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A HISTORY OF RESEARCH AMONG THE BASARWA IN BOTSWANA

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A HISTORY OF RESEARCH AMONG THE BASARWA IN BOTSWANA

In order to fully understand contemporary policies of remote area development in Botswana, it is necessary to have some idea of research that has been carried out among Basarwa, the best-studied of the populations inhabiting the rural parts of the country. While knowledge of the Basarwa goes back several hundred years, it was not until the middle of the 19th century that observations of their way of life began to be recorded in any depth. The works of explorers like James Chapman, Emil Holub and Thomas Baines, as well as those of missionaries like David Livingstone and John MacKenzie, contain numerous references to the "Masarwas" or Bushmen, and they provide us with information on a variety of topics. Later researchers discussed the Basarwa as well, such as Passarge (1907), Schwarz (1928), Dunn (1931) and Seiner. Isaac Schapera, the anthropologist who spent much of his life studying and writing about the Tswana (and continues to do so today), did his dissertation at the University of London on the Khoisan (Bushman and Hottentot) peoples of Southern Africa; this thesis was later published (Schapera 1930) and stands as a major contribution to the ethnography of the Basarwa.

In the mid-19th century W. H. I. Bleek and his sister-in-law, Lucy C. Lloyd, began an investigation of Cape Basarwa, concentrating particularly on folklore (see, for example, Bleek and Lloyd 1911). This work was continued by Bleek's daughter, Dorothea, who published a number of papers drawing from the notes of Bleek and Lloyd (see the series of articles on the Xam Bushmen in Bantu Studies in 1934-36), in addition, Dorothea Bleek conducted linguistic investigations (Bleek 1929, 1956) and ethnographic research (Bleek 1928). The University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa, took an interest in the Basarwa in the 1930's, and in 1936-37 a group of Bushmen from the Auop and Nossop Rivers was studied by a group of Wits researchers (Tobias 1975:74). These studies as well as some others carried out at that time were published in Bantu Studies,

volumes 10 and 11; these papers were then collated and published as a book (Rheinalt-Jones and Doke 1937).

Beginning in the 1920's the status and treatment of Basarwa in what was then the Bechuanaland Protectorate began to be seriously questioned. On a visit to Serowe in 1926 the Resident Commissioner asked Tshekedi Khama about the status of the people who were herding cattle and working in the fields of the Bamangwato; this question was precipitated in part by a report from Simon Ratshosa (Botswana National Archives S.43/7) on "How the Masarwa Became Slaves". In a visit to Lord Passfield, England's Secretary of State, in 1930, Tshekedi asked that a commission of inquiry be set up to look into the status of the Basarwa (Hitchcock in press). In 1931 Mr. E. S. B. Tagart, who had been the Secretary for Native Affairs in Rhodesia, was appointed to look in to the relationship between the Basarwa and the Bamangwato (Tagart 1933). His report contained a series of recommendations, one of which was the suggestion that they appoint an officer to do further work in the Ngwato District and to implement the recommendations. In October, 1935, J. W. Joyce began work in Serowe, and his first task was to carry out a census of Basarwa in the district (Joyce 1938). Later, Joyce was involved in establishing agricultural schemes for Basarwa at Letlhakane. Prior to Joyce's arrival in the Bamangwato Reserve, the London Missionary Society had held a meeting with Tshekedi and other members of the tribe on 20 March, 1935. This meeting, which lasted a week, basically allowed Tshekedi Khama to give his own opinion on the Basarwa, after which there was a discussion and a series of recommendations put forth (London Missionary Society 1935). The investigations into the treatment of the Basarwa in the 1930's were primarily confined to a single district, the Ngwato District (now the Central District); consequently, the data on Basarwa from this region are far better and more complete than those from other parts of Botswana. A recent summary of the so-called slavery of serfdom issue has been made by Janet Hermans and is due to be published by Botswana Notes and Records; in addition, Professor K. Prah of the University

of Botswana and Swaziland is conducting research on this topic, as is Helga Vierich, an anthropologist from the University of Toronto.

Relatively little work was conducted among Basarwa in the 1940's. In 1951 the French explorer Francois Balsan organized the Panhard-Capricorn Expedition, which had as one objective the study of the Basarwa in the Kalahari (see Balsan 1952 for an account of this expedition). Accompanying Balsan was Phillip Tobias, now head of the Department of Anatomy at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. In 1956 Tobias published an important paper in which he estimated the number of surviving Bushmen in Southern Africa to be around 55,000, a figure far higher than those made by previous workers. Also in the early 1950's some other South African researchers realized the importance of conducting comprehensive studies of the lifeways and biology of the Basarwa peoples. This interest led to the formation of the Kalahari Research Committee at the University of Witwatersrand (and later in conjunction with the Institute for the Study of Man in Africa) in 1956. Between 1958 and 1960 this committee, with the financial support of the Nuffield Foundation, sent 7 expeditions into the Kalahari (see Tobias 1959a, 1959b, 1961 for discussions of the results of these investigations). A second phase of Kalahari Research Committee work was in the years 1962-67, when an additional 14 expeditions were made (Tobias 1975). Since 1967 the Committee has not been actively engaged in field work but has instead concentrated on writing up the results, some of which are to be published in a forthcoming volume edited by Phillip Tobias (Tobias in press).

The 1950's was an active period for another group of researchers as well: the Marshall family. Working with a wide range of Basarwa groups, particularly those in the northwestern part of Botswana and the northeastern part of Namibia, the Marshalls conducted ethnographic interviews, recorded music, made films, and generally collected a mass of data, mostly on hunting-gathering groups (see Lorna Marshall's articles in the journal Africa in the 1960's as well as her recent book, Marshall 1976). Out of this work came a superb semi-popular book on the Basarwa, The Harmless

People (Thomas 1958), and perhaps the best film record of any society (John Marshall's film The Hunters is a classic depiction of a giraffe hunt by a group of Basarwa). The Marshalls had a number of researchers working in conjunction with them and these people are listed in Appendix I.

In the later 1950's Ernst Westphal of the University of Cape Town put in a request to the Protectorate Government that land be set aside for Basarwa; his suggestion was not unlike that made by other researchers, and it was taken seriously by government officials. In 1957 George Silberbauer was sent to the University of Witwatersrand for anthropological training, and in October 1958 he took over as Bushman Survey Officer for the Bechuanaland Protectorate. In the late 1950's and early 1960's Silberbauer conducted a survey of Basarwa, primarily in the central and western portions of the country. He worked with Alec Campbell who was the Census Officer for the 1964 census, and together they compiled a set of data on Basarwa population distribution and numbers (see the map on p. 14 of Silberbauer 1965). Much of Silberbauer's work focussed on the G/Wi, a hunting-gathering group in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. This Reserve was established in part as a response to the pressure for preserving both the game and the lifeways of the people in the Kalahari. Silberbauer's (1965) survey report contains detailed descriptions of the adaptations of hunter-gatherers, as well as a discussion of the Ghanzi Farms Basarwa situation (see also Silberbauer 1961, 1963, 1972, 1973; Silberbauer and Kuper 1966).

Toward the end of the 1950's a suggestion was made that a "Coordinating Committee for Bushman Studies" be established at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London. It was pointed out, however, that a committee already existed which was devoted to the study of the Kalahari peoples, namely the Kalahari Research Committee at the University of Witwatersrand. A meeting was held at the University of London in October, 1960, but the subject of the Coordinating Committee was not addressed, and presumably the Kalahari Research Committee remained as the only

research group actively pursuing Bushman studies (see Tobias 1975 for a summary of the KRC's research).

In 1963, while Silberbauer was working in the Central Kalahari, Richard Lee and Irvan DeVore arrived in Botswana. A research station was established at Dobe near the Botswana-Namibia border in Ngamiland, and Lee carried out investigations of the subsistence ecology of the !Kung until 1965. In the latter part of the 1960's Lee and DeVore established the Harvard Kalahari Research Group. From 1968 until 1975 a series of researchers from Harvard University worked in the Dobe-/ai/ai region, including ethnologists, archaeologists, demographers, and medical researchers. A number of the studies which these researchers conducted are contained in Lee and DeVore (1976). An earlier summary of this research can be found in Lee and DeVore (1970), while Lee (1976) summarizes research amongst Basarwa ("San") in general. One outgrowth of the Kalahari Research Group's studies in Ngamiland was the establishment of the Kalahari People's Fund in 1973, a non-profit organization dedicated to bettering the lives of the peoples of the Kalahari.

The 1960's saw research going on in areas besides Ngamiland. H. J. Heinz, originally a parasitologist from the University of Witwatersrand, studied the !Xo (!Ko) in the southwestern Kalahari (Heinz 1966), and Jiro Tanaka worked in the Central Reserve (Tanaka 1969, 1971). The South African Institute for Medical Research worked in conjunction with a number of these researchers, carrying out serogenetic and other kinds of tests (Jenkins and Nurse 1974; Nurse and Jenkins 1977). Linguistic work was carried out by Ernst Westphal in a number of areas of Botswana during this period (Westphal 1962a, b, 1963, 1971).

The tradition of research in the Dobe area of Ngamiland was carried on by Edwin Wilmsen (1976) and Polly Wiessner (1977), both of whom worked primarily in the /ai/ai area, where Lee and Yellen (1971) had both worked. Wilmsen was interested in testing some of the ideas about weight change and fertility over time, while Wiessner focussed on Hxaro, the regional exchange system of the !Kung. John Yellen and Alison Brooks, of the Smithsonian Institution and George Washington University, respectively, con-

ducted an archaeological and ethnoarchaeological investigation in the Dove area in 1975-76 and 1977 (Brooks, Crowell and Yellen 1977); much of their work was carried out at /Gi Pan which has archaeological remains running from Middle Stone Age to the present (for a discussion of archaeological and ethnoarchaeological research in Botswana, see Hitchcock in press b). Other studies in the Ngamiland region, prior the Kalahari Research Group and subsequent researchers' work, were those of M. Gusinde and J. H. Wilhelm.

Two of the anthropologists who had worked in the Dobe area with the Harvard group were Patricia Draper and Henry Harpending; in 1975 they were given a grant to carry out studies in the same area as before, but at the request of the Ministry of Local Government and Lands they requested and received a change of venue, shifting the research from Ngamiland to the east to Central District where Joyce and Tagart had worked in the 1930's. At the time, Central District was almost unknown ethnographically; indeed, many anthropologists concluded that all the Basarwa in the region were living on cattle posts, and the 1971 census did not enumerate any nomads whatsoever in this district. The University of New Mexico Kalahari Project, as this research group was called, started work in Central District in mid-1975. A summary of the history of the project can be found in Hitchcock, Ebert, and Ebert (1975). The three main areas which the project personnel focussed on were (1) the Nata River region in the northeast, (2) the east-central Kalahari desert west of Serowe (the Makoba-Mmaletswai area), and (3) the northeastern Central Kalahari Game Reserve. The UNM Kalahari Project, unlike its predecessors, did not confine itself solely to traditional hunter-gatherers but rather examined populations undergoing the process of sedentism. At the same time, it was discovered that one of the largest populations of traditionally mobile hunter-gatherers occupied the western part of the district, south of the Makgadikgadi Pans and north and west of Lephepe. This area was investigated by the UNM Kalahari Project in conjunction with the Technical Advisor to the Ngwato Land Board and recommendations were made concerning development and land allocations in the area (Ebert, Thoma, Ebert, Hitchcock, and Oabile 1976). Since this area has been zoned commercial under the Tribal Grazing Land Policy, the Government of Botswana has hired a consultant, R. Hitchcock, to investigate the area more fully.

The area of Botswana which has seen the most social change among Basarwa populations has been that of the Ghanzi Farms.

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Silberbauer (1965) reported on the situation there, and his research was followed by that of Mathias Guenther (1973). Guenther focussed on social change, looking particularly at acculturation processes. Alan Barnard (1976) examined kinship terms of Nharo and related groups in the Ghanzi District, while Margo Russell (1976) examined relations between Afrikaaners, Tswana and Basarwa in the region. Development-oriented research in the Ghanzi area has been carried out by Gary Childers (1976)

South-east of Ghanzi is a settlement known as Bere, where a group of !Xo Basarwa live. This group has been studied over the years by H. J. Heinz and I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt, beginning in about 1960. Heinz decided in 1968 that he had to go beyond simply studying the people there and he decided to institute a kind of settlement scheme, complete with agricultural fields and herds of goats. One of the teachers that he had come into the school to educate the Basarwa children was Elizabeth Wily, who was later to become Basarwa Development Officer in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands. Wily was followed by John Fella, who went on to become the Basarwa Development Officer for the Northwest (Ngamiland) District. While there is some question as to the overall success of the scheme, there can be no doubt that it was a first step toward understanding how development efforts could be attempted among remote area populations who are or were, by and large, at least partly hunter-gatherers.

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In the 1970's there was not only a shift away from Ngamiland to other parts of Botswana, but there was a concomitant shift in research emphasis. No longer were hunter-gatherers considered to be the be-all and end-all of Basarwa research. There began to be more of an emphasis on regional studies which emphasized broad-scale demographic and economic patterns. The University of New Mexico Kalahari Project was working in the vast Central District. In 1976 the Basarwa Development Officer, Elizabeth Wily, commissioned an investigation of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. This study was undertaken between July and September of that year, and with the exception of a few minor mishaps (including a tremendous number of

punctures), nearly all the locations inhabited by people were visited (Sheller 1976; Murray 1976). This mobile survey was firmly entrenched in the tradition of Kalahari surveys, and was reminiscent of the Kalahari crossings of Clifford, the Marshall family, and Silberbauer. Elizabeth Cashdan and William J. Chasko, Jr. of the UNM Kalahari Project were carrying out investigations in the northeastern part of the Reserve at the same time as the Sheller-Murray survey was done (Cashdan 1976, 1977; Cashdan and Chasko 1976). Previous work in the Reserve had been carried out by Alec Campbell (1964, 1968). More recently, Helga Vierich (1977) and Robert Hitchcock have worked in the Central Reserve area, in the southern and eastern portions, respectively.

Following the work of Heinz in the Takatshwane-Lone Tree area of the Southern Kalahari, A. Traill of the University of Witwatersrand began linguistic work. Most of his work was concentrated on the !Xo, although he did do general surveys in the southern Kalahari (Traill 1974). A valuable summary of linguistic research among Basarwa and other populations (Khoisan groups) has recently been compiled (Traill in press), and it is hoped that he will be able to conduct a large-scale linguistic survey in Botswana, especially in the lesser-known (in a linguistic sense) central and eastern of the country.

Given the new research climate in Botswana which emphasized development oriented research, anthropologists who applied to do work were politely but firmly told that they could work in the country if and only if they agreed to spend at least some of their time gathering data that would be useful to government planners (for example, data on population distribution and land needs). Under these conditions, a researcher from the University of Toronto agreed to do regional studies of Basarwa in the Kweneng District. Helga Vierich did a massive regional survey of the entire Kweneng and part of the Central Reserve in which she counted over 1,400 people, and obtained data on livestock ownership, mobility, territories, and land use patterns (Vierich 1977). She was followed by another University of Toronto researcher, Jackie Solway,

who has decided to focus her investigations on the village of Dutlwe and its environs in the Western Kweneng. Other research in the southern parts of Botswana has been carried out by Axel Thoma in the Kgalagadi District, Elizabeth Wily, also in the Kgalagadi District, and Jeannette Copperman in Kgatleng.

As more data have been gathered on the distribution and numbers of remote area populations, it has become increasingly clear that there are relatively few, if any, areas in Botswana which are completely lacking in population. The original tenet of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP), instituted in 1975, was that the environment needed to be preserved, so one way of doing it was to divide the land into three types: commercial, communal, and reserve. The latter category of land would be saved for future generations, it was stated. Once the land use planning exercise was conducted, however, it was realized that there were far more people in remote areas than had been anticipated (see Ebert et al 1976, for example). It thus became clear that the Basarwa Development Program had to expand far beyond a single ethnic group to encompass all the people living in the rural (remote) areas. Accordingly, the Basarwa Development Officer became the Remote Area Development Officer in 1977. Already, there were a number of officers in some of the districts: the Northwest District had John Fella, assisted by C. Rostart and L. Matlhare. Ghanzi got Soblem Mayane, formerly an interpreter for Adam Kuper (see Mayane 1977) and Central District received Malaki Tshweneyegae. Since the Ghanze situation is perhaps the most serious (over half the population of the district is Basarwa in origin), Mayane got the assistance of O. Lefhoko as an agricultural advisor and Mark English. The Kgalagadi District saw the appointment of Axel Thoma, formerly in Central District as advisor to the Land Board. It has already been mentioned that the western sandveld region of Central District is being surveyed by a consultant, Robert Hitchcock. These Remote Area Development Officers, as they are now called, and the anthropologists who are assisting them, have begun a process of recording the population distribution, land use practices, and territories of groups in

remote areas in the hope that this information will be useful for ensuring rights to land and employment opportunities in the future (see Appendix I for further details).

When Elizabeth Wily was appointed Basarwa Development Officer in 1974 there were no positions in the government which were directly concerned with populations in remote areas and their development. Over the past several years the surveys of anthropologists and officers connected with remote area development, as well as district and central government officials (especially District Officers, Lands and Sandveld Survey Teams) have demonstrated the existence of substantial numbers of people in what were once thought to be empty areas. This realization was brought about, at least in part, by the massive data-collection exercise precipitated by the establishing of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy. A new map has recently been compiled which shows the population size and distribution of many of the remote areas in Botswana. There are still new areas to be surveyed, particularly in the Southern District, east of the rail line in Central District, and around the Makgadikgadi Pans. But as research becomes increasingly regional in scope, and as more remote area development personnel are appointed, Botswana will have an increasingly clear idea of the scope of the problems facing them in the remote areas and will be better equipped to handle them in the future.

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APPENDIX

No complete compilation of research among Basarwa in Botswana exists, but several bibliographies have been compiled which can serve as a guide to some of the literature on Basarwa; see, for example, Willett 1962; the Kalahari Research Group Bibliography 1965-1975; and the bibliography put together by the Remote Area Development Officer in the Ministry of Local Government and Lands (Remote Area Development 1978). The purpose of this appendix is to provide a listing of research organizations which have focussed on the Basarwa, as well as individuals who have worked with them or written about them. The 19th century writings of explorers, traders, and missionaries have not been included, as it is hoped that a complete discussion of writings during this period will be available in the not-too-distant future.

- I. Overviews and early texts dealing with Basarwa
 - 1. Dornan (1925)
 - 2. Duggan-Cronin (1942)
 - 3. Dunn (1931)
 - 4. Passarge (1907)
 - 5. Schapera (1926, 1927, 1930, 1939)
 - 6. Schwarz (1928)
 - 7. Stow (1905)
 - 8. Theal (1910)
- II. University of the Witwatersrand and the Kalahari Research Committee (1936-present)
 - 1. Rheinalt-Jones and Doke (1937)
 - 2. Tobias (1959a, 1959b, 1961, 1975, in press)
- III. Investigations into Conditions among the Basarwa (1930's)
 - 1. Joyce (1938)
 - 2. London Missionary Society (1935)
 - 3. Tagart (1933)
- IV. The Marshall Expeditions (1951-1961)
 - 1. Thomas (1958)
 - 2. Marshall (1976)

- V. The Harvard Kalahari Research Group (1963-1975)
 - 1. Lee and DeVore (1970, 1976)
- VI. The University of New Mexico Kalahari Project (1975-1977)
 - 1. Hitchcock, Ebert, and Ebert (1975, 1976)
 - 2. Ebert, Ebert, and Hitchcock (1976)
 - 3. Cashdan (1976, 1977)
 - 4. Cashdan and Chasko (1976, 1977)
 - 5. Hitchcock (in press a, b, c)
- VI. Regional Investigations
 - A. Central District
 - 1. The University of New Mexico Kalahari Project
 - 2. Hitchcock (1977a, 1977b)
 - B. Kweneng District
 - 1. Vierich (1977)
 - C. Kgalagadi District
 - 1. Thoma (1977)
 - 2. Reid (1977)
 - D. Ghanzi District
 - 1. Mayane (1977)
 - 2. Childers (1976)
 - 3. Russell (1976)
 - 4. Guenther (1973)
 - 5. Barnard (1976)
 - 6. Silberbauer (1965)
 - E. Central Kalahari Game Reserve
 - 1. Silberbauer (1961, 1963, 1965, 1972, 1973)
 - 2. Tanaka (1969, 1971)
 - 3. Cashdan (1976, 1977)
 - 4. Murray (1976)
 - 5. Sheller (1976)
 - 6. Jeffers and Childers (1976)
 - 7. Campbell (1964, 1968)
 - 8. Vierich (1977)

F. Lone Tree-Bere-Takatshwane Area (Ghanzi-Kgalagadi District)

1. Heinz (1966)
2. Traill (1974)
3. Wily (see listing of reports in Remote Area Development 1978)

G. Ngamiland (Northwest District)

1. see Harvard Kalahari Research Group

H. Kgatleng District

1. Copperman (1977)

I. Southern District

1. Wily (see listing of reports in Remote Area Development 1978)

J. Chobe District

1. Fella (see listing of reports in Remote Area Development 1978)

VII. Ethnoarchaeological Investigations

A. Smithsonian-George Washington University Kalahari Expedition

1. Yellen (1971)
2. Brooks, Crowell, and Yellen (1971)

VIII. Miscellaneous Investigations

1. Wilmsen (1976)
2. Wiessner (1977)
3. Steyn (1971)
4. Nurse and Jenkins (1977); Jenkins and Nurse (1974)

IX. Linguistic Investigations

1. Bleek (1929, 1956)
2. Köhler (1963)
3. Traill (1974, in press)
4. Westphal (1962a, b, 1963, 1971)
5. Maingard (1957, 1961, 1963)

- X. Persons who have done Master's Theses on Basarwa
1. H. J. Heinz (1966)
 2. H. P. Steyn (1971)
- XI. Persons who have done doctoral dissertations (Ph.D's) on Basarwa
1. A. Barnard
 2. M. Bieseke
 3. P. Draper
 4. M. Guenther
 5. H. Harpending
 6. N. Howell
 7. R. Lee
 8. M. Konner
 9. I. Schapera
 10. J. Tanaka
 11. P. Wiessner
 12. J. Yellen
- XII. Persons who are in the process of completing Ph.D's on Basarwa
1. E. Cashdan
 2. W. Chasko, Jr.
 3. J. Ebert
 4. R. Hitchcock
 5. J. Solway
 6. A. Traill
 7. H. Vierich
- XIII. Persons who have done Government-related research and development work among Basarwa (Government Employees)
1. V. Caye
 2. M. Bieseke
 3. J. Fella
 4. S. Koitsiwe
 5. A. Thoma
 6. R. Hitchcock
 7. C. Rostart
 8. L. Matlhare
 9. F. Dikgale
 10. J. Copperman
 11. N. Reid
 12. M. Tshweneyagae
 13. L. Northam
 14. M. English
 15. B. and R. Clauss
- 22

16. D. and A. Martin
17. P. Sheller
18. M. Murray
19. O. Lefhoko
20. S. Mayane
21. E. Wily

XIV. Researchers who have worked with groups other than Basarwa in Botswana (Many of which occupy remote areas)

A. Historical studies (19th-early 20th centuries)

1. Q. N. Parsons
2. A. H. Dachs
3. L. W. Truschel
4. G. Y. Okihiro
5. T. Tlou
6. A. Sillery

B. Bakgalagadi

1. D. F. Van Der Merwe
2. I. Schapera
3. A. Kuper
4. P. Devitt
5. J. Solway
6. H. Vierich
7. R. Hitchcock
8. E. Cashdan

C. Herero

1. G. D. Gibson
2. U. Almagor
3. F. R. Vivello
4. E. N. Wilmsen

D. Bangwaketse

1. D. Curtis
2. Ø. Gulbrandsen
3. E. Lyby
4. A. Campbell

E. Bamangwato

1. D. Cooper
2. B. Krogh
3. I. Schapera
4. H. A. Fosbrooke
5. L. Syson
6. R. Hitchcock

F. Bakgatla

1. I. Schapera
2. E. E. Moyo
3. S. Roberts
4. S. Grant
5. N. Mitchison

G. Kalanga

1. R. P. Werbner
2. C. Kerven

H. BaYei

1. A. Sutherland
2. E. Lyby

I. Mambukushu

1. T. J. Larson

J. Bakwena

1. R. Silitshena
2. W. Henderson
3. H. Vierich

K. Bamalete

1. A. C. Campbell
2. J. M. Walker

L. Barolong

1. J. Comaroff

SER

No.

No.

No.

No.

No.

AC

VI

VI

IX

IX

XI

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