

THE CHIEF.

The Chief commands a great deal of respect among his people. This is evidenced by the whole pattern of behaviour of the people towards him. He must be addressed, when spoken to or about in public or in his presence, by the use of one or other of the courtesy titles appropriate to his station. Such terms include "Kgosi" (Chief), Morolong (a term personifying the tribe whose unity he symbolises), Mo-ra-Tawana (son of Tawana, a distinguished ancestor of the Chief - the present Chief's great-grandfather), Rra (father), probably the highest term of respect among the Barolong, although the most commonly used. As a rule also the Chief is addressed in the third person rather than the second. In fact the use of the second person in addressing one's superiors is generally regarded as impolite. The mere punctuation of one's speech by means of honorific titles is not sufficient. The whole of one's speech must be rendered in the third person in order to achieve desired courtesy. Not "I have come to report this matter to you, O Chief", but "I have come to report this matter to the Chief" is the appropriate form.

The appearance of the Chief in public assembly is greeted with the word "Pula" (rain) and so are his judgments and decrees at kgotla. Living in a rather arid part of South Africa with a rather low rainfall, the people have come to associate rain and the word "Pula", which stands for it, with all that is highest and best ⁱⁿ life. They bid farewell to one who is starting out on a journey by telling him to "go with rain" (tsamala ka pula). A welcome gift is received with the words "A e tle ka pula" ('Let it come with rain'), and gratitude generally is expressed by the formula "go nesa pula" (to cause rain to fall. It is difficult to convey in a word the emotional tone with which this word is uttered among these people. It has its richest meaning when addressed to the Chief upon whom the tribe depends to such a large extent for its general welfare.

Another respect in which the Chief differs from other people is in regard to the privileges which he enjoys. These are described by the general term "sehuba". "Sehuba" means the

breast portion of an animal and arose out of the fact that in the past when an animal had been killed by hunting, the Chief was allowed to take the best part of it - and in the view of the Barolong the breast portion is the best part of an animal - before it was disposed of otherwise by the person to whom it belonged. This was extended afterwards to the best part of an animal, even if that portion is not generally used as food. ~~There~~ Thus in the case of an ostrich the feathers constitute the "sehuba" of the Chief, in the case of an elephant its tusks, in the case of a lion or tiger its skin. Sometimes the whole of an animal is "sehuba". Thus when men were out on a raiding expedition and brought back a number of captured stock, the stock was driven to the Chief's kgotla and he had the right to take a number of them as "sehuba" before they were divided among those who had participated in their capture. It might be mentioned here that when those who had received their share drove the cattle to their respective makgotla there again the rules of sehuba came into play. The first man to "go into the stock", as the expression goes, was his maternal uncle who took his "sehuba", followed by his father while the rest of the cattle belonged to the person who had captured them and apparently his ownership here was absolute in much the same way as the Roman *filiusfamilias* was allowed the ownership of his *peculium castrense* - what he had earned as a soldier.

Mention must be made of the labour which tribesmen are expected to perform for the Chief as part of their ordinary tribal duty. This is described by the general term Patšhe. "Go ea patšheng" means to go and do labour for the Chief. The Chief has a number of fields in different parts of the tribal territory which are set apart as tribal fields and which are ~~xxxxxxxx~~ cultivated by means of tribal labour. These fields are not the only ones that the Chief has at his disposal.

He possesses also private fields which he cultivates with his own labour, i.e. with labour for which he has to bear the expenses and the produce of which is his own property absolutely. The produce of the tribal fields belongs to the Chief, but it is with this produce that he is expected to "feed the tribe" (go otla morafe) when it is necessary to do so. The entertainment of important visitors, the feeding of people assembled at kgotla for the discharge of tribal duties, of the labourers who have turned up to cultivate tribal fields or to make a road or a dam on the instructions of the Chief - all these were proper charges upon the proceeds of patšhe cultivation. Those who fail to turn out for tribal labour without sound reason are guilty of disrespect to the Chief and a fine may be imposed on such defaulters. From what one gathers there are more defaulters nowadays than used to be the case in the past, partly because of a general decline in loyalty to tribal traditions and partly because modern conditions provide the defaulter with many more plausible excuses for evasions of tribal responsibilities such as absence from home for labour on European farms or in industrial centres, or inability to procure leave of absence from local occupations in which they are engaged. The Chief nowadays will only take steps against continual evasions of tribal responsibility. But even so, it is worthy of note that a fair number of men are loyal to the tribe in this respect and turn out with their own implements to plough for the Chief on his patšhe. In former times the cultivation was done by women, but with the introduction of the plough which involves the use of oxen the duty ~~is~~ now devolves upon men. Actually the tribal labour does not occupy much time especially now that improved agricultural implements are more commonly used. As pointed out before those engaged on work of this kind are fed by the Chief.

T H E S U B - C H I E F .

Next to Lotlamoreng in the hierarchy of tribal authorities are the Dikgosana (sub-chiefs). The sub-chiefs are drawn in the main from close relatives of the Chief and in particular they consist of senior representatives of the different houses of the famous Tshedi Chief, Tawana. These dikgosana command much respect in the tribe. They are addressed as B^a-ra-Tawana (Sing mo-ra-Tawana) and are arranged in order of seniority. The one next in rank to the Chief or the senior one present often acts as deputy of the Chief when the latter is absent and often as the Chief's spokesman, even when he is present. When a representative of the Chief Scout, Lord Baden-Powell, visited the tribe and a Pathfinder-Scout and Wayfarer-Guide rally was held in honour, the Chief delegated to one of the dikgosana the duty of making the address of welcome to the distinguished guests on behalf of the Chief and the tribe.

The dikgosana are also the Chief's most important councillors. They assist him with both administrative and judicial matters at his kgotla. At least one of them must be present at headquarters when a trial is held, and no matter is regarded as having been brought to the notice of the Chief during his absence if it is not communicated to one of them. Not only are they the Chief's principal advisers but they are also the chief critics of his administration. Among them are to be found, not infrequently, those who lay claim to the chieftainship or who question or questioned the circumstances under which the ruling Chief succeeded to the throne. When the present Chief succeeded to the chieftainship there was a considerable faction led by some of the dikgosana who disputed his rights to the position. The matter was settled in the Supreme Court of South Africa in favour of the present Chief, but although the matter is now regarded as closed, there is no doubt that the dikgosana constitute the group most to be feared by the Chief.

To offset their influence the Chief, according to Barolong custom, always looks to his mother's relatives in the tribe to stand by him in tribal disputes. They will back him up when his administrative ability is called in question. The ^{present} Chief's private secretary and his assistant are his maternal kinsmen, and these appointments are said to have been made after the dispute over succession to the chieftainship, to which I have already referred and in which his maternal kinsmen rallied to his side.

To return to the dikgeseana, most of them reside in Mafeking, the tribal headquarters. Here they have under their administration a certain number of makgotla. A kgotla in this sense consists of a number of malwapa (sing lolwapa) in which are housed the different families - using the word family to mean husband, wife and children - which make up a particular kinship group - what Dr. Schapera calls a family group. Some makgotla are small, others large, depending upon the wealth of the head of the kgotla, the number of his wives and children and the number of servants or retainers attached to his household. The head of the kgotla, variously known as mogolwane wa kgotla (the great one of the kgotla) or mong wa kgotla (the owner of the kgotla), is the senior male member of the senior family in the kinship group. He is responsible for the maintenance of law and order and the keeping of the peace among the people under his charge. Disputes among members of the kgotla, if they cannot be privately settled by the heads of the malwapa concerned, are brought to him for adjudication before they are taken to the next higher court. Even where the matter is one which is beyond his jurisdiction, i.e. murder case, it must be reported to him before it is taken to the proper authorities.

The higher authorities, e.g. the Chief or the kgosana get into touch with the people under his jurisdiction through the head of the kgotla. The headship of the kgotla is hereditary. It passes on the death of the mogolwane to the

eldest sons of his senior wife. In the event of the rightful heir being too young to succeed, his position may be taken temporarily by one of his elder brothers (i.e. older in age, not in seniority) or one of his paternal uncles.

The kgotla, then, is the smallest administrative unit in Barolong society. A number of such makgotla are grouped together to form a larger administrative unit in the central town under the charge of a sub-chief or kgosana. The heads of the makgotla under his jurisdiction are members of the kgotla (the council) of such a kgosana. They assist in the trial of disputes between members of the various makgotla. No one is specifically elected to be a member of the kgosana's council. The mere fact that a man is the head of a kgotla entitles him to attend meetings of the kgotla and participate in the discussions held there. Naturally the kgosana has among these bagolwane some upon whose advice he tends to rely more than upon that of others. But this depends upon the value of their advice rather than upon any special prerogative. The kgosana is the intermediary between these heads of makgotla and the Chief. If the Chief desires to meet the tribe at his kgotla, he notifies the kgosana, who in turn notifies the heads of his makgotla, who in turn make the matter known among those under their supervision. The Chief may want the members of a particular mophato (regiment) to turn up for the performance of a specific piece of work, e.g. the making of a road. Or the order may be one which concerns all the able bodied men of the tribe, e.g. the ploughing or reaping of the fields of the Chief. In either case such an order will be communicated to the kgosana who will pass it on to the people falling under his jurisdiction.

Applications for land for various purposes - residential sites, ploughing fields, sites for cattle-posts - are made to the ~~tribal~~ kgosana. Each kgosana has a portion of the tribal territory under his jurisdiction, and he gives out land to the people under his charge for the purposes indicated above.

But as we have pointed out before, the kgosana, as a rule, resides in the Chief's town. As to the lands which are under his jurisdiction he usually places these under the supervision of a headman who represents him there. During the ploughing season, the people repair to their fields and live there during the greater part of the season. Consequently one finds small temporary settlements at these lands. Sometimes these originally temporary settlements grow into permanent villages because people for one reason or another desire to be closer to their fields and their cattle-posts. This does not lead to any alteration in the jurisdiction of the kgosana in whose area such a village is situated. A herdman is appointed to represent the kgosana and he deals with all disputes in the customary manner. Appeals against his decision go to the kgosana before they go on to the Chief. For the purpose of deciding these appeals, the kgosana either goes out to the village to try the case or it is brought to his kgotla in the central town. The headmen of these outlying villages are selected from among trusted commoners who may or may not be distant relatives of the kgosana. Thus Molema, one of the kgosana, has as his representative at his lands Leteane, who, though himself a commoner, rose in the public service because of his prowess in military expeditions and later married a paternal cousin - a classificatory sister - of Molema. One or two of the dikgosana have themselves settled down in such outlying villages and although they have homes in the central town, they seldom come to them except when they are on official business. This is particularly the case where the outlying village has long been established in the manner suggested above. Andrew Tawana and Joseph Tawana are settled in such well-established villages. Most of them also have farms at the Barolong Farms in Bechuanaland Protectorate. There again they have "tenants" on their land under their jurisdiction and are each represented by a headman. As a matter of fact the Paramount Chief, who is one of these

"landowners", spends most of his time at his residence at the Barolong Farms and comes down to the central town by car to attend to tribal business. During his absence from the central town one of the dikgosana acts as his deputy.

The number of makgotla under the charge of each kgosana varies; the Chief and the senior dikgosana have more than three juniors. The makgotla themselves are of diverse origins, some being of Barolong extraction, while others are of foreign, i.e. non-tribal, origin. The Chief seems to have more makgotla of foreign origin under his charge than any of the dikgosana. These include Bahurutshe, Bakwena, BaNgwato and others. As a rule the makgot la under the jurisdiction of a kgosana are contiguous and are in close proximity to that of their kgosana, but some of them, because of their late incorporation, may be separated from the group to which they belong by a kgotla under the charge of another kgosana. The kgotla of the kgosana is the one round which all the activities of the makgotla under his charge revolve. All the taxpayers in such a group of makgotla are on the roll of their particular kgosana. The latter is responsible for the conduct of members of his area of jurisdiction. He adjudicates upon their disputes before they are taken to the Chief. The Chief gets into touch with the various social units within the tribe, e.g. the mephato (the regiments into which initiated persons are arranged), the heads of makgotla, etc., through their kgosana.

The kgosana, is succeeded in his position by his eldest son of his chief wife in much the same way as the Chief or if he dies without issue by his brother. The latter may, by a seantlo union 'raise up seed' to his deceased brother and restore the kgosana-ship to the eldest male child from such union.

The dikgosana are arranged in order of seniority. As pointed out before they are descendants of the famous Chief Tawana and their status depends the status of the 'houses' from

which they are, ^{Marum} and where they are from the same house upon their relative position regarding age within the family. Thus Lekoko is first in order of seniority among the dikgosana - he stands next to the Chief because he is descendant of Marumulwa, who, among the sons of Tawana, stood next in rank to Montshiwa, the heir to the chieftainship.