

The Correspondence Between Isaac Schapera in London and Sandy Grant in Mochudi, 1968-1985

Edited with Explanatory Notes by Sandy Grant

Up to 1979, the two correspondents, Isaac Schapera¹ the master academic and the non-academic Sandy Grant² addressed each other formally. Thereafter, the relationship warmed. Helping to bring the two closer together was their shared friendship with Amos Pilane, in particular, who had previously been one of Schapera's informants. Grant describes Amos' last days, and reports the deaths of Lesaane and Francis Phirie. Schapera reacts. The correspondence has rare value in providing additional information about bogwera as it had been re-instituted by Kgosi Linchwe II, records Schapera's reaction to the visit he made with Kgosi Linchwe to the initiates camp, provides detail about the re-publication by the Phuthadikobo Museum of Schapera's out of print 'History of the Bakgatla' and his Bogwera. The correspondence is also on Schapera's first post-Independence visit to Mochudi, his award of an honorary degree by the University of Botswana as well as providing his important recollections about artefacts of major importance, Kgosi Lentswe I's rain making equipment and the copper/brass necklet, the mfitshana. There appears to be no obvious explanation for the termination of the correspondence.

Figure 1: Amos Pilane (photographed by Sandy Grant)



Schapera (from the London School of Economics) to Grant, 1 November 1968

(Responding to an initial letter from Grant says], 'I am not sure from your letter if you wish to do serious historical research, write a popular book on Tswana history for the general public or compile a reader for use in Tswana schools... if you could also give me some indication of your academic background and training, I shall be glad to help you in any way I can'.

Schapera, now retired, to Grant, 23 February 1976

I regret that owing to indisposition I have not been able to reply sooner to your letters; but having just received the minutes of the Phuthadikobo museum management committee³ for 13th February, I

feel, guiltily that I must at least hasten to thank you and the other members of the Committee for having honoured me with the invitation to become a Patron of the museum - an invitation that I am very happy to accept. Other matters I can but touch upon briefly:

1. The Dutch Reformed Church in Mochudi marriage registers; if you've had no success so far, please don't bother any more.
2. I am still hoping that you are having more luck with the maps.
3. If such things are available, can one get from the Survey authorities air photos of Mochudi and Kanye?

You ask in one of your letters about the history of the school building: there should be ample material on this in the National Archives. Incidentally, since the school was originally called that Bakgatla National School, would not the Bakgatla National Museum be an appropriate name.

JA Raffle, Department of Surveys and Lands, Gaborone to Schapera, c/o Grant, 10 March 1976

States that Grant has visited the Surveys Department in Gaborone regarding Schapera's needs for aerial photos of Kolobeng, historical sites in the Dithejwane Hills and parts of Kanye and Mochudi and reports that the Department is happy to help.

Schapera to Grant, 16 March 1976

Many thanks for your letter of 4th March, and for the prints. Old Amos⁴ is delightful, and I am really pleased to have this memento of one who was a good and helpful informant in days gone by. I have just received a note from the Dept. of Surveys & Lands, saying that you have been to see them about me, and offering to supply what I want in the way of air photographs. That is very kind of both you and them. I shall send the Dept. a list of my requirements, so please don't bother about the matter again. But if you are ever in Kanye, and could get for me (a) a general photograph of the Chief's kgotla, and (b) a sketch plan of it, drawn to scale, and showing the adjoining cattle-kraal, that would indeed be a godsend. (I'm working on Ngwaketse law cases at the moment, while digesting Livingstone⁵, and if ever I publish, the photograph and plan would come in handy –and give me a chance to make due acknowledgement to you!)

I've looked through my papers, and can find nothing more than what I think you already know about Isang⁶ and the National School. Incidentally, now that I'm a Patron of the Museum, I suppose I ought to help it along a bit. I therefore enclose a cheque for R40.

Did you know, by the way, that Sillery⁷ died suddenly about ten days ago? I haven't heard the cause; he seemed fit and cheerful when I saw him in January.

Grant to Schapera, 31 July 1976

Kanye –I have the permission to publish etc and will be sending this plus the original drawing to you next week. Bogwera –has been very impressive. I took a lot of photos in both black and white and colour, if you would like one or two more of the former, please let me know. Your offer of the bogwera texts –yes indeed, accepted with alacrity.

Schapera to Grant, 4 January 1977

I have spent what time I could manage during the past few weeks in working through my material on Kgatla initiation age groups. The full notes themselves are too disorganised to be of much use to anybody but myself, so I have instead drafted a paper on the traditional ceremonies for boys (bogwera) which I enclose, and which contains all the relevant information. If I have the energy, I shall hope in due course, to do the same with the material I have about the 1928 ceremonies.

Grant to Schapera, 17 March 1977

Regarding your bogwera material –I found this immensely exciting and for the first time had a frame with which to look at last year’s affair. It is now clear to me just how much this has changed –and from what you say, it’s just as well. I had not realised just how unpleasant this business used to be –and this explains the very strong antipathy to it by people such as the President.

One or two other matters. Recently I took a fairly rapid trip to Ramotswa, Lobatse and Kanye. In the latter, I was lucky in finding the kgotla court in session and in being given permission by Deputy Chief Mookame to photograph it. This was surprising as I know that the Kanye people have taken strong objection (and quite rightly) to the flashing of cameras. Result - I now have something in both colour and black and white and will get the latter off to you as soon as possible.

The first few photos are now on display in the [Phuthadikobo] Museum) and more prints have been ordered from Anglo-American and the Information Department. Both are taking a desperately long time over it.

It was Francis (Phirie)⁸ who first mentioned the old practice of royal wives wearing a copper neck ring - the lepetu(s) –although it seems to have a number of different names as well. This has since been confirmed by others, Amos etc. Any suggestions or information about this?

Schapera to Grant, 12 April 1977

[Comments on proposals to republish his bogwera.] This must be all for the time being, except to add that I think I have a note somewhere on the royal necklet which I shall send to you if I can locate it. It is just possible that there may be one in the Museum at Cape Town.

Grant to Schapera, 19 May 1977

Enclosed are two prints of a court session in the Kanye Kgotla. I hope that they are what you wanted. Kanye is rightly shy of photographers so that I was particularly grateful when Chief Mookame, with evident cordiality, allowed me to get on with it.

The photographs –yes, I will certainly let you have the list that Francis Phirie has identified. The royal necklet –we have had confirmation from various people that they knew of it but have had no luck in locating one.

Isang’s papers –it has taken me a year to persuade Mokgatle (Linchwe)⁹ to give us these papers which have been left as they were in Isang’s desk. The papers are not complete. There are obvious yawning gaps but there is no knowing whether he destroyed some papers himself or whether key papers have been taken by volunteers who have been successively renting the rondavel. Certainly they have had their fingers amongst the papers. Whilst there seems to be nothing particularly dramatic in the papers, they are of considerable importance –if only because, at the moment, they are the only non-government papers in public possession in the country. The ZK Matthews¹⁰ papers relate principally to South Africa.

Amos remains well. He tends to spend most of his time at home but does get to kgotla meetings and anything else that interests him. He clearly enjoys life but is little impressed by recent change and by today’s youth in particular.

Grant to Schapera, 12 November 1978

Here are three copies of your bogwera paper. The job done by the printer is better than it might have been but worse than it should have been. I notice two mistakes, one of which I had picked up in the proof but which was still ignored, one a simple typing error. But in addition, Linchwe was very quick to tell me that Molefi was not the leader of the Machama; it was Bogatsu, and that he is not the leader

of his own mephato, the Mathulwa. The first I had culled from you¹¹, the second is my mistake. I should have known better but had simply forgotten that the leader is Mochele Linchwe.

Grant to Schapera, 20 April 1978

Captioning of photos –I am still hoping that this is going ahead despite the Anglo-American mess up of the numbering system.¹² This is impossible to sort out. I have looked through carefully. Despite this it should not be too difficult to get the right caption with the right photo.

I have long been meaning to ask you about the rain making equipment that you deposited at Cape Town since I would like to be certain that we have back everything that you gave them. The situation is that John Speed, who was an excellent District Officer (Development) in Mochudi a few years ago, wrote to Cape Town Museum asking for the rain making pot to be returned. This was done. Speed deposited it with the National Museum for temporary safe keeping. The National Museum now refuses to release it to us on the grounds that it is far too valuable to risk having in Mochudi. After one strong letter of protest, I have let this go for the moment as there was no use fighting over something which we could not accommodate securely.

After a great deal of trouble, I now have a proper display cabinet for the rain making pots (those of both Lentswe Iand Isang) and have written to Speed in London asking him to confirm with me the terms on which he deposited the one pot with the National Museum. Once I have this letter, I shall start my offensive because I am certain that Speed could not have given anything to the National Museum since it was never in his power to do so. I mention all this as background because virtually the same thing has happened with the meropa [drums] that I found some years ago in Mochudi. I would simply like to know that a) we have back from Cape Town everything that you deposited with them and b) we push the National Museum to return everything to us that was deposited by Speed. As far as I know, there is just the one small pot. Your Rain Making¹³ book suggests that there ought to be more. This incidentally is marvellous reading and packed with fascinating information. I enjoy it very much. Do you remember that you were going to look for your note on the necklet?

Schapera to Grant, 20 June 1978

I much regret that owing to indisposition and absence abroad I have not been able to reply sooner to your letter of 20th April. Please accept my sad apologies, especially as you must have been waiting anxiously for answers to some of your queries. First, the rain pot &c: as far as I can judge, you have received everything that Kgabyana¹⁴ let me take to Cape Town, and (this you can stress as much as you like) she did so on my explicit undertaking that whenever the tribe wanted it back it would be returned. It is definitely tribal property, and should be in Mochudi where it belongs. The note on mfitshana [necklets] is, I am afraid, resting with a whole lot of other matter (vernacular texts) that I gave to the National Archives in Gaborone a couple of years back. When I am fit again I shall have another search through my remaining notebooks to see what I can let you have for the Museum.

The camera I used was a Voigtlander. I later switched to a Leica but that, I think, was after I stopped visiting Mochudi. There is a group of people herein Camden who have taken Botswana under their wing, and I lent them all the contact prints I still had to be used for an exhibition they were mounting. I have heard nothing from them since, and had to decline an invitation to meet them, as my voice can't cope.

Schapera to Grant, 3 March 1979

The Kutlwano review was fair.¹⁵ The reference to me as 'late' was amusing but I suppose should be corrected. Would you feel like dropping a note to the editor saying that you have been authorised by me, from my London address, to inform the readers of the journal that I am still alive (or at least was

on the date given above i.e. 3rd March). It was good to see you here again and hope the opportunity will come once more in the not so distant future.

Grant to Schapera, 21 May 1979

Sorry that it has taken so long but I have now been to see Amos about the Kgabyana affair. I found that the best way of handling it was to leave him your paper and let him peruse it at his own time. I went back this afternoon and spent a good deal of time with him. The upshot came as quite a surprise –and one that probably will not please you.

He says, quite simply, that he knows nothing about many of the details you provided i.e. in particular, the comments about witchcraft and the accusations of causing death etc. He was very emphatic about all this. Said that it was completely untrue. When pressed to explain how these three, Sophonia, Maganelo and Isang could have made these comments if it was not the case, he said that maybe this had been a purely private domestic affair into which he could not have poked his nose (his expression). To this comment, I asked if he had been present at the funeral of Kgosi and if he had, had he heard Kgabyana's accusation of Isang. He replied that he had been at the funeral but had heard nothing of the kind. He insisted that this was the first time that he had ever heard these stories of witchcraft and repeatedly mentioned that he had been a particularly close friend of Bogatsu's (Matlapeng) –thus that he would surely have heard something in these years of friendship.

Further, he insists that there was nothing particularly unusual in bogadi being transferred by the wife to a different member of her own family. Thus, in this case, Kgabyana had a perfect right to request that the bogadi cattle be transferred from Isang to Molefi - as the direct heir of Kgafela. He insists that this is by no means uncommon practice but that it can only be done by the wife –the husband has absolutely nothing to do with it. He cited his own case when Khwin (his second and present wife) went to her family at Mannamakgote [Ward] and required that her bogadi be transferred from one member of her family to another - this because he had defaulted on his normal family responsibilities, in respect of herself. Amos said that she acted entirely on her own initiative and he knew nothing about it. Amos said that the family is obliged to comply –that if taken to the kgotla, the wife would always win. If this statement is correct, and I see no reason why it should not be, it certainly raises a major query about Kgabyana's statement that (I quote you) 'her husband now wants them all back and he also wants to know what Isang means by returning the cattle'.

For one thing, this seems to be contradictory, he can't be both wanting them back and be querulous why they are being returned. And at the same time, if Amos is right, he should never have entered into the issue in the first place –as presumably he must have known. It was Kgabyana's problem, not his'.

All of the above creates a very odd situation. If Amos is right and in fairness he stressed that he spoke within the limits of his memory –how could the others have been, if not wrong, at least willing to inter-lay one story with others. And if Maganelo, Sophonia and Isang were accurate in their stories, how is it that Amos, who claims to have been fairly closely involved, has now got it all wrong? Is it possible that the basic issue was relatively clear-cut but that personal tensions at that time were so great that all sorts of extraneous issues got dragged in –more or less unconsciously? I only ask the question because I am now much intrigued. This is, in fact, very much the pattern today. Original issues get quickly forgotten as wilder and wilder comments and accusations are made.

Anyway, I look forward to your comments on all this and will be very happy to go back to Amos with further questions or comment. He sends you very warm greetings and says that he would like to see you again before he dies. He seems okay except for his knees which obviously give him considerable pain. I took him some painkillers and lotion from the hospital this afternoon and hope that these help.

Schapera to Grant, 11 July 1979

I haven't written sooner to thank you for the copies of Botswana¹⁶ and your last very informative and painstaking letter about Kgabyana's bogadi, because I have been involved in various negotiations about visits to South Africa, and wished to have more certainty about them in time to let you know. It now appears very likely that I shall have to go to Johannesburg in December to attend a University graduation ceremony, and that I shall also be going to Gaborone in August (1980) for a Botswana Society Symposium. I shall probably go on to Cape Town in December, to see my kin, and doubt very much if I shall have time to visit Botswana then; but the August affair will of course enable me to include a visit to Mochudi (so please tell Amos that, D.V., his wish to see me again—a wish that *mutatis mutandis* I share with him—should be satisfied then).

The Kgabyana bogadi mystery, or rather the latest installment that you have passed on to me, becomes curiouser and curiouser. I first got to hear about it when Bogatsu wrote to me (while I was still at Cape Town) and asked what Isang's action meant 'in Kgatla law and custom'. I regret not having kept his letter, but it was the cause of my asking about the matter when I visited Mochudi later that year. I now think that because very soon afterwards (in November) there was the great indaba which ended in Isang's being fined and temporarily banished from Mochudi the arguments about the bogadi cattle petered out: at least, that seems to be the only explanation to make some sort of sense. I don't suppose we shall ever get more information now, so may I take this opportunity of saying, once again, how very grateful I am to you for the great trouble you have taken. I hope to be able to thank you in person, and pay my other debts when I see you, hopefully, in a year's time.

Schapera to Grant, 8 October 1980

Please forgive me for not having written sooner. Very shortly after my return I was moved back to my old flat, which had been undergoing structural repairs of sorts; and what with having to rearrange my books etc and arguing with the workmen who had either not completed various tasks or not even begun them, I became so exhausted and furious as to be unable to do anything at all worthwhile. (Even my typing seems to show the after-effects). 'But it was most remiss of me to wait so long without at least dropping you a note to say how profoundly grateful I am to you for all that you did to make my trip to Botswana so memorable and pleasant. I am especially moved by the remembrance of the day you took me to Mochudi, and the really good show you put on for me. I do hope that the inconvenience it must have caused you has not left you permanently allergic to visiting anthropologists.

Would you please give my warm regards to Amos and the others whom you brought to the tea party. It was good to see them again and it remains good to count you as one of the kindest blessings to have come my way.

Figure 2: Mma N Lebotse, Mma P Komane, I Schapera, Mma M. Linchwe, I Lesaane, AK Pilane, F Phirie at the Phuthadikobo Museum in 1980 (photographed by Sandy Grant)

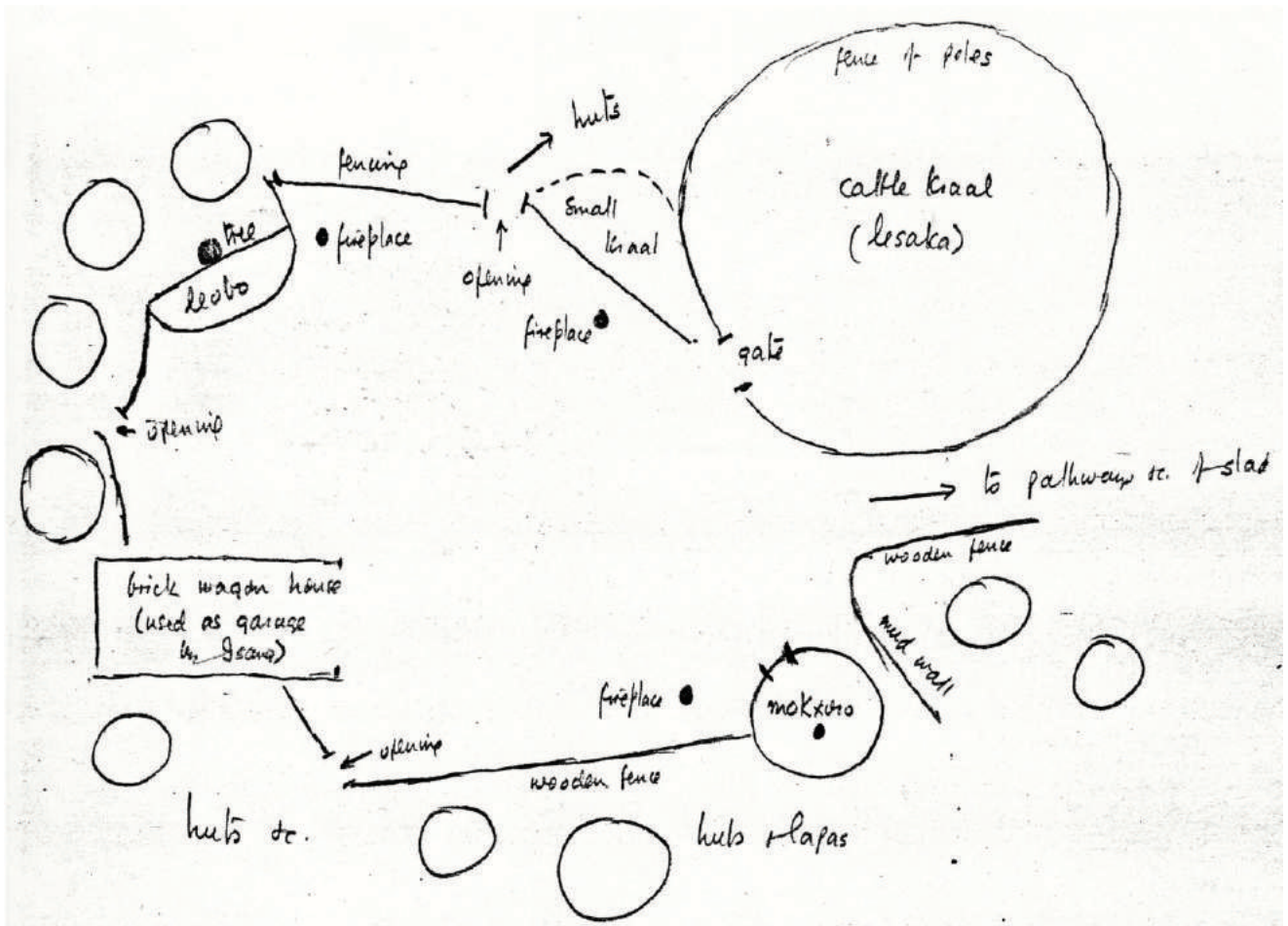


Schapera to Grant, 14 November 1980

Thank you very much indeed for your note, and for the photos. I think the latter are excellent, and I am delighted to have them. But they do remind me of how stupid I was not to have asked the Chief for the significance of the skin that he put around me. If you could possibly find out from him, or anyone else, what it all means, I shall be most grateful. Incidentally, thanks for the tip: I am writing to him, and also to Amos, by this mail.

Looking through my notes recently, I came across a rough sketch that I made of the tribal kgotla about 1930 (when the official orthography was Kxatla, not Kgatla). I enclose it for your amusement, and perhaps benefit (perhaps an drawn & enlarged version might be a good Museum exhibit?). The hut labelled *mokxoro* (i.e. *mokgoro*) was a sort of guest hut plus lock up, and the dot in the middle represents a central pole to the tip of the roof, a rarity in Mochudi at that time; the walls, if I remember rightly were also not of the usual Kgatla type, but were in the form of a palisade.

Figure 3: Sketch of old Mochudi kgotla



I don't remember Segale's¹⁷ *lelapa*, nor do I have much information about him, except that at the time of the Anglo-Boer war [1899-1902] he was reputed to be trying to bewitch Kgosi Lentswe. I can hunt up what I have on this if you want it.

Now, could I please ask you for a great favour? Could you persuade Francis Phirie, Lesaane, and a (former) teacher named R.D. Molefe, to write for me, in Sekgatla, essays on their totems, under the title: '*Sereto sagaetsho sesimologile jang, resebina jang, mabokoasona*'. What I want is their own totems, not those of the Kgatla in general, unless the two coincide. I am willing to pay, or rather make a small gift, of five Pula for a decent essay, as I am trying to write a paper on Tswana totemism and the information would be highly acceptable. Any other likely contributors of whom you can think would also be acceptable. I am asking Amos separately, so don't bother with him.

Grant to Schapera, 23 February 1981

In an attempt to get you at least some material on the sereto business, I have asked Lesaane to shoot around and see what he could find by offering to write down what some older people told him. I have heard nothing from R.D. Molefe, I would be surprised if Amos sent you anything and I expect nothing from Francis. Generally people are little disposed to undertake the effort of writing—that you were optimistic about this shows how much things have changed here.

Schapera to Grant, 12 March 1981

Very many thanks for your two letters, and especially for (a) the texts on totems, and (b) the specimen

of Linchwe's letterhead showing the Kgatla seal. The former, I am afraid, were not at all good, but they were at least interesting as showing how little remains of traditional lore (not surprising, considering that most of Lesaane's informants seem to have been young boys in the days when I was at Mochudi). I'm afraid I cannot add anything to your quest about Segale. I do not have his praises, nor was I ever on more than nodding terms with his son Kgamanyane, whose wife, I gather, is one of your own informants. But why are you so interested in him? I believe that he was one of the earliest converts to Christianity, and know that I have a few very brief notes on his connection with the DRC church. Would they be of any use to you?

One last point. Would you please be good enough to let me have three more prints of each of the photos you took at Mochudi in which I figure? Relatives and colleagues seem anxious to have copies, but whether out of piety or idle curiosity, I know not.

Schapera to Grant, 2 August 1981

I'm not particularly interested in the bojale as such, thanks, but would like to know what name Linchwe gave the mophato he allowed you and me to see. And thanks, by the way, for the additional copies of your photos then taken: they have now been distributed to some of my South African relatives.

News of Amos & others would be welcome; among others I include yourself.

Schapera to Grant, 6 August 1981

Your letter and enclosures of 10th August received yesterday. The History [of the Bakgatla-baga-Kgafela, 1980] looks good, despite the omission of the map, and the cover photograph, which makes me look like a prisoner under guard. Very sorry to hear about Lesaane: he did me good service and I am distressed that his end should have been so painful.

Grant to Schapera, 8 August 1981

I received your letter this morning and was horrified to learn that you had not received copies of your History of the Bakgatla. I sent these off weeks ago - by airmail - and was afraid that your silence meant disapproval of the end product. Anyway, I will get more off to you on Monday.

Amos - I was with him earlier this week and learnt that he had been to a doctor (European) in the Tuli Block who had removed a lot of fluid from his knee. He said that he now sleeps but walks like a chameleon. He was quite cheerful and alert but was aware that he has declined somewhat. I will go again tomorrow morning.

I have another mad idea for you - which follows from the successful publication of your Bakgatla History. Many of your articles are now difficult to obtain. Would it be impossible to think of republishing them or at least some of them? Such an idea is, of course, far more ambitious than the publishing of either your Bogwera or your History - but somehow we have managed to do both and why should we stop at this point? In one sense, the more ambitious the more likely we are to obtain the necessary support. What do you think? You have given me some of your articles and later in the week I can photocopy the list and let you have it. Yesterday I checked in the Archives to see what they had. Whilst you seem to have about an inch of publications listed I definitely had the impression that their collection of your articles was very incomplete - I had no time to go through systematically. If you approve of the idea in principle perhaps you could suggest where I could pick up copies.

Mrs Dennis Healey¹⁸ was at the museum the other day and I gave her your phone number. I hope this was okay. I gather from Alec Campbell that she has now seen you - which is good, albeit belated. She said that she was a mite fearful of approaching you - a sentiment which I regarded as somewhat contrived coming from a lady of such obviously practiced poise and self confidence.

Bojale - well, it's on the go. I have taken one or two photos and will make an effort to get more - not impossible despite the aggressive intent of the older women.

My own little research efforts –slowly I gather confidence and try increasingly to pick away at Mochudi affairs. This intermittent effort now focuses on a) death b) Segale c) matimela cattle d) Isange) Molefi –this one being very difficult and f) inevitably, Linchwe [himself. Any suggestions? The death thing is a pretty big subject but after attending so many funerals I ought to know something about it. Isang? Botswana today is a funny country not least because it's pretty scared of its own history. Perhaps for this reason, Isang barely features. He deserves more publicity. Molefi? Has always been a puzzle for me but principally, I think, because it's hard –and important –to understand why so many Bakgatla admired him.

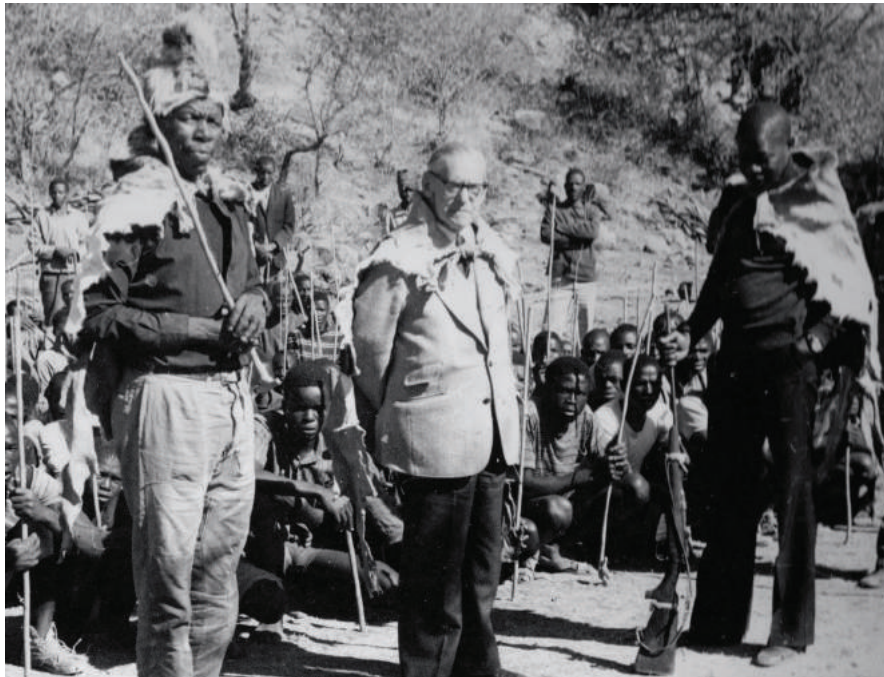
The name of the last mophato? –Malomakgomo. How could Linchwe have re-introduced this name if it predates the earliest of your listed mephato –1846 I think? Where would he have heard of it? He once mentioned Amos in this connection but if he knew of it you must have known too. And what date in the 19th century? Curious.

I should, I think mention that I have written an article for the next Botswana Notes and Records. This attempts to refute those who claim that Chiefs here are finished and that the 'large traditional villages' are, as a result, in decline¹⁹. I have limited myself to Mochudi and Linchwe and said that, as far as these two are concerned, the claims are nonsense, that Linchwe's power (and that's a very difficult word) is increasing and that Mochudi is growing fast. The last person who read it remarked that no group or individual mentioned would be much of a friend after publication and that my fate might be the first plane out. We will see. But it was you who suggested that I was a coward to fear expressing opinions.

Here too many of us, undoubtedly, drink too much –which means that I hear things from Linchwe I would otherwise miss. Such as this story which might be added to the next edition of your Married Life. A husband recently returned home suddenly to find another individual in bed with his wife. He gathered together the man's clothes and told him that he had no intention of taking him to the kgotla, to the Magistrates court or of beating him up - simply asked that he put his hands forward so they could be tied together. The intruder - bemused –concurred. The husband then took the clothes under one arm and leading the intruder with the other, took him to his truck. He then drove to the intruder's lelapa and presented the stark naked individual to his wife with the words, 'here is your dog, he's been eating my eggs. I suggest you keep him better tied up in future'. And drove off.

Linchwe found this one immensely funny as a few years ago he was amused and intrigued by two cases in the kgotla –the first a woman who delivered her two husbands there and complained that one was insufficiently supporting her and the second of a man who complained that he had been raped. I suppose that it's the same all over the world but Mochudi seems to be peculiarly rich in such stories.

Figure 4: D Masike, I Schapera and Linchwe II with bogwera initiates (photographed by Sandy Grant)



Grant to Schapera, 15 September 1981

News from here. Victor's[Ramono Linchwe] funeral turned out a bit of a mess as Linchwe chose to denounce his wife at it –a later marriage designed, from her point of view apparently, to procure the name Linchwe and to get a share in the estate. I don't know what gets into Chiefs sometimes. The lady is extremely pleasant and although most people at the time found the marriage a little curious, the fact is that it was legal. So why publicly denounce her? Anyway, it made quite a smell at the time. Linchwe has made two expeditions to kill lions recently.²⁰ The first was a total failure. On the second he found only one –and then called on the government to ban all killing of lions for a five-year period. Seems the irony of this struck everyone but him.

Schapera to Grant, 22 November 1981

You mention in one of your letters that the new Kgatla regiment was named Malomakgomo. This name occurs in the list published in the first edition of my Handbook of Tswana Law, p. 315, where its immediate predecessor is Mangope, preceded by Mathulwa, preceded by Mafiri. If you could get me the names of all recent regiments, after Machama, we could see if there is, as I suspect, a cyclical sequence.

Have you any information at all about the *bojale* (name, leader, etc.)? And what is the latest development in Linchwe's row with his wife, to which you also alluded? What was her name & parentage, and what is the present status of the marriage? You won't mind, I hope, my troubling you in this way, but as you know I try to keep interested in Kgatla affairs.

Have you ever thought of writing a sequel to my History (now published by your Museum): a history, that is, of the Kgatla since Molefi's original suspension from the chiefship (1935?). It would make a good article for some journal. I like your suggestion of reprinting some of my own articles, but nobody here seems to want them. If you can use them for the Museum you are welcome to try.

Grant to Schapera, 28 November 1981

First of all I am enclosing a page from the Botswana Daily News which I think will be of interest to you. It was quite an occasion. Most enjoyable.²¹ You quote me about a row between Linchwe and his wife. This surprised me so that I had to rush to see what I had actually said. Had I somehow misled you? No, the problem was different. It was Victor Ramono's funeral that the Chief denounced his wife i.e. Victor's. I have some information about this but only from her side. It's a tricky subject and I don't know that I want to raise it with Linchwe.

As for Chief Linchwe's wife –about whom you were I think requesting information - she is Kathy Mmarakau Kgafela –nickname is Nono or perhaps that is her Tswana name. She was a Motsepe before marriage and a nurse somewhere in South Africa, possibly at Baragwanath. But I will get more information from Linchwe.

The *mephato* –yes I have this information but I send it separately and later. I have been trying to establish what work each *mophato* undertook. Quite an interesting exercise but as ever, difficult. Doubtless you will tell me that you long ago published such a list. If so I would very much like to see it. But even then we would not necessarily be duplicating since I would be bringing your list up to date

Grant to Schapera, 6 January 1982

The mephato – late as ever:

Year	Mophato	Leader
1928	Machama	Molefi Kgafela Lentswe
	Machama	Mmathuba Pilan (female)
	Matshego	Motlatsi Pilane
1939	Magata	Mmusi Kgafela Lentswe
	Magata	Mmamorema Pilane (female)
1947	Mafiri	Rramono Isang Lentswe
	Mafiri	Marokeng Moremi (female)
1955	Mangope	Mokoike Linchwe
	Mangope	TshimangweLentsw (female)
1962	Malwelakgosi	Tshire Pilane (female)
1963	Mathulwa	Linchwe Kgafela
	Mathulwa	MokgethiPilan (female)
1975	Masoswe	Rramonye Pheto Kgafela
	MaIsakoma	Khukhwanyane Pilane (female)
1976	Madingwana	Phulane Pilane
	Mabusapelo	Seipati Linchwe Pilan (female)
1980	Malomakgomo	Kube Pone
1981	Malomokgomo	Mantlo Linchwe (female)

No other news I think. I haven't forgotten your request about Linchwe's wife –or did you mean Rramono's wife? If the latter, she was M.G. Ditshwene before marriage and from Mabodisa [Ward].

Schapera to Grant, 15th April 1982

I must thank you first, for the list of mephato; I was pleased to see that the names are almost all identical with those published long ago in the first edition of my law Handbook, though the order varies somewhat. Thanks also for your offprint from Botswana Notes and Records. I shall read this carefully when I am able to digest material more serious than the thrillers which at present are all I can

read without having to think too hard! But the title & content of your paper suggests to me, even more strongly than when I first raised the possibility, that you should write a history of the modern Kgatla, to supplement my own.

Prudence Smith, who is barely an acquaintance, came to see me & brought along the symposium report,²² which you were kind enough to ask her to deliver; since I had already received a copy, I presented it to her. You mentioned once, I think, that Mrs Healey was about to contact me; she did not do so.

Would you kindly ask Francis Phirie to let you have, for me, the Kgatla names of his father (Philip), his father's brother (Thomas), and any of their other brothers & sisters. I obtained all this information from old Thomas in 1932 or thereabouts, and promptly lost my notebook containing it, to my everlasting regret. Also, please give Amos & others who may wish to know about me, my kindest regards.

Grant to Schapera, 17 May 1982

I have seen Francis Phirie to ask him for the Setswana names of Thomas, Philip et al. He has given me a long tale about how difficult it is to recapture some of these things and that the names may only be found in Sikwane. In other words, it will take him time.

Linchwe is again organising both bogwera and *bojale* this year. He says that he expects 700-800 candidates. Last time was about 400. I don't know about the girls.

Schapera to Grant, 7 December 1983

You ask about the rain pot in the National Museum. Alec Campbell²³, when he showed it to me, said the one on exhibition was a replica, the original being hidden away for safekeeping. I can't remember if he promised to let you have it. In any case, I don't remember, after fifty years, whether or not it is the one Kgabyana lent me. The one whose picture is reproduced on Plate II of my Rainmaking book is the only one I recollect seeing; and if that is the one you have, you need not worry about the one Campbell has. The horn, as you will see from my book, was not entrusted to me, and I have no idea at all what may have happened to it. Perhaps Kgabyana's daughter may know.

I am delighted that you are at work on the recent bogwera, and look forward to seeing your account when it has been written up. Which reminds me: what is now the state of drill about the articles of mine that you were going to issue for your own Museum?

Grant to Schapera, 18 January 1984

I wonder if you received my bogwera article?²⁴ I had expected a broadside from you pointing out the many errors. In fact, I would have wished to make some corrections, alterations in emphasis and so on. But despite the editor's clear statement that corrected scripts are returned to authors, I haven't heard a word from them. This is rather strange.

Schapera to Grant, 25 January 1984

First, about your article I like it very much indeed, and consider it a most useful supplement to my own bogwera paper. The only comments I have to make are not such as to necessitate any major changes. On p.1, para. 1, Makoba should of course read Makuka; on p.9, readers should perhaps be told where Motlhoareng is (and the same applies to other place names; can you manage a sketch map, or at least a brief note at the end?); on p. 17, it might help, and perhaps interest readers, if you mentioned that Leapeetswe Khama is Tshakedi's eldest son (and, by the way, was Lemmy also circumcised?). An additional note on the teaching (if any) given to the initiands in the veld seems to me the only other requirement.

For my own information: who are (were) the fathers of Phulane Pilane, Mochele Linchwe, Rrajealous Linchwe, and Ray Molomo; and who is (was?) the wife of Molefi's younger brother Mmusi? And for your information, there is a brief description of the traditional Kgatla hunting formation in my article 'A Native Lion Hunt in the Kalahari Desert', *Man*, vol. 32 (1932), art. 327 (December). There should be a copy in the University Library at Gaborone; otherwise I could have a xerox made for you. By the way, it has just occurred to me. Did you include a note or letter with the copy of your bogwera article that you sent me? I gave the envelope, without examining its interior carefully, to one of the hotel porters who is an ardent stamp collector, and now I have the horrid thought that I was rash to dispose of it without making sure that I had removed all the contents.

Grant to Schapera, 14 February 1984

You were over complimentary about my bogwera paper, I feel, but encouragement is always welcome. There is not much around here.

Now for your questions. Phulane Pilane's father was Thari. Ray Molomo's father was Sefako, Rra Jealous' father was apparently Rampedi Kgamanyane who you may know, but I don't. I need to ask more about this as there is a curious blankness on the subject. The difficult one though proved to be the identity of Mmusi's late wife. Linchwe knew her as Selebyane and obviously thought that was enough since 'she was just an ordinary person'. Others knew her as Seipati - but who? The eventual answer was Mogorosi. Mochele Linchwe? His father was Bogatsu or Rankae, Linchwe I's son who you must have known fairly well.

You mention the need to raise the question of education in the bush. That's tricky simply because, dikoma apart, there appears to be none. That is why I tried to approach that aspect sideways - by suggesting that an opportunity now exists 'to educate'. Implication? That not much is now being done. This seems to me to knock the biggest hole in all the theories about bogwera. For instance, if its justification is seen as the projection of cultural/historical values, and yet these, dikoma apart, are not being inculcated, some pretty basic questions prompt themselves.

Lastly, I had not included a note with the bogwera article- a bit impolite I know but I was terribly rushed at the time.

Grant to Schapera, 8 March 1984

I have a photo of D.B. Sinclair, District Commissioner, Mochudi 1940/41 and 1945 who, I suspect, was the individual who supposedly committed suicide. I can find nothing in the Archives. Can you tell me anything?

Three of your photos:- the old lady. No one seems able to identify her. The background looks to me very much like Isang's place. The ngaka - Rakelebang Moshwe's father, of Mososo. And Moswetsi Kgakole - the famous lion hunter of Mannamakgote. Any information about these three would be appreciated.

Grant to Schapera, 3 May 1984

Thanks for the letter of the 27th April. I was beginning to worry that you might not be so well again. The three 'missing' individuals - the old lady? Still seems very odd that no one knows her. I did find one old biddy who had spent much time at Isang's lelapa in her youth and she, at first, felt that it was a sister of Isang's wife. Next day, after studying the photo in daylight, she was adamant that it was not. So the hunt continues. The famous lion hunter is supposed to be Moswetsi Kgakole of Mannamakgote - identified by some of the related Tladi family. The son, Motsisi Kgakole, a friend of mine, is still to see the photo - his opinion should be final. But Mochudi is very perverse. It's hard to believe that someone could mis-identify their own parent but here, anything is possible. The ngaka? I have him as

Rakelebang Mofshwe's father (Mososo) but I will certainly check if it is/was Rakgomo Segale.

Sinclair's suicide? Amos gave me chapter and verse –to my surprise. Came down to his wife going off with some Rhodesian. Apparently very popular with many people here. Poor Amos. I have been with him a great deal, trips to the hospital, visits there and at home. His catheter has now been removed and there is app. nothing really wrong with him. But he lies on his mattress on the floor and appears to be very much the dying man. His voice has changed and it is a little difficult to understand him. As a result of refusing to eat, he did become quite weak –and yet his grip was still hard. We did make him soup which he accepted - and since then he has taken food. Trouble is that his own family members are app. scared of him and he is very dismissive and obstinate. But he has me foxed. The other day, when there was no one around, he challenged me to a test of strength –and his was impressive. He then opened his eyes wide (as of yore), grinned and came close to a wink. A few minutes later he was calling for Bogatsu –who I think must have been Rankae, there being no other Bogatsu in the house.

It's all a bit worrying. Only Mmaphefo, a granddaughter can really cope with Amos and she returns to the TTC [Teacher Training College] next week. Heavens knows what will then happen. It's not good.

Did I mention that Mochele Linchwe died recently –Rankae's son and brother of Bogatsu who I think you have seen in London in the last year –doing law in Edinburgh? Mochele was a strange guy, bitter about the treatment given his father in the mid 60s and very much anti-Linchwe. Presumably this was partly why he opted out of things traditional i.e. which are dominated, controlled, led by Linchwe. Hence the latter refused even to attend his funeral. I argued against this intention but got nowhere.

Schapera to Grant, 27 April 1984

I'm just about to go to Holland to spend a few days with Adam Kuper.²⁵ However I must thank you for sending back my negatives [see endnote 12]. The three prints that you sent me to identify –the ngaka, I am almost certain, was Rakgomo Segale of Sikwane but as I was there in 1929 my memory may be at fault; the famous lion hunter, I am more convinced, was Klaas Segogwane of Mabalane who is mentioned in my praise poems; the old lady, judging from her dress, was I suspect, one of the royal family and a feeble hunch makes me think she may have been a visiting sister of Isang's wife. Sorry I can't do better; nor do I know anything about Sinclair's suicide. I remember hearing that this had been the fate of one D.C.

I hope your bogwera paper is making progress through the printer's hands. They have something of mine too, on the Barolong Farms. Sorry to hear about poor old Amos - not at all nice to have to suffer so at his age.

Schapera to Grant, 14 June 1984

On returning from Holland (where I stopped longer than originally anticipated), I found awaiting me your telegram and several letters about Amos. It is perhaps too late now to send Linchwe a telegram of condolence but if you think it appropriate please convey to him my sympathy and personal sense of deep regret at the passing of someone I had known, and esteemed, since I first came to the Kgatla in 1929. And if you could also let the widow know of my affectionate sharing of her loss, it would be much appreciated. I need hardly add how grateful I am to you personally for having kept me informed. Poor Amos, he seems to have suffered more than a decent old person should, but at least his troubles are over. I expect that you too have much reason to mourn him.

I see that in the last issue of Botswana Notes and Records, Neil Parsons seems to have enjoyed himself on my paper about the Barolong Farms.²⁶ It seems very unlikely that I shall get back there again, or even to Mochudi- which reminds me, if you have any copies of the photos of myself that you took when I was there last year, could you please let me have a few? They will do as keepsakes for my

sister's great grand children who (their parents) are all the family I have now.

Grant to Schapera, 21 June 1984

Yes, the experience with Amos in the last few months - and then his death, has left me quite thoughtful. A difficult thing to put into words. But as ever, you manage very well. I shall certainly pass on your comment to Linchwe. I think it will be appreciated. Naomi [Mitchison] sent me a rather daft telegram which to my slight horror, was read out at the funeral. I suspect that she was unaware that the nonsense of reading telegrams at the graveside is now the norm. Finding some more of these neck rings - mhitsana - has encouraged me to start yet another attempt to find out about them. And this time the result has been much more encouraging. Yesterday Alec Campbell told me, in answer to my question, that he possesses none. He could have mentioned this years ago but he preferred to keep quiet and thus to withhold a vital piece of information.

Then Bathoen was totally blank when I showed him one that I had with me - thus clearly indicating that the Bangwaketse never had them and that Alec's failure to find them up and down the country has not been mere accident. Then Jim Denbow²⁷ hazarded the guess that these rings were probably made after melting down old shell cases. This supposition would at once explain why these things seem to be found only in Mochudi - although they might too be in Tlokweng - and matches very neatly with one local story that they were made in Saulspoort by one Mzilikazi, son of Pilane (?).

Grant to Schapera, 24 July 1984

The enclosed, I regret to say, speaks for itself. Francis had a stroke some weeks ago. He was in a coma for some time, app. slowly began to come out of it and had just reached the stage where he could have been shifted out of bed into a chair. And then finish. I did not visit him in hospital as he was unable to speak and I thought that it was not quite right to go and gawp at somebody who was in that state. In other words, only his family should have been allowed to see him. The funeral was very well attended, as you would expect - even by Linchwe who doesn't much care for these things. As there were so many speakers we were asked to be quite brief, so I was. I said that you and Naomi had been close friends with Francis and that I had had messages from both of you expressing sadness etc. In fact I did send Naomi a telegram but so far have had nothing back. Am not sure whether this particular exercise really has any value. Locally, people seem to appreciate a word from persons of eminence, such as yourselves, so I just hope that you will give me further licence to deliver such messages as and when they are required.

I might add that I also made a very 'nice' and, I think, appropriate comment on Francis - my reward? To be told by Selogwe, speaking later on, that I ought to be married. In fact I take it as a Kgatla type compliment. Thinking about yourself and Francis reminded [me] of your 1980 visit and the little gathering here at the museum. It's a chilling thought that of that small number we've already lost Lesaane, Amos, Manko Linchwe - Mokgatle Linchwe's 'wife' who died suddenly about a month ago - and Mokgatle's elder brother Ramono (Victor). And now Francis. I must say that I did greatly respect this man.

I passed on to Linchwe your note about Amos. I don't know if he in turn told Segale (Amos' son) and Khwin but on his own account he appreciated it. It might not be a bad idea to do the same with Francis - but at your discretion and wish.

Schapera to Grant, 16 November 1984

David Livingstone, a few years after settling at Mabotsa, wrote home in reference to a letter he had just received, that he expected every letter from then on would bring him news about the death of some relative or friend. Your note to me about Francis coincided with similar news about two old South

African friends, and made me so acutely aware of my own fragility that I became very depressed and lethargic.

That is why I have not written sooner to thank you for the trouble you took, and for your kindness in speaking for me at his funeral (in fact he was never one of my intimates and I never used him as an informant). I had shortly before started a paper on kinship terminology but that, like most things, I have lately attempted, now rests in what bureaucrats would call, 'a pending file'.

Grant to Schapera, 23 November 1984

Where do I start? Francis perhaps. Yes, I knew that he was not really one of your close friends here but on such occasions I give myself some licence. It does no one any harm, and it certainly does give - I can't say pleasure - perhaps appreciation is the right word. It has been a bad year for the Bakgatla - so many have died. For me Amos and then Francis, and before them Rampa, an immigrant from Sophiatown who lived at Bokaa. I don't mourn for Amos since he should now be happy with his forbears.

Schapera to Grant, 12 January 1985

Thank you very much indeed for the excellent photographs. Could you please, please, send me some more copies soon to satisfy greedy relatives and colleagues; and if they came out well, some also of those you took of me on Phuthadikobo.

If you think the Tlou/Campbell History of Botswana²⁸ is of any use, could you get the Gaborone Book shop to send me a copy plus invoice. Botswana Notes and Records, with your article, reached me last week. I greatly liked your contribution. The University of Botswana, according to a zerox copy of the relevant page in its calendar already offers an 'Isaac Schapera Prize', established by Dick Werbner²⁹ from royalties on a book he edited but I don't think it will flourish, however, and personally I would rather, while still alive, offer say P50 to be divided annually (i.e. P50 each year) for the three best essays by school pupils in the Kgatleng on 'the history of my kgotla' - to be written in Setswana. The manuscripts would be judged by me but all of them would be lodged in your museum. If you are interested, would you like to see how the Chief reacts?

I hope that 1985 will, as Isang used to say, give you rain.

Grant to Schapera, 12 June 1985

This note is partly prompted by the appearance yesterday of a letter from Fiona Stewart of the Royal Anthropological Institute about the planned book on colonial photography. From what I can understand, it sounds very interesting. But to fully understand I will have to seek help - probably from someone in the university in Gaborone - who is more familiar with the language that anthropologists apparently use today. For instance, is there really a word 'signifier'?

Anyway, the lady indicated that you had suggested me as a possible person to comment on one of the magwane photos - that is appreciated. Once I really understand what is required I will enjoy doing so. But this particular project comes as a remarkable coincidence because bogwera is once again taking place and I have spent last weekend with them in the bush. And as a result, come back with a stinking cold. It also coincides with my recent completion of a photographic exhibition here of the 1982 bogwera. In other words I am, at the moment, very pre-occupied with the subject. In turn, this has pushed me into thinking once again of your suggested project for something written on bogwera as it once was, bogwera as it became in the 1930s and bogwera as it has been evolving since 1975.

At the moment I am groping for the right questions but I rather think that it would make sense for me to try and get a general picture of the bogwera as undergone by the Magata, the Mafiri and the Mangope. On the other hand, it may be that you are well informed about some of these, maybe all of them. At the moment, it is the Mangope who particularly interest me because they were really the last in the middle

group i.e. 1902-1955. The Mathulwa seem to have been neither here nor there.

You will be interested in a few general comments on the present exercise. Once again, it is massive. I have a better hope this time of pinning down the figures, the numbers of people with jobs, the number at school and perhaps more roughly the number able to attend throughout. I am also trying to get some idea of how many come from the outside villages and which ones. It's fairly clear that many of those involved (I daren't say all) really do enjoy it and don't want to be left out. It's not so easy to interpret this. Just why is there this continuing and extraordinary response to what the government believes to be an anachronism? Can it be termed an anachronism if people are so responsive to it? Seems to me to be a contradiction & of meaning. The pre-1902 bogwera would certainly be an anachronism but that is not what we have got today.

I have used the term 'recreated tradition' but I am not sure that this is accurate. Could it be 'modernised tradition'? But what I find particularly interesting is that it is a dynamic tradition - as indicated, for instance, by the fact that Linchwe can give me permission to make my photographic exhibition (81 photos). I assume that today anything of this nature that might be regarded as secret would be in political trouble. And conversely, that it is very much in Linchwe's interest to open it up.

Mildly intriguing is the participation this year of the young Mongwato manager of the Silk Screen Workshop at the museum who enjoyed last weekend intensely. I am his parent which I think is a bit of a hoot as I am supposed to be a Lethulwa he should have done the 1982 bogwera - but that was not possible. And as a Mongwato he should, I imagine, have been absorbed in the Kgosing group. But I got the Tshukudu people to accept him.³⁰ He slept with that group whilst I stayed with Linchwe. Being an oddity has certain advantages. I claim an identity with Tshukudu but spend time with Linchwe, for obvious reasons. I think nobody minds. In fact they probably couldn't care less. Perhaps these are elements of the way that pragmatism has had to be applied to bogwera today.

I have not forgotten that you wanted more copies of the photos of your last visit. Because my darkroom is inadequate, I tend to work in the winter. The exhibition has taken up a great many evenings. But with this now out of the way, I am now free to do other things. So I will do my best. The idea of an essay and a prize rather fizzled out. I did discuss it with Linchwe but he was blank. Perhaps something or some better idea will emerge.

Schapera to Grant, 1 July 1985

I am due to attend a University ceremony on Saturday 12th October³¹ but (if my health permits me to travel then) I may not stay in the country for more than a couple of days. If you are still there, perhaps we could meet? I have some notes about the ceremonies held when the Machama were initiated in 1928, from people who took part (it was a year before I first went to Mochudi) and could bring them along if you want them.

Grant to Schapera, 8 July 1985

Just got your welcome letter. It sounds from what you say that you could not have received mine. Or perhaps it turned up after you had posted yours. This year's bogwera finishes this coming Saturday. I have spent quite a lot of time with them but not as much as in 1982. But more than ever I see that I can't really start to make sense of the 1975, 1976, 1981, 1982 and now 1985 exercises without a base point. Your pre-1902 information is too far away. The change is simply too great to make comparison worthwhile. You did once mention the idea of the traditional exercise, its transformation (1902-63) and renewal (1975-85). This would be fantastic. Just at the moment, I would give my? -foreskin would be the appropriate item, I suppose, save that this was lopped off many years ago, for those notes on the Machama.

Your informants in the '30s differed in their recollections of what had taken place 30 years

earlier. Imagine what it would be like if I tried to get the Machama and Magata to talk now - bridging a 50 year gap: That's one reason why, in my last letter, I mentioned that I thought it was much more feasible for me to talk with the Mangope (1955). But that still leaves me not knowing if the 1955 exercise was identical to that of 1928 or if it differed and in what way. Hence, my present feeling that I am very much standing on one leg. The Mathulwa (1963) are fairly useless, as with them, the middle period had clearly come to an end. They are more related to the Mangope than to the Masoswe (1975) in historical/anthropological terms. Obviously, I cannot know how extensive your notes might be but is there any chance of sending them by post? Or don't you trust it?

I had heard that you were getting an honorary something at the university in Gaborone - which you forbore to mention - and I am quite delighted. Better late than never. They should have done this years ago but things develop slowly.

A few weeks ago, Linchwe was asked by the District Commissioner to suggest names for Presidential awards. He passed on the job to two of us. So I took my chance. I have been quietly putting up names for years now - the last success was Selogwe Pilane. You met him in the kgotla last time you were here. But this time round, I really made a proper list of all those I thought had been neglected - half of them uncomfortable 'whites', the other half, local. Obviously, I included you. Since the letter was backed by Linchwe, it might just carry one or two through the net.

Back to *bogwera* since you should be interested in this. The most interesting innovation that I have yet seen, this year, came yesterday. Some 800 odd have been chopped in the hospital and they are all in the kloof behind the mission. But then Linchwe called them together, separated the older from the younger and told the former that their proper mophato was Masoswe, that they had now 'done' bogwera and must now get away and join their proper group i.e. they were no longer initiates. Sure enough, they immediately had to start to carry water to the young lads who, a moment before had been their initiation brothers. Last night he explained that he had got fed up since they had missed not merely 1975 (perhaps because this was unavoidable) but then 1976, 1981, and 1982 - how come they show up now?

This is highly intriguing. One can't react to this kind of thing in terms of right and wrong, the exercise today has to be pragmatic or it cannot survive. I have got involved in the last few weeks in fairly horrendous arguments about bogwera, which surprisingly generates a lot of heat, which are largely cast around the fixed point that today's bogwera is not the original model. This is a rather odd starting point because no one that I know contends that it is. Everyone accepts that today's exercise has to be seen in its own right - for better or worse. But personally I get a kick out of it. I love the atmosphere both in the bush and in Mochudi and can appreciate the minor factors there which are not normally present in general society i.e. in the camp no one steals. God help them if they did.

Prior to *bogwera*, we had what seems like three months of a bruising battle between Linchwe and the government (the Minister of Local Government). Linchwe was rebuked in the kgotla for behavior before and after the general election which the government regarded as reprehensible. Actually fair enough. Linchwe chose to play it out to the limit, opted for the role of offended and bemused, innocent schoolboy, got the kgotla to back him (hardly difficult) and waited for the tribe-government confrontation to develop. It didn't.

The government people simply said that the Minister had made his statement and that was it. No further discussion. No questions. Arguments that this was contrary to tradition etc, etc, hardly impressed them. So in the end, the issue has died away. You can't keep fighting when your opponent declines to fight. It was all a bit of a nonsense as Linchwe had clearly backed my little effort in the election³² and had subsequently made a major speech at the Botswana National Front weekend gathering to celebrate its victory over the Botswana Democratic Party in the Gaborone elections. It will not be long before the next issue emerges.

But you might be interested to know that somehow Ian Khama came out in the press deploring

Linchwe's stance etc, etc. which, naturally, had to elicit from him a 'restrained' rejoinder pointing out that he, Linchwe had responsibilities to his gods, his ancestors etc, etc, and that Ian, after all had still to accept the post of Chief. All very odd.

But then last week up pops Linchwe again being reported as saying that the rest of the Chiefs are useless. Ian K? One day, someone will have fun writing Linchwe's biography. He certainly can be counted on to keep rocking the boat. But interpreting his personality will not be easy. Now I must run and do other things. I greet you in the spirit of our ancestors - as the Tswana say. I think that means that I often think of Sophonia and Amos. Good friends both.

Schapera to Grant, 20 August 1985

I have put together, into some sort of working order, the information that was given to me on the dates indicated, about the initiation of the Machama. I hope that it will be of some use to you. As you may know, I am due to get an honorary degree from the University of Botswana on Saturday 12th October, and they have arranged for me to get to Gaborone on the preceding Thursday (10 October) and stay over until the following Wednesday (16th) at what, I am told, is no longer the Holiday Inn, but has been re-named. I hope to be able to see you some time then.

Grant to Schapera, 19 December 1985

Having missed you when you were here and having missed you again when I was in London. I feel that a note is now called for. From Fred Morton, I have gathered some news about your visit - how nobody bothered to meet you at the airport etc. Unbelievable. Anyway. it seems that things did go off alright. A pity about Mochudi but I am not in the least surprised, in fact I could almost have written the score.³³ That's how it goes. I had just one Monday to Friday in London and during that time phoned you fairly frequently. I assume that you must have been in Holland.

But back to your visit here. I had twice asked Tom Tlou³⁴ to be sure to invite old von Mollendorf, Johnny/Cornelius Lebotse and Mma Komane - but no luck.³⁵ At least I gathered as much from von Mollendorf. What a pity.

Endnotes

1. *Professor Isaac Schapera (1905-2003) anthropologist and historian, was the doyen of Botswana studies.*
2. *Sandy Grant ran the newly established Community Development Centre and Refugee Transit in Mochudi from 1964 to 1968. He was the Development Organiser for the Botswana Christian Council between 1968 and 1974. It is not clear what might have prompted his exploratory letter.*
3. *The first meeting of the preparatory Museum committee was held in December 1975. It agreed to establish a Museum/Education Centre at the abandoned Bakgatla National School. Although a road had been named after him in the new Gaborone, the Committee's invitation was the first time that his huge contribution to the country had been so recognised.*
4. *Amos Kgamanyane Pilane 1888-1984. Member of the Three-Man Bakgatla Council of Regency during World War II. Member of the African Advisory Council. Tribal historian.*
5. *Schapera had edited David Livingstone's Family Letters (1959), his 'Private Journals' (1960) his 'Missionary Correspondence' (1961), his 'African Journal' (1963) and his 'South African Papers' (1974).*
6. *Bakgatla Regent (1920-29).*
7. *Resident Commissioner 1946-50, author of key books on Botswana's colonial history.*
8. *Long time Tribal Education Secretary in the pre-Independence era.*

9. *Son of the former Regent, Isang Pilane.*
10. *Ambassador to the USA and the United Nations (UN) 1966-68.*
11. *He is so named by Schapera in the 2nd edition of his A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom.*
12. *Schapera had given Grant his collection of photographic negatives. Anglo-American agreed to make contact prints but adopted a numbering system which was different from Schapera's so that it became difficult to match the two. At a later stage, Grant told Schapera that to ensure the security of the negatives and their proper storage, it would be best if the negatives were returned to him and kept in London.*
13. *Rainmaking Rites of Tswana Tribes. African Social Research Documents vol. 3, Leiden: Afrika-Studiecentrum: Cambridge: African Studies Centre. 1971.*
14. *Daughter of Kgosi Lentswe I who was entrusted by her father with his rain making tools. Kgabyana, uneasy about this arrangement, entrusted them in turn to Schapera who placed them on loan with the museum in Cape Town.*
15. *The January issue of Kutlwano included a review of Schapera's Bogwera by Sidwell Gabatshwane.*
16. *Six volumes of a magazine called 'Botswana' were published by the Information Department. Volume 5 (1979) included an article by Grant (writing as Dasyn Trang) on the Phuthadikobo Museum. It was titled 'Village Museum'.*
17. *Half brother of Kgosi Lentswe I. One of two Kgatla military leaders during the South African War (1899-1902).*
18. *Noted author, and producer of a successful film, Mrs Livingstone I Presume. Wife of senior Labour Party leader in the United Kingdom, Dennis Healey, one time Foreign Secretary.*
19. *'Reduced to Nothing'. Chieftancy and a Traditional Town. The Case of Linchwe II and Mochudi. Botswana Notes and Records. Volume 12.*
20. *Kgosi Linchwe had been given permission by the government to shoot a lion so that its skin could be presented to M Ahmadou M'Bow, Director General of UNESCO when he visited Mochudi.*
21. *The Daily News of 17 November carried a report on the formal opening of the new kgotla leobo in Mochudi.*
22. *The Botswana Society's 1989 Conference, 'Settlement in Botswana', at which Schapera had made the closing speech.*
23. *Founder of the National Museum.*
24. *'The Revival of Bogwera in the Kgatleng – Tswana Culture or Rampant Tribalism?: A Description of the 1982 Bogwera', Botswana Notes and Records, volume 16.*
25. *Professor of Anthropology. Author of, not least, Kalahari Village Politics: An African Democracy, 1970.*
26. *Schapera's article was 'The System of Land Tenure on the Barolong Farms' (1943). Botswana Notes and Records, vol. 15 (1983) but the reference to Neil Parsons remains unclear.*
27. *Senior Archaeologist at the National Museum.*
28. *Thomas Tlou and Alec Campbell, History of Botswana. Gaborone: Macmillan, 1984.*
29. *Professor of Anthropology and author of, not least, Reasonable Radicals, and Citizenship in Botswana and Holy Hustlers, Schism, and Prophecy: Apostolic Reformation in Botswana.*
30. *Grant's home in Mochudi was in Tshukudu ward.*
31. *At which he was to be awarded an Honorary Degree of Letters.*
32. *In the previous year's general election, Grant had stood as an Independent Parliamentary candidate.*
33. *Schapera was unable to visit Mochudi during his short visit to this country.*
34. *Vice Chancellor of the University of Botswana.*
35. *None of these former associates and colleagues of Schapera were invited to the award giving ceremony.*