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Marriage

The Batlhaping say: A person should not marry the daughter of his paternal uncle because she is his sister. Again they say, a man should not marry the daughter of his aunt (his mother's younger sister) or the ^{daughter} of his maternal uncle or his sister's child. Again if a man is lazy or foolish, he is not allowed to marry any woman in the village because it is said he cannot support his wife. If a woman is lazy or if she wets the bed at night, no man will marry her because it is said, she is careless. They say a widower and a widow should not marry each other at the beginning of summer because they will drive away the rain. What they do not like, no matter what happens, is that their child should be married by a Letebele, a Zulu, a Bushman. They say a man should not marry a woman who is older than himself. It is said that if a man marries his cousin, his children will be cripples. The Batlhoares say that a man must marry his maternal uncle's child so that the cattle should return to the kraal from which they come. If a woman is married by a chief and does not get a male issue, he drives cattle out to marry a woman who will produce for him a male issue, and he says that it is his son and not the mother's son. The person of an honourable kgotla is the one who is much loved for the purpose of marrying to or for him. If a young woman is born of inferior people, she cannot be married by the people of the royal family. A man born of inferior persons also cannot marry a woman of the royal family. They marry an industrious young girl whose parents are known to be good people. It is there where they seek a wife for the young man. Sometimes it is said that a man should marry a woman of a different tribe in order to bring the families together. Again they say that the children of the same family should marry each other so that the children should not get lost. The wife is sought by the father of the young man and his father's people, the paternal uncles, the father's elder brother

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maternal uncle and mothers. The people of the olden times sought a wife for the young man when he was old enough. They sometimes betrothed a girl when she was still a child and when the boy was also still a child too. There was no young man who could marry a woman who was not liked by his parents. Nothing was demanded from the men. They were not asked to speak to each other if they did not like to do so or if they liked. A young man married a woman whom the parents sought for him, they spoke with the girl's parents and told them that their son wanted to marry their daughter. They come to an agreement. They did not pick out a woman who was known to the man, they did not mind whether they had met before or not. It did not matter whether they knew each other or not. They told the young man to go and court the daughter of so and so we have got a wife for you there, he goes there and causes himself to be conspicuous. The girl entertains him well because she obeys her parents. Those who begin negotiations are the parents of the young man. The person who is usually sent is the paternal uncle or anybody else. He goes to open the talks. The person who is sent, on his arrival at the home of the girl's father says, I am sent by the parents of So and So to come and ask for a calabash for them with which they might draw water, they have seen it with you. There is no one who is standing on all sides. When the spokesman of the boy's parents has finished speaking, the girl's parents say, "We do not see it, but if you see it yourself, then we don't know. Go and tell those who have sent you that they should come so that we may hear what they are saying. The people from the boy's parents come and then the talks proceed. When they have come to an agreement, the parents of the girl announce the number of cattle they want. If they agree with each other, the people from the youth's parents pay a sheep which is slaughtered at the betrothal. The sheep which is slaughtered at this betrothal is a very big one. It is taken to the girl's parents. Twenty or fifteen head of cattle are paid as 'bogadi'.

Yes, even if the cattle are not paid in full, the marriage goes on and the remainder is paid after the marriage. The marriage however, does not take place immediately. Sometimes two years go by before the wedding takes place. They borrow the daughter-in-law so that they might see if she is good, and if she is of good character or whether she is industrious. If she is not of good deportment, they loose interest in her and the cattle that have been paid are returned. The law is this when the 'bogadi' is paid, the girl's parents say, "We don't know what you are going to do with her because she is lazy and we have not been able to manage her". But those who are marrying her, even if they realise that she is like that, they cannot return her even if she is lazy merely because they have been told. When the question of the 'bogadi' cattle is discussed, nothing is said about the girl. There are people who cause a man to marry his maternal uncle's child. Even if he refuses, his refusal is useless because what has been agreed upon by his fathers, he is bound to fulfil. The first wife of a chief is sought by his parents. He pays 'bogadi' with the cattle which the kgotla from which he has taken his wife will demand. Of course the chief's 'bogadi' is not paid in accordance with the number of cattle fixed. The 'bogadi' of the first wife of the chief is thirty or forty head of cattle. That is to say if she is the principal wife and the first one. The second wife is sought by the chief's family together with the principal wife. Even if it may be said that she is wanted by the principal wife, if she says that "I want a person to help me to draw water, as for myself, I am tired, I want a drawer of water who will help me". After she has been found, a 'mokoela' sheep taken out (mokoela - a sheep slaughtered at a betrothal by the friends of the youth), the same way as it is done even if the man is not a chief. The 'mokoela' is not found by the girl's people, it is paid by the boy's people because it is the law of the Batsoana. The girl's people take out a 'seroala' of beer. (Seroala

is food provided by the friends of a girl at her betrothal). Now the 'bogadi' cattle are taken out and sent to the girl's people and the woman is taken to her village. If the 'mokoelé' is not taken out, it is a breach of the law, and the woman will not be sent out. The chief's 'mokoelé' is not taken out once only, it is taken out many times. A man cannot marry two women at the same time he should rather allow two years to pass by before he marries a second one. These marriages were not solemnised in church or in the manner of civilisation. The payment of 'bogadi' was recognised as full marriage. If a man is married and afterwards he marries his cousin, the one who was married first is still the principal wife. If a man marries a woman whilst he is betrothed to another who is still too young, the day he marries her, is when she shall become the principal wife because she is the first to be married. If a man marries a woman who is not the principal, these two women visit each other to see how the one or the other is keeping. The wives of a polygamist should be on good terms and they should know who the principal wife is and who the smaller one is. The principal wife also should not look upon those of the smaller houses with contempt. When the principal wife calls one of the smaller houses, she should say, "Molodikane" (any wife who is not the principal wife). Even if this is the case, it does not mean that they love each other. They do not dish out food for each other and they do not wish each other well because when the husband has gone to sleep in the hut of the other one, the one who is sleeping alone does not fall asleep that night. She even gets up to go and stand in the yard of the other one's hut to listen to their conversation. The principal wife wears beautiful garments. The wife of the smaller house wears garments of sheep skins, arm rings and girdles of beads and beads so that it should be known that she is married. The women spin the hair and smear it with a species of black lead mixed with fat so that it may shine. The wives of a polygamist

used to walk together when they went to the dancing parties. They were accompanied by their husband who kept on restraining them from scolding and assaulting each other although they were at the same time allowed to go with other women. These women behave in a manner that becomes married wives towards young people, but the youngest does not behave because she claims that she is married by her father's age group. Sometimes a wife is sought and she is not married by them if she has a bad habit or if her people are wizards or thieves. The young man's people demand their damages and they get them back. If a girl had run away with a man, she was fetched and given a good hiding so that the others should be afraid. If a young girl was pregnant through illicit intercourse and she refused to divulge the person who impregnated her, a sinew was tied round the finger of her hand until she named him. If she still refused, two knobkerries were tied on her head, one at the front and another at the back to cause her pain until she divulged the person. When she has named the responsible person, his people were fined ten head of cattle. The father of the girl was fined four head of cattle for it was said that he did not keep a proper watch over his child. If a girl ran away with another man after she had been engaged and cattle had been paid for her, the man who eloped with her is made to pay and the cattle are given to the one who had engaged her and who could not marry her any longer because of her being married by the one who stole her away. If a girl is impregnated by one who had engaged her, he is fined one head of cattle for having broken the law, but no damages are asked for. The young man's parents will decide whether to marry now or when. The wedding ceremony was held if the parties marrying were going to live together. They lived in their own home or at the home of the man's parents. Marriage is arranged by all the people of the young man together with the girl's people. They begin by smearing the floors at the girl's home, by collecting pots, dishes and by making fine

clothes and collecting food and small stock and slaughter cattle and inviting their relatives and friends. The people of the young man's father go to the home of the girl's father and say, "We have paid 'bogadi' and we now want our wife". Now if the 'bogadi' has indeed been paid, the wedding feast is arranged. The bridegroom is not the person who speaks, it is his father who does so. If the 'bogadi' cattle are not fully paid the marriage takes place and the remaining cattle are paid later. Sometimes the wedding is postponed and the wife remains at her people's home. She remains there for a long time until the 'bogadi' is paid and she is then taken home. If the people of the girl's father refuse to accept the cattle, it means that they do not like the young man who is marrying their child or they do not like his people. The marriage does not take place then. When a woman is taken to her husband's home, she is taken by women only according to Tswana custom. She is dressed in a 'mokhutloane' garment, and wears a silver-jackal hat and a dress made of the skins of duikers according to the custom of her people. When they arrive they say: "We have brought your wife and there she is". Now a male sheep with which they are received is slaughtered for them. When the new daughter-in-law is at the home of her mother-in-law, she should not sleep until sunrise. She should get up at dawn and sweep the house, cook the food, draw water so that when the people get up, they should find her having done all the house duties. The daughter-in-law should not speak as she likes to her mother-in-law. The new daughter-in-law does not go to the cattle fold and she should not sit on the skin mats of her mother-in-law. She can drink milk as she pleases, she does not control it, it is given to her by her mother-in-law. The daughter-in-law is seen by the people, she cannot hide herself because she is doing her work. Marriage takes place even if the cattle have not yet been paid in full, the rest are paid after the woman has been married. When a man marries away his son, he invites his relatives to help him to do so. His father takes out some cattle, his

paternal uncles, his father's elder brothers and maternal uncles also take out others. The Batswana pay 'bogadi' in cattle and sheep. When the girl's parents have received the 'bogadi', her paternal uncles and her father's elder brothers and maternal uncles are called together to come and see them. One head of cattle is given to her maternal uncle and another one is slaughtered whose blood is sprinkled over them. The 'bogadi' cattle belong to the child's father only, he does not share them with anyone else. The girl also is not given any of them separately. The bride receives gifts from her people and friends. At a wedding ceremony, cattle, sheep and goats are slaughtered. The young man's father and the girl's father do not give out a lot of stock for slaughter, they are given out by their friends who help them with the marriage necessities. They usually slaughter twenty sheep and two head of cattle. Visitors and those who come casually for entertainment are given plenty of food. They are given meat and other food and beer. The home people also partake of these. The masters of the wedding feast are the paternal uncles of the bride and her father's elder brothers and not the owner of the feast. The bridegroom and bride ~~the~~ stay in a hut together with their attendants but they do not sleep together. At a wedding feast there is singing and dancing.

One of the songs at this ceremony is this:

Ke bone bo ntshe ba oela mo khuting

Ke bone bo ntshe ba oela mo khuting

Holele mashori, holele mashori

Holele mashori.

Another song runs like this:

Ba ra mosimane ba ja ditelele,

Ba ra mosetsana ba ja matlhonama,

Thina mashoboro shoboro

Thina mashoboro shoboro

Re tla rutoa ka shone.

The bride is greatly honoured when she gets married. She is examined by her people. They also get a native doctor to throw divining bones. She is examined at their home. The bride and bridegroom begin to sleep together when the marriage feast is completely over, three days after the feast. When she is taken to the husband's home, she is exhorted so that she may not put the people to shame when she is at her home. When she arrives at the home, people are called together to come and greet the new daughter-in-law. She will now be shown her house.

The life of a village and intermarriage.

The Batswana law with regard to intermarriage is as follows: If a man has married a woman, he says to her father, "my father-in-law". He must respect him as he respects his own father. If he sends him he must obey his instructions. He must bray skins for his father-in-law. His father-in-law should also treat him just as well as he treats his child. Notwithstanding this, he gives him too much work, in order to see whether he will refuse to do it or not. If his father-in-law has a function, he should leave the job in his hands, he should be the one who slaughters the sheep for the feast, he should be the one who feeds the people because according to Tswana custom, he is the owner of the village. If the son-in-law has slaughtered something, he gives his father-in-law the head of the slaughtered animal, if he eats it himself, he is fined. If it is the head of a sheep, he is fined a sheep, and if it is that of a beast, he is fined one beast. If the father-in-law has slaughtered something, he gives his son-in-law the fore-leg. If the son-in-law refuses to do what he is told to do by his father-in-law, he is taken to the chief and there he is fined a goat. The son-in-law cannot argue with his wife in the presence of her father. He may not enter the hut in which his father-in-law sleeps or where he keeps his medicines. When he addresses his father-in-law, he should say "Father", the father-in-law should also say "my son". The work of a son-in-law is to

plough the lands and to build a cattle kraal for his father-in-law. The wife's mother is addressed as "mother" since she is also a parent-in-law. The son-in-law honours his wife's mother, he must also fear and reverence her. He cannot sit where his mother-in-law is sitting and he should not take off his boots in her presence. The mother-in-law also cannot take off her doek in the presence of her son-in-law. The mother-in-law should not enter the hut of a son-in-law which is situated in the back yard. If a mother-in-law starts a quarrel in the presence of her son-in-law, she is fined, for it is said that she a woman of no character. The mother-in-law should respect her son-in-law. The wife's brother is just his brother. Of course the two respect each other, he does not give him anything. If he gives him anything at all, it just as he likes. If he has children, it is then that he can give him gifts for his children as he is their maternal uncle. If he has slaughtered something he should take out the hind leg and give it to his wife's brother because if he too has slaughtered something, he gives his wife's brother (loseka?). A man should respect the wife of his brother-in-law and she should also respect him because he is also a brother-in-law. The wife's sisters are in Tswana, those who do the grinding for him, if they are younger than his wife. He has the right to send them as he likes. If they ask anything from him, he should give them so that they should wash his clothes and do everything he orders them. They have nevertheless to fear him. The elder sisters of his wife are the ones he should respect because they are his parents-in-law, they are his elder sisters. He can do anything for them or give them what he likes and they too, can do anything they like to do for him, but they are not compelled. He does not honour the wife's maternal uncle because the Tswana proverb says: "A grand child is powerful at the home of its mother, it relieves nature in the front yard". He also treat the blood relations of his wife well. He gives gifts on behalf of his wife to his maternal uncle. He mixes with his wife's cousins just as they do with his wife. If a woman is married she must honour the father of her husband and

she must not speak to him as she likes she must pay attention to him. She must fear and respect and serve him. A parent-in-law must also respect the daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law should not take off her doak in the presence of her father-in-law. If the daughter-in-law has cooked something she must give her husband's father a dish of the food. The father of the husband should not scold the daughter-in-law. The daughter-in-law should fear and respect her mother-in-law, because she is her mother. It is her duty to serve her as it is proper for her. She may not answer her mother-in-law even if she scolds her or even if she swears at her. If the daughter-in-law answers her parent-in-law, she is swearing. Her parent-in-law however treats her as if she was not her child. She makes her work hard and treats her harshly. If the daughter-in-law does not get up at dawn, her mother-in-law says that she is lazy. The daughter-in-law should get up before her mother-in-law. The law is that the daughter-in-law should collect firewood and draw water and smear the floor for her mother-in-law. If she has cultivated lands, she should give some of her crops to her mother-in-law. The younger brothers of her husband are not respected very much by her because the Betswana say that they are her husbands. She must do washing for them and take care of them when they are hungry. She must fear and respect and behave properly towards the elder brothers of her husband because they are her parents-in-law. They should honour her too and behave properly towards her. They should not touch her clothes and she should not put her clothes within the reach of their eyes. It is also a taboo for them to see her skin mats or to handle them. Her husband's smaller sisters as well as the bigger ones are her sisters-in-law. She does not respect the smaller ones as she does those bigger than her husband. They ought to fear her themselves because she is older than they are. They cannot speak to her as they like. She must take care of them like her younger sisters. She must ~~take care of the~~ ^{fear the bigger} ones because if she does not do so then she is a woman who has no behaviour. They can send her as they

wish. But if they want to control her as they like, she has the right to refuse because they are not her parents-in-law. They are bound to help her if she has any work just as she is bound to do so. A man and his wife. A man must consider his wife, he must not ill-treat her. He must realise that she is but a woman, he should sympathise with her. He must teach her the manner in which she should serve him and what she should not do. The duties of a man to his wife are to please her by his behaviour and works. If a man goes out at night without the wife knowing where he has gone to, she is not happy about it. If a man fails to give her conjugal rights, that is not proper. The man should fulfil the Tswana law. These are the duties of a wife to her husband: She should prepare his food at the proper time, she should do washing for him, fear and honour him. The wife should pay attention to what her husband says and she should look after the house. Their proper behaviour to each other is to be of one accord in their doings and they must understand each other. The husband must listen attentively to what his wife says. If the husband says something, his wife must obey and do what he says. But if she does not want, she must say so. If they disagree, there is no peace between them. If the wife has done anything wrong, the husband must shoulder all the responsibility. But if the wife has done something of a serious nature which is wrong, her people are informed, they will stand responsible and they will have to pay if a fine is imposed upon her. If she has done anything wrong or has gone out of the way in any manner whatsoever, her people will be responsible for her. The wife should obey her husband but sometimes she does not agree if she thinks that the husband is wrong. If a husband wishes to exchange anything, he does not tell his wife. Yes, he may let her know if the thing is more or less under the wife's control. The wife on the contrary, cannot exchange anything or set out on a journey without the permission of her husband. If a man starts a business, he does not control it together with his wife. If he undertakes a long journey or if

he is going out on a hunting expedition, then he informs his wife. A wife cannot keep cattle under her control when she is with her first husband, she can if the husband is her second one. That applies to small stock as well. The husband must provide her with a house, clothes, food, dishes and pots. The wife builds a house also although she does not roof it. The wife makes store-houses for herself. A man has intercourse with his wife after marriage. But when he has a child, he does not have intercourse with her every day. If a child has not completed three years of age, he cannot have intercourse with his wife. He has intercourse with her again when the child is weaned. Sometimes the wife refuses to have intercourse with her husband when the child is feeding on the breast or when she is not well during her periods. The husband sometimes beats her when she does not obey him or when she does things purposely. There are no duties for a husband in the house. His duties are the braying of skins, and the making of blankets and sandals for women and children. A man does nothing to help his wife. Yes, he does collect firewood and draw water when the wife is alone or when she is ill. The husband builds the house because he hews the poles and the rafters and pillars, he digs in the poles and pillars as well as binding round the edges of the thatched roof. He roofs the house and his wife thatches it. The duties of a woman at home are ploughing, building a house, preparing food, moulding dishes and pots with clay, sewing her clothes and those of the children. If a husband and his wife break these Tswana laws, they are laughed at by the people, or they get into a muddle because they will do what displeases their elders and result in being brought to a book. Sometimes they cause injury to the child by its mother's pregnancy while it is still too young. The child then becomes an idle, good-for-nothing person who certainly dies if medical treatment is not sought. If a woman does not bear children, doctors are called to treat her, they give her medicines sometimes she gets a child and at other times she fails. As it is well known that

she is not responsible, she is not divorced. Even if she got one child only, medicines are prepared for her and she then gets other children. But if she is barren, she will never get them. Even if she gets them and they die in their childhood, she is taken to another place and a doctor is brought to treat her whereupon they live. Sometimes she was prayed for to the spirits in the cave where it was said they lived, and thereafter she got children or her children lived. Sometimes if these children died, one who was born was supposed to ^{be} no person but a good-for-nothing and was named "Selo-hela" (a good-for-nothing). Sometimes it was said the child was not a human being but a tortoise, and was given the name of "Tortoise". Her children would then live. If a woman is barren, another one is married who will bear children. If a woman does not bear children on account of the weakness of the husband, a doctor is brought to give him strength so that he may give his wife children. If a man marries another woman, she does not come to take the place of the first one because she is also there, it does not mean that she will be driven away. He marries where he chooses or where his people will choose. This woman is sought by the man's people, they say they are seeking a woman who will bear children for their child. 'Bogadi' cattle are given out. Her duties are also those of the home and she is also entitled to her rights just as the other one. Her children are just her children. If a man is one who is given to adultery, his wife reports him and he is brought before the kgotla where he is fined a beast so that he must be afraid of committing adultery. In the first place the wife reports her husband to her people and they in turn take the man to the chief to be tried. Sometimes the wife divorces her husband on account of his adultery only. If the wife is a harlot, she is brought to court or the husband may just beat her. Sometimes if the woman is a harlot, she is divorced, but she is not killed. If a man finds another man committing adultery with his wife, he kills him and beats his wife. If a man commits adultery with another woman, his wife will always want to

find out definitely and when she has seen with her own eyes, she tells the news. If a husband had been away and on his return found his wife with a child which is not his own, he knows by noticing its resemblance. The child of a different man never puzzles. It resembles its father positively. A man who has done such a thing is never forgiven. If a woman gave birth to a child of a man who is not her husband because of the absence of her husband for a long time from her or because of her husband's illness, she is not forgiven because of that excuse of hers. Because even if her husband may stay away for five years, she must just remain at home without bringing any other man in. And again if a man is ill, the matter is attended to by elderly people who make plans according to their knowledge, for the man's illness. If a man refuses to have sexual intercourse with her, she informs her grandmother, after that he is questioned by fathers in order to find out what the matter is with him and why he does not have intercourse with his wife. If he refuses to do so, he is thrashed by the men until he agrees to do so. Important matters which cause displeasure between husband and wife are: When a husband or wife does not behave in a proper way. If a wife refuses to have intercourse with her husband it is serious trouble, he gives her a beating. Sometimes the wife runs away to the home of her people if the husband has beaten her for laziness or swearing and abusive language. If after the wife has gone away, it is found that she is at fault when the 'kgotla' investigates the matter, she is reprimanded and taken back to her home and her father beats her so that she should abandon that habit. And if the husband is in the wrong, the chief will fine him a beast and he will pay the 'bogañi'. The case of husband and wife goes to the kgotla for hearing. The wives of a polygamist are married by taking two children of one person or of a section of the tribe or the same village. If one woman belongs to the royal family, she is the one who becomes the head of the other women. If a man has married more than one wife, he cannot afterwards marry a woman from the

royal family. Where they reside, the one who controls is the one who is their head, that is to say one who is married first, as that one belongs to the family of the husband. One's cousin cannot be the senior wife, neither can she control the others if she is married after them. Yes, if she was the first to be married then she could be the senior wife. The child of a chief cannot be married by a person who is not of the royalty. Even if a man may love her, it is of no use because the parents of the girl will refuse. The people of the woman cannot get away from their intentions before their daughter. A chief's daughter must be married by the son of a chief. She cannot be the junior wife, she must remain senior and she must be the first. Yes, the wife who is the child of a chief becomes the senior others get married afterwards. These women do not like the idea of a man marrying many wives, he does so as he likes. He is not persuaded by anybody to marry two children of one person. The wives of a polygamist all give their husband food day by day. He sleeps in the house of each of them in succession. He does not sleep in one house only. But most of the time he sleeps in the house of the senior wife. The ~~k~~ wives of a polygamist should live in harmony and they should help each other. If one is ill the other one should draw water for her collect fire wood for her and cook food for her. But even if it is so, they do not like each other, the one wishes the other one to die. They are scolded if they do so. Their houses do not press upon each other because they will kill each other. They do not share their food each one is given hers, and their fields are separated. They do not eat together. The children also do not consider the others.

Divorce.

If a woman is a witch and if through laziness or wilful folly and the using of bad language, she becomes impossible at her village, according to our Tswana custom, she is made to ~~pack~~^{pack} up her belongings and sent to the home of her people and it is said:

Here is your child, through her bad manners, we have been unable to manage her. She is a witch, she uses bad language, she is lazy and she is even a thief. There is no question of taking her to the chief first. If the people at her village are fed up, there is no question of taking her to the 'lekgotla'. But a man and his wife do separate with each other if the wife does very bad things. The matter is taken to the kgotla when the parents do not understand how the divorce comes about. The woman's people will then form a kgotla and call the husband's people to the meeting. If they find that the woman is in the wrong, they allow the divorce. The main habits which are bad for which a woman is divorced are the wetting of the bed, adultery, barrenness, laziness, witchcraft, failure in work, and wilful folly, bad language telling lies in the village. If a woman is sent back to her people's home, the husband's people do not demand their cattle which they paid for the 'bogadi' because it is they who drove her away, and they too do not have to pay anything. A woman for whom 'bogadi' is paid, is the one who is in charge of the home when her husband is away. Even if the husband is away on a sojourn for ten years, she cannot divorce her husband, she must stay at home until her husband's return. If a woman goes away from her husband's home or if she divorces him on the grounds of his absence for ten years, she is not entitled to her children and apart from that, she must leave everything which belongs to the house she must not take anything except her clothes. But even if it is so, the parents of the woman must bring her back even though she does not like, because the husband's parents must follow her in order to see whether she has just gone away or divorced definitely. When they arrive at the home of the woman's parents, they do not question her personally, they question her people. The people at her parents home are called together in order that they should question her to find out what the trouble is, whether she just left temporarily or whether she has divorced. If she says she has just left, she is asked whether her people-in-law are maltreating her, whether she does not

get food, she is asked for a reason which caused her to leave or who it is who drove her away. If she does/^{not} mention anything that is wrong except her husband's long staying away from home, it is said to her, "Take your belongings and go". Whether you are punished by the spirits whether you eat your husband and not food, you must/^{not} come back. Because if she refuses they do not give her food, she is turned into an inferior person so that she should know that she has not done the right thing. The Betswana say: "If a woman goes away or divorces because of her husband's absence, she is" If a woman divorces her husband, and refuses to return to him, she leaves all the children and the goods of the house. The child she will take with her is one who is still a suckling only. But when it has grown up its father takes it away, because the 'bogadi' cattle have been paid. A woman who has divorced her husband, goes away empty, having taken nothing from the cattle kraal because it is she who is divorcing. If it is the husband who is divorcing his wife without any serious fault, he is fined ten head of cattle. But he takes the children because he married by paying 'bogadi' cattle. The 'bogadi' cattle are the children's. When a man ~~ix~~ dies when he is still young, the wife lives in great sadness, she goes to the home of her father and she is dressed in a different garment. She comes back to be cleansed. She must look after herself and not go about with men or go about just as she likes. But it does not mean that she must remain in hiding. She dresses just as a woman should dress. Being a widow, she should not sit with men. She must remain a year in that particular garment with her hair cut off. When the period of one year is over, she takes off that garment and now wears the proper one. Now she is taken to wife by the younger brother of her late husband. It is always remembered that it is death which separated them. That is why she is taken by the younger brother of her husband. If it is the wife who died, her younger sister should go to take the place of her elder sister. It is the law of the Tswana people that when a husband or a wife is dead the younger

brother or sister should go into house to be husband or wife. No cattle are paid by the younger brother as did his deceased elder brother, there can be no refusal. If she dies and has no younger sister, the husband can marry another woman and pay cattle just as he did when he married his first wife. Again if the younger sister of the wife or the younger brother of the husband is not circumcised, she or he should first be circumcised before marrying. If she has no younger sister to be married, it does not mean that the 'bogadi' cattle should be returned and it does not mean that another man should be deprived of his wife for that reason only. People never go to the 'legotla' for this. The custom is just that the people go to the father of the girl and say, "We have come to look for a woman to take the place of the deceased in order to bring up the children of their grandmother. If there is one, this is agreed to and she is then taken to the house of her elder sister to become the wife of her husband. If it is the husband who has died, the people say to his younger brother, "Do not forsake the children of your elder brother". By that he will understand that it is meant that he should marry his elder brother's wife. They say to him, "Go and live with her, she is your wife". There is no younger sister who refuses to take the place of her deceased sister to be the wife of her husband. If she refuses, she is forced and she just has to do so. She is known to be the proper wife in that house. There is not much talk from the people, no meetings are called for discussion if one has to go to take a deceased sister's place in the house. There is no question of the parents refusing. If a man dies and he is very old, the wife remains at her home as a widow or she may go where she likes, even if she goes to the home of her people it does not matter. But she must remain in the care of the people of her village, that is her elder and younger brothers of her husband. If she is not old she stays with the younger brother of her husband as his wife. This is done by the man if he likes. Sometimes the widow is married by any one who may love her. If a woman refuses to be married by one of

the relations of her husband, it does not matter but she must not take her children away, they must be taken by their grandfathers and paternal uncles. If she gets married, she goes by herself. Her people cannot take her away and then return the cattle. If she is married by one of her husband's relatives, she remains in the house in which her husband left her with her children. If the man who marries her does not wish her to stay there, he can take her away and bring her nearer to him. But she does not become a senior wife. She is just a spare wife. But the others know that she is their elder sister because she had been married by their elder brother. Her children are senior to the others. Her children and the new husband become juniors to her children and those of the husband of her younger sister. But it is often said he should not have children with her. If x he has children with her, it is adultery because he has a wife. If a widow returns to her parent's home, she leaves the children behind she only takes the little ones in order to bring them up, even then, she takes only the suckling. If she goes with another child, it is with the permission of the relatives of her husband. When that child is grown up it goes back to the relatives of its father. The widow takes her belongings with her. If the widow is very old and the children have no next-of-kin, then she goes away with all the goods of the house and her children and all the cattle and small stock in order to bring up the children herself. If a woman has gone to her people's home and has children born to her there, they are her children. If she gets married, it is not allowed that an elderly widow should have 'bogadi' cattle paid for her. Furthermore these children are still the children of the first husband. The children of her second husband are her children because she is old. But they are still that man's children. The children of the first husband go with their mother to where she got married if she is very old to bear children any longer. This man cannot demand the children of this woman and he cannot say that he will maintain them.

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