

Information for a series of historical maps to be included in the new atlas being prepared by the Ministry of Environment and Tourism from Dr Jeremy Silvester (History Dept, UNAM)

I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Werner Hillebrecht at the National Library of Namibia in locating maps.

Map(s) 1 Patterns of land settlement and migration

List of maps enclosed:

- 1) Kavango Land settlement (Gibson *et al*; 1981)
- 2) Herero migration into Namibia (Sundermeier, 1977)
- 3) Ovambo migration (Williams, 1991)
- 4) Ovambo kingdoms (Siiskonen, 1990)
- 5) Migration of the Hambukushu (Tlou, 1985)
- 6) Southern Namibia, c. 1850 (ELCIN Archives)
- 7) Southern Namibia, 1884 (Olpp, 1884)
- 8) Territorial boundaries in Namibia in 1890 (South West Africa, 1918)
- 9) Territorial boundaries in Namibia in 1897 (von Oelhafen, 1926)
- 10) Concession Companies in Namibia, 1902 (Leutwein, 1906)
- 11) Concession Companies and Indigenous territories in Namibia, 1902 (Coetzee, 1985)
- 12) Indigenous territories and white land settlement in Namibia, 1902 (Bley, 1998)
- 13) White land settlement in the central and southern Namibia and African reserves, 1911 (Bley, 1998)
- 14) White land settlement in central and southern Namibia, 1911 (Coetzee, 1985)
- 15) The commercial farming area of Namibia, 1921 (National Archives of Namibia)
- 16) Pre-colonial Ovambo Kingdoms (Hayes, 1992)
- 17) Map showing the internal division of 'Ovamboland' during South African rule (Williams, 1994). 1966) ^{Eggers}
- 18) Map of Kavango showing boundaries of land settlement
- 19) Map of Caprivi showing boundaries of land settlement (Fisch, 1999)
- 19b Northern Kaokoland showing territories in 1930s (Böllig, 1997)

On land settlement/occupation there are several possible ways to slice history. I would argue that the atlas should avoid replicating the concentration on the old 'Police Zone' found in many existing maps and ensure that it features the divisions of territory in the north and north-east of the country, rather than simply read back the labels applied by Odendaal. I would suggest that you therefore magnify the regions containing the Ovambo kingdoms and the Kavango and Caprivi communities as at the beginning of the 20th century.

a) **Sixteenth Century ?** Whilst no maps accurately show the original territories of Damara and San communities, oral tradition has identified the following Damara communities and their

locations. These communities tend to be 'wallpapered' over by existing maps which focus on comparatively recent political 'spheres of influence'. However, archaeologists are better placed to argue whether there is sufficient evidence of the accuracy of the information to enable them to be mapped. An additional problem would be dating this pattern of dispersal. Anyway I have included the information for your interest and consideration.

1. /Gowanin (between Rehoboth and Hoachanas) ✓
2. Tsoa-xou-daman (in the valley of the Swakop River). ✓
3. !Oe-gan (in the Erongo Mountains) ✓
4. !Omen (at the Waterberg and along the Omaruru River). ✓
5. Aro-daman (at the Waterberg) ✓
6. Animin (in the neighbourhood of Okahandja) ✓
7. Oumin (east of the Waterberg) ✓
8. /Geiö-daman (in the Outjo veld) ✓
9. Aobe-//ain (in the Omaruru veld)
10. Dauna-daman (in the Brandberg) ✓
11. Ao-Guwun (south of Sesfontein in the Kaokoveld) ✓

(Ngavirue 1997: 36)

San communities were the earliest occupants of 'Namibia', although their mobility makes it difficult to map the boundaries of their territories. The following communities are believed to have been based in the following areas. The spellings used here those given by Vedder (1928) and need to be checked against more modern spelling:

- ✓ 1. !Kung (Oschimpolo, northern Omaheke)
 - ✓ 2. Ssu-sgnassi (north-east Omaheke)
 - ✓ 3. =Ao-//êin (between Sandfontein and IGam)
 - ✓ 4. //Aikwe (Chapman River as far as Oas)
 - ✓ 5. /Nu-êin (Gobabis, Gibeon and Aroab regions)
 - ✓ 6. Hei//om (Etosha Pan and Grootfontein and Outjo Districts)
 7. /Huinin (southern part of I Huib plateau and nearby Namib) ←
 - ✓ 8. /Geinin (Namib between Luderitz and Conception Bay)
 - ✓ 9. //Obanen (Huns Mountains)
 - ✓ 10. IKoma-san (Swartrand and Tiras plateau)
 - ✓ 11. !Ganin (Naukluft Mountains)
- (Vedder 1928)

It seems likely that it was during this century that the initial migration to Oshamba by the ancestors of the Ovambo kingdoms also took place.

b) **Southern Namibia c. 1850 and**

c) **Southern Namibia in 1884.**

One could adapt a map located in the ELCIN mission archives. The map is of particular interest

because it clearly shows Jonker Afrikaner's territory and his control of the main trade routes and could also be used to contrast with a map a few decades later after the Witboois had established themselves. The contrasting map could be that produced by the Rhenish Missionary, Johannes Olpp in 1884. On Olpp's map the presence of the Witboois is now acknowledged, and the boundaries of influence have significantly changed. However it is also interesting because it shows a region that still remains 'uncolonised' (apart from the British toe-hold in Walvis Bay, obtained in 1878) and the changed boundary of 'Hereroland'. This boundary would play a significant role in the escalation of conflict between the German administration and the Herero communities of the east in the years that followed. Both the maps are attractive and colourful and would provide a useful resource to history teachers covering nineteenth century Namibian history. If it is required for the map to cover a broader geographical area than it could include information derived from a map contained in the British Blue Book (South West Africa, 1918) which provides a simple definition of territorial boundaries. A more accurate version of the boundaries of Hereroland (as they stood in 1897 - after the boundary adjustment) can be plotted from von Oelhafen (1926).

where?
How/when

where
How/when

MAP 2

Date of
this map

d) Namibia in 1902

The main purpose of this map would be to show the division of the land between the different multi-national concession companies that were attempting to obtain speculative land claims in Namibia at the turn of the century. The first map shown here is taken from Leutwein (1906) and shows the claims of all the concession companies in 1902, whilst Coetzee (1985) has adapted this map by recognising that several of these companies were insubstantial. Bley (1998) prefers to emphasise the boundaries of the local communities and the effective alienation of land at that date as being more meaningful. The low number of actual farms that had been surveyed and settled (shown most thoroughly on Bley's map) suggests the limitations on land settlement in Namibia prior to the 1904-1908 war. The main interest of the companies was the hope that the discovery of diamonds (in Kimberley in 1867) or gold (in the Witwatersrand in 1886) would be repeated in Namibia.

MAP 3

Of course, eventually (in 1908) it was! You might try to combine the paper concession of land and mining rights shown in Leutwein with the territorial boundaries still recognised by the German Government in 1902. The ideal would be to locate a more detailed German map from the archives from this date as this would make it possible to plot the recognised boundaries of 'Hereroland' and to compare this with the 1884 map so that the impact of the 1896 renegotiation of the southern boundary can be clearly seen. The shifting of this boundary was a direct cause of the 1896 rising against the Germans by Nikodemus Kavenkunwa and Kahimemua Nguvauvava.

e) Namibia in 1911

The map from Bley (1998) can be clearly contrasted with that for 1902 to illustrate the reduction of land rights for the communities of central and southern Namibia following the confiscation of all land belonging to communities accused of supporting the 'rebellion' of 1904-1908. The Bondelswarts retain a reduced 'reserve' as they obtained a negotiated peace settlement with the

MAP 4

Germans in 1906. The /Hai/khauan at Berseba had remained neutral during the war and were therefore allowed to retain their territory as were the Damara community at Okombahe who retained the territory that had been allocated to them by the German administration in 1894. The Rehoboth Basters had provided troops to fight on the German side during the war and were, therefore, allowed to retain their land. In contrast, the remaining territory of 'Hereroland' had all been confiscated. An adapted version of this map could be used perhaps drawing on Coetzee (1982) for a clearer picture of the pattern of land alienation for commercial farms at that date. A more detailed picture of the pattern of commercial farm settlement at the start of the South African land settlement programme can be obtained from a larger map copied from the National Archives of Namibia that was produced in 1921.

I would change 'Berg Damara' to 'Damara' according to current usage and recommend that the depiction of the north as 'Ovambo' is changed. I would actually prefer to cut the map on a line just north of Etosha and show the region above this line in an enlarged map (see below). I would also suggest that the label 'Tribal Area' is changed to one stating 'Territory recognised by the German Administration as 'Tribal Reserves''. A substantial extension of the railway network into southern Namibia had been one of the consequences of the logistical problems faced by the German forces in combatting guerilla operations by units led by Hendrik Witbooi, Cornelius Fredericks and others during the 1904-1908 war. It is interesting to note that the emphasis on encouraging trade with Germany meant that the railway network was only linked to that in South Africa after the occupation of Namibia by South African forces in 1915.

f) **Territorial boundaries in northern Namibia**

MAP 5 I would recommend that the northern section on one of the maps in this section is included in a magnified box which will allow the northern kingdoms and territories to be shown. The map from Hayes (1992) shows the location of the 'pre-colonial' Ovambo kingdoms and the spaces that divided them. It is difficult to provide exact boundaries to the kingdoms for two reasons. Firstly they shifted over time. For instance the boundaries of southern Oukwanyama were stretched significantly to enable the resettlement of refugees from the northern part of the kingdom in 1915. Secondly the necessary oral history research has yet to be carried out. Indeed this would be an interesting project for an MA student from UNAM in the History and/or Geography Department.

The map of Kavango is a copy from the National Archives of Namibia from my own collection (NAN Map 402). Fisch (1999) provides an outline of the distribution of the different communities of the Caprivi. The question of boundaries here is of course sensitive with recent successful efforts by the Mayuni and Mayeyi to break away from the Mafwe 'alliance' and reclaim their own separate identity and territory.

g) **Migrations into Namibia**

The question of how much detail about the migration of different communities into Namibia should be shown is one that must be decided by the editors. Here are some brief notes that I hope will be of assistance.

MAP 6

According to oral tradition among the Kwangari, Gciriku, Mbundza, Sambyu and Mbukushu of Kavango the communities entered modern day Namibia by following the Mashi or Kwando River, a western tributary of the Zambezi (in southwest Zambia). It is estimated that the Mashi (who came under the control of the Mafwe until they broke away again in 1997 and reidentified themselves as Mayuni), Subia and Shanjo arrived in the region at the beginning of the seventeenth century, whilst the Mbukushu reached the Kavango around 1810. The Kwangari settled at Makuzu (Mucuiio) around 1600. According to Kampungu in around 1775 they moved to the islands of Sihangu near Mukukutu and then, in about 1785, to Karai. Mbukushu oral tradition states that they migrated from the Mussuma River (in Angola) and then travelled to Mumbeta and Mutonga (islands on the Zambezi river) and then settled in the area of Katima Mulilo. In around 1750 (Bruchmann actually dates the move at 1725) they were forced to leave this area by the Lozi and moved to the mid-Kwando floodplain. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a large part of the community moved south and settled in the region around Andara.

It is believed that the Masubia settled in Eastern Caprivi around 1700 and that the Mafwe arrived in the Caprivi around 1800. In the early eighteenth century the expansion of the Bulози (or Barotse) state in northwest Zambia provoked the migration of the Bayei and HaMbukushu towards the Okavango Delta.

It remains unclear exactly when the founders of the Ovambo kingdoms on northern Namibia first arrived there, although it is clear that they had arrived in the region before the end of the seventeenth century. Oral tradition that during the seventeenth century a number of groups split away from the Oshamba, the initial settlement point. This fragmentation led to the formation of the distinct Ovambo kingdoms. The dating of the initial arrival of Oshiwambo-speakers in Namibia and the creation of the kingdoms seems to be one of the most uncertain (under-researched ?) aspects of Namibian history with Williams (1991) suggesting that the kingdoms were formed as early as 1600, whilst Hayes relies heavily on Pfouts (1988)

The Herero migrated into Kaokoland around the middle of the sixteenth century (1550s) from the Mocamedes province of Angola. According to oral tradition they crossed the Kunene River east of Ruacana and came into conflict with Ovambo communities moving into the area north of Etosha. About two hundred years later (ie. in the mid-eighteenth century) it is believed that they started moving further east. Sundermeier provides a simple outline of the route taken according to oral tradition. Nama groups started moving across the Orange River from 'Little Namaqualand' in the 1740s and, although moving site frequently, gradually came to acquire preferential access over water holes in particular areas of southern Namibia. A second wave of migration from south of the river came at the start of the nineteenth century. They were collectively known as the Oorlam.

Further migrations into Namibia took place in 1868 when a Baster community crossed the Orange River and settled in Rehoboth in 1870. The Basters had apparently formed a group identity whilst living in De Tuin in the Cape and elected Hermanus van Wyk as their Kaptain - on their trek they first stopped at Warmbad and then moved through the Karas Mountains to Keetmanshoop then to Ganigobis (near Berseba) and then to Chamis (near Bethanie) before finally settling at Rehoboth. The //Khou/gôan (Swartboois) who had left Rehoboth following

the battle of Otjimbingwe in 1864, moved north via Ameib until they reached Fransfontein and Sesfontein. Other trekkers were less successful. In 1884 a group of Boer trekkers settled in the Grootfontein area and, in the following year, established 'The Republic of Upingtonia'. However the Republic quickly collapsed when its leader was killed by Nehale, the Ndonga ruler of Oshitambi.

The final defeat of Herero and Nama forces in 1908 encouraged a significant influx of German settlers. A further major movement of people into Namibia took place as a consequence of Portuguese efforts to finally impose colonial control over southern Angola. The defeat of the Kwanyama Ohamba, Mandume ya Ndemufayo at the battle of Pembe in 1915 resulted in Mandume leading thousands of his subjects across the colonial border into southern Oukwanyama (and 'Namibia'). In the same year the defeat of the German *Schutztruppe* by invading South African forces encouraged settlers from the newly formed Union of South Africa to cross the border in search of land.

Nama Groups

Kai//khaun ('Red Nation')
!Kami=nûn (Bondelswarts)
//Khou/gôan (Swartboois)
//Haboben (Veldskoendraers)
!Kharakheon (Franzmannsche)
=Aonin or !Gomen (Topnaars)
//O-gain (Groot Dode)
!Kara!oan (Tseibsche)

Oorlam Groups

!Amas (Boois/Frederik families)- settled in Bethanie around 1824.
Kai/khauan (Khaus) - settled around Naosanabis (Leonardville) in the early 1840s.
/Hai/khauan (Berseba) - settled at Berseba around 1850.
(/Khobesin) Witboois - settled at Gibeon around 1863.
//Aixa//ain (Afrikaners) - settled at Windhoek around 1840.

Sources:

- Bley, Helmut *Namibia under German Rule* (Windhoek, 1998)
Bollig, Michael *"When War Came the Cattle Slept. . ." Himba Oral Traditions* (Köln, 1997)
Britz, Rudolf, Hartmut Lang and Cornelia Limpricht *A Concise History of the Rehoboth Basters until 1990* (Windhoek/Göttingen, 1999)
Bruchmann, Rainer *Caprivi: An African Flashpoint* (Northcliffe, 2000)
Coetzee, E.R. *Die geskiedenis van landelike vestiging van blankes in Suidwes-Afrika, 1915-1931* (MA Thesis, Randse Afrikaanse Universiteit, 1982).
Dederling, Tilman *Southern Namibia c. 1780-c.1840: Khoikhoi, Missionaries and the Advancing Frontier* (Ph.D Thesis, University of Cape Town, 1989).

- Eggers, Heinz 'Das Ovamboland: Sanderstellung und Probleme . . .', *Geographische Rundschau* Vol 18 (1966).
- Rhenish Mission Society (From a mission atlas of the Rhenish Mission, found in the archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia. The title-page is missing, but a handwritten note in the volume dates it to 1850, which correlates well with the geographical knowledge displayed).
- Fisch, Maria *The secessionist movement in the Caprivi: A historical perspective* (Windhoek, 1999)
- Gibson, Gordon; Thomas Larson and Cecilia McGurk *The Kavango Peoples* (Frankfurt/Main, 1981)
- Hahn, C; Louis Fourie and Heinrich Vedder *The Native Tribes of South West Africa* (Cape Town, 1928)
- Hayes, Patricia *A History of the Ovambo of Namibia c. 1880-1935* (Ph.D Thesis, University of Cambridge, 1992)
- Kampungu, Rev. Romanus *Okavango Marriage Customs* (PhD Thesis, University of the Propaganda Fide, 1965).
- Lau, Brigitte *Namibia in Jonker Afrikaner's Time* (Windhoek, 2nd edition, 1994)
- Leutwein, Theodor *Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika* (Berlin, 1906)
- Ngavirue, Zedekia *Political Parties and Interest Groups in South West Africa (Namibia)* (Basel, 1997)
- Olpp, Johannes *Angra Pequena und Gross-Nama-Land* (Elberfeld, 1884)
- Pfouts, Anita 'Economy and society in pre-colonial Namibia: a linguistic approach (550-1800 AD.) in Brian Woods (ed) *Namibia 1884-1984* (London/Lusaka, 1988)
- South-West Africa *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their treatment by Germany* (HMSO, London, 1918).
- Sundermeier, Theo *Die Mbanderu: Studien zu ihrer Geschichte und Kultur* (St Augustin, 1977)
- Sundermeier, Theo *The Mbanderu* (Windhoek, 1986)
- SWAPO *To Be Born a Nation* (London, 1981)
- Tlou, Thomas *A History of Ngamiland, 1750 to 1906: The Formation of an African State* (Gaberone, 1985).
- von Oelhafen *Die besiedelung Deutsch-Südwestafrikas bis zum Weltkrieg* (Berlin, 1926).
- Williams, Frieda-Nela *Precolonial Communities of Southwestern Africa* (Windhoek, 1991)

British Gov.
Official Public

ADM archives

Map 2 Map of mission stations and major trade routes.

20. Map of mission stations in Namibia in 1902 (Paul, 1902)
21. Map of Roman Catholic mission stations in Namibia in 1903 (Schmidlin, 1913).
22. Long distance trade routes (Siiskonen, 1990)
23. Main wagon routes to the coast in southern Angola (Clarence-Smith, 1979)

a) Mission Stations

After initial efforts by the London Missionary Society, Methodists and Wesleyans the Finnish Missionary Society and the Rhenish Missionary Society became the most influential in Namibia by the end of the nineteenth century. It was during this period Christianity spread significantly among Herero and Nama communities. Missionaries were not the only ones to spread Christianity through Namibia. For example, when the Hugo Hahn of the RMS first visited Jonker Afrikaner's settlement at Windhoek in 1842 he discovered that there was already a large white-washed stone church where at times over 600 people would assemble to hear Jonker Afrikaner preach. The pace of Christianisation in Namibia was uneven, whilst the LMS had founded the first mission station as early as 1806, it was not until 1927 that Kanuni the ruler of Oukwangali allowed the first mission station to be built in her territory in Kavango.

The first missionary to travel to the north of Namibia was Hugo Hahn of the German-based Rhenish Mission Society (RMS) who visited the region in 1857, but was forced to retreat by Nangolo d'Amutenya the *Omukwaanilwa* (king) of Ondonga. Hahn returned in 1866 and received a more positive response from Nangolo's successor, Shikongo Shakalulu, and the neighbouring ruler of Ukuanjama, Mweshipandeka. However as the RMS lacked the resources to expand their evangelical work into the north, the Finnish Missionary Society were approached for assistance and the first Finnish missionaries arrived in Ondonga in 1870. The missionaries were anxious to convert the north to a protestant form of Christianity and prevent the spread of Catholicism by Portuguese missionaries from Angola. Christianity spread rapidly in the north during the first half of the twentieth century.

Protestant Mission stations in existence in 1902 and Catholic Mission stations in existence in 1913 (founding dates are given where known).

Protestant

Oukwanyama:

- Onjdjiva RMS (now in Angola, 1891)
- Omupanda RMS (now in Angola, 1892)
- Omatemba FMS
- Namakunde FMS

Uukwambi:

- Elim FMS (1908)

Ongandjera:

Rehoboth FMS (1902)

Ondonga:

Oniipa FMS (1872)

Ondangwa FMS (1890)

Olukonda FMS (1871)

Ontananga FMS (1900)

Onajena FMS (1902)

Note - Do not include Omandongo (1870) shown on the Paul map.

'Police Zone' (all Rhenish Mission Society).

Gaub

Franzfontein

Outjo

Otjodzondjupa

Omburo (Ombura ?) (1876)

Okombahe

Omaruru RMS (1870)

Karibib

Swakopmund

Otjikango (Gross Barmen) RMS (1844)

Okahandja (1850)

Otjusavu (Otjosazu ?) RMS (1872)

Otjizeva RMS (1873)

Otjihaenena

Okazeva

Otjimbingwe RMS (1849)

Windhuk

Rehoboth (1845)

Hoachanas

Kalkfontein

Rietmond

Gochas

Gibeon

Berseba (1850)

Khoes

Keetmanshoop

Bethanien LMS (1814), RMS (1842).

Rietfontein.

Warmbad LMS (1806), transferred to RMS.

Roman Catholic

Kavango:

Nyangana (1910)

'Police Zone':

Grootfontein
Epukiro (1903)
Omaruru
Okombahe
Usakos
Swakopmund
Windhoek
Klein Windhoek
Dobra (1904)
Aminuis
Keetmanshoop
Lüeritzbucht
Gabis
Warmbad
Heirachabis

Major Trade Routes

The map by Siiskonen (1990) shows the major long distance trade routes, local trade between neighbouring communities would be more difficult to plot, although a few examples are cited here. A complex network of internal trade existed in Namibia before the arrival of European traders. For example there were regular 'caravans' from Ondonga to Herero communities to the south and considerable trade between the various Ovambo kingdoms. Ondonga, for example, specialised in copper products with copper mined by the San community in the Otavi region. On the other hand, Oukwanyama, was a source of iron goods manufactured from ore obtained from the mines around Cassinga. A major commodity traded to the north to the Nkhumbi and Nyaneka was salt obtained from the Etosha Pan. In Central Namibia Jonker Afrikaner built roads from Windhoek to Walvis Bay and south, through the Auas Mountains and his domination of the region during the 1840s and 1850s rested heavily on his control of these important trade routes.

During the nineteenth century the arrival of European traders from the Cape and Angola in particular led to the opening up of new longer trade routes, south to Cape Town and north to the ports of Mossamedes and Benguela. Greater detail of the routes to the coast in southern Angola can be found in Clarence-Smith (1979). During the 1880s Axel Eriksson opened up a new route via Lake Ngami to the Transvaal and Kimberley. Cattle were the most important export although game products such as ivory, skins and ostrich feathers were also significant. Popular imports included guns, horses and alcohol.

- Beris, A.P. J. *From Mission to Local Church* (Windhoek, 1996)
- Clarence-Smith, Gervase *Slaves, peasants and capitalists in southern Angola, 1840-1926*
(Cambridge/London/New York/Melbourne, 1979)
- Paul, Carl *Die Mission in Unsern Kolonien* (Dresden, 1905).
- Schmidlin, J. *Die katholischen Missionen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten* (Münster in
Westfalen, 1913).
- Siiskonen, Harri *Trade and socioeconomic change in Ovamboland, 1850-1906* (Helsinki, 1990)
- Tlou, Thomas *A History of Ngamiland, 1750 to 1906: The Formation of an African State*
(Gaborone, 1985).
- Tönjes, Hermann *Ovamboland: Country, People, Mission* (Windhoek, 1996; 1st German
edition, 1911).

Map 3

Map showing major sites and events of the 1903-1908 war.

24. 'Deutsch-Südwestafrika'. Map showing German operations during the war (Meyers, 1906)
25. Map showing routes taken by German forces pursuing the survivors of the battle of Hamakari (Nuhn, 1996)
26. Map showing routes taken by Herero survivors through Botswana (Kandapaera, 1992)

1. On 25th October, 1903 the commander of a German patrol and the Bondelswarts leader Abraham Christian were both killed in an exchange of fire near **Warmbad**. German reinforcements and Governor Leutwein himself travelled south.

2. On 12th January, 1904 shooting broke out around the German fort at **Okahandja**. This date is usually taken as marking the start of the 1904-1908 war, although many German troops were absent as they had already been sent to southern Namibia to confront the Bondelswarts.

3. King Nehale's troops from eastern Ondonga attack the northernmost German military fort at **Namutoni** on 28th January, 1904.

4. Major battles took place at **Owikokorero** (13th March, 1904) and **Okaharui** (3rd April, 1904). These battles and an outbreak of typhoid so drastically reduced the strength of the German 'eastern' detachment that it was disbanded.

5. After a fierce Battle at **Oviumbo** (13th April, 1904) the Germans regrouped and waited for reinforcements. Whole Herero communities started moving towards the Waterberg. On 11th June, General Lothar von Trotha arrives to take over command of the German forces.

6. On 11th August, 1904 the Battle of **Hamakari** took place after which many Herero survivors fled east into the Kalahari desert through an area known in OtjiHerero as the **Omaheke**.

7. At a waterhole known as **Osombo-Windimbe** on Sunday 2nd October, 1904, General von Trotha issued orders which were printed in OtjiHerero and given to about 30 Herero prisoners to carry to survivors. The order included the warning that "Within the German borders every Herero, with or without a gun, with or without cattle, will be shot. I will no longer accept women and children, I will drive them back to their people or I will let by shot at". Samuel Maharero and some followers managed to escape into exile, but thousands of Herero died of thirst and disease in the desert. von Trotha's order was revoked after six weeks and efforts made to encourage Herero survivors to surrender. The prisoners were then sent to labour camps.

8. **Ombakaha**. A group of eleven Herero leaders, including the Joel Kavizeri of Okahandja and Saul of Otjenga, are shot by German troops whilst negotiating surrender on 2nd November, 1904.

9. Michael Tjisisseta of Omaruru was one of the Herero leaders to be imprisoned at the labour camp in **Swakopmund**. In January, 1906 he led an escape by 130 Herero prisoners to the British

held territory of **Walvis Bay** from where they left by ship and eventually found work in the gold mines of the Witwatersrand.

10. After the 'extermination order' was withdrawn by the German Government mission-run collection camps for Herero prisoners were set up at **Omburo, Otjosazu, Otjihaenena and Otjozongombe**. Major labour camps are established at **Swakopmund** and on Shark Island off the coast of **Luderitz**. The death rates in both these camps were extremely high. The official death toll on Shark Island was 1,032 of the 1,795 prisoners. Amongst those who died on Shark Island was the guerilla leader Cornelius Frederiks.

11. As early as 30th August, 1904 Jakob Marenga, who had remained in the hills since the Bondelswarts rising of the previous year, had resumed the fighting in southern Namibia when he defeated a German patrol that had been sent to capture him at the Battle of **Kouchanas-||Khauxa!nas**.

12. On 3rd October, 1904 Hendrik Witbooi joined the rising and shortly afterwards engaged a German unit in battle at **Kub**.

13. During an attack on a German supply convoy on 29th October, 1905 Hendrik Witbooi was mortally wounded near **Vaalgras**. Although the area also became known as 'Witbooisende' the site of his grave was never revealed to the German authorities.

14. Manasse !Noreseb, the leader of Hoachanas, is killed in action during the battle of **Gubuoms** on 1st December, 1905

15. Andreas, the last major Herero guerilla leader was seriously wounded during a battle at **Dochas** in January, 1906 and was reported to have died soon afterwards.

16. The guerilla leader Jakob Marengo is killed by a British patrol at **Eenzamheed** (Cape Colony) - (20th September, 1907).

17. A German expeditionary force crosses into Botswana to attack the Simon Kooper and his troops. The German commander is killed. Simon Kooper escapes, but loses many of his men at the battle of **Seatsub** in April, 1908. It is now viewed as the final battle of the war.

The 1904-1908 war involved hundreds of small battles and skirmishes. Whilst the above list contains the most significant a fuller list of 63 of the major sites of conflict is given below. The number of casualties in some of these encounters was very small.

Battle of **Hartebeestmund** (on Orange River) - Bondelswarts (12th December, 1903)

Battle of **Oparakane** - Herero (15th January, 1904)

Battle of **Okanjande** (near Otjiwarongo) - Herero (16th January, 1904)

Battle of **Uitkomst** (near Grootfontein) - Herero (18th January, 1904)

Battle of **Teufelsbach** (near Windhoek) - Herero (22nd January, 1904)

Battle of **Kaiser Wilhelm Mountain** (east of Okahandja) - Herero (28th January, 1904)

Battle of **Omaruru** - Herero (4th February, 1904)
Battle of **Seeis** - Herero (15th February, 1904)
Battle of **Lievenberg** - Herero (N.E. of Otjimbingwe) (16th February, 1904)
Battle of **Gross Barmen** - Herero (19th February, 1904)
Battle of **Otjihinamaparero** - Herero (25th February, 1904)
Battle of **Owikokorero** - Herero (13th March, 1904)
Battle of **Okaharui** - Herero (3rd April, 1904).
Battle of **Ongandjira** - Herero (9th April, 1904)
Battle of **Oviumbo** - Herero (13th April, 1904)
Battle of **Okangundi** - Herero (28th April, 1904)
Battle of **Hamakari** - Herero (11th August, 1904)
Battle of **Kouchanas-!Khauxa!nas** - Jakob Marenga (30th August, 1904)
Battle of **Platbeen** - Jakob Marenga (4th September, 1904)
Battle of **Kub** - Witboois (27th October, 1904)
Massacre of **Ombakaha** - Herero (2nd November, 1904)
Battle of **Alurifontein** - Jakob Marenga & Johannes Christian (25th November, 1904)
Battle of **Koes** - Jan Hendrik (15th December, 1904)
Battle of **Uibis** - Cornelius Frederiks (21st December, 1904)
Battle of **Stamprietfontein** - Hendrik Witbooi (1st January, 1905)
Battle of **Gross Nabas** - Hendrik Witbooi (2nd-4th January, 1905)
Battle of **Haruchas** - Nama (3rd January, 1905)
Battle of **Swartfontein** - Simon Kooper (7th January, 1905)
Battle of **Nunub** - Nama (5th February, 1905)
Battle of **Aub** - Jakob Marengo (10th March, 1905)
Battle of **Narudas** - Jakob Marengo (11th March, 1905)
Battle of **Uchananis** - Jakob Marengo (21st March, 1905)
Battle of **Heusis** - Herero, Andreas (25th March, 1905)
Battle of **Aminuis** - Hendrik Witbooi (25th March, 1905)
Battle of **Huams** - Cornelius Frederiks (April, 1905)
Battle of **Nanibkobis** - Hendrik Witbooi and Simon Kooper (7th April, 1905)
Battle of **Ganams** - Jakob Marengo and Cornelius Frederiks (26/27th April, 1905)
Battle of **Ganachab** - Cornelius Frederiks (8th May, 1905)
Battle of **Mukorob** - Hendrik Witbooi and Cornelius Frederiks (13th May, 1905)
Battle of **Auob** - Witbooi and Fransman (17th May, 1905)
Battle of **Gaos** - Cornelius Frederiks (26th May, 1905)
Battle of **Kareb River** - Jakob Marengo and Jan Hendrik (June, 1905)
Battle of **Nubib** - Herero and Nama, Andreas (13th September, 1905)
Battle of **Nochas** - Jakob Marengo (15th September, 1905)
Battle of **Hartebeestmund** - Jakob Marengo and Johannes Christian (24/25th September, 1905)
Battle of **Vaalgras** - Hendrik Witbooi (29th October, 1905)
Battle of **Arahoab** (Aranos) - Nama (29th October, 1905)
Battle of **Gubuoms** - Manasse !Noreseb (1st December, 1905)
Battle of **Toasis** - Simon Kooper (17th December, 1905)
Battle of **Duurdrift South** - Jakob Marengo (5th January, 1906)

Battle of **Dochas** - Andreas (January, 1906)
Battle of **Namtob** - Herero and Nama, Andreas and Cornelius Frederiks (11th February, 1906)
Battle of **Norechab** - Johannes Christian (14th February, 1906)
Battle of **Wasserfall** -Johannes Christian, Abraham Morris and Jakob Marengo
(8/9th March, 1906)
Battle of **Kumkum** - Jakob Marengo (12th March, 1906)
Battle of **Fettkluft** - Abraham Morris and Johannes Christian (8/9th April, 1906)
Battle of **Wittmund** - Johannes Christian (20th April, 1906)
Battle of **Van Roosvley** - Jakob Marengo (4th May, 1906)
Battle of **Gawachab** - Johannes Christian (5th May, 1906)
Battle of **Dakaib** - Abraham Morris and Johannes Christian (23rd May, 1906)
Battle of **Noibis** - Johannes Christian (18th August, 1906)
Battle of **Aos** - Johannes Christian (22nd August, 1906)
Battle of the **Nuob River** - Fielding (16th November, 1906)
Jakob Marengo killed by British patrol at **Eenzamheed** (Cape Colony) - (20th September, 1907)
Battle of **Seatsub** - Simon Kooper (April, 1908)

Bridgman, Jon *The Revolt of the Hereros* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London, 1981).
Gewald, Jan-Bart *Herero Heroes* (Oxford, 1999)
Kandapaera, Kaendee *War, Flight, Asylum: A Brief History of the Ovambanderu of Ngamiland, Botswana, 1896-1961* (University of Botswana 1992)
Meyers *Konversations-Lexicon, 6 Aufl., Bd. 9* (Leipzig, 1906)
Nuhn, Walter *Sturm über Südwest: Der Hereroaufstand von 1904 - Ein düsteres Kapitel der deutschen kolonialen Vergangenheit Namibias* (1996)
Penington, Renee and Henry Harpending *The Structure of an African Pastoralist Community*

Map 4. The "Apartheid" Division of Space in Namibia under South African rule..

- 27) The reserve network and farming area in the Police Zone, 1937 (Windhoek, 1937)
- 28)^a The reserve network in the Police Zone (Silvester, 1994) *South Africa, 1964*
- 28)^b The Homelands in the Police Zone (Cockram 1976)
- 29)^a The Homelands in the Police Zone (South Africa, 1964) 29 b) — (Green, 1981)
- 30)^b Ethnic zoning of the new township of Katutura (Green, 1981)

The racial division of space in Namibia actually preceded the introduction of the policy of 'apartheid' with a system of 'reserves'. It is also a common misconception that 'Grand Apartheid' was simply concerned with the separation of white from black. In fact during the 1960s and 1970s policies were introduced in South Africa and its assumed colony, Namibia, that would separate spaces for different ethnic groups. The first layer of spatial apartheid during the period of South African rule can be linked to the Land Settlement Act of 1921 that encouraged white settlement and commercial farming and the parallel establishment of a network of reserves within which black farmers were confined. This legislation continued a policy of dividing the 'Police Zone' of Namibia into a chess board of black and white spaces. A large map gives a detailed image of the pattern of reserves that had been established in Namibia by 1935. Silvester (1994) has produced a simplified version of this map focussing on the location of the reserves.

In Namibia the publication of the Odendaal Report (South Africa, 1964) literally mapped out the South African Governments proposals for separate ethnic 'Homelands'. The original map produced in the report is probably the best one to use, although a clearer image might be that contained in Cockram (1976). The plan was to establish ten ethnic Homelands each of which would acquire its own administration - additional administrations, without 'Homelands' would be established to serve the needs of the 'White' and 'Coloured' communities. The Homeland system was intended to provide the economic foundations upon which a political structure could be built which would enable an internal settlement.

Cockram, Gail-Maryse *South West African Mandate* (Cape Town/Wynberg/Johannesberg, 1976)
Green, Reginald, *Namibia: The Last Colony* (Harlow, 1981)

/// South Africa, Republic of. *Report of the Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa, 1962-1963* (Pretoria/Cape Town, 1964).

Map 5

Major sites and events of the liberation war.

31) Operation Reindeer - the attack on 'Vietnam' and Cassinga (Heywood, 1994)
32)

Whilst the armed struggle for independence stretched over three decades in Namibia, a great deal of the fighting in the war actually took place in southern Angola where SWAPO bases and PLAN (the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia) fighters were often the target of attacks by the SADF (South African Defence Force) or the troops of UNITA. The South African aim was to keep the bases of PLAN as far from the border as possible in order to make infiltration of Namibia by guerilla units as difficult as possible.

After the launch of the armed struggle at Omgulumbashe on 26th August, 1966 there was a massive round up of suspected guerillas and SWAPO activists. The most prominent of those arrested were sent to Robben Island, off the coast of Cape Town, to serve long prison sentences. The initial difficulty of reaching Namibia from a distant base in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania were eased once SWAPO obtained bases in Zambia and, in co-operation with the Caprivi National Union was able to conduct a series of small scale operations in Caprivi from the early 1970s. The collapse of Portuguese colonial control in Angola in 1974 led to an increased exodus from Namibia and enabled the establishment of new SWAPO bases in southern Angola. South Africa launched a number of major military operations into Angola over the coming years, but without ever being able to obtain a decisive victory ie. Operation Protea (August to September, 1981)

Northern Namibia became a heavily militarised war zone during the 1970s as the South African armed forces established major bases at Oshakati, Ruacana, Grootfontein and Rundu. Both sides seem to have adopted a policy of selective assassination, sometimes these killings would feature high profile politicians such as Clemens Kapuuu, Filemon Elifas, Immanuel Shifidi or Anton Lubowski, but more often the victims were not well known outside of their local community, but were regarded as 'collaborators' or 'terrorist sympathisers'. The armed struggle, whilst low key, served, to use Joe Slovo's phrase, as 'armed propaganda' - a symbol of hope and opposition to the South African occupation to those remaining inside Namibia. The pressure for the implementation of the United Nations Peace Plan outlined in Resolution 435 therefore also came from inside the country. The contract workers strike of 1971/1972, the mobilisation work of the Swapo Youth League in the early 1970s and the student protests of 1988 were three important examples of the refusal of most Namibians to accept the economic and political structures that they were being presented with.

Cassinga - 250 km north of the border. Site of major attack on SWAPO resettlement camp on 4th May, 1978. *Over 600 people are killed during the attack.*

Chetequera - Location of a cluster of SWAPO bases, including 'Vietnam' which was attacked by South African forces on 4th May, 1978. A large number of prisoners-of-war from 'Vietnam' were brought back to Namibia.

Cuito Cuanavale - The site of the final major battle involving Angolan, Cuban, Namibian and

South African forces in Angola (January to May, 1988). It was claimed that the failure of the SADF to capture the town was a significant sign of the increasing problems facing the South Africans in the war.

Eenhana - The scene of a major battle between PLAN fighters and the SADF on 27th October, 1977.

Katima Mulilo - Ten white SADF soldiers are killed in a mortar attack, 23rd August, 1978. Landmine attack killed 2 and injured 9 (22nd May, 1971) marks start of use of landmines as weapon in the war.

Keikanachab - Prison camp 10km north-west of Mariental where PLAN prisoners-of-war captured at the attack on 'Vietnam' base and later operations were held during the years 1978-1984.

Okahao - (near Ongandjira) Toivo Shiyagaya, Minister of Health and Welfare in the Ovambo Homeland Government was assassinated here on 7th February, 1978.

Ongulumbashe - Site of first armed conflict of the liberation struggle on 26th August, 1966. 2 guerillas were killed and 9 captured.

Onamagonwa - near Ondangwa. Site of assassination of Filemon Elifas, Chief Minister of Ovambo and *Omukwaanilwa* of Ondonga on 16th August, 1975.

Ondangwa - Scene of mass meeting during the contract workers strike on 10th January, 1971 which elected Johannes Nangutuula as the strike leader. Also site of sabotage attack on the Ondangwa power station on 24th June, 1985.

Omitara Dam - Whilst the South African forces attempted to keep the war beyond the border, PLAN fighters sometimes penetrated deep into Namibia. For example, in March, 1984 two guerillas were reportedly killed at Omitara just 130km north-east of Windhoek.

Oniipa - (east of Ondangwa) A church printing press used to produce one of the few regular newspapers in Oshiwambo is blown up in April, 1973 shortly after church leaders visit the South African Prime Minister, Vorster to complain about the restriction on movement and torture of members of their congregation in northern Namibia.

Oshakati - Twenty people were killed in a bomb explosion at the First National Bank in Oshakati in February, 1988.

Oshikuku - Seven decomposing bodies were discovered by learners here in April, 1985.

Ponhofi Secondary School. This school saw the launch of the 1988 schools boycott due to the close proximity of **Ohangwena** Koevoet Base. The boycott co-ordinated by NANSO rapidly spread throughout the country.

Oshatotwa (Sialolwa) - This SWAPO base in Kuanga Marsh, Zambia, about 30km north of Caprivi was attacked by the SADF on 12th July, 1976. A large number of people were killed in the attack.

*

Walvis Bay - An important centre during the 1971/1972 contract workers strike, the enclave does not become part of Namibia at independence, but is reintegrated into the country at midnight on 28th February, 1994.

Windhoek - Assassination of Clemens Kapuuo, (March 27th 1978).
Contract workers strike begins (13th December, 1971)
Assassination of Immanuel Shifidi (30th November, 1986)
Assassination of Anton Lubowski (12th September, 1988)

Okahenge - The place where fighting first broke out on 1st April, 1989 the same day that Resolution 435 was to be put into action. Fighting continued until 10th April. It is estimated that 305 PLAN fighters and 27 members of the security forces were killed during the fighting.

Zambezi River Tobias Hainyeko, the first Commander of PLAN, was killed whilst crossing the river into Caprivi on 18th May, 1968.

Sources:

Brown, Susan 'Diplomacy by Other Means - SWAPO's Liberation War' in Colin Leys and John Saul *The Two-Edged Sword: Namibia's Liberation War* (London/Athens, 1995)
Harlech-Jones, Brian *A New Thing* (Windhoek, 1997)
Heywood, Annemarie *The Cassinga Event* (Windhoek, 1994)
Steenkamp, Willem *The Border War* (Gibraltar, 1989)
Surveyor-General (Windhoek, 1975)
SWAPO *To Be Born a Nation* (London, 1981)

* Swakopmund. The trial of SWAPO activists ^{accused of} for the assassination of Filemon Elifas becomes a rallying point for SWAPO activists inside the country. Four men (Aaron Mushimba, Axel Johannes, Hendrik Shikongo & Victor Nkandi) receive death sentences. But the case collapses on appeal and they are released in March, 1977.

Alternative/Additional Map suggestion

German colonialism, 1884-1904.

1. First sales of land by Josef Frederiks of Bethanie to agents of Adolf Lüderitz. a) 1st May, 1883 **Angra Pequena** (now Luderitz) and b) 25th August, 1883 **coastal strip** from Orange River to 26° and inland for 20 miles. The measurements were not in English miles (1 mile = 1.5km), but German miles (1 mile = 7.4km).
2. **Hornkranz**. Early German policy was to conclude 'Protection Treaties' with local Namibian leaders. When Hendrik Witbooi refused to sign such a treaty he was attacked by a German force led by Captain Curt von Francois on 12th April, 1893. Many people were killed, but Witbooi and many of his troops escaped and fought on.
3. **Naukluft** mountains. Surrounded in a mountain stronghold Hendrik Witbooi finally signed a treaty with the Germans on 15th September, 1894.
4. A treaty of 6th December, 1894 signed between Samuel Maharero and the German Governor, Leutwein, moved the border of 'Hereroland' to the line of the **White Nossob River**. The lost land was mainly that which had been used for grazing by followers of the Herero leaders Tjetjo, Nikodemus Kavekunwa and Kahimemua Nguvauva.
5. Nikodemus Kavenkunwa and Kahimemua Nguvauvava joined the Khauas and rose against German colonial rule in March, 1896. However following battles at **Gobabis** (at which the Khauas leader, Eduard Lambert is killed), **Namdas** (Siegfeld) and **Otjunda** (Sturmfeld), they are defeated. Nikodemus and Kahimemua were eventually captured and executed by firing squad at **Okahandja** on 12th June, 1896.
7. Fighting broke out on 5th July, 1897 between a German patrol and the Afrikaaner community. On 2nd August, 1897 the Afrikaaners were surrounded on the Orange River and their position bombarded by artillery fire leading to 37 deaths at the Battle of the **Gamsib Ravine**. The survivors fled across the river, but were arrested by the British and handed over to the German authorities, court martialled and shot.
8. The Zwartboois with the support of the Topnaar and a local Herero community led by Kambata were in conflict with the Germans from December, 1897 to March 1898 at **Franzfontein, Otjitambi, Kamanjab and Grootberg**. The surviving Swartboois were deported to Windhoek.

Sources:

- Dierks, Klaus 'Chronology of Namibian History (Windhoek, 1999)
Drechsler, Horst 'Let Us Die Fighting' (Berlin, 1966)