field in turn, and the women weeding each in turn. Two or three *imizi* may also club together to plough each other's fields, and work-parties for planting are made (cf. p. 88).

Seed is scattered over the ground and then hoed or ploughed in. Women hoeing keep a supply of seed in their mouths and spit it out as they go along. The ploughman usually scatters it first and then ploughs. Agricultural demonstrators are now

attempting to teach people the necessity of ploughing twice, and ploughing deeply, and some are following their advice, but the number who have improved their methods of planting further than by exchanging a plough for the hoe is small. Maize, millet, sorghum, and pumpkin were all planted in the same field at once, the seed of all being mixed and scattered. Now, under the influence of demonstrators, maize, millet, and sorghum are often grown as separate crops, but pumpkin or beans are usually grown as a ground crop with maize.

If during planting *Nomadyetyana* (a frog, *Breviceps*) is dug up the women praise it, saying, 'We greet thee princess Nomadyetyana, princess of the earth.' Informants say that they do not know why they greet *Nomadyetyana* thus, or what would happen if they failed to do it. 'For no one ever fails to praise *Nomadyetyana*. She is God. The custom of calling her princess came from our fathers and grandfathers.' If *Nomadyetyana* is silent when she is dug up there will be a good crop. If she squeaks there will be no mealies.

After planting a field may be left about six weeks before it requires further attention, but the intervening time is usually spent in planting other fields, so that there is hardly a pause between the planting of the late fields and the weeding of the early fields. All the women of an *umzi* usually work together for weeding, and again they may be assisted by the men; but in going through the fields at weeding time I saw that the number of women at work weeding was always greater than that of men. One day in November I noticed four men and one boy weeding while there were twenty-five women and two girls. But three men and nine boys were ploughing. Possibly the men do less weeding now that they do most of the planting. The first fields are usually weeded by the owner or by the *umzi* group, but as the season gets on and it is difficult to cope with the crop of weeds, *amalima* (work-parties) are extensively made. The owner of the field provides beer or meat. The news that she is making an *ilima* on such and such a day is circulated through the community, and men and women come to work and feast. In some districts fields are only weeded once, but in others they are gone through twice. Weeding goes on until about six weeks before harvest. Then when maize and pumpkins only are grown there is some pause in the agricultural work, but millet and sorghum have to be protected from birds. Women and children stay in fields with millet from sunrise to sunset, shouting and throwing clods of earth at birds. Boys have competitions to see how many birds they can kill thus in a season.

Field magic.

When I asked an intelligent elderly man what he did to secure good crops he replied, *siya lima, siya hlakula, siya tʃhisela* (we plant, we weed, we make to burn for. (Causative form of *ukutʃha*)). To assist the growth of crops medicines (*amayeza*) are used. The most usual method of treating crops is to make a fire to the windward of a field, and burn certain *amayeza* so that the smoke of them may blow over the field. This treatment must be carried out very early in the morning or late in the afternoon. The informant already referred to used a mixture of herbs, *isivilane, omkhuhlu,* and *ithodlana.* Some add to the mixture coal, brought back from Natal by workers. A plant *isithungule* used to be widely used. Now almost every one uses *ithodlana,* either alone or mixed with some other herb, but when it is not available *umzane* is a substitute. Some informants insist that the fire must be started with a handful of grass taken from over the doorway of the owner's hut. Others do not trouble about this. Any fuel may be used. *Ithodlana* is said to grow wild in Natal, but in Pondoland it is carefully cultivated, being planted near an *umzi* and protected with stakes or thorny branches. Those who have not got plants themselves beg, or even buy, a few leaves from neighbours.

The smoking of the fields may be done at any stage from the time of sprouting until the maize flowers and the cobs set. It may be done only once or repeated. Some people make a fire the day before reaping, the cobs from the patch where the fire is lighted being picked and then placed round the fire. These cobs are preserved, hung up in the great hut, and later used to make beer. They must not be eaten ordinarily. The spot where the fire was becomes the site of the first heap of mealies reaped, and only the owner of the field may use these mealies. Helpers are rewarded from other heaps. When *isithungule* was used no one might go near the field for three days 'because a noise in the field spoiled that medicine'.

An alternative method of treatment is to blow medicines over the field from a horn. Leaves of *ithodlana* are ground up, mixed with water, and the mixture puffed over the field. Some people like this to be done by a very black person (*mnyama*) that the fields may also be *mnyama*—the very dark green of a rich crop. 'When puffing over the field you leave a place for going out, like a door, so that air may go out of the field. Otherwise it will not be fruitful', explained Manyawuza, mother of the Khonjwayo chief. Another method, sometimes combined with one of the preceding,

is to chew *ithodlana* and spit on the seed before planting, others walk over the field spitting at the young plants after the seed has germinated. This again should be done by a very black person. Manyawuza took leaves of *ithodlana* and slipped them into the sheath of developing cobs to prevent them withering. The horn of a black sheep is sometimes dug into the corner of a garden, and the people at the coast also dig in octopus and rock bait (*amasenene*). The Xhosa use the bones of shark for the same purpose, and the Pondo sell it to them, but do not use it themselves. In each of these cases the amount dug in is quite small.

Each woman (or sometimes each owner of the *umzi*) treats her own fields. The methods and medicines to be used are common knowledge. I was assured that there were no private medicines for fertility or other medicines than these described.

When people are about to treat their field with *ithodlana* they should give notice to their neighbours that all may do the treatment at the same time, otherwise the fields that are not treated will shrivel up. The chief Malinde, at Ndovelane, and others, were emphatic that a day to treat fields was never appointed by the chief or headman, but each man arranged to do it at a certain time himself and warned his neighbours. Some informants said that they did not warn their neighbours, but scattered some earth from their field into the next, or spat some *ithodlana* into the next field, and that prevented it from being harmed by the treatment of their own. 'We do this to a neighbour if he is good, not if he is troublesome.' 'If my mealies shrivel up and my neighbour's are rich I go to him and say, "Why did you not do mine?" ' But there is no legal case against a man who fails to tell another that he is going to treat his fields, and one who does so is not regarded as a sorcerer. Some say that treating one field and failing to treat the next is the only way in which a field may be blighted. Others think that they are directly harmed by malicious persons. 'Some one takes earth from another's field and mixes it with medicine and puts it back again. Or he digs salt into the field.' Then the crop will be poor. Nowadays progressive people who use fertilizers are sometimes accused of having used medicines which have harmed their neighbours because their crops are so much better than their neighbours' crops.

A grass, *idolo lenkonyana*, is burned in millet fields to make them turn red quickly. When they weed maize women pull up two sturdy plants by the roots, take them home, and hang them up in the great hut. That will make the crop grow well. The plants must be pulled up specially; thinnings are not taken.

Among the Khonjwayo, every summer, a rite, *ixofombo*, is

performed by the unmarried girls of the district to protect the maize crop. When the maize cobs are beginning to ripen the girls when they meet at a dance agree on a day on which to begin *ixoſombo*. They gather in the morning at a place for digging red clay. They dig the clay and go off to the lands, leaving their clothes at the last kraal they pass. They go completely naked, but smear themselves all over with red clay. One girl carries more red clay on her head, and they go through the fields scattering it and singing:

Eyo xoſombo, phuma xoſombo, ze ungaboli.

Go away maize-blight, go out maize-blight, never go rotten (oh fields!).

They march through all the fields and from each take two stalks of sugar-cane or two mealy cobs. Every one keeps out of the girls' way. 'If a woman should go to fetch green mealies and find the girls in her field she will take from a friend's field, but she calls to the girls to be sure to treat her fields.' In the evening the girls retire to a ridge where there are no *imizi*, the smaller girls are sent to fetch all the clothes and blankets left at the last *umzi*, and to bring wood and water. The only food the girls are allowed is the green mealies and sugar-cane they have picked. The mealies they always roast and never boil. At dusk they are joined by their boy friends, and sing and dance, but no special dance or song is performed. Each girl has her partner for the night, and they sleep in the grass (cf. p. 180).

The girls may stay out for a few days or a week, the length of time depending on the number of fields to be done. The girls from a group of thirty or more *imizi* may go in one party and every field belonging to that group, except the fields of Christians, are treated. One woman in telling me of the rite added, 'If the girls attend to your crops no harm will come to them'. Another when asked about it said rather scornfully, 'It is not a cure, it is only done to let the children have a festival'. Before returning home the girls burn the husks of the mealies they have eaten and go to wash, but there is no other ceremony. 'Scattering the clay is following the tradition of Kama, the great locust doctor.' (Volunteered information.) No other medicine is used. The rite was quite unknown in all the districts in which I visited in Eastern Pondoland, although I heard of a somewhat similar rite in Zululand.

In the more remote districts all pagans, I think, treat their fields. Some express scepticism; the chief Malinde, an old man of about 80, remarked, after describing the treatment with *ithod-*

lana, 'That does no good, the best thing to use is European manures', but another man of the same age in the same district wound up his account of the magic used with the statement, 'He who does not do this will have no crop.' Most Christians have, I believe, dropped the use of this magic. One Christian woman remarked to me, 'My field is good even although surrounding fields are smoked with *ithodlana* and mine is not done.'

There is no trace of an appeal to the ancestral spirits for blessing on the crops planted, as is reported for other South-eastern Bantu (e.g. the Valenge), but a rite has been developed to obtain the blessing of ancestral spirits on ploughs. When a new plough is bought a goat is killed, the gall poured over it, and the gall-bladder and a strip of hide tied to the top of the share. Some pour some of the gravy of the meat when cooked in place of the gall, which is prized as giving flavour to entrails. It is said that if this rite is omitted the plough is sure to break. Young men do not know the significance of the rite, but old men say it is to secure the blessing of the *amathongo* on the plough. The rite is generally performed by pagans but not by Christians. When my hostess at 'nTißane got a new dinner-service her Pondo cook jestingly suggested that it would be well to make a ritual killing before it was used to prevent breakages. Medicines are burned in millet fields to keep away birds. 'You burn *amayeza* on a fire in the field night and morning for a week and then the birds will go away.' To scare monkeys an infusion of the root of the plant *incolo* is put on dry mealies, and the mealies left for the monkeys to eat. The *incolo* makes the monkeys drunk, and once having eaten they do not return. One informant claimed to have got better results by trapping a monkey, smearing it with red ochre, tying bells to it, and releasing it. All the other monkeys fled in terror at its approach. Magic to protect crops from human thieves is discussed on p. 133.

Such is the magic for fertility and protection of crops from disease and marauders, but the most serious difficulty of the Pondo agriculturalist is lack of rain. Over the supply of water necessary for growth Pondo have no scientific control—no form of irrigation is used—but an elaborate magical technique has been developed.

Procuring rain in time of drought is normally the business of the chief. Where the district chief is powerful he is appealed to for rain. The imiZizi go to their own chief for rain and the amaKwalo to their chief, but people of smaller districts go to the paramount. Even the amaKwalo in a very bad drought, when their own chief had failed to procure rain, appealed to the paramount

at the Qawukeni. Any one may go to the chief to ask for rain, but there are particular clans[1] who are specially responsible for going. At the Qawukeni the amaKwetʃhuße and amaBala went, at Nyandeni the amaƁatʃhe, amaTolo, and amaNgcangule. At 'mZizi the amaZakuza, at Kwaleni the amaGweza. The amaGweza lived in the dryest part of the Kwalo country, so were likely to be the first to suffer from drought, but the same is not true of the amaZakuza. Of the location of the other clans whose business it was to ask for rain I have no information. At 'mZizi only two or three men go to ask the chief for rain; among the amaKwalo all the men of the amaGweza clan go, and they send word before they come that the chief may have beer ready for them. As they enter the *umzi* of the chief they call aloud, saying how the country is suffering from drought, and call the names of the ancestors of the chief (*ukuƀonga*). 'Then it sometimes rains straight away.' If, however, it does not rain when the people go to the chief, he sends to a rain-maker (*umnisi*) demanding that rain be made. The most famous rain-makers in Pondoland have all been members of the Yalo clan. Chiefs of the Nyandeni sent to Thongo, a Yalo; the Khonjwayo to Umgigi, a Yalo; chiefs of the Qawukeni and imiZizi to another Yalo family, the descendants of one Phakathi. Phakathi was a rain-maker and was succeeded by his son Daza, who was succeeded by his widow Mamguntu, who was succeeded by her son Nyalanyala, and the present practitioner is Malucingweni, widow of Nyalanyala. The family of Phakathi practise only as rain-makers, and are not initiated as diviners (*amaggiʃa*) (cf. p. 320). The amaYalo are not a clan related to the Pondo royal house, and are thought only to have come into Pondoland during the upheaval caused by TʃhaKa. It was usual to apply to foreigners for rain, and Faku settled the early Wesleyan missionaries in the driest site in Pondoland, because he had heard that they were skilled rain-makers.[2]

The methods of making rain vary with the rain-maker, but it was usual for the chief to send a black beast without spot to be slain for rain magic, and the men sent were chosen for their knowledge of the procedure in asking for rain. I give the account of an old Kwetʃhuße woman of one magical procedure.

The chief sends a black beast without spot. It is killed at the kraal of the Yalo rain-maker, and the skin is prepared. A human being is killed, and in his skull is put the fat of the beast killed. The rain-maker

[1] I say 'clan', for the clan name is used by informants. Probably they were people from districts in which the clan mentioned was predominant.

[2] Letter of Boyce in A. Steedman, *Wanderings, and Adventures in Southern Africa*, vol. ii, p. 282.

goes to live in a hut by himself. He covers himself with the hide of the ox killed, and smears the hide with the fat from the human skull. Then a snake comes by night, and licks the fat off the hide. The grass is not burned round one side of that *umzi*, so that the snake may come and not be seen. It should not be seen by any one except the rain-maker. No one goes on that side of the *umzi*. The name of the snake is *intlanthu*. After that it rains.

Umgigi, the man to whom the Khonjwayo went, shut the messengers in a hut, poured a bucket of water on the roof, and told them that on the way home they would be dripping and slithering about, but must not on any account lift up their clothes or jump over streams. They must wade through streams.

Geza lived near the *umzi* of the rain-maker Malucingweni, to whom imiZizi still send regularly every year for rain, so I quote in full a translation of a text written by him on the procedure.

Drought is a very bad thing among people. When there is a drought people give up hope: they remain without planting at the time of planting. When they are gathered together at a beer drink or anywhere else, they put their heads together and say the time has come for ploughing, something must be done. Then men go to the great place to complain. At 'mZizi the men who usually go first to ask for rain at the great place are people of Maquza, the amaZakuza, a clan which is an offshoot of the imiZizi. One or two of them take their spears and shields and go to the great place. On their arrival as they enter between the huts they beat on their shields and say certain words. The essence of what they say is this:

> How do you give chief?
> What great kraals
> Of Magatyana of Londoßizi, of Mkawu, of Mzizi, of Nyemßezi.
> Your country is dying chief.
> Your ancestors and your fathers, when matters were thus, went to the *umzi* of former help. They went to Phakathi, among the amaYalo of the amaDißa. Chief, the country is dying. The children of the chief are dying. Your family is dying.

So they speak, and sit down at the side of the kraal, and talk with the chief concerning that specialist (i.e. the rain-maker). The chief then promises them to send a beast to Daza. Such is the way of the men who go after rain. After that these men go home.

After a few days the chief sends for those who ask for rain (*aßakhongi*) to come to him. Those who ask for rain are special men. Every one cannot ask for rain. Men who know how to observe all the customs of the *umzi* of the amaYalo go. These men go driving a black beast without spot, or a dun beast without spot. When they arrive with it they ask with it from the rain-maker. If any one has made a mistake before the rain-maker (cf. taboos cited below) he is first fined, paying a goat to the rain-maker. When the person has paid up, the beast which has come

with the people of 'mZizi (i.e. the chief's messengers) is taken and killed, and the fat is skinned off and kept by the rain-maker. When the meat has been eaten the rain-maker takes his robe of ox-hide and smears it with the fat of this beast, which has been killed, and goes and lies on rocks projecting out of his pool in the river which is called 'In the darkness'. He lies there all the night. The side (of the robe) which is smeared with fat is uppermost. It is said that it conceals him so that it cannot be seen where he is.

During the night a wet mist comes over the pool, and the pool itself rises and there comes a great snake off the water and licks the fat that is on the skin. When the pool sinks rain falls, and the rain-maker goes home, when it is already raining. When he has arrived the people from 'mZizi set forth for home rejoicing that they have succeeded. On their return home every one rejoices. Always they are heard saying, 'It has rained because people went to Phakathi.' At 'mZizi when it rains one hears people saying, 'They have gone to the place of Nyala-nyala' although no one has gone.

And when sometimes people go to Phakathi and it does not rain, the rain-maker says that some one has transgressed (*ukuphosisa*) and so it has not rained. These are the transgressions. That some one has not shown respect to ((*uku*)*hlonipha*) the rain. (None in the country of the amaDiba may speak of *imvula* rain, but *ukuhlonipha* and say *umnyakamo* (cf. p. 36)). That some one has crossed the *inkundla* of Daza's *umzi*. That some one has hit a member of Daza's family. That some one has shaken the rain off their clothing when it rained. That some one has covered their head when it rained. These taboos apply to any one living in the territory of the Diba clan. If a person does any of these things he is not fined on that day, but complaint is made of him when rain is asked for, and it does not fall. Then their chiefs (the chiefs of the people who have broken the taboos) fine them. They say when he has paid the fine it will rain. Now, therefore, when it does not rain the rain-maker always says that some one has broken one of these laws. And the day it rains it is said that some one has paid up.

If the rain-maker is successful he is rewarded by gifts of cattle by the chief. 'And sometimes, if he is not satisfied, he will stop the rain and demand more cattle.' Sometimes gifts may be given in advance, both by the chief and by private persons particularly anxious for rain. When I visited 'mZizi in November 1932, rain for ploughing had not yet come and the people were getting anxious. Malucingweni had been given fourteen head of cattle, fourteen sheep and goats, baskets of grain, wood, and thatch grass. The gifts were apparently appreciated, for it rained for a week without stopping just when I left 'mZizi and had started to travel the 170 miles over veld tracks to umThatha. As the post bus did figures of eight in the mud I repented my scepticism.

Informants disagree as to whether when men go to the great

place to ask for rain, and call the names of the chief's ancestors, they are asking rain from the ancestors or only *Komkhulu* (from the great place). Calling the names of the ancestors is a way of praising the living, as well as of invoking the dead (cf. p. 58). Geza was positive that rain was asked from the living chief, and other informants agreed with him. Others again said help was asked from the dead. *Ɓaɓonga amakhosi amadala, ɓambomɓa ngeyonto. Amathongo lithamsanqa womzi wenkosi.* (They praise the ancient chiefs, they complain of that thing (the drought). The ancestral spirits are the blessing of the *umzi* of the chief.) Some say that occasionally a black beast was killed by the chief at the great place and eaten by those who came to ask for rain, but I could trace no actual case in which this had happened. It is believed that rain may come after the asking from the chief, without any action on the part of the rain-maker.[1] Rain is also said to come after the chief has travelled—'It obliterates the footsteps of the chief'—but how this rain is caused no one knows. One informant suggested that it was because 'the chief had used his medicines before he set out', but this was not confirmed by others. But usually the chief sends at once to the rain-maker when his people come to ask for rain, and rain that comes is then believed to be caused by the rain-maker.

The rain-maker's going to a pool, and the rising of a snake from the river to lick the fat of the beast killed, again suggests an appeal to the ancestral spirits (cf. p. 257), but informants had no idea of its being such an appeal. To them it was the magical procedure by which the rain-maker caused the rain.

Geza's account shows clearly the way in which the rain-maker avoids responsibility if the rain does not come. It is noticeable also that appeal to the rain-maker is only made when rains are due. The agricultural cycle is determined by the normal rainfall, and rain is not required and no attempt is made to cause it during the dry winter months.

Rain-making is normally the business of the chief, and it is obviously a valuable prerogative, for it makes people economically dependent upon him, but there is one method of rain-making which any one might use without reference to the chief. An *intsikizi* (*Bucorvus cafer*, cf. p. 288) was run down, killed, and tied in a river, and it then was said that it would rain, and the rain would not stop until the *intsikizi* was swept away. This was a magic known to all, but how commonly it was used I do not know. It is never used nowadays.

[1] First-hand information. See also Chief Victor Poto Ndamase, *Ama-Mpondo. Ibali ne-Ntlalo*, p. 87.

Now in western Pondoland the paramount chief is a Christian and the old ceremonial for rain-making has been generally dropped; in times of drought, however, the paramount chief sends out word to the churches in his country requesting that prayer be made for rain. These services are attended by pagans as well as by Christians. That this alternative method of rain-making is accepted by the community is shown by the reply of a pagan woman of whom I inquired what steps were taken to secure rain. She said, 'Oh, the best way of rain-making is to ask the Christians to pray.' The fact that appeal to outsiders was a usual principle in rain-making partly explains why prayer for rain has been so readily accepted in western Pondoland as a substitute for the old rain magic. In eastern Pondoland the chief of the amiZizi is, as far as I know, the only one who regularly sends to a rain-maker.

One man, when asked the methods of rain-making, replied, 'Europeans now control the rain. It will not come while they have many mealies. It will not rain until the mealies are sold. When people have bought mealies then it will rain. Formerly rain came after the chief had made a journey. Now, even if he travels, there will be no rain.'

In areas in which hail-storms are bad some have medicines to protect their fields against hail. 'The hail destroys some fields, and others are saved. It is because of the medicine. Others wonder how their fields are saved, because they have not used medicine.' People do not do field work the day following a hail-storm, 'lest it return'. They stop work if thunder begins. If one goes on working they stop him, saying, *Uya lumela*[1] *inkosi* (You irritate the chief (cf. p. 302)).

Harvest.

After this long digression on agricultural magic, we return to the description of the harvest. Sorghum, pumpkin, and green mealies from the special early patches are, in the coastal districts, ready by Christmas-time; up country they are not usually ready until January. Formerly the new season's sorghum and pumpkin might not be eaten until the first-fruit ceremony was performed by the chief. This took place about the middle of December (cf. p. 404). From the time of the first-fruits until the harvest of dry maize, green cobs and pumpkins are daily plucked by the women, and for nearly four months the people are living on the green food brought daily from the fields. A considerable part of the crop therefore is harvested day by day. Harvest of dry maize for storage begins in May and June. Cobs are picked from

[1] Cf. Bryant, *Zulu Dictionary*.

PLATE VI

Carrying home mealies

the stalks and thrown in heaps. Then, having collected a heap, the reapers sit down and strip off the sheaths. Some double back the sheaths, and by means of them tie the cobs together in bundles so that they are easy to handle, and bundles may be hung up to dry.

Men and women reap together, though, as with weeding, the greater part of the work is done by women. When I walked through the fields, there was, on the average, one man to ten women at work. The women carry grain from field to *umzi*, returning each evening after reaping with baskets full of cobs. 'From green mealie time onwards no woman, even an old woman, dare come back from the fields with an empty grain basket.' If she does so she will be labelled *livila*—a lazy person. 'If a woman cannot carry a full load she puts something into her basket', says Manyawuza, mother of the Khonjwayo chief. A grain basket full of mealies weighed, on an assized scale at the store, 50 lb.[1] Formerly the whole of the crop was transported from field to *umzi* in this way. Now a great part of the ripe grain is brought in home-made sledges drawn by oxen and driven by young men and boys. District councils are beginning to make 'roads' from the fields to the ridges where the homesteads are built, but still in most parts of Pondoland there is nothing but a very steep stony track leading from fields to ridges, and once one has met a team struggling and straining to mount it, while the drivers lash the oxen until they bleed, one avoids the paths to the fields when teams are likely to be coming home.

Reaping is usually done by the women and older men of one *umzi* alone, although, if an *umzi* is small, a woman may combine with a neighbour, helping her to reap and being helped in turn, and occasionally rich people make a work party to reap.

Maize, millet, and pumpkin when first reaped are stored in *inyango*, store-huts built on the same pattern as dwelling-huts. Pumpkins and heads of millet are heaped on the floor, but maize cobs are hung up on a frame to dry and harden. After the whole harvest is in the work of threshing remains, but it is not urgent, and as festivities are in full swing from the time of harvest onwards, threshing only proceeds slowly and is often not completed until August. To thresh millet a hut is swept clean, the heads piled in the middle of the floor, and then beaten with heavy sticks cut for the purpose. Maize may also be threshed in this way, but more often the grains are broken off from the cob by hand.

[1] Once a woman came to 'nTißane store carrying grain weighing 92 lb. She had walked a mile. Another came carrying 82 lb. A girl who had not lost her milk teeth carried a bundle weighing 25 lb.

Husbands assist their wives in threshing with flails, and when a work party is made to shell mealies men and women work together, but again the greater part of the work is done by women.

Digging and cleaning grain-pits is the work of men. Bell-shaped pits, about 5 feet in depth and 2 feet in width, are dug in gravelly soil. If possible, they are made in the cattle kraal, or the *inkundla* of the *umzi* to which they belong, but the kind of soil is more important than the situation, and I have often found a group of pits belonging to several different *imizi* clustered together in some gravelly patch of soil at some distance from any *umzi*. The floor and walls of the pit are smeared with cow-dung, the threshed grain put in, the mouth closed by a large flat stone and sealed with cow-dung, and the whole covered with dry cow-dung and earth. When the pit is in the cattle kraal the mouth is hidden by the trampling of cattle over it.

Pits are used season after season, but before being used they are opened up and re-smeared. In August and September at the coast, and in October up country, pits are cleaned and aired, and grain stored. How well grain keeps in pits depends upon the nature of the soil. In some damp districts it goes mouldy quickly, in others it keeps well for many months. Always it gets a somewhat musty taste, but this is appreciated by most Pondo, who consider that porridge or beer made from pit mealies is more tasty than that made of fresh grain. A number of basketfuls are taken out by the men as grain is needed, and the pit re-sealed. Now iron grain tanks of European manufacture are used by a few 'school people'.

A dozen or more cobs are usually hung from the rafters of the great hut. These become very dry, and take longer to germinate than cobs in the store, so they are used as seed for early planting in dry weather. When a store-hut gets damp in wet weather, two or three of the damp cobs are hung over the fire to dry, in the belief that their drying will help the other cobs in the store to dry also.

It is almost impossible to get any accurate information on yields, since such a large part of the crop is used as green food. The fertility of fields varies greatly. Now that ploughs for planting and iron hoes for weeding are widely used the average yields per acre, where the land is not worn out, is probably higher than formerly. It is certain that the old methods of cultivation were extremely inefficient according to European standards, the surface of the soil only being scratched with digging sticks, and only turned over when the seed was planted. Two bags per acre

is the official estimate of the present yield. Native demonstrators in the Transkei produce an average of 5·6 bags per acre.[1] One Bantu minister's field which I had under observation, which was very well ploughed and weeded but not fertilized, yielded 10 bags to the acre. The area cultivated by each woman being reckoned at 2·3 acres (cf. p. 73) and the field at 2 bags per acre, the yield per house is 4·6 bags.

The cultivation of tobacco is quite separate from that of food crops. It is always planted in an old kraal, and is cultivated chiefly by old men and old women. 'A man's young wives would help him with his tobacco if it were not grown in a kraal where a father of the *umzi* was buried', but it usually is, and so they cannot enter the tobacco patch. To start a tobacco garden young plants are got from a neighbour who grows it. The next season the seed is left to scatter itself, then young plants are transplanted, not in rows, but spaced. While growing they must be weeded several times. The flower is nipped off to make the plant branch. The lower leaves are picked as they ripen and stalked. They are wrapped carefully in special mats, *izigcobo*, put out daily to sweat, and rolled up and taken in every night. After they have ceased sweating they are put out to dry thoroughly before storing. Although tobacco was always grown in an old kraal, and sites of old *imizi* were known to be particularly fertile, the Pondo never carted manure to fields to fertilize them until taught to do so by Europeans. Few do it yet.

Labour combinations for tillage.

We may now consider the organization of the combinations for tillage referred to above. Each married woman has her own field, the produce of which belongs solely to her house, but it is unusual for a woman and her husband to work her field alone. Usually the fields of an *umzi* are worked together, each being planted, weeded, and reaped in turn by all the women and men of the *umzi*. Each woman takes a special interest in her own field, and is primarily responsible for its cultivation, but most prefer to work in company. I heard of one or two women who were on bad terms with others of their *umzi*, and who worked in their own fields only, but they were rare, and regarded by their neighbours as bad tempered and unpleasant.

When an *umzi* is small a woman may join with neighbours working in their fields, and be helped in hers in turn. They may join for both weeding and harvest, but more frequently only for harvest. At harvest each woman from another *umzi* is given

[1] *N.E.C.*, Annexure 14.

a small present of grain by the owner of the field in which she has worked.

Nowadays, when the land is ploughed and the grain is brought back from the fields in sledges, it is usual for two or three *imizi* to combine for ploughing and cartage, each supplying part of the necessary tackle or team. One *umzi* possesses a plough, another yokes and skeys, another a chain, and each may contribute a yoke of oxen. Each *umzi* supplies a boy or man, and they plough the fields of each contributor in turn. There is no strict ratio of what each must provide, but each gives what they have got. For example, Baibile had no sons old enough to plough, but he had a full team of oxen which he lent to a neighbouring combination which lacked oxen, and they supplied the plough and the labour with which to plough his field. The same group may combine to provide the tackle for bringing in the crops, one *umzi* supplying a sledge, another cattle, and others yokes and skeys. Often the same *imizi* work together for years. With others there are quarrels, and the combination only lasts one season or two. Often the young men who do the work quarrel, but their elders, realizing that the combination is advantageous, try to patch it up. After ploughing and after harvest each *umzi* of the combination grinds beer, *utywala benkabi* (the beer of the oxen), which is drunk in the *umzi* which provides it. The general public attend, but those who supplied equipment for the combination have the privilege of giving out (*ukulawula*) the beer. Christian members of a combination make *amaɾewu*, a milder beer which is allowed to them while the real beer (*utywala*) is forbidden.

Amalima (work-parties) are frequent. 'When a woman wishes to make an *ilima* she consults with her husband, and then tells her neighbours that there will be an *ilima* (with beer or meat as the case may be) in such and such a field on such and such a day.' As does all news of festivities, word of the *ilima* quickly spreads through the district. On the morning of the day the owner goes early, with her immediate neighbours, to her field and begins work. As the day goes on men and women join them, each person bringing his or her own hoe. In midsummer anything up to two hundred people may come to an *ilima* for weeding. If the *ilima* is for meat, a pig or goat is killed in the field about midday and all present share in the feast. A chief, or very rich man, might even kill a beast, but if he did so the people would be expected to work for two or three days. When the *ilima* is for beer, a quantity is taken to the field for the workers to drink there, then after work they return to the *umzi* of the owner of the field and drink the rest of the beer in her hut. Attendance at

an *ilima* is not compulsory for any one. It is considered a friendly act for near neighbours of the owner to go, but there can be no accusation against them if they fail to do so. As a woman put it, 'Unless they had quarrelled, some one from each neighbouring *umzi* would try to go.' An *ilima* with beer always draws more people than an *ilima* with meat, 'for by summer the beer is scarce and people will do anything to get it'.

I have no adequate data as to the quantities of beer supplied at *amalima*. It is known and discussed in the community beforehand how many barrels have been prepared, and so the number of people is in some way commensurate with the amount of beer provided, but other considerations such as the scarcity of beer at the time, the number of other festivities on, the occupation of people with their own lands, and the reputation of the owner of the *ilima* for generosity, or stinginess, affect the number attending. At an *ilima* to take mealies off the cob, five barrels of beer were provided and an average of forty people were present at one time, the number of men and women being about equal. People came and went, assisting in the work for as long as they stayed. Beer was passed round at intervals, so the amount they got depended upon the length of time they stayed. One basket was passed to the men and one to the women about once an hour.

The sanctions for securing work in return for refreshment are complicated. Both men and women attend *amalima*, and every one who comes is expected to work. At one weeding party I attended some men and women were sitting in the shade not attempting to work; others hoed strenuously until the work was finished. Those who did not work also drank. It is complained also that many who do not go to the field to hoe come to the *umzi* to drink afterwards. As far as possible those who have not worked are given a very small quantity of beer, but as common baskets of beer are passed round this is difficult. Some people try to separate the sheep from the goats in different huts, and then the workers' hut is given much more beer than the other. When an *ilima* is made to plough, beer is provided at the *umzi* of him whose field has been worked. The beer is not distributed until the ploughs have returned at midday, and then a pot is set before each owner of a span of oxen which has worked, and he distributes it among his friends.

At the *ilima* to shell mealies almost every one was working steadily, and if any one slacked Maßandla, the owner of the *umzi*, remonstrated with him. Majingaza, a famous woman doctor, was doing nothing, and I heard the women beside her say, 'What do you mean by drinking and not working?' On the

other hand, it is felt that those who work must be refreshed. I did not like beer, but was not allowed to leave until I had drunk a quart of thick milk. 'We could not let you go without feeding you after you have done so much work,' said Maßandla's chief wife.

Usually an *ilima* gets through a considerable amount of work, but the quality of the work, particularly in a weeding party, is apt to be poor. When weeding workers arrange themselves in a long line, and hoe in time, singing. All sorts of songs may be sung, but there is one particular hoeing song:

Ye, Notyola, ßamba, jika!
(Ye Notyola, hold him, turn!)

The rhythm of this gets faster and faster until the workers cannot hoe accurately. 'People do not mind how badly they hoe so long as they keep in time', said one girl. I found myself, when I hoed to Notyola, that one was swept up by the rhythm and carried along, so that if one were not very skilful one hoed wildly, and chopped mealies instead of weeds. Many people refuse to allow the song to be sung in their fields because it means that the work is so badly done.

When an *ilima* is hoeing a field they do not start at one end and face the other, 'for if you are facing the whole land it will never get finished'. Instead they start about 25 yards from the end which they are facing, work that strip, and then work another 25 yards.

An *ilima* is a party. The crowd of people, the mixing of the sexes, and the refreshments, give even to hard work the atmosphere of play. There is conversation, and songs, and flirting. Hearing at the store that there was a party for shelling mealies at Maßandla's the women were all agog to go, just as if it had been a free beer drink. Hoeing, of course, is much harder work than shelling mealies, but people also go to *amalima* to hoe because they like them. The working in company is a great incentive. When I pointed out to some women that it would be nearly as quick to shell mealies for themselves as to grind beer for an *ilima* to shell them and they would save grain, they replied, 'Oh, well, we do not like to work alone.' For grinding, neighbours will come and help (cf. p. 103).

In the more conservative districts *amalima* are very extensively used. When bush land has to be cleared an *ilima* is almost always made, and they are not uncommon for planting, whether with plough or hoe. For the first weeding practically every *umzi* will make at least one *ilima*. I only heard of one *ilima* for reaping, and

then it was given by a rich man. About half the people asked at random made *amalima* to shell maize. Sometimes they are made to transport crops. Siße ße ße wanted pumpkins carried from one district to another, so he made an *ilima* with beer; many women and girls came in gala dress (because they were visiting another district) and all the pumpkins were taken quickly.

'Dressed people' as a rule do more work themselves, and make fewer *amalima* than the pagans. Christians are forbidden to make beer drinks, and beer always attracts more people to an *ilima* than anything else. Also 'dressed people' are upon the whole more concerned to obtain a big crop, and more industrious, and, as we have seen, an *ilima* is not the most efficient method of cultivation. But even so, when the weeds get past dealing with alone, 'school people' still make *amalima* with a pig or sheep, or with tea, or sugar, or tobacco. Tea is distributed in the same way as beer. A sack of sugar is bought, and those who work a full half-day are given about 6*d.* worth, those who work for less time a less amount. So with tobacco.

Although combinations for work for private persons are so usual, it is very difficult to get Pondo to combine for communal work such as building a school or church when no beef or beer is provided, unless they are ordered to do so by their chief.

Time spent in agricultural work.

The length of time spent in agricultural work is almost impossible to estimate because the Pondo never work continuously at a job but work spasmodically, taking days off to attend beer drinks or other festivals during planting, weeding, or reaping time. Also, even when a woman spends a day in a field ostensibly to hoe, she may decide that it is too hot to work that day and spend time lying in the shade. When ploughing and weeding it is usual to work from sunrise till midday (i.e. 6 a.m.–12 noon); at reaping time, when sunrise is later and the weather is not so hot, work may be continued till 4 p.m. For *amalima* with beer the people go to the field at daylight, 'for they are in a hurry to get back for the beer', and usually stop work about noon to drink in the *umzi* of the owner of the field. For *amalima* with meat they begin work between 9 and 10 a.m. and return at sundown, when the meat has all been eaten in the field.

Reckoning on this basis, a medium-sized field will be ploughed in two or three days (one plough working), a big field will be finished in a week. Very few people weed the whole of their field alone, but may work in it for a fortnight, then make an *ilima* and finish in one day. 'The second weeding will take

2–3 weeks, but we go to beer in between.' One big field was weeded by four people in two weeks with the aid of an *ilima* for which a pig was provided, which lasted one day. Hoßololo's big field 'takes one week to weed with five women working, and one single-day *ilima*. They do the second weeding of it with five women working two days, and making one *ilima*.' Tʃozi's field is weeded by five women working 'for a long time' and finished with a two-days' *ilima*. When five women reap it they 'begin one month and finish the next'. Mantusi says that she, and four wives of her sons, took two months to reap her one big field. Another working with her husband in a small field reaped it in seven working days (but not one week). The minister's field of 15,000 square yards which I had under observation took four people, working steadily eight hours per day, eight working days to reap, and they did not stop to tie the mealies in bunches.

Incentives to work.

From this it is clear that although field work is intermittent a great deal of strenuous labour is done under trying conditions —the maize fields are usually in the valleys and desperately hot during the months when weeding is necessary—and the Pondo obviously must have strong incentives to perform this work. Fields are cultivated because grain is necessary for food, and because the beer made from it is very much desired. The Pondo love entertaining and being entertained. A man acquires prestige by being hospitable and giving many beer drinks, and his capacity to do so depends upon the crops he reaps. Beer is also a subsidiary means of maintaining good relations with the ancestral spirits (cf. p. 253). At the time of the first-fruits and again at harvest there is great rejoicing. Traders remark that 'the Natives are always singing then'. Women take a pride in their fields. During the planting and growing seasons, and at harvest, much of the converstion turns on their fields. 'Have you planted yet, Makoṛi? I sowed the last strip of my garden yesterday.' 'My early maize are sprouting. I always plant mine early.' At one store at which I stayed the trader's wife had planted very early, and her maize was the talk of the district. Men also discuss crops, but with them it is not so important a subject of conversation as with the women, who do the greater part of the work. To be lazy about field work is a disgrace to a woman. To be *khuthele* (diligent) is held up to her from childhood as one of the duties of a woman. 'If a woman is lazy her fellow wives look at her by the eyes' (i.e. look askance). To be stigmatized as *livila* (a lazy person), *umkasele* (a frog's wife, a laggard), is a very great disgrace. There is a proverb, *Esihleliyo*

sidl' ukuhlala, esiphelayo sithwethwayo (The one that sits enjoys his ease, the one that thrives is the one that keeps moving). Other proverbs reprove procrastination and praise perseverance. *Isagwityi esisuka mva sikholwa zizigweba* (The partridge that gets up lasts gets plenty of knocks). *Libunjwa lisiwa* (Clay is worked when it is fresh). *Ukusa akufiki kabini ukuza kuvusa umntu* (The dawn does not come twice to waken a man). *Isiziba siviwa ngodondolo* (Deep pool is fathomed by a long stick). *Umzingisi akanafwa* (The one who sticks at it has no ill fortune).

The diligence of women varies greatly. Gedja was a byword at 'nTibane for her laziness over field work. Her husband was indulgent, and she made a little money by practising as a midwife and herbalist. On the other hand, I knew one old lady who had four daughters-in-law quite capable of doing all the field work, and though she was stiff and rheumaticky, and her daughters-in-law were anxious that she should stay at home and care for their children, she insisted on continuing to go daily to the fields during weeding and reaping time. She said her 'legs got tired sitting still'.

The extent of the areas to be cultivated is decided by the elders of each *umzi*. Custom demands that each woman have her own field, but sizes of fields vary considerably. The needs of the *umzi* and labour power are the factors determining areas of cultivation.

The yearly cycle of work and diversion is conditioned by the arrangement of agricultural work, and the names of six out of the twelve months of the year refer to agricultural activities. But fields never arouse emotions as do cattle. 'No one will ever go to a diviner to inquire about their fields if they are not flourishing', and, although some people maintained that fields were blighted by the machinations of sorcerers and wizards, such an accusation is very seldom made. Only once did I come across a case in which jealousy leading to witchcraft was supposed to have been aroused over fields, and that occurred upon a European farm (cf. 497).

People never boast of the crops they have reaped. They usually complain, when asked, of having a poor crop, and do not normally show off their store-hut to strangers. There is no display of crops as in some Melanesian societies, and no aesthetic interest in grain as in cattle. Grain is an essential food and therefore produced, but the keen emotions said in Melanesian societies to centre in gardens are in Pondo society aroused only by cattle.

Improvements in agriculture.

Reference has been made to improvements in agriculture effected in Pondoland as the result of contact with Europeans.

These may be explained more fully. An agricultural school has been established by the Bunga near Flagstaff, and demonstrators trained there, or at one of the two other agricultural schools in the Transkei, are being sent out through the country to teach better methods of farming. Each demonstrator is allocated a district in which he works a demonstration field, if possible that of the chief, otherwise his own, and he goes about giving advice and instruction to those who will accept it. There are now 27 demonstrators at work in Pondoland.[1] Yields from fields worked by demonstrators are nearly treble the yield of fields worked by ordinary Pondo. In 1929–30 on 1,524 acres of ground worked by demonstrators 8,350 bags of mealies were reaped, or 5·5 bags to the acre. On adjoining plots worked by the owners, from 1,904 acres of ground 3,993 bags were reaped, or approximately 2 bags to the acre.[2] In some parts demonstrators were received with considerable suspicion. 'Could any good thing come from the Government? Never! It is a trap.' But in most districts such suspicion is being overcome. In western Pondoland the paramount chief, who is well educated, is eager for agricultural improvement, and his lead has great influence. The plough has generally supplanted the digging-stick or hoe, and all over Pondoland there are those who now plough twice, or plough and harrow. A few are using maize planters and cultivators for weeding. A few have fenced fields, are growing winter crops of wheat and oats and use manure. The 'school people' are the most progressive. At 'nTißane there was one very well cultivated field belonging to the Native minister, and most of the 'school people' plough twice. A few teachers and others are planting fruit trees round their houses, and black wattle is grown by many, both 'school people' and pagans. The growing scarcity of firewood and of poles for hut-building, and the facility with which the black wattle grows, encourages effort. It is claimed that as the result of the agricultural schools and demonstrators the Transkei has begun to export grain, after being an importing country for many years. Fertilizers are being imported, and there is a demand for better agricultural implements, better rams, poultry, pigs, and seed from the agricultural schools.[3]

A branch of the Native Farmers' Association has been started with the encouragement of Chief Poto, and efforts are being made to spread knowledge of scientific methods of farming, and to organize co-operative buying and selling. At one Farmers' Association meeting I attended a demonstrator gave an excellent

[1] Information from Sec. to General Council.
[2] *N.E.C.*, p. 286.
[3] Ibid., p. 284.

lecture on poultry farming, and one or two members told of successful efforts in that line. The Bunga finances a monthly pamphlet *Umcebisi* (the counsellor), giving advice on farming. But agricultural development is seriously hindered by the absence of nearly half the able-bodied men.

Hunting and Fishing

What part hunting played in the economic life of the Pondo before contact with Europeans it is impossible now to estimate, but it is known that the country was full of game—elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, lion, leopard, zebra, jackal, hyena, many varieties of buck, and game birds[1]—so game must have been a considerable item in the diet of the people. Any man was free to hunt buck and birds as he chose, and no part of them was due to the chief. The skins and claws of carnivora and the hide and tusks of rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and elephant were the perquisites of the paramount chief. Only when the army went to hunt after being treated was the whole of their spoil taken to the great place (cf. p. 403).

Pitfalls were dug and sharpened stakes set in paths to catch big game.[2] The men from one *umzi* or from one ridge would go hunting together with dogs and spears, and later with guns. In each *umzi* from which men went a girl not yet having reached puberty was given a calabash filled with red 'lucky beans', kept for the purpose, which she sat shaking at the kraal gate. She might move when she wished to relieve herself, but was forbidden to enter a hut. Immediately a buck was killed the men pierced one eye. The other was left until the spoil was brought home and set down in the kraal gate; then the girl sitting at the gate pierced it with a charred stick of hemp or an octopus arm. A piece of the buck's skin was bound round the girl's wrist. All this was done 'that the game might be soft' (i.e. be easy to kill) and 'that the men might kill every day'. 'Some girls were more useful than others. A subdued (*othobileyo*) girl was wanted.' This rite was performed even when men had guns. The hunters were also treated. Wrists and eyes were scarified, and a medicine (*unembo*) rubbed in that they might throw the spear or shoot the bullet straight. The face was scarified, and medicines rubbed in that 'the game might come to them', and some men chewed medicines and spat them on to the tracks of game that they might kill. 'At the moment when a man killed he shouted praises of his ancestors' (*wabonga amthongo akowabo*).

[1] Kay, op. cit., pp. 325, 348. [2] Ibid., p. 350.

Now the only game to be found in Pondoland are a few bush buck and blue buck, a monkey or two, some cats, and birds; so hunting no longer plays any appreciable part in the domestic economy of the people. For sport, parties of men with dogs occasionally hunt blue buck or quails, and boys trap birds, smearing a sticky juice on branches of flowering *umsintsi* to which birds come for honey, fixing running nooses to heads of millet, and setting traps with stones. Medicines are still used to make dogs good hunters.

The people living on the coast gather shell-fish, and spear other fish in rock-pools and lagoons. They have no canoes of any kind, nor any tradition of having had them. They make no nets or traps for fish. Some now fish from the rocks with line made of a bark (*uluzhi*) and trade hooks, but this is said by the older men to be a new technique learnt from Europeans. Gathering shell-fish is the work of women, and they may take any other fish they come across in the pools, but spearing is properly the work of men. Pronged spears are used for fishing, and men go in parties at night with torches of sneezewood. The shell-fish are broken off the rock with a blade of iron. Collecting shell-fish is only profitable at spring tides, and the Pondo calculate the tides by the moon, knowing that there will be very low tides at the full moon and for two days afterwards, and again a fortnight later. Old men assure me that they knew this before the coming of Europeans.

The women from most *imizi* within five miles of the coast collect shell-fish, some going for three days at each spring tide, others only once a month. Men go fishing intermittently, some being keen and others not caring for it. For a month or two several friends may be keen and go often, and then weary of it. From more than six or seven miles inland no one goes fishing, nor is there any trade in fish between the people of the coast and the people farther inland. Coastal people are extremely fond of fish, some even preferring it to meat. Most of those living inland will not touch it, even when it is offered to them. Geza, whose home was only ten miles from the sea, refused to taste fish in any form when offered it at the coast.

Arts and Crafts

Arts and crafts among the Pondo are not highly developed, and they play a much smaller part in the thought and interest of the people than does animal husbandry or tillage; nevertheless, they are an essential part of their life. With arts and crafts there is the beginning of specialization and therefore of trade. Even with commonly known arts, such as thatching and basketwork,

the degree of skill between individual and individual varies greatly, and with pottery and iron work the craft is known only to a few. Further, the crafts are a means of artistic expression and of education. A study of the degree of technical skill, and of the part arts and crafts play in the life of the people, is particularly necessary in a study of contact, since the introduction of European manufactures is destroying many Native crafts.

The old type of Pondo hut was the *indlu yempuku* (mouse's house), a beehive made of a framework of saplings, covered with thatch.[1] Now such huts are only built in Pondoland as temporary shelters by people on the move, such as road labourers. They were replaced by huts with a wickerwork frame, mud walls, and a rounded thatched roof. These in turn are being ousted by huts with walls made of sod or sun-dried 'Kimberley bricks', with pitched roofs, thatched in European fashion with 'sewn thatch'. The hut with plastered walls is said to have been first introduced to Pondoland by missionaries about 1850. An old informant said, 'We saw other people making the new kinds of houses, and saw that they were good, so we made them also. The old kind caught fire very easily and people were burnt.'

To build mud-walled huts no elaborate new technique had to be learned. The method of thatching was the same as for the 'mouse's house'. The technique of building with sods and sun-dried 'Kimberley bricks' has also been learned from Europeans. A shortage of saplings for building wickerwork frames has given an impetus to the new fashion, and sod huts are becoming common. The pitched roofs are particularly valuable in Pondoland, which has a heavy rainfall. Thatch-grass is fairly plentiful, and trade iron and old tins, so commonly used to replace grass in some areas, is not used to any extent. The vast majority still build round huts, but a few rectangular houses with one or more rooms are to be seen.

Formerly cutting saplings and building the framework of the 'mouse's house' was the work of men. Cutting grass and thatching the work of women. Where the old technique of thatching is used women still thatch, but only men do the sewn technique, learned from Europeans. Women cut the grass whatever method is used. Women plaster and may help to make 'Kimberley bricks', but men cut sods and build with sods or bricks.

Formerly each *umzi* built its own huts. With the elaboration of techniques there is a growing tendency towards specialization. The men of the *umzi* still usually build the frame for wickerwork

[1] Cf. engraving of Buntingville mission in A. Gardiner, *A Journey to the Zoolu Country*, 373.

huts, but for sod huts an expert is frequently hired. Of 12 *imizi* investigated 9 had some sod huts and 8 of the 9 had hired specialists to build for them. Many women are afraid to climb the roof of a hut to thatch, and although they cut the grass and tie it into bundles themselves, an expert is called in to do the actual thatching. The number of men who can build the framework of a pitched roof and put on sewn thatch is limited, and they are frequently hired. A woman thatcher is not usually paid in cash or goods, but beer is made; and she is invited to come and help the women of the *umzi*. When the beer is served it is set before her as the 'owner of the beer', and she has the right to distribute it as she chooses. Men thatchers are sometimes persuaded to work on the same terms, but more frequently they, like builders in sod and 'Kimberley brick', are paid in cash or in stock. The standard price for building the walls of a sod hut is 10*s*. to £1. To cut saplings and grass and plaster and make the floor of pounded ant-heap, *amalima* (work-parties) are frequently made with beer or food. When food is provided for an *ilima* two dishes, beans and porridge, should be cooked. 'A person who is lazy only cooks one pot of porridge, and then the women who come say that she is stingy.' An *ilima* for making a floor is particularly popular, for after the floor has been well pounded with stones the women complete their work by dancing upon it.

An *ilima* may cut grass to thatch, or plaster a hut, inside and out, in a day. 'When a woman works alone it takes her three weeks or more to cut grass for a hut, but she goes to beer drinks in between.' 'Two women might do it in three days, working six hours a day.' 'Fifty bundles of grass are needed for a new hut, and a woman cuts about seven bundles a day, working six hours a day.' Nokoranti can thatch a hut in one day with four others helping her by passing up bundles, but she needs a second day to trim it. Ordinarily it is considered a three days' job.

Every autumn the whole of the outside of a hut should be replastered, and a new layer of grass put on top of the old, when the roof is thatched in the old *ukufulela* technique. About twenty bundles of grass are needed for these repairs. These take one woman three six-hour days to cut, and two women two days to put on. A lazy woman may neglect her hut for two or three years, but it is recognized that repairs should be done every year. A sewn thatch roof lasts many years without repair. A hut is seldom built or repaired with dispatch. A morning's work is put in one day, and then weeks may pass before work is continued.

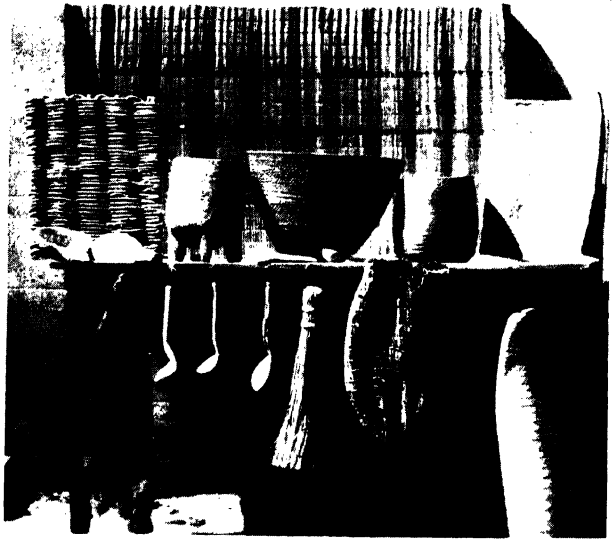
Formerly a hut was always burned when any person, even a child, living in it died. Consequently huts cannot have been

a. Making a child's sleeping mat
(The woman is a diviner)

b. Making a beer strainer

PLATE VIII

a. Making a beer basket



b. Household utensils

Back : sleeping mat
On table : meat tray, ladles, milk bucket, grain basket, spoons, beer basket, grass plate
Hanging : beer strainer, spoons, broom, tobacco bag, beer strainer

expected to last for more than the married life of a woman, and, as the child mortality was heavy, usually for a much shorter time. Now huts are only burnt on the death of the owners, or not at all. The length of time for which they will last depends on the state of repair in which they are kept, the climate, and the soil of the district. I have seen wattle-and-daub huts in good repair after thirteen years. Sod huts may last over twenty years.

The old 'mouse's house' had no windows, but smoke got out, and air got in, through the thatch and through the door, which was made of wickerwork. As the huts improve, the passage of air through walls, roof, and door (often made by 'school people' after European pattern) decreases. Windows are occasionally made, but they are often kept shut, and many sod huts with sewn thatch roofs are entirely without them. Improvements in housing, therefore, have been accompanied by the loss of old methods of ventilation and disinfection after death, and the old methods have not been adequately replaced.

When building Pondo are careful never to use wood of the tree *utʃhufu*, for 'if it is used the *umzi* will be scattered'. If a piece is cut by mistake it is discarded. As soon as a new hut is thatched it must be occupied: 'If people should see your hut empty they might put familiars or sorcery in it.' In a storm a twist of grass is tied to a pole of the hut 'to keep the roof from flying off'.

Household utensils include sleeping-mats, grass plates, baskets, brooms, beer strainers, pots, milk buckets, and spoons. Mats, plates, grain baskets, brooms, and grass beer strainers, are woven by women. Some learn as girls from their mothers, others begin after they are married. 'Some who are lazy never learn.' Of twenty-seven women asked at random only sixteen could even make plates—the simplest weave of all. Of those who can weave some are much more skilful than others, and there are always one or two in a district specially noted for their basketwork. Informants are agreed that specialists in basketwork are not a new development. Even in the old days many women could not weave, but when *imizi* were large it was likely that some women in each would do basketwork. Weaving is particularly the work of older women, who sit gossiping and twisting string at beer drinks, exactly as in our culture old ladies knit at tea-parties. Men sew beer baskets and make one type of strainer woven of *ilala* palm, the material used for beer baskets. Only a few know the art. The knowledge is usually passed from father to son, but any boy who chooses may learn. The man in Pl. VIII A learned when he was visiting friends on the Natal border, forty miles from his home. Meat trays, woven of creepers, wooden milk buckets,

and wooden spoons are made by many men, but there are one or two in each district known to be masters of these arts.

Pottery is a specialized art. In a radius of ten miles from 'nTißane I know of only three potteresses; at 'mBotyi, in a district of about fifty square miles, there were two; at Ntontela three lived within a five-mile radius of the store. The art is usually passed down from mother to daughter, but any woman who chooses may learn. A special clay is dug and pounded fine. A ring of clay the size of the base of the pot desired is placed on a mat. A lump of clay is flattened out and fitted into the ring to form the base. The sides are made by building ring upon ring. The potteress shapes the walls as she builds. The whole is smoothed with a wetted chip of calabash, and the pot set to dry in a hut. To fire, one or more pots are put into a slight depression in the ground, wood piled around and inside them, and a blazing fire kept up for one and a half to two hours. Many pots crack in the firing. It is realized that a stone in the clay or uneven temperature will cause a crack, but cracks are also attributed to the presence of a person with a 'soft head' (*intloko ethambileyo*). For fear of 'soft heads' pots are usually fired in a secluded place. No pots are made during winter, as the cold dry air is thought to make them crack more easily. Pots are made in varying shapes and sizes, from the small milk bowl, 6 inches in diameter, to the beer-barrel, 4 feet deep and 3 feet in diameter (cf. Pl. X). The potteress works in her own time and may keep a customer waiting for months before fulfilling an order.

All these household utensils are still made in Pondoland, but European trade goods are rapidly replacing them. A Birmingham-made iron pot is much more common than the old clay cooking-pot; tin dishes replace bowls and grass plates; tin buckets the beautifully sewn beer baskets. As the population grows, the rushes and palm leaves used for weaving are becoming scarce.

Iron was formerly smelted from 'a blackish gravel' found in outcrops in certain districts. Chief Poto describes how the ore (*isinyithi*) was ground to a powder, put in a depression in the ground between layers of charcoal, and smelted.[1] The fire was blown with bellows made of ox-hide. From the smelted iron were hammered spear-heads, hoes, and axes. Smiths were specialists. The art was handed on from father to son, but any outsider could pay a smith to teach him his art. The smiths were not an endogamous group. No smelting from ore is now done, but there are

[1] Poto, op. cit., p. 118. Cf. G. M. Theal, *Kaffir Folk Lore*, p. 25, and J. W. D. Moodie, *Ten Years in South Africa*, 1835, vol. ii, p. 260, for a description of Xhosa smelting from ore.

a. Making the pot base

b. Building up the sides

PLATE IX

PLATE X

a. The moulded pot

b. Firing the pot

still a few smiths who hammer spears out of old ploughshares. The Pondo are very much afraid that if minerals are discovered in their country, the land will be taken from them, so even children are warned to tell no European where iron ore is to be found.

Old techniques have been put to new ends in making the yokes and skeys necessary for ploughing, and sledges for drawing grain. The base of the sledge is a forked tree-trunk. Wickerwork sides are built on to it in the same technique as the old doors and meat trays (Pl. VIII B). Hides are cut into strips, which are tied on to a branch and twisted and retwisted to make supple 'reims' for yoking.

The old Pondo dress was of skins. Men wore a penis sheath (*iphaca*) and an ox-hide cloak, which was thrown off at will. Women wore ox-hide skirts reaching to the ankle, and a skin breast covering; girls skin skirts to the knee; and little girls small aprons, made of a fibrous root, *ubenale*. Skin dressing is the work of the older men. A hide is pegged out on the ground until dry, scraped and roughed with a sharp stone or aloe leaf, buried in the kraal, in manure, for a night or more, and worked in the hands for two days, after which it is soft.

Shields were made of untanned hide. Each man tanned and sewed with sinew his own dress and that of his sisters and daughters, but a specialist was called in to cut a skirt or a shield.

European trade goods have now almost entirely replaced skins as clothing, although in the recent depression some have resumed skin skirts. Fashions vary from district to district. All through western Pondoland pagan women wear flared cotton skirts, white or stained with ochre, and trimmed with as many rows of braid as they can afford, up to 36. They are particular about the cut. Women coming to the store would try on a dozen skirts before they were satisfied. Husbands come to inspect the trying on. Men sometimes walked thirty miles to buy a 'Paris model'. They would get some girl to act as mannequin and study the skirts critically. A breast-cloth and cloak of white sheeting, embroidered in black with geometric designs, completes a Nyandeni woman's costume. In eastern Pondoland women wear blankets embroidered with beads as skirts, and breast-cloths. Everywhere married women wear a ring of beads or a handkerchief on their heads, for to go bare-headed in their husband's *umzi* would be very disrespectful towards his people (cf. p. 38).

A pagan man wears a cotton loin-cloth, a woollen blanket flung over one shoulder, and a felt hat. The borders of the cloth and blanket are often embroidered by a lady friend. Contemporary

Pondo are shocked at 'Nguni' neighbours who sometimes go without loin-cloths. For festivals both men and women wear quantities of bead necklaces, and coils of twisted brass wire round leg, arm, and waist. One young man's ornaments which he left in the store before going to the mines weighed 14 lb. Women and girls make bead ornaments for themselves and their lovers. 'Only a very stupid girl does not learn to make her own bead head ring.' In return men twist trade brass wire into bangles and waist bands. The blending of colours and designs are always pleasing. The artistic development in beadwork and embroidery resulting from first acquisition of European goods, contrasts with later stages of contact, when all artistic sense seems to be smothered by European influences. Fashions in colouring and pattern of beads, ornaments, headkerchiefs, and breast-cloths change rapidly. I have seen headkerchiefs rotting on traders' shelves, which a few years previously had been 'all the rage' among Pondo belles. 'School people' all wear clothing of European pattern. The styles introduced by early missionaries are tenacious. The standard dress for a married woman is a blue print frock, touching her toes, tight waisted, with long full sleeves, and for Sundays a black kashmir shawl. Only some teachers' wives, and those who have lived in town, break away from this tradition. Small girls wear white frilled pinafores over their frocks.

Teachers' wives and other educated women buy sewing machines, and make clothing for fellow 'school people' and braided skirts for pagan women. They are paid in cash or in grain, or occasionally in loads of wood, which are reckoned at 6*d.* per woman's head load.

Wooden pipes and bone snuff-spoons are carved by men specialists. Trade tin (usually the remains of an old dish) is cleverly used to line the bowls of pipes, and to make an inlaid pattern on the outside of the bowl. Fine holes are drilled in old canned meat tins, and they are used as sieves for sifting snuff.

Housekeeping

Besides their agricultural work and share in arts and crafts women are occupied with housekeeping. Water is fetched morning and evening. Each wife who 'cooks in her own hut' has her own water-pot to fill. A bride rises 'when the hens are coming down from the trees', goes to the river, washes herself, and brings back water for her husband to wash. The water-pot stands in the hut all day for general use, and a woman who has an empty pot is regarded as a slattern. I have heard men at a strange *umzi* scolding the women for not having water in the pot that visitors

may drink. At some *imizi* near main paths the women complain that they have to fill their pots three or four times a day, because so many passers-by come in for a drink, but on the average each woman does not fetch water more than twice a day. Girls from about 12 years are sent in place of their mothers. In Pondoland it is seldom necessary to go more than a quarter of a mile for water. A very few educated men send boys of the *umzi* to draw buckets of water in a sledge.

Collecting firewood is a heavy task. The women chop dead wood in the forests and carry back enormous bundles. On an average a woman may go for firewood four times a week. A bride is expected to go every day; her mother-in-law may only go once a week. In some districts wood is obtainable within half a mile of every *umzi*; in others it has to be carried five or six miles. Usually the collecting and cutting, as distinct from the transport, takes over an hour.

The women of an *umzi* may go alone to draw water, or they may go together, just as is convenient. Usually they go together or with friends from neighbouring *imizi* to fetch firewood, each woman collecting and carrying for herself. At feasts, when much wood and water are required, it is the duty of all the younger women in the immediate neighbourhood of the *umzi* giving the feast to assist in drawing water and bringing firewood. Occasionally, also, an *ilima* is made to collect firewood. Every good housewife keeps a reserve supply in her store-hut to use in wet weather or emergencies. A woman who is about to have a child takes special care to have a good store. Nokoranti made an *ilima* to gather wood for her pregnant daughter, who had come home for the birth of her child. At Ntontela one day I met a dozen women on the road with great bundles of wood. Manikwe had made beer and announced an *ilima* to carry wood for her friend Manyawuza. The carriers on their return drank at her *umzi*, but the bundles were taken to Manyawuza. This making an *ilima* for a friend is quite usual.

Food has to be gathered, prepared, and cooked. From Christmas-time until harvest a woman from each *umzi* goes to the fields every day to fetch sorghum, green maize, or pumpkin, and all through winter they go to gather *imifino* (wild plants used as spinach). The fields are often two to five miles from the *imizi*. Sorghum is eaten raw, and other green foods—fresh maize, pumpkin, and *imifino*—are quickly cooked by boiling, but dry maize has to be taken off the cob and very often ground. The average woman spends at least an hour a day grinding for food dishes. When beer is to be made women neighbours are invited

to assist. They bring their own grinding-stones. All the workers gather in one or two huts, and as they work they gossip and sing, and have races between huts, or between individuals, to see who can grind fastest. Often one will get up and dance to the song while the others are working. Men, knowing that the young women and girls will be gathered at a grinding party, drop in, and further impetus is given by the desire of each woman to show how good she is at her housewifely duties. Grinding is the only work ever continued after dark. Sometimes a party will work well on into the night. Food is provided for the grinders by the *umzi* for which the work is being done, and when the beer has been brewed each assistant is given a big pot or basketful to take home. It is expected that young married women should do the greater part of the grinding, both for daily consumption and for beer. The drawing of water, collecting of firewood, and cooking is always done by women, except at feasts, when men cook their own meat, and when men are away from any women. Boys living in cattle-posts have to prepare food and cook for themselves. When men have to carry wood and water, however, they never put the load on their heads as do the women, but carry it in their hands.

Pots, dishes, and spoons are scraped after meals, given to dogs to lick, and rinsed with water before being used again. There are no set times for meals. The number taken depends upon the amount of food available and the business of the day. Geza remarked, 'People may eat five times in a day. They may eat only once.' I myself found people eating at all hours of the day. Very often a little cooked food left over from the night before is taken first thing in the morning, and when people are not in the fields a more solid meal taken between ten and twelve. Field workers have their first solid meal in the afternoon. Most people eat again about sunset. In the not infrequent periods of scarcity people have one meal a day. Grain, green vegetables, and milk are the staples of diet. Meat is eaten in quantity at fairly long intervals by adults (cf. pp. 69; 364). Besides pumpkins (several varieties), beans, sweet potatoes, and sorghum are grown, and wild herbs are largely used for spinach (*imifino*). During the winter months most pagan woman eat *imifino* every day. Men may eat the boiled greens, and occasionally do so, but it is taboo for them to touch the more popular *isigqwampa*, spinach mixed with mealy meal. Men get more milk than women (cf. p. 200). I was shown nineteen different plants used as *imifino*, and eleven wild fruits eaten off the tree by women, when they go to gather firewood, and by children. A fringe of people on the coast get

Winnowing mealies

PLATE XII

a. Grinding mealies

b. Stamping mealies

fish, and men eat a few eggs and birds. Eggs are forbidden to women because it is believed that eating eggs would make them lascivious.

Tasty dishes are carefully prepared. I noted eleven different methods of cooking maize alone, eleven methods of cooking it with milk, or a vegetable, and four recipes for cooking millet. Individual tastes in food differ. Milk (always used sour) is generally popular, but I knew a few persons who disliked it and would not touch it. A small girl burst into tears one night when her grandmother set before her a dish of spinach. Another would not touch porridge. Brewing is a tricky business taking three to four days according to the weather. The quality of the brew is reported upon by those with educated palates. Often I was stopped on the road with the query, 'What is the beer like at So-and-so's?' People discuss the probable quality of the meat at a forthcoming feast. 'Is it a stringy old beast they are killing?' 'No, it's quite fat.' 'What! Are there no green mealies and no sour milk in England? How awful.'

Now tea or coffee and sugar are generally used by 'dressed people', and occasionally by pagans. 'Dressed people' who can afford it occasionally buy pepper, curry, tinned meat, bread, rice, wheat flour, &c.

I lack data on quantities of food available, but according to the Native Economic Commission 'The food the Natives are able to get in the reserves is not adequate to enable them continuously to perform hard physical work; when they go to work in European industries they must first be well fed before they can undertake hard work; otherwise they run the risk of getting scurvy.'[1]

The floor of a hut is swept with twigs or grass, and the ashes cleared from the hearth once, sometimes twice, a day. Some women are careful to sprinkle the floor with water before sweeping. The owner of a hut smears the floor with cow-dung every week, 'unless she is really lazy'.

When the floor becomes rough and dusty, a new surface is made of mud and cow-dung, pounded with a stone. The surface is about 2 inches thick, and if well made will last six months. Good housewives take a pride in a smooth, well-beaten floor. Besides the yearly repairing of roof and walls (cf. p. 98), cracks are constantly being plastered. The cleanliness and neatness of huts vary greatly. Some have rough dusty floors, with household utensils scattered all over them, and everything infested with bugs, lice, and fleas. In others the floor is hard and shining, household goods are neatly piled against the wall, and mats and blankets are

[1] *N.E.C.*, p. 78.

kept sunned and comparatively free from vermin. The greater cleanliness of most of those who have been to school is very noticeable.

A day's work

Group 1: Mafelante (widow of chief Gwadiso).
Maime (married) her son. Head of kraal.
Cemfu (married) her son.
Namane, *c.* 17 years, her son.
Tsoko, *c.* 20 years, her son (married but wife not here).
Boyce, *c.* 10 years, her son, at school.
An *induna*.
(He cohabits with Mafelante but is *not* regarded as her husband.)
Son of *induna*, *c.* 17 years.
Twin daughters of *induna*, *c.* 10 years (these by his own wife now at her own home).
Mafelante's brother's daughter, *c.* 4 years.
Maime's wife.
Cemfu's wife and baby.

August 16th.

Mafelante. Spent the day at a beer drink; did no work. Only returned to sleep.

Maime. Went hunting badger. Returned with one the size of a mealie cob.

Cemfu. Went to a beer drink across the umTakatyi (3–5 miles away).

Namane. Sent on a message by his elder brother Maime across the umTakatyi (over 6 miles return).

Boyce. At school. After school helped to herd small stock.

Induna. Went to beer drink. Came back and picked what tobacco was ripe in his garden. Slept.

Son of Induna. Herded the cattle (and small stock when Boyce was at school). Milked.

Tsoko. Spent day at store with the girls.

Maime's wife. She still had water left over from the night before, so did not go to the river, but got up and stamped mealies and put them on to cook. She went to gather firewood, and *imifino* in the fields 2–3 miles distant. She returned at midday and ate some stamped mealies, her first food that day. She put the *imifino* on to cook, ground mealies to put into the *imifino*. The *imifino* eaten by the women in the evening. She boiled maize and made a milk dish for the men. At sunset she will go to fetch water.

Cemfu's wife. Got up and went to the river to fetch water. Warmed water and washed her baby of 4 months. Ground mealies and cooked porridge for breakfast for the men. Went to fetch firewood and *imifino* with Maime's wife. Left her baby with the twins, of 10 years. Returned, helped Maime's wife to prepare *imifino*. Remade the surface of her floor. Sunset, went to fetch water. Then sat and

suckled her baby. Washed baby again in warm water. *N.B.* She only fetched water twice on this day but sometimes she goes 4 or 5 times. The *umzi* is on the road and travellers call in for drinks.

Twin girls. Left in charge of Mafelante's brother's daughter and Cemfu's baby, when Maime's and Cemfu's wives went to gather firewood. Were responsible for keeping fire going to cook stamped mealies while their elders were away. In late afternoon sent to store half a mile away to sell a goose. No other children came to play with them, nor did they visit another *umzi*.

Group 2: Somponos (widower remarried).
His young wife.
Notutʃhwana, girl, *c.* 14 years
Gwedliβana, boy, *c.* 18 years
Small boy
} children of Somponos by his first wife.
Small boy, son of second wife.
Indodakazi (sister of Somponos), visiting with her baby.

August 17th.

Somponos. Away at 'tea meeting'; did not return at night.

Gwedliβana. Took cattle to grazing ground in morning. Went off, not seen since (August 18th). Step-mother does not know where he went.

Notutʃhwana. Spent day visiting at *umzi* of father's brother.

Two small boys. Fetched cattle back at night. Gwedliβana not returned, so cattle went unmilked

Somponos' wife. Went to gather firewood immediately on rising because she saw it was going to rain. Gathered *imifino*. Returned and ground mealies and cooked *imifino* and meal for midday. She fetched water at midday and swept the living-hut. In the late afternoon she went out to bind into bundles grass she had cut for thatching. Fetched water in late afternoon. Again swept great hut. Other huts not swept.

Indodakazi. Fetched water in the morning. Stamped mealies and put them on to cook.

Food. Small boys had roasted mealies before going out. *Indodakazi* took a little of the stamped maize she was cooking in the morning. At midday *Indodakazi* and wife ate *imifino* (wife's first meal). In the evening small boys and *Indodakazi* and wife ate stamped maize.

Group 3:

Nowa. Widow, church member, lives alone with son, *c.* 14 years, and sister's small daughter. Got up. She and children ate stamped maize left over from the night before. It had been left standing on the hearth and was warm. Her sister who lives in an *umzi* near came to say that she had rheumatism and could not lift her arms, but she had visitors coming and must get her hut thatched. Nowa thatched her sister's hut. Returned in afternoon. Remade surface of her floor. Still working at sunset. Going to finish floor by light of the fire. They will eat stamped maize (still left over) to-night.

Working for Europeans

Nowadays in Pondoland practically every man goes at least once during his life to a labour centre to work for Europeans. Many go again and again. Most men go to the gold mines or to the sugar estates in Natal; a few to East London, Capetown, Durban, and Maritzburg. A few women also go to European towns to work as domestic servants, and a small number of women and men are employed as servants by Europeans living in Pondoland and on public works.

In 1929, 46·4 per cent. of the taxes paid in by residents in Pondoland were collected outside the home district of the payer, showing that at least that percentage of males over 18 years were away from home.[1] Men for the mines are recruited by the Native Recruiting Corporation, which has an office in each magistracy, and arranges with traders to act as recruiting agents. Traders get a bonus of £1 10*s.* to £2 2*s.* on every man they recruit. Men are encouraged to 'join' by advances of money (now limited to £2, but more credit than this is often given in the store) which are usually spent in the trader's store. The trader sends his recruits to the nearest N.R.C. office where they are medically examined, given rations, and dispatched by lorry and train to Johannesburg. The advance and fare is deducted from the first month's wages. An increasing number are going to the mines, either as 'voluntary' workers when they make their own travelling arrangements and take employment on their arrival at the labour centre, or as 'assisted voluntary' workers when they received the usual £2 advance and a railway ticket against their wages, but on their arrival at the Witwatersrand are free to choose the mine for which they will work and the length of time for which they will contract (1 to 6 months according to the mine). Recruited labour may be drafted to any mine, and the minimum length of contract for it is *270 shifts, or 10½ months. Recruiting of labour costs £6 a man,*[2] and encouragement of voluntary workers (at present discouraged by the N.R.C. recruiting agents) is an obvious method of economizing on costs and making possible an increase in wages. 'As far as possible to obtain its supply of Native labour without the assistance of the recruiters' is stated to be the ultimate aim of the industry,[3] but the mines are afraid to abolish the recruiting organization, since in normal periods the supply of labour is below the demand. During 1930–2 many seeking employment in the mines could not obtain it, but as soon as the mines again

[1] *N.E.C.*, Annexure 25.
[2] Buell, op. cit., p. 37.
[3] Ibid.

a. Returning from the mines

b. Ex-mine boys playing cards

began to work at full pressure there was the usual shortage of labour. Of the total number of Native labourers from the Union employed in the mines in 1930, 59·5 per cent. were voluntary workers, but only 40·4 per cent. of those from Pondoland were voluntary. According to a test check made by the Chamber of Mines in 1931, the average length of service of Natives working in the mines is 10·88 months, and the average duration period spent at home is 8·1 months. Nearly 40 per cent. returned to the mines within six months, and 44 per cent. stayed away 12 months or more. Newly employed hands are less efficient than those who have been working for some time, and therefore the mines are anxious to increase the period of service. A bonus of 5*s.* a month is paid to those who work for more than 10½ months or who, after having worked 10½ months, return within 4 months.

Native labourers in the mines are housed in barracks, and get free board and medical attention. The average net cash earnings per month of Native workers coming from Pondoland (travelling expenses and mine boots being deducted) is £2 1*s.* 8*d.* per month, or £22 19*s.* for the usual employment period of 11 months (270 shifts plus time spent travelling).[1]

Recruiting for the sugar estates in Natal is carried on by private companies and individual licensed recruiters. There are many complaints of these recruiters illegally luring away boys under 18 years without the knowledge or consent of their parents. Members of the Pondoland General Council at the Council Session in June 1930 spoke very strongly of the unsatisfactory state of affairs prevailing. Those recruited for the sugar estates receive in advance their rail fare and £2 in cash. They are recruited for 180 shifts, which take from 7½ to 8 months to work out. During the period of employment they receive quarters, board, and medical attention. The average monthly net cash wage during the period of absence from home varies from £1 3*s.* 4*d.* to 17*s.* 8*d.* Since these figures were collected (1930) there has been a reduction of wages on sugar estates. Malaria is being spread in Pondoland by men returning from work on estates in malarial areas, and it is urged that recruiting for malarial areas from non-malarial areas be prohibited.[2]

Conditions of work and wages in East London, one of the labour centres, other than mining or sugar growing areas, to which Pondo go, is dealt with in Part II.

It is impossible to discover how much of what is earned in the labour centres comes back to Pondoland. The Native Recruiting Corporation has a system of deferred pay, by which those who

[1] *N.E.C.*, pp. 815–32. [2] Ibid., pp. 870–921.

wish receive their earnings (less 10*s.* per month paid at the place of employment) on their return to their own districts. In 1930, 52·4 per cent. of employees from the Cape Province came under this system. The corporation also remits wages to nominees of their Native labourers. In one district, Ngqeleni, with a total male population of 18,415,[1] a total of £13,128 3*s.* 3*d.* came into the district as deferred pay and remittances for men working in the mines[2] during the six months January–June 1931, but it is impossible to discover the amounts remitted by workers in mines and other industries directly to their families and brought back in their pockets.

With those working for Europeans may be classed the small number employed by Government and Missionary Societies as teachers, ministers and evangelists, agricultural demonstrators, dipping supervisors, dipping foremen, and headmen. The scale of their earnings is as follows:

	Men	*Women*
Teachers . . .	£66–108 p.a.	£54–90 p.a.[3]
Ministers . .	£32–160 p.a.[4]	
Evangelists . .	£10–40 p.a.	
Agricultural Demonstrators	£100 p.a. (average)[5]	
Dipping Supervisors	£140 p.a. ,,	
Dipping Foremen .	£58 p.a. ,,	
Headmen . .	£12–36 p.a. according to length of service	

All of these who are married also cultivate their own fields.

Seasonal Calendar

Having studied the economic activities of the Pondo it is now possible to correlate them with the seasons. At the coast the season is always a week or two in advance of that in the high inland parts of Pondoland. The correlations given here refer to a medium belt, fifteen to thirty miles inland.

The agricultural year begins with planting in September. Fields are planted in turn, and there is no marked pause between planting and early weeding, which begins in November. I have seen both processes in progress in adjacent fields. The first and second weedings continue through December and January. In December early patches of sorghum and of maize ripen, and formerly the ceremony of the first-fruits was held at the full of the December moon. The harvest of dry grain, maize and millet, begins in April and continues through May and June. Grain is

[1] *Census Report, 1921.* [2] Information from N.R.C.
[3] Teachers in Primary Schools with P.T. 3 certificate, *Education Gazette,* Dec. 6, 1928. Additions for head teacher of schools with over 25 pupils.
[4] From mission reports. [5] From secretary to General Council.

SEASONAL CALENDAR

Month.	Pondo name[1]	Mean Rainfall[2]		Temperature[3]						Work
				Port St. John			Kokstad			
		Port St. John, Alt. 29 ft.	Kokstad, Alt. 4,280 ft.	Max.	Min.	Mean	Max.	Min.	Mean	
		in.	in.	° F.	° F.	° F.	° F.	° F.	° F.	
Sept.	*umPhanda*. Month of ploughing (*ukuphanda*, to dig)	4·16	1·27	74·4	59·4	66·9	68·3	41·1	54·7	Clearing of fields. Strict herding begins. Women plant hand plots. Ploughing begins
Oct.	*uZibandlela*. Rough grass is burned (lit. They spread a mat for themselves)	5·99	1·99	72·6	61·1	66·8	71·4	49·1	60·2	Clearing. Ploughing. Weeding begins. Pot-making begins
Nov.	*uLwezi*. *Ulwezi* (the cicada) begins to sing	5·02	3·51	78·3	61·2	71·2	78·1	50·2	64·2	Weeding. Early maize ripening
Dec.	*uNtsinga*. Looking for the knotting of pumpkins (*ukusinga*, to knot)	5·73	4·16	78·6	65·9	72·2	77·5	53·0	65·2	Weeding. Pumpkins ripening. Green maize ready. First-fruits ceremonies
Jan.	*uNtlonlanja*. Dogs peep for new maize. (Dogs eat new cobs. *ukuti ntlo*, to spy; *inja*, a dog)	5·24	4·44	79·3	68·3	73·8	80·3	56·5	68·4	Weeding
Feb.	*uNdaza* or *uNdazosela*. Every one roasts maize for themselves. (*Ukwoza*, to roast)	5·56	4·23	79·0	67·9	73·4	77·3	54·2	65·8	Weeding
Mar.	*umBasa*. Green maize is plentiful and people are sated so that they forget cobs put on to roast. (*ukubasa*, to light a fire)	5·65	3·72	75·2	65·9	70·6	74·2	52·4	63·3	Building and repairing of huts begins
Apr.	*umGudlula*. Preparation of threshing floors (*ukugudla*, to rub, to brush)	3·72	1·54	76·8	64·4	70·6	72·7	45·3	59·0	Harvest begins. Rushes for basketwork cut
May	*uNtlangula*. The falling of leaves (*ukuti ntla*, to dash, throw down)	2·86	1·05	74·1	60·0	67·0	68·3	37·7	53·0	Harvest. Stock let into fields. Festivals begin. Hut building and repairing
June	*uNtulukazi*. Great dust (*utuli*, dust)	1·78	0·47	72·7	56·8	64·8	63·3	30·0	46·6	Harvest. Festivals. Hut building and repairing. Much basketwork done. Woodwork
July	*uNcwabakazi*. Green is seen (*ukuncwaba*, look fresh, or green)	1·34	0·35	71·4	56·2	63·8	66·0	34·1	50·0	Threshing grain. Basket- and mat-making. Woodwork. Hut building and repairing. Festivals. Cleaning grain-pits
Aug.	*umFumfu*. The turning of burnt patches. (*ukufumfusa*, to just emerge, come forth into view)	2·02	0·64	73·5	58·6	66·0	66·2	37·8	52·0	Threshing. Storing grain. Clearing fields. Basketwork. Woodwork. Festivals

[1] Significance of names of the months as given by Poto, op. cit., p. 155.
[2] Rainfall Normals up to 1925. U.G. 23, 1927.
[3] Temperatures for 1927. Report of Meteorological Office, U.G. 14, 1930. Kokstad is not in Pondoland, but it is the nearest inland place for which temperatures are available. Temperatures given for Port St. John are actually recorded at Cape Hermes.

threshed during this season and put into store-pits in August and September. The clearing of fields precedes planting and is in progress from August to October. In March and April, before the harvest, and again in June and July when the harvest is over, new huts are built and old huts repaired. In May and June rushes for mat-making are cut and stored. Between harvest and planting basketwork and woodwork is done. Pot-making begins with the warm damp weather in September and October.

The festive season is from harvest to planting, when grain and therefore beer is plentiful, and people have leisure. No girls' initiation ceremonies, doctors' initiations, weddings, or free beer drinks take place during the months of agricultural activity. The only beer that is made is for *amalima*. Sometimes festivities begin before all have finished reaping, but this is because variation in time of planting, and therefore of reaping, is considerable.

Men go out at all seasons to work for Europeans, but there is a considerable drop in the number away between August and February,[1] the period during which agricultural work is done. One of the principal reasons for recruiting is to minimize this seasonal fluctuation in the supply of labour available.[2]

Ownership

The Pondo conception of ownership differs very widely from the European, and can best be understood by studying the rights and duties involved in the possession of land and movables.

(*a*) *Land.*

If a Pondo is asked to whom any area belongs he will give in answer the name of the paramount chief of the country, or of the chief ruling over that district, or the name of the tribe or the predominating clan (cf. p. 15) occupying it. Eastern Pondoland is spoken of as 'the country of Mandlonke' (the paramount chief) or 'the country of the Pondo'. The area referred to is the area over which the chief has political authority. A chief had jurisdiction over people—if his people spread into unoccupied territory he would still claim their allegiance—but he also had jurisdiction over land. Gwadiso, district chief of the Khonjwayo, sent his son to take over a sub-district from the immigrant chief who was holding it, with the message, 'This is my country.' Again, at Ntontela there was living in the country of Sipopone the family of a man who had been hanged for poisoning persons on the order of Sipopone. I inquired whether they did not feel bitter against the chief. The reply of an intelligent informant was 'they

[1] *N.E.C.*, Annexure 18. [2] Ibid., p. 804.

may feel bitter, but they will hide it, because they wish to continue to live in the country of the chief'. A man from another district wishing to move, paid a beast to the chief into whose district he was coming. Before the annexation missionaries and traders obtained sites from the chief in whose district they wished to settle. All this implies political overlordship (including small economic rights, cf. p. 387), not ownership in the European sense.

In the recognition of rights over certain arable areas, the Pondo approach more nearly the European conception of ownership. Formerly a woman had the exclusive right to cultivate any area which she had once turned over, no matter how long it was kept lying fallow, and an action could be brought in court against a neighbour who encroached upon an old fallow field. This prescriptive right to cultivate certain areas was inherited, and the right only lapsed if all the kin left the district.

Land to cultivate was not allotted (*ukulawula*), but each woman was free to cultivate where she chose within her own chief's district, provided she did not encroach on any area already cultivated. The formation of the country is such that the slopes falling into river-beds are intersected by ravines. The space between two ravines I term a 'rib'. When a woman began to cultivate on one 'rib', even although she only turned over a few square yards, she was held to lay claim to the whole of that 'rib', and no one else might begin a field there. She could bring a case against them if they did. The boundaries are obvious from the contours of the country. The sites of old *imizi* are prized sites for fields, as they are fertile, being well manured. The late owner of the *umzi* had the prescriptive right to this land for a field, and it was taken by one of his wives (cf. p. 17). There was no limit to the size and number of the fields a woman might cultivate. One middle-aged man stated that his mother had six fields, some of which were cultivated each year. All informants are emphatic that before the advent of Europeans grain played a much smaller part in the diet of the Pondo that it does to-day. Meat and milk were staple foods, and the area cultivated per family was much smaller than it is now. Since the population was also smaller there was land and to spare for every one.

On the annexation of Pondoland land became the property of the Crown. The exclusive right to cultivate certain arable areas is now granted through magistrates. Rights of cultivation are inalienable. On the removal or death of the grantee the area reverts to the Crown, but a widow retains the right to cultivate fields which she cultivated as a wife, and in re-allotting the fields

first claim is given to the eldest son of the deceased, if he does not already cultivate his full quota of land. Land left uncultivated may be forfeited. This law is enforced when there is a shortage of arable land. For example, Ngangaßo's family held many fields at 'nTißane which they had inherited. So long as there was plenty of land they were left in possession, but in 1931, when the population had been increased by immigration, the headman allotted to Nokoranti a field of Ngangaßo's which had been lying uncultivated for years. Ngangaßo was furious, and went and ploughed and planted the field. In the magistrate's court he was fined £1 and the crop adjudged to Nokoranti. New fields are given out by the magistrate on the recommendation of the headman. Actually a magistrate very seldom goes against the recommendation of the headman. Some headmen demand and receive a fee for each land they allot. At Ntontela 1*s.* or a fowl or some beer was expected; at 'nTißane 2*s.* 6*d.* was given, or if an extra large or fertile field was wanted, a felt hat. The demand is illegal, but 'if a man does not pay he will never get a field which he can cultivate'. The usual procedure is for the applicant to decide upon what field he would like, and then apply to the headman for it. To mark the boundaries of a new field the headman walks round it and knots grass, and the holder must not plough over the spoor of the headman. In straths, where continuous areas are cultivated, the boundaries are grass baulks which are left unploughed from season to season.

Officially a man is entitled to one land (up to 8 acres) on payment of a 30*s.* tax, whether he be married or not. For each additional wife (for whom he pays 10*s.* supertax) he is allotted another land. *Amadikazi* (women living with their fathers or brothers) may obtain one land each on the payment of 10*s.* tax. In the more remote districts many women cultivate two or three small fields.

Many people prefer to have two small fields some distance apart rather than one big field, thinking that if they do not strike fertile soil in one place they may be lucky in another, and that one field may escape hail when another is destroyed by it. The Government policy is towards the consolidation of holdings, and headmen have authority to 'kill' a field in order to enlarge the ones next to it, and apportion to the owner of the 'dead' field a land elsewhere. If the owner is not satisfied with the change, he might complain and be given a land other than that first appointed in exchange for the 'dead' field, but 'if he is cheeky the headman says that he won't give him one at all'. The Pondo do not plant trees or in any way improve their fields, so at present

no great hardships are involved in this system. Areas cultivated vary considerably according to the industry of the individual, but an average area cultivated per woman is 2·4 acres (cf. p. 73).

Although the cultivator of arable land has a permanent right to the crops produced by the field she cultivates, after reaping fields become part of the commonage, and every one's cattle are at liberty to feed on every one else's maize stalks. After reaping, also, a woman may gather *imifino* (wild plants used as spinach) from her neighbour's fields. The only winter crop at all generally grown in conservative areas is sweet potatoes. This, being a root crop, is not much harmed by cattle in the fields. In the coastal districts sweet potatoes grow very easily and do not have to be replanted each year. Some maintain that they are really like *imifino* and may be taken from any field, but most regard them as private property like maize. The custom of allowing fields to revert into commonage in winter makes it difficult for individuals who wish to grow crops of wheat or oats to do so. Unless fenced their fields are liable to be destroyed by straying cattle, and they are regarded by neighbours as keeping to themselves areas which ought by right to be public grazing-ground.

All the country not under cultivation is public grazing-ground. Within the area of a headman or petty chief there are no clearly defined areas to which particular individuals have prescriptive grazing rights, but the people living on one ridge, or in one valley, claim the area surrounding their *imizi* as their grazing-ground, and the men remonstrate with herds of other *imizi* if they bring their cattle to these grounds saying, 'you are eating up our grass'. 'Then they drive the intruding cattle away and tell the herds to take them home.' It was customary for each *umzi* to burn a patch of the long grass near the *umzi* to provide early spring grazing, and the patches burned near *imizi* were claimed by them. If strange cattle were caught feeding on these patches, the herds would be caught and beaten if possible. Now grass is becoming scarce, and promiscuous veld burning is prohibited, so this custom is dying out. People living on one ridge claim the prescriptive right to graze their cattle in their fallow fields which are usually together. Frequently herds of one group fight with sticks herds of another group who bring cattle and let them stray into what the first group consider to be their grazing-ground.

Certain areas are claimed as cattle-posts (*iithaanga*) by certain districts. The Ndovelane had an *ithaanga* eight or ten miles inland from where most of them lived, but still within their chief Malinde's district. The Kwaleni was a large district, and each of

the two headman in it had his *ithaanga* in the valley of the umZimvuβu river, to which he and his people claimed exclusive right. Chiefs may claim *ithaanga* exclusively for themselves. The paramount chiefs of the Nyandeni had an outlying *umzi* ten miles or more from the Nyandeni, and forbade other *imizi* to be built anywhere within the neighbourhood of that *umzi* as they wished to keep the grazing for their own cattle.

Formerly, although the prescriptive right of individuals to cultivate certain areas and of groups to graze cattle in certain areas was recognized, no case could be brought in court against the man whose cattle strayed into a neighbour's fields or into the grazing-lands of another group. An aggrieved owner might only beat the herdboys if he could catch them. Now compensation for crops damaged may be sued for under Colonial law in the magistrates' court, and some chiefs' courts also enforce the Colonial law in this matter. When cattle stray into the grazing-lands of another group, however, no compensation can be claimed in court.

Wood, water, thatching-grass, rushes for mats, and wild plants and berries used for food were common property; and formerly there was no attempt to preserve their use to particular persons. Pondoland is well watered, and formerly was also well wooded, so there was seldom, if ever, a scarcity of any of these products. Nowadays there is often scarcity, and at 'mZizi I found that the chief's mother forbade the collecting of firewood in a patch of forest near the great place by any of the neighbouring *imizi* as she wished it reserved for the great place, and at 'mPosa no woman was supposed to cut rushes for mats until the chief's mother had declared them to be ready, and when they cut they were expected to give one bundle to the chief's mother. The restriction on the cutting of rushes was definitely recognized by the people as an innovation, and there was no tradition of a precedent for the prohibition of collecting firewood from certain places. Forests are now protected by the Government. Certain areas are marked off as 'forest reserve' in which no timber, except specified trees bought by contractors, may be cut. In other areas saplings for building huts may be taken with the permission of the local headman. Only dead wood may be taken for firewood.

In Pondoland there has been comparatively little change in the working of the system of land tenure since contact with Europeans, because there is not yet serious shortage of land. The average density of population is 69·22[1] Bantu to the square mile, which is lower than the average density in other Cape

[1] *Census Report, 1921.* Probably inaccurate.

Native territories, and the country is more uniformly fertile. All who wish it can obtain land to cultivate. The Pondo are very much averse to the introduction of individual tenure which holds in a number of districts of the Transkei and Ciskei.

(*b*) *Stock.*

A man who has more than one wife allots certain stock to each 'house' (*indlu*), and that stock once allotted cannot legally be resumed by the husband and given to another house without the consent of the wife and heir of the house to whom it was first given. A case involving this point came up at 'mPosa. Ɓefile quarrelled with his great wife to whose house the greater part of his herd had been allotted, and leaving her in his father's *umzi* he built an *umzi* for his second wife with whom he lived. When his father died his great wife went back to her own people, taking her son with her; but the marriage was never dissolved and the *ikhazi* was not returned. When the son grew up he demanded possession of the cattle originally allotted to the great house, but which were now grazing with the cattle of the junior wife. Ɓefile refused to hand over the cattle to him, and the case was taken to the chief's court which decided in favour of the son, since the cattle had originally been allotted to the house of which he was the heir.

Cattle are ear-marked. Usually a man uses only one ear-mark although he may have several houses, but it is clearly understood to which house each beast belongs. Horses, goats, pigs, sheep, and hens are allotted in the same way. I was at an *umzi* one day when a man found an egg near the kraal. He called to ask whose hen had a nest in that particular place, and got back a prompt reply, it was So-and-so's hen; so he put the egg in her hut. In dipping registers stock is written down as belonging to the head of the *umzi* in which it is kept, but this in no way blurs the clear recognition that each beast belongs to a particular house.

Besides the stock allotted to her house by her husband a woman may own stock in her own right. In some parts it is usual for a father to present his daughter with a heifer (*inkomo yoɓuluunga*) on or after her marriage, which she keeps at her married home and which serves as a link with her own ancestral spirits. To a mother is due a beast from the *ikhazi* of her eldest daughter (*inkomo yesiphipho*) and in some parts another beast (*inkomo yengquthu*) if her daughter is a virgin when married. These two latter are claimable at law, and are the woman's private property with which her husband has no right to interfere. The stock earned by a woman (e.g. a doctor) are also her private property.

(c) Produce.

The produce of stock and of lands is recognized as belonging to particular houses. The cows of a house are milked for that house, the wool of the sheep and eggs of the hens of a house are its particular property, the grain of each house is stored separately unless two houses have a very small crop, and it is not thought worth while to dig a pit for each. If grain is sold the money is often taken by the husband for general purposes. 'When beer is made and sold the money belongs to the husband of the woman from whose field it came to do what he likes with', but 'if she asked to make the beer to sell, the money belongs to her'. A woman has not the right to dispose of the grain of her house without her husband's consent. Grain-pits are usually dug within the kraal from which women are excluded, and a woman cannot grind a quantity for beer without consulting her husband. One day I was sitting in a trader's store watching customers and helping to buy grain. Presently a man came in, stared at the grain-pile, and asked, 'Who sold those red mealies? They are mine, I know them.' The lady of the store fenced, and explained to me as the man went out that the seller was his wife. The man went into the next room and found his wife buying braid. He dragged her back, laughing and protesting.

Husband: 'Whose are these red mealies? Who sold them here?'
Wife: 'Oh, they are mealies from our garden, but I did not sell them, I just gave a few to the woman who helped me reap, and she must have sold them here this morning.'
Husband: 'Then where did you get the money to buy that braid?'

It was quite a friendly quarrel. The woman was attractive and the man not really angry; but she was obviously doing what she had no right to do.

Nevertheless, women do not feel that it is really stealing to take some of the grain they help to produce. Selling a small quantity of the grain without their husband's consent is a common expedient of wives who want a little ready money, and they do not seem to feel they do wrong in practising this deceit. I knew a most conscientious Christian woman who explained to her friends of the Women's Association that as she had not enough sheets for the guests who were coming for a Church meeting, and as her husband would not give her money to buy more, she was going to sell some grain when her husband was away and buy the sheets. She did so.

The money brought in by selling wool is usually taken by the husband for general purposes. The profits from selling

eggs and fowl, however, are usually the perquisite of the wife to whose house the fowl belong. If a man has a tobacco garden the tobacco belongs to his great house, but 'some would be given to his junior houses'. The house is therefore a distinct economic unit, although as shown in Chapter I food is shared within the *umzi*.

(*d*) *Huts.*

Every woman who has been married for a year or more is mistress of a living-hut, and usually also a store-hut. The responsibility for building the huts rests with her husband and herself, although they are usually assisted by the other members of the *umzi* in the work. A husband has full rights to enter his wife's hut at any time, but it is usually spoken of by her name, as *indlu ka maßani* —, the hut of mother So-and-so.

(*e*) *Personal belongings.*

Personal belongings include weapons, axes, hoes, mats, household utensils, clothing, and ornaments. Every man possesses his own spears and sticks, over which no other person has any rights. His sticks he cuts for himself. Spear-heads are inherited or bought from a specialist. Every individual has his own private sleeping-mat, and each man his own wooden pillow or stool which he carves for himself. Women have their own hoes, axes, and household utensils. A bride brings as part of her outfit sleeping-mats for herself and her husband; a hoe, an axe, and household utensils for herself. When these wear out or break she goes back to her father or brother to ask for others to replace them. If her mother-in-law or other relative of her husband makes mats or pots she may be given them at her *umzi*; but this is of grace, not of right. A man tanned and sewed skins for his own clothing and for his sisters and daughters. Now he has to supply money to provide them with clothing. Ornaments are made by women for their lovers, husbands, and children. Pipes and snuff-spoons are bought by individuals from specialists.

Inheritance.

The exclusive right to cultivate a certain area was inherited by the youngest son of the woman cultivating that area. Now arable land reverts to the Crown on the death of the grantee, and in re-allotment preference is given to the eldest son of the former holder, usually a man (cf. p. 114). Huts and most personal possessions such as clothing, sleeping-mats, and ornaments are destroyed on the death of the owner. Spear-heads and shields which are

preserved go to the eldest son of the great house. A woman's pots, baskets, hoe, axe, and stock belonging to her in her own right go to her youngest son. Other stock is inherited by the eldest son of the house to which they are allocated, or, in the case of the great house, by the eldest son of the eldest son. It is customary for the eldest son of an eldest son to go to his paternal grandfather when weaned, and to grow up in his *umzi*. That grandson then inherits the property of his grandfather's great house, i.e. the house of which his father is the eldest son. The eldest son of the great house has usually built his own *umzi*, and collected a herd of his own by the time his father dies. The grandson remains in the *umzi* of his grandfather, and falls heir to the stock allotted to the great house. This is not depriving his father, 'for he and his father are one', and they administer the property jointly. If the grandson is not old enough to take charge when his grandfather dies he will join his father, taking his grandfather's cattle with him. These then belong to the great house (i.e. the house of the eldest grandson), and although if the grandfather were very rich the father might allot one or two beasts to other houses, with his eldest son's consent: the property of the grandfather is looked upon more or less as entailed estate belonging exclusively to the eldest grandson.

Women cannot inherit any property, nor can it be inherited through them, so where there is no son born to a house its property, including the *ikhazi* (cattle given by the groom's group to the group of a girl on her marriage), falls to another house. Failing an heir in the great house (*indlu enkulu*) its property falls to the right-hand house (*indlu yasekunene*). Failing an heir in the right-hand house property falls to the great house. Failing an heir in a minor house (*iqadi*) its property falls to the house of which it is 'rafter'[1] (cf. p. 16).

A man may take a son from another house and put him into a house with no son to be heir of that house, or if he have no son at all by his wife, he may publicly (in consultation with his relatives) instate an illegitimate son by an *idikazi*, or by an unmarried girl, as his heir. He cannot, however, adopt any other person, whether related or not, and so disinherit his eldest brother, and that brother's son, to whom the property would otherwise fall; e.g. he cannot adopt a son of a younger brother and so disinherit his eldest brother. If a wife dies, leaving a son, a man may marry another wife and put her into the house of the deceased to care for the children of that house, but the new wife ranks as 'rafter'

[1] These inheritance rules differ from those of the Xhosa. There has been a tendency for European courts to confuse the two systems.

of that house, and is given a separate inheritance, her children *not* inheriting as younger members of the house of the deceased wife. If, however, the deceased wife left only daughters, or no children at all, the new wife put into her house will rank as the wife of her house, and her son will inherit as such. A man may publicly disinherit a son for repeated misbehaviour. The next son in that house then succeeds. Where a man dies without male issue his property falls first to his father if alive, then to his eldest brother, or male issue, of the same house, and so on through the brothers of that house, and their male descendants, then to half-brothers of another house (cf. p. 120), then to brothers of the father and their male descendants.

Working alongside the Pondo law of inheritance is the Colonial law of inheritance. Until 1927 where a couple were married by Christian or civil rites the law of community of property between husband and wife automatically applied, unless a declaration was made before marriage that they wished the Pondo law of inheritance to operate. All marriage officers were obliged to explain the position to those whom they married, but the law was much criticized by the Native councillors in the Bunga (Transkeian General Council), who wished it to be altered so that Native law applied unless the parties stated that they wished Colonial law to apply. They argued that many people married by Christian and civil rites were not fully aware of the implications. In 1927 their recommendations were put into effect. At a debate in a club in Grahamstown location most of the women spoke in favour of the retention of the Colonial law. The men opposed it. Under Colonial law a man or woman has the right to dispose of his of her property by will.[1] This right, however, is rarely exercised in Pondoland, and may be disregarded in considering the present working of the laws of inheritance.

Obligations of owners.

Under Pondo law ownership entails duties, and with property are inherited obligations. Ownership of cattle or grain does not imply the right to dispose of them without consultation of kin. Even the head of a line is expected to consult his younger brothers and sons before killing cattle or using them *ukulobola* (to give cattle to the group from which a bride comes) or selling a beast. On similar occasions a son, whether living in his father's *umzi* or not, must consult his father, father's brothers, and father's son, and the wife of the house concerned (cf. p. 31). Of a man's

[1] But a man married by Native customary law cannot will away from a house movables accruing to it under Native law.

property it is said, *Yonke impahla kayise xa uyise esekho* (All his property is his father's while his father is alive), but I can trace no theory that the ancestors have rights over the property of their living descendants. In reply to my question whether the ancestors did not own the cattle of the living the answer was an emphatic denial. When I inquired why then at a ritual killing they said, '*Nantsi inkomo yethu*' (Here is your beast), the reply was, 'Oh, that is only by word of mouth. The cattle do not really belong to the ancestors, but they may ask for one' (Cf. Chap. VI). *Ohlab'eyakhe akalelwa* (Who slaughters his own is not cried against.—Proverb). A son inherits his father's property, but he must consult his mother about the disposal of it for so long as she lives.

Ownership also entails the duty of administering the property for the benefit of dependants. A man owns cattle, but he is responsible for the maintenance of his sons and daughters who are living with him, for clothing married daughters, and for the good relations of all with the ancestral spirits. He should, if possible, assist his sons to obtain their first wives by providing the whole or part of the *ikhazi* for them. An heir inherits his father's obligations, and is responsible for the maintenance of his mother and younger brothers and sisters of the same house. The eldest son inherits his father's spears, but it is incumbent upon him to give some to his younger brothers. He should, as far as he is able, provide the whole or part of the *ikhazi* for the first wives of his younger brothers. Minor orphans go to live with the heir. If he does not provide satisfactorily for his dependants they may complain to the chief. Majingaza and her sister had no brothers, so when their father died his property was inherited by their father's eldest brother's son. They were married, so did not live with him, but when they went to him to ask for clothing he refused to give them sufficient, and when Majingaza was ill he refused to kill the beast for a ritual killing advised by a diviner. Majingaza complained to the chief. He ordered that the cattle received as *ikhazi* for Majingaza and her sister should be handed over to him, and he himself undertook to fulfil the obligations of a father or brother towards them.[1] If a widow can prove in a magistrate's court that the heir (not her son) is not treating her properly, she may obtain an order for the property to be handed over to her father or brother to be administered for her and her children. This particular device is a European modification of Pondo law, but it is in the spirit of Pondo law.

Daughters as potential *ikhazi* are assets in the estate, and a

[1] He would not be able to perform a ritual killing for them, but might provide the necessary beast.

father attempts to fulfil his obligation of providing each son with *ikhazi* by, as far as possible, allotting a daughter to each son. This is not obligatory—a father who did not do it could not be sued in a court—but it is usual, and the man who has several daughters and sons, and does not do it is considered stingy. The device is known as *ukufaka* (to link, to put together). Usually the eldest daughter of the great house goes to the great son, the second daughter to the second son, and so on. In a junior house, however, the *ikhazi* of the eldest belongs to the house from which cattle were taken for the *ikhazi* of the mother. Thus usually the *ikhazi* of the eldest daughter of the right-hand house belongs to the great house, the *ikhazi* of the eldest daughter of an *iqadi* (rafter) to the house of which it is an *iqadi*. In returning a debt to another house of the same husband the whole amount is not usually returned, but a part of the *ikhazi* of the girl married is left to the house to which she belongs. That part together with the *ikhazi* of the second daughter goes to the eldest son of the house; the *ikhazi* of the third daughter to the second son, and so on. The youngest son in each house is provided for by the inheritance of his mother's property.

There is some doubt among informants whether, when a father or eldest brother has provided the *ikhazi* (in whole or in part) for a son or younger brother, the cattle which they have given are returnable when the daughter of the wife so obtained is married. The ablest councillors agreed that cattle thus given to a younger brother or son could be claimed in a court of law, but that the father or elder brother should only demand a small proportion of the number originally given. 'The younger son is also the child of his father', and 'A younger brother does not return cattle to his elder brother for he is his father.' 'People would be poor if *ikhazi* had always to be returned.' If, however, cattle with which to marry are given by a stranger, or any other relative, even a father's brother, they are returnable when the daughter of the wife obtained with these cattle is married. 'If a man has nothing for his son he may go to his brother and ask him for help, promising to repay him', but this is not very usual. When a man has earned the whole *ikhazi* for his wife nothing is due to his father or elder brother, and it is not customary for any part of the *ikhazi* to be given to the brothers of the father of the girl married unless she has been *ukufaka* to them (see below). There is no difference in the status of a wife *ukulobola* with the cattle of the *umzi*, and one *ukulobola* with cattle earned at the mines, or borrowed from a chief, or acquaintance; but a wife *ukulobola* with cattle from an already existing house is always subordinate

to that house. One cow of the cattle given as *ikhazi* for an eldest daughter is the mother's property, claimable in a chief's court, inherited with her other property by her youngest son. It is called *inkomo yesiphipho.*

A study of cases shows how these rules work in practice, and to what extent the obligation of fathers, and elder brothers, to help younger sons and brothers to marry is fulfilled. Present-day practice has been modified by the opportunity of earning money with which to buy cattle for *ikhazi.* Probably formerly a considerably higher proportion of sons were assisted to *ukulobola* by their fathers.

Case 1.

House	*Sons*	*Daughters*
A	A1, A2, A3, A4.	a1, a2.

A1, A2, A3, A4, were all provided with *ikhazi* by their father, but all went to work after their marriage and gave him some of their earnings. By the time a1 was grown up, A1 was dead. The father kept the cattle of a1 and gave a2 to A2.

Case 2.

House	*Sons*	*Daughters*
A	A1, A2.	
B	B1, B2, B3.	b1.
C	C1, C2, C3.	
D	D1, D2.	d1.
E	E1, E2, E3.	e1, e2, e3, e4.

A1 was provided with *ikhazi* by his father.
A2 worked for himself.
B1 was provided with *ikhazi* by his father.
B2 was provided with *ikhazi* by his father.
B3 helped by his father, and also worked in a saw-mill.
b1 died young.
C1 was provided with *ikhazi* by his father.
C2 and C3 were helped by their father, and also worked.
D1 and D2 were provided with *ikhazi* by their father.
d1 died before she was married.
e1, e2, e3, and e4 all died before they were married.
E1, E2, and E3 all worked for their *ikhazi.*

'They had learned from their father that girls did not grow up, so not one of them risked borrowing cattle on the pledge of a potential daughter.'

Case 3.

House	*Sons*	*Daughters*
A	A1, A2.	a1, a2.

A2 died, so A1 inherited all the cattle from the *ikhazi* of a1 and a2.

Case 4.

Houses	*Sons*	*Daughters*
A	A1.	a1, a2.
B	B1, B2.	b1, b2.

a1 was *ukulobola* with ten head, which went to her father.

a2 was *ukulobola* with seven head, with which A1 got his wife. He had only paid out five head when he died, leaving no child.

All the property of the great house A went to B1. When B1 married all the cattle had died of rinderpest. He gave one surviving cow from what he had inherited from his father, when he married. Then he went to ask for help from his mother's people, and was given a heifer by his mother's brother. He had lived for many years with his mother's brother, and therefore was given this beast.

b1 married and her *ikhazi* went to her father.

b2 married and her *ikhazi* of eight head went to B1. He gave two of the eight as the final instalment for his wife, and kept the other six.

B2 married. His father provided four head, and B1 two for his *ikhazi*.

B1 has one son and five daughters. The *ikhazi* of the five daughters he had kept himself, but he has provided his son with *ikhazi* for two wives, giving for the first four head and the second six head. His son has never worked for Europeans.

Case 5.

Houses	*Sons*	*Daughters*
A	A1, A2, A3, A4.	a1.
B	B1, B2, B3, B4, B5.	b1, b2, b3, b4.
C		c1.

A1 married with the *ikhazi* of a1 (6 head).

A2 got a gun as his share of his father's inheritance. This he exchanged for a cow. That particular cow he kept for himself, and worked for the nine head with which he *ukulobola* his wife.

A3 worked for the whole of his *ikhazi* (10 head).

A4 had one beast from his mother, and worked for the rest of his *ikhazi*, giving six in all.

The *ikhazi* for the wife of house B had come from the great house A, so the *ikhazi* of b1 went to A1.

B1 married with the *ikhazi* of b2.

B2 and B4 shared the *ikhazi* of b3 between them, and worked for the rest of their *ikhazi*.

B3 got six head of the *ikhazi* of b4, and the remaining 4 head of her *ikhazi* went to A1 'because she was the youngest daughter', but B3 was responsible for her wedding outfit.

B5 got a beast from his mother and one from A1.

The *ikhazi* for the wife of the house C had come from the house B, so the *ikhazi* of c1 went to B1.

Case 6.

Houses	*Sons*	*Daughters*
A	A1, A2, A3, A4, A5.	a1, a2, a3, a4, a5, a6, a7.
B	B1, B2.	

A1 got the *ikhazi* of two sisters, a1 and a2.

A2 got the *ikhazi* of a3.

A3 was given cattle for *ikhazi* by his father.

A4 and A5 died before they were married.

B1 was given a4, 'just out of kindness, by his father, not because it was his right.' He did not use all her *ikhazi* to *ukulobola* his wife, and with the remainder helped his brother B2.

a5, a6, and a7 died before they were married.

Informant does not think that B1 will return anything to A1, but he has no daughter yet, so the matter has not come up.

Case 7.

Houses	*Sons*	*Daughters*
A	A1, A2, A3, A4, A5.	a1, a2.
B	B1, B2.	b1, b2, b3, b4.
C	C1.	c1, c2.

The *ikhazi* of a1 was kept by her father, and inherited by A1.

The *ikhazi* of a2 went to A2.

A3 worked for himself and was helped by A1, but had to return a beast to A1 out of the *ikhazi* of his eldest daughter.

A5 (as A3).

A4 was assisted by A2.

The *ikhazi* for the wife of the house B, had come from the great house A, so the *ikhazi* of b1 went to A1.

b2 went to B1, and he gave a beast out of her *ikhazi* to A1, as A1 had previously given him a beast.

b3 was given to B2, b4 to B1.

C1 married with the *ikhazi* of his sister c2.

c1 was given to A1, as the *ikhazi* for the wife of house C had come from house A.

Case 8.

Majola's father died when Majola was a young man, still unmarried, and Majola worked for the most of his *ikhazi*. With 10*s*. savings he bought a she-goat. The goats increased to six, and he exchanged them for a heifer. He earned £5 by building huts for Europeans and bought a second heifer. He worked again at the sugar estates and bought a third heifer. 'That was a very good heifer: I got ten calves from her altogether.' The first two heifers he gave as the first instalment of his *ikhazi*. He bought another heifer calf for 10*s*., then bought a blanket in umThatha for 18*s*., and sold it for a bull calf. Now he had five head in all. A man sold him the unborn calf of a cow for £1. It was a bull calf. He bought another *isisu* (stomach) for £1, and was lucky this

time, for it was a heifer calf. Then he lent a friend 10*s*. and when he failed to pay the money he got a young ox. That he sent as the third beast in his *ikhazi*. His eldest brother gave him a heifer as a gift, with which he bought a young ox. An elder brother of another house gave him two young heifers. These were just gifts from his brothers. One had got cattle from sisters' *ikhazi*. In his house there were no sisters, in the other house there were three, and his father had told the heir of that house to help the sons of the junior house. That was why his elder brother of another house helped him.

Case 9.

House	*Sons*	*Daughters*
A	A1, A2, A3.	a1, a2, a3, a4.

The *ikhazi* of a1 went to her father.
That of a2 to A1.
That of a3 to A2.
That of a4 to A3.

Case 10.

Houses	*Sons*	*Daughters*
A	A1.	a1.
B	B1, B2.	b1.
C	C1.	

A1 *ukulobola* with the *ikhazi* of a1 (5 head).
B1 *ukulobola* with the *ikhazi* of b1 (8 head).
B2 worked.
C1 worked.

The wife of house B was never *ukulobola*. b1 was married twice. The whole of her *ikhazi* the first time went to her maternal grandfather, the *ikhazi* of her second marriage to B1.

I omit details of 53 further first marriages investigated.

In 14 cases the father or elder brother had provided the *ikhazi*.

In 12 cases the cattle had come from a married sister.

In 1 case the cattle had come from the father's father, with whom the grandson had lived.

In 12 cases the man had worked, and had also been helped by his father or elder brother.

In 10 cases the man had worked for the whole *ikhazi*.

In 2 cases he had been helped in part by cattle inherited from his mother.

In 1 case he had been helped by his mother's brother, with whom he had lived.

In 1 case he had been helped by his father's brother.

Sixteen further marriages with junior wives were examined. In 12 cases the man had provided his own cattle, in 1 case he had used a sister's *ikhazi*, in 2 cases cattle were provided by his father, in 1 case he was partly helped by his father.

Receiving *ikhazi* entails obligations. The persons who receive *ikhazi* for a girl are responsible for providing her with a wedding outfit (cf. pp. 195–200), and with clothes, articles of household furniture, gifts for her husband's sisters, and, when necessary, stock for ritual killings during her lifetime. If a bride breaks anything at her *umzi* she must fetch something from her own home to replace it. When a woman returns to her husband after visiting her own home she cannot go empty-handed, but must take basketwork, or rope for thatching, or pots, or articles of clothing. Men returned from the gold-fields quite often buy a skirt as a gift for their wife, or allow her some money made by selling grain, but this is of grace and not an obligation. Usually a woman comes shopping with her own mother or a brother, not with her husband or husband's mother. When women return to their own homes to get things they stay until what they have come for is provided. Makhonjwayo returned home to ask for two skirts. She told me that 'she had just been home a short time—three months'. She was waiting for the return of her brother from the mines. On his return he gave her £1 to get the skirts, but she stayed on waiting for basketwork from his wife (cf. p. 40).

A woman will not return to her husband's home until the things she considers necessary have been supplied. X burnt a blanket belonging to a relative of her husband. Immediately she went to her own people to get another, although her husband's people had not scolded or complained of her carelessness. Her own people were slow in providing the blanket, so her husband came and bought her one to give to his relative so that she could return to him. It was reaping time and he required her particularly. Y went home and her husband commanded that she should return to him. Her reply was, 'How can I? I have no skirt.' Paya's sister sold beer 'so that she could buy a pot so that she might return to her *umzi*'. Ngote's father's sister was very much attached to her husband and children and longing to return to her *umzi*, but could not go without taking the new pot which she had come to fetch. Her brother Γoco, to whom she had been 'linked', refused to give it to her. I suggested that she might take Γoco's wife's pot and go, but was answered indignantly, 'Do you think that I, who have had eight head of cattle given for me, am going to go back with a worn-out old pot? Never!' She languished for three months stealing back at intervals to see her children; then her father took pity on her, sold a calf, and bought the pot. Very frequently a married woman returns to her father's or brother's *umzi* that a ritual killing be performed for her there (cf. Chap. V). Matʃhozi, who was over 60, came to the *umzi* of

her deceased brother's son that a ritual killing might be made for her by him.

The brother to whom a girl is 'linked' is particularly responsible for her needs. Often a father allots his daughters to sons when the girls are still quite young, and then the sons are responsible for providing them with clothing, and with some of the stock necessary for initiation rites (cf. p. 173) before their marriage, as well as with the wedding outfit and clothing and utensils after their marriage. Katʃhuka and Khova, young men still unmarried, had been allotted sisters, aged 10 and 12, for whom they had to provide blankets.

When neither the father nor a son has the cattle or funds necessary to clothe, initiate, and supply the wedding outfit of a girl, she is sometimes 'linked' (*ukufaka*) to a non-relative who supplies the necessaries, and is refunded out of the *ikhazi*. Sometimes a girl is 'linked' to more than one person, each being refunded according to what they supplied. Fathers do not like to 'link' their daughters to a stranger, and always try to keep within the family if possible; only in cases of necessity is the girl 'linked' to a non-relative. After marriage the girl returns to the man to whom she was 'linked' for skirts, household goods, &c. One day I found a girl at Ngangaßo's who had been 'linked' to him; she had come to ask for a skirt. If there is a wedding in the *umzi* of the man to whom she is 'linked' a girl is entitled to a share of the *imali yentombi* (the money of the daughters) and basketwork due to daughters of the *umzi*, because the cattle received for her have been given to the group of the bride coming to this *umzi* (cf. pp. 197; 199).

A man to whom a girl is 'linked' who is not her brother is only refunded in proportion to the amount he has expended on her account, and does not receive the whole of her *ikhazi*, the remainder of which goes to her father or brother. Although the brother or other man to whom a girl is 'linked' is particularly responsible for supplying her needs, she will also ask gifts from her father and other brothers, and sometimes from her mother's people, although the latter are not obliged to help her.

In a Christian marriage a girl is provided with a trousseau by her father, and subsequently her husband is expected to clothe her and replace broken utensils. The Pondo Christians have probably been influenced by Fingo immigrants who form a majority in many of the Christian congregations in Pondoland, and among whom it was always the custom for a husband to clothe his wife.

Over the personal belongings of a man no other person has

any rights. They may be borrowed—there is much borrowing of private property—but no one else has the right to use them without his permission. A woman also has private possessions, but any of them may be taken without her permission by her husband's sister (cf. p. 33). Women's possessions also are borrowed even more than men's. Beer barrels and beer baskets are continually moving round the country, being borrowed for one beer drink after another. Only in summer when there is little beer do they remain in the huts of their real owners. Women in an *umzi* continually use each other's utensils, although it is clearly recognized that they belong to one particular house. Festive clothing and ornaments are borrowed from neighbours by those going to beer drinks and dances. To refuse to lend is considered very mean.

In sharp contrast with this Pondo idea of property, which involves obligations, and which cannot be disposed of without consultation of kin, comes the European conception of property over which the owner has absolute rights, and of which he can dispose without reference to others. A valiant attempt has been made to apply the old Pondo conception to new economic conditions, and although there is an increasing tendency towards the European attitude, the Pondo conception largely determines the disposal of money earned at the mines. Although all property is allotted to particular houses, field work is done by all the members of the *umzi* working together, and food is shared within the group. So, when a man works for Europeans, he is expected to spend his earnings partly for the benefit of his *umzi* and not solely for his own 'house'. Before he goes to work, and during his absence, goods for the general use of the *umzi*, such as a plough, grain, or clothing, are got on credit, the fact that he is working being taken as security, and on his return his first duty is to pay the debts of the *umzi* and the taxes of all the men of the *umzi*. Most men bring back gifts of clothing—a blanket or skirt for their mother, skirts for sisters, married and unmarried, a blanket for their father. Only after these obligations have been fulfilled do they buy blankets for themselves, saddles, ornaments, and stock for *ikhazi*. Old men state that in the 'good old days' sons on their return from the mines put their wages at their father's feet, to do what he wished with them. 'It is proper that he should hand it over to his father for so long as he lives in his *umzi*.' Now usually father and son come together to the store to pay the debts and buy necessities. The son retains the money, but to a large extent expends it for the benefit of the whole *umzi*.

Obligations are mutual. *Akukho 'mpukane inqakulela enye*, (No

fly catches for another), says the proverb. When several brothers or brothers' sons live together in one *umzi*, each goes away to work in turn, and supplies the ready money necessary for taxes, clothing, &c., for the whole *umzi*. I heard an old man dictating a letter to a son at the mines. 'We are hungry. Do you wish your home to be an *umzi* with a quarrel? Your brother's wife is a suckling mother now. We are ploughing and we are hungry. Gova and Saʃaiza were away working long, and you were at home. You must do your share now, and send back money. We are not as other *imizi* with plenty of mealies.' A father benefits from the earnings of his son but is expected to provide, or at least to help him, with the *ikhazi* for his first wife. Men of standing are emphatic that although there are rascals who take a son's earnings without giving him any equivalent, they have no right to do so. Matʃhes sent back money with which his father bought a couple of beasts. Then the father used those beasts for ritual killings. Again Matʃhes sent money; his father used it to pay his own accounts. On Matʃhes' return no cattle were available for his *ikhazi*. He swore that he would never send money to his father again. Even a boy from the sugar estates must be compensated with a heifer for his *ikhazi*, if his father uses the ready money he brings back. Under Pondo law the owner of an *umzi* is responsible for the torts, which always involved fines, of all members of his *umzi* with whom he had not provided wives.[1] *Akukho nkwali iphandel'enye. Ephandel'enye yene thole* (No partridge scratches for another. One that does so has a chicken.—Proverb).

Pondo do not discuss their business affairs outside the family, and it was extremely difficult to discover in detail exactly how money brought back from the mines was spent. I can only cite a few incomplete examples gleaned from a trader's accounts. One man had an account for £6 10*s*. at the store for grain bought for the *umzi* in a bad season. He paid this, and also bought sheeting and blankets for himself and his sisters. Another man had an account for £5 for grain, and bought a horse. Another paid an account for £9 10*s*. for a horse and a blanket, and also paid the taxes for the men of his *umzi*. Another had an account for £8 10*s*. for a horse and blanket, and paid the taxes. Two young men returning from the mines together had in their joint box two shirts, a pair of trousers, two headkerchiefs, a woollen cap, a saddle, and £2 10*s*. in cash. They each bought a new woollen blanket and loin-cloth, soap, matches, sugar, and mirrors. Both were wearing new felt hats and 30*s*. worth of brass ornaments.

[1] Pondo law here differs from the Xhosa under which the owner of the *umzi* is responsible for married members also.

The ideal of the community is always that a man should work for his father, that he should hand over his earnings, and that his father should provide the *ikhazi* for a wife, but in practice there is a growing tendency for a young man to keep his own money and provide his own *ikhazi*. The cases quoted on pp. 124–7 show that this is so even in the most conservative districts of Pondoland. And there are many complaints that young men do not help their fathers nowadays. Old men speak bitterly of this, and do not remember that since working for wages is an innovation, handing over wages to the father is in itself an innovation.

When a man has his own *umzi* he often gives his money to his mother, or if she is dead to his chief wife, to keep 'because men spend more money than women'. 'They squander it on tobacco and ornaments.' The woman has no right to use a penny without permission—'If her husband sends a woman money from the mines she waits to hear from him what it is for before she spends anything'—but she is the guardian of it. It is said that 'dressed people' do not so often give money to their wives to keep, for 'their wives like tea and coffee, and are tempted to spend the money', so their husbands keep the money themselves.

Honesty.

A study of the incidence of, and attitude towards, theft throws light on ideas of property. Cattle raiding from neighbouring tribes was a usual and honourable pastime, but theft of stock within the tribe was a serious offence, punishable in the chief's court by fines two or three times the value of the goods stolen. Stock theft is now not uncommon in Pondoland. One man I knew had lost thirty sheep in the last two or three years. They were thought to have been stolen by men from the great place, *iinduna* (adherents), and younger brothers of the district chief. While I was at 'nTiβane a younger brother and *induna* of the chief were caught sheep stealing and taken to the magistrate's court. The case was the talk of the neighbourhood. Most people were very glad that they had been caught, for many had been losing sheep, but there seemed to be no idea of social disgrace in stealing. They had acted anti-socially, should be punished, and would in future be suspected as thieves, but not be ostracized by their friends for having been caught stealing. Ripening crops are easy prey to a thief, and green maize is sometimes stolen by passers-by from fields near paths, but theft of crops seldom assumes serious proportions. I never heard of a case of theft from a store-hut.

Early travellers comment on the scrupulous honesty of the

Pondo regarding travellers' property.[1] Some traders maintain that pagans are more honest about paying accounts than 'dressed people'. It is noticeable that among the things quickly taken over from European culture are padlocks for boxes and huts. Every man has a box with a lock which he brings back from the mines, and which he keeps locked, with his money, ornaments, and gala dress, in his hut. 'School people' who have wooden doors to their huts very often lock them when they go out. This suggests that there is a fear of theft.

Magic is sometimes worked to punish thieves (*ukukhuhlela*). At 'mZizi there were two men who possessed medicines (*amayeza*) for this. If a goat were stolen the spoor was traced, and when the bones were found the persons possessing medicines worked upon them. With one man's medicines the thief's stomach swelled up; with the other the thief went on stealing so that he was caught. Sometimes a man publicly threatens to use medicines, and that stops the stealing. Singatha said that when his crops were being pilfered he talked about it at beer drinks, and said that he was going to set a watch. To frighten people further he killed a frog, smeared it with charcoal, and hung it on a mealie stalk in his field, but in fact he knew of no medicines to catch thieves. At 'nTiβane I was told that some people put a medicine on their mealie cobs, which, if a thief takes them, makes his gums swell. A case was cited of some one for whom a trap was set, who stole, and who lost all his teeth. 'But', added my informant, 'sometimes they say you have been stealing mealies when you have just ordinary swollen gums.' *Ukukhuhlela* is known all over Pondoland but does not now seem to be commonly used except at 'mZizi.

Exchange

Formerly each *umzi* produced most of the goods necessary for its own consumption. Even specialists had their cattle and fields and produced their own food, and there was very little production of surplus grain for exchange. There was a little exchange in pottery, ironwork, bone and woodwork, and basketwork, but the quantity of goods exchanged was never great. There were no markets—a person requiring spears or pottery went direct to the home of the smith or potteress and there bought, or ordered to be made, what he or she required—and no standardized medium of exchange. Grain, spears, goats, and cattle were all used in exchange for each other, and for other goods, and for payment of diviners and herbalists. Whether there was a stabilized relative

[1] A. F. Gardiner, op. cit. p. 11.

value before contact it is difficult to determine, but such evidence as there is suggests that there was. Pots were sold for their fill in grain. Ten spears were given for a young beast. Ten goats for a beast.

Kay[1] mentions that the Pondo got copper rings from the tribes to the east of them in exchange for grain and corn, and Boyce[2] that they exchanged maize and tobacco for elephant ivory with Bushmen. Pondo on the coast now (and probably formerly) trade a rare shell (*iyila*) with Xhosa, who prize it as an ornament, also shark skin which Xhosa use as medicine for fields. Rushes and palm leaves for basketwork are sold in districts where they are scarce. Fines for offences against neighbours and against the chief were levied in cattle or goats, death dues paid to the chief also in stock, and gifts of first-fruits given to him. This occasioned some circulation of goods, but the main cause of circulation was the custom of *ukulobola* (the giving of cattle by the groom's group to the bride's group upon the occasion of marriage) and the giving of clothing and household utensils by the bride's group to the groom's group. The average number of cattle given for the daughters of commoners was six to ten head, and a bride brought to her in-laws gifts of clothing for four or five persons, and a stock of household utensils (cf. p. 196). When a man and girl slept together as sweethearts (*ukumetʃa*) gifts were exchanged between their groups (cf. p. 181).

Before circumcision was abolished gifts of clothing and ornaments were given to an initiate by his relatives, and gifts of white beads are given to persons being initiated as diviners, and to twins, but these are the only occasions besides marriage of ceremonial gift giving.

The possession of cattle is essential to every Pondo man since they are an important source of food, the means by which wives are acquired, and the means by which he maintains good relations with his ancestral spirits (*amathongo*) on which his health and prosperity depend (cf. Chap. V). We have seen how cattle are inherited, and how each son is as far as possible provided for. There were always those, however, who inherited no cattle, or an insufficient number to obtain a wife and provide milk for a family. A few men work as specialists, diviners, herbalists, smiths, basket-makers, and workers in bone and wood—but although some diviners and herbalists do very good business, the number who acquired wealth as specialists can never have been great. Moreover, the most lucrative profession, that of diviner, is only open to those who have the 'divine call' (cf. p. 320).

[1] Kay, op. cit., p. 374. [2] A. Steedman, op. cit., p. 280.

Cattle raiding afforded an opportunity for enterprising men to get rich quickly, but the principal way in which a poor man acquired wealth was to serve a chief, or wealthy man, and receive in return the loan or gift of cattle. I use 'gift' because it was not a stipulated amount of work done in return for stipulated payment. Occasionally a boy is hired as a herd on the understanding that he will receive a calf at the end of the year in payment for his services, but of him it is said *uqafiwe* (he is hired) not *uyabusa* (he serves and asks gifts).[1]

A fundamental of Pondo social economics is that it is in no way degrading to ask a gift of another, that to dispense gifts is the mark of a chief, and that he who is given gifts becomes the giver's 'man'. Every chief and every wealthy man has *iinduna*, men come to ask gifts, and prepared in return to perform services. The gift may be of stock or of produce; most frequently it is a loan of cattle. Rich men lend (*ukunqoma*) cattle to others. The person to whom they are lent has the use of them for milking (now also for ploughing), but must return them with their increase whenever the owner wishes. The person to whom the stock is lent is not responsible for deaths, provided that he reports the matter immediately to the owner and produces the skin. After some years the owner may give him a share of the increase if he has tended the cattle well, and performed many services for the owner, but this is of grace, not of right.

Poor men may also borrow cattle with which to marry, promising to return them on the marriage of the first daughter of the wife obtained with the borrowed cattle. If that wife has no daughter the debt is paid out of the cattle received for the daughter of her son, or for the daughter of another wife. When I was discussing the position of poor men, a chief's son volunteered, 'A man need never be without a wife in Pondoland, he can always get a friend to (*uku*)*lobola* for him by pledging his eldest daughter.'

The *induna* who is given or lent cattle must perform any services required of him by his chief (*inkosi*). (The man who gives a gift is always an *inkosi* to him who receives, whatever his blood may be.) The services usually performed by an *induna* are building huts, cutting bush for the kraal, assisting with cultivation, going messages, acting as the mouthpiece of his chief in public (e.g. arranging a marriage agreement for him), and praising (*ukubonga*) his chief.

To a Pondo the singing of his praises in public is a thing of great importance, and praising is one of the principal services

[1] Cf. Nyanja *kubusa*, to herd cattle.

rendered by an *induna* to his chief. Umthetho told how he went to (*uku*)*busa* recently from Mvokwana, a wealthy commoner. He did not specify what he needed, but said he had come to ask for anything Mvokwana would give him. Umthetho sang the praises of Mvokwana in Mvokwana's *inkundla*, and after he had *ukubonga* three times Mvokwana drove out a calf. Service is not meticulously balanced against gift, but the *induna* is expected to serve willingly, and the chief to reward liberally. If the chief is not liberal the *induna* will go to (*uku*)*busa* elsewhere. If the *induna* grumbles about the services the chief may refuse further gifts, or resume his loan of cattle.

A rich man by lending out cattle makes his wealth less obvious, and so lessens the danger of being 'smelt out' for witchcraft. Even if he were 'smelt out' the cattle lent to others would not be seized. He secures better grazing by dividing his herd, and gets his cattle herded. But the most important advantage a man gains by giving gifts, or lending cattle to another, is prestige. As we have said, he is always *inkosi* (chief) to the man to whom he lends or gives gifts. Status depends upon having a large following, and a man's *iinduna* were part of his following. It is in no way degrading to be the *iinduna* of a wealthy man, and B and C who are *iinduna* of A may in turn have *iinduna*. To-day in Pondoland *ukubusa* is constantly going on, and very many men have in their kraals cattle lent (*ukunqoma*) to them by others. Borrowing cattle with which to marry is not now common, but old informants say that it was usual before young men could earn their *ikhazi* at the mines.

Kinsmen (on both the mother's and father's side) have a special responsibility towards their poorer relatives, and it is therefore common to go to (*uku*)*busa* from them, but a man is at liberty to (*uku*)*busa* from a chief, or any rich man, and the majority of *iinduna* are not related to the men from whom they *ukubusa*. Young men said that particularly when borrowing cattle with which to marry they more often go to a friend than to a father's brother or other relation. There was laughter when I asked if a man might not pledge his eldest daughter (presumptive) to his father-in-law, and so avoid *ukulobola* altogether. That is never done.

The translation of a text written by Geza in response to my demand for an account of *ukubusa*, illustrates the manner of the transaction. The text was entirely his own composition and at no point prompted by questions from me. I quote it in full because its very long-windedness gives the proper atmosphere of leisure, and shows *ukubusa* as a courteous arrangement between

gentlemen, very different from a modern western commercial transaction.

To make our account clear we will call the characters by name. He who is asked from is Sityeßi (Rich man), he who asks is Hlwempu (Poor man).

One day Hlwempu said to his wife, 'Mother of So-and-so, you know we have nothing, we are in danger that our children will be hungry. There is very little maize, not enough to grind for the whole year. We ought to have thick milk that we may eat milk food instead of grinding corn. Advise me, my wife, what we should do that we may come through.'

His wife replied: 'It has always surprised me that you, a man with your own *umzi*, although you do not work, do not do service (*ukubusa*) for any one. The best plan is for you to go to Sityeßi and ask him to lend you a beast, for we cannot pull through unless we have milk. Explain to him clearly the position we are in, and the poverty we are in. Perhaps the ancestral spirit will help us, although we do not give it even a calf.'

'Very well, wife. I will rise at dawn to-morrow and go to him.'

The next morning Hlwempu made haste to go to Sityeßi. On arriving there he explained his business in this fashion. 'I am here with you about a certain matter. I have come about it. I have come to report something to you. My children are hungry. They have nothing to eat. I have come to ask something that I may milk for them, even a calf that I may herd it, and be with hope that it will grow, for a beast is not given porridge' (i.e. it will cost him nothing to keep).

Sityeßi replied, saying, 'Yes, this of *ukubusa* was done when we were born: you do not initiate anything, Hlwempu. In the time of my grandfather it was so. Many men here are given cattle to graze by others. The difficulty is that at present I have not anything that I can give you. Go home and come back again. I may find you something.'

'That is hope, my dear friend (*umhloßo*[1] *wam*). I say *umhloßo wam* although we are not related, for this is friendship (*ußuhloßo*) made by speaking, and this friendship is great even above relationship.' When he had finished Hlwempu went home, and when he arrived he said to his wife, 'I have been to Sityeßi. He answered as a man, for he says that I may return, and I shall see what there is. He will know whether I may get a calf.'

'Well that's that, one of our people. Don't stay too long. Make haste and return so that he may understand that you are in trouble.'

'I shall do so, for perhaps there are many who ask (*ukubusa*) from him, and receive, and I may not receive if I do not go often.'

After a short time he went back to Sityeßi. When he arrived he said, 'I have come concerning that which I cried.'

Sityeßi answered, 'Very well, one of our people, you will receive

[1] *Umhloßo* is normally used in colloquial speech for a close friend, not a relation, but *uhloßo* means a kind, type, and is often used for a particular strain of cattle, e.g. *uhloßo lwenkomo yoßuluunga*. The strain of the *inkomo yoßuluunga*.

your thing. But you will help me by cutting brushwood for me: my cattle kraal is broken down, and my cattle lie at night without being shut up. I will not lend you a beast if you will not do any work. I have been hindered myself.'

'I thank you, my friend. I shall go to the forest to-morrow morning. I hope that by the end of the week I shall be finished cutting wood, and it will only remain to build.'

Sityeβi replied, 'When you have cut the wood you will be finished. I will draw the wood with oxen, and build the kraal myself.'

Hlwempu went home, and when he arrived he said to his wife, 'Mother of So-and-so, please will you prepare food for me at dawn to-morrow, for I am going to cut wood for Sityeβi's kraal. He says the day I finish I may go and take a beast which he will lend me. He said he would not give me a beast if I did not work, for I arrived to serve (*ukuβusa*) at a time when his kraal was falling to bits.'

His wife replied, 'Cutting wood is nothing, if by doing so you get a beast; and he who has cattle worked before he received them.'

The next morning Hlwempu got up, and ate, and at once hastened to go to the forest. He cut wood and returned after sunset. He did so every day. After a week he had finished cutting. He went to Sityeβi and told him that he had finished cutting. That day he returned driving his beast. He took care of that beast and at length it calved. The famine that had begun finished. Milk food was eaten by the children and all the family. At length the cow went dry. It calved again many times, and was milked. When it calved for the fourth time its first calf had already calved. The *umzi* of Hlwempu began now to be like the *imizi* of other people. It had cattle. Sityeβi came to Hlwempu's, for it is not right that a man should look through a hole at his stock. He came and was shown the calves of his cow. At length, when these cattle were many, Hlwempu wished that he might have something of his own. On a certain day he went to his chief (for one who aids is called that) and said, 'My friend, do a very great thing by helping me with cattle. I have nothing of my own. Now I am like other men by your doing. Now, my chief, I am here, I ask you that you will give me something for my own. I am sad that I have nothing of my own.'

Sityeβi replied, 'Very well, Hlwempu. I do not wish to take those cattle which are with you, for you have looked after them well. Grind beer, and come and tell me the day it is ready, and I shall come with my people from this home, my brothers and sons.'

'It does not matter whether you take these cattle or not. The thing I wish is that I may herd for myself, that I may have a calf which I can call my very own.' So spoke Hlwempu, and went away.

When he got home he said, 'Mother of So-and-so, is there sprouted grain? I have been to Sityeβi's. I asked him if he would come to divide his cattle, for these cattle have increased. He said that I should make a little beer, and tell him the day it is ready that they may drink it.'

His wife put maize in water. When it was soft she ground it for beer. The day the beer was strained Hlwempu went and told his chief.

On the day of the drink Sityeßi was seen coming with a company of his relatives. When they arrived they were given beer, and they drank. After a time Hlwempu brought in the goats, and killed to give a little thing to his chief. All the meat of that goat was cooked and eaten by every one. Then they drank again. The cattle came in. Sityeßi and the men with him made a semicircle round them all. When they saw them they admired those which were admirable. Sityeßi asked his relatives whether he should not give a certain beast to his henchman (*induna*). They agreed with him, and said that they thought he should give it to Hlwempu. They said that they agreed to the one he had pointed out. When they had finished Sityeßi pointed out to Hlwempu the beast apportioned to him. Hlwempu kissed his chief's hand. They then went away leaving all the cattle, although they might take them when they wished. Now Hlwempu still herds those cattle, but does not expect anything from them for he has been given his. Such is the way of *ukußusa*, with all stock.

The view that to ask is in no way degrading, and to give is to be like a chief, means that in ordinary social life it is perfectly good manners to pester neighbours for tobacco, snuff, a dog, clothing—anything they have, and that you may want. The only polite refusal is, 'I have none.' Sandhile, when giving advice to his daughter in public before she left to be married to a Pondo chief, said, 'Should you be asked to give away something that you would keep, say that it is not yours.'[1] That advice is daily put into practice.

By going to (*uku*)*ßusa*, any one reduced to dire straits through the burning of a store-hut or other misfortune can always get help from more wealthy neighbours, but help is not offered unless people ask for it. *Usana olungakhaliyo lufel'embelekweni* (An infant that does not cry out dies on its mother's back.—Proverb).

There are (and probably were before European contact) considerable differences in wealth. I knew one man, the son of a doctor to the chief Mqikela, who owned 500 head of cattle and 40 horses. Dipping returns show up to 140 head of cattle and 400 sheep belonging to one *umzi*.[2] Other men own no cattle. But the system of *ukußusa* insures a fairly equal distribution of the profits of cattle.

With European contact and the introduction of money has come a great increase in the circulation of goods, and consequently the necessity of accumulating goods which may be exchanged for other goods. Money has so penetrated and been absorbed into Pondo culture that it is commonly used in transactions between Pondo. In each district there is a standard cash price for such

[1] C. Brownlee, *Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History*, p. 253.
[2] These may be owned by several men living in one *umzi*.

pottery, basketwork, and woodwork as is made. The price may vary between district and district according to the scarcity of materials and the number of people skilled in the work. A particularly well-made article will command a higher price, but there is a recognized standard price. For example, at 'mBotyi a small pot for milk was 6*d.*, a water-pot 2*s.*, and a big beer barrel 10*s.* Beer baskets 4*s.* to 5*s.* according to size, milk-tubs 3*s.* to 4*s.* according to size, a beer strainer 6*d.*, a food mat 6*d.*, a sleeping-mat 4*s.*, snuff-spoons 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* according to size and decoration, pipes 6*d.* to 1*s.* according to size. Five pounds is so much the standardized value for a beast that in speaking of the number of head given as *ikhazi* £5 is often spoken of as a 'beast'. Similarly 10*s.* represents a sheep or a goat.

Beer and meat, which formerly were always given free, are now sometimes sold. Beer drinks at which beer is sold at 3*d.* or 6*d.* a basket or can (cf. p. 361) are frequent, although the selling of beer is prohibited by law; and sometimes a 'dressed man' kills a beast and sells portions of the meat to his neighbours, either for cash or for mealies.

There are stores kept by European and Coloured traders all through Pondoland, usually at five to seven miles apart. They buy grain, hides, wool, and cattle, and sell European manufactured goods and the grain which they have bought.

A list of the stock of a store in a conservative district illustrates the type of goods Pondo buy:

Woollen blankets
Cotton blankets
Bed-spreads (worn as shawls)
Woollen shawls
Cotton sheeting
Prints
Artificial silks
Ploughs
Hoes
Iron pots
Buckets
Tin dishes
Billy-cans
Concertinas
Beads
Coloured handkerchiefs
Belts
Brass ornaments
Saddles and bridles
Leather bags and pouches
Knives
Nails
Salt
Soap
Matches
Sugar
Tea
Coffee
Bully-beef
Curry
Pepper
Cups and saucers
Teapots and coffee-pots
Spoons
Patent medicines
Lamps
Paraffin
Tobacco
Grain

Because they now trade Pondo are directly affected by affairs in Europe and America. The slump in grain and in hides has made prices so poor that in 1931 little grain was being sold to traders by the Khonjwayo. Their chief had sent out word that as prices were so low they should rather brew beer with their surplus. The fact that goat-skins and ox-hides can no longer be advantageously exchanged for cotton goods has brought a revival in the wearing of skins as clothing.

This increase in the circulation of goods obtained by money, and the introduction of poll-tax payable only in money, compels every Pondo man to acquire money. Essential cash expenses of an average pagan man include:

	£	s.	d.	
Taxes:[1]				
Unmarried man	1	0	0	p.a.
Married man	1	10	0	,,
Polygynist (for each wife above one)		10	0	,,
Dipping tax per head of cattle.			9	,,
Clothing:				
Man: One woollen blanket p.a.	1	5	0	,,
Women: 3 cotton blankets p.a. or 1 braided skirt, and breast-cloth	1	0	0	
Woollen blanket for sleeping	1	0	0	
Other goods:				
Pots				
Salt				
Paraffin				
Matches				
Soap				
Plough	£2 10*s.* to £6			
Chain	£1 10*s.*			
Spare parts for plough				

At least part of the *ikhazi*, which averages seven to ten head, is usually bought with cash earned. Five pounds is the standardized price for a beast, but the market-price has been for some years about £3. A young man also frequently pays his *umnyobo*, about £6 in all, out of his earnings (cf. pp. 181–2). Cattle are seldom offered for sale, unless it is absolutely necessary to do so, and the absence of convenient markets, and veterinary restrictions on moving cattle, make sale difficult. A former Principal of Tsolo Agricultural School estimated that each family of five, using the ordinary Native agricultural methods, should realize £2 12*s.* 6*d.* per annum by the sale of wool and surplus maize, but his estimate of the market-prices obtained is high.[2]

Much of what is sold to traders is paid for in goods, not in cash. He calculated that a progressive man using better agricultural

[1] There is also indirect taxation in the form of heavy import duties on goods bought by Bantu.

[2] *N.E.C.*, Annexure 14, and Addendum 54.

methods could clear £13 14*s.* 6*d.* per annum from the 4 morgan of arable land, and 17 morgan of grazing available for each family of five in the Transkei,[1] but even this income is far from meeting the necessary cash expenses of a 'dressed Native' family. While the area allotted to one man to cultivate is limited to 4 morgan there is little opportunity for any man to earn sufficient to meet cash expenses[2] from agriculture. The cash income of a Pondo therefore comes almost entirely as wages earned by working for Europeans. In addition to these expenses of the pagan the 'dressed Native' has to pay for education for his children, above Standard VI, and church fees. His clothing costs more than that of the pagan, and he spends more on European foods, such as tea, coffee, and sugar. His wants in the way of furniture are greater. Some pagans maintain that they do not wish any member of the family to become a church adherent and wear European clothes, 'because dressed Natives are always poor'.

Grain is sold, often to pay taxes, and is frequently bought back at a much higher price. At four of the five stores at which I stayed in Pondoland no grain was ever exported to other districts, but it was sometimes bought in bad seasons. On the average probably at least as much grain is bought back as is sold.[3] The same is now true of tobacco, although at one time money was made by growing tobacco. A tax was put on, and the production of tobacco for sale practically ceased. Formerly the sale of hides and wool brought in some money, but since 1931 the total amount thus brought in to each *umzi* is negligible. Stock are not sold except when pressure is great.

The incentives to working for Europeans are now evident. A man must have ready money for taxes; he also wants it for articles of European manufacture like clothing, ploughs, &c. (which are now regarded as necessities), and sometimes for additional food, for *ikhazi*, and for all the European goods which he sees and covets in the trader's store. Two young men came into a store one day to 'join' (as mine labourers). They said to neighbours there 'our mothers are cold', and bought with their 'advances' woollen blankets and sheeting.

I was sitting on the counter of another store when a dandy came in and asked to see a concertina. It was a superior concer-

[1] *N.E.C.*, Annexure 14, and Addendum 54. At Teko Agricultural School, a model plot of 10 acres, farmed intensively, produced an actual cash profit of under £10. *Cape Times*, May 31, 1934, 'Why the Native goes to Town'.

[2] Cf. *N.E.C.*, pp. 140–3.

[3] The statement in the *N.E.C.* that the Transkei is now exporting maize (cf. p. 94) apparently referred to 1929 and 1930, exceptionally good years.

tina costing £1. He tried a little tune on it, and danced a few steps. His companion commented on the good tone and the nice red paint. The girls at the other end of the shop looked admiringly at him. The trader remarked to me as he went out, 'It will not be long now before he "joins". He has looked at that concertina a number of times now.' It may be that the wife covets a new bed-spread to wear at festivals, or that a man has ambitions for a son to be educated, but in each case the man has to go to work to satisfy the desire. Wealth modifies the manner of life more than formerly, and status is more dependent upon it than formerly. Men work for Europeans solely to gain money. For the unskilled labourer mining is not a satisfying outlet in itself, as is cattle breeding, or the exercise of craft skill in the making of household utensils, ornaments, and clothing. But on the first expeditions there is some joy of freedom, and a spice of adventure. I heard a group of boys discussing the advantages and disadvantages of working at the mines. One said, 'There you are left to sit and eat your food. At home one is always being sent, "Go: Milk: Make haste." ' A boy has heard his elder brothers recount the glories and horrors of 'the place of gold', and half-apprehensive, half-longing, waits for the time when he will be old enough to go too. When he returns he is a man of the world. I have heard men say to one who came from a rich family and had never gone out to work, 'Oh, you know nothing: you have never been to the mines.' It was half a compliment because it was proof of wealth, but there was a trace of scorn. Elders favour adult sons going to work, for they are dependent upon them for ready money.

Many Natives are in debt to traders. Book-debts of traders in the Transkei are estimated at £1,000,000.[1] Traders frequently charge a very high rate of interest. I knew one who kept his own police, prison hut, and handcuffs, and incarcerated debtors until they were released by their relatives. Had he sued them under the civil law of the country he would have been charged under the Usury Act. To remedy this position Native Co-operative agricultural and Credit Societies have been started. In December 1933 there were in the Transkei thirty-one societies with total funds subscribed by members of £10,596.[2] I heard of one Society of 200 members in Pondoland started in 1926 on the initiative of an educated Native in the comparatively well-educated community round Palmerton mission. Individuals became members

[1] *N.E.C.*, p. 948.

[2] Reply of Minister of Native Affairs to question in House. Reported *East London Despatch*, March 24, 1934.

by paying £2 10*s*. to the funds of the society on which they draw interest of 6*d*. per £1 per month. Some of this money was lent for periods of three months to persons for whom three members stood security at the rate of 6*d*. per £1 per month. A committee elected by members met weekly to consider applications for membership, and applications for borrowing. Persons not known or considered untrustworthy were not admitted to membership. The Secretary and Treasurer who kept the books were paid 5*s*. a month. The Society was modelled on those started by a European missionary, Father Huss, but was independent.

In some districts of Pondoland subscriptions were collected by persons calling themselves agents of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, but no permanent branch of a Trades Union has been established.

CHAPTER III

GROWING UP

Ideas concerning conception.

THE Pondo have some knowledge of the physiology of conception. Gedja, a diviner (*igqira*), who practised as a midwife, described the process thus. 'Conception cannot take place without the copulation of male and female. The sperm of the man meets the blood of the woman. There is formed a white string. The woman ceases to menstruate, and what blood she does not discharge goes into that string. At the end of two months it is like a big clot of blood. Movement within begins during the fourth month. Then the legs and arms of the child inside begin to form. By the fifth month legs and arms are formed, and the sex is distinguishable.'

Another woman, about forty, who also practised as a midwife, confirmed Gedja's statements. 'The man and woman copulate, the sperm (*intlaka*) of the man meets the ovary (*iqanda*) of the woman, and becomes mixed with her blood. It forms a clot. The stoppage of the menstrual flow means that the blood which would have been released each month is going to make the child. We know that it is not a person at once. The body is first like a clot of blood, then dangling things come that are recognizable as the beginnings of arms and legs. The head is formed. Eyes are not there at first, but just slits, where the eyes should be. If a miscarriage takes place at six months there is hair, but the nails are hardly visible. There is no life until the fourth month. For three months it is just a clot of blood.' These are the statements of specialists. A mother listening to Gedja's statement remarked, 'Gedja knows many things about the making of a child that we do not know.' Gedja had never been to school or worked for Europeans, and I am satisfied that her knowledge was not supplemented by contact with Europeans.

There are no qualities believed to be inherited exclusively from either parent. A councillor when asked whether a man inherited spiritual or mental qualities from his father's side only, since he was only influenced by the ancestors of his father (cf. p. 223), replied that it was not so, and cited the case of Paya, a chief's son, who, he said, was physically exactly like his father Gwadiso, but who thought and spoke like his mother's brother. Others, he said, looked like their mother's relatives, but were more like their father in character.

The influence of heredity is recognized. A woman remarked, 'If a child is bad tempered we say it has inherited its temper from its mother.' When there is doubt as to the paternity of a child a likeness to one of the men who may be its father is sought. An *idikazi* (divorcee, or unmarried mother) who had been visited by several men became pregnant. Her father demanded damages (cf. p. 206), but it could not be proved which man was responsible. The case was held over until the child was born. It was held to be like Befile, one of the men who had visited her, and Befile had to pay the fine.

Children are very much desired, and a barren woman is pitied by all. Women like to have many children. Ten or twelve is considered an ideal number. When I was defending the higher marriage age customary among Europeans, a woman's chief argument against it was, 'But when a girl marries late she bears so few children.' In folk-tales the heroine, after being happily married, usually has a large family. There is little incentive therefore to limit the number of legitimate children. Unmarried girls, and women for two years after the birth of a child, are forbidden by custom to conceive, but as far as I know no means were formerly used to prevent conception. Informants, women whom I trusted, denied that any Native contraceptives were known, and I heard of four different pagan women from remote districts, coming to different stores, asking for contraceptives. One said that she had had miscarriage after miscarriage which made her very ill, and she did not wish to conceive again. Another was an *idikazi* who did not wish to bear more children. A Christian woman who had four children told me that she and her husband did not intend to have any more children as they could not afford to educate more than four. I understood her to mean that she and her husband intended to remain apart. Some months later she became pregnant again. Both she and her husband definitely did not want another child, and whatever measures they had taken had not been effective. This evidence suggests that there is no knowledge of contraceptives.

Women stated that abortives were known but seldom used. To use them is considered wrong, but according to old councillors there was no customary penalty for procuring abortion, 'for it is a new thing', and formerly cases did not come up. All emphatically deny that there was ever any custom of killing infants born deformed. Pondo frequently commented on the fact that women nowadays do not bear as many children as did their mothers and grandmothers, and that many are sterile. Of the 200 married women of all ages questioned, 12 per cent. had been married

over two years and borne no child. The average number of births per married woman was 3·91. Of the children born, 38·49 per cent. died before reaching maturity, 14·26[1] per cent. under one year.

Pregnancy.

During pregnancy a woman leads a normal life, and is expected to carry on all her duties of hoeing, fetching wood and water, and grinding until the birth-pains begin. As a bride is the hardest-worked person in an *umzi* this means that the manual work done during first pregnancy is exceedingly strenuous. I have seen women seven months pregnant grinding for two days for a beer drink, or carrying 50 lb. of grain on their heads seven miles to a store. A Pondo may refuse to ride his mare in foal, but sees no reason why his wife should not hoe until the day she gives birth.

Girls frequently suffer from pains during their periods, sometimes so severe that they are forced to lie down. The number of doctors who specialize in remedies for menstrual pain, and the ready sale of patent medicines for it in stores, is proof that it is common. Many women also suffer during pregnancy. Often there were signs of excruciating pain on the faces of pregnant women as they set down a heavy basket of grain in the store. All complain that grinding flings the child about in the womb, and lifting heavy weights to the head causes pain. Children are born with the umbilical cord twisted round and round. Labour is often prolonged; there are cases of children being born in the fields, and their mothers picking them up and carrying them home; but there are many more cases of prolonged labour. A woman who specialized in midwifery said that first labour usually lasted two days and two nights, and she had had cases lasting five days. A mission doctor was emphatic that difficult births are as common among Pondo women as among Europeans. The pelvis of Pondo women is normally smaller than that of European women, so although the babies are smaller labour is as difficult.

Children are desired, and the pregnant woman, being proud and happy, makes no effort to conceal her state. Comments on her condition are freely made to her in public by either sex. She may sleep with her husband until the eighth month.

In the fourth or fifth month of her pregnancy a bride is given an *isihlambezo* (from *ukuhlamba*, to wash), a plant which she grows in water or boils. Instead of drinking ordinary water she drinks that in which it is growing or has boiled. Each family

[1] Information as to the number of children dying under one year was got from only 66 mothers, and the ages given were only approximate.

uses a particular plant which is its traditional *isihlambezo*, inheritance being in the male line. The most common plant used is agapanthus, and many families of different clans used it, while others of the same clans use something else, so the distinction is not according to clan. I can trace no legends accounting for divergences within or between clans, but one group of families of the Mose clan gave up using *izihlambezo* altogether, 'because they were having no effect'. Instead they get medicines to drink from a doctor. Possibly other families changed the plant used on the advice of a doctor for the same reason. A woman must always use the *isihlambezo* of her husband's *umzi*, and it must be picked by an 'old person', male or female, of the *umzi*. It often happens that the *isihlambezo* of her husband's family is the same as the *isihlambezo* of her own, but even though she knows it she cannot pick it for herself or have it picked for her at her parents' home.

When she is ready to get an *isihlambezo* a bride is sent to her own home to get a clay pot or tin can. On her return beer is made at her *umzi*. She is made to kneel down in a hut, naked to the waist; the pot containing water and the *isihlambezo* plant is set before her, and she is told to confess (*ukulawula*) all her dreams, and any evil deeds (*izinchola*). Particularly must she confess if she has ever committed incest (*umbulo*), i.e. had sexual relations with any man of her own clan, or that of her mother, or either grandmother, or if she has a familiar (cf. pp. 275–90). After confessing she is made to drink of the water in which the *isihlambezo* is standing. Relatives and friends are present at the ceremony. 'If she is afraid to confess they will threaten to beat her, her husband will be the first to take the stick.' If she does not confess fully the *isihlambezo* growing in her pot, and therefore the child in the womb, will not flourish, and the child when born will not suckle. The cooked variety of *isihlambezo* will not boil. If the baby on birth refuses to suckle the mother is made to confess again. When full confession is made the child will suckle. The father is asked, too, if he has ever committed incest or witchcraft, but 'no one has ever heard of a man confessing anything'. An old woman remarks that she has never heard a girl confessing incest or the possession of a familiar when she got her *isihlambezo*. 'Even when a baby will not suckle the mother does not confess having a familiar until some one tells her that she has one.' Some say that 'when she confesses an *impundulu* she is treated' (cf. p. 283). 'Nothing is done if she confesses incest: it is finished.' One young mother remarked in the shop, 'If you do not confess your child will just look at you and not suckle.' Another replied, 'That is

nonsense, lots of children are born whose fathers are related to their mothers, and they suckle all right.'

When a child is illegitimate complications concerning the use of an *isihlambezo* appear. An unmarried girl with an illegitimate child will get an *isihlambezo* from her lover's *umzi* without much difficulty, but a married woman cannot easily do so. One matron states that, 'even though you know that you are pregnant by some one else, you can make the child a child of your husband by using his *isihlambezo*. Then all the *amasiko* (customs, i.e. ritual killings, cf. pp. 233; 240) can be performed by your husband for the child. If you get the *isihlambezo* of the real father you are laying up trouble for yourself, for then all the *amasiko* will have to be performed by the real father.' Others state that only the *isihlambezo* of the biological father will make the child healthy, and the mother of an illegitimate child, after she has confessed at her husband's *umzi* for the sake of appearances, will steal away and confess properly at the home of the child's father and get an *isihlambezo* there. Which course is followed obviously depends on how far the woman in question believes in supernatural sanctions, and how great are the dangers of discovery if she goes to her lover's *umzi* for an *isihlambezo*.

When a bride gets her *isihlambezo*, she puts on a double string of white beads to advertise her happy state. At the same time she takes off her other ornaments. 'If she does not do so the child will be born with the umbilical cord twisted round its neck', as the mother's brass ornaments are twisted round her legs, arms, throat, and waist. The *isihlambezo* is drunk for all children, but only for her first child is a woman made to confess in public and wear the white beads. 'After the first she just confesses to herself.'

Every day the pregnant woman fills up her pot with fresh water. As the plant flourishes, so the child in the womb will flourish. If it droops it means the child, even if born alive, will be sickly. Sometimes it does not grow at all and is thrown away. Then it is said a witch has sent her familiar to scratch the mother and put in *ubuthi* (material of sorcery). The poison from these scarifications enters the mother's blood and so harms the child in the womb. Only by taking medicines (*amayeza*) and by *ithamsanqa* (good luck) will the child then be born alive and healthy. The cooked root often goes bad before the child is born. When it does decay it is thrown on to the roof of the hut and a new root fetched. With either kind the mother continues to drink the infusion until the child is born, and then it is thrown out. Only the owner touches the pot with her *isihlambezo*. 'Nothing would happen if

some one else just touched it and did not put anything bad into it; but women do not like to risk letting others touch it.'

The reasons given for drinking *isihlambezo* are various. 'If you don't use an *isihlambezo* your child will have no head (i.e. be weak-minded.)

'To make the child well inside, so that it grows strong.'

'To make the afterbirth come away easily.'

'So that the child does not come out with *ihafe*' (a rash).

'To prevent constipation, and purify the blood of the mother.'

A woman in town asked if she used *isihlambezo* replied, 'No, none, except castor oil'.

Some Christians use their traditional *isihlambezo*, maintaining that it has therapeutic value, but they do not perform the ceremonial connected with it. Others use European laxatives instead.

Besides her *isihlambezo* a pregnant woman may be given other medicines (*amayeza*), and one doctor (*iggira*) I knew massaged expectant mothers to facilitate birth. Some avoid eating blood and entrails during pregnancy because it makes them sick. If honey is eaten some must be kept to smear on the eyes of the child, 'otherwise it will not look at people'. It is believed that if a pregnant woman sees a corpse, or if her husband touches one, she runs the danger of having a miscarriage. No ornaments or clothing may be prepared for a child before birth. To prepare would be to invite ill luck. 'You do not know if that in you is living or not.'

Birth.

There is no rule as to where a child should be born. Often women wish to have their children born at their own home, and it depends on the character of their husbands whether they are permitted to do so or not. Only husbands of the *Tshezi* clan say that if their wives go home to give birth they will have labour pains all the way, so they must stay with their husbands. No magic is used to determine the sex of the child to be born. Parents like to have an equal number of sons and daughters, but there is no intense feeling about the sex of children. All are desired.

On feeling the first pains of labour a girl says nothing, and only when discharge begins does she tell her mother-in-law, or the 'big woman' of the *umzi*. Normally the woman of the *umzi* assists at birth; but in difficult cases an old woman, or occasionally a man (not necessarily an *iggira*, or *ixhwele*) skilled in midwifery may be called in. Gedja, the midwife quoted above, claimed to be able to turn the infant in a case of transverse presentation. She had learnt this from her mother's mother, who also had practised as a midwife. The husband's mother must

keep in the background because her presence makes labour more difficult, since the baby will 'avoid' (*ukuhlonipha*) its grandmother. If the child appears and vanishes again in the womb the husband's mother is sent out of the hut 'because the child avoided her, it is afraid to appear before her'. If the mother has to be held she is never held by her mother-in-law. Children are usually born inside at the back of the hut. Women in labour kneel, or sit on the thigh of the right leg.

If birth is delayed women tell the owner of the *umzi*, and he drives up all the cattle of the *umzi* to where the woman in labour is lying. Then he calls on the ancestral spirits (*amathongo*), saying, 'How is it that this my child is like this? This *umzi* has never had this thing.' Or, 'May this thing go well.' Then he calls the names of his ancestors, as at a ritual killing (cf. p. 247). 'Then if one of the cattle passes water the child will be born, unless the mother is being killed by a witch or sorcerer (*igqwira*).' 'Sometimes a beast goes up and licks the mother, and then the child is born.' The beast that gives the sign is afterwards used as *inkomo yobuluunga* (cf. p. 235). It is never killed.

The umbilical cord is not cut until the afterbirth comes away. It is then cut with a blade of *umqungu* (Tambookie grass), never with a knife or scissors. The cord is left longer towards the child than towards the mother. The cord is never tied, but the mother damps some ash with her milk and applies it to the end. To get the afterbirth to come away the mother is tied very tightly with cloth; if it is delayed she is beaten on the back or made to choke. That having failed, an old woman inserts her hand and takes it away. The afterbirth is tied in a dirty bit of cloth, 'which the mother has kept for the purpose', and buried by the mother herself as soon as it comes away, under the floor of the hut. 'If a mother-in-law handled the afterbirth her daughter-in-law would think herself her equal, and no longer respect her.' In a case of still birth, an old woman past child-bearing is called in to bury the child. It may be buried anywhere—by the hut or in the veld, not necessarily in damp soil. If a woman dies during pregnancy the child is taken from her and they are buried separately.

As soon as the child is born women gather grass and prepare a couch on a hut floor for the mother. If a woman, as a bride, has no hut of her own, she is given a store-hut. Most clans use *umqungu* grass for the couch, but others use other species of grass. It is essential that the traditional grass of the clan be used. *Umqungu* grass is very sharp: there is no cloth between the woman and the grass, and many complain that they chafe. The significance

of the grass is obscure; informants think that there is no connexion between the use of *umqungu* at birth and at initiation. *Umqungu* has a strong, sweet smell, and possibly that is why it is used. Immediately the child is born a fire is lighted in the mother's hut. This fire must not be allowed to go out until the umbilical cord has dropped off. If it is let out the cord will never come off. The ashes are allowed to pile up, and are not cleared until the woman comes out of confinement. An expectant mother, like all other people preparing for special occasions, collects a good supply of wood, and the new mother's fire is naturally fed from her woodpile, but any wood might be used. The baby is washed in warm water. The first thing it is given to taste is soot from the hut roof. This is given in water 'to see if the child can swallow', or 'they give it and say, "The child is going to eat to-day" '. Then it is given an infusion of *isihlambezo somntana* (*irwexane*, *Rubia cordifolia*),[1] a different plant from the mother's *isihlambezo*, 'to purge the stomach of what it has been living on before birth'. Only twelve hours or more after birth is it first allowed milk from the mother's breast. Some say that if a leopard's liver[2] is added to the *isihlambezo* of a boy it will make him brave and quarrelsome. Geza knew a man whose son was 'very wild'. Once when drunk at a beer drink Geza heard this man boasting that his son's fierceness was due to a leopard's liver which he had put in the child's *isihlambezo*. 'But he did not mention it again. It is not a thing people speak about.' Other men said that the bone of a leopard was added to a boy's *isihlambezo*. Others when questioned on the matter replied, 'People are born brave. A man cannot drink medicines for bravery.' Another, 'When a man is very brave it is due to his disposition (*intliziyo*), not to medicines.'[3]

Every morning and evening from the morning after birth the baby should be washed in warm water, and if the sky is clear the mother takes some embers from the fire in the middle of the hut, on a sherd, goes to the back of the hut, throws some herbs or a piece of the skin of a goat on the embers, and holds the child over them, passing it to and fro through the smoke. The child should swallow some of the smoke—once when I was watching the baby closed its mouth tightly, so the mother put her hand in the smoke, then placed it over the child's mouth—and the mother massages its limbs. As she swings the child in the smoke the mother chants. The wording of the chant varies slightly with

[1] I am indebted to Prof. C. E. Bremits, of the University of Pretoria, for identifying this and other plants.

[2] *Isißindi*, the liver; figuratively, courage.

[3] For lack of space data on special ceremonial at birth, and during the later life, of twins is omitted.

individual taste, and some alter it according to whether the child is a boy or a girl, but as in all Pondo magical rites verbal accuracy is not essential. One sings for a girl:

'*Hotʃhi! Malisela liphume ngenyango*' or: *Hotʃhi! Isela liphume ngenyango.*' (Let the thief go out by the door, or The thief goes out by the door.) For a boy: '*Hotʃhi! Lo mntwana akhule abe mdala, aphike into azaziyo.*' (Let this child grow, and when it is old deny what it knows.)[1]

Another says, for a boy and girl, '*Hotʃhi! Isela liphuma ngomnyango.*' [This is what she has heard other matrons sing, and she knows nothing else.]

Another says, '*Hotʃhi! Luve udongwe lwentombi lakowethu, maliphume isela ngomnyango.*' (Hear clay of a daughter of our people, let the thief go out by the door.)

[1] It is maintained by some Europeans that Bantu children are 'brought up to lie', and this song is cited in support of the argument. Actually great emphasis is laid on telling the truth to senior relatives and to the chief. A child caught fibbing to its parents is severely reproved and sometimes beaten. Discretion before strangers is quite another matter. I went to a certain *umzi* to ask permission to photograph a shield which I had been told was there. A daughter-in-law of the *umzi* met me. After salutations I began,

'We want to see a shield.'

She. 'A shield?'

I. 'Yes, we have heard that there is a shield here.'

She. 'What kind of shield.'

I. 'A war shield.'

She. 'Oh, the wars are long past.'

I. 'We have heard that there is a shield here. May we not see it?'

She. 'Who told you that there was a shield here?'

I. 'Oh, some one not far from here.'

She. 'There is no such thing here. These are things of long ago.'

I. 'Please let us see it.'

She. 'These are things not touched by women, and there is no man here just now.'

I. 'Who is that old woman over there?'

She. 'My husband's mother.'

I. 'We will go and talk to her.'

After salutations the mother said (I omit my remarks):

'You have come to see a shield? What sort of a shield? These are things of long ago. They do not exist now. We have no shield here. Who told you that we had one? They were mistaken. All our shields were destroyed long ago. It is not the time of the wars now. You can look in all the huts here, and you will never find a shield. We have no such thing. What nonsense those people have told you. Anyway, what do you want with a shield?' Her son arrived on the scene. He listened a minute, then said, 'No, mother, these people have come for no evil purpose. It is true that they are just taking photographs. They go to all the beer drinks and take pictures. I'll get the shield.' Pl. XXV B

Neither mother nor daughter-in-law were the least embarrassed by the man's action. They had merely been answering strangers with discretion.

A district chief whom I visited categorically denied that there were any diviners in his district (their activities are mostly illegal, cf. p. 342). I assured him that their absence did not trouble me, as I had seen diviners at work elsewhere. A week or two later I happened to hear of a diviner's initiation dance in his district, and spent twelve hours at it. The following day I met the chief at a beer drink. He greeted me politely, then, without a flicker of an eyelid, said, 'I hope you enjoyed the diviner's dance yesterday. I hear you were there.' 'Thank you, I enjoyed myself very much.' Pondo informants assured me that such discretion is shown not only before Europeans.

Another says, '*Hotʃhi! Usana ukhule, isela liphume ngomnyango.*' (May the child grow, and the thief go out by the door.)

Chief Poto gives:

Hotʃhi! Hotʃhi.
Maliphume isela. Let the thief go out.
Lingamjoli umntwana. Let him not steal the child.
Isela liphume ngomnyango. The thief goes out by the door.
Lingamjoli umntwana. Let him not steal the child.

Statements as to whom or what the thief refers to are conflicting. One suggests it is the groom who will come to steal the bride. Poto says the old people state *isela* to be *umoya oncholileyo ka Sathana* ('An evil spirit of Satan'). The rite should be performed every morning and evening on clear days for five or six months. When it is cloudy the baby is washed, but must not be smoked. No reason can be given for non-performance on cloudy days. When pressed women resort to the stock explanation (and for them the true one), *Savela kunjalo* ('We came and it was so'). Although a baby should be smoked twice a day many mothers do not do it more than once, and others omit it some days 'because they are busy', or 'because they have not got the herbs'.

Reasons given for the ceremony (*ukuphehla* or *ukufutha*) vary. One informant says that it is to bring out the rash (*ipita*) which Pondo believe must come out if the child is to be healthy. Another says it is to make the child stop crying and sleep easily; another (a woman doctor) that it is to make the child grow well. Sceptics object to the last explanation, saying, 'That cannot be the reason, because children grow even though they are not smoked.' The most usual explanation is that smoking makes the child strong. Actually, holding the child over a smouldering fire was an efficient way of drying it in a society which had no cloth. The herb most commonly thrown on fire is *isifutho* (*Fagara capensis* Thunb.). I have only once seen the piece of goat-skin used. The mother who used it gave as her reason that it was the habit of her husband's family to use goat-skin in place of *isifutho*.

Various other medicines are given to all babies. An infusion is given of *ichaphazana* (*Chlorophytum comosum* Baker), as long as necessary, to prevent constipation. On the day the mother comes out of confinement the old plant of *ichaphazana* is thrown on the roof, but a new one is fetched if it is needed. The child is washed with an infusion of the root of *ikhilika* or *umhlakothi* and given it to drink, to bring out the rash (*ipita*). Women at the coast eat *amasenene* (rock bait) to give them much milk.

The mother is fed on watery porridge, then boiled maize made very wet. She avoids milk at least for ten days, some say for any

time up to two months. She remains in her hut for about ten days. When the cord drops off she plasters it into the wall of the hut near the roof. 'If it falls off during the night she ties it up in her handkerchief, and plasters it in early in the morning.' Some bury it at the door of the hut. During her confinement the mother, when she has to go out of the hut, is rolled up in blankets as a girl being initiated. 'It is done because she has had a child.' Women and children go to see her, but no men may enter: contact with her would make them *thambile* (soft) in war. For the same reason no man eats out of the pot in which the mother is cooked for until after the cord has dropped off. 'Now that there are no wars, many men enter a new mother's hut.' A woman's father and brothers will enter more readily than her husband or his male relatives (cf. pp. 32; 47).

After ten days the new mother chops up the grass on which she has been lying, scatters it on the veld, clears the ashes from her fire, smears her hut, chews a root and spits on her hands, and grinds beer 'to wash her hands', that people may eat the food she cooks. Even if a girl has her child at her own home she makes beer. 'The beer belongs to the women; men just get a little.' Some maintain that a mother has *umlaza* (cf. p. 46) until she grinds beer to wash her hands. Most deny that she has *umlaza*, but all agree that she is harmful to warriors.

A day or two after the mother comes out of confinement the father kills a goat to make an *imbeleko* (*ukubeleka*, to carry a child on the back) in which to carry the child. There is no calling on the ancestors, neither gall nor bladder is used, and the goat is not necessarily killed in the kraal, but if the killing is omitted the child may get sick for it. Msingali's family never killed for their children, but when his second daughter fell ill as a baby, the diviner diagnosed that she was 'sick for an *imbeleko*'. Msingali killed and the child recovered. He has killed for every child since, and they have been healthy. If a child is born at its mother's home, nothing is then killed there, but when the mother returns to her *umzi*, accompanied by women from her own home, something is killed to welcome them, and later the *imbeleko* is killed.

There is no ceremonial connected with the naming of a child. A name may be chosen by the father, or one of his elder relatives, or by the mother herself. The name given usually relates to some characteristic of the baby, or to some event which happened at the time of its birth. The name of a relative, except one dead for several generations, is never given by pagans. 'School people' sometimes name a child after a grandfather, or grandmother, and they also use the name of a male ancestor as a surname (*ifani*).

After coming out of her hut a mother goes about her normal duties—cooking, fetching wood and water, and working in the fields. There are no fixed times for feeding the child. A mother puts her child to the breast whenever it cries or she thinks it is hungry. For the first three or four months she wears an *ikhubalo* (a charm), consisting of a root of *umthombothi*, *iqwana*, or *uquto* ('she uses whichever she likes'), round her neck. If she has been walking abroad, always on her return, before putting her baby to the breast, she nibbles one of these *amakhubalo*, and spits on the child on the forehead, throat, genitals, sacral region, and back of the neck, in the order mentioned. Then she squirts milk from her breasts (first right, then left) on the ground, and then on the same parts of the child. This is done lest the mother, whilst out, has walked across the spoor of *umntu nemimoya* (a person with spirits, i.e. a witch or sorcerer) and contracted something that would harm her child. If while suckling a woman comes on a wild pumpkin tendril across her path she must stop and bind it round her ankle. If she steps across it the child will have violent diarrhoea. The pumpkin is never thought to be placed by an enemy. Children are thought to be in danger from a particular class of strong medicines (*amayeza*), and any one suspected of carrying them is asked to take the child with whom he is in contact and toss it in the air (*ukulekeza*) that it may come to no harm from the medicines. Two or three times Geza was asked to toss the children of a hut we entered, because he was suspected of carrying medicines. At a diviner's initiation dance all the women who had babies with them handed them to the various diviners to toss. The diviners tossed the babies while they danced, throwing them up and catching them, till the wretched ethnographer was fairly wriggling with terror lest one should be dropped. The mothers laughed. The medicines are believed to be harmful to children although he or she who carries them bears no ill will, and uses them for curative purposes. They harm children because they are 'too strong'. A child over 5 or 6 will, like most adults, be in no danger. 'But some (older people) may get a headache', and 'a pregnant woman who crosses the spoor of one these medicines will have a miscarriage'. The special symptom of illness caused by contact with these medicines is the falling in of the infant's skull, on the top. Because of their danger from strong medicines, and from crossing the spoor of a witch or sorcerer, mothers are chary of taking their children about, especially to beer drinks, where there might easily be some one in the crowd who had dangerous medicines (cf. p. 312). Geza declared that a mother who considered her children more than her pleasure

a. Nurses with their charges (cf. p. 157)

b. Supper time (cf. p. 163)

would stay at home if she had no nurse with whom to leave the child.

Babies are fed with watery porridge from birth, and get sour milk from 10 days old. The baby is laid on the nurse's lap, the nurse fills her hand with sour milk, and pours it into the child's mouth regardless of splutters and yells. Sometimes the child chokes. One child died in this way while I was at 'nTißane. The explanation was that the nurse (a small girl) knew how to feed a child quite well, but the paternal grandmother was jealous of her daughter-in-law's children, and had put sorcery in the sour milk. Each baby has its own special calabash, but sweet milk is never given, except under European influence. Unweaned children are given maize, pumpkin, meat, beer, &c. If the mother dies an attempt is made to rear the baby on porridge and sour milk. It may be put to breast by an old woman to soothe it. She need not necessarily be of the same clan as the mother.

The first months of a Pondo child's life are spent on its mother's back, or lying asleep on the floor of the hut, but very soon it is relegated to the care of a nurse, an elder sister or other girl of the *umzi*. Every mother tries to have a small girl whose particular duty it is to care for her child (cf. Pl. XVI B). In a big *umzi* with several babies, and several small girls, each baby has its nurse, and though the nurses will carry about each other's charges, there is always one baby for which each is particularly responsible. A baby is cared for chiefly by its mother and nurse, but it is accustomed to being handled by all the women of the *umzi*, and after about two months by its father, and father's brothers, for Pondo men are much attached to small children and are not shy of nursing them. Often, however, I have seen a child of 2 or 3 months crying to go to its own mother, when passed to its father, or other women of the *umzi*, to hold while its mother was busy.

Most Pondo children crawl and walk later than European children. Informants say that they never walk under a year, and commonly they develop late. Children crawl about the floor of the hut and *inkundla*, but up to 3 or 4 years are never left at an *umzi* without an older child in charge. If a mother has no nurse she may take her child with her, on her back, to the fields, or to a beer drink, but always, if possible, a child is left at home or with a neighbour. The chief danger for children at the *umzi* is the open fire in the centre of the hut. Most become adapted to this quickly, but accidents are not infrequent. Two children were burnt in the immediate neighbourhood of 'nTißane during the seven months I was there, one a crawling baby, the other a child

of 6. Physical control is not expected until 2 to 3 years. As soon as it walks a baby is taken outside to pass motions, but a child of 2 or 3 may pass water in a hut unrebuked. The mother is expected to clean up after her child. Tiny babies are stood up at their mothers' sides, so that they do not damp the mothers' skirts. 'If you do not stand a baby up, it will never learn to control itself.'

Contact with Europeans has produced little modification of customs relating to childbirth. Pondoland with a Native population of 261,467 has only two small hospitals, and the number of maternity patients admitted to these is very small. Christians have dropped the ceremonials connected with the *isihlambezo*, the holding of the child in medicated smoke, and the cleansing of a woman after childbirth. No charms are supposed to be worn. Some mothers cling to them, but hide them discreetly under their own, or the child's, clothes. The ritual killings at the home of the child and of its mother are omitted but replaced by a baptismal ceremony in church and a feast, *idinala yokuphehlelela* (dinner of baptism), for which a sheep or goat is usually killed. The feast is explained to be a rejoicing for the birth of a child. In addition to a Xhosa name, a child of Christian parents is usually given an English name, used at school. But for the most part the life led during pregnancy, and the feeding of the child, are unchanged.

Formerly a woman was supposed to suckle her child for three hoeing seasons. Now they are frequently not suckled for more than eighteen months to two years. Before weaning children are eating everything that their elders eat, and are accustomed to living on milk and porridge when their mothers are away for whole days in the fields. From a dietetic point of view, therefore, weaning causes no great break. If there is any difficulty the mother puts bitter aloe, or pipe oil, on the nipples of her breasts, or ties up her breasts in a blanket, but most mothers said that they did not find this necessary. Careful inquiries from mothers revealed no great difficulties over weaning. At the most they said, 'the child might cry a little'. Where the father is an eldest son, with his own *umzi*, the eldest child is sent after weaning to the paternal grandparents, but this is not solely to facilitate weaning, but because it is customary for the eldest grandson to live with his paternal grandparents and inherit his grandfather's property (cf. p. 120). Occasionally a child is sent to the maternal grandmother for a few weeks after weaning. Often a goat is killed or beer is made to celebrate the weaning, but this is not a ritual killing, the omission of which might make the child sick, but only meat or drink for rejoicing. Custom forbids a man to

have full sexual relations with his wife until her child is weaned.[1] If he does so he is said to be 'killing his own child'. 'If a woman goes to her own husband when she is suckling a child, it is known from the child, which is fretful and has diarrhoea. None of my children did that. They all were well. My husband did not trouble me.' To break the lactation taboo is considered very disgraceful. In Pondoland I have never seen a pagan mother with children less than two years apart. A man also avoids his wife while she is menstruating, usually for five days. In spite of there often being several families in an *umzi* mothers say that an elder child sometimes shows jealousy of a new baby.

Childhood.

At about 6 years boys begin to go out to herd with their elder brothers. First they are given sheep and goats to look after, then calves, and finally cattle. The elder boys are responsible for the stock, but see to it that the youngsters do most of the work. In winter little herding is necessary, and then the smaller boys are much about the home. At about the same age at which the boys go to herd, girls begin to act as nurses, carrying about on their backs a younger brother or sister, feeding and amusing their particular charge. The maternal attitude develops very early. I have seen a small girl of 5 wiping her brother's mouth after feeding him, tucking him under her blanket when he was cold, and soothing him by carrying him about on her back, just as her own mother might have tended her. A girl of 7 is most efficient in soothing, feeding, and amusing her charge; one of 8 or 9 is often left in sole charge of a baby for a day when the women of the *umzi* are in the fields. I inquired whether small nurses ever forgot their responsibilities, and ran away to play, but was met with a shocked denial: 'They could never do that: if they wanted to go and play they would take their babies with them, on their backs.' Actually the nurses of one *umzi* often foregather with those of another for games, and it is common to see a girl of 8, with a baby tied to her back, playing tig or dancing. The nurses in chief are girls from 8 to 13; by 15 a girl considers that such work should be done by her juniors. Occasionally, if there is no girl in the *umzi*, a boy is made to care for and feed younger children.

From 7 and 8 girls go with cans to draw water, and by 10 they are carrying a full-sized bucket; by 11 they can grind, by 12 they are quite efficient cooks, preparing food while their mothers are in the fields. Children are sent many messages; they are called

[1] I understood from informants that they slept on opposite sides of the hut, but possibly some limited form of sexual relations is practised.

from outside to fetch and carry from one side of the hut to the other; it was common for a child of 8 or 9 to arrive at the store with a bundle of grain on her head, having walked eight or ten miles. Small girls accompany their mothers and sisters on expeditions to gather wild spinach, and by 9 years a girl will know most of the plants eaten. The collecting of spinach is often the work of the nurses, who go out gathering with their charges on their backs. Only at 15 or 16 is a girl expected to help with field work, and even then the responsibility for cultivation lies on the married women of the *umzi*, her mother and brother's wives.

Subject to the performance of their tasks children are free to visit neighbours and go off on ploys of their own. As in all societies games play a great part in education. Out herding all day, boys hunt birds and rodents, and acquire a wealth of veld-lore invaluable in days when hunting and raiding were the serious business of men. A boy of 9 knows and can name all the edible birds in his district, can make several kinds of traps, and has learnt much about tracking. Fighting with sticks is as constant an occupation of the Pondo as is playing with a ball of the English. I have seen a mother playing with her son of 2 or 3, pretending to hit him so that he put up one arm for defence and tried to hit back; boys of 4 and 5 have their knobkerries, and begin to scrap. When out herding the elder boys arrange contests, pairing off couples and forcing them to fight; the combats between individuals are constant; the boys of one *umzi* fight those of another, the herds of one set of *imizi*, the herds of another, one district another. Often two neighbouring districts are in such a state of war, that if a boy from one enters the other he is immediately attacked. The border-line between a game and a serious fight between districts, in which several may be killed, is undefined. The fight between districts is just the county match, and casualties are all in the day's work. Boys race, swim, wrestle, and practise throwing sticks. One stick is thrown in the air, and others try to hit it before it falls; a stick is driven upright into the ground, players stand fifty yards away and throw other sticks, trying to knock down the upright. 'He who wins, puts mud on his opponent's head, but his opponent runs away.' Other games are tobogganing down a steep grass slope, tying your head up in a blanket and rolling down a hill, swinging on monkey ropes, hand stands, somersaults, tig. Hence the chief amusements of a Pondo boy develop him physically, and formerly fitted him for his work as a hunter and fighter.

Girls' duties are more arduous than those of boys, so their games are not so well developed, but even those who have live

babies to care for play at building houses, make dolls out of clay or mealie cobs, and carry them about on their backs. A small girl will spend hours twisting a rag round a maize cob. When quite tiny, girls take stones and pretend to grind. They love painting themselves with clay, and dressing up in any rags available. They draw patterns on each other in pot black, and there is no reproof from grown-ups, for no clothes are spoiled. Both sexes model clay oxen, build kraals, and make wagons and sledges. Now clay motor-lorries are supplanting wagons. Both boys and girls make string figures (*mambece*) and play a form of chuckies.

European games are spreading fast. Children in remote country schools play 'fox and geese' (called 'hyena and sheep'), nuts in May, hopscotch, skipping, hide-and-seek, and varieties of rugby and soccer. At 'mBotyi some lads who had been to the mines spent hours talking to one another on a 'telephone', rigged up with string and cardboard boxes. Youths spend much time playing with European cards, for stakes of beads and bracelets.[1]

Dancing and singing are the chief means of artistic expression of the Pondo, and parents are anxious that their children should excel in them. As soon as a child can walk its mother begins to clap and chant, for it to stamp its feet in time. She coaxes it to clap for itself, and promises extra milk if it dances nicely. Other people present admire and encourage the performer. Often I have seen a father coaxing a toddling son to dance. When I visited *imizi*, frequently, without my ever requesting it, children were called to perform. I have seen a 4-year old start a chant, give the time she wished clapped to her audience, and dance a solo, wriggling the muscles up her body from her calves to her cheeks, in the approved style, with complete *sang-froid*. Those older sometimes were shy, hanging their heads and saying they could not dance. Nurses dance with their charges on their backs; boys practise together; so by 9 or 10 a child often does the difficult *isiphethukane*, and other dances of its elders, most efficiently. Always the method of learning is imitation of an elder. Formerly, when circumcision was observed, definite instruction was given in performing the *abakhwetha* (initiate's) dances. This early training probably explains the highly developed sense of rhythm. Another game which develops the sense of rhythm is *butkhathalezi*. Players knock fist and knuckles against some hard object, in a syncopated rhythm, and hum an air in time with the knocking.

Arts and crafts are also learnt by imitation of elders. A boy watches his father cut wooden pillows, helps him to build a

[1] Detailed data on games, string figures, and folk-tales will, I hope, be published later.

sledge, or put up the framework of a hut. When I inquired whether skinning and quartering a beast was not the work of young men, I was answered, 'How could they do it if there were not some older man there to teach them?' Basketwork is learnt by a girl from her mother or husband's mother. The potteress's daughter fetches and carries for her mother, preparing the clay, and assisting at firing. Later she is a potteress. Even in ironwork, the most specialized art, though there is no taboo against an outsider learning, the form of apprenticeship is of the family pattern.

Iintsomi, the folk-tales of the tribe, are heard round the fire at night from a grandmother or old man. Young men hear from their father's father the genealogy and traditions of their clan and cognate clans. The chief's *inkundla*, which any man who chooses may attend, is a true school of law and rhetoric. Young men listen to their elders, and themselves learn to speak. *Umvundla uzheki'indela* (The young hare keeps to the path the old hare made). *Injalo yaphuma edunjeni* (Its like comes out of the kaffir potato).—Proverbs.

Imitation secures the handing on of the cultural heritage; methods of inculcating social behaviour are more complicated. Respect for elders is a fundamental law of the Pondo social system. Absolute obedience of child to parent is theoretically demanded. Often children are dilatory in fulfilling the orders of a parent. A girl of 3 told by her mother to go a message shrugged her shoulders and said, 'I don't want to.' She was not forced to go. Another of 8, told to fetch her mother something from the other side of the hut, replied, 'I am busy coughing.' A boy of 8 sent by his father's brother to fetch horses on a wet day, grumbled, 'My blanket is small. I shall be cold.' Nevertheless, the ideal of obedience is held before children. They are taught to use relationship terms, or other terms of respect, to elders; to remain quiet when their fathers or strangers are present (their capacity for stillness and silence is amazing), and not to speak until spoken to. Once a small girl of about 10 years, bursting with curiosity, asked me where I came from (a polite question from an adult). An older woman present promptly reproved her, 'Do you forget that you are a child?' Children are taught to shake hands politely when greeted (shaking hands is probably an innovation but is now general even among the most conservative). A child of 3 will take the hand an adult offers. Children are taught to receive any gift in both hands. A crying child is not tolerated. When a tiny baby cries it is fed or danced on its mother's back, later it may be soothed and scolded alternately, but if a child of

5 or 6 cries it is roughly told to be quiet. Scratches and tumbles are not considered worthy of tears; a child who is clumsy does not get, and does not expect, sympathy. I have seen a child of 3 regarding its bleeding feet quite philosophically. There is a developed system of fagging among both girls and boys. Every big boy has his *iinduna* (cf. p. 135), younger brothers and neighbours, whom he orders about and sends messages, and whom he in return protects. When herding, the youngest is left in charge of the cattle while the others go off to hunt. Girls are ordered about by, and have to obey, their elder sisters. Any senior of the *umzi* must be obeyed by a child, and friends of their parents, visiting, send them messages—to fetch a brand for a pipe, to cook their meat, to take a message to another *umzi*. In spite of the proverb, *Imbila yaswela umsila ngoku yalezela* (The rock rabbit went without his tail through sending for it), juniors are constantly sent on errands by seniors.

Along with the authority of seniors, responsibility is emphasized. Nurses order about their charges, but are responsible for them; an elder will fight the battle of a junior if he is hard pressed. In the folk-tale about a little only-son-of-his-parents the only son suffered, because when giants came out all the other little boys were carried away by their older brothers, but he had no one to carry him. If children nearly of an age begin to scrap, the grown-ups take the side of the younger. I have seen an 8-year old flying before a 10-year old to the safe refuge of the grown-ups, and heard the admonition to the 10-year old, 'Be gentle with him, even if he has been cheeky. Remember he is your younger brother' (*Umninawe*, they were the sons of brothers). The insistence on obedience to elders, and the system of fagging, seems to ensure that all do a fair share of work. 'Sometimes,' says one woman, 'if one girl is lazy, the woman or elder girl at the *umzi* may tell the others to prepare food and fetch water, and says, "She who always sits still may sit still." Then when food is ready she says, "Only those who have worked, may eat." The lazy one never refuses to cook again.' Or a mother may say to her daughter, 'Go. I will beat you. Where will you (such a lazy girl) be married?'

Generosity and the sharing of food are instilled as primary virtues. A child is brought up seeing all food eaten in public and shared. Each baby has its individual calabash, but from 2 years old it also feeds out of the common children's dish. I have seen a nurse of 7 officiating over such a dish, feeding three or four 2-year olds. If one were greedy and pestered to be fed out of turn, she would punish it by feeding it last. Responsibility for

juniors being early developed, the eldest usually sees, when there is a scramble round the common dish, that the youngest gets a fair share. Children must never take food unless given it by an elder, and always must invite any other children present to share with them, without being told to do so by elders. They seldom have spoons, so need not regard the etiquette concerning them, and the woman serving is responsible for seeing that the right dishes (for milk, &c.) are used. There are several folk-tales telling of how a child who is helpful and polite to elders, and shares food, is rewarded, and how those who are rude and stingy come to a bad end.

Children are punished little. *Ndiyakuɓetha* (I shall beat you) shouted in a fierce voice is an hourly threat, but seldom carried out. Only if a child lies to its parents, or if boys let the calves suck, or leave the cattle to wander into the cultivated land while they play will they be beaten by their fathers, or the owner of the fields if he can catch them. Children are precious, and to beat a child is to 'spoil' it.

Little children are threatened with bogies. '*Thikoloʃe* will get you' (cf. p. 275). 'A murderer will come and cut your heads off', or '*Ingqongqo* (a giant) will come', or '*Nantsi itsikizi*' (Here is a ground hornbill; cf. p. 288). Europeans are usual bogies: I used to get furious when on passing a hut I heard children quieted with, 'Here 's the white woman: she will bite you.' Often the threat is to secure obedience, or to stop a child crying. One girl related, with a laugh, how once when she had said to a child who was naughty, 'Look, there is *Thikoloʃe*', the child went into a fit. Sometimes people frighten children just for fun. Once in a hut, when a child was eyeing me doubtfully, an elder brother grinned and said, 'That European will eat you.' The child burst into tears and fled. A mother will comfort her baby if it flies to her, but often other grown-ups laugh at a terrified child.

Small children are made much of. At a beer drink the babies of the house are handed round and kissed and fondled, but petting stops early. I saw one small boy of 3 years being handed round; he wriggled and finally escaped to complain to his father, 'They are kissing me.' A child of 4 is 'much too big even for its mother to kiss'.

Although an only child in an *umzi* is rare, although a child is less dependent on its biological parents than with us, and although differences in wealth do not entail great differences in environment, yet conditions are not uniform. In some cases the mother is constantly away at beer drinks, and the child looked after almost entirely by its immediate seniors. In others she is seldom away,

and very tender with her children. The degree of obedience obtained by parents varies greatly. One father whom I knew was feared by his children, who hung about fetching and carrying for him, obeying every word or gesture. Others are on familiar terms with their father, riding on his shoulder when small, running to meet him when he comes home, sure of a welcome, and hanging round him at meal-times to be given choice morsels.

Initiation.

During adolescence came initiation. Formerly the Pondo had circumcision schools through which every boy between 17 and 20 passed. Chief Faku (who died in 1867) during his reign prohibited these schools. His heir, Mqikela, was not circumcised. In some districts schools were held secretly, but those discovered taking part were fined. The reason given for the prohibition by councillors at the great place of the paramount chief of Eastern Pondoland, and three other independent informants, was that boys circumcised were often very ill. 'They (those circumcised) were eaten by the snake of the women' (cf. p. 285). 'They were eaten by wild cats' (*impaka*, cf. p. 286). 'Boys sweethearted (*ukumetʃha*) and then had *umlaza*, which killed them when they were circumcised.' 'Circumcision wears out people.' In giving evidence before the Native Appeal Court Pondo assessors stated[1] that it was dropped because Mqikela, owing to a physical infirmity, could not be circumcised. It is significant that the custom was dropped just at the time of the Zulu raids, when all the men available were needed for fighting. Circumcision incapacitated possible fighting men for a period. Whatever the reason for dropping circumcision the schools have practically disappeared from Pondoland. Only a small Pondo clan, the amaNqanda, which at the time of the stopping of circumcision lived in Thembuland, and only returned to Pondoland after the annexation, and a few Pondomise and Fingo groups living in Pondoland, retain it. Scattered Fingo send their sons to relatives in other parts of Transkei when the time has come for them to be circumcised. But the schools are no longer a factor in the life of most adolescent Pondo, and so do not concern us here.[2]

Initiation is still an important factor in the life of girls. After puberty and before marriage a girl should be *ukuthombisa*. *Ukuthomba* means 'to put forth shoots, to bud, to sprout, to

[1] *Native Appeal Court Records, 1912–17*, p. 4.

[2] For an outline of the ceremony as practised by the Bomvana, an offshoot of the Pondo, see P. A. W. Cook, *Social Organization and Ceremonial Institutions of the Bomwana.*

menstruate for the first time'.[1] *Ukuthombisa* is the causative form, and means the performance of the initiation rites.

I attended five separate girls' initiation ceremonies, and discussed the ceremonial with many women.

'When a girl first menstruates she tells her mother, and her mother tells the girl's father. Or, if the mother is a junior wife, she may tell the chief woman of the *umzi*, and the latter tells the girl's father. From that time the women of the *umzi* are constantly reminding the girl's father that he should *ukuthombisa* his daughter.' If a girl is not *ukuthombisa* before marriage it is believed that she is liable to fall ill after marriage, or that she may fail to conceive, or that her children will be born sickly. The illness is thought to be sent by the ancestral spirits (*amathongo*) of her father, who are aggrieved that the custom (*isiko*) has not been observed, and that the beasts due to them have not been killed. Almost invariably when a woman who has not been *ukuthombisa* falls ill after marriage, it is diagnosed by the diviner, or she 'sees for herself', that she is ill because she has not been *ukuthombisa*, and she goes back to her own people that the ceremony may be performed. Actually in more than half the cases examined women were not *ukuthombisa* until after their marriage. The reason given for the delay is the poverty, or parsimony, of the girl's father. 'It is not done because the father is poor. He waits for the cattle of the *ikhazi*.'

A girl can only be *ukuthombisa* at the *umzi* of her father, or paternal grandfather, or father's brother. Only an illegitimate child, who is regarded as the child of her mother's father (cf. p. 233), may be *ukuthombisa* at the *umzi* of her maternal grandfather, or mother's brother; this is in accordance with the belief that only the ancestral spirits (*amathongo*) of the father's family can influence a person. Very often even an illegitimate child who has grown up with her mother's people is sent to her father's *umzi* to be *ukuthombisa*. The father then claims the girl as his daughter by paying five head damages to her mother's brother; she is *ukuthombisa* at his *umzi*, and he receives the *ikhazi* when she marries.

The essentials of the initiation ceremony are the seclusion of the girl in a hut of her father's *umzi*, the observance of certain taboos during that seclusion, the use of bleaching agents on the skin, the performance of certain ritual killings and ritual dances, a ritual cleansing at the end of the seclusion, and the behaviour of a girl for a period in her own home as if she were a bride.

The ceremonies are performed during the winter months after

[1] Kropf, *Kaffir-English Dictionary*.

a. Girl's initiation dance. Women beating ox-hide drum

b. Ritual killing at girl's initiation (cf. p. 171)

reaping, when the community has leisure and there is sufficient grain to make beer for festivities. One evening the girl, or girls (often two sisters, or the daughters of two brothers, are initiated together), to be *ukuthombisa* are rolled up in blankets, which completely cover them, and their heads and faces are covered with handkerchiefs. The women of the *umzi* and women neighbours, contemporaries of the mothers, gather round them singing. The party walk through the *inkundla* to one of the huts, where the girls are to be secluded. Any hut of the *umzi* which can be spared is set aside for the initiate (*intonjane*). The girls enter and sit behind a screen of mats stretched across the back of the hut. The day on which the *intonjane* is first secluded has no necessary connexion with the day on which her menses occur, other than that she should be secluded soon after the occurrence of first menstruation. In practice the seclusion often takes place several years after her first menstruation.

When the *intonjane* is secluded her mother, and the other women of the *umzi* and the mother's friends, rush about the *umzi* shouting and dancing. They are at liberty on this day to kill any small stock in the *umzi* they can lay hands upon. Theoretically the women may themselves kill, but usually the head of the *umzi* selects a pig or goat and kills it for them. The women present and the men of the *umzi* then feast on this meat. No special part is given to the *intonjane*. The following day, or two days later, the father of the *intonjane* kills another goat or sheep called *isibande*. In some cases the *intonjane* is given a special piece of meat, *intsonyama*, from the right fore-leg, which she has to eat before any one else touches the meat. Others say that when they were *ukuthombisa* they were given no special part of the goat killed as *isibande*. Custom obviously varies from *umzi* to *umzi*, but in some cases at least the *intonjane* is ceremonially given this special portion (cf. p. 249). The mother, her co-wives, sisters, and intimate neighbours of about the same age as herself, who together are known in western Pondoland as *amazibazana*, cannot eat of the meat of the *isibande*, although it is sometimes 'stolen' for them. A rich man will kill a goat, or pig, or sheep as meat for the *amazibazana*. Relatives of the *intonjane's* father cannot be among the *amazibazana*.

On the day on which the *intonjane* is secluded, all married women present, including the *amazibazana*, perform a ritual dance (*umgquzo*), which is repeated morning and evening for the whole period during which the *intonjane* is secluded. It is the duty of the women of the *umzi*, assisted by neighbours, to perform this dance twice daily in the *inkundla* of the *umzi* where the *intonjane*

is secluded. Any married woman, even though barren, and any girl who has borne a child, although she has never been married, is eligible to take part in the dance. It is immaterial whether the performer has herself been *ukuthombisa*. Any number from three or four upwards may perform the dance. On the day of the final ritual killing when many people come to feast (see below) fifty women or more may join in the dance at one time. The dancers form a circle, carrying a stick, or wand, in their right hands, and chanting the special *umgquzo* chant. They walk round slowly in a circle, swaying slightly to the time of the chant, then increase their pace and circle with a skipping step, then face inwards, stamping their feet rhythmically, swinging their hips, and quivering their muscles all the way up their bodies. Individuals may break from the circle and perform their private solo dance (cf. p. 368) in the centre, the others continuing to circle round, singing, or stopping to clap for the soloist. The movements of the *umgquzo* are conventionalized, and informants can give no clue to their significance, nor did they appear to me to be in any way suggestive.

There is a particular *umgquzo* chant which is always recognizable, even to an unmusical ethnographer. There are a number of phrases which are usually sung, but they are not stereotyped, and new ones are constantly being introduced and sung along with the old. A woman of over 60 said that most of the phrases used now are different from those used when she was a girl. One phrase is repeated many times, and then a new one started. Here are some of the phrases used.

All uncover that we may examine if they lay with the boys. That we may see if they lay in the grass. [Referring to the examination of girls by older married women after any festival when they had met with boys (cf. p. 183).]

This sun is burning: who is it? The sky is changing; the wind is bad: who is it?

Ehe, he he hehe.
Eya he he he hehe.
I went to the foes.

Ehaule! (exclamation).
A black girl resembles her mother.
A red girl resembles her mother.

They envy the cattle of the old men. They always say 'oho'; they envy them.

Oyeye! (exclamation). The men see nothing about that female; they see nothing about that girl.

Many who sing these phrases do not understand to what they refer. The woman who gave them to me could not explain them. 'They are just words.' As with most songs they probably had some significance on the occasion on which they were first sung, but afterwards when used in other contexts have no meaning. Soloists when they dance may sing their own private songs (cf. p. 368), but these are no essential part of the ceremony. Sometimes a dried ox-hide is beaten by some of the women to mark the rhythm.

The dance itself is an essential part of the ritual. Unless it has been performed the girl has not been *ukuthombisa*. One old woman described it as *indlela yokunqula*, a way of calling upon the ancestors. Another, when I asked whether names of ancestors were called, replied, 'No, but the *umgquzo* is danced.' On the day of the final ritual killing, when many people are assembled, the mother of the *intonjane* goes about urging women who are sitting out to join in the dance.

During her seclusion the *intonjane* sits behind the mat screen with a big blanket round her and a black handkerchief on her head. When she has to go out to relieve herself the handkerchief is drawn right over her face and the blanket over the top of her head, as on the day when she entered. If not extraordinarily heavy, she is carried out on the back of one of her girl attendants, with a blanket entirely covering her. If a heavy woman, she may be led by the attendant. During the seclusion neither the father (or his brothers) nor the mother (or her sisters) of the *intonjane*, nor any *amazibazana* ('mother's sisters') may enter the *intonjane*'s hut. If the mother wants to communicate 'she must come to the door and shout'. 'If she entered the hut she would have to pay a fine.' 'If the mother saw the *intonjane* the latter would not bleach properly' (see below). All other persons may enter the hut, but only girls and women may look behind the screen. Sisters of the father may go behind the screen. The strictness with which the prohibition against men peering behind the screen is observed varies. In some huts I have seen them peer over unrebuked. In others they are chased away. Theoretically they can be fined ten bracelets and one brass waist ornament (total value 1*s*.) for peering over the screen, the fine going to the attendant. When men peer over, the *intonjane* pulls down her handkerchief to cover her face. A man never enters the section screened off.

The *intonjane* is attended by a younger girl, preferably a sister, as *ikhankatha* (nurse), who cooks for her and sleeps with her. Any one else may share the food cooked for the *intonjane* provided she

is served first in her own individual dish. Informants state that, 'If her mother saw she was hungry' she could send food from the general pot, provided the *intonjane* was served first in her own dish. She cannot drink milk and must not touch food with her hands. She eats meat with two wooden pegs, and dry food with a spoon, used only by her. A mealie cob she spears on the end of her peg. Only the scraps of meat which she eats ritually may she touch with her hands.

During an *intonjane*'s seclusion her name must not be mentioned by any one. She is addressed and referred to as *intonjane*. After she comes out of seclusion her old name is resumed. No new name is given. She must not speak above a whisper 'lest her mother should hear her'. 'She is hidden, and her father and mother are not supposed to know that she is there.' There are no words which she must not use. The ashes from the fire in her hut are not removed during the whole period of seclusion, but there is no taboo about the fire going out, and no special method of rekindling it. The *intonjane* lies on a soft river-grass (*inxophu*). On the day of the final ritual killing a fresh supply of this is always fetched, and it is spread all over the hut. This particular soft grass is not used on any other occasion, ordinary veld grass being used when the floor of the hut is covered before a beer drink.

Every day during the seclusion, and as many times as she likes a day (usually at least twice), the *intonjane* chews the roots of *umgqungu* (Tambookie grass) and smears her face and body with her saliva and the juice of the chewed root. The roots, used green, are a strong bleaching agent. This is said by some informants to be the most essential part of the ceremonies. The effect of the juice of the *umgqungu* roots, the seclusion in the darkness of the hut, and the lack of exercise, is such that, when an *intonjane* comes out, she is lighter in complexion and fatter than normal. A light complexion and plumpness are considered features of beauty.

The period of seclusion varies considerably. Formerly, I gather, three months was normal. Now one week to two weeks is quite usual. Perhaps the average is a month. The husbands of married women always forbid too long a seclusion, and headmen and government officials discourage long seclusions, as the gathering of young bloods at the *intonjane*'s hut are fruitful causes of fights.

Towards the end of the seclusion, usually three or four days before the *intonjane* comes out, the final and most important ritual killing is made, for which a beast should always be killed. A diviner diagnosed the illness of a married woman I knew to be

due to the fact that only goats had been killed when she *ukuthombisa*. For a rich man's daughter two or more beasts may be killed, and a goat or sheep is killed for the mother and *amazibazana*, who should not eat of the meat of a beast killed ritually for the *intonjane*. Theoretically the mother and *amazibazana* have the right to seize the biggest goat of the herd. If the one given them does not please them they may return it and demand another. The beast is killed before noon. It is thrown on its left side in the centre of the kraal with its head towards the gate of the kraal. The head of the *umzi*, or some male blood-relative, takes the sacrificial spear, passes it first between the front and then between the back legs of the beast, then stabs the animal in the stomach over the aorta, at the spot called *umxhelo*. There is no calling on the ancestors while the beast is being killed, but the women group at the kraal gate singing and clapping; some execute solo dances. The men also leap about, making play with sticks, dancing, wrestling, or letting off guns into the air.

The beast is then skinned, the right fore-leg (*umrotʃho*) is cut off and carried to the *intonjane*'s hut; a special piece (*intsonyama*) cut from the *umrotʃho* roasted on the fire in the *intonjane*'s hut by the *intonjane*'s father's sister or her father's father's sister, and two small pieces cut from the strip roasted are given to the *intonjane* who receives a piece in the palm of each hand (some put it on the backs), the hands being crossed. She raises each piece to her lips, but does not eat them, and then they are burned on the hearth. The father's sister then cuts up the rest of the *intsonyama* and the *intonjane* eats it with her wooden pegs. She cannot give any part of it to any one else, but would burn the remains in the unlikely event of her not being able to eat it all herself. A most reliable old informant states that formerly the rest of the *umrotʃho* could only be eaten by blood-relatives of the *intonjane*'s father and wives who drank milk of his cattle (cf. p. 200). The mother and *amazibazana* cannot eat of any part of the beast. 'At a poor *umzi* where only the beast was killed, meat might be "stolen" for the mother who would eat it in the seclusion of her hut.' The *umrotʃho* and jaw-bones of the beast are hung up in the hut, and its horns put in the thatch over the door: that is stated by most to be the old custom. Others say that they only preserve these things if the *intonjane* has been ill. The gall is poured over the entrails to make them tasty, and the bladder worn by the *intonjane* on her wrist. If more than one beast is killed for her, she wears the additional bladders beside the first (cf. p. 250).

On the day of this final ritual killing dancing continues from early morning until the beast is killed. Then the women rest and

eat roast meat with the men guests. Between three and five dancing is resumed and continues until dusk.

During the whole period that the *intonjane* is secluded her hut is a centre for the unmarried girls and young men (whether married or unmarried) of the district. They may spend days there, or more often gather in the late afternoon and spend the night, scattering during the day. The time is spent dancing, singing, and sweethearting (*ukumetʃha*, cf. p. 180).

Often on the day of the final ritual killing the young people begin an *isiphethukane* dance (cf. p. 357), but it is in no way essential, and the women look upon it rather as an interruption of the serious business of the *umgquzo* dance. All informants are emphatic that the presence and *ukumetʃha* of the young people is in no way helpful to the *intonjane*. They only gather at her hut because it is a customary and convenient place to meet.

A day or two after the final ritual killing the *intonjane* 'goes to the mountain'. Just when it has got dark she comes out of her hut, still rolled up in blankets and handkerchief, but walking on her own feet and accompanied by all the unmarried girls who gathered in her hut. She takes with her the wooden pegs with which she ate meat, the chewed remains of *umgqungu* roots, and a handful of *inxophu* grass on which she lay. Her attendant takes a brand from the fire and a handful of thatch. The party goes to some prominence above the *umzi*, but not necessarily to a mountain. One *intonjane* I saw only went fifty yards from the *umzi* up hill, but not to the top of the hill behind the *umzi*. There the attendant kindles a fire with the grass, and the *intonjane* throws on the roots and pegs. Both attendant and *intonjane* strip, and stark naked leap several times across the fire kindled. The attendant goes first. Then both race back to the kraal gate, and from there to behind their screen in the hut, running the gauntlet of all the young men collected in the hut and women gathered at the hut door. The girl last back is derided. The other girls bring their blankets from the 'mountain', and with something round them the *intonjane* and attendant are taken to the kraal gate where another fire is kindled with *inxophu* grass. The pole used for closing the kraal gate is put across the fire, and the *intonjane* and attendant strip again and jump to and fro across it. Again they race back to their hut, and the last in is derided. The screen is then moved from the back to the side of the hut (either men's or women's side). No reason can be given: it is 'just the custom of moving the screen'.

Next morning the *intonjane* and other girls go at dawn to a river which is always running. The *intonjane* and her attendant strip and plunge in. Then they are joined by young men, and the

whole party spends the day at the river, cooking some food there. At dusk the girls return. The *intonjane* and her attendant gather firewood on the way home. When they come home the *intonjane*'s hair is shaved. For a week she wears a handkerchief tied low over her forehead and a long skirt, like a bride. She rises at dawn to fetch water and wood, cooks, and avoids the men's side of huts and the *inkundla* exactly as if she were a bride. She does not, however, avoid names. Then after about a week her handkerchief is raised by some old person of the *umzi*, and she resumes her old short skirt, and behaves as a daughter of the *umzi* again. Only after the handkerchief is raised may she drink milk again, but there is no ceremony of giving it to her.

While the *intonjane* is away at the river her mother burns the *inxophu* grass from her hut, scatters the ashes in the veld, and smears out the hut. An *intonjane* cannot come out while she is menstruating, but waits until she is better—probably because girls do not wash during their periods. The final ceremonies of *ukuhamba entabeni* (going to the mountain) and going to wash are smiled at by informants. No 'old' person takes any part in them, and people who are serious about the seclusion, the killing, and the performance of the *umgquzo* dance, speak of the final ceremonies as 'children's nonsense'. The moving of the screen may be omitted if a man is in a hurry for his wife. The dressing and behaving as an *umtshakazi* (bride) was never mentioned by informants who described other parts of the ceremony minutely.

KILLINGS NOTED

1. *Kwa Soka.* 2 girls (unmarried) *ukuthombisa* (rich *umzi*).
   Day of seclusion, 2 goats.
   Isibande, 2 pigs.
   Final killing (*umgquzo*) 2 beasts. Goat and sheep for *amazibazana.*
2. *Kwa Somponos.* 2 girls (rich *umzi*, royal blood).
   Day of seclusion. 6 fowls (by women), 2 pigs.
   Isibande, 2 goats, 2 sheep.
   Umgquzo, 4 cattle. 1 sheep for *amazibazana.*
3. *Kwa Pethu.* 1 girl (rich *umzi*).
   Day of seclusion, 2 goats.
   Isibande, 2 sheep, 1 pig.
   Fourth day, 1 sheep.
   Umgquzo, 1 ox, 2 sheep.

The initiation ceremonies are spoken of as an *umvuyo* (rejoicing). On the day on which the *intonjane* is secluded, and again on the day of the final ritual killing, the women rush about, giving ceremonial expression of joy, as they do on no other occasion. Informants say that they are rejoicing because the girl has reached

maturity. Initiation is quite definitely preparation for marriage. The beautifying of the girl by bleaching and fattening, and the practice in behaviour as a bride, show that this is the end in view, but as far as I could discover (and I believe that the old women gave me full information on this point) there is no physical operation and no sex teaching of any kind. Theoretically a girl only becomes marriageable after initiation, but, as we have seen, girls are actually often married before they are initiated. In theory initiation brings a change in status, but actually the physical change in a girl, and not the ceremonial marking of it, makes the change. The ceremonial is not in itself believed to be strengthening, but it is a custom (*isiko*) that it should be performed. To the Pondo the importance of the ceremony lies in the belief that sickness may be sent by the ancestors if it is not duly performed. That this belief is the effective sanction for the performance of the custom is proved by the number of cases in which the ceremonies are not performed until a girl falls ill after marriage, and the sickness is diagnosed as being due to the non-performance of the ceremony.

Ukuthombisa is generally performed by pagans all through Pondoland. It is possible that more girls are married before initiation, and that there is more carelessness over details of the ceremony, than formerly, but I have no proof of this. The ancestors are always credited with having been nearer the ideal than their descendants, but old women say that when they were young there were a number who were not initiated until after marriage. The Churches have strenuously opposed female initiation, and no Christian girls undergo it. A substitute has, however, been evolved by Bantu Christians themselves in the form of seclusion before marriage (cf. p. 214).

Pondo boys and girls are given 'names of youth' by their contemporaries, which are used by contemporaries and juniors. The giving of the new name does not necessarily coincide with initiation. Older people usually continue to use an individual's 'birth name'. 'Some do not have a name of youth. Others have several.'

Schools.

A new factor in the education of the Pondo child has been introduced by the establishment of schools after the European model. Pondoland with an area of 3,906 square miles and a population of 261,467[1] has 244 Native schools, with an enrolment of 13,066, and 353 teachers.[2] This gives an average of one school in 16 square

[1] *Census Report, 1921.*
[2] *Cape of Good Hope, Educational Statistics, 1930.*

miles, one child out of 28 inhabitants or approximately one in 7 children[1] attending school, and one teacher to every 25 children. The number of girls attending school is in excess of the number of boys, there being a total of 6,210 boys and 6,856 girls. Of 353 teachers, 255 are men and 98 women.[2] The schools have practically all been started by missionary initiative, but are Government aided and inspected.

Of the 244 schools in Pondoland only seven take pupils above Standard IV. Of these one trains teachers, the others do not take pupils above Standard VI. A small number of Pondo attend schools in the Transkei or Cape Province, where there are a number of secondary schools, two high schools taking pupils on to matriculation of the University of South Africa, and a Native University College (which in 1933 had twelve Pondo on its roll) which prepares students for the B.A. and M.A. degrees, and the Higher Diploma in Education, of the University of South Africa, a College diploma in agriculture, and the first year of the University B.Sc. degree.[3] But the number of Pondo attending schools outside Pondoland, as compared with the population, is infinitesimal. The great bulk of the pupils are in classes below Standard II. In 1929 in the Cape Province, of the total number of scholars enrolled, or presented for inspection,

5 per cent. were in sub-Standards A and B,
23 „ „ Standards I and II,
14 „ „ „ III and IV,
5 „ „ „ V and VI.
Under 2 per cent. were training as teachers or in secondary schools.[4]

Over 80 per cent. of the children attending school, therefore, do not get further than reading and writing the vernacular, and elementary arithmetic.

In all forms up to Standard VI the education department recommends that four hours a week should be devoted to 'manual and industrial training'. Some clay modelling is done, and baskets are made after old Pondo patterns and in some new patterns. There is a garden attached to each school, in which the older boys

[1] As the census figure is for 1921 and the Educational Statistics for 1930, and the census is probably not accurate, these figures can only be taken as approximate. Figures on the total number of children are not available. It is estimated that persons between 6 and 16 years form between 24·9 per cent. and 27·6 per cent. of the total population (*N.E.C.*, pp. 617, 618).

[2] Educational Statistics.

[3] South African Native College Calendar, 1933, 1934.

[4] Worked out from Education Statistics, 1930. Figures for Pondoland alone are not available.

grow vegetables; and in schools where there is a woman teacher girls are taught needlework, and in the higher forms, cooking and housework. Half an hour to two hours a week each are given to religious instruction, geography, nature study, history, hygiene, drill and games, and singing. English is begun as a second language in the lowest form, but does not become the principal medium of instruction until Standard V.[1]

The teachers are men and girls who, after having passed Standard VI, have had three years' training in a teachers' training school. Each school has a 'manager', usually the local missionary, who is supposed to visit it regularly, and who appoints the teacher, subject to Government approval; and there are European Government Inspectors, who travel round supervising the teachers and examining the children who are ready to be moved up to the next form.

Schools are in some ways inefficient. The teacher is but poorly educated himself, and is very liable not to teach, but to make his pupils learn parrot-wise. He is slow to relate his teaching to life outside the school. After being in village schools for some years teachers often grow lazy. They may be surrounded by illiterate people, and have no intellectual stimulus. Usually one teacher has several classes with children of all ages in one room. Parents say, 'Why should we send children to school to model oxen, and make baskets, and dig when they can learn these things at home, and might be working for us?' The teacher is often of the same mind, and is inclined to give less than the allotted time to handwork. His training in agriculture and basketry is often not sufficient for him to give much better instruction than is given at home. Sectarianism impairs efficiency, the manager often making membership of his denomination a necessary qualification in the teacher appointed, outweighing character and teaching qualifications. Inspectors have very large circuits and often no time to do more than pay each school one visit a year.

The bulk of the people regard school education with apathy. Christians send their children, and a school flourishes where there are many Christians, particularly Fingo emigrants. A headman usually sends some of his sons and daughters, and, sometimes harried by the magistrate or missionary, insists on a certain number of children from his district attending, but most are left to go or not as they choose. There is little active opposition to schools. Some complain that 'Learning spoils children. A learned person thinks he is the cleverest in the *umzi*, and will not listen to advice in anything.' In one district in which I worked, Ndove-

[1] Primary School Course for Native Schools, E. 5/169983.10000.5.27.

lane, the people complained that of the previous generation who had been to school several had become *amahilihili*, that is, persons who go to a European town to work and never return to their own people, but the school people argued, and with justice, that there were as many *amahilihili* among those who had never been to school. And the critics are balanced by those who say that 'It is right that some should learn because a man may get a paper and he does not know if it lies. He may have property elsewhere, and need to correspond about it.' 'He may need a pass for cattle, and he should know what it says.' But boys are needed for herding and ploughing, and girls to look after younger children. Schooling up to Standard VI is free, but a foolish convention makes a child unwilling to go to school in the small blanket of a pagan, and demand a cotton shirt or frock. The loss of the child's services, and the extra expense, are sufficient to hinder many parents, themselves apathetic about education, from sending their children to school, and many children, finding the veld preferable to the schoolroom, do not attend school unless sent.

Of those enrolled the attendance is irregular, the average attendance being only 76 per cent. of the enrolment. The discrepancy between the number of boys and the number of girls attending is due partly to the fact that boys are more difficult to spare in summer when cattle must be herded, partly because it is more the 'done thing' among girls to attend school, than it is among boys, and partly, perhaps, because more women are Church members or adherents than men. Christian mothers are prepared to sacrifice a daughter's services that she may go to school, while the pagan husband may insist on boys herding.

There is general complaint of a growing lack of discipline among children and young people. 'Juniors no longer behave respectfully towards elders (*ukuhlonipha*). Young people think themselves clever.' 'They say, "You speak of old things that were done by Faku, and this time is not that time".' Schools may be partly the cause of the indiscipline in that in some directions they tend to disrupt the old organization of society. Missionaries are inclined to oppose the power of the chiefs on the ground that Christian converts should not be under pagan chiefs, and schools do not back up the home teaching of obedience towards chiefs. The missionary opposes the ancestor cult which is a sanction for the respect for elders. The schools are channels of missionary influence. Some children, having been at school, feel that they know more than their parents, and are therefore less respectful towards them.

In an illiterate community a larger proportion of knowledge

must be acquired by personal experience than in a literate community. Again and again people of 20 to 30 from whom, I inquired about some generally practised custom replied, 'Well, I don't know about that. I have not seen it yet. Ask some old person.' When knowledge may be rapidly acquired through books, the relative importance of age and experience is less.

But the complaint of disobedience of children is as general among pagans as among Christians, and the principal cause of the change in relation between parent and child is economic. The opportunity of earning for themselves gives young men economic independence. As we have seen, they tend to set up their own *imizi* at a much earlier age than formerly, and thus partly free themselves from the economic subjection of son to father, which is, in the Pondo mind, bound up with the rendering of respect and obedience. The change in attitude of young men towards their fathers reacts upon the attitude of children.

Administrative changes are partly responsible for the change in relations between parent and child. The reduction in the respect paid by elders to the chiefs reacts upon the behaviour of children. A Native speaking at the Native congress at Bloemfontein, called by the Native Affairs Commission in 1924, asserted that the only way to enable parents to control their children was by adjusting the relations between people and their chiefs.[1]

Although in some ways tending to cause disruption of the old society, schools are among the chief means of adjustment to new economic and political conditions. I found men who had been at school even for a few years as children much more capable of grasping new ideas than those who had not. Improvement in agriculture which will enable the Native to live on his reduced area of land, and improvements in health and hygiene, depend upon elementary school education. Of the temporary workers in town those who had been to school were more able to adapt themselves than those who had not attended. In both country and town school education opens new fields of interest and makes possible a fuller life.

'School people' bred in reserves, although forming a distinct section of the community, are not necessarily divorced from tribal life. Both paramount chiefs of Pondoland have been students at the South African Native College. Chief Poto is in no way divorced from his people because he lives in a house of European style, with bookcases, easy chairs, and gramophone, wears European dress, speaks perfect English, and is a lay preacher. Many of the councillors of the chiefs, and practically all the

[1] *Report of Native Affairs Commission, 1924. O.G. 40, 1925.*

representatives on the Bunga (cf. p. 432), are men who have been to school. Both paramount chiefs have well-educated secretaries, and in a number of the chief's courts I attended the councillor who conducted the case had been to school. Often there are pagans and 'school people' in the same *umzi*. They have common interests. All are primarily peasant farmers. Ministers and teachers have prestige in the community, and are leaders of the increasing number anxious for improvements in agriculture, marketing, housing, and schooling. The late Principal of the junior school in 'mFundisweni in Pondoland was of the Pondo royal house, a councillor of the paramount chief of the Qawukeni, a Bunga member, and as eager for the welfare and honour of his tribe as any pagan ancestor. Tribal histories and praises of the chiefs are among the earliest publications of Bantu authors.

CHAPTER IV

MARRIAGE

Premarital sexual experience.

CHILDREN are from an early age aware of the facts of sex. They do not sleep in the same hut as married couples—every woman who has been married for a year or more has her own hut to which she and her husband retire at night, and the children of the *umzi* usually sleep in the great hut with their grandmother—but sexual matters are discussed freely in their presence. Babies are frequently kissed on the sexual organs and buttocks by relatives and friends. Women admiring a small girl often pick up her skirt to view these parts, and comment admiringly on them.

Small children of both sexes play together. From about 6 years their work is different and to some degree separates them. Boys and girls go about in separate 'gangs', the boys concerned with their herding, and getting most of their amusement in hunting and in mock-fights. The girls are busy with domestic duties, and amuse themselves going to hunt for wild berries, dancing, and telling stories. But there is never a sharp segregation of the sexes. All the members of the *umzi* gather together in the evenings, and in wet weather, and in winter, when there is little herding to be done, boys are much about their homes.

Girls between the ages of 8 and 12, and boys between 9 and 14 begin to go to *izitʃhotʃho* or *amagubura*, gatherings of unmarried girls, boys, and young men, for dancing and sweethearting (*ukumetʃha*). The young people of one small local district—perhaps all those who live on one ridge—gather in the evening in a secluded spot in the veld or in a deserted hut. They dance and sing, then pair off to sleep together. The couple lie in each other's arms, but the hymen of the girl must not be ruptured. If it is, the boy responsible is liable to a heavy fine.

The age at which boys and girls begin to attend the *izitʃhotʃho* varies with the individual. Some girls of about 10 years said that they did not want to go yet, they were frightened or they thought they were too young. Others of the same age had been going for some time. The same applied to the boys. It is certain that both boys and girls do *ukumetʃha* before puberty. One overhears such remarks as, 'It is awfully good to have a girl to cuddle into these cold nights' from boys of twelve. By 14 boys are complete young bloods, cutting their hair in fancy patterns, sporting snuff-spoons, and wearing their sweethearts' beads. Girls of 12 are

growing their hair (cf. p. 222) and getting fussy about beads and braided skirts.

Girls from about 14, and boys from about 16, begin to go to gatherings of young people farther afield. They join the young people of neighbouring districts at parties for dancing and singing held in the veld or in a disused hut, or meet them in the hut of a girl who is being initiated. The parties of these older girls and boys and young men may last for two or three days. Usually now they meet on a Saturday afternoon and stay together until the Monday morning.

These frequent young people's dances are a new phenomenon. Middle-aged men and women say that it began when they were already adults. Formerly the only occasions when numbers of young people met to (*uku*)*metʃha* were weddings and girls' initiation ceremonies.

Always, however, it has been customary for young men to spend nights with girls in the girls' own homes. This relationship when a man comes to (*uku*)*metʃha* with a girl in her own home is marked by the exchange of gifts (*ukunyoba*) between his group and her's. Sometimes a man sends a gift to the father of a girl as soon as he has persuaded her to be his partner, *ukumetʃha*. Sometimes he only sends it when caught lying with the girl at a young people's gathering, or out in the veld, or in her hut, by her brother or other male relative, who seizes his sticks and blankets, which can then only be redeemed with a goat or beast. The former procedure was usual in the eastern districts of Pondoland, the latter in the western districts. The first gift from the man to the girl's father is usually a couple of goats, now sometimes £1, called *umkatʃhuka*, then comes a beast (*umnyobo*), and if the relation lasts for more than a year, sometimes another beast (*ukuguxa*). To the girl's mother is given a goat or 10*s*. (*umetheko*). The girl is supplied with beads and blankets by her father, embroiders a loin-cloth and sometimes also another blanket, and makes necklaces and anklets, and a snuff-box, for her lover. Informants say that if the father is dilatory in supplying these gifts, the lover may seize beads and blankets from the girl. Mamiya told how her sister's daughter was left naked because her lover took her clothes and ornaments.

In Bizana district the boys of two (occasionally three) neighbouring sub-districts buy two or three sticks and white calico for flags. When a boy of sub-district A persuades a girl (of any district) to accept him as her lover all the young men of sub-district A go singing to take a stick and flag from B sub-district and *vice versa*. When another A man is accepted A claims another flag,

and so on. There is no fighting when they are taken. The flag is fixed in the kraal fence of the home of the lover. 'Then he goes straight to her hut.' Aften ten days the girl presents her lover with beads, he gives the first of his gifts to her parents, and the flag is taken down.

'In autumn we see many flags. Boys believe that in autumn after they have eaten many green foods girls are easily won', volunteered Geza. In reply to a query, he said, 'No, the time of love-making has nothing to do with extra leisure. Boys have plenty of time to court girls even when they are ploughing.'

'A boy may be loved by as many as six girls. If he has many he cannot pay for them all, and then fathers will not have him. They say, 'He did not pay for So-and-so's daughter and So-and-so's daughter. I will not have him here. And the girl sends him away.' A girl also may have a number of lovers, and her father may receive *umnyobo* from them all. The payment of *umnyobo* does not give a man the exclusive right to *(uku)metʃha* with a girl. 'A girl may have twelve or thirteen boys come to her hut every evening. She will send away all but two or three, and then talk to one and send him, and talk to another and send him, and remain with the third.' Her rivals may call her an *isifebe* (a voluptuary), but it is no disgrace to her to accept several lovers at the same time. The more skulls the better.

Ukunyoba has been held by European courts to be a custom 'contrary to good morals', so *umnyobo* cannot be sued for in a magistrate's court; nevertheless, it is generally given.

Ukumetʃha is regarded by all pagans as a right and natural thing to do. They smile at 'children's play', as they call it. A girl of 9 came coyly up to a boy of 14 in the store, asked him for sugar, and finally remarked, 'Bring your blanket when you come, for I have not got one to sleep in.' Grown-ups overhearing roared with laughter. I came across a few parents who refused to let their daughters go to parties before they were 13 or 14, giving as their reason that the boys were sometimes rough, and their girls might get hurt. 'Boys twist girls' necks to make them love them.' Others said that they did not like their daughters to go very young, but they cried when they tried to stop them, and so they let them go. But this restriction only referred to the age at which children should begin to *(uku)metʃha*, not to the custom itself. Parents are proud that a daughter should have many lovers as well as glad to benefit economically from them. But the regulations concerning *ukumetʃha* relations had to be strictly observed. Old women tell me that formerly after any gathering of young people at a wedding, or girl's initiation, the girls who

took part were physically examined by the older women of the *umzi* at which the gathering took place.[1] Girls might also be examined by their mothers in their own homes. If the girl was found to have lost her virginity, the man with whom she was known to have slept before the examination was held responsible, and he, or his father, had to pay a fine in cattle, usually five head if pregnancy resulted, three head if the girl did not become pregnant. The girl was held to have disgraced both herself and her companions. All the girls of her *imbutho* ('gang', i.e. the girls of her own age in the sub-district in which she lived) went into mourning, wearing no beads or clay and attending no festivities for some months. In some clans (I think all aßaMbo) women of the family of a girl who had lost her virginity went to the *umzi* of the man who was responsible, carrying sticks like men. The guilty man fled, for they tried to thrash him. They threatened to fight the people of the *umzi*, then seized a beast from the kraal which they took back with them, killed, and ate. Men might be given some of this meat, but it belonged to the women.

The examination of girls has now been generally dropped in Pondoland. The reasons given for dropping it are that the girls refused to submit to it, and that 'it made trouble' because a girl might be declared by women who examined her to be no longer a virgin, and her mother would quarrel with them and say that they were lying and just making trouble. Fines for seduction and causing pregnancy are, however, still generally levied. Premarital pregnancy is not unusual even in remote districts in Pondoland. Informants are agreed that it is commoner now than it was formerly.

Alongside the Pondo law and custom governing the relations of unmarried persons are another set of ideals introduced by Christian missionaries. The churches have condemned *ukumetʃha*, and forbid their members to allow their children to attend young people's dances. Children of church members do not normally attend dances, but *ukumetʃha* is commonly practised among them. I heard the women of the congregation at one of the places at which I stayed in Pondoland discussing their Native minister's wife and remarking what a good woman she was. Several agreed that she was the only woman they had ever known who had not *ukumetʃha* before she was married. Elsewhere it was common knowledge that the teacher, a church member, *ukumetʃha* with one of the elder girls in his school. Again and

[1] For a discussion of the extent of knowledge of women examining in a neighbouring tribe see Dr. M. Kohler, M.D., *Marriage Customs in Southern Natal*, p. 39 (Dept. of Native Affairs Ethnological Publications, vol. iv).

again I had evidence that *ukumetʃha* was usual in the Christian community. Most Christian parents would, I believe, prevent their children practising the custom if they could, but they cannot, and many do not really believe it to be wrong (cf. p. 221). *Umnyobo* is not given when the parents are Christian for the relationship is never openly admitted. Premarital pregnancy occurs as frequently in the Christian community as in the pagan community, but not, as is often stated, more frequently than among pagans in the same district.

The examination of girls by older women has been generally dropped in the Christian, as in the pagan, community. Some missionaries opposed it on the ground that it destroyed modesty. Some mothers, however, clung to it, believing it to be a safeguard against premarital pregnancy—one or two told me that they still examined their daughters monthly, and always after they had been to any festival—and the custom has been adopted by the Women's Association of the Bantu Presbyterian Church, who insist that before a girl is married in church with a veil, she should satisfy two representatives of the Association that she is a virgin. If she is not a virgin, she may not be married in church, but in the minister's study, without a veil.

Degrees of consanguinity.

Sexual relations are strictly forbidden between certain relatives, and from the time children begin *ukumetʃha* they have to observe these degrees of consanguinity. Relations with a member of a man's own clan (*isiduko*), i.e. of his father's clan, with a member of his mother's or maternal or paternal grandmother's clan are prohibited. To have relations with a person so related is incest (*umbulo*). The regulations regarding marriage are apparently strictly observed by both pagans and Christians; the clans with which both parties are related are carefully considered before a marriage is sanctioned by their parents.[1] One young man told me sadly how he had wanted to marry Ngote, but the marriage was prohibited by his and her parents, for they found that Ngote's maternal grandmother was of the same clan as himself.

[1] I believe that the remark quoted on p. 149, about children being born whose parents are related', referred to illegitimate children. The only case of 'incestuous' marriage of which I could hear was that of a couple who after a runaway match at a distance from their homes (but still in Pondoland) had discovered, when a ritual killing was made and the names of ancestors called, that they were related. The mistake had arisen because the girl belonged to an offshoot clan which while having a separate name was not yet considered free to intermarry with the parent clan (cf. p. 57). Because (according to the woman who had no hesitation in telling me her story) they had 'made a mistake' the marriage was allowed to stand, and no purification was made.

Informants are agreed that *ukumetʃha* does occur within prohibited degrees. 'But it is stolen. There is disgrace when the old people find it. Young people may know and say nothing.' Old people say that the taboo is broken more frequently now than formerly. Two cases of transgression of the law came to my notice. Nosente, a young married woman, while visiting her own people was known to have visited X, her half-brother—the son of their father by another wife—suspiciously frequently. On her return to her husband's *umzi* some months later she was found to be pregnant. They tortured her with ants to make her confess. She said that she was pregnant by X. Her husband sued X for adultery, and was awarded damages of five head in the magistrate's court (cf. p. 424). The ceremony for purification for adultery was performed (cf. p. 204). After it Nosente said to her husband, 'You have buried me twice, I am going home.'

He. 'Well, you don't take the child.'

She. 'It is not yours.'

He. 'It is staying here.'

She bundled up her things and went to her own people.

Later another half-sister of X, visiting her own people, was reputed to be his lover. His great wife complained that when this woman visited she (the wife) was 'told not to come into the hut'. These affairs were common gossip. People professed to be shocked but took no action. X was 'owner of an *umzi*' and a chief's son.

It is said that children are not exhorted to observe incest taboos, but 'they know for themselves, they see what the bigger ones do'. 'A boy asks a girl's clan, and her mother's and grandmothers' clans before he touches her.' Children grow up aware of the clan taboos, as they are aware of the taboos on relations between blood-brother and blood-sister. The incest taboo is buttressed by the observance of the milk and avoidance taboos. Small boys avoid the milk of non-related clans from the time they go to herd. 'They copy their elders. Those who drank would be laughed at.' Girls avoid milk of non-related clans at the same time, and before puberty begin to avoid certain parts in the *imizi* of persons not related to them. Entering an *umzi* one day with a group of girls I noticed the elder ones circling round the back of the huts, while their juniors went straight across the *inkundla*. This behaviour emphasizes the difference between clans to which they are related, and the clans to which they are not related.

Formerly, if a couple were caught in incest (either *ukumetʃha* or adultery) a beast provided by the man was killed at the girl's home, and a fire made of the pole used for closing the kraal gate.

The couple were made to sit naked in the *inkundla*. A strip of meat was cut from 'any part' of the beast killed, and roasted on the fire mentioned. The meat was not nicely cooked but scorched. The pair were then made to eat the strip, each nibbling from an end until it was finished. The whole community came to look on, and the pair were sworn at, exhorted, and told, 'There your filthiness has been exposed.'

Informants state that there was no special time of day for the ceremony, no washing, and no medicine used. The ceremony is never performed now.

A supernatural sanction for the laws against incest is the belief that if either father or mother have committed incest, their child (by incest or by their lawful partner) will not suckle unless they confess (cf. p. 148).

Courtship.

After having many temporary affairs, Pondo men and women enter into more or less permanent unions for the procreation and care of children. Girls usually marry between 16 and 18 years of age. I came across one case in which a girl had only had her first menstruation after marriage, but this is unusual. Men marry between 20 and 25. Among the Khonjwayo, where cattle were plentiful, 22 was about the average age, but there were cases of men paying poll-tax for six years before marrying, showing that they must have been 24 before marrying.[1]

Practically every one marries once. Only within marriage are full sexual relations legally sanctioned. Children are desired; only by giving cattle to the family of a woman can a man obtain the legal guardianship of children, and only a married woman can bear children without disgrace. Marriage brings with it a desired change in status. A man is not considered to have attained full manhood until he is married. A woman, although her life as a daughter in her own home is easier than that of a bride in her husband's home, can never attain to the position of *inkosikazi* (mistress of the *umzi*) without being married.

I came across two women who had never married, one was insane, the other had a hare-lip, but both had borne children. One oldish man had never married. Geza said, 'There are men like that, who fear women, and never go to girls. We think they are sick even though their bodies look all right. They are called *izidenge* (fools).' Siße ße ße who was mentally deranged attempted to marry, but no woman would live with him.

[1] Eighteen is the legal age for paying poll-tax; a few go to the mines at sixteen, and begin to pay tax then.

There are several different methods of arranging a marriage. A man's father may take the initiative. 'A man going about the country may see an *umzi* with which he would like to have friendship, or he may see a young girl who pleases him, and if his son agrees he may arrange a marriage between his son and that girl.' More rarely advances may be made by a girl's father if he 'sees an *umzi* which he likes for his daughter', but in such a case when the groom's people come to talk it over, it would be implied that they had come to ask for the girl. If a girl is not sought in marriage her relatives may actually go abroad to look for a husband for her, but to be married thus is a disgrace to a commoner's daughter. Should there be a quarrel in her *umzi* it would be cast up against her, '*Wahlolelwa wena*' (You were spied for). Only for the daughter of a chief may advances be honourably made. Commoners are fearful of presuming to suggest an alliance with a chief, who expects a high *ikhazi*, so his daughters are often unsought.

More commonly a man 'sees'[1] a girl whom he wishes to marry, and then asks his parents to arrange a match. I read letters written for boys working in the mines to their parents at home in Pondoland, asking them to make arrangements for a marriage with a particular girl. One informant described the procedure thus: 'A man comes to a girl's father to ask, on the behalf of a friend, for his daughter. The father says, "Go and speak to the girl." The man goes. If the girl agrees she will say, "I want to see the man who is to be my husband." Then the man who wants her comes. The girl says, "As you have spoken to my father before, speak to me." Then the father sends the man home, saying, "I am going to consult my kinsmen." He calls his brothers and the women of the *umzi*. They consult as to whether the girl should go to that *umzi* or not. They say whether the people have a good name (*igama elilungileyo*). If they agree, then they give the girl presents, and she is sent with a bridal party.' Once a marriage has been agreed upon, the girl is sent almost immediately to her husband. There is never a long period of engagement.

Sometimes, instead of approaching her father, a young man may carry off (*ukuthwala*), or cause to be carried off by some of his young men friends, the girl he wishes to marry. She is seized when walking abroad, hustled along with much shouting and some blows, and taken to the groom's kraal. It is seemly that she should make a great show of resistance, even though she is pleased to marry the man who has taken her, and sometimes girls lie down and are dragged along the ground, getting their limbs

[1] A literal translation of the Xhosa.

grazed, before they will submit to going with their captors. Some boy from the groom's kraal is sent to the girl's people to tell them where she is. The father consults his kinsmen, and if he and they agree that it is a suitable match, men are sent to the groom's home to arrange about *ikhazi*, the ritual killing marking a marriage is performed, and the marriage consummated.

Sometimes the girl's father is privy to the plot to carry off his daughter, and even may let the groom know privately that he is sending his daughter to such and such a place on such and such a day, and that he may take her. The reasons given for the girl being carried off when her father had already been consulted are that 'her parents do not like to hear their daughter cry'. When a girl leaves her home to be married she is obliged by custom to weep and make a fuss about going. Or 'Her father may want her to marry that man, and her mother disagree.' A case was cited in which the groom and some friends had come three times to fetch his bride. She had wept and struggled, and each time her mother and sisters and the other women of the *umzi* had rescued her. Eventually her father told the groom to take her when he found her going to the shop on Monday. He did so.

Sometimes a man persuades a girl to elope (*ukugcagca*) with him. He takes her to his home, a message is sent to her people, and matters proceed as in a case where the girl is carried off. Sometimes he arranges for her to come to his home at dusk. She sits down outside the *umzi*. When asked what she wants, she replies that she wants shelter for the night, but 'every one knows why she has come'.

If the father and kinsmen of a girl who has been carried off or eloped disapproves of an alliance with the family to which the young man belongs, they may demand the return of the girl, together with a fine of one beast, called *ibopha* (from *ukubopha*, to bind up). Or if the relative of the man who has brought the girl disapprove of her or her family, and forbid him to marry her, or refuse to help him with cattle for *ikhazi*, a beast must be sent back with the girl.

To carry off a girl to marry her is considered quite respectable. There is no shame in such a marriage to either bride or groom. For a girl to elope, however, is rather shameful, for a girl should never admit that she goes willingly to any man. Always when she is married she should weep and protest; not to do so is immodest. Hence elopement is considered improper, but there are many who do it.

All informants are agreed that both carrying a girl off and elopement were usual before contact with Europeans.

The grounds on which a girl's relatives may object to a match are first, poverty of the groom's people. If the groom or his father have few cattle the girl's father can never hope to get a full *ikhazi*, and a girl's people are always unwilling for her to marry into a poor family. The match may be prohibited by either side if either family has a reputation for witchcraft or sorcery (*ukuthakatha*), or if either thinks the other inferior to them. A foreign clan is liable to be looked down upon by clans related to the royal house, although in Pondoland the number of foreign clans is so great that this feeling that strangers are inferior is not really effective. One old woman remarked that a man, if he wanted a girl, would marry her in spite of a family reputation for sorcery or inferiority. No one could stop him. The one real impediment to marriage is kinship (cf. p. 184).

Of 26 marriages investigated in Pondoland, 5 were arranged, in 5 cases the girl had been carried off, in 13 the couple had eloped, in 3 cases the girl had been married off by her people, then had run away and married a lover. It is clear that there is considerable freedom of choice in the selection of partners. Young people have ample opportunity for meeting before marriage. A man is never forced to marry a girl he does not wish, and although ideally a girl is supposed to submit to her father's choice of a husband for her, the number of cases of elopement shows that many disregard their father's wishes. Note that the informant quoted included consultation of the girl as part of the normal procedure in arranging a match. Frequently, if a girl is married to a man she dislikes, she leaves him and elopes with some other man whom she prefers.

Informants are agreed that before British occupation there were cases in which girls were forced to marry against their will, and that they were thrashed when they refused to do so. I heard of two cases during the last eight years of Pondo girls committing suicide because they were threatened with a distasteful marriage, and there are stories of other such cases which occurred in the past. A cliff near 'mPosa is called *inTombi nenDoda* (the girl and the man), for it is said once a girl who was being forced to marry a man she disliked, and her lover, bound themselves together and flung themselves over it. But the number of forced marriages must always have been small. Now a girl can always get protection from the magistrate if a distasteful match is being forced upon her. I knew one who went to the magistrate for protection.

Frequently couples who have been sweethearts marry, but sweethearting is not in any way a necessary preliminary to

marriage. Elders disapprove of marriages of sweethearts. 'The man is already tired of the girl before she gets there.'

Ukulobola.

The mark of a marriage is the passage of cattle from the groom's group to that of the bride (*ukulobola*); the cattle which pass are collectively known as *ikhazi*. Without the passage of cattle there is in Pondo law no marriage, even though a woman has lived long with a man and borne him children. 'A woman who is not *ukulobola* has no honour there (at her husband's *umzi*), for no matter how many children she bears, her brother can come and take her daughters away.' When there is a quarrel at the *umzi* the other wives swear at her and say, 'You have brought yourself: you are a cat for whom nothing is ever given: you are not *umfazi* (wife) but an *ifwefwe*' (woman not *ukulobola*). The passage of cattle determines the group to which the child shall belong. There is a proverb, *Walandela umntwana amabeka.* (The child followed the *ikhazi*.) I overheard Umthetho, fondling a small grandchild, murmur, 'It was for you that all my cattle went.'

The passage of cattle legalizes in retrospect an illegal union. If a man, after making a girl pregnant, gives another beast over and above the five head due as fine, it is considered that he has *ukulobola* with six head, and the union is legal, and the child, even though it were born before the cattle passed, inherits as the eldest child of its mother. In times when there were no cattle some token was given as a substitute. An old man described how, when after the Zulu raids and cattle sickness there were very few cattle, baskets of grain were given as *ikhazi*.

The amount of *ikhazi* varies. It is held that 'a father may ask what he likes for his daughter', but the economic position of the groom and his family are taken into account. The attractiveness of the girl may also affect the amount given. An old Pondo woman who was inquiring from me about European marriage customs was greatly astonished at my statement that no *ikhazi* was given by Europeans, then remarked, 'Well, if that were the custom, and I had sons, I should want the most beautiful girls obtainable for them, because nothing would have to be given for them.' When Pondo wished to compliment me they would remark that they imagined that the *ikhazi* given for me would be high. In theory the *ikhazi* for a divorcee or unmarried mother is less than for a virgin, but in practice there is little difference. Again informants say, 'A father asks what he likes.' Besides the transfer of cattle from the groom's group to that of the bride there is a transfer of goods from the bride's group to that of the

groom, and the number of cattle given as *ikhazi* has a definite correlation to the amount of goods received by the groom's group from the bride's group. Gifts are brought by the bride's group when a ceremony (*umtʃhato*) is performed, and its performance is always a ground for demanding more *ikhazi*. Where a bride brings a beast to be killed at the *umtʃhato* an additional beast in the *ikhazi* is demanded in return (cf. p. 195). An average *ikhazi* for a bride who has brought gifts at the *umtʃhato* ceremony is eight to ten head when she is the daughter of a commoner, and twenty head when she is the daughter of a district chief.

Most frequently the *ikhazi* is not fixed before the marriage is consummated. In an arranged match the father of the girl may ask for a beast *isinyaniso* (*inyaniso*, truth) when negotiations begin. Usually at least four head are handed over when a marriage is consummated. The father may demand more *ikhazi* at any stage, but the birth of a child, and the *umtʃhato* ceremony when gifts are made by the bride's group to that of the groom, and now the return of a man from the mines, are particularly usual occasions for the demand. To enforce his demand a father may detain a daughter and her children (*ukutheleka*) with him until her husband produces the cattle demanded. *Ukutheleka* is legal, and a groom can only get redress in the chief's court if very exorbitant demands are made. It is a commonplace that wives are most frequently detained by their fathers at a season when there is much work to be done in the fields. 'When a husband sees the mealies being spoilt by weeds he will give the cattle quickly.' A woman, however, sometimes runs back to her *umzi* when her father tries to impound her. Manyawuza had a grown-up family, but was still frequently *ukutheleka*. Always she ran back to her *umzi*, because having a grown-up son ready to marry, she was more concerned that her *umzi* kraal should be full than that her father should get more *ikhazi*. The woman's relatives may go on asking for cattle until her death, or after. *Ukulobolisa ngamathambo* (to ask *ikhazi* for bones) is quite legal when the woman has borne children. Nomncinci was slapped by her father because she was lazy about getting up in the morning during reaping season. She ran away to her dead mother's people. They said to her father, 'You never finished paying for our daughter, and now you are ill-treating her child; pay a beast or we will keep the girl.' Men call themselves the 'banks' (*amabanki*) of their fathers-in-law.

Haggling over *ikhazi* is perfectly good form, provided that the groom and his father-in-law do not take part, in person, in the discussions. For them to haggle would be disgraceful. When a marriage is suggested the bride's father sends men, usually elder

men, his relatives, neighbours, or *iinduna* (cf. p. 135) to demand *ikhazi*. They are met by the groom's father and other male relatives or friends, chosen for their capacity to speak. Exorbitant demands are made by both sides, and they beat one another down. If the agents of the bride's family do not get what they have been instructed to demand, they go back to consult her father, and messages may go to and fro for a long time. Haggling is half the fun. Women take no part whatsoever in the discussion about *ikhazi*, and a girl only hears in a roundabout way how many cattle her family have received on her marriage.

The question of how and by whom the *ikhazi* cattle and the gifts brought by the bride are provided, and by whom they are received, has already been discussed (cf. pp. 122-9).

Among some clans (probably all aßaMbo), if the bride is a virgin her mother has the right to go with her friends to the groom's *umzi* and take the fattest beast in the kraal as her reward for 'keeping her daughter'. This *inkomo yengquthu* is over and above the *ikhazi*.

So much for the legal and economic aspects of *ukulobola*. There is also a religious aspect. Cattle are very closely linked with the ancestral spirits and the clan (cf. pp. 52; 234). Cattle received as the *ikhazi* of a daughter are of special ritual importance. Msongelwa stated that an *ikhazi* beast is chosen as the *inkomo yobuluunga* because it came 'in exchange for the blood of the family' (cf. p. 235), and conversely the passage of cattle puts the girl received in exchange for the cattle in close relationship with the ancestral spirits of the family from which the cattle came.

Sir Harry Smith, when he occupied Kaffraria, proposed to abolish 'the sin of buying wives', and although by the time Pondoland was annexed administrators had learned more wisdom and no such direct attack was made on *ukulobola*, indirectly it was attacked by the enforcement of Colonial law whereby a legal marriage, the offspring of which the father could claim, could be contracted without the passage of cattle.

One mission in Pondoland forbade the giving and receiving of *ikhazi* by church members, and some other missions discourage it. Nevertheless, the passage of cattle is still looked upon in Pondoland as a *sine qua non* of legal union, and *ikhazi* passes in practically all Christian and pagan marriages. Most educated Bantu are in favour of the retention of the custom. In an article in the *Imvo* (a leading Xhosa newspaper), of May 30, 1933, the Christian churches are urged to make a definite declaration in favour of *ukulobola*, and it is implied that it would be well if marriage were impossible without the passage of cattle.

But although *ikhazi* is still given, the nature of the transaction is changing. Goats, sheep, horses, saddles, guns, and money are all used as substitutes for cattle. They are still called cattle. Ten sheep, or £5 to a beast is so much the standardized value that, inquiring what *ikhazi* was given, one was invariably told so many cattle, and had to proceed to ask how many were 'tall', how many 'short', and how many went on their own legs. This fiction tends to retain the old significance of the transaction, but even a determined fiction cannot prevent a change in the essence of *ukulobola* when money replaces cattle. With the decay of the ancestor cult and the substitution of money the religious significance of *ukulobola* goes. Everywhere Bantu themselves remark on the change towards a more materialistic and commercial attitude towards life; 'the one thing people are aiming at nowadays is to get more money', complained old men to me—and this general tendency together with the substitution of money for cattle in *ikhazi* and the decay of other aspects of *ukulobola*, tends to emphasize the economic aspect and to commercialize *ukulobola*. Frequently one is told that 'fathers are greedy nowadays and think only of themselves: they demand extortionate *ikhazi* and do not consider, as they used to do, what the man is able to give'. The possibility of extracting extortionate *ikhazi* is potentially limited by the opportunity of marrying by civil and Christian rites, and so contracting a legal union in which the man will have the right to the children without the passage of *ikhazi*, but in Pondoland few in fact marry without cattle.

Marriage ceremonial.

Besides being legalized by the passage of cattle a pagan marriage is marked by a series of ritual killings. Let us return to the procedure in an arranged match. Before a girl leaves home a beast or a goat, or now sometimes a sheep, is killed, by stabbing over the aorta muscle, in the cattle kraal. The contents of the gall-bladder are poured over the girl, and the officiant (the owner of the *umzi* or elder male relative) says, '*Mazithambe*', 'Let them (the cattle) be soft'; meaning, say my informants, 'Let the *ikhazi* cattle come easily.' Some families also wash the girl with an infusion of herbs called *ubulawu* (medicines to secure favour: roots of smilax are used by some) at the side of the kraal, just before the killing takes place.. There is no calling upon the ancestors, and no eating of any special piece of meat, when the killing is done before she is married. The killing is said to be *ukumncamisa* (to kiss her). Neither the groom nor any of his relatives are present at the feast. When a bride has been carried

off, or eloped, this ritual killing may be performed on her first, or a later, visit home. It is believed that if it is not done she is liable to fall ill on account of the omission. 'A girl never feels well until the killing is made for her.' Mantinjana had worked much for Europeans, and was sceptical about the omission of the ceremony causing sickness, but his sister said she felt unwell and refused to return to her husband until it had been performed. After much grumbling he killed a goat. There are many married women for whom this ritual killing (*ukuncamisa*) has never been performed. Frequently it is neglected until it is diagnosed that the neglect is causing illness.

In an arranged match where the full marriage ceremonial is performed, the bride leaves her home accompanied by a party (*uduli*) consisting of unmarried girls, divorcees or widows living with their own people (*amadikazi*), and men. None of the party need necessarily be relatives of the bride, but if she has younger sisters of marriageable age, they are among the girls who accompany her, and the *amadikazi* may be her father's sisters. No married woman who is living with her husband ever goes in an *uduli*, and neither her father nor an elder brother, who is in his place, nor the brother who will benefit from her *ikhazi* may be of the party. Usually men, girls, and *amadikazi* are neighbours and friends of the girl's family. A usual *uduli* consists of five or six unmarried girls, two *amadikazi*, two young men, and an older man in charge of the party. The *uduli* arrives at the groom's *umzi* at dusk, and sits down in the *inkundla*. Presently some one asks where they have come from. They reply that they are travellers and wish for a place to sleep. A hut is given them. The groom's people are always warned beforehand of the date of arrival of the *uduli* and are prepared for them, but both parties behave as if this were not so. Sometimes, particularly if very little *ikhazi* has already been given, the *uduli* refuses to enter the hut prepared for them until a beast has been handed over by word of mouth (*ngesilebe*, literally, 'with the chin') by the groom's people. This beast is called *umgen' endlini* (the entering of the hut) and is counted in the total number given as *ikhazi*.

In accordance with the general custom as to treatment of a party of visitors, the *uduli* is given one hut, in which the men and girls all sleep. Food is brought to them in their hut, and the night the *uduli* arrives, or next morning, a goat is killed, *ukwandlalela* (to lay the marriage mat). The gall of this goat is poured on the head, and arms, and feet of the bride, *ukungenisa umfazi ekhaya* (to make to enter the wife in the home). It is said that this gall will make the bride stay with her husband. 'After that, even if

she runs away, she will come back.' When asked whether if the gall were not poured on a bride she would desert her husband, my informant grinned and said, 'Well, we don't know; that is God's affair' (*Into kaThixo leyo*). If a girl is determined not to remain with the man to whom she is being married she will struggle and refuse to let the gall be poured over her. Madele was being married to a man of her family's choice. When an attempt was made to pour the gall over her she threw it at a dog. Later she eloped with a lover. A willing bride sits quietly while the ceremony is performed. The bride is given the special piece of meat from the right foreleg, *intsonyama*, which is given to an *intonjane* and to a person who is believed to have been made ill by the ancestral spirits (cf. p. 249). The meat of the goat is divided between the *uduli* and the people of the *umzi*, but the groom himself may not eat it. 'If he is hungry and wants to steal some he will creep into his mother's hut and, seen by no one, gobble it.'

At the marriage of wealthy persons the *uduli* brings a beast, *inkomo yentombi* (the beast of the girl), which is killed in the kraal, being stabbed over the aorta muscle with a spear of the *umzi*, but this killing is stated to be of no ritual significance. The bride would not fall ill if it were omitted. 'It is just for meat.' No one is given any special portion of the meat, and the gall-bladder is thrown away. The killing may be omitted if either side wishes to avoid expense. At the marriage of Ngangaɓo's son the *uduli* was prepared to bring a beast to kill, but Ngangaɓo told them not to do so, because he did not wish to give the extra *ikhazi* beast which would be demanded if they had killed a beast for the wedding.

Two days after the girl's beast is killed (when the meat is finished) the *umtʃhato* is held. Between 3 and 5 p.m. the *uduli* party comes out of its hut, in single file, led by the man in charge of it. He is closely followed by an *idikazi* in gala dress (heavily braided skirt, white embroidered shoulder blanket, all her bead-work, and a towel or handkerchief on her head) and then by all the girls of the party, including the bride, rolled up in blankets, with blankets and handkerchiefs completely covering their heads and faces. The rear is brought up by the other *amadikazi* and the men of the party. They march in single file, close behind one another, so that the girls who are blindfolded may not stumble. As they come out of the hut, the leader bears right to avoid the men's side, as does a bride, and then proceeds very slowly to the centre of the *inkundla*. The leader carries a stick, and with it knocks aside any sticks or stones in the way.

On arriving at the centre of the *inkundla* the girls are made to

stand in a row, facing the men of the *umzi*. Blankets are held up by the men of the *uduli* while the *amadikazi* strip the girls (including the bride) of their blankets and handkerchiefs. They are dressed in long skirts and a full complement of bead and brass ornaments, but are naked to the waist. (Ordinarily Pondo girls and women are particular not to expose their breasts.) They stand a few moments facing the men, then blankets are again held up round them by the *uduli* men, and they are rolled up by the *amadikazi*. If the men of the *umzi* consider that the blankets have been put up too quickly, they demand that they be lowered again. The spectators comment freely on the appearance and anatomy of the girls, who during the whole inspection keep their eyes fixed on the ground. The bride is not distinguished in any way from her maids.

Having satisfied the men, the party comes and stands before the women, and the same performance is repeated. The whole party then returns to its hut. At both places where they stand the *uduli* must leave 1*s*.,[1] *ukuhamba enkundleni* (to walk in the *inkundla*), which the children scramble to get. It would be undignified for an adult to try to seize the money left. Sometimes while the party is walking through the *inkundla* the groom's mother, and other women of the *umzi*, run to and fro through the *inkundla* dancing and shouting, 'Here we sow, here we weed, here we reap, here we grind beer, here we work, here we do not sleep all day.' At the weddings I attended this was not done, but it is said to be usual.

After the *uduli* has returned to its hut the men come out with gifts for the groom and his relatives. At the *umtʃhato* of Ngangaßo's brother Latʃha, Ngangaßo received a scarlet blanket (costing *c.* 25*s*.), a hat, and a sleeping-mat; Latʃha, and two other of his elder brothers each received a white blanket (costing 20*s*.), a hat, and a sleeping-mat. Latʃha's mother was given a skirt, a piece of sheeting, a head-cloth, and 3*s*. 6*d*. 'because the skirt was not quite new and they had not had time to have a new one made'.

At the *umtʃhato* of chief Stanford's daughter for whom *ikhazi* of twenty head was given, the groom's father received a scarlet blanket and a sleeping-mat, the groom's father's father and brother each a white blanket and a sleeping-mat, his mother a blanket and head-cloth. A gift was also brought for the groom who was away. Men of the *uduli* spread the mat before each recipient. He sat upon it, and they draped the blanket round his

[1] I have not yet discovered what gift was left before a money economy was introduced.

shoulders and put the hat on his head. No thanks are expressed by the recipients, but they immediately begin to examine the gifts, and to discuss the quality and probable price with their neighbours. A bride also brings with her household goods in the shape of sleeping-mats, grain baskets, food mats, tin dishes, a bucket, an axe, &c. Half she keeps for use in her own hut, the other half is arrayed by the men of the *uduli* outside the great hut. The gifts arrayed at the *umtʃhato* of Stanford's daughter were 3 tin cans (*9d.*, *1s.*, and *2s.*), 3 grain baskets, 2 grass plates, and 3 sleeping-mats. Guests commented upon the amount and quality of them. Most of these goods are taken by the groom's sisters, who return with them to their married homes.

After the gifts have been presented, the cattle of the *umzi* are driven up, and a beast provided by the groom's people is killed in the kraal. The men of the *uduli* have to pay *10s.* or *5s.* *ukungen' esibayeni* (to enter the kraal) to assist in the killing, and take away the meat due to them.

While the beast is being killed, the bride goes with her girls to fetch water for the great hut. The bride uses the new bucket she has brought. Buckets for her maids are provided from the great hut. The girls wear handkerchiefs drawn over their faces, but hanging loose, so that they can see below them. They place the filled buckets outside the great hut.

In some families the bride is given the special piece of meat, *intsonyama*, from the right foreleg of the beast killed, before any one else tastes of the meat of this beast, and the gall is again poured on her head. Other families do not give her a special piece of meat, and use the gall to flavour the entrails, as when a beast is killed just for meat. At the wedding at Ngangaßo's the gall was brought into the hut where the *uduli* was by one of the groom's men. The bride was away fetching water, so he retired. He never came back, and at dusk it still had not been poured over the bride; I inquired about it. The man who had had it had laid it down, and it could not be found anywhere. The groom speaking of the incident later laughed and said to me, 'It is nothing.' Others say that provided the ceremonial is observed with the goat *ukwandlalela*, it does not matter what is done with the gall and *intsonyama* of the beast killed on the day of the *umtʃhato*. The groom is forbidden to eat the meat of this beast, but may 'steal' it as he 'steals' the meat of the goat *ukwandlalela*.

Any who choose are free to attend a wedding feast, as any other feast, and on the days on which beasts are killed there are always many neighbours gathered at the groom's home. Meat is distributed to them as at any other feast. Sometimes beer is also

provided at a wedding, and then there are crowds of guests, but beer is not a necessary part of the ceremony. There are no special wedding dances, but if many people come they may amuse themselves by dancing as at an *umjadu* (cf. p. 365).

During the whole period of its stay in the *umzi* the *uduli* lives apart in the hut assigned to it, being provided with food from the *umzi, but cooking for itself. Even men of the uduli* eat and sit in the hut, instead of sitting in the *inkundla* or at the kraal. Young people of the *umzi*, and visitors, may go to call on the bride, but they cannot enter the hut without knocking. 'No "old person" of the *umzi* would think of going to the hut.' The bride and her maids sit behind a screen made with mats on the women's side of the hut, to prevent any groom's relatives seeing them. They wear black handkerchiefs which they pull down over the face when a member of the groom's *umzi* enters.

The night of the *umtʃhato* the groom sleeps with his bride in a store-hut, and all the other girls of the party are taken by young men of the *umzi* or neighbours (not necessarily groom's relatives) into the veld. *Uduli* girls cannot refuse to go with men who come for them, but only intercourse without penetration is allowed. If the hymen of a girl is ruptured, the usual fine is demanded. The following night the bride sleeps with her husband (though she lives in the *uduli* hut until the *uduli* leaves), but the girls attending her are not obliged to sleep with their partners of the *umtʃhato* night. They may sleep alone, or with a man of the *uduli*. Between the time of the arrival of the *uduli* and the *umtʃhato*, it is said that a bride is often 'stolen' by her husband, but according to custom he should not take her until after the killing. At Ngangaßo's the groom's family at first refused the cattle demanded by the *uduli* (they had already given ten head) and the *uduli* withheld the bride from her husband even on the night of the *umtʃhato*.

The groom has to give the *uduli* a goat (*isikhali*) or, occasionally, a beast before sleeping with his wife, and the men who sleep with the girls of the *uduli* each pay an *umnyoßo* of 1*s*. The *isikhali* is taken home by the *uduli*, but does *not*, even when a beast, count as part of the *ikhazi*.

All through the ceremony the bride's girl attendants behave exactly as the bride. In the *uduli* hut at Ngangaßo's, one of the attendants was rearranging her dress, and in doing so had taken off her head-cloth. The leader of the *uduli* reproved her saying, 'I shall beat you: don't you know that you are a bride in this *umzi* now, and must not go with a bare head but must show respect (*ukuhlonipha*)?' The girl hastily covered her head. I was the only person not of the *uduli* in the hut.

After the *uduli* leaves the bride goes to her husband's mother's hut, and on entering must put down a sum of money *umngen' endlini* (to enter the hut). She may also pay to enter the huts of other 'big people' of the *umzi*. Nomncinci, daughter of Stanford, for whom twenty head were given, gave 10*s*. *umngen' edlini*, 4*s*. to enter the hut of her husband's father's younger brother, 4*s*. to enter the hut of her husband's father's middle brother, and 2*s*. to enter the hut of her husband's father's mother. Another bride, a commoner's daughter, gave 2*s*. 6*d*. *umngen' endlini*, 6*d*. to eat with her mother, 6*d*. to grind, and 6*d*. to sweep out the hut. The amounts and names of the gifts vary, but the principle that the bride must pay her footing is constant.

To the sisters of the groom, his father's sisters, and any girl whose *ikhazi* came to that *umzi*, a gift is given, *umtʃheco* (*ukutʃheca*, to cut) or *imali yentombi* (the money of the daughters), when the relatives of the bride take away the *ikhazi* cattle. Informants explain that this is given 'because the cattle have come to the *umzi* as the *ikhazi* of these women'. Nowadays the *umtʃheco* is always money, and the amount varies from 15*s*. to £5. When an *ikhazi* of ten or eleven head has been given the *umtʃheco* is usually £2 to £3. The women are left to haggle over the amount of the *umtʃheco* themselves. At Ngangaßo's several sisters and father's sisters of the groom came to the hut of the *uduli* and spent an hour or more arguing with the men of the *uduli* as to what they would receive as *umtʃheco*. They were dissatisfied with what was offered them, and when the *uduli* was departing attempted to prevent them taking the *ikhazi* cattle. Eventually Ngangaßo, the owner of the *umzi*, ordered them to leave the cattle alone.

Apart from sleeping with his bride the groom plays no part in an *umtʃhato*. I attended an *umtʃhato* where the groom was absent at the mines. No one impersonated him.

The length of time the *uduli* stays after the *umtʃhato* depends on how soon they come to an agreement with the groom's representatives as to *ikhazi* to be given. Usually an *uduli* spends at least ten days at the groom's *umzi*, during which time the groom's people complain that they eat enormously. At Ngangaßo's the *uduli* ate a grain basket full of mealies a day.

This is the full ceremonial of an arranged match. But, as we have seen, arranged matches are only a small percentage of the total number of marriages, and even in those that do take place the full marriage ceremonial is often not immediately performed. When a girl has been carried off, or has eloped, she is put into a hut in the groom's home with the young people of the *umzi*. That night she eats nothing. Messages are sent to her people,

and if and when a marriage has been agreed upon and representatives from her father have come to arrange about the *ikhazi*, a beast or goat is ceremonially killed, 'to lay the mat', as described. Although sometimes a girl may be 'stolen' by the man who is to be her husband before this killing, he has no legal right to have full intercourse with her until it is performed. No matter what other ceremonial is omitted, at least a goat is killed 'to lay the mat'. The *ukuncamisa* killing may, as we have seen, be performed on the bride's first visit home, or later. After her first visit home she brings back to her *umzi* a mat, a grain basket, and a water-pot or bucket for her own use, but no gifts for her husband or in-laws.

The *umtʃhato* ceremony may be delayed indefinitely; often women have grown-up families before it is performed. But neglect to perform it may result in the illness of the wife for whom it should have been performed. This illness is believed to be sent by the ancestral spirits of either the bride's or groom's family. Sometimes the groom's people suggest that she should *ukutʃhata*, sometimes it is urged by her own people. The ceremony is an opportunity for her father to ask for more *ikhazi*, while her husband's family benefit from the gifts she brings.

Before the *umtʃhato* ceremony a wife, no matter how long she has been married, spends some months with her own people helping to prepare her outfit, and is then brought by an *uduli* in exactly the same way as if she were a virgin being brought for the first time. At two *umtʃhato* ceremonies witnessed, the bride had already been living with her husband as a wife for a year or more. The goat was killed 'to lay the mat' exactly as if she had come for the first time.

The final part of the marriage ceremonial is the ritual killing after which a wife may drink the milk of her husband's *umzi*, and must avoid the milk of her father's cattle. Formerly, elderly informants say, this killing *ukudlisa amasi* (to make to drink thick milk) was never performed until after the *umtʃhato* ceremony. Now when the *umtʃhato* is often so long delayed the killing *ukudlisa amasi* may be performed before it. In some families it is customary to kill, so that a wife may drink the milk, very soon after her arrival. In others they never kill within a year, and often not until much later. There are many women with grown-up families for whom the ceremony has never been performed, and who still avoid the milk of their husband's cows. As with other ritual killings sickness may result if it is not performed. For example, Ntʃhulana's sister was ill, and it was diagnosed by a diviner that *oobawo nooninakhulu womzi wakhe* (the fathers and grand-

parents of her *umzi*) were making her ill because she was drinking milk and nothing had been killed for her. 'Was she a daughter of the *umzi* that she should drink without being killed for?' Again, Maßandla's wife was ill with pneumonia. A diviner diagnosed that she was being made ill by *abantu abadhala basemzini wakhe* (the old people of her *umzi*), specifically *uma womzi wakhe* (the mother of her *umzi*). They killed a beast and gave her the milk of the *umzi*, and she recovered.

Before the ritual killing is made a woman is tempted by her mother and sisters-in-law, who offer her milk food, but always she must refuse. Then a beast is killed in the kraal by stabbing over the aorta muscle, and the woman is given a dish of milk. The first mouthful she spits out, then she drinks. When she has been ill and the sickness has been diagnosed as due to the failure to perform the ceremony, she is given the special piece of meat (*intsonyama*) from the right foreleg of the beast killed. She wears the gall-bladder on her wrist whether she has been ill or not.

Sometimes a wife is told by the old people of the *umzi* to drink their milk, even though nothing has been killed. Many complain that they fall ill when they do this. Ɗoco's wife was ill. Ɗoco explained to me that they had arranged that she should drink on credit (he used the English word 'tick'), but that the *iintombi zakowabo* (daughters of her home, i.e. father's sisters and father's father's sisters) were complaining that it was not right that she should drink without actually being killed for, and were making her sick. I attended the ritual killing performed for her.

The passage of cattle alone legalizes a union in Pondo law. No matter what ceremonies have or have not been performed, if cattle have passed the marriage is legal, and the children belong to the father. The performance of ceremonies without the passage of cattle does not entitle the father to the control of the children. The ritual killing *ukwandlalela* is never omitted, but the other killings—*ukuncamisa*, *ukutʃhata*, and *ukudlisa amasi*—may be indefinitely delayed, or omitted altogether. Failure to perform them may, however, result in sickness sent by the ancestral spirits (*amathongo*). The status of a wife is not affected by the *ukuncamisa* or *umtʃhato* ceremonies. It is not usual to have an *umtʃhato* for a junior wife before one is held for a senior wife, but should this be done (as it might be if a junior wife fell ill and was diagnosed as ill because she had not had *umtʃhato*) it would not affect their relative status. The performance of the *umtʃhato* does not affect the law of inheritance, nor does it make the marriage legally more difficult to dissolve. In practice a woman may be more unwilling to leave her husband when she considers that

cattle have been killed by both her family and his to mark their union, but I do not think this is an effective deterrent.

Polygyny.

Marriage is polygynous, each man being entitled to marry as many wives as he chooses and can afford. Pondo informants are agreed that since contact with Europeans polygyny has decreased, and official figures support this. Census reports for 1911 and 1921 show the following decrease in the Cape Province.

No. of wives per man	*1911 No. of men*	*1921 No. of men*
1 . .	187,864	194,376
2 . .	21,490	20,321
3 . .	2,857	2,500
4 . .	594	390
5 . .	168	121
from 6 to 20	93	67

Economic pressure in the form of an additional 10*s.* tax for each wife above one, and in some areas difficulty in securing a field for each wife, and Christian teaching, all militate against it. When ploughs are used wealth in grain is no longer so dependent upon polygyny as formerly. A Xhosa chief on first seeing a plough at work exclaimed, 'This thing that the white people have brought into the country is as good as ten wives.'[1] The percentage of polygynists in Pondoland was never very high. Even chiefs in the old days did not have great numbers of wives.[2] According to Poto, Bokleni had 14 wives, Nqiliso 21, Ndamase 10, Sigcawu 10, Mqikela 13, and Faku 12. In 1932 in a conservative district, Ngqeleni, where there are few Christians and plenty of land for additional wives, the percentage of polygyny[3] was:

14 per cent. with 2 wives
1·2 „ „ 3 „
0·4 „ „ 4 „
0·05 „ „ 6 „

I knew many men with kraals full of cattle who lived with only one wife. The reason adduced is that 'many wives are too much trouble; they are always quarrelling'. After I had been asking Umthetho questions for an hour, he suddenly said, 'Now here is a thing I want to ask *you*. Why is it that though white men are rich they only marry one wife?' I replied, 'Because we white

[1] W. Shaw, *The Story of my Mission in South-Eastern Africa*, 1860, p. 419.
[2] cf. Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa, 1803–6, re* Xhosa, vol. 1, p. 251.
[3] Calculated from tax records. 1,725 marriages were examined.

women would not stand it. We would run home if they did.' Umthetho, 'Oh, jealousy! Well, that is a thing with us, too. Often even if a man has a kraal full of cattle, he can't marry again because of the jealousy of his great wife.'

Noßanda *ukulobola* a little wife three or four times, but each time his great wife made life insupportable for the bride and she ran home. But sometimes the bride drives away the great wife. Matʃhezi was an *idikazi* at home, because she was jealous of a favourite little wife, and her husband told her to go. 'But', she said, 'I shall never stop being jealous of the little wife.'

There are cases when women urge their husbands to marry another wife to help them with their work, and live happily with them. Naturally women prefer to be the great wife of their husband, but, if a girl really likes a man, she will make no fuss over being married as a little wife, and I knew girls who had eloped to be little wives. So much depends on the individual, it is impossible to dogmatize, but frequently there is considerable jealousy between co-wives, even though on the surface they appear friendly. Witchcraft accusations against co-wives are common.

Extra-marital relations.

Women after marriage are expected to have connexion with none except their husbands. Some, particularly the wives of the chiefs, are very jealously guarded, being allowed to attend no beer drinks and few other social functions. Others are allowed, or take, great freedom. But no married woman living at her *umzi* can be a member of a bride's party, or enter the hut at an *itimiti*. *Amadikazi* enter, wives drink outside (cf. p. 361).

Very many married women have lovers, whom they meet secretly when going to fetch wood or water, or coming back from the fields, or after social functions. In 'affairs' women stand by one another in a sexual group, a woman's co-wife, sister-in-law, or even her mother-in-law, often acting as go-between with a lover. A Christian woman remarked that it is unusual to find a pagan woman who does not commit adultery, and those who refrain only do so from fear of their husbands, who threaten to kill them if they find them with a lover. It seems to be no disgrace to a woman to commit adultery—the more skulls the better—and the only preventive lies in the danger of being caught by her husband and beaten. Adultery is no ground for divorce: if a husband sends home a wife for that alone he forfeits his *ikhazi*. Some husbands seem to care little except for the cattle received as damages, others are fiercely jealous. There are cases of chiefs' wives being killed when guilty, or suspected, of

adultery. Chief Gwadiso banished a wife who had committed adultery and refused to see her again. Gidli killed himself because his wife had committed adultery.

Formerly it is said that if a man caught another man with his wife in *flagrante delicto* he might kill him outright, and there could be no case against him. But the more usual punishment was the fine which is now inflicted. A man convicted of committing adultery with another's wife is fined three head of cattle, and five head if pregnancy ensues. One (some say originally all) of these cattle was formerly killed, and all the wives of the *umzi* made to eat strips of the meat which had been burned and rubbed in ash to make them unpalatable, then tied round the milk bucket, or dipped in sour milk. Others say that the meat was smeared with a medicine (*iintsizi*) and the woman given milk to drink.

No special part of the meat was given, but it had to be eaten in the cattle kraal before the men. 'It is done that it may be easy to catch them again, that the people who steal the wives may be caught.' One informant volunteered, and others confirmed her statement, that the treatment was to make the wives 'soft', 'that they might commit adultery again and be caught'. The killing of the cattle given as fine for adultery is now often omitted. I only heard of one such killing taking place while I was in Pondoland.

Husbands are said to use medicines to protect their wives and revenge themselves on adulterers. 'If a man wants to kill a person committing adultery with his wife he gives her medicines, then when the adulterer comes he will get a disease, *ujovela*.'[1] The woman is given the medicine in food, and does not know that she has taken it. Or 'perhaps a woman has a sore wrist; her husband says: "let me cut it for you and rub in medicines". She thinks he is being very kind, but all the time he is infecting her against her lover.' The medicines do not harm her. They harm the first person to have sexual intercourse with her. Others following him are not affected. 'Sometimes the husband puts the medicine one night and goes away. He thinks the lover will come. The lover does not come, then the husband returns, and is infected.' But there are also protective medicines. 'If a husband who has been treated (with protective medicines) then goes to his wife who has been treated (with medicines to cause *ujovela*) he will not be harmed, but any one coming after him will be harmed.' Some adulterers use this medicine as a protection. 'This (*ujovela*) has

[1] Certain diseases 'appearing as dysentery, bleeding from the bladder, bleeding from the stomach, kidney diseases'. Bryant, *Zulu Dict.* Symptoms mentioned by informants were 'the shrinking of the penis and the falling in of the navel'. Also called *iɓekelo*—that which is placed.

killed many people. A woman goes to her father's *umzi*. Some one gives her that (medicine to cause *ujovela*). She returns to her husband, and the medicine kills him.' 'If the Government did not allow people to put *ujovela* there would not be so many people dying of it. The Government says "there are no medicines".'

Adultery may have increased since contact with Europeans. The fact that men leave home for periods of nine months or more at a time to work, exposes their wives to greater temptation than formerly. Very frequently a man has to go off to work a month or two after he is married. The coloured handkerchief given by the Native Recruiting Corporation to men when they 'joined', as a parting gift for their wives, became very unpopular, for men said that when a woman was seen wearing one it was a sign that her husband was away and others might safely approach. Often if the trader (who is also a recruiting agent) is popular, he is confided in, and asked to keep an eye on the wife while the husband is away, or to arrange for the husband to go when it is convenient. X said to Mr. ——, with whom he had agreed to 'join'. 'Don't send me off before Y. He is hanging about my *umzi* and I don't like to leave my wife before he goes, even though she is pregnant.' Usually men try to go while their wives are suckling, and so taboo to any man. Several times women came to a store asking for abortives because they had become pregnant while their husbands were at the mines.

Nevertheless, all are agreed that adultery was fairly common even in the good old days before the advent of the European, and there is no proof that it has increased greatly since contact. Again definite conclusions are impossible for there is no adequate data on former conditions.

There being no theory of monogamy, men have the same freedom after marriage as before. Young married men continue to attend dances with unmarried girls, and young and old go to beer drinks and meet with *amadikazi*.

An *idikazi* is any woman living temporarily or permanently with her own people, who has been, or who is married, or who has had a child. A temporary *idikazi* (a wife visiting her own home) may take the freedom of a proper *idikazi* going to *iitimiti*, sleeping at beer drinks, &c., but she is still a married woman, and contact with her is adultery, the fine going to her husband. If she becomes pregnant while with her father or brother and the man responsible cannot be discovered, the father or brother must pay the fine to her husband. A widow who has returned to her own home, a woman who has permanently left her husband, and a girl who has never married but had children at home, are in the

position of unmarried daughters and the right to intercourse with them may be got by paying *umnyobo* as for a maid. If, however, pregnancy results the full fine of five head is payable; this each time the *idikazi* is made pregnant. (Here Pondo custom differs from Xhosa.) 'A man who does not claim the fine for pregnancy of his daughter or sister, an *idikazi*, must have something wrong with his head', but in practice guardians usually wait until the child is born, and if it is a girl 'they do not trouble, for they know that they will benefit by her in the end'. Sometimes an *idikazi* refuses to let her guardian claim the fine because she wants to keep the children, even boys, herself. Hence one frequently finds *amadikazi* living with their fathers or brothers, with their children.

The class of *amadikazi* in Pondoland is very large, and practically every married man has his special friend among them. Polygyny in no way prevents this, and men who have a number of wives often have the most *amadikazi* also. Paya had four wives, Befile three, and both were notorious as men who went to *amadikazi*. Informants are mostly agreed that there has been an increase in the number of *amadikazi* in Pondoland since contact with Europeans, but none are very emphatic on this point, and it is certain that they always have existed. Again evidence is lacking to decide whether or not there really has been marked increase in their number since contact, although there are many *amadikazi* who, had the old laws regarding the treatment of those accused of witchcraft or sorcery been in force, would presumably have been killed (cf. p. 312).

Amadikazi are always noticeable by the number of their ornaments and the elegance of their clothes, presented by their lovers. A man buying a skirt for his wife, ordered fifteen rows of braiding, and remarked, 'That will be plenty, it is only for a wife, not an *idikazi*.' Then he relented, came back for five more rows, and said, 'Well now, any way she can't grumble.'

Some wives take their husbands' affairs with *amadikazi* with equanimity; others are frantically jealous. One night while I was at 'nTißane, a wife followed her husband, trying to hinder him from going to his *idikazi*. He turned round and struck his wife so that she died. A young man came to have the edges of his blanket stitched in the shop. His old one was elegantly embroidered round the edges. He explained it had been done by his *idikazi*, but he was afraid to get her to do another because his wife went 'wow, wow, wow'. He was buying things for his wife in the shop.

Ngote's aunt was jealous of a woman her husband was visiting.

One night she went to fetch her husband home; she struck the two of them, tearing the widow's ear and knocking a tooth out. Her husband asked her why she had come to fetch him, then he took his stick and beat her. She said, 'Fancy being beaten because of a widow', and fought. Afterwards she could not even wear her bangles, her arms were so swollen. Her brother came to fetch her home. Next time she saw the widow, she took a big knife, and tore her blanket: she said she 'wanted to beat that woman so that she would die'. She returned to her husband later, but now he has *ukutʃhipha* (gone to the mines and never returned) so she is an *idikazi* at home. Mtele's wife was very thin. She said it was because Mtele spent all his days at beer drinks, and even when he passed his *umzi* he never entered.

There are endless jealousies also between men over *amadikazi*, and between *amadikazi* over men. Majingaza is an *idikazi* who was regularly visited by a married man, Latata. Before Majingaza had come to the district, Latata had had another *idikazi* Hlupheka. Majingaza heard one day that Latata was at a beer drink at the umTakatyi: he had not been to visit her recently. Majingaza said to a friend, 'Gedja, come with me. I want to see what is keeping Latata so long at that beer drink.' When they arrived they saw Latata talking to Hlupheka: she disappeared as they approached. Majingaza said to Latata, 'What are you doing talking to that woman?' and hit him hard across the face. Two days later, at another beer drink, Msingali sent Majingaza a can of beer. Later when she had drunk, Latata pushed her and knocked her over. She asked furiously, 'What are you doing to me?' He, 'What did you do to me before? And why are you accepting beer from other men?' Then he took his stick and belaboured her, so that she lay still for three days. After two days he came and made it up.

Siɬaiza, going off to a beer drink, jokingly said to his *idikazi* in the store, 'Now don't be jealous. You know that I am the father of your children, and I am not going to spend the night at the beer drink.'

The position of an *idikazi* is difficult to estimate justly. Any woman is flattered if you greet her as *idikazi*. 'That is the name we like best.' But a wife living temporarily at home will explain indignantly that she is not the sort who frequents *iitimiti*. It seems that, as with Europeans, many would deny being 'fast women', but would infinitely prefer being called 'fast' rather than 'slow'.

Amadikazi, as women living at home, have less work to do and much greater freedom than wives. Many who dislike the

labour and restrictions of a wife, refuse to stay at any *umzi* to which they are taken as a wife, and run home to live as *amadikazi*. The number of *amadikazi* shows that the position is very tolerable. On the other hand, one overhears remarks like this, 'I am not going to live at home and be called an *idikazi* by my sisters-in-law there', 'It 's no good this staying at home', or 'I would marry again if I got the chance.' Though all are classed together in name and by law, there are great differences in *amadikazi*, some being any man's woman, others bringing up the children of one father, though living with their own people.

The differences in the origin of the class must be considered; there are girls who cannot stand the discipline of married life and run away from any *umzi* they are sent to. There are also respectable middle-aged women who have had to leave their *umzi* because they were 'smelt out', or most frequently because '*Udaliwe yindoda*' (My husband got tired of me).

Although *amadikazi* are given presents by their lovers, they are never actually paid for sexual services. They are the artists of the community, having more leisure to do elaborate beadwork and embroidery for themselves and their lovers than have other women. They too are the best dancers.

Men and women continue to be dominated by sex interests until middle aged. A woman of 40, no matter how wrinkled, is not too old to have her lovers, and a man of 50 is as intent on *amadikazi* as a boy of 20. Requests from old men for medicine to cure impotency are usual.

The position of illegitimate children throws light on the conception of marriage, and on the attitude towards adultery. Generally speaking, illegitimate children are not made to suffer for the deeds of their parents. The child of an unmarried girl, or *idikazi*, belongs to its father if the five head damages are paid. If full damages are not paid it belongs to its mother's father or brother. The illegitimate child of a married woman belongs to her husband, whether or not damages are paid.

The child of an unmarried mother whose father married its mother after its birth, would rank as the great son of his mother's house, and inherit accordingly. If not paid for, he inherits as a younger son of his maternal grandfather, and is provided for by his mother's brother. If a girl is married and found to be already pregnant, the position of the child depends on whether or not her husband makes trouble. When Msingali's wife came to him she was already pregnant; he was furious and wished to send her home. His brothers persuaded him to wait until the child was born: it was a girl so he said nothing, and has now

got ten head and a gun as *ikhazi*. X, a chief, is suspected of being the child of his mother before she was married, but as her husband, the late chief, said nothing, he inherited the chieftainship. A child by an adulterer, provided his mother's husband does not drive him from the *umzi*, inherits as a younger son of his mother's house. He cannot, however, inherit the property of a house, even though his mother's husband has no son at all, for 'he is not of the blood'. The brothers of his mother's husband would inherit, and provide for him as a minor son.

If a married man has an illegitimate child by a girl, or an *idikazi*, and pays the five head for it but does not marry its mother, the child belongs to the great house, where he inherits as a younger son of the house. Even if there is no son in the great house the illegitimate son put into it does not inherit, but the inheritance passes to the right-hand house, or failing an heir there to a minor house (cf. p. 120). Only if his father has no other sons at all will the illegitimate son be 'bull of the kraal'. In such a case he would inherit everything, as a legitimate son. An informant remarked that an illegitimate son comes to his father's *umzi*, 'stick in hand' (i.e. to fight his way).

Illegitimate children, particularly girls (potential *ikhazi*), are most often accepted with equanimity. Women seem seldom to resent their husband's illegitimate child being put into their house—'usually by the time it comes it is able to look after itself' —and treat it much as one of their own. Even men may be philosophical about a wife's child by an adulterer. One man remarked of his wife's lover, 'It is not that I mind having his child, but I don't like him about.' Sometimes, however, they refuse to have the child in the place. X's wife's second child was illegitimate, a boy. X refused to have the child at his *umzi*, and it was brought up and died with its mother's brother. The mother continued to live at his *umzi*, but X refused to speak to her, or have anything to do with her, for years. A case came up before Ntenten of a boy of 16, the illegitimate son of a married woman, who had grown up at the *umzi* of his mother's husband. When he was cheeky to this man, he (mother's husband) said, 'Go where you were got. I will have nothing to do with you.' The boy then sued the man in court for his own full sister's *ikhazi*.

Often men do not pay for their illegitimate sons, 'because they know that when the boy grows up, and hears who is his father, he will come to him'. This happens often, but not always. Maßandla had grown up with his mother's brother; then when he returned from the mines his father said to him, 'Come to me

now, and I will *ukulobola* for you.' The mother's brother said, 'Please yourself'; but Maßandla, remarking that he knew his mother's people, but would be a stranger with his father's, elected to remain where he was. A girl is never allowed to go to her father without being paid for, but often he comes to pay damages just when his daughter is of marriageable age. Nompia was the daughter of an unmarried mother, and was with her mother's people. When she was 15 her father announced he wanted to pay damages, and straightway drove out six head, five as a fine and one *isondlo* (for maintenance). He *ukuthombisa* her with his own legitimate daughter, and married her off for seven head. He will get more *ikhazi* later.

There is no social stigma attached to illegitimacy. The disadvantages are poor inheritance and difficulties over the performance of ritual observances sanctioned by the ancestral spirits (cf. p. 233).

Dissolution of marriage.

We have already referred to women who live permanently with their own relatives, having left their husbands; let us now see how this class comes into being. A marriage is dissolved when a wife is sent away by her husband or leaves him of her own accord and refuses to return. Whether or not it is marked by the return of part of the *ikhazi* to the group which provided them depends upon which party was responsible for the separation.

The only grounds on which a man can demand the return of his cattle is the loss of his wife by desertion, and formerly by death. If a wife leaves her husband and refuses to return he can demand the return of part of the *ikhazi*. One beast is left for 'the services of the girl', and one for each child she has borne, and if the *ukutʃhata* ceremony has been performed one for her outfit, which she does not take back with her.

If a wife died the *ikhazi* was returnable less one beast for her services, one for each child she had borne, and one 'to wipe the father's tears'. Only if a wife died in childbirth return of the *ikhazi* could not be demanded. Now under European influence, chief's courts do not enforce the return of cattle after death. 'Both sides are weeping.' Sterility of a wife is no ground for the return of *ikhazi* or the provision of another wife. If a man sends his wife away because she is suspected of witchcraft, or for any other reason, or if a woman leaves her husband and he does not follow her within a reasonable period (perhaps less than a year) to demand that she return to him, the marriage is dissolved, and

he has no further claim over either wife or cattle. If she leaves him because of ill treatment the marriage is dissolved, and he cannot recover his cattle. The chief's court decides in a disputed case as to whether or not ill treatment has occurred.

A marriage is not necessarily dissolved by the death of a husband. A widow may remain at her deceased husband's *umzi*, be taken by a younger brother (own or classificatory) of the deceased, and continue to bear children, which are looked upon as the children of the deceased. When the period of mourning is over, a widow is approached by the men eligible to take her, and she chooses which she will have as her husband. Those who should take a widow (*ukungena*) are the deceased's younger full brothers, sons of junior houses of his father, and sons of his father's younger brothers. Occasionally a widow is taken by a husband's elder brother, but such a proceeding is considered doubtful, for 'he is her father'. 'There are cases when a grandson takes his grandfather's widow, but that is not good.' I found one case in which a widow had been taken by the deceased's son of another house, and one where she had been taken by the deceased's brother's son. Both cases were considered disgraceful (*ihlazo*). Sometimes a widow refuses all the husband's brothers and takes instead a stranger, any man she favours, but provided she continues to live at the *umzi* of her deceased husband, cattle are not returnable, and a non-relative who lives with her is not sued for damages.

The new union is marked by the killing of a goat or beast, *ukuhlamb' izitya* (to wash the dishes). This killing is made ritually in the kraal, and if omitted the widow is thought to be liable to fall ill. If the killing has been neglected and she has fallen ill, she is given ritually the piece of the meat from the right foreleg, *intsonyama*, and this is believed to cure the illness (cf. p. 249). The man who takes her should also give a beast to her father. He also is responsible if the full *ikhazi* has not yet been given by the deceased.

Where a husband's younger brother takes a widow he inherits the rights of a husband, and can sue any other man with whom she has relations for adultery. Where, however, she is taken by a stranger, he has no exclusive rights over her, and cannot sue any other man who comes to her for adultery. Sometimes a widow's lover who is not related to her deceased husband comes to live at her *umzi*, but he never acquires any rights in that *umzi*. His position is always that of an *induna* (one who has come to serve). When a widow has borne no son to the deceased, the son of an *ukungena* union by his brother, or father's father's son, inherits as

the deceased's eldest son.[1] When the widow is taken by a stranger the property falls to the next heir as if no son had been born in that house. When a widow returns to her own home, *ikhazi*, less the deduction cited above, is returnable. Only cattle given for the daughter of a chief, or by a chief for a wife, are never returnable (cf. p. 376).

Dissolution of marriage is usual. Although a girl who refuses to stay with any husband is disapproved of—Ngote who was a beauty who refused to stay with any husband, and who had been married five times, was a byword at 'mPoza, and the old people all spoke disapprovingly of her conduct—a girl who is married once and then leaves her husband does not suffer social disapproval. There is often opportunity for remarriage, and if she does not marry again, the life of an *idikazi* is attractive. As *ikhazi* is given in instalments, when a marriage is dissolved there is often not much to be returned. Very many of the married women whom I knew had been married more than once, and the number of *amadikazi* is considerable. It is considered the duty of a widow who has had several children to remain at her deceased husband's *umzi* to 'nourish' the *umzi*, and frequently she does so, but a widow whose husband has died shortly after her marriage usually returns to her own people and remarries.

The instability of marriage is increased by the fact that some men who go to the mines never return to their homes, or only return after a very long time. Informants laughed heartily when I inquired whether they thought that the fact that a young man could earn cattle for *ikhazi* without being dependent upon his relatives, had reduced the stability of marriage, and said that they had never thought of such a thing. Nevertheless, the fact that the families of the individuals who marry are now less concerned with the marriage than formerly, does, I think, tend to weaken what was a stabilizing influence.

Function of ukulobola.

Having seen under what circumstances *ikhazi* is returnable, we may now consider how *ukulobola* influences sexual relations. The passage of cattle helps to stabilize a union. When a man deserts his wife, or sends her away without good cause, he loses his cattle. Where a woman leaves her husband without good cause, her father or brother has to return at least some of the cattle given for her. The fact that economic loss is entailed is a deterrent to desertion. Moreover, not only the individuals but also their

[1] Statement of a number of old men to me. According to Poto (op. cit., p. 80), the son of an *ukungena* union inherits only when the widow was *ukungena* by the heir.

respective groups are involved in the loss, and so use their influence to prevent the dissolution of a marriage. A father or brother will usually do all he can to persuade a daughter or sister to remain with her husband.

The passage of cattle is further a surety for the good treatment of a woman by her husband. If a man misuses his wife she may leave him and he suffers by losing his cattle. She has a refuge in every *umzi* to which a beast of her *ikhazi* has gone. How far this is felt by Pondo women to be a safeguard is shown by the remark of one who, having learned from me that Europeans did not give *ikhazi* (the women were always asking about our marriage customs), said, 'Well, if you are not *ukulobola*, what do you do when your husband misuses you, since you have no home to run to?' Another woman said, 'What, no *ukulobola* among Europeans? Who, then, will buy you things if your husband misuses you, and you cannot go home to get blankets?' Bantu find it difficult to conceive of a society in which *ukulobola* does not exist. My assertions that it was not a European custom were received with incredulity in Pondoland, and I remember the comment of a school-mate, a girl of 15 or 16, when as a child I attended a Native school: 'You say that you do not *ukulobola*, but of course we all know that something passes.' The girl in question was the daughter of a woman who had worked all her life for Europeans, who spoke English well, and was in close contact with a mission.

Christian marriage ceremonial.

Alongside of this institution of marriage is another form of marriage introduced by Christian missionaries, distinguished by Christian marriage rites, and the ideal of monogamy. I describe the ceremonial of a Pondo Christian marriage in detail, for it illustrates the fusion of Bantu and European ideas, and shows some interesting 'emergent' ceremonies which exist in neither of the parent rituals, but which have grown out of the fusion of the two.

'First the young man speaks to the girl, and she says, "You may come to my home." The young man comes to her home, and her people ask if she knows this man, and she answers, "Yes." Then they say, "Shall we give him an answer?" She answers, "Yes." Then he begins to give *ikhazi*.' From the time he asks for the girl the fiancé, can only visit her home occasionally and ceremonially. It would be a grave offence for him to arrive at her home without giving notice of his intended visit. Every time he comes something is killed for his entertainment. Usually a fowl is killed, hence the phrase, 'He has gone to eat fowls' wings', meaning,

'He has gone to visit his fiancée.' 'The only time he would go unannounced would be to watch for the beasts of prey, if he suspected that his fiancée was sweethearting with some other man.' The number of visits a fiancé pays of course depends upon the length of time he takes to hand over the number of cattle specified by his fiancée's father to be given before the marriage is consummated. Each instalment of the *ikhazi* is sent by special messengers, who are always entertained with meat. The fiancé himself never goes driving *ikhazi*, but after each instalment has been sent he pays a ceremonial visit, and he goes to greet his prospective in-laws before and after a trip to the mines. During the betrothal period the girl avoids her fiancé's home, never visiting it; and if she has to pass it, making a wide detour of a mile or more to avoid it. If she meets an elder relative of her fiancé on the road she turns aside and hides until he has passed.

After some of the *ikhazi* cattle have been handed over the young man comes, accompanied by another man and his sister, or father's brother's daughter, to bring the *'engage'*, which consists of two brass finger-rings, and handkerchiefs for the bride. The groom should also bring a dress or handkerchief to the bride's sister, and a dress or shawl or handkerchief to her mother. The bride gives a frock to the groom's sister. When about ready to marry the groom comes to 'ask the name', that is to ask for the banns to be published. This may entail several visits, as he may be put off several times, and more *ikhazi* demanded.

The banns are usually published on the three consecutive Sundays before the wedding is to take place. From the time they are first read until the day of the wedding the bride secludes herself behind a mat screen in one of the huts of her home. Whenever she has to go out, and on the day of the giving of gifts, when she is exhorted by her parents' friends, she is rolled up in a blanket with a handkerchief drawn over her face. She rubs her face and body with white of egg to give herself a light complexion. During her seclusion the young 'school people' of the neighbourhood, boys and girls, gather every afternoon in her hut. Ostensibly the girls come to help to stamp maize for the wedding feast, but they are joined by boys, and many remain the night and *ukumetʃsha*, just as do the pagan young people at a girl's initiation. This custom (*umboloɸo*) is of course opposed by the churches, and many mothers now insist on going to stamp themselves, instead of allowing their daughters to go. The pagan comment on the custom is, 'The Christians say that they do not initiate (*ukuthombisa*) their daughters, but what is the seclusion before the wedding?' Christians are indignant at any suggestion that

this seclusion is really an adaptation of the initiation ceremonies.

During the bride's seclusion her family gives two parties for their friends, who come bringing gifts. The groom does not attend, but from him is demanded 'tobacco' (£1) and 'sweets' (10*s*.) The tobacco is for a party for the contemporaries of the bride's parents; the sweets for a party of her own contemporaries. Both parties may be held on the same day in different huts, or they may be on different days. The father of the bride kills a sheep or goat for each party. I give a description of a party written on the evening of the day I attended it.

At 10 a.m. a sheep killed. Guests arrive. A party of women friends of the bride's mother from 'nTißane, five miles distant, come singing a hymn, and entering the great hut dance a stately dance to a Scottish psalm-tune. All the visitors are greeted by the bride's mother who rushes out *ukukikizela*,[1] and beating the ground in front of her visitors with a stick. The guests are given roast meat, tea, and light beer (*amafewu*). The bride is in a hut sitting behind a curtain. The hut is full of her girl friends and a few older women and children. They clap, and the girl's friends, and one or two older women, dance. Young men are hanging about in the doorway. At 1 p.m. the bride is brought into the great hut where all the guests are seated, some on chairs, some on the floor. She is rolled up in a blanket, so that not even her eyes are visible. A sister leads her in and she squats down at the back of the hut. The teacher is seated at a table in the middle of the hut, and opens the meeting with a hymn and prayer. In the middle of the prayer the bride gives a shriek and begins to wail. The sobs are obviously forced at first, but she works herself into an hysterical state. The women begin sniffing in sympathy. After the prayer the mother stands up to exhort her daughter. She scolds her for crying, and tells her how well off she is. She tells her that she is giving her two sleeping-mats and two pillow-cases. They are laid on the table. Four other elderly women exhort the bride, and four men, including the district chief, who is a near neighbour. The essence of their injunctions is that she should be respectful to her in-laws and not answer her mother-in-law back, that she is to work hard for her in-laws and to (*uku*)*hlonipha* (show respect and observe avoidance taboos) properly, that is, she is to behave herself as a Christian and not as a pagan, in short that she is to behave herself so that when her in-laws come to see her own people they will have nothing but good to report of her.

Almost every guest has brought a present, and some who cannot come themselves have sent a gift. Each guest stands up and presents his or her gift, taking off the paper as he (or she) puts it on the table. The teacher writes down the name of the donor, the nature of the gift, and the price. If he does not know the price (he usually does) he asks

[1] To give a peculiar cry of greeting or praise.

the donor. Each gift is greeted with applause. The chief's gifts cause a storm of clapping. After they are all presented the bride's mother gets up and thanks the donors. There is another hymn and prayer, and the company goes outside to eat boiled meat and maize. The bride returns to sit behind the screen. The gifts were:

1 sheep.
Prayer- and hymn-book. } Given by teacher.
2 sleeping-mats and pillow-cases. Given by mother.
18*s*. Given by chief, a near neighbour.
2*s*.
1*s*. } Given by chief from his different wives and household.
2*s*.
5*s*. Given by chief towards tea and sugar for wedding.
9 plates
8 dishes (tin)
4 tumblers
18 cups and saucers Given by various guests.
10 spoons
4 grass plates
1 broom

The afternoon before the wedding (almost always a Monday), the groom arrives at the bride's home with a party of young people, usually in a wagon, and his party are given a hut in a neighbour's *umzi* in which to sleep, and provided with bread, tea, sugar, and stamped maize. A sheep or goat is killed *ukuthul' entabeni* (to bring them off the mountains, i.e. to welcome them).

On the Tuesday morning the church ceremony takes place. I describe one seen near 'nTißane.

About 10.30 a.m. the bride arrived at the church accompanied by a group of girl friends and young men, among them her 'bridesmaids' —two girls between 11 and 13 years—and two small boys of the same age as the 'bridesmen'. The friends walked clustered round the bride, and as they came across the veld they sang hymns and songs learned at school. Shortly afterwards the groom arrived, attended by a girl of 12 years, two groomsmen of about 14 years, and the other girls and young men who accompanied him from his home. This party also came singing across the veld. Bride's friends and groom's friends seated themselves on opposite sides of the church. The bride came up the aisle on the arm[1] of her deceased father's brother. She was in a long white dress with white veil and orange-blossom, and white cotton gloves. Following her, came the two bridesmaids in white, and the two boys in shirts and shorts, with well-polished faces. The groom was in a blue serge suit with white cotton gloves, and was followed by the small girl dressed in white and the two groomsmen. Both the bride and groom had a despairing expression. The marriage service

[1] A wedding is the only occasion on which a Pondo woman ever takes a man's arm.

according to the Church of England proceeded. When the time came for the priest[1] to put on the bride's ring a bridesmaid fumbled with her glove while she stood stiff and unresponsive. The priest gave a long oration reminding the couple of their duties as husband and wife. During the signing of the register the group of bride's friends and group of groom's friends sang hymns in turn. Each tried to outdo the other in the volume of sound produced. All through the ceremony the rivalry between the two parties was very marked.

The register having been signed, both parties returned to the bride's home in the groom's wagon. The bride made some demur about getting into the wagon and had to be pushed. At the bride's home, bride and groom, arm in arm, followed by their attendants promenaded up and down the *inkundla*. Guests danced before them and behind, and threw confetti and rice. The bride's eyes were fixed on the ground ('She must not look up or she will be cheeky afterwards'). The groom's face was blank and expressionless. It was a hot day and their well-greased faces began to sweat. An old woman took her handkerchief and mopped them, for they should not do anything for themselves. The bride and groom and their attendants sat down in a hut at a table set with knives and forks and a plate for each guest. Mutton, rice, bread, and tea were served. The bride ate nothing, but sat looking at her piled-up plate. It was later brought to her in the privacy of her bedroom hut, where she made a hearty meal. While the principals were at dinner the bride's friends and groom's friends each came out with a wedding-cake. Each cake was carried by an unmarried girl and a crowd of men, girls, and married women followed her dancing. The rival parties danced up and down for half an hour, then set the cakes on the table before bride and groom. Bride and groom and as many of their attendants as had two fine dresses, or suits, then went to change. Important guests, the bride's father's brothers, the teacher, priest and ethnologist, sat down at the table vacated. Other relatives and neighbours followed when they had finished. The remaining guests sat in groups outside. The older pagan men sat together, and the younger men, the pagan women, and the schoolgirls. Most of the older Christian men and women had been fed at the table. Each group was served with meat and boiled maize, and the men were given light beer. All who chose were free to come to the feast, and there were a couple of hundred guests.

After having changed, bride and groom and their attendants again promenaded up and down the *inkundla* before the guests, and then bride and groom were allowed half an hour to stroll together alone on the veld.

About 3.30 the teacher, who was anxiously watching the arrival of two parties of pagan young men, came out to say that the *umtʃhato* was over, and please would the guests disperse. The guests grumbling began to go, but before they had scattered a fight had begun between the two parties of young men.

[1] A Pondo.

The fight is not inevitable—at another wedding I attended the pagan men and girls spent the afternoon dancing while the Christians looked on—but it happens so often that Christians who are having a wedding frequently notify the police, and request that a policeman be sent to maintain order. The policeman is seldom sent, but by asking for one the givers of the feast are cleared of any responsibility for a disorderly gathering in their *umzi*.

The night of the wedding-day, or if the bride's family is rich and provide enough food for the feast to last for two days, the following evening, the groom and his friends and the bride and her party leave in wagons for the groom's home. Before they leave both parties gather in one hut, and are exhorted by the bride's senior relatives. I give a translation of a text of an exhortation written by Geza, who had himself been recently married.

The father of the girl says, 'To-day, my *bakhozi* (*umkhozi* term used between parents of married couples), I give to you this child of mine. This child is still very much a child, but you see that she is already developed. Please care for her as I have cared for her. But know this, I do not give this child to you, but lend her (*ukuboleka*), and if anything happens you must let me know. Do not make her work if she is ill, saying, "We have *ukulobola* her". To (*uku*)*lobola* does not mean that you have bought her. "A person cannot be bought".' Then he tells of any illnesses she has had as a girl, and says, 'If she falls ill again send her to me, for I know.' Then he speaks to his son-in-law. 'Young man, to-day I am giving you your wife. Know that to-day you come out of young manhood, and enter into manhood. Take good care of this, my child. Do not wander restlessly about the mountains, but stay with her and care for her. When she makes a mistake admonish her nicely, do not fight with her. Remember that you saw this child nicely dressed, and do not let her go in rags when she is with you.'

Then he addresses his daughter. 'My daughter, you go to-day to people. Know that you go to other people, and are leaving me, your father. You shall be humble to the parents of your husband, and to him. Do all the things they tell you to do. Cook food for them, so that they are not hungry. Every one of your *umzi* you must respect and give them to eat. You must honour the children of that *umzi*. If the people of your *umzi* practise sorcery or witchcraft, practise sorcery and witchcraft also. (This, of course, is not meant literally, but it is an emphatic way of saying "do as do the people of your *umzi*, even though you think they are wrong".) Do not carry gossip from one house (*indlu*) to another. Even if anything evil is said to you do not answer back, keep silent. You will be accused of all the evil things of which people are accused: that you eat eggs (i.e. that you are lascivious), that you are a thief, that you have a tongue (i.e. are a gossip), that you are stingy, that you are quick-tempered, but when you are an

old wife you will be the mistress (*inkosikazi*). Go, my child, and be patient with your husband. For if you prosper I shall come and live at your *umzi* when I am in trouble.'

The relatives of the groom give thanks for having found a wife. They do not speak much. When it is finished they all go to the home of the groom.

The bride is accompanied by some married women friends of her mother (but never her own mother) and men representing her father (but never her own father), her girl friends, and young men. The older people are asked by her parents to go; but any young people who choose may join the party. Arrived at the groom's home the bride's party is given huts in a neighbouring *umzi*. A sheep or goat is killed 'to bring them off the mountains' and other food provided. The next day the bride is again arrayed in her white dress and veil, and walks in the *inkundla* with the groom. A feast is provided, the cakes are displayed, and both parties change as before. The following morning the hut provided for the bride at her *umzi*[1] is prepared by the women who have come with her. They make the bed and arrange the dishes she has brought. She goes with her party to the great hut of the groom's *umzi*, and presents are distributed by an elder woman of her party to her mother and father-in-law, and the groom's sisters. As *umgen' endlini* (the entering of the hut) 5*s*. or 10*s*. are set down; a sleeping-mat, blanket, and hat are given to the groom's father; a mat, shawl, and handkerchief to his mother, and dresses to his sisters. A share of the dishes given to the bride are also brought to her mother-in-law. The rest she keeps in her own hut. Often she leaves some at her own home for a time that she may not appear to have a great quantity, for if she has much her sisters-in-law will help themselves to what they fancy of the share she keeps in her own hut.

After the distribution of gifts both bride and groom are exhorted by men of the bride's party. Here is the translation of a text of an oration written by Geza.

The bride's people begin to speak, saying, 'Our daughter, we are going to leave you at your *umzi*. You must do all the things which are done at this *umzi*. Know that you have gone out from your own people. You have come to other people. Do not burn the children with the fire when you are cooking. If you behave yourself nicely we shall be seen (i.e. well received) by the people of your *umzi* when we come here to them. If when we come here to your *umzi* the people are not kind we shall know that you are not good. And you, son-in-law, care for your wife; do not move and leave your parents

[1] Christians always build a hut for a bride before the marriage.

in trouble. Live with them and nourish them as they have nourished you.'

The bride's party then returns home, leaving the bride with her husband. While they remain the bride sleeps with her party, and only after they leave is the marriage consummated.

On the Sunday following the wedding the bride goes to church with her mother-in-law, very douce in her new long skirts and the black alpaca shawl and handkerchief which become a married woman. A sheep is killed by her father-in-law, 'to make to eat the food of the *umzi*' (*ukudlisa ukudla komzi*), and friends are invited to the 'dinner of the bride' (*idinala yomtshakazi*). Christians are offended if this is compared with the *ukudlisa amasi* of pagans, but until this dinner the bride avoids milk in her tea.

Sums, very large in proportion to the Pondo income, are spent by 'school people' on weddings. I know of one quite poor family which spent £40 on a daughter's wedding. The bride's people are usually heavily in debt after a wedding.

The Christian ideal of marriage demands monogamy. A man who has been married by Christian rites cannot under Colonial law marry another wife either by Christian or civil rites.[1] Many men married by Christian rites go to *amadikazi*, but I believe that there are a number who live up to the ideal of monogamy. Christian women are as a whole more chaste than their pagan neighbours. With them there is a very definite idea that adultery is a moral wrong, and that a woman who commits it is disgraced.

Most of the Christian churches teach that divorce is a moral wrong, and dissolution of a marriage by Christian rites is more complicated and costly than dissolution of a Native customary union, so although adultery is by Colonial law a ground of divorce, whereas under Pondo law it is not, the proportion of divorces among couples married by Christian rites is lower than the proportion of Native customary unions dissolved. Such Native matrimonial suits as are brought appear before a special court consisting of the president of the Native Appeal Court sitting with two magistrates.[2]

Besides marriage by Native custom and by Christian rites a union may be legalized by civil rites before a magistrate, but the number of such marriages taking place in Pondoland is negligible.

Pondo opinion of the Christian ideal.

Sexual relations is one of the matters where tribal ideal and the Christian ideal diverge most widely, and in discussing to what

[1] Whether or not he can legally enter into a Native customary union seems to be uncertain. Whitfield, *South African Native Law*, pp. 303–5.

[2] Ibid., p. 313.

extent the Christian ideal is put into practice it is relevant to consider what the Pondo convert really thinks about it. Most Pondo think that the European Christian does not practise what he preaches. It is generally assumed that all Europeans are Christians, and Pondo, being through house servants *au fait* with the gossip of the European village, have some ground for their belief. But it is also believed that *ukumetʃha* is usual among European missionaries. From the remarks of Pondo I realized that they think that when European young people go about together they normally *ukumetʃha*. The following conversation took place with Geza, whom I encouraged to discuss all matters with me.

'*Inkosazana*, is it true that Mrs. —— has no children?'

'Yes'.

'Was she a sister before she married?'

'She was a missionary, but did not belong to a celibate sisterhood. Why do you ask?'

'We believe that European sisters are women who cannot have children.'

'Why?'

'Because we never see them have children, and if one of our girls joins a celibate sisterhood she always has a child.'

There are doubtless many Native Christians who have a more intimate knowledge of their missionaries and do not hold the beliefs expressed by Geza, but I think that his views are held by many.

Many converts who condemn *ukumetʃha* do not in their hearts feel it to be a sin. The church forbids it, and it is a matter to be concealed from the missionary, but very many think that it is only natural for unmarried persons to (*uku*)*metʃha* in the Pondo fashion, and that there is no use attempting to fight against nature. Two or three Native teachers and ministers with whom I talked in towns attributed the increase in premarital pregnancy partly to the fact that *ukumetʃha* was condemned, 'and so young people whenever they have a chance go further than they would if they were allowed more freedom, and the girls become pregnant'.

The ideal of chastity for married women is unquestioned, since it was also enjoined by Native custom, but the demand that widows, unless they remarry, should remain chaste is regarded as very hard, and many do not believe that it is a moral wrong for a widow to bear children. Likewise monogamy is accepted rather because it is the law of the church than because it is believed to be the only relation compatible with the Christian ideal. One Christian woman said to me, 'It is surely very hard that a man

whose first wife is barren cannot take another wife. The *umzi* will die.' Infidelity in a husband, although if discovered it is punished by suspension from church membership, is regarded as a much lesser sin than infidelity in a wife.

Physical attraction.

In Pondoland as everywhere else there are some who are more attractive to the opposite sex than others. Two physical types are distinguishable: one with prognathous mouth, thick lips, flat nose, and chocolate skin; the other with slight prognathism, thin lips, an aquiline nose, and light brown skin. All the features of the second type are admired. A commoner, as opposed to a chief, is 'a black person'. Girls like a man to be tall and well built. A girl to be beautiful must be stout, with heavy hips and well-developed calves and breasts. Long hair and a space between the two front incisors[1] are particularly admired.

There are artificial aids to beauty. *Ingwe idla ngamabala ayo* (The leopard 'eats', i.e. has success in courtship, by its spots). In some districts most women, and some men, have a line tattooed down the forehead, nose, and chin. Some have rows of dots or stripes on the cheeks. The skin is pricked with a needle and *igesi*, oil from engines brought back from the Rand, rubbed in. The face is then smeared with clay to stop the bleeding. The tattooing is usually done between 9 and 16 years. There is no ceremonial connected with it. Women comb out their woolly curls and roll their hair to make it long. At about 8 years they begin to comb out the tufts in front and plait it. Then they do the sides, and last of all the crown. When the plaits are a couple of inches long they are undone, and the hair made into two strands and rolled together. Fat is smeared on, and formerly all smeared the hair with red ochre. Now only some girls, and very few married women, continue that custom. By the time a girl is married her hair looks as if it is 'bobbed'. Later, if she does not have to cut it off for mourning, it may fall below her waist (cf. Pl. XVI).[2] Hunting head-lice and hair-dressing takes up much time, and constantly, when women are sitting chatting, one is doing another's coiffure. The ringlets have to be unrolled and re-twisted about once a month. A few men, dandies, grow ringlets, but most content themselves with shaving their heads in odd patterns. Young men shave their faces, but most over 50 have a short beard.

Cleanliness is regarded as an ornament. Young women wash

[1] Cf. the custom of some other Bantu tribes of knocking out or filing two front teeth.

[2] I went into the ancestry of the woman photographed and could trace no foreign blood. Her features appeared purely Bantu.

Mother and child. (Note her hair)

daily, when they go at dawn to draw water. Several times when I was going to a dance or beer drink the women with me stopped at a stream on the way, stripped, and bathed, that they might be beautiful for the dance. An old hag who was unutterably dirty said to me one day, 'I don't worry about washing any more. I leave that to the young things who want to attract men, but believe me I was popular in my day.' A shiny skin is essential to beauty and it is secured by smearing on butter (*iphehle*) made by shaking a calabash of sour milk. The butter thus made is pressed, washed in water, and sometimes boiled 'to take away the rancid smell'. The body is rubbed with this butter, but now vaseline has largely taken its place. Teeth are polished with a stick of fibrous wood (*umthenene*); others chew a pleasant-tasting root (*isixubo*).

As scent, strings of leaves, *isilonyana* or *intyeneba* (wild mint), are worn round the neck. Leaves of *imphepha* are ground up and made, with a sticky substance, into sweet-smelling beads. Wooden beads of *umthombothi* (*Spirostachys africanus*) are also worn for their scent. The root of *ingqawana* and leaves of *intyeneba* are ground up with ochre and put on blankets, particularly by women with babies. In some districts red clay is generally used on the hair and clothes, in others it is not used at all, having been dropped during mourning for a chief and never resumed, in others it is used only by unmarried girls. The clothing worn is described on pp. 101–2.

Christians do not use clay, or tattoo their faces, or braid their hair, but there is much rivalry between the belles concerning frocks to be worn to church on Sundays, to school concerts, and weddings. Young men come back from labour centres with high collars, Oxford 'bags', and malacca canes. It is significant that the *impudulu*, the personification of sexual temptation to a woman (cf. p. 282), is usually described as being dressed in European fashion.

But by far the most important artificial aid to beauty is love magic. Charms to secure and retain love are widely used by both sexes, pagan and Christian. Men wash with certain roots (*ubulawu*) to gain the affections of girls. Different men use different roots, the secret of them being learnt from a friend, or bought from any one (not necessarily a diviner or herbalist) who knows a strong medicine. Any price may be paid, sometimes even 10*s*. or a goat. A boy would not normally learn such medicines from his father, 'but perhaps if a boy told his father that he was very much in love with a girl, and she would not love him, the father, might, if he approved of the girl as a daughter-in-law, tell his son of a medicine

to use'. At sunrise a man may chew certain roots, and spit them out to the rising sun, and say his sweetheart's name, and then she will love him, or he may chew certain roots when he is talking to her. To compel a girl to love him a man may take some ornament of hers, or a handkerchief, and soak it in a pot of *ubulawu*. After treating it for a week or more he returns it to the girl, and she will love him. It is essential that the object be returned to the girl to wear. To find out whether or not a girl loves him, a man stirs *ubulawu* in a pot of water. If it froths up, 'she loves me'; if it does not froth, 'she loves me not'. *Ubulawu* is also used to overcome a rival. A man washes with roots and chews them, and he spits out what he has chewed in the direction in which his rival lives. This is done secretly. He will then be preferred to his rival. *Ubulawu* is very widely used. One man called it *ubuhle bethu embinqeni* (our beauty among the skirts) and said that men depend on it greatly. Often I noticed young men with horns, containing love-charms, suspended from their belts.

A girl also washes with *ubulawu* to regain the affection of a sweetheart, or if her sweetheart has been neglecting her and she wants to see him, she chews *ubulawu* and spits it out in the direction of the sun. 'When the sun goes down he will think of her, and come to her.' Girls beg love medicine (*iyeza yothando*) from some man who has acquired medicines at the goldfields, or who knows roots. These they sprinkle on their sleeping-mats, or rub into scarifications on their bodies. There is no shame in a man using *iyeza yothando*, but the general feeling is that a girl should be sought. 'If a girl used love medicines she would not go about telling people that she used them.' Ngote (a bright young thing and very popular), in answer to a question whether she used love-charms, replied, 'I have not needed to use them yet, but there is no telling, I may some day.' The charms used by girls are dangerous for they sometimes turn into 'familiars' (cf. pp. 282–4).

When a man has been discouraged, or refused, by a girl, he may, in a final attempt to make her love him, or in revenge, *ukuphosela* her. A girl who is *ukuphosela* becomes hysterical, sobbing wildly and fainting, and she cannot help running to her lover. In one case I knew of the girl went about for several days cooing like a dove. Two girls at Qokama who went into hysterics at the letting off of Christmas fireworks were said to be *ukuphosela*. Sometimes they develop bad stomach-ache. 'If a girl is *ukuphosela* and not treated she will have difficulty in childbirth.' Men *ukuphosela* girls by putting medicine (*iyeza*) in the snuff they offer them, or in sweets, or in tobacco, or they put a root in a pot, stir it, and call the girl's name and she begins to cry, 'or they take

an *ikhubalo* (charm) and give it to an *ichanti* (a fabulous snake, cf. p. 286), and she begins to cry.' Another method is to catch a cock and rub *iyeza* in its comb, and put it on the roof of the girl's hut. 'When it crys, she will cry too.' 'The cock will never come down without crying because it has had *iyeza* in its comb.' *Amayeza* with which to (*uku*)*phosela* are brought from the gold-fields, being bought from up-country tribes there. Some people also know roots to use.

A teacher spent an afternoon in my hut discoursing on love magic. Some of his stories were enlightening.

I have a friend who was refused by a girl. The girl was my father's brother's daughter, X. The man started to use some medicines against the girl. I saw him gather some roots, put them in a pot with his urine, and begin to stir. He stirred and stirred until the medicine began to froth up. Then he called X's name. He said to me. 'Now go to X's home and see how she is.' When I got there X had *isiphoso*. She was hysterical and sobbing. After that X allowed that man to make love to her. Another friend of mine was speaking of his medicines *ukunchanula* (to counteract), which if used will cause a girl to have nothing to say to her lover when he goes to her. I said to him, 'Could you counteract the medicines of a man, and cure a girl of loving a man she does not really love, but has only been made to love by medicines?' My friend assured me that he could. He took some roots, put them in a pot, stirred them up, added *unomadudwane* (a scorpion) and another evil-smelling insect, and some of his sweat from his private parts (*intsila*). The mixture he put into a small bottle. Then he went to visit X. Just before meeting her he poured two or three drops into his hand, and rubbed it on his hands. Then when he met her he put his hand on her shoulder just as he might when talking to her ordinarily. After that X met her lover. I saw her after she came back from seeing him. 'Well?' I asked. X said, 'I have just finished writing a letter refusing him. He stank.' X knew nothing of the medicine used *ukunchanula*, until after she had written the letter. X is now training as a hospital nurse.

In Bizana some girls had suffered from bleeding from nose and ears, said to be caused by a substance which boys, their would-be lovers, had blown up their nostrils. One girl died of the effects, and the matter came before the magistrate. The boy responsible was sentenced to three years' imprisonment.

For the usual type of *ukuphosela* which results only in hysteria young men have antidotes. 'They are bought at the goldfields from up-country people. Some people also know roots to use.' One day a girl at 'mZizi store became hysterical. A young man present offered to treat her. He chewed leaves, and spat them upon her nostrils and ears. She sneezed (a sign of recovery), but presently she began to sob again. Later her lover came and

treated her. She recovered immediately. Shortly afterwards she married another man. A young married women fainted one day in 'nTißane store. She was pale and sweating, but refused water. Men carried her out saying, 'You must be *ukuphosela*, are you not going to cry?' Then she began to sob hysterically. They burned sulphur under her nose; she became quiet, and after lying still for a little walked home.

Girls do not *ukuphosela* men, but a man may *ukuphosela* a rival. Umlimi (who was a church adherent) had fits, and he was said to be *ukuphosela* by Nompepe's son, because he was engaged to the girl Nompepe's son wanted.

Ukuphosela when it causes illness is bordering on sorcery. 'Some people call the man a sorcerer (*igqwiṛa*).' Formerly, if a girl became really ill, the man believed to have *ukuphosela* her could be summoned before the chief's court, and a fine of goats, or even a beast, exacted, but informants say he was never killed as a sorcerer. If the girl was only slightly hysterical there was no case. 'If the girl loves him after he has *ukuphosela* her he is "the son of some one" (i.e. a fine fellow).' No action is entertained by a magistrate's court unless illness is proved to be caused by a lover, as in the case at Ɓizana.

Long attacks of hysterical sobbing are common among Pondo girls. The inducements to hysteria are patent. Girls often know that men have used medicines to cause hysteria, or when they have turned down an ardent lover know that he will be likely to use such medicines. They believe that these medicines cause hysteria. When they are unwell from some other cause the standard hysterical reaction may even be suggested by on-lookers, as described above. An attack of hysteria makes a girl talked about, and is proof that she has an eager lover. Majelu (a diviner), when asked whether he believed in love-charms or not, replied, 'Love medicine is just like other medicine. It is sometimes successful, and sometimes not.'

CHAPTER V

THE ANCESTOR CULT

Burial Rites.

THE first reaction to the dead is seen in burial rites, and our study of the ancestor cult may fitly begin with them.

When some one dies the people of the *umzi* begin to wail. The corpse is regarded as contaminating and dangerous, and is buried as quickly as possible. It is rolled up in the deceased's blankets (formerly in his or her skins) and carried out on the door of the hut in which he died. Old men say that long ago a shallow round hole was made, and the corpse put in, in a squatting position.[1] Now the grave is usually dug with a shelf at the side, and the body placed in a crouching position on this shelf, which is then walled up with sods. But recently a number of pagans have adopted from the Christians the custom of placing the corpse in a wooden box. Where a coffin is used no shelf is made. The grave is filled in with earth, stones, and thorns, and thorns and stones placed over the top of it, to prevent a witch getting at the corpse (cf. p. 289). Close relatives of one recently buried often visit the grave during the night to make certain that it is undisturbed.

All the belongings of the deceased, such as sticks, spear-shafts, blankets, mats, beadwork, &c., are buried with him. Only sharp things such as blanket-pins and knives are left out. Informants say, 'We do not bury sharp things in the grave, lest when the deceased is an *ithongo*, and troubles his children, he should prick them.' Grains of millet and maize, and pumpkin seeds are thrown into the grave by the man who buries the corpse, and as he does so he says, '*Usiphe amazimba, usiphe umbona, usiphe amathanga*' (Give us millet, give us maize, give us pumpkins). The yield of the fields is believed to be increased by this action. The possessions of the dead are buried with them, not because they are of any use to the dead in after life, but because they are impure and must be destroyed. When I inquired whether they in any way went with the dead the answer was, 'How could they?', and later, 'We want to get these things out of sight, because their owner is no longer here.' If a sick man for whom a ritual killing has been made dies before the meat is eaten, it must be thrown into the grass for the dogs. The meat belonged to the dead man, and 'he

[1] It has been stated that formerly only important persons were buried and that other people were thrown into the bush because the fear of a corpse was so great, but there is no proof that this was ever usual among the Pondo.

has made it unclean by his dying'. An informant cited a case in which he saw this happen.

Formerly a hut in which any one, even a child, died was burned. Now, after the death of a child, or any unmarried person, the hut is often only swept out and smeared, but after the death of the owner of the hut, or her husband, if he dies in it, it is still always burned.

The owner of an *umzi* is buried at the entrance to his kraal (*isiβaya*), the old kraal pulled down, and a new one erected, the grave being under the fence at the middle of the back of the new kraal. New wood is used for the new kraal, and the old wood is left to rot. Occasionally now the owner of the *umzi* is buried at the side of the kraal close to the fence, and the kraal not moved.

All except the head of the *umzi* and persons who have died by violence are buried on one side of the *umzi*, facing in towards the *umzi*. Young wives are buried at some distance away, old wives nearer, and children in between. 'A wife who has been accused of harming her *umzi* by witchcraft or sorcery (*ukuthakatha*), or bringing an *itʃhologu* (cf. p. 261), is buried far away and facing away from the *umzi*.' Any who have died by violence are buried at a distance in the bush: a drowned man is buried at the side of the river. The reason given for burying these people far away is that were they to be buried near such a death might occur again.

When a man dies it is the duty of his eldest son, living in the *umzi*, to bury him. If there is no son in the *umzi* but an adult grandson (cf. p. 120) the grandson is responsible. A man who dies without an adult son is buried by his father, if alive, or his eldest brother. A man is responsible for burying a deceased wife, or child (except one still-born who is buried by the midwife). A widow is buried by the owner of the *umzi* in which she lives. The relative primarily responsible for the burial holds the head of the corpse when it is carried on the door to the grave, and enters the grave when helping to lower it. Other men of the *umzi* may assist. It is not the duty of women to assist. Men who have wives pregnant, or with suckling babies, do not touch the corpse or help to dig the grave. No persons other than those necessary to carry the corpse formerly went to the grave. A beast is due to any one who buries a corpse for another. A man prevented by the physiological condition of one wife from burying another wife may get a relative or neighbour to fulfil his duty for him, but he must pay him a beast for doing so.

After the corpse is buried every one from the *umzi* goes to the river to wash. A beast is killed at the deceased's *umzi*. Those

men who have dug the grave and handled the body have the contents of the gall-bladder poured over their hands, and wash their hands in it.[1] No one wears the gall-bladder. Neighbours come and partake of the meat of this 'beast of washing' (*inkomo yokuhlamba*). They avoid field work on the day of the death.

For three days members of the *umzi* do not go about to other *imizi*, or work away from the *umzi*. Milk is spilled out of all except the children's calabashes, and no man sleeps with his wife. Men and children shave their heads. After three or four days beer is made, or a goat killed, 'to wash out the mouth', and ordinary work and food are then resumed by all except a widow. Members of *imizi* in which the owner is father's brother, brother, son, or brother's son, of the owner of the *umzi* in which some one has died, also mourn by refraining from work, and by spilling milk out of the calabashes.

Those most closely connected with the deceased are specially cleansed. Widows, widowers, parents of children who have died, women who have had miscarriages, and men who have buried a corpse wash with purifying medicines (*iyesa lomlaza*) on the evening of the death and on the following morning. 'It is done that they may mix with people again.' Women who have had a miscarriage, mothers who have lost small children, and men who have buried a corpse wear a charm (*ikhubalo*). When they first approach fields they chew the *ikhubalo* and spit on to the fields, 'that they should not harm them'. Cattle of an *umzi* in which there has been a death are specially treated to protect them from the impurity (*umlaza*) of death (cf. p. 66). After the death of her child, or husband, a woman cannot cook until beer is made (usually after two or three days) 'to wash the hands'. A widow shaves her head, a widower head and beard.

Shortly after the death of her husband a widow is given new blankets by his heir, and the old ones, infected with the impurity of the deceased, are destroyed. If she has a nickname,[2] it is dropped, and a new one given her. After changing she goes about her normal duties, but she does not wear ornaments, or attend festivals, or drink milk, until a ritual killing is made 'to shake off' (*ukuvuthulula*). For this a goat is killed in the kraal of the deceased's *umzi*, about a year after his death, and the widow 'washes' her hands by dipping them in the contents of the stomach of the animal killed. 'It is done that the widow will not suffer from the death of her husband.' It is believed that if it is omitted the widow may fall ill. For example, Dula refused to kill for his mother

[1] Some use the stomach contents in place of gall.

[2] Names given at birth, and at marriage, are still used.

ukuvuthulula after the death of his father. He said he did not believe in the *amathongo* (he has been in contact with Europeans). His mother became ill. 'She saw for herself', and it was diagnosed by a diviner (*iggira*) that the illness was sent by the *amathongo womzi wake* (the ancestral spirits of her husband's family) because nothing had been killed *ukuvuthulula*. Dula was obstinate, and his mother died. After the *ukuvuthulula* a widow resumes her ornaments, lets her hair grow, attends beer drinks, and is free to re-marry. Before she has connexion with another man, however, he must kill a goat, *ukuhlamba izitya* (to wash the dishes). A widow Mancinci bore a child to her deceased's husband's brother, and was very ill in childbirth. Her illness was diagnosed to be due to his failure to kill *ukuhlamba izitya*. He hastened to kill a goat at the deceased's *umzi*, and gave the widow the meat *intsonyama* (cf. p. 249). I attended the feast.

When the head of an *umzi* or his mother has died, a beast is killed some time between six months and three years after the death, and relatives and friends come to condole with (*ukukhuza*) and exhort (*ukuyala*) the bereaved family. This ceremony is known as *ukubona umzi* ('to see the *umzi*'). The beast is stabbed in the kraal; the gall is poured on the entrails. No particular person has to eat any particular part of the meat.

These ritual killings are primarily to cleanse the family from the contamination of death. The beast killed on the day of the funeral is called *inkomo yokuhlamba* (the beast of washing), the beer made for the mother of a dead child or a widow is to 'wash the hands', and the *ukubona umzi* is stated by some to be a final cleansing ceremony. Some deny that any of the killings are in any way to assist the deceased, but the *ukuhlamba* killing is often spoken of as the killing *ukumkhapa* (to accompany him—the deceased: *ukukhapa*, to accompany some one, as on a journey), and a good informant stated that the *ukuhlamba* and *ukubona umzi* killings were made 'so that nothing will hinder the deceased from joining the *amathongo*'. Another that the *ukubona umzi* killing was that the deceased 'might return nicely to his *umzi*'. There is no idea that any of the beasts killed accompany the deceased to another world. When I inquired what then was meant by saying the beast was to (*uku*)*khapa* the dead, the reply was, 'It does not really accompany him. It is only by word of mouth.'

When grass round an *umzi* is burned care is taken to prevent the fire spreading over graves. Should it do so by accident beer is made 'to put out the fire'. There is no calling on the ancestors, but guests who come to drink are told why the beer has been made. No offerings are ever placed on graves.

The Pondo have a great distaste for speaking of anything connected with death. The name of a person who has recently died is never mentioned in conversation. Children are warned that they must not mention some one who has recently died, and it is ill mannered to introduce the subject of death into any conversation. It was therefore with difficulty that such information as is given here was collected. Pondo Christians tell me that the pagan fear of a corpse, and distaste for speaking of death, is not so great as formerly, their attitude having been modified by the attitude of Christians.

Amathongo.

As is implied by the putting of grain in the grave of the deceased, and their interpretation of the ritual killings after death, the Pondo believe in the survival of the dead, and in their interest in, and power over, the life of their descendants. All 'old people' (*abantu abadala*) who die become *amathongo*[1] (ancestral spirits), and can influence the lives of their descendants. What happens to children and young persons after death is not clear. Most think that they also become *amathongo*, but add, 'We do not know what happens to them. We only hear about old people asking for meat' and 'The only person who ever dreams of a dead child is its mother.' The dividing line is not between those who have had children and those who have had none, but between those who were persons of weight and influence before their death and those who died while still children, or young men and women. A young man who dies, even though he has a child, cannot trouble people. But an old woman, although barren, becomes an *ithongo* capable of influencing the survivors of her *umzi* or her brothers' children.

The word *ithongo* is used for a living person when very old. Soka's great aunt, a very old woman, was referred to when I saw her still alive as *ithongo*. And a living person may play the part of an *ithongo* to another living relative, demanding a sacrifice from them. Msingali, a councillor of the Khonjwayo chief, who was known to me personally, and proved a reliable informant, volunteered one day that 'Even a living person can ask for an *idini* (see below). My father's brother's child was ill. A diviner said that the illness was caused by my brother who is alive. We, when told, could not believe it. We said, "We will prove it." We caught a beast and killed it, and the sick man recovered.' When I inquired whether the brother was not regarded as a witch or sorcerer

[1] Cf. *uβuthongo*, sleep; *ithongo*, dream, natural vision (Kropf, *Kaffir-English Dictionary*).

Msingali said, 'No, he was only asking for a beast.' For a living person to act as an *ithongo* is rare, this was the only specific case I could hear of in which it happened; but old men in different parts of the country when asked about it replied that it did occasionally happen. Every living person is therefore a potential *ithongo*, but no one can describe what part of them is the *ithongo*, or where its seat is. They do not know what part of the person becomes the *ithongo* after death. 'All we know is that the whole body rots in the grave.' Ngangaßo 'thinks in his own mind that the *umphefumlo* (breath) of a man must become his *ithongo*, because that is what leaves a man when he dies, and his body is put in the grave, and we know that the *umphefumlo* of our father watches over us'. That is his personal opinion. Others think likewise, but there is no orthodox theory as to what becomes the *ithongo*. Since the living person is a potential *ithongo* there is no hiatus between death and the possibility of the deceased influencing his descendants. There is no idea of a child existing before conception, or of reincarnation. From the amused curiosity of informants when I inquired whether an old *ithongo* was reincarnated, I am convinced that no such idea exists. *Amathongo* help their descendants, but are not re-embodied in them. There is no theory of an *ithongo* entering the body after conception or birth.

No one could describe the world of the *amathongo*. 'We have never seen the place which they come from. We only kill for them because we know that they exist.' I inquired whether they had cattle. Answers were, 'Where would they get them?' and 'There is no one who knows about such things.' '*Amathongo* are like Government.[1] They, like him, are never seen.' Some say the *amathongo* live below ground, but there is no general theory as to the place and manner of their existence. They are thought to come about the *imizi* of their descendants. 'They are all about us here although we cannot see them', said Msongelwa, waving his arm about the *inkundla* and the cattle kraal. I asked whether they were thought to dwell particularly in the back of the hut where sacrificial meat and beer is placed, and which is avoided by a son-in-law. 'We do not know.' 'All we know is that from that part of the hut we hear the *imilozi* (voices of ancestral spirits) when we consult an *igqira nemilozi*' (a ventriloquist diviner). When a very old person dies pagans say, 'He has gone home.'

The *amathongo* are said to get hungry, '*Balambile, bafuna ukudla*' (They are hungry, they wish to eat), and cattle are killed ritually, parts of the meat and the blood being left overnight for them to taste, and a small part being burned, but informants comment

[1] Personal name class.

that they never see bits cut off the meat or the amount of blood reduced.

Amathongo have power over their own children, real or classificatory, and descendants in the male line. Only in special cases discussed below are they thought to influence descendants in the female line. Thus a man may be an *ithongo* to his own or his brothers' children, but not to a sister's children, and to his grandchildren through his sons, but not through his daughters. A woman may be *ithongo* to her own children, her sons' children, and to her brothers' children. Married women are under the influence of their own and their husband's *amathongo*. Neither man nor woman can influence their sisters' children who belong to different clans from themselves. A senior can be an *ithongo* only to a junior. Umthetho's younger brother died when already a middle-aged man. He can influence Umthetho's children but not Umthetho himself. An old diviner commented on the fact that a mother's *amathongo* are not thought to influence her child.

A child is never sacrificed for to its mother's *amathongo* even though it is sometimes obvious that the child has inherited a disease from its mother (that is, that its mother's *amathongo* are troubling it). In such a case a ritual killing is made at the father's *umzi* to the *amathongo* of the child's father. If the child does not recover people say, 'That proves it, the *amathongo* of the mother are responsible', yet no ritual killing is made for them.

The only occasion on which the *amathongo* of the mother are thought to influence a person is when that person is 'sick to be initiated as a diviner' (*igqira*). Children inherit from their mothers the need to have their bodies cut (*ukuchaza*). 'They are sick for the *isiko* (custom) of their mother', but it is not certain that this has anything to do with the *amathongo* (cf. p. 264).

Illegitimate children of an unmarried girl, who have not been redeemed with cattle, are reckoned as the children of the mother's father or brother, and therefore under the influence of the mother's *amathongo*; illegitimate children of a married women are the children of her husband, and are under her husband's *amathongo*. But there is always the fear that sacrifices to the guardian's *amathongo* will not be efficacious, since they are not the child's own *amathongo*. Thus, if the child of an unmarried mother is ill, she may take the child to its father's *umzi*, that a ritual killing may be made for it there; if the child of a married woman by an adulterer falls ill, she will make excuses to go to the home of the child's biological father to have a ritual killing performed. Manyawuza's child by an adulterer was ill. Her husband gave her money to go to a diviner (*igqira*). The *igqira* told her that only

a ritual killing at the home of the child's biological father would suffice. The woman made excuses to her husband, saying that she wished to go to her own home to fetch something. He objected that the child was ill. She said that she would not be long, and slipped off to the *umzi* of her lover, where the necessary killing was performed.

On the whole the *amathongo* are propitious to their descendants. They see and hear everything that is done. They have the power to send health to man and beast, to increase property, to ensure good crops. Men returning from a fight praised (*ukubonga*) their ancestors for having saved them. 'They are saved by the *amathongo* of their family.' When men kill in a hunt they praise their *amathongo*. 'The *ithongo* of the family has helped.' The *amathongo* are the *umthombo wamathamsanqa* (the fountain of blessing), an *ihlathi* (forest, shelter) to their descendants. If they were to desert a man, misfortune would befall him at once.

When a person stumbles, or gets a start, or sneezes (a lucky sign) he (or she) calls upon his (or her) ancestors. A girl of the Nyawuza clan when she sneezed said, '*Nyawuza: Hlambangobubende*' (names of ancestors, cf. p. 399). One of the Mose clan when he stumbled said: *ImiMose Ndikholisile ndisinde*' (People of Mose help me, save me). A woman of the Nci clan, when a hen fluttered in the hearth and blew ash about, exclaimed, '*MaNci!*'

Although the *amathongo* cannot secure a man against sorcery or witchcraft, and are never appealed to through a ritual killing when the sickness is diagnosed as due to either, they are some defence against it. 'If a person is being killed by an *igqwira* (sorcerer or witch) and is treated and gets better, it is because the *amathongo* stood by him.' 'A man walking along might be bitten by an *ichanti* (a snake sent by a witch) and yet not fall ill, because his *amathongo* were looking after him.' There is difference of opinion as to how much power they really have against witchcraft and magic.

The *amathongo* are appealed to through cattle. In every *umzi* there is a beast, *inkomo yobuluunga*, through which the *amathongo* of the *umzi* may be influenced. They are also influenced through ritual killings. Men owe obligations to their *amathongo*, and if these are not rendered the *amathongo* will cause sickness. The obligations owed are the proper performance of certain ritual killings at birth, initiation, marriage, death, and in thanksgiving after escape from danger. Even when these ritual killings are duly fulfilled the *amathongo* may send sickness from time to time because 'they want to eat' (*bafuna ukudla*), and the sickness can only be cured by killing ritually. This is an extra ritual killing

besides those customary at the crises of life. It is said of the *amathongo*, '*bafeketha*' (they are teasing, annoying) their children. The *amathongo* may send a particular type of sickness necessitating initiation as a diviner (*igqira*), involving the performance of a particular set of ritual killings. But although they send sickness the *amathongo* would never kill a man unless he persistently refused to kill for them.

The *amathongo* manifest themselves to their descendants in dreams, appearing as they were when they were alive. A sick man may see his father or grandfather in a dream, and then he knows that a ritual killing is being demanded of him. Or he may dream frequently of a particular beast, and that is proof that that beast is being demanded of him by his *amathongo*. The diviner is in particularly close relationship with his *amathongo*, and he has many dreams directing his initiation and teaching him medicines. In his capacity of diviner he also interprets the will of the *amathongo* of people of other families. He has no communication with any but his own *amathongo* himself, but by virtue of his powers of divination he can tell those to whom it has not been revealed in a dream whether their *amathongo* have caused their sickness, and, if so, what particular beast is being demanded.

To some clans the *amathongo* appear in tangible form as snakes, and to diviners and their families they appear as animals, or as two lights which are the eyes of the animals (cf. pp. 260; 321).

Means of Influencing the Amathongo

1. *Inkomo yobuluunga.*

In every *umzi* there is a beast, *inkomo yobuluunga* (the beast of the brush)[1] or *inkomo yesinyanya* (the beast of the ancestors) through which the *amathongo* may be appealed to and their help obtained in sickness or in danger. The appeal is made by wearing hairs from the brush of the beast.

The beast chosen as the I.Y. should be of the old stock of the kraal, 'the old beast of father'. A man will, if able, give a son who establishes his own *umzi* a heifer, the progeny of his own I.Y., to be the I.Y. of the son's *umzi*. Failing a beast got from his father, a son may start with a beast acquired from his sister's or daughter's *ikhazi*, 'for such a beast has come in exchange for the blood of the family'. (Volunteered information.) Failing that, he may start with a beast bought. Some informants think that it does not really matter of what stock the beast is, 'a man takes the first beast he acquires and makes it the I.Y. of his *umzi*, when he builds his

[1] For the sake of brevity referred to as I.Y.

own *umzi*', but most of the older men are agreed that the I.Y. should come from the family stock. One man volunteered that the beast that first passed water when the cattle were driven to a woman in labour was particularly liked as an I.Y. (cf. p. 151). If there was already an I.Y. in the *umzi* this would be used as a second I.Y. Every *umzi* should have its own I.Y., but a man in his own *umzi* may continue to use the I.Y. of his father until he acquires one of his own. The I.Y. should always be a cow. There is no special concern when it dies, a heifer calf of its own being used in its place. 'If the beast chosen as the *inkomo yobuluunga* is not good (i.e. if the necklaces made from its hair do not improve the health of those who wear them), another beast may be chosen in its place.' (Volunteered information.) There is no ceremony when a beast is chosen as the I.Y. It is simply used as such. The I.Y. is never killed except when a member of the family is sick, and dreams of it persistently as the beast that should be killed for him (or her). But I know of no case in which this has happened. It is an unlikely occurrence. The I.Y. itself can never be sold. Commoners sell its calves, but chiefs do not. The I.Y. is inherited with a man's other possessions by his eldest son. The cow mixes with the rest of the herd, and is only to be distinguished by its brush, which is never clipped.

The I.Y. is only of value to its owner and his children and sons' children. A married woman continues after marriage to wear hairs from the I.Y. of her father or brother. Normally in eastern Pondoland, and very often in western Pondoland, she returns to her own people to get the hairs when she is in need of them. In western Pondoland (as with the Xhosa) she is sometimes given a beast, a heifer calf of her father's I.Y. to take with her on her marriage to her *umzi*, which represents her *amathongo* in her new home, and provides a means of obtaining their blessing when she needs it. A chief or wealthy man 'who thinks a great deal of his daughter' may give her the beast on her marriage. More frequently it is not sent until she is diagnosed as 'sick for an I.Y. of her own' by a diviner. Then she goes home, beer is made for her, a heifer calf of the home I.Y. is driven out, and she returns to her *umzi* with it. There is no calling on the ancestors on this occasion, but 'they speak to the girl and the beast, and the *amathongo* hear them'. A woman I knew was ill. Her symptoms suggested syphilis. It was diagnosed by a diviner that she was ill because no beer had been made when the I.Y. was driven out at her home. She went home to make the beer, but when I left 'nTißane she had not recovered.

Often a cow is sent as a temporary I.Y. the permanent I.Y.

being taken from its progeny, and the temporary beast resumed by the father. The temporary beast may be kept for some time and have a number of calves. Most of these belong to the father: 'If it had ten the girl would be left a heifer and calf' (cf. *ukunqoma*, p. 135). If an I.Y. turned out to be a queen cow, or died without progeny, the father must send another in its place. A woman's I.Y. and its progeny are the inheritance of her youngest son (cf. p. 120). The I.Y. of a married woman cannot be seized for her husband's debts. If a woman leaves her husband she has the right, sanctioned by the chief's court, to take her I.Y. with her, 'but it is a very difficult thing to take your I.Y. from your *umzi*'. 'A mother would be much more likely to give the beast to her youngest son, knowing that when he and his brothers grew up they would build an *umzi* of their own, and come and call her to live with them.'

Since this I.Y. is of her own family stock, a woman may drink its milk before a ritual killing is made for her to drink the milk of her *umzi*. Milk of I.Y. is kept in a special calabash, or one used only by women and children. The milk bucket is cleaned before milking the cattle of the *umzi* after having milked a wife's I.Y. A husband may not drink the milk of his wife's I.Y., but her children and fellow wives may.

When she is 'old' a woman sometimes may wear hairs from her husband's I.Y. Some informants deny that this ever happens in their families, but in some families at least it is done when the woman is 'old', not necessarily past child-bearing, but a person of consequence in her *umzi*. It is not so usual, however, as continuing to wear the hairs of the I.Y. of her father or brother. The choice as to which should be worn is dependent on the diagnosis of the diviner, or on 'what she sees for herself'.

Theoretically, illegitimate children gain no benefit from wearing hair either from their mother's father's or, in the case of a child by an adulterer, mother's husband's I.Y. Frequently they are taken openly or in secret to their biological father's *umzi* to get hair of the I.Y. there. They are sometimes, however, given hair from their mother's father's or mother's husband's I.Y. 'to see if it will do them any good' (cf. p. 239).

Before a baby can drink milk a necklace made of the hairs of its father's I.Y. is fastened round its neck. If it has been born at its mother's home it must still be given a necklace of the hairs from the father's cow before it can drink. Later, if it is going away to visit relatives and drink the milk of a strange *umzi*, it is again given a necklace of the hairs. A pregnant woman wears the necklace, and formerly, when there was circumcision, a boy

undergoing circumcision wore it. It is a usual remedy for sickness. Often it is seen in a dream, or the patient 'hankers after it'. Sometimes it is ordered by a diviner who has been consulted about the sickness. It is a usual remedy for a person who is thin. It is not, however, worn indiscriminately. Befile's wife was unwell, and I asked her why she did not try a necklace of hairs of her brother's I.Y. The answer was, 'How can I? I have not seen it.' It is more frequently worn by women and children than by men. Informants could offer no explanation of this except that 'women more often hankered (*ukukhanuka*) after it'.

Hairs for an *intambo yobuluunga* (thong of the brush) may be plucked by any one, provided the plucking has been ordered by the owner of the *umzi*. They *must* be plucked at dawn on a cloudless morning. The hairs are hung up in the great hut for the rest of the day and the following night. The next day they are twisted with string of *ulusi* bark into a thong. The Xhosa make the hairs into an ornamental collar, or a necklace with beads worn round neck or arm, and Pondo on the Xhosa border do likewise. The method of wearing is a matter of taste, and does not affect the value of the hairs.

Frequently beer is made 'to put on the thong'. Some informants state that it is essential that it should be made for grown-ups. Others deny this. Custom obviously varies from *umzi* to *umzi*. In any case, there is no calling upon the ancestors. 'We just say to the people who come to drink, "Here is the feast of the girl who is being given a thong".' The beer is not drunk ritually at the kraal gate (cf. p. 255). At one beer drink to put on the I.Y. thong, which I attended, a dozen men and women gathered, and quietly drank their beer, gossiping the while. Many of them did not know for what purpose the beer had been made. 'They were only glad that there was beer.'

The patient may wear the thong till it falls to bits, or he may discard it when he recovers. In either case the remains must always be stuck into the thatch at the back of the great hut of the *umzi* to which the beast from which the hair was taken belongs. A married woman goes to her father's or brother's *umzi* to throw away her thong if it was made from brush of the I.Y. of her home.

Cases of Wearing the Thong.[1]

Mamzikinya (her own account).

Before marriage she was frequently ill. Her father's brother with whom she lived said, 'Take hairs from this cow and you will get better.' She did so and she got better. The cow was his I.Y. It had come into

[1] A selection of those collected.

the family as *ikhazi* for her father's sister. Mamzikinya married, but was accused of witchcraft, and returned to her father's brother's *umzi*. She is not well. She dreamed of the family I.Y. and so has made beer 'to put on the thong'. Early this morning hair was plucked from the I.Y. and hung up in the single hut of her home over the door. This afternoon the beer was drunk by friends—any who cared to come. They were told the beer was to 'put on the thong', but there was no ceremonial drinking and no calling on the ancestors. (I was there.) To-morrow the hairs will be woven into a thong and worn.

Young man (his own account).

He was ill. 'He saw for himself that his body was not in good health.' He did not consult a diviner but put on a thong of hairs of his I.Y. He did not make beer. His body got better and after a week he found the thong scratchy so he hung it up in the hut and it got lost.

Hlupheka's son (his own account).

Hlupheka never married. Her son was not redeemed with cattle by his father, and lives with his mother at his mother's brother's *umzi*. As a child he was unwell. He 'hankered after a thong of the hair of I.Y.' Beer was brewed and a thong made from the I.Y. of his mother's brother put on. This was 'done as an experiment'. His *ingqithi* (finger-joint) was also cut off at his mother's brother's *umzi*. He never needed an *idini* (killing in case of sickness). Now he has built an *umzi* of his own, and if he had to make an *idini* he would call upon the *amathongo* of his father, and not the ancestors of his mother.

Little girl, daughter of an idikazi.

Never redeemed by her father and living with her mother, near her mother's brother. She got very thin. Her mother saw she needed hairs of the I.Y. so she 'took her to where she was got' (i.e. to her biological father) and there a thong of hairs of the I.Y. was put on.

Ngote's aunt (an idikazi).

She was troubled by pains at her periods. Told by a diviner to get her brother's son to pull hairs from the tail of her *own* I.Y. (when married she had had her own I.Y. at her *umzi* and it had been fetched to her own home when she left her husband). The hair she was to make into a thong with white beads. She did so and recovered.

Thothobala.

Small girl aged 2 years wearing a thong of I.Y. hairs. It was put on at her home, from her father's I.Y., because she was coming to visit at the *umzi* of her maternal grandmother's relatives. They put on the thong that she might drink the milk of the strange *umzi*. Beer was made when it was put on.

The wearing of the hair of the I.Y. is an appeal to the *amathongo*. 'We do not call upon the *amathongo* when we put it on, but they see us do it.' 'A person may be very ill—he may even be insane—

but when he puts on the thong he gets better, and it is seen that the *amathongo* are satisfied.' It is only valuable against disease sent by the *amathongo*, and no direct use as a charm against sorcery or witchcraft, but it is worn through dangerous periods of life, after birth, during circumcision, or during pregnancy. It was not, however, worn by men in battle. In cases of sickness caused by the *amathongo* it is the first method of appeal made. 'First we put on the thong, then if that does not make the person better we kill a goat, then if the person is still sick we kill a beast',[1] said Malinde, chief of the amaNdovelane. Msingali said sadly, 'When a person is made ill by the *amathongo* we try making them wear hairs of the I.Y. first, and it works for a time, but in the end we always have to kill.'

Wearing a thong of the hair of the I.Y. is a usual, and relied upon, method of appealing to the *amathongo*. In western Pondoland about a third of the women whom one saw about were wearing the thong. There is consternation if the custom is interfered with. A magistrate told me of the alarm of some people when, in a time of cattle sickness, the brushes of all cattle were clipped, when they were brought to be dipped. Old men protested that their health depended upon the brushes of I.Y. In 1933 the Bunga passed a resolution requesting that a woman's I.Y. be exempt from attachment to her husband's debts because her health was dependent upon it. The extent to which the custom of wearing hairs of the I.Y. has survived on farms, and in towns, is a proof of the strong belief in their efficacy.

2. *Ritual killings.*

The ritual killings at the crises of life—birth, initiation, marriage, death—which if omitted will result in sickness sent by the *amathongo*, have been described. There remain *idini*, killing in sickness caused by the *amathongo*, not because of the omission of any custom, but because the ancestors 'wish to eat' (*bafuna ukudla*), and killing in thanksgiving, *ukubulela*. The killings in the particular type of sickness when the patient is about to be initiated as a doctor are dealt with separately.

(*a*) *Idini.* When a person is ill they may themselves dream of an ancestor, or of meat, or constantly of a particular beast, and from that dream they know that an *idini* is necessary: or, if the cause of their sickness is uncertain, relatives may go to inquire of a diviner, and she may diagnose that the patient is 'sick for an *idini*', and point out the beast to be killed. If when it has been shown that

[1] Among the Xhosa the putting on of the necklace is often accompanied by the killing of a white goat (cf. p. 536).

an *idini* is necessary it is not made, the patient may die, or 'the beast may make another person sick'. That is, if the first person recovers without being killed for, another member of the family may fall ill. A junior person of the *umzi* often does not like to report to the head of the *umzi* that they have seen a beast in their dreams, and think that they should be killed for, but 'they tell the other people of the *umzi* and the owner of the *umzi* hears'.

A man is always killed for in his own home; a woman in her married home, or the father's or brother's *umzi*, according to which set of *amathongo* are diagnosed as causing her illness. The beast seen or pointed out is usually one belonging to the *umzi* where it is to be killed, but occasionally one belonging to another *umzi* is seen. Then every effort is made to obtain that particular beast by purchase or exchange. An interesting case occurred at 'nTiβane. Foco had quarrelled with his son and had disinherited him. The son worked at the mines, built his own *umzi*, and bought cattle. He accumulated a number. While I was at 'nTiβane, Foco was ill, and dreamed of a particular beast in his son's kraal, but his son said, 'He can die for all I care. When he drove me out of his *umzi* I might have died, for I had not a beast to offer as an *idini* if I had been ill.' Neighbours smiled as they related the story.

I shall describe some of the *amadini* which I attended, then analyse them. Nomaladi, a girl of 11 years, was the daughter of the great wife of Sipopone, the head of an *umzi*. She was ill at green mealie time, and again at the end of the reaping. She had bad headaches. Medicines were offered her, but she refused to take them. When asked by her father's mother why she refused the medicines, she replied that she constantly dreamed of a black ox, and she dreamed of her father's father, Hoβololo, and he told her that before she would get better this black ox would have to be killed. The 'old people' of the *umzi* when they heard of her dream decided that they would have to kill. Nomaladi's paternal grandmother and grand-aunt (Hoβololo's wife and sister) spoke in the great hut promising the beast to Hoβololo. Sipopone described it:

> There was speaking in the great hut at midday. Peace was made by word of mouth with the *amathongo*. Thanks were given (to the *amathongo* for revealing the cause of the illness). It was said, 'We understand: we have heard.'

As soon as they spoke, promising the beast, the child got better.

A month or so afterwards, at the beginning of August, the *idini* took place. Two elder brothers of Sipopone, and two sisters of the deceased Hoβololo, were summoned. Sipopone was waiting anxiously for them to arrive, for without them he could

not kill. His mother was absent at a beer drink, and did not return before he killed, but her presence was not essential. A few men neighbours had come in to help with throwing the beast. The wives of the *umzi* were busy grinding and cooking. About 3.30 Sipopone called to the boys to drive the cattle into the kraal. They came with a rush, jostling one another. The boys shouted and threw sticks to guide them into the narrow entrance of the kraal. A sister of the deceased Hoßololo, an old shrivelled woman, took Nomaladi to the side of the entrance of the kraal, stripped her, and washed her with an infusion *iyeza lasekhaya*, the medicine of the home. The infusion was in a small clay pot. As she splashed it over Nomaladi the old woman said aloud,

'To-day we are loosening you (i.e. freeing you from your sickness) in the kraal of your family. Blessing! May you be well.'

While she was still being splashed with the medicine Sipopone's elder brother stood at the kraal gate, facing the back of the kraal where Hoßololo is buried[1] and said:

'Let all the people of Hoßololo return. Let them come with Hoßololo. To-day inquiry is made. We see to it that you are nourished.'

Both the old woman and the man spoke clearly, but without raising their voices, and in a conversational tone as if they were talking to some one standing beside them. The other men in the *inkundla* sat still smoking, as if nothing was happening, and the women in the hut continued their grinding.

Nomaladi dressed. The black ox she had seen in her dreams was lassoed with a 'reim' by the men of the *umzi*, assisted by neighbours. Sipopone's elder brother and Hoßololo's sister stood together at the gate of the kraal, facing the back of the kraal, with Nomaladi between them. The beast was thrown on its right side, in the centre of the kraal, with its head towards the gateway. Sipopone's elder brother said aloud:

Here is the beast, man of Fuso, that you may eat by it! We saw without quarrelling in the home. It is the custom of the *umzi* that food should be eaten in the *umzi*, that thorns be removed from the *umzi*. Come and help us another day, son of Ndosine,[2] of Bono, Ungwanya, son of Majola.

The old woman stood by Sipopone's elder brother as he spoke, and emphasized her agreement with, 'Yes, it is so', at intervals.

When the speaking to the ancestors was finished Sipopone took the sacrificial spear of the *umzi*, passed it between the forelegs of the animal, and between its back legs which were tied,

[1] Even when an *idini* is made in a new *umzi* where no one is buried the officiant stands at the kraal gate.

[2] Their clan ancestor.

then stabbed it in the stomach over the aorta muscle (*umxhelo*). The beast bellowed horribly, and lay in agony for about five minutes before it died. When it was stabbed the other cattle were allowed out of the kraal. Entrails protruded from the wound, and a small piece of fat, *inthlukuhla*, was cut off with the sacrificial spear. Sipopone carried it into the great hut, and put it on the fire. He told his father's sister to build up the fire that the *inthlukuhla* might burn up properly. I inquired why it was burned. He answered, pointing upwards, 'That those chiefs (i.e. the *amathongo*) may eat.'

The right foreleg was brought up to the great hut and put on a branch of *imbiza* (*Halleria elliptica*) at the back of the hut on the men's side. Hoßololo's sister cut a piece of meat (*intsonyama*) from the top of the leg, cut it into strips, roasted it on the fire, and placed two small pieces in Nomaladi's hands, which were crossed. Nomaladi touched each piece with her lips, then dropped them into the fire, without eating them. She was given the rest of the *intsonyama* to eat. This before any one else ate of the meat.

The men of the *umzi* assisted by neighbours were busy skinning the beast. It was cut up, and portions sent to the men in the *inkundla*, portions to the women, and portions put beside the right foreleg in the hut, to be kept until the next day. The blood was collected in a clay pot and put at the back of the great hut on the men's side. The neighbours who were helping to skin and quarter the beast hung their perquisites of meat on the kraal fence.

The contents of the gall-bladder were poured over the entrails, and the bladder put in a small dish of water and placed on a shelf in the hut.

The men had made a fire in the *inkundla* and began to cook their portions of the meat; the women cooked theirs at the fire in the hut. They were excited over the feast of meat. It was a cold, damp evening, and not many people gathered, but many came to eat the meat the following day. Before the meat was finished the gall-bladder was fastened round Nomaladi's wrist.

An *idini* was made for Ntʃhulana the same month. He was a man of about forty, the owner of an *umzi*, living in it with his mother, his wife, and their children. For some months he had been troubled with fainting fits. At first his mother was accused of killing him by witchcraft, then she was cleared and it was said that he was sick for an *idini*. Exactly the same procedure was followed as in the case of Nomaladi. Ntʃhulana's father's brother, who lived at some distance, had come to conduct the *idini*, and he washed Ntʃhulana with the *iyeza lasekhaya* and called upon the

ancestors before the killing of the beast. The women visitors and women of the *umzi* went into the hut while he was stripped. Then when the beast was stabbed it did not make a sound. A young boy was doing it, and had not got the right spot. The men swore. Ntʃhulana's mother rushed out of the hut shouting, 'Nothing like this has ever happened in our *umzi* before.' Ntʃhulana was very upset. Suddenly the beast groaned and bellowed. The men shouted joyfully, '*Camagu!*' (Thanks! Blessing!) Then the ceremony proceeded as described in the case of Nomaladi. It was very much a family affair. Only the family were really concerned when a mishap occurred, although the neighbours present condoled with them. The neighbours were only really interested in the feast. Most of them did not arrive until after the beast had been killed, and the crowd came on the second day.

Soka's paternal great-aunt was very old. He himself was a man over 30, with sons big enough to herd. For months she could hardly crawl out of the hut. She lay on the floor and did not even move when the children stumbled over her or a hen alighted on her back. Soka felt they ought to make an *idini* for her. A diviner whom they had consulted said she was sick for one. His younger brother, Jordai, who had worked for Europeans and was a sceptic, said that he thought it was a waste of a beast as she was obviously going to die anyway, but the beast was killed. I arrived at the *umzi* after midday. Soka was grinding up roots of the *iyeza lasekhaya*, and putting the powder in a can of water. Then he, and his brother, and a paternal aunt, addressed the great-aunt in the great hut, explaining to her that they were killing this beast for her. She lay comatose.

Soka's father's sister and another woman raised the great-aunt and half carried her to the gate of the cattle kraal, where they washed her with the *iyeza lasekhaya*, and gave her a mouthful to drink. Soka called upon the ancestors at the kraal gate, then he himself killed a beast. Stabbing it over the aorta, and plunging his arm into the incision, he grasped the aorta muscle, and broke it. As the beast groaned he said, 'Yes, it bellows, now may she be well!' The beast was cut up, and the old lady given the *intsonyama* as described in the *idini* for Nomaladi. When the meat was all carried out of the kraal, Soka stood at the kraal gate, and taking handfuls of *umswane* (the stomach contents of the beast killed), scattered it over the kraal, calling as he did so on the *amathongo* to increase the cattle in the kraal, and not let them be finished because they had killed this one.

There is no need to multiply the descriptions of *amadini*. A selection of cases is given below to illustrate occasions of killing.

Umthetho had a bad ear (mastoid) and stomach-ache. He had never had any ritual killing made for him, and now he felt that the *amathongo bafuna ukudla ngaye* (the ancestral spirits wished to eat by him). Two years ago he had dreamed that he should make a ritual killing and had not done so. Recently he dreamed that his father was here in the hut eating meat before him. Often when he (Umthetho) was asleep he saw him there. When he woke up his father was gone. He dreamed also that there was a can of beer, and his father sitting took the can from him. He spoke about his dreams in the *umzi* and they agreed that it was his father 'who puts thorns'. He was washed before the kraal gate with the *iyeza lasekhaya* and then they made an *idini*. His stomach got better, but his ear continued to trouble him.

Ntenten, the Khonjwayo chief, took three fits in succession at a beer drink one day. It was diagnosed that he was being killed by Umpendu, *uyise mkhulu* (his father's elder brother, or possibly father's father). Beer was made and a beast killed as an *idini* at the great place, Inkanunu.

Maßuto's wife had borne no child, but had had a series of miscarriages. A diviner diagnosed that she was made ill by Maßuto's father's mother, whom she had seen in a dream, crouching beside her. Maßuto killed a beast and beer was made.

Msingali's married daughter came home with a throat so sore that she could not speak. He contemplated promising a beast to the *amathongo*, but after three weeks she was so much better he said privately to his wife that he thought she might return to her husband. Next evening she was ill again. A diviner was consulted, who said that the illness was due to the fact that when the girl had been ill previously he had only killed a goat, not a beast as he ought to have done. Five of his ancestors were causing the illness. A beast was killed.

Mamiya suffered from very bad headaches. It was diagnosed that they were caused by her husband's father's father. A beast was killed, and beer made at her husband's *umzi*.

Analysis of idini. To kill a beast or a goat, or brew beer, is the Pondo way of honouring a guest. When a chief or his emissary, or in-laws visit, they are always entertained with meat or beer (cf. p. 51). The dead, like the living, are honoured by a feast. It is said that 'The *amathongo* are hungry. They wish to eat.' 'They want a beast by that person' (the patient). 'When the *amathongo* are replete the patient recovers.' 'The *ithongo* eats the blood and the patient recovers.' Every Pondo questioned emphatically denied any idea of replacement. 'An *ithongo* does not want a person, he wants a beast.'

Promising the beast to the ancestors before it is killed is very usual, and sometimes several months may elapse before it is actually killed, but having made the promise people never (I am told) neglect to fulfil it. If they did so, 'The person who got better when they promised the beast would fall ill again and die.' Very

frequently the patient is washed at the kraal gate with the *iyeza lasekhaya* when the promise is made. Sipopone did not do this 'because it was not the custom of their *umzi*' to do it, but most people do it. As soon as the beast is promised, and the patient is washed, he is expected to improve. NgangaƁo told me that they were going to make an *idini* for his brother who had been ill, but was recovering. 'We know it is an *idini* that is needed, for as soon as we spoke at the kraal gate he began to get better.'

The reasons given for promising the beast before actually killing are that the killing may have to be delayed because the beast has not been pointed out by the *amathongo*, and inquiry will have to be made from a diviner what beast should be killed, or that there may be no beast like that shown in the dream, in the kraal, and it must be got elsewhere, by buying or exchange. Also relatives must be summoned. Even when the *idini* is not delayed it is usual to speak about it to the ancestors, and wash the patient with the *iyeza lasekhaya* a day or more before killing.

All the Pondo clans investigated, and informants state all clans in Pondoland, use the same plant, *idwƒane* (*Senecio retrorsus*), a small composite with a yellow flower, as their *iyeza lasekhaya* or *iyeza leminyanya* (medicine of the ancestors). The plant is common all through the country. When it is needed specimens are gathered by an 'old person' of the *umzi* requiring it. The roots are pounded up on the stones kept in every *umzi* specially for grinding medicines, and the crushed roots put in a bowl of water. When the infusion has been used the dregs are thrown on to the kraal fence. It is usual only to wash the patient with the infusion. Giving the patient a mouthful to drink was a variation peculiar to the family of Soka. The plant is not known to young people. 'A father teaches it to his son when he is old, or it might be shown to an old wife of the *umzi*.'

The only occasions on which the *iyeza lasekhaya* is used are when sickness has been caused by the *amathongo* either on account of the neglect of one of the ritual killings necessary in the life of each individual, or when it is diagnosed that an *idini* is necessary. It is not used before one of the customary ritual killings if the person who is being 'killed for' has not been 'sick for' that killing. Even when the person is 'sick for' the killing, as a girl to be *ukuthombisa*, there is some divergence of custom, some using the *iyeza lasekhaya*, and others only killing. It is never used in connexion with other cures for sickness caused by the *amathongo*, as the wearing of the thong of hair of the *inkomo yobuluunga*, or the calling on the ancestors in cases of prolonged labour. Always before an *idini*, however, it is used at least once.

That it is not regarded as therapeutic in action is made plain by informants who state positively that it would have no value apart from the accompanying ritual, the standing at the kraal gate, the calling upon the ancestors, and the subsequent killing. They say, 'It is not the *iyeza* that helps, but the custom (*isiko*).' When a woman is killed for at her husband's *umzi* the *iyeza* is prepared for her there.

As illustrated by the cases described, the officiant is usually the owner of the *umzi* or his elder relative in the male line. It is usually a man, but an elderly woman past child-bearing, and therefore not subject to women's taboos, related in the male line to the head of the *umzi* is eligible. Informants state positively that the mother of the head of an *umzi* might perform if she were old, and knew the names of her husband's ancestors. 'She is no longer of another clan',[1] but no case was cited where this had happened. The person who speaks to the ancestors is the one who knew them most intimately, and who would have most influence with them if they were alive. There are no taboos, sexual or otherwise, to be observed by the officiant.

In calling upon the ancestors (*ukunqula*) no set formula is used. The essence of the oration always is, 'Here is your beast, fathers, now please make the patient better.' The language is that of everyday speech.

At an *idini* for the two-year-old son of Seßetʃhe, who had been ill, Seßetʃhe's father's brother *ukunqula* at the kraal gate saying:

'Yes, grandfathers Pato and Kuzi (grandfather and great grandfather of the child), you were asking. To-day we give you this beast that you may eat, and the child may be well.'

Majelu, an old *iggiɟa*, an Ndosine, when he makes an *idini* for one of his family, says:

'Here is your beast, Manywana of Majola, Linganiso. We are making well he who is ill. We wish peace between us.'

Msingali, a Khonjwayo, says:

'Here is your beast, here is the thing you wish (people) of Kiwo, Ntskinyane, Nogemane, and Gwadiso (cf. p. 399).

Sißiße ße when he was ill himself said:

'What is it, chiefs? I want to be well. Here, then, is the thing I am giving you.'

[1] A very old woman is 'like a man'. The use of one term *umakhulu* for both grandmother and grandfather is an expression of this blurring of the sexual distinction among old people.

Malusi, a Qoma, begins to *(uku)nqula* when he is pounding up the *iyeza lasekhaya* in the great hut. He says:

'May he be well! Oh blessing! people of our family, people of Nyeula, of Nxwakoli, of Qoma. May you look upon us, grandfather.'

After the oration the names of the ancestors are called. The officiant begins with the name of his nearest direct ascendant who is dead (his father or grandfather) and continues with what names in the family tree he remembers, working back to the name of the founder of his clan, or further. Personal names, not *izibongo* (praise names), are used. A general invitation to all the *amathongo* is given, though one may have been particularly diagnosed as sending the sickness. The names of women are not remembered, so when a woman has been diagnosed as causing the sickness, she is called upon as *umakhulu* (grandmother) or *ikhehlekazi* (old woman, a title of respect). *Umakhulu*, of course, also means grandfather, but informants are clear that it is used when speaking to the *amathongo* meaning grandmother, as well as grandfather.

The calling on the ancestors may be begun in the great hut, but the principal part of the calling upon the ancestors is at the kraal gate, the officiant facing the back of the kraal where the last head of the *umzi* was buried. Even the imiZizi, who bury owners of *imizi* in the bush, call upon the ancestors standing at the kraal gate. It is essential that the person for whom the *idini* is made should also be standing near the kraal gate. Soka's great-aunt, who was almost too weak to walk, was supported out. At no ritual killing other than *idini* is there any calling on the ancestors, unless there has been sickness and the *iyeza lasekhaya* is used.

Informants state that formerly any beast or goat was killed by stabbing over the aorta muscle, even though it was only for meat.[1] Nowadays goats that are for meat may be killed by having their throats cut. Pigs are always killed by cutting their throats. The method followed by Soka of plunging in an arm, seizing the aorta muscle, and breaking it, was probably formerly a universal custom. Now it is more usual to stab the beast two or three times over the aorta. The play with the spear before stabbing is a custom in some families and not in others. In every *umzi* there is a spear specially used for ritual killings. The position of the beast lying on its right side in the middle of the kraal with head pointing to the gateway is essential. If it falls otherwise it is made to rise, and is thrown again. By bellowing the beast calls the ancestral spirits to the feast. If it fails to bellow the *idini* may not be efficacious. The reason given for never using a sheep in a ritual killing

[1] Cf. A. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 279.

is that 'sheep never cry when they are stabbed'. It is not essential that cattle should be in the kraal when the ancestors are called upon, but the herd is usually driven in, for one beast alone is more difficult to catch. The killing for an *idini* always takes place in the afternoon, usually about two hours before sunset.

The small piece of fat that is cut off and burned, is, as Sipopone explained, for the *amathongo*. No words are spoken when it is burned, but 'they smell it and come'. The patient must eat of the *intsonyama*, the piece of meat cut off the shoulder of the right foreleg, before any one else tastes the meat of the beast killed. The patient is *ukuʃwamisa* (made to taste first—the same word as is used of the chief tasting the first-fruits). The meat has not got any virtue in itself; it is not eaten as a medicine (*iyeza*) but that 'the *amathongo* may see that the beast has really been killed for that person'. 'The *amathongo* come and sit beside the sick person while he eats the *intsonyama*, although, of course, he does not see them.' Once at an *idini* for a baby boy I saw the officiant rush in with the *intsonyama*, cook it slightly, and force it to the child's lips, grumbling the while that people were already beginning to eat before this ritual was complete.

When a beast or goat is killed for meat there is, according to Pondo custom, no *intsonyama*. The piece of meat that is called the *intsonyama* in a ritual killing has no special name and it does not matter who eats it. It is allotted with the rest of the leg to the women, or taken by one of the men who have helped in the killing. According to Xhosa custom it is given to the person for whom the beast is killed, as to an honoured guest.

The *intsonyama* is always eaten ritually by the patient at an *idini*. There is a divergence of opinion and custom as to the other occasions on which it is essential that it should be ritually eaten. Generally it is agreed that it is eaten when the person for whom a customary ritual killing has been made has been 'sick for' that ritual killing. Most families also give *intsonyama* to a girl being initiated, and to a bride, even though she has not been 'sick for the killing'. Usually great care is taken that the right person eats the *intsonyama*. Jordai told how once when *intsonyama* for an *intonjane* was roasting she had left the hut to relieve herself, and he and some other boys had stolen the meat knowing that it was *intsonyama*. They were scolded by the owner of the *umzi* but nothing else happened. 'What could happen? The owner could not bring meat back from our stomachs.' Another piece of meat from the right foreleg was cut and the girl *ukuʃwamisa*.

The rest of the right foreleg, called *umrotʃho* at an *idini*, is kept until the day following the *idini* and eaten only by members of

the clan of the owner of the *umzi*, and wives who have been killed for to drink the milk of the *umzi*, that is persons who could drink the milk of the *umzi*. As with milk, most say that they will only eat it when closely related to the owner of the *umzi*, but theoretically any member of the clan can eat. I inquired what would happen if a stranger ate some by mistake. The reply was, 'It would not harm them, but they do not wish to eat it. They *ukuhlonipha* (avoid it).' Thus the fact that an *idini* is the concern of the family of the patient is emphasized. Strangers can eat most of the meat, but only the family can eat the *umfotſho*. There is only an *umfotſho* when there is *intsonyama*. When a beast is killed just for meat the right foreleg is not called *umfotſha*, only *umkono*, the leg, and it is given to the women as part of their share of the meat. There are no restrictions concerning the eating of it.

The blood is left overnight at the back of the hut, that the *amathongo* may eat of it. But, say informants, 'We never see them come, although we sleep in that hut, and the blood in the pot never gets any less.' The following day the blood is boiled up with entrails by those who like it, otherwise it is thrown out to the dogs.

The placing of the meat on the branch of a particular tree is a part of the necessary ritual. 'It is medicine to make a person well.' The tree used varies according to the clan performing the ceremony. The Kwalo use a branch of *intunzi* (*Mimusops* spp.), the other Pondo clans investigated *imbiza* (*Halleria elliptica*), and other clans not identified *umthathi* (*Pteroxylon utile*) and *umgca* (*Acacia Karroo*). If a branch of the wrong tree were used the *idini* would not be efficacious. When the meat is finished the branch is thrown on to the fence of the kraal.

At all the *amadini* attended the gall was poured over the entrails, to make them tasty, as is done when the killing is just for meat. In some families, however, it is customary to pour the gall on the head and shoulders and arms of the patient. It is used by ritual in the killings at marriage and after death (cf. pp. 194; 229). Some families pour it on a girl being initiated, and a baby at whose birth a killing is made. The gall-bladder is always bound round the wrist of one who has been killed for at an *idini*, and other ritual killings, 'to show the *amathongo* that the person has been killed for'. When a beast or a goat is killed for meat the person for whom it has been killed blows up the bladder and wears it in the hair or attached to a wrist, 'to show how they had been honoured'. Some clans (notably the amaKhonjwayo and imiJange and amaMose, and the amaNdovelane) also wear a strip of hide cut from the lower right foreleg of a beast killed as an *idini*.

The strip is worn round the neck. The bladder and the strip of hide must be put on before the meat of the beast killed is finished.

The *umswane* (contents of the stomach of the beast killed) is always scattered ritually in the kraal at an *idini*. It is an essential part of the ceremony. It is not noted in the accounts of the first two *amadini*, only because on both occasions I was in the hut with the patient, and unaware of what was happening in the kraal. At the scattering request is made to the *amathongo* to increase the cattle of the kraal. Msingali says, 'May the cattle not abort, may they return', and then calls the names of his ancestors. Another says, 'May the cattle enter always', and calls the names of his ancestors. The amaNdovelane also throw some of the *umswane* on to the roof of the great hut inside, where it sticks to the thatch for months. After the first handfuls have been flung ritually the rest of the *umswane* is spread over the kraal 'to cover up the blood' and 'to prevent cattle from bellowing, and poking one another, when they come in at night'. When a beast is killed just for meat there is no ceremonial flinging of the *umswane*, but the heap is spread over the kraal to cover up the blood. *Umswane* is always scattered when the ritual killing is for some one who has been ill.

The right foreleg bone, together with the jaw-bones, are hung up at the back of the hut. After some months (an indefinite period) the right foreleg bone is burned at dawn in the kraal, and beer having been made the men and the daughters of the *umzi* drink ritually at the kraal gate, and the dregs of the beer are thrown on the fire to extinguish it. This is the only ritual killing after which a bone is burnt. The jaw-bones are left in the hut until the hut decays or the family moves. When people move the bones are left. The horns are stuck up in the thatch over the doorway of any hut in the *umzi*. Many say that they are 'just an *isihombo*' (ornament), but the weightiest men say it is part of the custom and must be done. No care is taken of any other bones, which go to the dogs.

(*b*) *Killing in thanksgiving* (*ukubulela*.). Persons having escaped from danger may kill in thanksgiving to their *amathongo*. Formerly men often killed on returning safely from war. Nowadays it is an *isiko* (custom) to kill when a man returns safely from the mines. 'There is thanksgiving that he has returned well.' (Volunteered.) Less frequently a man may kill in thanksgiving for winning a case at law, or for reaping a big crop.

Befile, the owner of a big *umzi*, had been very ill with consumption. His life was despaired of. He was taken to a mission hospital and there recovered. After some months he and the people of his

umzi decided that he should kill in thanksgiving to his *amathongo* for his recovery. He did not dream that he should do this, nor was it ordered by a diviner, but he felt that it would be seemly to thank the ancestors. He thought of killing a goat, but the people of his *umzi* urged that it should be a beast—after all, he could afford it, and he had been very ill. He chose a young black bull. I arrived at his *umzi* between two and three on the afternoon appointed. His younger brother and his eldest son, who lived in another *umzi*, were there, and an *induna*, a neighbour to whom Befile had lent cattle, and several young men neighbours. Befile was the eldest son of his father, and the son of an elder brother of his father, who might have come to officiate, was too infirm to walk so far. Befile shortly explained to those assembled why he was killing. Then the cattle were driven in. The young men threw a rope round the bull's horns, another round its legs, and threw it on its right side in the centre of the kraal. Befile's brother stabbed it over the aorta muscle with the sacrificial spear. While the beast was being stabbed Befile stood facing the kraal gate, with his *induna* at his side, and spoke to his ancestors, the *induna* repeating aloud what he said, sentence by sentence, just as if Befile were a chief addressing a company and the *induna* his mouthpiece. The *induna* said:

'Yes, it is so. Here is your beast, Qumayo, father of Befile, and Mageqevu his mother. It is to say we give thanks that you have cared for him. May God protect his child.'

No one paid any special attention to the address. The men (eight in all) were gathered over the dying bull, and Befile's wives were in the huts preparing food. The bull groaned horribly and took about ten minutes to die. The men skinned it and cut it up, taking parts to the women, parts to be kept overnight, and cooking parts for themselves at the fire they had made in the kraal. Befile was in his favourite sheltered spot, leaning against the kraal fence. His son brought him some liver, a delicacy. At a thanksgiving there is no *ukuʃwamisa* with *intsonyama*, so every one began eating at once. Befile called to the young men to remember that this was no *umjadu* (big feast) and they were not just to help themselves to entrails, but the meat was to be distributed properly by one man. They were all excited at the prospect of eating meat, and worked fast to cut it up and cook it. The blood was collected in a pot and put at the back of Befile's hut, to be left there overnight with most of the meat. The right foreleg was left in the hut, but since there was no *ukuʃwamisa* it was not an *umʃotʃho*, taboo to any but the relatives. The gall was poured over the entrails and the bladder thrown away. The contents of the stomach

were scattered over the kraal 'so that the cattle would not bellow when they came in the evening'. Nothing was burned.

The men cooked their meat near the kraal, the women cooked theirs outside the great hut. Not more than a dozen neighbours had gathered. 'Ah! Wait until to-morrow!' said Befile, 'and the *inkundla* will be full of people who have come to eat.'

Often only a goat is killed for a thanksgiving, and frequently there is no calling upon the ancestors. 'It is just known that the killing is in thanksgiving.' In some families the gall-bladder is worn by him for whom the thanksgiving is made.

(*c*) *To bless the umzi.* The Pondo have no ritual killing corresponding to the Xhosa one, *ukulungisa umzi*—to put the *umzi* right—which is done when misfortune befalls the *umzi*, but some make beer after building a new *umzi*, *ukucamaguſa umzi*—to cause the *umzi* to be blessed. 'The *amathongo* always move with their children, they are not like an old pan to be forgotten, but some people "kill" (beer) to make them happy in the new home.' This is not a common ritual killing, and it is far more usual only to treat the *umzi* with medicines (cf. p. 296).

(*d*) *To bless a plough.* The ritual killing to secure blessing on a plough, has already been described (pp. 79).

3. *Beer offerings.*

The use of beer at birth, initiation, marriage, and death has been described. Often it is difficult to distinguish whether it has been made to drink with friends, or whether it is part of the offering to the *amathongo*. At birth and at death the beer is an essential part of the cleansing rites. At initiation and marriage a beast is always killed and beer is not essential, but it may be regarded as part of the offering. Similarly, when it is made in connexion with an *idini* informants say that the meat is the real offering to the *amathongo*, but 'they also see that the beer is there'. When made to put on the thong of hairs from the *inkomo yobuluunga*, or to drive out the *inkomo yobuluunga* from the home of a girl, it certainly has ritual significance. Beer may also be the sole substance of an offering for a sick person with the ritual centring round it.

A small boy, Sipho, of 3 years, had been very ill. The sickness was diagnosed by an *iggira* as caused by *abantu bakowabo* (the people of his home, i.e. ancestral spirits), specially his grandparent (*uninakhulu*). When he was ill beer had been promised. After he had recovered beer was made. I arrived at his home on the morning appointed about 10 a.m. About twenty neighbours were gathered there already, and two baskets of beer were circulating, one among the women and one among the men, but

the quantity given out was very small, and there was no ceremonial *ukulawula* (apportioning). All through the morning guests continued to arrive. They were restless at the small quantities of beer given them. At midday Sipho's father (the owner of the *umzi*), his paternal grandfather who had come from another *umzi*, and two of his grandfather's sisters who had come from their married homes, went to the kraal gate, squatted down, and drank a basketful of beer. Sipho was made to drink from the basket first, then the others drank in turn until the basket was drained empty. Nothing was poured out. No words were spoken by any of them. The rest of the company remained where they were sitting, the men in the *inkundla* and the women near the huts. They continued talking quietly among themselves, only glancing casually at the group at the kraal gate. As soon as the basket was empty Sipho's father and the others who had drank at the kraal gate went into the great hut, and were followed by all the guests. Men and women seated themselves on their respective sides of the hut. Sipho's father drew beer from the barrels standing at the back of the hut, and apportioned it handing a basketful to each line of people, as beer is apportioned at any social gathering (cf. p. 359). There was plenty of beer and the guests grew lively and cheerful. Some went on drinking until the next morning when the beer was finished. Sipho flourished.

Nomanga, a woman of about 40, had been ill for some time. Her symptoms suggested rheumatism. It was diagnosed that her husband's *amathongo* had caused the sickness, and beer was made to make her well. When I arrived in the morning about 10 a.m. a crowd of people, including the chief Sipopone, who was related to her husband, were already there drinking. But only small quantities of beer were given them. At midday her husband, who was sitting in the middle of the hut, addressed the company saying:

'This medicine is here with beer. The wife of this home has long been ill, and refused to sleep with me. I say then, chiefs, may you not always cry, children of Tyaßule, people of Nchuku (his ancestors: cf. p. 398). I say then, I ask the old people with this that they may heal her so that she works well.'

Then the chief, who is the grandson of Tyaßule, spoke:

'Yes, amaKwalo (the chief's clan: the name is applied to all his people), we have come to this home to kill this beast to remove from the woman pain, with it, this beast.

Nomanga's husband replied:

'It is true, chief: it is just so.'

a. Sipho drinking beer ritually at the kraal gate (cf. p. 253)

b. Women of the Mose clan carrying beer for the feast at *ukunikela emlanjeni* (cf. p. 259)

Both Nomanga's husband and the chief spoke in an ordinary conversational way. Most people were silent while they were speaking, but a few odd remarks were made, one man whispering to another. The manner of speaking was exactly as if the company were being addressed on some matter not pertaining to ancestral spirits. As soon as Nomanga's husband had finished every one went on laughing and talking, and an *induna* of the chief was told to draw a basketful of beer. It was handed to the sick woman to drink, then her husband's sister drank, then the wife of her husband's brother, then another woman. The basket was passed round between them, those four, until it was empty. Nothing was thrown out. Neither the husband nor any other man drank from that basket. The beer was then apportioned to the company. Nomanga was silent and anxious looking. Her women relatives who drank with her were sympathetic, and as they drank expressed the hope that she would really be better now.

The others were joking and laughing, eager for beer, and wondering who would ask them to drink.

Ngote was one of the prettiest girls at 'nTißane, and was much sought after as a wife, but she refused to stay at any of the *imizi* to which she had been sent as a wife. After running home from the fourth *umzi* to which she had been sent as a wife she was severely scolded by her father. Then she was troubled with pains at her periods. She said that the *amathongo* were angry with her for running away so often, and 'angry because the scolding was bad. It was not good that a person should be scolded like that in her own home, so they had sent this pain.' Beer was made *ukumlungisa* (to put her right), and drunk ritually at the kraal gate.

Analysis of offerings of beer. As illustrated by the above descriptions, there is variation in the details of an offering of beer, some families drinking at the kraal gate and not speaking, others drinking in the great hut and addressing the ancestors. Some families never use beer at all as an offering by itself. Any inquiry as to the reason for variations is met by the reply, 'It is the custom of our *umzi* to do it in this way; other *imizi* may have other customs. We do not know.' Some informants state that when a person is to be 'put right' with beer, they wash them the previous night at the kraal gate with the *iyeza lasekhaya*, but this was not the custom of any of the *imizi* at which I attended an offering of beer.

The patient should be the first to drink the beer, and she must drink at midday. Beer that is drunk by visitors before that is 'stolen' (*kuya biwa*). No beer is poured out, but during the three days it is maturing the beer stands at the back of the patient's hut,

and the *amathongo* are thought to come and drink it at night. 'But', says Msingali, 'we never see the beer in the barrels getting any less, until we draw ourselves.' The back of the hut is the most convenient place to keep the beer-pots, and normally they stand there even though the beer is only made for a work party, but it is essential that they should stand there when the beer is for a sick person.

Beer is a lesser offering than a beast. It is not clear when it is used instead of killing a beast as an *idini*. Sometimes it is ordered by a diviner, and sometimes seen in a dream, but sometimes I think it is made when people feel that they really cannot afford a beast, or that the sickness is not sufficiently serious to warrant the killing of one.

Beer is also frequently used as a substitute for a beast or a goat as thanksgiving. Then it is not ritually drunk by the person for whom the thanksgiving is made, but it is known that it has been made to give thanks. There are no taboos in connexion with the making of the beer, it is brewed exactly as if it were for a work-party—and no taboos concerning the drinking of it. Even a daughter-in-law may drink of beer made as an offering for her father-in-law.

4. *Ukunikela emlanjeni.*

Besides killing for their *amathongo* in their own homes some clans take portions of every beast they have killed, whether ritually or just for meat, to a pool (*isiziba*) of a river. Some say that they take pieces of the meat, others the blood. They leave them in a new well-made pot or basket on the bank of the pool in the evening, and in the morning when they return they are gone. The pool, they say, has risen up and taken these things. In spring they take a basket of the first-fruits, and some take beer and *inkoduso* (the sprouted grain used for fermenting beer). Each member of the clan makes his own offering.

Other clans do not send a part of every beast killed to a river, but occasionally make a special expedition to some particular pool to offer a beast and grains of all the plants grown. The expedition is the business of the chief, who appoints men to go and provides a beast for the offering. Some say that the cattle should be of the old stock (*iinkomo ezindala*) of the chief. If commoners felt it necessary to make an offering to the river (*ukunikela emlanjeni*) they could only do so through their chief. The last time the Khonjwayo went was when the chief's father's brother was ill. The chief Gwadiso refused to send *ukunikela*, saying it was useless; so the sons of the sick man sent, providing the beast themselves. This

was allowable since they were of the chief's family. Commoners can only send through the chief of their own clan (*isiduko*), even though they are living in the territory of, and owe allegiance to, the chief of another clan; e.g. the amaTʃhezi living in Pondoland are concerned when Tyelenzima the head of the Tʃhezi clan, who lives outside Pondoland, sends *ukunikela*.

Five or six men are appointed by the chief to carry out the ceremony. Some are 'those who have been before and know the customs'. They are of the chief's clan. They start from the great place of the chief, and call upon the ancestors of the clan as they leave. They drive the beast or beasts to be offered to the river, 'and these cattle do not stray as ordinary cattle, but they go straight'. Nevertheless, although only one beast is killed, usually several are taken, for two or three are easier to drive than one. They take 'something of everything which people eat', two or three grains of millet, sorghum, and maize, and seeds of pumpkin, to offer to the river. On the road they speak to no one, and call at no *umzi*. They carry their own food, and sleep on the road. On arrival at the pool they call upon their *amathongo*. 'If, when they call, the pool heaves, it is a sign that their offering will be accepted, and they kill.' 'Sometimes a big black snake appears. If it lies on its back with its stomach upwards it is a sign that the *amathongo* are angry, and will not receive the offering.' Then the diviners are consulted, and they say what must be done to make peace. 'The *izinyanya* (i.e. *amathongo*), to whom they *ukunikela* have a grievance if the beast offered is thin, for there are good ones at home.' 'If the snake does not lie on its back, they kill.' 'When several cattle are taken the one which should be killed is known by the way in which it goes straight to the pool and gazes into it.'

The beast is killed as for any ritual killing, and one man calls upon the ancestors. The meat is cut up and carefully piled with grains of the various crops on a new grass plate, brought for the purpose. The gall and right foreleg are left with the rest of the meat. Everything must be piled nicely and not left scattered about. The officiants 'cut off what they like for themselves' and take the skin. Then they retire a hundred yards or so, the river heaves, and 'sometimes', the Khonjwayo say, 'a big black snake (or perhaps two), twice as big as a six-foot log, comes out. Then even a man who had heart disease would find strength to run away.' But the officiants should stand fast. When the Khonjwayo last went one man did run away, and the others gave a goat to the river because he had disgraced himself. When the river heaves up it sweeps away the offering of meat. An alternative

version to the officiants cutting off 'what they like' is that when the river sweeps off most of the meat it leaves them a portion. They then make a fire and eat their portion. I was assured that when the Tʃhezi went to the river in 1931, the river heaved and swept away their offering.

While the emissaries of the Tʃhezi were away making the offering the wives of Tʃhezi men were busy brewing quantities of beer. From the time they began to prepare the beer they wore their handkerchiefs low over their foreheads, in respect, as a bride does. Often when beer is being made the family eat of the porridge made to start it—it saves the housewife cooking another pot—but of this porridge 'no one, not even a child or a dog, may eat'. This is the only occasion on which this taboo applies. When beer is made for a sick person any one may eat of the porridge. The beer was taken to the great place of Tylenzima, the Tʃhezi chief, and to the chief *imizi* of Malimba and Siɬoɬo, Tʃhezi sub-chiefs. No one was allowed to touch the beer until the officiants returned from the river. When they came back they drank the beer with the chief and members of the clan at the kraal gate, and the chief gave thanks to his *amathongo* that all had gone well. Malimba and Siɬoɬo attended the drinking at Tylenzima's, then rode back to their homes and started the drinking there. Once the chief and the officiants have drunk, any one, even members of other clans, may drink. Since there is much beer many people gather, and there is dancing. The dance is not an essential part of the ceremony, but purely for diversion.

The Khonjwayo, when their emissaries returned from the river, killed a beast in thanksgiving.

Poto states that it was a Pondo custom for the officiants to gather clay and rushes (*imizi*) from the bank of the river. The officiants and members of the chief's family wore the rushes round their necks, and smeared the clay on their throats and foreheads. I cannot trace this custom among the Khonjwayo, but the Tʃhezi officiants brought back clay and rushes 'to show that the river had agreed'. These were stuck in the thatch of the chief's hut.

Some clans *ukunikela* at regular intervals. Others only go when some prominent man is sick, or there is general sickness in the clan, and a diviner diagnoses that it is because they have neglected *ukunikela*. The Tʃhezi go every fourth year in spring, 'because', they say, 'we find that if we neglect to go for more than three years everything goes wrong'. Their expedition in 1931 was a regular one, not occasioned by a special sickness or event. The Nyawuza formerly went every other spring. The Khonjwayo,

as described, last went when a relative of the chief's was ill. A diviner had diagnosed that the *ithongo* of the river was killing him 'because his father had always offered to the river, but this son had never offered'. The amaMose made an offering to the umTakatyi River a few years ago when a diviner, himself a Mose, was ill. He ordered the offering.

The only clan which still gives an offering of every beast killed, the amaNdovelane, go to a particular river in their territory, the umƁotyi. As the territory is small this is not difficult. Those clans which make special expeditions go to particular pools. The Nyawuza *ukunikela* to a pool of the umZinhlava River in eastern Pondoland, beside the site of an old *umzi* of the chief Faku; the Khonjwayo *ukunikela* to another pool of the same river, beside which pool Kiwa, son of their progenitor Khonjwayo, was buried. The Tʃhezi *ukunikela* to a pool of the Kukaphi River in eastern Pondoland, on the bank of which are buried their old chiefs Takani and Mankunzi. The amaMose, an offshoot of the Khonjwayo, used to *ukunikela* to the Khonjwayo pool till five or six years ago, when a diviner of their clan announced that they should now go to the umTakatyi, a river on whose banks they now live. When the diviner was ill the amaMose did *ukunikela* to this river. While I was at 'nTiƀane the diviner ordered another offering to the river. Mose *imizi* prepared beer, and I was told that two beasts would be offered. On the day appointed men of the amaMose gathered at a Mose *umzi* near the pool of the umTakatyi to which they were to offer. Their wives came carrying pots and pots of beer. People of other clans were present, and had some beer offered them, but the Mose men set apart in a hut drinking and discussing the offering. The diviner was urging that the offering should be made to the umTakatyi, but one man said, 'Last time we made the offering to the umTakatyi, it was not received; it was eaten by dogs. The river did not rise up. Therefore the umTakatyi is not the right river. Our river is still the umZinhlava.' The men sat in conclave most of the day, and eventually it was agreed that no offering should be made to the umTakatyi, nor was there an expedition to the umZinhlava. The amaNyala and amaXaƀe offer at the umDumƀi River, the amaYalo at the umGazi. The amaJola (amaZizi) offered at the Xoɽa River, 'for once when they were out hunting their dogs fell into it'. Their offshoot, the amaGeƀe, also used to offer at the Xoɽa River, but one day when the Geƀe chief was crossing the Ngqungqu River his *intambo yoƀuluunga* fell in, and since then the clan has offered at the pool into which it fell. The amaJola of Mpondomise offered at the Gwanya pool of the Thina River.

During the wars a chief was buried at the bottom of that pool. The last three clans mentioned are not Pondo, but I give them because of the reasons they adduce for changing the river to which they offer.

Wives married into a clan *ukuhlonipha* (avoid) the river at a pool of which that clan makes offerings. They *ukuhlonipha* the whole river, not only the one pool. When crossing it they cannot lift their skirts as they do ordinarily, but must trail them through the water if it is deep, and they tie their head handkerchiefs low over their foreheads. They cannot draw water from, or wash in, that river, or eat food cooked with the water of it. And they do not gather rushes for mats from its banks. The TJhezi women *ukuhlonipha* the name of the river Kukaphi, avoiding words like it. These taboos, as the avoidance of senior men of the family, applies to wives only. A daughter of the clan may raise her skirts as she walks through the water.

Snakes come to the *imizi* of the people from the rivers to which they *ukunikela*. Different clans regard a particular species of snake as being a manifestation of their *ithongo*, and treat it with respect, not killing it or driving it away when it comes to the *umzi*, for it is *umninimizi* (the owner of the *umzi*). The amaKhonjwayo respect the *izilenzi*, a long black snake, probably non-poisonous. 'Even when it crawls over us we do not touch it.' The amaNdosine, the *inkwakwa*, a brown poisonous snake. The amaTJhezi, the *izilenzi* and *isiphakula*. The Khonjwayo snake is addressed as Nyewula, the name given to it when it is seen in the river (but in the river it is fabulously large, and at the *imizi* a common variety of snake), the TJhezi snake as TJhezi. The amaJola respect another snake and address it as Jola. Formerly, it is said, the snake was killed for when it was seen. Now people only kill if they have harmed the snake accidentally. Quilißane, a Khonjwayo, saw a snake lying under a mat, in his father's *umzi*. Not realizing that it was an *izilenzi*, the species which the Khonjwayo respect, he took his stick and killed it. On discovering that an *izilenzi* was killed, his father killed a goat. The amaKhonjwayo and amaJola say that formerly a snake of their respective clans used to come into a hut where a woman who was about to give birth to a child was lying, and crawl round the hut, or coil up beside her. Then they knew that she would survive labour, and that the child would be born healthy. A Khonjwayo says that when a ritual killing was made an *izilenzi* came and coiled itself round the skin of the animal killed. Pondo will kill snakes which are not the *ithongo* of their particular clan.

These snakes living in the kraals make the cattle rich, but they

also cause sickness. They are liable to be introduced into another *umzi*, with cattle, or with a girl who has come as a wife, and are especially liable to cause sickness in the *umzi* to which they have been introduced. 'It is because that *ithongo* (the snake) was cared for in the *umzi* from which it came, and in the strange *umzi* it is not cared for.' 'If a man marries a girl, they (the snakes) follow', or they come with the *ikhazi* given for a daughter. 'Sometimes, if a man buys a beast from another *umzi*, he watches to see if it constantly sleeps in the same place. If it does, he knows that it has brought *itʃhologu* (one of these snakes) with it. Then the kraal is treated, and the snakes are seen and killed.' A Nyawuza described how when one of his sisters married into the family of the Ndovelane chief they had the *ikhazi* cattle treated immediately, and sold them as quickly as possible. 'For', he said, 'we see a snake of a kind we do not know in Malinde's hut. It crawls round the roof, and he does not hit it.' An old beast is more dangerous than a young one, for the snakes are more likely to follow an old beast of the kraal than a calf. No one would buy an old beast from the Ndovelane chief. One old man described how his *umzi* had been wiped out by *itʃhologu lakulo makhulu, owazal' ubawo* (the *itʃhologu* of his grandmother's home, she who bore his father). The snake came in the calabash spoon which she brought with her on her marriage. All his *umzi* died through that *itʃhologu* (or *ithinzi*); it was treated to try to 'push away' the *itʃhologu*, but the treatment was of no avail. The people from whom these snakes come are not accused of witchcraft or sorcery (*ukuthakatha*). 'They (the snakes) were created—they come with the cattle.'

'There was a sick man who was living with friends. His relatives came to take him home. An *inyanga* (doctor) followed the path by which they had taken him. He saw on the path by which they had taken him a big grey snake with a face like a human being, an *intlathu*. When he went to gather medicines he saw another such snake and killed it. He returned to the *umzi* of the sick man and saw another snake, and killed it and burned medicines. After that many snakes appeared and the people killed them, but they had no medicines, and all the people of the *umzi* died. It was because they neglected to (*uku*)*nikela* to the river.'

The reason for the *ukunikela* was that its neglect was thought to cause sickness in the *umzi*. The Ndovelane said, 'People who neglect to send something to the river when they kill are made sick by the *itʃhologu*. They cough, and get *ihlaba*' (pneumonia or pleurisy). 'There was a man who used to (*uku*)*nikela* to the river. He had ten sons. When he died they stopped doing it. They all died because they did not perform the *isiko* (custom).' 'We are

dying now that we neglect it. We do not grow old as our fathers did.'

An alternative to *ukunikela* is to treat the *umzi* with medicines to 'push away' the *itʃhologu*. This is done both to get rid of the snakes of one's own clan, and also those brought in with cattle or with a wife. As the treatment is very similar to others for the protection of the *umzi* it is described in the section on protective magic (p. 297).

This treating the *umzi* to 'push away' the *itʃhologu* is now much more usual than *ukunikela*. I could only trace one clan (ama-Ndovelane) who still take blood and meat to the river regularly, and they do it secretly, not letting their neighbours see them. The fear people have of marrying daughters or buying cattle of those who are believed to have many snakes is a reason for the secrecy. The only clans traced as still going to make a periodic offering are the amaTʃhezi and the amaMose. The amaKhonjwayo last went about ten years ago. AmaKwalo, amaNyawuza, ama-Ngcangule and others spoke of *ukunikela* as having been done in the time of their fathers and grandfathers. Men of 60 to 70 had never seen it. The reasons given for stopping *ukunikela* are that 'When we used to (*uku*)*nikela* snakes were common in the *imizi*, and people were coughing. We stopped *ukunikela* and the snakes stopped.' 'If they were given and then starved they killed the people. They wiped out the *umzi*. So now medicines are burned instead of offering to them.' 'Long ago the amaNyawuza did it, but they stopped for they saw it brought death to the *umzi*; those things of the river killed them when they had nothing more to offer.' Gwadiso stopped the Khonjwayo going, for he said that enemies worked magic against them (*ukuthakatha*) and nullified the good effects of the offerings. 'The umZinhlava did not rise up to receive the last Khonjwayo offering, and the offering of the amaMose to the umTakatyi was eaten by dogs. The rivers no longer rise up to receive our offerings.' This in no way shakes the belief that rivers did once receive the offerings, but when they no longer do so there is no use in continuing the offerings. A Khonjwayo, a pagan, remarked, 'We see that we are dying, we see that these customs are not helping us, so we are giving them up.'

The connexion of the pools to which the offerings are made with the graves of the chief, the calling upon the ancestors when a beast is killed on the bank, and the connexion of the snakes which are addressed by the clan name with the pool to which the offering is made, leave no doubt that the offering is to ancestral spirits. Poto in his remarks on *ukunikela* speaks of the offering as

being to the *amathongo* and to the *isinyanya* (two words for the same thing). But I have only once heard people speak of the offering to the river as for the *amathongo*. The Khonjwayo spoke of it as being for Nyewula, the snake; the Ndovelane spoke of it as being for the *itʃhologu*.[1] An *itʃhologu* is always something harmful. 'It is not quite the same as an *ithongo*, for an *ithongo* is always good.' 'When it lies on its back (cf. p. 257) it is an *itʃhologu*.' 'An *ityala* (ancestor, cf. p. 321) is called an *itʃhologu* when all the people of the *umzi* are caused by it to be very sick.' I suggest that the *itʃhologu* is an evil manifestation of the ancestral spirits. An *ithongo* is a good one, for even when it makes beings sick, it does not want to kill them, but only to be killed for. The thing to which the offering is made in the river is predominantly harmful.

I have given space to this material, inadequate as it is, because of the evidence it gives of a critical spirit which cannot, I consider, be attributed to contact. In all the areas in which material on *ukunikela* was collected, ritual killings were still everyday occurrences, and completely believed in as a satisfactory method of dealing with sickness. *Ukunikela* was dropped because it was proved not to fulfil the function for which it was performed, and an alternative cure, that of treating the *umzi* to 'push away' the *itʃhologu*, was substituted. Magical measures were taken against the ancestral spirits when propitiation proved to be no longer successful. It is tempting to connect the great spread of tubercular diseases with the decision that the old method of dealing with many deaths by coughing and *ihlaba* (the usual symptoms when the *umzi* is diagnosed as being killed by an *itʃhologu*) was ineffective, and the adoption of a new method. However that may be, the change does show empirical reasoning.

The method of *ukunikela* followed by the amaKhonjwayo and amaTʃhezi who had moved far from the pools to which they were accustomed to offer—the umZinhlava is forty miles as the crow flies from the Khonjwayo, the Kukaphi is as far from the Tʃhezi, and the country between them very broken—shows an adaptation of custom to necessity. The Ndovelane who take blood or meat to the river whenever a beast is killed have long been in the territory which they now occupy. The attempt of the diviner (*igqira*) of the amaMose to make them change the pool to which they offered shows the mechanism of adaptation, and how changes may be initiated by an *igqira*.

The organization of the expedition *ukunikela* illustrates how the chief of a clan, as its senior male representative, is its religious

[1] Not to be confused with *umʃologu*, the good emanation of the *amathongo*, which enters one who becomes an *igqira*.

head. The *ukunikela* of the amaTʃhezi is a clan ceremony, which emphasizes clan solidarity and dependence upon the chief.

If, as sometimes happens, a child wanders from home and gets lost in the bush or on the veld, it is said to have been 'taken by the ancestors'. Cattle are driven out in the direction in which it is thought to have gone, and 'the child is seen returning with the cattle'. Then a ritual killing must be made. Umsindo's brother, a boy of 12, disappeared one afternoon on which there was a hail-storm. He could not be found. Cattle were driven out. Next day he returned, saying that he did not know where he had been. A ritual killing was made 'to thank the *amatyala* (ancestors) for keeping him'. A child of 3 wandered from home at Ntontela, and was sought with cattle.

Sometimes when a person has been drowned it is said that he has been 'called by the river'. That which calls is a crocodile. It is said that people on a bank are sometimes impelled to enter a pool. Their companions can only save them by cutting them, so that blood runs, or by throwing stones into the pool, so that the crocodile which is believed to be staring at them blinks. When a person is thought to have been 'called' his relatives drive their cattle up to a pool of the river, then, it is said, one of the beasts plunges in and the body is recovered. It is maintained that sometimes people are merely drowned by accident, not called. 'If when the cattle are driven to the bank none goes into the water, then the person has only been drowned by accident.' Although there are no longer crocodiles in Pondo rivers, it is believed that people are still 'called'. When a boy was drowned near 'nTiβane, shortly before my visit, cattle were driven up to the river. Xhosa speak of 'people of the river' whom, some of them say, are ancestral spirits, of whom the crocodile which calls is a 'messenger', but Pondo informants said they knew nothing of 'people of the river'.[1]

Ritual Mutilations of the Body

Customs which may be connected with the ancestral spirits are those of cutting off a joint of a finger (*ingqithi*) and scarification (*ukuchaza*) of the face and body.

Ingqithi. Most Pondo clans cut off the top joint of the little finger of the eldest child of a family, and every alternate child after the eldest. But if the eldest is a girl and the second is a boy,

[1] For special connexion of ancestors with rivers cf. pp. 488. Xhosa believe that some diviners live for some days under rivers and are initiated by the 'people of the river'. Folk-tales tell of humans visiting people under rivers and being given gifts by them.

the boy will also have the joint amputated. Usually a girl's left hand is cut, a boy's right. Alternate children, instead of having the whole joint cut off, have a small bit of flesh cut off their little finger, and at the same time the little finger of their immediate senior whose joint was cut off is scarified, and the blood of the two mixed. Some families never cut off the whole joint, but cut a piece out of the finger of all their children; others amputate the joint of the eldest only. Any one may do the cutting—'If the mother is frightened she may call another woman, or a man may do it'—with any knife. Before the joint is cut off a piece of sinew is bound round below the joint to stop the bleeding. The joint or the blood is plastered into the wall of the hut 'so that animals do not get it'. There is no beer-making or ceremonial connected with it. The cutting should be done just after birth before the mother comes out of her hut. Often it is neglected then, and the child is said to 'get sick for it'. 'It gets sick for *isiko lakowaßo*' (the custom of its people).

'*Ingqithi* prevents weakness; if it is not done the body will not go well.' 'If a child cries and is fractious, or when it is already running about comes into a hut to relieve itself (which is regarded as a kind of sickness), it is said, if the finger has not already been cut, *uguliswa lisiko lakowaßo* (it is made sick by the family custom, i.e. *ingqithi*).' 'When the joint is cut off and the finger bleeds then the child goes out of the hut and will be dirty no more.' If a child persistently sucks its thumb people say that it needs *ingqithi*, and its little finger is cut.

In practice many children grow up with their fingers intact. 'When they (parents) see that there is nothing wrong with the child they leave it', and 'there are those who are left by mistake'. 'Some grow up all right although it is not done.'

The reason given for cutting or amputating is that it is *into ka makhulu, lisiko* (something of our grandparents, the custom), and if it is neglected sickness is liable to follow; but the majority of informants insist that it is not for the *amathongo*. One woman thought that the sickness was sent by the *amatyala* (i.e. *amathongo*), and a man spoke of the *ukuchaza* as an *indlela yokunqula*—a way of calling on the ancestors and *uThixo wokuqala waßantu* (people's first God)—but others hotly deny that the custom has anything to do with the ancestors.

Ukuchaza. Very similar to the custom of amputating a joint is the custom of scarifying the face and body (*ukuchaza*). This is not properly a Pondo custom but has been introduced through intermarriage with aßaMbo and Fingo women, for a child may 'get sick for' scarification if it is an *isiko* of its mother's family.

Again and again I found a Pondo child scarified, and it was explained that it had cried and had been fractious, and they knew that it was sick for the *isiko* of its mother's family, for she was of aßaMbo stock. The father was of Pondo stock and it was not a custom of his family. Scarifications are made on the face and body when the child is about a month old, and may be repeated at intervals through life 'to make the blood good'. Geza did it at intervals, because, he said, it made him feel better. The scarifications are also admired by some clans as an ornament.

Influence of the Ancestor Cult on the Community

The ancestor cult is a sanction for the respect for seniors upon which the social and political system is based. The ancestors are believed to be powerful in sending good or evil to their descendants. The prosperity of the living depends upon the goodwill of the dead, and a man would hesitate before quarrelling with some one who after death would be an *ithongo* to him. Majola, the owner of an *umzi* and an intelligent informant, stated that, if a man had quarrelled with his father and he heard that his father was ill, he would make haste to see him and make peace before he died, lest his father should be a bad *ithongo* to him. Other informants confirmed this. Mßuße was brother of a district chief, his chief advisor, and very rich. His eldest son Zonela is now poor and ill, and deserted by five of his six wives. Informants cited him as an example of what happened to a man who was cursed (*ukuſwaßulela*) by his father. 'Mßuße was dying. All the Khonjwayo (his clan) were there. Zonela was not. Mßuße was calling for him. Zonela was lying with women. He came back just when his father was dying. His father said, "You will be nothing." He wasted his father's cattle, killing a beast for meat instead of a goat. His wives left him. It is because he was cursed.'

At a ritual killing children see a beast, a thing of great value, slaughtered, and know that it is done that good relations with the *amathongo* may be maintained. Thus the power and importance of seniors is brought home to them. The ritual reaffirms the belief of all in the existence and power of ancestors.

The cult is a force making for family solidarity. A ritual killing is not the concern of an individual, or even of the members of one *umzi*, but of the whole kinship group. Brothers and sisters of the head of an *umzi* are summoned for every ritual killing, and they take part in the ritual killing, and share the special piece of meat, *umſotſho*, of which no strangers may eat. Ordinary food is shared by the members of an *umzi* (cf. pp. 17–20). At a ritual

killing a meal is shared by the adults of the community, and this communal meal is an important social event, but the gathering of neighbours does not obliterate the family aspect of the ceremonial. Only members of the family take part in the actual ceremonial and eat of the meat of the *umrotʃho*, and most of the guests who are not related do not arrive until the ceremonial part of the proceedings are completed. Their indifference to the end of the ritual killing is marked: to the family the ritual killing is an important rite upon which their prosperity depends; to outsiders it is merely an occasion for a feast. The calling on the ancestors at the killing stresses the common bond of descent from one ancestor. The fact that an individual is not an independent entity, but dependent upon members of his kinship group, is emphasized. The mortuary rites by ritually expressing belief in the existence of the *amathongo* and directing emotions through ritual observance into traditional channels, counteract the fear caused by death which tends to undermine social cohesion.

The occasions on which illness is diagnosed as having been sent by the *amathongo* are most frequently when some ritual killing has been neglected. The non-observance of them always makes the person for whom they should have been performed in danger of illness. Thus the cult is a sanction for the observance of a series of killings with the traditional ritual, and so acts as a conservative force in the community. The awe in which ancestors are held increase what is perhaps a general human tendency to put the golden age in the past. To believe that the ways of the ancestors can be improved upon, and to depart from them, is impious. Although the ancestor cult may make for undue conservatism, it does fulfil a useful function in making men feel their dependence upon previous generations, and in ensuring the continuity of culture.

The ancestor cult is a sanction for morality in that it to some extent enforces right behaviour of children towards parents. Many informants admitted the possibility of a parent cursing a child, although careful inquiries failed to elicit any case of illness or misfortune due to the anger of a father other than those of Ngote (p. 255) and Zonela cited, but cf. p. 327. Ngote I knew well, and she stuck to her story when cross-examined. Zonela's story was common gossip. The best informants categorically deny that any punishment or sickness would be sent by the *amathongo* for incest, murder, or any other crime. Two informants stated, when questioned, that the fear of sickness being sent by the ancestral spirits as punishment for sins like incest or murder existed, but both these men had, I knew, been under Christian

influence, and they could quote no cases in support of their statements.

Ritual killings ensure the consumption of a substantial number of cattle and goats each year, and thus are important from a dietetic aspect. Since all who care may attend feasts, they are a sanction for hospitality, and play a great part in the social life of the community.

Influence of Contact on the Ancestor Cult

Contact influences touch the ancestor cult directly through the teaching of the churches which deny the power of the ancestors to bless or harm their descendants, and forbid their members to take part in any ritual killing, or to eat the meat of a beast killed as a 'sacrifice' to the ancestors. Those who are church members do not perform the traditional ritual killings, but their 'baptism dinner', 'wedding feast', 'dinner of the bride', and 'funeral feast', and 'thanksgiving feast' on return of a son from the mines or from hospital are really modified forms of them. Moreover, there is always a tendency for those who are not firm in the faith to attribute illness, when it comes, to their neglect to perform the *amasiko* (customs), and in case of serious illness some may perform a ritual killing surreptitiously. Church adherents sometimes wear the hair of their *inkomo yobuluunga* discreetly wrapped in a piece of black cloth, which is fastened round the neck. Ritual mutilations of the body are dropped by most Christians, but some still scarify, saying, like Geza, that it is 'to make the blood good'.

The ritual killings are normally performed by all except Christians, but there is a growing scepticism as to their efficacy. When I was discussing ritual killings with a non-Christian who, however, lived in a district in which there were many Christians, he said to me, 'We are dropping these things now for we find they no longer do us any good.' Jordai, who was not a Christian, expressed scepticism (cf. p. 244). Men say that sometimes they kill 'just to please the women'. The example of Pondo Christians and of town dwellers seen by temporary workers when they visit town, who thrive in spite of the non-performance of the ritual killings, must shake belief. The example of Europeans is not so influential, for it is said of them, 'they are different, they have other customs'. An old councillor when describing ritual killings said to me, 'These things would not help you for they are not the custom of your family, but they help us for they are our custom (*isiko*).' Nevertheless, the European practice of having meat in the house regularly is thought by many to be a propitiation for their ancestral spirits. A girl who had worked for Europeans and was a

church adherent, but a member of a pagan family, said, after I had asked her some questions on other matters, 'I want to ask *you* a question now. Why is it that you Europeans say that we should not make ritual killings, but you always take such good care to have blood in the house yourselves? You are *lumkile* (wise, cunning), you Europeans. You are never without meat. It is because you fear your ancestral spirits.' On further inquiry I found this to be a general idea. A man said in the course of a conversation about the mines, 'Europeans give gifts (*ukumikela*) to the gold mines to prevent them (the mines) falling in. Europeans tell us that after we have left the mines men and women go down and leave money. Once I saw 2*s*. 6*d*. lying on the spoor of the truck. A European policeman said, "You cannot touch that, it was left by those women who come *ukunikela*."' Another, when I inquired about this, said, 'Yes, men put money into the mine when the spirit *ithongo* of an old European is troubling and causing the mine to fall.'

Geza remarked, 'You Europeans say that you have no *amasiko* (customs, implying here traditional observances necessary to health), but why is it that you always take your children to the sea when they have been ill? Always you do it.'[1]

But on the whole contact influences tend to undermine the belief in the power of the ancestral spirits. There is a growing carelessness about the details of ritual. Informant after informant stated that formerly people were particular to pour the gall, and the *umrotʃho* was forbidden to all but the family; and now many are casual about these things. I believe that there was always a gap between practice and ideal, but at the same time I believe the informants who say that there is a growing carelessness about details of ritual. The fact that there is a section who do not acknowledge the power of the ancestors, and a growing scepticism of the efficacy of ritual killings to secure health, necessarily weakens the influence of the ancestor cult as a sanction for respect for seniors and the solidarity of the family.

Belief in a Supreme Being

There is no proof that the Pondo, before contact with Europeans, believed in the existence of any Supreme Being, or beings, other than the *amathongo*. They had two words, *umdali* (creator, *ukudala*, to mould, to form) and *umenzi* (maker: *ukwenza*, to make),[2] which might suggest a belief in a creator, but there is no system of rites or complex of beliefs connected with these words.

[1] Most Europeans in Pondoland have camps on the sea coast to which they go for holidays.

[2] Cf. Kay, op. cit., p. 339.

Inquiries as to who or what is *uNkulu nkulu* received the following answers:

A. He is Tsometseu (Sir Theophilus Shepstone) to whom Faku paid many cattle.
B. It is an *ukuhlonipha* of Zulus and Christians for uThixo.
C. It is he that was before Nyewula (the snake of the river, at which the amaKhonjwayo make a ritual killing).

No informant could give more information. I never heard the word used except when I inquired about it.

UThixo, the word used by missionaries to translate 'God', is now in general use in Pondoland (cf. p. 352). When asked, all Pondo, even great-grandfathers, who have not come under direct Christian influence, assert positively that they have always known the word *uThixo*, and that they always called upon *uThixo* when they sneezed,[1] when they were saved from danger (as in a battle), and when laying a stone upon the *isivivane* (cf. below). Deformed births are attributed to *uThixo*. Of a deformed person it is said *udaliwe nghoThixo* (he was created by *uThixo*), and an insane person is called *umntu kaThixo* (the person of *uThixo*).

But Callaway[2] shows fairly conclusively that *uThixo* was a word introduced into Zulu, and Kay remarks that it was seldom heard at Morley (a mission station just over the western border of Pondoland) in 1825–32, and agrees with the theory that it is an introduction into Xhosa from Hottentot.[3] There are no beliefs, not obviously introductions, regarding *uThixo* which might not refer to an *ithongo*. Lightning is sometimes referred to as *inkosi yezulu* (chief of the heaven), but informants state that this is only an *ukuhlonipha*, a polite mode of reference to something that is feared. As with the other words which might imply belief in a Supreme Being there is no system of beliefs or practices associated with *inkosi yezulu*.

Isivivane.

All through Pondoland there are cairns of stones called *isivivane*. Passers-by used to pick up a stone, spit on it, and say as they placed it on the pile, '*Isivivane* give me strength and health', or, 'Look upon me God (*Thixo*) of our people. I ask strength of you, you God who created us in the earth. Look upon us. Give us to eat.'

[1] Often it is coupled with the names of ancestors. A girl when she sneezed said, *Thixo andibeke, Ncekula, Makalindlovu, nyana kaCitwayo, Hlambangoßußende Ntsikinyane* (Thixo, look upon me—names of ancestors).

[2] Callaway, *Religious System of the AmaZulu*, p. 105. Cf. H. Lichtenstein, *Travels in Southern Africa, 1803–6*, p. 253.

[3] Kay, op. cit., p. 339.

No one ever went specially to a cairn to place stones, but they never passed without putting one on. It gave them strength for a journey, and strength to walk. They would place a stone even if they came across a cairn in a foreign country.

There is no tradition as to how the piles of stones originated. The cairns are found all through Xhosa and Pondo country, and Callaway speaks of them in Zululand.[1] The custom seems to have no connexion with any other custom of the Pondo, and has now completely died out.

[1] Callaway, op. cit., p. 65. Cf. H. Lichtenstein, op. cit., p. 254.

CHAPTER VI

WITCHCRAFT AND MAGIC

Causes of disease.

IN Pondoland the belief in witchcraft and magic centres in the desire for health in man and beast, so I propose to introduce this section by a discussion on Pondo ideas of causes of disease.

The Pondo recognize that some illness is caused naturally. People avoid foods which they find make them sick. Some will not touch meat, others refuse boiled blood or entrails, others milk foods, because they have found that they do not feel well after eating them. The imiZizi do not often kill for meat in summer 'because the meat is not good then, and it makes people sick'. It is realized that the meat of a beast which has died of anthrax may cause sickness. Some eat it with medicines, but 'some are afraid and refuse it altogether'. 'Too much beer is known to have ill effects.' Often I heard complaints of *usasa*, the 'morning-after-the-night-before' feeling. 'We drink beer this morning. In the afternoon we feel it until we go to sleep. When we lie down the whole body is cold; when we go near the fire it is burning. We feel it in summer, not so much in winter. We do not think it is a sickness sent. We know it is only the beer.' There is no fear of sickness coming through water, unless it has been tampered with by a sorcerer, but 'it is not suitable (*akafani*) to drink stagnant water. People always take from a running stream.' Sitting on damp ground, or wearing wet clothes, are not recognized as liable to cause sickness, 'but if a man wears a wet blanket he feels cold'. Eating poisonous weeds is not recognized as a cause of sickness in cattle, nor are ticks regarded as dangerous. 'They bite, but they do not make cattle sick', but *intonjane* (the stick worm) is known to cause swelling of the throat, and death, if a beast swallows it.

Death from old age in man is regarded as natural, but of cattle an informant remarked, 'Old cows by losing their teeth become lean, and the marrow of their backbone becomes very little, but we still say that they have been killed.' Another said, 'Cattle do die of themselves. We only go to inquire of a diviner when several die in the kraal, not when only one dies.'

Any slight illness (*umkhuhlane*) is regarded as being caused naturally. Informants laughed loudly when I inquired whether a cold in the head was 'sent'. 'But', they added when they had recovered themselves, 'it gives an *igqwira* (sorcerer, witch) a

chance. A cold may get worse and worse, so that eventually the person dies. Then we know that it has been sent.' Always witchcraft or sorcery may be adduced as an aggravating cause.

Some regard more diseases as infectious than do others. *Impuza* (a skin disease) is generally recognized as infectious, but about smallpox and measles there is divergence of opinion, some saying they are infectious, others not. Gidli remarked of influenza, 'We see that when we go to visit some one who has it, we get it also.' Three or four men with whom I was discussing the subject said that colds in the head were infectious, they were quite sure about it, but Geza, who came from a doctor's family, had 'never heard that before'. Old women said that they had noticed that if one child in the *umzi* got whooping-cough all the children got it. Some think that epidemics just come, or are sent by God (*uThixo*), others that they are the result of an orgy of *ukuthakatha* (witchcraft and sorcery), or that they are sent by Europeans. The East Coast fever which killed so many cattle is often attributed to the machinations of Europeans. Tuberculosis is not known to be infectious, but informants remark that 'the child of a man who has it may get it; it "comes out" to them'. Leprosy also is not regarded as infectious, but it is said to run in families. 'It takes whom it likes.' 'A wife does not get it from her husband, but some of an infected man's children or grandchildren have it.' A leper was allowed to go about, attend beer drinks, and eat or drink out of the same vessels as other people. Albinism is known to run in families, but a magical reason is also adduced. It is said of a woman who bears a child who is an albino (*inkawu*, monkey), 'She has laughed at some one who was an an albino.' The usual reply to inquiry as to what caused deformed births was, 'We do not know. They were created so', or, 'They were created by God (*uThixo*).' Only one informant attributed them to witchcraft (cf. p. 288). The effect of mental worry on health is to some extent recognized. Hlupheka volunteered the remark that she was so thin because she had been accused of witchcraft. Ngote was said by neighbours to be getting thin because her husband was neglecting her.

Accidents are said sometimes to be 'just an accident' (*ingozi nje*); sometimes to be the result of sorcery or witchcraft. Umthetho's son, who had been in an accident at the mines and lost a leg, said that no one had 'sent' the trouble. When an ox dies in the yoke ploughing in hot weather it is usually thought to be *ingozi nje*. The same may be said of a snake-bite, or a fall from a horse, but some people think that the snake must have been sent, the fall from the horse caused by magic. Which reason is adduced depends largely on the temper of the patient. 'When a man has

an accident he thinks whether he has quarrelled with any one lately, or has an enemy who is likely to do him harm.'

The part played by the ancestors in causing sickness has already been discussed. There are no particular symptoms of illness caused by them except those of a person sick to be initiated as a diviner (*iggira*, cf. Chap. VII). When illness is due to the ancestors the fact is made known by the dreams of the patient, or a member of his family, or the word of a diviner. A fatal illness is not attributed to the *amathongo* (ancestors) unless the ritual killing ordered has not been performed. If after the proper performance of the ritual killing ordered, the patient dies, magic is adduced as an aggravating cause. If, however, a ritual killing is not performed when it has been made clear that the ancestors demand it, death or insanity may result. Of Bot, a man of 40, whose mental development was that of a child of 5 or 6, it was said, 'His parents refused to kill for him when he was ill as a child and so the *amathongo* have made him ill like this.'

The dividing line between illnesses believed to have been sent (by an enemy or by the ancestors) and those which are recognized as being due to natural causes is affective, not rational. Some people attribute more to natural causes than others. If once a diviner is consulted the sickness is always diagnosed as due to an enemy or to the ancestors. No informant could cite a case where a diviner had diagnosed natural causes for disease, and all agreed that such a thing never happened. A diviner knows that if people feel strongly enough about anything to consult him, they will not be satisfied with the explanation that it is due to natural causes.

As a result of the teaching of missionaries and of European doctors, who explain the mechanism of infection, the number of diseases attributed to natural causes is increasing. Missionaries have fought most strenuously against the belief in witchcraft and sorcery, and their influence has borne fruit to the extent that Christians attribute more to natural causes than do their pagan neighbours, and many refrain from going to diviners; but the belief in the power and will to harm by other means than poisoning remains. The case of S——'s family, quoted below, is typical. Even when the mechanism of infection is understood the element of selection is still felt to be unexplained. Lice carry typhus. A got typhus because he was bitten by a louse, but why did the louse bite A and not his brother B? Or, if both fall ill, why does B recover and not A? The louse must be controlled by a malicious will. Geza assured me that at his home people really believed that malaria, which was bad there, was carried by mosquitoes, but they continued to go to a diviner, and accused some one of

witchcraft or sorcery, or made a ritual killing. 'If the sickness kills the people of one *umzi* and not of another, it is sent.'

The prohibition against carrying out punishment in no way alters the belief that witchcraft and sorcery are committed, and it is generally believed that the cause of the increase in sickness since contact is due to the Government prohibition of killing those who commit sorcery or witchcraft. Old men spoke bitterly of how sorcerers and witches work their will with impunity nowadays, and so there is much sickness in the land. In the good old days they were in terror of the law, and so restrained themselves. 'If the Government did not interfere there would be few people using familiars. The Government is not troubled itself, so does not care. They are never sent to the Government.'

The vast majority of deaths are attributed to the work of *abathakathi*. *Ukuthakatha* means the illegal use of witchcraft or magic for the destruction of life or property. One who *ukuthakatha* is an *umthakathi* or *igqwira*. *Ukuthakatha* includes what I propose to call, following the terminology used by Dr. Evans-Pritchard, witchcraft and sorcery. Different methods of *ukathakatha* are recognized, and are distinguished as *ukuthakatha ngesilwana* (to (*uku*)*thakatha* with small animals) and *ukuthakatha ngobuthi* (to (*uku*)*thakatha* with 'treeness'). The distinction is often not made by the Pondo who speak generally of *ukuthakatha*, and of an *umthakathi*, or *igqwira*, but the distinction does exist, and it is necessary to make it because the one technique is in itself illegal, while the other may be put to legal or illegal ends. Also sorcery is probably practised while witchcraft is not.

Witchcraft.

Men and women are thought to have 'familiars', beings which may appear as humans, with which they may have sexual connexion, and by means of which they illegally destroy life and property. In some cases the familiars are hereditary. This method of *ukuthakatha* I term witchcraft. Familiars can never be put to legal ends, and the possession of them is proof of witchcraft.

Thikoloshe.[1] The familiar most widely believed in, and most commonly adduced as the means of witchcraft, is *Thikoloshe* or *Hili* or *Gilikanqo*. *Thikoloshe* is a small hairy being, having the form of a man, but so small that he only reaches to a man's knee. He has hair all over his face and coming out of his ears, and his face is squashed up like a baboon. The penis of the male is so

[1] In the personal name class, so spelt with a capital. Kay, op. cit., p. 339, speaks of hearing much of *Tikaloshe* in Pondoland and mentions some of the same characteristics as are described above (1832).

long that he carries it over his shoulder, and he has only one buttock. All *Thikoloʃe* speak with a lisp. Both male and female *Thikoloʃe* wear skins, and they live in 'dongas',[1] and on the banks of rivers. *Thikoloʃe* has an *ikhuɓalo* (charm) with which he can make himself invisible, and he is only seen by adults who possess him, and by some children. Many say that they have never seen a *Thikoloʃe*, others say they saw them often as children, and played for days with them on the veld, but have not seen them since they grew up. One informant volunteered that a child who sees and plays with *Thikoloʃe* is usually quiet and shy at home. To informants who were describing *Thikoloʃe*, I once admitted having had imaginary playmates in my youth. They leapt up and shouted joyfully, 'You can't say we are spinning yarns now, you have seen him yourself.'

A man who was famous in the district as having lived with *Thikoloʃe* as a child described his adventures. 'I never saw them until one day, when I was quite big and sensible, they stood before me. Four of us boys used to play with them on the veld. Once we told at home that we played with *Thikoloʃe*; then one day, when we were herding, we dropped our blankets by the way. When we went and found them they were burned, and *Thikoloʃe* said, "You see that is what happens to children who split at home." *Thikoloʃe* sent us to catch fowls at home when all the grown-ups were at a beer drink, and we took them and cooked them on the veld, and ate them with *Thikoloʃe*. *Thikoloʃe* came to the hut sometimes and ate food from the grown-up's plates, but they could not see him.' Maɓandla said to a child at his *umzi*, 'I hear you play with *Thikoloʃe*.' The child said, 'Yes, we see him at the river, a little hairy man. He told us not to stare so, and sent us to steal food at another *umzi*. We brought it and ate it with him.'

Thikoloʃe by himself is mischievous, but not really harmful. 'He wanders about by himself like a child.' He will go into a hut, knock over things, spill the milk, and fill up calabashes with water. He pilfers, and is particularly fond of sugar and sweets. Often people complain that stones and clods have been thrown at them by some unseen thing. Sometimes the unseen thing is said to be *Thikoloʃe*, sometimes the raised spirits of the dead (cf. p. 289). I was told of woods which people avoided because they said stones and clods hit them when they went there.

The danger about *Thikoloʃe* is that he may be used as a familiar with which to bewitch people. Informants are vague as to how a wild *Thikoloʃe* is caught and tamed as a familiar. But it is said, 'A woman always gives her *Thikoloʃe* to her daughter. He kills

[1] Channels worn by storm water.

the daughter if she will not have him.' 'A woman is given *Thikoloʃe* by another who has him.' Parents adjure their children to tell them if they see a little short hairy man, and beat them if they relate tales of having played with *Thikoloʃe*, because a child who grows up knowing *Thikoloʃe* may continue to know him after he is an adult, and become a witch. If a *Thikoloʃe* is constantly coming to an *umzi* it is probable that he is sent by his owner to do harm, or that he is visiting his master or mistress. Geza described how one day approaching an *umzi* he saw the owner milking. The man was alone. No children were about. After milking the man went to wash his hands. Geza arrived just as he came back. They noticed that water was leaking out of the calabashes. They opened them and found them full of water, just tinged with milk. The man knew that he had put in milk only, and Geza had had the calabashes in sight all the time, 'so they knew that it must have been *Thikoloʃe* who had done it'. 'Many bad things were being done at that *umzi*; *Thikoloʃe* was being sent.' 'There was a child at Mpengu's *umzi* who was always playing with *Thikoloʃe*, eating with him, and telling the other children about him. Another child of the *umzi* fell ill. Mpengu accused his wife of killing the child with her *Thilokoʃe*. He said, "Make him well". The child recovered immediately.'

'*Thikoloʃe* is kept by its owner in a store-hut.' 'Some owners cut the hair of their *Thikoloʃe* to tame them.' 'At night *Thikoloʃe* is sent by its owner to make people ill, or to kill them.' No one can describe exactly how *Thikoloʃe* harms people. Sometimes it is said that he takes an *ikhubalo* (charm) and with that causes sickness. Sometimes he beats people. The method of his procedure is never fully described. The *umthakathi* does not go with him. 'No one ever rides a *Thikoloʃe* as they do a baboon (cf. p. 287). He is too wily to allow that.' Often *Thikoloʃe* goes in company with an *izulu* (cf. p. 282). *Thikoloʃe* has a mind of his own, and occasionally disobeys the orders of his owner. 'Sometimes *Thikoloʃe* feels sorry for you and loosens the enchantment of the *izulu*.' The story of *Thikoloʃe* who saved the person whom they were sent to kill is given below.

A woman *igqwira* (witch) who has a *Thikoloʃe* always has a male, and she has sexual relations with him. Some say that men have female *Thikoloʃe*, with whom they cohabit, others say that *Thikoloʃe* are only possessed by women. The accusations of possessing *Thikoloʃe* are usually against women. Geza described how once a woman spent a whole night struggling with a *Thikoloʃe* who wished to have sexual relations with her. She called people, they saw nothing, but she went on struggling, saying that *Thikoloʃe*

was there. In the morning she was all right, and she did not fall ill afterwards.

Msingali told the following story.

I have never seen *Thikoloʃe* myself, but once I nearly saw him. When I was a small boy I and a contemporary were sent to sleep in the hut of a woman whose husband was away. In the night we heard a noise at the woman's side. The dogs jumped on something. I seized a whip, but something dashed through the doorway, knocking down the door. I was afraid and did not pursue. The woman had been sleeping with a familiar. She was an *igqwiʃa* (witch).

Translations of four texts, written by Geza, of cases concerning *Thikoloʃe* illustrate the ideas about *Thikoloʃe*, and the type of evidence upon which belief is based. Geza himself completely believed in *Thikoloʃe* and believed them to have been at work in each of the cases related. I have thought it worth while to quote the texts in full, because all the details given in the stories put the doings of *Thikoloʃe* in their true context.

A certain man had very many cattle and sheep, but he had no boy to herd them. He tried to herd them himself, but did not succeed because of beer.[1] One day he was talking with the headman and said, 'Owner of an *umzi*, I am in difficulty: I have no boy to herd my cattle. Help me, lend me a boy.' The headman agreed and lent him a boy. The man thanked the headman very much and went off with the boy. When they got to his home he showed the boy all the cattle and sheep, and pointed out their colouring and their ear-marks. At dawn the next day the boy took the cattle out to the pastures. There he met other boys, and they herded together. He returned in the evening and milked, and separated the calves, and shut up all the stock. He went into a hut and was given food. While he was eating there came many short people, men and women and children, the people of *Thikoloʃe*. They ate the food of the boy, and he only ate very little. The next morning at dawn he let out the stock, and took them to the pastures. Other boys came and they herded together, and returned with the cattle in the evening. When the boy got home he milked, and shut up the stock, as on the previous evening. When he had finished he went into the hut. He was given milk food by the man, and ate. While he was eating there came again the animals (*izilwana*) of yesterday, and ate with him. He lay down hungry, for some one else had eaten his food. Every day the boy went out with the cattle and came back, and ate with the *Thikoloʃe*. At length one day another boy asked him, 'Why do you look as if you would break in two (i.e. are so emaciated) when you have so many cattle in milk.' He replied, 'When I eat there come animals which plunder my food.' 'How do you see them?' asked the other boy. The first boy replied, 'They gave me a medicine (*umthi*) saying I should use it and I would see them, and you will also

[1] i.e. he was always going to beer drinks.

see them when I use it.' The other boy said, 'Let us go over there to your place. There is no one there: people are away at church.' The first said, 'Let us go.' The boys went and came to the *umzi* where the first boy was herd, and they prepared milk food. And they took the medicine and smeared it on their eyes. They began to eat. While they were eating *Thikoloſe* came. The first boy when he saw them took his stick and hit them, and they ran away, but a child fell. He struck the child, and it died. The boys went away and left the child dead, and they went to an overlooking hill. The man of the *umzi* returned and saw that *Thikoloſe* child, and took him, and went to hide him in the garden. He thought no one saw him, but the boys saw him. The boy who had been borrowed as a herd said, 'I am not going back to that *umzi*: I am going home now.' And he went home. At sunset the man to whom he had been lent waited for the cattle and the herd, and when they did not come he at length went and brought in the cattle himself. Next day at dawn he went to the headman and said, 'Headman, I do not see that boy: I do not know where he has disappeared to.'

The headman said, 'The boy is here; he came last night.'

The man said, 'Why is he hiding himself?'

The headman replied, 'He says he does not wish to live with you, or to return to your *umzi*.'

The man said, 'Call him to come here.'

The boy was called.

The man asked him, 'Why, my boy, have you run away?'

The boy replied, 'I do not wish to live with you. I fear the *Thikoloſe* because I killed their child.'

The man replied, 'There are no *Thikoloſe* at my *umzi*.'

The boy said, 'There are. I shall accuse you if you deny it.'

The man: 'Very well, accuse me.'

The boy accused him and said, 'This man hired me that I might herd his cattle, and he sends *Thikoloſe* to eat my food. At that *umzi* I was hungry: I did not eat anything.'

The headman 'talked' the case. He said to the man, 'Do you deny what this boy says?'

The man said, 'There is nothing of the sort.'

The boy said, 'There is, and when I killed the child of *Thikoloſe* you took him and buried him in the garden.'

The man said, 'You lie, boy; no such thing happened.'

The headman said, 'Let us all go to look at the place where the boy says you buried the child of *Thikoloſe*.'

The man said, 'No, I am not going there, and I do not wish this boy to return again to my *umzi*. It is clear that he has *Thikoloſe*.'

It dropped there. The boy did not go back. Now he will believe until his death that he killed the child of *Thikoloſe*.

One day a man of Bokuveni near 'mFundisweni sent his son to bring back the cattle that he might milk. The boy went, and only returned after a long time. His father asked him, 'Why are you so long in returning? What did you delay over?' His son said, 'There came another

boy, with a beard, and he said, "Let us play together."' The father asked what sort of a boy with a beard it was. His son replied that he did not know. On another day the boy met with that *Thikolo∫e*. *Thikolo∫e* said, 'Go, boy, and ask your father if he will overcome me.' The boy went to his father and said, 'There is some one there father, a short person, who says I must come to ask you if you will overcome him.' The man wondered who it might be. He said, 'Go and tell him that I will not overcome him.' The boy went and told *Thikolo∫e* what his father had said. And they separated. But on another day the man was hit by something which he did not know, which he did not see. He realized that he must have been hit by *Thikolo∫e* who sent the boy. After that the man was very ill, so ill that he lay still during the daytime. A doctor (*inyanga*) was got to drive away the animals which were coming to that home, and both the man and his son ceased to see *Thikolo∫e*. They have never seen him again to this day.

A certain woman became very ill. She was ill for a long time. Both Bantu and European doctors exerted themselves over her, but could not help her. Every one had given up hope of her recovery. One day two *Thikolo∫e* came to her. They said, 'Our mistress has ordered that we finish you to-day, so that you die, but we do not wish you to die. Go then to her, and tell her to release you. If you go to her in a great rage she will release you. If you do not go we will return and kill you before sunset.' The woman told the people of her home what the *Thikolo∫e* had said to her. They said that she should tell them by name the person who was bewitching (*ukuthakatha*) her so that she was so ill. She asked what she should do. Should she go to the *umzi* of that person who was bewitching her? The people advised that she should go immediately, and make a row (*ukungxola*), and demand the thing with which that woman was killing her. She dressed. She was just bones. Her condition witnessed what had been done against her. She went to that *umzi*. As she entered the *umzi* she called the name of the witch (*umthakathi*) and asked, 'Why are you forever killing me? I may die of you now. For long I have been dying. Release me. I wish to be well as you are well. I want you to make me well. If I do not recover you also will die.' So spoke the woman who was ill, and went away. The other did not excuse herself or reply. She did not dispute or seem startled. It was clear to people that it was she who had bewitched (*ukuthakatha*) the other. Before long she who had been ill began to recover. Afterwards she recovered entirely. Every one said that she had saved herself by making a row with that witch. And she gave thanks for what was done by the *Thikolo∫e*.

A minister (a Pondo) of the —— church, denied that *Thikolo∫e* existed. There was near to his school a boy of about 10 who said that he went with *Thikolo∫e*. One night the minister got up during the night to drive away some cattle from his *umzi*, and he threw a stick at them. When he went to pick up the stick he could not see it, although the moon was bright. And in the morning when he returned he could not find the stick. Another time he was lying down. In the

night he heard a voice saying, 'Mfundisi (minister), may I enter by the window?' He asked, 'Who is it?' There was no reply. He went out and no one was there. Later he heard that that boy who went with the *Thikolose* said those *Thikolose* tried to enter by his window, and that they stole his stick. But the minister was not converted by these events. He still said that *Thikolose* did not exist.

In 1933 a case came before the Appeal Court concerning a man who had killed a child because he mistook it for a *Thikolose*. Children playing outside a disused hut had seen through the chink of the door 'something that had two small feet like those of a human being'. Being frightened they called a young man, Mbombela, who believing what they saw to be a *Thikolose*, rushed in and killed it with a hatchet. On dragging it out he found it to be a child. MBombela was found guilty of murder by a jury at Butterworth, but the charge was reduced to 'culpable homicide' by the Appeal Court, on the ground that MBombela believed what he killed to be a *Thikolose*.[1]

Thikolose is said sometimes to be caught by doctors who sell his hair and fat, to be used as a protective medicine against him. 'You pay a doctor £1 for just a little bit.' His fat is also bought from Europeans at the mines. 'The body fat of *Thikolose* resembles that of a pig, his inside fat is yellow like that of a fowl.' 'If *Thikolose* is troubling at an *umzi*, stealing milk and putting dirt in the calabashes, burn some fat[2] of *Thikolose* and he will go away.' 'Sometimes the dogs chase him round the hut, but do not catch him for he throws things at them. People give their dogs *Thikolose* fat in milk, that they may be quick to scent him.' 'If you smear a blade of grass with *Thikolose* fat, it will travel up-stream.'

The only actual cases of the capture of *Thikolose* which informants could cite were connected with European stores.

Once a servant found that the bully-beef which his master put in the pantry was always disappearing, so he went to his master and said, 'You know *Thikolose* is stealing that meat.' So he and his master set a trap. They poisoned a tin of beef. The next evening they heard a noise. They ran out, and there was *Thikolose* writhing in death agonies. He said, 'Don't bury me beside the river or it will rain and never stop. Bury me on top of a hill.'

Thikolose was stealing sugar at S——'s shop. When we were inside the shop we could hear the clods he threw falling off the roof. (Corrugated iron contracts and expands with changes in temperature, and often in an iron house one might think that stones were falling on the roof.) Madiyo (a herbalist) set poison for *Thikolose* at that shop.

[1] Reported in *Cape Times*, 25 April 1933.

[2] When a snake is killed near an *umzi* it is always burned, that others may be frightened away.

Thikolo∫e kept saying, 'Do not kill me, Madiyo!' Madiyo did kill him, and skinned him and rendered him down.

Thikolo∫e is said to be very much afraid of mouse-traps.

The belief in *Thikolo∫e* is fostered by exhibitions in European towns. Some informants had paid to see a '*Thikolo∫e*' (apparently a dwarf) which had been on show in Johannesburg one Christmas. In Ngqeleni a trader admitted Pondo at 3*d.* a time to 'hear *Thikolo∫e*'. He had a parrot in a covered cage, and they heard it talking.

Izulu. Another familiar commonly said to be possessed by women is the *izulu* or *impundulu.* 'The *impundulu* is the lightning bird which lives on the other side of the sky. It is that bird which is there when the lightning strikes' (cf. p. 302). An *izulu* is always possessed by a female witch, and it appears to her in the form of a very beautiful young man, who becomes her lover. Some say he is always in European dress. One informant described him: 'He is a very beautiful man with a stiff collar, and dressed as if he came from the goldfields. He has whiskers and a very red mouth.' Another said, 'He wears a many-coloured trade blanket'; another, 'He often appears as a European.' 'He always comes to a woman when she is alone, when she has gone to the river, or to collect firewood.'

An *izulu* may be inherited by a girl from her mother. One daughter of a woman who has an *izulu* will inherit it. 'A mother gives it to the child she loves. She and her daughter may even have the same man as their lover.' 'If the mother refuses to pass the *izulu* on to her daughter it will kill her (the mother).' Or a girl may get a love-charm (*intando*) from a woman who has an *izulu*, and the *intando* turns into an *izulu.* Always she gets it from another who has it. 'She is crowned by another' (*uthwesile*).

The owner of the *izulu* employs it to cause sickness and death. 'The method by which an *izulu* kills is a mystery.' One says, 'Sometimes, if a woman has a row with another woman, and she has an *izulu*, and it is listening, it goes and comes back, and says, "I have killed that person with whom you were quarrelling."' When a woman has a miscarriage it is often said, 'She has been kicked by an *izulu.*' 'Sometimes', say informants, 'a pregnant woman wakes up in the morning, and finds her body covered with little scratches (*intlanga*), then people know that some *izulu* is killing the child, either one brought by the mother from her father's home, or one belonging to some other woman in the *umzi.*' An *izulu* is said often to turn on its owner, demanding to suck the blood of her relatives. If she refuses it kills her. When a mother is accused of having killed her own children it does not

mean that she wanted to kill them, but 'she had an *izulu*, and she loved her own body better than her children'. 'The children of a woman who has an *izulu* never live; they are just born and die, for she gives them to her *izulu*.' Hence a woman whose children die is often accused of having an *izulu*. Manyawuza, who was 'smelt out'[1] at Ntontela for having an *izulu*, complained, 'Why should they pick upon me? I have no children underground.'

A young woman, who when she had a miscarriage was accused of having an *izulu*, and admitted it, described to me her experience.

I, Mandumiso, when still a girl, got medicine (*iyeza*) from Mtele's wife, and I went with her to the stream near Dula's, and together we washed with the medicine. It was a love-charm to make me beloved of men. While I was still naked a man and a boy appeared before us. They were strangers; the boy looked like Ngangaßo's son, but when I really looked at him I saw he was not Ngangaßo's son. The boy spoke to me, and I agreed to go with him, and I lay with him the same day. We became friends and met frequently. At the same time Mtele's wife met the man. We met beyond the kraal often. Then my people married me to X. At my *umzi* I still saw the *izulu* and lay with him; the two *amazulu* wanted me and Mtele's wife to go with them to the skies and be their wives there. Just after I was married I became pregnant by my husband (not the *izulu*) and the third month had a miscarriage. One day I went to the fields and brought home a bundle of wood and cooked. Discharge began and I had terrible pain. I went to sleep. Next day I was still ill and they took me to Nyeu's sister (a diviner). The diviner said, 'Ask her: if you take her home and ask her she will tell you what it is.' They took me home to my *umzi* and called my people from my own home. My own father and Nompinzi, my father's brother, came, and I told everything. The *izulu* had killed my child because it did not wish me to marry. It said, 'Why did you marry? I told you never to marry, that is why I am putting away this "child-in-the-womb".' My father and uncle went home and they did not come back the day they said they would. We waited and waited and still my father did not come. At last he sent to say, 'Let the people of the *umzi* come to Mtele's.' The people of my *umzi* refused to go, saying, 'Let her people come here.' Then my people fetched me. Mtele refused to have a meeting of that sort at his *umzi* and said he would go to inquire of a diviner. My people said, 'Who will you get to go with you?' He said, 'I will get people', but no one would go with him. Mtele threatened to go to Dula (the headman) and prosecute us. Then the case petered out. I was treated. A herbalist took me to the veld, where he washed and washed me with medicines (*amayeza*), then he made a fire, put another medicine on it, and made me inhale the smoke. He gave me an emetic to drink in beer. This was at sunset. Nothing was killed, just a little beer was made. I still drink medicines three times a day, and wash with medicines night and

[1] Literal translation of the idiom for 'accused by a diviner'.

morning. A goat was given to the herbalist when he treated me; if I recover and have a child a beast will be due to him. Now I am better and never see the *izulu*. I am still living at my father's home because my husband is away at the Rand, but I shall return to my husband's home before he returns.

Another informant commenting on the case volunteered:

It is a curious thing that something had to happen to Mandumiso before she spoke of having got a love-charm from Mtele's wife. Mtele's wife had once accused Mandumiso's mother of sleeping with Mtele.

Ncoʃolo was also said to have got a love-charm from Mtele's wife. A marriage with a man she disliked had been arranged by her family. She got a love-charm so that she would be loved truly by her sweetheart, and married by him if she left her husband. The love-charm was two roots with which she washed. Shortly after being married, as arranged by her family, she left her husband, ran home, and eloped with her sweetheart. A baby was born. It would not suckle.

She was told to confess properly. She said, 'I have an *izulu*. It was given me by Mtele's wife.' The *izulu* was asking for her present husband's father (i.e. wishing to kill him). It said, 'I care for you above, you must care for me here by giving me your husband's father.' She replied that it would be a shameful thing for her to give it her husband's father. The *izulu* kept on asking whose the child was. As soon as she confessed to having the *izulu* the child suckled.

Her husband's brother gave her medicines with which to wash, but it is not known whether or not she has got rid of the *izulu*. Her friends did not know that she had an *izulu* until the child refused to suckle. (Account of neighbours.) Refusal of a child to suckle is frequently attributed to the mother having an *izulu*.

Old Siβuza, who was blind, said that his blindness had been caused by an *izulu*. The *izulu* had made his head fall in, in three places, and that had made him blind. But the diviner to whom he went would not say who had sent the *izulu*. 'The diviners here fear the neighbours, and only a diviner who lives far away will say who sent the *izulu*.'

Mamiya's husband was very ill with venereal disease and eventually died. Her children died, and another wife's children died. She was accused of killing them all, was turned out of her married home, and went to live with her own people. At her father's *umzi* a bull was castrated and the wound remained long unhealed. One day she burst forth saying that her *izulu* was asking for that beast, and that was why it was sick, but she was refusing to give it to the *izulu*. The bull recovered. Informants assured me that no one had accused Mamiya of killing the bull, but she

probably felt that her brothers' wives suspected her of killing it, even though they did not accuse her directly.

To dream of an *izulu* is a very bad sign indicating that the dreamer has got an *izulu*, or is getting one. To dream of a river, or of green fields, or of pumpkins, is equivalent to dreaming of an *izulu*. 'First a woman dreams of an *izulu*, and then she accepts him as a lover.' In the dreams the *izulu* always appears as a man, not as a bird. If women dream of a strange man they usually interpret it as being a dream of an *izulu*. When a woman is troubled by dreams of an *izulu* she is treated by an *ixhwele*, as when she is diagnosed as having an *izulu*. Mandumiso's treatment quoted above is a standard type. One medicine used for washing is the root of the white *nompia* (an amaryllis). The treatment can only be successful if 'the *izulu* is young', that is, if the woman has only begun to dream of it, or cohabit with it. An essential preliminary to the treatment is a full confession of dreams, and of relations with the *izulu*. Some keep a root which they nibble, and spit every time they have dreamed of *impundulu*. Informants say that the *impundulu* is a comparatively new familiar which has been got from the people living west of the Pondo.

Inyoka yabafazi (the snake of women). Women are said to send a snake which bites children so that they develop bowel trouble, or it bites them on the throat and they develop sore throat. 'When sores come on a child's face or body it has been bitten by the *inyoka yabafazi*.' 'In the old days when women wore skins, they carried it (the snake) in a little tortoise-shell box they wore hanging down their backs. When it got hot the snake put its head out.' 'If a man meets it he cannot kill it in the ordinary way, but must chop it up with an axe and burn it. If that is not done, it will return to its owner.'

Sithetho died. Men of the *umzi* went to a diviner some distance away to inquire. He said that Sithetho's wife had killed him. The men came back and reported what had been said. Sithetho's wife went off to another diviner living at a distance. He said: 'You *ukuthakatha*! Your mother gave you an *intando* (love-charm) to make your husband love you and it turned round and killed your husband. It took the form of a snake.' He hit her three times on her back with his sjambok and she returned to her own people with whom she still lives.

Malusi was deaf and dumb. He had spoken as a child, but after an illness lost the power of speech. It was said that a 'snake of the women' sent from a neighbouring *umzi* had bitten his uvula.

Msingali's wife was accused of killing a neighbour's baby by sending her snake to bite it.

Impaka. Another familiar believed to be possessed by women is the *impaka*, a small rodent. It is said to be sent by its owner to bite people's throats.

Ichanti is a snake which lives in rivers and which has powers of metamorphosis, appearing in any form. 'A man goes to a river and he sees a tin dish. As he is looking it turns into a hat, and then into a bullock chain.' 'It runs like a bicycle; when it is going to a person it turns into a ball and races towards them.' 'One may see it and the person with him sees nothing.' 'A man may go out and see a bull, or a person, go past, and he falls ill because it was an *ichanti* that he saw.'

'Any person who sees an *ichanti* falls ill, and will die unless treated by an *iggira* or *ixhwele*.' The illness is always severe. When a person has leprosy it is said, 'an *ichanti* has stared at him'. People crossing rivers at night after a hot day, sometimes develop a rash, and it is said of them that they have seen an *ichanti*. Befile's grandchild, a baby, was paralysed on one side and its limbs were twitching. 'An *ichanti* had looked at it.' At François's the washerwoman who had not finished her washing on Monday, returned early on Tuesday morning to fetch it from the kitchen. She opened the door and saw things like motor-car wheels writhing. She rushed out on to the hill-side and spat blood, and died. *Walamile ichanti* (She had leant up against an *ichanti*). A woman who was paralysed on one side and had twitchings on her face and was at times delirious, seeing all kinds of animals and aping them, was said to be 'killed by an *ichanti*'. A herbalist treated her and she recovered.

Once at a Sunday-school treat a magic-lantern show was given. The last picture was of geometric patterns which formed and reformed on the screen. When it appeared one of the audience shouted, '*Lichanti!*' and the whole audience of children and parents fled in panic.'[1]

The *ichanti* has great eyes with which to stare at people. A woman asked for information about *ichanti* replied, 'How can I speak about a thing that has eyes like fists?' Patients who have 'leant up against an *ichanti*' are made to inhale the smoke of the skin of a *Thikolose*, and given some of the fat of a *Thikolose* to eat. They must not touch sour milk.

Some say that the *ichanti* works sometimes by itself, others that it is always controlled by a witch. 'I do not know how a woman gets an *ichanti*, but I suppose she is "crowned" with it by another.'

'*Mamlambo*[2] is a familiar possessed by men. It is acquired from

[1] Reported by Rev. J. Lennox, who was present. [2] Personal name class.

Europeans or from Indians. 'A man buys an *ikhubalo* (charm) at the goldfields. It is made of hide but it will not burn. It cannot be cut with a knife. He puts it in his bag, and then he may open his bag and see a snake. Then as he is walking along he sees a very beautiful girl, and he speaks to her, and she lets him make love to her, but he does not tell at home that he met that girl because it was *Mamlambo*.' Some say that the girl always appears in European dress. 'The wife and children of a man who has *Mamlambo* will die.' 'On the day the owner comes back from the mines with his *ikhubalo* sudden death comes to one of his parents.' Some maintain that *ichanti* and *Mamlambo* are the same thing, but the best informants distinguish clearly between them.

'The iguana is the servant of *ichanti* and *Thikolose*, fetching firewood for them, smearing their huts,[1] and clapping for them when they wish to dance.' 'It is just that iguana which lives in the river, and it does not change its shape.'

Dog. When a dog jumps on to the roof of a hut, or urinates in a hut or in a kraal, it is said to have been sent by its 'owner', and that misfortune will follow. It is believed that certain women have sexual relations with dogs. It was common gossip at —— that X, a hunchback, had found his wife sleeping with a dog when she was at her own home. There was so much talk that she left the district. She was regarded as a witch.

Baboon (*imfene*). The baboon is a familiar peculiar to men, and used especially for harming cattle. When a cow's udders are scratched it is said that a baboon sent by an *igqwira*, has been milking it.[2] A witch who has a baboon keeps it in the store-hut of his *umzi*, and rides about on it at night, with one foot on the animal's back, the other on earth, he facing the animal's tail. As they travel he encourages it saying, 'Gallop nicely! We are going down-hill.'

A baby of X died. X and Mbengu and other neighbours went to inquire of a diviner living at some distance as to who was responsible for the death. The diviner accused Mbengu of having a baboon, and his wife of *ukuthakatha*. The diviner said that Mbengu could not ride his baboon, but his wife could, and did.

The baboon familiar is exactly like an ordinary baboon. Informants say, 'We see the wild baboons in the bush, but we do not know how a man captures his baboon (familiar).' Some think that a baboon familiar is passed on from father to son, and that a

[1] The iguana plasters the inside of its hole with mud.

[2] It is fairly certain that wild baboons do on occasions milk cows, squirting the milk into their mouths. Pondo believe that when this occurs the baboon has always been sent by a witch.

son of a man who has one must necessarily have one too, but men in a group discussing the subject objected, saying, 'We know three men who had baboons, and none of their sons have them.'

Although familiars are believed to be handed on by parents to children, and it is said, 'a daughter will always have what her mother has', no test is ever carried out to discover whether the daughter or daughters of a woman accused of having a familiar has inherited it. When I inquired whether a man's family would be unwilling for him to marry the daughter of a woman convicted of having an *izulu* the women smiled, and answered, 'They might wish to prevent it, but no male is ever afraid of a girl. As long as they love the girl they say that they will wait to see it (the witchcraft).' Ideas about the acquisition of familiars are vague. The most usual answers to my questions when I was investigating this matter was, 'Well, I do not possess a familiar, so I cannot tell how they are acquired', and 'We do not know how they are acquired; we only know that people have them.'

Familiars take different forms, and certain forms are possessed by women, others by men, but it is held that a person who has one is likely to have another. 'An *izulu* is one thing with *ichanti* and *Thikoloſe*.'

It is generally held that no child by a familiar is ever born. 'A woman's *izulu* does not want her to have children, because it does not like the smell of a child's urine.' But a woman at whose *umzi* two monstrosities had been born, replied when I asked the reason for the deformity, 'If a woman gives birth to a deformity, she has been sleeping with a dog or an *izulu*.'

Evil omens. Besides sending familiars, witches send evil omens (*iliſwa* or *umhlwa*) which are thought to cause misfortune at the *umzi* at which they appear. These evil omens never come of themselves but are always sent by a witch. When they are seen the *umzi* is treated to ward off the misfortune which they portend. Sometimes the owner of the *umzi* also goes to a diviner to discover who has sent the evil omen. If an *intsikizi* (hornbill, *Bucorvus cafer*) or *uthekwane* (hammer-head) or *idloyoni* alights on a hut or comes to an *umzi*, it means that lightning will strike there.[1] The *ingqanga* (jackal buzzard) or a rock rabbit coming to an *umzi*, or a swarm of bees entering a hut, or an ants' nest, or mushrooms appearing on the floor of the hut, are all bad signs, portending sickness in the *umzi*, or other trouble. Geza related how a rock rabbit once entered a hut when the owner of the *umzi*

[1] Geza added, 'And many people will not rear turkeys or peacocks because they are birds connected with lightning. It is said they always make a noise when it is thundering, not of fear, but of joy, as though they thank the heavens for thundering.'

was away. The children who saw it called an older boy of the *umzi*, and he went off to call a man from the next *umzi*. They went with their sticks to kill the rock rabbit, but the man was afraid to kill it, thinking that the witch who had sent it might hear that he had interfered, and kill him instead of the owner of the *umzi* to which it was originally sent. The boy with an effort managed to kill it. When the 'old people' of the *umzi* returned and heard the story, they went off to fetch a doctor (*inyanga*) to treat the *umzi* against the sickness that the rock rabbit would bring.

Izithunzela. Witches not only harm the living but also the dead. They raise the dead and enslave them. Some say that the motive of a witch in killing some one is to raise him and enslave him. Others disagree and say, 'Witches kill from hatred, and only think of raising the man afterwards.' 'But there are many dead who are thus raised.' The witch can only raise the person before the body has decayed. Hence the stones and thorns put in and over the grave, and the watch set over it until the body is dust. Mavolunteer's son explained how it was done. 'The witch beats the grave with a switch, and the grave opens, and the body comes out. He drives a wooden nail into the dead man's head so that he becomes foolish, and pierces his tongue with a long bone needle, so that he cannot speak.' The raised person (*isithunzela* or *umkhovu*) takes the form which he had when he was alive. The *izithunzela* live in the forest, but they are summoned by witches to work for them at night, and to draw water, fetch wood, and grind grain for beer. They are not used as a means of bewitching other people, but if any man sees an *isithunzela* he is liable to go insane. A few hardy souls claim to have seen them. Taca's wife said that one day she saw another woman of her *umzi*, who had recently died, sitting on a stone in the forest. She was wearing the same blankets as she had worn when she was alive. Paya one day met an *isithunzela* carrying a sickle, but he did not stop to find out whether he knew the person or not. Seßetʃhe said he had seen one near Ludaka. It was wearing dirty blankets 'which showed it had come out of the ground', and did not walk ordinarily, but jumped forward. It would not talk, but cried in a husky voice. Another man when he was going to visit his *idikazi* one night heard them in the forest. He did not hear words but sounds like *ululu ululu*. Next day people told him that he had heard the *izithunzela*.

Izithunzela sometimes throw clods at people walking or riding through the bush. 'If the *isithunzela* is friendly he will not throw clods at you, but he will just roll them to your feet, so that you know that he is there.' Mavolunteer's son told how, as small boys,

they were warned not to go into the bush for fear of *izithunzela*, and one day when they had disobeyed and gone, something started throwing clods at them in broad daylight. They fled knowing that it must be the *izithunzela*. Some Pondo now also talk of *isipoɓo* (Africaans *spoek*), which appears as a light or a skeleton and is seen near graves. It is distinguished from the lights of an *ityala*'s eyes (cf. p. 322) because it flies high up.

Sorcery.

By sorcery I mean the use of material, rites, and spells for illegal ends. A word here on the Pondo terminology. *Umthi* (pl. *imithi*) is a tree or plant. It also means the material of magic, whether used for legal or illegal ends. *Uɓuthi* (the prefix is that of the class of abstract nouns) means the material of magic used for illegal ends only. There is no distinction between medicines with therapeutic action and material of magic. Thus *imithi* includes emetics: *uɓuthi* includes poison. Although *imithi* and *uɓuthi*, as shown by their derivation, mean primarily vegetable substances used for magical ends, they are used by extension for any substance used as the material of magic. *Uɓuthi* is applied to the powdered chameleon used to harm some one. But with the Pondo the vegetable element is always the most important in the material of magic. *Iyeza* (pl. *amayeza*) is used identically with *imithi* for the material of magic. It is the usual word on the Xhosa border of Pondoland, while *imithi* is most commonly used on the Zulu border. I use 'medicine' to translate *umthi* or *iyeza* meaning the material of magic, which may or may not be therapeutic[1] in action. *Ikhuɓalo* (pl. *amakhuɓalo*) means a magical material which is worn or chewed, not mixed with water and drunk. It may be used for legal or illegal ends. *Intsizi* is an *iyeza* which is charred and ground before use.

There are a number of methods of harming people by sorcery (*ukuthakatha ngoɓuthi*). The commonest is to procure some of the essence of the person to be harmed, their excrement, or sweat, or hair. A teacher described to me a story of death by sorcery which was current in the district in which we were working. The teacher believed it firmly himself.

There was a herbalist here who sold medicines (*amayeza*) to kill people. He only charged a goat. Two men wanted to kill another. They went to the herbalist and asked if he would help them. He agreed. He told them to bring some of the stools of the man whom

[1] I use 'therapeutic' in the sense of a drug with a direct curative action. Other magical material may be curative indirectly by causing the patient to believe that he will recover.

they wished to kill. They did so. The herbalist put what they brought into a pot with his medicines (*amayeza*). He told the men to stir, call the name of the person whom they wished to kill, and say, *Ye! Mabafinyele* (Ye! May they draw themselves together; *ukufinyela*, rel. form, to draw up the legs, to lie in a heap). This they repeated fast, stirring all the time. The man whom they were trying to kill was dancing the next day. Suddenly he was seen to put down his sticks, and begin working his legs to and fro. Shortly he was dead. His relatives went to a diviner (*igqira*). He told them how the death had been caused. They asked, 'What shall we do to kill that herbalist?' The diviner told them what to do. They went to the herbalist and said that their relative had died, and they wished to kill the murderers and asked if he would help them. He agreed. He told them to fetch stools of the murderers. The relatives kept a watch on the herbalist, and when he went to the river to defecate took some of his excrement. They brought this to the herbalist, were given the medicines (*amayeza*), and began to stir. The herbalist said, 'Sit nearer the back of the hut'. They said, 'No, we are going to stir very hard, and we shall get very hot. Our third man who is posted outside will warn us if any one comes.' They stirred hard. The herbalist urged them on saying, 'Stir harder men, quickly, quickly.' They laid aside their blankets, and stirred until they sweated. Suddenly the herbalist said, 'What is it, men? What is it?' and he began to work his limbs and roll about the floor in agony. They laughed and continued to stir. They began to stir at dawn. By eight o'clock he was dead[1].

At 'nTißane I met a young married woman who had come to live with a diviner (*igqira*) to be treated. She was suffering from a twitching right arm. She explained to me that it had been caused by the old wives of her husband's home, who had taken the dirt off her hands, and mixed it with *amayeza*.

To prevent hair falling into the hands of a sorcerer any that is cut off is carefully hidden in tufts of long grass.

It is also thought that sickness may be caused by means of *ußuthi* even without the essence of the person to be harmed. Geza reported a case of this. I quote from the Pondo text:

'And sometimes a person is said to be an *umthakathi* (sorcerer) without ever being pointed out by a diviner. A man took a medicine (*umthi*) from his box in the evening, and went out and chewed it and spat, and called the name of a neighbour and said, 'May he die.' It happened that one of his children was there and saw him, and heard the name of the person whom he asked might die. The child told what he had heard to the children of the man of whom it had been said, 'May he die.' Those children told their father, for children always tell what they have heard. Some time afterwards there was beer at the *umzi* of him who was spat against. He who spat went to it. Their *imizi* were close together. While he was sitting a dog came and bit him on the leg. The dog bit him only,

[1] Why revenge was taken on the *herbalist* is unexplained (cf. p. 311).

although it was pulled away by others. That was an extraordinary thing, for the dog knew that man, and never barked at him, for he had always been like a member of the *umzi*, his *umzi* was so near. When the men pulled the dog away the injured man took his stick and killed it. Every one said that he had killed it because he had been singled out, and harmed by it by magic (*ulunjiwe*, from *ukulumba*). They said so, for he had spat against its owner, and said, 'May he die.' Such people are always called *abathakathi* (sorcerers) for their actions are those of *abathakathi*. The wound made by the dog healed. Not long afterwards the mistress of the dog died, and it was thought that she had been killed by this neighbour. When he heard that he moved far away. There was no going to a diviner, but he knew that he was believed to be responsible for the death of his neighbour, and so he went away. Up to now he has never returned.

There are two methods of *ukuthakatha* mentioned here: the first chewing medicines, spitting, and calling the name of the person to be harmed; the other causing a dog to bite a particular person with whom it was normally friendly. This selective sorcery in which the harm is directed to a particular person by calling his (or her) name is said to be *ukulumba*.[1]

A herbalist who was pointed out to me as one who really knew about *ubuthi*, and who was said to have used sorcery for his own ends, as well as selling it, (cf. p. 313; Pl. XVIII B), described to me five methods of *ukulumba*.

An *umthakathi* (sorcerer) takes *imithi* and roasts them on a pot lid. He dips a spear in boiling water, puts his fingers in the roasted medicine, touches his lips with his fingers, calls the name of the person whom he wishes to harm, and throws the spear through a rent in the wall of the hut, not through the door. When the spear touches the ground his enemy will begin to feel pain. The man whose name has been called will dream that he has been stabbed by a spear, and then wake up coughing blood. The medicines to make this *ilumbo* are bought from Europeans at Durban.

When a person is walking along a path he sees a snake. It rises up and bites him and soon he is dead. That snake is sent thus. The *umthakathi* cuts a reed (*irwantsi*) and binds it with the sinews from the back of an *imamba* (the most deadly of South African snakes). He mixes rat droppings with the fat of an *isithunzela* (dead person raised by a wizard) and certain *amakhubalo* (charms). To give the snake teeth he adds needles. He calls the name of the person whom he wishes to kill, and puts the mixture on the road. It turns into an *imamba*, and will bite only the person whose name he has called. When the people look for the *imamba* after they have been bitten they see only sinews and needles —no snakes.

[1] *ukulumba*, to do or make anything of a wonderful nature or surprising skill (Bryant, *Zulu Dict.*). The surprising thing is directing harm to a particular person.

A herbalist

A reputed sorcerer (cf. p. 292)

Or the *umthakathi* takes two stones, and puts them opposite each other on the sides of the path. When the person for whom he has put them passes he will stumble and fall. He will rise coughing blood and his chest will be sore as if he had been beaten.

Or he takes thorns of *umphafa* and boils them with medicines for treating wounds (*izihlungu*), and puts them on the path. When the person for whom they are placed steps on them, he will swell up, the poison will go to his head, and he will die.

Or he grinds up an *ikhuɓalo*, or the marrow of the backbone of a crocodile, or *itʃhefu* (poison, a new word) he has bought from Europeans, mixes it with snuff, and gives it to his enemy. The person who takes that snuff will die.

Note that poisoning the snuff was included in the list of methods of *ukulumba*. Majola, another good informant, also made it clear that poisoning was just one method of *ukulumba*. He said his sister was *dlisiwe* (literally made to eat, hence made ill through what is given to eat) with beer, and became very ill, but they knew that she was *lunjiwe* because no one else who drank of that beer was ill. When the *uɓuthi* was put in the beer the sorcerer must have mentioned his sister's name.

I was talking to a group of women one day, and inquired about methods of sorcery. They turned to a man present and said, 'You are a herbalist: you know about these things.' He gave the following recipe. 'If you mix a ground chameleon with medicines, and give it to a person to eat, or in snuff, he may kill a beast (i.e. make a ritual killing) but it will have no effect. He will just waste away. Or you may steal the man's urine and mix it with chameleon and with medicine saying the man's name.' Note that here putting the *uɓuthi* in food or mixing it with urine are given as alternative methods. 'Pointing at a person with a forefinger which had been treated is another *ilumbo*.'

Another method of causing sickness in an *umzi* by introducing a red bean (*intela*) is described in a text quoted on p. 343.

A Pondo teacher, whose father was a minister, told how his father had died by sorcery. He was hated by an elder who had been disciplined, and one day at a Presbytery meeting at which this elder was present, he felt a stab of pain in his instep as he stepped across the doorway of the hut in which the meeting was held. The pain went all the way up his body to his head, and he had palpitations. His foot swelled badly. He went home and a European doctor was summoned. The doctor said he did not know what the poison was. He wanted to amputate the foot, but the patient refused to allow it. 'His palpitations were so bad that they shook the bed.' He was taken to hospital, and shortly

afterwards died. When dying he said, 'People may say that sorcery was worked against me (*ukulumba*), but we are Christian, we cannot say these things, and we know that if God had not wished me to die now, I should not have died. My time has come.' But his son who told me the story believed that he had been killed by the elder. He went on to tell how his mother had died. 'A year after my father died my mother, who was president of the Women's Association, was going out of the doorway of her house to a meeting when suddenly she felt a pain in her throat. She put up her hand, thinking it was the brooch which she wore as the badge of her Association pricking her. Then she felt pains all down her arm. The European doctor was summoned and gave her medicine and a gargle. When she coughed, phlegm came up with black stuff like soot. Neighbours said that *Thikolofe* had put soot in her throat. She recovered then, but fell ill later and died.'

How lightning is thought to be caused by witchcraft by the sending of evil omens has been described. It is also thought to be caused by sorcery. Geza described how the evidence of the attempt was once found at an *umzi*.

When the sister of the head of a certain *umzi* woke early in the morning in her hut, she saw round pebbles smeared with red clay at the back of the *umzi* behind the huts. She told the old people, who hurriedly went to look at this strange thing. They searched the *umzi* to see if they could find anything more, and they found pegs smeared with red clay, driven in all round. They thought that some evil person (i.e. *umthakathi*) had done that with the intention of killing them. Children asked how they could be killed by stones and pegs. In answer to that question the old people explained that there was sorcery (*ulumbo*) on the stones and pegs, and that would cause lightning to strike the *umzi*. At once a doctor (*inyanga*) was sent for, and before midday he had begun the treatment. He burnt medicine and gave round pebbles which he had brought to the people so that they might throw them on all sides of the kraal. He also hammered in fresh pegs outside the *umzi*. After he had finished he went home. The people were very pleased with the treatment. No lightning ever struck that *umzi*, and the people believed that it was because of the *inyanga* and his medicine.

Others say that they do not know how lightning is controlled by sorcerers, they only know that it is caused to strike by them. Majola cited a case of an *ixhwele* who, when he was a boy, had come to his father's *umzi*, and by pointing with his switch to the sky had suddenly produced a cloud. It was a cloudless day, but quickly the cloud covered the whole sky, and they heard thunder. They did not know how he caused it.

Some materials of sorcery (*ubuthi*) such as the red beans (*intela*) (p. 343), are common knowledge, just as some materials for legal

magic are common knowledge. Others are bought from those who know them, particularly herbalists (*amaxhwele*) and diviners (*amaggira*) (cf. p. 342). One herbalist mentioned only charged a goat (p. 290), others charged a beast (p. 307). The knowledge of *ubuthi* is taught by a herbalist to any apprentice who comes to learn from him as are other medicines. The man who described the five different methods of *ukulumba* claimed to know the material necessary for some of them. He said that he had learned them from a doctor (*inyanga*) with whom he had lived in Natal. A non-specialist who knew an *ubuthi* might teach it to his son, but since persons seldom admit knowledge of *ubuthi*, it is impossible to follow cases of inheritance.

New materials for sorcery are believed to be acquired from Europeans, Malays, and Indians. Geza assured me that all really dangerous *ubuthi* came from European towns. Cases of use of cattle dip and other European poisons are quoted below.

Formerly, it is said, *amaggwira* (witches or sorcerers) went about naked (or the women wearing grass plates for skirts) at night, and caused harm just by going about thus. Sometimes women were caught thus in the cattle kraals. But this form of *ukuthakatha* no longer occurs. There is no tradition that the form of the person remained in the hut while the person went abroad.

It is now, however, believed to be possible to (*uku*)*thakatha* by post. Many men going to work at the mines forbid their wives to write to them while they are away, lest their wives having found a lover whom they prefer to their husbands should send an *izulu* or *ubuthi* (the material of sorcery) in the letter. 'The husband would see nothing, but would fall ill after receiving the letter.'

Whether witchcraft or sorcery is diagnosed as the cause of illness, and the particular type of each, depends upon the word of the diviner. There is a tendency to attribute certain symptoms to particular magical causes (as bowel trouble in children to the 'snake of women'), but the statement of diviners as to the method employed by the *umthakathi* (witch or sorcerer) is never questioned.

There is no developed theory of a society of *abathakathi*, but some say that they 'meet together by night, and joke together'. 'Some, while people are asleep, go to the skies. They climb up on ropes like spider webs.'

Magic of protection and cure.

The Pondo ideas of witchcraft and sorcery as causes of disease having been discussed we now turn to their use of magic for protection and cure. As in sorcery there is no distinction between poisoning and working on excrement, so in the attempt to prevent

and cure disease there is no distinction between drinking herbs with therapeutic action and wearing roots round the neck. That the Pondo have both science—a body of empirical knowledge—and magic, has, I trust, been made amply clear by the chapter on economics. As in gardening, hoeing and smoking with *ithodlana* are both considered necessary processes to obtain a good crop, so in the curing of disease science and magic are combined. But we have not yet sufficient knowledge of Native herbs to distinguish the science from the magic. Nor do the Pondo distinguish them. In a treatment not only the mixture drunk, but also the manner of giving, is considered essential. For example, Nokoranti, a woman at 'mPoza who had a vast reputation in the district for curing young married women who failed to become pregnant, told me the secret of her cure. The roots of a certain plant[1] were pounded up, mixed with a little water into a paste, and the patient had to take a small portion of the mixture morning and evening for some months. When she took the mixture she had to cross her hands. It is quite possible that the root in question has medical properties, but according to Nokoranti the crossing of hands was an essential part of the cure.

In this account of the methods of cure, therefore, I make no attempt to distinguish the therapeutic and magical elements. One may only remark that measures taken for protection are obviously purely magical, while treatments for sickness may be partly therapeutic. The two are, however, necessarily discussed together, as sometimes the cure is but the delayed rite of protection. Concerning disease the Pondo's scientific knowledge is extremely inadequate, so magic plays a large part in his treatment of it. Since most fatal illness is thought to be caused by witchcraft or sorcery protective magic is mainly directed against witchcraft and sorcery. But magic also is used against death in battle which is usually attributed to natural causes, and against the *itʃhologu* which is really an ancestral spirit (cf. p. 262).

An *umzi* is fenced against sorcery and witchcraft either when it is built or later when the owner feels that he can afford it, or when an evil omen has appeared, or as a cure when sickness comes or lightning has struck it. To treat an *umzi* against sorcery or witchcraft a herbalist (*ixhwele*) is summoned. Details of treatment vary with the man summoned, but the main outline is always the same. Here is one account. 'He brings *inthelezi* (medicine to make slippery), mixes it with water, and sprinkles the mixture round the *umzi*. He burns medicines (*imithi*) in every hut,

[1] Specimens of this plant were sent to Johannesburg Medical School to be identified and tested. No report on them has yet been received.

and in the kraal, and scarifies the people of the *umzi*, rubbing powdered medicines (*imithi*) into the cuts. Wooden pegs, rubbed with *imithi* and the fat of a black sheep, are driven into the ground in the spaces between the huts.' Usually the blood or fat is a necessary ingredient of the medicines, so a sheep, goat, or pig is 'killed for the medicines' (*bahlinzela amayeza*). This has nothing to do with ritual killings for the ancestors.[1] 'The day after the treatment the people who have been cut go to the river to wash off the *imithi* (*ukuphothula*), and after that the huts may be swept. They may not be swept between the time they are treated and the washing off of the medicines.' The treatment is once performed by the *ixhwele* (herbalist) and then he may give *imithi* to the head of the *umzi* with which to treat the *umzi* from time to time. The treatment will then last as long as the *umzi* lasts. It is said that almost every *umzi* is thus treated. 'The *imithi* in the spaces catch the *izilwana* (familiars of witches). If an *umzi* has strong *imithi* the familiars become afraid, and even if their owner sends them they refuse to go.' 'Sometimes the *imithi* catch an *umthakathi* (witch or sorcerer) coming in.' There was an old man in the Kwalo district to whom people came from far and wide for his famous medicine for *Thikolo∫e*. Once a boy came into a Ntontela store and asked for medicine to keep off *Thikolo∫e*. A woman at one *umzi* where the dogs were troublesome, said, when apologizing for any inconvenience to me, 'We keep lots of dogs to drive away the *Thikolo∫e*.' Other informants said that this was a usual reason for keeping dogs.

An old *iggi∫a* described how the *umzi* of her father's brother was treated when it was believed to be troubled by an evil spirit (*ithinzi* or *it∫hologu*, cf. pp. 260–2). Every one in the *umzi* had died except two people.

When there were two people left they got a herbalist to come and treat the *umzi*. He dipped branches in medicines and sprayed (*ukucela*) the *umzi* with them. All night men and women shouted to drive away the *it∫hologu*. The inhabitants were given emetics, and fires were lighted in huts, in the kraal, and at the entrance to the *umzi*. A goat was killed at another *umzi*, cooked with medicines, and brought cooked to the *umzi* being treated; no blood must come to that *umzi*. The stomach contents of the goat were squeezed into the medicines given to the inhabitants, and sprinkled in the *umzi*. A dog was killed to produce a nasty smell; no one ate of it.

The method of treatment for protection against lightning is very similar to the treatment against familiars, only different

[1] Informants state this emphatically, and the fact that a pig, which is never used for a ritual killing, may be killed supports their statement.

imithi from those used against familiars are used, and the treatment is repeated every year in spring, when thunderstorms begin, by the herbalist engaged by that *umzi*. Not all *imizi* are treated against lightning. Basket, whose *umzi* was struck by lightning, had it treated to prevent lightning striking again, as well as having it cleansed from the impurity of the lightning. The protective treatment was as follows: Basket killed a pig. The herbalist took its fat and mixing it with medicines smeared three sticks with it. They are still black from the medicine. Then he made holes in the roof of the hut, at the back, and put in medicated pebbles. (Most herbalists use pegs but this particular one likes pebbles.) The contents of the stomach of the pig were not used. Basket still has a hornful of the powdered medicine given him by the herbalist for treating visitors at the *ukubona umzi* (see below). When a storm is threatening Basket rubs this medicine on the sticks treated by the herbalist, goes naked to the door of his hut, urinates into his hand, drinks his urine, then rushes out stabbing at the approaching storm with one of his sticks, and finally plunges the stick into the ground, slanting towards the coming storm. The second stick he plunges into the thatch of his hut slanting in the same direction, and he manœuvres up to the storm as a warrior. The sticks are substitutes for spears which most people use. Basket is going to get the herbalist to come again and treat a new hut built since the accident. The treatment will be similar to that described for the hut above, only this time Basket is to kill a sheep. The stomach contents will be put in a pot lid, the members of the *umzi* each dip their fingers in it, then go outside and spit in the direction from which the storm comes. Then they will return, convey some more of the mixture to their lips in the same way and swallow it.

The treatment of Gedja's *umzi* which had never been struck was very similar. She killed a very fat pig. Its blood and fat were mixed with herbs and pot black, roasted on the pot lid, and ground into a fine powder. All the members of the *umzi* were scarified on forehead, throat, and bridge of nose, and the mixture described rubbed in. Pegs rubbed with the medicine were driven into the ground at the paths leading up to the *umzi* and into the hut roof. The inhabitants were given medicines to wash with and to drink. They were smoked in the fumes of herbs, and a fire was made at the kraal gate, and the cattle smoked too. Nothing was done with the stomach contents of the pig.

Another protection against lightning is to burn a herb (*umsa*) in the hut when the storm is approaching. Twins, or a twin, sometimes walk about outside during the storm to drive it away.

Some, but not all, Pondo know this custom. 'The twin carries no medicine, but just frightens the storm.'[1] The amaYalo are great rain and lightning doctors, and people of other clans sometimes shout to the storm to go to them. 'Go! Pass! Go north (storms travel south-west to north-east) to the amaYalo of Tyone! (a Yalo chief). There old beer is drunk. Go to your own people.' Or 'Go! Pass north to the place of the Yalo!'

If an *umzi* is protected the herbalist claims that not only will lightning not strike there, but if 'sent' it will revert to him who sent it and strike his *umzi*. If, in spite of this treatment, or when it has not been treated, an *umzi* is struck by lightning an elaborate ceremony has to be performed. I give the account of Basket, whose *umzi* had been struck some months before I arrived in the district. At the time the lightning struck he was visiting friends; his wife and his two unmarried daughters, Yoyo and Ivy, were at his wife's home detained by her father until further *ikhazi* should be given (cf. p. 191). His married daughter and her small son were visiting at the next *umzi*. Only Dingaan, Basket's son, a youth about 19 years, and Basket's sister's son, a boy about 10, were in the *umzi*.

Lightning struck the great hut at the back, and because the *umnumzana wombane* (the owner of the lightning) could not get out he burned the hut. The grinding-stones were smashed, and everything in the hut burned, except two iron pots, one of which was on the fire. No one was killed. Dingaan went immediately to fetch his father. Basket came back, but slept at Mandundweni, a neighbouring *umzi*, because he had no medicines and so could not go to the *umzi* which had been struck. He ate no food. Next morning Basket fetched a herbalist. When the herbalist arrived he sat below the kraal. Basket stood afar off. Then the herbalist made him cross his hands, and placed the charm on them. Basket then took this in his mouth and chewed it. Dingaan and the small boy were also given charms. They all walked round the burnt hut with the herbalist, and spat out the charms they were chewing at it. Each spat once, then went to a box which had been in the burned hut to look for money left in it. They spilt out the maize that had been cooking on the fire, but kept the pot. Of all that had been in the hut only that pot, and another little one, and the money were kept. They pushed down what of the wall had not been burned. The herbalist then put up the bars which close the gate of the kraal. Basket, Dingaan, and the boy sat on these. They stripped and were washed by the herbalist with medicines to make slippery (*inthelezi*) and charms. Medicines were cooked, and they were given an infusion to drink. Still naked they spat charms at the direction (west) from which the storm had come, and shouted, 'May you finish! May you not

[1] Among the Fingo, women who have borne twins walk outside calling upon the storm to divide in two.

repeat that!' Then they spat towards the sunrise. They walked straight back to their huts, and while doing so were forbidden to look behind them. The herbalist scarified them on the throat, forehead, right temple, right shoulder, right hip, and right foot, and rubbed in medicine. The blood from the cuts was wiped away with the root of a special plant, an *inthelezi*, and that root was taken to an ant-heap, the ant-heap broken, and the root put in. 'Then the ants take away the blood.'

A fire was made in the hut, medicines put on it, and the three patients made to inhale the smoke, by squatting down over the fire, and putting a blanket over their heads (*ukufutha* or *ukuqhumisa*). This treatment they had to repeat for several days 'because their lungs were full of the fumes from the lightning'. (This although Basket had not been in the *umzi* when the hut was struck.) A fire was made in the cattle kraal and the cattle smoked with herbs. The cattle were also sprayed (*ukucela*) with medicines. If the womenfolk had been present they would have been treated in exactly the same way as the men. As it was, Basket's married daughter who was at the next *umzi* when the lightning struck, did not return to her father's *umzi*, but went straight back to her husband. She was pregnant. After a month Matʃhodine (Basket's wife) and Yoyo and Ivy returned. Before they could eat food, or cook, in the *umzi*, they had to be treated in the same way as the men had been treated. They were stripped naked, given herbs to chew, and sent to spit in the direction from which the storm had come, and towards the sunrise. Early the next morning the herbalist told Basket to go out and get certain herbs which he had shown him, and the women were washed with an infusion, scarified, and made to inhale the smoke. The washing was not at the kraal gate as with the men. A short time later beer was made *ukubona umzi* ('to see the *umzi*', cf. final ritual killing after death). From the time of the accident to the time of the *ukubona umzi* the *umzi* was sedulously avoided by every one. (Basket and Dingaan had cooked for themselves until Matʃhodine returned.) At the *ukubona umzi* all the guests were given medicine which Basket had got from the herbalist. This was the same medicine as had been rubbed into the scarifications. They crossed their arms, the medicine mixed with soot was put on the back of their hands, and they licked it off. After the *ukubona umzi* all were free to go and come to the *umzi*.

As with all Pondo magical treatments the details of the treatment vary slightly with the herbalist who performs them, but in its main outline this account of Basket's is confirmed by other informants.

If the milk calabashes are not burned as they were at Basket's the milk is then spilled out (cf. p. 69). Some herbalists give their patients an emetic 'that they may cough up the smoke which they have swallowed'. The Xhosa kill a beast or a goat in the treatment after lightning, and some Pondo on the Xhosa border do likewise, but most say that it is not necessary.

If guests are visiting an *umzi* when it is struck they cannot go home until they are treated by a herbalist. At Pimbo a hut was struck one afternoon and two people were killed. Three visitors were in the hut. After the accident the living and the dead were put into one hut. No one was allowed to eat or smoke. Next morning at dawn a herbalist arrived and treated them. The visitors then went home, but returned for the final ceremony of *ukubona umzi* (to see the *umzi*). (Information from one of the visitors concerned.)

A person struck by lightning is buried apart, as those who have been killed by a spear (cf. p. 409). Usually only the herbalist touches the corpse. Those who have been with the dead or have helped to bury them are squirted with *inthelezi* (a medicine). If they are not treated their children will get *umnyama* (a stomach complaint) or their future children will be born with it. As after death by a spear there must be no mourning. Informants say, 'We do not know what would happen if we did weep. We only know that we must not do it.'

If a person is struck on the veld the herbalist helps to bury him, and then treats the *umzi* just as if lightning had struck there 'to push away (*ukuchiliza*) that thing.' If a beast is struck out on the veld it is carefully buried, and the *umzi* is treated. No one except a herbalist who treated for lightning and was 'very sure of his medicines' would eat of the meat. 'When lightning has struck an *umzi* no one will buy cattle from that *umzi*, because they do not want the *ilumbo* (sorcery). They buy after a long time.'

Some say, if a field is struck by lightning, the grain is never eaten. Others that the field is treated, then the grain is boiled, never roasted, and is eaten only by the people of the *umzi* to a house of which the field belongs. Other people could not eat of it because they have not been treated and they would get a disease (*umnyana*) if they did so. Nowadays the grain of a field which has been struck is usually sold to a trader. A tree struck by lightning is not used as firewood but left to rot. If it were used lightning would strike in the *umzi* which used it, and the children who breathed the smoke from the fire would be ill. A trader with whom I lived had maize stamping-blocks made out of trees that had been struck in his garden. He sold one to a pagan who did not know the history of the timber. After some years the buyer heard that it was made from a tree that had been struck, and promptly threw away his stamping-block. Anything that lightning has struck is both dangerous in itself and liable to be used by a sorcerer to harm people. A principal part of the business of the *ixhwele* who comes to treat is to bury the ashes of anything burned

by the lightning, so that they may not be taken by a sorcerer. 'When they are taken by sorcerers then people have chest ache, and cough, and they cannot be cured even by white doctors.' Basket, when explaining to me the treatment of fields and of cattle struck, volunteered this statement. 'The people look upon anything which lightning has struck as impure (*ncholile*), and the aßaNguni (Xhosa and Thembu neighbours) even fence off the graves of those who have been struck lest a sorcerer (*igqwira*) should use it (remains of anything struck) for his sorcery. The Pondo only do not go to the length of fencing.' No one can say exactly what would happen if this treatment after lightning has struck were omitted, 'for it never has been omitted'; but as shown from the statements quoted, it is thought that the people would be ill, and also that lightning would strike in that place again. Some Christians, however, do not get treated even though a hut has been struck.[1] One woman cited three Christian *imizi* which had been struck and which had not been treated.

Lightning is said to be a bird *impundulu*: forked lightning is its droppings, and thunder the beating of its wings. The *impundulu* has red legs and beak and a pure white body, but sometimes it appears blue, and all sorts of colours. Where it has struck it leaves its eggs. The lightning furrows the ground like a plough, and at the end of the furrow are the eggs. When lightning strikes a hut *impundulu* has entered. Once it was seen. It entered a hut full of people who all fell down except one man who remained standing. He saw it and has told. He is now the *inyanga lezulu* (lightning doctor) of the district. *Impundulu* is referred to as *inkosi* (chief). One sultry morning when I was asking impertinent questions, the wretched informant said uncomfortably, 'Do not speak of the *inkosi* like that, especially when the sun is so hot.' When *impundulu* is not 'sent', but strikes, it is said, '*Inkosi iyazidlalela*' (The chief is amusing himself). The *inkosi* here is used as an *ukuhlonipha*—a polite mode of reference. There is no idea of a Supreme Power causing the lightning (cf. p. 270). During a storm no one may work or touch milk. Lightning, being a terrifying thing, parts of the *impundulu* are valuable medicine. Its eggs are used by the herbalist to treat the *umzi* where lightning has struck; part of a quill is rubbed into scarifications on a sick person, or burnt for the patient to inhale the smoke. Part of the meat of a beast killed is also used. As would be expected from this elaborate ritual in connexion with lightning, storms in Pondoland are

[1] A Christian woman said: 'Missionaries tell us not to use medicines, but how are the wires (lightning-conductors) we see on all their houses different from the pegs pagans put on their roofs?'

frequent and severe. During the two summer months I was at 'nTiβane I heard of six *imizi* struck in the neighbourhood, with several casualties. At one place twenty sheep were killed by lightning in one storm.

There are medicines for personal protection, particularly for those in dangerous periods of life. The protective medicines for a pregnant woman, new-born child, one being initiated as diviner, a warrior, are numerous. They are described in their appropriate contexts.

When an illness is diagnosed either by a member of the patient's family through dreams, or by a diviner, to be sent by the ancestors, no medicines are used except the *iyeza lasekhaya* (cf. p. 246), and the use of it combined with the appropriate ritual killing is expected to produce a cure. Neither a herbalist nor a European doctor can make a person better who is made ill by the ancestors. 'People do away with other medicines when they kill a beast.'

Where the diviner (*igqira*) has diagnosed the sickness as due to witchcraft or sorcery he also points out who is responsible, and measures are immediately taken to force them to raise their spell. Formerly the person 'smelt out' by the diviner was killed, or forced to leave the district. Now the accused, if a married woman, is usually forced to return to her own people. A man may be burnt out (cf. p. 313). There are cases in which the accused is exhorted to raise the spell. X, who suffered from fits and thought that his mother was killing him, shouted, '*Ndhikhulule, mama!*' (Release me, mother!). A case came before the magistrate at Ngqeleni in which a man A was accused of burning the hut of a woman B. It came out in the evidence that B had been accused of bewitching A's child who had died. A demanded of B that she should release (*ukukhulula*) the child. She denied that she had caused its illness, and was burned out.

Sometimes the patient is 'hidden' in the *umzi* of a relative or friend. Befile was near death with consumption. He was said to be bewitched by a widow from a neighbouring *umzi* who had formerly been his mistress, and with whom he had quarrelled. He was moved to three different *imizi* at a distance, in the hope of hiding him from his enemy. Only those who took and received him knew where he was.

Besides being freed from the attacks of the *igqwira* the patient is treated with medicines (*imithi*). 'A herbalist or a European can cure a person with medicines who is "killed" by witchcraft or sorcery.' For all the minor complaints put down to natural causes, medicines, usually consisting of vegetable matter, are used. Patients are given infusions to drink, infusions with which to

bathe their bodies, they are scarified and mixtures of herbs rubbed into the cuts (*ukuchaza*), made to inhale the smoke of a fire on which certain medicines have been placed (*ukuqhumisa*), made to dip their fingers in boiling infusions and lick the tips (*ukuncinda*), and to nibble certain roots or to wear them round their neck.

It is probable that many of the herbs used internally are of therapeutic value, but I did not succeed in discovering many of the plants used—they are trade secrets—and those discovered have not been identified or analysed. The following remedies which are common knowledge suggest the type of cures believed in.

A child's cough.

Tie a key round the child's neck, to 'lock up the cough'. Tie a certain root round the child's neck.

Cold or slight fever.

Give patient infusion of leaves of *umhlonyane* (*Artemisia afra*) or *umzinziyiba.*

Mumps.

Patient goes to Msenge tree (which has knobbly lumps on the trunk) and says, 'Mumps, mumps, in the Msenge tree, Humph!'

Vomiting.

Tie a strip of duiker hide round patient's wrist.

Pimples.

Smear face with yellow clay mixed with certain medicines, *ubulawu.*

Headache.

Stuff nostrils with leaves of *ikambi.*

Treatments by doctors (*amaggira* or *amaxhwele*).

Headache. Cut temples. Two small cuts are made and the blood sucked through a horn.

Toothache. Cut cheeks. A few doctors attempt to prise out an aching tooth with a piece of wire.

Fracture. Tie up with splints, and certain herbs.

Sprain. Pull straight, scarify, and rub medicines into cuts. Informants had never heard of any Native practitioner attempting amputations, but 'there was a man in Bizana who knew how to take bones out of people's heads, when they were smashed by a knobkerry. He saved many people. He was reported to the Government. Now many with broken heads are dying when treated by white doctors. No one died through being treated by that man.'

Hysteria. Patient given an emetic, and made to vomit into a special hole made by doctor; hole then filled in.

A recurring dream. A patient given an emetic.

A baby whose mother had lost her two previous children was given four roots to wear round its neck.

Pains at menstruation. Drink water poured on a root (*umiselo*) morning and evening.

Threatened miscarriage. Wash patient with infusion of root of *ubuka.* Give water in which roots have been boiled to drink.

A cure for snake-bite (said to be effective even for the bite of the *imamba*) is the gall of the snake which has attacked. The patient must swallow it.

A trader whom I knew was bitten on the foot by an unknown snake. He put on a tourniquet, cut the scratch, and rubbed in permanganate of potash. After 48 hours he was still feeling very ill, and allowed a Pondo, who offered, to treat him. The Pondo made an infusion of berries and leaves with cold water, gave the patient some of the infusion to drink, and used the rest to rub down the affected leg. He cut between each toe. After the cutting the patient felt better. After eleven days he recovered. The Pondo had learned the plant required from his father. He refused to show it to any one.

An *iggira* (diviner) whom I knew claimed to be able to make people immune from snake-bite. He killed a hen, cooked it, and gave the patient the gravy. He killed a snake, cooked it, mixed the remains with certain medicines, and gave the patient the mixture to drink. He claimed that any one he treated thus became immune for life. He gave them a horn of the mixture mentioned to lick if by chance they were bitten. 'Then the pain would be finished.' 'When the shadow of a person so treated falls on a snake, the snake becomes weak and cannot move.'

A herbalist who treated for snake-bite sucked the wound, scarified it, rubbed in pipe oil and bits of a certain root, and gave the patient an infusion of roots to drink. Two persons bitten by snakes and treated by him recovered.

Child with sores on body, said to be due to bite of 'snake of the women', made to inhale smoke of fire on which herb (*ithodlana*) was burned.

A usual treatment for all sorts of complaints is to poultice the affected part with dung, work the poultice with the hands, and produce some foreign body which is supposed to have come out of the patient (*ukuqubula*). This is the work of specialists *amaqgira aqubulayo.* Some produce frogs and lizards from their poultices. One I witnessed (cf. p. 497) only produced small pieces of grass, but these were believed by the patients whom she treated to have come out of their bodies and to be the cause of their sickness. The *iggira lokuqubula* witnessed made a great point of the fact that her patients collected and kneaded the dung themselves and that she worked with her sleeves rolled up. Others suck the affected parts and produce foreign bodies from their mouths.

Contact with Europeans has meant an increase in the materials of cure used. Most stores do a large trade in patent medicines.

In the average vernacular paper about seven-eighths of the advertisement columns are taken up by advertisements for medicines, which may be ordered by post. The manufacture of patent medicines is one of the flourishing industries of South Africa.

Besides being used for protection and cure, magic plays a part in all important enterprises. The magic of gardening or rain-making, of animal husbandry, of love-making, and the part it plays in law, in war, and in buttressing the power of the chief, is described elsewhere. Any exceptional success is attributed to magic. 'Europeans must have very strong medicines to enable them to run so fast.' Or magic may supply a deficiency in nature, or even take the place of technique. 'It is a man's spirit (*intliziyo*) which makes him brave', but 'some men are made courageous by treatment.' To make race-horses swift, 'some are treated, others are trained'.

Magical elements.

As is indicated in foregoing descriptions the material element is the important one in Pondo magic. In sorcery and the legal practice of magic it is the medicines (*imithi*) which are of importance. Some medicines are commonly known. The knowledge of others is a secret inherited, like other property, or bought. Before exposure the material is rendered unidentifiable. The herbalist sells leaves or roots cut from the plant and crushed or pounded. The spell is of secondary importance. At the most it is the expression of the wish of the performer as to the result of his performance, and the mention of the enemy's name.[1] Verbal accuracy is not necessary. Nevertheless, that the material element is not in itself sufficient is shown by the insistence of those who have a knowledge of medicines, that they must be used in a particular way (cf. p. 296). When I inquired whether, if the material element were procured by theft, it would work, the reply was, 'Not unless you also knew how to use it.' 'If you steal a medicine it will not work because you may not use it properly. The owner may spit and talk when he is using it, and you may not know about that. But you might be lucky, and it would work.' The performer must be free from *umlaza* (ritual impurity, cf. p. 46) which harms medicines. Nothing else affects his condition.

Practice of magic and grounds of belief.

Of the use of magic for protection and cure and in important enterprises there is adequate proof. The use of magic to secure death is more doubtful.

[1] In the folk-tales there are many references to things being controlled by the use of the right name and phrase.

Sorcery, I believe, is practised, although I have never myself seen a sorcerer at work. Cases of poisoning (included under the Pondo category of sorcery) have been proved in magistrates' courts. A man at Ndovelane was proved to have poisoned a neighbour's beer with cattle dip from the dipping tank, and received a life sentence. Another case of poisoning with dip is cited on p. 429. X came to a trader and asked him to secure for him a bottle of brandy and some European poison, offering in return his whole herd of cattle. X was suffering from epileptic fits, and believed that his father's brother's son Y, who lived near, was causing them. He determined to retaliate by poisoning this man. He believed that it was a case of his life or Y's. The case occurred while I was at the store, and I was told of it by the trader. I knew both the men concerned. The trader refused to procure either brandy or poison, and sent a message to Y warning him to eat or drink nothing that was not prepared for him by his own wife. No open hostility appeared. I was at Y's *umzi* some time later when X came in and was entertained with beer. A teacher whom I knew well told me the following incident: 'One day I said to X (a man reputed to be versed in sorcery), who is my friend, to test him, "There is some one whom I hate very much. Could you kill him for me?" X replied, "Yes, but you would have to give me a beast." Teacher: "All right, I shall tell you when I have got it." '

The fact that cases of poisoning occur, and the precise details given as to the method of *ukuthakatha ngobuthi* otherwise than with poison, suggests that some of the other methods of sorcery believed in are practised. Since they are always illegal they are always practised in secret.

Witchcraft obviously cannot be practised except in the form of bestiality. Some of the 'familiars' believed in are fabulous animals: others are believed to be used for ends which are impossible. Whence, then, the belief?

Psychological research shows that the belief in the ill wishing of others is well founded. There are jealousies and jars and hatreds, often subconscious, between persons in close contact with one another. Accusations of witchcraft and sorcery in Bantu society are the expression of these hatreds. A study of the accusations shows that they are almost invariably against some woman of the *umzi* who is a wife, not a daughter, of that *umzi* (cf. p. 43), or against a former lover or a rival in love, or a neighbour. Much evidence was collected on this point. I quote only a few sample cases from my notes.

Mamzikinya was the youngest and favourite wife of headman Dula. They had sweethearted before marriage. Dula's mother was dying.

His younger brother and neighbours told him he should consult a diviner. He refused to do so, saying that he did not believe in divination. His younger brother and two neighbours went to consult a diviner. Mamzikinya was accused of causing the illness of her husband's mother. She was not confronted directly with the accusation, but heard that she had been accused. She urged Dula to go to another diviner, that she might be cleared. He refused, saying that it was against his principles. She went to her father's *umzi*. Dula came to talk the matter over with her people. They urged him to go to other diviners. He replied that he knew that no one had killed his mother. God (*uThixo*) had taken her (she had died since the first divination), and that if he went to inquire the diviner would probably accuse him. Dula urged his wife to return to him. She refused. She was also accused of killing her co-wives' children. In the shop I heard her say, 'I am not going back (to my husband) to be called a witch (*igqwira*) by other women and my children.' A woman standing by asked, 'Did you really kill your mother-in-law?' Mamzikinya: 'They say that I did, so I suppose that I did.' Then passionately, 'The day that I die and confess all my sins, it will never appear that I have killed any one, for I have never done so.' Six months later she returned to her husband.

The baby of an *idikazi* whom I knew died of convulsions. She said to me, 'So-and-so (a man formerly her lover), who lives near and who dislikes me, sent the convulsions.'

Befile's little wife was ill after childbirth. Her people said that she was 'being killed' by Befile's great wife, who was jealous of the little wife because he preferred the little wife. Befile, speaking of it to me, said, 'What is the good of that when you see I am looking at the sun not knowing if I shall see it to-morrow?' (He was suffering from consumption.) An old woman diviner in the store hearing our conversation commented, '*Inkathazo yesithembu! Isithembu ngoSathana!*' (The trouble of polygyny! Polygyny is the devil!) Befile's own illness was said by four different diviners consulted to be caused by an *idikazi*, his ex-mistress (cf. pp. 146; 306).

As the proverb says, *Umbango uvuth' emlotheni* (Strife blazes up in the (family) ash-heap). Accusations of witchcraft and sorcery are always against persons with whom there is liable to be discord and jealousy. The consciousness of these jars is, I believe, the principal ground for the belief in witchcraft and sorcery. One man when asked whether he would consider that a broken leg caused by a fall from a horse was an accident or a misfortune caused by an enemy, replied, 'I would first think whether I had quarrelled with any one lately.' Accusations of witchcraft or sorcery are never made by a diviner against any person whom the majority of those who have come to inquire —and that means the friends of the sick or injured person—do not believe is guilty (cf. pp. 337; 343; 347). I believe that in most cases the majority

of the inquirers have decided in their own minds who is guilty, and that person is named by the diviner.

A second ground of belief is the admission by a percentage of those accused of witchcraft or sorcery of the truth of accusations against them. At least one form of sorcery (poisoning) occurs, and therefore a percentage of the admissions to accusations of sorcery may be genuine. Witchcraft and sorcery are not always distinguished by the Pondo. Often both are believed to have been used at once. Those who have themselves practised sorcery, or who know admissions of sorcery to be true, are therefore liable to believe that witchcraft is also practised. Witchcraft with familiars cannot occur, yet there are occasional confessions of practising of witchcraft. Formerly torture was used to extract confession of witchcraft (cf. p. 418). Present belief is based partly on former confessions extracted by torture. Such confessions may be discounted. But there are contemporary confessions, not made under torture. I myself heard three admissions of practising witchcraft (cf. pp. 283; 327; 339) and several other recent cases were reported to me. Mandumiso (pp. 283–4) had a miscarriage, and was accused by a diviner in the presence of her husband's people of causing it. She was aware of the general belief that persons might possess an *izulu* as lover, and that, if they married and became pregnant, they would have a miscarriage. This explanation was probably implied by the diviner. Her husband's people believed it, and she herself came to believe it. The women who admitted committing witchcraft at the divination ceremony (pp. 337–40) had already been accused, and the rest of the inquiring party, and onlookers, believed them to be guilty. The diviner, a very commanding personality with piercing eyes, was squatting in front of them and cracking a sjambok in their faces while he conducted the divination. All the while there was the monotonous clapping and chorus, 'It is agreed! It is agreed!' Conditions were as good as might be for the diviner to hypnotize the two women. Many of the admissions made before diviners are afterwards recanted. I suggest that most of them are made under hypnotic influence.

Recurrent sexual dreams are taken as proof that the dreamer has or is getting a familiar (cf. pp. 285; 327; 490–1) and probably produce a sense of guilt in some.[1]

It is held that no one can practise witchcraft without being conscious of doing so.

A fourth ground of belief is the word of the diviners. 'We

[1] Unfortunately I did not investigate Mandumiso's dreams. Possibly the meeting with a lover was in a dream, though she related it as fact.

believe because the diviners tell us it is so.' 'We have never seen *impundulu, ichanti,* &c., ourselves, but people would not talk about them if they were not there.' 'We do not know about them for we have never seen them, but people who know say that familiars are inherited.' The diviner's livelihood depends upon saying what his clients want to hear. They expect to hear tales of *impundulu* and the rest, and although the diviner has considerable scope in explaining the particular manner in which the witchcraft or sorcery has been committed, he is bound by definite limits of what his clients expect to hear. Most diviners probably themselves believe in the existence of familiars, but their belief is dependent on the belief of others. One said to me, 'I have never seen these things (familiars) myself, but people say that they are there.'

This attitude is essentially the same as that of a European layman. A Bantu schoolgirl with whom I was discussing belief in magic said to me, 'Well, how do you say that paralysis is caused?' I could only murmur something about affection of the spinal cord, and say that European doctors could explain the mechanism of causation. She replied, 'Well, our doctors tell us that it is caused by an *ichanti* staring at a person' (cf. p. 286). The ground of our respective beliefs was identical—the word of doctors and popular credence.

The death-rate is heavy, and *ukuthakatha* is believed to be the cause of practically every death. Therefore the success of *abathakathi* is constantly in the minds of people. A body of current myth—tales of the way in which A was killed by X, and B by Y—forms a staple of conversation. Natural events are interpreted in terms of magical beliefs. A man speaking of the baboon familiar said, 'I have never seen it, but we hear dogs barking, and we think it is a baboon (familiar).'

Threats of *ukuthakatha,* although not, I think, very usual, occasionally occur (cf. pp. 280; 343; 456; 491), and the occasional deaths of those threatened, from fright or by coincidence, has more influence on public opinion than many unfulfilled threats. The faith of a schoolgirl whom I know is based on the fact that A, who had quarrelled with B over their father's inheritance, threatened him with lightning, and shortly afterwards B's *umzi* was struck.

Accusations of sorcery are fewer than accusations of witchcraft, and although I have no proof, I believe that the number who practise sorcery is small. Some who work sorcery are successful with poison. Some of those worked against die by chance. Sorcerers who are not successful will never admit failure, since no one admits knowledge of sorcery unless anxious to sell the material of sorcery to another.

Magic and law.

The use of magic in important enterprises, and for protection and cure, is, according to Pondo theory, legal. Magic used to safeguard property is legal although destructive, since it will only cause harm if the property is violated. The thief who loses his teeth through eating treated stolen mealies has only himself to blame (cf. p. 133). For a husband to treat his wife so that a lover who comes to her will get a disease is legal, although some say that 'he should rather have caught the adulterer and fined him'. But for a lover to treat a married woman so that her husband is affected is illegal. One who does so is *umthakathi omkhulu* (a great sorcerer, cf. p. 204). The use of magic by diviner or herbalist to secure payment of bills is regarded as somewhat dubious, but it is not really sorcery and may be classed with legal magic to secure property (cf. p 342).

Magic was legitimately used against enemy tribes, either directly or indirectly, through the medicines with which the army was treated (cf. pp. 403–4; 406; 409).

Magic used by a lover to (*uku*)*phosela* a girl is only illegal if she becomes really ill (cf. p. 224). Magic used to influence the judgement in a case, or to 'tie up the tongue of a witness', is quite allowable. But to prevent a witness from giving evidence by incapacitating him, even temporarily (e.g. by causing colic), with magic would be sorcery. Except when used to defend property, or against an enemy tribe, magic used purposively for destruction is always illegal. The use of magic in revenge on a witch or sorcerer is illegal, although protective measures which may harm them are allowable. Formerly there was a legal means of redress through a diviner and chief, and therefore no necessity of using magic for revenge. A chief has no right to use magic against his subjects. An informant, when I inquired if the chief had such a right, replied, 'No', then added, 'Formerly he did not need to use magic against them. What the chief ordered was done.' But the prestige of a chief may be such that even when he is proved to have used sorcery his people may remain loyal to him (cf. p. 429).

Medicines (*imithi*) may be used for legal or illegal ends. Sorcery is therefore illegal, not on account of the technique used (magic to cause *ujovela* may be legal or illegal according to the circumstances), but on account of the end to which it is put. Witchcraft, on the other hand, is in itself an illegal technique. To say of a person, 'She has a familiar', is equivalent to saying, 'She commits witchcraft'. Since sorcery is only the illegal use of medicines, one who provides the medicines used is not regarded as a sorcerer.

'He did not call that person (who commits sorcery) to come to him for medicines.' Only he who actually uses the medicines for destructive ends is guilty.

But medicines are regarded with some suspicion, because certain strong medicines are thought to be dangerous in themselves. Their effect on small children has been mentioned (cf. p. 156). A person carrying strong medicines about to cross a deep river, tells the river of them, saying, "People say that I commit sorcery"; otherwise the river might take him.'[1] Informants told of a tree in Zululand which is valuable as medicine, but which causes death to any who approach it untreated. One wishing to approach should be treated, and then throw a dog to the tree. The tree 'cries like a sheep'.[2] Use of *ithodlana* on one field may cause a neighbouring field to shrivel (cf. p. 77). Medicines used to make a race-horse swift may harm other horses.

Persons using or carrying these medicines are not sorcerers, because they have no intention to harm. If they fail to take measures to protect any who may be harmed by their medicines they have acted in a reprehensible and unneighbourly manner, but no case can (nor could formerly) be brought against them in the chief's court.

Attitude towards persons accused of witchcraft or sorcery.

Informants state that formerly persons accused of witchcraft or sorcery were killed, if the chief consented. According to Kidd[3] before the annexation one person was put to death in Pondoland every day. But since the mortality rate is high and the great majority of deaths are attributed to witchcraft or sorcery all those accused cannot have been killed. Some fearing accusation fled to neighbouring districts. Others probably were merely fined. Information as to how former laws worked is lacking.

Now, under British administration, the killing of persons accused is rare. A married woman when accused of killing persons in her married home (and sometimes when accused of killing neighbours) returns to her own people. Once formally accused by her husband no self-respecting woman will remain at her married home. I know of no case where a woman who thus returned to her own people was refused shelter. When she denies the accusation her people take her part, and declare the accusation to be false. Where she has admitted the accusation, they believe it to be true, but receive her and arrange for her to be cured of

[1] Persons crossing flooded rivers also confess if they have *ubuthi* or money on them, or have *umlaza* (cf. p. 47).

[2] Cf. Callaway, op. cit. p. 422.

[3] Dudley Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 176.

her witchcraft (cf. p. 283). An unexpected result of the stopping of the execution of those accused of witchcraft or sorcery is an increase in the number of *amadikazi*. Sometimes women accused of witchcraft, after living at home for some time, are summoned back by their husbands, but no woman who has been accused, and whose husband has admitted the accusation, will return to her husband until a beast has been given to her father to wipe out the insult of the accusation.

A husband may refuse to entertain an accusation against his wife, in which case, if he is living in the *umzi* of his father or elder brother, it will be necessary for him to leave the *umzi* in which he is living and build one for himself. A favourite wife of Somponos was accused of killing children of Somponos's brother by witchcraft. He did not believe the accusation against her, and leaving his other wives in his father's *umzi* in which he had previously lived, he built a new *umzi* about seven miles distant from the old, and went to live there with the accused woman. He was still living with her when I saw him twenty years after the accusation. His other wives, being deserted, had returned to their own homes. When the wife of a man who already has his own *umzi* is accused, or a man is accused, neighbours may force them to leave the district. Every year in Pondoland there are cases in the magistrates' courts of incendiarism, and the people burnt out are almost invariably people who have been accused of witchcraft or sorcery and who have refused to move.

An evangelist at 'nTiβane was popularly accused of having a baboon familiar. His cattle had increased very rapidly and neighbours were jealous. One night his huts were fired. He refused to leave the district, but rebuilt his huts about a mile from where they had been.

Those accused are not ostracized, but take part in all social activities. Geza, when I inquired whether people avoided those accused, replied, 'There is no place separate from *abathakathi* (witches and sorcerers). We are crossing their doorsteps every day. Do you think that in these places where we have been there are no *abathakathi*? Even if a person is smelt out ten times people still go to drink when he makes beer, and they will not tell him that he is an *umthakathi*.' The teacher quoted on p. 307, in reply to my question whether or not he considered the noted sorcerer quoted on pp. 292–3, a sorcerer, replied, 'Yes, that man is an *umthakathi* because he uses medicines secretly to kill (he was accused when the headman's children died), but he is my friend.' Very many of the women whom I met at beer drinks and work parties, and visiting friends, had at some time or other been

accused of *ukuthakatha*. Their safeguard is that so many are accused. One, of whom I inquired whether she did not shun a woman accused, replied, 'Some shun her, others do not. What is the good of shunning her? It might happen that any of us may be accused to-morrow.'

One man discussing the iniquity of a lover who used medicines to cause disease to a woman's husband said, 'People would not even eat with that man.' Some try to avoid eating with one whom they believe to have worked witchcraft or sorcery against them, not serving food while he is present at their own *umzi*, and refusing it at another *umzi* if he is there; but I have seen others visit and be polite in public even to those whom they believed were working, or had worked, sorcery against themselves or members of their families. The widow of Sipopone's victim greeted him politely (cf. pp. 429; 307). Zakade discussing this said, 'My son died. X was smelt out. But I could not do anything. I still go to that *umzi* of X. Sometimes one even changes one's mind about an *umthakathi*, for he does not kill one oneself.'

Nevertheless, since murder is believed to have been committed there is bitterness. Accusations of witchcraft are keenly felt. Hlupheka told how she had been accused of killing a neighbour's baby, and as a result had suffered from 'palpitations all night' and had become very thin. She had denied the accusation, and collecting 10*s*. with which to inquire from another diviner, had been cleared. One man said to me, 'If people accused one's wife of witchcraft, she has killed one's heart. One sees these things happening (i.e. deaths), but one does not believe it is she who has caused them.' A woman said, 'A mother's heart is often made sore by hearing that her daughter has an *izulu*.'

There is some evidence of attempts at retaliation by sorcery. One case of attempted revenge by poisoning is quoted on pp. 290–1. Geza told how his brother had accompanied a doctor (*inyanga*) to a European village and there had drunk with him. On the way home they stopped at an *umzi*. The doctor gave a bottle of brandy to the owner of the *umzi* and went on his way. Geza's brother was left there drunk and asleep. During the night the owner of the *umzi* who had drunk the brandy died; Geza's brother fell under suspicion, but it was pointed out that the doctor had given the brandy. The doctor was a stranger but was visiting a friend in the district who had a quarrel with the dead man. 'Every one knew, and the doctor told my brother himself, that he had killed this man for his friend. The price was a beast. The friends of the deceased made no case. They said that they would revenge themselves by *ukuthakatha* also.' Two years had passed since the

event, and both the doctor and his friend were alive, but Geza thought that the deceased's relatives might still revenge themselves.

Geza reported another case. I quote his text (translated).

One day the people of a certain small *umzi* were seen running about, and making a great disturbance. When the reason for the commotion was asked, it was said that a son of the *umzi*, Tom, had gone away. 'What? How has Tom gone away?' The reply was that Tom did a strange thing. He contended that he wished to go to Jesus. The short road to go there was to hang himself on a tree. They asked what he said concerning that. He had said, 'I want to die.' 'Is death the thing a man wants?' 'I do not know about others, but I, Tom, want it.' So he spoke and took a thong, and ran towards the forest. Some went after him. At length they caught him. They dragged him home. After that they watched him.

'Yield to the country of the European', shouted his mother. 'What do you say, mother of Tom?' asked a friend. 'I say because my child is in this state.' 'Explain!' said the friend. 'You ask whether it is not so?' said the mother of Tom. 'I ask whether the country of the European has anything to do with your son.' 'You see, my friend, Tom is attacked by sorcery' (*ulunjiwe*). So spoke that woman, who was the mother of Tom, Mamkiza by name. She went on to say that Tom was loved by the daughter of Fy, who Dayimani, the son of Kama, loved. 'Now Dayimani, on account of that throwing over, went and got medicines and worked sorcery against (*ukulumba*) my child. I say that if we were not in the country of the European, before sunset I would hack Dayimani with an axe.' So spoke Mamkiza.

On a certain day a child of Kama's said to its mother, 'Mother, I saw a short grey-bearded man.' 'What is that man to you?' 'He said he had come to pay out Brother.' (That brother was Dayimani.) The woman said, 'Be quiet, my child, do not repeat that.' On the next day, and on many days, that short man was seen by the children.

On a certain day the women were drinking beer. Masoyi, the mother of Dayimani, said, 'Please be silent, women: I have something to announce.' They were quiet. 'Women, my *umzi* is pure. These small animals, as I am here, live with the children. May that finish! These animals say they want Dayimani, because it is said it was he who worked sorcery against Tom. May that finish! I have no small animals. May the owners catch them (the animals).' But that speech of Masoyi helped nothing, for the animals continued always to stand by Dayimani when he slept.

There commenced a quarrel between the people of those two *imizi*. Tom married that girl, but on the day of the feast he went mad. A doctor was sought because he wished to hang himself. The doctor treated him and he recovered. Again after that he lay with his wife. Again he became mad. A diviner was consulted. In this manner people consulted concerning him.

Diviner.	*People.*
Speak.	It is agreed (*softly*).
It is a child.	
No, it is a woman.	
No, it is a young man.	(*loudly*).
He is ill.	
He is *lunjiwe* by another young man,	
Who is crying about a girl,	
Whom he has married.	

They went home. When they arrived at home they followed the pointing out. They told that the diviner had said it was a young man who was crying about a girl. They argued about it and said, 'You cannot raise your voice about that for the country belongs to the Europeans.'

When Tom went mad, the girl went home. When she arrived she remained a little time, then Dayimani married her. She was his wife altogether. Dayimani also sought a doctor to treat his home. The little animals ran off to their own people and remain there till to-day. Since these things happened it is known that these *imizi* glare at one another.

The *idikazi* who was accused of killing Befile (cf. p. 308) was reported to say, 'If I am killing him with *ubuthi* (material of sorcery) let him also employ a herbalist against me.'

Accusations and status.

Near relatives of chiefs are accused of killing members of their own families. The mother of Gwadiso, a former chief of the Khonjwayo clan, was killed by Gwadiso himself, because he believed that she was harming him. 'First Gwadiso's brother died, and his mother was "smelt out", then he himself became ill.' A child, half-sister of the present Khonjwayo chief, died. Men were sent to inquire of a diviner. When they returned no name was mentioned publicly. People in the store gossiped, saying, 'We see that some one very near the chief must have been accused.' The mother of the chief immediately left to visit her own home, and it was generally thought that she had been accused. I heard of no case in which a member of a chief's family was accused of killing a commoner.

The vast majority of accusations of witchcraft or sorcery are against women. One informant volunteered the opinion that 'A woman without a husband is often smelt out.' Another that 'It is just the strength of a woman's father or husband that saves her from being smelt out.'

Europeans are believed to be possessed of powerful materials for sorcery. 'All *ubuthi* comes from Europeans. They are the real

amaggwira (witches or sorcerers). They do not use it but keep it and sell it to people.' Only once (on a farm) did I hear of an individual European being accused of causing illness to a Native. Imputation of witchcraft being an offence, diviners would be chary of mentioning a European. Informants, when asked, replied that store-keepers and individual Europeans in Pondoland did not kill Pondo by witchcraft or sorcery, but 'It is that European, the Government, who *ukuthakatha*.' Cattle sicknesses are commonly believed to be sent by Europeans. 'We always hear beforehand that they (the cattle diseases) are coming; that means that white people have sent them.'

One woman, who had the reputation of being a skilled sorceress, remarked to me, 'What is wonderful is that even if people (Natives) are troubled by a white man he is not killed. Europeans must have very strong medicines with which to fence their *imizi*.' There is a proverb, *Imithi ayigeni emlungwini* (Medicines do not go into, i.e. harm, a European).

Effect of magical beliefs upon the community.

Belief in magic is to some extent an integrating force in the community. The medicines of the chief buttress his authority, the army medicines increase the dependence of his people upon him, and the ceremony of the first-fruits helps him to control food supplies. Economic magic gives the confidence necessary for success in important enterprises. The rain magic in particular gives an emotional outlet, and faith that all will eventually be well during periods of anxiety and strain.

The danger of being 'smelt out' for witchcraft or sorcery is a sanction for social behaviour. Any who make themselves unpopular are liable to be 'smelt out'. The woman who is lazy and bad tempered will soon be accused of witchcraft by her co-wives. A man who is stingy and quarrelsome is accused by neighbours. Any who diverge widely from the social norm are in danger. In this way belief in witchcraft and sorcery makes for stability.

But these very forces which make for stability hamper initiative. Traits which make a man unpopular are often socially valuable. Formerly any who excited the jealousy of neighbours, or of the chief, by marked increase in wealth were in danger of death. To-day those who use improved methods of agriculture are often accused of causing harm to neighbours' crops. Fertilizer is a 'medicine' which may cause neighbouring fields to rot (cf. p. 77). The belief in magic hampers the development of scientific knowledge. When crop failures are believed to be due to neighbours'

medicines, the real causes of failure are less likely to be discovered than if no magical explanation were given.

Belief in magic causes fear, besides giving confidence. The case of the Pondo army which fled because they thought that strong magic had been worked against them is quoted on p. 407. Sorcery and witchcraft are believed to be stronger than protective magic. How otherwise would people die?

Cases of illness result from fear of witchcraft or sorcery. A teacher, X, became unpopular in his district because he complained to the paramount chief that people in his district did not send their children to school. People grumbled and said, 'We have a cruel teacher. He got us into trouble.' Recently two headmen in the district who were not well liked had died, supposedly from sorcery. The teacher was troubled, thinking to himself that he had made himself unpopular, and that he too would be killed. He began to have palpitations. He went to a mission doctor who after examining him asked, 'Are you in love?' Teacher: 'No.' Doctor: 'Are you expecting bad news?' Teacher: 'No.' Doctor: 'Are you afraid that there are people trying to bewitch you?' Teacher: 'Yes.' Doctor: 'Well, if you are not afraid they cannot kill you. If you are afraid you will die.' 'Then', said the teacher, 'I came back determined that they should not kill me, and I dared them to take their stick for digging medicines, and dig their strongest medicine.' The teacher when he told me the story some months later was well.

Unless they are conscious of having made themselves very unpopular, normal people do not live in constant terror of witchcraft or sorcery, as is sometimes maintained, but any misfortune is attributed to an enemy, and an unusual happening causes anxiety. Two dogs of a school man (the son of an evangelist) died. A third was ill. He was just preparing to go to inquire of a diviner when he heard that the trader had laid poison. 'He thought that since there was killing in his *umzi* he would be next.'

Accusations of witchcraft and sorcery are reflections of the quarrels and tensions between wives and their husband's relatives, between co-wives, lovers, and neighbours, but they are also an aggravating cause of these quarrels. The belief of a daughter-in-law that her mother-in-law may cause her to be ill increases any tension that may exist between them. Many cases of dissolution of marriage examined proved to have originated in accusations of witchcraft or sorcery. One informant volunteered the remark, 'It is out of accusations of witchcraft and sorcery that disagreement between *imizi* arises.'

Even when relatives of a deceased person do not go to a diviner

they usually believe a particular person to be responsible for the death. It is argued that working sorcery is a way in which an angry man may harmlessly give vent to his feelings, but the hatred generated by the belief that persons have killed one's relatives must outweigh any cathartic value the practice of sorcery may have.

Much space has here been devoted to witchcraft and magic, but it is commensurate with the part they play in Pondo life. The belief in them permeates the whole of life. It is significant that in two of the best novels written by South African Bantu—*Chaka* by Mofolo and *Mhudi* by Sol Plaatje—witchcraft and magic are predominating influences.

CHAPTER VII

'DOCTORS'

PONDO 'doctors' are of two main classes: *amaggira* (sing. *iggira*), which I translate as 'diviner'; and *amaxhwele* (sing. *ixhwele*), which I translate as 'herbalist'. The distinction is based on a difference in initiation rather than in function, for their functions overlap. An *iggira* is any person who has *ukuthwasa*,[1] that is, has gone through certain initiation ceremonies. *Inyanga* (from *ukunyanga*, to treat) is used in eastern Pondoland for both *iggira* and *ixhwele*. It is so used here and is translated as 'doctor'.

Diviners

Any person who is ill, and whose illness is prolonged, may be diagnosed by an *iggira*, or herself feel, that she is 'sick *ukuthwasa*', that she has an *inkathazo* (literally trouble—used technically for sickness before *ukuthwasa*) sent by her *amathongo* (ancestors) who wish her to become an *iggira*. An *inkathazo* is always sent by the *amathongo*, never as other sickness by an enemy. I can trace no particular symptoms by which *inkathazo* is recognized. One when diagnosed as ill *ukuthwasa* had suffered from stomach-ache, nervousness, and throbbing; another from severe pains in the back; another from pain in the joints, back, shoulder, and neck; another from headache and suppurating cheek. Several had had periods of unconsciousness before or during their initiation.

Far more women *ukuthwasa* than men: of 26 *amaggira* I knew 21 were women, and I had as much opportunity of hearing of men *amaggira* as of women. Although an *inkathazo* may come at any age—a child may get sick *ukuthwasa*—many women *ukuthwasa* about menopause. It is also noticeable that most novices being initiated (*abakhwetha*) and *amaggira* are nervous, hysterical people. One novice I knew walked with a marked limp, but it was not apparent when she danced the ritual dance. An uncontrollable hiccup and nervous twitchings are common symptoms. These suggest functional nervous diseases, but the problem awaits a doctor and psychologist. It is certain that the preliminary to initiation ceremonies is always severe illness, and *ukuthwasa* (the performance of the initiation ceremony) is regarded as the only cure. Any one may fall ill *ukuthwasa*. An *iggira* may be helped by an *ithongo* who was not itself an *iggira*, but *inkathazo*

[1] *Ukuthwasa*, to come out, appear gradually. Used of the moon *Inyanga ithwasile*. The new moon has appeared. (Kropf, *Kaffir Dictionary*). Also of some one who is expert. *Uthwasile ngomatshi*, She is an expert with her machine.

seems to run in families, and some of the offspring of an *igqira* will most frequently *ukuthwasa*.

Initiation.[1]

A person who has an *inkathazo* is supposed to dream much, and to see continually before her, both in her dreams and when awake, an *ityala*. An *ityala* is an *ithongo* which takes the shape of a wild animal—lion, leopard, elephant, &c.—and the patient is said to (*uku*)*thwasa ngetyala*—to (*uku*)*thwasa* by an *ityala*. The form in which the *ityala* appears depends on the individual, and has no relation to the clan to which the novice or her husband belong. Members of the same clan 'see' different animals. Often when diagnosed by an *igqira* to be ill *ukuthwasa*, the patient refuses to 'admit' the *inkathazo* (*vum' inkathazo*) and denies that she sees an *ityala*. If an *inkathazo* has been diagnosed by more than one *igqira* it is held that she sees an *ityala*, but is unwilling to (*uku*)*thwasa*. Refusal to admit *inkathazo* is said by some *amagqira* always to result in death, others say it may end in deformity—'some become hunchbacks'. Others say, 'Sometimes a woman does not become pregnant because she will not admit *amatyala*. If you do admit it then you are sure to have children.' Nevertheless, refusal to admit an *inkathazo*, or prolonged resistance, is not unusual. Reasons cited by *amagqira* are that the patient is frightened and does not wish to become an *igqira*, and that in the case of married women their husbands often object, because if a woman *ukuthwasa* under a man he will expect to have sexual relations with her at the end of her initiation, and as *amagqira*, women claim freedom to travel, treating, divining, and collecting herbs, which is disapproved of by jealous husbands. Considerations of expense in ritual killings and fees hinder many.

I asked a group of informants, none of whom were *amagqira*, whether or not they would like to be initiated. The reply was, '*Ukuthwasa* is to be ill. It is bad. There is pain. People do not wish it.'

During her initiation, and afterwards when she is an *igqira*, the patient continues to see her *ityala*. 'Sometimes it comes to her *umzi* and her family see it also, but they must not harm it.' 'It will never do any harm at that *umzi*.' *Amagqira* insist that they

[1] This account of initiation is based on observance of initiation ceremonies of six different *amagqira* and on statements of many others. I knew twenty-six *amagqira* in Pondoland and others on farms and in towns, and received accounts of their initiation from many of them. Unfortunately space does not permit giving detailed individual accounts. The initiation of some Xhosa *amagqira* is connected with rivers, and a few Pondo are initiated in this way. The custom is properly a Xhosa one, and data on it will be published separately.

have actually seen elephants, leopards, &c., which are the *amatyala*, although it is many years since big game was exterminated in Pondoland. It is said that at night two lights, which are the eyes of the *ityala*, are seen about an *iggira's umzi*. 'Sometimes when you are travelling alone two lights accompany you, one behind and one before. These are *amatyala*.' I was assured that they were quite different from fire-flies or glow-worms. An *iggira* and her relatives show respect (*ukuhlonipha*) towards her *ityala* by not killing it, or eating its flesh, or mentioning its name. There is a story in Pondo history of complications caused by a man in the house of Nyandeni accidentally killing a lion, when a wife of the chief of the house had *ukuthwasa* by a lion. The verbal *ukuhlonipha* used are the ordinary devices of using a synonym or suggesting the whole by mentioning a part. One *iggira* referred to her *ityala*, a leopard, as *irwamnca* (a wild beast); another used *ixhaga* (an ivory arm-ring) for an elephant.

One with *inkathazo* is said to be *nomfologu*—with an *umfologu*.[1] '*Umfologu* is the same thing as *ithongo*.' But there is no idea of an *ithongo* entering the body of the patient. A novice has communication with her *amathongo* both through her *ityala* and through dreams. Their will is revealed in dreams, or the novice is 'told by her *ityala* which is an *ithongo*'. 'A novice dreams of a plant in a certain place, and sees that she is to use it for a certain disease. Next day she goes and digs it, and tries it.' She dreams when and how a ritual killing should be made for her, what foods she must avoid when she is ready to come out, &c. The general pattern of initiation is constant, but details vary with individuals, and the explanation for variation is always 'She was told by her *ityala*' or 'She saw it in a dream.'

Physical illness is the preliminary to *ukuthwasa*, and during the whole period of initiation the novice is regarded as, and usually is, a sick person. She is attended by an *iggira* (he who diagnosed the *inkathazo* or another) exactly as if she had an ordinary illness, and is given infusions of herbs to drink, others with which to wash, and a string of roots to wear and nibble before taking food (*amakhubalo*). She washes two or three times daily with herbs (*isihlambezo*), drawing her water from a running stream in a special can. She cannot wash in the stream as ordinary people do, and she must not use stagnant water. Once during her initiation a bowlful of foaming medicines is poured on her head (*ukuphehlelela*).

A novice is in danger from ritual impurity (*umlaza*), and so

[1] This is the only context in which I have heard Pondo use *umfologu*. *Ithongo* is never used in this context.

must live a secluded life at home, not attending beer drinks or other social functions. She sits apart in her hut, and sometimes, 'when she dreams of it', builds a wickerwork screen behind which she sits. She shakes hands with no one except a very old person, and lets no one's shadow fall on her, lest they have *umlaza* or are wearing charms. (All sick persons fear shadows, but not those in good health.) A novice is cooked for on a fire lighted with matches (lest some one with *umlaza* should have warmed themselves at the fire from which hers was kindled) and has her own pot, dish, and spoon. If a separate pot is not available she is served first. No one with *umlaza* may cook for her. Only a child who has not reached puberty may eat the remains on her plate. No mourner enters her hut. Some novices keep a charm (*ikhubalo*) over the door which every one entering must nibble and spit out on his or her hands, then take ash from the hearth and smear it on the post of the hut. This protects the novice from any *umlaza* the visitor may have.

A novice is supposed to remain chaste, because the *umlaza* in sexual contact would both harm her and negative the power of the medicines she uses. Actually a husband often demands his wife, and pays a goat *ukucamaguʃa* (to propitiate). Sometimes this goat is killed ritually. The novice is made to eat the *intsonyama*, and given a strip of hide to wear on her arm, and the skin exchanged at the store for white beads. An *igqira* says that the goat is to propitiate (*ukucamaguʃa*) the *amathongo*, to prevent any harm coming from sexual contact. Sometimes, however, the goat (or 5*s*. or 10*s*. in money) is given to the novice's *igqira* to kill and eat or keep as he chooses. This goat is also called *ukucamaguʃa*. By some it is regarded as quite a legitimate alternative to killing for the *amathongo*. The danger in sexual contact is definitely to the novice and not to his or her partner.

A female novice wears short unbraided skirts, no ochre, and a handkerchief tied low over her forehead, as a person in mourning. She wears no ornaments except white beads round wrist, neck, ankle, or forehead. She remains shaved during the whole period of her initiation. She must never bare her torso in the presence of people, and even when working in the fields wears her cloak pinned over her shoulders. All novices observe certain food taboos, but taboos vary from individual to individual. A novice avoids what she 'sees in a dream she must not eat', or what she 'has been told by her *ityala* to avoid', or 'what, when she has eaten it, has made her sick'. The foods avoided by one are sour milk, pumpkin, spinach, beans, maize bread, sugar-cane, and sweet potatoes. Another avoids sour milk, pumpkin, pork, and entrails.

Some never eat food cooked the day before; others cook their food without salt. With some the floor of their hut is not swept, nor are the ashes cleared from the hearth, during the whole period of their seclusion.

Every novice sees in a dream that she has been presented with a spear either by her own family or by strangers. When she dreams of it she goes and asks for it 'where she saw it'. 'If strangers refuse it to her, her people must buy it from them, because she would die if she did not get it.'

As a person made ill by the *amathongo*, a novice must have ritual killings made for her. The number of killings varies with what the novice 'sees' and the economic position of her family, but usually beer is made once or twice during her initiation, and there are at least two meat feasts, at each of which a beast is killed. The main feasts are known in western Pondoland as *umvulo* (the opening) and *umgidi* (the multitude). The date of the feasts depends upon the health and dreams of the novice, and upon seasonal occupations: no feasts are made during the summer months. Normally the *umvulo* takes place about a year after the novice has begun *ukuthwasa*, and the *umgidi* some months later.

A peculiarity of *inkathazo* is that it may be caused in a man not only by the *amathongo* of his father, but also by the *amathongo* of his mother or father's mother, and in a woman not only by the *amathongo* of her father and husband, but also by the *amathongo* of her mother (cf. p. 233). The *amathongo* of a man's father or a woman's father or husband, however, are always mainly responsible. Majelu said that three sets of *amathongo* came to him: those of his father, those of his mother, and those of his father's mother. They fought because each side wanted him. Those of his father chased away the others. Matʃhozi said, 'I was made ill by the *amathongo* of my home (i.e. her father's *amathongo*). There were those of my mother, but they were chased away by those of my home.'

Ritual killings for a male novice are normally made at his own *umzi*, for a woman usually some are made at her husband's *umzi* and some at her father's *umzi*. Sometimes a novice sees in a dream a beast belonging to some non-relative. It must then be bought and killed for her, otherwise she may die. Mampinge saw one belonging to the district chief, and it was bought and killed for her. A trader told me that repeated attempts had been made to buy a particular cow of his, because it had been 'seen' by a novice. It is said that a novice sometimes 'sees' beer in the *umzi* of a non-relative, and that it is then made for her at that *umzi*, but informants could cite no case in which this had occurred. Always

the ritual killings had been made at the patients' own homes, and their mothers' homes, or in the case of a married woman at her husband's home.

Part of the treatment of a novice is *ukuxentsa*, and *ukulawul' amaphupha*—to dance the solo dance peculiar to those who have *ukuthwasa*, and to confess her dreams. From the time she begins to (*uku*)*thwasa* 'a novice wants to (*uku*)*xentsa* as often as she can get people to clap for her. She dances every night and morning if she can.' The dance may be performed at any time, and during her initiation a novice does dance frequently, but since she depends on friends to clap for her (or beat a folded ox-hide) the times *par excellence* for dancing are when people are collected at her *umzi* for meat or beer. Neighbours get bored with clapping, and I have seen a novice begging for a 'band' in vain when she had no beer to offer. The *ukuxentsa* dance is always performed in a hut except on the day of the final ceremony (*umgidi*). Not even fully fledged *amaggira* can *ukuxentsa* outside except at an *umgidi*. The reason given is that they cannot *ukuxentsa* in the sunlight. Some also close the door of the hut. Only those *ukuxentsa* who are or have *ukuthwasa*; they may join in on any occasion when the dance is performed. The dance is properly a solo, but several people may dance at once, each performing their own solo. There is no joint pattern. The audience sit round the wall, and the performer gives them the time to clap, and possibly a phrase to chant. She stands in the centre of the hut, lifts her feet alternately in time to the clapping, comes lightly down on her toes, stamps her heels, and quivers every muscle up her body to her cheeks and arms. The time gets faster and faster, the dancer lifts her feet higher and higher till after five minutes she stops abruptly, panting and dripping with perspiration. The clapping stops. After a bout of dancing the novice addresses the company, thanking them for being present and confessing her dreams, and then addresses her ancestors, thanking them for recovery from sickness (partial, if not complete). Then she dances again, and speaks again. Any other novice or *igqira* present who chooses may dance and speak. Often *amaggira* address the novice and tell her to confess everything she sees *emaphupheni*, i.e. in sleeping or waking dreams, and she will get better. Informants say that if a novice will not *ukulawula* (confess) it must be because she has an *izulu* (familiar) and is concealing it.

Here are the choruses and confessions at one gathering in the hut of a novice Mampise. She was a widow living at her own home and had just been diagnosed as sick *ukuthwasa*. Beer was made, and ritually drunk at the kraal gate. Then the guests

gathered in a hut; Mampise sat apart at the back. Majingaza, a noted diviner, began to clap and chant:

'Yo Ho Ho Hai He.'

'You have seen the beasts with many spots?' (i.e. the *ityala*).

Visiting novices and *amaggiʃa* began to dance. A novice stopped the clapping and said,

'We thank you our people.

This feast (*isidlo*) of the child of Ngqwasi (father of Mampise).

I thank you for it.

People of the men's side out to the door, people of the women's side out to the door!

Your father has done a great thing this day by acknowledging your sickness, and we hope for blessing (*icamagu*) on your head.

Blessing on your head!

May this sickness that you are acknowledging not press you down so.'

Audience in chorus after each line:

'It is agreed.'

Chorus started by Majingaza:

'Here take, here is the place.'

Another novice:

'I speak what I have seen.'

Chorus:

'Confess the ancestors.'

The igqiʃa attending Mampise:

'People think we are mad, but we are not mad: we are sick. God (*uThixo*) said that we must be sick. The reason that we are now *amaggiʃa* treating you is that we acknowledged our sickness. Now we are helping you who are sick. This sick person (Mampise) has been made ill by her husband's sisters who want to see her dead, but *uThixo* did not wish her to die. Now I am to speak to these women here (Majingaza and her novice) to thank them for having come.'

After further dancing Majingaza said:

'People are talking behind my back, and say that I have something (*ndinento*—a familiar implied). Why are the amaTʃhomane (her ancestors) not watching to see what I am doing? I do not care even if I am not married. I lose nothing by that (she is an *idikazi*). Listen, beautiful people! I am an *igqiʃa* who stands up. I have forty head of cattle, and I have three pounds here in cash. I am a man and a woman in one. There is no one else like me. That is why I am praying (*ukuthandaza*) for this girl. The old man has had great trouble over this girl. I hope that all the cramp (*inkantsi*) will go out of her now.'

To the old women of the umzi:

'Treat your children well.'

To the young people:

'Treat your mother well. Nothing will go well in the hut if you do not show respect to your father's wife. (Old woman is step-mother to Mampise.) That will cause sickness to be blessed if you behave properly.'

To her own novice:

'Thank you for looking after me so well. I am glad to have you going about with me among the Khonjwayo.'

To general company:

'I am not going to be a *timiti ladi* (she attends every *itimiti* there is). Men would take me to *iitimiti*, but I am not every one's property. If I yielded to all the men who wanted me I should not be able to walk home alone. I am not that sort of girl: I am my father's daughter (*intombi kabawo*).'

To another igqira:

'I thank you, Mantusi, for being my friend. I have never got any illness from other *amaggira* here: the only illness I have got is from men at *iitimiti*.'

Though urged to do so Mampise did not confess at all herself, but *ukuxentsa* for a few moments, then half fainting staggered back to her place at the back of the hut.

Another visiting novice began:

'I will do my part now. I am troubled. I have no *umzi* of my own here. (She is a widow living with a married son.) Something is troubling. I am ill. This is the reason I am crying about my *umzi*. I have been home. I went because I was sick. Now I cannot shake the dust off my feet because I have no *umzi* at which to make beer. Another thing, I cannot sleep because of an *izulu*. It travels with me. I do not know if it is my mother's or whose, but when I travel from home it comes with me.'

Audience:

'What does this *izulu* say to you?'

Novice:

'I am going to tell you about this *izulu* because I have got a sore leg too. Last night I dreamed a woman and a boy came from my home. The woman had killed a flying bird. I called that bird by a name last night. They gave me 10*s*. to be treated, but before I could ask where it came from my brother came in and said, "You have no *umzi* here, come home and be treated."'

Novice went out exhausted and washed her hands.

I heard from other sources that Paupau, her son, had just sent down 10*s*. from the Rand for her to be treated at her *umzi*. He wrote, 'Do not go to your own people but stay and look after the *umzi*.'

An *izulu* is often thought to appear as a known person. (She implies that her guests were *amazulu*.)

Quilibana's wife, another igqira ukuxentsa and said:

'I thank you, to-morrow and the day before yesterday. We are glad when we are told that it is the old people who are killing you (Mampise) and not an *izulu*, for an *izulu* usually takes you out into the veld' (i.e. kills you(?)).

Mampise was crying at the back of the hut, but staggered up, half fainting, and tried to *ukuxentsa* with the initiated. An old woman commented, 'You see she cannot help it, she must dance.'

Quilibana's wife to stepmother of patient:

'Mother look after the children of the dead woman! This child (Mampise) would have been dead if it had not been for you. Keep on looking after them.'

To Mampise:

'Whatever you see you must confess—if you see fowls (i.e. an *izulu*), or anything—for you are not among strangers. Whatever you see you must speak of it.'

The seance ended, and the guests streamed outside to drink more beer and chat. During the seance the emotional pitch was terrific. Every person in the hut by their clapping and singing the choruses was drawn into the activity of the *amaggira*. The dance grew faster and faster, and both audience and dancers were intoxicated by the rhythm. The audience listened to the confessions of the initiates in strained silence. Onlookers at any other dance comment upon, and praise, the dancers, but here the audience only clapped and sang. Aesthetic appreciation was submerged in reverence.

The novice remained in the hut and each guest came to present a few white beads,[1] laying them before her and saying, '*Cos!*' (Be appeased! Blessing!) These gifts are always made at ritual killings for a novice. 'They (the guests) ask blessing from the *amathongo* that they (the *amathongo*) should not make her (the novice) so ill.' The beads are worn by the novice (and later by the *igqira*) on ritual occasions as professional insignia.[2]

Informants are vague as to why novices and *amaggira* dance. 'There would never be an *igqira* who did not dance.' 'Novices and *amaggira* like to dance and confess dreams.' One *igqira* volunteered that 'since a novice washed so much with cold water she had to do something to get up the circulation'. Another said, 'It helps you to confess so that people will know what is making you ill.' 'It makes the body well.'

Ukuxentsa always works novices and some *amaggira* into an

[1] At Ntontela some gave bangles in place of beads.

[2] White beads are properly the only insignia of Pondo *amaggira*, although some men are now affecting the monkey-skin cap and skirt of tails of Xhosa *amaggira*, and women wear skin collars or sew tufts of badger or cat skin on to their skirts.

hysterical state; some novices begin to tremble and weep when the dance starts; others are faint after three minutes of it; frequently it produces an hysterical hiccup. Nevertheless, with all the Pondo doctors I know, the occasions of dancing have no connexion with divining or treating.[1] Prowess in dancing is not necessarily a sign of a great *iggira*. But there is the definite idea that confession makes for health.

Of the choruses sung a few are generally known, but most are the private songs of the *iggira* who starts them. Some say that they are taught their songs by their *amatyala*. The point of many of them could not be explained by the audience, any more than could songs sung at girls' initiation ceremonies (cf. p. 169). Sometimes women of the audience beat a dried ox-hide to mark the rhythm.

The length of the festivals depends upon the amount of beer brewed and meat provided. An *umvulo* I attended lasted three days. Each day beer was served, and the initiated danced at noon and at sunset. On the second day a beast 'seen' by the novice in a dream was killed. The ritual was exactly the same as for an *idini*, except that there was no calling on the ancestors, and the meat, instead of being laid on branches of *imbiza*, was laid on branches of *idwabe* (*Popowia caffra*, cf. p. 330).

The night before the *umgidi* ceremony the novice is supposed to spend in the forest, and to come back at dawn with white clay (*isikino*) and leaves of *idwabe*. Actually most sleep at home and go to the forest at dawn to fetch clay and leaves. The white clay is rare, but novices are said to dream where it is and go straight to the spot and dig it up. 'Sometimes they find it stuck up in the fork of a tree where their *amatyala* have put it for them.'

I attended an *umgidi* at 'nTiβane. Nompepe, the *iggira* attending the novice, arrived with a party of novices he was treating and his wife, also an *iggira*, in the evening. At the *umzi* of the novice's father a goat was killed for them. Next morning many guests, *amaggira* and lay folk, arrived. About 11 a.m. a seance began in a hut.

Nompepe's wife started clapping and began to dance. Nompepe joined in and gave the audience a chorus: 'What shall I be among people who slander so?'

After a bout of dancing Nompepe spoke:

'Blessing, beautiful people! May I confess pleasantly. We are here. We have brought a beautiful thing, for we bring our child well. We hand over your child, the *itʃhologu* having come out of her. Blessing, people of the men's side, people of the women's side! We want to

[1] I was told that some Xhosa *amaggira* dance before divining.

get our fee. We will go home with the hair of the ox (i.e. they want as their fee, a beast).'

Majingaza started choruses: 'You know the wild beast with spots? How many are they? I am afraid. I take it. Here is the place.'

Wife of Nompépe gave chorus: 'You who are the back of the hut! (the novice). Sing for the ancestors!'

Another *iggira* gave chorus: 'Ten fleas and ten lice.'

Majingaza danced and said: 'We thank you *umzi* of Pala (father of the novice). May she (the novice) get well nicely to-day; she has a great *ityala*.'

Majingaza's novice: '*uThixo* (God) will tell you a good thing. We thank your chiefs (i.e. your ancestors).'

Other choruses heard: 'A wild beast is without danger.' 'Sing *amaggira* who divine!' 'We are going to sing: we say *hau!*' 'The ground hornbill cries!' 'That wild beast was eaten.' 'We do not know the case at the great place.'

'*Ye ha Ye!* Nephew of Tsholo!'

After midday every one except the attending *iggira* was turned out of the novice's hut, the crowd gathered round the doorway, and presently the novice emerged naked to the waist, body and face painted with white clay, and wearing wreaths of *idwabe* round head and ankles. 'The painting is to make her look like her *ityala*.' She had *ukuthwasa* by a leopard so was painted with spots. 'A novice' wears a wreath of *idwabe*[1] because that is what her *ityala* feeds upon.' (All novices, no matter what they have *ukuthwasa* by, wear *idwabe*. When I pointed out that leopards were carnivorous, I was assured that they ate *idwabe*. Any leaves of *idwabe* that fall during the dancing are carefully picked up and stuck into the inside of the thatch of the hut.) The novice, closely followed by her *iggira* and the other guests (all behind her so that their shadows do not fall on her), proceeded to the centre of the *inkundla*, then darted off stabbing with her spear in the spaces between the huts, the entrances to the *umzi*. Her action was that of a woman beating the ground with a stick before guests (cf. p. 215), and she was said to be 'welcoming her *ityala* and *amathongo* to the *umzi*'. Then she rushed to the kraal and struck the beast which she had dreamed should be killed. The guests made a circle in the *inkundla*, and the novice and the attending *iggira* danced (*ukuxentsa*) within it. Between bouts of dancing the novice 'confessed her *amatyala*', telling the story of her sickness, of how she saw an *ityala*, and how the *amathongo* had now made her better. The audience pressed round, listening attentively, and greeted her statements with '*Camagu!*' (Be propitiated! Blessing!) or '*Yisa-*

[1] A man who kills in a hunt brings home a branch of *idwabe* with him and places it on the kraal fence or wears a wreath of *idwabe*.

a. A woman novice confesses her dreams (cf. p. 330)

b. Ritual dance of novice and *amagqira* (cf. p. 333)

PLATE XX

The diviner attending the novice hears her confession
(cf. p. 330)

vuma!' (It is agreed). Then after half an hour or more the novice returned to her hut, and donned ordinary clothes. A beast was killed as at the *umvulo*. The many guests present then began to dance the *ukujika* and *ingophe* dances (cf. p. 365), but these are no essential part of the ceremony and merely diversions of the guests.

I attended another ceremony at Ntontela. Mampumla had had pains all through her body, and it had been diagnosed that *inkathazo* had been sent by the *ityala* of her father. The main ritual killing similar to the *umgidi* had been made at her husband's *umzi*, but she came to her own home for a final ritual killing.

Gedja, the *igqira* who had been attending Mampumla, arrived on the evening of October 13. A seance was held. A white goat was killed for her entertainment. She wore the gall-bladder blown up in her hair. The next morning neighbours gathered. Beer drinking began about 10 a.m. Visitors gathered in the great hut with the patient. Gedja, and an *igqira* accompanying her, danced in the hut (*ukuxentsa*) and gave thanks to the *amathongo*. They sang a phrase, and the audience took it up as a chorus and clapped the time for the dance. Choruses (*iingoma*):[1]

'Ho, Jingel' etʃhoßeni! (a name), chief of the tribe!'
'*Hotʃhi!* The *ithongo* makes the children cry.'
'I am going to the place of marriage.'

An old man, elder brother of the head of the *umzi*, asked a question of Gedja, saying: 'We have a question here in the hut. In the night you said there is something which is smelt in this home.'[2] Without answering Gedja started choruses, 'Sit with your legs apart!' 'We are the group (*ibandla*) which lies together like Nyawuza and Tahle' (cf. p. 399).

The *igqira* supporting Gedja replied:

'AmaKwalo (the clan of the district), you trouble me
On account of your asking.
You ask.
I do not know whether it is a book.
It is said that it is a book.
You want us to smell out here in this home?
We smell out.
It is said that you wish we smell out.'

The audience listened intently. After each line they clapped their hands and said, 'We agree.'

Chorus. 'Sit with your legs apart.'

[1] Choruses and speeches were taken down by Geza at the ceremony.

[2] *Ukuthwasa* is always caused by *amathongo*, but it is believed that sometimes the illness is aggravated by sorcery or witchcraft. The old man means that Gedja implied in the seance the previous evening that witchcraft or sorcery was hindering complete recovery, and he inquires about it. Gedja replies that only the *ithongo* is responsible. Mampumla confirms her statement.

Gedja.

'I pray Nomßase (an ancestor of Mampumla)
May eat this manure (i.e. the animal killed).
She (Mampumla) said, the day she gave me her wild beast,
She said, "You must not smell out."
You do not oppose me, do you? (to Mampumla).
I do not know where there was smelling out.
You do not oppose me, do you? (to Mampumla).
I do not know where there was smelling out.
That which is smelt is grass.
A person wearing a head covering,
That person was a woman.
The child who is behind the hearth (Mampumla).
That person is very old.
She is the mistress of this home.
I do not know by what that smell is made.
It is a woman of this home.'

Audience (after each line). 'We agree.'

Chorus. 'Sit with your legs apart.'

Chorus. 'The fools say.'

Chorus. Go, ground hornbill! (*intsikizi*).
Yono! Mother of ground hornbill!

Gedja.

'Let us give thanks.
We give thanks for the feast of this child,
The infant,
Those who accompany (her),
Her elder brother.
That which is smelt out, care for it!
Let him be called and apportioned for,
Ngwanya of Majola (i.e. the *ithongo*).
I, I know nothing.
I am not of this *umzi*,
But I am your *iggiʃa*.

Novice.

'And you all in the hut,
I, I know nothing.'

Audience. 'We agree.'

Chorus. 'Yoho, Jingel' etʃhoßeni!'

Dancing stopped, and beer drinking went on until 2 p.m. Mampumla, Gedja, and members of Mampumla's family retired for a private conclave. Presently Mampumla, Gedja, and a third *iggiʃa* in gala dress, with patterns in white clay drawn on faces and arms, and wearing white beads, the insignia of *amaggiʃa*, on their heads came out. Mampumla shrank from coming and was urged on by her attending *iggiʃa*.

The guests formed up in ranks behind them, and they advanced

facing the sun, so that no shadow fell upon Mampumla. She, holding a bundle of spears, rushed to the spaces between the huts, and in each stabbed the earth with a spear. The *igqira* attending her picked them up and returned them to her. The guests sat down in a circle in the middle of the *inkundla*. Mampumla danced in the centre of the circle with Gedja and another *igqira*. Between bouts of dancing she spoke, saying:

'In marriage it is like that.
When one is married you care for her:
You care for me, your child.
The *ityala* pretends to decline.
To-morrow you are to hear a thing,
That sickness is finished.
For there is a thing which remains:
Things are not accomplished in one day.'

Audience. 'We rejoice.'

Chorus. 'At this home we are with you.'

Chorus. 'The chief of the tribe.'

Gedja.

'I believe that you speak well,
And I, I pray,
May the *ityala* make you well.
I pray pleasantly,
I do not scoff.
I, I am the *igqira* who was sought by Magxaßa (a man of the *umzi*),
When you were not well,
Because things concealed the *ityala*.
I thank the people of Maßula,
Of Maßizwa asabele,
Of Ngwanya of Majola' (ancestors of the *umzi*).

Audience. 'We agree.'

A visiting igqira.

'I, I rejoice.
This which I see has happened
Among our people.
It is pleasant at this home
Of Zonya.
I give thanks people of the *umzi*.
I pray and pray
That this *ithongo* of this *umzi*
May ever be like this.'

Audience. 'Cut, here is the army.'

Mampumla.

'I say it is so.
I was very ill,
There was pain:
I cut, I cried,

Although I was not beaten:
You know George (her husband) well.
At length I arrived here.
I praise the *ityala.*
May you not be tired of me,
That you may accomplish another thing,
And do it, you,
For I am your child' (i.e. kill for me again).

Audience. 'It is said.'

An old man in the audience (not an igqira)'[1]
'Go on as you know.
People have things.
We, we wish that you go on to tell all your lamentations.'

Mampumla.
'Do what is seen,
That I may be well.
Speak well,
The *ityala* goes with you.'

Audience. 'It is said.'

Old man in audience.
'Explain your sickness that we may know. Who is it that has caused you to be ill in this home?'

Chorus. 'Give us the bundle of the dead. You marry this lion.'

Chorus. 'The great kraals quarrel.'

Chorus. 'At this home we eat stones, eat stones.'

Mampumla.
'I thank you all,
People of this home.
I thank you much,
Since to-day
You rescue me from shame,
From shame,
My great illness.
In reference to the *ityala,*
It was said that I should speak
Of that of my mother.[2]
It was not so.
I give thanks, my elder brother, and mother,
And this whole family.
I am not able to dance.
I was very ill
In the legs, and
I thank you much.'

[1] 'It was said that he should ask questions because he is old and he lives in the next *umzi,* and they consult with him.' He was not of the same clan as Mampumla or her husband.

[2] It had been suggested that the *ithongo* of her mother's family had caused the illness. She denied that it did.

The novice was almost in tears. She and her *igqira* seemed greatly relieved when she had finished speaking. During the speeches of Mampumla and Gedja two other *amagqira* began to dance, but they were told by a man of the *umzi* to sit down as people could not hear the speeches. After Mampumla had finished speaking Gedja called for a mat to be set against the kraal fence, and sat there with her. People brought to Mampumla gifts of bangles, saying '*Cos!*' (Blessing!) as they set them down before her. Each bangle received she lifted to her forehead, then set on the mat. While Mampumla and Gedja were sitting on the mat other *amagqira* danced for an hour. Sweat poured down their bodies. A woman in the audience became hysterical. Gedja nibbled a root she wore round her neck, and spat on the woman's face and neck. The woman recovered. Some uninitiated women began to dance in a group of their own but were reproved by a woman of the *umzi* who said, 'This is not a wedding party.' While dancing was going on a goat was brought to Mampumla and Gedja for inspection. Having been approved, it was taken by men to the cattle kraal, there thrown on its left side, and stabbed in the stomach with Mampumla's spear by a senior man of the *umzi*. The spear was blunt and the goat cried horribly. There was no calling on the ancestors. Mampumla, Gedja, and visitors moved into the great hut, singing as they went, 'Ho! They call Maɬelane' (former paramount chief of eastern Pondoland). The gall-bladder of the goat was brought to the great hut, and there some gall was poured on the head of Mampumla. The rest was spilt out on the hearth. After the bladder had been soaked it was bound round the wrist of Mampumla. The heart of the goat was hung up at the back of the hut reserved for Gedja. Before any one else had eaten meat, two shreds of *intsonyama* (meat from the right foreleg) were given to Gedja. She received them in crossed hands, put them to her lips, and threw them on the fire on the hearth. The rest of the *intsonyama* was eaten by Mampumla and *amagqira* present. In the evening Mampumla and *amagqira* danced again. Next day they went home.

Functions.

The business of *amagqira* is to divine (*ukuvumisa*) and to treat (*ukunyanga*). Methods of divination and treatment vary, and there are specialists in the different branches, but one man may practise both functions and different methods of each. The initiation of all is the same.

After the *umgidi* ceremony an *igqira* begins to practise on her own account. 'When people hear that a novice has just come out

(i.e. completed initiation) they say, "Let us try her", then if she is sharp (*khali*) at divining others go.' Actually a number of people *ukuthwasa* who never practise at all, and only a small percentage practise as diviners. Of the thirteen *amaggqira* I knew round 'nTißane, only seven practised as diviners; at 'mBotyi two out of ten divined. So many *ukuthwasa* that they cannot all be employed professionally as diviners. Some use medicines to attract clients. I was shown one plant with which to brush my face which 'would make every one come up and greet me'.

Amaggqira are consulted to discover the cause of illness, accident —a fall from a horse, striking of lightning, &c.—death in man or beast, the wishes of the *amathongo*, the identity of an enemy sending evil omens, and the whereabouts of lost property. The most usual method of divining is for three or four men, members of the afflicted family and neighbours, to seek a diviner of note usually over ten miles distant (often farther). This is partly, no doubt, because a prophet is not without honour save in his own country, but also, informants explain, 'because they wish to inquire of a man who does not hear all the local gossip'. It is usual at 'nTißane to go across the umThatha River, a day's journey, to consult a diviner (*ukubula*), although there are local diviners of repute. Persons going to (*uku*)*bula* always carry sticks, but no special sticks are used. On arrival they do not tell their business, but leave the *igqira* to find out. The inquirers sit down in a hut or in the *inkundla*, the *igqira* squatting directly opposite them. They remove any covering from their heads (reason not known, just 'It is the custom' (*isiko*)). Onlookers are allowed. The *igqira* first has to find out the inquirers' reason for coming—who is ill, and what the symptoms are. Then he tells who has caused the trouble, and how. The *igqira*'s method is to make statements; after each statement the inquirers clap and shout, '*Siya vuma!*' (We agree!). The *igqira* judges from the heartiness of the assent whether or not he is on the right track. If he has established a point satisfactorily, the inquirers say: '*Phosa ngemva*' (Put it behind you). If he is wrong they say, '*Asiva*' (We do not hear). An *igqira* is not discredited if he makes some wrong statements, but if he is slow the inquirers take up their money and go off to try elsewhere. Usually 3*d.* or 6*d.* is given to open the case, but the main fee is 5*s.* to £1 and is put on the ground, but not handed over to the *igqira* until he has satisfactorily established the facts of the case. Appeal to another *igqira* is very usual.

Most often the persons who come to inquire have already decided in their own minds who is responsible for the sickness or trouble, and the *igqira* can judge from the heartiness of their

PLATE XXI

a. Diviner 'smelling out' (cf. p. 337)

b. Dancing at a beer drink

responses whether or not the accusation he makes is popular. In diagnosing who is ill and who has caused the illness the *igqira* does not usually give names, but uses relationship terms. The account of a divination attended throws light on the procedure. Actually the proceedings were longer than here recorded. I did not succeed in transcribing all that was said verbatim.

A party arrived to consult a diviner, Nompepe, who was present at an *umgidi* ceremony which I was attending. He was accompanied by his wife, who was also an *igqira*, and a young man *umphat' ingxiwa* (the carrier of the bag), a novice. The party of two men and three women greeted Nompepe. 'Good day, chief. We have come to clap hands' (i.e. cause to divine). Nompepe sent them out with this *umphat' ingxiwa* to a secluded spot. Nompepe's wife went to assist. The party come to inquire sat down in a row. The *umphat' ingxiwa* squatted on his heels before them. He ordered them to take everything off their heads.

Umphat' ingxiwa. 'So that men should lift their sticks they have seen a misfortune.'

Party clapping hands, say together: '*Ye savuma.*' (Ye! We agree. Contracted from *siya vuma.*) (With each statement they clap.)

Umphat' ingxiwa. 'When they saw him[1] first faint they consulted an *igqira*, that person said, "He is out in a rash; his body is full of aches and pains; he does not pass water; he has pains between his shoulders; his head aches; he vomits blood." Is that not what the first person consulted said?'

Party clapping. '*Ye savuma. Phosa ngemva.*' (Put it behind you.)

Umphat' ingxiwa. 'Clap well, bearded men! After a time he vomited water. When he vomited it looked just like water and yet it looked like eggs. First came blood and water, and then egg substance.'

Party clapping. '*Ye savuma.*'

Then Nompepe's wife said: 'These people have not paid the *isithabathaba.*'

They. 'We don't know *isithabathaba.* What is it?'

She. '6*d.* or 3*d.* to start to divine.'

They. 'We have not 6*d.* Forgive us with 3*d.*' They paid 3*d.*

Then Nompepe's wife took the place of the *Umphat' ingxiwa.*

She. 'He (the first diviner consulted) said: "It is hot in the chest, and hot between shoulders, and then he got *iphika*"' (shortness of breath, and sharp pains in chest).

They (clapping). '*Ye savuma.*'

Man of party. 'Please tell me what you see.'

She. 'You are not a brother of the dead. You are sister's son.'

They. '*Ye savuma. Phosa ngemva.*'

She. 'This did not start with old people. First cattle aborted. Three wives that had children lost them, then the eldest brother was killed and then the brother who has just died.'

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

[1] The pronouns used may refer either to a male or female.

She. You see this young man (pointing to one of the party). He is still a child, but he is already married.

They. '*Ye savuma. Phosa ngemva.*'

She complains. 'You are not all in agreement, the women are asking their questions and the men theirs. To-day you must clap in unison for me.'

She. 'Although this child is the youngest he is taking the place of the third brother. Is it not so?'

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

Then Nompepe came out and took her place. She said to him: 'It 's a man.'

Nompepe. 'Clap well, my friends.'

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

N. 'Here is a misfortune to this man: there is a misfortune in the *umzi.*'

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

N. 'The misfortune came in at the door and went round the women's side and fastened at the top. You have come to find what is killing you all.'

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

N. 'You must clap in unison so that I may be strong.'

Each time Nompepe spoke he cracked his rhinoceros-skin whip.

They complained that his whip came too near them when they clapped.

They asked if they could smoke. He said, 'Yes, but your hands must be free.'

N. 'This man has two wives.'

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

N. 'To-day is the first time they have come *ukuɓula*' (to inquire).

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

N. 'Here is what Noɓumba (*iggira* consulted before) said.' (Note the contradiction to the previous statement.) 'Clap well, women.'

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

N. 'Noɓumba said it was an *ithongo.*'

They. '*Ye savuma. Ngani phosa ngemva!*' (Put it behind you.)

N. 'But this misfortune is a bird of the women.'

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

N. 'The sick man likes dung. When he sits beside the kraal he plays with cow-dung. Noɓumba said he needed *isiko* (custom) of cutting an *ingqithi.* So you did it.'

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

N. 'Here 's the thing: it came down the pole of the hut.'

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

N. 'Clap well, women. The doctors that came after Noɓumba said you women were killing him. But your friends did not hit you who *ukuthakatha,* you women.'

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

N. 'But this grey head from 'mQanduli that always has a stick in his hand (referring to himself) says it is his wives and daughters-in-law,

and his elder brothers, because he (the sick man) is trying to usurp the place of the brothers next to the deceased and inherit the property.'

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

N. 'But when men go they want to roast *abantu* (strangers, i.e. wives) only, but I tell you the brothers are as much responsible as the wives and daughters-in-law. I say there is one man who is killing him.'

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

N. 'The *amaggira* said that it was the wife of the eldest brother who was killing him, but I say it is you women here.'

N. 'You are killing him with *izulu* and *Thikolose* and *ichanti* given you by your mothers when you were still young. You went to see a beautiful river with great trees, and smiling young men. You *ukumetsha* (sweethearted) with these men. Really they were *Thikolose*, *ichanti*, and *izulu*. Tell me if you agree' (to women).

One woman. '*Ndi phosa ngemva.*' (I put it behind me.)

Another. 'Are we the only people who *ukuthakatha* in that *umzi*?'

N. 'There is another wife. You need not think that because she stayed at home to nurse the sick man that she is free from responsibility of *ukuthakatha*. You think she is the one that is loved, but she also bewitches.'

They. '*Ye savuma.*'

N. 'All of you when you went to your *umzi* took these things with you. When you had each two children, your children died, and then your small stock. Your hut (pointing to one woman) cracked on both sides and then at the pole, and next morning it was full of cracks. You said at the time a hut had never fallen so. Was it not so?'

Woman addressed hid her head and said, '*Phosa ngemva.*'

N. 'Cows aborted. They were wanted by the women's *Thikolose*.'

They. '*Camagu!*' (Blessing!)

N. 'When the other brothers died these women were smelt out. It is not the first time they have been accused.'

One woman. 'Before we were married were there no deaths in the *umzi*?'

N. '*Ach! Voetsack!*' (Afrikaans, Go Away! Get out!).

Man of party. 'Don't ask him a lot of questions. Ask one and finish.'

N. 'This is not the first or third blood to be spilt. It is the fourth. He has a lump that comes up from his stomach and closes up his chest. Clap well, mothers of my wife!'

N. 'When the *ithongo* was supposed to blame was a beast ever killed?'

Man. 'No, it has not been killed yet.'

Old woman. 'I am not joking with you, I want you to tell me all that has happened in my *umzi* beginning from the bottom.'

N. 'This reason is known by the *amathongo*. All the things have happened on the place but the *amathongo* have never been brought together with a beast. The first brother was killed by an *ithongo* and nothing done. The twins have not been *ukuthombisa*. Another daughter came home requiring an *inkomo yobuluunga*. I tell you to bring all your daughters home from the biggest to the smallest to be

washed at the kraal gate, so that the *ityala* (case, i.e. debt to *amathongo*) will be paid.'

Old woman. 'We are poor. We had much, but now we have nothing.'

N. (to accused women). 'What more do you want me to tell you? You have wasted that *umzi* and you should first have ants put on you to make you give full confession.'

Then the man paid 10*s.* and Nompepe looked to make sure that the coins had no birds on them (i.e. were not Australian). Note that Nompepe accused three women and a man of having committed witchcraft, but also advised the performance of ritual killings which had been neglected.

An alternative method of divination is *ukuwumisa ngemilozi* (to divine by ventriloquism). Here the procedure is the same as described above, but instead of the statements coming from the mouth of the *igqira* they are heard as coming from voices all round the hut. These are supposed to be the voices of the *amatyala* of the *igqira*.[1] Ventriloquists are rare and highly regarded as diviners.

A usual method of *ukuthakatha* is for the *igqwira* to hide a portion of the excretions of an enemy and harm him through it. Some *amagqira* specialize in recovering these excretions. 'A girl may find that the cloths she uses at her menses are constantly disappearing. They have been stolen by *Thikolose*. She calls in an *igqira elambululayo*[2] and he recovers them for her.' These *amagqira* most frequently produce the excretion from the bed of a river, where it has been hidden by the *ichanti* or *Thikolose* who stole it. Though brought up from the bed of the river, the material, and the *igqira* who dives for it, always come up bone dry, e.g. Majingaza was recently called to a case at Qawukeni. She went to the river with a young man from the *umzi* of her patient. Majingaza stripped and dived, and came up with an *ingxowa* (sack) of *ubuthi* (material of sorcery) hidden by an *ichanti*. Majingaza and what she brought up were (by her own account) both quite dry.

Divination with bones is unknown except to those who have seen it practised on the Rand.

The other function of *amagqira* is to treat sick persons. They may occasionally also give protective treatment, but that is usually the business of the herbalist. *Amagqira* who treat may either be called out to a patient or the patient may come to them. Often a patient lives in the *umzi* of an *igqira* for a month or more while being treated. A sickly child is often sent after weaning to a female *igqira* to rear. Methods of treatment are discussed on

[1] For description of seance see p. 498.

[2] *ukwambula*, to expose, reveal.

p. 304. For a treatment anything from 1*s.* to 10*s.* is asked. If a person is very ill and a cure is effected, a beast (*umlandu*) is demanded. A novice pays a beast to the *iggira* who has initiated her. The fee *ukwambula* is a beast, 'So that the people of the *iggira* may have something with which to weep, for the *iggira* might easily get bitten by an *ichanti* when she dived.' So says Majingaza.

Herbalists

An *ixhwele* is a person who treats with herbs, but who has not been ill and *ukuthwasa*, and who cannot divine. Most people know a few herbs: an *ixhwele* knows many. Certain herbs are widely known and generally used as 'home remedies'; the knowledge of others is a valuable secret. Such a secret is inherited or bought. 'Who would give away his wealth?' A mark of an *ixhwele*, distinguishing him from an *iggira*, is that he learns his medicines from another. Any man knowing medicines usually teaches all his sons, and if a younger son is quick and learns better than the heir, the latter cannot claim after his father's death cattle earned by means of that knowledge. A man should, however, give the heir a chance to learn. One who wishes to be a herbalist apprentices himself to another. 'A man goes to an *inkunzi* (bull, i.e. master) *ixhwele* to learn.' He is given an *isihlambezo* with which to wash and *ukuchaza* (make cuts and rub in medicines). Then the *ixhwele* takes him out into the veld and shows him medicines. He carries white beads and puts one on each plant that the *ixhwele* shows him, 'so that he may not forget them, and they may work well for him'. The *ixhwele* who taught me insisted on my presenting white beads to each plant, but she picked up most of them herself. There is no set period for which the apprentice must stay with his master, and no ceremonies through which he must pass, so the dividing line between an *ixhwele* and a person who knows a few medicines is undefined. An *ixhwele* is merely one who knows more than most. The apprentice gives his master the first beast he earns by his practice in payment for teaching.

Medicines may also be bought separately. Nokoranti did not become pregnant until eight years after marriage. She was treated by her father's great wife, and later bore a child. She bought the secret of the medicine used for 10*s.* and is now herself a successful practitioner. The low price was because she got it from her father's wife. Nokoranti is teaching the medicine to both her children, a son and a daughter. Sometimes as much as three beasts, or £15, may be given for the secret of a single medicine.

Functions.

The functions of an *ixhwele* are to treat with herbs sick humans and cattle, to treat *imizi* with protective medicines, and to retail medicines for success, and occasionally perhaps to procure death. Formerly, noted *amaxhwele* treated the army.

Some *amaxhwele* specialize as lightning doctors (*inyanga lezulu*), cleansing an *umzi* and its inhabitants after it has been struck by lightning, burying man or beast that has been struck, and providing protectives against lightning. The training of a lightning doctor is the same as for an ordinary *ixhwele*, but he must learn from one who knows the lightning medicines. The Yalo clan are regarded as having special powers over rain and lightning, and lightning *amaxhwele* are frequently amaYalo, but not necessarily so; any one may learn the medicine. The wife of Siβaxa (a Yalo), the chief lightning *ixhwele* at 'nTibane, described how he learnt his business. His hut was struck. He got an *ixhwele* to come and treat it, and learned from him. He did not live with his master but visited him and learned his medicines. He treats himself with certain medicines (*intelezi*) before attending a case.

Fees charged by *amaxhwele* vary with the status of the practitioner and the service rendered. As with *amaggiɾa* 2*s*. or 3*s*. may be charged for a treatment, but a beast is demanded if a person is really ill and a cure is effected. For treating an *umzi* against lightning or against sorcery (*uβuthi*), a goat or 10*s*. is demanded as 'the stick to dig the medicines', and when the treatment is completed a beast is demanded. The *ixhwele* then treats the *umzi* of the man who has paid in succeeding years without further payment. For treating an *umzi* struck by lightning and burying any one killed, two beasts are charged.

Imputation of witchcraft or sorcery is now a punishable offence, and the *iggiɾa* who points out some one as guilty of witchcraft or sorcery is liable to a heavy fine or imprisonment. To practise as a doctor without being registered as a qualified physician or surgeon is prohibited, and there is no system in the Cape Province of licensing Native herbalists. Their activities being illegal *amaggiɾa*, and *amaxhwele* cannot now sue for fees in court, but they have their own methods of dealing with outstanding accounts. It is believed that if the hole from which the medicines were dug is filled in by the *iggiɾa* or *ixhwele* who dug them, the patient will fall ill again. Geza wrote an account of another method of forcing payment. I give a translation of the text.

One day a certain doctor (*inyanga*) was called to an *umzi* that he might treat it. Some one was ill in that *umzi*. He agreed and went to the *umzi*.

When he arrived he opened his horns of medicines. He took fat, charms (*amakhubalo*), roots, herbs, the husks of fruits, and all the things he could think of for treating. He treated that man. The owner of the *umzi* asked him to treat the whole *umzi*. He agreed and hammered in medicated pegs all round and spat medicines. When he had finished he asked for his *ulugxa* (stick for digging medicines, i.e. fee for digging medicines) and was given a pound. He took his horns and went home. After some time he returned to his patient and asked if he was now well. The patient replied that he was. The doctor said, 'Well, now that you are well I want my beast.' The patient replied, 'Talk to the head of the *umzi*.' The latter said, 'Please give me a little time. I am still finding it.' The doctor agreed and went away. He came back the following year. The man said, 'You are troublesome (*uyafeketha*). Get out of my *umzi*.' The doctor replied, 'I must go? Very well. I shall no longer come for my beast.' So he spoke and went home. The next day the doctor took red beans (*intela*) and scattered them in the *umzi* which he had treated. That plant (*umthi*) when it is put into an *umzi* thrives, and all the people die so that not one is left. When that plant throve at that *umzi* the men and women fell ill, and some died. When some were still ill it was seen that they must find out what sort of thing it was that was causing such sickness in this house. They went to a doctor (*inyanga*) far away. They arrived at the doctor's and inquiry was made thus:

Doctor:

'Clap!
Clap!
It is a woman!
No, it is a man!
No, it is a boy!
No, it is a child!)

Short
'*Siya vuma!*'
(We agree!)

It is an *umzi*!
Every one is ill!
You are being killed by some one!
He comes from the South!
He has a grudge!

Longer
'*Siya vuma!*'

He has a grudge about his beast!
You are killed by *intela*!
It is thriving at your home!
Move from there!

Very long
'*Siya vuma!*'

They got home and followed the advice of the diviner and agreed that they must move. An *umzi* was built in another place. When they moved those who had been ill began to get better. There was no case against the doctor who had caused the sickness for he was not seen when he put in the red beans (*intela*). It is not said that he is an *umthakathi* (sorcerer), for he is still among the people even to-day. But some one he has treated hastens to pay a beast, for he is feared.

Doctors and the Community

The *igqira* is not regarded as being superior to the *ixhwele* or vice versa. They are two distinct functionaries with different types of training. The *ixhwele* is useful as the provider of protective and curative medicines. But the *igqira*, besides often having a knowledge of medicines equal to that of the *ixhwele*, exercises far greater power through his function of divination. As a diviner he is the discoverer of *amagqwira* (witches and sorcerers) and the interpreter of the wishes of the *amathongo*. He is the bulwark of the society's prosperity by protecting it from destroyers of life and property, *amagqwira*, and by helping men to propitiate their ancestral spirits, upon whose goodwill prosperity depends. As interpreter of the will of the *amathongo*, and a man versed in medicines, the *igqira* was often an initiator. He might command that a traditional custom be modified in a certain way, or institute a new treatment of animals or crops claiming as his authority inspiration of his *amathongo* or knowledge of medicines. The part of the girl diviners whose alleged instructions from the *amathongo* were the grounds for the cattle killing of 1857 among the Xhosa (cf. p. 561) is a striking example of the influence of *amagqira* as initiators in a tribe cognate to the Pondo. But nowadays, as bulwarks of belief in the ancestors and in magic, *amagqira* act rather as a conservative force. Their place as initiators is taken by those in close contact with Europeans.

An *igqira* is feared because of his power to accuse persons of having committed witchcraft or sorcery (*ukuthakatha*); nevertheless, his power is limited by the fact that those who come to inquire have usually already made up their minds who is guilty, and will not accept any other accusation as true; and by the existence of many rivals to whom appeal is made if his diagnosis is not considered satisfactory. There is no guild or guilds of *amagqira*. Their only joint activity is dancing at seances held for one being initiated. An *igqira* arrives at a seance accompanied by any initiates she is treating, and sometimes by some who have completed their initiation under her care, but each *igqira* who has gone through the full ceremonies and paid her fee works on her own account. There is much rivalry between different practitioners. From Majingaza's remark quoted on p. 327, it is clear that mutual attacks are believed to be usual. Majingaza confided to me privately that an *igqira* was always in great danger, for her rivals were so jealous of her. *Amagqira* use special protective medicines. One scarified herself on the head and soles of the feet, and rubbed in charred leaves of *inubele*. 'Because', she said, 'we *amagqira* are

people with many rivals, and no one loves us except our patients.' A layman remarked, '*Amaggqira* kill one another much.'

The social prestige of an *iggira* depends more upon his personality than upon his membership of a profession. A diviner with a big practice is feared because of his power to smell out enemies. Through practice of his craft he becomes wealthy, and wealth gives social standing. But even a famous *iggira* is overshadowed by a district chief, and an *iggira* without a practice commands no more respect than a private individual. The special powers of *amaggqira* are believed to be given them by their ancestors.[1] Seances which the general public attend generate faith in the reality of the communion between *amaggqira* and their *amathongo*, and therefore in the power of the *amaggqira*. *Amaggqira* and novices when dancing are in a state of tension. Their emotion infects the audience. The joint activity of all present clapping and chanting the choruses, the hysteria of the *amaggqira* when dancing, their testimonies of personal experience of contact with the ancestors given in strained voices different from their normal voices, the intoxication of the rhythm, are all elements which make for faith. Even the ethnologist feels a compulsion to belief when in a crowded hut full of people rhythmically expressing their belief. To the uninitiated the experience of the *iggira* is shrouded in mystery. They hear enough to excite curiosity at seances, but 'an *iggira* never even tells her sister everything about her *amatyala*'. At a seance *amaggqira* are the important persons: they are the performers; special meat and beer is provided for them. I heard one coming into a crowded seance hut say, 'Am I, an *iggira*, not to have a seat with my back to the wall?' (the most comfortable place), and some moved aside to give her room. Seances therefore increase the prestige of *amaggqira*.

How far do *amaggqira* believe in themselves? By their own testimony they receive no human training in divination or in treating. They claim that they are taught both functions by their *amatyala*. During her initiation an *iggira* lives at her home. She visits the *iggira* treating her occasionally to obtain medicines, and should clients chance to come to the *iggira* while she was present she would watch the treatment or divination. If an *iggira* goes on a professional tour a novice frequently accompanies her. Nompepe's initiate took a hand in the divination just quoted. But many novices never go on tour.

[1] Some *amaggqira* put money received for professional services at the back of the hut where offerings to the *amathongo* are left for a time. Others cover the money with ash, which is also apparently an acknowledgement of the help of the *amatyala*. The significance of ash is not clear. After dancing at a seance some *amaggqira* dip their spears or sticks, or their fingers, into the ash on the hearth.

It is quite possible that an *iggira* may treat without special training. General methods of treatment are well known, and Pondoland is rich in herbs which the novice may 'see' as medicines. Certain of the herbs used by *amaxhwele* and *amaggira* are certainly curative, but their principal value as physicians lies in the power they exercise over the minds of their patient, freeing them from fear of witchcraft or sorcery and making them confident of recovery. A good 'bedside manner' is an even more important part of the stock-in-trade of the *ixhwele* or *iggira* than it is of his European colleague (and in attempting to give peace of mind, as a means of securing bodily health, the Pondo is following the most modern technique), but this he may acquire without special training. The pattern of divination is also well known, and a clever novice might, I believe, learn to divine without special instruction. The bulk of divinations are to discover causes of illness, and to be believed the diviner has only to name a cause satisfactory to his clients. Many who are initiated fail to get custom because they are not quick at doing this. Successful diviners are the shrewdest people in the pagan community.

In the extraction of objects from the patient's body, and divination by ventriloquism, trickery is definitely practised. Those who practise these arts are comparatively rare, and all I knew who practised them came from families of which an older member had practised the art. It is noticeable also that the most skilled diviners have close relatives, dead or alive, who were or are diviners. I suggest that many *amaggira* practise without having had instruction in trickery, but that those who are most skilled have learned tricks from initiated relatives.

It is impossible to be certain how far *amaggira* believe in their own professions. Many have convinced me that they believed themselves actually to have seen their *amatyala* when awake. That they, like other people, act on what they believe to be signs from their *amathongo* (dreams, &c.) by killing prized cattle, proves belief in the power of the *amathongo* and revelation through dreams. Some use their own medicines for protection and cure on themselves, so they must believe in the efficacy of them. In most divinations there must be some consciousness of trickery, but some may convince themselves, as they convince other people, that they are 'shown' things by their *amatyala*. A few may actually have the power of describing events which they have not witnessed or been told of. In Pondoland I heard of no case of divination which could not be explained on the grounds that those who had gone to inquire had made up their minds as to who was guilty, and the diviner discovered from them whom to accuse.

Cases are, however, reported from other areas which are difficult to explain on these grounds. Evidence of remarkable divinations by a Fingo *iggira* in the Ciskei I hope to publish separately.

Although the *iggira* is still very powerful his prestige is reduced by contact with Europeans. His word does not mean life or death, as it did formerly. He is now a reactionary rather than an innovator. The *iggira*, in his capacity as doctor, and the *ixhwele* meet with serious competition in European medical practitioners and patent medicine manufacturers.

There is evidence of a critical attitude towards diviners. The verdict of one is not regarded as infallible. According to old men and women it was formerly the custom to consult more than one *iggira* before any one suspected of *ukuthakatha* was killed. Now inquirers frequently go to more than one *iggira* before confronting any one with an accusation, and one accused has always the right to take the matter to other diviners of her own choice. I have seen inquirers pick up their money and ride off in disgust to consult another *iggira* because the one whom they first consulted was slow to discover the reason for their coming. Some people openly express scepticism. Referring to a novice finding white clay on a tree Jordai said: 'She put it there herself weeks before.' Jordai's sister said that most *amaggira* were 'robbers', and mimicked the way in which they got information from their clients. Hlupheka was 'smelt out' (cf. p. 273): her son was of the party which had gone to consult a diviner. 'On the way home he was already saying, "What way is that to divine when the *iggira* just looks to see whom the people wish to hear accused?"' Geza, in the texts quoted on pp. 316; 343, obviously recognized that the *iggira* got his information from his clients. One informant volunteered that *amaggira* at a distance are consulted because 'one who is near knows the gossip'. Another, discussing causes of illness, said, 'Because of money *amaggira* smell out. Sometimes a person is not killed because it is fever.'

A pagan man who himself practised as an *ixhwele* told me that he did not believe in *amaggira*. When any one of his *umzi* was ill he did not consult a diviner, but just administered medicines, even though he thought the illness to be caused by witchcraft or sorcery. His neighbours, he said, attributed his scepticism to the fact that as a boy he had attended school. (I myself attributed it to the fact that he had lived with doctors in Natal and had probably learned something of their methods.)

Nevertheless, all the Pondo I know (Christians included) believe that there exist *amaggira* whose divinations are true. The greatest diviners always lived in the past, or are in distant

districts. Tales of their astounding revelations support belief even when the divinations of contemporaries and neighbours are criticized. Diviners usually make accusations acceptable to the majority of the inquirers, and people are prone to believe what they wish.

An informant summed up the general attitude when he said: 'Some *amaggira* tell lies, some tell the truth. I say that some tell the truth because they tell what I know to be the truth. When you go to inquire and see that they (the *amaggira*) are off the track, then you know that they know nothing.'

There is no conclusive evidence as to whether or not criticism of diviners has increased since contact with Europeans. The diviner likes to work in seclusion, but is in no way prevented by European opposition from exercising his functions. The number of persons initiated as *amaggira* has, according to good informants, increased since contact with Europeans.[1] The reason generally given for the increase is that nowadays 'every one thinks only of the money they can make, and *amaggira* are greedy and say that people are sick *ukuthwasa* because they want the initiation fees'. I believe this to be the true reason for the increase, although it might be argued that it was due to an increase in sickness, particularly in nervous diseases.

[1] Dr. Evans-Prichard (*J.R.A.I.*, 1932, *Azande Corporation of Witch-doctors*) and Miss D. Earthy (*Valenge Women*) report similar increases resulting from contact with Europeans in the areas which they have studied.

CHAPTER VIII

CHRISTIANITY

ANOTHER element has been introduced into Pondo culture by the coming of Christian missionaries. In Pondoland there are Church of England, Methodist, Presbyterian, and 'South Africa General' missions with European missionaries and Native ministers and pastors, and a number of independent Native churches. Mission work has been carried on for over a hundred years, the Wesleyans having first established a station in Pondoland in 1828. There are ten stations with one or more European missionaries, and 'out-stations' scattered through the country, which are more numerous than the schools (one in every sixteen square miles). Some out-stations are in charge of paid Native evangelists, in others services are held by the local teacher or some other convert living near. All the out-stations are visited at intervals by European missionaries. There are two mission hospitals.

The number of members of churches with European missionaries totals about 10,000, that is under 4 per cent.[1] of the total population. The membership of the other churches in Pondoland is very small.

The missionaries, through the medium of church services and schools and hospitals in which Christian teaching is given, and through the example of their own lives, seek to convert the Pondo to the Christian faith. Acceptance of the missionary teaching involves adherence to certain doctrines, the joining of a church, and the observance of certain rules of behaviour upon the keeping of which membership of that church is conditional.

The doctrines taught are those summarized in the Apostles' Creed, but the forms in which the doctrines are presented by the various European and Native controlled churches vary considerably. Many ideas relating to the ancestors and to magic are retained by Christians. The result is a curious conglomeration of beliefs.

The reactions of Christian belief upon behaviour are discussed in detail in the appropriate chapters.[2] The main differences in behaviour are in sexual matters, in social life, and in the substitution of Christian observances for those of the ancestor cult. How pagan and Christian ritual is fused in the observances at birth and marriage has been described. Mortuary ceremonies show a similar fusion. At 'nTißane I attended the funeral of the daughter

[1] Figures obtained from Church of England, Presbyterian, and Methodist missions.

[2] Cf. *Christians* in index.

of a Christian widow. The girl died early one morning. A wooden box and some white calico to make a shroud were bought at the store. Some women of the congregation went to sympathize with the mother and help to make the shroud. There was no wailing. The women told the mother that it was un-Christian to weep, and themselves chatted cheerfully. The corpse was covered with a cloth, and the women sat in the hut where it was. Men of the Christian congregation also came to the *umzi*. It was expected that a member from each Christian *umzi* should come to show sympathy. About three o'clock the body was wrapped in the shroud and placed in the coffin.[1] All the scraps of material left over from making the shroud were carefully picked up, wrapped in paper, and placed in the coffin. Ordinarily scraps of material are treasured. When the Native minister arrived, the coffin was carried out by men to the grave at the side of the *umzi*, and the funeral service read. The mourners gathered round the grave, and each threw in a handful of earth after the coffin was lowered. The mourners returned to the *umzi*, and a jug of water was brought out, that they might wash their hands. Each poured a little water on to their hands and rubbed them together. Only the minister and his wife, and one or two elders, refrained. I heard the minister's wife murmur that this washing was a pagan custom. The hut in which the girl had died was immediately swept out with care. A sheep was killed and the mourners waited to eat the meat. It was spoken of as meat, *ukumkhapa* (to accompany her, the girl who had died). Pagans as well as Christians came to join in the feast. Some of the mourners had brought gifts of tea, sugar, and bread to the widow, for they said this was the only *umtʃhato* (wedding) that her daughter would ever have. The girl who died was about 16 years, and great sympathy was felt for the widow, because not only did she lose her daughter, but also the *ikhazi* which would shortly have been due, for the girl was of an age to marry. Gifts are not usual at a funeral.

On the day of the funeral all the people living on the same ridge as the girl who had died refrained from working in the fields. About six weeks after the funeral the members of the Women's Association of the congregation to which the girl's mother belonged, went in a body *ukukhuza* (to condole). They offered prayers and sang hymns, and exhorted the mother, trying to comfort her in her bereavement.

Christians are very much less afraid of a corpse than are pagans. The fact that many people come to an *umzi* where a corpse is, and some even sit in the hut where it lies, is proof that Christian

[1] Unfortunately I did not note the part played by relatives at this funeral.

teaching has largely overcome their pagan fears. Christians are also more willing to speak of death than are pagans.

Christians form a distinct group in the community. Most churches forbid attendance at certain dances, or at beer drinks, or the eating of 'sacrificial meat',[1] and these prohibitions cut off Christians from much of the social life of the community (cf. p. 356).

Missionaries and pastors oppose marriage outside the Christian community, and parents often try to prevent their children playing with the children of pagan neighbours. The solidarity of the group is enhanced by the corporate activities of its members. In all the larger mission stations there are Sunday services, weekly Bible classes or associations for the different groups—women, girls, and men—prayer meetings, and school concerts. The distinction between Christian and pagan groups is felt by children. If when the dogs bark as some one goes past and a child is asked by its parents, who passes, a Christian child will say, if it be a Christian who has passed: '*Ngumntu*' (It is a person); if a pagan: '*Liqaba*' (It is one who grinds ochre—the usual word for a pagan). A pagan child when a Christian passes will say: '*Ligqoboka*' (It is 'one who has turned round'—the usual term for a Christian); of a pagan: '*Ngumntu*'. When I was discussing with Geza the feeling between pagan and Christian he cited this fact as proving that the distinction was strongly felt. Christians always wear dress of European pattern, which in Pondoland distinguishes them from the bulk of the pagan community, although non-Christians who have worked in towns sometimes also wear it.

Despite the fact that they form a distinct social group, the beliefs and behaviour of Christians react strongly upon the pagan community. They are a channel for contact influences. Accepting the religious teaching of the missionaries they have accepted also school education. They are usually the first in any community to practise better methods of agriculture and build better huts. They are the largest buyers from European stores, and the first to adopt European clothing and to use European foods and furniture. Their example influences pagan neighbours. The concept of the division of time into weeks, each day of which is named, introduced through churches and schools, has now been

[1] There is some division of opinion as to what constitutes 'sacrificial' meat. Church members will never eat of the meat of a beast killed for an *idini*, and some also avoid the meat of any beast killed at a girl's initiation, but others partake of this. Geza would eat of the meat of any ritual killing that had not been performed for some one who was ill. At a girl's initiation which we attended he firmly refused meat which was offered to him, and when I pointed out that there were church adherents there who were eating it, he said, 'They cannot know that the girl has been ill.' Most Christians will eat meat at a wedding feast.

absorbed by the pagan community. Sunday is widely observed by non-Christians.[1] Chiefs do not 'talk' cases on Sundays, and field work and hut building are usually dropped for the day. Once I got a message from a diviner whose initiation rites I was attending saying that she 'did not dance on Sundays'. Pagan funeral rites are modified by Christian practice.

UThixo (God) is probably a new concept in Pondoland, and yet it is now generally accepted by pagans. Ideas of punishment by *uThixo* for actions like murder and theft, which are almost certainly not of Pondo origin, are spreading. *UThixo* is thought of as a Being, besides the ancestors, from whom blessing may be obtained. In the text quoted of Befile's thanksgiving he bracketed *uThixo* along with his *amathongo* (p. 252). He had just come out of a mission hospital where daily prayers were held. In an *umzi* in which one member is a Christian, grace is usually said before meals. I have seen a pagan man, before he began to eat, ask his wife, who was a Christian, to say grace. In the form commonly used blessing is asked from *Inkosi* (chief; used commonly in reference to *uThixo* as translation of 'The Lord'). *Inkosi* is also used by pagans in reference to the *amathongo*, but I believe that in a grace it is thought of even by pagans as referring to *uThixo*. A pagan informant, a middle-aged man who had never been under direct Christian influence, when asked what became of the dead, stated that 'Those who die without sin become *amathongo* and go to live with *uThixo*. Those who are wicked go to *uSathana* and never become *amathongo*.' This is typical of the way in which traditional ideas and Christian introductions are blended. Myth also reflects Christian influence. The traditional story of Chameleon and Lizard was related to me in the following forms.

Chameleon was sent by *uThixo* to come to earth and say, 'People are not to die.' Lizard heard this and he ran in a great hurry and said, 'People are to die day by day.' Chameleon then arrived and said, '*uThixo* says people are not to die.' The people answered, 'The first news that came with Lizard is already written in the books. You come too late.' So people have been dying ever since.

Long ago people never planted or ploughed. Chameleon was sent by the Lord (*Inkosi*) *uThixo* to say that men need not work at all, but Lizard passed Chameleon on the road, and he said that men must work. Since that we have had to work and plough our lands.

uThixo created two people, Adam and Eva. They were black people. He put them into a garden where they could eat everything except

[1] Chiefs of the Gqunukhwebe (a Xhosa clan), under missionary influence, forbade all except essential work to be done on Sundays, and threatened to fine all who broke this law. *Grahamstown Journal*, Nov. 14, 1833.

the fruit of a big tree. Chameleon was sent by *uThixo* to tell them they could live without working. *USathana* sent Lizard. *USathana* said to Lizard, 'Hurry up and tell people to eat of that tree.' The people in the garden listened to Lizard, and Eva ate first. Then *uThixo* said, 'For your sins white men will be your masters and you will have to work to live. You, woman, will have to suffer by bearing children. They will no longer be created my way, but they will come through connexion with man, and with great pain and labour. You both will have to work and live by the sweat of your brow.'

In reply to a question, 'White people were not created here but came across the water in ships.'

Chameleon went to tell the people down below that they might eat, but need not plough. Then Lizard went, and Lizard made haste, and arrived and said, 'It is said that men must plough and must not eat without working' (literally without a debt). At length Chameleon arrived, but people were already ploughing and he was passed by.

Then Chameleon went again to say that people must not *ukumetʃha* (sweetheart), but Lizard came and said, 'Let them *ukumetʃha*. When Chameleon arrived they were already *ukumetʃha*. Then Chameleon said, 'Let them not be made pregnant.' Lizard went and said, 'Let a woman be made pregnant and bear a child.'

Attitude towards missionaries.

The missionaries were originally invited to Pondoland by a district chief Daapa,[1] and there has never been any active opposition by the chiefs to their work. In the early days the British were favourably received in Pondoland, as a British force had been sent to assist Faku against Tʃhaka. They were allies against a much feared enemy. Later missionaries were the advisers of the chiefs in the dealings with the British Government, and were, and still are, regarded as the section of Europeans most likely to take the Pondo side in any dispute.

But acceptance of Christian teaching was, and not infrequently still is, opposed by members of the would-be convert's family. When an oldish man or woman becomes a convert the other members of the family may say that they are 'killing the family', because they will no longer take part in ritual killings upon which the health of the family depends, and when they will not participate the other members of the family feel that they cannot carry out the ritual. 'When the *inkosikazi* (mistress) is a Christian they will not like to kill a big beast when she will not be eating.' The conversion of one member of an *umzi*, even though he is the owner of the *umzi*, does not make the performance of the religious ritual impossible—it is always possible to get a senior relative to

[1] Kay, op. cit. p. 377 et. seq.

perform the ritual, as is done if the owner of the *umzi* is away—and I could trace no idea that punishment for the apostasy of one member of the family would be inflicted upon the others, but the feeling that it is unseemly to go against the wishes of a senior member of the family and to kill a beast for a feast in which he (or she) cannot participate is strong. When a young woman becomes a convert she cannot fulfil her wifely duties of grinding beer,[1] and it is believed that she endangers her life by refusing to allow any ritual killing to be performed for her. Some husbands complain that it costs more to clothe a wife in the print frock worn by Christian woman than in the blankets worn by the pagans, and oppose conversion on this ground.

When the paramount chief of the Nyandeni became a Christian there was considerable opposition from his non-Christian councillors on the ground that Christianity entailed monogamy, and there could be no real chieftainship without polygyny (cf. p. 380).

The amount of opposition to conversion varies greatly in individual circumstances. In every congregation there are more women members than men. The fact that more girls than boys attend school and that acceptance of Christian teaching demands more change in the life of a pagan man who is polygynous than of a pagan woman who is at least in theory monogamous, are among the causes of this.

A more serious hindrance to missionary work than the opposition of the Pondo is sectarianism. There is no system of territorial division between the denominations, but churches of the four missions with European missionaries, and Native sectarian churches, are scattered through the country, subject only to the Government refusal to grant sites for churches within three miles of an existing church. The result is an enormous waste in time and efficiency. I rode for three days with a Native minister of one church visiting his out-stations, many of which are quite near large missions of other denominations, and in that time we only covered a small section of his parish. The rivalry between the churches is such that if a church member is suspended from membership of one denomination, certain others will accept him. The variety of doctrines taught causes confusion of mind, and the example of division in the European Church is one cause of the many secessions in the Native Church.

[1] The Presbyterian, Wesleyan, and South Africa General missions forbid converts to make beer at all, the other Church of England mission allows brewing for home consumption, provided the beer is not used for a ritual offering. In practice many of the Church of England women make the beer and shut their eyes to what use it is put to. 'For', says Geza, 'her husband allowed her to become a Christian and it is not her business if he chooses to give a beer drink.'

That Christianity is in some measure a disintegrating force in the tribal community cannot be denied. It tends to weaken the ancestor cult which makes for family solidarity. In congregations new social groups are formed which may conflict with existing kinship groups. Converts are taught that loyalty to their faith must take precedence of loyalty to their chief. Christians are forbidden to share in certain traditional observances which make for tribal solidarity. But at the same time Christian influences assist adaptation to the new conditions produced by economic contacts with Europeans. Those who are best adapting themselves to town life are the Christians and those who have been to school. A man cannot live with two totally different sets of values. So long as every peasant is for periods a labourer in town, he must have values which will hold both under tribal and town conditions. In town the sanctions for behaviour in the tribal community are no longer effective, and the ancestor cult, dependent upon cattle, is weakening. Christianity offers an ethic which may hold in all communities. Apart from the necessity of replacing the tribal ethic with one which is applicable to both phases of modern Pondo life, Christians are compelled to preach their faith in the reserves because they believe that through the power of Christ, and through Him alone, comes a quality of life which is an ultimate value in itself.

CHAPTER IX

BEEF AND BEER PARTIES

PONDO spend a vast amount of time visiting and gossiping. One seldom arrives at an *umzi* without finding some neighbour calling. As much work as possible is done in company. Men congregate at the chief's court to take snuff, and drink, and discuss the last fight, and the next adultery case to be tried.

The trader's store is a centre to which young and old come to gossip and flirt, beg tobacco, and inquire as to the whereabouts of beer. Often a youth spends a whole morning at the store, talking to girls, chaffing with his contemporaries, and perhaps letting off steam in a stick-fight with a friend. Young men just back from the mines with money to burn treat their girl friends to sugar; parties of four or six squat on the verandah of the store, and quickly dispose of pound packets. The men inspect every girl who comes in, and if they do not know her, inquire who her father is. An evasive or cheeky answer is the only retort compatible with a girl's dignity. 'I would never tell the like of you.' 'I was given birth by *uThixo*.' Then the men try to pull off her blankets to see her breasts, and there is a scuffle.

Listen to a young married woman exchanging news with Nompia, a girl of fifteen from near her own home.

Married Woman. Hullo! And whom are you sweethearting with now?
Nompia (coyly). Well, there is Makeu and Mßiko.
M. W. Two! Yo! That's splendid. And who is eating Nomaladi?
Nompia. No one yet, but Nomagermann has got a baby.
M. W. Who is the father? Her husband, or her lover?
Nompia. We are not certain. How many months are you pregnant?
M. W. Seven.
Nompia. What have you come here to the store to do?
M. W. Oh, I have just come to buy some medicine. Such luck to have met you.
Nompia. Well, it has been ever so nice to see you and to have been able to have a little chat.

Meat feasts, beer drinks, and dances are frequent between the harvest and ploughing seasons. During five winter months—June to October—I heard of seventy-three beer drinks, eight girls' initiation dances, three weddings, two feasts for the initiation of diviners, and a number of other ritual killings, within five miles of 'nTißane store. Many of the feasts lasted for two to three days. There was a young people's dance practically every week-end. Every festival is open to all who care to attend, and some travel

ten miles to a beer drink or dance. In the season men and *amadikazi* often go on from one beer drink to another, sometimes not returning to their own homes for a week. Between November and May, when there is much work to be done in the fields and grain for beer is becoming scarce, there are few ritual feasts, but planting and weeding parties are frequent, and nowadays even pagans celebrate Christmas with a beer drink or fight. Old people are emphatic that far more beer is drunk than when they were young. Ploughs make possible the cultivation of areas larger than those cultivated by hand, and more grain is grown now than formerly.

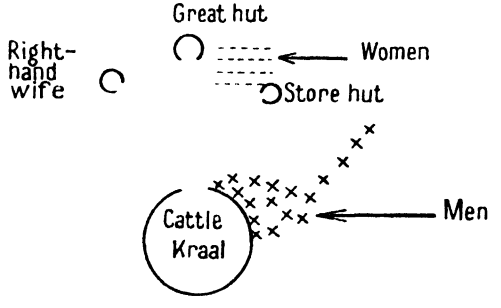
Meat feasts and beer drinks were formerly attended only by those who had been married long enough to have several children (cf. p. 40). Now unmarried men and recently married men go to both, but this is an innovation. Unmarried girls and young men (married or unmarried) have their special dances. They gather in the evenings on the veld, or in a deserted hut, or in the hut of a girl being initiated (cf. p. 172), but no food other than a small quantity of maize or sweet potatoes (brought by the girls of the group of *imizi* which have summoned the dance, or neighbours of the girl being initiated) is provided. Mancinci and the girls living near her gave a party. Young people from ten miles around attended. They collected in a disused hut in Mancinci's father's *umzi*. About 4 o'clock on the Saturday afternoon they began to dance the fashionable *isiphethukane* in the *inkundla*.[1] Men and girls formed a semicircle, and did a rapid stamping step while they rotated slowly round a man playing a concertina. The leader had a European-made whistle with which he marked changes in time. Between bouts of the quick step there was a slower walk. Bodies and arms moved in time to the music, and the good dancers quivered the muscles up their bodies from ankle to cheek. When the performers in the first bout had sat down dripping, a young man gave a rhythm to a group of girls and men to clap, and performed a spirited solo—the dramatization of a hunt. Then came a 'follow my leader' dance in which those of different sub-districts danced separately, each group vying with the others. But every one liked the *isiphethukane* best and they danced it until dark.

The women of the *umzi* and a few neighbours watched the dancing—they took pleasure in the movement and rhythm—but the young people had one hut to themselves. At young people's parties there are always many more men than girls, because girls marry young and cease to attend such parties after

[1] Avoidance taboos are suspended during dancing.

marriage. Young men attend even after they are married. At big dances therefore the girls are 'apportioned' (*ukulawula*) by one of the older girls or men present. The girls of one sub-district are told to go and sit with the boys of another, the girls of another with another. 'When they have had enough of those boys the girls come out to the fire. They wait there for the last girls (of their group). The boys of another group say, "Come to us".' At a smaller party the girls flirt and *ukumetʃha* with their own particular friends.

Older people gather for meat feasts and beer drinks. Occasionally a goat is killed or beer made just for meat and drink, but in the great majority of cases the feast has some ritual significance, or is to reward those who have worked for the provider, or



Ɗoco's *umzi*.

nowadays, to obtain money. Often those going to a feast could not tell me the reason why it was provided—to them it was just beer or meat, and the quality of it, not the purpose for which it was provided, mattered—but when inquiry was made from the provider the beast almost invariably proved to be for some particular purpose.

Let us go to some beer drinks.[1] Ɗoco's small son was ill and Ɗoco had brewed beer 'to make him well' (cf. p. 253). Guests began to arrive about nine in the morning. It was sunny, and they sat outside, the women between the huts, and the men near the kraal. The main body of men and women were in separate groups, but men strolled up to chat with women friends, and women went to greet men, and beg snuff or pipe oil. Those not related to Ɗoco carefully avoided crossing the *inkundla*, or approaching close to the cattle kraal. Conversation was lively. A young man was chaffing a married woman, 'Now who is the real father of this baby? Whom do you sleep with?' An older woman with

[1] I attended many beer drinks. Those described are typical.

a. A beer drink out of doors

b. A woman calls a man friend to drink (cf. p. 360)

a baby was teased, 'Do you still have children?' She, 'Yes.' He, 'How?' She, 'By men, of course.' Matʃhodi was boasting of her mealies: 'Mine are so high (indicating with hand) now. They are as big as Holoko's (a European trader). I planted ever so early.' One woman said to another who was rather shy, 'Don't sit saying nothing. Chat nicely with us.' Hoßololo's mother told of the shocking morals of an *umzi* to which she had taken a sick grandchild to be treated: 'Do you know that not a soul comes near that *umzi* because the woman is so stingy. I nearly died of starvation while I was there.' A recent accusation of witchcraft is discussed. *'Indaba azivutʃhwa, akazi 'mabele'* (One does not stint news. It is not corn.—Proverb.) Old Manci was making bark thread, rubbing strands against her shin.

All the time young and old, men and women, were pestering one another for snuff. A guest refused the request of Γoco's great wife with the usual, 'I have none.' She retorted, 'What! You a visitor here, and you say you have no tobacco?' He produced a little, protesting the while that he had practically none. Γoco's little wife was giving some to Umsindo. He said pointedly, 'That is a very small spoon you are using.' Another recipient protested, 'Most people when they give snuff give two helpings.' Γoco's wife replied firmly, 'Well, I don't.' She enjoyed the chaff.

But the important thing for which every one was waiting was beer. Only one or two baskets were handed round until, at midday, the small boy and his father's kin drank ritually in the great hut, and Γoco, assisted by his great wife, filled baskets and cans of beer from the barrels in which it was standing at the back of the hut. The women on the left side of the hut, the men on the right. To each line of men was handed a basket of beer. As she served it Γoco's wife knelt down, blew the froth off the beer, and took a sip. The women were given only one or two baskets of beer; the men a number. Women depend on invitations to drink. When a basket of beer is passed to a man he has the right before drinking himself to call a friend[1] to drink; he may call a man, but most often he calls a woman. The person called has the right to take two friends with her if she chooses to do so. She leaves her place, walks as near as she can to where her friend is sitting, without crossing to the men's side, if she is not related to the head of the *umzi*, squats on her heels before him, takes the basket in both hands, drinks, and passes it to whoever she brought with her. Handing the basket back to the man who called her, the woman returns to her place. The man who called drinks and passes the

[1] He may, if he chooses, call more than one. 'First he looks along the line to see how many people that basketful must serve.'

beer to his neighbour in the men's group, who in turn calls a friend. Women, if beer has been given them, may also call men to drink, but they have less beer to share. An *idikazi* is called by her lover and other admirers. It is expected of a man that he call his wife, 'But she could not scold him when they got home if he did not do so.' Nor can he say anything to her if she is called by some other man. 'He might have been called by some other woman.' It is noticeable that old women are not entirely neglected, but the young and beautiful are called more often. One old lady remarked bitterly: 'A woman may sit there all day and never taste beer at all if no basket has been given to the women.' As a mark of esteem to a man or a woman a special basket may be set before them. At Sompono's *umzi* his brother's wife, visiting from a distance, was given a special basket. It is expected that the visitor should share with her friends. I was reproached bitterly by my neighbours when once, before I understood the etiquette, I refused a basket set before me, because I did not drink myself. 'Even though you don't like it, we do; they apportion through you our chief.'

Baskets circulated at Γoco's, and the gossip went on cheerfully. Old Mamsindo began to give reminiscences.

Nondwe, and Ntomßi-tomßi, and Tandiwe and I were all girls together. There were three of us in one *umzi*, and four in another *umzi* near. We had such a good time together. Nondwe married Gidli and Ntomßi-tomßi Umlamßosel, and Tandiwe Nxakanti. Nondwe is still the only wife of her husband. There is a bride with me now, but my husband did not marry her until I was old. I fought her at first, a lot. I still fight her sometimes.

The tale of Mampondomise, a bride from up-country, who was not accustomed to Pondo hills and took two days gathering firewood, and carrying it up from the umZimvußu valley, was told and laughed over. Manci, an old woman, was rather drunk, and fell asleep. Mamsindo said in a shocked voice: 'Fancy coming to a beer drink in a state like that! Pull down her skirts, Manyawuza.' A man talked to a couple of admiring women about Johannesburg. 'It is the home of *uSathana* that place. There are so many scoundrels who stab people.' He showed them his watch, and spoke of the marvels of Johannesburg town-hall clock which struck the hours.

Every one was sitting with legs well tucked in. It is very impolite to step over another's legs. 'If a person with venereal disease stepped over you, you might get it; then your husband would ask where you got that disease, especially if you are an old woman.'

Γoco had only provided two tubs of beer. By dusk they were practically empty, and most guests had left. Some went on to another beer drink a mile or so away. Many went home.

Often nowadays beer is sold. Sale of intoxicating liquor to Natives is prohibited, but the Administration closes its eyes to the selling of beer. Chiefs and headmen frequently attend *izimawusi*[1] (beer sales). Some demand a percentage of the profits in return for permission to hold such sales. Sometimes beer is sold by the basketful. Those who have cash buy at 3*d.* or 6*d.* a basketful and treat their friends. In western Pondoland *iitimiti*, modelled on 'tea-meetings' of school people, are popular. Ngangaβo made beer of three sacks of grain and gave an *itimiti*. He invited Gova, a wealthy diviner, to 'open' it. Gova arrived on a Sunday afternoon with a party of friends and presented 5*s.* as his gift for 'opening' the *itimiti*. His friends each gave a smaller gift. They entered, and were served with beer. Other guests were charged an entrance fee—1*s.* for men and 6*d.* for women. Only women living at their own home, either temporarily or permanently, entered. Wives had to stay outside, where beer was sold by the basket. The fees were taken by the 'Chairman', Mtele, who sat in the doorway. Mtele was the acknowledged 'chairman' at all *iitimiti* in 'mPoza district and was due 5*s.* from the takings. If he could not attend himself he sent a deputy. He was an extremely handsome man, a good dancer, and a relative of the district chief (cf. p. 65). He was supported by a 'magistrate' and 'police', who also officiated at all *iitimiti*. They were not paid but entered free. Beer circulated. For the first twenty-four hours it was provided free inside the hut. After that each basketful had to be paid for. Gova started the bidding, offering 3*d.* that Nxakanti should not drink. Nxakanti bought himself off with 6*d.* and took a long draught. The 9*d.* went into the chairman's money-bag. Ntʃhontʃho gave 1*s.* that Makala should sit all evening in one place and not speak. It cost him 2*s.* to free himself. Mtele started a chorus, 'Ho! Boaster about the Skirts! I saw Boaster about the Skirts!' Men and women took it up, clapping the rhythm. Mtele began to dance in the centre of the hut where space had been left. One after another, men and women, joined him. The line, led by Mtele, went round and round in a circle, bodies and arms swaying to the rhythm and alternately doing a slow walk and a rapid step. Mtele had a European-made whistle in his mouth, and emphasized the rhythm and changes in time with shrill blasts. Each dancer moved in perfect time to the rhythm, but embroidered the theme with fancy steps and body movements of his and her

[1] From the Afrikaans *smous*, a pedlar.

own. Women of the audience ran in and trailed their cloaks in praise at the feet of the best dancers. Dancers staggered out to rest; and another man took Mtele's place as leader, but chorus after chorus was started.

'He slept without eating. He was rejected by the women.'
'The skies are like the earth.'
'Ho! They weep, ha! *yohoßa* they weep!'
'The amaNyawuza are tired in truth.'
'Hoyi, hoyi, we saw that black leg.'

The audience commented on the dancers. 'See what a big stomach that man has.' 'She's got nice fat legs.' 'Her hips waggle nicely when she dances.' When most of the dancers were tired Majingaza, a woman diviner and a famous dancer, got up and gave the audience an air to chant and the time to clap for her dance. She told a story in her solo dance, singing these words:

Who is that over there? It is a man. Who is that over there? It is a man.

My husband got tired of me, and I was jealous because he liked the little wife.

So I packed my things on my head, and started home.

I went a little way and put my bundle down and looked back to see if he were not coming.
But he was not coming.

I got to 'mGalwanguβa and put my bundle down and looked back to see if he were not coming.
But he was not coming.

I got to Siman's (a store) and put my bundle down and looked back to see if he were not coming.
But he was not coming.

I got to 'mGqungqu (a store) and put my bundle down and looked back to see if he were not coming.
But he was not coming.

Then I got to 'mXwamβe, and put my bundle down and looked back to see if he were not coming.
But he was not coming.

Then Walter (a trader) came out and said: 'Tʃhine! Majingaza, where are you going?'

And I said: 'I am going home because my husband is tired of me.'
And he said: 'Go round to the kitchen and they will give you some dinner.'

So I went round to the kitchen and I put my bundle down and they gave me a stool, and tea, and bread.

Then I got home. My mother said what's the matter, darling Monono? (her pet name).
So I told her.

Then I went to the lawyer.
And I told him.
And he said: 'Tʃhine Majingaza. You were *ukuloɓola* with seven head?'
And he wrote me a summons.

Then I went to his (her husband's) lawyer.
And the lawyer said, 'You must go back to your husband.
Your father will never return seven head.'

And I said, 'I am not the daughter of a white man to be told to do this and that and that.
Even if they give three more head I will never go back to my husband.'
And I said: '*Voetsack, Suka*'[1] to the lawyer.

Then I went and 'joined' to go to Kimberley.
And I signed on.

And they put me in a train and I went to Kimberley.
And there I drilled.

And I drilled and drilled, and at the end of the day they measured how much I had drilled.
And I had drilled six feet—more than any of the men.
They told me I would finish their money if I drilled so fast.

So they put me in the train and sent me home again!

Majingaza chanted this. The chorus clapped and chanted a phrase (no words) after each line of her song. All the time she was dancing in illustration of her story. She put the bundle on her head, started home, stopped to look for her husband, was the lawyer writing the summons, a driller in Kimberley, the foreman measuring her drill, and the employers repatriating her. Her audience roared with joy. Ngangaɓo watching her spilt the beer he was drawing, and wiped his hands on a convenient dog. His wife sprinkled water on the floor to lay the dust which had been raised by the dancing.

On the Monday morning I heard a mock trial. Makala had spoken during the night when the chairman had ordered silence. He was also accused of going into another hut where beer was kept and stealing some. The 'magistrate' heard the case. Those present acted as the *inkundla* and asked questions (cf. p. 415). Makala pleaded that he did not know the man with whom he was supposed to have talked, and he had only just gone into the hut

[1] Afrikaans / Xhosa } Both meaning 'Go away'. Neither quite as forcible as 'Go to H——'.

to look to the beer. But his brother advised him to pay the fine. Finally he did so, putting 6*d.* into the chairman's bag. Later some one pretended to be ill, and a professional diviner attended him. These skits on authorities, European and Pondo, were enormously popular. The drinking and dancing went on until the Tuesday morning, when the beer was finished. By then many were bleary eyed and thick-headed. A hundred men and women had spent two days and two nights in the hut, 15 feet in diameter, only going out occasionally to sun themselves in the *inkundla*, or to dance there when the sun was warm. The stench of humans, and beer, and old blankets, was overpowering. All the food those who had stayed for the two days had had was a handful or two of roasted maize, passed round with the beer. On the Tuesday morning Ngangaßo killed a goat in honour of Gova, and the meat was shared round. As the 'owner' of the *itimiti* he was obliged to kill.

At meat feasts, as at beer drinks, men and women settle themselves in separate groups. The carcass is divided between the two groups. To the men go the breast, head, hocks, and a share of the liver and intestines. To the women go the hind legs, the left foreleg, the flanks,[1] the stomach, the tripe, the sweetbread, and a share of the liver and intestines. Girls and boys, except those of the *umzi* where the beast is killed, do not attend meat feasts, other than those connected with a girl's initiation. At every killing the boys of the *umzi* are given the heart and lungs. Neighbours who help to kill and cut up the beast are given special portions. The joint between the shoulder-blades was sent to the chief. When a bull is killed the testicles are eaten only by the head of the *umzi* and his sons. When a beast is killed ritually for some one who is ill the right foreleg is eaten only by men and daughters of the *umzi*, and wives who are already entitled to drink the milk of the *umzi* (cf. p. 249). If the beast is killed only for meat, the right foreleg is part of the share of the women. A goat is divided down the middle, one side with the head and shoulders given to the men, the other side with both hind-quarters to the women.

Men cut up the meat under the direction of the head of the *umzi*, and men's meat, women's meat, and the portions reserved for the members of the *umzi* only are piled in separate heaps. The men's meat is distributed by the head of the *umzi* or his representative to the male visitors; the women's meat by the *inkosikazi* (chief woman) of the *umzi* and other older women members of the *umzi*, or neighbours, working under her direction,

[1] The *icongwane* (muscle at the back of the thigh) is not taboo to Pondo men as it is to Xhosa.

Dancing at an *umjadu* (cf. p. 365)

to the women guests. The parts that are roasted are eaten first and portions are put before each group of five or six persons, and they cook and divide it for themselves. The parts that are boiled are eaten later in the day, or on the following day; they are cooked by the women of the *umzi*, in large pots, and served cooked, a portion being given to each small group, as before. Important persons, such as a chief, or chief's wife or sister, or at an *igqira*'s initiation ceremony the *igqira* in charge, are served first and given large portions and a grass-plate to themselves, but they are expected to share what is given them with their followers. Neighbours and close friends of the hosts are served before other people and given larger portions. People pass shares of their portions to friends and the compliment is returned. When I thought to get rid of unduly large helpings by sharing with friends I found that as much was returned as I gave away. At meat feasts the men usually cook and chat beside the cattle kraal; the women sit some distance away, and passing of meat from one group to another is rare, although with certain portions of meat it is not forbidden (cf. p. 39). The parts reserved to the family are not eaten until the following day, or later.

Guests complain if they are not properly served. At a girl's initiation ceremony an old woman stalked up to her hostess and said, 'Have you forgotten all about us? We have not tasted meat yet.' Again, 'You won't forget to bring us some salt, will you?'

At the ritual feasts at birth, marriage, death, and in sickness there is ordinarily no dancing. Guests merely eat and gossip. At initiation feasts for girls and diviners the ritual dances are performed (cf. pp. 171; 325). Sometimes at these initiation feasts (usually when beer is provided as well as meat) a great number of guests come, and when the ritual dances are completed they dance for pleasure. Sekhutʃhwa, a rich man, provided a great feast (*umjadu*) at the initiation of his daughter. About midday guests began to arrive. Those from different sub-districts collected at different *imizi* near Sekhutʃhwa's. All his neighbours had brewed small quantities of beer as their gift to the feast, and a few baskets were passed round among the guests as they gathered. When those from one sub-district had gathered they advanced in a group to Sekhutʃhwa's *umzi*. Each man had two or more sticks which he clashed in time to the song he and the others of his group were singing. The men formed a solid phalanx in the centre. Women were on the wings, and in the rear. They all advanced at a swinging half run, marching in time to the music. Six or eight companies (*amabandla*) advanced on Sekhutʃhwa's *umzi* together. They swooped round it, and up and down through

the *inkundla*. Men broke out from their groups and performed solo dances—usually dramatizations. Pairs broke from one group, or from rival groups, and fought with sticks. Men on horseback galloped round and round the *umzi*, and through the *inkundla* at breakneck speed. The company shouted in admiration. A woman was knocked over by a horse, but she recovered her feet, and no one paid much attention. The excitement was tremendous. Over 300 people were present. Older people dropped out exhausted, but the young men and women continued their swooping dance (*ukugwija*) for an hour or two. The companies in their dances and songs were challenging one another, and I was told afterwards that they refrained from fighting only because a number of headmen were present. The young men, however, met a day or two later, and had their fight out. By 5 p.m. most people were seated, still in their territorial groups, and Sekhutʃhwa, assisted by junior relatives, began to apportion (*ukulawula*) the beer. One barrel to 'mPoza, one to inKanunu, two to luDeke, &c. The names shouted were of *imizi* of the district chief (cf. p. 381), and all those living in the neighbourhood of 'mPoza sat together and drank from the barrel apportioned them.[1] Msingali, a leading man from 'mPoza, struck the headman from luDeke, because the latter advised one barrel only being given to 'mPoza, and Msingali maintained that since so many 'mPoza people were present, and women from 'mPoza had helped to grind, they should have two barrels. The headman later brought a case for assault.

At dusk the younger married women hurried away. The unmarried girls and young men spent the night in the initiate's hut, singing and sweethearting. Older men and women also stayed to drink and sing. Next morning the ritual *umgquzo* dance began again (it had been danced every morning for weeks, cf. p. 167), and at 9.30 beasts were killed ritually in the kraal. The guests feasted on the meat, and in the afternoon drifted away. At another *umjadu* I attended the companies of guests arrived, and performed the *ukugwija* in the afternoon of the day on which the ritual killing had been made. Another *umjadu* followed the ritual dancing, and ritual killings, at the initiation of a diviner (cf. p. 331).

Formerly one of the chief excitements at an *umjadu* was cattle-racing (*ukugqutʃha*). Races were dropped in western Pondoland at the death of Nqiliso and were not resumed when the mourning ended. In eastern Pondoland they are still sometimes held, but cattle which are dipped frequently have not the stamina to race,

[1] Whenever large numbers are present beer and meat is distributed in this way.

and dipping regulations make it impossible for cattle to be gathered from different districts. The galloping of horses through the *inkundla* is to some extent taking the place of cattle-racing.

For a race the cattle are taken some miles from the *umzi* of the feast, and then driven back at full speed and galloped through the *inkundla* of that *umzi*. The herd of each *umzi* is driven in a separate group by the young men of the *umzi*. Each of them picks from their *umzi* herd a beast remarkable for its horns, or colouring, or speed. They run alongside this beast, and as they enter the *inkundla* strike it. 'The man who fails to hit his beast is laughed at.' According to Pondo informants there is no competition in speed, 'The cattle of one *umzi* should not catch up the cattle of another: it makes disorder if they do.' The race is merely to exhibit the beasts[1]. Nowadays there are horse-races in which speed is what matters, but they are held at special meets, organized by European or Coloured men.

Dancing at feasts is purely for pleasure, and fashions in pleasure dances change rapidly. A woman of 32 remembered six different dances which had in turn been the rage at young people's parties, and an equivalent number which had been in fashion at beer drinks since she was a girl. Usually new dances are brought in from other districts. The *isiphethukane* was taught to young people at 'nTißane by the district chief's son who had seen it danced in eastern Pondoland. Although the height of fashion in western Pondoland in 1931, it was already long out of date in eastern Pondoland in 1932, and had been replaced by a dance from Natal. In contrast to these pleasure dances, the ritual dances performed at the initiation of girls and of diviners are stereotyped. New songs are introduced, but the form of ritual dances remains constant (cf. p. 168). Any who choose (men or women) may come forward to lead in the dance, but in each district there are one or two men recognized as good leaders, and one of them usually starts a dance. A gifted leader is greatly admired. At the girls' initiation at Sopopono's an *isiphethukane* was being performed by the young people at the same time as the women were dancing the ritual *umgquzo*. A boy of 15 was leading exceedingly cleverly. Most of the guests deserted the *umgquzo* dance and gathered to watch this boy *ukuphethuka*. Old men were showering compliments on him. Gedja boasted to me that when she led the dance 'every one's tail shook'.

[1] So my Pondo informants insisted. Their evidence contradicts that given by Soga, op. cit., regarding Xhosa racing. As I never myself saw a cattle-race I cannot dogmatize.

Solo dances, and the chants accompanying them, are private property, in the sense that a woman would be resentful if a friend got up and copied her dance and song, but 'once you have performed it you never know where it may travel, and you can't help it if some one who has seen you goes and performs it at another beer drink'. 'Every woman could not have a dance just of her own, because there would never be enough dances for every woman to have a different one.' There is no legal copyright, but a Pondo does not openly copy a neighbour's dance, any more than a European openly copies a neighbour's frock.

A girl first has her own song and dance 'when her breasts come out'. She gets a new one when she is married and another on the death of her husband.

Many of the solo dances are *imidlalo ngochuku* (dances of quarrel). When one woman has quarrelled with another, or been driven from her *umzi*, she publishes the story in a dance mimicking what has been done, and 'staring at the people who have hurt her'. At one girl's initiation which I attended a woman danced a solo singing: 'A marvellous thing! a marvellous thing! a woman has an *izulu*! a marvellous thing! a woman commits witchcraft.' Her husband's little wife had accused her (she was the great wife) of *ukuthakatha* because she, the great wife, had had no child, and now the little wife was also barren. Gedja once had a quarrel at her *umzi* and she danced a solo singing: 'My place is very bad, bad my place is, bad, bad, bad, is my place.'[1] Majingaza's song was a parody of an *umdlalo ngochuku*. She had not been sent away by her husband, nor, of course, had she been to the mines, but she was taking off the standard dance.

Men do not dance quarrels as do women, but often dramatize a fight, or a hunt, showing themselves victorious after a great struggle with man or beast. Formerly also both men and women when dancing sometimes poised their arms to represent the horns of the favourite ox of their *umzi*. A usual way of describing an ox is to poise the arms in the shape of its horns.

It is very noticeable in those solos, as in all other dances, that there is no age when Pondo think themselves too old to dance. Often old grandmothers are the most valorous performers in the *umgquzo*, and their solo dances are always noticeable. At Ntʃhontʃho's beer drink for those who had ploughed for him, an *idikazi* danced a solo, then her mother,[2] then Nomaladi's grandmother, then Zungeni's (a middle-aged man) father's sister. The grandfather of a man with a son at the mines joined in the round dance.

[1] Space forbids giving further examples.

[2] There is often dancing at free beer drinks and then married women take part.

But there are those who never dance. Chozi had three younger brothers, all young married men, well built, handsome, and popular in the district. I had never noticed them dancing at any of the festivities I attended, and inquired why. They grinned bashfully, and said that they were all alike too shy to dance. Malusi, another friend, remarked to me that he could never face a dance at a beer drink until he had drunk very well. At no pleasure dance have I seen more than a third of the company dancing at one time, nor, except for a solo dance at a beer drink, and for the *ukuxentsa* at the initiation of a diviner, does the whole audience join to provide the music. There are always a number looking on, or chatting over a last basket of beer in a corner.

The creation and performance of choruses and solo dances gives the individual wide scope for artistic expression. Even in the round dances, with certain standardized steps, there are endless possibilities of variation, and originality is encouraged by public opinion. There is opportunity for individual display before the opposite sex. The stooping at the waist and wriggling of the hips which are characteristic of Pondo dancing tend to emphasize the features of a woman which are considered beautiful. Men show their strength in wriggling of the muscles, and mimic gallant deeds in war and chase. By giving men and women opportunity to meet, talk freely, and indulge in limited sexual play,[1] the institution of the beer drink helps to canalize sex into socially harmless channels. 'Quarrel dances' afford an outlet for anger, and by doing so are a safeguard of domestic life. A woman whose in-laws have hinted that she is a witch must find great relief in dramatizing her unhappy state in a dance, in holding up her accusers to ridicule, and winning the sympathy of the audience. The power of the clever dancer to lampoon enemies is a sanction for social behaviour. People are chary of offending one who may ridicule them in dance and song.

At a feast neighbours are gathered in jovial mood. The dancers share in a common activity, and are subordinated to a common rhythm. In dancing the whole personality is involved; all the powers of the individual are concentrated on the common activity. Emotions which are in harmony with the emotions of the other dancers are aroused. In this way the feast and dancing tend to enhance the feeling of goodwill in the community.[2]

[1] At ordinary beer drinks verbal flirtations only are permitted. At *iitimiti* which wives do not attend the sexual division of the hut is sometimes ignored, and men and *amadikazi* lean up against one another. Lovers may make assignations at beer drinks, but it is not considered seemly that they should be demonstrative in public.

[2] Cf. Radcliffe Brown, *Andaman Islanders*; E. Evans-Prichard, *The Dance*, *Africa*, Oct. 1928.

But at the same time feasts are common occasions for fights. Sexual rivalry is aroused. Much beer is drunk, and excitement is increased by the crowd and the rhythms. Many people do not take part in the dance either as performers or chorus, and so are not fully brought under the control of the common rhythms. There is rivalry in display. Men's solo dances tend to be dramatizations of military exploits. Fights with sticks between individuals are *imidlalo* ('dances'). Couples break off from the main dance for *imidlalo* and in a moment their display may turn into a serious fight. At a big feast groups from different small districts dance separately. The dividing line between dance and military display is blurred, and very quickly the women drop out, and the groups change from rival bands of dancers into companies of warriors. Rivals are the more ready to fling taunts at one another and fight recklessly, since the women are looking on. Pondo do not consider that an *umjadu* (big feast) is really complete without a fight (cf. p. 366).

Since fighting makes for social solidarity, feasts, by the very fact that they often lead to fights, tend in some measure to enhance the solidarity of small local groups, but even within the smallest groups rivalries may be aroused; and within the wider community the ill feeling fostered by the frequent fights beginning at feasts probably outweighs the concord generated by sharing in a common social activity.

Muscular movement is an essential part of practically all Pondo musical expression. There is no indigenous song without its accompanying dance. The dried ox-hide beaten as a drum for the ritual dance of initiate diviners and girls being initiated, ankle rattles, and European-made concertinas and whistles used at pleasure dances, are the only musical instruments actually used as accompaniments to dances, but performers on any of the other instruments[1] made almost invariably sway the body in time to the music they produce. An old woman repeating on an *ugqumpu* songs which I was attempting to write down, never played a line without swaying her body appropriately. When singing European songs, or songs composed by Bantu teachers under

[1] For a specialist description of South African musical instruments see P. R. Kirby, *The Musical Instruments of the Native Races of South Africa*. Instruments commonly played in Pondoland are the *ugqumpu* or *uhadi*, played mostly by women in the evenings when people are going to sleep, the *umqange*, played usually by children on the veld at home, and whistles, *umtʃhinge*, *impempe*, and a horn *ubokomela*. The *ugwali* was formerly played in Pondoland, but has now disappeared. Informants, in reply to my query why no one now made it, said: 'Concertinas and European-made whistles came and took its place', and 'it made girls hysterical, starting them crying, so it was left'.

European influence, learnt in school, the children move as much as the teacher will permit. The women who danced to the Scottish psalm-tune have been described (p. 215). Even when praise songs are shouted the *imbongi* (praiser) expresses himself with his whole body, running to and fro, leaping and gesticulating.

Geza told for whom, and in honour of what sort of deeds, praises are made.

People and animals are praised for gallant deeds. Never have I heard a man, who is a coward, with praises. The man who runs from a fight is looked upon as a woman, and women have no praises.[1] Those who are praised are men and boys, bulls, oxen, cows, horses, dogs, cocks, and certain birds.

Once I asked an old man who had fought with my grandfather Geza, about him. He answered, 'You call him Geza now, but I used to call him "Breakerdown of the Cattle Kraal of Mkinwana, he who stabs first, he who cuts with the spear until the intestines come out".'

Isaiah is good with his gun, and is fond of hunting. After the sound of his shot had died away you will hear him say, 'The stone that has been stained red by the ochre it usually grinds, the ragged-winged crow, and the swallows that make their nests with mud.'[2]

A boy also has praises when he is good at aiming. Once I went bird hunting with many other boys, including my mother's brother's son Isaac. We made a long line so that those who were at the ends could not see each other. Isaac was at one of the ends. A dove flew past us, and we all missed it, except Isaac. I heard him shout, 'Well aimed. I (resemble?) dishes and plates, sugar basin, Europeans' utensils, the old men's bald heads, which are burnt by the sun, near Mswakeli's *umzi*' (the Regent). Some of us also joined in praising him.

A man who owned a bull which was always victorious over other bulls praised him thus: 'Ngqolosa the cunning, an old Mtʃhawu (a clan) man! The hut of the lazy person at Nomcokawana's burns. I saw Maqaqa taking his overcoat, and going to buy me a hoe.'

The ox gets its praises when it is good in yoke. A man had a brown Afrikander with long horns named Ndulußantʃhi (Waistcoat). In times of hardship he would pull hard, and groan, so that the man became proud of him and praised him, saying, 'What! Waistcoat, when was it ever like this? Why, my father's ox? What! Bolokodlela, a river near Senxela's *umzi*! The old white woman who is stingy to me with the salt.'

I have a cow at home which I praise for lowing nicely when she has a calf. The first time she lows I say, 'A new Noah'. She lows again: I say, 'A new Noah. From the first generation to the third generation, from A, B, C to 1, 2, 3.'

[1] *Δῆλον ὅτι τῶν ἀρίστων οὐκ ἔστιν ἔπαινος, ἀλλὰ μεῖζόν τι καὶ βέλτιον . . . τούς τε γὰρ θεοὺς μακαρίζομεν καὶ εὐδαιμονίζομεν καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τοὺς θειοτάτους* (Aristotle, *Ethics*, I. xii).

[2] Another type of praise was that of Copa. 'Copa smirks over these swains who cannot get girls' (as he can).

The text goes on to give praises of good horses, and dogs keen at hunting, which for lack of space are omitted. It winds up with the praises of birds.

Every morning at dawn people are wakened by the crowing of cocks. The cocks are praised during the day when people are happy, and have got rid of sleep. When the cock crows at noon you may hear grown-ups or children say, 'Crow cock, Maqoßolokazana, Maqoßolokazana (the name of a girl), your sweetheart gave an axe in place of a beast for *umnyoßo*. The chest of a fowl!'

Among the birds which have praises is the *ngilo* (Cape long claw). If the bird sings in front of one walking he expects luck where he is going. He then says, 'Say, sprig of a Sparrow, I have not tasted the meat. The boys have been stingy to me.'

Sometimes, as Geza has described, people make up their own praises, sometimes they are given by friends, sometimes by adherents (*iinduna*, p. 136). The person *par excellence* to be praised (so obvious that Geza overlooked him) is the chief. Many faithful subjects shout praises of their chief, but there is always one official *imbongi* (praiser) attached to a paramount chief, who shouts praises at the great place at sunrise, when the court is sitting, or perhaps at a feast, or when he is riding in the retinue of the chief. There are no set times for proclaiming the praises of commoners. They or their friends shout them when the spirit moves them to do so.

Praises are gabbled so that many, even of a Pondo audience, do not catch half of what is said, and the allusions are not understood by many. Geza insisted that 'the words do not always refer to the deeds the person is praised for, but are only a collection of phrases referring to remote or recent events'. Nevertheless, enough of the praise is usually intelligible for the audience to gather for what the person or animal is being commended, and praises are a greatly coveted honour. Since they are a means of publicly honouring persons for socially approved deeds, praises of men are an organ of law, in its widest sense. They are a force making for social behaviour, and a means of enhancing the prestige of the chief.

Nowadays in vernacular newspapers one often sees obituary notices reminiscent of the traditional praise songs. Speeches made by students leaving school also savour of them.

Feasts are public affairs. The giving of feasts carries prestige. Hospitality to travellers is obligatory even to persons of other clans and tribes.[1] Formerly one who refused travellers food was

[1] Statement of councillors at Qawukeni and a number of other informants.

fined by the chief, if reported. A Pondo boasted to me saying: 'A white man must carry food, or money to buy food, when he is travelling. We travel seven days without food or money, and never fear hunger.' 'You Europeans eat alone: you will not eat with others. We eat two or three together out of one dish.' Again and again Pondo asked me: 'Is it really true that Europeans pay for food when they visit one another?' Fellowship is *ukudlelana* (eating together). 'People are people by licking one another. It is a dog which licks itself'—Proverb. 'Do you pay for food where you are staying?' 'Fancy paying for food!' 'With Europeans a man even buys from his brother.'

But this system developed in a community in which man power was valuable—a visitor staying more than a day helped in the work of the *umzi* and so earned his or her keep, and there was comparatively little travel.[1] And still in conservative districts few men or women with whom I talked had travelled more than forty miles from their homes (beyond one or two who had relatives at a distance), except on journeys to the mines. Most people living over thirty miles inland had never been to the sea. I came across single men who had no settled home, but who moved from district to district 'so as to escape taxation'. If they get a beast they *ukunqoma* (lend) it somewhere, and then they stay at that place for a time; but even with the strong incentive of evading taxation they were few.

But practically all men travel now to work, and 'school people' are acquiring the habit of travel. There is considerable coming and going between Fingo immigrants and their relatives outside Pondoland. Post buses are beginning to be patronized. With the increase in travel sale of food to travellers is beginning to be usual. Pondo going to the mines see food offered for sale at stations by Native hawkers before they are out of the Transkei. Unmarried teachers and agricultural demonstrators working away from their homes and living with strangers pay board. Selling beer (a thing unheard of when men over sixty were young) is now common, and in the community of school people there are fewer free feasts than among the pagans.

Forbidden to attend young people's dances or beer drinks or to eat meat killed ritually, the only festivals of pagans which Christians are free to attend are the work parties at which meat is provided. Christian women sometimes go to look on at pagan

[1] Nevertheless, there were professional ferrymen. Strong swimmers living near large rivers took travellers across, the traveller holding on to the middle of a piece of wood and a ferryman holding each end. The old ferryman on the umZimvubu near Ntontela has been replaced by a rowing-boat owned by a European.

weddings, and girls' initiation dances, but this is frowned upon by the church authorities. The only substitutes for the pagan festivals are work parties, at which tea or sugar is provided (and they are few and never go so well as those at which beer is provided), Christian weddings, the 'dinner of the bride' and 'baptism dinner', school concerts, and the gatherings at church, prayer meeting, or association. Weddings in a small community are few and far between, but they are occasions for great feasting and rejoicing when they do take place. The 'dinner of the bride' and 'baptism dinner' are usually quite small gatherings. School concerts are held about once a term. Choirs of two to three schools gather at one school and hold an all-night concert, lasting until it is light enough for the children to walk home. The adult 'school people' of the district in which the concert is held attend. Money is raised for some good cause by paying for songs and by bidding for rivals. A offers 3*d.* for the choir of 'nTißane school to open the concert with a song. B offers 3*d.* for Qokama choir to sing next, but C thinks he would rather hear Pimßo choir and offers 6*d.* for them to sing before Qokama. A solo is demanded of a teacher or some one else present, and if he will not sing he has to buy himself free. The small schoolroom (also usually used as the church) is packed. The stuffier it gets the more excitement grows. When bids are lacking the choirs give songs gratis. The teachers are rivals, and conduct their respective choirs with fervour. The singing becomes more and more of a screech, and European tunes are less and less recognizable each time they are repeated. (English songs and songs composed by Bantu teachers are sung.) Each choir has a limited repertoire, and when they have sung all the songs they know they begin again. 'Action songs' are popular, and as the night advances the girls who began with stiff gestures, are swinging about the floor doing something as near a dance as the eye of teacher and parson will permit. The boys are all eyes. Bread is provided, and tea at 1*d.* a mug. Every one stumbles home at dawn hoarse and sleepy, but having enjoyed themselves enormously.

Church services and association meetings are also occasions for social intercourse. There is usually an hour or more between morning and afternoon services, and the congregation sits down on the grass outside the church to gossip. The women linger to talk after an association meeting, and the quarterly gathering, when women of several out-stations gather for a joint meeting, is quite a festival. The women enjoy walking together, meeting friends from other districts, and drinking tea. The Church of England Missions gather their people from out-stations for one

or two festivals a year in the central mission. At one such festival I attended over a hundred people had come in from out-stations. There were, besides a series of church services, athletic contests, a concert, and a dramatic performance of scenes from the lives of the Saints. An ox was killed to provide the people with food, and there was a general air of festivity.

These Christian festivals exist, but the pagan has a much fuller social life than the Christian. Very little attempt has been made by the missionaries to replace the social activities which they have banned. Most crucial is the question of dancing. As we have seen, it plays a great part in pagan life. Missionary activity in Pondoland began at a period when dancing was regarded as necessarily evil by both Presbyterians and Wesleyans,[1] and it was prohibited by them. Dancing at Christian weddings is very limited. Watching it I always had the impression that the performers would have loved to let themselves go, but were afraid to do so, and it is always rather *sub rosa*, the church authorities apparently thinking it well to shut their eyes on some occasions. The Women's Association of the Presbyterian Church has a clause by which mothers pledge themselves not to allow their daughters to *ukutyibilisa* (dance wriggling the muscles) on any occasion, and as *ukutyibilisa* is the foundation of Pondo dancing the clause, when enforced, very much limits the scope of performers at weddings. The Church of England Mission tried to introduce English country dancing at their chief mission station in Pondoland, but it is apparently not very popular. At the same mission the teachers have occasionally held English ballroom dances, but there is considerable doubt in the mission as to the wisdom of permitting these.

The dramatizing of the lives of the Saints affords some scope for the talent which we have seen to exist among pagans, but there is only one mission station in Pondoland where even this is done, and there must be a great amount of dramatic talent which in the Christian community can find no means of expression. A valuable channel of emotional outlet is also blocked. Women at prayer meetings tend to get hysterical. They enjoy that state, and regard it as a sign that the Spirit (*uMoya*) is present. I attended an all-night meeting at which women of various denominations joined, and after the first hour very many of the women began to cry hysterically. Missionaries are aware of the tendency, and most deplore it, but find it difficult to check. I suggest that the tendency is aggravated because a natural emotional outlet in dancing has

[1] I have yet to discover what was the early policy of the Church of England Missions on this matter.

been forbidden. An old woman diviner who was trying to explain to me her state of mind when she felt that she must begin the ritual dance of the diviner said: 'I dance when I feel as the Christian women do when they begin to pray aloud and cry.'

In the pagan community status is based primarily on age and sex; the main social distinctions are between men and women, old and young. Social position is also modified by blood and wealth. Chieftainship is hereditary, and blood carries political power (cf. Chap. X) and social prestige. A chief's son, even though not the heir, is often accompanied by followers when he goes about. Paya, junior son of Gwadiso, chief of the Khonjwayo, never rode alone. At a beer drink place is made for one of the chief's family. The host thrusts aside other guests with 'Give place civet to the spotted cat', and a mat or stool is placed for the chief's relative against the wall of the hut. If a young man of the chief's house is dancing he is usually leader. At beer drinks where beer is sold or an entry fee is charged the chief and his sons and brothers drink and are admitted free. Gedja, a midwife, explained that her ordinary charge for attendance was 2*s.*, but to neighbours she only charged 3*d.* and all wives and daughters of the chief she attended free. Double the normal *ikhazi* is demanded (and usually obtained) for the daughter of a district or paramount chief. Fines for seduction of a chief's daughter, or adultery with a chief's wife, are at least double the fines for seduction and adultery with commoners. If a chief's daughter leaves her husband he cannot, under any circumstance, recover the *ikhazi* cattle, nor can a chief recover his *ikhazi* if a wife leaves him. A chief marries daughters of wealthy commoners as his junior wives, but his great wife is usually the daughter of a chief. In folk-tales the hero marries a chief's daughter, the heroine a chief. If the son of a chief was killed in a fight between districts a much heavier fine was imposed than when a commoner was killed.

How far privileges of royal blood extend is not very clearly defined. All those of the clan of the paramount, or of the chief in whose district they live, claim relationship and gain some prestige by virtue of it, but rights of a good seat, free beer, and higher *ikhazi*, &c., are not enjoyed by nearly all the clan of the paramount of eastern Pondoland. Double *ikhazi* and double fines for seduction may be demanded for girls descended from Sigcawu and Maṛelane (cf. p. 399), but not for those descended from Mqikela, father of Sigcawu[1]

Wealth also carries social prestige. A rich man is more likely to be listened to with respect in the chief's council than a poor man.

[1] Quoted to me by the late W. D. Cingo.

To a rich man's *umzi* will be attached many *iinduna* (adherents) come to (*uku*)*busa* (cf. p. 136), and by virtue of his big *umzi* the rich man is likely to be made a petty headman.

But although these social distinctions existed there was, under old conditions, no sharp cleavage between chief and commoner, or between rich and poor. The chief and rich man might have a little more beer and meat and larger *imizi* than the commoner, but there was no great difference in their way of life. Chiefs married commoners. They and their wives worked in the fields. Every one went to every one else's parties.

Nowadays social differences are becoming more marked. There is a new ground of social distinction in education. School people and pagans attend different festivals. They tend to marry within their own groups. School educated people in different parts of the country know each other, coming in contact through church and school. Wealth among school people entails a different standard of living. Money is spent on better houses, better food, better clothes. Cleanliness becomes a social barrier. A school educated man waiting with a crowd of pagans for a cattle pass, complained to the European official in charge, 'I cannot wait with these people. They are verminous.' Geza, whose own home was immaculate, detested entering the bug-infested huts in which we had to spend days. He was as loath as I to accept food in dirty places. It is understandable that a retired policeman, living in his well-built brick house, with his motor-car and six sons, all certificated teachers, coming home at week-ends on their motor-bicycles, should hold himself somewhat aloof from poor and dirty neighbours.

This growth of class distinctions is exercising Pondo themselves. A group of oldish men began to discuss it at a Christian wedding I attended. 'The school people nowadays are not good. The rich do not keep the poor. Now the rich and educated are unwilling to have poor and uneducated people in their houses. They avoid them. What do Europeans do in this matter? Do they look after their poor?'

Educated men also acquire political power as chiefs' clerks and members of the District and General Councils (cf. p. 432). They fill such posts as are open to non-Europeans under the present system. Nevertheless, so strong is the prestige of the old system that even educated people are pressing for increased powers for chiefs.

CHAPTER X

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

THE political organization of Pondoland has changed greatly since the annexation in 1894. To understand the present system of administration and the changes taking place, it is necessary to know something of the former system of administration. Therefore an attempt is here made to give an account of the old political organization. It is based partly on information given by ancients who were already men before the annexation. Informants were very carefully chosen. Most had lived as young men at a chief's *umzi*, and had opportunity of knowing at first hand of things of which they spoke. Every statement was checked and rechecked, and where informants differed I have noted the fact. Besides their evidence I have given an account of such contemporary customs as my informants told me were continuous with those of old times in the present tense. The present system of administration is summarized in the last section.

The Chieftainship

The petty headman recognized by a group of *imizi* was under the authority of a district chief, or more often under a headman responsible to the district chief. District chiefs were under a paramount chief.[1] There was no standardization in size of districts, some being small areas in charge of a chief directly responsible to the paramount (e.g. Ndovelane), others very large areas divided and subdivided so that there were several ranks between paramount and petty headman (e.g. Khonjwayo).[2]

The subordination of district chiefs to the paramount was marked by the payment of a portion of the death duties (*isizi*) and fines for offences against the chief (cf. p. 417), collected by the district chiefs, to the paramount; the right of appeal from the district chief's court to that of the paramount; the obligation of the district chief to fight for the paramount when called upon to

[1] *Inkosi* (chief) is used for the paramount, his brothers and sons, for district chiefs, their brothers and sons, for petty headmen, and even as a polite mode of address to any respected man, but the Pondo distinguish between those who are 'real chiefs' and 'chiefs by mouth', to whom *inkosi* is used as a title of courtesy. A 'real chief' is one who is the son of a chief, and who rules a large district. I use 'chief' for the paramount and those in charge of large districts; 'headman' for one in charge of a subdivision of a large district; 'petty headman' for one in charge of a group of *imizi*. The areas ruled over by 'district chiefs' do not coincide with 'magistrates' districts'.

[2] Examples given are only illustrative. General statements are based on detailed concrete data which lack of space prevents me from citing.

Maime, a district chief's son, dressed for a beer party

do so; and by some the attendance of the district chief with the men of his district at the great place of the paramount at periodical treatments of the army. To chiefs of large districts far from the great place of the paramount, was conceded the right of treating their own army, because frequently when all the men were summoned away their cattle were raided by another tribe. Several powerful district chiefs in eastern Pondoland (notably the chiefs of imiZizi, the amaNgutyana, the amaTʃhangase) recognized the Pondo paramount as a greater chief than themselves, gave him the royal salute when they met him, and fought in his army when called upon to do so, but paid no dues and allowed no appeals from their courts to his. Thus the powerful district chief merged into the independent ally, and the tribe was no closely knit unit, but an affiliation of districts recognizing one paramount. The size and solidarity of the tribe varied with the extent of outside dangers and the personality of the paramount. During the period of Tʃhaka's war many chiefs who had formerly been independent recognized the Pondo paramount, Faku, as their paramount.

There are no sharp cultural differences marking off Pondo from their neighbours. Language and custom shades off so that there is more difference between the speech of those on the eastern and western borders of Pondoland than between those on the western border and their Thembu neighbours.

District chiefs became independent, sometimes by fighting, sometimes it seems with the sanction of the paramount. Ndamase, right-hand son of Faku, after friction between his people and those of the heir Mqikela, was advised by Faku to cross the umZimvuβu River with his personal followers and occupy the territory which is now western Pondoland. He was given authority over the district chiefs already occupying that territory. Ndamase, shortly after he crossed over, killed a leopard, and according to the custom sent the skin to Faku, his paramount. Faku returned it, saying, 'Let the tail be given to Ndamase, that he may apprehend with it. Let the tails of all leopards which are slain in Nyandeni (western Pondoland) be given to Ndamase, and not sent across to Qawukeni (eastern Pondoland).'[1] 'Thus', says Poto,[2] the present chief of the Nyandeni, 'was Ndamase established as a great chief, that he might be the paramount of his country.' The independence of Ndamase's house was secured by the British Government's recognition of his heir, Nqiliso, as an independent chief in 1878, and Pondoland remains to-day in two

[1] The messengers of a paramount chief carried leopard tails as their badge of office. Poto implies that they were not carried by the messengers of a district chief.

[2] Poto, op. cit., p. 22.

independent sections. The Qawukeni still consider that the Nyandeni are rebels who broke away, and that Ndamase was only granted the rights of a district chief.

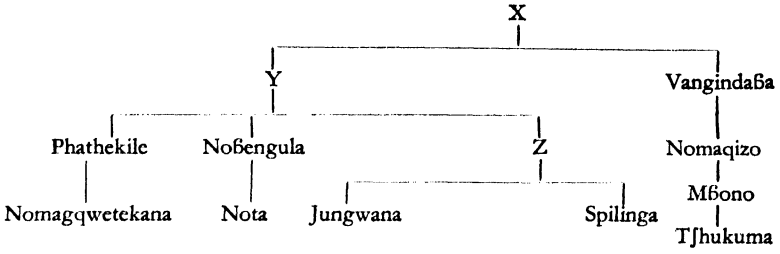
There were struggles for independence which were not successful. Gwadiso, chief of the Khonjwayo, a strong district chief in the Nyandeni, refused, when his father's brother, Mcunukelwa, died, to send the death dues (*isizi*) due to his paramount Nqiliso. Two campaigns followed in which the Khonjwayo were defeated, and forced to recognize the overlordship of Nqiliso and pay their *isizi*.

The legitimate paramount was the senior representative of the senior Pondo clan. At least once in Pondo history the position was usurped by a junior brother (cf. p. 411). As far as possible the paramount appointed brothers and sons as district chiefs. He made no attempt to supplant a large and powerful district chief, or a less powerful chief who was a near relative of his own; but in smaller districts where the chief was not his own near relative the paramount settled a wife, and the son of that wife on growing up became chief of the district. For example, Zandukwane district in western Pondoland was occupied chiefly by Fingos, and held by a Fingo chief, Coβa. The paramount Nqiliso supplanted Coβa by his son Mangala. Now the district chief is Mangala's son.

A number of the chiefs of large districts with which the paramount did not attempt to interfere were distant relatives of his own, their ancestors as sons or brothers of the paramount had been established as district chiefs, and had attracted large followings (e.g. chiefs of Khonjwayo, Kwalo, imiZizi, Sikelweni). Other district chiefs could trace no relationship with the paramount. Faku received into his country many foreign 'aβaMbo' clans during the upheavals caused by Tʃhaka: some were large and powerful and settled under their own chiefs (e.g. amaNgutyana, amaTʃhangase).

District chiefs like the paramount had under them subordinates, headmen, nearly or distantly related, or not related at all, and where they were strong enough they supplanted all except near relatives with sons of their own. Within the country of the imiZizi there are, according to Mzizi ideas, three sub-districts under headmen, umNyaka, umKoloɲi, and iHlolweni; and one, Nkulu, directly under Nomagqwetekana, chief of the imiZizi himself. UmNyaka was held by Mhlantla who was related to the chief of the imiZizi, but distantly. In the time of Phathekile, chief of the imiZizi, he was supplanted by Noβengula, a brother of Phathekile, and Nota, son of Noβengula, has succeeded. Um-

Koloɬi was held by Nomaqizo, son of Vangindaßa, brother to Phathekile's father. He was succeeded by his son Mßono, and grandson TʃhukumaNow it is considered that Tʃhukuma may be supplanted by a son of Nomagqwetekana, the present Mzizi chief, because he is 'far from the chieftainship'. In the iHlolweni there are two headmen, Jungwana and Spilinga. They are both sons of the brother of Phathekile, and so are 'brothers' of Nomagqwetekana and too near him to be supplanted.



Headmen, or where the district was small, the district chief himself, appointed petty headmen over groups of *imizi* and they still do so. Ndovelane is a district directly responsible to the paramount, but it is small in area and only subdivided once. There are five groups of *imizi*: umCeßa, umHloza, eTilongo, iSmouse, and emDeni. UmCeßa is held by a son of the right-hand house of the father of Malinde, chief of the Ndovelane. UmHloza is the inheritance of a grandson of another minor house of Malinde's father, but the grandson is not yet of age and it is temporarily held by an *induna* (an adherent or servant (cf. p. 136)). ETilongo is held by Singata, the heir of Malinde's heir, Malinde's own heir being dead. EmDeni is held by Ncamane, a man who is not related to Malinde, but was appointed headman of that area 'because he was the first to build his *umzi* there, and his sense was good'. His son will succeed him, unless Malinde builds an *umzi* in that area. ISmouse is held by Malinde himself.

Districts are usually named after the clan of their chief, when he is not a Nyawuza, the clan of the paramount (e.g. Khonjwayo Ndovelane, 'mZizi). Where the district chief is a Nyawuza the district is called by the name of his chief wife's *umzi* (e.g. Sikelweni). Subdivisions of districts are similarly named after the *umzi* of the chief wife of the petty headman in charge. UmCeßa is the *umzi* of the right-hand house of Malinde's father; umHloza of the *umzi* of a minor wife; eTilongo was Singata's mother's *umzi*, and iSmouse the *umzi* of Malinde's own chief wife.

Among chiefs who are of the same or of related clans there was,

and still is, a hierarchy, the chief of a junior clan always acknowledging that of a senior clan as his superior by giving him his royal salute. Thus Thandaßantu of Sikelweni salutes the paramount chief, the Kwalo chief salutes the paramount and Thandaßantu of Sikelweni, because the Sikelweni chiefs are of a branch senior to that of the Kwalo (cf. pp. 398–9). Chiefs of junior aßaMbo clans salute chiefs of senior aßaMbo clans, but they do not salute chiefs of clans related to the Nyawuza, except the paramount himself. The chief's salute (*isibuliso*) is a personal praise name given him by his companions some time during his adolescence. There is no ceremony at the giving, and no special person whose prerogative it is to give the praise name. All the sons of an important chief, of his brothers, and of petty chiefs and headmen are usually given salutes. '*Daßul' amanzi*' (Crosser of water) was the *isibuliso* of Maɬelane, the late paramount chief of the Qawukeni. 'He had been educated in the Cape Province, and his people thought that he had crossed the sea.' '*Dußula ingwenye*' (Shooter of crocodile) is the *isibuliso* of the present Zizi chief. *Tyani ßelizwe* (Pasture of the country) that of the Ndovelane chief, '*Dal'ibango*' (Creator of disputes) that of the Kwalo chief.

Subjects also make long praise songs for their chiefs,[1] and to each chief is attached a special praiser (cf. p. 372).

Succession.

A chief (or headman when not supplanted by the relative of a superior chief) was succeeded as he usually still is (cf. p. 421) by the son of his great wife. With the paramount chief of eastern Pondoland this is not the first wife married, but the wife who is *ukuloßola* with cattle provided by the tribe, and usually married when the chief already has two or three wives. 'When a (paramount) chief wants to marry his great wife he says to his councillors, "*Nanku unyoko wenu uMampondo*" (There is your mother, Mother Pondo). Then the councillors talk about it, and cattle are given by all the men of the country.' The *ikhazi* given for the great wife is a hundred head or more. Usually she is the daughter of a chief. Once a great wife has been married she cannot easily be put aside, but one case is remembered in which the great wife was supplanted by another who found favour by her skill in cooking.

The great wife of NgqungquJe had been appointed. Her son was Phakani. The mother of Faku was a junior wife, but she was skilful at cooking meat. She made it nice and tender so that the old councillors, when they came to the great place, could eat it. The other wives cooked

[1] For texts of praise songs of the chiefs see Poto, op. cit., p. 63. Space does not permit giving translations.

a. A praiser in full spate

b. Posing as a warrior (cf. p. 153)

game in hard lumps so that the old councillors could not eat it. And the mother of Faku brewed a little beer, and drew it for the councillors when they were thirsty, while the other wives only gave them the gravy of the meat to drink. The councillors consulted together and said that she who resembled a chief's wife was the mother of Faku. A tribal meeting was summoned and it was announced that the appointment of the great wife was to be reversed. Now there was a leopard's tail on a pole planted in the ground in the *inkundla*. The councillors went to the mother of Phakani and said: 'Listen to us: we are placing you below because you tie in knots this *umzi*.' They went to the mother of Faku and said: 'Listen to us: we are placing you above because you build up this *umzi*.' The mother of Phakani said: 'You are disgracing the leopard's tail by placing it below.' The councillors were silent and said nothing. The mother of Faku said: 'You are building up the *umzi* by raising the leopard's tail.' The councillors said: 'There is the woman who builds up the *umzi*.' So they made her great wife.[1]

If the great wife has no son of her own, she may choose a son of any of the chief's other wives and adopt him as her son. The great wife of Mqikela did this, choosing Sigcawu, the son of the chief by a minor wife who was dead, to bring up in her house as her son. If the paramount dies without having married a great wife, or without her having a son of her own or adopted, the heir to the chieftainship is chosen by members of the late chief's family and councillors.

The house of the first wife the chief marries ranks next to that of the mother of the heir, and the son of the first wife, often called the right-hand son of the chief, inherits all the personal property of the chief, as distinct from the office of the chieftainship and insignia and property pertaining to it. The property appertaining to the chieftainship consists of the medicines of the chief and of the army, and the bowl, axe, and cattle connected with them. The right-hand son, besides inheriting the property allocated to the house of his mother, is heir to the property of any minor house in which there is no son, just as is the son of the first wife of a commoner.

Of the Nyawuza chiefs in Pondoland only the paramount of the Qawukeni appoints a wife to be the great wife. With all the other Nyawuza chiefs the first wife married is the great wife. For the great wife of the paramount chief of the Qawukeni, and the first wife of the paramount chief of the Nyandeni, *ikhazi* is given by the tribe, but all the other chiefs provide their own *ikhazi*. Some of the aßaMbo chiefs, such as the amaNgutyana and amaNci, appoint

[1] Translated from Poto, op. cit., p. 6. I lack information as to the ages of Phakani and Faku at the time this occurred, and other relevant points. The leopard's tail is not now stuck on a pole in the *inkundla*, but apparently one must have been placed before the hut of the mother of the heir at the time of Ngqungquſe.

a chief wife who is *ukulobola* with cattle provided by the chief's people, as does the paramount chief of the Qawukeni.

'As chief is born not made.' 'As I am born the eldest brother of a family so the chief's heir is born a chief.' All informants were emphatic that the eldest son of the great wife was the rightful heir to the chieftainship, no matter whether he was physically or mentally unfit, and the people of the tribe or of the district had no legal right to replace him by a brother or any one else. But a district chief might, in the old days, be legally superseded by a nominee of the paramount. History shows that in practice an incompetent paramount chief, and an impotent district chief not replaced by the paramount, lost his following and was replaced, usually by an able brother. Sometimes the son of the great wife was ousted by the son of the first wife married, who was usually considerably older, but this always involved fighting (cf. pp. 409, 411).

When the heir is a minor at the death of a chief, a regent is appointed by the chief's family and councillors. Usually the man chosen as regent is a brother, or father's brother's son, to the deceased. On the death of Sigcawu his father's brother's son, Mdlangaza, was made regent; on the death of Maɬelane his brother Mswakeli was appointed.

The death of a chief is immediately made known to his people, and at once without any formal ceremony the heir becomes chief and acts as such. By right of birth he is chief from the moment of his father's death,[1] and no installation ceremony is needed to ratify his position.[2] 'There is no ceremony that makes him chief: he is already chief.' (Councillors of Kwalo chief at great place.) Formerly, about a year after the death of his predecessor, the army was summoned to be treated with the medicines of the new chief, after which it went out to fight. This army review was particularly important as the first occasion on which a new chief was recognized as chief by all the men of his tribe or district simultaneously, but it was not a special installation ceremony, it was only one of the regular assemblies of the army for treatment with the chief's medicines.

Economic position of the chief.

Formerly, the chief was the wealthiest man in his country. Any commoner who presumed to have more cattle than the chief was liable to be 'eaten up'. It is related that Bekameva had to flee from

[1] Mqikela became chief while his father Faku was still alive, but this was an exceptional case.

[2] Appointment by the magistrate is not in Pondo eyes essential (cf. p. 430).

the Qawukeni because once when he attended a festival with cattle-races at the great place of the paramount chief, his cattle 'took longer to pass than those of the paramount' (i.e. were more numerous). Bekameva, realizing he was in danger, fled to his mother's brother, the chief of the imiZizi. Old men are generally agreed that formerly any man very noticeable for his wealth was liable to have a charge of witchcraft or sorcery brought against him.

A chief still inherits considerable property in stock from his predecessor. A proportion of the fines in every case between private persons goes to the chief who tries the case, and offences against the chief—resisting or swearing at the chief's messenger, breaking the chief's mourning, neglect to fulfil labour dues—are punished by fines. Formerly also in cases of witchcraft, murder, and slander the fine went to the chief. In witchcraft cases the whole property of the accused might be seized. Fines for murder and witchcraft were shared between the paramount chief and the district chief in whose district the case occurred. The other fines went to the chief against whom the offence was committed. Death duties (*isizi*) were formerly levied and shared between the paramount and district chiefs. The dues paid varied from district to district. Chief Poto gives, 'one beast on the death of a man, a goat or a beast on the death of a principal wife, and anything up to ten head on the death of a sub-chief'. Among the Kwalo two beasts were due from the estate of a rich man, one of which went to the paramount and one to the district chief. If the man was poor only one beast was taken, and it went to the district chief. Among imiZizi one beast was levied on the death of a man who was still living in the *umzi* of his father or other relative, or on the death of a woman.

The paramount chief got a share of the cattle captured when his army went out, and the district chiefs a share of those captured by the men of their district. When an independent raiding party attacked an enemy tribe, the chief of the raiders, if they were successful, was always given at least one beast. New-comers entering the country of a chief paid him a beast, and another tribe defeated in war, or a district which had rebelled, paid an indemnity in cattle. In war time each district chief supplied a beast as provisions, and chief Poto states that in times of special necessity the chief could levy tribute (*isithabathaba*) from each man according to his capacity to pay. This last statement has not been checked by information from other informants, and I know of no case in which such a right has been exercised, except when chief Poto had a motor accident and was permitted by the Government to

levy a tax of 1*s*. per head on his people to meet the damages claimed against him.

In the old days a chief when he travelled round his country visiting his various *imizi* was sometimes presented with cattle by his loyal subjects. The gifts were made by individuals. The hundred or more head for the *ikhazi* of the 'wife of the country' was provided by the councillors and wealthy men of the country, as it still is, but no gifts were ever made to a chief on his accession as with the Xhosa.

Before the annexation a chief always had more grain than any commoner. He had more wives and accordingly more fields cultivated. His fields were always particularly big: he had the pick of the land, and his fields were usually the richest. Still at 'mPoza, the fields of the district chief's wives are larger than those of commoners, and in the most fertile part of a rich river valley (cf. p. 72). Formerly, the paramount chief had fields in each district in which he had an *umzi*, and the people of that district were summoned to cultivate those fields. In practice the district chief's levy hardly differs from an ordinary *ilima* (work party). A chief when he sends out word that he wishes people to hoe a particular field on a particular day is expected to provide meat or beer for them. Among the Khonjwayo, the chief threatened to fine people if they did not come when he called them to work, but on the day appointed many people found it inconvenient to go, and I did not find one who had been fined. The women at the great place of the Kwalo chief even denied that there was any compulsion. They said: 'Every one goes when the chief makes an *ilima*, for he is the chief, but there is no case against those who are hindered.' As men assist in all agricultural *amalima*, it is not remarkable that they should work in the chief's lands. The work is organized as at an ordinary *ilima* by the wife in whose field the work is being done.

A chief may also call people to build his huts and kraal, but here again he is expected to provide refreshments. The Khonjwayo chief had two huts built for a sister by his people, and provided neither meat nor beer; there was much grumbling. When an activity in which there is some division of labour is to be done, different sub-districts are summoned to do different things. At 'nTißane the women of 'mPoza were summoned to cut grass for the chief's huts, the women of Inkanunu to mud the walls, and the men of the Hamsine to cut and cart brushwood and to build the kraal.

People living near the chief always send a pot of beer to the great place when they brew, and the joint between rump and

saddle when they kill a beast, if he is at home at the time. If he is visiting an outlying *umzi*, the people living near it will send these gifts. As Maßuto, an old councillor, explained: 'The chief does not like to take beer from people living far away. The chief is always afraid of sorcery.' In some parts these gifts are also sent to district chiefs and to petty headmen. The chief of the Khonjwayo is supplied, and Malinde, chief of the Ndovelane, but the Kwalo only send meat and deny that they ever have sent beer. Neighbours of the chief also take him gifts of the early maize from the gardens, 'the mouth of summer', but these are quite small gifts, and there is no case against a man if he fails to bring them. There were never any regular dues to the chief from the harvest.

Formerly, the paramount chief received the skins, tusks, and pads of all big game such as lion, leopard, elephant, hippopotamus, rhinoceros, and wild dog, but, old men say, he very often rewarded the man who killed the beast with an ox or a goat. The chief got all the skins of animals killed in the hunts in which the whole army joined after they had been treated with the chief's medicines (cf. p. 403), and the meat of these animals was taken to the great place and eaten by the army there. But nothing was due to the chief from an animal not included in the list of big game above which was killed in a private hunt.

A chief is not thought to own the property of his subjects. When I asked if it were so there was laughter, and a man commented, 'A chief owns the land, but the cattle of private persons? Never!' Nevertheless, if the chief asks a gift it must be given to him. At one *umzi* where I had been refused information because the people had not yet heard of me from the chief, the owner of the *umzi* ended up his oration with, 'And if you came with some one from the great place you could have absolutely anything you asked—all the information you wanted, and even the gift of a fowl if you wanted it.' These gifts of meat and beer and spring greens to the chief are given cheerfully and willingly because it is recognized that the chief reciprocates by the duties he performs for his people. 'The chief is working for his people, getting the news of the country, and he comes back and tells them things.' 'The chief gives people lands, and if they had no lands to plough they would not have any grain for beer.'

The economic advantages of chiefs are balanced by their obligations. Generosity is a primary virtue and the mark of a chief. '*Inkosi*' (chief) is the word in everyday use for 'thank you', indicating that to be generous is to act like a chief. Beggars interlard their solicitation with, 'You are our chief, give to us', or 'Give

to us and you will be our chief.' The word *ukubasela*, now used in colloquial speech for 'to give a gift, to tip', is derived from the Afrikaans *baas* and means literally to act like a *baas* or master. Ironical as the derivation seems to an observer of South African conditions, it is a characteristic expression of the Pondo attitude towards a chief. A chief has to be hospitable if he is to be popular. Some modern chiefs are monogamous, but formerly every chief had many wives to hoe and grind, and there was always much beer at the great places. The chief has more *iinduna* (men come to ask gifts who are in return prepared to perform services, cf. p. 136) than any one else, and he derives much authority from the fact that many of his people are economically indebted to him. This was still more so in the old days; before the east coast fever epidemic it is said that the chief of the Kwalo was so rich in cattle that a very large proportion of the people in his country had cattle from him on loan. He was famous for his ascendancy over his people. Old Gidli remembered that 'Sigcawu was kind although he was cruel. Sometimes he would call all those who had come to the great place to *ukubusa* (serve and ask for gifts, cf. p. 136), take all the blankets out of a trader's store, divide them among his people, and then settle with the trader.' The chief is still provider of the poor in the sense that many people come to (*uku*)*busa* at the great place, but he has no special obligation to those who lose their property through misfortune. If a man's store-hut were burned, the obligation of feeding him and his family would lie with his relatives and neighbours.

In spite of the fact that they were the wealthiest men in the country, chiefs always lived very much as their people, and most still do so. At the great place there is more beer and meat than elsewhere, but otherwise there is no difference between the diet of a chief and that of a commoner. The chief's *umzi* is not always conspicuous for its size or well-built huts. Gwadiso, a powerful district chief, lived in two or three broken-down huts. Chief's wives work in their homes and fields as do the wives of commoners. It is in no way beneath the dignity of a chief to work himself. Twice when I visited the great place of the Sikelweni, the chief, a young man, was out ploughing, and old councillors were clear that this was customary behaviour for a chief. But the chief is not obliged to work, for there are always *iinduna* at the great place prepared to serve him. Some come for a few days or weeks and, having got what they want, go away. Others may live at the great place for years. Others have their own *imizi* but live near the chief and come to serve him when called. The fields of

the Khonjwayo chief, who is stout and middle aged, were all ploughed by *iinduna*. *Iinduna* attend on the chief's person, saddling his horses, spreading his mat, and going his messages. Any man, when he comes to the great place, is liable to be sent on the chief's errands, or as court messenger. One day, when I was at the court of the imiZizi chief, a young man was called and sent ten miles with a message to a councillor that he should come to the great place to meet me the following day. The young man got no special reward for this service.

Chief's medicines.

Most important to a chief are the medicines (*amayeza*) which he uses upon his own person to give him an *isithunzi* (shadow), that is to make himself awesome, to protect him against medicines used by other chiefs, and to attract followers. The 'presence' of a chief is attributed to the medicines he uses. 'Jiba (a former district chief of the Kwalo) was fearful. Any one approaching him bent down. If one approached standing upright he would fall.' 'This was due to the chief's medicines.'[1] (Volunteered statement.) These personal medicines always were, with the paramounts of the Qawukeni at least, different from the medicines used for the treatment of the army, but the use of personal medicines of chieftainship and the use of army medicines formerly went together. When I inquired whether a headman or ordinary person could not obtain medicines from a herbalist and use them to give himself a shadow (*isithunzi*), informants laughed and said that such a thing would never happen. Only a chief who had the right to treat his army would use medicines to give himself presence. Not all chiefs use these personal medicines nowadays, but the majority still do so.

The nature of the chief's medicines is a close secret, known only to himself and the herbalist who supplies them. There are certain traditional methods of using them, but details vary with the herbalist. The medicines are prepared in a special clay pot and the chief washes with them at the gateway of his kraal at dawn. Some say that the paramount used to use the skull[2] of one of the Same clan, who was killed on the accession of a new chief, as a bowl in place of the clay pot. Each chief has a special beast, *isithununu*,[3] *inkomo yewaka* (the beast of the thousands, i.e. the army)

[1] With the Pondo it was not usual for a man to stoop in the presence of a chief, but Jiba seems to have demanded that his people should do so. It was customary with the Zulu.

[2] Cf. A. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 264.

[3] Word not used in any other way than for this beast and the servant, cited below. Derivation unknown.

or *inkomo yentonga* (the beast of the sticks, i.e. the spears), on which the medicines are tested. Some say: 'The beast is washed with the medicines whenever the chief is washed'; others: The '*isithunungu* licks the chief when he is washing.' If after this contact with the chief's medicines the beast becomes 'big but weak and behaves strangely, not going with the other cattle', that proves that the medicines are effective. 'If they hurt the beast they will help the chief.' Sometimes also, in the old days the *isithunungu* gave warning of danger. Maßuto described how it would go about lowing and staring in the direction from which an enemy was approaching.

Informants disagree as to the method of choosing an *isithunungu*. Probably different methods are followed by different chiefs under the direction of different herbalists. Each new chief has a new *isithunungu*. Some say that it was formerly chosen from the cattle taken in the raid made by the army after a new chief's accession. Others that it was taken from the same stock as the *isithunungu* of the chief's father. Others that when a chief stirs his medicine he sees reflected in the pot the beast he should use. The *isithunungu* may be an ox or a cow. If it is a cow only the chief, and some say small children, may drink of its milk. 'A man who eats of its milk will not be married and will have no children because of the medicines.' If it is an ox the chief drinks the milk of a cow of the same stock. The chief drinks the milk of no other cow. When an *isithunungu* dies it is buried and the meat not eaten even by the chief who owns it. 'If an ordinary person eats of that meat he becomes half mad.' The taboos on meat and milk are extended to several cattle of the same stock as the *isithunungu*.[1] When a chief dies his *isithunungu* is left in the kraal, and the former taboos regarding it are observed, although a new beast is used by the new chief. Because of its connexions with the chief's medicines, the *isithunungu* was dangerous to the chief's enemies. Some say that the cattle of a great place were not taken in war by commoners but were left for the chief because the *isithunungu* would be dangerous to any except a chief who had protective medicines. Others say that the *isithunungu* was driven out of the herd and not kept by the captors. But this could only be when a raid was made on a neighbouring chief whose *isithunungu* was known. The *isithunungu* is not normally known to strangers. When I visited the Kwalo chief, who has one, he would not point it out because I had with me an Mzizi, the man of another district chief.

Besides an *isithunungu* beast a chief had formerly a servant who

[1] The Khonjwayo call the stock from which the *isithunungu* is taken *nondongola*, Jordai had inadvertently bought a *nondongola* beast sold at a store and was trying to get rid of it, for, he said, 'so few of them could drink its milk'.

was specially delegated to look after his medicines, and he was also called *isithunungu*. 'He was chosen as a boy and given medicines so that he never developed as a man.' He came from no special family, 'but often he was a foreigner'. An old Kwetʃhuße woman described how the boy the councillors had picked upon to be the *isithunungu* was put into the middle of a herd of cattle, and the cattle driven from all sides until he was knocked down. Then he was given the medicated meat of a bull. The *isithunungu* ate the remains from the chief's plate, 'and when he did that he forgot all about his own home and he stayed always with the chief.' The business of the *isithunungu* was to look after the medicines of the chief, and because of his contact with them he became foolish. In spite of the disadvantages involved, informants say that there was never a chief without an *isithunungu*, 'for before the Government came what the chief said was done'.

Besides giving the chief an *isithunzi* (shadow), the medicines make his person feared. They are in themselves dangerous, particularly to other chiefs and to persons ritually impure (*nomlaza*, cf. p. 46). 'Big chiefs do not lean against one another, they do not face each other. It is because of the medicines. One might be hurt.' Because of the medicines he uses commoners are afraid of shaking hands with a chief. The medicines are kept in the great hut at the back on the men's side At the Kwalo chief's there is a wickerwork screen at the back of the men's side of the hut behind which the medicines are kept. Persons with *umlaza* will not enter the hut. I was in the great hut of the imiZizi chief one day waiting for a case to begin in the *inkundla*. Several women came along to talk to me. One refused to enter, but stayed chatting at the doorway. Her reason for not entering was that she had *umlaza*. Persons with *umlaza* will not drink out of the same basket as the chief at a beer drink. At the great place of the Kwalo chief I saw a man bidden to drink by the chief, and refuse on the ground that he had *umlaza*. Later he brought a tin dish and asked the chief if he would pour a share of beer into it, but the chief refused saying that if he could not drink from the basket, he must not drink at all. It is held that contact with the chief's medicines would harm a person with *umlaza*, but there is also a general belief that *umlaza* harms medicines (cf. p. 46). Because of the medicines which he uses the corpse of a chief is specially dangerous, and his pagan relatives are always most unwilling to touch it.

The thumbs of some chiefs are treated, and 'when one points a doctored thumb no one can resist the order'.

The medicines of the chief do to a large extent fulfil the functions which they are believed to fulfil. Even to-day they are a

mystery referred to only in whispers. No commoner knows much about them, but the very lack of knowledge adds to his sense of awe. The outline of the ritual which is known catches the imagination, and fosters the belief in the efficacy of the medicines. It was with the greatest difficulty that I got any one to discuss the matter, and I realized from the way in which voices were dropped and the information given in awed whispers, how real and effective was the belief. One old councillor of the Nyandeni, a Christian, who was prepared to discuss most matters freely, refused to mention the matter of the chief's medicines in the presence of any third person. The chief himself believes in the efficacy of the medicines; he gains confidence, and that presence which he is told the medicines will give him. I am not yet clear how it is that private persons are prevented from buying from a herbalist medicines to give them chief-like qualities, but I know that such medicines are believed never to be possessed by any but a real chief. It is certain the belief in medicines is still a very powerful force buttressing the authority of the chief.

Functions of the chief.

Nkosi nguyise wabantu (a chief is the father of his people). He stands to all his people in the same relation as does the head of an *umzi* to the occupants of an *umzi*. As the head of an *umzi* is responsible for and cherishes the inmates of his *umzi*, demanding from them in return obedience and loyalty, so a chief should care for and cherish his people, receiving in return their obedience and loyalty. In so far as the tribe is homogeneous and the succession legal, the paramount chief is the senior representative of the senior clan of the tribe, and even where foreign clans are absorbed the conception of the paramount as being the eldest of the family is emphasized by the custom that all men, no matter their clan, should drink milk of their paramount chief's cattle, as of cattle of their own relatives. 'They drink for they are all his family.' Old councillors when making a speech often refer to the chief as 'my father' (*ubawo*), although he is a much younger man than they.

Formerly the paramount was responsible for the maintenance of law and order. Murder, witchcraft, and slander were held to be offences committed against him, and were punished by him. Together with his councillors, the paramount formed a court before which appeals from courts of district chiefs, and disputes between persons in his immediate vicinity, were brought; and he still has a limited jurisdiction (cf. p. 425). He was also commander-in-chief of the army, which could not go out without his word, and which was dependent for success upon his medicines (cf.

p. 402). He represented the tribe in its dealings with other tribes. He was important economically as holder of land—no man could cultivate or graze cattle outside the district of his own chief—the procurer of rain, and to some extent as an accumulator of wealth and the provider of the poor (cf. pp. 384–8). Through the ceremony of the first-fruits he regulated the harvest. Where it was the custom of his clan to send an expedition to make an offering at a distant river, that expedition was organized by him (cf. p. 256). The calling of the names of the chief's ancestors when the chief was addressing his regiments before war (cf. p. 407) suggest that the ancestors of the chief may have been thought to send success in war; but informants are not clear on this point, and it is possible that the ancestral names may only have been used on these occasions as praise terms. The paramount as an object of common loyalty was, as he still is, a principal force in unifying districts in a tribe.

District chiefs (and headmen in large districts) fulfil the same functions as the paramount in respect of their own areas. They are fathers of their people. All the men under them drink the milk of their cows. They maintain law and order and with their councillors form a court. They are holders of land, accumulators of wealth, centres of common loyalty for their districts. Formerly they were also leaders of the men in war.

The petty headman recognized by a group of *imizi* is a focus for common loyalty of the members of those *imizi*. Formerly he led the men in war. He still settles minor disputes between members of *imizi* under him by arbitration. 'If two people had a dispute because the cattle of one went into the fields of another, that would be discussed with the petty headman. If the cattle persisted in going into the fields it would become a case (*ityala*) in the court of the district chief.'[1]

Checks on the power of a chief.

The powers of a chief were wide, but limited by law and custom, the power of his counsellors, and the necessity of keeping on good terms with his people. Men were an asset and every chief was anxious to increase his following. Every district chief was surrounded by others, ready and anxious to benefit by his troubles, and increase their following by accepting deserters from him. Rivals to the office of paramount chief were always present in the persons of the brothers, particularly the brother of the right-hand house, who was usually older than the heir. A stingy or cruel chief

[1] An example volunteered by a contemporary informant. Formerly there was no law of trespass, but the European law has been adopted and is enforced by chief's courts.

was liable to find his following dwindling, and his men attaching themselves to a chief outside his territory, or to a rival relative within his territory. In Pondo history there are many cases where this has happened. Chief Poto records one where Mthengwana, son of Ngqungquʃe, went off with a party of Pondo to live in Bomvanaland, *ngenxa yempatho embi yenkosi*[1] (on account of the bad rule of the chief).

Just as the head of an *umzi* is expected to consult his family on all matters of importance, so a chief is expected to consult his counsellors (*amaphakathi*).[2] Every man has the right to come to the great place when he chooses to take part in a case and to give the chief his advice, and every man was obliged to come to the great place when summoned by the chief. A few men conspicuous for their wisdom and skill in talking cases may be called to the great place by the chief to act as his counsellors (*amaphakathi*), and one is appointed as *isandla senkosi* (the chief's hand), to act as the chief's deputy and take his place as president of the court if he is away. These men may live actually in the great place, or build their *imizi* near. At imZizi, the *isandla* was a man who had lived at some distance from the great place, but when he was summoned by the chief to be *isandla* he built his *umzi* near the great place. He was chosen by the chief because of his ability in talking cases. He was not related to the royal house. But although a few may be specially called, the majority of the *amaphakathi* are those who come about the great place without being specially summoned, and who show themselves skilful at talking cases. Among the Kwalo an old man said, 'We (the older men) are all *amaphakathi*.' Certain men are conspicuous as being specially wise counsellors and skilful debaters, and they are the *amaphakathi par excellence*, but there is no sharp distinction between them and any man of the tribe who cares to come to the great place and take part in the cases.

Each district chief has his *amaphakathi*, and district chiefs and headmen are *amaphakathi* to the paramount when they go to his great place. Even a foreigner who comes to live within a chief's country may become an *iphakathi* if he proves discreet in council. There were Nguni (Xhosa or Thembu) counsellors at the Qawukeni, and Ndamase's *umlomo* (mouth, the man who spoke for him in public) was a Xesiße.[3]

[1] Poto, op. cit., p. 4.

[2] There is often confusion between *iphakathi* and *induna*. *Iphakathi* is one who talks cases and gives advice to the chief. *Induna* is one who has come to serve in return for a gift. As many *amaphakathi* do from time to time come to (*uku*)*busa*, and *iinduna* living at the great place often help to talk cases, the two words are often confused. But they refer to two different functions which may or may not be combined. This is Pondo usage, Xhosa and Zulu may differ.

[3] Poto, op. cit.

The *amaphakathi* have great influence. In giving judgement in a case a chief cannot go against the general feeling of the court, and in all important affairs the chief is expected to consult his counsellors. Faku welcomed the early missionaries, but said: 'I cannot give you a proper reply until I have consulted my councillors. I am but a child, I can only say what my great men say.'[1] After I had visited the Kwalo chief I was asked by him to explain my business before a gathering of counsellors. 'For', said one of them, 'although the chief has heard you, he is young (he was about thirty-five) and he should be advised by his old *amaphakathi* before doing anything in the country.' *Amaphakathi* can criticize and scold the chief. There is no one specially privileged to do this, but all have the right.

Members of the chief's family are often among his most influential advisers. Brothers of the father of the chief play a principal part in talking cases in the court of the Kwalo chief, and also in the Sikelweni. Father's brothers, brothers, and sons of a chief as district chiefs, and headmen under him, often had large followings, and power to enforce their opinions.

Formerly there were *imbizo*, tribal or district meetings to which all the men of the tribe or district were summoned. Subordinate chiefs and headmen were expected to attend with some followers. Private individuals were free to stay away if they chose to do so. These meetings were to discuss *iindaba zomzi wenkosi* (the business of the chief's *umzi*, i.e. the tribe or district). If there had been many faction fights, or cases of lynching a sorcerer or wizard without reporting the matter to the chief, he would summon an *imbizo* and talk to his people about it. Often the meeting was to plan a fight. Old men say that the chief always wanted to fight and often the people did not wish it, but the order for war lay with the chief alone, and if the army were called out men could not refuse to go. Shortly after Mqikela was made chief he insisted on going to fight the Pondomise, but the people were not with him and the Pondo were severely beaten. Gardiner speaks of a meeting of Faku and his counsellors to decide whether or not a military expedition should be sent to escort him to the Colonial frontier.

> The chiefs by this time had crowded round, each evidently prepared to give his opinion which, from all I have heard since, would have been quite at variance with that of their ruler; but, as his word is law, not a dissentient voice was heard.[2]

How much the chief was hampered by these checks before the annexation, and how much power he actually exercised, depended

[1] W. Shaw, *The Story of my Mission in South-Eastern Africa*, 1860, pp. 512–14.

[2] A. Gardiner, op. cit., p. 270.

very largely on his personal character. Circumcision was abolished in Pondoland in the time of Mqikela. The order to stop the custom came from the chiefs, and there seems to have been no general feeling among the people in favour of its abolition. Schools were held in secret, but those who were caught at them were punished. Circumcision was completely stamped out at the time. When it is considered how the neighbouring Xhosa cling to the custom in spite of the disturbance caused by contact, the difficulties of continuing the custom outside the reserves, and the opposition of the missionaries, it is plain that the Pondo chiefs must have had great authority to succeed in stopping it. Again, some chiefs would brook no criticism. One informant volunteered that Sigcawu fined in cattle those who spoke against him.[1]

A chief is and always was on familiar terms with his people. He is accessible to any man at the great place. When men come to the great place on business, or for a case or *imbizo*, they sit in the *inkundla* and chat with the chief. Old councillors who come may chaff with his womenfolk. I was in the *inkundla* one day at the great place of the Kwalo chief when a junior wife brought out the beer. The councillors chaffed her about not making a wide enough circuit when she approached them, for they were sitting near the kraal. She protested. They said: 'Ah, you go a long way round when we are watching, but only make a short circuit when no one is here.' Then one called as she went away laughing: 'Mind you go a long way round.' The chief himself goes about to beer drinks and dances among his people. He is treated with respect. A stool is always placed for him, and beer is provided free, even though it is a party at which it is being sold. Men raise an arm in greeting as they enter the hut in which the chief is. Commoners refer to the chief by name, but always use *inkosi* (chief), *umhlekazi* (beauty), his *isibuliso* (praise name), or clan name when addressing him. Only relatives of the chief will use his personal name to his face. But in spite of this formality the people chat with the chief and joke in his presence. They pester him for tobacco.

Death of a chief.

The death of a chief is (and was) immediately made public. The Pondo proper bury their chief as any head of an *umzi* at the gate of his kraal. The imiZizi and some of the aßaMbo clans, as the amaDiße, bury their chiefs in woods. Burying in a wood is said by the Pondo to have been a custom of the amaTʃhaka, i.e. Zulu. The imiZizi have lived among the aßaMbo and taken over many

[1] This may have referred to speaking against the chief in private and not in public. Informant was not clear.

of their customs. They say that they bury in the woods 'because it was ordered by the first doctors because of their medicines'. Each chief is buried in a different wood, and no one may go to a wood where a chief is buried, or cut grass there, or gather firewood. Burying the chief is a particularly dangerous and unpopular task because of the medicines he uses. 'The *iqungu* of burying the chief' is feared. *Unesithunzi emthini* (he has a shadow in his medicines, i.e. is awful because of the medicines he uses), they may give *iqungu*. Formerly the burial was sometimes undertaken by the army doctor because he was an expert in medicines of the chief and knew how to counteract them. The body is never touched by his own near pagan relatives. When Gwadiso, chief of the Khonjwayo, died, a European trader and a Malay workman buried him. To the man who buries the chief is due a beast, and he is called *ubawo* (father) by the widows of the chief. The chief's grave is watched even more carefully than that of a commoner to prevent witches from digging up the bones or resurrecting him and making him an *isithunzela* (cf. p. 289). *Amaphakathi* are detailed to watch the grave and they are afterwards rewarded with cattle. The burial procedure and family mourning is otherwise the same for a chief as for a commoner.

The whereabouts of graves of chiefs is remembered for many generations. The chief Msiza (between whom and Faku, who died in 1867, there were nine chiefs) is said to have come from Swaziland with a hunting party, and to have been buried at luThukela. His son Ncindise's grave is between the umThamvuna and umZimkhulu rivers, in what is now Natal. Of the succeeding chiefs Cabe and Gangatha were buried at Bumazi in Flagstaff district; Bala at 'nGcoya in luSikisiki district; Citwayo at 'nGquza in luSikisiki; Ndayini and Tahle at 'mZamba in Bizana[1] district.

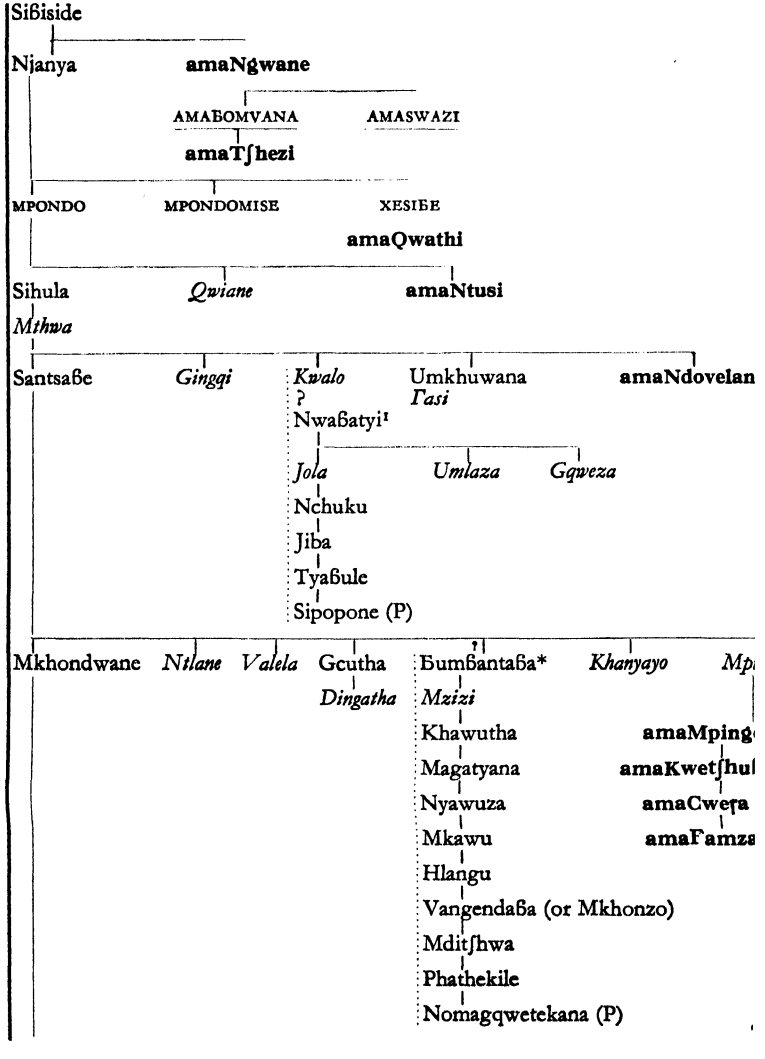
On the death of a chief people were formerly always smelt out for having caused his death by witchcraft or sorcery. A missionary told me that after the death of Nqiliso, a paramount chief of the Nyandeni, there was a feeling of tension all through the tribe. Every one was wondering who would be accused of having caused his death. No one was killed on that occasion; it was the first time that no one had been smelt out after the death of an important chief. The phrase used is that the chief is *adlalela na bantu* (put to rest with people; *ukwandlalela*, to spread a mat), but this is said only to mean that some one was always smelt out after his death. There was laughter when I inquired whether it meant that wives or servants were buried with the chief. No one had ever heard of any one being buried with the chief.

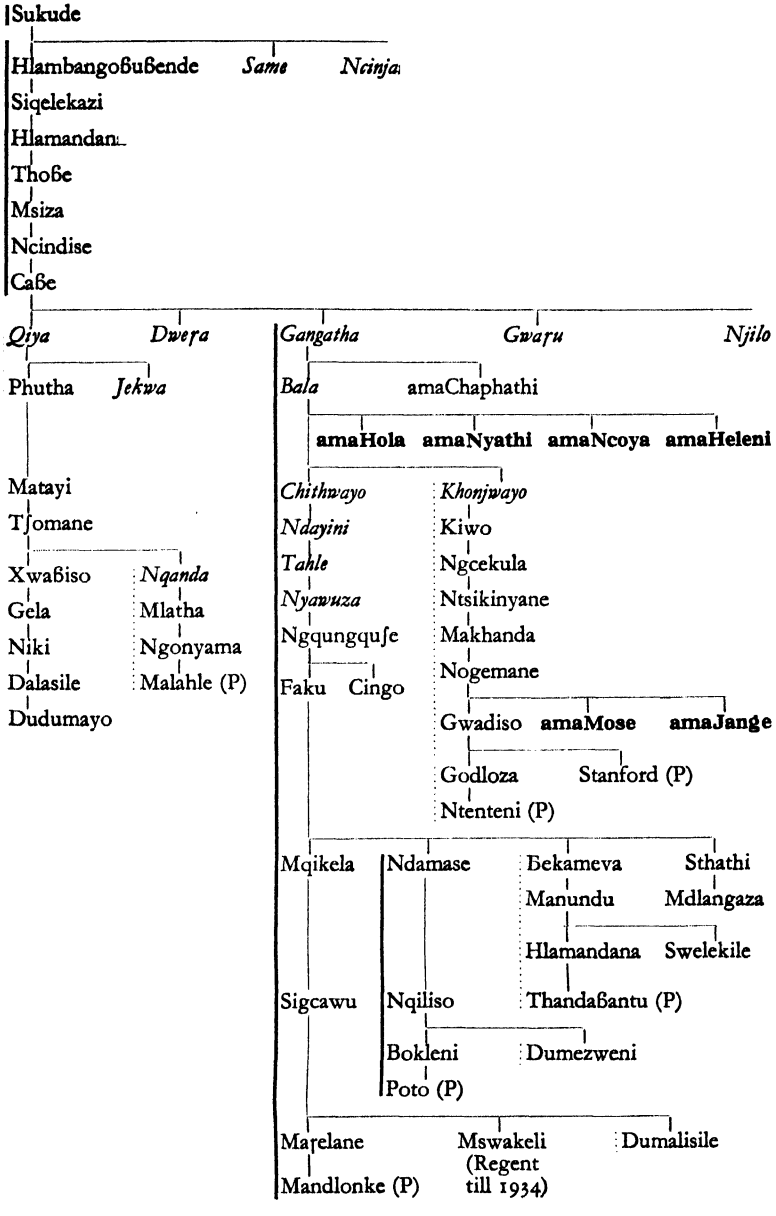
[1] Poto, op. cit., p. 143.

KEY

Lines of paramount chiefs are marked with a black perpendicular: |
Lines of district chiefs are marked with a dotted perpendicular: ⋮
Chief after whom a clan is named in italics as *Nyawuza*.
Chief after whom an independent tribe is named in small capitals as MPONDOMISE.
Clan known to be an offshoot of chief given in genealogy in heavy type, as **amaMose** descended from chief Nogemane.
Independent tribe known to be an offshoot of chief given in genealogy, in small capitals, and underlined as AMABOMVANA
Chiefs officiating in 1932–4 are marked (P)

PONDO CHIEFS





[1] It is doubtful whether Nwaßatyi was the son of Kwalo, but it is known that he is descended from him. Similarly Bumßantaßa is known to be descended from Santsaße, but there are probably several generations between them.

The respect due to a chief from his people is expressed in the mourning rites and taboos observed by them. For a district chief all the people of his district go into mourning. For the paramount chief all the people of his country, except those under chiefs not related to the Nyawuza and having their own army medicines. On the death of Maɬelane, the people of Sikelweni who have their own medicines went into mourning as their chiefs are Nyawuza, the Kwalo because their chiefs are related to Nyawuza, but not the Ngutyana who are not related. For a headman there is no general mourning, but some festivities may be stopped for a short time. When a paramount or district chief dies, no big festivals (*imijadu*) are held; there is no ox-racing; cattle cannot be moved to (*uku*)*lobola*, or for any other purpose; and the peoples shave their heads and bodies, lay aside their ornaments, and cease to use red clay. Beer drinks continue—'beer is food', said the informant from whom I inquired whether beer drinks were classed with *imijadu*. No one could give accurate information as to the length of the mourning period. Normal activities are not all resumed at once. Word is sent out from the great place when people may again move cattle—usually after six months. At first they may only move on the payment of a small fine, but after about a year there is free movement again. Singing and dancing is resumed by the young people before any *imijadu* are held. *Imijadu* are usually forbidden for about two years, and red clay is also avoided for that time. The taboos are 'to show sorrow that the chief is dead'.

The mourning period is interesting as being an occasion of the dropping of old customs and the introduction of new ones. In the Nyandeni men shaved after the death of Ndamase, and the old head-dress built up with clay (*ingcobo*) never came into fashion again. Since the death of Bokleni in 1912, the use of red clay has been dropped by many. Ox-racing has not been resumed in many parts of the Qawukeni since the death of Maɬelane, and horse-racing is taking its place.

Genealogy of chiefs.[1]

The genealogy on pp. 398–9 shows the relationship of a number of district and paramount chiefs mentioned in this, and preceding chapters. It also shows the relationship of most of the clans related to the royal house.

Military Organization

The Pondo army was organized on a territorial basis. Every able-bodied man fought, and when the army was mobilized each

[1] Based on Soga, *The South-Eastern Bantu*; Poto, op. cit. and information collected by me from old men.

man went to his petty headman and marched with him to the great place of the headman or chief immediately superior. 'MPosa, inKanunu, Thekwene, Pitoli, were sub-districts of the Khonjwayo; the men of each of these sub-districts would gather, under their petty headman, at the great place of the headman of their sub-district, from there march in a body to the chief of all the Khonjwayo, then the Khonjwayo would march to the *umzi* of the paramount chief of western Pondoland to which they were attached. Each paramount chief when he married built an *umzi* which was given a name. He also married wives who were placed in the *isizinde*, the *imizi* of his deceased father and grandfather. Each district was attached for military purposes to one of these *imizi*. The divisions of the army of eastern Pondoland in the time of Sigcawu were Vunga, Qawuka, Rini, and Hewu. Vunga was the *umzi* of Faku's mother, Qawuka that of his chief wife, Rini that of the chief wife of his heir Mqikela, and Hewu that of the chief wife of Sigcawu, the heir of Mqikela. The military divisions of western Pondoland in the time of Bokleni were iNyanda, 'mHlanganiso 'ziKumßi, and amaΓuba. iNyanda[1] was the *umzi* of Ndamase's mother, 'mHlanganiso the *umzi* of his chief wife, inKumßi the *umzi* of Nqiliso's chief wife, and iΓuba that of the chief wife of Bokleni.[2]

The *imizi* were often fairly close together—Vunga, Qawuka, and Rini were all within a few miles of one another in the present district of luSikisiki, and Hewu was in Flagstaff district—so the attachment of districts was not on a territorial basis. Nor was it by blood, for aßaMbo clans might be attached to the same division as clans related to the royal house. For example, to the Vunga were attached the imiZizi from the Zulu border, the Ngutyana, and Dißa (aßaMbo clans from near the imiZizi) and the Ndovelane (related to the royal house) from the south coast, and Kwalo from the western border of eastern Pondoland. When the heir of the paramount chief married and built his own *umzi* districts seceded from the old military divisions and attached themselves to the new divisions named after the heir's principal *umzi*. When a large district was divided, or a group of outsiders settled in the country of the paramount, the new group would attach itself to the *umzi* of the heir. Gradually the following of the older *imizi* disappeared, and they ceased to function as military divisions. In the time of Sigcawu (the last chief under whom the military organization really functioned) the oldest *umzi* to have an effective following which formed a division of the army was that of his great

[1] IQawuka, and iNyanda (commonly used in the locative, e-Qawukeni, e-Nyandeni) are also used for the whole area of eastern and western Pondoland respectively.

[2] See Poto, op. cit., p. 54. Also independent information.

grandfather. There is no tradition of the Pondo army ever having been organized with regiments of age groups. When I asked about it the reply always was: 'No that is a Zulu custom. The Pondo were never organized in that way.'

The men of each district were led by the chief of that district. Over each division as the Vunga, Qawuka, &c., a relative of the chief, or a councillor renowned for his military capacity, was appointed. The paramount chief, or the chief of the district which was fighting, was always kept in the rear, but the army could not go out without his word.

Often a son of the paramount chief was appointed commander-in-chief over all the divisions. Ndamase, the right-hand son of Faku, led the Pondo army against the Zulu in Tʃhaka's first raid, Ɓekemeva, another son, led it against the Xesiße. When the Khonjwayo rebelled the first time, the army of the paramount was led by Mangaliso, the right-hand son of the paramount. The inKumbi division was led by Sikuza, a Kwetʃhuße, and Mayoli an Ngwane (i.e. persons not related to the royal house); the iNyanda by Nyangwe, a son of Ndamase; the 'mHlanganiso by Waka, a Gangatha, and Dwayi a Nyathi (not related to the royal house); the Khonjwayo divisions were led by Mßuße, Ґayi, and Ntsuku, brothers of their chief Gwadiso.

Army medicines.

The success of the army depended largely in Pondo estimation upon its successful treatment with medicines (*amayeza*). The army was summoned at intervals to the great place of its chief for treatment. Some district chiefs had the right of treating their own army, but from the smaller districts every man went to the great place of the paramount. The army was treated every year at the time of the first-fruits, at irregular intervals during the year, particularly before a campaign planned by the chief, and before an expected attack from an enemy, after a battle in which enemies had been killed, and after the accession of a new chief. The details of the treatment varied slightly with the doctor who carried it out, but always the main principles were the same. The description given here is based on that given by Chief Poto, checked and expanded by information I got from men who took a part. I describe first the treatment not at the time of the first-fruits.

When summoned *ukukwelapa* (to treat with medicines) the warriors arrived at the great place in divisions. Each division has its own war song (*iґuba*[1]) which it sang when marching to battle,

[1] See Poto, op. cit., p. 58 for texts. Lack of space prevents me giving translations here.

or to a review, or as a greeting to its chief. Each division as it arrived stood before the great hut of the chief and was sprayed with medicines (*amayeza*) by the army doctor (*inyanga yempi*), then it moved into the *inkundla* where the young men were instructed in the use of their spears and shields. A bull was caught, without the use of ropes, and killed. The army was sent to wash in the river with *intelezi* (a particular type of medicines to make men slippery; *telezi*, slippery). They returned to the kraal where the meat was roasted with *intsizi* (medicines burnt and ground into powder); the chief tasted a piece, went out of the kraal followed by the army and gobbled a piece of the meat, looking the while towards the enemy country. He returned to the kraal, a piece of meat for each division was flung into the air, a warrior caught each piece, went out of the kraal and ate of it as did the chief, then flung the piece into the air again for another man of his division to catch. It was forbidden to pass the meat from hand to hand. No women except those past child-bearing age could touch the meat of this bull. The men were then made to inhale the smoke of a fire on which medicines were burned, and sprinkled with *intelezi*. The imiZizi doctors scarified the chief and each warrior, from the forehead down the chest to the stomach, on the arms from shoulder to wrist, and on the legs from hips to ankles, and rubbed *intelezi* in to the scarifications. After being treated the warriors danced, boasting of their past and future exploits. A warrior would dance saying: 'I am going to kill So-and-so,' and mimic the act of killing in his dance. 'But,' remarked one old man with scars all over his body, 'the best dancers were not always the bravest in the fight.' After dancing the men scattered to hunt. In two days they returned *ukuphothula* (to wash). They came as before in divisions, each division bearing the skins of the animals they had killed and singing the praises of the chief (*amaviyo*). The men were again made to inhale the smoke of a fire on which herbs were thrown, and sprayed with *intelezi*. *Imithetho* (orders of the chief) were proclaimed, and the men were dismissed to wash and go home. Between the time the treatment began and the time they washed off the medicines (*ukuphothula*) the men had to remain continent, and were forbidden even to sleep in their ordinary sleeping blankets which would be contaminated with *umlaza* (ritual impurity, cf. p. 46). When the imiZizi army went to be treated, all fires in the homes of the warriors were extinguished before their return, and they brought back with them lumps of smouldering cow dung taken from a fire lighted by the doctor to char his medicines at the great place. This custom was peculiar to the imiZizi alone. They also went to wash off their medicines in an

enemy country that the danger of the medicines might be left with the enemy.

At the first treatment of the army of a new paramount chief of eastern Pondoland, in addition to this regular treatment, the chief underwent a special treatment. He entered a hole in the ground with a very old woman; both were treated in the hole, then the chief came out, but the old woman was left there and buried alive. The old woman came from the tribe, and her people were given cattle. This ceremony was believed to strengthen the new chief. (Information from a Nyawuza chief.)

The treatment of the army was to give the warriors courage '*Aqinise, angoyiki*' (To cause them to press on, not to fear), and to make them immune in battle. The bull which was killed was 'only for the medicines', and had no connexion with the ancestral spirits. Informants are most emphatic on this point. 'The medicines helped me, not the *amathongo* of the chiefs.'

First-fruits ceremony.

That to Pondo the purpose of the first-fruits ceremonies was also to strengthen the warriors was made clear by all informants. 'It (the first-fruits ceremony) is to make the warriors strong.' 'It is done that the men may not be soft,' 'To make fit the army of the chief.' There was no fear of sickness if the warriors did not go to be treated. The similarity between the first-fruits ceremony and the other army treatments, and the fact that the public first-fruits ceremony was dropped when wars ceased, although other magic flourishes, supports the view that they were performed first and foremost to strengthen the army. When I inquired why first-fruit ceremonies had been dropped the answer frequently was, 'There are no more wars nowadays'. I am aware that first-fruits ceremonies have other aspects in other Bantu communities, and that this view of them will be queried; but with such information as is now obtainable in Pondoland it is impossible to regard the first-fruits ceremonies otherwise than as one in the series of army treatments. Fuller information might perhaps reveal other aspects.

There were three parts to the ceremony of the first-fruits—a private treatment of the chief (*intende*), the treatment of the army (*ingxwala*), and a ritual eating in each *umzi*. Every spring men were sent to kill an enemy; man, woman, or child, and to bring green foods from the enemy's fields. The Pondo stole from the Pondomise[1] and Baca, with whom they were constantly fighting. The Kwalo, who retained their first-fruits ceremonies some time after Pondoland was taken over by the British, dispensed with the body

[1] The Anglicized form of amaMpondomise.

of the enemy and stole green foods from the fields of neighbouring clans, the Ntlane and Mfiniso, who are also Pondo. The chief was *ukufwamisa* (made to taste first) with the green foods from the enemy gardens, treated with medicines (*amayeza*), an ingredient of which was part of the flesh of the enemy who was killed. This *intende* ceremony was held at full moon in December. With the waning moon came the army treatment (*ingxwala*). The whole army gathered at the great place of their chief as for an ordinary treatment. Before the *ingxwala* ceremony no man or woman might eat of new pumpkin or sorghum. Any one who did so and was discovered was fined a beast by their chief. Maize (an introduction to Africa) did not matter, and millet was never ripe in December. Women and girls from the neighbourhood of the chief's *umzi* brought baskets of new pumpkin and sorghum. These were cooked together in a great pot with medicines, of which powdered flesh of the enemy killed, and green food brought back from the enemy country were ingredients. The chief was *ukufwamisa* (made to taste first) with this mixture, and after him the whole army ate of it, division by division. Once the chief had eaten there was no special order in which others had to follow. A bull was killed and the meat eaten with medicines as at the ordinary treatment. Women took no part in the ceremony. Those who had brought the greens sat on a hill afar off, looking on. To give them good aim, the men were scarified on a finger, and under the right eye. The doctor brushed them with a twig so that anything dangerous should miss them, and then held a stick of medicine for each man to nibble. If a man touched this stick he was fined a spear. After the treatment the army scattered to hunt, and returned after two days *ukuphothula* (to wash off the medicines).

After washing the men went home and in each *umzi* new pumpkins and sorghum were eaten with medicines. The head of the *umzi* nibbled medicines, ate of the foods, spat in all directions, and stabbed with his assegai, and pointed his gun (if he had one) in the directions in which he spat. Then the other men of the *umzi*, the women and children ate and spat. Leaves of *umgca* (*Minosa caffra*) and *intfulu* (a thorny shrub) and a root *inquili* were medicines used.

The reasons given for performing this family ceremony are the same as those given for performing the *ingxwala*. 'It is done to make men strong.' 'It is to make their knees strong.' 'It is being dropped now because we no longer fight, now we only fight in our homes' (i.e. there are quarrels within the *umzi*). When I inquired why women were also given medicines with the new foods the reply was, 'What would happen to the knees of women if they were not given medicines?' One man said that if the treatment were not

observed the people who ate new foods would become quarrelsome and half mad.

To protect against surprise attacks from the enemy a chief's country was 'fenced' with medicines which were believed to make it difficult for an enemy to enter the country, and to impede his progress if he succeeded in doing so. They might also impede travellers leaving the country. Geza assured me that long ago it took two days for a Mzizi man to go from the great place of his chief to Bizana, a distance of about twenty miles, because their country was so effectually fenced with medicines. Now they do the return journey in a day. That a chief's medicines were also a means of combating another chief is suggested by Callaway's account[1] of how Faku, the Pondo paramount chief, secured an armlet of the Baca chief Ncaphayi (who was married to Faku's daughter), and worked upon it with his medicines, calling Ncaphayi's name so that Ncaphayi came to Faku in the night with only a few followers, and Faku had him in his power. According to the story Faku did not kill him then, 'because', he said, 'I cannot kill my child's husband'. I have not got independent evidence of the chief's medicines being put to such a use, but the story is in harmony with the general ideas of the Pondo about magic.

Mobilization.

The army was summoned by runners sent round to each district, or in cases of sudden attack by a war cry shouted from ridge to ridge by the women. I have heard the war cry raised when the young men of one district attacked the young men of another district. Women on one ridge gave the cry and immediately it was taken up by the women of neighbouring ridges, and sent all through the district. The peculiar thrilling screech once heard can never be forgotten.

Since the army was treated regularly little preparation was necessary immediately before battle. The men when they assembled at the great place were hastily squirted over with medicines, *intelezi* or *amakhubalo* (charms) of the chief by the army doctor. The juice of an aloe was one medicine used, the root of agapanthus another, and a plant *ingweßeba* another. Gidli described one method of spraying with *intelezi*. Each man brought some butter (*uphehlo*), the doctor lighted strips of sneezewood (a wood which burns as a torch), squirted butter from his mouth on to the flames and scattered it burning over the men. The flames leapt twenty feet but did not burn them! One old man described how he had his own private war medicines. He washed himself with some,

[1] Callaway, *Religious System of the Amazulu*, p. 431.

chewed others and spat them on his horse, and rubbed his horse with a third kind. Another said: 'Some are learned; they have *intelezi*. If a man is shut up in a hut, and men aim at him as he tries to break out and miss that is due to his *intelezi*.' 'When a man was a coward an axe was heated, and sharpened on a stone, and he was given the powdered grindings to lick.' Most informants denied any knowledge of private war medicines, knowing only of those provided by the chief.

Before the army went forth to battle the army doctor consulted omens to see whether or not it would be successful. One test was to apply the war medicines to a dog. If it urinated during the application the battle would be lost. Another method was to stir medicines in a pot. If they frothed all would be well, if they did not froth the army should stay at home. It is said that when Mqikela went out to fight the Pondomise the omens were against him, but he insisted upon going. The army had no heart for the enterprise and when a calf suddenly appeared from the great place of the Pondomise chief, which they were surrounding, and galloped towards them, the cry went up that it was sent by sorcery. Whoever had heard of a calf running away from its home kraal? The calf sighting the men took fright and galloped away again, but the Pondo had already fled, and were badly defeated.

Before the army set out the chief addressed each division, telling them with whom they were summoned to fight, and then called them the division of his ancestors, and shouted the praise names of his ancestors. It is not clear whether this calling upon the ancestors was an appeal to the ancestors of the chief, or merely a praising of the division. Practically all informants denied when asked directly that the ancestors of the chief aided the army in battle, and chief Poto speaks of the orations as *izibongo zamabandla*, the praise songs of the divisions.[1] Calling a man by the name of his ancestors is a usual way of praising him (cf. p. 53). But this calling on the ancestors is very similar to the calling upon the ancestors at a ritual killing, and chief Poto uses *ukunqula*, the word used for the calling upon the ancestors at a ritual killing in connexion with the chief's ovation. I could not get sufficient data upon this point to come to any definite conclusion.

The weapons of war were spears (*imikhonto*). Each man carried a bundle of light long-handled spears for throwing and a short-handled long-bladed spear for stabbing. One man might have perhaps fifteen throwing spears, and when these were exhausted those thrown by the enemy were picked up and returned. Each man had an oval shield, about four feet by two, made of ox-hide.

[1] For texts of songs see Poto, op. cit., p. 60.

Concerning tactics I have little information, and can only refer the reader to J. H. Soga's description of Xhosa tactics in his *Life and Customs of the AmaXhosa*. Campaigns did not last for more than a week or ten days, and the army lived upon the country, but each district chief was obliged to provide a beast for food when supplies ran short. When an army went out to battle the women escorted it part of the way, and if the fight were near they would watch it from the hill-tops. They sang salacious songs, and tucked their skirts round their waists exposing themselves. Old women tell how if a young wife did not expose herself freely, they scolded her saying, 'Don't you know that the army is at grips? You must take leaping runs as you go.' At one district fight which I witnessed the soberest old matrons became quite hysterical, racing along the ridges to get as near the fight as they could, singing, screaming the war cry, and exposing themselves. Formerly after the fight the women went to tend the wounded left on the field.

Treatment after battle.

After battle the men of the army, and the families of those who had killed, and been killed, were believed to be in danger of *iqungu*, a much feared disease, the symptom of which was swelling of the body and which sometimes resulted in madness. There was also the danger that if one person in a family had been killed by a spear others would die in the same way. The whole army was in danger of *iqungu*, but those particularly likely to be affected were the relatives of those who had been killed, and those who had themselves killed. To protect themselves against *iqungu* the Pondo cut open the stomachs of their enemies slain in battle, then after the fight those who had killed and those whose relatives had been killed gathered round the chief and licked charred medicines (*intsizi*) which he carried in a horn. The men then scattered to their homes, but after a few days were summoned to the great place *ukuqunga* (to be treated against *iqungu*). They were made to inhale the smoke of herbs, were scarified, and charred medicines were rubbed into the cuts. Those who had slain, with their relatives (men, women, and children) and the relatives of those who had been killed, were also treated in their own homes. They were given emetics, made to wash with medicines (*intsizi*), and made to dip the tips of their fingers in a boiling mixture of medicines, cooked in a pot lid, and to lick their fingers (*ukuncinda*). They inhaled *intsizi* mixed in water through mouth and nose, then spat it out. Ashes and broken clay pots were thrown at the man who had slain. 'Every spring also these people started drinking medicines for *iqungu* at their homes.' Some informants said that the

medicines taken in spring against *iqungu* were those taken at the first-fruits ceremonies, but others denied this, and said that the two treatments were quite separate. *Iqungu* is said to be caused by the medicines used by the enemy. 'It is because the relatives of the killed will be using medicines that a man who has slain must use them.' Whenever any one has been killed by a spear or a knife, even if only in a private quarrel, there is danger of *iqungu* both to the man who has killed, to his relatives, and to the relatives of the slain. Treatment is still carried out when one has died such a death. There is a division of opinion as to whether there is danger of *iqungu* if a man has been killed by a knobkerrie. Geza, whose fathers had treated the imiZizi army against *iqungu*, was positive that there was danger of *iqungu* only after death by a spear or knife. At the Kwalo chief's, however, the councillors agreed that they would treat after death from a blow with a knobkerrie, and a case occurred at 'mPoza when a boy was killed in a fight by a stick, and his family was treated. There is probably variation in practice as well as in theory, on this point. A person who has been killed with a spear is never buried with other members of the family, but always at a distance from the *umzi* in a wood. Those who considered that death from a blow with a stick also causes *iqungu* bury those killed thus as if they had been killed by a spear.

The army doctor.

The army doctor (*inyanga yempi*)[1] was a herbalist (*ixhwele*) or a doctor diviner (*igqira*) who knew war medicines. He was chosen by the chief, and employed so long as his treatment was deemed successful. Geza's family have been doctors to nine Mzizi chiefs, a son always succeeding his father as the man who treated the chief himself and the army. Geza described proudly how his ancestors had come to the chief when he was fighting a rival, his brother of the right-hand house, who was trying to secure the chieftainship, and how they had treated the chief, and his army had defeated his rival and how they had promised that their medicines would make the chief great, and people of all tribes would come to live under him, Basuto, Xhosa, Fingo, Nyawuza Pondo, &c. 'And so it has happened,' concluded Geza triumphantly. 'All these people are now living under the imiZizi chief. My ancestors made the chiefs, and even now they make the chiefs.' The doctor was paid by the chief. The fee depended upon the generosity of the chief, and the success of the fight. Some say: 'It might be anything up to ten head.' Others: 'When the fight was over, provided it was successful and there were no wounded, the chief gave the doctor a beast.'

[1] The Xhosa word *umthola* for a war doctor is not used by the Pondo.

The nature of the medicines used by the army doctors was a close professional secret. 'If a young person asks what medicines are for, or anything about them, he is told not to speak of such things.'

It is clear that in some measure the army medicines fulfilled the function which they were believed to fulfil by inspiring the warriors with confidence. They believed that their success did not depend entirely upon their own prowess. The mobilization of the army for treatment, the instruction in the use of weapons, and the development of morale by the singing of warlike songs and dancing, were useful from a military point of view. On the other hand, the belief that the enemy also used medicines increased their fear of them. The fear that they might be defeated by the magic as well as by the arms of the enemy is clearly shown in the incident of the breaking of Mqikela's army before the white calf of the Pondomise, quoted above. And the fear of *iqungu* was a very real fear. Always there was the danger that the medicine given to counteract it might not be as strong as the medicines of the enemy which caused it.

War increased the power of the chief of the fighting unit. External danger often increases the solidarity of a group, and in Pondoland the people were particularly dependent upon the chief in time of danger, for success in battle was believed to be dependent upon the medicines which could only be used through him. The assembling of the army at the great place to be treated, and the ceremonial emphasized this dependence of the people upon the chief. The first-fruits ceremonies gave him control over the harvest and enabled him to prevent the squandering of the next season's food, by forbidding the eating of the new green food until the chief had tasted of it ceremonially.

The occasions of war.

Small boys begin to carry sticks at about five years, and from that age are constantly fighting one another with sticks. They have single combats. I have seen a group of herds holding a tournament, each fighting the other. The boys of one ridge, of one sub-district, fight those of another. Sometimes they dare not enter each other's territory. At 'nTißane one day the cattle were brought to the dipping tanks by small girls; their brothers were fighting boys of the area in which the tank was situated, and did not dare enter their territory. Sub-districts fight over grazing, and over girls. Gatherings in the hut of a girl being initiated (cf. p. 172), weddings, and festivals (*imijadu*) are usual occasions for a fight (cf. p. 370). Fights at festivals between sub-district and sub-district often become serious. Older men join in, and sticks are

exchanged for spears. Women give the war cry, and word goes out, *ilizwe lifile* (the country is dead, i.e. at war). One such fight began at a beer drink which I attended at Ntontela. A gave B's wife snuff—a perfectly allowable action in itself, but B suspected them of an intrigue, and hit A. A friend of A came to his assistance, a friend of B joined in. Soon all the men at the beer drink had taken sides. They had all drunk well and were hasty. As always the division was on territorial lines, each man fighting with his neighbours. Three men died of wounds received in that fight. Such local disputes as that described sometimes developed into affairs involving the whole tribe. In the time of Sigcawu two men, Ntlaßathi and Sigijima, belonging to the divisions of the Vungeni and Qawukeni respectively, quarrelled at a beer drink. The men of their respective divisions took sides. The division of Vungeni was held by Manundu, that of the Qawukeni by Mdlangaza, a cousin of a junior house to Sigcawu (cf. p. 399). Mdlangaza drove Manundu across the umThamvuna river and returning fell upon Manundu's allies. Sigcawu called out all his forces, and defeated Mdlangaza. The feeling between Sigcawu and Mdlangaza was intensified by the fact that Mdlangaza was suspected of attempting to seize the chieftainship.

The attempt of another brother to seize the chieftainship from the heir was a common cause of fighting within the tribe. Men of Gangatha, a younger son of the great house of the paramount chief Caße, went out hunting and killed a blue buck. Qiya the heir demanded a share. Gangatha refused it. They fought, and Qiya was defeated. Caße, their father, and the people favoured Gangatha, so Qiya gathered the people of his district, their wives and stock, and moved into unoccupied territory in western Pondoland. There were fights between the paramount and sub-chiefs who refused to acknowledge his overlordship. After the death of Ndamase, paramount chief of the Nyandeni, Gwadiso, chief of a large district, the Khonjwayo, refused to pay the *isizi* (death duties) due after the death of his father's brother. He beat the messengers sent from the great place to demand it. Then Tyaßule, a man of Gwadiso, received some stolen horses from the Colony. The owners came to the paramount, Nqiliso, for them, and Nqiliso demanded them from Tyaßule. Gwadiso objected, saying that Tyaßule was his man. Nqiliso called out his forces, fought and defeated Gwadiso, and seized the horses. Gwadiso was still reluctant to pay *isizi*, and Bokleni fought and defeated him a second time.

Sometimes a man of one district would be accused of killing a man of another district by witchcraft or sorcery, and the friends of the deceased would attempt to kill him or seize his property,

and a fight between the two districts results. Or a man accused of witchcraft might take refuge with a neighbouring district chief, and the latter refuse to give him up. Again there would be a fight. All these were disputes within the tribe, and one or both parties might be fined by the paramount for fighting between themselves, or for rebellion against him. The Khonjwayo were fined a hundred head for rebelling against Nqiliso, and Sigcawu levied a heavy fine in cattle from Mdlangaza and his allies.

Fighting between two tribes involved more people. There were disputes over boundaries which were streams or paths. Mhlontlo, chief of the Pondomise, seized the cattle of a man Jacob, living at Ngcoloṛa, saying that he was in his, Mhlontlo's, country, and had settled without permission. Faku declared that the country was his. The dispute led to a fight between the Pondo and Pondomise. Sometimes one chief went to the assistance of another to whom he was related by marriage. Faku's daughter was married to Madikizela, chief of the Ngutyana. Madikizela fought a neighbouring clan, the Ci, and was in danger of being defeated, so Faku went to his rescue. Ngqungquſe went to the assistance of Nongodlo, a Bomvana chief who had married Ngqungquſe's daughter. Nongodlo was being ousted from his rightful place as chief by his father's brother, Langa, who had acted as regent. In the fight Ngqungquſe was killed. Nogemane, a chief of the Khonjwayo, went to the assistance of a Thembu chief against the Hlubi who were among the refugees driven south by Tſhaka, and who settled in Thembuland. The Hlubi only snuffed, and did not smoke. The Thembu smoked. At a beer drink one day a Hlubi swore at the Thembu chief's wife, Nobutho, because she was smoking, and a fight between Hlubi and Thembu resulted. There were quarrels when the man of one chief fled to another chief and was sheltered. The Baca chief Ncaphayi quarrelled with a younger brother who fled to Faku's country. Ncaphayi followed his brother, and took his cattle. Faku rebuked Ncaṗhayi. Ncaphayi refused to return the cattle he had taken and led his army against Faku.

There was raiding for cattle, and this was probably the most frequent of all occasions for war.[1] Finally there were wars of defence against Tſhaka.[2]

[1] Only the paramount could legally sanction an attack on another tribe, but raids by district chief were usual and often condoned. Cf. A. Gardiner, op. cit. p. 368. 'It appears that Tangwani (Faku's brother) in conjunction with some minor chiefs, have, contrary to Faku's wish been making clandestine attacks upon the Amatembu.'

[2] Pondo did not fight British at the annexation. Rhodes mowed down a mealie field with machine guns before the eyes of the paramount of eastern Pondoland and his councillors and explained that their fate would be similar if they did not submit. Cf. J. G. McDonald, *Rhodes: A Life*, p. 167.

How frequently fighting occurred before contact with Europeans it is difficult to say. It is certain that boys and young men were constantly fighting with sticks, and that sometimes in fights between local groups spears would be brought out, but how often these developed into serious affairs in which a number of people were killed we do not know. Between 1820 and the Annexation in 1894 the country was disturbed by Tʃhaka's raids, and the refugee parties who poured into Pondoland and the country surrounding it, and by the clash between Xhosa and European on the south-eastern border. The only period of which we can get any detailed account in tradition, or from old men, cannot therefore be taken as typical. Fights between the young men of two districts in which several persons may be killed are still not unusual in Pondoland, and cause great excitement. For weeks afterwards they are the sole subject of conversation both among men and women.

The Maintenance of Order

Through the preceding chapters an attempt has been made to indicate what forces make for the maintenance of order in the society, and to show how they work. We have seen how the principle of reciprocity acts in economic life, how ownership entails obligations, and how failure to fulfil those obligations is punished by social stigma. How respect for elders and the observance of certain ritual customs are sanctioned by the belief in the ancestral spirits, how other customs are buttressed by belief in magical retribution if they are transgressed (as the belief that one who approached the chief with *umlaza* will be harmed). But besides these sanctions of public opinion, of economic necessity, of belief in ancestors and magic, there are, for enforcing certain rules, what we may call judicial sanctions. A transgressor of any of these rules may be brought before a court consisting of his local chief or headman and the men of the district, and if proved guilty be punished by fine, or in some cases by death. The rules for which there are judicial sanction are clearly defined, but they are not enforced by judicial sanctions alone. Public opinion, economic necessity, belief in ancestors and in magic, may operate as sanctions for the enforcement of these rules, as for the other rules by which society is regulated.[1]

[1] I am unwilling here to enter into a controversial subject by introducing the term law. As I see it the rules regulating society are differentiated by the sanctions securing their enforcement, although frequently these sanctions overlap. Law may be applied to the whole body of rules regulating the behaviour of individuals and groups within a particular community, or to the body of rules for which there exists a special sanction in the courts. The whole body of rules regulating behaviour are in Xhosa, *amasiko*. There is no distinguishing word for the body of rules enforced by

Rules enforced by the courts deal with property, regulating its transfer at marriage and at death, and defining the return to be made for certain services (e.g. the regulations regarding maintenance). They secure ownership, making provision for the punishment of one who infringes the right of an owner, by thieving, or damaging property. They regulate the relations of the sexes, proscribing intercourse between certain persons, or under certain circumstances, and determine under what circumstances a child shall belong to the group of its father, and under what circumstances to that of its mother. They secure life and reputation, making provision for the punishment of those who imperil either by witchcraft, murder, assault, or slander, and regulate behaviour towards a chief. The details of the rules enforced by the courts are discussed in the sections describing the types of behaviour which they regulate.

The offences formerly punished by a court were of two classes, those in which the fine went to a private individual, and those in which it went to the chief. The onus for instituting proceedings in cases of the first class lay with the individual against whom the offence was committed. The only communal responsibility was the obligation of the members of an *umzi* to assist the owner of missing stock, of which the spoor was traced to within a few hundred yards of their *umzi*, to track the spoor past the *umzi*. If they failed to do this they were held responsible for the missing stock. In cases of the second class responsibility for reporting the breach of law, and apprehending the breaker of it, lay with the whole community, but the *amaphakathi* and *iinduna* of the chief were particularly responsible. Now the majority of 'cases against the chief' are classed as criminal and may only be tried in a magistrate's court (cf. pp. 417; 424).

Courts.

Each headman, or chief, with the men under him, forms a court of first instance,[1] and from the court of every headman or chief there is an appeal to the court of his immediate superior, and from thence to the court of the paramount chief. Formerly in a few very large districts such as the Ngutyana, Tʃhangase, and imiZizi, cases were finished in the court of the district

a court. *Umthetho* (*ukuthetha*, to speak) is used for a command issued by the chief, and for the judgement given in cases brought before a court. It does not apply to the body of rules enforced by the courts. Geza said: 'It is an *isiko* that a man should give cattle if he makes an unmarried girl pregnant. The number that he must give is an *umthetho* of the court.'

[1] It seems that a case often goes direct to a headman without first being tried by a petty headman. I lack data on petty headmen's courts.

chief, and no appeals were sent to the paramount chief of the Qawukeni. The courts of district chiefs with headmen under them, and the court of the paramount chief, are courts of first instance for the people living immediately round their great place, as well as being appeal courts for the whole district, and in the case of the paramount, for the whole of eastern or western Pondoland. A man wishing to bring a case against a neighbour goes to the great place of his headman, or in a small district his chief, and lodges his accusation against the man. A day is appointed on which the case will be heard, and the defendant and witnesses for both parties are summoned by a messenger of the chief. The court consists of the chief (or headman), or if he is absent, a counsellor who is specially appointed to take his place on such occasions, and any men who care to attend. It is the work of a chief's counsellors to talk his cases, and certain men usually attend at the great place for cases, and are recognized as skilful cross-questioners and authorities on law, but any man who cares may attend and take part in the case. I have heard young men of 30 playing a big part in the cross-examinations. No women attend except those bringing cases and those called as witnesses, but it is remembered that Mancaphayi, mother of Bokleni, late paramount chief of the Nyandeni, was often consulted in intricate cases by the counsellors because she was so shrewd.[1] Women can bring cases in their own name. The court meets in the *inkundla* of the chief's *umzi*. Plaintiff and defendant and their witnesses are called by an *induna*, or counsellor, speaking for the chief. The witnesses are sent out of earshot. Plaintiff and defendant sit down a little apart from the rest of the court. The plaintiff is told to state his case. He stands up, uncovers his head out of respect to the court (even a woman uncovers although normally she shows respect by covering her head), unpins or unknots the fastening of the blanket on his shoulder, 'for if he left it fastened the whole case would be "tied up", and he would have bad luck', and states his case. Any member of the court may interrupt at any point with questions. Even a visitor from another district is at liberty to take part and ask questions—one day in the court at 'mZizi many questions were asked by a visitor from Nyandeni—but most of the questions are put by a few older men who specialize in talking cases. One counsellor may ask a string of questions, then another take up some other point and question on it. When I inquired whether persons with a case never packed the court with friends to ask the opposition awkward questions, I was told that such a thing had never been known to happen. After the plaintiff has stated his case and been

[1] Poto, op. cit., p. 151.

cross-questioned, the defendant puts his case and is questioned. Witnesses for both sides are called, one being called at a time, that they may not hear each other's evidence. Witnesses take no oath, but are fined by the court if proved to be giving false witness. A woman whose husband had caught her in adultery fled to the chief's fearing lest her husband kill her. Later when her husband brought a case against the adulterer she denied having committed adultery with him. She was fined a sheep for giving false evidence. I attended the case.

When the chief feels that a case has been sufficiently discussed he announces, or causes an *iphakathi* to announce, that 'We have heard', and the case is closed. The court continues with the next case. When all the cases that are to be tried that day have been heard, the plaintiffs, defendants, and witnesses are ordered to withdraw, and the court discusses each case. Previous cases are cited and judgement determined by them.[1] The chief gives judgement, but he cannot give a judgement in conflict with customary law, or against the general opinion of the court. Usually the court comes to fairly speedy agreement as to the judgement. When the chief is young the court is really in the hands of one or more counsellors. The chief of the Sikelweni was just over twenty. He as chief gave the word when a case was to close, and through a mouthpiece pronounced judgement, but an elderly *iphakathi* suggested to him that it was time to close a case, and summed up the opinion of the court. When judgement is pronounced he who has won the case approaches the chief and kisses his hand.

Magic is sometimes used by plaintiff, or defendant, or both, in the hope of influencing the decision of the court. 'Before a case a man washes with medicine to gain favour' (*ubulawu*). X, whose son was accused of having made a girl pregnant, got medicines to chew from a man who knew them before going to talk the case. His son was acquitted. 'But', said Jordai, 'it was more by luck than by medicines.' There are also charms to keep a witness from speaking. One who uses charms is not a sorcerer but 'the son of somebody'—i.e. a fine fellow.

Pondo love talking cases, and attending the chief's court is a favourite diversion. When any important case is on many men come. At the adultery case quoted fifty to sixty men were present.

[1] Among the Xhosa cases which had been heard before any court of the tribe were cited. Kay (op. cit., p. 155) cites a case for which the court which tried it knew of no precedent, and before giving judgement the chief sent messengers to all the other chiefs to ask if any such case had ever come before them. A Xhosa author, S. E. R. Mqayi, in a novel about a case, *Ityala Lama-Wele* (The Case of the Twins), describes the same procedure. It is probable that this procedure was also followed in Pondoland, but as yet I have no direct proof of it.

Each man, or group of men, as they arrive, raise their arms in greeting to the chief and call his *isibuliso*. Those arriving on horseback rein up and greet him with a flourish before dismounting. Men smoke, and beer may be passed round. A basketmaker may bring his work. Jokes are exchanged, and there are odd scraps of conversation between the cases. The casual air of those who form the court contrasts with the anxious tension of plaintiff and defendant, and their immediate kin.

Court fees.

A goat or sheep, or 10*s*., is paid by the plaintiff to open a case. It should be paid at least 'by mouth' before the case is begun. At Nkantsweni the counsellor in charge stopped the plaintiff as he began to state his case, saying: 'You have not told us yet what you are giving to open the case.' *Plaintiff*: 'I am giving a small red calf.' *Counsellor*: 'Very good, go on.'

Before the annexation the penalty in civil cases was always a fine in cattle, or small stock, which were seized by the chief's messenger who carried a staff with the tail (*umsila*) of a leopard attached, as the sign of his office, and it was a serious offence to resist the *umsila* (word also applied to the messenger) of the chief in the execution of his office. If he were resisted he flung down his staff and galloped away. The staff had then to be returned to the great place with a goat, as fine. Nowadays a chief can no longer enforce his decisions (cf. p. 425) but they are in fact very often accepted.

The appellant in a case collects his damages at the great place, paying out of it *umthethelelo*, his thanks due to the chief for winning the case. If awarded three or five head, one is left for the chief, if one beast he redeems it with a goat. There are standardized fines for certain offences, but circumstances are taken into account and the penalty modified accordingly.

In cases of seduction and adultery, when the woman in question is the daughter or wife of a chief the fine is double the usual amount.

Cases in which fine went to the chief.

Every man was an *isihlanga senkosi* (a shield of the chief); therefore in cases of murder, assault, witchcraft, and slander,[1] the chief was held to be harmed through the death or injury of his subject.

[1] As far as my evidence goes incest was treated as an offence against the guardian of the girl with whom it was committed. In McLean's *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, p. 11, it is stated that with the Xhosa it was an offence against the chief. Pondo regard it as akin to witchcraft, which is criminal. Cf. McLean, op. cit. p. 62.

The whole fine in these cases went to the chief, not to the injured party, or to his relatives. 'A man cannot eat his own blood.' And in cases of murder, assault, and witchcraft the chief might prosecute, although no case was brought by the injured party. There seems to have been no distinction between murder and manslaughter, the fine being the same (usually ten head of cattle) whether one man assaulted another and killed him, or a boy was killed in a fight between two districts of the same tribe. In a fight of districts only he who had killed, or his relatives, paid. No regard was paid to status unless a chief's son were killed, then the whole district from which he who had killed came would be 'eaten up', that is all the inhabitants heavily fined.

In cases of witchcraft or sorcery the procedure was as follows: When a man was very ill his relatives reported the fact to the chief, and got permission to inquire of a diviner. A man accused by one diviner had the right to go with his accusers to another diviner of his own choice. If he were accused again he was proved guilty. If some one else were accused he was cleared. It should be reported to the chief who was accused, and the chief had the right to order men to kill him, or merely banish him, or confiscate his property. Sometimes the chief ordered that a third diviner should be consulted before judgement was given. To kill a man for witchcraft without reporting to the chief was an offence. In remote parts, as among the Ndovelane, it seems to have been committed fairly frequently, but those who did it were fined in cattle. Those accused of witchcraft or sorcery were sometimes tortured to extract a confession and make them give up that with which they were causing damage. The accused was strung up over a fire, or tied down, wetted and covered with soldier ants, or burned with heated stones. The most usual method of killing those convicted was to throw them over a precipice. The estate of a witch or sorcerer was taken by the chief. He sent his *umsila* to seize the cattle of the accused. If a man was killed without the case first being reported to the chief 'those who killed him seized the cattle, kept some for themselves, and sent the rest to the chief'. Thus they doubtless recompensed themselves for the fine for killing without leave. If the head of the *umzi* was accused, or if the *umzi* stood by some other inmate who was accused, all the cattle of the *umzi* were seized, and the relatives moved away after the case. If, however, a wife of the *umzi* were accused she might be disowned by the rest of the *umzi*, and sent back to her own people. One old woman related how the husband of her father's sister was smelt out, and as he was a poor man with few cattle the chief took a daughter: that is he demanded that the *ikhazi* of the

first daughter married should be paid as a fine. This case occurred after Europeans had entered the country and the man was not killed. If a man heard that he had been smelt out before his accusers seized him, he would flee to the country of another chief. 'The people of another country would help him, saying he was in the woods when his accusers came to demand him.' The finding of a witch or sorcerer by the ordinary method of divining (cf. p. 336) was the only test of guilt. There was no form of trial by ordeal. But that diviners were not considered infallible is shown by the fact that the accused had to be smelt out by more than one diviner before execution. Within the country of a man's own chief, the great hut of the chief and the grave of a deceased chief were sanctuaries. A man, having committed murder or accused of witchcraft, could flee to the chief's great hut, and having attained it could not be touched, 'even though it was the chief himself who was chasing him'. 'If the chief violated the sanctuary his councillors could bring a case against him (the chief).' Having achieved sanctuary the accused might flee the country or await trial 'when men were no longer angry'. Informants state that even if on trial the accused were condemned for witchcraft he could not be killed after coming to the chief for protection, but could only be banished. There was a case against any man who molested one who had taken sanctuary while he was fleeing the country. A person having taken sanctuary paid the chief a goat, 'because something unclean had gone into his hut'.

Besides prosecuting for murder, witchcraft, and slander, a chief tried and fined people for speaking against the chief, swearing at a chief's messenger, refusal of hospitality, failure to perform labour dues, and breaking the chief's mourning. This he still does. It is the duty of an *induna* of the chief on seeing or hearing people commit one of these offences to report to the chief.

The report of a case I witnessed (translated from a text written by Geza) illustrates present procedure.[1]

Plaintiff. 'My husband wished to (*uku*)*ngena* (to marry the widow of a deceased brother), a widow whose name was Majola. I did not wish that and I exhorted my husband, and he promised that he would not say anything further to her. I ground beer, and that widow came to drink. When the baskets were getting empty I saw my husband take that woman and go to give her a drink in a store-hut. I understood that they were going to make love to one another, although my husband had not told me. I went to them, and when I reached them I took the ladle out of which that woman was drinking, and she spilt the beer.

[1] This is only a précis of the proceedings. Space does not permit giving further cases recorded.

We both had hold of the ladle and it broke. When matters were thus, my husband came and seized me, and threw me outside. When I came out I took a piece of firewood and hit my husband on the head so that he was wounded. When matters were thus this man (pointing to defendant) seized me by the hair, pulled it out (exhibiting a thin patch), caused me to fall down, kicked me, and did not say anything to me. I accuse him because he beat me, and he is not my husband.'

Defendant. 'When we finished drinking I came out and saw that woman who accuses me hitting her husband with a piece of firewood, and the man fell down. There came some people and interposed between the man and this woman whom he was trying to hit. They seized the man, and I went and seized this woman who was holding the widow by the hair. I never pulled her hair out. I took her and went with her to a store-hut and gave her to the mothers of some one else, and they took her and made her enter the hut. I never beat her at all.'

Witness of defendant. 'I saw this woman when she was held by this man by the arm. He did not beat her at all. Further, I saw this woman held by the hair by the widow, and she was holding the widow also by the hair. It was I who separated her and her husband. I seized the husband, but I saw her when she was pulled off by the accused.'

Questions.

To the Plaintiff. 'With whom were you fighting?'
Plaintiff. 'I was fighting with the widow.'
To the Plaintiff. 'Why did you hit your husband?'
Plaintiff. 'Because he hindered me fighting with that woman.'
To the Defendant. 'This woman now says that you beat her, and pulled out her hair. Is it so?'
Defendant. 'No, I was separating them, I never beat her.'
Question. 'Were you two not always quarrelling at home?'
Defendant. 'No, for she is the wife of my father's brother, we have never quarrelled.'
Question. 'By whom was her hair pulled out?'
Defendant. 'It was pulled out by the widow.'
Question. 'Did you see it?'
Defendant. 'I saw them holding one another by the hair. I came and I separated them.'
Question. 'Now you deny that it was you?'
Defendant. 'I do not know.'
To the Witness. 'Who was it that pulled out this woman's hair?'
Witness. 'It was the widow.'
Question. 'How did you see it since you were with the man?'
Witness. 'I saw it, for I came from her.'
Question. 'Now she says she was beaten?'
Witness. 'She was never beaten. She is lying.'

Judgement in this case was deferred, and I did not hear what judgement was eventually given.

The Existing System of Administration

To-day Pondoland is divided into seven districts, each under a magistrate or Native commissioner. The magistrates are responsible to the chief magistrate of the Transkei Territories, he to the Secretary of Native Affairs, and the Secretary to the Minister of Native Affairs, who is a member of the cabinet of the Union of South Africa. At the annexation the paramount chiefs of eastern and western Pondoland were recognized, and appointed as chiefs, receiving from the Government annual allowances. Their heirs have been recognized and appointed to succeed them. Their rights and duties are defined in the *Government Gazette Extraordinary* of December 21, 1928:

Chiefs shall, under the supervision of the Government, exercise general administrative control over their respective tribes and over any other natives residing within their areas of jurisdiction.

They shall be responsible for the proper allotment to the extent of the authority allowed them by law, of arable lands and residential sites in a just and equitable manner, without favour or prejudice.

They shall, subject to the instructions of the Supreme Chief, act as the upper guardian of orphans and minor children in the tribe in accordance with the native law and custom prevailing.

They shall be responsible to the Government for the peace, order, welfare, and administration of the tribe, and shall immediately bring to the notice of the Native Commissioner any conditions of unrest or dissatisfaction or any other matter of serious import or concern to the Government.

They shall enjoy the privileges conferred upon them by the long established and generally recognized customs and usages of their tribes, but otherwise shall not use any compulsion or other arbitrary means to extort or secure from any person any tribute, fee, reward, or present.

They shall be entitled to the loyalty, respect, and obedience of the members of the tribe.

They shall be paid such allowances, if any, as may from time to time be approved by or on behalf of the minister.

Subordinate to the magistrate in each district are headmen appointed and paid by the Government. Those appointed as headmen at the annexation were usually the district chiefs and headmen then in authority, and their places have in most cases been filled by their eldest sons or nearest male heirs. The Government is anxious to have literate and progressive headmen, and may refuse to appoint the heir of a deceased headman if he is considered personally unsuitable, but the general policy is to appoint the heir of the last headman. The right of the paramount chief to replace district headmen with relatives of his own is not recognized.

Headmen are only recognized as having authority over their

own small areas, and no hierarchy of district chiefs is recognized, e.g. the Kwalo chief before the annexation had authority over a considerable district with headmen under him. Now he is only recognized by the Government as headman of a comparatively small area, and two other headmen appointed by the Government are directly responsible to the Government for areas which formerly came under the Kwalo chief's jurisdiction.

The duties of headmen are laid down in the *Government Gazette Extraordinary* of December 21, 1928.

Chiefs and Headmen shall carry out such lawful orders and instructions as may from time to time be given them through or by a Chief Native Commissioner, Native Commissioner, Magistrate, or Superintendent.

They shall comply with all laws and render such assistance as may be required of them by responsible officers of the Government in connexion with the following matters:

(*a*) The registration of taxpayers and the collection of taxes and rates due by the people.
(*b*) The dipping of large and small stock and the supervision thereof.
(*c*) The prevention and eradication of animal diseases.
(*d*) The collection of statistics.
(*e*) The efficient administration of the laws relating to the allotment and registration of lands and kraal sites and to commonages and the prevention of illegal occupation of or squatting upon land.
(*f*) The preservation of land beacons and fences.
(*g*) The prevention, detection, and punishment of crimes and offences.
(*h*) The supply of labour for agricultural and other purposes.
(*i*) Public health and sanitary measures.
(*j*) The eradication of noxious weeds.
(*k*) The preservation of game.
(*l*) The preservation of forests, monuments, historical objects, and public property.
(*m*) Such other matters as the Native Commissioner may from time to time prescribe.

Such requirements will, except in regard to the detection of crime and police administration, be made as a general rule through the Native Commissioner of the District in which such chief or headman resides.

They shall bring to the notice of their people all new laws, orders, instructions, and requirements of the Government communicated to them by the Native Commissioner or Superintendent.

They shall promptly report to the responsible officers of the Government the following occurrences:

(*a*) Outbreaks of any notifiable disease amongst stock.
(*b*) Outbreaks of notifiable disease amongst persons.

(*c*) The deaths of persons from violence or other unnatural causes.
(*d*) The commission of crime and offences brought to their knowledge.
(*e*) The presence of strange persons in their areas unless such persons produce lawful authority to be therein.
(*f*) The unauthorized occupation of land, or encroachments thereon.
(*g*) The presence of a fugitive offender.
(*h*) The illicit introduction of arms, ammunition, and intoxicating liquor.
(*i*) Meetings for unlawful or undesirable purposes.
(*j*) The presence of strange stock in the area without lawful permit.

They shall prevent, so far as the law allows them to do so, veld burning, soil erosion, interference with bona fide travellers through their areas, the sale of poisons, love philters, and the practice of pretended witchcraft or divinations, and the practice of Native customs which are contrary to the laws and principles of humanity and decency.

They shall render assistance to the educational authorities, teachers, demonstrators, and other officers employed by the Government or Native Councils established under Act No. 23 of 1920 in connexion with the welfare of natives, and shall not manifest partisanship in the activities of the various religious bodies in church or school matters.

They shall at the request of the Native Commissioner or superintendent convene meetings of their people and shall attend such meetings and endeavour to secure the attendance of all people thereat.

They shall, in so far as they are able, disperse or order the dispersal of all riotous or unlawful assemblies of natives and may arrest and hand over to the police any person who fails to comply with such order.

They shall not, except when specially authorized under any law, try or decide any criminal charge.

They shall not become members or take any part in the affairs of any political association or any association whose objects are deemed by the Minister to be subversive of or prejudicial to constituted Government or good order.

They shall not absent themselves from their area of jurisdiction for a period in excess of seven days without the authority of the Native Commissioner, and in case of absence beyond a period of one month without the authority of the Chief Native Commissioner, and shall during such absence provide to the satisfaction of the Native Commissioner, without extra cost to the Government, for the proper performance of their duties.

They shall have and exercise in regard to any native within the area of their jurisdiction such powers and authorities in connexion with the arrest and custody of offenders as are conferred upon peace officers by Chapter V of Act No. 31 of 1917, or by any law relating to the theft of stock and produce, or to the control or the sale of intoxicating liquor.

They shall have power to search without warrant any native person or the kraal homestead or other place within the area of their jurisdiction occupied by a Native, if there are reasonable grounds to suspect

that stolen stock or produce or intoxicating liquor or arms or ammunition wrongfully obtained are hidden on such person or in such kraal or other place, and to seize and convey to the nearest police post any such stock or produce or intoxicating liquor or arms or ammunition so seized.

They shall impound or detain stray stock found in their areas of which the owners cannot be ascertained and in case of detention shall promptly report the fact to the Superintendent or Native Commissioner,

They shall report to the district surgeon or Native Commissioner or Superintendent every untreated case of venereal disease, or leprosy, in their area.

Headmen are paid at a minimum rate of £12 p.a. Pay increases with length of service to a maximum of £36 p.a. after sixteen years' good service. After fifteen years' continuous good service they receive retiring allowances of £6 to £12 p.a.

A criminal code drawn up by the Commission on Native Laws and Customs of 1883 and modelled on the Indian Penal Code is enforced. Minor criminal charges are dealt with by courts presided over by the magistrate of each district. More important cases are heard before a Circuit Court consisting of a judge and jury sitting at specified centres twice a year. Civil cases are also heard before the magistrates' courts from which there is an appeal in cases in which both parties are Native, to a Native Appeal Court, which is presided over by the chief magistrate sitting with two magistrates as assessors, and with Native assessors who are consulted in cases where questions of Native law may be at issue. It is an itinerant court sitting periodically at specified centres. In cases where one party to the suit is a European the appeal is heard by the Supreme Court.[1] In each magistracy there is a police prosecutor, a small detachment of police, and a jail which is often the most conspicuous building in the village.

The most revolutionary change affected by the introduction of the criminal code is in the treatment of those accused of witchcraft or sorcery. The British courts refuse to entertain witchcraft or sorcery charges. Those who kill alleged witches or sorcerers are tried for murder or culpable homicide, and imputation of witchcraft is treated as an offence liable to heavy fine or imprisonment. By enforcing these laws the administration has been largely successful in stopping executions for alleged witchcraft or sorcery. In Pondoland there are still a few murder cases each year which originate in a belief in witchcraft. One who believes a certain person to have harmed him or his family by witchcraft or sorcery kills that person. But the number of such cases is very small in

[1] F. Brownlee. *The Transkeian Native Territories Historical Records*, p. vii.

proportion to the population. Nevertheless, trials before a diviner for witchcraft are still regularly held. Nowadays, if a woman is accused of witchcraft she usually returns to the *umzi* of her father or brother (p. 312).

In cases not classified as criminal, Native customary law is recognized. 'Provided that such Native law shall not be opposed to the principles of public policy or natural justice; provided further that it shall not be lawful for any court to declare that the custom of *lobola* or *bohadi* or other similar custom is repugnant to such principles.'[1]

It is at the discretion of the courts to try civil suits in which both parties are Native by Native law, or by the Common and Statutory laws of the Union. Cases in which the Native law gives no right of action, and cases between Europeans and Natives, are dealt with under the Common and Statutory laws of the Union. The Native Administration Act of 1927 also provided that the Governor-General may grant to any Native a letter of exemption exempting him from Native laws.

In the Cape Province Native law has not, as in Natal, been codified. The Native Affairs Commission of 1903–5 advised against codification on the grounds that they did not contemplate Native law as a permanent institution, and codification would fix and strengthen what they wished to disappear, and that Native law was naturally in a state of transition and that codification would check improvement and adaptation to changing conditions. In 1921 the Bunga passed a motion requesting the Government to investigate and codify Native law, but the Government opposed codification on the same grounds as did the Commission of 1903–5. In cases where a point in Native law is at issue Native assessors may be summoned to assist in the case.

Until 1931 no chief's court was recognized by the Government. In 1931 the paramount chief of western Pondoland, and in 1932 the paramount chief of eastern Pondoland, were given authority to try civil cases, and from these chiefs' courts there is an appeal to the court of the magistrate of their respective districts. These courts keep written records. In every district, however, there is a chief's court which, although not recognized by the Government, functions regularly. No figures are available of the number of cases tried in chiefs' courts every year, or of the proportion of cases appearing before the magistrate which have previously appeared before a chief's court, but before the court of every district chief a number of cases are tried each week. At 'mZizi Mondays and Saturdays are regular days for talking cases. The

[1] Native Administration Act, 1927, Sec. 11 (1). Quoted Whitfield, op. cit., p. 10.

court usually splits into two or three so that several cases may be heard at once, and often a dozen or more are heard in one day. In the more conservative districts it is felt that all cases should come before the chief, and only if satisfaction is not obtained from him should they go to the magistrate's court. Those who most commonly go direct to the magistrate are school people. The reason they give for going direct is the slowness of procedure in the chief's court. The chief may have failed to summon the witness on the day appointed, or he and his councillors may arrive late on the day appointed, or fail to appear at all. 'What we complain of is that the chief and his councillors are lazy, and they are never at the great place, but always going about to beer drinks.' So complained one disgruntled 'school man' who had failed to get his case heard on the day appointed in the chief's court. I never heard any gossip suggesting that bribery occurred, and in reply to direct questions informants all said that it never occurred.

Criminal cases must be brought direct to the magistrate's court, but no attempt has been made to prevent civil cases being heard by the chiefs. Their judgements, however, are not recognized by the magistrates' court which proceeds as a court of first instance with a case which has previously appeared before a chief's court.

The Europeans' judicial system is criticized by the Pondo first on the grounds of its costliness. In the chief's court every man is his own advocate, and the total cost of procedure is, in a small case, at the most a sheep, or 10*s*. European attorneys have to charge enough to Native clients to maintain their European standard of living. Further, it is complained, there is frequent miscarriage of justice. The word in everyday use for an attorney is *igqwetha* (perverter). A Pondo said to me one day: 'Why is it that you Europeans say that you do not like lies, but you keep professional liars? The Europeans keep people in towns who have houses there, but whose business it is to pervert. The European says, "You must speak the truth", but even the magistrate says, "You should go to the attorneys".' This man expressed a general opinion. The Pondo have a tradition that at the time of the annexation they bargained that no attorneys should practise, no liquor canteens be opened, and that cohabitation between black and white be prohibited in their country, and that the British bargained that Pondo men should wear loin-cloths and women breast-cloths.[1]

[1] I am indebted to Mr. F. Brownlee for taking great pains to trace this tradition among descendants of Europeans concerned with the drawing up of the treaty. Mr. J. Elliot states that his father, Sir Henry Elliot, who was present at the negotiations, told him that Sigcawu wished the first three points mentioned above to be conditions of annexation. No written record of this had been traced.

But in spite of the number of cases dealt with in chiefs' courts, and the criticism of European courts, there is sufficient work to keep two attorneys in each of the seven magistracies.

The administration has naturally attempted to suppress cattle-raiding and fighting. Fights between young men of different districts, in which sticks and occasionally spears or guns are used and individuals killed, are not unusual. During the time spent in Pondoland I witnessed three such fights and heard of others. In each case the participants were reported by the headman to the magistrate, arrests made, and as many as could be proved to have taken part in the fight fined 10*s*. apiece, and, if they failed to pay, imprisoned. Sometimes three months' imprisonment without option of a fine is imposed. In remote districts, fights in which no great number of persons are involved and no one is killed are ignored.

The gap left in the economic system by the suppression of cattle-raiding is to some extent filled by the opportunity men have of earning money by working for Europeans. But except in communities of school people around a few mission stations, among whom rugby is becoming popular, there is nothing to replace the fight as a means of letting off superfluous energy, and of giving vent to personal and territorial rivalries, and as a cause of gossip and excitement.

Present position of the chief.

Although the district chief has certain powers as local administrative officer, and the paramount, besides being 'headman' of his immediate district, is recognized as having 'general administrative control' over his tribe, chiefs only have a shadow of their former power. The paramount no longer has control of the relations of the tribe with other groups. He has lost his control over the appointment of district chiefs. The European administration has aimed at standardization, and no rank of district chiefs is officially recognized. Those regarded by Pondo as district chiefs are only recognized as headmen over a portion of what was their ancestors' territory. The suppression of fighting deprives the paramount of his position as commander-in-chief of the army. His people are no longer dependent upon him for security through the medicines upon which the success of the army depended, and the first-fruits ceremonies and reviews at which the army was treated, which enhanced the prestige of the chief, and emphasized the dependence of his people upon him, have everywhere been dropped.

In magistrate, church, and school the chief has rivals in authority. The fact that the chief must take orders from the magistrate

reacts upon the attitude of his people towards him. The Church claims an independent authority, forbidding its members to carry out the orders of the chief when they are contrary to church law. Sometimes the missionaries, feeling that it was wrong that Christians should be under the authority of a pagan chief, have tried to wean their members from obedience to the chief generally, and not supported his authority even where it did not conflict with Christian principles. At 'nTißane it was complained that school people were particularly slack about attending when the chief called for labour. Nowadays, also, the chief has rivals in economic power. New ways of acquiring wealth are open, the poor are no longer dependent upon serving (*ukubusa*) some wealthier man, particularly the chief, and to be wealthier than the chief is no longer dangerous. The chief has lost much of his former income. Death duties (*isizi*) are no longer paid in most districts, the fines for murder and witchcraft no longer go to the chief, and though he still gets a fee for opening a case, and a proportion of the fines in civil cases tried before him, an increasing percentage of these cases is now going to the magistrates' courts. He gets a salary from the Government; gifts of meat and beer and first-fruits are still made to him; district chiefs who act as headmen may demand gifts when they allot land; the paramount chief still levies fines for the breaking of his predecessor's mourning, and needy chiefs (both district and paramount) from time to time visit their subjects working in the goldfields, and there ask gifts. 'The chief sits in a chair and all his people come and give him presents, anything they like; it may be a tickey (3*d.*), it may be a pound. If a man refuses to give he will find on his return that he is given no land, or a poor field, and everything will go wrong with him.' Sometimes the chief lies in wait for parties returning from the mines, and asks gifts from them. At 'nTißane one day a lorry-load of young men returning from the mines came in from umThatha, the rail head. The driver told me how the men had bargained with him not to stop in Ngqeleni, the magistracy of their district, for they were afraid that they might meet their district chief there. He had had to stop to fill up with petrol, but none of his party would get out of the lorry and kept urging him to hurry. Informants differ as to how far these 'gifts' to the chief really are 'gifts', and how far forced payments. Conditions vary with the chief and the district. Among the Khonjwayo (where the incident just related occurred) there was a general feeling that the district chief was trying to secure what was not due to him, fear of refusing, but definite attempts at evasion. In other districts any suggestion that when the chiefs visited the goldfields his people were forced to give gifts

met with indignant denial. 'We give because we like to, because he is our chief.' 'No one is forced; it is a free gift.'

But in spite of these new sources of revenue the chief is relatively poorer compared to his people than formerly. His economic importance as provider of the poor, the principal person to serve (*ukubusa*), is gone, and although he still assumes responsibility for obtaining rain for his people by sending to the rain-maker or by requesting the churches to pray for rain, this function is not so important as formerly. Prayer is often made for rain without reference to the chief. The fact that district chiefs' courts are not recognized, and a man may take his case to the magistrate if he is not satisfied with the judgement of the chief, impairs the prestige of the chief. An old man said to me, 'The chiefs are finished now (*ziphelile*), if a case is decided against a man he may go to the magistrate, and the chief's judgement is reversed.'

Nevertheless, although the powers of the chief have been so curtailed, they retain great prestige. Although courts of district chiefs are not recognized, and they have not legal authority to enforce their judgements, large numbers of civil cases are tried before them, and fines inflicted—sometimes five head of cattle or more—are paid. The hierarchy of district chiefs is recognized by the people, though not by the European administration. Chiefs still have their salutes and praises. Their tribe (or district) mourns for them when they die. The more conservative chiefs still use medicines to give themselves a 'shadow'. The great wife is *ukulobola* with a hundred head, and daughters of chiefs with twenty head. District and paramount chiefs are still the foci of common loyalty for district and tribe.

Fifteen years ago, Ntontela, a store in Pondoland, was completely boycotted, by order of the district chief, for three months. The chief favoured a manager who had been turned out of the store by the new owner, and thought to get him back by enforcing a boycott. His people obeyed him, although by doing so they were compelled to walk seven or more miles farther to the next store. Remonstrances of the magistrate were without effect, and the boycott was only raised when the trader appealed to the paramount chief. Customers swarmed to the shop the day after he had talked with the paramount.[1]

The chief of the A——, B——, being jealous of the wealth of his father's brother and the latter's son, persuaded a neighbour of theirs to prepare beer, and offer to his brother and nephew poisoned beer. The plot was successful and the brother and nephew died. The case came before the magistrate. The man who

[1] Statement from trader concerned.

had made and offered the beer was hanged. The evidence implicating the chief was insufficient to condemn him, but he was deposed and his younger brother appointed headman. But when I visited the district two years later the people still regarded B—— as chief, and referred to his brother as just the 'Government headman'.

The general feeling in Pondoland, even among school people, is in favour of the restoration of the power of the chiefs. In 1913, 1916, 1917, and 1921[1] the Bunga passed resolutions asking the Government to consider the status of hereditary chiefs in the Transkei.[2] 'A number of educated Natives, and Natives who had never been ruled by chiefs, pleaded very strongly before the Native Economic Commission for some measure of restoration of the authority of chiefs.'[3]

A special petition was presented to the Prime Minister requesting that the court of the paramount of western Pondoland should be recognized.

This agitation is doubtless partly the expression of growing nationalism, and the ambition to get power in the hands of Bantu, but there is also a desire for rule through the chiefs as such.

Advisory councils.

In 1911 there was introduced into western Pondoland, and in 1927 into eastern Pondoland, a system of advisory councils. Each district is divided into four wards. On the order of the magistrate the headmen of each ward call a meeting of the men of the ward to appoint three candidates for the district council. Nominations are made, and the merits of the candidates discussed until some agreement is reached. There is no form of voting. The candidates so appointed elect two of themselves to be members of a district council. These sit together with two members nominated by the paramount chief of the area, and two nominated by the Governor-General through the magistrate. The magistrate of the district is *ex-officio* chairman of the council. The paramount chiefs are *ex-officio* members of the council of the district in which they are resident. Members hold office for three years.

Members of the district council elect one member from among themselves to sit on a general council (the Bunga) representing all the districts of Pondoland and the Transkeian Territories (except Mount Curry which is chiefly occupied by European farms). One representative from each district is appointed to the Bunga by the

[1] Pondoland did not at this time send representatives to the General Council, but the resolutions are symptomatic of the general feeling.

[2] *Proceedings of the Transkeian General Council*, 1921, p. 46.

[3] *N.E.C.*, p. 35.

paramount chief, in whose area the district is situated, and one by the Governor-General in council. Paramount chiefs are *ex-officio* members,[1] and all magistrates are *ex-officio* members with the right to speak at debates, but not to vote. The Bunga meets annually. 'The functions and powers of the General Council include the initiation and consideration of any matter relating to the Native population of the Union', in so far as it affects natives within the Transkeian Territories and Pondoland, 'the consideration of proposed legislation or existing laws affecting natives' within these territories, 'the consideration of any specific matter submitted to it by the Governor-General or Minister', and 'the passing of resolutions on any such matter'.[2]

Resolutions passed by the Bunga come before a magistrates' conference, then are forwarded with the comments of the magistrates' conference to the Secretary for Native Affairs. The Minister may or may not act on these resolutions.

Besides this advisory function the Bunga has the disposal of a tax of 10*s*. per adult male, and with this has undertaken the construction and maintenance of roads, the construction of bridges, the establishment of agricultural schools and payment of agricultural demonstrators, the building of dams, the support of hospitals, granting of scholarships, &c. An executive committee consisting of the chief magistrate, three magistrates chosen by him, and four Bantu members of the Bunga nominated by it, has control of the appointment of officers, supervision of public works and educational and agricultural activities of the Bunga. In cases where the voting on the executive committee is equal the chief magistrate has an additional casting vote, and any decision contrary to the wishes of the chief magistrate may be reserved for the minister. The district councils act also as executive organs of the Bunga undertaking duties such as road maintenance, dipping operations, soil reclamation, construction of dams, supervision of commbnages, but they have no separate accounts, and the Bunga is financially responsible for them.

The powers of the Bunga are very limited. On many critical matters it is confined to debating and passing resolutions, afterwards reported upon by the conference of magistrates, upon which the minister may or may not act. The executive committee with Native representatives came into being only in 1932, up till when the chief magistrate was the sole responsible executive

[1] The system of appointment in Pondoland is described. The system differs in other parts of the Transkeian Territories where additional members are elected, and none appointed by the chiefs. Source: Proclamation No. 191, 1932.

[2] Proclamation No. 191, 1932.

officer. The council is regarded by Native radicals as mere 'eye wash', and the councillors are vilified as 'good boys of the Government'. It is a local council with no powers over the affairs of the Union as a whole which may intimately affect the Transkei. It has no control over two-thirds of taxes collected in the Transkei.

But in spite of constitutional limitations the Bunga exerts considerable influence on the Government. The standard of speeches is high, and in moderation and dignity of procedure it is a model to the other legislative assemblies, European and Bantu, of the Union. The discussions are useful as an expression of Bantu opinion. The funds which it had at its disposal amounted during the year 1929–30 to £155,944.[1] The educational value of administering the funds levied is obvious.

The Bunga is controlled by the less conservative section of the community. Chiefs always had councillors, and at times summoned tribal assemblies to discuss affairs, but such an intertribal council, with the disposal of moneys gathered, is an innovation. The affairs discussed are most frequently matters which did not arise under tribal conditions. Minutes and blue books are published, and the illiterate find themselves handicapped. Districts therefore find it to their advantage to appoint school educated men as their representatives. In conservative districts of eastern Pondoland the common people take little interest in the appointment of representatives. They are vaguely aware that councils exist, but say that such matters are the concern of the chief and his senior councillors, but none of their business. But in the less conservative districts the influence of the chief is considerably less, and even in conservative districts only a small percentage of those nominated are from the chief's families.

Seven of the thirteen representatives of Pondoland East in 1931 were Fingo immigrants, several of them ex-teachers. The remaining six were all themselves chiefs, or close relatives of the paramount.

The local council in Flagstaff district was made up as follows. Chief's nominees: An aBaMbo district chief, a Pondomise attorney's clerk. Elected members: A Pondo ex-court interpreter, a son of the paramount's father's brother. Government nominees: A pensioned Fingo teacher, a descendant of a brother of the paramount Faku, who is a well-known teacher.

Those who can read and write, and earn over £50 a year, or possess property worth £75 (the right to till certain land not being regarded as property), are eligible as voters for the Cape Legislative Assembly, but the property qualification is high (cf. p. 141), and the number of registered voters in Pondoland is negligible.

[1] *Report of the Treasurer of the Transkeian General Council*, 1930.

There exists a Native Affairs' Commission, composed (originally) of four Europeans, appointed by the Government, whose duty it is to advise the Government on matters concerning Natives referred to it; and conferences of Bantu nominees of the Government were provided for under the Native Affairs' Act, 1920, but neither of these advisory bodies appears appreciably to have influenced legislation. Only one conference has been summoned during the last eight years.

Here then we have a new system of administration imposed upon, and partly utilizing, the old. Chiefs are employed as local administrative agents, but are not given enough power to be anything but subordinate officials in a foreign system. A magistrate speaking in the Bunga stated that 'Headmen were in the unhappy position of being responsible for anything that goes wrong without having any power to put it right'.[1] A Pondo woman said to me, 'Nowadays the chiefs die young. Europeans poison them with *imbodlela*' (brandy). Her accusation had a substratum of truth. Some chiefs deprived of power and responsibility have become drunkards. The fact that in spite of the policy of the administration chiefs retain such very considerable prestige is proof of the resilience of the institution which might have been built upon.

The refusal of responsibility to chiefs makes co-operation between chiefs and magistrates difficult. There is confidence in, and respect for, individual administrators, but on the whole chiefs are resentful of the limitations on their powers. There tends to be a divided allegiance among the people between 'office' and chief. The administration is looked upon with very great suspicion. On first arrival in a new district I was always suspected of being a tax collector, one investigating for the Government who were considering raising taxation, a detective in search of criminals, a Government agent spying on the chief, or one looking for lepers. That was symptomatic of the attitude towards the European administration. School educated people discriminated between tax collectors and ethnologists, but they had no confidence in the general Government policy.

The Bunga, although an institution of European introduction, is not in conflict with the old system of administration, and it provides a mechanism by which chiefs and councillors of several tribes may combine to deal with present-day problems of administration. The fact that through it improvements in agriculture, education, health, and communications are being effected by the Bantu community itself is the most encouraging feature of the present political organization.

[1] *Transkeian General Council Proceedings*, 1926, p. 86.

PART II

AN URBAN COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

BANTU urban life was studied in East London, a seaport, and in Grahamstown, an inland town. I describe the community in East London, and only make occasional reference to Grahamstown where conditions do not differ in any essentials from those in East London.

East London has a European population of 19,990, an estimated coloured[1] population of 3,600, and an estimated Bantu population of 20,000.[2] According to the last non-European census taken in East London (1926) the Bantu population was 14,832, of which 8,335 were male and 6,497 female. The proportion of females has increased rapidly in recent years. A substantial number of the inhabitants are permanent residents; others are temporary workers who have only come into the town for a period to earn money, and then return to their homes in the reserves. There are no figures available as to the proportion of permanent to temporary residents, but in an inquiry I made into 213 households[3] 43·2 per cent. were stated to be permanent and 56·8 per cent. to be temporary. Inquiry was made in each case from the householder. Care was taken to make the investigation in all quarters of the location. It is probable that the percentage of adults permanently resident is slightly lower than the proportion of permanent households, for there are always some temporary visitors in permanent households, but the great majority of temporary residents hire rooms for themselves and so are classed as householders. The majority of children in town belong to permanent households, so the figures given for the proportions of permanent and temporary households are probably representative of the population. At least it is evident that a substantial proportion of the population is permanent.

Temporary workers come to town to earn the money necessary to pay taxes, augment their food supplies, and to satisfy the new wants which contact with European is creating. Some come only for a few months, others have worked in East London on and off

[1] Mixed Bantu, European, Hottentot, Malay.

[2] *Report of the Medical Officer of Health of the Municipality of the City of East London*, 1930–1.

[3] i.e. Groups living and eating together. (Cf. p. 447.)

for over twenty years. Some who are classed as 'temporary' actually spend the greater part of their time in town, but intend to return to their homes in the reserves when it is no longer necessary for them to earn. Some of these temporary workers enjoy town life. Others detest it. When I was collecting dreams I found many centring in the desire to return to the country. Women in speaking of their dislike of town life mentioned especially the bad sanitary conditions, the fact that everything had to be bought, and most frequently the fact that in town they were often separated from their children. Some complained of shortage of food. One woman found most trying the noise of town life—the rattle of trams, carts, and cars in the European streets, the shouting and talking of those who continually passed her room, and the brawling at beer drinks.

Of the permanent residents some live in town from necessity, others by preference. Most of those born in town, or on farms, have no legal right to live in the reserves. They are only legally entitled to live on farms when employed as servants. Many are therefore forced to live in town. Others who are legally entitled to live in reserves, but who have no land there, are forced by economic necessity to go to town. Often on inquiring whether a permanent resident preferred town or country I got the reply: 'We prefer the country but there is starvation there.'[1] Those who preferred living in town gave various reasons for their choice. One said: 'In the country people starve, they eat *inkobe* (boiled maize), here we eat meat every day, and potatoes and rice.' Another: 'How can I go to the country and eat boiled maize now I am toothless?' Another: 'People in the country are still uncivilized. They know nothing.' Another: 'It is too dull in the country. It would be better if the Government established some bioscopes and made it attractive.' Another: 'Town life is more suitable for enlightened people.' Another, a girl: 'It is very dull in Gqumahaſe (her home), all the Gqumahaſe girls are here.' Those born in town said they 'knew nothing of country life' and did not think that they would like it. One old woman's reason was, 'It is better to die in a municipal area, for if you have no one to bury you the prisoners will be sent to bury you.'

One or two households I came across had come to town because they believed witchcraft or sorcery (*ukuthakatha*) was being practised against them in the country. An old man told how he had moved from Centani (Transkei) because his small daughter had been carried off by Thikoloſe. One day when she was 4 years

[1] Views on food vary according to the earnings of the household concerned. Some maintain they are better fed in the country, others in town.

old her mother had gone to church, and left her with a neighbour. Suddenly she was missed. No one had seen a child about alone. After two days she was found lying naked on a bare rock, about two miles from her home. They went to inquire of a diviner who said: '*UHili uyafeketha*' (Thikoloʃe is playing tricks). A European doctor to whom they took the child said he could see nothing wrong with her, except that she had caught cold. But the father was so disturbed he could not stand living there any longer, and came to town, although he much preferred country life. The girl was 12 years old when I saw her, and her father said she was not like other children. Her periods had begun unusually early, at 11 years. Another family had moved to town because all the children had died, and the mother believed that her husband's brother's son's wife had killed them with *impundulu*. 'The whole family is dead now. They were spitting blood. Only the son's wife who killed them with *impundulu* is left. No, I do not wish to return home. We would be killed too.' Others were said to have moved because a member of the family had been accused of witchcraft.

The attractions of town then are the possibility of earning money to pay taxes, to buy food when there is a shortage in the country, and to satisfy all the new wants in clothing, housing, amusement, &c., created by contact with European civilization; the greater variety of food; the company of more Europeanized people; the excitement of town life, particularly attractive to those from districts from which most of the young people have gone to towns to work, and to those born in town; escape from enemies; and probably to some the freedom and lessening of dependence upon kin.

There is constant coming and going between town and country. Of the temporary workers some stay in town only for a few months. Many of those permanently resident in town, and some of those who come to work for long periods, visit relatives in the reserves. On three Saturdays in February 1931,[1] the number of railway tickets purchased between East London and Middle Drift, a station in the reserves sixty miles from East London, was 261, 263, and 359. The 359 travelled on February 28, the month end.[1] Lorries also ply between East London and the nearer reserves, taking passengers day and week-end trips. Persons from the reserves visit friends in town. Many teachers spend their holidays in town. Diviners and herbalists come to town for periods to practise and earn money. These visitors, and the many temporary workers, keep town and country in close touch.

[1] *Report of* M.O.H., op. cit.

Conditions of contact.

Bantu in most European towns are required under the Urban Areas Act of 1923, to live in a specified quarter, or quarters, of the town, usually on the outskirts of the European quarters. The Bantu quarters are called 'locations'. Only domestic servants, for whom a room is provided in the establishment of the employer, may legally live in the European quarters. The economic environment is European. Instead of being a cattle owner and agriculturalist as he was formerly, the Bantu in town is a wage earner, surrounded by foreign influences. Practically all the men and very many women living in towns are regularly employed by Europeans. Many of them as house servants are in close daily contact with Europeans. They are about the streets of the European town, buy in European shops, and attend European bioscopes. Many are acute observers of European life, and have a far more intimate knowledge of the round of European daily life, of European interests and ideas, than the European has of their life. I have been amused when walking down a street in an evening to hear the price of my frock discussed, and accurately estimated, by a couple of Native servant girls, standing together at a street corner.

In towns it is smart to be as Europeanized as possible. In their dress men and girls follow European fashions—'Oxford bags', berets, sandal shoes—all arrive eventually. Conversation is interlarded with European slang. European titles—'Mr.', 'Mrs.', 'Miss'—are liked and used as respectful terms of reference or address in Xhosa conversation. A man speaking in Xhosa of his economic success and consequent social prestige cited as a proof of it the fact that people called his wife 'Mrs.' European games are fashionable. Houses, furniture, and food are all as European as earnings permit.

Raw tribesmen are jostled together in the location with sophisticated townsfolk, and there is a constant flow to and from the country, but the values in town are European, not tribal. Status depends largely upon wealth and education, and these entail Europeanization. The influential men in the town community are the eating-house owners, the teachers, the ministers, and the police sergeants. Knowledge of tribal law, skill in talking cases, renown as a warrior, and even the blood of a chief's family, count for comparatively little in town. These conditions make for the speedy transference of at least the superficialities of culture.

Method of work.

Three months were spent studying conditions in East London and Grahamstown locations. In East London I secured the

support of Dr. Rubusana, a leading Bantu minister, and his wife, and also of the officials of the Independent I.C.U., a Bantu trades union, and thanks to their influence was cordially received in most houses. A well-known resident of the location accompanied me in daily house-to-house visits to introduce me to people. A questionnaire on economic condition, social groupings, diversions, religious beliefs, extent of observance of Bantu custom, &c., served as an excuse for house-to-house visits and an opening for conversation. Often it was possible to stay for an hour or two in one house, discussing present economic and social conditions. I found old men eager to speak of Bantu custom, when I showed interest in and some knowledge of it. Their faces became animated when they talked of the ways of their forefathers. Diviners told of their initiation, women of cases of witchcraft, a sergeant of police of the magic used by a notorious house-breaker to escape capture. The sergeant had bad meat in his room, but his conversation was sufficiently interesting to keep me in the room for several hours. Some of the school people had known me as a child, and they invited me to their tea-parties, and chatted about life in the location. A 'Social Service Committee' of Bantu nurses, teachers, and others, co-opted me as a member. Much valuable statistical information was got from the reports of the Medical Officer of Health, Dr. P. W. Laidler, which are constantly quoted in the following chapters.

In Grahamstown I worked in the same way as in East London.

To avoid repetition, customs and institutions described in the first section are not again described here; only the part they play in life of the community is discussed. In the towns visited there is a mixture of Pondo, Fingo, Xhosa, and Thembu. There are, however, no great differences between these tribes[1]. All speak the same language with only slight dialectal differences, and their customs are very similar. There are clans related by blood to the Fingo, who have long lived in Pondoland, and call themselves Pondo. Groups of Xhosa and Fingo have, within the last thirty years, moved into Pondoland, and the second generation growing up call themselves Pondo. Pondoland and Thembuland adjoin and there is considerable intermarriage between the two tribes. In the towns visited the people of the four tribes live mixed up, and intermarry, so that in a study of the community life it was impossible to separate them.

[1] Before visiting Pondoland I spent three months studying life in a Xhosa and Fingo reserve in the Ciskei.

CHAPTER XI

ECONOMIC CONDITION

THE great majority of Bantu in towns are wage earners employed by Europeans. Of these the bulk are engaged in 'unskilled labour'. A small number are working on their own account as fresh produce dealers, eating-house keepers, carpenters, shoemakers, tinsmiths, taxi-drivers, and hawkers, and a few are hired by these independent Bantu workers as assistants. A table of occupations, prepared by the Medical Officer of Health, unfortunately does not classify the employed and the independent workers separately, but from my own investigations I can separate the employed from those working on their own account with approximate accuracy. The number employed by private Europeans and by Government and religious bodies totals 9,451 men and 3,210 women: those working on their own account 131 men and 71 women. I give below detailed figures based on those of the Medical Officer.

Employed by Europeans.

Occupation	*Male*	*Female*
Labourers	8,572	..
Fishermen	66	..
Caretakers	2	..
Hotel porters	12	..
Messengers	39	..
Chefs	12	..
Gardeners	19	..
Painters	20	..
Plumbers	3	..
Stevedores	462	..
Watchmen	3	..
Jockeys	1	..
Policemen	18	..
Clerks	34	..
Interpreters	2	..
Wagon and lorry drivers	148	..
General servants	..	1,330
Char- and washerwomen	..	1,785
Cooks	..	48
Waitresses	..	2
Nurse girls (children's nurses)	..	12
Nurses (hospital trained)	..	2
Wool sorters	..	23
Pensioners	6	..
Total	9,419	3,202

Employed by a religious body.

Employment	*Male*	*Female*
School-teachers	16	8
Ministers of Religion	16	..
Total	32	

Independent enterprises.

Employment	*Male*	*Female*
Boarding-house keepers	1	..
Eating-house keepers	14	4
Fresh-produce dealers	40	17
Woodsellers .	14	11
Tobacco sellers	35	27
Cake hawkers	12	
Hawkers .		
Cartage contractors	5	
Skin dressers .	1	
Tailors . .	2	
Tinsmiths .	6	
Mattress makers	1	
Sack repairers	..	8
Midwives .	..	2
Dressmakers .	..	1
Total	131	71

Some employed, some independent.

Taxi drivers	12
Carpenters	49
Bottle collectors	15

Employed by Natives.

Herd boys	3	
Assistants in eating-houses	?	
Assistants in produce dealers	?	..

Domestic duties 1,560

In April 1932, the average wage for an unskilled labourer was 15*s.* to £1 a week, but I found three cases in which it was as low as 12*s.* a week. The economic depression was already affecting Native wages. Figures collected by the Union Office of Statistics show the average weekly wage for all Natives in East London in 1931 to be 21*s.* 6*d.*, and the average daily wage to be 2*s.* 11*d.*[1]

Wages grade with employment as follows:

Labourer . .	£3–£4 per month
Clerk interpreter .	£5–£6 „
Teacher[2] (male) .	£6–£11 10*s.* per month
„ (female)	£5 5*s.*–£8 5*s.* „
Minister . .	£8–£13 „
Police constable .	£5 10*s.* with quarters, per month
Municipal sanitary constable	£5 10*s.* „ „
Female domestic .	£1 5*s.*–£1 10*s.* (with food and sometimes quarters)
Municipal Health Visitor (a trained nurse)	£5 10*s.* with quarters
Laundry women	1*s.*–2*s.* 6*d.* per day.

The flow of unskilled labourers into town from the reserves tends to depress wages. Those having holdings, and leaving their

[1] *N.E.C.* Annexure 24, 1.

[2] *Educ. Gazette*, Dec. 6, 1928. (For teachers with P.T. 3 Certificates.)

families in the reserves, come to town only to earn money to supplement a living mainly gained from crops and stock, and so can afford to work for lower wages than those living permanently with families in town, and solely dependent upon cash earnings. The Native Economic Commission urges the economic development of the reserves as a means of diminishing the flow of rural Natives to town, and so of freeing the permanent town-dweller from 'the present unfair competition of the casual rural labourer'.[1]

A Bantu trades union, the Independent Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, whose object is to improve labour conditions had (up to 1932) a large membership in East London location, but as yet it has not had much influence on wages (cf. p. 568).

As the occupations' table shows, the only traders are the fresh-produce dealers and hawkers. General dealers' licences have been applied for, but refused by the town council (composed solely of Europeans) on the ground that they would interfere with existing European shops in the town. The fresh-produce dealers are men or women who have saved enough at some other work to buy or rent a sales-room, and to stock it. The shop is usually one room of the house. There is a shelf with tired looking greens and baskets of potatoes. Another with aerated waters, cigarettes, and matches. Patrons stay to chat with the proprietor. One or two stores have a gramophone on the counter to attract customers. The wife or children of the proprietor lend a hand when there is a rush, or when the owner has other business. When a woman owns the store she usually hires a boy under eighteen to assist, if she has no son of her own of that age. Some of the fresh-produce stores last only a few months; other businesses continue for years in the same hands.

The eating-houses cater for men living alone in lodgings. There is a bare room with deal tables and chairs, and a kitchen behind. One well-run establishment had two ranges, carefully bricked up at the sides to conserve the heat, and beautifully polished. They were the owner's pride. Boiled maize, meat, and tea are provided at midday, and in the evenings bread and tea (and in some places beer) at any time. Potatoes, rice, and greens are added on Sundays. Some sell bread of their own baking—usually without the special baker's licence required. Boys are hired to assist with the cooking and serving. An hotel caters for visitors in town, but it is not popular, as it is considered expensive and the cooking is bad. Those who can do so, go to friends.

A number of cobblers, tinsmiths, carpenters, and taxi-drivers

[1] *N.E.C.*, p. 695.

run independent businesses. The cobblers have learned their trade either as apprentices to a European firm or in an industrial school. One I talked to had served with Messrs. Cuthbert & Co., and then set up as a boot repairer on his own. None now make boots. Of the tinmakers, one had been four years with the Border Hardware Company, and then bought tin sheeting and worked in his own backyard mending buckets and making new ones, which he sold to his neighbours. But he was considering moving to the country as he found trade in town, where many shops compete, poor. Another made small tin trunks out of old petrol or paraffin tins, selling for 2*s.* and 2*s.* 6*d.* trunks made of tins costing 6*d.* Some of those returned as carpenters have been trained in industrial schools; others apprenticed to Europeans. Some work independently in the location, contracting with individual Natives to build wood and iron houses. A number of carpenters also run wood-yards, buying wagon loads of wood from the country and retailing chopped firewood in the location.

One location is two miles from the centre of the town, and there is no means of conveyance by train, tram, or bus, so a considerable business is done by taxis in taking those who can afford to pay for conveyance to and from their work. Many of these taxis are owned by the drivers who buy second-hand cars on the instalment system. The standard charge from the location to the town for a Native passenger is 6*d.* A European-owned and driven taxi charges 1*s.* 6*d.* These taxis also do a business at the week-ends in taking parties to visit friends in the country, or in some other town, and in taking teams to other centres for matches.

Some coffee-house proprietors and produce dealers have been successful. I knew one who had saved enough out of his coffee-house to buy two or three houses in the location and a farm. Another, a produce dealer, owned three houses, with a total of twenty-six rooms, and a private motor-car. Trading undoubtedly offers one of the few opportunities Bantu have of accumulating some money, but very many independent workers make no more than wage earners. A cobbler, whose word I trusted, told me that he averaged about £1 a week. A carpenter charges £3–£4 for a room which takes him one to two weeks to build. He may be unemployed for periods. From the style in which many independent workers live it is clear that their takings amount to little more than those of unskilled wage earners. The depression has affected eating-houses and produce dealers as other business people, and by May 1932 a number had had to close down, finding that they did not clear enough for it to be worth taking out a trader's licence.

A permit to run a coffee shop or fresh-produce shop costs 7*s.* 6*d.* per month, and a permit to conduct a tinsmith's, bootmaker's, or carpenter's shop, or to trade in firewood, 5*s.* per month. The law requiring the seller of anything to have a licence is much resented by the smaller craftsmen, and evaded where possible.

Very few of the traders or craftsmen keep accounts. A dealer in firewood made no book entries, even keeping the amounts due, when he let people have wood on credit, in his head. Two or three produce dealers said that they kept accounts when times were good, but not in times of depression. One said that now when business was so very bad he found 'keeping accounts discouraged him', so he no longer wrote anything down. Another that he had ceased to keep accounts because 'books show how bad business is. They worry me.' These statements were made in all seriousness by different dealers.

A most prosperous trade is that of illicit beer brewing. Municipal regulations prohibit the brewing or sale of beer within the location, but in practice large quantities are brewed and sold daily. The grain, already sprouted, is brought from European stores, then ground and fermented in the location. As I went about the location I saw in a large proportion of the houses beer being cooked. On Thursdays and Fridays particularly, many women are busy brewing in preparation for the week-end when clients have money and leisure. During 1930–1 the number of cases concerning illicit beer brewing which came before the East London Magistrates' Court totalled 1,992.[1] As only a small proportion of the brewers are ever caught, this shows the trade is a large one. The beer is sold at 6*s.* per tin of 4½ gallons, and the profits are such that it is worth while to brew even although some are caught, and the fines may be anything from 5*s.* to £5. Brewing is women's work, and the trade is entirely in their hands. Most women brew and sell independently, although possibly some coffee-houses employ women to brew for them. Many women make a living off the trade, some keeping their families on the proceeds. Many others supplement their husband's wages by brewing.

Practically all unmarried women work either as servants for Europeans or in independent trades. The occupational table shows that 41 per cent. of the women in the location work for Europeans either as full-time servants or as char- and washer-women, and 1 per cent. at independent trades. The latter percentage would be considerably higher if the number employed in the beer trade were included in the list of independent workers.

[1] *Report of M.O.H.*, op. cit., p. 51.

Housing.

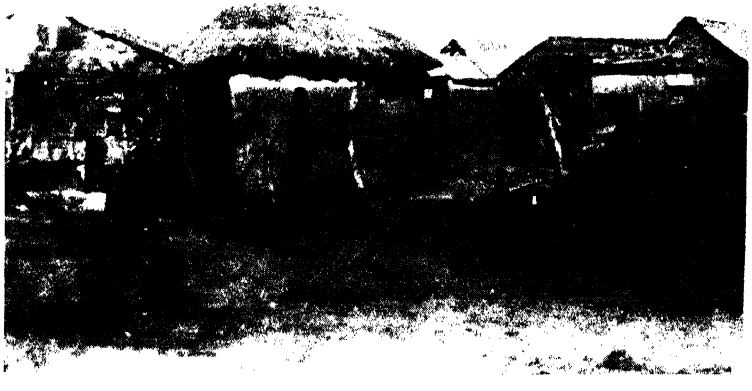
In East London two areas have been set aside as Native locations, and in these all Bantu, except those employed as domestic servants, are required to live. The total area of the two locations is approximately 142 acres.

There are houses built by private enterprise and owned by the occupants, or rented from a Bantu owner, houses built by the municipality and rented by the occupants from the municipality, and lodging houses owned by the municipality. According to the 1926 census there were in the East Bank location 1,600 houses built and owned by Bantu, 167 houses built and owned by the municipality, and (in 1931) four municipal lodging houses. Wide streets are laid out. In the centre part of the location the houses are placed close together, leaving no room for yard or garden. Farther out, two- or three-room houses are built in plots 50 feet square. The municipal houses are of brick or concrete; those built by private enterprise mostly of wood and iron. Houses have to conform with regulations laid down by the Public Health Department, but the demands are not high. There are rows and rows of dilapidated rusty iron shacks with a hut made of flattened tins, or half an old galvanized iron tank, for a kitchen. In summer the sun beats down until the place is a maze of ovens. But when money is available, brightly painted verandas are added, and perky gables, and the windows grow. Large windows, particularly if kept open, are regarded as a mark of civilization. In one house I entered the window was far enough open for the curtains to blow. The daughter of the house, half laughing, half proud, said to me: 'My mother is an *umlungukazi* (a European). She keeps her windows open.' The mother was a pure-blooded Bantu, but in her daughter's opinion she was behaving like a European.

Material for building a privately owned house is usually obtained wholly or in part on credit, and a Bantu or Coloured builder hired to erect it. A house with two or three rooms is built, all except one room in which the owner and his family live, let, and the money borrowed to build paid back in instalments from the rents received for the rooms let.

The cost of building wood and iron houses is £30 for one room, £55 for two rooms, £80 for four rooms. The minimum deposit before building is begun is usually £15. Rents run from 12*s.* 6*d.* per month for a very small room in time of depression to £1 7*s.* 6*d.* per month for the municipal houses of two rooms. Municipal rondavals (concrete circular huts) are let at 18*s.* per month, a large room in the municipal lodging houses at £1 per

a. A Native minister's house, East London location



b. Labourers' shacks, Grahamstown location

month, a small room at 13*s.* per month. In 1931 the Medical Officer states that 2,053 rooms were let at 16*s.* per month, 1,602 at 18*s.* per month. Rents, therefore, take 25 per cent. of a labourer's income. The municipal houses were built by European labour and rents charged accordingly, and the municipal rents set the standard for rents of private houses. Building sites, 50 feet by 50 feet, for private houses occupied only by the owner and minor children are rented from the municipality at 3*s.* 6*d.* p.a. If a room is let, or a son over 18 accommodated in the house, the rent is 12*s.* 6*d.* The site survey fee is 5*s.*, site transfer fee 2*s.* 6*d.* The sites are only granted on monthly leases, and although up to the present there have been no cases of eviction, the insecurity of tenure is causing grave concern to the more intelligent occupants who fear that in future the right of eviction may be exercised, and who feel that the insecurity discourages improvement.

Legally an individual may only be granted one building site. In practice some own a number of houses, securing additional sites each in the name of a friend or a relative. Often a house of one or two rooms is built first, then added to until the whole of the 50 square yards is covered with a warren of rooms. Building and letting houses is a most profitable undertaking.

Within the location there are quarters in which the houses are better; others in which the poorest collect; but there is no real segregation of the comparatively well-to-do with two or three rooms for the family, and the poorest with one or more families huddled in one room. The worst slum 'Gomora' (Gomorrah) merges into the quarter where the best-known men in the location live. The Medical Officer is urging the laying out of suburbs for the more civilized Natives. Many of them approve of the suggestion, for they say living mixed up with those who keep dirty houses, earn their living by brewing beer, and live loose lives, 'corrupts' those who would maintain other standards. Parents who wish to bring up their children as Christians feel that it would be easier to do so if they lived in a quarter where others had the same aim. Others, however, feel that the segregation of 'rich' and poor, educated and uneducated, in the Bantu as in the European community, would be a mistake. They think that there is more chance of slums being cleared if 'rich' and poor continue to live together.

The Medical Officer gives a table showing the average number of occupants per room. Municipal regulations require 4,000 cubic feet per adult, and 2,000 cubic feet per child under 10 years. These are the official figures. Knowing that if one inquires the number of occupants of a house small children are never counted,

I am rather suspicious of these figures, and would rate the average number of persons per room higher than is here indicated. The high rents, and opportunity of profit to be made by crowding the family into one room and letting another, fosters overcrowding.

Average number of occupants per room.	*Persons East Bank Location.*	*Persons West Bank Location.*
0·1–0·5	7	9
0·6–0·9	39	13
1·0	177	46
1·1–1·4	461	58
1·5–1·9	1,000	202
2·0	1,195	204
2·1–2·4	1,631	26
2·5–2·9	2,082	153
3·0	1,053	303
3·1–3·4	668	10
3·5–3·9	675	34
4·0 and over	1,019	788

Water is laid on within the location, but in 1932 there were only 23 street taps for a population of 20,400 and the pressure was inadequate. Water-borne sanitation had been installed, but again the supply was inadequate for the population, there being only 175 conveniences, 50 showers, and 200 wash-tubs for the population of 20,000. There was great difficulty in keeping the latrines clean, and no method of disposing of domestic waste water and slops except along the street gutter. The streets are a 'passion of smells'. In 1932 there were 17 street lights for the 15 miles of streets. One or two houses of the most well-to-do have electric light installed. The rest use paraffin lamps or candles.

Some of the houses are filthy with vermin and a perpetual odour of bad meat. Many are scrupulously clean. The degree of cleanliness has a correlation with the degree of education, but it is also dependent upon the wages earned. European furnishing is aimed at. As with many things taken over from Europeans, Victorian fashions still prevail. Second-hand furniture is bought at sales, and in the house of a well-to-do tradesman or teacher one finds the horsehair sofa, plush tablecloth, lace curtains, and elaborate frilled bed hangings of Victorian England. Only the aspidistra is lacking. It is often replaced by artificial flowers. In these surroundings a gramophone is a bizarre modern note. Only goatskins on the linoleum-covered floor remind one that the owner's father was a herdsman. Often the walls are papered with sheets of old magazines as the only available substitute for wall-paper, and photographs of members of the family or of school teams, and crude prints, usually representing Biblical scenes, are hung up. The crudity and ugliness often make one shiver, but the shabby

Interior of a house of 'school people' in town

PLATE XX

European furniture is treasured, and most women take a housewife's pride in their rooms. Outside many of the better houses are borders of flowers or rows of pot plants, or sometimes a small patch of vegetables.

Contrasted with these Europeanized houses of the better-off people are the ramshackle warrens of rooms occupied by the poor in 'Gomora'. Lacking both the pots, mats, and other utensils of the peasant, and the furniture of the Europeanized—dank, and dark, and small—the room of the poor is a very dismal place.

Food.

The food eaten is dependent upon wages earned. Those who can afford it eat European food—bread with butter or jam, and tea or coffee for breakfast; meat, potatoes, rice, and greens at midday; and bread, tea, and meat or maize in the evening. The poorest live on stamped maize, or porridge, and have at the most two meals a day. The average unskilled labourer's family eats stamped maize, bread, and tea or coffee, with meat once or twice a week, possibly some sour milk, and potatoes or rice on Sundays. Wild greens are not available as in the country, and the majority get greens only very occasionally, if ever. Three hundred and nine cows are owned by residents of the location and grazed on the surrounding commonage, but the majority of the residents buy milk from dairies. According to the Medical Officer the milk consumed in the location and in Native town eating-houses amounted in 1929 to 101,855 gallons fresh and 7,500 gallons sour.[1] This gives an average consumption of 0·1 pint per person per day. Some tinned milk is used, but the total consumption of milk is certainly very much less per head than in Pondoland. The total meat consumption is calculated at 924,448 lb. per annum.[2] This gives an average consumption per day per caput of 3 oz., but as a few eat much, many little, and some none, the figure per caput is misleading. Meat is still the most prized food. Fish is very seldom eaten.

Beer is drunk as in the country, but it is often adulterated with European spirits, tobacco, &c., and is said to be badly made because it has to be prepared secretly, in haste. Wood is expensive, and many use oil stoves, with the result that the maize is often undercooked.

Division of earnings.

In East London location each man with his wife and children commonly forms an independent household, and each man is

[1] *Report of M.O.H.*, op. cit., p. 53. [2] Ibid.

responsible for providing food, shelter, and clothing for his own wife and children. Where a man owns a house a son or brother may live with him, but it is most usual for each married couple to set up a household of their own. The municipal regulations which require a householder in whose house any male over eighteen, whether a son or not, is living to pay a lodger's tax, fosters this tendency for each couple to set up on their own. Each household is an independent economic unit eating together food bought with the earnings of the householder, sometimes supplemented by the earnings of his wife. In some cases a husband gives his wife a weekly housekeeping allowance; in others 'he gives her money when she asks', in others he buys the week's supplies himself. Often a woman does not know what her husband is earning. The earnings of a wife are handed over to her husband, but may be returned by him to her. They are commonly used for buying food and clothing for the household (cf. p. 459). When men come to town to work without their families they hire a room, buy food, and cook for themselves, or feed in eating-houses. If they go to live with some woman in the location they may or may not set up a household with her. Some women live alone with minor children, keeping the household with their own earnings. They may be visited by lovers who may or may not assist them with money. Where the woman is not married she has the right to keep her own earnings.

Townsfolk entertain relatives and neighbours from the country. Some complain that they are impoverished by the visits of people from the reserves who do not understand that since food in town must be bought their host has actually to pay out cash to feed them. Neighbours are often invited to feed in each other's houses if they are present when food is served, and the educated invite each other to tea parties, but there are far fewer free entertainments than in Pondoland. Killing of meat within the location is prohibited by municipal sanitary regulation, and there are practically no meat feasts. The brewing of beer is prohibited, and although the law is regularly broken, what is brewed is usually sold. The only public entertainment is an occasional wedding feast or baptism dinner (cf. p. 484), and then relatives and close friends usually receive different entertainment from the general public. Occasionally I heard one educated woman asking another for a gift—a small amount of milk if she had a cow, a pumpkin out of a lot sent her from the country. Counter gifts would duly be made later. The less well-to-do pestered each other for tobacco, in the manner so familiar in Pondoland. But these are the only traces of the old system of *ukubusa*. No man can afford to keep a large

establishment, and instead of offering to serve rich neighbours in return for gifts, men work as wage earners for Europeans.

The whole complex of economic obligations of kin depended upon their residing near one another, and is largely disorganized when the necessity of earning wages scatters relatives. With the change in the make-up of the household group the economic bonds between father and adult son, and between brothers, is weakened. Some temporary workers send a part of their earnings to their fathers or elder brothers in the reserves, but permanent town-dwellers do not normally give money to father or elder brother in town or country unless, as frequently happens, a child of their own is being brought up by its grandparents, or paternal or maternal uncles in the country. In such a case money is often sent by the parents, but it is in return for the child's keep. There is little consultation of kin concerning the disposal of property, and since there are few ritual killings little consultation of kin concerning them, or summoning of kin to feasts. Where *ikhazi* is given by permanent town-dwellers it is usually the earnings of the groom alone. Temporary workers are usually married in the reserves, and the extent to which they are assisted by kin has already been discussed.

But in spite of this loosening of mutual economic responsibilities it is still considered obligatory that kin should provide for one another in need, and I found a number of cases where persons had been supported by their kin in sickness or unemployment. A Social Service Committee of Bantu teachers, nurses, and others, whose meetings I attended, was troubled lest attempts to give relief to the unemployed should make persons who were still in employment cease to relieve their kin, which the committee considered it was their duty to do. Nevertheless, the fact that the economic struggle is keener under town conditions, and that everything is on a cash basis, is breaking down the old sense of the mutual obligations of kin. The strain of supporting impoverished relatives is undue. A trained Native nurse, who has been ten years working in the location, told me that she knew of several cases in which persons had died of starvation, although they had relatives in the location.

The creation of a population entirely dependent upon wage earnings, and the partial break-down of the system of mutual kinship obligations, results in distress and even starvation for the sick, the aged, and the unemployed. In East London location the municipality gives about a dozen rooms in one of its lodging houses to be occupied by paupers, free of rent, and a small weekly ration of meal, but the necessity for provision for the unemployed,

the aged, and the sick, is not recognized. Such benefits are available for European and coloured persons, but town locations are still looked upon as places in which servants live during the period of their employment only. The fact that there exists a large number of permanent town-dwellers with no land in any reserve, and therefore no legal right to live in any reserve, is ignored by Europeans. In 1932 there were estimated to be 2,500 unemployed (excluding dependants) in the location.[1]

Budgets.

Budgets have been collected from individual housewives to indicate the amount spent on food, rent, lighting, cooking, and laundry. The expenditure, of course, varies with the earnings of the group. The examples given below may be taken as typical. Note that all the money earned, except what goes in rent, taxes, wood, greens, tobacco, and beer, and what is saved or sent to the reserves, is spent in the European quarters of the town.

1. *Group earnings:*

Man, wife, four children.
Man working—£4 per month? (wife does not know).
Daughter working—8*s.* per month.
Wife makes beer.
Total—£4 8*s.* per month.

Rent per month		13*s.* 9*d.*
Food per week:		
	s.	*d.*
Maize	4	0
Meal Flour	1	0
Meat	2	0
Milk		6
Tea		6
Sugar		6
Coffee		6
Salt		3
Soap		6
Candles		6
Matches		3
Wood (partly for cooking beer)	1	0
	11	6
Monthly expenditure (30 *days*) *on rent and food*	£3	3*s.* 0*d.*

2. *Group earnings:*

Woman, 3 children.
Woman makes beer.

[1] *South African Outlook*, Jan. 1933. Estimate by Joint Council.

Expenditure:

Rent per month—16*s.*

Food per week:	*s.*	*d.*	
Maize		6	
Beans		6	
Milk (tin)		7	
Milk (fresh)	2	4	
Rice		3	
Cabbage		3	
Potatoes		3	
Meat	1	0	
Maize Meal	1	0	
Salt		1	
Tea		6	
Sugar		6	
Blue		1	
Matches		1	
Soap		6	
Wood	2	3	(1*s.* 6*d.* making beer 9*d.* for food).
Paraffin		6	
	11	2	

Monthly expenditure on rent and food . . . £3 3*s.* 10*d.*

3. *Group:*

Man, wife, child, man's younger brother and mother's sister.

Earnings:

Man—18*s.* per week.
Brother—£3 per month.
Mother's sister—Laundry woman earning *c.* 6*s.* month.
Wages are pooled.
Total—£6 18*s.* per month.

Expenditure:

Rent per month—18*s.*

Food per week:	*s.*	*d.*		*s.*	*d.*
Maize	2	0	Sugar	1	0
Beans	1	0	Coffee		6
Rice		6	Tea		6
Potatoes	1	0	Wood		3
Meat	1	0	Paraffin		9
Bread	2	0	Soap		6
Milk		6	Candles		6
Cabbage		3	Matches		3
Salt		1	Blue		3
				12	10

Monthly expenditure on rent and food . . . £3 13*s.* 0*d.*

Budget quoted from Report of Medical Officer of Health, 1931.

Group:

Man, wife, 6 children (under 20 years).

Earnings:

Man (a clerk)—£7 per month and quarters.

Food and sundries per week:

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Meal	3	0	Curry		1
Meat	7	6	Paraffin	2	3
Samp	1	0	Candles	1	0
Beans	1	0	Matches		4
Milk	4	0	Wood	2	0
Tea	1	0	Blue Soap	2	0
Coffee		6	Toilet Soap		6
Fruit	2	9	Lux		8
Vegetables	1	6	Blue		3
Onions		6	Vaseline		6
Barley	1	0	Castor Oil	1	0
Potatoes	3	6	Boot Polish	1	6
Rice	1	9	Stove Polish		3
Eggs	1	0	Washing Soda		3
Butter	1	6	Cigarettes	2	4
Salt		1	Tobacco	1	6
Pepper		1		£2	8 1

Monthly expenditure on rent, food, and sundries . £10 4*s.* 10½*d.*

Essential expenditure not listed above includes taxes (£1 per adult male per annum), clothing—it is compulsory for men to wear trousers and some body covering in town, and the women also adopt European dress—and household utensils. Other expenses include school books, school fees for children above Standard VI, Church, Trade Union and Club dues, medical attendance and medicine, burial fees, travelling expenses, furniture, tobacco, beer, and diversions. An unmarried man must also save for his *ikhazi*. To the living expenses of a family in town must be added the money frequently sent by parents to support a child in the country, and the money sent by a husband to support wife and children in the country. Often a man who comes to town alone lives with a woman in town and so has to contribute to two households. The amount sent to the country varies with the earnings and character of the parent or husband. I knew a woman who sent 10*s.* a month for her children, a man who sent £1 10*s* every two months for his children, another who sent 10*s.* per week to his wife every week except that on which the rent was due. Another 2*s.* 6*d.* to 5*s.* per month for children. These sums are probably above the average, but the amount transmitted to the country must be considerable.

A budget prepared by the Secretary of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union was printed in the *East London Despatch* for August 12, 1929. It, together with the Department of Public Health's finding of the average expenditure that year, is quoted below. The number in the family is not stated.

Monthly Expenditure

	I.C.U. estimate of necessary expenditure.	*D.P.H. finding of average expenditure.*	*Cost of Commodity per lb.*
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	s. d.
Sugar	6 0	4 7½	3½
Tea	4 0	3 0	3 0
Coffee	2 6	2 6	1 0
Meal Meal	6 0	4 2	2
Rice	4 0	2 6	3
Salt	1 0	8	1
Samp (maize)	10 0	4 4	2
Beans	5 0	4 0	4
Vegetables	8 0	4 0	
Bread	5 4	2 0	4
Meal flour	8 0	5 9	3
Meat	12 0	11 0	4
Milk	3 9	4 6	(tin) 9
Candles, and Paraffin	5 0	6 0	candles each 1
Wood	12 0	5 7½	(bag) 1 3
Soap and Blue	5 0	4 0	6
Matches	1 0	1 1	(box) 1
Rent	1 0 0	15 6	
Clothing	1 0 0	8 9	
Sundries	15 0	7 6	
	£7 13 7	£5 1 6	

It will be seen that the budgets collected by me show a lower cost and standard of living than those given by the Medical Officer or I.C.U. Secretary. Probably the cost of living and wages had dropped slightly between 1929 and 1932, but that does not explain the discrepancy. I believe myself that my figures are an underestimate of the minimum cost of adequate nourishment. Groups (1) and (3) were scraping to send money to the reserves. Note that they were 7 and 5 in one room. Bantu who were the sole wage earners of their household would, according to the estimate of the Medical Officer, be on the average 5*s.* 6*d.*, and according to the I.C.U. Secretary £2 7*s.* 7*d.* short per month, even though nothing was sent to the reserves, no taxes paid, and nothing spent on school books, Church or club fees, medical attendance, &c. Two of the households investigated by me had, after paying food and rent, respectively per month £1 3*s.* 0*d.* and £3 5*s.* 0*d.* of their joint earnings remaining. Against this must be put clothing, taxes, and the other additional expenses listed above. Even if the

budgets collected by me are taken as a possible standard of maintenance, it will be seen that when expenses above food and rent are considered, the pay of an unskilled labourer leaves little margin for saving for unemployment, sickness, and old age.

There are some, however, in the town community who succeed in accumulating a little capital. Something is saved out of wages, and the savings put into a house bought on the instalment system, or into a fruit shop or eating-house, or the money lent at interest. Quickly the new concept of charging interest on that borrowed is absorbed. The transaction may be private, but very frequently the lender applies to a European lawyer to draw up a promissory note. The usual rate of interest is *4d.* in the £1 per month. The law of usury does not apply to short-term contracts. During 1930 43 cases came before the magistrate's court of East London in which one Native was suing another for failure to pay money lent on a promissory note or I O U. When more capital is available a farm may be bought with a bond on it, and the bond gradually paid off out of rent got from Native lessees on the farm. From a European lawyer I got information of a Bantu client of his who owned four properties in the location valued at £800 to £900. The monthly rent from each house was £6, and within the last twelve months he had lent £660, on which he got *4d.* on the £1 per month. He also owned a farm worth £1,000. Another client had property worth £75, and had lent £30 in twelve months. Another had property worth £50 and had lent £35 in twelve months; another owned property in the location worth over £1,000. A few Bantu have invested with the East London Board of Executors, and others have Post Office Savings Accounts. The Standard Bank in East London has 10 Native accounts, and the National Bank 100. The Netherlands Bank will not deal with Bantu clients. A few persons take out policies with the African Life Assurance Society, paying in dues of *6d.* to *1s.* per week, and a few others belong to a Burial Society to which they pay *2s. 6d.* or *5s.* a month. Four residents in the location own private motor-cars (as distinct from taxis). One owner is a fresh produce dealer, another a coffee-house proprietor, another a minister.

It is noticeable that a number of women have out of their earnings saved enough to buy houses. I knew one who owned a farm. A number of the houses have been bought from profits on the beer trade.

Incentives to labour.

The temporary workers come to town to earn the money to pay their taxes, augment their food supply, buy cattle for *ikhazi*, and

satisfy the new wants which contact with Europeans has created. They only remain as long as is necessary to earn the money they need. The permanent residents work primarily to secure food and shelter, and pay taxes, but even when these elementary needs are satisfied they have still a very strong incentive to effort. In a town community the life of rich and poor is much more different than that of rich and poor under tribal conditions. Money gives power to obtain so many of the desirable things of European civilization—better clothing, housing, furnishing, food, education, gramophones, motor-cars, books, power to travel—all the paraphernalia of western civilization is coveted. And in town social prestige is becoming less dependent upon blood, and more and more dependent upon wealth. Again and again old men spoke to me of how intense was the desire for money in the younger generation. 'The young people,' said the old men, 'cared for nothing except money.' I found all the girls wanted jobs; those training as teachers or nurses were in haste to complete their training and begin earning. 'It is not nice to be idle or still at school when one's friends are earning money.' Many town dwellers remain in continual employment to attain these ends. But work is seldom enjoyed for itself. Many men over fifty consider that continuous work is the business of youngsters, and that they as elders should have leisure. More than one middle-aged man condoled with me over the fact that my father, whom they knew to be older than themselves, had not yet retired. 'Has he no son to work for him that he cannot rest now?' In East London those who can live at leisure. There are a number of middle-aged men living on rents from houses owned. One person I found who worked for the love of her profession. She was a nurse who had married, but had carried on her profession, and had, when I saw her, been nursing twenty years. She said to me: 'I think I shall die nursing.'

Magic and economics.

After a description of so westernized an economic organization it seems incongruous to discuss magic, but magic is one of the parts of the old Bantu economic organization which is being fitted into, and developed in, the new system. Earning a living is a precarious business in town, as in country. Prosperity is still dependent upon forces over which the worker has no control, and in accordance with the old cultural pattern magic is used where scientific control ends. New magic is developed to meet the new needs. Unemployment is the greatest danger of the wage earner, and magic is used as a protection against it. In East London location in 1932 unemployment was bad, and medicine was

commonly bought from herbalists which was believed to insure the possessor finding work. 'If a man has that medicine and goes to town with it to look for work, even although there are no places vacant, some one will be dismissed so that a job can be given to him.' 'A girl may also get a medicine to prevent her mistress dismissing her.' If a servant gains favour with master or mistress it is commonly believed that they have done so through using *ubulawu*—a class of medicine used in Pondoland for gaining favour of a chief, by a doctor for gaining favour of clients, or by a girl or a man as a love charm.

Rivalry for employment is a cause of jealousy, and is believed to be a usual motive for witchcraft or sorcery (*ukuthakatha*). A Native minister told me that frequently a girl who leaves a mistress, and whose place is taken by a temporary maid, is afraid to return to that place, even though her mistress wants her back, for fear of being *ukuthakatha* by the girl who has taken her place. 'There are girls walking about looking for places whose mistresses have wanted them back, but who are afraid to go lest the girl who is turned out *ukuthakatha* them.' A European lady whom I knew well told me of a maid she had employed, who having developed sore eyes had gone to a diviner. He had told her that some one who wished her place was practising sorcery against her, and that unless she left she would become blind. The maid did not wish to leave—the mistress gave higher wages than most and was personally liked—and the mistress wished to keep her, nevertheless she left. A similar story came from a Bantu informant. Mrs. A went overseas for a holiday, and her maid X went to Mrs. B. Mrs. A. was to return at the end of November. At the beginning of the month Mrs. B., finding available a capable maid Y, who would be permanent, engaged her and dismissed X. X was furious. She said she would not be able to pay the school fees of her son at Healdtown if she were out of work for a month. She was heard to say that if she was to lose a month's wages, Y would lose them also. Y developed a septic finger which was so bad that it was nearly amputated. My informant stated that the reason for this trouble was that X had taken certain medicines and stirred them in a pot, mentioning the name of Y. In reply to the inquiry how she knew this, she stated that 'She knew by experience, not by guessing'.

Another informant told of a death believed to be caused by a jealous fellow servant. 'A young man was engaged at an hotel at which there was an old woman servant, who had been there for many years. She could understand English but did not speak it well. He could speak fluently, and became popular with the pro-

prietors, who raised his wages so that they were higher than those of the woman who had been there so long. After three months the old woman worked on a dish which he often handled. He got a stinging pain in his arm. He worked for two days after he got the pain, and to-day he is dead.'

Another Bantu woman told of a similar case. 'One servant was jealous of another. She got certain roots from the veld and worked upon them, stirring them with needles. Then she damped the dishes that her rival had handled with the mixture, and immediately the rival felt stinging pains in her finger tips.' A housemaid who was suffering from 'veld sores' after a hot summer complained to her mistress that the cook was causing her to be unwell. She said that 'other girls had told her that X (the cook) was *ncholile*' (lit. unclean, implying that she was a witch). The mistress urged that it was impossible that the cook could have caused her sores, and that those who spoke ill of her were merely jealous because she had kept respectable, while most of them had borne illegitimate children. She suggested that the housemaid should take a three months' holiday. After that time the housemaid returned, cured, and worked quite peacefully with the cook until she married.

A storekeeper told me that in East London he had difficulty in persuading any servant to work as 'boss boy' in the store, even though by doing so he would earn higher wages, for the man was afraid of incurring jealousy and being *ukuthakatha*. Only the senior servant who was regarded by the others as entitled to the position would accept it. A Bantu minister confirmed this fact that a foreman's job was not unusually refused through fear of incurring jealousy, and being *ukuthakatha*.

People who have rooms to let and cannot let them complain that their ill luck is because some enemy has *ukuthakatha*.

Bills are a universal difficulty like unemployment, and there are medicines to obviate the necessity of paying them. A highly respectable Church member told me about it. 'Even to-day in the location people go to market and come back with foodstuffs they have not bought. They have certain medicines on them when they go to the stall and take what they wish. The medicine directs the attention of the salesman so that they are not noticed, or else it makes him think that he has received the money. It works on the mind of the man who is serving them.'

The shopkeeper on his part tries to attract people to business with a penny nailed on the door step, or on the counter. Very few of the fresh-produce dealers omit this precaution. The owners of coffee shops, fruit shops, and women who brew beer, are believed

to use an ointment with which they smear their faces, and which makes the business successful. The ointment is obtained from Coloured people.

Here then is a Bantu Community living under what approximate to western economic conditions. We have the familiar picture of a large number of people dependent entirely upon their wage earnings, living in overcrowded insanitary slums. The similar conditions breed similar attitudes. I heard two Bantu men talking of the dangers of allowing women to enter industry and 'take men's jobs' and the advantages of a war in which 'all the unemployed would fight and be killed, and rich men would have to put their hands in their pockets'. The situation differs mainly from the European in the fact that of the total number of wage earners a proportion only are permanent workers, the others having left their homes in the reserves and come to town for a period to earn cash to eke out the living made from their herds and fields: the standard of living is lower than in a white slum; and no provision is made for the sick, the aged, or the unemployed.

CHAPTER XII

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

Social groupings.

SOCIAL groups in town are based on kinship, common religious beliefs, common occupation, and common tastes in diversion. Class distinctions based upon wealth and education are beginning to appear. The territorial groups which play such a large part in the country do not exist. The location is divided into wards for administrative purposes, but wards have no corporate feeling as have the territorial groupings in the country. Members of different tribes do not live in separate quarters; they intermarry freely. The old enmity between Xhosa and Fingo dies hard. One Fingo man said to me that Fingo did not really like to marry Xhosa women 'because one day their wives might swear at them for being Fingo', but many in town have overcome even that fear. A child can always tell one to what tribe it belongs, and Xhosa and Fingo celebrate tribal days, on which a meeting attended by members of the tribe is held and speeches are made in praise of tribal heroes, but this is the only expression of tribal solidarity among town dwellers.[1] As townsmen they are subject to no chief (although temporary workers may owe loyalty to a chief in the reserves), and beyond the yearly festival they have no common activities.

The usual household group in town consists of man, wife, and their minor children. Polygyny is very rare, and although a man with a wife in town may be attached to a particular *idikazi* she never forms part of his household group, and the tie is usually a temporary one. A young married man may take his bride to live for a month or two in the house of his father or elder brother, but very often the young couple set up their own household immediately after marriage. An unmarried mother or a widow may join the household of a brother or sister, but more often she sets up a household of her own with her children. Children sometimes go to live with grandparents in either town or country, or children from the country come to live with mother's or father's brother

[1] Fingos celebrate May 14, the day on which they were brought out by Sir Benjamin d'Urban from among the Xhosa. The day was first celebrated in Fingo locations in the Ciskei about 1908. Now in all Fingo communities a service is held, and speeches made telling of the history and fame of the Fingo. The Xhosa, not to be left out, began about 1913 to celebrate March 14 in the same way, calling their day 'Ntsikana's day', after one of the early Xhosa converts, Ntsikana. I have not heard of Pondo or Thembu observing a day, but Suto (at least in Lovedale Institution) celebrate 'Moshweshwe day'.

or sister in town, that they may attend school. Men who come as temporary workers and leave their families in the country live alone, or with a single male relative (paternal or maternal) or friend from the country, if one chances to be in town at the same time, or in the household of an *idikazi*, but the standard group is that of parents with their own children. Relatives appear to make no special effort to establish their households near to one another. Frequently I found a son living in one quarter of the location while his father lived in another.

When the father's brother and father's brother's children do not live in the same household, and eat with him, but live in a separate household, as do the mother's brother and mother's brother's children, the sharp distinction between the mother's brother, and father's brother and their children, which exists under tribal conditions, tends to be blurred. Similarly, where neither father's sister nor mother's sister live in the same household as the child, he is less likely to distinguish between them than when one is a member of his group and the other is not. The difference in behaviour under tribal and town conditions is marked by a linguistic difference. In town I found *uompi* (Afrikaans, *ompie*, uncle) commonly used in place of both *ubawokazi* (father's brother) and *umalume* (mother's brother), and *uanti* (English auntie) used in place of *udade bobawo* (father's sister) and *umakazi* (mother's sister). The linguistic difference is both a reflection of, and a force in creating, the social difference.

The town child grows up accustomed to eat with a much smaller group than the child living under tribal conditions. In some particularly Europeanized families each child has a separate dish, and this I believe gives it a greater sense of individualism than the country child. A well-educated Native, talking of the growing economic individualism in town, volunteered that he thought that this use of separate dishes was a cause of it.

Even when a wife does live for a short time with her husband's people her behaviour is much less restricted than in the country. The only part of the house she avoids in town is the bed of her husband's father, and that of any other senior male relative of her husband; she avoids the name of her husband's father, but if she is a town-bred girl will not trouble to avoid the names of her husband's father's brothers, and will only avoid words which are very similar to her husband's father's name. She will write his name, or tell the *ifani* (usually the name of a male ascendant of her husband used as surname) when necessary. Milk being usually bought from a dairy she can drink it at her husband's home as she would at her own house. Most only avoid it during menstruation,

and for a short period after childbirth, because it is believed that if drunk during these periods it will cause a great flow.

Since man and wife usually set up their own household at a much earlier age than in the country they have greater freedom. The man is not living in the household of his father to whom he must always show respect and obedience. The wife is not under the control of her mother-in-law. Young wives in town go about to tennis parties in a way in which they do not go to beer drinks and meat feasts in the country. Wives are upon the whole less submissive to their husbands than in the country, and cases of women bringing an action against their husbands for assault, in the magistrate's court, or where they are Christians, complaining to the Church authorities, are not uncommon. Church law forbids wife beating: a man who beats his wife may be suspended from membership. Three such cases came before one Church court during six months in East London.

A wife is often expected to hand over her earnings to her husband.[1] Usually he will hand her back at least a share, but she must first offer them to him. The husband is usually regarded as being responsible for clothing his wife, and there is greater tension over pin money than among pagans in Pondoland, where she is clothed by her father or brother. Where she is not earning her husband is less economically dependent upon her than in the country where she plays a large part in producing grain. In town also where there are eating-houses, and wood yards, a man is not dependent upon a woman for cooking, and providing firewood as he is in the country. On the other hand, living in a smaller household group tends to draw husband and wife closer together, and the ancestor cult which emphasized the fact that the wife is a stranger is loosing influence in town.

The ideal of behaviour between child and parent is that described in Chapter I, but practice is even farther from the ideal than in the country (cf. p. 477).

The larger kinship group, the clan, functions in town as in the country, regulating sexual relations. *Ukumetʃha* and marriage between fellow members of a clan are regarded as incest and strictly forbidden. The Xhosa, who deny that any of their clans are related (although genealogies show that they are), look down upon Fingo and Pondo for intermarrying between 'houses' of what was once one clan (cf. p. 57). The fact that Europeans

[1] This contradicts a statement I made in an article on 'The Effects of Contact on the Status of Pondo Women' in *Africa*, vol. vi. Further investigation has shown the statement made there, that a wife did not hand over her earnings to her husband, to be incorrect.

marry first cousins intensely shocks even towns folk. Particularly horrible to them is marriage between children of brothers.

The prohibition against marriage within the clan is apparently strictly observed—I could hear no case in which such a marriage had taken place—and although the prohibition against *ukumetʃha* is sometimes broken, *ukumetʃha* within prohibited degrees is considered disgraceful. But no legal penalties are inflicted on those who break the taboo. Ties which under tribal conditions made for the solidarity of the clan are, however, lacking in town. For permanent residents there is no chief of their clan, and no territorial area belonging to that chief in which members of the clan congregate. The ritual killings and milk taboos, which emphasized the unity of the clan and kinship between its members, are necessarily dropped in a community which cannot keep stock. The clan name is still used as a praise name, and pride in family remains, but new social groups which cut across the old kinship groups are being formed, and there are conflicting loyalties. The clan has relatively less influence as a social group in East London than it has in Pondoland.

Christians form a group marked off from pagans, but within the Christian community there are many sectarian divisions, and the effective social group is the congregation. In East London there are 57 sects whose adherents total approximately 2,080. A common faith and common activities draw the members of a congregation together. In all the larger congregations there are Sunday services, associations of women, girls, and young men, which meet weekly for prayer and Bible study. Practically all the schools are associated with a church, and companies of Pathfinders and Wayfarers (corresponding to Scouts and Guides) are run in connexion with the different churches. Friendships tend to be made within these groups. Among the members of some of the women's associations I found a strong sense of unity, fostered by their frequent meetings, and sharing of religious experience, a badge or uniform, and the fact that they were linked up with similar associations in other parts of the country, and sent delegates to an annual conference of all the women's associations of their denomination. After one meeting I attended all the thirty members present gathered in the house of one for tea, and there gossiped and sang together.

Another semi-religious group is the True Templars' Association, an inter-denominational temperance association which holds weekly meetings in different churches, and sends delegates to an annual conference at which branches all over the country are represented. In East London the True Templars claim a member-

ship of 474. The annual conferences are real festivals. Many of the visiting delegates are put up by friends. For days beforehand the 'mothers in Israel' are busy scrubbing and baking, and their daughters washing and ironing their frocks, and the best pillow slips for the visitors.

The most influential of the occupational groups is a Bantu trade union, the Independent Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (cf. p. 567). In 1932 this Union had a large membership bound by a common aim of securing better working conditions. The General Secretary, Clements Kadalie, was resident in the location, his office was a meeting-place for members, and every Sunday afternoon outdoor meetings were held at which he or another leader spoke on the aims and objects of the Union, the Xhosa National Anthem, *Nkosi sikeleli Africa*[1] with an additional verse in praise of the I.I.C.U. was sung, prayer was made, and a collection for Union funds taken. Frequent concerts and dances were also held. Many of the members had suffered in an unsuccessful strike organized by the Union in 1930. Their common effort, and resentment against existing conditions, made for group solidarity. Many of the women members wore a badge, with the letters I.I.C.U. worked in beads.

The original Industrial Commercial Workers' Union from which Kadalie's branch had sprung also had an office and secretary in the location, but it had a very small membership.

Teachers have an association, which meets monthly and which is affiliated to the Cape African Teachers' Association to whose annual conference it sends delegates. At the annual conference educational problems and social and political questions directly affecting teachers are discussed, and the meetings are a means of expressing and enhancing the solidarity of the group. The Cape Association is united with other Provincial Associations in a Federation, which holds biennial meetings.

Important among the associations for diversion are the athletic clubs. East London has ten rugby clubs, ten cricket clubs, and four tennis clubs. One rugby club claims a membership of a hundred: others have thirty to forty members. Cricket clubs are smaller, and the tennis clubs have only fifteen to twenty members apiece. Practices are held after working hours during the week, and matches between the different East London clubs, and between clubs of different towns, are organized for Saturdays. The matches are watched with enthusiasm by large crowds. Each club gives one or two socials or dances in the year.

[1] A hymn, 'The Lord Bless Africa', written by a Thembu teacher, Enoch Sontsanga, which is in general use in Bantu schools as a National Anthem.

There is a Bantu Social Centre which runs Sunday afternoon teas, and monthly evening socials, and which was, when I left East London, starting a library. There is also a Social Service Committee whose twenty members meet twice weekly to discuss undertakings for community service, and who hold an occasional social or dance.

A small number of location residents are members of a European-Bantu Joint Council, which meets monthly to discuss matters affecting European Bantu relations.

These groups are discussed elsewhere in their religious, political, and economic aspects. Here I am only concerned to show what social groupings exist, and to point out how kinship and territoriality, which under tribal conditions were the basis of all the social groups, are in town partially supplanted by groups based on other common interests; and how the solidarity of the kinship groups is diminishing.

The religious and occupational groups, and associations for diversion, are all of course modelled on European groups. The majority of them have English names—the rugby clubs call themselves, the Swallows, the Early Rose, the Black Lions, the Home Sweepers, the Young Wanderers, the Spring Rose, the Takers, the Rovers. Only one club, the Thembu United, has a name of Bantu origin, and it is used in a European form. The tennis clubs are the Fearnots, the Progressives, the Juveniles, the Spes Bona, and the Happy Hearts. The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Unions have no vernacular names. Some of the groups, such as a number of the Churches, the Wayfarers, the Braves, and the True Templars, have European leaders. All the other groups mentioned have, as far as I know, been initiated by Bantu. They show a constant tendency to split up. Of the fifty-seven denominations at work in East London location some are of European origin, but a number are Bantu offshoots. The original Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union has split into three. East London started with one rugby club and the other nine have split off.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, there is in town a marked differentiation in wealth carrying with it a differentiation in the standard of living. Teachers, ministers, interpreters, police, are all better paid than unskilled labourers; some eating-house owners and produce dealers do well. Savings are invested and there are signs of the growth of a capitalist class. Differences of wealth result in difference in cleanliness, housing, food, clothing, diversions, and schooling. There are differences of interest between educated and uneducated—a man with a University degree cannot have everything in common with one who can neither

read nor write—and naturally those of common interests tend to drift together. The wealthy[1] and the educated form one group—school education gives opportunity for higher earnings, and wealth opportunity for schooling. The well-to-do man in town almost invariably sends a son or daughter to a boarding-school. In contrast to the well-to-do and educated, are the illiterates who work as unskilled labourers, and whose standards of cleanliness, housing, food, and clothing are much lower than those of their better off neighbours.

Wealth and schooling tend to modify the importance of age and sex as grounds of social distinction. A young man who has got a teacher's certificate will be listened to with respect. The older men whom I visited in East London location frequently remarked that they thought that I was much too young for the work I was doing. My 'clerk' always retorted with an oration on my education, which mollified the critics. 'Is she really a B.A.? Well of course that does make a difference.' Distinctions in wealth and schooling are very real, and probably increasing in influence, but there is no sharp cleavage between classes. The town community is very closely linked with the country community, where blood and age are more important determinants of social standing than wealth or schooling. Members of chiefs' families are treated with courtesy and respect, even although they are poor and illiterate. The fact that Vos, a housebreaker whom the police failed to catch in the location, was of the clan of the Xhosa chief (Tʃhawe) was adduced by a most intelligent location resident as a reason why he could not be caught. People would not inform against one related to the Xhosa chief. Mention is always made in the Bantu press of chiefs visiting the town. It is insisted that a junior should treat an elder with respect no matter that the junior is superior in wealth and schooling. The cleavage between Bantu and European increases Bantu (and European) solidarity, and overshadows economic differences within the Bantu community itself. Most of the leaders of the I.I.C.U. are men with some school education, and a number of teachers are members. Wealth and schooling mean differences in interests, and standards of living, but there are none whom it is 'impossible to know'. Patronage carries prestige in town as well as in country, and the man in whose house people congregate gains prestige thereby, no matter if the people who come are poor.

Much time is spent in social intercourse. In house-to-house visitation I constantly found neighbours in each other's houses

[1] The term is used of course in a comparative sense. A Native earning £7 a month is wealthy compared to his fellows.

gossiping. In the streets of the European town one notices Native employees meeting and stopping for long conversations. Geniality and courtesy are common virtues. Even those working twelve hours a day retain an appearance of leisure, and the anxious bustle of Western civilization is nowhere apparent.

But the public festivals which are so frequent in the country are rare in town. Slaughtering for meat in the location is prohibited by the health authority, and although the rule is occasionally broken and a ritual killing, with the accompanying public feast, made, the series of ritual killings which under tribal conditions bring such frequent public festivals are omitted in town. The only public feasts are an occasional marriage, or baptism dinner (*idinala yokuphehlelela*); the latter is quite a small affair, and although any who care may attend, it is usually only the neighbours and intimate friends of the child's parents who know a celebration is to take place.

The brewing or sale of beer is prohibited. The law is regularly broken and much beer is made, but there are practically no free beer drinks—work parties cannot exist in a community in which the majority are wage earners, and when the ritual killing of cattle is dropped the ritual drinking of beer also goes. Only rarely, when a woman purifies after confinement, or a man gives thanks after coming out of prison, is beer provided free. The necessity for secrecy drives men to buy the beer and drink alone with perhaps only one or two friends, in a stuffy room or backyard. Instead of the pleasant social gathering of the country there is hole-in-the-corner drinking, and men become accustomed to breaking the law. There is much drunkenness. The beer is less well cooked than in the country, and, adulterated with tobacco, methylated spirits, and other things to give it a 'kick', is more intoxicating than the country beer. On Monday mornings there are always men unfit for work after their week-end orgies. Besides the maize and millet beer some make hop beer and various more intoxicating drinks as 'palestine bee wine', *isikokiane*, *isiqanda veki*, &c. European liquor can legally only be sold to Bantu who are registered voters, and must be consumed by them on the premises, but I was told by residents in the location that considerable quantities are smuggled into the location by poor Whites and Coloured persons.

The Native Economic Commission attributes the invention and use of these highly intoxicating drinks to the prohibition of brewing beer, and the consequent necessity of producing drinks which will mature quickly and be effective in small quantities (par. 750).

The development of quickly manufactured drinks of high alcoholic content has been one of the most disastrous results of the prohibition of *utywala* (Native beer). Appallingly noxious drinks were invented.

Anything which quickly increased the alcoholic content was added; calcium carbide, methylated spirits, tobacco, molasses and sugar, blue stone, are only a few examples' (par. 751).

It maintains that

'It has been a grave mistake to attempt to deprive the Native of his beer. The alcoholic content of properly made *utywala* is about twice that of ginger beer—and the view has been advanced to us, on medical grounds, that it is an important source of vitamins in the diet of the Native' (par. 757).

There is little Native dancing. Dancing at beer drinks is liable to attract the police, and so is avoided. Initiation ceremonies are never held in the location, so the dances connected with them do not take place. Young people gather in private houses, particularly on Fridays and Saturday evenings, for 'parties', but at these European fox-trots are more often performed than the old Bantu dances. And the music is European or American rag-time. About the streets one more often hears rag-time hummed than an old Bantu song. Sometimes these dances are by invitation. More often 'people go along when they hear the music'. The athletic clubs and I.I.C.U. give occasional dances in a church hall, for which all who choose may buy tickets. Schools give concerts, also in the church hall, and an occasional Bantu concert party comes on tour. In the one large hall in this location there was an average of one concert or dance a month. Church societies hold socials, and there are weekly teas at the Bantu Social Centre. Church services and I.I.C.U. meetings are occasions upon which people gather and talk. There is a cinema in the location run by Europeans, at which there are two evening performances and one matinee a week. Bantu are allowed to sit in the back seats of the gallery of a cinema in the European town, and a number of the more sophisticated young people attend on Friday or Saturday evenings. But some knowledge of English is necessary to appreciate the cinema, and few of those fresh from the country care for it.

Athletic clubs are popular among 'school people', but the members of the various rugby clubs total only about 2 per cent. of the population; members of cricket clubs rather less; and members of tennis clubs about 0·4 per cent. (cf. p. 463).

Tennis is the game of the more well to do—more equipment is necessary. Mixed tennis is regarded by the older matrons as rather 'fast', but the girl teachers mostly all play in spite of the criticisms of their pupils' parents. Many go for bathing picnics on Saturday afternoons and Sundays on the distant portion of the beach where Bantu are carefully segregated. Parties go off for week-ends by train, lorry, or bus, to matches in other towns.

Liking for games is there. If some stimulus were given by the municipality to organized sport, in the shape of other playing-fields (there is only one open space possible for rugger, soccer, and cricket, for 9,000 inhabitants) and a paid organizer, there would probably be much less drunkenness and hooliganism. At Wemmer Native men's barracks there has been a 70 to 80 per cent. decrease in drunkenness at week-ends, since sports were organized.[1]

Betting and gambling are said to be increasing. I was told that there were at least ten Natives who sold sweep tickets in the location. Bantu attend and bet on the European horse-races, and three different Chinese run a gambling game Fah Fee, patronized by Bantu. Often people demurred about telling their dreams, for they determined their bets in Fah Fee by their dreams, and to tell the dream would kill the luck. There is also a considerable amount of gambling with cards. During February 1932 two cases of gambling, one with cards, one with Fah Fee, came before the magistrate's court. In both cases the accused was fined £5.

The tendency towards class distinctions has been noted. The more Europeanized have different tastes in diversions from the illiterate, and naturally those of similar interests tend to form social cliques. Any who pay the subscriptions (5*s.* p.a.) and are not in debt to any other club are eligible to join any athletic club, and all who care may buy tickets for the public dances and entertainments, but athletic clubs, dances, concerts, bioscopes, and the Social Centre are all patronized chiefly by the more well-to-do and better educated.

Beer is prohibited to members of most of the Christian denominations, and although many individuals do not keep the rules of their Church, there are many who would never think of attending a beer drink. With them tea parties are fashionable. Friends are specially invited by word of mouth or by letter. Tea is served with cake in European fashion. The guests sit round on stiff chairs, and the hostess is particular to have lace doilies on her plates and an embroidered tray cloth. A gramophone with European or Negro or Bantu records is turned on. The guests exchange stories about their schooldays. Most have been at boarding-school, and each big school has its own stock stories, catchwords, and slang. They ask each other English riddles. Teachers discuss their pupils, the girls the relative advantages of marriage and a career. One teacher complains that when she set an essay to Standard VI on what they proposed to do, none of the girls mentioned anything but marriage. She is 'quite disgusted'.

[1] *N.E.C.*, p. 567.

The last football match is dissected. Politics are mentioned. And there is always gossip about friends.

Administration.

East London location is controlled by the Municipal Council composed of, and elected by, Europeans. On matters concerning the location the Council is advised by a 'Native Advisory Board', consisting of six Bantu elected by the ratepayers of the location, three Bantu appointed by the Town Council, and the Location Superintendent, who is *ex-officio* chairman. The Board meets monthly, and any member can bring forward for discussion any matter relating to the location. Its resolutions are reported to the Municipal Council which may, or may not, act upon them.

There is a strong feeling in the location that the powers of the Advisory Board should be extended. At present measures of which all Bantu members of the board disapprove, may be forced through the Council. The Advisory Board has no control over rates collected from Bantu ratepayers, of whom they are the only representatives. An unsympathetic superintendent as chairman may strangle free discussion. If any criticism is made of him by the Board he will be the person to report the discussion to the Council. Some residents maintain that elections are not properly run, and the Board does not really represent the opinion of the location. The superintendent is a European, appointed by, and responsible to, the Town Council, and without special training for his work.

There are many regulations which bring Bantu in town into conflict with the authorities. Passes are necessary to enter the location to pay a visit for more than three hours, or to find work, to go about the European town after 9 p.m. at night, to take in a lodger. The securing and carrying of passes is troublesome, and resented as class legislation. The law is constantly broken—during February 1932 49 persons were convicted of being in the location without a pass and fined 10*s.* each (of these a number were domestics resident in the European town and visiting relatives in the location), 19 of being in the European town without a pass at night, and fined 10*s.* or £1, 4 for having lodgers without licence.[1] The law prohibiting the brewing of beer, is also constantly broken, convictions during one year amounting to 1,992. The prohibitions against brewing have not the support of any section of the Native community, and by many are regarded as a European device for extracting money from the Native through fines.

A Pondo commenting on town life remarked that his reason for disliking it was that 'In town you are always nearer prison than in

[1] From Criminal Court Records in Magistrate's Office.

the country. A man may do things in the country and never get into prison, which in town would land him in jail.' In collecting dreams, I found that by far the most frequent *motif* was a police raid. Whenever police go about the location the warning cry *kubomvu* goes before them, and law breakers scatter. Several times when going about the location I heard the cry, saw women rushing to empty or hide their tins of beer, and other residents standing in groups in the streets, until the police went by.

This continual conflict between residents and authorities over petty matters means that in serious affairs the police[1] do not get the support of the law-abiding section of the population who naturally should side with them. There is a considerable amount of hooliganism in the location; I heard of a number of cases in which respectable men, and sometimes women, had been attacked by a band of young men at night, beaten, and then left to go free, and the assailants had not been caught. Respectable Bantu are afraid to enter some quarters of the location at night. A case occurred in 1932 when the police, raiding for beer, were attacked and routed. The attackers were not discovered. Vos, the housebreaker mentioned, was for months at large in the location. Police were searching for him daily, and many residents saw him, but he was never captured in the location. The fact that he was believed to use strong magic, and was of the royal clan of the Xhosa, were additional reasons why the police had not the support of the community in their search, but the antipathy of the community to the police was their principal hindrance.

Often persons convicted of technical offences are unable to pay the fines imposed (based on European wages), are imprisoned along with hardened criminals, and corrupted by their company. Imprisonment for these technical offences carries no social stigma —the man who is imprisoned for failure to carry his pass is more of a national martyr than an outcast. Imprisonment of so many persons for petty offences is a heavy burden on the tax-payer.

There are no chiefs in the location, and so the only court available is that of the magistrate. Proceedings in a magistrate's court, where legal advice is usually necessary, are expensive, and the court in East London is generally disliked. Native law,[2] it is said, is not properly administered and the manners of some officials are bad. The Native court is far from the location, and the magistrate in charge himself told me that he knew very little about Native

[1] Native with European officers.

[2] Under the Native Administration Act 1927, Native Customary Law is recognized in the Ciskei. Up till then magistrates administered Native Customary Law, but without judicial authority under statute.

law or location conditions. A junior official, when I inquired whether any case of imputation of witchcraft had come before the court within the last five years, assured me that Natives in East London location no longer believed in witchcraft.

Many location residents take a keen interest in politics. European daily papers are anxiously sought after, and legislation affecting Bantu criticized. Often in my house-to-house visits I found a man reading the morning paper, and discussing the day's political news with a crony. The *Imvo Zabantsundu*, the Xhosa paper chiefly read in the location, always has comments on the political events of the week. Discussions centre on the economic, political, and social disabilities of Bantu as compared with European citizens of the Union (cf. p. 557). The aim is the attainment of equal rights with Europeans. None advocate the establishment of rule through chiefs in towns. Nine hundred and sixty-four men[1] (2·7 per cent. of the total population) are registered voters. They are organized in an 'East London Native Voters' Association', which is affiliated to a 'Cape Native Voters' Congress'.

In this fluctuating community, with its chaos of Bantu and European forms and values, children grow up.

The life cycle.

Under tribal conditions there was among married persons no desire to limit births except in so far as it was necessary to space pregnancies, and there is no evidence to suggest that any form of birth control was known (cf. p. 146). In the town community there is definitely a growing desire to limit births because of the cost of rearing children. Two or three informants stated definitely that such a desire existed. One, a Native minister, inquired my opinion on the morality of it, and asked what methods might be used. He said he 'had spoken to his wife about using some such thing, for they had four children alive and four dead, and he could not afford to bury any more.' But in spite of this desire to limit births there is no evidence to show that any contraceptives are known or used. One informant stated definitely that both abortion and infanticide are practised. He stated that the only abortive known to the Bantu was a strong purgative, but that other medicines were procured from Coloured persons and poor Whites. The Medical Officer states that infanticide is rare: he does not mention abortion.

Pregnancies tend to be less well spaced in town than in Pondoland. The ideal is still that there should be at least two years—properly three—between each pregnancy. To become pregnant

[1] 1924 figures. Quoted *Report of M.O.H., op. cit.*

while one child is still suckling is still regarded as a disgraceful thing. In only 5 of 355 families investigated by Mrs. J. E. H. Mylne in Grahamstown location were there children less than two years apart. But in town mothers tend to wean their children sooner, and I found families in which the children were only a year apart.

One informant attributed the more frequent births to the fact that 'Women in town eat much meat, and so are more lascivious than women in the country'. Another said: 'In towns women eat much rich food, the men are better dressed than in the country, and there are few women.'

In town, as in country, women work until labour pains actually commence, but as the heavy work of carrying wood, hoeing, weeding, and reaping is not done in town, and expectant mothers are not usually permitted to continue to work for Europeans during the last month, overstrain before birth is probably not so general as in the country. Moreover few young married women live with their mothers-in-law, and it is easier for a woman in her own home to rest than it is when she is a bride in an *umzi*. *Izihlambezo* are used by many temporary workers who bring a plant with them, or make a special expedition home to secure one. 'It is easy to get on a train and go home and dig the root and come back.' But most permanent workers have taken to castor oil instead.

A number of women practise in the location as midwives following the methods used under tribal conditions (cf. p. 150). The fact that in town a family often has only one room makes the customary separation of the mother from her husband impossible, but some nevertheless still carry out the prescribed ceremonial *ukuhlamb' izandla* (to wash the hands) at the end of the confinement period, brewing beer, at least one can of which is drunk by the mother with her women friends. The rest of the brew may be sold, but no charge is made for the first canful.

Besides the midwives who follow traditional methods there are also two qualified Bantu Nurses employed by the municipality as Health Visitors, who if summoned will attend confinements. All births have to be reported, and the mothers are visited by the Health Visitors. An Infant Consultation Bureau, staffed by a European Nurse, the two Bantu Health Visitors, and an untrained voluntary European worker, is held four times a week—at two different centres (twice at each centre) in the location. Mothers are encouraged to bring their babies regularly; advice on feeding is given, the babies weighed, and when necessary medicines dispensed. The number of infants brought during 1930–1 was 523,[1]

[1] *Report of M.O.H., op. cit.*, p. 63.

and the total number of attendances 2,804—an average attendance of just over once a week per infant.[1] But the total number of Native births for the year was 853, so only 61 per cent. of the infants in the location attend.[2] In spite of the Health Visitors, and the Bureau, the non-European infantile mortality rate is 332·5 per 1,000 births[3] which is probably a higher rate than either in the reserves or on farms (cf. pp. 147: 525). The European infant mortality rate in East London is 54·05 per 1,000 births.[4]

The Medical Officer attributes the high Native infant mortality to incorrect feeding, the fact that infants sprawl on the unpaved roads into which slops are thrown, dust-laden air in streets, overcrowding, and intestinal parasites.[5] To these causes I would add the neglect to keep infants' clothes clean and over-clothing. In the reserves a baby which wears nothing but a string of beads is comparatively easy to keep clean, and during warm weather it is daily exposed to the sun. Many infants in town are overloaded with soiled clothes. Town streets are stuffy, and the iron houses get desperately hot in summer, so that the location children actually suffer more from the heat than do country children living in worse climates. Another reason for the ill health of children is that Native remedies are often employed along with those recommended at the Health Bureau. Very many of the children brought to the Bureau have charms attached to them—necklaces of the hair of the *inkomo yobuluunga* (cf. p. 235) to secure them the blessing of the ancestors, strips of lamb's wool tied round the wrist to keep them quiet, *isingcangca* shells on the waist belt as a protection against gripe, a stick in the hair to prevent hiccup, a necklace of grey seeds (*tanjes*) to help teething, a key tied round the neck to 'lock up the cough'. Although these charms are harmless except as harbourers of dirt, the treatment ordered by the diviner or herbalist may be internal and dangerous.

My friend, Nurse Makayi, a hospital-trained nurse working in East London location wrote the following account of a case:

Once in 1927 I had a curious case. A young woman gave birth to a baby girl. There was trouble with a delayed placenta, and her friends sent for me. I went and got her over the difficulty. The baby was born at 12 p.m. and I was called at 6 a.m. on a Saturday. I went home, and got ready for my other duties. I was doing out-patient work at the hospital then. On arriving home at 2.30 p.m. I found her people waiting for me to see the woman and baby again. The baby would

[1] *Report of M.O.H., op. cit.*, p. 30.

[2] I assume that the number of infants born in town and shortly taken to the country approximately balances the number born in the country and brought to town.

[3] *Report of M.O.H.* op. cit. p. 3. [4] Ibid., p. 3. [5] Ibid., p. 32.

not take the breast. I knew at once that that meant trouble. I tried my best to explain that when a baby is exposed in the cold for hours its jaws get stiff, and that the teats of the mother's breasts were not well shaped. I gave them a little olive oil to rub the baby with, and told them to keep it warm. Next morning I visited the family again. The room was crowded with noisy women threatening to beat the mother. I went in without knocking at the door. All was quiet. The poor woman was sitting up looking afraid. I went straight to her, took her temperature, pulse, and respiration, and asked how she felt this morning. She answered, 'I feel all right, only my baby will not take the breast, because I have got *impundulu*, and *Hili* (*Thikolofe*) and *inyoka* (the snake of the women). They are jealous of my baby. I love my baby so much, but I love them too' (cf. p. 282). She moaned. I quieted her, took the baby, and myself tried to put the breast in the baby's mouth. She took it well, but the jaws were still stiff. I tried my best to explain the facts to them but could see that they did not believe me. I left again, not satisfied. On Monday afternoon just when we were finishing at the out-patient department in the Frere Hospital the same woman appeared with her baby, and its father. I asked what was the matter. The doctor came in and said: 'Oh, I know this woman. She was here yesterday afternoon with her baby. I could not understand their meaning. They said something about a bird eating her baby.' The doctor smiled, and left me with the joke. I knew at once what had happened. I gave them the same instructions as before, and we walked home together, I talking, and doing by best to explain and crush out this belief. The husband told me that they had been to a diviner on Sunday evening. He had said: 'What the woman says is true. She has *impundulu* and the rest.' The father said: 'There is no hope at all, Nurse, that the baby will live, and I am afraid for myself too. I am sending my wife to her home.' So she left within a week, with her baby. A few days later the baby died. The father went to Johannesburg running away from the *impundulu* of his wife. He came back three years later sick. He had been injured in the mines. His people still believe that it was because his wife's *impundulu* followed him. I used to visit him until he died last year. He died peacefully. His wife never came back.

The fact that very few people possess stock, and killing in the location is prohibited by the public health authorities, makes it extremely difficult for pagan parents to carry out the prescribed ritual killing after the birth of a child. Nevertheless it is sometimes performed. Temporary workers wait until they return home, but some permanent workers, particularly if a child is sickly, buy a goat and kill in front of their room. Often Christians give a baptism feast (*idinala yokupehlelela*). Usually in town nothing is killed, but meat is bought, or bread and tea provided. The killing to enable the child to drink the milk of its mother's home is never observed in town where milk taboos do not generally hold.

The infant is strapped to its mother's back, or left to sleep in the corner of a stuffy room as the mother goes about her household tasks. Sour milk, porridge, and other food is given by most in town, as in the country, from birth. Weaning is normally earlier than in the country, but is again a long-drawn-out process. From the time the child can toddle it plays about the street on to which its parents' room faces. As we have seen, a town child is normally a member of a smaller group than a child living under tribal conditions, and this affects its attitude towards kin, but there is no lack of companionship, for there are always other children living in the same street and no prohibitions against their playing together. The small size of the group, however, and the fact that both parents are often working and away all day, means that children are often left without supervision.

From 7 years children begin to go to school. Attendance is not compulsory, and only 1,504 children out of an estimated total of 5,500 under 16 years, that is 27 per cent, attend school. But nearly half of the 5,500 must be under 7 years, so the percentage of those of school-going age who attend is over 50 per cent. Teachers estimate it at 60 per cent. There is not accommodation or funds to pay teachers, if all the children in the location were to attend school. Only four of the existing ten schools are Government aided, and the total number of teachers is 42, giving on the average 35·8 children per teacher.[1]

The age of commencing school varies considerably, and attendance is erratic, so in all classes there is considerable disparity in ages. Seven-year olds may be in the lowest form learning their alphabet along with others of 11 or 12. No school takes pupils above Standard VI, and only a very small number go to boarding-schools for further education. The great majority of children never get farther than Standard II. The curriculum is the same as in the country (cf. p. 175). There are no organized games for school children, except one basket ball team for girls, started by an energetic mistress. The team plays in an open space in front of the school. There are no play-grounds or playing-fields. The age of leaving school varies. Many attend for only two or three years, others remain about eight years. Few stay after they are 15. No form of continuation classes whatsoever were available in 1932 and there was no library to which Bantu had access. The Bantu Social Centre was proposing to start both a night school and a library.

Non-attendance at school is due for the most part to apathy of parents who do not trouble to send their children to school. There is no active opposition on the part of the parents, but they

[1] *Report of M.O.H., op. cit.*, p. 44.

do not care sufficiently to send their children, who not unnaturally prefer the freedom of the streets. Schools are criticized. Teachers do not teach children to be properly obedient, book education is of no use when a colour bar is in force. 'Even if my son has taken matric., he will get no job but breaking stones, and he will be better prepared for that if he have no education at all,' complained one old man to me. 'School educated young men are presumptuous puppies who think that they know more than their fathers, and give no return for the sacrifices made for them.' These are criticisms, but for the most part schooling is approved of. A man or woman who cannot read and write and speak English is handicapped when seeking work with Europeans in town, or concerned in any legal proceedings in a European court. When I was making house-to-house visits, and inquired how far members of the family had got in school, the passing of any class above Standard III was always related with pride. Often a wife had had more schooling than her husband, and he would tell of her attainments. All the more well-to-do send at least one child to a boarding-school to continue education above Standard VI, and I came across a number of widows working very hard and living on little that a son or daughter might stay on at school. Many who can read are eager for books and papers, vernacular and English. European daily papers are bought by some, and in the house of a man who takes the paper there are always two or three who have strolled round to borrow it. I was constantly asked to lend books and periodicals. Those who are best adapting themselves to town conditions, forming new social groupings, and attempting to live by new moral standards fitting the new conditions are people who have been to school.

The 40 to 50 per cent. of the children who do not go to school lose both the education gained under tribal life and the book education of the West. Very few under 16 are employed. Boys are not occupied herding, and have no opportunity of acquiring the veld lore or the physique gained in that occupation by their fathers. The chief's court, which was a school of law and rhetoric for the tribesman, does not exist in town. There is nothing to do but loiter about the streets, and sheer boredom drives them to drinking, gambling, and hooliganism. Girls have as much household work to do as in the country, but not the opportunity for physical development in dancing, walking, and field work, which their mothers had. In town there are many fat ungainly women, such as one never sees in Pondoland, and town-bred girls often lack the glorious carriage of their mothers from the country.

The initiation of males is retained by Xhosa, Thembu and Fingo,

practically all the sons (including those attending school) of permanent residents and temporary residents being sent to the country[1] to attend a circumcision school when they are of age to do so, but the school does not function as under tribal conditions.[2] Where each boy from town joins a school in a country district in which he has relatives or friends, the corporate sense gained by all the boys of an age in one locality attending one school is lost. The whole community does not take part in the school as a conscious educational institution as in the country.

Most Churches forbid Church members to allow their sons to attend initiation schools, permitting only circumcision and seclusion of boys of Christian families in their own homes, or circumcision by a European doctor. A few are initiated in this way, but the great majority of sons of Church members attend the initiation schools. The fact that they do so is as far as possible concealed from the missionary. This creates a dangerous atmosphere of hypocrisy. Where there is individual circumcision the discipline, group loyalty, and realization of the responsibilities of manhood gained in initiation schools is lost. One who has not been circumcised is regarded as still being a boy. A Native pastor's wife, herself an ex-teacher, and an intelligent woman, said to me, 'It is curious how if a man has not been circumcised his word does not carry any weight in a debate. He speaks like a boy.' She believed that the actual physical operation had an effect on the capacity of a Xhosa, Fingo, or Thembu man to speak wisely, apart from the effect the knowledge that he was or was not initiated had upon his hearers.

The initiation of girls which involved no physical operation has quickly been dropped by permanent residents.

There is a very strong feeling among middle-aged and older people that all is not well with the rising generation. Town children are a by-word for disobedience—*Abantwana base dolophini abeva* (town children do not hear, or listen) say the mothers distractedly, and always when I asked a middle-aged or oldish person what were the changes in Bantu life they saw as the result of contact with Europeans, the decrease in parental control was mentioned. Here are some of the comments of townsfolk whom I visited. First the remarks of a middle-aged woman, an ex-teacher.

Children are not obedient. They are wayward and very disrespectful to their elders. Parents do their best to train their children but they

[1] In Grahamstown a yearly school for town boys is held in the commonage some distance from the location.

[2] For an account of Xhosa initiation see J. H. Soga, *The AmaXosa: Life and Customs*. For Fingo initiation see F. Brownlee in *Man*, Nov. 1931, p. 248.

are incorrigible. Teachers have no authority. They do not even use corporal punishment, for if a teacher beats a child and leaves marks, the teacher is summoned.

Another middle-aged woman's views were the same.

The upbringing of children formerly was much better than it is now. We were brought up according to Xhosa custom, and were subject to the control of our parents. Now children are brought up in European style, and their bad behaviour is quite surprising. Children are to blame, and also their parents. With my family if my child misbehaved I beat her, even although she was already married. If she was married I called her husband to assist me. Children now are not treated according to the old custom. Parents are too kind. That has brought the ruin of the child.

An elderly man of whom I inquired whether he noticed any change in the relations of parents and children since his young days replied as follows:

That is a very serious and deep question. Long ago a girl and boy were trained by their parents. The boy up to the time he went to be circumcised. A wife was got for him[1] and that wife lived with her husband's parents as a daughter. As long as my son lived with me, if he earned a beast that beast was my property. If he still lived with me at my death he inherited all my property. My daughter, when she was grown-up, I gave in marriage. Her husband was chosen by me. That was always understood between parent and child. Now there is a great change, a child from 14 to 15 does what it likes. If its parents speak it does not take any notice. This change is a very great wonder. Under former conditions my children would have supported me now that I am unemployed. Now children go where their own hearts tell them. Parents try to turn children to right, but children are independent. I find no fault in the parents. For example I am keeping this child (pointing to a small girl of 6 or 7); I correct her with the rod hoping she will grow up good, but when she grows up she will think me worthless. I am an umXhosa.[2] Young people say, 'This is the time of electricity, former times were in the darkness.' Young people think their parents mistaken if they try to bring them up as formerly. They hold that a child now has the right to do its own will. The Bible is on the side of the parents, but the law is stepping between parents, and their children—the law of coming of age. It would be well if all Bantu customs were observed in spite of Christianity. Families are damaged by the law of coming of age. Conditions in the country are

[1] What is stated here to have been the old custom among the Xhosa is not what I found to be the custom operative now, or in memory of the oldest men, in Pondoland (cf. p. 189). It is the statement of the ideal of the elders. This ideal was always held, but never, I believe, fully lived up to. It is now spoken of by townsfolk as if it had formerly been lived up to. Xhosa practice may have been nearer the ideal than was Pondo practice, but I doubt it.

[2] Meaning here, one holding to tribal traditions.

a little better than here, but only a little. This sickness, the law that once a child is 21 he is a major, has also entered the Transkei. It would be much better if this law ceased to operate. A father takes all the trouble to educate his children, and as soon as the child is a major he deserts his father. This very question you have asked *inkosazana*[1] has touched me on a sore spot.

The old man was much moved and tears were in his eyes before he had finished. He had grown up in the Transkei, but had worked 35 years on the railway, and owned his own house in the location where he was a much respected resident. He had passed Standard IV, and was reading an English newspaper when I went to visit him. He was a Church member.

Middle-aged and old people in town hold to the tribal ideal which enjoined absolute obedience of child to parent, and recognized no age of majority. With the disobedience and bad manners of children under 16 is classed the neglect of men to hand over their earnings to their fathers, and sexual licence.

Sons, it is said, no longer look after their fathers, and girls no longer *ukumetʃha* with, and are married to, men of whom their fathers approve, but go with whom they will, and bear children before they are married. From the Bantu point of view all these things are analogous, being all manifestations of the general loss of control of parents over their children. This emancipation of youth is viewed with grave concern by elders.

The reasons given by Bantu for the loss of control over children have been referred to in the texts cited. The softness of parents, and the interference of the Government which prosecutes a man for assault if he chastises his child severely, and regards a son or daughter as emancipated from parental control after they have reached 21 years, are the reasons usually mentioned.

One old man complained even more bitterly than those already cited of this interference of Europeans.

When a child runs away his father goes to look for him, and he finds his son engaged by a European, and the European says: 'You cannot take him home, I have hired him.' Then when he has served his time with his master and comes home and his father punishes him, he prosecutes his father and has him convicted. The man's child takes pleasure in his father's imprisonment. A son now will not give his father his earnings. Even if he has earned five pounds he will not give his father anything until his father begs. Then he turns round and calls his father a 'fellow'. He says to the others, 'That old fellow is after my money.' He glories in the White Man because the administration of the White Man favours him.

[1] Literally chief's daughter. A polite mode of address to an unmarried female.

As there is no evidence that very severe punishment was usual under tribal conditions (cf. p. 164), informants by their own evidence showed beating to be ineffective, and cases in which Bantu are brought before European courts for ill treatment of their children are rare, undue leniency in contrast with former severity, and interference of European law with the disciplining of a child may be discounted. The law of majority is an innovation bound to alter relationship between parent and child, but much more influential than the actual law itself are the Western economic system and social ideals, of which it is the reflection.

The economic conditions produced by the coming of Europeans have been a primary factor in disrupting social relationships. The old system of economic interdependence of father and son was adjusted to a culture in which no money was earned, but each performed certain reciprocal services which upon the whole were fairly balanced. When sons went forth to earn money the system was upset, and has never since been satisfactorily adjusted. The European attitude that the earner has the right to his own earnings is known, and influences Bantu thought and behaviour. Europeans often comment on 'greedy Native parents who live in idleness and take the hard earned wages of their children'. Further, the fact that both men and girls are actually self-supporting, and not economically dependent upon their father as under tribal conditions, gives them the power and makes possible revolt—or emancipation.

The independence of adolescents reacts upon their juniors and makes children disobedient. Often, also, both parents are working and away from home for eight to twelve hours a day. There may be no responsible person to leave in charge of the children, who lacking home training, become unruly and ill mannered.

Economic changes are at the root of the loss of parental control, but there are other supplementary causes. The fact that young people have learned more of European ways than their parents, either through attending school, or working in towns, is apt to make them feel superior, they understand things which their fathers do not understand; therefore, they are 'wiser' (cf. text quoted above). The fact that young married couples in town do not live in the *umzi* of the man's parents, gives them much more freedom. The sanctions for sexual control which were effective under tribal conditions do not operate in town (cf. p. 481).

The ancestor cult fosters the ideal of respect for elders, and the fear of being harassed by an unfriendly *ithongo* is a reason for obedience to parents. In town the ancestor cult has considerably less influence than under tribal conditions. Christians quote the

Hebrew law; 'Honour thy father and thy mother: that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee', in support of the old tribal ideals, but there are many who are not deeply influenced either by the pagan or the Hebrew law.

The decrease in parental control is general in town, and is found in the homes of pagan and school people alike.

There exists two ideals concerning the relationships of the sexes —the Bantu ideal described in Chapter IV, which allows girls to *(uku)metʃha* before marriage, but condemns premarital pregnancy, and demands polygyny as lawful and right, and the Christian ideal which demands premarital chastity of both sexes and monogamy. The 2,080 who are members and adherents of the Christian churches may be taken as accepting the Christian ideal as their ideal, and the rest the Bantu ideal. Neither section live up to their ideal.

Ukumetʃha is general both among Christians and pagans. There are, I believe, a few children of Christian families who grow up without *ukumetʃha*, but the number is small.

There is much premarital pregnancy. Constantly I saw girls with the short skirts of unmarried women with suckling babies. No figures are available, but I think that the proportion of girls who bear children before marriage is about equal in the two sections of the community. The older people, both pagan and Christian, feel that for a girl to have a child before she is married is a disgrace both to her and her family. Most unmarried mothers themselves feel ashamed, but many of their contemporaries are in a like condition, and they are not ostracized in any way. A girl who has had a child has slightly less chance of marriage than a virgin, but many unmarried mothers marry later the father of their child, or some other man.

The sanctions for laws regulating the relations of the sexes which formerly existed under tribal conditions are not operative in town. There is no mourning when an unmarried girl bears a child, no physical examination of girls, no handing over of a beast by which the right of a young man to *(uku)metʃha* with a girl is recognized (*ukunyoba*). Several educated men said to me that they thought that with the abolition of *ukunyoba* (declared contrary to good morals, and not claimable in a magistrate's court) a sanction for good behaviour was lost. 'Now the young man hides and the parents do not know who is taking out their daughter.'

In addition to these causes common to town and country there are special dangers and temptations in town. Informant after informant mentioned as a main cause of the increase in premarital pregnancy the poverty which makes it necessary for girls from the

country to go to town to work, and for mothers of families living in town to take employment and so leave their daughters unsupervised. A girl coming from the country to find work may have no friends in town, and have to live alone. Permanent residents complain that the girls who come unprotected from the country corrupt the morals of girls whose parents live in town, and who attempt to bring them up well. Girls working for Europeans often have to live away from their parents, even although the parents live in the location. A maid is usually given a room in the backyard of her employer's house to which there is easy access from the street. Mothers spoke bitterly of this living away from home. 'That is what has caused our downfall, that we should be separated from our children.'

The number of people in town makes it more possible for a man and girl to go about together unnoticed than in the country where every one knows every one else, and if the girl becomes pregnant it is more difficult to prove what man is to blame. Damages for pregnancy can only be claimed under Native law, and under Native law an unmarried girl cannot sue in her own name, so a claim for damages for a country girl working in town would necessitate her father or guardian travelling to town. The alternative, a claim for maintenance under Colonial law, is not effective, because girls are loath to go to the magistrate, and even if an order for maintenance is secured the man very often ceases payment after two or three months, and the business of going to the magistrate again is troublesome. Often if the man is ordered to pay he will disappear into another town, where he is extremely difficult to trace. 'Now the man pays 2*s.* 6*d.* a week for three weeks and then he moves to Port Elizabeth, and they get tired of looking for him.' The amounts paid vary from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 10*s.* a week according to the wages of the man.

Under tribal conditions a man's status depends upon his having a family, and a wife is an economic asset.* In town, being the head of a family does not add to a man's prestige as it does in the country, and a wife and children are costly. Sexual satisfaction is easily obtainable without marriage. Girls while unmarried and working for Europeans have more to spend on themselves than married women. Several informants mentioned that some town girls did not wish to marry. The number of men and women in town who are not married is greater than that in Pondoland. Under the new economic conditions the marriage age of girls is going up, averaging about 22 instead of 16 to 18 as in Pondoland. This I believe to be a contributive cause to the increase in premarital pregnancy. Two educated men expressed the opinion that

because the Churches have discountenanced *ukumetʃha* and attempted to enforce Christian standards of morality, young people, when they do meet, have less self-restraint than they had formerly. Another Native informant attributed the increase in immorality to the fact that 'girls in town are careless and eat cakes which are made with eggs' (cf. p. 105).

Marriages are marked by the passage of *ikhazi*, by a Christian marriage service, or by a civil marriage before the magistrate—often by the passage of *ikhazi* combined with Christian or civil marriage. Of 54 marriages investigated 20·4 per cent. had been in church or before a magistrate and no *ikhazi* had passed. In 79·6 per cent. of the cases *ikhazi* had passed either as the sole mark of the marriage, or combined with a Christian or civil marriage. No figures are available as to the proportion of cases in which only *ikhazi* passes, to the total number of marriages, but I know it is small. These figures relate to marriages taking place in town. If the marriages of temporary workers who were married in the country were considered the percentage of cases in which *ikhazi* passed would be higher.

The *ikhazi* consisted of cattle and money in the following proportions:

In 26	out of 43	cases,	(60·4 per cent.)	*ikhazi*	given	only in cattle.
In 6	,,	,,	,, 14	,,	,,	,, in cattle and money.
In 11	,,	,,	,, 25·6	,,	,,	,, only in money.

Actually the percentage of cases in which money passed as a part of the *ikhazi* is probably higher than is here shown, for although great care was taken to find which cattle 'walked upon their own legs', the fiction that anything which passes as *ikhazi* is cattle is strong in town, as in country, and I cannot be certain that I always got the truth. Cattle received by town-dwellers are usually sold. The effects of the change in the matter of the *ikhazi* has already been discussed (p. 193). Here it need only be said that the tendency towards commercialization of the transaction is even stronger in town than in country, for in town the commercial attitude towards everything is accentuated, and the ancestor cult has less hold than in the country.

Rules regarding clan exogamy must be observed, but beyond this individuals have complete freedom of choice of a partner in marriage. Fathers in town make no attempt to choose husbands for their daughters and have no authority to forbid a marriage, even though they may disapprove of it. The fact that the *ikhazi* is usually his own earning increases the independence of a man. Often both man and girl in town are away from their families, and

marriage tends to become the concern of only the individuals involved and not of their families.

In marriages according to Native custom practically no ceremonial is observed in town. The *ikhazi* is agreed upon, and a goat *ukwandlala* (to lay the mat, cf. p. 194) may be surreptitiously killed, but there is never any *umtʃhato* ceremony. A civil marriage before the magistrate may or may not be followed by a feast at the home of the bride or groom. Church marriages usually follow the procedure described in Chapter IV. A bride married while I was in the location was duly secluded, and her complexion treated with white of egg and sugar; a feast was prepared at her home, for which special invitations were sent to close friends and relatives, but which any one who chose was free to attend: 'as many were fed as possible.' Several sheep were killed, and all those who arrived within an hour or two of the beginning of the feast got a share. The bride's friends danced down the street in front of her home with her cake, and the groom's friends with his. The following day a second feast was held at the home of the groom.

Polygyny among permanent residents in town is very rare. Families being an economic debit instead of, as under old tribal conditions, an asset, few men can afford to support more than one. The number of *amadikazi* in town, and the fact that damages are seldom claimed, makes it possible for men to obtain sexual satisfaction outside marriage. Many men have, besides their legal wives, *amadikazi* whom they visit regularly, and whom they may partly support, but no *ikhazi* has passed and the tie is not a legal one and may be easily broken. As polygyny still exists in country districts temporary workers are sometimes polygynists. I came across two or three cases in which two wives of one man had both come to live with him in town, but much more frequently wives of a polygynist visit him alternately, or both are left in the country.

Whether there is more infidelity among men in town than in the country I do not know, but there are many wives in the Christian community who are faithful. Many men, both pagans and Church adherents, visit *amadikazi*.

Dissolutions of marriages, whether contracted by Native custom or by Christian or civil rites, are frequent. In going about the location I came across many women who had been married but who had been deserted by, or had deserted, their husbands. Every week in the vernacular papers there are notices to the effect that if A, the husband (or the wife) of B does not return to B within three months, B will remarry. The fact that children are not so much desired as under tribal conditions makes a husband

the more ready to leave his wife, and where no *ikhazi* has been given he does not suffer the loss of his cattle. The position of a woman married by civil law and deserted is worse than one married by Native law, for divorce is expensive,[1] and frequently when she wishes to marry again she is not free to do so. Where no *ikhazi* has been given her position is particularly bad, for she has no home bound to support her, and it is difficult for her to secure maintenance under European law (cf. p. 482).

The deserted and deserting wives form the nucleus of a very large class of *amadikazi*, which is swelled by numbers of unmarried mothers and widows. Besides those who are the daughters and widows of permanent town-dwellers, many unmarried mothers and widows from the country are driven by poverty to come to town to earn money to support their children and themselves. Under tribal custom[2] it is not, as we have seen, expected that a widow, even if she did not remarry, should remain chaste. While she remains at her husband's *umzi* she continues, according to the legal fiction, to bear children to the deceased. When economic pressure necessitates a widow leaving her husband's *umzi* to earn money in town, unless she remarries, she can no longer bear children legitimately, and is forced either to become an *idikazi* or to remain chaste. All, except some Christian widows, choose the former alternative. As has been shown (p. 221) the chastity of widows who do not remarry is a part of the Christian ethic which Bantu find it most difficult to accept, and there are many widows, adherents of Christian Churches, who do not live up to it.

Some *amadikazi* live in more or less permanent unions with one man, who may spend a good part of his time with her, and largely support her, while also having a legal wife in country or town. I came across one who had lived for over twenty years with a worker on the railway. He spent a portion of each year with his legal wife in the country, the rest of the time with the *idikazi* in town. He owned a house. The *idikazi* with her children occupied one room, and drew the rent from the others, which were let. Part of the man's earnings on the railway went to his legitimate wife in the country. Many *amadikazi* hire or own a room in which they live with their children on money earned in the beer trade, or in service with Europeans, and are visited there by men. Often they will take in a temporary worker who will live with them

[1] Approximately £10 if an attorney is employed. Few women are prepared to plead for divorce in person in a magistrate's court.

[2] Xhosa custom differed from the Pondo in that the levirate was not permitted, but with Xhosa, Fingo, and Pondo—the main constituents of the East London population—a widow if she remained at her husband's *umzi* bore legitimate children to the deceased.

some months, or a year, and when he returns to his home in the country another may come. The temporary worker, if he feeds in the house, will contribute towards the expenses of the household. There are others again who have first one lover and then another. The lover may give presents of clothing or ornaments to the *idikazi* or contribute towards her household expenses, but there is no prostitution in the sense of direct payment for sexual services.

That the number of *amadikazi* is very large is shown by the fact that 56·7 per cent. of the non-European children born are illegitimate,[1] a Native customary union, civil or religious ceremony being taken to constitute a legal marriage.

There is much rivalry in dress. On Sunday afternoons the belles parade the streets in great finery. One Sunday there was a fight between two who had quarrelled as to which was better dressed.

Love magic is used as in Pondoland. Informants knew of at least one herbalist from whom medicine could be obtained which if a girl's name was mentioned over it when it was stirred would cause the girl to dream of him who used it, and to fall in love with him. *Ubulawu* (medicines to obtain favour) are used, which 'purify the blood, and make the suitor appear beautiful'. Hysteria among girls who are said to be *ukuphosela* is usual.

[1] *Report of M.O.H., op. cit.*, p. 3. 'Non-European' includes Coloured. Separate figures for Bantu and Coloured are not available.

CHAPTER XIII

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS

The ancestor cult.

THE ancestor cult is dependent upon cattle, and therefore in a town community where very few cattle are kept, and sanitary regulations forbid the killing of animals in the location, the full ritual of the cult cannot be carried out. Many temporary workers perform the customary ritual killings at their homes in the reserves. Often the child of a temporary worker born in town has the ritual killing prescribed after birth performed for it on its return to its father's home in the reserves. An old man, a temporary worker, told me one morning how he had dreamed of his grandfather who was asking of him a red ox. He saw both his grandfather and his grandfather's younger brother. When his son came to visit him he discussed plans for killing this ox on his return to his home in the country. About the location one sees many temporary workers and their children wearing necklaces of their *inkomo-yobuluunga* (beast of the brush, specially connected with the ancestors, cf. p. 235) obtained when they visited their homes.

Apart from economic and administrative impediments, temporary workers cannot perform ritual killings in town, since to be efficacious these must be done in the home of the person for whom they are made. But for permanent residents, town is the proper place to kill, and some of them break the law to perform the ceremonies upon which they believe their own, and their children's, health depend. I was told that the ritual killing on the birth of a child is not infrequently made by town-dwellers, and although I never saw the ceremony performed in town myself, I believe the evidence of the many who assured me that it is sometimes observed. Occasionally, also, an *idini* is made in town, or a beast killed after the death of the head of a household. Beer for thanksgiving is generally brewed when one comes out of prison. None of this brew is sold, but it is drunk by the ex-prisoner with his friends. I came across one case in which the hairs of a beast bought in town were used for the child of a permanent town-dweller who was feverish. Often the dreams of permanent town-dwellers turn on the belief in the ancestors. One young woman told how she had dreamed of the wife of her father's elder brother who had died in Johannesburg. She dreamed that this woman came to visit her in her house in East London, and she ran out to meet her. She believed that the dream meant that the *ithongo*

(ancestral spirit) of her aunt had visited her. 'The *ithongo* had come to see its children.' She was not afraid. She was glad.

The idea of persons being 'called' into a pool by a crocodile which some believe to be the messenger of 'the People of the River' (*abantu base mlanjeni*) who, some say, are really ancestral spirits, is common in town, as in country. One day a child was drowned in a pond near the location. It was said: 'He was called.' A diviner living permanently in town told how once as a boy of 13 in the country he had been drawn into a river.

> I was playing on the bank with five other boys. Suddenly I stared into two burning eyes. I undressed hastily, and went into the river up to my neck. When I got into the deepest part I turned and waved to my companions. They had the presence of mind to throw stones into the deep water ahead of me. At that time I was looking straight at the 'animal of the river'. When my companions threw stones it winked, and I was able to come back. It looked like a crocodile.

An ex-court-interpreter, who had lived for many years in town, told how as a boy in the country he also had been 'called' by a river. Several informants assured me that there are still crocodiles in the small rivers of the Ciskei. 'Outside Macleantown a crocodile bellows every day like a bull.' 'There are crocodiles in the pool on the commonage because a child was called there. People see a light in the pool at night.' 'The only way to get back a person who has been called by the river is to drive cattle to the bank, and one will enter, and then the body will be given up.' 'There must be no weeping when a person has been called, otherwise he will never come back alive.'

The majority in town believe in the power of the ancestral spirits. When I talked with oldish men—many of them permanent residents living in Europeanized houses—of the old ritual customs their faces lighted up and they eagerly discussed details of the old ritual. But the practice of the cult is extremely difficult for permanent dwellers, and with the dropping of the ritual which reasserts belief, belief is weakened. When the expected penalties for omission do not come faith is further undermined. The belief of temporary workers also must be affected when they see many in town neglecting the prescribed killings, yet continuing to live.

Witchcraft and magic.

The same supernatural beliefs are held in town as in the country. Witchcraft and sorcery are believed to be generally practised by the traditional methods. There are individuals who do not believe in witchcraft or supernatural magic, but they are rare. Even where particular methods are queried other methods are

thought to be used. That beliefs play a very large part in the thought of the people is certain. They are constantly referred to in conversation, and when collecting dreams I found many which turned on the belief in witchcraft. Every one whose confidence I gained could tell me much about magic. Bantu belief is fostered by the action of unscrupulous Europeans who sell what they claim to be the fat of 'familiars' such as *Thikolo∫e* and *impundulu*, and also by the belief of some Europeans. In East London I heard of three cases of Europeans applying to Native doctors for magical remedies. One was of a man who paid a Native doctor to raise the spell he believed to have been placed on his wife.

To avoid repetition of beliefs set forth in Part I, the bulk of the data on magic collected in town has been omitted, but a few examples of conversations and of dreams are quoted. Here is the evidence of a Bantu minister of the 'African Christian Church', which, according to him, was started by an American from Ohio. Informant had passed Standard IV.

I dreamed of two Europeans standing in front of this table, saying: 'We are going to do away with this church of yours.' I asked why. I asked this question repeatedly until I was angry, and they vanished. I woke up immediately they had vanished. I went to sleep again. A voice said: 'That is *Thikolo∫e*.' In my dream I had trousers and a shirt on. I saw a young man with a hairy face. I caught hold of him by the back of the neck, and pressed him down. I asked my daughter where he was. She said: 'There below the bed.' I seized him. I wanted to strike him with the sharp side of the axe, then I thought: 'No, that will kill him', so I used the blunt edge instead. I hit him on the back. *Thikolo∫e* vanished, and I woke up. I wakened my wife, and told her the first dream, and told her the second. I had lit a candle. She asked what the dreams meant. I said that I did not know. My right foot was all right then. After that dream in 1922 my right foot swelled. It has been swollen over since, and the skin has burst in places. It always aches when a change of weather comes.

I asked whether the foot trouble began immediately after the dream. He replied: 'It was two years after the dream that the foot swelled.' I asked whether he attributed the bad foot to *Thikolo∫e*, he said: 'The sore foot is not due to *Thikolo∫e*. It is due to a natural cause, the impurity of the blood.' This was said in a stoical voice, and the informant obviously did not believe it, but felt that he ought to do so.

In reply to a question whether he knew anything about the *impundulu*, he said:

The *impundulu* is a bird, a special bird not revealed to every one. He has intercourse with certain women to bring disease on certain people who are singled out. The *impundulu* is not seen by the person who is

made ill by him until he is about to die. The *impundulu* has the head of a bird, but his lower part is like a man, except that he is feathered with spotted feathers. He has red legs and a red bill. His forehead is like that of a human being. He lives in the sky. Thunder is the clapping of his wings. It is he that kills people. He asks his mistress for them. The symptoms of a person killed by the *impundulu* are pain between the shoulder-blades and later the coughing up of blood. If there is pain in the chest, or stomach-ache, or headache, it is known that it is not the *impundulu*. A mother with an *impundulu* before she dies scarifies two of her daughters and puts in medicine (*umhlabelo*) to make them have no fear of the *impundulu*. Later the *impundulu* is revealed to them, and they are not afraid. These two daughters will get other *impundulu* from the sky. The mother's *impundulu* will go back to where she got it, or it will wander about until it finds some one with whom to have intercourse. The other daughters who have not been scarified will not see *impundulu*. People maintain that *Thikolofe* does not exist, but he also has intercourse with women. *Thikolofe* is sent. He goes about taking sickness to people, which may eventually end in death.

In reply to questions as to how *Thikolofe* worked, he said:

I do not know the method of causing sickness for I have not got a *Thikolofe*. The *Thikolofe* which live in the rivers are quite harmless. The only harmful ones are those employed by *amagwira* (witches or wizards). Little boys see *Thikolofe*. They come and get food for *Thikolofe* in their homes. He discloses himself to them. They are bad *Thikolofe*.

This informant had much to say about *Mamlambo* and *ichanti* also, but I omit it as it adds nothing to the statement of beliefs in Part I, and enough has been quoted to show his belief in witchcraft.

A woman who had been born in town, and had lived most of her life in the location, related the following incident:

After having a quarrel with my mother's sister I dreamed of some one saying that I was going to be bewitched (*ukuthakatha*) with lightning. A week later while I was asleep during the day I dreamed of lightning flashing round my head. When I first dreamed of the thunder I did not take much notice of it, but when I dreamed again and saw the lightning flashing I took notice of it. Shortly after that I began to suffer from headache. There is a pain which circles the top of my head, and sometimes the whole of the side of my head aches, sometimes the pain disappears altogether. I have not felt well since that dream.

I had learned earlier that she lived on the rent of a house which had belonged to her mother[1] who was dead. A question as to what was the nature of her quarrel with her mother's sister elicited the following reply:

My mother's sister lives in town. We had quarrelled about the rent

[1] The house was the private property of her mother. Probably her parents were not married.

from the house. She threatened me, saying, 'You will see how you will spend this money! You will get this house of my sister to your cost.' On the night after speaking with my mother's sister I first dreamed.

In reply to a query whether she had ever heard of any accusation of witchcraft against her mother's sister she said:

I have never heard that my mother's sister is an *igqwira* (witch). I will never give up this house to my mother's sister on account of health. I would rather die. My father also is about to come to town. He may arrange for the house to be transferred to me. He is old and lives in the country.

She had not been to a diviner to inquire who sent the sickness or to be treated. Only one room of the house was let and she 'had no money to spend on a diviner'.

A woman who had been four years in town told of her dream of an *impundulu*. 'I dreamed last night of an *impundulu*. He was chasing me. I was crying. He was a person, a black person. He did not catch me.' She had dreamed of *impundulu* before. Once it took the form of a European. Another time it appeared as a Bantu, the same man as she saw the night before I talked to her. She has never seen this man except in her dream. In reply to a question how she knew the man she saw to be an *impundulu*, she replied: 'If you dread a person then you know it is an *impundulu*. You do not fear if it is only an ordinary human being.'

A cobbler, who worked in the location, was busy in his shop one day when a man dressed in white came along, and after inquiring of the people who stood by what the name of the cobbler was, entered, and said to him: 'I will repay you some day.' He went out. The cobbler hurried after him and looked up and down the street, but saw no one. The cobbler is convinced that this was an *impundulu*, who is jealous of him because he, the cobbler, is having relations with a woman with whom the *impundulu* also had relations. The cobbler did not know that this woman was an *igqwira*. He did not know the man in white, and has never seen him since.

This was related by a friend of the cobbler, who believed the explanation regarding the man in white to be the true one.

Another woman, a Church member, told of a dream which was troubling her.

I dreamed of money. It turned into a snake, then into pins. I was afraid, but did not run away. I asked some one to pick up the snake. He did so. It stuck to his finger, and left a mark like a weal. It seemed to be dead. Beautiful pins appeared and he tried to pick them up, but could not. This dream began when I was in Xhosaland, but I dream it here too. I do not know the meaning, but I think that witches want to impart bad things to me.

A former local secretary of the I.I.C.U. also discussed magic.

Impundulu is a thing which exists. Thunder and lightning come from it. Thunder is the beating of its wings. Lightning its droppings. It has been trapped by herbalists, with medicines mixed with milk. Once I saw the feather of *impundulu*. It was like a peacock's feather, but had some different markings. It looked like a rainbow. When *impundulu* has intercourse with humans it appears as a man. At Ncotſho *impundulu* was seen. It appeared at an *umzi*, and asked if they knew the son of So-and-so. It said it had a message to give this man that his sister was sick. When he returned home he was told to go and see his sick sister. He died on the way. News of his death was carried to her who was well. There had been nothing the matter with her. Her people consulted a diviner. The diviner asked: 'Did you not see a man carrying a message to say the girl was sick?' That person was *impundulu*.

'Fairy rings' on the veld are where lightning has struck; people dig there for 'the egg of the *impundulu*'. They also dig at the foot of a tree which has been struck. 'They mix the egg ground up with a fish which shines in the dark and other medicines, and stir it calling the name of their enemy; then a cloud gathers over their enemy's house, and lightning strikes him.'

A permanent resident, a Church adherent, told of the experiences of one of her family.

One day my sister's son was alone in the kraal watching a calf, while the men went inside with the milk sacks. He suckled some milk from the cow, and a voice said, 'Leave some for me.' He turned round and saw *impundulu*, with the head of a bird, and the legs of a man. He did not say anything to his people, but two weeks later he fell ill and was taken to see a diviner, who said: 'He has seen an *impundulu*. Ask him about it.' Then the boy confessed this story. The same boy saw *Thikoloſe* when he was being initiated. He was lying in the seclusion hut one night. Suddenly he woke up and saw a 'small boy' creeping into the hut. He had a blanket over his shoulders, and carried a stick. Others were all asleep. The boy fought *Thikoloſe*, who hit him on the left temple so that he bears the scar till to-day. Finally the dog helped him to chase *Thikoloſe* away. When I was laying up after the birth of a child (in town), one night I suddenly saw a child, a little boy carrying a stick, coming from another house. I was not asleep, and I stared at him, and wondered where he had come from. Then he entered the room of the Basuto next door. I cannot say if he was human or not.

A woman diviner visiting town assured me:

Yes, *Thikoloſe* lives in this location. I have seen him with my own eyes, but I covered my eyes when he appeared. Once my husband's elder brother trapped *Thikoloſe*. It was done when I was away, but he gave me a bit of flesh of *Thikoloſe* to use in my practice. It was

thick like pork. The fat of *Thikolofe* is burned in the cattle kraal to drive away misfortune. Once I treated the *umzi* of a woman whose five children had all died as infants. I charred and powdered a piece of flesh of *Thikolofe*, made people taste some of the powder, rubbed some into scarifications on their bodies, and drew a cross with the powder on the wall of the hut. Since I treated that *umzi* that woman has borne two children who have lived.

A woman Church member from whom I inquired whether people really did *ukuthakatha* in town replied:

The (witch's) baboon and all these things exist. People ride their baboons at night, and go about naked bewitching others; I swear it on the Cross. Although I have never seen these things myself, I know they are there. People bewitch one another much. One servant makes another sick. The mother of this girl here (pointing to a girl in the room) is deranged. She was 'killed' by a person. The girl's father was sleeping with another woman. The girl's mother came back and chased away that other woman. Shortly after that she became insane.

A midwife, a church adherent and permanent resident, when discussing *Thikolofe* and *impundulu*, said:

When a woman has these evil things her child will not suckle until she makes full confession. A woman in the location whose child would not suck was beaten by her husband until she confessed, but eventually the child died, so she cannot have confessed fully.

A man, a permanent resident, told how when working in Natal he was made ill by another young man who was a rival in love. He had pain in his arms, and then his navel fell in. He went to a woman diviner who explained that the navel went in because his enemy had used medicines mixed with a snail which draws itself into its shell. She treated him, making six cuts round the navel, two on each toe and two on each wrist, and rubbing in medicines. He is now immune against any one who would bewitch him on account of sexual jealousy (*ukuphosela*).

The heavy child mortality rate is attributed to people using strong medicines which harm children: 'People get an ointment mixed with fat which they smear on their faces to make their business successful. This is not intended to harm the children but it is dangerous to them.' Women say to each other: 'Do not take your baby near . . . she is dirty (*ncholile*): 'The ointment is got from Coloured people.' Madlamini, the midwife referred to above, said that what causes the harm is a substance *devilsterk*, 'a strong-smelling stone the fumes of which are bad for children, giving them convulsions'. This is mixed with the medicines for economic success.

In September 1934 a house, 19 B Street, in Grahamstown

location was notorious as being 'troubled' by *Thikolo∫e*. For three months the father of the family living in it, a Coloured man of 50 to 60, Afrikaans speaking, had been pestered by having sticks, lumps of earth, ash, and half bricks thrown at him while in his house when the door was closed, when in his garden, and once when at work at a distance and in the streets of the location when returning from that work. His wife, adult daughter, and younger children, and Bantu neighbours all insisted that they had seen the objects hit him—a half brick was produced which was said to have been one object thrown—but no one had ever seen that which threw. The house was of iron, plastered inside. The only window was covered with a fine mesh wire netting. The adult daughter had been hit once by a clod when going out of the door, but on no other occasion had any but the man himself been struck. The man indicated places where he had been struck, but no marks were visible. The attacks were intermittent. Once he was pelted with missiles for three days on end. Nothing unusual happened during my visit. The family were told by Xhosa-speaking neighbours (with whom they can converse) that that which threw must be *Hili (Thikolo∫e)*. The house is now under the observation of the psychologist at Rhodes University College.

The incentives to witchcraft and sorcery are believed in the country to be sexual rivalry, jealousy over children, friction in the *umzi*, and occasionally, economic rivalry. These incentives are all effective in town also, but the last assumes much greater importance. Cases of the type of those quoted in the section on magic used for economic ends are very frequent.

Although it is believed that witchcraft and sorcery are commonly practised, and appeal is made to diviners to discover the identity of witch or sorcerer, I could hear of no case in which people had been forced to leave the location, or had been burned out, because of witchcraft or sorcery. The magistrate is near and the danger that the accuser will be punished for imputation of witchcraft or sorcery is too great for him to risk trying to drive away those whom he believes to be harming him. A woman whose husband brings or endorses an accusation will leave him, but continue to live in the location. It is thought by many that the great amount of sickness in town is due to the fact that witches and sorcerers (*amaggwira*) can perform their nefarious crimes with impunity. 'The Government protects *amaggwira*.'

I heard less about protective and curative magic in town than in country. Bad thunderstorms are infrequent in East London, and the houses have iron roofs, so death from lightning is comparatively rare, and I do not think houses are generally treated

against lightning, as in the country, but I have not got adequate data on this point. A common protective charm borrowed from Europeans is the horseshoe hung over the door. It is believed to keep away ghosts (*izipoqo*). Children wear many charms (cf. p. 473).

I lack data on curative measures taken, but know that diviners and herbalists use herbs gathered in the country; that medicines are bought from Coloured people and Malays; and that Europeans do a very big trade in patent medicines.

Magic to obtain success in precarious enterprises is widely used in town, as in country. Economic and love magic has been described. Magic to escape danger in battle is no longer necessary, but it is thought to be used to escape danger from the police. While I was in East London a housebreaker, Vos, escaped from prison and was for some time at large in the location, where the police searched for him daily without success, although he was known to attend beer drinks, and was seen by many in the location. A sergeant, who had taken part in the search, explained to me how Vos had escaped, and why he could not be caught.

Vos went to the Malays for medicine. A cat entered the prison. Doors opened when it approached. It mesmerized the guards so that they did not see Vos escaping. Vos carries two bottles which he puts at the door when he enters any house for drink. They knock together when the police are approaching. People testify to this. He always drinks out of a can with others so that others touch the can as well as he (i.e. so that his sweat cannot be abstracted and worked upon).

I asked why they did not take some soil from Vos's footprints and work upon that. The reply was that Vos was very wily—he always wore boots, and, of course, soil from a boot print was of no use.

Vos says that he can only be caught when the police out to chase him have taken a blind kitten, boiled it alive until it is dead, mixed its fat with the fat of a pig, and smeared it upon themselves. This is what he says when he is full of beer. He knows he is quite safe, for Europeans will never do that.

The belief that Vos escaped through the use of medicines was generally held in the location. An educated man, a permanent resident, assured me that he could not have escaped from the positions he did escape from without the use of *intelezi* (word used for war medicines, slipperiness). He had been surrounded by three detectives and been knocked on the head, but still he had escaped. People, he said, were afraid to inform against Vos because if he had such powerful medicines to escape might he not have others with which to revenge himself on the informer?

There being no chiefs in town no Bantu are believed to use medicines to obtain *isithunzi* (shadow), but it is said that all

Europeans in a high position use a stone called *ilitye lika gqoloma* (the stone of *Gqoloma*).

Gqoloma is a great snake with markings like a puff adder, very beautiful. One kind lives in rivers, another in rocky clefts. It has a stone in its head which shines like a candle at night. It is about six feet thick. A fearful snake! It has a crest like a cock. One was shot by Mr. —— (a European) of Ngqamakwe (in the Transkei) in 1913, and it took four horses to drag it away. This snake was known to be in the river there. Mr. —— went down to stay at the headman's kraal near there, and shot it one evening. People saw the dead snake but no Bantu was shown the stone in its head. The stone is used by Europeans as a charm. All Europeans of high position have it and use it, washing with it in their bath. It is white and transparent like ice, but soft and slippery like soap. —— (a well-known Bantu) once picked one up and sold it to a European. He (the Bantu) is now very rich and owns a big farm in the Transkei. I, when working in Capetown, found one left in my European employer's bath water. I showed it to a herbalist, who offered me £2 10*s.* for it. I sold it to the herbalist. Later others told me that I was a fool, for it was the stone of *Gqoloma*. If a man has this stone and goes to town to find work, he will certainly get it. Some one will even be dismissed to make him a place. The stone is brighter than a diamond, and yellowish. The man who shot *Gqoloma* left Ngqamakwe very rich.

This was the account of a middle-aged man who I am sure believed all he told me.

I found that the belief that Europeans use medicine to give them *isithunzi* is general, although most do not know what the medicine is. The stone of *Gqoloma* is believed to be a powerful charm which may be used for various purposes—hence the suggestion that the informant might have used the one he found to secure employment. Note that there was no suggestion that he, who was not a chief, should use the charm to gain 'shadow' (*isithunzi*). No pythons now exist in the Cape Province although last century they existed there. I have not been able to trace the origin of the story of the European's hunt at Ngqamakwe.

We see then that the magical beliefs held under tribal conditions survive practically intact under town conditions. There are some new developments to meet new needs, and old medicines are put to new uses, a few new ideas are absorbed—the *ispoko* along with its antidotes the horseshoe and hymn—but very few, if any, of the old ideas have disappeared.

Doctors.

There are many *amagqira* (diviners) and *amaxhwele* (herbalists) in the location. Some are permanent residents; others come for

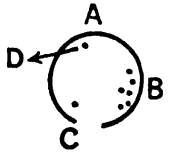
a few months to earn money by practising, and then return home. There is much sickness in town, and more ready money than in the country, so country practitioners find it worth their while to visit town from time to time. Two diviners whom I knew in the location had come from Centani (in the Transkei) to practise in town for a few months. One brought with him two women being initiated (*abakhwetha*). Another diviner, a woman, came from Ngqeleni district in Pondoland. She had already been in East London three or four times on professional visits. Another diviner had come to town to be with her husband, but she did not lose the opportunity of doing some business. East London location is recognized by the Bantu community as a place in which many able doctors are to be found, and persons living in the country within thirty or forty miles of town frequently come in to consult a diviner or herbalist. In my house-to-house visits I came across a number of persons who had come to town expressly for this purpose.

Diviner and herbalist fulfil the same functions as in the country, the *iggira* divining and treating sick persons, the *ixhwele* treating sick persons and supplying medicines for protection, love potions, &c. Some dig their roots in the country surrounding East London. Visitors bring supplies with them. My Pondo friend had a great bundle of herbs in her luggage. The usual fee for divination is 10*s*. 3*d*. Fees for medicines vary with the reputation of the doctor.

Since divination very frequently involves an accusation of witchcraft, to practise as a doctor or herbalist without licence is illegal, and no one not trained in a European medical school can obtain a licence; practically all the activities of diviners and herbalists are illegal. They therefore work with circumspection. Divination is done in a private room or secluded backyard, and visitors are discouraged. Treatment is given quietly in either doctor's or patient's house; but I do not think that the activities of either diviner or herbalist are really hindered by the law. In Grahamstown location I watched a specialist doctor *iggira lokuqubula* at work a few doors from the Location Superintendent's Office and Child Welfare Clinic. She had two patients that morning. One was a woman suffering from headache and pains through all her limbs which, she confided to me, had been caused by a neighbour who was jealous of her, because she had weeded carefully and reaped a good crop. Her neighbour had not weeded and had got no crop. She lived on a farm, and had just come in to town for treatment. The doctor sent her to fetch damp cowdung; made her remove all the bits of grass in it, and knead it into balls. She stripped to the waist

and lay down on the floor of the room. The doctor kneeling over her took a lump of dung, plastered it on to her arm, and kneaded it, then kneaded similar plasters on her face, neck, back, and stomach. Two or three times the doctor suddenly plunged her hand into the dung poultice, and produced a pinch of dung, washed it in water, and extracted a small piece of stick, or grass, held it up to the patient and onlookers (two or three were in the room) and declared it to be material of sorcery, one piece she called *inyama yehangu* (pig meat), another *uthothoviana*, another *isithomoma* (herbs). No one approached to examine what she produced. The patient herself started back afraid, and belched. Each piece extracted was put aside carefully. The doctor called the attention of patient and onlookers to the fact that she worked with her sleeves rolled up and that the patient had prepared the dung. After ten minutes the patient was told to get up. She washed in a small basin of water, and resumed her clothes. She had already been treated several times, and assured me that she was feeling much better. The treatment is usually repeated daily for five to seven days, at 2*s*. per treatment. The doctor carefully covered the fee received with ash as the offering to appease the ancestral spirits (*icamagu*). Then she proceeded with the same treatment on a young man suffering from toothache.

In Grahamstown I also visited a ventriloquist diviner, and asked to hear the *imilozi* (voices of the ancestral spirits). I was told: 'The ancestral spirits are away to-day. They do not like a white face', but after some discussion it was agreed that they might be back two days later. Returning then, I was given a seat just inside the door. The diviner sat at the back of the hut opposite me. Members of his family and visitors sat on the right side of the hut.[1] The diviner in his ordinary voice announced to the ancestral spirits that I was present. Whistling noises came, apparently from the back of the hut. The diviner announced that the ancestors greeted me. I returned the greetings. Whistling noises came again from the same place, and the diviner explained that the ancestors said that they were glad to see me, and that they 'liked the work' I was doing. No motion of the diviner's lips was visible while the whistling went on, but always during the whistling his face was half-turned towards the side of the hut on which no one was sitting. The séance over, my half-



A. Diviner.
B. Family and visitors.
C. Inquirer.
D. Direction in which diviner faced during whistling.

[1] The family was Xhosa, so there was no objecting to non-related women sitting on the right side provided they avoided the back of the hut.

crown fee was taken, covered with ash (*icamagu*), and set at the back of the hut.

In spite of the necessity for secrecy, diviners, when about professional business, often put on Native dress, and the ornaments affected by the profession in the country. The Pondo diviner mentioned above was wearing her white-braided blanket, skin armlets, &c. In the rooms of both diviners from Centani there was a skirt of tails[1] and other trappings, hanging from a peg on the wall. Another diviner, a permanent town-dweller, donned his trappings to be photographed

Only the initiation of diviners is impossible in town. The initiation ceremonies involve the killing of cattle and goats and brewing of beer, and are necessarily public. No attempt is made to carry them out in town. A town resident who is diagnosed as ill *ukuthwasa* (to be initiated)—and this diagnosis is as usual in town as in country—may have some treatment in town—once or twice I heard the clapping for the *ukuxentsa*[2] dance of a diviner—but for the final ceremonies she or he goes to live with friends or relatives in the country. Since permanent residence in town is a new thing—there is only one generation born in town—there are few without relatives in the country. I do not know what will happen when persons without any connexions in the country fall ill *ukuthwasa*.

A man, a permanent resident, told how he had fallen ill and been initiated.

I became ill, suffering from headache, leg pains, rheumatic arms, and nervousness (*uvalo*). I went to ——, a European doctor, who did me no good. I dreamed of wild animals of my own ancestors, and of my mother's people (*izilo*[3] *zoma*). The wild animals of our people (*izilo zakowethu*) appeared as *abade* (the long things, i.e. elephants), the *izilo zoma* as *ibehlathi* (it 's in the forest, i.e. a leopard). The elephants and tigers fought one another. The tigers were always defeated and chased away to the river. These things I saw in my dreams (*ebuthongweni*) when I was asleep. Now I still see them sometimes at midday.

He went to his home at Peeltown in the Ciskei, and there was treated. A ritual killing was made for his father's ancestors. Nothing was done for his mother's ancestors, but he still intends to make a ritual killing for them in town, where his home is now. It is twenty years since he began *ukuthwasa* (to be initiated). He practises as a diviner and treats with herbs.

I see medicines in my sleep. I dream about them before I go to dig

[1] Insignia of Xhosa and Thembu *amaggira*.

[2] I use the word in the Pondo sense, *ukuxentsa* in *isiXhosa* may refer to any kind of dance.

[3] Equivalent to Pondo *amatyala* in this context.

them. I buy a 6*d.* tin can, pound the roots, and then stir them up like a custard pudding.[1] Then the patient laps up the froth.

Another permanent resident, Madlamini, told how as a middle-aged woman (when she had borne six children) she fell ill, suffering from palpitation, aching all over her body, and a feeling of nervousness (*uvalo*). She was never bedridden, but did not feel well for two years. In dreams at night she saw wild animals, lions, leopards, and elephants.

At first I saw them only during the night, but since I have been initiated they come even during the day. They come and crouch at the foot of my bed, and I wake and see them there. I see their eyes gleaming. I am not afraid of the animals. They are not fearful. Sometimes also the family of the diviner will see the *izilo* (wild animals). My daughter will go anywhere at night unafraid, for my *izilo* accompany her.

After being ill for some time Madlamini went to her own people in the country. There she was treated for five months by a diviner to whom she told her dreams. She was a Church adherent, and would not dance the diviner's dance, or go about with the diviner when she went to divine. Nor were the usual ritual killings made for her.

One night a woman in childbirth appeared before me and my *izilo* (the wild animals she saw in her dreams) came and showed me how to treat this woman. Since then I have been an expert midwife. No human person taught me my work.

Another informant stated that Madlamini was well known in the location as a midwife, and told of a case in which she had shown her skill. Delivery was delayed; a trained nurse was attending the case, but she, according to the informant, could do nothing more. Madlamini was called, and immediately she touched the mother the child was born. The belief in the *izilo* is very real. One man said:

If a man who has *ukuthwasa* by a leopard or an elephant goes to a circus, the animal by which he has *ukuthwasa* passes water. This is luck for him because it is the beast of his own people.

Another woman I visited was unwell, and believed herself to be 'sick to be initiated' as a diviner. She told of her dream the previous night.

I dreamed that I was at home. A white goat was killed, and a necklace made of hairs of the *inkomo yobuluunga* and sinew of the goat, made for me. Beer was ground. People came, among them the daughters of the *umzi* (i.e. her husband's sisters and paternal aunts who would be called to any ritual killing made at his *umzi*). People would

[1] His wife had been a cook in a European house.

not serve out the meat, so I served it. After it was eaten I danced the diviner's dance. Diviners were there.

In reply to my queries she explained:

I was ill. I lay down for a whole year. Since I became ill I dream. No, I have not told my husband of my dreams, but he knows. It is for him to get a diviner to treat me. This dream means that people at home must kill for me to get a necklace of the hairs of *inkomo yobuluunga*, so that I may see clearly what I dream.

These references to experiences during initiation are only intelligible in the light of the account of initiation given in Part I: I give the town-dwellers' evidence here to show that the beliefs held in the country are also effective in town.

Diviners and herbalists in town have serious rivals in European practitioners. There is a Location Medical Officer with consulting rooms in the location, who attends patients at the rate of 3*s.* 6*d.* per visit in their own homes. Several European doctors in the town attend Bantu patients. Drugs are bought from European chemists, and patent medicines are largely advertised and sold. But in spite of rivals diviner and herbalist continue to flourish. Their power lies in the belief in witchcraft and magic and the influence of the ancestors. Again and again educated Bantu said to me, 'We think that European doctors are best for certain illnesses, but there are other illnesses which they cannot cure for they do not understand the cause of them.' The implication, of course, is that some illnesses are caused through witchcraft or sorcery, or by the ancestors, and about this the European knows nothing. There is no clear demarcation between illnesses which the European is believed to cure and those over which he is thought to have no power. Much depends upon the mind of the patient. If he has an enemy whom he thinks likely to harm him he will believe it is a case outside the European's power. The same if the illness is prolonged. But the number of diseases believed to be due to natural causes, and so understood by European doctors, is increasing.

Diviners and herbalists are reservoirs of belief in magic and the power of the ancestors. Their livelihood depends upon those beliefs, so naturally they foster them, but, apart from deliberate effort on their part to increase belief, they nourish it by the practice of their calling. The sick man believes that he has been bewitched partly because he has been told so by the diviner; the lover believes in the potency of his charm because he has bought it from a herbalist. Those who under tribal conditions were often initiators are in town the bulwark of conservation. Some diviners

and herbalists are charlatans, saying and selling what they do not themselves believe in, but I am convinced that many in town, as in country, believe in the correctness of their diagnoses and efficacy of their medicines.

Christianity.

Living alongside these practitioners of the old cults are Christian ministers—16 in all. The number of members of the various Christian denominations in East London location is approximately 1,694 or 8·5 per cent. of the population.[1] Members and adherents[2] form approximately 13·5 per cent. of the total population. Sectarianism is pernicious as in the country. According to the Medical Officer there are 57 sects in the location. Residents when asked say that they 'cannot count them'. I traced 20. One undenominational service is held each year in remembrance of the men of the Native Labour Contingent who were drowned in the Mendi during the Great War.

Among those who count themselves 'adherents' are many who flagrantly break the laws of their Church, particularly regarding sexual relations and the use of intoxicating drink. The great majority of adherents and Church members believe in witchcraft and magic (cf. pp. 489–93). Beliefs derived from Bantu and from Christian sources are curiously blended. A woman who 'swore on the Cross' that familiars exist is quoted above. Another said, 'Even at night time if some one encounters an *izithunzela*, or an *ispoɓo* and it chases him, if he sings a hymn it will go away.'[3] Most Church members and adherents have also at least a partial belief in the power of the ancestral spirits. For example, the minister of one of the Bantu sectarian churches was ill, and going to a diviner he was told that his illness was caused by his ancestral spirits, and was advised to wear a necklace of the hair of the *inkomo yoɓuluunga*. He did so and recovered. The case of the Church adherent who believed that she dreamed of, and got medical power from, her ancestral spirits has been quoted.

The belief that they are ill because their ancestral spirits wish them to be initiated as diviners often arouses sharp conflict in the minds of Christians. An elderly man, a Christian, whom I asked if he dreamed at all replied: 'Christians do not ask dreams. Once a person tells their dreams all things come to them and they *ukuthwasa* (are initiated as *amaggiɓa*). That is contrary to religion.

[1] Figures collected by me. The *M.O.H.* puts the second figure at 10 per cent.

[2] Non-communicants who attend Church services.

[3] Some say that the ghosts of persons who have died recently are not even afraid of hymns. Modern ghosts say: 'We lived in the time of electricity, we are not afraid of these things.'

Whatever a religious man dreams he stifles.' This shows how real is the belief of some in the ancestral spirits, although attempts are made to suppress it. Nevertheless, economic forces are undermining the ancestor cult, and belief in witchcraft and magic is more general, and more intense among Christians as among pagans than is the belief in the power of the ancestors.

It is clear that in East London, as in every community, there are many who call themselves Christians but whose lives do not differ from their neighbours who make no such profession. But there are also those whose behaviour is determined by their belief, and to whom their faith gives a purpose in life. I knew men and women in the location who were compassionate of suffering and prepared to give time and energy in serving their neighbours, who were not embittered by the European treatment of Bantu (although they held strong views on the injustice of it), and women who were loyal to their husbands, or remained chaste as widows, because of their beliefs.

Under town conditions the influence of the ancestor cult, which is a binding force in the community, is declining. The belief in magic, on the other hand, is maintaining its hold. This belief generates confidence in town as in country. Medicines which give confidence during unemployment are comparable with those which give hope during drought. The belief in witchcraft and sorcery is to some extent a sanction for social behaviour, for those who make themselves unpopular are in danger of being 'smelt out', or having witchcraft or sorcery worked against them. But in town this binding influence of the belief in magic is outweighed by its disruptive influence. Fear and accusations of witchcraft or sorcery generate suspicion. When magic is not recognized by the administration the safeguards which existed under old tribal conditions are lost. I was told that in town the threat, 'I shall go to amaBaca' (people famous as herbalists knowing material of sorcery), is common. It is obvious that when no action for working sorcery (other than poisoning) can be brought, threats to work sorcery may be used as blackmail against those who believe in it. Counter threats are the only defence. Belief in magic is also a hindrance to economic efficiency, and advance in hygiene (cf. pp. 457; 473). Diviners and herbalists, since they are bulwarks of the belief in magic, strengthen a disintegrating force. Their value to the health of the community as physicians administering drugs, some of which are curative, and effecting psychological cures, is probably outweighed in town, where European trained medical help is accessible, by the harm they do it in fostering the belief in magic and hindering rational treatment of disease.

Christianity, in spite of the failures of its adherents, is one of the few integrating forces in the tumult created by the economic revolution. A strong common loyalty is one of the most powerful binding forces there can be in a community; Christians are bound by their common loyalty to Jesus. Churches are important among the new social groups formed in towns. Bantu school education has, up to the present, been dependent upon missionary enterprise. It is the educated who are adapting themselves with some success to the new conditions in town, and are working out new values, and new standards of behaviour compatible with urban life. In the practice of Christianity there lies a remedy for the cancers of Western civilization as it exists among Europeans, and as it is transferred to Bantu.

PART III

BANTU ON EUROPEAN FARMS

INTRODUCTION

A STUDY was made of Bantu communities on European farms in the districts of Albany, Adelaide, and Bedford, in the Cape Province. Practically all those resident on farms are servants permanently employed, and having no stake in any reserve. Only in one or two isolated cases did I find a man who had come to work on a farm for a year or two when he had a holding in a reserve. Many on farms are descendants of those who were driven by hunger to take service after the cattle killing of 1857; others are the descendants of those who came to farms later; only a few have themselves been born in reserves. The majority are Xhosa, but there are also Thembu, Fingo, and a few Pondo and Suto living on the same farms, and intermarried with them. On some farms servants are all of families who have been there for three or four generations. On others the servants are constantly changing.

Groups are small and isolated. The average number of Bantu on each farm in the districts visited was only 16·7, of whom 6·4 were adults, and the average density of the rural population is 6·6 to the square mile (cf. p. 525). There is some coming and going between farm and farm, but it is not encouraged, and permission from the employer must always be obtained for the entertainment of adult male visitors. Families on farms keep their clan and tribal names, but are members of no tribal community, and under no chief. Many individuals do not know the name of the reigning chief of their tribe.

The extent of contact with the reserves naturally varies with the date at which the family left the reserve, and with the proximity of the farm to the reserve. Some, whose families have long lived on farms, say that they have no friends or relatives in the reserves, and have never been there to visit. Others of the same class have married girls from the reserves, go to visit there, and entertain visitors in return. Those who were brought up in reserves themselves mostly return to visit and entertain relatives. Important channels of contact between reserves and farms are the diviners and herbalists from the reserves, who tour farms on business. Not infrequently also farm servants, when ill, get permission to go to the reserves to consult a doctor there. Those who are

diagnosed as 'sick to be initiated' as diviners, normally go to the reserves for a period to be treated. Some seasonal workers, such as sheep shearers and reapers, are drawn from the reserves, and they form another link between farm and reserve.

There is also coming and going between farms and towns. In every district there is a *dorp* or town, with a Native location attached, to which farm servants go for shopping, and to visit friends. Some from the nearer farms may go to the location for Church services, or political meetings, on Sundays, and the children may be sent to the location school.

On some farms it is usual for boys, either before or after circumcision, to get leave to go and work at a labour centre, to earn money for their *ikhazi*. In each case they are given leave for a definite period, and it is understood that they will return when the farmer requires them. This system is approved by some farmers who find it difficult to employ all the boys on their farms. Others forbid it entirely, refusing to take back a boy, or allow him to visit the farm, if he has once been away to work, for, they complain, 'a boy who has worked in a town learns bad ways, and is cheeky and liable to upset the other servants on the farm. They come back with ideas. They want days off.' Daughters from many farms also go to town to find employment.

Besides these temporary workers, there are those who go to live permanently in towns. In almost every family visited on farms there was one member married, or permanently employed in town. These members return to visit at intervals and their importance as a channel of contact influence is great.

But in spite of these contacts Bantu on farms feel themselves to be quite a separate community from the Bantu in reserves or in towns. It is much more usual for a farm-hand to marry a girl brought up on farms like himself than to go to the reserves to look for a wife. If a person born and brought up on farms is asked if he or she would care to go to the reserves to live the answer is usually in the negative. 'I know no place but this. I am a person from European country, I do not know anything about the country of the Xhosa.' A few of those who were born in reserves return there to live when they have collected sufficient stock to do so; many others speak regretfully of the advantages of reserves—the freedom ('here we are ruled by Europeans, there we have a headman over us'), the liberty to make beer and carry out the customs (*amasiko*) necessary to health, the right to entertain guests and go visiting, the right to 'do things at your own time, and not when the European orders you', the right to graze an unlimited number of stock—but they always add, 'There is

hunger there', and, if one has gained sufficient confidence, 'There is bewitching there', or 'We who have lived among Europeans cannot stand the hardships of Xhosa country'. Stock moved from European farms to the shaved pastures of Ciskeian and western Transkeian reserves die in great numbers, and children lacking the regular rations of the farms often do not survive a drought.

Madwaṛa related to me how she, a girl brought up on a farm in Albany, had married a man from the Ciskei, who had come to work on the farm, and how, some years after their marriage, he had taken her back to his home to settle there. Their stock died, and her children died one after the other, 'and there your husband goes away to work at the mines, and he is not even with you when your children fall ill'. She became desperate, and at length persuaded her husband to return with her to a farm, where she is happily bringing up a healthy family. She hopes never to see the reserve again. (So violent was her dislike of the Ciskei I suspected that she had been accused of witchcraft while there, but I was not favoured with that story.)

Informants agreed that health is not so good in the reserves as on farms. 'People cannot be healthy when they live packed close to one another.' Most believe that the danger from witchcraft and sorcery is greater in reserves than on farms (cf. p 539). The only reserve with which Bantu on the farms visited are acquainted is the grossly overcrowded Ciskei and western Transkei. The comparison made by them between reserve and farm, therefore, always refers to a reserve of the Ciskeian type, not to Pondoland where conditions are much better.

The fact that conditions in reserves are criticized does not mean that Bantu on farms are satisfied with their state. On 24 of the 29 farms visited they were not. On 5 farms where economic conditions were best, and the employers were liked, there was reasonable contentment. On the rest there was bitterness about poverty, about restrictions regarding visiting, and the performance of ritual custom, and on several there was bitter anti-European feeling. The attitude of farmers towards their servants varies enormously. Some have a real affection and concern for their people. Others are dominated by the fear of Bantu which is at the root of all the suppressive legislation, and cruelty to Bantu in South Africa. One otherwise apparently sane farmer told me that he never went near his servants' huts without a revolver. Another farmer's wife, referring to the restrictions on beer drinks, said, 'I sometimes think that we are cutting our own throats by stopping beer drinks. If they (Bantu servants) had them they

would kill off some of each other. As it is now, they are increasing, and will come and kill us.'

During normal times there always is a shortage of labour on some farms (although the farmers whose conditions are best never lack an adequate supply), and there is a constant stream of Bantu moving from farm to town.

All the men, and many of the women and children living on farms, are regularly employed and in close daily contact with Europeans through their work. Most learn more English or Afrikaans than their employers do Xhosa, and communication is frequently in a European language. European ideas percolate, but sometimes appear curiously garbled. A Xhosa belonging to a chief's family, who lived on a farm, was trying to explain to a visitor who had no Xhosa that there were social distinctions among Bantu as among Europeans. He said, 'Yes, we have differences in status, just as you have Gentlemen, and Scotsmen, and Jews.'

Mission churches and schools are few, and wages usually insufficient for parents to send their children away to school, so the economic contacts with European culture are proportionally even more important than in reserves and towns. The activities of farm-hands are considerably restricted by their employers. The performance of customary ritual killings is made difficult or impossible, membership of any church, except one controlled by Europeans, is forbidden on a number of farms, and membership of a trade union on practically all.

Two months were spent touring farms. Difficulty was at first experienced in getting permission from European farmers to investigate conditions among their servants, but after getting personal introductions to one or two farmers I was given access to as many of the better-class farms as I wished, each farmer passing me on to his relatives or friends. I did not, however, get on to many poor farms, and to only two or three on which the farmer was Afrikaans speaking. On each farm visited I went to all the Bantu households, chatted with the women, and filled up a questionnaire giving the economic position, social condition, extent of observance of Bantu custom, opportunity for education, contact with reserves, birth and survival rates, &c. The questionnaire was useful in starting conversation, but as always the most valuable information was gathered indirectly. People were friendly, and very ready to talk with me.

CHAPTER XIV

ECONOMIC CONDITION

THE great majority of Bantu on European farms, having no stake in any reserve, are entirely dependent upon their earnings as farm servants. On 28 of the 29 farms visited every adult male was employed as a full-time servant. On one there were a number of 'labour tenants' who did a certain amount of work in return for hut sites, and the right to graze a limited number of stock.

Earnings usually consist of a small cash wage, a food ration, and the right to graze a certain number of stock, and cultivate a certain area of land. Conditions between farm and farm even in one district vary considerably, and it is therefore difficult and dangerous to generalize; I can only attempt to state the limits and the average, and wish it to be understood that there are many variations between these limits. It must be remembered, also, that only the better-class farms were visited, and therefore my estimate of earnings is more likely to be above than below the average.

Figures were collected on each farm visited.

Cash wage

	Average (per month)	*Maximum*	*Minimum*
Adelaide District			
Man	10*s.*	25*s.* (graded)[1]	6*s.*
Unmarried man	10*s.*	10*s.*	6*s.*
Boy	4*s.*	5*s.*	2*s.* 6*d.*
Woman	8*s.*	10*s.*	5*s.*
Girl	5*s.*	6*s.*	4*s.*
Bedford District			
Man	9*s.*	30*s.* (graded)	5*s.*
Unmarried man	9*s.*	15*s.* (graded)	5*s.*
Boy	5*s.*	8*s.*	2*s.*
Woman	8*s.* (Dairy 2*s.* 6*d.*)	10*s.*	4*s.*
Girl	5*s.*	7*s.*	4*s.*
Albany District:			
Man	11*s.*	25*s.* (graded)	8*s.*
Unmarried man	10*s.*	15*s.*	8*s.*
Boy	5*s.*	7*s.*	4*s.*
Woman	7*s.* 6*d.*	10*s.* (Wash, 6*s.* Dairy 5*s.*)	4*s.*
Girl	5*s.*	10*s.*	3*s.*

In a few cases the farmer pays the poll tax, £1 p.a., in addition to these wages, but normally it is taken off the wage.

A food ration is given, usually in mealies, but sometimes partly in

[1] Where not otherwise stated the figure is for a flat rate paid to all of that status.

wheat meal or in millet. The minimum ration fixed by law is 21 lb. per married man per week. The amount given varies between 21 lb. and 30 lb. per week. Unmarried men and boys receive part rations except when supporting a widowed mother, when the full ration is usually given. Women employed as household servants get their own food, but no ration to take home. In one exceptional case, that of a widow with no son working, the woman was given a food ration in addition to her ordinary wage. On two of the farms visited the farmer considered applications for an increased ration if the man employed had a particularly big family to support.

Most of the farms in the areas visited are partly dairy farms, and the servants get a ration of skimmed milk. In some places the winter supply is very small, and on those farms on which there is no skim milk in winter nothing is given in its place. On some farms the servants are allowed the full milk of their own cows; on others they are allowed the full milk of only one cow, and the milk of their other cows is separated with that of the farmer's cows; on others milk of all cows owned by servants is separated with that of the farmer's cows.

On a few farms a regular meat ration of one sheep a month divided between all the servants is given. On most farms there is no regular ration, but two or three sheep are killed at Christmas time, one or two at shearing time, and sometimes one or two when a particularly heavy piece of work has been completed. All the animals which die on the farm, excepting those struck by lightning, are eaten by the servants. Farmers who give a liberal meat ration maintain that they have very much less stock theft than farmers who give little meat. On one block of farms, where the biggest ration was given, there was practically no theft. On other farms, where the ration is small, there have been a number of cases of poisoning stock with the object of getting meat.

On citrus farms servants get many windfall oranges. On two farms a tobacco ration was given.

On some farms where there is a fair amount of agriculture land is worked on shares. The farmer supplies seed, implements, and oxen, and the land is planted with mealies or wheat by the men servants, working under the farmer's supervision. Maize lands are weeded by the wives of the men who planted, the women not being paid for this work. Maize and wheat are reaped by the men and their wives and children. Again, only the men who are in regular employ are paid for the work. A half or a third share of the crop of 1 to 2 acres goes to each man employed. Farmers who cultivate by this method say that giving their men a share in the

a. Reaping mealies in a 'half-share' field (cf. p. 510)

b. A Christian wedding on a farm

crop makes them work much better on the lands in which they have an interest. Servants use their share of a maize crop as food. Their share of a wheat crop is usually sold or bartered for maize.

Elsewhere the farmer ploughs and sows a patch for each servant, and they weed and reap the whole crop. On one farm these patches varied from 2½ to 5 acres per man employed. On most farms they are not more than 1 acre. Elsewhere servants are allotted small patches to work themselves. Sometimes these patches are ploughed by the men with the farmer's tackle and oxen, after hours or on Sundays. Often they are worked entirely by hand by the women. In an investigation into economic conditions on farms in Albany district, quoted in the Report of the Native Economic Commission, it is stated that on 'about half the 40 farms investigated a garden land is allowed', and the average size is 'a little over half an acre'.[1] On a number of the farms visited there was practically no agriculture, land and climate not being suitable, and the farmers finding it more economical to buy their mealies for rations from the Free State than to grow for themselves. On these farms the only gardens were the small patches tilled by hand, or occasionally ploughed, but normally there was very little yield from them. On 8 of the 29 farms visited there was either no land allotted to servants, or it was quite unproductive.

Mealies, with pumpkins as a ground crop, and wheat are grown on the lands worked on half shares. In the small gardens mealies, pumpkins, melons, beans, millet, calabashes, peas, and sometimes potatoes are grown. On one farm cabbage plants had been supplied by the farmer, but they had not survived a drought.

The number of cattle which a servant may graze free of charge on his employer's farm is a constant source of friction between farmer and farm-hand. There is no standard number. Sometimes one servant on a farm is allowed more than another, sometimes a farmer specifies a maximum number but winks at his servants running one or two more than that number. The maximum number of cattle allowed to each man on any farm visited was twenty. Some employers allow no stock at all. One had raised his wages from 15*s.* to £1 per man on the understanding that no stock except one horse per man should be run. He had no difficulty in getting servants.

The average number of cattle allowed per man is 3 to 4 head in Adelaide and Bedford district, and 4 to 5 in Albany. Where over 3 or 4 head are allowed the farmer uses the Native owned oxen when he requires them, and skims the milk of the cows.

A few farmers graze extra stock belonging to their own servants,

[1] *N.E.C.*, pp. 187–8.

or those on neighbouring farms, at the rate of 1*s.* to 2*s.* 6*d.* per month, per head of cattle, and 1*s.* per ten head of small stock. One employer in a prickly pear area had an arrangement by which families living on the place cleared a certain area of prickly pear in return for grazing for their stock, the areas varying in size according to the number of stock grazed. The men were not otherwise employed by the farmer; no money passed either way, and usually at least one member of each Bantu family was away working in a town. The people on this farm were a particularly good class, keeping clean, well-made huts, and running their own school. The farmer remarked that he never took Natives with few stock because they were 'always good for nothing', and there was likely to be much less stealing if the servants were well off, and had stock of their own.

On about half the farms visited goats were grazed in addition to cattle. Where they are forbidden the prohibition is keenly resented by pagans who require goats for their ritual observances. One farmer I met sold goats to his people when they needed them for ritual killings, at a very low figure, because he was unwilling to have Native goats on the farm, but realized the necessity for making it possible for his servants to perform their ritual customs, if they were to be contented. On most farms servants are forbidden to graze sheep. A few have their own pigs, and almost all keep fowl, and make a little out of selling eggs and poultry to the farmer's wife or local trader.

The old system of *ukunqoma* (lending) stock to relatives and friends, who in return for the grazing have the milk or the work of the beast which is lent, is widely practised. Stock is lent to friends and relatives on other farms who do not themselves own the full quota of stock for which they are entitled to free grazing, and to friends in the reserves.

Most farmers dislike having to graze Native cattle, but do so because, they say, servants are never contented unless grazing is given. The servants themselves make little out of their cattle. They may get some milk from their cows—often skimmed before it reaches them—and the possession of stock makes it possible for them to get credit from local traders. Occasionally a beast is sold to pay a debt for extra maize, tea, coffee, sugar, clothing, and one or two beasts for a man's *ikhazi* may be provided from his father's herd. But, on the other hand, the possession of stock reduced the employee's bargaining power. Farmers are unwilling to take a man with much stock, and so the owner of stock is afraid to move lest his cattle die on the road before he finds another place of employment. Often the employer does his best

to encourage the servant to put any savings into a bank, but I only found three cases in which a servant had been persuaded to do so, and in two of the three the money had soon been withdrawn and put into cattle. One who had withdrawn his money said to me, 'We do not understand all these papers.'

As in the reserves, cattle are not only of economic value but also of religious and social significance. The majority of farm servants believe that their health and prosperity depend upon the proper observance of ritual killings, and they are generally unwilling for money or goods entirely to substitute stock as *ikhazi*. It is therefore not surprising to find strong opposition to the reduction of grazing rights. Men discussing existing conditions, and comparing them with former times, always raised as a major grievance the fact that the number of stock grazed free was now greatly reduced.[1]

Hours of work are supposed to be from sunrise to sunset for six days a week. Servants are also expected to turn out at any time of the day or night if required. There are unpleasant stories of farmers who send off their men with wagons for town about 4 p.m. after having them at work all day, and expect them to begin again at sunrise the next morning, although they were not home with the wagons until 9 p.m. But employers who do this are the exception.

A day's, or two days', holiday, is given at Christmas, and sometimes also at New Year. Occasionally a man gets special leave to go and consult a doctor, or a day off to attend a funeral, but normally all social entertainments, marriage arrangements, and consulting of doctors, have to be done at night or on Sundays.

The time given for building new huts, and for ploughing the servants' own lands, varies considerably from farm to farm. On one I found a man had been given a week to build his hut. On another the men were lent a wagon, sent to cut and fetch grass, and given time to re-thatch their huts with sewn-thatch. But on the majority of farms the frames and sewn-thatch roofs of any huts built subsequent to that erected when the occupant came to the farm are put up after working hours. The women plaster and do the old type of thatching.

Some farmers stated that they 'always gave their servants time to plough their own lands'. One added, 'Then afterwards if they have not finished they may come and ask for the oxen on a Sunday.' Where lands are worked on half shares the question

[1] Cf. *N.E.C.* Addendum, pp. 101–4. Data given there on earnings on farms in these districts tallies almost exactly with that given here, which was collected separately.

of time spent on them does not come up. Possibly, however, the cases where a servant 'does not seem to bother much about having a land', may be largely due to his never having opportunity to cultivate it.

On all the farms visited, except three, the houses are the ordinary wattle and daub put up by the servants themselves. In the Glenthorne and Baviaans Kloof areas—districts influenced by mission schools—the huts are thatched with sewn-thatch, and there are a number of square, well-built houses. Elsewhere the huts are the ordinary round type, with the old *ukufulela* thatch and mushroom roofs. Huts in the prickly pear area show an interesting adaptation to environment, prickly pear 'leaves' being used in place of grass for thatch.

On two farms stone huts had been built under the supervision of the farmer because the district was poor in wood, and he found that the need for wattles was making inroads in what bush he had. These huts were very satisfactory, except that there were not enough of them; two families had to live in one hut, instead of each wife having two huts as is usual in Pondoland. The servants' complaint was that 'although the inside was plastered the wall was very hard to hit your head against if you staggered when dancing after much beer'.

On a third farm a corrugated-iron shelter had been built by the farmer, and divided into rooms about eight feet square. It was unlined, and so cold and uncomfortable that the servants refused to live in it, and returned to their own ramshackle huts.

Generally speaking, the huts on farms are not so tidy and well built as huts in many districts of the reserves. The fact that grass and wattles are scarce, and men have little leisure for building, hinders good housing, and I got the impression that people did not take so much pride in their *imizi* as in parts, at least, of Pondoland. The improvement in housing when the farmer takes an interest in their welfare and the people are slightly better paid is very marked.

Women with huts to build, or mealie fields to weed, often brew a little beer, summon their friends from their own and neighbouring farms, and hold an *ilima* (work-party) as they do in the reserves. Church members provided tea or coffee and sugar in place of beer. But on farms where all the men are employed the *ilima* is necessarily a gathering of women only, and so lacks the zest of the *ilima* in the reserves, where pleasant social intercourse and flirtation are combined with work.

Furnishing, even in the houses of 'school people' on farms, is extremely scanty. Old techniques are being lost, material for

manufacturing the old types of utensils is scarce, and men have little leisure for arts and crafts.[1] There are fewer mats and stools and home-made utensils than in an ordinary pagan Pondo hut, and the only European-style furniture is often just a box, used as a cupboard, with some dishes. The bareness of the huts presents a contrast to the better houses in reserves and towns, where most 'school people' have a 'best parlour' furnished in European style, and a bed for a visitor. On only one farm did I find a family with huts in which the furniture was comparable to the best in neighbouring reserves, and they were people who had come for a period to work on a farm, their permanent home being in a reserve. The degree of cleanliness varies as elsewhere, some families being very clean and others filthy. The general standard of cleanliness among 'school people' is distinctly higher than among pagans.

The earnings of a man employed on a farm are usually supplemented by the earnings of his wife or children. In the districts visited a family is never hired as a whole; each member is hired and paid separately; but it is understood that if a man is hired his wife and children must work if, and when, they are needed. On one farm two families, in which the men were quite satisfactory, were dismissed because their wives and daughters refused to work in the house. On another there were only two or three hands because the lady of the house could not get on with maids, and when she quarrelled with a maid the whole family had to go. It is usual for the mistress, when she requires a maid, not to wait for applications for the post, but to send for whatever woman or girl on the farm she wished. Where the mistress is popular this is not resented: very often the women are anxious for work.

Where mealies or wheat, other than the crops grown on half shares, are cultivated, women may be employed weeding the mealies, and reaping mealies and wheat. On citrus farms they help with the picking, and from both Adelaide and Bedford districts numbers of women living on farms go to Longhope, in the apricot season, to help in harvesting and packing apricots grown there. On sheep farms women may be employed in washing and sorting wool. Wages are paid on the following scale:

Reaping mealies 9*d.* per day, or 6*d.* per day, and food.
Reaping wheat 1*s.* per 100 bundles, or 1*s.* 6*d.* per 100 bundles for reaping and binding. Average amount earned, 9*d.* per day.

[1] Even pipes of Native manufacture are bought 'very dear' from traders who buy them in the reserves. The only new technique developed is the making of sandals from old motor tyres.

Picking oranges 6*d.* per day, and rations.
Work at Longhope A very skilled woman may make up to 2*s.* 6*d.* per day.

In Adelaide and Bedford districts the women get perhaps six weeks of this field work in the year. In Albany little wheat or maize is grown, and only on citrus farms, which are a small proportion of the total number of farms in the district, are women employed in outside work.

The average *umzi* group on farms (worked on a basis of 59 groups investigated) was 8·2, of which 3·2 were adults (i.e. circumcised men, women married, or with children).

Average number of men working per group	1·20
Average number of women working per group (full time)	0·23
Average number of women working per group (washing, ironing, dairy)	0·23
Average number of boys working per group	0·35
Average number of girls working per group	0·27

The average income in wages per month per group of 3·2 adults and 5 children, worked on a basis of the average wage given (cf. p. 509), is therefore 11*s.* 9*d.* plus 1*s.* 2*d.* plus 1*s.* plus 1*s.* 8*d.* plus 1*s.* 4*d.* equals 16*s.* 11*d.* (£10 3*s.* p. a.). Average ration in mealies per group, 36·125 lb.

N.B.—This is an average. There is considerable variation in the degree of poverty between farm and farm, family and family.

Necessary cash expenditure includes food to supplement rations, clothing, household utensils, taxes, where children are at school often school fees, and school books, and where people are members of a Church or trades union, members' dues. Men usually also have to buy some of the cattle for their *ikhazi* out of cash wages. Material for huts, firewood, and water is obtained free except for the labour involved in collecting and drawing them. It is difficult to discover how far rations are supplemented. The amount of extra mealies bought depends upon the number of members working and drawing a ration, the amount of beer brewed, the nature and amount of land cultivated (if any), and the season. In a normal season most families have to buy some mealies. On one farm in Albany where the servants had no lands, two families each bought half a bag of mealies per month. In Adelaide district servants said they bought 'two or three bags in the year'. Elsewhere they said, 'Most years we have to buy mealies before Christmas' (they would get green maize in January, but the main part of the next year's crop would not be ripe until March). On other more fertile farms they said, 'When we grow mealies (on shares) we have enough; when we grow wheat on half shares we

exchange wheat for mealies.' Everywhere tea and coffee are desired. A few families said that they drank tea or coffee every day. Others said, 'We buy when we have a 6*d.* or a 3*d.*' On a few farms near town servants supplemented their meat ration by buying meat from a butcher. On one farm they bought meat from their employer.

Maize fluctuates between 5*s.* and 25*s.* a bag, according to the season, so it is impossible to estimate accurately the amount spent on food. An average family may spend about £2 5*s.* a year on maize, and £1 4*s.* a year on tea, coffee, sugar, salt, meat, &c. Taxes (rarely paid by the farmer) take one-sixth of an average man's cash earnings (£1 p.a. = £1 4*s.* per group). Servants get some cast-off clothing from their employers, and on a few farms gifts of new clothing at Christmas, but expenditure on blankets and clothing of a family of 8·2 cannot be less than £3 a year. This leaves £2 9*s.* of the annual earnings of the group of 8·2 for school fees and books, Church and trades union dues, doctors fees, cattle for *ikhazi*, and other marriage gifts, feasts, tobacco, matches, household utensils, and sundries. Often the only way in which a boy can accumulate enough wealth for his *ikhazi* is to go to a labour centre for a period, and sometimes the livelihood of a farm family is eked out by earnings of a son who sends back money from a labour centre. Numbers of farmers report that their servants are heavily in debt. One trader who dealt largely with farm-hands had over £800 in outstanding debts.

It is clear that the 'farm Native' has lost economically by contact with Europeans. Working very much harder than he did under tribal conditions, he has no more nourishing or varied a diet than the rawest Pondo of the reserves; a servant or 'labour tenant' dismissed by his employer has no hut site or land to cultivate. No longer a member of a tribe owning land he has lost economic security.[1] And withal he is no longer his own master, but a servant. His position appears to be deteriorating, rather than improving.

Wages have not increased in proportion to the cost of clothing and food which the farm-hand has to buy. Recent legislation imposes an import duty of 52 per cent. on goods for Native trade (90 per cent. on cotton blankets),[2] and the cost of clothing has gone up accordingly. Farmers state that the average wage for a married man twenty years ago in the districts studied, was 6*s.* to 10*s.* The average increase is therefore only 2*s.* per month, and

[1] Farm Natives who speak of hunger in reserves refer to the poverty-stricken Ciskei, not to Pondoland.

[2] *N.E.C.*, Addendum, p. 353.

this has been accompanied by a reduction in the number of stock grazed free. Twenty years ago there were in certain districts a comparatively wealthy class of 'half-share men', living on European-owned farms on which they worked land on half shares, and paid so much per head for grazing. Many owned their own wagons and flocks of 200 to 300 sheep. One is reported to have had 1,000 sheep and 100 head of cattle. With the development of farms, and the introduction of the Land Act of 1913 (cf. p. 557), this class has been driven out. Some trekked to the already overcrowded reserves, where they lost heavily, because there was not sufficient pasturage for their stock: others drifted to towns.

On farms employer and employee are in close personal relations with each other, and the human contact tends to ease conditions. On a number of farms the lady of the house treats the servants and their families when they are ill, and often medicine is supplied free. Occasionally farmers will send their servants to hospital when ill, and pay expenses. Rations are usually given if a permanent employee is ill for a period. On one farm an old servant and his wife, no longer able to work, and without children, were allowed to live on the farm, and given a weekly ration. (Normally old persons are supported by their children.) A farmer's wife who takes an interest in her servants may make cakes for a wedding, or where there is a school, for a school concert. Where she does this the women will often bring her gifts of early green mealies, or pumpkins, from their gardens.

Other employers give none of these extras, and even cut wages if work is unsatisfactory. One man was fined because a wagon driven by him was damaged, and the damage in his employer's estimation was due to his carelessness. Another servant was fined for overstaying leave. This difference in treatment naturally affects the supply of servants available. Some farmers never have any difficulty in getting servants. Others constantly complain of labour shortage.

The most noticeable thing about the economic position of Bantu employed on European farms is that there is very little opportunity for a man to improve his position, and therefore little incentive to work. On only 5 of the 29 farms visited was a graded wage paid. All those who did pay it said that it worked extremely well, and that they had no intention of returning to the flat-rate system. Others when asked their reasons for not paying according to efficiency said, 'It is impossible to pay a graded wage.' 'It would make trouble between the servants.' 'Such a system will never work with Natives.' One or two stated that they had difficulty in getting a servant to act as 'boss boy' because he was

afraid of becoming unpopular with his fellow servants, and being bewitched by them.

On farms where a flat rate is paid a man who has worked thirty years on the farm may be allowed to run a few extra head of cattle, or be given a larger or more fertile strip of land for his garden, but he receives the same wage as a raw hand just beginning farm work. Many farmers agree that work could be done more economically with fewer and more efficient hands, but argue that they should have proof of increased efficiency before they pay higher wages. Others admit that they have efficient service, but refuse to pay more than the customary wage. One farmer told me that he had a servant who was worth £15 a month to him; the servant was getting under £1 a month. Two other farmers spoke of having had European managers who had proved unsatisfactory, and who had been replaced by Bantu. The Bantu they found much more satisfactory than the European, but they were paid not more than the ordinary labourer's wage. One farmer remarked that he had no doubt of the capacity of Bantu to do skilled work, but in his opinion it would be unwise to let them undertake it for it 'would make them cheeky'. The result of this policy is, of course, that enterprising and ambitious individuals will not remain on farms, but go to town to work.

The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union had at one time a strong branch in the location at Adelaide (the market town of the district), and also a branch in Grahamstown, the largest town in Albany. Numbers of farm servants joined the Union, although it was hotly opposed by the farmers, who are unanimous in forbidding agents of the Union to visit their servants. Farm servants who become members must do so secretly. At the Independent I.C.U. conference in 1925 it was the Adelaide delegate who proposed a resolution, unanimously carried, pressing the Government to fix a minimum wage for farm-hands and domestics of £4 per month for a man, £2 a month for a boy or a woman, and £1 10*s*. a month for a girl, plus the existing rations and perquisites. The Union has not yet succeeded in securing any advance in wages of farm-hands. Native contracts of service on farms are governed by the Masters and Servants Act, which makes it a criminal offence for the employee to break his contract of service, therefore strikes are illegal except for day labourers. Farmers have their Association, and in at least one area in the districts visited have an agreement whereby a servant dismissed by one may not be taken on by any of the others.

It is often argued that employment on farms is beneficial to Natives because there they learn improved methods of agriculture,

which they may put into practice on their own land. As has been explained, however, the great majority of servants on the farms visited were permanently employed, and had no land of their own in any reserve. In many cases where fields were allotted to employees, and not worked on shares under the supervision of the farmer, either the men had little time for their own fields, and left the cultivation of them to their wives, or else the district was unsuitable for mealies, and employees had no heart to cultivate carefully, when they seldom got any return for their labour. There was therefore little opportunity for observing whether or not techniques learnt on the farmer's fields would be used when the employee was working on his own land without supervision. However, two cases where improved methods learnt on farms, were put into practice, came to my notice. One farmer told of a servant who had left him to buy a plot, and settle in a reserve. The servant asked his former master for good seed, and afterwards told him that he had got a fair crop when his neighbours had nothing, because he had employed the dry farming methods learnt when in service, and ploughed after each shower during the winter. A man who was in charge of the irrigation on a wheat growing farm hired a piece of land from his employer, and on it planted wheat, which he irrigated as he did his employer's fields. Nowhere on farms, however, have I seen fields cultivated by servants for themselves as good as the fields in parts of the Transkei, where demonstrators are at work.

Bantu owned stock on farms is generally better than that in the reserves. On farms servants' cattle get better grazing than they would in reserves, and are served by good bulls. There is an appreciation of good stock—farm-hands like to take service with a farmer who has pedigree bulls, that the quality of their own breed may be improved—but the idea that number and not quality matters most is, as elsewhere, tenacious. Uneducated men on one farm when asked whether they would prefer eight scrub cattle or six good farm cattle as *ikhazi* for a daughter, agreed that they would choose the six good cattle, for, they said, they 'wanted milk', but this desire for better stock does not seem to have much weight in actual marriage transactions. On two farms in Albany the hens owned by servants were a better breed than the ordinary Native owned hens. They had been bought from Bantu poultry breeders, in a neighbouring reserve, Peddie.

Farmers say that a boy born and brought up on a farm is more use to them than a boy from the reserves, because he is more accustomed to regular work, and more skilled in farm work. On the other hand, skilled shearers usually come from the reserves.

On only one block of farms from which most of the servants had been to school, was the shearing done by permanent farm servants. The general level of efficiency of domestic servants is much lower than in towns. It does not seem to depend on the material so much as on the training. Travelling from farm to farm I noticed that on one farm a mistress would do practically all her own cooking, saying that her maids were incapable of doing anything, while servants on a neighbouring farm, related by blood to those declared to be incapable of learning anything, cooked, waited at table, and did the house-work efficiently.

Farmers maintain that 'the difference between a farm Native and a Transkei Native is that the farm Native is much more civilized, and knows his place'. On the other hand, Transkei residents, both European, and Bantu, look upon Bantu on farms as 'very raw'. Even on farms where Native families had lived for three generations, I could see no evidence of greater efficiency in farm work and domestic service than is to be found in average families in the Transkei or Ciskei. The one gain in efficiency that a farm-bred man has over a reserve-bred man, who has not proceeded far at school, is a better knowledge of English or Afrikaans.

CHAPTER XV

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

THE social and economic unit is the *umzi*, the patrilineal kinship group living together in a semicircle of huts. The average membership of 59 *imizi* investigated was 3·2 adults and 5 children. The nucleus of the group is the individual family—parents and minor children. Where the farmer can provide work for sons growing up it is usual for them to build their huts near that of their father on their marriage, and to continue to live as members of his *umzi*. Very often, however, a farmer cannot employ them, and they have to go elsewhere to seek work and a place to live. Moreover, the desire of sons for independence is strong, and forces which before the coming of Europeans made for family solidarity are no longer operative (cf. p. 59) so usually after a son has been married two or three years he sets up his own *umzi*. Polygyny has practically disappeared. Economic pressure, and the direct intervention of some farmers who refuse to employ polygynists, on the ground that they have too many dependents to live on the ordinary wage and ration, have killed the custom. In a study of fifty-nine *imizi* I found only one polygynous marriage.

According to the traditional custom each 'house' (*indlu*), that is, each married woman with her children, owns property, but all the members of the *umzi* feed together, food being provided from the rations and stores of each house in turn. It is considered obligatory for unmarried men and girls to hand over their earnings to their father, and most do so, but some rebel. One girl of 15 whom I met was claiming her wage of 4*s*. a month for herself. Her employers took her side, and she got the money. Married men living in their father's *umzi* should, according to the social ideal, also hand over their earnings to him, but most give it to their own wives, to be kept as the property of the house. Besides being responsible for providing food and clothing, and possibly school fees and books, for all his children, the father must provide stock for necessary ritual killings for children who are giving him their earnings, the new outfits of a son after circumcision, a wedding outfit for a daughter, and some cattle for the *ikhazi* of a son.

As in Pondoland, relatives are persons to whom it is usual to go *ukubusa* (to serve in expectation of gifts, cf. p. 135). Men being always fully employed on farms the services which were customary in return for the gift cannot be rendered; nevertheless, gifts are

asked, and sometimes given. Occasionally a father's brother assists with his brother's son's *ikhazi*, and receives in return a beast from his brother's daughter's *ikhazi*.[1] But kinship bonds with relatives on other farms are weakened by lack of leisure, restrictions which hinder visiting and the summoning of relatives to ritual killings, and the fact that relatives can often only get employment at a considerable distance from one another.

Every one is aware of what clan (*isiduko*) they belong to; clan names are used as praise names, and sexual relations with a fellow clansman is regarded as incest, but the clan has no function other than the regulation of sexual relations.

On the other hand, the ties binding neighbours who live on one farm, and work together, are strong. The women are constantly in and out of each other's huts, borrowing utensils, and gossiping. The children play together making clay oxen, hunting for wild berries, telling folk-tales, and later the boys are initiated together. Most farmers give permission for those who wish it to brew a small quantity of beer (not more than 4 gallons) for family consumption, once a month, permission never being given to more than one family at a time. But permission for a 'beer drink' (defined by statute as 'three or more persons not inmates of the kraal'—i.e. *umzi*)[2] may only be given by the district magistrate, or Native Commissioner, with the consent of the farmer on whose land it is to be held, and is rarely if ever granted. In practice the beer brewed for family use is drunk by all the adults on the farm—to refuse beer to a neighbour is in direct contravention of the Bantu moral code—but danger of being prosecuted prevents much visiting to drink on other farms.

Neighbouring farmers, particularly when related, sometimes permit their servants to come and go freely between their farms; others shut their eyes to the coming of young men to their farm for young people's dances (*intlombe*), and women and children usually visit unhindered. Where the servants are school people their children often attend school, and adults Church, school concerts, and 'tea-meetings'[3] elsewhere than on the farm on which they live, and the common activity in Church and school attendance fosters the formation of another social group centred in the Church. Nevertheless the group of neighbours on one farm is the

[1] There is some evidence which suggests that among the Xhosa it was more usual for a man to assist with a brother's son's *ikhazi* and be repaid from the brother's daughter's *ikhazi* than it was among the Pondo (cf. p. 124).

[2] Liquor Act, No. 30, 1928.

[3] Concerts at which songs are paid for, and supporters of rival choirs bid against one another for their choir to sing. Refreshments are sold. The proceeds may go to church or school, or a private individual may hold a 'tea-meeting' for his own profit (cf. p. 374).

most coherent, after the *umzi*. School people, and pagans tend to congregate on different farms.

The men of the *umzi* go off to work at sunrise. One or more of the women may be employed in kitchen, house, or dairy, but always the mistress of the *umzi*, or a daughter, or son's wife, will be left at home to cook, sweep, draw water, smear the floor, and care for the children.

A child born into this household group grows up under very similar conditions to children in the reserves. A pregnant woman goes about her normal duties, drawing water, hoeing, cleaning, and cooking, until the time of delivery. During her pregnancy she may drink the infusion of the traditional herb of her husband's clan (Pondo *isihlambezo*, Xhosa *isicakathi*),[1] but many use instead a European laxative. A Xhosa woman shaves her head 'that she may not have great pain when she is delivered'.

At the birth of the child the mother is secluded, and with pagans no man enters her hut until ten days or more have passed, and she has ground beer, 'to wash the hands', and smeared out the hut. 'They fear the *umlaza*' (ritual impurity, cf. p. 46). As soon as possible a white goat, *umbingelelo*[2] (the offering), is killed and visitors to the feast bring the child gifts of white beads (*icamagu*). 'The child will never have any health if it is not killed for.' One woman told how being poor, they had neglected to kill. The child fell ill, and her husband hastened to buy a goat for 10*s*., and perform the traditional ceremony. Christians make a feast on the day on which the child is baptized, and most kill a white goat then.

Children of pagans are treated with the traditional medicines. They are swung in the smoke of a fire of which *isifutho* leaves have been placed, and the appropriate song sung. A baby is made to wear a necklace of the hairs of the family sacred cow (*inkomo yobuluunga*), adorned with the white beads presented to it and woven with the sinew of the goat killed to secure it the blessing of the ancestors, a necklace of *tanjie* seeds or cowrie shells (*incanca*) as a teething charm, sometimes a key to 'lock up the cough'. The nursing mother nibbles charms before suckling her child, or nibbles and spits on her child when it crys. 'If she does that when she visits the *umzi* of an *igqwira* (witch or sorcerer) the witchcraft or sorcery will not enter the child.'

Such figures as have been collected suggest that the health of children on farms is distinctly better than in towns, and slightly

[1] Xhosa *izicakathi* identified are for the Tʃhezi clan: agapanthus. *Mkanzi*.

[2] Equivalent to the Pondo killing *ukubeleka*. With the Xhosa the goat must always be white, and the child is given gifts.

better than in Pondoland. Information was collected from 101 mothers, and the following figures worked out:

Average number of births per mother (married women of all ages)	7·05
Average number of children per mother dying between one year and maturity (18–20 years)	1·13
Infants dying under one year, per 1,000 births	137·64

Most of the farms visited are partly dairy farms, and there is a milk ration. Well-informed farmers told me that the birth and survival rates are noticeably lower in the adjoining Cradock district where there are no dairy farms. There is a very heavy death-rate between 1 and 5 years, but it was impossible to get sufficiently accurate information to calculate this. Pregnancies are seldom less than two years apart.

The farm baby rides on its mother's back, crawls about the hut floor, and later toddles about the *umzi*, cared for by an elder sister, or mother's sister, in exactly the same way as its contemporaries in Pondoland. Farms being fenced, there is less herding to be done than in the reserves, and small boys do not begin to have duties so young as in Pondoland, but most of the boys over 12 or 14 are employed, for at least part time, by the farmer as 'leaders' of the oxen, ploughing or drawing wagons, and driving cattle and sheep to and from pasturage. Girls of 6 begin caring for younger children, and helping their mothers with household tasks. From 14 or 15 years they are often employed in the farmer's house.

Children on farms have the reputation of being more obedient to their parents than their contemporaries in town. 'Children on farms have respect (for elders). They are not like children in town who have none.'

Population of farms is scattered, and schools for Bantu are scarce. The number of Government-aided schools in the districts studied is as follows:

District	*Area (sq. miles)*	*Bantu pop.*	*Bantu rural pop.*	*No. Govt. aided schools*	*Children*	*Teachers*	*No. Govt. aided rural schools*	*Children*	*Teachers*
Adelaide .	610	5,549	4,642	1	207	3	0	0	0
Bedford .	1,000	6,127	5,235	6	470	10	5	240	5
Albany .	1,645	17,667	11,499	9	1,393	30	3	175	4

This gives 1 school in every 203 square miles, and 1 child of every 14 inhabitants attending school, or if population and schools in

rural areas only are considered, 1 child in every 52 inhabitants attending school, and 1 teacher to every 46 children at school.[1]

On 7 of the 29 farms visited there were private schools started by, and paid for by, the servants themselves. On 2 other farms there had been such schools, but they were no longer in existence at the time of the investigation. On 7 farms (24 per cent.) there was neither a Government-aided nor a private school within 6 miles. The private schools are usually run by a girl or a woman on the farm who has learned to read and write, and who takes pupils at 6*d.* a month per child. One such teacher was a deformed girl who had learned to read and write from another girl who had been to school. In one or two cases parents had engaged a trained teacher, and raised the salary among themselves by subscriptions and 'tea-meetings'. One private school with a trained teacher was attended by 49 children. Several of the schools now getting Government grants started as private schools. All the private schools were of course anxious to get grants, but none were available even for a school with 49 children. On 3 farms one of the men servants who could read and write ran a night school. The enterprise in starting schools, and the self-denial shown in the payment of 6*d.* per month per child out of a wage of 10*s.* a month, is proof of the eagerness for education.

'School people' predominate, and schools flourish, in one area—the foot-hills of the Winterberg—while in the lower bushveld pagans predominate, and there are very few schools outside town locations. It is significant that the area in which schools flourish, and people are progressive in housing, and growing new crops, is the area in which the comparatively wealthy 'half-share people' lived, and in which the economic condition of servants is best.

The attitude of farmers towards schools varies enormously. Some are sympathetic, providing a building, or allowing servants time off to build a school hut, and occasionally contributing towards the salary of the teacher. One lady herself ran a night school for her servants, and is now famous as having the best servants in the district, capable of doing the necessary reading and writing to keep records of pedigree stock. Some say that it is good for the children to be occupied, and that there is more discipline, and better manners among them when there is a teacher to look after them. Others regard a school as a hotbed of trouble, saying that all the children of the district come to live on the farm on which there is a school, and their elders quarrel about the teacher's salary. Some disapprove of education for Bantu on principle, maintaining

[1] *Census Report*, 1921. *Educational Statistics*, 1930. The population is probably higher than the figures given.

that the capacity to read and write unfits a man for farm work. One naïvely remarked, 'The trouble about educated Natives is that they go to law about things. They know exactly what to do.' Others again want the labour of all the children, and refuse to allow them to attend school, even although they are within reach of one.

Farmers' views on the desirability of 'school Natives' as servants also vary considerably. Many profess a preference for 'raw' Natives in general, but admit some particular exception, who is always in their own employ. One typical opinion was, 'I prefer an old raw Kafir. When educated they get too cheeky. But I have two very good educated boys here. One drives the car; the other I leave in charge of my lower farm. I have had a number of white men there but this boy is much better. I can trust him more than I ever would a white man.' Another, 'Give me the old "red" (pagan) every time. But I've got one boy here who is the best servant I have ever had. He has passed Standard VI and looks after the car and things like that.'

Some definitely like to employ 'school people'. One said, 'School Natives steal much less than "reds".' Another, 'The labour is much more efficient than it used to be, and there is less thieving. The old "red" would steal anything. But you must feed them decently.' A man who had worked as manager on a farm where the servants were 'school people', and then had come to one on which they were pagans, said, 'I much preferred the "school people" to work with. They were more intelligent and reliable.' Another, 'The dressed people learn much quicker than the raw people.' Another who had hitherto employed 'raw' people, but had recently taken on a man and wife from a reserve, who had both passed Standard VI said of them, 'They are the best servants we have ever had.'

When I remarked to one farmer who would employ none but 'school people' that some of his neighbours preferred what they called 'a real raw Kafir', he replied, 'What they mean is that they want one who has undergone the moral discipline of tribalism, and that is impossible under farm conditions. I once had a raw boy long ago who lifted the soil on to the spade with his hands instead of digging with it. None of the farm labour is really unskilled.' That is the truth in a nutshell.

Besides a few schools after the European pattern, there are some remnants of the old tribal educational system. Boys between 18 and 20 all go to a circumcision school. Xhosa, Fingo, and Thembu and Basuto had not dropped the custom before coming under European control, as had the Pondo and Zulu, and in spite

of the opposition of missions (Church members of most denominations are forbidden to allow their sons to attend circumcision schools) and restrictions of law and economic condition, every man on the farms visited had been through the school. Farmers are loath to give permission for strangers to visit their farm, so except occasionally when relatives on neighbouring farms secure permission to combine, a separate school is held on each farm, which all the boys of an age to be initiated irrespective of their tribe attend. Sometimes one boy goes through the ceremonies alone. Xhosa are in the majority on farms, and as far as I could discover the procedure followed is the traditional Xhosa procedure, although it is possible that on one or two farms the Fingo pattern is followed. Such data as has been published on Xhosa, Fingo, and Thembu initiation ceremonies[1] goes to show that they differ only in detail. The Suto and Pondo families found living on farms have mostly been so far assimilated that they are to all intents and purposes Xhosa or Fingo, and their sons attend the initiation schools, although they remember their origin.

About March the men and women of the farm build a hut after the old beehive pattern at some distance from any *umzi*. On a Sunday afternoon a beast, failing that a goat, is killed ritually at the *umzi* of a senior man on the farm, and each candidate given a piece of meat from the right foreleg (*intsonyama*, cf. p. 249). No woman may eat of the meat of this goat. The boys go to a river to wash, and are anointed with medicines. Their heads, and the heads of girls who are their contemporaries, are shaved, 'that they may leave behind their dirt' (*intsila*). After shaving these girls will no longer sweetheart (*ukumetʃha*) with uncircumcised boys, but only with circumcised men. Each boy puts on a necklace of the hairs made from the sacred cow (*inkomo yobuluunga*) of his father, as an appeal to his ancestors (cf. p. 235). This, it is said, will give him health and the wisdom of the ancestors (*ubulumko bezinyanya*). The operation is performed near their hut, or sometimes with Fingos, in a kraal. One man is appointed as *inkankata* (nurse) in charge of the boys. For three weeks they remain in seclusion in their hut. No woman may approach it. Until the wounds of all are healed none may speak with a woman. After they are healed they may speak with girls, but not until they come out may they see, or speak with, a 'mother', that is a mother of one of them, or a sister or contemporary of the mother of one of them. During the seclusion they are smeared with white clay and wear white

[1] J. H. Soga, *The AmaXosa: Life and Customs*; Col. Maclean, *Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*; F. Brownlee, 'The Circumcision Ceremony in Fingoland', *Man*, Nov. 1931.

blankets. If by chance they should meet a 'mother' when on the veld they pull the blanket over head and face. One woman is chosen to cook for the boys and leaves food, with firewood and water, at some distance from their hut.[1] Certain food taboos are observed, all soft foods such as pumpkin, green mealies, &c., being avoided.

The dancing contests between rival schools of initiates which play such a big part in the initiation ceremonial in the reserves are apparently never held, and the dancing skirts and masks not made. The traditional dance *ukutʃhila* is prohibited by law,[2] farmers forbid large gatherings on their farms, and men have not the leisure to form the necessary audience. On the afternoon (usually a Saturday) when the initiates are to come out, however, the men always ask for a half holiday. The initiates are chased from their hut to the river by the men. If they are caught before they reach the river they are beaten, and must remain in seclusion for some time longer. If they gain the river without being caught they wash there, smear themselves with fat and red clay, and don new clothes provided by their parents. Their hut is fired, and all their old garments burned in it. Leaving it to return to an *umzi*, no boy must look back. At an *umzi* they are received with singing and dancing and given presents—a fowl, a goat, *6d.* or *1s.*—by the women, and beads and tobacco by the girls. Each mother must give a present that she 'may see her son'. Beer is usually provided. The initiated are exhorted by older men as to their future duties and behaviour. 'They are told to put off childish things, and they are told that when their father dies they must look after their mother as their father did.' On one farm I visited the sons of pagans and Christians were initiated together, but on coming out they gathered with their friends in separate huts. In one there was beer and dancing, in the other hymns and prayers.

After coming out the initiates resume their normal life, but after three months they require a second new outfit. The discarded garments may be given to old men and women of their own families, but must not be taken by a virile man or child-bearing woman. According to informants the old custom of *ukusula*, ritual sexual union after circumcision, has been dropped.

Although not under the authority of any chief, boys initiated on farms call themselves after some Xhosa, Fingo, or Thembu chief initiated that year. They are the people of So-and-so's year.

[1] A few years ago in a reserve in the King William's Town district the mother of a boy in the circumcision school, when drunk, approached close to the hut in which her son and others were secluded. She was killed by them for breaking the taboo.

[2] Act 16, 1891. The law does not apply to the Transkei and is not enforced in Ciskeian reserves.

On farms where Xhosa predominate they will take the name of none but a Xhosa chief. Where there is a mixture of tribes they may take the name of a chief of either of the three tribes mentioned.

Here we see an attempt to carry out the traditional ceremonial in spite of hampering restriction. Elements have been dropped or modified under pressure of administration and economic condition. The period of seclusion is curtailed, the large gatherings for feasting and dancing contests no longer take place, the technique of making the dancing skirts and masks is lost, and the whole character of the ceremony is changed when one boy is initiated alone instead of being one of an age and territorial group. But much of the old ritual survives.

The initiation of girls is rarely carried out on farms. The *intonjane* (initiation) dance is prohibited by law,[1] beer is essential for the Xhosa initiation ceremonial, and if permission to brew is applied for the magistrates refuse it on the ground that the initiation ceremonial is illegal. Pagans believe that the health of their daughters, both before and after marriage, is dependent upon their proper initiation, and they bitterly resent the restrictions preventing the performance of the custom. I inquired of a mother with grown-up daughters if her family were healthy. She replied, 'How can we be healthy when we are not allowed to *ukuthombisa*?' (To perform the initiation ceremonies for a girl.) Elsewhere it was said, 'What is troubling us is that we cannot *ukuthombisa* our daughters.' Church members never initiate their daughters after the pagan fashion, but substitute a seclusion and 'party' before marriage at which a goat is sometimes killed (cf. p. 215). That this is done with the same purpose as the initiation of pagans is shown by the remark of a mother, a Church member, 'If a party is not made for a girl before she marries, she will not have a child, or if she has one it will be sick. She must go to her own home and have a party made for her, and then she will be well.' And again, 'If a girl is "carried" (see below) and no party is made for her before her marriage, she must return home shortly, and the party must be made, otherwise she will fall ill.'

Although most pagan girls on farms are necessarily married without being initiated, it is still considered a great disgrace for a girl to have a child by a boy not yet circumcised.

Girls from ten or twelve, and boys from twelve or fourteen, begin to go to *intlombe* (young people's dances) which are held in areas in which pagans predominate most Saturday nights. Young people from two or three farms gather, and spend the night dancing and singing and *ukumetʃha* (cf. p. 180), but if the hymen

[1] Act 16, 1891 (does not apply to Transkei and is not enforced in Ciskeian reserves).

of a girl is ruptured, damages are demanded from the boy responsible. In the Christian community *ukumetʃha* is frowned upon, and there are no *intlombe* where all are 'school people', but the young people meet at school concerts, weddings, &c., and *ukumetʃha* is common among them also.

On most of the farms visited premarital pregnancy was rare. On only three was it at all usual, and two of these were within six miles of a town. From the third many girls had gone to town to work. In Albany district at least, the custom of examination of girls is strictly kept. On one farm a daughter of 'school people' who had an illegitimate child was shunned by all, and other women refused to work in the house if she were taken back as a maid.

Ukumetʃha within the clan is regarded as very wrong, but I did not discover whether or not the taboo is strictly kept. I heard of no case of marriage within the clan.

Love magic is used as in Pondoland to gain, retain, and avenge love. An ex-teacher speaking of the community of 'school people' said, 'Girls do not use love medicine (*ubulawu*) until they get over twenty, and cannot find a husband, and a man does not use it unless he has been turned down by a lot of girls', but probably in the pagan community it is used more. Cases of girls becoming hysterical are common. It is believed that they have been *ukuphosela*, that is, that magic has been worked against them by a jilted lover, or a man whose advances they would not accept. One girl I met was so hysterical that a diviner was called in from a distance to treat her, and a goat killed to entertain him. A hand on another farm, a married man, was believed to have *ukuphosela* three different girls on neighbouring farms by rubbing together two medicated sticks and mentioning the girls' names.

Among pagan people the most usual form of marriage is *ukuthwala*. The man, aided by his friends, carries off the girl he wants to his father's *umzi*, then reports her whereabouts to her people, and opens negotiations regarding *ikhazi*. If her people agree to the match the groom's father kills a goat ritually, the bride is given a certain piece of the meat to eat, and the marriage consummated. The *ikhazi* cattle are handed over in instalments. The bride, shortly after her marriage, goes home to fetch a few household utensils and clothes—a dress, headkerchief, blanket, and sleeping-mat for herself (cf. p. 200).

Sometimes marriages are arranged beforehand. Restrictions regarding the entertaining of visitors and brewing of beer, and the fact that men have little leisure, make it impossible to carry out the full Xhosa marriage ceremonial, but a modified ritual is performed. The bride is brought to the groom's home by a party

of friends (*uduli*), a goat is killed 'to bring them off the mountain', and later another goat is killed to mark the marriage. For such an *umtʃhato* ceremony the bride brings more clothing and household utensils with her than she does if she has been 'carried'. It is believed that if the *umtʃhato* ceremony is omitted the ancestors may inflict illness on the woman for whom it should have been performed, and sometimes a girl who has been 'carried' returns home years later to collect a wedding outfit, and be taken as a bride to her husband's home by a party of friends, where the appropriate ritual killings are made and gifts presented to her husband's relatives. For one woman whose child was ill the *umtʃhato* ceremony was hastily performed. Another wife, with a grown-up daughter, was sent home to collect a wedding outfit that the ceremony might be performed.

Whether a girl has been 'carried' or brought by a party of friends, she cannot drink milk of her husband's *umzi* until a white goat or a beast has been killed, and she has been given to drink ritually by her husband's father, elder brother, sister, or father's sister. With the Xhosa this ceremony is usually performed shortly after the marriage is consummated.

When funds are lacking for a grand wedding, 'school people' sometimes also *ukuthwala*, but they prefer that the marriage should be arranged beforehand and solemnized in church. The procedure is the same as in Pondoland. Negotiations are made with the girl's father, and at least part of the *ikhazi* handed over. The girl is secluded for ten days or more, and her contemporaries summoned to a 'party' at which meat, sweets, tea, &c., are provided, a religious ceremony is performed in a church, there is a feast at the girl's home and one at the groom's home, and later a goat is killed at the groom's home, and she is given the milk of her husband's *umzi*. At one wedding I attended only the groom, bride's father, and two or three other men had got leave for the day, so those at the church ceremony, and the parade in the *inkundla* at the bride's home, were mainly women, but in the evening men and boys came from neighbouring farms, and there was feasting, hymn-singing, and dancing. Girls danced the same dances as those performed at weddings of 'school people' in Pondoland, but the most popular men's dance was the Hottentot *askoek*. (On a number of farms Hottentots, as well as Bantu, are employed; the young people go to the same dances, and Hottentot influence is observable in the Bantu dancing.) Guests arriving asked anxiously if there were plenty to eat and received the comfortable assurance that they would be 'sated'. Nine goats had been killed, and beside the meat, potatoes, rice, curry, coffee, sugar, and bread baked in specially

built outside ovens was provided. 'School people' on farms are said sometimes to spend as much as £40 or £50 on a wedding, and often are heavily in debt after one.

The bride takes with her gifts for her husband's parents and sisters, and household utensils and clothing for herself. The wedding outfit of a girl married from one farm on which the economic position of servants was comparatively good, was as follows:[1]

For Self
8 dresses
3 shawls
8 blouses
4 petticoats
2 pinafores
3 handkerchiefs
Wedding shoes
Bucket
Kettle
Coffee-pot
Tea-pot
Cooking-pot
Grid-iron
Wash-basin
6 spoons
3 tin dishes
6 cups
4 plates
2 sleeping-mats
1 mattress
2 sheets
2 pillows
3 pillow-cases
1 towel
1 lamp
1 box

Gifts for in-laws

Groom's father
Jersey
Cup
Plate
Comb
Axe
Towel
Looking-glass

Groom's mother
Frock
3 sleeping-mats
Shawl
Headkerchief
5 tin dishes
11 cups
1 towel
6 plates

Groom's father's sister
Frock
Plate
Sleeping-mat

Groom's sister
Frock
Sleeping-mat
Plate
Cup
Handkerchief

Money gifts
£1 10*s.* 'Money of the girls' (to groom's sisters)
5*s.* 'Money of the greybeard' (to groom's father)
£1 'To enter the house' (to groom's mother)
5*s.* 'The switch' or 'Money of the bottle' (to groom's father)

The gifts from the groom's group to that of the bride are *ikhazi* cattle (seven or eight head when there has been an *umtʃhato*, and the bride has brought a big outfit and gifts, four to six head when she has been 'carried') and a bottle of brandy, 'the switch'. The *ikhazi* is usually given on farms entirely in stock.

That marriage is still very much the concern of families, as well as of individuals, was shown by the remark of a woman about her son's wife. 'Yes, I saw her in Xhosaland. I *ukulobola* her.' On one farm a young man was about to be married to a girl whom he had never seen, but he was content since his emissary, who had made the arrangements, had given a good report of her.

After marriage the bride usually lives for at least a year with her husband's mother, and while she does so the traditional avoidances are carefully observed. The pagan bride avoids the

[1] Information from bride's mother.

men's portion of her husband's mother's hut (with the Xhosa the back of the hut), the *inkundla*, and the cattle-kraal, or the space where it would be if there is none. She never bares her head, and wears her kerchief low over her forehead. 'She must not cross the *inkundla* even when it is dark, because the ancestor spirits are there.' She avoids the name of her husband's father and other senior male relatives, and words similar to their names. The daughter of 'school people' usually avoids only the bed or sleeping-place of her husband's father and the cattle-kraal, but goes elsewhere in the hut and *inkundla*. She avoids his name, but may write it and use words similar to it.

The fear of *umlaza* (ritual impurity) remains strong, and those with it carefully avoid any contact with cattle lest they should harm them. They refuse milk even in tea, and are careful not to walk where cattle may cross their spoor, or to step over a trek chain. A Xhosa woman avoids going to a river to draw water when menstruating, and if she has to cross one she smears some mud from the river bed on to her throat and forehead.[1] If she fails to do this when she is menstruating 'the flow will never cease', and she is in danger of being 'eaten by the river', and coming out in a rash.

When an avoidance taboo is broken a woman is sometimes *ukuconozisa* (cf. p. 44) and has to return to her own home to fetch a goat and a bottle of brandy as an offering.

Social changes are reflected in language and folk-lore; the following tale (*intsomi*), when compared with the form in which it is told in Pondoland, epitomizes the differences between life on farms and in Pondoland.

When I first asked on farms for *iintsomi* the women were unwilling to tell them. I inquired whether they were afraid that horns would come out in their heads if they told them, since it was daytime. They looked at one another, and said, 'She knows the old things. But that does not really happen. When Mafolo told a story by day nothing happened to her.' Then another said, 'There is so much sorrow and hardness here now, we have no time to remember *iintsomi*'. But Jane, a girl of 18 who had grown up on a farm, and who had been to school, told this tale. Her audience of women and children was thrilled by it, and made the appropriate exclamations of surprise and assent at dramatic intervals. (Translated from Xhosa.)

A man went to a European to ask for work. He said, 'I know everything, I can do everything.' The European said, 'All right, all right, all right!' and he engaged him. The European said, 'Go to that

[1] I did not hear of Pondo women smearing themselves with mud, but cf. confession of *umlaza* before crossing a full river, p. 312.

European in the big white house over there, and fetch a horse.' The man set out. On his way he met a mouse. The mouse said, 'Where are you going.' The man said, 'To that big white house over there.' The mouse said, 'Ho! Ho! That is the house of Satan, you will be killed by Satan.' And the mouse said, 'Give me some bread.' So he gave the mouse some bread. And he arrived at Satan's and entered the stable, and then Satan came in, and he had fire and smoke coming out of his nostrils. And the man hid, so that Satan did not see him. Then a cock crowed three times, and Satan fled. The man returned with a horse to his master, and the European said, 'Oh, good boy, good boy, good boy!' After dinner the European said, 'I want you to fetch the other horse, from Satan's.' On his way the man met a hare. The hare said, 'Where are you going?' The man replied, 'To Satan's.' The hare said, 'Satan will kill you.' Then the hare asked for some bread, and the man gave him some. The man arrived at Satan's and entered the stable. Presently Satan came to look for the man who was stealing his horses. The man hid so that Satan did not see him, but Satan sat down and waited a whole day watching for him. Then at nightfall, when Satan went away, the man came out with the four horses and galloped back with them to his European. The European said, 'Oh, good boy, good boy! Now if you will only go and get Satan himself you shall have everything that is mine, my cattle, and house and shop, and everything.' So the man set out, and on his way he met a little mouse. The mouse said, 'Where are you going?' The man replied, 'To Satan's to fetch him himself.' The mouse said, 'Oh, he will kill you.' Then the mouse asked for some bread, and the man gave it to him. At Satan's house the man came face to face with Satan himself. And Satan had fire shooting out of his ears and mouth. The man struggled with him, and at length threw him into a big black box and shut down the lid. Then he hoisted the box on his shoulders and went back to his European. Fire and smoke were coming out of the cracks in the box. Then the European got out his motor, and put the black box in it, and drove off to the sea, and threw Satan into it. And the European went away, and left everything to his servant. And the man lived comfortably, and never had to work, and his children grew up, and his eldest son married. That is the end of the story.

The theme is a usual one in Xhosa and Pondo folk-tales. In the older versions the young man is set impossible tasks by the father of a beautiful girl, whom he eventually wins in marriage, or else he is a young chief who woos the beautiful daughter of an ogre, and has hair-raising adventures before he succeeds in carrying her off. In older versions also, the moral that the hero's success was the result of his generosity with food is more dwelt upon. The wealthy European employer with his house, store, motor, and tendency to go to the sea when in difficulty, horses and stables, Satan, and the magical effect of the cock crowing thrice, reflect the European environment.

CHAPTER XVI

RELIGIOUS AND MAGICAL BELIEFS

The ancestor cult.

ON farms, as in the reserves, there is a belief in the continued existence of the dead who become spirits (*amathongo*),[1] on the whole favourable to their descendants and capable of blessing them, but who may inflict illness if kinsmen fail to fulfil mutual duties, if certain traditional observances are not performed, and also when they (the *amathongo*) are 'hungry' (*balambile*). Appeal is made to the ancestors through the wearing of the tail hairs of a particular cow, *inkomo yobuluunga*, and through ritual killings. As in the reserves, every pagan *umzi* has its own *inkomo yobuluunga*, and hairs are worn during dangerous periods of life—infancy, circumcision, pregnancy—and in cases of illness when the patient has 'seen', or 'hankers after', wearing the hairs, or has been ordered to do so by a diviner. Often it is worn by girls suffering from menstrual pain. I saw also many church members and adherents and their children wearing the hairs discreetly wrapped up in a piece of cloth, or sewn into the hem of a garment. Boys of Christian families being initiated wear them as do their pagan contemporaries.

When a farm hand has no cattle of his own he sometimes takes hairs from the tail of one of his employer's cows. It was explained that 'the hair should be from the man's own cow, but if he has no cow, the boss's cow will do'. Other informants maintained that no health could come from hairs from the boss's cow.

With the Xhosa the putting on of a necklace of the hairs is often accompanied by the killing of a white goat and calling upon the ancestors. One old man described how it had been done for his married daughter who was ill, and who had been advised by a diviner to go to her home to get a necklace of *inkomo yobuluunga* hair, and have a white goat killed. She sat just inside the door of the hut. A white goat was brought and kept in the doorway until it passed water. Informant stood in the *inkundla* and called upon his ancestors, saying: 'People of Nteße, people of Mvamba, people of Bake, people of Holwayo, of Kata, and you grandmothers (*omakhulu*), we ask that you will make this child well! The thanksgiving (*icamagu*) has been made. Return ye with blessing! People

[1] *Iminyanya* is the word generally used by Xhosa people on farms, but to avoid confusion I retain the word *amathongo*, which is that commonly used in Pondoland. The two are identical in meaning.

of Gqashe we ask of you.' Immediately the goat was killed. This was done in the late afternoon. Next day guests came to eat the meat and beer provided. Each guest brought a small gift of white beads called *icamagu* (the thanksgiving) and presented them to the patient. They were strung on the sinew of the goat which was killed, and made into a necklace with the hairs of the *inkomo yobuluunga* of the *umzi*. When the patient put on the necklace informant called again upon the *amathongo*. He and his family were Church adherents, but, he explained, 'We still keep the *amasiko* (customs) although we have been converted'.

The traditional ritual killings at birth, initiation of males, and marriage are, as we have seen, generally performed by pagans, and with a modified ritual by most Church members and adherents. The traditional ceremonial for the initiation of females is prohibited by law, and seldom performed, but 'school people' very often kill a goat during the seclusion of a bride. After a death both pagans and Church members usually kill on the day of the funeral 'to wash', and when a man, or a married woman of standing, has died, they kill again 'to accompany him' (or her). If possible a beast is killed after the death of a man. A goat will do for a woman. Only poor people omit this killing altogether. 'We kill after death when we have something, but times are hard now. We have no goats.' 'School people' like to provide tea or coffee at the funeral feast, as well as meat.

The belief that health depends upon the proper observance of these ritual killings is strong. One man said, 'We have no health here because we cannot carry out our customs (*amasiko*).' An old woman said: 'It is because the customs are not observed that people become ill. People say that it is *isifo kaThixo* (sickness of God, i.e. sent by God) or illness caused by witchcraft or sorcery, but we know that it is really due to failure to observe the customs.' 'We know that the *amathongo* will send sickness if we do not "accompany" a dead person, if we do not make them go home.' 'How can I be well if I do not keep the customs?' 'We can have no health if we do not keep the customs. Xhosa[1] was created with the customs.' When asked whether the customs were still performed on farms a woman replied: 'How should they not be performed? Were we not created with them?' An ex-teacher remarked that she 'had noticed that it is always those who have thrown aside the old customs who get ill'. A man complaining of the prohibition on beer brewing, and farmers' discouragement of ritual killings, said: 'And there are *amasiko* in the Bible'.

Others are sceptical of the efficacy of ritual killings. 'Sometimes

[1] The traditional progenitor of the tribe.

a person is made better by the performance of the custom, sometimes not.'

Ritual killings in case of illness are not very frequent. The majority of Bantu on farms are Xhosa, and with them beer is a more essential part of the ritual of an *idini* (cf. p. 240) than it is with the Pondo, and on some farms permission to brew beer is never given. Many Church members and adherents who regularly kill at birth, puberty, marriage, and death, will not kill in cases of sickness, maintaining that an *idini* is a pagan observance, whereas the other killings are merely meat for festivals. Nevertheless, I came across a number of people for whom *amadini* had been made on farms. Very similar to the *idini* is the Xhosa custom (as distinct from Pondo) of killing *ukulungisa umzi* (to put right the *umzi*) when there is general ill-health of man, or beast, or crops, of the *umzi*. This is also sometimes performed on farms. When a ritual killing is made the traditional ceremonial is, as far as possible, carried out. Often on farms there is no kraal in front of the huts. Some kill in the open space where the kraal should be. Others carefully erect a kraal for the occasion. Xhosa are careful to eat all the meat of a beast killed ritually in the *umzi* in which it is killed on the day on which it is killed, and to collect all the bones and burn them.

There are cases of illness diagnosed as due to the *amathongo*, wishing the patient to become initiated (*ukuthwasa*) as a diviner. These persons usually go to a reserve for treatment and teaching, but the ritual killings which form part of the initiation are sometimes made at their homes on farms. The ritual killing at a river (*ukunikela emlanjeni*), found among some clans in Pondoland, is never performed by farm-hands, but many spoke of 'the People of the River', whom, some say, are ancestral spirits. A girl from a farm who was drowned in the Koonap River was said to have been 'called by the river'. Some maintain that those who call are the 'people of the river', others that there is a crocodile which calls a person. Informants were agreed that there are still crocodiles in the rivers near them; actually crocodiles have long been exterminated in these districts.

Amputation of a finger-joint (*ingqithi*), though not very usual, is occasionally done. One man explained that he had cut his children's fingers 'because they were not growing well' (the family was consumptive) and that since it had been done they were better. He performed the operation in the kraal, and while he did it said: 'May they be well, may they be watched over!' It was necessary, he maintained, because it was the *isiko* of his *umzi*. We see then that the ritual observances in connexion with the ancestral spirits,

although modified by poverty, Government and employers' regulations, and Christian teaching, are commonly performed on farms, and the belief in the power of the ancestors is strong. How the ancestor cult functions as a sanction for respect for elders has been shown in Chapter V. It is significant that on farms where the cult is still generally practised, the respect for elders is greater than in towns, where it is decaying.

Witchcraft and magic.

On farms, as in Pondoland, belief in witchcraft and magic centres in the desire for health: witchcraft and sorcery are thought to cause sickness and death; magic is used for protection and cure. Some illness is attributed to the ancestral spirits; some is regarded as 'illness of God'; but most disease is attributed to witchcraft or sorcery. As in Pondoland, the diagnosis depends upon the feelings of the patient or his family, dreams, and, where a diviner is consulted, the latter's statement. Church members and adherents tend to attribute more to 'illness of God' than do pagans, but they also very often believe death to have been caused by the ancestors or by magic. One Church member said: 'Often people are said to have been killed by magic when it is not so, but there is such a thing as witchcraft and sorcery.' Another said: 'There is witchcraft and sorcery. We read about it in the Bible.' A 'school' woman, when asked if she were afraid of witches and sorcery, replied: 'Who would not be afraid of people who kill?'

Farm residents believe that more witchcraft and sorcery is practised in the reserves than on farms. This is probably due to the fact that within recent years there has been great poverty in the Ciskeian reserves, and a very heavy death-rate, particularly among children, and that those who move cattle from farms to the reserves loose most of them because the Ciskeian Native commonages are grazed bare. 'Many people are afraid to go to Xhosaland because people die there much, and they are thought to be killed by witchcraft or sorcery.' 'They just go there and die.' An old man said: 'Have you ever seen my contemporaries in Xhosaland? There *Mamlambo* stares at the old cattle (i.e. persons) and they die. It is not good. An old person should be called by God.' Some people do not wish to go to Xhosaland because they say 'people there practise witchcraft and sorcery so much.' Others who come from Xhosaland say that such talk is nonsense, and return to reserves happily. A woman teacher in a farm school, whose home was in Xhosaland, was annoyed when I mentioned the idea that reserves had a reputation for witchcraft. She said that she was going backwards and forwards continually, and she 'found

people the same in both places'. Another woman said: 'Some people say that there are more witches and sorcerers in Xhosaland than here, but it is only because more are "smelt out" there. Just as many are here, but if one tries to smell them out one is imprisoned.' Towns, on the other hand, are regarded as being healthier than farms. One man who had been away to work volunteered to me that what he 'liked about Capetown was that so few people commit witchcraft and sorcery there'. Another said that he 'liked town because *impundulu* and *ichanti* are scarce there'.

The methods of witchcraft and sorcery believed to be used are similar to those spoken of in Pondoland. I spent an afternoon with a young woman who had been born and brought up on a farm, trained as a teacher in Capetown, taught, and later married on a farm, and heard from her and a neighbour (also a Church member) of local beliefs as to methods of *ukuthakatha*. Being Church members they were careful to preface their remarks with, 'It is said that', but it was obvious from the tone of voice and gesture that they were speaking of what they themselves believed. They told of *Thikolo∫e* who is sent by witches to scratch their enemies, and insert poison (*u6uhlungu*) into the scratches so that they have pains all through the body, or to put poison into their ears so that they become deaf. *Thikolo∫e* is his owner's paramour. Sometimes he is seen by children. On one farm a boy burst in the door of a hut fleeing from him. 'We know that *Thikolo∫e* must exist. How would people talk about him otherwise?' 'When a woman gets a *Thikolo∫e* (as a familiar) she is scarified by another who has him. That person puts poison in the scarifications, and then *Thikolo∫e* will go with that woman who is scarified. A woman gets *impundulu* in the same way.' The *impaka* is also sent to scratch people and poison the scratches. The *impundulu* sucks people's blood, or kicks them so that they have pains in back and chest, and spit blood. 'When it thunders on the day of a girl's wedding, it is said that she had an *impundulu*.' A charm (*ikhu6alo*) is bought by men from foreigners—Zulus, Shangaans, or Malays—in towns, which turns into a beautiful girl, with whom the owner has sexual relations, but who will cause the death of his relatives. This is *Mamlambo*.' 'She may appear as a looking-glass, a chair, a hair-pin, a belt-pin, but if any one picks one of these things up it may turn into *Mamlambo* who will come to their homes and kill people there.' 'Before picking up anything you may see lying on the road you must hit it, in case it is *Mamlambo*. If it is *Mamlambo* it will cry.' *Ichanti* also is talked about. 'If you see something like a dish at the river you must take no notice. It might be an *ichanti*. It may look like bees, or a horn, or anything.' One who has 'leant up against'

(i.e. seen) an *ichanti* is liable to fall ill, and must not touch sour milk until treated. Any who cross the spoor of an *ichanti* are liable to get rheumatism.

On every farm there was mention of these 'familiars' and of cases of illness believed to be due to their use or to sorcery. One woman had been bitten by a venomous brown snake (*inkwakwa*). Sometimes, she told me, snakes bite people of their own volition, but in this case the *inkwakwa* had been sent by a neighbour, a woman who was jealous of her because she was diligent. A boy was very ill; he had been lying on his mat for days. A diviner was called in who gave the patient an emetic, then produced a lizard which he said had been put inside the patient by an enemy, and had now been retched up. A circumcised boy whose wound was slow in healing was said to be 'killed' by a sister of a contemporary.

A pagan woman spoke of a cause of illness of which I have not heard elsewhere. She said that sometimes children are 'just ill' (i.e. ill from natural causes), sometimes they are 'made ill by a person', and sometimes they are 'ridden by Satan'. Satan, she said, is not sent by any person. The remark shows the growth of a belief in a new supernatural cause of illness, resulting from contact with Europeans.

The magic of protection and cure is also similar to that in Pondoland. The charms for children and nursing mothers have been mentioned. *Imizi* are treated to protect them against witchcraft and sorcery. Anything struck by lightning is carefully avoided, and those connected with it treated. The poorest family, Church members or pagans, will summon a herbalist to treat it if a beast of the *umzi* has been struck. One family spent 10*s*. on food for the practitioner called in to treat their *umzi* after a goat belonging to it had been struck by lightning. Another family was in great concern because some of their children had eaten of a sheep which had been struck. Farmers have difficulty in getting any animal which has been struck buried, much less skinned.

Of the magic for success in uncertain enterprises I heard less on farms than elsewhere, but love magic is certainly used (cf. p. 531), and a servant who gains favour with an employer is often believed by his fellow servants to have done so by the use of charms.

Diviners and herbalists.

The diviners (*amaggira*) and herbalists (*amaxhwele*) consulted by farm servants mostly live in town locations or in reserves. I heard of only three living on farms. Since most farmers will permit no man not fully employed by them to live on their farm, divination and medicine can only be a spare-time activity with male residents.

Servants who are ill sometimes get leave off to consult a doctor; in serious cases one may be summoned to a farm, and then besides treating the case for which he has been summoned, he may be called in by neighbours, who take advantage of his being near. On one farm on which all the servants were 'school people' practice was so good that a visiting doctor stayed a week. Sometimes doctors go on professional tours, but those who do so are looked upon with some suspicion. 'A proper doctor should be found at his home, and you go there to fetch him.' Most who are diagnosed as 'ill to be initiated' go to a reserve for treatment and teaching, although the necessary ritual killings are, if possible, performed at their own homes. In two cases when there was a diviner who could conduct the initiation living near, women had gone through all the ceremonies while at their homes on farms.

The extent to which farm servants consult diviners and herbalists is necessarily limited, for they usually have to go a distance to get one: leave is sparingly given to persons employed, and many employers refuse to have a Native doctor on their farms on the ground that he 'stirs up trouble among the people'. 'He upsets the servants and puts ideas into their heads, telling them that they must initiate their daughters and make beer.' European doctors are usually as accessible as Native diviners and herbalists, and there is a growing belief in the efficacy of their medicines, and in the number of their patients. But it is believed that some cases cannot be cured by a European 'because he does not understand the cause of the illness' (i.e. witchcraft or sorcery, or the intervention of the ancestors). 'When a person is very ill and takes medicine and does not get better, then we know that the illness must be "sent".' Then a diviner is usually consulted.

One family I found about to leave a farm on which they had lived for three generations because a member had been accused of witchcraft, and their huts had been burned by neighbours. But public accusations are rare, since on farms European authorities are near, and imputation of witchcraft or sorcery is a serious offence. On one farm a number of children had died of pneumonia, and a diviner from a reserve fifty miles away had been consulted. He accused the 'boss boy' on the farm of having killed the children by witchcraft. The accused was furious, and threatened to lay evidence with the police. The diviner (who had come to the farm to 'smell out') fled and the accused retained his position.

European farmers themselves consult Native diviners about missing stock. A diviner, Jajula, who lives in the King William's Town district (a reserve) is consulted by many. Farmers told of information he had given concerning missing stock, which it

seemed impossible for him to have got by even a highly organized intelligence service.

The methods of divination ordinarily employed are those described for Pondoland, but on one farm I found a Msuto, who had been initiated in Basutoland, with a flourishing practice in divination with bones. His clients were people of the surrounding districts, Bantu and European, to whom divination with bones was new.

Christianity.

The majority of servants of twelve (41·3 per cent.) of the farms visited were Church members or adherents. On all the farms with a majority of Christians there was a mission church within six miles, visited at regular intervals by a European or Bantu missionary. On three farms I heard of men servants who acted as lay preachers. On two there were women who conducted a weekly women's prayer meeting. Many earnestly believe and attempt to act upon the Gospel teaching, but practically all Church members and adherents also continue to hold and act upon the traditional beliefs regarding the ancestors and magic.

Belief modifies behaviour most obviously in the matter of ritual observances and diversions. Christians observe a different ceremonial at the crises of life from pagans, and on farms on which the majority are Christian no young people's dances (*iintlombe*) are held. Church members and adherents are always the first to bestir themselves to secure schooling for their children, and in every case those with the best housing and furnishing, and those reported by their employers to be especially skilled, were members or adherents of a church.

I met no farmers who directly opposed Christian teaching, and a number were definitely in favour of having Christian servants. Members of most denominations are forbidden beer—an advantage from the farmer's point of view—and some employers maintain that 'pagans steal more' than 'school people'. Practically all the farmers visited, however, oppose Churches controlled by non-Europeans on the ground that they are liable to support the Industrial and Commerical Workers' Union, and to be anti-European. It was stated that on one group of farms servants belonging to the Bantu Presbyterian Church had been instigated to demand higher wages by their minister. They had failed to pay Church dues, and pleaded poverty. The minister was forbidden to visit the farms, and servants were threatened with dismissal if they continued to go to his services.

TENDENCIES

Contrasts between the three areas.

IN towns Pondo are in a completely new environment in which institutions are unworkable in the form in which they are familiar in the reserves. The economic revolution has produced social turmoil. In the reserves there is least change and greatest stability, yet evidence of some adjustment to new conditions. On farms there is change in economic condition, but less advance in agriculture, housing, or schooling than in the reserves. The form of some old institutions remains, but the life has gone out of them.

In towns there is most opportunity for economic advance. In the reserves development is hindered by the limitation of land available for one individual to eight acres. On the great majority of farms there is no opportunity for economic improvement. The farm community is the most consistently poor, and farm-hands are in danger of reduction of wages, or unemployment during periods of depression, as are urban workers. On one or two farms I found an attitude of 'don't careness' produced by poverty, not observable in reserves or towns.

The ablest and most ambitious from farms, and to a less degree from reserves, tend to drift to town. Town life sharpens the wits. A townsman remarked to me: 'A teacher who comes to town from the Transkei is just like the raw people (*amaqaba*) he has been teaching.' But country people have a low opinion of the morals and manners of townsfolk. Again and again older people in the country said to me: 'What! Are you going to East London? That is a very bad place.' Europeans speak of town Natives as 'degenerate' and accuse them of licentiousness, drunkenness, thieving, and ill manners. The charges are familiar ones against peasants coming to town. It is true that in town the number of illegitimate children born is much greater than in the country, and that there is more drunkenness and thieving, but many of the 'charges of insolence and discourtesy' made against Natives by Europeans are due to misunderstanding.[1] In town practically all employers communicate with their employees in a European language, and translations, even obvious ones such as 'the old man', for *ikhehle* (a most polite term of reference or address in Pondo), are easily misunderstood. The etiquette of another culture is one of the most difficult things to learn. I still blush to think of the outrageous things I did—sitting on the wrong side

[1] Cf. *N.E.C.*, p. 689.

of the hut, walking across the *inkundla*, stating my business before the proper greetings had been made and I had been asked why I had come—when I was first in Pondoland.

Europeans are often ill-mannered towards Bantu, and discourtesy breeds discourtesy. Europeans tend to call Bantu 'cheeky' if they are not subservient in their manner, and sometimes Bantu are rude, feeling that by being so they assert their equality.

Townsfolk, once they understood my business, were extremely courteous to me personally. A Bantu minister's wife, who had come from the country, commented that when she had first come to town she had thought the people rough and ill-mannered, but added: 'When they get to know you they are quite courteous.'

There is evidence of reintegration, and the building up of a community adjusted to the new economic conditions.

In town there is less uniformity and less respect for tradition than in the country. In the tribal community there is less uniformity than is often supposed. Details in ritual vary from family to family, and often there is a gap between the ideal and the actual. The more I saw of Pondo life the more these variations became apparent. In this account they are blurred because space does not permit giving more than the standard patterns. Uniformity has probably decreased in Pondoland since contact with Europeans, but the fact that customs of people of the same stock differ proves that these variations existed before contact. In town the influence of tradition is less than in the country, and variation in economic condition and mode of behaviour is greater. A very intelligent educated townsman said to me: 'In town there is no real public opinion. No one cares what a man does.' People do not know their neighbour's business as they do in the country. Often I found that a landlady did not know whether her lodger was married or not. There is scepticism in the country. I heard the efficacy of ritual killings, the correctness of the diagnoses of diviners, the efficacy of magic for fields and stock, queried by pagans in Pondoland, but the critical attitude is greater in town.

The differences between the three communities are reflected in language and folk-lore. On farms people smiled at some of the words and phrases I used, and remarked that I spoke like some one from the reserves. People who have grown up in town do not know words relating to ritual killings, or the old household utensils, but they have a vocabulary, largely derived from English and Afrikaans, not understood by the Pondo fresh from home.[1]

[1] The change in language accompanying every change in economic and social life is one of the many fascinating aspects of culture contact not dealt with in this study.

Folk-tales as told in the different areas reflect differences in environment, in values, and in the relative importance of things.

The main lines of change.

But although different contact conditions have produced differences in the communities subject to them, similar tendencies are observable in all three communities. Very rapidly European trade goods are replacing old home-made utensils and clothing. Foreign material objects are assimilated so completely that certain of them, such as white beads (cf. pp. 328; 524) and scarlet blankets (cf. p. 196), assume ritual value. Indigenous arts and crafts are disappearing. After an effervescence in the early stages of contact, when new materials, such as beads, cloth, tin, &c., are utilized for artistic ends (cf. p. 102), artistic talent seems to be smothered. 'School people' are given over to the horrors of Victorian furnishing, and shabby European clothing. They tend to dance fox-trots in place of dramatic solos and round dances.

The *umzi* ceases to be an independent economic unit. Everywhere there is an increase in trade, and a rapid transference to a money economy. Practically all men are employed temporarily or permanently as wage-earners, and a class solely dependent upon wages is emerging. Famines are averted, and the standard of living of a minority has been raised, but for many there is a poorer diet,[1] increasing poverty,[2] and no security of support during periods of unemployment. Improvement in agriculture has not kept pace with increase in population. Many are landless. Land in the reserves is deteriorating; in some formerly fertile areas desert conditions now prevail. The majority of those on farms have to work harder and live on a poorer diet than their ancestors. Many, both in town and country, are ill-nourished, and the general physique of the people is probably declining.

There is increasing economic individualism. The co-operative economic unit, the *umzi*, is decreasing in size, and more and more families of a man, wife, and minor children, tend to become independent groups. Economic values are becoming dominant. Status tends to depend more upon wealth spent on the owner and his immediate family, and less upon generosity, than formerly. Whereas formerly, a big *umzi*, many adherents, and the giving of many feasts carried prestige; now a man tends to be judged by his house, his clothes, his food.

[1] Between 1915 and 1926 an average of 7·2 per cent. of patients admitted to Victoria Hospital, Lovedale, in the Ciskei were suffering from diseases solely due to malnutrition. The percentage reached 13·9 in 1925.

[2] Cf. *South African Outlook*, July 1927. Article showing increasing poverty in Ciskei.

Economic changes react upon the social organization. An attempt is made to fit the new economic life into the old social structure, and up to a point is successful. The use of the plough necessitates a slight modification in the division of labour, but it is successfully fitted into the existing social structure. New work groups are formed, centred in the plough. Men living in their fathers' *imizi* hand over their earnings to their fathers. Money is used as *ikhazi*, but spoken of as if it were cattle. But the new wine is bursting the old bottles.

The decrease in the size of the *umzi* entails change in attitudes and behaviour towards kin. Where the father's brothers with their families do not live even for a time in the same *umzi*, but in a separate *umzi*, behaviour towards father's brother and his children tends to approximate less nearly to behaviour towards own father and own brothers and sisters. This change, together with the decline of the influence of the ancestor cult, helps to blur the sharp distinction between mother's kin and father's kin (cf. pp.59; 460).

Youth is becoming emancipated from parental control. The possibility of earning by working for Europeans, gives young men and girls economic power; a man sets up his own *umzi* at a much earlier age than formerly, and so he and his wife are less under the authority of elders than formerly. Certainly in town, and probably in the country, there is an increase in premarital pregnancy, which is attributed by Native informants to the loss of parental control. At the same time a new ideal of sexual relations has been introduced by Christian missionaries, and this ideal is lived out by some. New social groups, based on common occupation, common religious belief or common taste in diversion are being formed. They cut across the old social groups, and impair their solidarity. Class distinctions based on wealth and education are becoming more marked. Economic changes are weakening kinship bonds, and political changes deprive tribe and district of all military and many administrative functions, and weaken the power of the chiefs, with whose office the solidarity of district and tribe is bound up. There is a growing sense of nationalism aroused by antagonism to Europeans, and expressing itself in separatist African Churches, Trades Unions with a strong racial and political bias, and intertribal political organizations such as the 'African National Congress'. This nationalist spirit tends to submerge local and tribal differences.

The ancestor cult, although still very influential in Pondoland, and to some extent being adapted to meet new needs (for example, the killing for the plough), is declining, largely because it is

dependent upon a particular type of economic life, pastoralism. Witchcraft and magic maintain their hold and are being adjusted to new conditions—utilizing new materials (much material of magic is now believed to be bought from Europeans or Malays), and new techniques (women are believed to *ukuthakatha* by post), and being put to new ends, as that of securing work, or of letting rooms. How they are being adapted to the new social order is shown in the number of accusations of witchcraft or sorcery against fellow servants. They, rather than the wives of the *umzi* or neighbours, are the people with whom there is liable to be friction in town. Health is of supreme value, and it is still thought to depend upon magic. European medicines are accepted as effective in certain cases, but in others the European doctor is thought not to be able to cure, for it is believed that he does not understand the cause of the disease—witchcraft or sorcery. Which view is taken depends upon the mind of the patient and of his relatives. There are still spheres in which the Bantu feels that scientific knowledge alone cannot secure his end—dealings with Europeans, and trade depressions, love making, lawsuits, and the like. In these he continues to use magic. With an increase in scientific knowledge the belief in magic may decrease, but the complete victory of the scientific attitude will be slow, for even where mechanisms are understood the element of selection is still attributed to witchcraft or magic.

In each community a small percentage are Church members and adherents. Church and school are to some extent a disintegrating influence in the tribal community, but at the same time they are the main force working for the reorganization of the society shattered by economic contacts with Europeans. The existence of the Christian ethic in the community must, if its influence in Africa is comparable to what it has been in Europe, have a dynamic effect. 'In ethical ideals we find the supreme example of consciously formulated ideas acting as a driving force effecting transitions from social state to social state. Such ideas are at once gadflies irritating, and beacons luring, the victims among whom they dwell.'[1] Christians further believe that through Christ comes the power to attain the ideal.

Selective conservatism.

The difference in the degree of change in different areas is obviously very largely due to the difference in the degree of external pressure. There is a marked correlation between geographical features and the degree of change. External pressure

[1] A. N. Whitehead, *Adventures of Ideas*, p. 21.

is least in the fertile river valleys, and broken coastal country, in which roads are not easily made, and from which men were slow to go out to work for Europeans, and these are the most conservative areas. There is more change in town where the Bantu is in a European environment than anywhere in the country. The Fingo on the Border have absorbed European culture more quickly than any other community; while the amaDiba, a clan related to them, living in Pondoland, are a by-word for conservatism.

The degree of resistance to change also varies in different communities. The Fingo, who never fought the British but were protected by them, absorbed European culture more quickly than the Xhosa who were enemies.

External pressure and internal resistance are the main forces making for differences in reaction of different areas, but there are conservative islands, and 'advanced' islands in the reserves, the existence of which cannot be due to either of these forces. The differences between communities on different farms is not entirely explained by differences in outside influences and the fact that the same type of people tend to congregate on one farm. Probably these variations are to be explained in terms of personality. In one district a chief favours change, or a missionary or teacher is a strong personality and popular. In another the chief is conservative or the contact agent is a weak man, and not personally liked.

Besides this difference in the degree of change between areas there are differences in the degree of change in various aspects of culture in the same community. Certain aspects of Bantu culture are changing much more rapidly than others. The lines of selection are summarized in the preceding section. There are revolutionary economic changes and social modifications follow the economic changes. Religious beliefs are slow to alter even in town, and belief in witchcraft and magic is even more tenacious than belief in the power of the ancestors.

The degree of external pressure and of internal resistance are forces determining the liability of different aspects of a culture to change, in the same way as they determine the liability of different communities to change. There has been most pressure on the economic aspect of Pondo life, and it is the aspect which has changed most. Material objects, and new techniques have been quickly absorbed because they met with little emotional resistance to change. Even when a new technique involved modification of the division of labour between the sexes (as that of European thatching) the change has been quite easily made.

Only in connexion with cattle have the tendencies towards economic adjustment met strong emotional resistance. So strong is the resistance that some once fertile districts are almost reduced to desert by overstocking.

When a tendency to change comes up against some emotional resistance a compromise is often effected. For example, the plough was recognized as a useful tool, but women who did most of the planting[1] were forbidden to work with cattle, so a satisfactory adjustment was made by change in the division of labour. In town, where one room may lead off another, it is often impossible for the old avoidance taboos to be observed. They are modified so that only the bed of a person avoided is taboo.

The belief in magic has its roots in psychological attitudes which are unchanged (although sometimes re-orientated) by contact. Conflicts and jealousies remain. Belief in witchcraft and sorcery is in part a symptom of social disintegration, and therefore it is not surprising that it should flourish under contact conditions. Powerful alien influence in the form of Government prohibition of 'smelling out', or of killing those smelt out, and the teaching in Church and school, has only modified belief and practice to the extent that those accused are not killed, and that 'school people' mostly refrain from consulting diviners.

Strong external pressure and internal resistance tend to send customs underground, as *ukumetʃha* in the nominally Christian community, and giving of *ikhazi*, and attendance at circumcision schools by those attached to Churches forbidding these customs.

The selection of elements, whether material objects, techniques, beliefs, or rituals, from the intruding culture, depends upon the degree to which they 'enhance previous methods, and serve ends fully congruous with the old order'. 'Cultural elements find a footing in an alien society by being attached to tendencies already operative in that society'.[2] What is taken is what arouses the interest of individuals. My hostess at one store grew very fine mealies and very fine roses. Pondo neighbours took no notice whatever of the roses, but the mealies were the talk of the district, and women were constantly coming to beg or buy seed. New hut-building and thatching techniques have been rapidly assimilated. European patent medicines have a wide sale because they are new and powerful magic to put to traditional ends. European magical beliefs and Christian myth are readily absorbed because they fit in with old beliefs. Sunday observance was quickly taken over

[1] Women are said to have done all the cultivating among the Xhosa, who also have adopted ploughs.

[2] F. C. Barlett, *Psychology and Primitive Culture*, p. 216.

because the idea of it being taboo to work on certain days was part of the old culture (cf. pp. 229; 350).

Since Africa is subject to economic contacts with Europeans, change in African communities is inevitable. The problem is how, when contacts take place, chaos may be avoided. The danger lies in the break-down of old institutions as the result of contact with Europeans, and the failure to replace them or the failure of institutions substituted by Europeans to function. In town the Pondo institution of marriage has broken down. The old sanctions enforcing laws regarding marriages are no longer effective. The European institution of civil or Christian marriage does not work either. The sanctions which are effective in the European community are not effective in the Bantu community. Again, in towns the old system of administration through chiefs does not operate, and the system introduced by Europeans of rule through Legislative Assembly, Municipal Council, and police fails to secure order. There is danger both of old forms being retained without their content, and of new forms being borrowed without their content. The old Pondo form of administration and the new form taken from European culture are equally useless when neither work. The urgent necessity is to secure institutions which will work.

Is the guidance of change resulting from contact possible? External pressure, the primary factor in determining change, may be modified in some degree. The history of the Union, the Rhodesias, and Kenya suggest that when territory is climatically suitable for permanent European settlement, or when minerals are discovered, complete control of economic contacts is impossible. In spite of 'safeguards' land is alienated, and pressure brought to bear to secure labour for farm and mine; but the incidence of pressure may be modified.

The constant flow of labour from reserve to town and back, and the necessity for labourers living away from their families, is socially disruptive, and hampers advance in skill both in agriculture and in town industries. The aim of an administration anxious to avoid social chaos will be to stabilize town and country communities. This can only be done by extending and developing reserves so that they can support an increased population, and so that sufficient produce may be sold to meet cash needs; and by paying wages on which families can live at labour centres, and providing adequate quarters for them,[1] with security of tenure.

[1] The Rand mines provide married quarters for only an infinitesimal percentage of their Native employees. For evidence of the poisonous results of barrack life on mine employees see H. A. Junod, *The Life of a South African Tribe*, 2nd Ed. Vol I, p. 492, and *United Transkeian Territories General Council. Proceedings*, 1932 p. 194; 1933 p. 92; 1935 p. 176.

Territorial segregation of Bantu and European in the Union is impossible because Europeans are prepared neither to provide the necessary land nor to give up the use of cheap Native labour. Indirect rule[1] is therefore not practicable. The nearest approach to it which is possible is local self-government, based on indigenous institutions, for the 52 per cent. of the Union Bantu population which lives in reserves. To retain the forms of old institutions when they have ceased to function is futile sentimentalism, but it must be recognized that institutions have proved to flourish best when they have been rooted in the past. The Bunga, with the tradition of chiefs' councils behind it, is the most hopeful feature of the Native administration system in the Union. But utilization of indigenous institutions must not be interpreted to mean attempts to maintain the *status quo*. When economic changes take place there must be social adjustment. The speed of economic change in Africa to-day is the new (changes have always being going on) and alarming feature, but when that speed cannot be controlled it is extremely dangerous to attempt to retard social changes. The intertribal Bunga is a very different institution from the old chief's council, and it is a healthy sign that such a high proportion of its members are 'school people'. It is difficult to tell whether the agitation for increased power of chiefs in the Transkei springs from a desire for rule through chiefs as such, or is an expression of nationalism, the Union Government being more likely to extend powers to chiefs than to open the civil service, even in reserves, to Bantu. But the office of chieftainship still has great prestige, and there is no reason to think that administration through Bantu officials would be more satisfactory than administration through chiefs, provided the latter are educated for their work.

Where initiation ceremonies exist they might profitably be encouraged as a means of inculcating discipline and a sense of social responsibility which schools of the European model, touching only about[2] 20 per cent. of the population for short periods, fail to give. But schools are an essential addition to the tribal system of education, to secure adjustment to changing conditions. Whether or not initiation ceremonies will still be necessary when schools are provided for all Bantu children need not be decided now.

The study of culture contact makes very clear the fact that society is a unity, and when one aspect is modified the whole is

[1] A term frequently misunderstood in South Africa. For a lucid exposition of its meaning see Margery Perham, 'A Restatement of Indirect Rule', *Africa*, July, 1934.
[2] *N.E.C.*, p. 619.

affected. In Pondoland the best intentioned (and upon the whole beneficial) reforms have had unexpected repercussions, e.g. the suppression of killing those smelt out for witchcraft and sorcery has probably resulted in an increase in the number of *amadikazi*. Administrators, educationalists, and missionaries would do well to study closely customs which they propose to attempt to modify, and consider what are likely to be the repercussions of their action.

Direct attack where there is strong emotional resistance may merely drive a custom underground (cf. p. 183). The fact that there may be conflict between economic progress and social stability must be recognized. The number of scrub cattle hinder economic development, yet the ancestor cult, which is a binding social force, is dependent upon cattle, and giving *ikhazi* stabilizes marriage. Only perhaps by modifying accepted values, and persuading Pondo to substitute a few good cattle for ten scrub cattle as *ikhazi*, and a good goat instead of a scrub ox for a ritual killing, might both ends be served.

In towns in which there is a mixture of tribes administration through old institutions is impossible. The town locations of the Union are proof of the chaos produced by attempting to enforce laws of which the bulk of the community to which they apply is not in favour. With administration of locations through elected Bantu councils, controlling a proportion of the rates, or by town councils for which Bantu ratepayers with certain educational qualification had the right to vote, and sit upon, there would be much more hope of successful adjustment to new conditions.

On farms of the type studied Bantu must inevitably be included in the European system of local administration.

When Bantu are employed in large numbers in European industries and are living in European towns, and upon European-owned farms, their economic and political interests are bound up with those of the Europeans. They are concerned in practically all the issues discussed in the Union House of Assembly. So long as the Union is controlled by an elected assembly they must remain without any political rights, as at present in the Northern Provinces, or be granted the vote on a civilization qualification, as in the Cape. The fact that even moderate resolutions of a Native advisory conference, composed of nominees of the Government, have been completely ignored, kills any hope that a Union advisory Council of Bantu, such as is proposed by the Hertzog Native Bills, might influence Union legislation.

Since territorial and economic segregation are impossible, schemes in the Union for the Bantu to 'develop on his own lines' must remain merely pious hopes. As a result of their juxtaposition

Bantu and European cultures are already profoundly modified. Adjustments in Bantu culture we have traced. Adjustments in European culture are most obvious in the development of social and economic colour bars, the consequent blurring of social distinctions within the white group, theories about 'Kafir work', and differential racial capacity. The process of adjustment is bound to continue. What will emerge from the fusion of the two cultures one cannot tell.

What Bantu think about it.

A European may observe objectively the working of Bantu institutions, but only Bantu can explain what Bantu think of Europeans, and their influence upon Bantu society. I can merely give my impressions of their attitude, quote comments made to me, summarize the points raised by Bantu writers in such publications as are available,[1] and describe the organized action taken.

Some in all three areas regret the old days, feeling that life before the coming of the Europeans was preferable to life nowadays, and that Europeans have brought nothing of value. The belief that Europeans will be swept into the sea, and Bantu have South Africa to themselves again, recurs periodically. Most 'school people' admire elements in European culture, and are themselves too different from the 'raw' tribesman to wish to return to the old way of life. Whatever their feeling towards Europeans they are eager to absorb something of European culture. Many of them deplore the dropping of most old Bantu customs, believing that their decay is in part responsible for the increasing laxity of parental control and immorality, by which they are greatly concerned. They are proud of their people's past, but they resent bitterly being lumped together with 'raw Natives'. They are struggling for recognition as civilized men. South Africa as a whole refuses to recognize any of Bantu stock as such. Her refusal generates a very keen sense of racial disabilities, and views on the results of contact with Europeans tend to be a list of grievances. Since race is a ground of social, economic, and political disability, there is naturally suspicion of any 'differentia-

[1] S. T. Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa*; S. M. Molema, M.D., *The Bantu Past and Present*, 1920; D. D. T. Jabavu, B.A., *The Black Problem*, 1921, *The Segregation Fallacy*, 1928, *Native Disabilities*, 1931; R. H. Godlo, *Urban Native Legislation*, 1931; A. B. Xuma, M.D., *Reconstituting the Union of South Africa*, 1932. Files of *Imvo Zabantsundu*: *Umteteli WaBantu* (controlled by the Chamber of Mines); *Bantu World*; *Ilanga Lase Natal*; *Umsebenzi* (Communist, with a European editor); *Abantu Batho* (ceased publication); *Workers' Herald* (ceased publication); *New Africa* (ceased publication); *United Transkeian Territories General Council. Proceedings. Reports of Native Affairs' Commission.* In addition to the periods of field work mentioned a considerable time was spent studying these and other documents.

tion policy' in education or political organization. There are traces of a reaction against European culture; of a desire to reject it, and conserve Bantu culture; but this tendency is not strong. Bantu nationalism is developing rapidly, but nationalist leaders tend to concentrate on attempting to secure the same political rights and economic opportunity for Bantu as are enjoyed by Europeans. There is a desire for emancipation from European control, but eager acceptance of European culture. The Wellingtonites preached that Europeans would be swept into the sea, but stores were to remain and be taken over by Bantu (cf. p. 571).

Among all sections of the community there is dissatisfaction with existing economic, social, and political conditions. A conservative Pondo in reply to my question as to what changes he noticed as the result of the coming of Europeans said:

Europeans turn out all people (to make place) for themselves. Now we are ruled by Europeans, and have to dip our cattle, and get permits to move them. Times are bad now. There is no money and we have to pay heavy taxes.

Another, being asked the same question, said:

Times long ago were good. Everything is bad now. We pay taxes. Long ago men were not white peopie's women. There was no taking of cattle because a person had not paid their tax. The killing of witches was a very good thing. They were few then. They are many now. Even if a witch is smelt out now he has time to collect his goods, and go.

Another said:

Why do you come and ask these things? You have never been ruled, and ill-treated, by foreigners.

In East London one man replied:

Ever since the European came we have had to pay for everything, including dogs.[1] Our *ubuntu* (lit. humanity, manhood) is finished. We are always told, 'Do this! pay that!'

Another said:

I think contact with Europeans has brought harm. They entered my country. After they had fought and defeated me they took my land. I said: 'Well, I hand over my country to you.' Instead of governing it well they oppressed me. Things have gone from bad to worse. Since the European had come there should have been co-operation between me and him. He may blame me, but it is he who would not co-operate with me. As long as the present Government remains things will never turn out for good. Our children will always run to towns and become unruly; our unmarried girls become pregnant,

[1] There is a dog tax in some divisions and municipalities.

and our boys cause unmarried girls to be pregnant. When we go to court (the magistrate's) we never get satisfaction. The old customs are not kept strictly. The Native Affairs office here is worth nothing. Magistrates nowadays do not know Native custom as the old magistrates did. . . .

Another man listening chimed in:

All races and nations which are loyal are not refused citizenship. But Bantu are refused the vote.

The grandson of a Xhosa district chief, living in East London, said:

We want a woman to rule us again. It is only grandmothers who have sense. When Edward ascended the throne things began to get worse. We have no grudge against George, but his counsellors are bad. Whatever representation we make is never forwarded overseas. If the Government reverted to the Crown things would be much better.

When Europeans first landed they had two things, a Bible and a hymn-book. The Bible was good, and it seemed then that their arrival was beneficial to the people. A short time afterwards they deprived us of our land by force of arms. We have made representation to the South African Government asking that our condition be made known to our great father overseas, asking that our father may be told that we are congested because Europeans came and lived in our midst and deprived us of our lands. Since the South African War Native conditions have gone from bad to worse. Now one who is dead is happy. The Government should provide land and settle urban Natives in the country. If there were sufficient land Natives in town locations would leave towns. Instead of granting land the Government imposes more and more taxes. All Europeans should live in towns, and all Natives in the country. The health of the Bantu is in the country. The Government would fare better then for the Native people could pay taxes.

The Xhosa are throwing aside their customs (*amasiko*). That is a great misfortune. The customs were made by God (*uThixo*). It is because we are crowded. No rites and ceremonies are observed, because we have no land to observe them in. Christianity should not be a matter of compulsion. It should be left to a man's free will. We are pushed into Christianity by these hardships (i.e. forced by economic pressure to drop customs disapproved of by missionaries).

Circumcision is a Xhosa custom. To make what a man says have weight with people he must first be circumcised. People do not listen to a man, even an orator, if he is not circumcised. Another custom is the making of *amadini*. Another the initiation of girls. After a week the girl was inspected. When people are no longer Xhosa girls are not inspected. They become pregnant. Initiation of girls is being stopped because permission to hold ceremonies must be got from the farmer, and if he does give permission he adds that no outsiders may attend. White people (farmers) also are beginning to do away with goats. We resent that, for it is the custom to make ritual killings with goats, and our health depends on them.

These are opinions of conservatives. The opinions of the more Europeanized are substantially the same, although expressed differently. In the Bantu press the following points are dwelt upon: 91 per cent. of the land of the Union of South Africa is owned by under 2 million Europeans, 9 per cent. by 5 million Bantu.[1] Under the Land Act of 1913, which made it illegal for Bantu to hire land (outside certain areas) except in return for services, many Bantu have been expelled from farms in the Northern Provinces, and also in the Cape Province until 1917, when the courts ruled the law to be *ultra vires* in the Cape.[2] No provision has been made for those expelled. They have gone to already overcrowded reserves, or to towns. The Act further prohibited the purchase of land outside certain areas, pending the demarcation of open areas in which Bantu might buy land. Reports of commissions appointed to demarcate 'open areas' have been disregarded, and up till 1934 no further provision has been made. The Native Service Contract Act of 1932 reduces labour tenants in the Transvaal and Natal to the position of serfs. They are liable for six months' service in the year rendered at such times as the farmer pleases; they cannot leave the farm without their employer's written permission; the 'guardian of any female, or of any male between 9 and 18 years, may contract for their labour'. Farmers may be liable for an annual tax of £5 in respect of every Bantu adult male resident on their farms, who does not render a minimum of six months' service in the year. Breaking of a service contract is a criminal offence for a Native, special provision being made for males under 18 years to be punished by whipping.

The land question is the most bitter of all. *Umhlaba yinkosi.* (The land is the chief. Proverb). 'If the Government has no hole to bury us in it should send us to Heaven.'

Under the Mines and Works Act (1911) and the Amendment Act (1929) Bantu, by reason of their race alone, are excluded from certain skilled occupations.[3] Under the 'white labour policy' posts in public services, formerly filled by Natives, are now being given to Europeans. This policy costs taxpayers, including Bantu, much. Native wages are very low, European wages high compared with standards in Europe. The refusal to grant Bantu trading rights in certain town locations further restricts their

[1] Cf. Buell, op. cit., p. 75.

[2] Decision by the Appellate Division in the case of *Thomson and Sitwell* v. *Kama.*

[3] Because of the great gap between European and Native wages, European skilled workers fear undercutting by Bantu skilled workers. The Economic and Wage Commission of 1925 advised against excluding Bantu from skilled occupations, but advocated attempts to raise the economic level of the Native by minimum wage legislation and widening the scope of employment open to Natives.

economic advance. The bargaining power of Bantu is hampered by the Masters and Servants Laws under which breach of contract is a criminal offence for Bantu employees, and which makes strikes by Bantu, except day and weekly labourers in the Cape, illegal.

Taxation is unequal. All Bantu males over 18 years are liable for an annual tax of £1, those in reserves for an additional local tax of not less than 10*s*. No other section of the population pays any direct tax unless earning over £150 p.a. if single, £250 if married. In 1930, 76·5 per cent. of the European population paid no direct taxes.[1] Bantu failing to produce a poll tax receipt are imprisoned, and after imprisonment have still to pay their tax even though unable to secure employment.

Benefits from taxation in the form of state services are unequal. Grants for European and Coloured education are given on a *per capita* basis. Grants for Bantu education are given in a lump sum, and there is no adequate provision for their increasing with increasing needs.[2] During the last two years (1932–4) the enrolment in Native schools has increased by 14,000 without any addition being made to the teaching staff.[3] In 1923–4 the amount spent per head on the education of European children was £17 18*s*. 6*d*.; on Bantu children £2 8*s*. 5*d*. in the Cape, less in other provinces.[4] Many schools eligible for grants are without them, and Bantu teachers' salaries are extremely low. European and Coloured persons are eligible for old age pensions: Bantu are not. Old Bantu men in very poor circumstances still have to pay poll tax. The widespread poverty is the root of bitterness against Europeans.

The Bantu view of European economic policy is expressed in the proverb, '*Umona waseLungwini ubandez' icitywa ungaliqabi.*' (The white man's envy forbids us the red clay, although he does not paint himself.)

In the Northern Provinces every Bantu male over 18 years, no matter if he has a university degree, must carry a pass which may be demanded at any time by any policeman in uniform or plain clothes. In the Cape passes are necessary to enter certain town locations, to go about the European quarters of towns after 9 p.m., and for Bantu non-residents in the Transkei to enter the Transkei. The system is attacked by Bantu on the ground that it is class legislation, 'a symbol of slavery', that it is a restriction

[1] Cf. *Modern Industry and the African*, p. 94. The percentage exempt is lower since the introduction of the Provincial personal tax.

[2] Cf. *N.E.C.*, pp. 599, 658.

[3] Chief Inspector for Native Education in the Cape Province. Quoted, *South African Outlook*, Oct. 1934.

[4] *The Segregation Fallacy*, D. D. T. Jabavu, p. 69.

of personal liberty involving great inconvenience to law-abiding Natives, that police use it as a means to harass Natives, forcing them to produce their passes merely to show police authority, that it breeds criminals—in 1930, of 372,613 convictions of Union Natives, 42,262 (11 per cent.) were under the pass laws;[1] many of those convicted are unable to pay the fines, and are imprisoned along with hardened criminals—and that it defeats its own ends, since those on evil bent always take care to have passes. Forging of passes (sold at 5*s*. each) is a profitable business. The Transvaal with its twelve passes has proportionally the most crime. There have been numerous proposals for, and a few attempts at, a general pass burning.

Bantu have no share in the government of the country, and are not adequately consulted in legislation concerning themselves. In the three Northern Provinces Bantu have in effect no vote. In the Cape the qualifications for Bantu male voters are higher than for European voters, and Bantu women have no vote. Bantu are not eligible as members of the Legislative Assembly or Senate. Under the Native Affairs' Act of 1930 provision was made for summoning representative Natives to consult with the Government on proposed legislation affecting Natives, but in eight years (1926–34) Native representatives have been summoned only once (when they were expressly warned not to mention Native grievances),[2] although a number of Acts directly affecting Natives have been passed.

'*Inkomo ihlinziwe 'cal' anye.*' (The ox is skinned on one side only.) The proverb is applied to European courts, which it is complained do not mete out even justice. In cases in which one party is Bantu and the other European, the jury (composed solely of Europeans) is not impartial. For the same crimes widely different sentences are passed on Europeans and Natives. A Native is hanged for assault of a white woman, a white man may get only a short term of imprisonment for assault of a Native woman. Europeans flogging to death, or 'shooting by accident' Bantu have, in some instances, only been punished by small fines.[3] Fines imposed are out of proportion to Native earnings. Cases of ill-treatment of Bantu by police are common.[4] Under the Riotous Assemblies

[1] Cf. Report of South African Institute of Race Relations, 1931.

[2] *Report of Native Affairs Commission*, 1927–31.

[3] For reports of such cases see: *East London Despatch*, June 6, 1932; *South African Outlook*, April 1933, Nov. 1934; *Christian Express*, June 1921; *Western Civilization and the Natives of South Africa*, pp. 291–4; *Native Disabilities*, D. D. T. Jabavu, p. 14.

[4] The magistrate of Alice, in summing up before giving judgement on a European policeman charged with throttling a Coloured boy, and tying up and thrashing a Native boy, to extract evidence, said that complaints were frequently made of

Amendment Act, 1930, 'inciting to race hatred' is a criminal offence. Dr. Xuma argues that:

> Only those persons, White or Black, who recognized the African's grievance and criticized the Government's Native policy have been charged or convicted under the provisions of these Acts. Some members of the European community on the other hand, including Ministers of the Crown, such as the authors of the 'Black Manifesto', and certain members of Parliament, have aroused a spirit of hostility and resentment in the bosom of the Native African. The very legislation of the Union Parliament as it affects the African community, should come under the review as disturbing public peace, and straining race relations.[1]

The endless social annoyances to which Bantu are subjected arouse bitter feeling. Men with university degrees speak of inconvenience caused them by not being allowed to travel on trams or buses in some towns, of difficulty in getting any but third-class accommodation on trains, of rudeness of officials, of the way in which Bantu customers in stores, or public offices, have to wait until Europeans who have come after them have been served, of the rude manner of many Europeans when speaking to Bantu, of their refusal when speaking in English or Afrikaans to give any courtesy title. As Dr. Molema remarks, it is the educated Bantu who bears the brunt of racial feeling, because many of them come in close contact with Europeans without being their servants. So long as the Native is a servant 'he may move among them (Europeans) as much as he likes, he may handle their food, and their children, enter their houses, and sit on their couches, travel with them in the same compartments' —but 'the moment he becomes independent he is ostracized by Europeans'.[2]

Bitter comments are made on the hypocrisy of Europeans who claim to be Christians, and yet enforce a colour bar even in their churches. The same parliament which passed the Colour Bar Bill inserted in the constitution the clause, 'The people of South Africa acknowledge the sovereignty and guidance of Almighty God'. Because of this attitude of some of those who profess Christianity some Bantu leaders are urging their people to throw over Christianity. 'At first we had the land and the white man had the Bible. Now we have the Bible and the white man has the land.' 'They told you to close your eyes and pray, and the

police using third-degree methods on Bantu, and, although there was seldom evidence to convict them, he was convinced that the complaints were not without foundation. Cf. *East London Despatch*, Feb. 22, 1930, Feb. 29, 1930.

[1] A. B. Xuma, M.D., *Reconstituting the Union of South Africa*, 1932, p. 13.

[2] S. M. Molema, M.D., *The Bantu Past and Present*, p. 267.

other whites came and took away the land from behind your back while you kept your eyes closed.' 'I appeal to you all to learn and go to night classes, and leave the Bible alone. The Bible will only teach you to be soft and easy going.'

The Xhosa first showed their opposition to Europeans and their culture by fighting. There were a series of 'Kafir Wars'. In 1856–7 came the cattle killing. Nongqawuse, a girl of 15 or 16, reported to her uncle (a diviner) visions of men who told her that people must consume their corn, cease to plant, and kill their cattle, and then, on a certain day the ancestors would rise armed with guns and spears, and with the help of a whirlwind Europeans would be swept into the sea. At the same time kraals would be full of cattle, and store-huts piled high with grain. Several other women and girls in different parts of the country reported similar visions. The people were also urged to destroy any material of sorcery (*ubuthi*) they possessed. Many Xhosa, and a few Thembu, killed their cattle, and refrained from planting. When the day first named passed without anything unusual happening excuses were made—the ancestors were waiting for those who had not yet killed. Several times the day was deferred. Eventually vast numbers died from starvation, and others, weak and emaciated, entered the Colony in search of food and work.

Many Europeans thought that the cattle killing was a plan engineered by the Xhosa chiefs, and Moshweshwe the Sutho paramount, to make the Xhosa desperate, and ready to fight the Colonists without being hampered by cattle. But that the movement was a put-up job engineered by the chiefs is not proved.[1] Brownlee[2] who was in the thick of it, and who knew more about the Xhosa than probably any other European, was not convinced that the cattle killing was a preparation for war.

The movement is relevant to our problem of culture contact because, besides being an expression of the contemporary Xhosa attitude towards Europeans, it has influenced succeeding nationalist movements. The visions of Nongqawuse have been echoed again and again (cf. pp. 565; 571).

Pondo and Fingo, who were later in encountering Europeans than were the Xhosa, never fought them (cf. Footnote, p. 412). The armed opposition of the Xhosa ended in 1880. Since then the only armed opposition of Bantu within the Union has been the Zulu 'rebellion' of 1906. Bantu are only allowed arms under special permit. They receive no military training, and were not

[1] I am indebted to Miss E. Dowsley for giving me access to her unpublished thesis in which available material on the cattle killing is critically discussed.

[2] *Reminiscences of Kaffir Life and History.*

accepted as combatants during the Great War. On the other hand, all white South African men undergo compulsory military training. Bantu leaders are well aware that Europeans have the military power.

The earliest non-military expression of nationalist feeling was the formation of Churches controlled by Bantu. In 1884 a Thembu minister of the Wesleyan Church, Tile, seceded, and formed a 'Thembu National Church', with the paramount chief Ngangelizwe, as its Henry VIII. Later Dwana, another Wesleyan minister, seceded, went to America, and was affiliated to the Africa Methodist Episcopal Church. Then began the connexion between Bantu nationalists and American Negroes. Since 1884 there have been numerous secessions from European-controlled Churches until, in 1932, 293 Bantu-controlled Churches were registered by the Union Government.[1] There are others unregistered, one at least of which consists only of the preacher and his wife. The reasons for the secessions from European-controlled Churches are, according to the Native Churches Commission,[2] the desire for independence in Church matters and the control of Church property and funds, resentment at the colour prejudice of some European missionaries, personal ambition (in the Northern Provinces a 'dog-collar' man is exempt from carrying a pass) unwillingness to submit to Church discipline, the example of Europeans (44 European missionary bodies are at work in Africa, south of the Zambezi)[3] and the desire to preserve Native customs. A minister of one Bantu-controlled Church writes:

> Native assistants .... had .... a lower salary and status than the white missionary. They felt much more isolated both from the blacks and whites. Being somewhat educated they wished to better their position, and the more ambitious wished to make a rapid ascent of the social ladder. They had also an awakening sense of power, and racial responsibility. Social and political avenues were closed against them, but the Church seemed to offer a highway to increased influence. They were no doubt also moved by the bearing of the white man, many of whom would not worship in the same building with them. Ethiopianism.... is the reply of the Native to the unfriendly attitude of the colonist in the press, on the platform, and in private life.

The aim of the movement was

> to plant a self-supporting, self-governing, and self-propagating African Church which would produce a truly African type of Christianity suited to the genius and needs of the race, and not a black copy of any European Church.[4]

[1] For a list of them see *Modern Industry and the African*, ed. J. M. Davis, p. 408.
[2] U. G. 39 '25. [3] *Christianity and the Natives of South Africa*, p. 202.
[4] Ibid., pp. 87–8, article by L. N. Mzimba.

Most of the Bantu-controlled Churches permit *ukulobola*, and attendance at modified circumcision schools (which are condemned by some European-controlled Churches), and some of them admit polygynists as full members. Application was made to the Government for the recognition of a 'Church of Christ for the Union and Protection of Bantu custom'.

Doctrinal difference has not been a cause of secession, and the doctrines taught by the separatist Churches are mostly similar to those of the parent Churches, but in a few bodies curious rites, apparently mixtures of Bantu custom and Old Testament ritual, are said to be practised.[1] In some of the Bantu-controlled bodies the moral standard is lower than in the parent Churches. Although one of the main grounds of secession was the desire to escape from European control, there is, according to the Native Churches Commission, 'very little evidence of direct anti-European feeling in Separatist Churches, although anti-Europeans, if they belong to any religious body, will tend to join them'.[2] The fact that there are so many separatist bodies, some offshoots of others, and that few have joined together, suggests that nationalist feeling is not sufficiently strong to submerge personal ambitions. One missionary body, the United Free Church of Scotland (now the Church of Scotland) has formed of its Bantu congregations an independent Bantu Presbyterian Church, controlled by an assembly composed of the Bantu ministers and elders of the Church, and a small number of European missionaries, who are working in Bantu congregations, but are financed by the Church of Scotland. Bantu have a large majority in the assembly, but a European has on several occasions been elected Moderator.

The only sect which has come into conflict with the authorities is that of the 'Israelites'.[3] About 1909 a dismissed Wesleyan Methodist preacher, John Msikinya, visited America and returned to the Union as 'Bishop' of an American Negro sect, 'The Church of God and Saints of Christ'. Enoch Mgijima, a Fingo resident in Bullhoek location near Queenstown, joined him. At the time of the appearance of Halley's comet nocturnal services were held in Bullhoek location. Mgijima announced that the comet was a signal that Jehovah was angry, and that unless men turned to their ancient religion there would be disaster. The New Testament was a fiction of the white man's and they must worship on the model of the Israelite patriarchs who in their

[1] U. G. 39, '25. [2] Ibid.

[3] *Report of Native Affairs Commission on the Israelites*, A. 4.–21. *Report of Native Churches Commission*, U. G. 39, '25. *Christian Express*, June, July 1921. *South African Outlook*, Jan. 1922.

day had been liberated by Jehovah from the yoke of oppressive rulers.

After the death of Msikinya the sect split, one-half following Mgijima who was 'discommunicated' from the American parent Church in 1918. Mgijima was eloquent and physically imposing, and secured converts in the Queenstown district, Glen Grey, Transkei, and Western Transvaal. In 1918, 1919, and 1920 permission was obtained for his followers to meet on Bullhoek commonage for celebration of their 'passover'. In 1920 they failed to disperse. Mgijima pleaded that special services were still being held, and that some of his congregation had been delayed by sickness, lack of money to pay rail fares, &c. He undertook that all would have left by June 20. In July further buildings had been erected. Summonses were issued for squatting without permit on commonage reserved to Native lot holders. These were not obeyed. Europeans in the district became alarmed, alleging that the community was a focus of anti-white agitation, and that arms were being made. Mgijima undertook that if the passover service were allowed to continue all squatters would remove before September 30. Again the undertaking was not fulfilled, and the location inspector and medical officer were refused admission when in pursuance of their official duties.

A group of representative Bantu went to reason with the Israelites but had no success. The Native Affairs' Commission also failed to persuade the Israelites to move, although they were offered free railway passes to their homes. Israelites stated that

> God had appointed one of them to show how he should be worshipped; that man was the prophet (Enoch Mgijima). The prophet spoke God's wishes and they obeyed them. It was God's desire that they should assemble at 'nThaß' 'elanga[1] (Ntabelanga) (in Bullhoek location). The speakers had no power to send people away, seeing the latter were influenced by Jehovah. The scriptures contained God's promise to gather his people together; those following the prophet were his chosen. They wished to obey the law of the land, but Jehovah was more powerful than the law and they feared to offend him, by disregarding his wishes and obeying the laws of men. They desired to injure no one, and only wished to serve God in the way in which he had shown.
>
> 'nThaß' 'elanga was the place for the assembling of God's chosen, but was not their permanent abiding place, and they awaited the command of Jehovah. The punishment of Jehovah would soon fall on unbelievers and the end of the world was near, and so they had gathered at this place of God's choosing to prepare for this day.[2]

[1] Name changed to new orthography.

[2] *Report of Native Affairs Commission*, A. 4, '21.

Some of the Israelites had sold all their goods and given the proceeds to the common purse. Much time was spent in services, and robes modelled on those of the ancient Israelites were worn. Pagans as well as 'school people' flocked to 'nThaßa' 'elanga.

In May a large police force was sent in the hope of overawing these fanatics, but the Israelite reply to the police ultimatum was: 'Jehovah tells us that we are not to allow you to burn our huts, or drive away our people from 'nThaß' 'elanga, or to allow you to arrest the men you wish to arrest.' The Israelites, armed with swords and spears, charged the police; 163 Israelites were killed, 125 wounded. The women and children were at prayer in the 'temple' during the fighting.

In the trial that followed the men who had fought were found guilty of sedition. Enoch Mgijima and two other ringleaders were sentenced to six years' imprisonment, thirty office-bearers to three years, and seventy of the rank and file to eighteen months, all with hard labour.

A Native witness in the trial stated that Mgijima had been 'discommunicated' because the Church was disturbed by his visions. One vision represented a battle between two white Governments, which were later crushed and destroyed by a baboon. The white Governments were taken to be Europeans, the baboon Natives, and the vision was interpreted to mean that white people should be crushed by Natives. There was evidence that Mgijima had preached to his congregation the doctrine that the hour of the black man was approaching, and that he had stated that the rifles of the police would fire water instead of bullets. He had written to chief Mhlambiso (in King William's Town district) appealing for help and had said, 'Ho, ho, ho, I sounded the alarm', and asked the chief to send this message to the chiefs residing at the coast. A letter from the 'Archbishop of the Ethiopian Church' to Enoch Mgijima and his brother, asking them to supply him with weapons, was found. Mgijima's nephew, Matʃhoßa, had represented the white races as exhausted by the war, and about to be overthrown by Africans and Asiatics. But there was no proof that the Israelites planned rebellion. In the opinion of the Native Affairs' Commission they were 'genuinely influenced by religious fanaticism' and the movement was 'not of itself a political movement'.

No figures of the numbers involved are available, but reference is made to 266 men killed or imprisoned, besides old men, boys, women, and children.

Another organized expression of nationalist feeling is the political associations. In 1912 there was formed, at the instigation

of a Bantu barrister, Dr. Seme, an African National Congress in which were merged several smaller political organizations which had existed previously. Its aims were

> to unite all the various tribes in South Africa, to advocate on behalf of the black masses equal rights and justice, to educate public opinion on the aspirations of the black man of the Union of South Africa, to be the mouth-piece of the people and their chiefs, to represent them in the Union Parliament, and generally do all such things as are necessary to the progress and welfare of the Africans.[1]

Five Provincial Congresses (two in the Cape Province), affiliated to the National Congress, were organized. The Congress had two houses; the upper house being composed of officers and hereditary chiefs. A special convention was summoned after the passing of the Land Act in 1913, and a deputation was sent to England to protest against it. Feeling ran high, tribal differences were merged, and there was a generous response from Bantu to the appeal for money to finance the mission. Over £1,300 was collected. The War broke out before anything had been achieved. A second deputation was sent in 1918; it was told that the British Government could not interfere in the internal affairs of the Union. This failure weakened the Congress. Those who had contributed complained that their money had been wasted; later came dissensions over the constitution, and conflict with a Communist minority. In 1927 the Congress claimed to have a membership of 100,000,[2] but its influence in 1934 was small. Its organ, *Abantu Batho*, has ceased publication.

In the Cape Province there is a Bantu Union which was formed as a rival of the Congress. At annual conferences political and economic questions affecting Bantu are discussed, and resolutions and protests passed. The Union is moderate in tone but uncompromising on questions such as pass laws and colour bars.

After the War, when the cost of living had increased enormously and Native wages had not increased in proportion, there was great unrest. In 1919 there were strikes of Bantu workers in Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, the Capetown docks, the Natal collieries, and Messina mine, Transvaal. In 1920, 42,000 Bantu Rand mine workers struck for an increase in wages and better living conditions. The same year Masaßalala, the leader of unskilled workers in Port Elizabeth who were agitating for increased wages, was imprisoned. When bail was refused the prison was mobbed. The mob was fired upon by civilians supporting the police when no order to fire had been given, and after

[1] *African Yearly Register*, edited T. D. M. Skota, p. 423.
[2] Article by J. L. Dube in *Christianity and the Natives of South Africa*, p. 55.

the mob had retreated fugitives were fired upon. There were seventy-six casualties.[1]

In 1919 a Bantu Trades Union, called the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union,[2] was started in Capetown, with twenty-four members, and a Nyasa, Clements Kadalie, as secretary. Its objects were the regulating of wages and of working conditions of Bantu. Bantu unskilled workers move from trade to trade, so the aim was to have one big Union including people of all occupations.

The membership increased rapidly. By 1924 offices with paid secretaries had been opened in all the principal towns of the Union. Members gave a subscription of 6*d.* a week. Meetings were held weekly throughout the country and there were annual conferences of delegates from different centres. An official organ, *The Workers' Herald*, was published in Johannesburg. The Union was affiliated to the International Trade Union Congress of Amsterdam. In 1927 Kadalie, as National Secretary, went overseas to study British Trade Unionism. As the result of his visit W. G. Ballinger, a British Trade Unionist, was sent out as 'adviser', financed by British Trades Unions. In spite of having been condemned by the Roman Catholics as anti-Christian,[3] the Union flourished. It claimed a membership of 100,000. The programme submitted to the annual congress in 1928 proposed persistent agitation for improved wages on a national basis by means of friendly negotiation with farmers' associations and other employers' organizations, appeal under the Wage Act if these failed, a minimum wage of £5 a month plus food and housing in country districts, reporting to magistrates cases of illegal withholding of wages or seizing of stock by employers, petition for suspension of pass laws for six months, and if there were no increase of lawlessness among Natives during that period repeal of the pass laws, and if the petition were not granted general pass burning.

In August representatives of the I.C.U. were negotiating with a sub-committee of the Chamber of Commerce for better wages and shorter hours. They demanded a minimum wage of £6 a month, an 8-hour day, and payment for overtime at time and a half rate.

Before the arrival of Ballinger the Natal branch of the Union under Champion had broken away, and later Kadalie, refused restoration to leadership after long leave, and complaining that

[1] *Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the cause of Native disturbances at Port Elizabeth, Oct. 23, 1920.*

[2] Data from *Workers' Herald*; *New Africa*; *Indaba*; *African Yearly Register*; *South African Outlook*, 1927–30.

[3] Other missions took an opposite view, cf. *South African Outlook*, Jan. 1928.

the policy of the original Union was 'not sufficiently aggressive', formed an 'Independent I.C.U.'. In April 1929 fifty delegates to an Independent I.C.U. Congress passed a vote of no confidence in the original I.C.U. A radical paper, *New Africa*, with articles in Xhosa, Suto, English, and Afrikaans was started. Application was made for affiliation with the 'League against Imperialism', with head-quarters in Germany. The new Union proposed to form an 'African Native Land Settlement Corporation Ltd.', with nominal capital of £100,000 offered in £1 shares. Four chiefs, one from each Province, were to form the directorate; and farms in existing Native areas and adjoining areas were to be purchased for Native settlement. The arable land was to be divided into small holdings of 3–6 acres, and the rest kept for communal grazing. Land was to be purchased near large towns and Native townships laid out. Nothing came of this scheme.

The Natal branch formed a social club in Durban, and ran its own brass band and choir. In 1929 it organized boycotts of the beer brewed by municipal monopoly. In June 1929 there were riots caused by European civilians mobbing the I.C.U. hall.[1] Champion was expelled from Natal. In 1930 rickshaw boys struck, demanding a decrease in rickshaw rents from 10*s.* to 5*s.* a week. On Dingaan's day 1930 Communists organized pass burning and a procession. There was a clash with the police and three Bantu were killed.

Meanwhile Kadalie was busy in East London organizing a strike. A Bantu Trades Union has no legal status in the Union and strikes are illegal for all except daily and weekly employees in the Cape Province.[2] But on January 16, 1930, Kadalie called out the Bantu railway and harbour workers, who were demanding that their minimum wage of 3*s.* per day should be increased to 6*s.* 6*d.* He cabled to the International Transport Workers' Federation, Amsterdam, and the Anti-Imperial League, Berlin, requesting help with strike funds, and to the European Trades Union Congress, Johannesburg, asking that they should prevent 'scabbing' by Europeans. On January 17 it was claimed that 1,500 men were out. Sixty Zulus had been brought from Durban to help with harbour work, and European and Bantu casuals were being taken on. Fifty European schoolboys volunteered for work as stevedores. I.I.C.U. agents were sent to Port Elizabeth and the Transkei to prevent scabs being recruited. On the 18th, at a meeting of women in the location, it was decided that domestic servants should not go to work on the 20th, and if their men went

[1] Report of Mr. Justice de Waal (unpublished), quoted *South African Outlook*, Sept. 1929.

[2] *N.E.C.*, Addendum 293–4.

they would not cook for them. On the 19th (Sunday) the strikers held a lengthy prayer meeting. European special constables were enrolled, and the location was closely patrolled by police and senior constables. The Strike Committee formally protested against the 'provocation and unnecessary display of military force .... during a quiet and sober strike'. On the 20th employees in all types of work went out. Meetings attended by up to 4,000 persons were held twice daily, in the morning a religious service, in the afternoon a political meeting. According to the police report the meetings were orderly. Kadalie urged the strikers to avoid drink, and not to use their sticks.

In East London there are a considerable proportion of monthly employees, but I traced only one case in which a striker had been charged with desertion from service. He undertook to return to work, and a deferred sentence was passed.

The Strike Committee claimed on the 22nd that 95 per cent. of Bantu employees were out. The *Daily Despatch* declared that fifty per cent. were still at work. According to evidence given by employers in the subsequent trial 86 per cent. were out. Some rations were distributed, but after a week many were beginning to feel the pinch. On the 24th some were beginning to trickle back to work, and the Committee determined to begin picketing on the 27th (Monday). On the 26th Kadalie and eight other leaders were secretly arrested, and charged with incitement to public violence, or alternatively, promoting hostility between Natives and Europeans. Bail was refused. (Later very high bail was allowed; it was only reduced after an appeal to the Supreme Court.) From prison Kadalie sent orders to the strikers to return to work on the 28th. They did so.

In the succeeding trial all the accused were acquitted of promoting hostility between Natives and Europeans. It was proved that 'bloody' applied as an adjective to Europeans and officials was not 'inciting', because Bantu 'become used to it in their work, a white employer often using it to urge his labourers to get a move on', and that the struggle was an economic, not a racial, one. Kadalie was found guilty of 'incitement to public violence', and sentenced to a fine of £25 or three months' imprisonment with hard labour. The other eight leaders were acquitted. There had been no disorders during the whole period of the strike, and although two or three non-strikers complained of threats of violence there was no proof that the leaders had sanctioned such threats until Kadalie made a speech on January 24, the eighth day of the strike, announcing the decision that picketing should begin the following Monday (27th), warning the people that police would 'start

shooting', and urging defiance of them. The report of this speech was the indictment on which he was condemned.

One striker, not a leader, arrested separately, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment for saying, in reference to a European policeman at an I.I.C.U. meeting, 'Hit! Kill!' No one had followed his advice.

As a result of the strike the minimum wage paid by one firm was raised from 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* per day, the wages of a few domestics were practically doubled, and railway employees who had not gone out received extra pay for the period of the strike; but as a whole there was no gain in wages, and a number of strikers lost their jobs.[1] Kadalie lost prestige.

All along there had been trouble in the Union over the mismanagement of funds. Kadalie had been involved in financial trouble before seceding. The Independent Union published no financial statements. During the strike there was a shortage of funds for rations. After it people complained that nothing had been gained with their subscriptions, and the Union was in constant straits for money to pay officials, its office rent, the travelling expenses of the General Secretary, and to run its paper. Criminal charges for mismanagement of funds have been brought against Kadalie.

A significant feature of the strike was the eagerness of the women in the cause and the fact that the striking of domestics caused more consternation among Europeans in East London than almost anything else.

Although the I.C.U. began with a class appeal couched in Marxian phrases and Kadalie claims to be more radical than the original Union, both branches are bitterly opposed to the Communists. The latter are a small but active group under European leadership.

In Pondoland there has been no real trade-union movement. Everywhere I went people had heard of the I.C.U. and some had paid subscriptions to join it, but the organization for the improvement of labour conditions had got swamped by the doctrines of the 'Wellingtonites' who preached the hope of release from European domination, by American aeroplanes, or magical means.

Wellington Butelezi (known to his class-mates, who laughed at him, as 'Bootlaces'), a Zulu, who had failed to pass Standard VI, appeared in 1921 in 'nThaba 'nkulu district, Pondoland East, and later in Herschel, practising as a Native doctor (*inyanga*). He called himself Wellington, and gave out that he came from

[1] *East London Despatch*, Jan. to May 1930. I am indebted to the editor for granting me access to the files. Records of Eastern Districts Court Grahamstown, May 1930.

America, but he had also studied at 'The University of Oxford and Cambridge'. He pretended to know no Bantu language and used an interpreter, but sometimes he forgot himself and broke into Xhosa. He spoke of Garvey and the emigration of Negroes to Liberia. He taught that Americans were all Negroes and that they were shortly coming in aeroplanes to emancipate Bantu in the Union. Europeans would be driven into the sea, and payment of taxes would cease. Wellington had a crystal into which he gazed: looking into it he said he could see the aeroplanes already, although they were too high to see with the naked eye. He said that when King George had been hard pressed in the War he had appealed for help, and got it on the understanding that South Africa would be handed back to Africans as a reward. The promise had not been honoured, and Americans were coming to see that it was fulfilled.

At the same time he taught that all pigs and white fowl should be killed. Those who joined him received, on payment of 2*s.* 6*d.*, a badge of membership. It was taught that fire would come down from heaven and burn up all pigs which had not been killed, the owners of them, and those without membership badges. Members' names were written in a large book which was to be sent to Pretoria to the Governor-General, and thence to America. They were urged to boycott European schools and Churches. In some districts 'American' schools were started. They were to have been run with American money, but eventually collapsed through lack of funds. Wellington himself was to ordain the ministers of the new 'National Church'. He held services and even dispensed the Sacrament. In some districts members were urged to stop payment of taxes, and to refuse to send stock to be dipped. In Bizana district the people were promised that when the Europeans were driven into the sea, Churches, magistrates' offices, and stores would all be run by Bantu, and goods would be sold very cheap.

The movement spread all through the Transkei. The Government, singularly lacking in imagination, sent a group of aeroplanes over the Transkei as a display of force, and of course Wellington pointed them out as his American allies. They were even painted in the colours which he had predicted! Agents—many probably unauthorized even by Wellington—visited every district, and collected subscriptions. In eastern Pondoland people did not hear of Wellington. Many paid subscriptions to persons purporting to be 'I.C.U.' agents, but these agents taught that pigs and fowl must be killed, and that Europeans would be swept into the sea—neither of which were doctrines of any of the I.C.U. Many—both pagans and 'school people'—joined. At 'mZizi

'people had so much pig fat that they could not even sell it to the traders'. Nevertheless, some stood out. There are still pigs in Pondoland.

Gradually the movement burnt itself out. Wellington was expelled from the Transkei. 'A man (agent) came and collected money, and then got rich and went away.' 'No one speaks about the I.C.U. (which killed pigs) now.' But in some districts there remain 'The Nation Church', and 'The National Church of the Order of Ethiopia', as the legacy of the movement.[1]

The most recent Nationalist movement is of a completely different type from that of the charlatan Wellington. In 1927 Dr. Abduraman and Professor Jabavu, leaders of the Coloured and Bantu communities respectively, organized a non-European conference, attended by 114 representatives of various Coloured, Indian, and Bantu organizations with the object of bringing about closer co-operation between non-European organizations. Similar conferences have been held in 1930, 1931, and 1934, at which existing economic, political, and social conditions have been discussed and resolutions passed. Thirty-eight organizations have been represented.

The Conference aims at co-operation. The first resolution passed was that:

> the interests of South Africa as a whole can best be served by (*a*) closer co-operation among the non-European sections of South Africa, and (*b*) closer co-operation between Europeans, and non-Europeans,

but the Land Act (1913), Mines and Works Amendment Act (1926), White Labour policy, taxation system, starvation of Native education, Pass Laws, Native Servants Contract Act (1932), and recent and proposed changes in parliamentary representation of non-Europeans have been condemned in no measured terms.[2]

In 1931 the Conference resolved that:

> in view of the fact that General Hertzog has definitely expressed his opinion in England on the non-European problem outside South Africa, and as he has urged the Imperial Government to shape its future policy so as to harmonize with that of the present Union Government, and as the latter's policy is based on the principle of no equality in Church or State between Black and White, this Conference considers that the time has arrived to send a deputation to England to place before the British people a full statement of its views on the matter of equal rights, and status of non-European citizens in the British Empire.[3]

[1] I am indebted to Mr. E. C. Makiwane of Tsolo district for notes on the Wellington Movement. Material was also collected in Pondoland cf. *South African Outlook*, June 1927.

[2] *Minutes of Non-European Conference*, 1927–31.

[3] Ibid., 1931.

Professor Jabavu was sent overseas as representative of the Conference, and addressed a number of public meetings in England and America.

The causes of the emergence and success of these various organizations are clearly discontent with existing economic conditions and European domination. All of them are intertribal and expressions of Bantu nationalism. They tend to have a religious flavour. The cattle killing was supposed to be ordered by the ancestors. The separatist Churches were the earliest nationalist movement of 'school people'. The Israelites were primarily a religious sect. The I.C.U. and Wellingtonites which began as economic and political movements found it expedient to hold their own Sunday services. The readiness of the country people to believe in miraculous means of release from existing conditions is marked. Nongqawuse, Mgijima, and Wellington all preached destruction of Europeans and unbelievers by whirlwind or by fire from heaven. The magical doctrines of the Wellingtonites completely ousted the rational teaching of the I.C.U. in eastern Pondoland. The Old Testament, describing a culture so much akin to that of the Bantu, the release of the oppressed from their oppressors, and spectacular supernatural interventions, is enormously popular, and tends to be read more by Bantu than the New Testament. The influence of the Old Testament is evident in the Israelite movement, in the Wellington killing of pigs, and in the destruction of unbelievers by fire from heaven. But in the National Congress, the Bantu Union, the I.C.U., the I.I.C.U. and the non-European Conference, the nationalist organizations of the more advanced, there is a penetrating analysis of Bantu disabilities, and a determination to improve conditions by rational means. Of the leaders of the various movements only Wellington is clearly a charlatan. It is possible that Mgijima really believed in his own visions and was a sincere fanatic. Leaders of all the other movements have a real desire to improve the condition of their people: their failures are due to personal jealousies and ambitions and mishandling of party funds. No student of Bantu affairs in South Africa can doubt that these disintegrating forces will eventually be submerged by the rising tide of Bantu nationalism. The existence of a conference including practically all organizations of Bantu, Coloured, and Indian suggests that Bantu nationalists may be joined by other non-Europeans.

These movements are symptoms of unrest; nevertheless, there has been less industrial disturbance in South Africa than in Europe, America, or Australia since the War. The Transkei boasts the smallest police force for an equivalent population

anywhere in the British Empire. In 1914 various chiefs in the Union offered gifts of money and men for the War. Even in 1928 the Bunga voted £250[1] out of its small resources for relief for Europeans in drought-stricken areas.

The Bantu are a gallant people. They continue to laugh and dance even when living on starvation wages. There is no loss of vitality under contact conditions as there is in some Melanesian communities. But beneath the cheerful bearing there is keen discontent with existing conditions. The remark of a Xhosa who had attended a Scots mission school was revealing. He said to me: 'I am very fond of the Scots. I should like my children to be educated by them. I do not think of them as Europeans.'

[1] *Transkeian General Council. Proceedings*, 1928.

GLOSSARY OF XHOSA WORDS RETAINED IN THE TEXT

isi-bande, pl. *izi-* — a particular ritual killing during a girl's initiation.

u-bawo, pl. *o-* — my father.

u-bawokazi, pl. *o-* — my father's brother.

uku-bona um-zi, pl. *imi-* — to see the *umzi*; ritual killing after lightning has struck.

uku-busa — to serve, expecting gifts.

uku-ceza — to walk avoiding certain parts of the *umzi*.

i-dikazi, pl. *ama-* — a woman who has been married, or has borne a child, living at her father's or brother's *umzi*.

uku-dlisa ama-si, — to make to drink sour milk; the ritual killing made before a woman drinks the milk of her husband's cattle.

i-dini, pl. *ama-* — ritual killing when some one is made ill by the ancestors.

in-duna, pl. *iin-* — one who serves expecting gifts.

u-duli, pl. *ama-* — party accompanying a bride.

ukw-elapa — to treat; used particularly of treatment of the army.

i-gqira, pl. *ama-* — diviner; one who has *ukuthwasa*.

i-gqwira, pl. *ama-* — witch or sorcerer.

um-gquzo, pl. *imi-* — dance at girl's initiation.

in-gxwala, pl. *ama-* — first-fruits ceremony, when army is treated at great place of chief.

isi-hlambezo, pl. *izi-* — plant, infusion of which is drunk by a pregnant woman (*ukuhlamba*, to wash).

um-jadu, pl. *imi-* — big festival; particularly girl's initiation ceremony at which there is beer.

in-kathazo, pl. *iin-* — trouble; the sickness causing a person to be initiated as an *igqira*.

i-khazi, pl. *ama-* — cattle given by groom's group to bride's group on the occasion of marriage.

um-khuluwe, pl. *aba-* — elder brother.

in-komo yo-buluunga, pl. *iin- zo-* — beast of the brush; beast from which hairs are taken and worn as an appeal to the ancestral spirits.

in-kundla, pl. *iin-* — the space between the huts and kraal of an *umzi*.

um-laza, pl. *imi-* — ritual impurity.

i-lima, pl. *ama-* — work-party (*ukulima*, to plant).

uku-lobola — to give cattle to the group of a girl taken in marriage.

uku-lumba to work sorcery.
uku-metʃha to sweetheart; limited sexual relations.
uku-ncamisa to kiss; a ritual killing made before girl leaves home to be married.
uku-nyoba to give gifts to the father of a girl with whom a man *ukumetʃha*.
uku-phosela to bewitch on account of love or sexual jealousy (*ukuphosa*, to throw).
im-pundulu, pl. *iim-* the lightning bird; a fabulous bird which takes the form of a man and has sexual intercourse with women, who bewitch with it.
i-qungu, pl. *ama-* sickness resulting from killing, or being related to person who has killed, or has been killed.
i-siko, pl. *ama-* custom; ritual observance.
int-sonyama, pl. *iint-* the special piece of meat from the right foreleg, eaten by a person for whom a ritual killing is made.
in-telezi, pl. *iin-* medicines to make slippery.
in-tende, pl. *iin-* treatment of chief at first-fruits.
uɓu-thi, no pl. the material of sorcery.
um-thi, pl. *imi-* tree; medicine.
i-thodlana, pl. *ama-* plant used as a medicine for crops.
i-thongo, pl. *ama-* ancestral spirit.
Thikoloʃe, a fabulous being used as a familiar.
u-Thixo, pl. *o-* God.
isi-thununu, pl. *izi-* servant in charge of a chief's medicines; ox treated with chief's medicines.
uku-thwasa to appear; to be initiated as an *iggiʃa*.
i-timiti, pl. *ii-* type of beer drink or concert.
in-tonjane, pl. *iin-* girl being initiated; a stick-worm.
um-tʃhato, pl. *imi-* a marriage ceremony of the pagans; the Christian marriage ceremony.
i-tʃhologu, an evil emanation of an ancestral spirit.
i-tyala, pl. *ama-* a visible manifestation of an ancestral spirit.
uku-xentsa to dance the ritual dance of *amaggira*.
i-xhwele, pl. *ama-* herbalist.
i-yeza, pl. *ama-* medicine.
i-yeza la-sekhaya, pl. *ama- a-* medicine of the home; that used before a ritual killing.
um-zi, pl. *imi-* local kinship group, and the huts in which they live.
i-zibazana, pl. *ama-* the mother of a girl being initiated and her social equivalents.
i-zulu, pl. *ama-* the sky; familiar possessed by a woman (=*impundulu*).

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