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HISTORY OF THE NGAMILAND TRIBES UP TO 1926

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BATAWANA

The Batawana, like all Bechwana tribes, are named after the man who was their leader at the time when they seceded from the parent tribe. The Batawana were the "people of Tawana," who led them from Shoshong to the Kgwebe Hills near Lake Ngami about the year 1800.

The Batawana originally sprung from the Bakwena who, in their turn, had their origin in the Bahurutshe who are really the fountain head of all Bechwana tribes in the Territory.

Malope was the chief of the Bahurutshe about the middle of the 18th century if not earlier, and had as his sons Kwena, the originator of the present Bakwena, Ngwato the originator of the present Bamangwato, and Ngwaketse the originator of the Bangwaketse. Ngwato left his brothers and, though he does not appear to have removed from the vicinity of the present Molepolole where his father lived, he had his own distinct following. Ngwaketse moved away and found his own country to live in.

It was only after Mathiba, the son of Ngwato, had succeeded to the chieftainship of the followers of Ngwato that they moved away and took up their abode at Shoshong.

Mathiba had two sons, Kgama and Tawana, the elder of whom was Kgama. Mathiba favoured his younger son, as often happens in the case of a Native chief who regards his heir with suspicion, owing to the usual desire of the elder son to take charge of affairs before his father dies. Great jealousy prevailed between the two sons and, from information which can be gathered, Kgama made more than one attempt to put his brother out of the way, without success. He feared that Tawana would deprive him of his rightful chieftainship.

Relations became so strained that eventually Tawana, who seems to have had a fairly large following, moved away with a section of the tribe. They took with them all their cattle and other possessions, and made for the Botletle River, which they followed until they branched off to the Kgwebe Hills. There was no fighting when Tawana left, as is sometimes supposed; though probably feeling was high. It is said that a fight between Kgama and Tawana took place at the Kedia Hills, but this is not

accurate. Tawana had taken with him his younger brother, and Kgama followed him in order to bring him back, as he apparently desired this younger brother; and it would seem that the boy in question wished to remain with Kgama.

When Tawana heard that Kgama was following him, he pushed on and left his younger brother at Kedia Hills, where he was found by Kgama and taken back to Shoshong, Tawana continuing his journey to Kgwebe unmolested.

As Mathiba was not in great favour with his eldest son Kgama, he went with Tawana to the Kgwebe Hills.

On arrival at the Kgwebe Hills, the Batawana found them occupied by Bakgalagadi, whom they drove out, taking possession of their wells and establishing their village there. The route apparently used by Tawana was the one subsequently used by the West Charterland Co., and traverses what is known as the Gaina Veld.

It is difficult to say exactly when Tawana arrived at the Kgwebe Hills, but the estimate sometimes given, i.e. 1700 or 1750, is entirely wrong. The probable approximate date is 1800, and it would not be surprising to find that it was a few years later. At the very earliest it was 1790.

Tawana was evidently a man of about 30 years of age when he went to Kgwebe, and he did not live his full span of life, being killed by his son Moremi I, when the latter was possibly 30 or 40 years of age. It is known that Moremi I was Chief when Sebitwane arrived about 1825, and Letsholathche was a small boy. It would seem from all information available that Tawana probably arrived about 1790.

Tawana is said to have had six or seven sons, two of whom were born after his death (*Bana ba dikgomo*); but, according to Native custom, they were nevertheless regarded as his sons, since they were borne by his wives.

The Kgwebe Hills were named after a Mosarwa named Kgwebe and were the headquarters of the Batawana for many years, despite the fact that within 20 miles they had the abundant water of the Lake and the rivers. It seems that they were afraid of rivers, not being used to them, and it is probable that malaria killed them off to a certain extent.

The Batawana found the Makuba under Sankotse at Lake Ngami, which is properly written "*Nghabe*," and they also found them using canoes as they do to-day.

For want of a better name, the dug-out canoes were referred to as "*segocwana*" after their wooden bowls, but eventually the Batawana re-named them "*mokoro*" after their wooden drinking troughs, a much better name.

Professor Schwarz has recently suggested that the Makuba used coracles, which idea he obtained from the fact that the "*mokoro*" is referred to as a wooden bowl by Natives who described it to the Rev. Campbell in the early 19th century. They did not use coracles, but have always used dug-out canoes.

The Bakgalagadi were scattered by Tawana, but some remained with him and to-day are merged in the tribe. Others went back towards Lehututu, and some went up the Okovango River and into the swamps where they can still be found; and it will be found that they speak the dialect of the Bakgalagadi proper round Lehututu.

Tawana and his people appear to have established their cattle posts in what is now the Ghanzi District on the pans.

After living some time with his son Tawana, Mathiba appears to have fallen into disfavour, and he returned to Kgama at Shoshong, who refused to receive him and told him to go back to his son Tawana. He went to the Bakwena for refuge. Mathiba seems to have been greatly grieved by the actions of his sons, and finally he committed suicide in despair by taking poison. It is sometimes related that he hanged himself, but it would seem that this is not correct. His grave is said to be still visible at Shoshong.

There is little recorded between the arrival of Tawana and the invasion of Sebitwane excepting that Kgari, who had succeeded Kgama, made the journey to Kgwebe and attacked Tawana, but was beaten off and gained nothing by his expedition.

About 1825, during the time of Moremi I, and while the Batawana were still at Kgwebe, Sebitwane and his invading army of Basuto, or Makololo (originally known as the Mantatees), arrived and drove them away, taking most of their stock.

It would seem that Sebitwane then passed on to Damaraland where he was repulsed and his small son, Kgwenyane, who was usually carried on the back of some adult, was killed. The son in question was about ten years of age and was carried to shew his high rank. Before he attacked the Batawana, Sebitwane was settled at Tsienyane (Rakops) for some time.

The Batawana, after this, fled in the direction of the Chobe, and settled at a place called Tsoroga, which would seem to be in the Caprivi Strip.

When the news of Sebitwane's approach was received, Mocwakhumo, the younger brother of Moremi I, seceded from the Batawana with his followers and, collecting his cattle in the Ghanzi District, set out up the Okovango River before Sebitwane arrived. The cause of this spirit was, as in previous cases, jealousy, and Mocwakhumo accused his brother Moremi of treating his dogs better than he treated him.

The descendants of Mocwakhumo now live in Angola, a considerable distance from the border, and it is said that, though they still speak Sechwana, the language has changed, and the people have so mixed with the local inhabitants that their identity is practically lost.

Moremi and his followers made their way towards the Chobe, where they came in contact with the Masubia. They established their village in that country, and lived there until Sebitwane returned from Damara-land, and following on their tracks, found them and attacked them, making them all captives and dispossessing them of their cattle. The Batawana were brought into subjection and lived under Sebitwane as their chief. When Sebitwane arrived, he found Sedumedi acting as chief, since Moremi had died of smallpox, and the heir to the chieftainship, Letsholathebe, was only a small boy.

In some manner which is not clear, all trace of the boy Letsholathebe and his mother was lost—probably they fled when Sebitwane attacked them—and he was not again found for a considerable time.

When the Batawana had lived with the Makololo for some time, Sebitwane planned to kill them one night, but they were warned by a woman, who came to them, and told them to go. Sedumedi refused to go, as did others, saying they would not leave their cattle behind; but Mogalakwe and his followers left Sebitwane's village with their women and children, saying that they were going out collecting locusts. In this way they escaped, and made their way back to Lake N'Gami.

Sedumedi was murdered by Sebitwane, but some of the headmen, such as Kgabo and Meno, appear to have been unmolested, and continued to live with Sebitwane.

This must have occurred about the year 1830, as it is estimated that Moremi I died about 1828.

Mogalakwe and his followers made their way back to their old home and, on the way, they found a Mosubia whom it is related they proposed

to kill for some reason, but he begged for his life and volunteered to take them to a boy of whom he knew, who appeared to be one of their kinsmen and who wore a crocodile's tooth on a string round his neck. Mogalakwe and his people went with the Mosubia, and they recovered the boy Letsholathebe who had been lost and who was living with the Masubia.

Mogalakwe took him to the present site of Toten, and there installed him as their chief.

The Batawana, or such of them as had returned to the Lake, now had nothing left, since they had left their cattle with Sebitwane in their flight. It would seem that the Makuba and Bakgalagadi, living in and round the Okovango Swamps, possessed cattle in considerable numbers, and they meekly gave them up to the Batawana. It is probable that dire consequences were threatened if they failed to do so, but there was no actual warfare. Up to this time the Makuba had been treated by the Batawana on equal terms, but this seems to mark the beginnings of their reduction to a state of servitude in which they remain to-day in a modified degree.

Owing to the fact that the Batawana as a tribe were recuperating from the time of Letsholathebe's return with Mogalakwe, very little of any importance appears to have occurred, and they probably devoted themselves to tending their cattle and hunting for the next thirty years.

In 1849 Dr. Livingstone discovered Lake Ngami, and he found the Batawana living at the present site of Toten, or at any rate within a few miles of that place. Dr. Livingstone (known even to-day as "*Ngaka*") does not appear to have left any great mark on the tribe, and his visits are really of no moment so far as the history of the Batawana is concerned.

Other travellers, such as Andersson, paid visits to Lake Ngami about this time, but they mainly left their mark on the herds of elephants and other game.

About 1850 Sekeletu, the son of Sebitwane, who had in the meantime died, returned to Lake Ngami and raided the Batawana, who fled and took refuge in the Kgwebe Hills. Sekeletu attacked them there, but was defeated and returned to the Chobe, taking with him a great quantity of stock, and it seems that the loot on this occasion consisted mostly of small stock, which gave Sekeletu and his army some anxiety in getting them across rivers. Near Maun there was to be seen until a few years ago the remains of a bridge which Sekeletu made out of dry trees. It was a very crude affair, and was known as a "*lekawa*." The way in which it was made seems to have been by simply throwing trees across a

narrow part of the river. A "*lekawa*" is really a reed raft made by the local tribes and, for want of a better name, and because the Trek Boers had not arrived and helped the inhabitants to call it a "*brug*," it was called a "*lekawa*." The drift at that place is to-day known as Lekawen.

The Batawana did not follow the invaders up, after beating them off, as they were afraid, and probably were glad to let them take some of their stock, provided they went away and left them in peace.

Sekeletu's attack on Kgwebe took place about 1860, when Letsholathebe was a grown man.

Before the year of the attack, a deputation was sent to Sebitwane asking him to allow the two Headmen, Kgabo and Meno, to join their own tribe at the Lake, and he consented, so that presumably the bulk of the Batawana returned before that time.

On Sekeletu's return from his attack on the Batawana, inter-tribal warfare broke out at his village on the Chobe, and those Batawana who remained in subjection received their chance of returning to their own people.

While the Makololo held the Batawana in subjection, there was inter-marriage between the two races, and to-day there are members of the Batawana who bear the tribal marks of the Basuto, and some of them have a great deal of Basuto or Makololo blood in their veins. They are regarded with some sort of suspicion by the pure Batawana, and are sometimes called "*Baloi*."

In the year 1878 or 1879 the Trek Boers from the south passed through the country on their way to Angola (the Promised Land!), and they effectually cleared the country in their track of elephants. These are the people who now appear to have returned to the Kaokao Veld in the north-western portion of South-West Africa, having tired of Portuguese rule, and apparently still looking for elephants. An instance is quoted by Bryden in his book "*With Gun and Camera in Southern Africa*," in which certain gentlemen bearing the name of Van Zyl drove a herd of 104 elephants into a morass somewhere north of Tsau, and shot every one of them.

Letsholathebe was succeeded by Moremi II about 1870 or 1880, but it is not quite clear, as it is difficult to arrive at some parallel event which would be remembered by the older men of the tribe. At any rate at the time of the first Matebele attack in 1882, Moremi II was the chief; also when Stromboom was trading at the Lake about 1877 Moremi II was the chief; so that it would seem to have been about 1870.

In about 1882 the Matebele of Lobengula raided the Batawana, who had now become large cattle owners, and were a comparatively rich people.

This first invading army of Matebele was under Sekgulumi and was said to have numbered about 8,000. They were first seen in the advance some 100 miles from Moremi's village, and the fact was reported to Moremi. He called his advisers together, as there seemed to be some doubt as to who the strangers were, since the Batawana knew of no one who would be likely to attack them at that time, and the news probably travelled slowly.

Lobengula had heard of the cattle wealth of the Batawana from a captive, and he therefore sent an invading army under Sekgulumi to loot cattle from them.

The route taken would seem to have been straight across from Bulawayo, via the Makalakari Salt Pan, and then up the Botletle River.

Scouts were sent out in the direction of Makalamabedi by Moremi to ascertain exactly who these people were, as it was thought that they might be visiting Masubia, the Masubia then being resident on the Botletle River in the vicinity of Rakops. The scouts crept up to the sleeping people during the night, and there were so many of them, and their camping ground was so extensive that it was at once certain that they were an invading camp.

There still appears to have been some doubt, and so some of the older men went out on horseback and encountered three Matebele scouts, two of whom they killed. Their assegais were brought back to Toten, and were identified, by a man who knew them, as Matebele assegais.

The Batawana then prepared themselves for the attack. Their stock was driven away in all directions, and the women and children were sent in the direction of the Swamps. The Batawana were armed with guns, and many of them were mounted. They awaited the approach of the Matabele, who came to the opposite side of the river and were so close that it was possible to speak to them, and ask them who they were. The fighting appears to have been of a scattered nature, and the various accounts given by old men of the tribe are difficult to combine so as to form one story.

There was apparently a good deal of running hither and thither and many commanders. The eventual idea was to wait for the Matebele on the edge of the Lake where it is open. The Lake then was a great sheet

of water, and one of the survivors at that time, Rrapula, describes how, when the wind blew, the water made a roaring noise like the sea and could be heard in the village which was some distance away. He also tells how, when the Lake was rough, the waves breaking on the shore threw up fish in large numbers, which were collected by the women and children. This information is obtained from more than one source.

During this fight with the Matebele, Moremi is credited with having shot two Matebele with one shot. The present Chief Mathiba would seem to have been about one year old at the time, and it was not possible to find out where he was, though it is probable that he was taken away with the women and children. Information at my disposal seems to point to the fact that Mathiba is in his 44th year.¹

The Batawana fled into the swamps east of Nokanen and were followed by the Matebele, who do not appear to have pursued them very far, as they were mainly after cattle. In such fighting as there was, the Batawana held their own. They lost heavily in stock, owing to the fact that every herd of stock went in a different direction, and the Matebele detached small scouting parties, which picked up the spoor of each lot and tracked it down, taking possession from its small number of defenders. Some of the cattle which were driven away in the same direction as the Batawana army were covered and thus saved.

The Batawana profited by their experience when the Matebele again attacked them about 1884 or 1885—the former seems to be the more correct date.

When the Matebele had gone, the Batawana went back to their town at Matshiaren and settled down once more.

The second Matebele army under Lotshi arrived in Ngamiland in 1884. They were not observed until they were detected by their smell by a man who happened to be at the place now called Matebele Drift, near Chanoga.

The Matebele appear to have been naked, and from the name (not fit for publication) by which the Batawana knew them, it would seem that some of them, probably the younger men, were not clothed in even the conventional loin cloth or "*Ishoga*." Owing to their nakedness they were probably smelt at some distance.

On this occasion the Batawana knew what to expect, and were prepared.

¹ N.B. This paper was written in 1926 (Ed.)

All stock was sent away in the direction of Tsau, and then up the Okovango into the swamps - every single herd took the same track, and, as it is described, one ox trod in the hoof marks of the one in front of it so that all stock constituted one huge herd which was located on a large island. Very few cattle were left on the mainland. In order to achieve their object the Matebele had to follow the cattle, and thus they encountered the full strength of the Batawana army which was covering the retreat.

The Batawana waited for them in the swamps, and laid ambushes for them, shooting them in the water as they tried to cross. They came on in such masses that it is said that those behind pushed their comrades in front into the river, and many were drowned in this way. The Matebele suffered severe losses, and out of their reputed strength of 4,000 only about 1,500 survived to return to their homes.

Lotshi and his army, or what remained of it, returned to Lobengula with nothing, and thereafter the Batawana suffered no further raids, though they would seem to have been anticipated since the Batawana now moved away from the Lake to Digogwanen, where they lived until the floods of 1888 drove them out. Then they went to Komakako, where floods again drove them out in 1891, and they gradually moved south until they finally lived at Tsau for quite a number of years. The site at the mouth of the Lake, known as Toten, appears to be the most favoured spot, and to-day the Batawana wish to return there.

Moremi II died in 1891 leaving Mathiba, the present chief, a small boy of about nine years of age. During his minority, the regency was held for a short while by Dithapo and thereafter by Sekgoma Letsholathebe, the brother of Moremi II and the uncle of the Chief Mathiba.

In 1891 the Batawana had moved to Nakalacwe on the northern side of the Lake, but the drying up of the rivers forced them to move north to Tsau.

About 1894 or 1895 Sekgoma set out on a raiding expedition to what is now called Angola. He and his followers raided the Mabunda and the Makwankwadi tribes on the Kwito River, taking all their cattle away from them and driving them back to N'gamiland. Captives were also brought back with them.

The Batawana appear to have been in contact with Government officials in 1894, when a patrol of Bechuanaland Border Police found them at Nakalacwe or Tsau. It is probable that they met stray officials

before that time, but it seems that that was the first attempt at introducing administrative methods into the country.

About 1900 disaffection began in regard to the chieftainship and there were many rumours, some of which credited Mathiba with threatening the life of Sekgoma Letsholathebe, whom he regarded as an obstruction in his way to the chieftainship. Mathiba's position became so precarious that he fled to Kgama for refuge, and remained with him for many years.

The circumstances which led to the dispute between Mathiba Moremi and Sekgoma Letsholathebe were spread over many years.

The Chief Letsholathebe, who succeeded Moremi I, married Mma-Makaba (the mother of Moremi II) some years before he married as a second wife, Boleko (the mother of Sekgoma Letsholathebe). Mma-Makaba was a descendant of the Bangwaketse tribe and Boleko was a daughter of Sekgoma, the father of the late Chief Kgama of the Bama-ngwato.

It would seem that Sekgoma only allowed Letsholathebe to marry Boleko on condition that a son by her would be the Chief of the Batawana, since Boleko was of higher birth than Mma-Makaba. Boleko gave birth to Sekgoma Letsholathebe who under the above-mentioned condition was the rightful heir to the chieftainship. Letsholathebe died while Sekgoma was a small child and Moremi II succeeded in the ordinary course of events as he was regarded as the elder son and was then a grown man. During the whole of Moremi II's reign Sekgoma was still too young to be made Chief, and it is perhaps for that reason that everything went smoothly and there was no attempt on his part to claim his rights.

He seems to have been regarded by most of the people as the rightful Chief at that time, but Moremi II was allowed to carry on for him. When Moremi II died, Sekgoma was still too young to take on the responsibility of Chief, and Mathiba, the son of Moremi II, was also a small boy; so Dithapo (Wetshootsile's father) was made regent until such time as Sekgoma came of age, when he was given the chieftainship and declared "Chief of the Batawana," as had been stipulated on the marriage of his mother. Sekgoma was also Mathiba's uncle and so, during the minority of the latter, would have been regent, and it may be that this was intended by some people.

Moremi II was like his son the present Chief Mathiba. He was very kind to everyone and his rule was so slack that everyone was a law unto himself; he also shewed the same partiality to beer which his son does

to-day. He was on good terms with all the leading headmen and was on very good terms with the late Chief Kgama, shewing him the respect which he liked. When Sekgoma Letsholathebe became Chief, everything changed. His rule was very strict and he treated the leading headmen as he did the common people, culminating in the great dissatisfaction in the tribe.

Sekgoma Letsholathebe went to the late Chief Kgama and asked him for his daughter to marry, and Kgama agreed; but shortly afterwards he married a daughter of Seretse, called Bitsan, without informing Kgama that he no longer wished to marry his daughter. This caused friction between Sekgoma and Kgama. Sekgoma also had disputes with Kgama over the Makalamabedi border, and generally shewed him little respect; and Kgama was only too ready to discredit him.

When the leading headmen of the tribe perceived the position, they recognised a means of obtaining a powerful ally in their desire to get rid of the harsh rule of Sekgoma, and they went to Kgama at various times and began to talk to him privately. Kgama having been greatly angered and insulted by Sekgoma was willing to help them further their cause.

In the meantime Sekgoma heard secretly that Mathiba, actuated by persons supporting him, was planning to kill him, and the headmen of the tribe, hearing that Sekgoma was also planning to kill Mathiba, advised Mathiba to go to Kgama for refuge until the matter had been settled. This he did and remained for some years away from Ngamiland.

With Kgama as an ally, the leading headmen placed the matter before the Government and eventually, in order to prevent possible bloodshed, Sekgoma was removed from the Reserve and detained at Gaberones for some time.

Mathiba had the support of most of the headmen of any consequence, and when the Resident Commissioner, Mr. Williams (now Sir Ralph Williams), came to adjudicate in the matter, he found the tribe practically unanimous in their desire for Mathiba as their chief, and the only supporters of Sekgoma were people of little consequence in the tribe. Sekgoma's mother was a foreigner and, in consequence, he had no one in the tribe to assist him, on his maternal side. From this arises the Sechwana saying "*Motho mogolo kwa gagabomogolo*" (The man who is well-born on his maternal side is well born). Kgama would probably have supported Sekgoma, had the latter not gone out of his way to annoy him, particularly in regard to his breach of faith in not marrying Kgama's daughter.

Mathiba was the son of a Mokinun woman of the Batawana tribe and was related to most of the leading headmen ; in consequence, they supported him. Thaben, who had acted as regent for a short time, was an influential man and gave Mathiba his support, which carried with it that of many other headmen.

Sekgoma was taken into custody in 1905 and his followers disarmed. When things had quietened down, Sekgoma was allowed to live on Crown lands on the Chobe River, and he was joined there by his followers.

Previous to this friction, continued owing to the proximity of the two sections of the tribe to one another, Sekgoma with his adviser, Mr. Charles Riley, placed his case before the Secretary of State ; but nothing was gained by it.

Sekgoma died in 1913, and his son David carried on in his stead. For several years the Ba-Sekgoma, as they were now called, continued to make themselves heard, but to-day (1926) there remains a mere handful of them at Kachikau, who were kept there more by a feeling of loyalty towards Sekgoma's sister Motshabi, than by a genuine desire to remain irreconcilables.

The Chief Mathiba has carried on the chieftainship for a number of years, and there appears to be contentment amongst his people, mainly because they find him a kind Chief, and a weak ruler. His son Moremi, who is the heir, is a boy of about ten years of age.

In recent years the history of the Batawana has not been marked by any very important events, and there has been little dissension of any consequence. The people have become rich in cattle and they desire peace.

Apart from the fluctuation of trade conditions, the European War affected the Batawana very little ; it was a thing very distant and nebulous. In 1914 the Chief called up certain men, before the surrender of the Germans in South West Africa, and they accompanied Captain Stigand on a patrol to the northern border. The Batawana sent no men to Europe with the Labour Contingent.

Apart from Dr. Livingstone in 1849 and the late Rev. A. J. Wookey, who came to the Kgwebe Hills in the eighties, there has been very little missionary effort made amongst the tribes of the Batawana Reserve. The Rev. Cullen Reed appears to be the only European Missionary who has visited Ngamiland in recent years, and unfortunately he died at Kavimiba in 1918. Missionary work is at present carried on by a Native deacon named Andrew Kgasa who has a great task in which he is deserving of more assistance.

It is very noticeable that the Batawana to-day are a sickly people. Unlike the average Native they have very small families, and it is no uncommon thing to find childless marriages; it could be said that the average is about one child to each family. The present Chief has only two children. His antecedents such as Tawana and Moremi I were credited with scores, and the question of an heir was not one which caused any anxiety. These facts would appear to point to generations of disease which will eventually complete its work unless inter-marriage with other tribes takes place.

The capital is now situated at Maun on the Thamalakane River.

MAKUBA TRIBE

The Makuba are the most numerous of the various tribes inhabiting Ngamiland, but they are not the original inhabitants, having come from the Chobe or Diei River, where they were formerly known as Bayei.

The Chief of the Bayei on the Chobe River was Xega, but it was his son, Sankoze, who seceded from the main tribe and came with followers to Lake N'gami. They appear to have suffered owing to the depredations of other tribes, and probably the final cause of their departure was tribal dissension. The section of people under Sankoze who left the main tribe were referred to by their own people as "Makuba," meaning useless people, and the name remains to-day. No Native in Ngamiland is proud of being called a "Mokuba."

The Batawana found Sankoze and his followers at the Lake and it might be said that they arrived there about ~~1770~~. Tawana, who first lived at Kgwebe, does not appear to have worried about the Makuba, and treated them as equals; but Letsholathebe when he returned from the Chobe River after his sojourn in captivity amongst the followers of Sebitwane commenced bringing the Makuba into subjection. They seem to have submitted willingly and even surrendered their cattle without protest, saying: "Take them; when we want anything we will come and ask you for it." After they had been raided by Sebitwane, the Batawana had few cattle left, and they enriched themselves at the expense of the Makuba and Bakgalagadi, and thus laid the foundation of their present cattle wealth.

The Makuba remain servants of the Batawana, but are not in a state which can be regarded as slavery. The more useful members of the Makuba have begun to collect cattle.

Sankoze appears to have died about 1805.

1790
1870
1780?
1805

The Batawana found the Makuba using dug-out canoes which at first, for want of a better name, they called "*Segoyana*" which is the name given to the wooden bowls which they use for food. Eventually they called the dug-out canoe a "*mokoro*" after the drinking troughs made by hollowing trees. The name is the universal one to-day. The Makuba are essentially river people and live on fish and water roots. The head of the Makuba to-day is Mokgwathi who is a direct descendant of Xega and Sankoze, being a grandson of the latter. Sankoze was succeeded by Mosadi, and Mosadi is the father of Mokgwathi.

In the early years of the 19th century the flooded areas extended even to the Gubatsa and Goha Hills and Makuba lived there as they do in the present swamps. The Makuba have to-day lost their identity and are simply a scattered people who have no chief but regard Mathiba, the Chief of the Batawana, as their ruler.

BANAYWA

The Banaywa lived near the present site of Bulawayo under the Matebele, who regarded them as serfs. They had three chiefs or headmen, i.e. Xepapishe, Popone and Nda. The Matebele ill-treated the Banaywa by killing them for no reason and oppressing them generally, and after the three chiefs mentioned had died, they decided to flee to another country and leave the Matebele sphere of influence. Their chiefs, when they fled, were Mayane, son of Xepapishe, Papatsa, son of Popone, and Sankgawa and Boroga, both sons of Nda, the former being the elder. They went to the Mababe Flats and settled there.

Schitwane attacked them and killed Mayane, Papatsa and Boroga, leaving Sankgawa with a section of the people who went to Letsholathebe at Kgwebe Hills. The followers of Papatsa and Boroga went to the Botletle River where some of them can still be found.

Letsholathebe brought Sankgawa and his people to Xanakona, about six miles from the present site of Maun, and gave them that area as their habitation. The Banaywa are living at Xanakona to-day under their Headman Shashe, who is a grandson of Sankgawa. Some of the Banaywa remained on the Mababe Flats, but, with the drying up of the water, they now live at Mogwagwashu in the Kusa Fly Belt.

It would seem from the scanty information available that the Banaywa and the Makalaka are closely related, and probably came from the same source.

OTHER TRIBES

The Bakgalagadi and the Bushmen appear to have been the first inhabitants of Ngamiland. The Bushmen would probably have been in occupation many centuries before the Bakgalagadi, who are apparently cast-out Bechwana, who came here before the Bechwana tribes began to take shape at Molepolole. Bakgalagadi live in the Okovango Swamps and, in former years, lived at the Gubatsa and Goha Hills. The Bakgalagadi, whom I have met on the Okovango, still speak the dialect of the Bakgalagadi found in the Kalahari proper round Lehututu, though Sechwana seems to be superseding it.

The Masubia belong to the Chobe River, but, about fifty years ago, they removed to the Botletle River, in order to become subjects of Chief Kgama. They lived at Rakops under their Chief Dishwane, but soon found that they could not obtain the natural foods they were used to, owing to lack of water and flooded areas.

They removed from Rakops to the Mababe Flats where they lived till 1902, when the Mababe began to dry up; and then returned to the Chobe, with the exception of small sections of the tribe which went to Tlhale near Gomare. Another small section remained on the Mababe where they are to-day. The old site of Dishwane's village is still to be seen on the Mababe, and is marked by castor-oil plants which appear to spring up wherever there has been Native habitation.

There are considerable numbers of Damaras in Ngamiland who own large herds of cattle. They came into the country as refugees from South-West Africa during their wars with the Germans about twenty years ago. They have their own headmen, but Mathiba is regarded as their Chief, since they live in his country. They have latterly become somewhat independent, and a section of them under Nicodemus removed from the Batawana Reserve and now live on the Botletle River.

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Other peoples of different tribes inhabiting Ngamiland are so few that they do not merit investigation, since they belong to neighbouring territories.

MAMPUKUSHU TRIBE

The Mampukushu are a small Bantu tribe living mostly on islands in the Okovango River, where it crosses the Caprivi Strip, and in the Kabamokane District of Ngamiland. There are also small villages on the Kwando and Ruana Rivers in Portuguese Angola and on the Mashi or Linyanti River. Further villages are found in the sand belt between the

Linyanti and Okovango Rivers. It appears to be customary for them to have their villages on the mainland, with a convenient island close at hand to which they can retire with their cattle in case of attack.

The tribe numbers not more than 5,000 in all, under various headmen, the chief of whom, so far as this Territory is concerned, is Disho, who resides at Andara in the Caprivi Strip.

1806! In a year of great famine, about 120 years ago, after the Mampukushu had eaten all their cattle, hunting parties went south from a large Lake in the north-east of Angola, where the tribe then lived. One party under Mashambo, the headman at that time, followed elephants until they reached the Okovango River where they found a fine country with plenty of water, game and wild fruits. Others of the tribe went down the Kwando River following eland, and finally settled on the Linyanti River.

Mashambo, the headman, decided to remain on the Okovango and drove out the people occupying the islands, who appear to have been River Bushmen. He then sent back for the women and children and established his village on Sebanana Island.

The headmen, who have ruled the Mampukushu from time to time, are Mashambo, Mbungo, Dibebe, Andala and Dimpo, Dibebe, and Disho, who is the present ruler at Andara.

There has been much dissension in the tribe owing to the strange law of succession which seems to have been handed down, the rule being that the eldest son of the chief's eldest sister succeeds to the chieftainship i.e. the chief's nephew, and not his son. The sons of the chief become ordinary members of the tribe with no status. This has led to a great many splits in the tribe from time to time, and consequent migrations to the Kakamokone District, and to islands in the Okovango River.

A number of villages were on islands north of Sebanana but, owing to the fact that the Portuguese claimed all islands opposite their territory these people have moved on to the south bank of the river, and are in British territory.

It is said that, from time immemorial and until 1912, Arab slave traders used to come to the headman and purchase slaves with guns, powder, lead, print, beads, etc., and that the headmen often sold whole villages to them. This was a direct cause of the decline in their numbers. Other causes of the decline in numbers were wars, and the cruelty and superstitions of the headman. If an important personage died, some-

times the people of an entire village would be killed, in order that they might accompany him on his journey. Any small theft was also punished by death, the offender being tied hand and foot and thrown into the river above what was called Lion Rapids at Tahoe Island. If the Rapids did not kill the victim and the crocodiles did not get him, he was considered innocent.

Witch-doctors were also called in to smell out those responsible for the indisposition of the headman or any person of importance at any time, and they were thrown into the river.

Polygamy and early marriage of the females of the tribe have helped to reduce the numbers and stature of the people. It is said that the first-born in ninety cases out of a hundred dies at birth or for want of nourishment in infancy, the mother being unable to rear the child. The women of the tribe are married immediately they reach puberty, and, from information available, it seems that there is no delay in the matter, with the result that mere children become mothers and are unable to bring up the first child. The marriage of closely-related persons is not considered inadvisable and results in defective or no offspring at all. It is said that the Mampukushu were much bigger people when they first came to the Okovango than they are to-day. The men average from 5 feet to 5 feet 5 inches in height, and the women from 4 feet 9 inches to 5 feet. The people are mostly very dark-skinned with the exception of a percentage of 20, who are lighter in colour.

At the age of ten or twelve years the two front teeth of the upper jaw are chipped with a small axe in the form of an inverted V, this being the tribal mark. The Damaras also do this, and the two languages bear some similarity which, together with similar customs, suggests a definite connexion between the two peoples.

The females of the tribe twist string of a kind of Native flax or hemp into their hair, which is the ordinary Negro hair; these strings are allowed to hang to the waist giving an impression of long hair.

The huts of the Mampukushu are built with reed mats, and the average hut measures about 12 feet by 8 feet and 5 feet to 6 feet in height. Each village is enclosed by a fence built of reed mats, giving the impression of a stockade, though the mats would not keep out anything very violent.

The Mampukushu appear to be very poor hunters and have not the number of skins and skin mats seen amongst other Native tribes. They also have very few clay pots and very few mortars (*lika*) for grinding corn.

They still forge their own knives from iron, but do not appear to make spears, which are seldom seen amongst them. They do a little fishing with rod and line, but when there is wild fruit to be had, they remove into the bush where they live until the fruit is exhausted. Their crops are Kafir-corn and ground-nuts; occasionally a small patch of mealies may be seen.

The Mampukushu are on the whole a very poor tribe, and can rightly be described as treacherous and quite unreliable. Human life is of little consequence with them, but with gradual civilisation they will learn to appreciate the fact that life cannot lightly be taken.

[The above information has been obtained by Sergeant Lamb from the Reverend Father Wust of the Andara Mission.]
Maun—17.4.26.