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**A Study  
of  
Gobabis District  
(South West Africa)**

by  
O. Köhler

Partly based on material of  
Günter Wagner

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	Original Page	Image
Contents by Paragraph	5	4
Introduction	9	8
The Rural Area	25	22
Epukiro Native Reserve	35	29
Stephanus Hoveka Pedigree	45	38
Aminuis Native Reserve	60	51
Hosea Kutako Pedigree	74	62
Eastern Native Reserve	88	72
Gobabis Urban Location	89	73
Bibliography	100	81
Index of Persons	104-105	82
Map	109	83

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## CONTENTS

Part I. INTRODUCTION	Paragraph
Boundaries . . . . .	1
Extent . . . . .	2
Control . . . . .	3
Communications . . . . .	11
Description of country . . . . .	15
Hydrography . . . . .	17
Rainfall . . . . .	20
Vegetation . . . . .	24
Fauna . . . . .	25
Economics . . . . .	27
History	
Early history . . . . .	28
Arrival of the Khoi . . . . .	31
Nao-sanabes or Wesleyvale . . . . .	34
The new centre Gobabis . . . . .	38
Rebellion and war . . . . .	42
Second war against the Oorlams (1880) . . . . .	43
In German times . . . . .	46
The Herero rebellion . . . . .	52
End of the German period . . . . .	58
Chronology of European influences and development . . . . .	59
Number of farms . . . . .	60
Growth of European population . . . . .	62
Population statistics . . . . .	63
Part II. THE RURAL AREA	
1. Farms . . . . .	66
2. The R.C. Mission Farm Epukiro . . . . .	82
Administration . . . . .	85
Social . . . . .	88
Age structure . . . . .	89
Marriage . . . . .	91
Births and deaths . . . . .	92
Economics . . . . .	93
a) Stock farming . . . . .	93
b) Agriculture . . . . .	95

## Transcription of Original Page 6

## CONTENTS

c) Labour . . . . .	96
Material culture . . . . .	98
Education . . . . .	99
Church matters . . . . .	101
Part III. EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE	
History . . . . .	102
Description of country . . . . .	109
Fauna. . . . .	114
Communications . . . . .	115
Numbers and composition of population . . . . .	116
Distribution of population . . . . .	122
Fluctuation of population . . . . .	127
Authority and control . . . . .	132
Native Headmen . . . . .	133
Reserve Board. . . . .	137
Reserve Trust Fund . . . . .	140
Social. . . . .	142
Intertribal relations	
a) Herero and Mbanderu . . . . .	144
b) Bushmen. . . . .	150
Traditional practices. . . . .	156
Economics	
Stock farming . . . . .	160
Dairying. . . . .	175
Crops. . . . .	178
Trades and crafts . . . . .	181
Standard of living . . . . .	185
Education . . . . .	186
School feeding scheme . . . . .	192
Church matters . . . . .	193
Health . . . . .	197
Part IV. AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE	
History . . . . .	198
Description of country . . . . .	222
Fauna. . . . .	222
Communications . . . . .	222
Numbers and composition of population . . . . .	230
Distribution of population . . . . .	232
Fluctuation of Population . . . . .	237
Authority and control . . . . .	241
Native Headmen . . . . .	242

## CONTENTS

Biography of Hosea Kutako . . . . .	244
Reserve Board . . . . .	257
Reserve Trust Fund . . . . .	259
Social . . . . .	261
Intertribal relations . . . . .	264
a) Herero and Tswana . . . . .	264
b) Herero and Bushmen . . . . .	265
Traditional practices . . . . .	268
Economics . . . . .	269
a) Stock farming . . . . .	269
b) Dairying . . . . .	279
c) Crops . . . . .	281
d) Trades and crafts . . . . .	282
e) Standard of living . . . . .	285
Education . . . . .	289
a) Government Native School . . . . .	290
b) School feeding scheme . . . . .	295
c) R.C. Mission School . . . . .	29f.i
Health . . . . .	302
Part V. EASTERN NATIVE RESERVE . . . . .	303
Part VI. GOBABIS URBAN LOCATION	
Definition of area . . . . .	309
History of Location . . . . .	311
Numbers and ethnic classification of population . . . . .	312
Authority and control . . . . .	316
Social . . . . .	321
a) Ethnic sub-divisions . . . . .	321
b) Relations between ethnic groups . . . . .	322
c) Surviving traditional customs . . . . .	323
Marriage and family life . . . . .	324
Illegitimacy . . . . .	328
Age structure . . . . .	329
Economics . . . . .	331
a) Wage earners . . . . .	331
b) Independent trades . . . . .	332
c) Native-owned stock . . . . .	333
d) Standard of living . . . . .	334
Education . . . . .	335
a) Rhenish Mission School . . . . .	337
b) Roman Catholic Mission School . . . . .	340

## CONTENTS

Health .....	343
a.) Water supply .....	344
b.) Sanitation .....	345
Illicit brewing .....	346
Pastimes .....	347
Part VII. BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	100
Indices .....	101
Maps .....	at end

## Part I. INTRODUCTION

## Boundaries

1 The district of Gobabis was first proclaimed in 1899. Under the Mandate it was defined anew by Procl. No. 40 of 1920 (Gazette No. 40 of 17th Nov. 1920). This was repealed and the district again defined by the "Redefinition of Magisterial Districts Proclamation" No. 15 of 1950 (Gazette Extraordinary No. 1947 of 24th April 1950).

## Extent

2 According to the latest definition of its area, the district is 36,996 sq. miles or 9,574,242 ha. in extent. The portion outside the Police Zone covers an area of 8,491 sq. miles.

## Control

3 Administrative control of the district is vested in the Magistrate/Native Commissioner, Gobabis.

4 The three Native Reserves in the district, Epukiro, Aminuis and the Eastern Native Reserve, are under the administrative control of the Magistrate, while executive control of each Reserve is in the hands of a Welfare Officer. Aminuis Reserve has one Welfare Officer at Aminuis headquarters, whilst Epukiro is administered by two Welfare Officers, one at Omaueozonjanda in the south and one at Otjinene in the north. The latter is also in charge of the newly-created Eastern Native Reserve.

5 The R.C. Mission Farm Epukiro, which adjoins Epukiro Native Reserve in the west, has with regard to the management of Native affairs a status in some ways resembling that of a Native reserve. The Natives on this farm - almost exclusively Tswana - are under the administrative and executive control



Transcription of Original Page 10

#### INTRODUCTION

of the Roman Catholic father in charge of the Mission station, and he submits annual reports directly to the Magistrate, Gobabis.

6 The one proclaimed urban location in the district, at Gobabis, is administered by the Municipality of Gobabis through a full-time Superintendent. The small locations at Witvlei and Leonardville, not yet proclaimed, are controlled by the respective Village Management Boards.

7 In the reserves, the Welfare officers are assisted by Native Reserve Boards and Native headmen.

8 In the urban location, the Superintendent is assisted by a non-European Advisory Board.

9 The crown land in the district is not under direct administrative control. There only Bushmen roam. These areas are the small strip of territory between Aminuis Reserve and the Bechuanaland border, and the portion of the district falling outside the Police Zone.

10 The Magisterial district of Gobabis is divided into five Police Station Areas, viz. Gobabis; Witvlei, Steinhausen, Leonardville . ( formerly Pretorius) and Buitepos (alias Sandfontein).

#### Communications

11 The district is served by a network of roads which also link up the Reserves with the centre of the district. Gobabis is connected with Windhoek by a railway branch line and motor road.

12 Road motor services connect Gobabis with the Epukiro Reserve, the R.C. Mission Farm, Sandfontein (80 miles east of Gobabis) and Leonardville (96 miles south of Gobabis). Another road motor service operates between the railway station Omitara (on the Windhoek-Gobabis line) and Otjinene in the northern portion of Epukiro Reserve.

13 Close contact is maintained between the Herero living in the two main reserves of the district, Epukiro and Aminuis, as well as between them and the Herero of Gobabis and Windhoek locations.

Transcription of Original Page 11

#### INTRODUCTION

14 There seems to be less visiting between the Aminuis and Epukiro Mission Farm Tswana. Contact is still maintained between these Tswana groups and fellow tribesmen in Bechuanaland. Tswana come from across the border on visits and also for medical treatment at the Gobabis hospital.

#### Description of country

15 . The district of Gobabis belongs geographically to the central Kalahari region. Apart from a number of mountain ranges and isolated koppies in the west, the district is a vast slightly undulating plain, with a gentle slope from west to east and northeast.

16 The Herero divide this area into four regions:

- the Kaukauveld (from the Bushman tribal name //Kxau-//en) north and northeast of the Eiseb Omuramba;
- the Omahake or Sandfeld (from oma-heke "big sandy areas") which extends from eastern Waterberg Reserve across the Eastern Native Reserve and to the Epukiro and -/-Nosob Rivers;
- the Ovitore or "Potatoveld" (from ovi-tore i.e. edible bulbs growing in that region) between Gobabis and Sandfontein; and
- the Omongua or Soutveld (from omongua "salt") which extends south of Gobabis, especially in the Aminuis area with its numerous salt pans.

#### Hydrography

17 The principal river in the district is the Nosob (Nama -/-Nosob, Herero: Ondondu rovaMbanderu "Mbanderu River") with its two arms, the White Nosob (i.e. white sandy river, called ;Uri-domi "white throat" in Nama and Ombapa-pehuri "white belly" in Herero) and the Black Nosob (on account on its omuramba-like grey river bed). These join at Aais about 50 miles southwest of Gobabis and the Nosob then flows through the district in a southerly direction and drains into the Molopo bed, geologically

Transcription of Original Page 12

#### INTRODUCTION

a tributary of the Orange but now dry.

Owing to abundant subsurface water at shallow depth and fertile soil along its banks, the country on both sides of the Nosob is valuable farm land.

18 Next to the Nosob, the two most important dry river beds (omiramba) in the district are the Epukiro Omuramba (Herero: Omuramba ua Pukiro) and the Eiseb Omuramba (Herero: Omuramba ua Eiseb) which both flow in a predominantly easterly direction towards Bechuanaland.

19 Apart from a number of pans which hold water until well into the dry season, open water is found at Sandfontein near the Bechuanaland border, at Gross Aminuis (on the edge of the largest salt pan in the Reserve) and at Otjeue (Nama: /Uis), also in Aminuis Reserve.

Rainfall - deleted

Transcription of Original Page 14

#### INTRODUCTION

camel thorn tree, the white thorn, the yellow wood (geelhout), and wild apple. For vegetation in Epukiro Reserve see para.113.

#### Fauna

25 When the first missionary of the Rhenish Mission, Eggert, arrived at Gobabis in 1856, lion, rhino and hartebeest came to the waterholes around Gobasis, as well as the herds of elephants from which Gobabis received its name (see para.35).

26 Extensive farming and the growing population have so reduced animal life that game is now found only along the eastern border. In Aminuis Reserve there still are large herds of springbok .

#### Economics

27 Gobabis district is regarded as a good farming district. Cattle farming in the Reserves is the main source of subsistence of the Herero and Mbanderu. Maize is grown here and there in the Epukiro Reserve. The Aminuis Reserve seems to lack the rainfall for agriculture.

#### History

##### Early history

28 Apart from the Bushmen of the northern, central and southern group, who must be considered the oldest known inhabitants of the eastern Gobabis district, the so-called Kgalagadi and the Mbanderu branch of the Herero appear to have lived in the district in the past century. The Kgalagadi, a pre-Tswana mixture of Bantu immigrants with a Bushman population, probably arrived in the Aminuis-Sandfontein area in the 18th century. When the Mbanderu moved southward into what is now the Gobabis district, they settled along the Nosob which had good water for their herds.

29 Waves of Tlharo immigrants from Bechuanaland from the Lehututu and Kuruman areas appear to have subjugated Kgalagadi people living scattered in the

Transcription of Original Page15

#### INTRODUCTION

eastern part of Gobabis district. Some of these Kgalagadi became their serfs and later worked for the Hetero.

30 A Herero group under Chief Tjiponda is said to have reached the Gobabis area at the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century. They seem to have left again in a northwesterly direction. Arrival of the Khoi 1)

31. Early in the 19th century the Oorlam Hottentots (i.e. the so-called Afrikaners, the Witboois and the Bethanie, Berseba and Amraal Hottentots) had trekked north from the Hantam in the northern Cape Province and into the country north of the Orange River. 1)

32 The Amraal Hottentots, properly called Gei-/khauen but better known under the name of their chief Amraal Lambert, moved to Pella and Warmbad. Chief Amraal's name was first mentioned in 1805. In 1814, he was baptized at Bethanie by Schmelen of the Rhenish Mission.

33 A drought at Bethanie in 1820-23 forced Amraal Lambert and his people (as well as other Oorlams and Khoi of the area) to move to the Fish River near Kaikurab.  
//Nao-sanabes or Wesleyvale

34 In the following years, Amraal 's people trekked northeast and eventually reached the -/-Nosob River. The place where they settled was called //Nao-sanabes in Nama. It also had a Herero name ( Okazize "leaking place," probably so called after 1) Because the present-day Hottentots dislike the term, and the Administration has given the assurance that the word "Hottentot" would not be used officially, Khoi will be used instead in this work henceforth. "Nama" cannot be used as if synonymous with "Hottentot" as it denotes one tribe, and "Topnaar Namas" would be as irrational as "hickory oak" instead of "hickory wood". The "Nama language" is correct. It is spoken by the Bergdama also

## Transcription of Original Page 16

## INTRODUCTION

a running spring), which may have been given by the Mbanderu of that area. The arrival of the Khoi in the -/-Nosob valley may be placed shortly before 1830, as the Rev. Mr Cook of the London Missionary Society visited this place in 1850, not long after the Khoi had settled. He founded a Mission station at //Nao-sanabes and called it Wesleyvale. This is the very place later called Pretorius and now known as Leonardville, on the left bank of the -/-Nosob, where the road from Windhoek to Aminuis Reserve crosses the river bed. In 1843, Wesleyvale was visited by Hahn of the Rhenish Mission. He refers to Amraal as a "venerable old man". In 1844, the Rev. Mr Tindall succeeded Cook and remained in charge of the station until 1851, when Francis Galton visited it. Galton was apparently highly impressed by Amraal's personality and his people. He wrote: "It seems to me, Amraal 's people, in spite of being only a small community, had been the most civilized of all tribes I had ever met" (Galton, Travels pp. 161-2).

35 In 1845, sections of the Amraal Khoi and groups of the Mbanderu left Wesleyvale and settled at Gobabis. This place was known in olden times as Hoantabis, and there is little doubt that it represents a mispronunciation of the Nama name -/-Khoan-dabes "elephants" (-/-khoan) lick ( dabes )". The Bergdama of Gobabis use the latter form to this day.

36 In 1848, Orlam groups, followers of Jonker Afrikaner and commanded by Kool, attacked the Mbanderu at Gobabis. Whether Gobabis was called Epako by the Mbanderu or by Tjiponda's people, is unknown. Epako means a narrow place and refers to the place where the -/-Nosob runs between the rocks west of Gobabis, and where in olden times a road passed this spot in the river bed. A dam has now been built there. Amraal Lambert tried to prevent this attack but arrived too late to prevent the complete defeat of the Mbander .

37 After Tindall had left the Mission station at Wesleyvale, Amraal asked the Rhenish Mission to send him another missionary. The Rev. Mr Eggert was accordingly sent to Wesleyvale in 1855. In the

Transcription of Original Page 17

# INTRODUCTION

following year, he and the remainder of Amraal's people left the place, probably because there were too few water holes there. Among Amraal's people were the headmen Kordom, Vledermnis, Goeman Kort, Waterboer, and Barend. They arrived at Gobabis on 23rd August, 1856.

The new centre Gobabis

38 Gobabis was an area with much water, partly flowing from springs. In due course it therefore became an important stop on the trade route to Lake Ngami.

39 At Gobabis, the Amraal tribe broke up. Some of them did not submit to discipline and order and moved to the White Nosob, to a place then known by its Herero name Omataura. This place also became known by the Nama name !Uri-!kuwis(white water pan). It is now called Witvlei.

40 At that time there were about 150 Oorlam living at Gobabis, with about 150 Bergdama serfs. There also were Bushmen in the vicinity.

41 Towards the end of 1863, smallpox broke out and caused many deaths among the residents of Gobabis. The mortality was comparable to that in the epidemic that ravaged Gobabis in 1847. In a few months, 130 persons died, among them the chief Amraal himself (in February 1864) and prominent men of his tribe. After the epidemic many people came from Witvlei and other places and settled at Gobabis. Rebellion and war

42 On 11 April 1865, the Bergdama rebelled against their Oorlam masters. The Herero took advantage of this to attack the Oorlams at Gobabis in May the same year. The missionary Weter left, and his station remained vacant until 1876. On 3rd October of that year, the Rev. Mr Judt of the Rhenish Mission arrived at Gobabis in response to a fresh request for a missionary. He established a school for the Native children and soon had 36 pupils. The rebuilding of the Mission station was completed in 1879.



Transcription of Original Page 18

#### INTRODUCTION

Second war against the Oorlams (1880)

43 Tradition records an event which sheds some light on the life and safety of travellers, traders and adventurers of those days. Early in 1880, the trader van Zyl and his son arrived at Gobabis. The Oorlams attacked them and plundered their belongings, consisting of two waggons, one cart, fifteen muskets, gunpowder, lead, 300 head of large stock and much small stock. The travellers just managed to escape during the night. They applied to Palgrave, the Commissioner from the Cape, for assistance.

44 Palgrave arrived at Gobabis to investigate matters. Before his meetings with the Oorlamsheadmen had been concluded, a new war between the Oorlam and the Herero broke out (26th August, 1880). The Commissioner had to break off negotiations and effected his escape with greatest difficulty. The Mission station was destroyed again. Judt, who had been attending a conference at Okahandja, did not go back.

45 In the course of the following years, some groups of the Oorlams seem to have gone back to //Nao-sanabes.

In German times

46 For the period until the arrival of the Germans there is a gap in the historical records on Gobabis. It seems that at most a handful of Europeans lived in the eastern areas or passed through them.

47 The once flourishing ivory trade had obviously declined. What loss this meant to the traders can be appreciated when one reads in the Chronicle of the Rhenish Mission in the year 1862: "The traders left Gobabis with about 6,000 pounds of ivory" At 3/- per pound this makes £900.

48 In 1893, the Gei-/Khauen, called "Khauas" in the German reports, raided Aais at the confluence of the Black and White Nosob where Tlharo-Tswana from Aminius had settled. Near Aais a German was killed by the Khauas. German troops under Major



Transcription of Original Page19

## INTRODUCTION

Leutwein marched against the Khoi and defeated them in 1894. The Khoi leader Andries was taken at //Nao-sanabes and executed. His successor Eduard signed a treaty of protection with the Germans. The defeat of the Khoi induced the Mbanderu to move south with their cattle posts, and Gobabis came to be regarded as the headquarters of the Mbanderu.

49 The Oorlam in the meantime did not remain inactive but organized a counter-attack against the Germans. On 6th April 1896, Eduard Lambert attacked Gobabis, and the Magistrate of Gobabis, Lt. Lampe, was killed in the battle. Von Estorff then took command of the troops. A further action took place at Spitskop, 7 km west of Gobabis, and here Eduard was killed.

50 Further encounters followed when the Khoi and Hemero joined forces. The Herero were led by Kahimemua and Nikodemus. There were actions at Olifantskloof, Siegfeld and Sturmfeld (north of the Epukiro Omuramba). Nikodemus was taken prisoner and executed at Okahandja.

51 A sort of fortified barracks (Feste) was now built at Gobabis. A military station had been built at Aais in 1894 to control that area; the German control over the eastern part of the Protectorate was now much stronger. In 1923, the fort at Gobabis was reconstructed to serve as school and hostel. With greater security (1898), farming activity increased around Gobabis along the Black Nosob. The Herero rebellion

52 The attitude of the Herero, especially of their headmen Tjetjo and Traugott, was becoming defiant, and the government in 1899 decided to strengthen the garrison at Gobabis.

53 The steadily growing unrest among the Herero ended in an increase of stock theft in 1903. Various signs of impending trouble caused security measures to be taken for the protection of settlers. Oberleutnant Streitwolf, then in charge of the district, succeeded in concentrating farmers, missionaries and loyal Natives in Gobabis by the end of January 1904.

Transcription of Original Page 20

#### INTRODUCTION

54 The news that the Herero had attacked the German military station at Witvlei was therefore not quite unexpected. A messenger was immediately sent from Gobabis to warn all farmers along the Nosob, and the warning came in time to save many lives. Most of the farmers reached Gobabis and found refuge there.

55 Meanwhile a message was received that the Herero had also raided the military station at Oas. On 16th January the Herero surrounded the fort and during the following days they fired on Gobabis from the Nikodemus Berg, but then withdrew and barred the road to Seeis-Windhoek with strong forces.

56 It was learnt that all the eastern Herero, with about one thousand men and five hundred rifles, and commanded by Traugott and Tjetjo, had collected in the vicinity of Kehoro, northeast of Witvlei on the right bank of the Black Nosob. This was at the beginning of February.

57 On 16th February, a German unit from Windhoek reached Gobabis. Two further units followed. The German plan to attack the Herero at Kehoro failed when the Herero escaped westwards. Tjetjo and his men moved to Okendjezu. In the area of Ovikokorero the troops eventually made contact with the Herero. A subsequent encounter was indecisive. These and the later phases of the Herero War took place outside the Gobabis district.

#### End of the German period

58 At the outbreak of the First World War, many farms were without menfolk, and the Khoi began to raid such farms. On 14th June 1915, Union troops occupied Gobabis.

59 Chronology of European influences and development  
1840 Rev. Mr Cook of the London Missionary Society founds a Mission station at //Nao-sanabes (now Leonardville) on the Nosob.  
1856 Rev. Mr Eggert establishes Rhenish Mission station at Gobabis.

Transcription of Original Page 21

INTRODUCTION 21

- 1863 First church of the Rhenish Mission inaugurated at Gobabis. Conference of missionaries of the Rhenish Mission in Namaland is held at Gobabis.
- 1893 German troops take control of the east of the Protectorate.
- 1895 Military station built at Gobabis, Rietfontein and Oas.  
Two stores opened at Gobabis by Ohlsen and Paschke.
- 1896 Military station at Okovindombo.
- 1897 Post at Okovindombo moved to Epukiro.
- 1898 Post at Witvlei for the protection of traffic between Windhoek and Gobabis.
- 1900 Three German colonists settle near Epukiro.
- 1902 Post at Epukiro closed down.  
R.C. Mission station founded among the Tswana at Aminuis
- 1903 R.C. Mission station founded at Epukiro west of present Epukiro Reserve.
- 1907 R.C. Mission station founded at Gobabis.
- 1908 Rhenish Mission re-established at Gobabis.  
Police stations placed at Aminuis and Sandfontein (Nama: //Kaeros, Herero Okanaindo) in the east and at Steinhausen in the west of the district.
- 1911 German school opened at Gobabis ( in January).
- 1923 Epukiro, and Aminuis Native Reserves set aside by GN.122/23.
- 1930 Railway branch line Windhoek-Gobabis opened on 30th November.
- 1935 Township of Gobabis and Commonage become a Village Management Board area (G.N.161/35).  
Gobabis creamery opened (6th June). Residents of Epukiro Reserve start selling milk and cream to creamery.
- 1944 Gobabis becomes a Municipality (1st January by Procl. No. 2 of 1944).
- 1947 Gobabis becomes headquarters of S.A. Police division 54.
- 1949 Municipal power station erected at Gobabis.
- 1951 Mission school built by Rhenish Mission at Leonardville (Pretorius at the time) with 45 pupils, mostly from farms.

Transcription of Original Page 22

### INTRODUCTION

1952 Witvlei becomes a Village Management Board .  
area (15th October by Procl. No.33 of 1952).

1954 Leonardville becomes a township (27th April  
by Procl. 24 of 1954).

1955 Leonardville becomes a Village Management  
Board area (15th December) (Procl. 68 of 1955).

### Number of farms

60 The first farms were allotted to ex-soldiers  
in 1898. On 1st April 1913, there were 108 farms  
in Gobabis district totalling 773,473 ha. in extent.

61 The total of farms in Gobabis district increased  
from 562 in 1946 to 692 in 1950. In 1956  
there were 784 farms.

### 62 Growth of European population (whole district)

1905 26	1926 940
1906 35	1936 3,076
1907 75	1946 3,271
1908 120	1951 4,271
1911 311	
1912 342	
1913 409	

63 TABLE No. 3. GROWTH AND ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION  
.OF NON-EUROPEAN POPULATION IN GOBABIS  
DISTRICT ( incl. Reserves)

## Transcription of Original Page 23

## INTRODUCTION

## Key to groups

A: Khoi	F: Tswana
B: Bastards & Coloureds	G: Bushmen
C: Herero	H: Kgalagadi
D: Ovambo-& Okavango	I: Others
E: Bergdama	

Note a) Part of the Tswana appear to have been classified under 'Others' and eventually entirely under 'Others'. There remains, however, a difference of about 600 Tswana not included in 'Others'. As the total of 1952 also shows a decrease by about 600, one must assume that many Tswana left the district that year.

Note b) The first Ovambo came into the district in 1930 when the railway was constructed.

Note c) The great increase of the Herero between 1913 and 1939 is to be attributed to the proclamation of the Native Reserves in 1923.

Noted) The column 'Others' includes a variety of tribes e.g. from Nyasaland, Rotse, Angola and some Natives from the Union. A number of halfcastes were probably also included.

-64

TABLE No.4.\_ GEOWTH OF NATIVE POPULATION ON FARMS

Year	Men	Women	Children	Total
1939	2,201	1,437	1,675	5,313
1947	3,792	2,167	3,198	9,157
1949	3,614	2,342	3,358	9,314
1955	4,023	2,537	3,486	10,046

65 TABLE No.5. NUMBER OF NON-EUROPEANS  
(MEN, WOMEN AND CHILDREN)  
(Gobabis district)

Yr.	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	Total
'39 m	180	189	1803	558	412	-	500	-	241	3883
w	150	127	2196	21	379	-	464	-	267	3604
c	211	131	1805	51	437	-	664	-	518	3817
	541	447	5804	630	1228	-	1628	-	1026	11304

Transcription of Original Page 25

PART II. THE RURAL AREA

1. Farms

66 By far the greater portion of the district is farm land. In 1955, the total number of farms amounted to 797.

67 Ranching is the main source of farm income. The Natives on farms provide labour. During the last ten years, there has been a steady decrease in the number of Herero and contract Ovambo on the farms. In May 1956 I found one farm in northern Steinhausen Police area without any Native labour at all. It is often stated that Herero go to the Reserves or urban areas and that the contract Ovambo prefer to go to the mines or to Windhoek or Walvis Bay where higher wages are paid.

68 Many Bushmen have come into the district to relieve this shortage. In the north of the district (Steinhausen area) they come from the north and the north-east and are //Kxau-//en, a group closely related in language to the !Kung, the northern Bushmen.

69 Many of these Bushmen have lived in the district for a long time and not a few were born on farms in the northern part of it. These Bushmen, who have relatives all over the northern farming area, appear to be quite at home, and desertions among them are uncommon.

70 With the increasing labour shortage on farms, a number of other Bushmen, without experience of employment, have been persuaded by the example of the others also to enter service for shorter periods. Some of these found work of any kind uncongenial and absconded again after a time.

71 On many farms Bushman labour has already become indispensable. The regular diet and way of

Transcription of Original Page 26

#### RURAL AREA

life may account for the large Bushman families on farms. To these Bushmen it would hardly occur to run away. ven single Bushmen who have gone back to the veld now seem to come back after a time. But life on the farms lowers the Bushmen's physical powers of resistance. Farm diet generally differs a good deal from that of tha veld and this may be a factor.

72 In the central part of the eastern district, the Naron Susbmen are practically the only Bushmen working on farms. In this area, viz. between the Epukiro and Aminuis Reserves, there are also very few Herero on the farms in spite of the nearness of the 0 Reserves The reason for this is that these firms were only given out ten or less years ago and their proximity was not sufficient to attract the Herero in the Reserves. The Herero have small inclination to work on farms in any case .

73 In the south of the district there also are a few Bushmen on the farms, but in general the position there is very much as it is in the Witvlei area, where hardly a Bushman is to be found.

74 The Bergdama live mainly in the centre of the district, Contract Ovambo are found all over the district, except for the middle east (Buitepos -area), which has only a handful.

Transcription of Original Page 30 [*Pages 27-81 not included*]  
RURAL AREA

82 The R.C. Mission Farm lies on both sides of the Omuramba ua Pukiro, west of the Epukiro Native Reserve, and bordering on it. It was acquired by the R.C. Mission in 1903 and covers 30,099 ha,



Transcription of Original Page 31

#### RURAL AREA

83 In the same year, Mission station was established at Epukiro; and the farm gave numerous

Tswana living scattered about in the Gobabis district a place to settle. The number of residents grew steadily . For data on Epukiro history see Lebzelter, pp. 47-49

84

TABLE No.10. GROWTH OF TSWANA POPULATION,  
EPUKIRO MISSION

year	men	women	children	total
1927	-	-	-	207
1937	87	96	188	371
1947	131	120	260	511
1957	138	144	418	700

#### Administration

85 Proc.No.11/1922, as amended by Proc.11/1927, imposes limitations on numbers of Natives who may be permitted to reside or be employed on a farm without permission of the Magistrate. In the case of the R.C. Mission farm Epukiro permission covering excess has been given. It has not got the status of a reserved area, but resembles a Native Reserve in more than one respect .

86 The priest-in-charge of the Mission also has charge of the Tswana village nearby . He is authorized to issue passes to all places in the Police Zone. Tswana desiring to visit Bechuanaland Protectorate require a pass issued by the Magistrate, Gobabis.

87 The Tswana community has an elected Headman, Franz Moruki, who has held this office for many years and claims hereditary title to it. The Tswana community also has village Council of six elected members . This self-government appears to work well, and the priest-in-charge seldom has to intervene .

#### Social

88 In 1951, there were 385 persons in 77 households in the Tswana village, giving an average of 5 persons per family.

Transcription of Original Page 32

## RURAL AREA

### Age structure

89 According to information collected by Dr. Wagner, this was as follows in 1951. Absentees are excluded.

TABLE No .11. AGE STRUCTURE OF TSWANA COMMUNITY  
EPUKIRO MISSION (1951)

age group	male	female
0 - 5	31	41
6 - 10	35	32
11 - 15	29	37
16 - 20	10	20
21 -25	2	9
26 - 30	1	11
31 - 35	3	12
36 - 40	7	20
41 - 45	4	4
46 - 50	2	2
51 - 55	6	6
56 - 60	2	4
61 - 65.	3	3
66 - 70	10	2
71 75	1	2
76 - 80	1	2
81 - 85	1	1
Totals:	148(42%)	208(58%)

90 In 1927, Lebzelter found a proportion of males to females of 100:113-(47%:53%).

### Marriage

91 Marriage is contracted strictly according to Chirstian rites and civil law, but the family must still give their consent. Intermarriage takes place with the Tswana in Aminuis Reserve and even with Tswana in the Protectorate. Cases of intermarriage with other ethnic groups are so few as to be negligible.

### Births and deaths

92 Owing to the special circumstances and the close supervision by the priest-in-charge, the

Transcription of Original Page 33

### RURAL AREA 33

following figures may be accepted as reliable,

Year Population Births Deaths

1945 18 5

1946 19 5

1947 511 12 5

1957 700 20 4

### Economics

#### a) Stock farming

93 Animal husbandry is one of the main sources of income. During the period when the cows have milk, cream is sent to the Gobabis Creamery by bus once a week. There are at present about 7 separators in the Tswana village. Stock dealers visit the Mission Farm to buy cattle.

94

TABLE No.12. STOCK OWNED BY TSWANA ON EPUKIRO MISSION FARM

Year Cattle Horses Donkeys Sheep Goats

total small stock cattle units

1937 551 28 100 614 802

1944 938 54 88 791 1238

1946 896 35 88 536 1026

1948 777 54 120 1,033 1158

1950 930 37 96 85 933 1,018 1267

1957, 1100 85 110 57 715 772 1449

The population of 700 (1957) thus owned 157 cattle, 28 equines, 110 small stock, and 179 cattle units (excluding equines) per 100 persons. See paragraph 162 Epukiro Reserve.

#### b) Agriculture

95 The Mission has allotted 6,500 ha. of the farm to the Tswana as pasture land and for cultivation. A family, or in some cases a group of related families, fence off their garden. Each family has about 1 ha. of land to grow millet, maize, bean melons, tobacco and vegetables etc. No rent is paid for this garden land.

## Transcription of Original Page 34

## RURAL AREA

## c) Labour

96/ A number of men and women are usually away at work on neighbouring farms, or in factories and households in towns. The Mission does not approve of this, especially if the well-being of the family is endangered thereby. But of course, the Tswana communities of Epukiro and Aminuis Reserve cannot escape being involved in the economic development of South West Africa and the attendant labour shortage.

97 In 1946/47, 106 men and 39 women (57.6% of the total of 252 adults over 16 years) went out to work. In 1956, 90 men and 60 women (56.0% of the total of 282 adults over 16 years) went out to work.

## Material culture

98 See descriptions by Lebzelter and Lehmann. Crafts are practised only to meet the needs of the people themselves, not for sale. The sewing of karosses, formerly very common, has ceased completely for lack of pelts.

## Education

99 The R.C. Mission School at present goes up to Std. III. It has three teachers, all Tswana by birth.

100 Ages of pupils range from 7-16 years. Number of pupils

Year.	Boys	Girls	Total
1947	43	46	89
1957	35	55	90

## Church matters

101 All the people are Catholics.

## Transcription of Original Page 35

## Part III. EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

## History

102 Vast stretches of the country north of the Omuramba ua Pukiro where Epukiro Reserve was proclaimed in 1923 appear at one time to have been noman's land. Human existence was bound to the water-holes along the omiramba, and here the Bushmen probably had good hunting grounds. Whether Tswana and Mbanderu ever penetrated this more or less waterless desert is hard to say. Neither ever laid claim to it.

103 As we have seen, the most important place in these parts was Epukiro or the banks of the omuramba ua Pukiro, a place where Tswana and Herero met to barter. The name Epukiro appears to be derived from the Herero verb -puka "lose one's way" and means "country where one gets lost". This name shows that Epukiro was situated in a borderland. When the Native Reserve was proclaimed east of old Epukiro, the latter name was applied to it.

104 At the beginning of the century the endless dry river beds of the Epikuro borderland were the routes along which the Herero survivors from the battle at Waterberg tried to escape to Bechuanaland in desperate flight. One of the main routes was the Omuramba ua Pata, commonly known as "Eiseb Omuramba". Samuel Maharero followed it on his way to Nyae-Nyae. Many waterholes along the Eiseb got their names in those days. Most of them are still known to-day, and old people at Epata remember the events after which the water-holes (ozombu) were called. In view of the shortage of water the old people, children and women stood small chance of getting through the long waterless stretches. Many of them therefore returned to Epata and Otjinene, thereby escaping starvation and death.

## EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

105 A second major route of flight towards Rietfontein and Bechuanaland led along the Alexeck Omuramba, formerly called Gauas Omuramba. The last easternmost inhabited place on this route has the characteristic name Otjomanangombe "place that finishes the cattle".

106 In 1920 the Native Reserves Commission suggested the establishment of a large Reserve of about 178,000 ha. in the Epukiro area. The intention was to accommodate people from Uichanas and Gunichas in Gobabis district, and Okatumba and Orumbo in Windhoek district, and also to settle Herero crown-land squatters.

107 In 1923 the Epukiro Native Reserve was set aside (cf. GN No. 122 of 13th November) with an extent of c. 178,000 ha. It covered the area on both sides of the Epukiro Omuramba. On 17th August 1925 the Epukiro Reserve was redefined by GN No.109 and extended northwards as far as the Eiseb Omuramba, with a new extent of 284,000 ha.

108 By GN 154 of 2/11/1934 the northern border of the Reserve was defined as running at a distance of 8 km north of, and parallel to, the Eiseb Omuramba. The Reserve thereby became c. 743,000 ha. in extent. At present Epukiro Reserve covers an area of c. 997,840 hectares and is the largest Native Reserve in the Police Zone.

## Description of country

109 The Reserve covers a vast stretch of undulating country". Its surface consists of sand and sanddunes, and here and there of limestone, as at Otjiteteue (Kalkpan).

110 Various dry river beds traverse the Reserve from west to east and form large shallow depressions. For their names see map. The exact course of portions of the omiramba are not yet known.

111 Rainfall. is measured at Omaue-ozonjanda, Reserve headquarters, on the banks of the Epukiro

Transcription of Original Page 37

#### EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

Omuramba in the southwestern portion of the Reserve.

During the years 1945-1955, the following rainfall was recorded:

1945 328.2 mm	1951 382.9 mm
1946 178.1 mm	1952 232.5 mm
1947 152.9 mm	1953 421.0 mm
1948 245.9 mm	1954 342.0 mm
1949 328.2 mm	1955 645.5 mm
1950 507.5 mm	

112 Wells and water-holes are dug along the omiramba and are on an average 20 ft. deep. On sites outside the omiramba deep boreholes must be sunk to reach water. The first two boreholes sunk in 1924 had a depth of 290 ft. There appear to be portions within the Reserve - especially towards the east and northeast - where boring holds virtually no promise. At some places the water is brackish. It is better in the north of the Reserve.

113 After normal rainfall, a rich vegetation covers the western Reserve. Silvergrass (ongumbi) and Buffalo grass (ombunguru) grow along the omiramba, and in them a variety of grasses are found. Low shrubs like the onjainja and the omuti uozongamero grow on dry ground, and thornbush characterizes the scenery. At some places (e.g. Otjineno and Epata) thickets of thornbush and trees (omukaru, orusu, orupunguija etc.) in the Omuramba ua Pata occur at intervals.

#### Fauna

114. Game such as hartebeest and kudu still occur, and so do, in the north, duiker and some steenbok. There is much vermin in the Reserve, e.g. wild dogs, jackals, hyenas, leopards and wildcats. Five rifles have been issued to the foremen for the destruction of vermin, and up to 40 jackals, wild dogs etc. are destroyed each month. Premiums are paid for the destruction of vermin (for a wild dog not less than £1) and these stimulate the residents also to set traps for vermin.

## Transcription of Original Page 38

## EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

## Communications

115 The network of Reserve roads linking the settlements and cattle-posts covered, in 1956, a total mileage of about 330 miles. Some of the roads have heavy sand. Some omiramba are of use as roads to the country east of Epukiro Reserve, e.g. to Rietfontein or Nyae-Nyae and Kham. The railway station Omitara is reached on a road from Otjinene via Oparakane and Steinhausen. Mail is brought to the Reserve twice a week by bus or by a Native-owned truck.

## Numbers and compositions of population

116 After the Epukiro Reserve had been set aside in 1923, the first Mbanderu and Herero were settled along the Epukiro Omuramba. New immigrants arrived from Kohero, Okaseva, Okatjombo and other places in Gobabis district, and some of them came from Orumbo in Windhoek district. Most of these new residents settled at Okozondje. In 1924 the total of the residents in the new Reserve increased from 53 to 141 within a few months. In 1925, the total amounted to 64 men, 97 women and 139 children. According to the Annual Report of 1925, most of them were Mbanderu, and the following figures are given for the residents 115 men, 188 women and 286 children. The latter figures probably reflect the position at the end of the year.

117 The Reserve population continued to grow steadily. In 1926, 136 men, 207 women and 316 children were reported. The steady increase was partly due to the evacuation of the various small temporary Reserves dating from German times. By this time 8 boreholes had been sunk and water was being pumped by windmills.

118 In 1932/33 the Reserve had to be closed to further settlers for a time as the number of residents had increased from 891 in 1927 to 1,847 in 1934 and 2,486 in 1939.

119 The growth and ethnic composition of the population of Epukiro Reserve may be seen from the table below, para. 121. The figures for 1956 are

*Excerpts from Ethnological Publication Number 42  
"A Study of Gobabis District (South West Africa)" by O. Kohler*



Transcription of Original Page 39

## EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

the result of a population census which I took in the northern part of the Reserve in June 1956. No census figures for the administrative area of Otjinene were available, and the figures in the annual population statistics for the whole of the Reserve were, therefore, estimated.

120 This may explain the difference of 200 Herero as against the figures for 1955. I also did not find a single one of the 210 Bushmen quoted in the statistics for 1955. All of them, if there ever had been so many, had left the western portion of the Reserve and had either gone to work on farms or had withdrawn to the almost waterless and inaccessible eastern area within and outside the Reserve. Comparison of the totals for 1946 and 1956 shows that the population remained practically stable.

121

TABLE NO.13. ETHNIC GROUPS, EPUKIRO RESERVE  
(Men, women and children)

Year		Khoi	B&C	Her.	Ov/Ok	Bgd.	Bush.	Tsw.	Totals
1946	m	-	-	588	-	-	21	-	609
	w	-	-	876	-	-	29	-	905
	c	-	-	850	-	-	20	-	870
				<u>2314</u>			<u>70</u>		<u>2384</u>
1947	m	-	-	588	-	-	21	-	609
	w	-	-	876	-	-	29	-	905
	c	-	-	850	-	-	20	-	870
				<u>2314</u>			<u>70</u>		<u>2384</u>
1948	m	-	7	680	-	-	35		722
	w	-	3	905	-	-	71		979
	c	-	1	871	-	-	83		955
			<u>11</u>	<u>2456</u>			<u>189</u>		<u>2656</u>
1949	m	3	23	665	5	1	50	5	752
	w	2	9	870	-	-	60	-	941
	c	4	-	880	-	-	90	-	974
		<u>9</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>2415</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>200</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2667</u>
1950	m	3	-	692	5	1	40	5	746
	w	3	-	893	-	-	76	-	972
	c	4	-	891	-	-	90	-	985
		<u>10</u>		<u>2476</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>206</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2703</u>

40		EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE							
Year		Khoi	B&C	Her.	Ov/Ok	Bgd.	Bush.	Tsw.	Totals
1951	m	3	-	680	4	1	45	5	738
	w	3	-	898	-	-	77	-	978
	c	5	-	915	-	-	91	-	1011
		<u>11</u>		<u>2493</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>213</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2727</u>
1952	m	5	-	698	4	-	40	5	752
	w	2	-	914	-	-	77	-	993
	c	5	-	886	-	-	93	-	984
		<u>12</u>		<u>2498</u>	<u>4</u>		<u>210</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2729</u>
1953	m	4	-	690	4	-	40	5	743
	w	2	-	898	-	-	77	-	977
	c	5	-	920	-	-	93	-	1018
		<u>11</u>		<u>2508</u>	<u>4</u>		<u>210</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2738</u>
1954	m	4	-	711	4	1	40	5	765
	w	2	-	913	-	3	77	-	995
	c	6	-	941	-	-	111	-	1058
		<u>12</u>		<u>2565</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>228</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2818</u>
1955	m	4	-	619	4	1	40	7	675
	w	-	-	1153	-	3	77	-	1233
	c	-	-	722	-	6	93	-	821
		<u>4</u>		<u>2494</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>210</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2729</u>
1956	m	5	-	653	2	1		2	663
	w	-	-	865	-	3		-	868
	c	-	-	775	-	7		-	782
		<u>5</u>		<u>2293</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>		<u>2</u>	<u>2313</u>

## Distribution of population

122 As the map of the Reserve shows, the large areas east of Otjinene and north of Alexeck Omuramba are uninhabited. Of the 29 settlements found in June 1956, 15 were on the banks of dry rivers and had about 70% of the total population.

123 The northwestern portion of the Reserve is occupied almost exclusively by Herero, while the southern portion is Mbanderu country. Mbanderu villages are Otjonzondjima, Okozondje, Omaueozonjanda, Okasaira, Ohakavena, Otjiteteue, Otjijere, Ovinjuru, Okatuuo, Otjimanagombe, Okovimburu (where the Mbanderu are a minority), Okomumbonde, Otjiuetjombungu and proqably Otjijarua. Of these

## EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

villages only Otjiuetjombungu falls within the administrative area of Otjinene. Most of the villages mentioned above count some Herero among their inhabitants. Exact figures for the total of Mbanderu in the Reserve are not available, but an estimate would put them at 40% of the total Reserve population.

124 Of the 29 villages above, 15 fall within the administrative area of Otjinene. Otjirarua is inhabited in the rainy season only, when there is water. Some families then come up with their stock from Otjiuetjombungu. The 14 villages of the administrative area of Omaue-ozonjanda are inhabited all the year round.

Transcription of Original Page 43 [*Page 42 not included*]  
EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

126 Each place (otjirongo) consists of ozonganda. The new place Post Allen had at the time of the census two onzonganda only, and places with only four ozonganda (e.g. Omaandero uozohakne) are small. Omaue-ozonjanda, headquarters for the southern portion of the Reserve, consists of 27 ozonganda, and is the biggest place in the Reserve. Otjinene, headquarters of the northern part of the Reserve, has 54 ozonganda. The number of persons per onganda or family averages 7-8.  
Fluctuation of population

127 The total of the Herero, who form 99% of the Reserve population, has been fairly stable over the last 11 years. Published statistics for 1939 show 2,386 residents in Epukiro Reserve, so that the population is now smaller than almost two decades ago.

128 The only unstable element is the Bushmen. They are wont to leave the inhabited area of the Reserve as soon as the first rains have made the veldkos grow and have filled the waterholes in the desert. As stated above, I did not see a single Bushman in June 1956, and Herero informants at Epata on the Eiseb Omuramba told me that the Bushmen only returned in September or October.

129 The eastern part of Epukiro Reserve is very dry and cannot be compared with the omaheke area in the eastern portion of Waterberg East Reserve. Seasonal migrations of Reserve residents and stock to outside cattle posts, as are customary in Waterberg Reserve, are therefore virtually unknown in Epukiro Reserve. Oniy at Otjirarua, half-way between Otjiuetjombungu and Otjinoko, did residents of Otjiuetjombungu formerly have a cattle post in the rainy season. But these people now move to Otjinoko when water at Otjirarua becomes short.

130 Each year a certain number of residents leave the Reserve to seek employment in urban areas

Transcription of Original Page 44

EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE.

or on farms. In the year 1955, 69 passes were Issued at the. Headquarters Omaue-ozortjanda to Herero and Mbanderu leaving the Reserve for that purpose.

131 A number of Bushmen who formerly worked for the Herero, are also said to have left the Reserve. Some of them entered employment on farms adjoining the Reserve in the south and west. It is likely therefore that the number of Bushmen present 'in the Reserve at the end of the dry season is gradually decreasing. Many Bushman families have also left the Reserve for good as they prefer a life of complete freedom, albeit with hardship, to any other.

Authority and control

132 The Epukiro Reserve is under the control of the Magistrate and Native Commissioner at Gobabis. It was formerly administered by a Welfare Officer stationed at Omaue-ozonjanda. Since 14th February 1955 there has been another Welfare Officer at Otjinene because of the distances involved. The former officer has a Native Clerk and a Bergdama constable, the latter has a Tswana constable.

Native Headmen

133 The Headman of the Herero is Eduard Maharero, who is, however, not a descendant of Maharero but was born in his kraal. He was appointed Headman as from 12th March 1954. His official residence is at Otjinene whilst his onganda is at Okauua.

134 The Headman of the Mbanderu group in the Reserve is Stephanus Hoveka, who was appointed by the Administration on 1st July 1951. He succeeded his elder brother Nikanor, who was head of the Mbanderu from 1924 until his death.

Transcription of Original Page 45

## EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

135

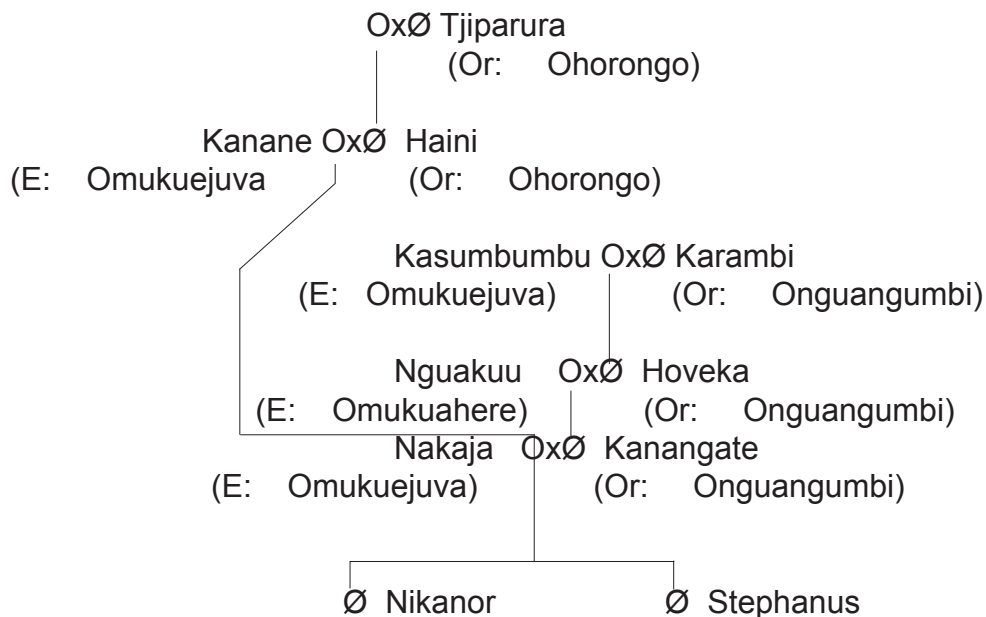
## TABLE No.15. GENEALOGY OF STEPHANUS HOVEKA

This was supplied by himself in June 1956. Ø denotes male, O female. Abbreviations: Or: Oruzo, E: Eanda.

[Oruzo: patrilineal family line [https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/3947332/38268\\_Hoffmann.pdf](https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/3947332/38268_Hoffmann.pdf)]

[Eanda: matrilineage <https://www.lac.org.na/projects/grap/Pdf/meaninheri.pdf>]

136 Eduard Maharero is paid a monthly stipend of



£2, and Stephanus Hoveka of £4, from government funds.

## Reserve Board

137 The present Reserve Board was established by GN No.100 of 1st May1954 (Gazette No. 1825 p.547).

The Board consists of the two Headmen and six members listed there. In June 1956, the members were still the same:

Name	Tribe	Age	Board member since
1. Justus Kokurama	Mbanderu	c.56	1950
2. Friedrich Makono	Mbanderu	67	1954
3. Petrus Kaunatjike	Mbanderu	68	1954
4. Gustav Kandjii	Herero	61	1954
5. Paul Tutjavi	Herero	56	1954
6. Niklaas Tjivirura	Herero	50	1954

138 The three Herero Board.men are residents.of, and represent, the northern (Otjinene) area, the

Transcription of Original Page 46

#### EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

Mbanderu the southern portion. It seems all members except J. Kokurama and F. Makano are illiterate. N.Tjivirura, resident of Epata, is a Herero halfcaste. He is the only Board member who, as shoemaker, has a trade. All Board members receive a monthly stipend of £1 out of Trust Fund money.

139 Board meetings take place quarterly, and alternately at Omaue-ozonjanda and Otjirtene. The chair is taken by the Welfare Officer at whose station the Board happens to be sitting.

#### Reserve Trust Fund

140 The Reserve Trust Fund derives its revenue from grazing fees, dog tax, kraal fees and sale of stock, and very occasionally from the sale of mealie seed.

141 Kraal fees from auctions were received for the first time in 1955, as the sale of stock at auctions began in that year. Trust Fund money is spent on recurrent items and on the development of the Reserve.

#### Social

142 The social sub-unit of the settlement is the onganda where a kinship group, or enlarged family live together (cf. para.126). The head of an onganda has his hut to the east of the cattle kraal,



Transcription of Original Page 47

EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

and all related families build theirs in a wide circle around the latter.

143 In 1951, Dr. Wagner collected information on the age structure of the Herero/Mbanderu residents of the Reserve. The figures themselves are not available.

Intertribal relations

a) Herero and Mbanderu

144 There has always been some tension between the Herero and Mbanderu. The latter say that they came from the east and lived in the Sandfeld before the advent of the Herero from the West. They therefore claim Epukiro for themselves. The Herero, on the other hand, regard themselves as superior to the Mbanderu. The latter reproach the former that Samuel Maharero betrayed them so that Chief Kahimemua was executed by a German firing squad.

145 The antagonism between the groups finds expression in the different colours of the "national" flag. The Herero chose red as the colour of the Red Band Organisation, whilst the Mbanderu chose "green". Both colours are to be seen at the Herero Day celebrations at Okahandja in August every year.



Transcription of Original Page 48

# EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

146 When the reburial of the Mbanderu leader Nicodemus Nguvauva, who had died in Bechuanaland, took place near his grandfather's grave on the farm Okaseta near Gobabi in 1947, this ceremony was regarded as of national importance for Mbanderu and Herero alike.

147 A group of Herero therefore came from Windhoek to take part. But the red flag under which they marched to the grave was unacceptable to the Mbanderu, and as the Herero refused to part with their red banner, they had to withdraw from the ceremonies altogether to avoid serious trouble.

148 Some time later there was a fight between young men in Gobabis location in consequence of the bad feeling which had remained since the day of Okaseta, and even knives were used (from Annual Report 1947).

149 This event, though not closely connected with Epukiro Reserve, nevertheless illustrates the background of the relations between Mbanderu and Herero. In recent years, these relations have been more peaceful in Epukiro Reserve. The division of the Reserve into two administrative areas, which coincide with the main Mbanderu and Herero areas, may help to prevent tension in the future.

## b) Bushmen

150 Though the Bushmen are the oldest population element in the Epukiro area, they had no defined hunting grounds there, and do not claim the Reserve or part thereof as their country. From linguistic material taken down from Bushmen who formerly lived in the Reserve but now work on farms, it is clear that those in Epukiro Reserve belong to the //Kxau-//en of the Northern Bushman group. They speak virtually the same dialect as the !Kung ( !Ku).

151 The Bushmen formerly used to come into the Reserve in the dry season to work for the Herero and so make a living- until the next rains came. Then they left the Reserve again or withdrew to its eastern areas.

Transcription of Original Page 49

## EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

152 Many Bushmen have learnt Herero through long contact, and I have met Bushmen on farms who formerly lived in the Reserve and who spoke only Herero or at least spoke it better than Bushman.

153 Certain Bushman families were more or less attached to certain Herero families or ozonganda; they lived near them and helped to fetch water and herd the small stock. When the rains came they left their settlements for the desert but usually returned to the same families. From what both sides relate, the relationship was a voluntary one, not one of serfdom.

154 Of course there was the Herero's distrust of the Bushman. The Herero greatly feared the Bushmen's poisoned arrows, especially when they pursued them in cases of theft or slaughter of Herero cattle. This distrust and hatred made life in the veld unsafe, and the Herero tried to avoid encounters with the small yellow people.

155 The Bushmen, on the other hand, were afraid that the Herero would penetrate further into their hunting grounds, take possession of waterholes and pasture and drive away the game. Even if the Bushmen have had to resign themselves to this development in the course of time, they have not forgotten. Their present hardships often remind them of the great changes that have taken place to their detriment.

## Traditional practices

156 Circumcision, the knocking out of the lower incisors, the puberty feast of girls, wearing of the otjikaiva and the giving of the ovitunja (bride price), customs connected with the wedding feast and funerals are still observed in the Reserve.

157 The ancestor cult appears to have survived and even to have revived in recent years though less so than in the Waterberg East Reserve. In the Herero settlements where my census was taken in June 1956, there may have been about 20 Holy Fires (omeruo). In the Mbanderu settlements not a single

Transcription of Original Page 50

EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

Holy Fire was observed, and it is well known that the Mbanderu differ in this respect from the Herero.

158 There are other differences in custom between the Herero and Mbanderu. No special study of these has as yet been made.

159 If a Herero dies without leaving a son to inherit his maize field, it is not cultivated again. It must die with him. If there is a son to inherit the field, he must let it lie fallow for a year. Customary law relating to inheritance, water holes etc. is still observed.

Economics

a) Stock farming

160 The Reserve population makes a living mainly out of ranching.

161 In 1955, when the Reserve was divided into two administrative areas, the distribution of livestock in the Otjinene and Omaue-ozonjanda areas was as follows:

## Transcription of Original Page 51

## EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

Stock	Otjinene area	Omaue-ozonjanda area	Total
cattle	12,471	11,523	23,994
horses	462	318	780
donkeys	402	336	738
goats	2,694	1,198	3,892
sheep	213	90	303
Total Sm. stock	2,907	1,288	4,195
Cattle Units	13,91	12,435	2,351

162 This was at the end of 1955. In June 1956, the total population in the Otjinene area was 1,295 persons and in the Omaue-ozonjanda area 1,018 persons. This gives ownership ratios as follows:-

Area	Stock ownership per 100 persons			
	Cattle	Equines	Small stock	Cattle units (excl. equines)
Otjinene	963	66	224	1,008
Omaue-ozonjanda	1,133	64	126	1,157
Epuikiro Reservei	1,036	65	177	1,074

163 It appears from this that the Mbanderu of the Omaue-ozonjanda area are as good cattlemen as the Herero in the Otjinene area. The development of water supplies and possibly some difference in grazing conditions may also be factors here.

164 There are female stock-owners in both areas, but totals of stock owned by male and female owners are not available.

165 Horses and donkeys are used for transport. Most of the Reserve roads are through heavy sand and unsuitable for draught vehicles. One therefore sees riders, young and old, on horses or donkeys, galloping along the roads and even through the bush, especially on Sundays when the Herero and Mbanderu are wont to visit their relatives living further off.

169 Here as in other Reserves it may be observed that there is a high correlation between the ownership of large and small stock. From the Otjinene area, one man is known to have a herd of 92 head of cattle, 60 goats and 10 sheep, another possesses 94 head of cattle and 39 goats. The Herero Headman Eduard Maharero was not found to be among the wealthiest cattle-owners when the analysis of the Brand Register was made. He owned 63 head of cattle and 10 goats. There are, on the other hand, men who own large cattle herds but no goats. One man with 131 head of cattle had 4 goats only, another with 124 head of cattle had no goats at all. He was a storekeeper and obviously was keeping his cattle for sale.

Transcription of Original Page 54

EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

170 In the Omaue-ozonjanda area the following cases might be mentioned one man owned 69 large stock and 20 small, another had 85 large stock and 15 small, a third had about 110 large stock and 35 small.

171 The large number of female cattle-owners in the Omaue-ozonjanda area is striking. They form almost one sixth of all owners. At present no reason for this can be given.

172 Formerly stock used to be sold to speculators and private dealers. In 1954, the first auction to be held in the Reserve took place at Omaue-ozonjanda where auction kraals had been erected. Since then, stock sales have been held at Omaue-ozonjanda and Otjinene four to six times a year, according to the needs of residents.

173 The average price received at these organized stock sales was about £10.10.0 per beast.

## EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

## b) Dairying

175 The Reserve residents nowadays have their own separators and produce their cream on their own. There are about 2 separators per settlement. Otjinene, a large place, had 27 separators in June 1956. People without machines of their own share the use of those of their neighbours. This system appears to work well.

176 Cream is taken to the Creamery at Gobabis once a week from Omaue-ozonjanda and twice a week from Otjinene, or according to special requirements in the milking season. It is transported on Native-owned trucks.

## c) Crops

178 The maize lands (ovikunino), fenced in with sticks and dried branches as protection against game, are near the settlements. The total acreage is unknown. Maize-growing by the Herero seems to fluctuate with the results achieved in the preceding year, and it is hard to say whether cultivation and interest in the growing of crops are on the increase. But the Herero do ask for more land for maize growing, and some Reserve residents even hire labour for the cultivation of the soil.

179 Ploughs of European manufacture are used for cultivation and are drawn by donkeys. At Otjinene there are four oxen trained by Hereros to do the same but this is an exceptional case.

180 Reserve residents now buy handmills to grind the maize. In 1955, 60 bags of maize were reaped in the Omaue-ozonjanda area and 117 bags in the Otjinene area. The maize is consumed by the residents.

Transcription of Original Page 56

## EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

If the harvest has been a good one, relatives are given a share. So far there has never been surplus production for sale.

### d) Trades and crafts

181 There are two concession stores in the Reserve, viz. at Omaue-ozonjanda and Otjinene. Both are leased and run by Europeans, one of whom also has a hawker's licence. Natives would be given these rights if they applied and were considered suitable. There is also a Native with a general dealer's licence and hawker's licence at Otjiuetjombungu (a Mbanderu, son of the Mbanderu Headman Hoveka), and another Native with a hawker's licence at Omaue-ozonjanda. These hawkers serve the Reserve weekly. No hawkers come in from outside the Reserve. There are two shoemakers in the Reserve, one at Omaue-ozonjanda and another at Epata.

182 In the whole Reserve I did not find a single milkpail (ehoro) carver. These vessels are said to be bought in the Waterberg East Reserve.

183 Transport business is done by some residents. There were in 1956 about 5 Native-owned trucks in the Otjinene area and 3 in the Omaue-ozonjanda area.

184 At Omaandero-uozohakane there is a Native-owned pump engine to supply water.

### e) Standard of living

185 In housing and clothing there is practically no difference from conditions described for Ovitoto and Otjimbingue Reserves in Reports on Okahandja and Karibib districts.

## Education

186 In the Chronicle of the Rhenish Mission at Gobabis, a Mission School in Epukiro Reserve is mentioned in 1935. In 1936 this school got a second teacher. It seems this school was at Otjiuetjombungu. In the Annual Report for 1946 it is stated that this school was attended by 41 boys and 34 girls.

*Excerpts from Ethnological Publication Number 42  
"A Study of Gobabis District (South West Africa)" by O. Kohler*



Transcription of Original Page 57

EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

187 In 1944, a Government School was opened at Omaue-ozonjanda headquarters.

188 The average age is 10 years 3 months for pupils of Std. a, and 13 years 6 months for Std. III. 64.3% of all pupils were in the sub-standards.

189 All pupils attending school in June 1956 lived in the Omaue-ozonjanda administrative area with the exception of one whose parents lived in Windhoek. The vast majority of the pupils were therefore Mbanderu. In Stds. IV-VI, 10 pupils were Mbanderu and one pupil Herero.

190 Most of the pupils lived at Omaue-ozonjanda. Those from Okozondje and Otjozondjima had to come some distance, for example one and a half hours each way for those from Otjozondjima. Pupils from more distant places (Otjijere, Ovinjuru, Otjijarua) were staying with relatives at Omaue-ozonjanda.

191 Interest in school education is clearly increasing. The fact that 7 pupils came all the way from Okozondje and 4 from Otjozondjima every day to attend Std. a is an indication.

Transcription of Original Page 58

EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

School feeding scheme

192 A school feeding scheme has been in operation for many years. It is financed with Trust Fund money. All pupils are served daily two meals of porridge cooked near the school by a paid female cook.

Church matters

193 There is no Mission station in the Reserve. The Catholic Mission on the Mission Farm Epukiro is so close to the Reserve that there is no need for one. The Rhenish Mission might have built a station in the new Reserve if the Reserve residents had not evinced a coolness towards the-Mission. This is according to the Chronicle of the Rhenish Mission at Gobabis for the year 1925.

194 In 1952, Stephanus Hoveka and many of his relatives became adherents of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (AMEC). In this way, the AMEC got a foothold amongst the Mbanderu. At present there is no AMEC minister in the Reserve.

195 After the founding of the Herero Church (Oruuano) in 1955, many Herero joined, and it is hard to say how many Reserve residents are still adherents of the Rhenish Mission. Judging from the number of Holy Fires (20-30) in Epukiro Reserve, all of them in the northern (Herero) area, it seems there is a large field for Oruuano activities.

196 Estimates of the numerical strength of the various congregations have been made from time to time.

Health

197 The Reserve is visited once a month by the District Surgeon of Gobabis. A room near the office

Transcription of Original Page 59

EPUKIRO NATIVE RESERVE

of the Welfare Officer serves as consulting room. Many Reserve residents come for treatment. Serious cases are sent to the Native Hospital at Gobabis.

Transcription of Original Page 60

Part IV. AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

History

198 In the early 19th century, the country east of the Nosob River was inhabited by Bushman groups probably belonging to the Central and Southern Bushman language division, and by groups of Kgalagadi,

199 Kgalagadi, better known as "Ba-Kalahari" in South West Africa, is a collective name for early Bantu (Tswana) immigrants who intermarried with Bushman elements in the country. The immigration of the Tswana seems to have split the Kgalagadi into numerous local groups, and some of these were absorbed. The Western Kgalagadi groups escaped Tlhaping and Rolong influence and eventually found refuge in the Kalahari.

200 When the Khoi under Chief Amraal moved north along the Nosob in the middle of the 19th century, they also occupied the country east of the Nosob. They gave Nama names to many places, and in this way the place where the Tswana had settled became known by its Nama name "Aminuis" in the beginning of the nineties.

201 Aminuis appears to be a mispronunciation of /Ami-! as "place (!as) of the ostriches (/amin)", the name by which it is known to the present Khoi and Bergdama population in southern Gobabis district.

202 As the map shows, other place names of Khoi origin occur east of Aminuis in areas where no Khoi live to-day, and from this one might infer that the Khauas founded several settlements there.

203 After the successful punitive expedition against the Khauas in 1894, the Germans under Leutwein concluded a treaty with the Tswana (Tlharo)

Transcription of Original Page 61

## AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

chief Nunu granting them Aais (where there was a small Tswana settlement) and Aminuis. The idea was to have reliable and loyal Natives in the south as counterweight against the Khoi.

204 But Nunu went back to Bechuanaland with many of his people, and it became doubtful whether he would return. Nunu was summoned to submit his claim to Aais and Aminuis before the 1st October 1900. As he neither returned nor gave an answer, both areas were proclaimed Government land on 17th October 1900.

205 In 1896, the Germans built a military station at Gobabis, and regularly patrolled Gobabis district. Aminuis was visited by patrols for two reasons:

1. The Bushmen started many veld-fires as part of their hunting methods and thus destroyed much valuable timber;
2. Tswana traders were coming into South West at various points and also appeared at Aminuis. They brought firearms, ammunition and horses and tried to barter them for Herero cattle. A horse was worth 20-30 head of cattle.

206 When the power of the Khoi had been broken in the southern part of Gobabis district, many Tswana settled at Aminuis in 1897. Among the Tlharo there were also a few Rolong. They called Aminuis Mokalleng ("at the camolthorn tree"), and Kosipan may be Tswana Kgosi-pan ("pan of the chief") though this is doubtful.

207 Meanwhile the German authorities had been considering the removal of the Tswana of Gobabis and Kaukurus (xou-/goros) to Aminuis (1898). This plan was carried out in 1901.

208 Father Hermann of the Catholic Mission had contacted the Tswana at Gobabis for the first time in 1899. They had recalled the words of the missionary Moffat, who had told them before their departure from Bechuanaland that they should apply to a R.C. missionary in case they found no missionary of the Anglican church. The R.C. mission prepared

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Transcription of Original Page 62  
AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

to start work among the Tswana. About 1901 the apostolic prefect Nachtwey visited Aminuis. He found that the Tswana colony there was too large, and considered founding a mission further north in the district. In 1902, a R.C. mission was founded at Aminuis by Fathers Watterott and Weila. In 1903, 72 Tswana left Aminuis for the new R.C. mission station at Epukiro.

209 During the German-Khoi war, most of the Tswana families left Aminuis for the Kalahari. As Tswana men were helping the German troops in this war, the Tswana of Aminuis were afraid the Witboois might take revenge.

210 In October 1906, some Tswana families applied for permission to enter the Aminuis area from Bechuanaland. On 8th October, the application was approved, and they settled there with 150 head of cattle and 250 head of small stock.

211 The reason for this immigration into South West was apparently a deterioration of the water supply in the Kalahari and the relatively high hut tax payable there.

212 When hostilities between the Khoi and Germans had ceased, the Germans put a Police post at Aminuis in 1908 and closed that at Hoagousgeis. An official document dated 30th December 1911, reports that 265 of a total of 454 Tswana in Gobabis district were living at Aminuis, and 20 out of the 36 able-bodied Aminuis Tswana were working for European employers. At the same time there were 128 Tswana at Epukiro R.C. Mission station, 41 at Naunas and 20 at Gobabis, and the total of Tswana labourers in the district numbered 221. The Tswana of Aminuis, Naunas and Epukiro then owned 737 head of large stock.

213 In the Aminuis area, the Tswana waterholes Hugis, Toasis, Ogams and Guburus are mentioned in 1910/11. The Tswana employed Bushmen and Bergdama in agricultural work.

214 In 1912, the personnel at Aminuis Police station was increased from 2 to 4 men and 3 Native

## Transcription of Original Page 63

## AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

constables, and the station was equipped with camels for patrol work.

215 A letter from the Governor to the District Office Gobabis of 28th February 1914 communicates the decision that the area around Aminuis, save for the Hugams waterhole and the area around it (5,000 ha), with a total extent of about 55,000 ha. had been reserved for the Tswana.

216 In 1923, the Aminuis Native Reserve was proclaimed by GN No.122 of 13th November 1923, with an extent of 230,000 ha.

217 The definition of the Reserve was amended by GN No.109 of 17th August 1925, which extended the Reserve to c.543,000 ha.

218 According to the Chronicle of the Rhenish Mission at Gobabis for the year 1926, Herero mostly from the Rehoboth and Windhoek districts had settled in the Reserve. The Reserve population then consisted of 370 men, 450 women and 130 children or 950 persons, owning about 8,000 head of large and small stock. It is mentioned that lack of water was the cause of much dissatisfaction at that time.

219 The Reserve was again extended by GN No.87 of 20th June 1935 (slightly amended by GN No.108/35), by which the farm Rietquelle (5,191 ha.) northeast of Aminuis was included in the Reserve.

220 A further extension was added to the Reserve by GN No.211 of 16th November 1942, by which portions B, C and D of the farm Aminuis No.330 with an extent of 31 ha. 23 ares and 25 sq. m. were included.

221 The present extent of the Reserve is 554,800 ha. It has rectangular shape and is separated from Bechuanaland by a corridor of crownland. The Reserve is fenced in with the exception of the corridor side and the farm Goreb in the NE.

## Transcription of Original Page 64

## AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

## Description of country

222 The Reserve covers vast stretches of almost flat country interrupted here and there by large sand dunes and pans. There are a few dry river-beds in the Reserve which are, however, not so marked as in Epukiro Reserve. The pans, mostly salt pans, are the characteristic feature of the scenery. West of Okatuuu there is a steep rock face. There is nothing of the same kind elsewhere in the Reserve. Sandy ground alternates with limestone, as at Otjeue and northwards. At Otjeue, there are small pans in the limestone which retain water all the year round. There seems to be still another open waterhole in the southern Aminuis pan. In general, surface water is scarce in the Reserve.

223 Rainfall was measured at Aminuis (Lat. 23 ° 42' and Long. 19 ° 20', altitude 1,000 m) in the years before the last war. Recording ceased in March 1939 and was resumed in November 1951. Since that date, the following rainfall was recorded

1952	198.6 mm
1953	229.6 mm
1954	524.4 mm
1955	418.0 mm

224 Water supplied by wells and boreholes is good but insufficient in view of the steady increase of stock. Omatangara-komuti and Omiti-Omire have been deserted for lack of water. Provision of new good water supplies in the eastern portion of the Reserve (Otjiungukua, Okonjama, Okongoua) has improved things a great deal. Boring is proceeding in the south-eastern portion of the Reserve.

225 There is an artesian well yielding 750 gallons per hour at Otjoruhari (Springwater).

226 After normal rainfall, the grazing is good. There are, however, certain areas where the grass is hard and unsuitable, e.g. near Otjoruhari. Almost bushless flats alternate with bushy country and some areas are studded with trees e.g. east of Ondera-ombapa.

Transcription of Original Page 65

## AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

## Fauna

227 The Reserve seems to be a paradise for springbok; and their number is estimated at 100,000. Hartebees occurs in small numbers in the eastern portion of the Reserve. Vermin is plentiful. In 1955 many jackals, wild dogs, hyenas and three lions were destroyed. Three rifles have been issued to Reserve residents (Boardmen and responsible men) for the destruction of vermin.

## Communications

228 There are no public roads in the Reserve. All inhabited places are connected by a net work of Reserve roads totalling c.350 miles in 1955. Reserve headquarters at Klein-Aminuis are thereby linked with the farms south of the Reserve, with the west (Leonardville) and thence to Gobabis. There is a further connection with Gobabis via Ondera-ombapa in the north of the Reserve (Aminuis-Gobabis 113 miles).

229 The nearest railway station is Gobabis. Two Native-owned trucks transport cream to Gobabis twice a week and take passengers from the Reserve to town for 10/-. Mail goes each way twice a week.

## Numbers and composition of population

230 No data are available on the growth of the Reserve population in the twenties. In 1926, the population numbered 950 persons. According to the Report on South West Africa for 1939, the Reserve residents then numbered 2,897 persons.



Transcription of Original Page 67 [*Page 66 not included*]  
Distribution of population

232 While the Herero live mainly in the east, middle and north of the Reserve, the Tswana were in 1956 distributed as follows;

Aminuis	157	Ondera-ombapa	4
Aroroams	1	Otjiuarongo	42
Huguis	150	Otjiungukua	16
Okakuvisa	7	Otjongombe	18
Okeriko	10	Post 500	14
Okonjama	6	Tuguis	80
			total 505

233 At this time the Bushmen were distributed thus Okongoua 20, Otjiungukua 16, Okaseta 1 and Ondera-ombapa. At Otjiungukua the Bushmen said they were "Katea". I am not sure about their classification, and they should perhaps be grouped with "Kgalagadi". The Bushman at Okaseta was Nama-speaking. There also was one //Kxau-//en at Ondera-ombapa and a group of 20 /Nusan at Okongoua.

234 From a count of Bushmen made in 1950 it appears there were Bushmen at Okatangara komuti (now abandoned), Otjongombe, Ondera-ombapa, Samson Windmill, Otjiuarongo.

Transcription of Original Page 68

AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

235 According to this source there were Hei-//om (27 men, 23 women and 36 children), //Kxau-//en (1 man, 1 woman, and 4 children), and Mothole (?) (1 man, 1 woman, and 6 children) in the Reserve.

Fluctuation of population

237 The Herero, the largest group in the Reserve, have only during recent years begun to increase steadily year by year. Here, as elsewhere, the ratios of men, women and children show the same anomaly, with the latter forming only around 40% of total, and the men and women rating around 28.32%, 24.36% and thereabouts. A people with 60% adults and 40% children is an unusual phenomenon. See diagram para. 263.

238 In contrast, the Tswana community (with a ' small percentage of men away at work, readily gauged from the figures for women), shows a

## Transcription of Original Page 71

## AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

preponderance of children over adults (around 60%), as one would expect. In some years the Tswana men have been taking their families away to work with them, causing ups and downs in the total figure for the Reserve.

239 In 1940, early in the war, there was a considerable influx of Herero women into the Reserve, rising to about 800, whilst the number of men and children declined to about 530 each.

240 The Bushman element in the Reserve reached a peak in 1941/42 with 85 men, 70 women and 60 children, total of 215 persons. Since then their numbers have declined, but the reason is not known. Seasonal coming and going of Bushmen in Aminuis Reserve seems much the same as in Epukiro Reserve.

## Authority and control

241 Aminuis Reserve is under the control of the Magistrate/ Native Commissioner, Gobabis, and administered by a Welfare Officer, with a Native Herero clerk and one Herero constable.

## Native Headmen

242 There are two Headmen in the Reserve, viz. Hosea Kutako, Senior Headman of all the Herero in the Territory (Police Zone), and Albert Mootseng, Headman of the Tswana, nominated by his people in 1943. Hosea Kutako was appointed Senior Headman on 1st July 1925, when he moved into the newly-proclaimed Aminuis Reserve. But he had already been appointed Headman by the Union troops at the end of the first World War.

243 Hosea Kutako is paid a monthly stipend of £5, and Albert Mootseng £2.10.0, from the Native Affairs Revenue Vote.

## Biography of Hosea Kutakc

244 The following biographical notes were made by the late Dr. Wagner at Windhoek on 30th November and 8th December 1951. I checked these data again on 1st February 1957, when Hosea was visiting Windhoek for a few days, and made some additions and emendations.

## Transcription of Original Page 72

## AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

245 Hosea was born at Etjo, about 25 miles south-east of Kalkfeld. This is apparently the present farm Etjo in the Otjiwarongo District.

246 He claims to have been born in the year Ojejuru and says that Ojejuru has the alternative name Ojotinenge. The latter is not mentioned in the calendars of Irle and Vedder, but Irle mentions the year Ojejuru 1869. Hosea claims, however, that he was circumcised in the year Ojomatupa and that this was the year following his year of birth. Ojomatupa corresponds, according to Irle and Vedder, to the year 1873. It seems therefore that Hosea was born in 1872.

247 As a child, Hosea lived in his father's kraal at Omburo, an old Herero settlement on the upper reaches of the Omaruru River and about 30 miles southwest of Etjo. Both Etjo and Omburo were in the territory of Chief Zeraua, who died in 1873, and was succeeded by his daughter Albertina. Hosea went to the Rhenish Mission school at Omburo and stayed long enough to learn to read and write well. He speaks only his mother-tongue, however.

248 When Hosea was about 8 years old, he was baptized by Rev. Dannert of the Rhenish Mission, and was later also confirmed by him. After leaving school he herded cattle, dug wells and did "many other things".

249 In his twenties, Hosea moved to Okahandja, and lived in Samuel Maharero's kraal. When the Herero-German War broke out in January, 1904, Hosea took part in the attack on Okahandja. He held the rank of an "omajora" (major) and was in charge of about 150 men. During a skirmish at Hamakari (west of Okakarara) on 11th August 1904, he was wounded in the right cheek.

250 After the battle of Watarberg, Hosea retired with his men to the Sandfeld (Omaheke). He did not surrender to the Germans but stayed in the veld

## Transcription of Original Page 73

## AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

till the war was over. He was then taken prisoner and kept in a camp at Omaruru for three years. Here his first wife, Natalia, who had borne him seven children (all of whom died), died in 1906. After his release he taught in school at Omaruru for a few years.

251 In 1911 Hosea moved from Omaruru to Windhoek, and became foreman in charge of a gang of Ovambo employed on construction work on the main line. He remained on this job until railhead neared Gibeon. Then he returned to Windhoek and worked as a bookbinder for the German Administration.

252 When war broke out in 1914, Hosea remained in Windhoek, and when the Union forces occupied the town he was appointed headman of the Windhoek Herero.

253 In 1918 he went to Orumbo on the White Nosob where there was a temporary Herero settlement. When Aminuis Reserve was extended in 1925 he moved into the Reserve and settle at Toasis, south of the big pan, and has lived there ever since.

254 On 1st July 1925, Hosea was appointed Senior Headman of the Herero by the S.W.A. Administration. In 1939, he led a Herero delegation sent by the Administration to attend a session of the Transkeian General Council (Bunga) in Umtata.

255 In 1949, Hosea's second wife, Maria, died and was buried at Okahandja. She was the daughter of Cornelius Jaukua (Chief Zeraua's eldest son) and his wife Kathrina. She bore him two children. One of them died, and the other one, Juliana, is living at Okahandja. Hosea subsequently married a third wife, Lucia.

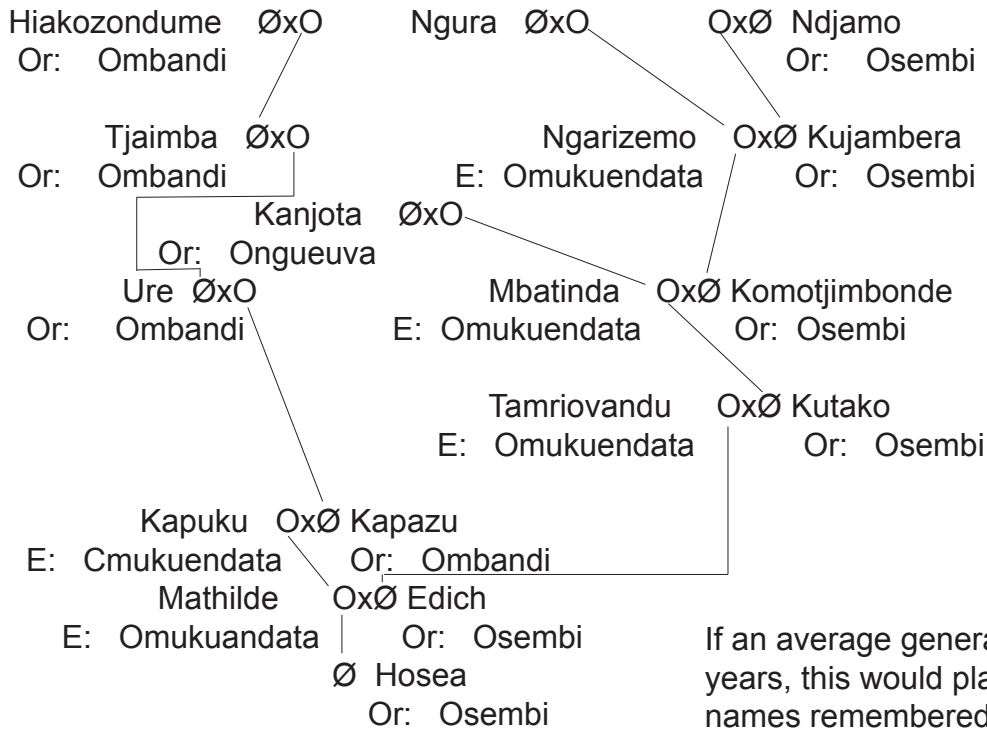
256 See accompanying genealogical. diagram.

Transcription of Original Page 74

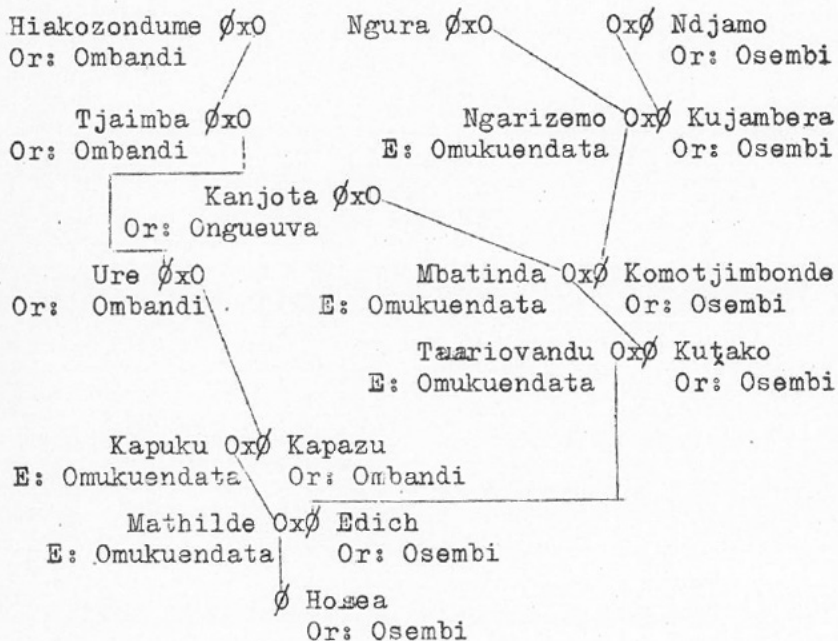
## AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

## 256 TABLE No.23. GENEALOGY OF HOSEA KUTAKO

The following names of Hosea Kutako's ancestors were supplied by him in Windhoek Location on 2nd February 1957.



The following names of Hosea Kutako's ancestors were supplied by him in Windhoek Location on 2nd February 1957.



Key: Or: Oruzo, E: Eanda. Ø male O female

[Oruzo - patrilineage. Eanda - matrilineage. See Original Page 45, Image 38]

Transcription of Original Page 75

## AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

## Reserve Board

257 All members of the Reserve Board are elected. The headmen are also members of the Board, ex officio. In August 1956, the Board members were:

- |                       |   |
|-----------------------|---|
| 1. Kefas Kan dujii    | Otjomukona, Otjoruhari, Otjikoto, and further north.                                  |
| 2. Albert Karuaihe    | Toasis, Okeriko, Otjiuarongo, Okatuu, Okonqeka, Otjinjotjimue, Outakaha.              |
| 3. Joshua Muvangua    | Otjombungu, Okonjama, Omiti-Omire, Oka.kuvisa, Otjomunguindi, Otjongombe, Okatangara. |
| 4. Zacharias Nguvauva | Ondjiripumua, Okombepera, Achab, Otjovakombe, Otjongue, Tuguis.                       |
| 5. Naftalie Hengari   | Otjeue, Okahumandu, Okongoua, Okomuvia, Okeruru I and II.                             |
| 6. Gerhard Zeze       | Otjituve and all places north of it along the road, including Aro-ro-ams.             |

Nguvauv and Hengari are Mbanderu. Most of the Board members are said to be literate.

258 The Board members are paid a monthly stipend of £1 out of Trust Fund money,

## Reserve Trust Fund

259 The Reserve Trust Fund derives its revenue from grazing fees, dog tax, kraal fees, sale of salt, school fees (12/6 per stock-owner), the rent of concession stores, and some small items like the sale of firewood. School fees were paid for a few years until the grazing fees were raised and the Trust Fund was again in a position to balance its budget.

Transcription of Original Page 76

AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

260 The Trust Fund money is spent on various items like fencing, development and maintenance of water supplies, roads, buildings etc.

Social

261 The social sub-unit is, as elsewhere, the onganda. The population census which I took in 1956 showed there were then 317 ozonganda, with an average of 9 persons per onganda.

262 Dr. Wagner collected data on the age structure of the Reserve residents in 1951, see accompanying diagrams. The difference between the Herero and Tswana is thereby illustrated in striking fashion.



Transcription of Original Page 78

AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

Intertribal relations

a) Herero and Tswana

264 The Herero and Tswana appear to be on friendly terms at present though it is evident from remarks in old reports that it was not always like that. In general both groups still prefer to keep to themselves.

b) Herero and Bushmen

265 The few Bushmen living in the Reserve when my census was taken in 1956 were employed by Herero and lived close to them. Many of these Bushmen seem to have been living with the Herero for a long time, and relations were friendly in spite of the Herero's undeniable feeling of superiority.

266 The Bushwomen understood only a few Herero words but the men understood it quite well. However, the Bushmen understood Nama, which some of the Herero also did. Language difficulties were thus reduced considerably.

267 The few Kgalagadi I saw were also servants of the Herero.

Traditional practices

268 The brief remarks given under (para.156) for Epukiro Reserve also less to Aminuis.

Transcription of Original Page 79

## AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

271 In 1955, the total population was 2,684 persons. Subtracting 110 Bushmen as having no livestock, the ratio of livestock(excluding equines) to population was:

Population	Cattle	Small stock	Cattle units
2,574	26,459	19,599	30,379
Per 100- persons	1,027	761	1,180

272 In August 1956 there were 709 stock owners in the Reserve. An analysis of the Brand Register and a classification into Herero- and Tswana-owned cattle and small stock yielded the following results:

275 This analysis shows, amongst other things, that the commonest size of herds differs considerably in the two ethnic groups, the Tswana having mostly herds of 1-10 cattle but the Herero of 11-50 head. The tapering off of the sizes is also quite

Transcription of Original Page 82

## AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

different. Women own very much more amongst the Herero. Though the Tswana are great keepers of goats, they cannot compare with the Herero in this respect either.

276 Cattle sales are held at Aminuis and Onderaombapa. In the past, stock was sold to speculators and private dealers. Since 1955, speculators are no longer allowed to buy cattle in the Reserve, but the traders in the Reserve, if they have speculators licences, are permitted to buy up to two head of stock from any resident, but only with the written permission of the Magistrate or Welfare Officer, who grants such permit only where the cash is needed urgently. The object of this regulation is to ensure that the bulk of sales take place at the auctions, where prices are invariably higher.

## b) Dairying

279. Dairying is a further important source of income. The cream-scheme is run by the stock-owners themselves, and cream is delivered twice a week to the Gobabis Creamery. In 1955, there were 77 separators in the Reserve. In 1955, butter, fat delivered to the Gobabis Creamery amounted to 136,617 lbs.

Transcription of Original Page 83

AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

c) Crops

281 There is very little cultivation of land in Aminuis Reserve, due to lower rainfall. Maize fields, such as may be seen in Epukiro Reserve, hardly exist.

d) Trades and crafts

282 There are two concession stores serve, one-at Aminuis run by a European and one at Ondera-Ombapa, run by a Herero halfcaste.

283 There is one ehoro (milkpail) carver in the Reserve, at Achab near Aminuis headquarters. He learnt his craft at Okahandja in his youth. He is now an old man and almost blind and no longer plies his trade.

284 In August 1956 there were seven trucks owned by residents in the Reserve.

e) Standard of living

285 This is much.as described for the Ovitoto and Otjimbingue Reserves. There are a considerable number of fine huts and houses. Teachers and . traders naturally are those who care most for good dwellings. Round and rectangular huts are built at random without regard for the effect.

286 Clothing is in many cases of good quality, for a Herero male likes to make a display in a suit. Even in remote villages one not infrequently.finds Herero men wearing collar and tie.

Transcription of Original Page 84

## AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

287 The Tswana have their own characteristic huts, mostly rectangular in shape, roofed with thatch of grass or reeds (not corrugated iron), with walls ornamented in colours, and with a substantial fence around the homestead. These two types of settlement (Herero and Tswana) contrast so strongly that one imagines oneself at the meeting place of two radically different cultures.

288 The Bushmen live in airy grass huts with a framework of light branch s. Even those who have lived close to the Herero ozonganda for a long time do not feel like changing.

## Education

289 There are two schools. in, -the Reserve: a), the Government Native school inaugurated in 1935 as the first of its kind in the country, and b) the R.C. Mission School for the Tswana colony in the Reserve, and founded about 1922. Both schools are at Aminuis in the south of the Reserve.

## a) Government Native School

290 In 1935, when the school was opened, a hostel was built to accommodate 170 pupils. In August 1956, four Herero teachers were employed. Two had been trained at the Augustineum in Okahandja, the other two at Stoffberg in the Free State. The school is in charge of a European principal.

## AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

292 The average age in Sub Std. a was 9.9 years and in Std. III 14.5 years. The maximum age of girls was 16 years. 59.5% of all pupils were in the sub-standards, 25.0% in Std. I-III, and 15.4% in Std. IV-VI.

293 The distribution of girls shows that many girls leave school at the end of Std. B upon reaching the age of puberty, or because parents regard reading and writing sufficient for girls, though there is a great need for teachers and nurses.

294 The pupils come from all over the Reserve. From the northern part of the Reserve (Otjombungu and north of it) there were, in 1951, 28% pupils or 37 out of 130 pupils. In 1956 there still were 28% or 48 out of 168 pupils from the north of the Reserve. This indicates an equal interest in education in the northern Reserve despite the long distance the pupils have to travel to Aminuis and the impossibility of returning home over week-ends.

## b) School feeding scheme

295 The Administration pays £5 per annum per child quarterly in arrear to cover the cost of school feeding, and the Trust Fund meets any deficit, should it occur.

Transcription of Original Page 86

AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE

297 Average age in Std. A was 9.9 years, and in Std. II 14.6 years. 81 pupils or 78% attended the sub-standards. There were two teachers, one Tswana and one Bergdama. This school also has a feeding scheme, similar to that of para 295.

298 The R.C. mission among the Tswana at Aminuis is the only mission in the Reserve.

299 The missionary of the Rhenish Mission, stationed at Gobabis, visits the Reserve about twice a year. There was thus scant opportunity of influencing the development of the Herero Church (Oruano). In 1926 the Chronicle of the Rhenish Mission at Gobabis records that the Aminuis Herero were more hostile to the Mission than those at Epukiro. There has been little change in this attitude since.

300 In 1956 there were not many Holy fires in Aminuis Reserve, and fewer than in Epukiro Reserve.

301 The A.M.E. Church is active in the Reserve, but with what success one cannot tell, because the Oruano church exerts a certain pressure on the Herero.

Transcription of Original Page 87

AMINUIS NATIVE RESERVE 87

Health

302 The District Surgeon at Aranos visits the Reserve from time to time. The principal of the Native Government School at Aminuis, a former medical inspector of schools, controls the clinic and treats patients coming to Aminuis. He has a Native female assistant paid from the Trust Fund. Medicines are supplied by the government.

## Transcription of Original Page 88

## Part V. EASTERN NATIVE RESERVE

303 The Eastern Native Reserve with a size of c.1,260,000 ha. was set aside for the sole use and occupation of Natives by GN No.374 of 4th.November 1947 {Gov. Gaz. 15th Nov. 1947}.

304 The Reserve is situated on both sides of the Omuramba ua Tjozondjou or the "Omuramba of the elephants' place". It borders on the Epukiro, Waterberg East and Otjituuu Reserves, and its eastern border is also that of the Police Zone.

305 The new Reserve, which was occupied by about 100 Herero and some Bushmen in 1956, is intended primarily to settle, in their old age, Herero who have worked most of their lives in towns or on farms. Such people are therefore now being allowed to move into the Eastern Native Reserve with their livestock as the Reserve is developed.

306 Three boreholes existed in 1956, two of them equipped. The intention is to continue this development of water supplies.

307 The Reserve is at present under administrative control of the Welfare Officer at Otjinene, in northern Epukiro Reserve.

308 The main centre of the Reserve is Okorukurure, on the Reserve road connecting Otjinene with Okondjatu in Waterberg East Reserve.



Transcription of Original Page 89

Part VI. GOBABIS URBAN LOCATION  
Definition of area

309 Certain provisions of the Urban Areas Proclamation No.34 of 1924 were applied to the urban area of Gobabis by GN Nos.21-23 of 1935. Location regulations were gazetted under GN No.95 of 2nd July 1935.

310 The Location lies to the south of the town, about 1.5 miles from the railway station.

History of Location

311 According to information kindly supplied by Father Dohren of the R.C. Mission at Gobabis, the area where Natives first built their huts was near Spitskop. This was about 1910. These huts were subsequently demolished and the Native area was established between the Fassbender Store and the Creamery. In 1920 this site was also cleared and the Natives moved to the south of the present town. That area was later required as a landing ground for a private aeroplane and so the site was moved to the area of the present Location.

Numbers and ethnic classification of population

312 It is not clear whether the figures in the Annual Reports refer to the residents of the Urban Location only or to the total of Natives living in town (in compounds and on employers' premises) and in the Location. As there is a constant flow, it is even difficult to check figures which are only some months old. Thus for 1955 the non-European urban population was put at 1,413 residents of the Location and 1,577 residents in the whole urban area but 1,662 according to another source.

Transcription of Original Page 90

GOBABIS URBAN LOCATION

314 The contract labourers employed by the Railways, the Municipality and the Creamery are housed in special compounds. These, together with those housed on employers' premises, numbered 249 persons in 1955. If the 40 local Ovambo are deducted from the Ovambo total of 204, this makes 164 Ovambo on contract in the urban area of Gobabis, as compared with 750 in the rural area. Of the 914 contract Ovambo in the district, 18% were thus in town.

315 Every adult male and adult female single or not living with her legal husband pays a monthly site rental of 3/-. Water and sanitation are free. Lodgers and visitors pay 2/6. For business sites the charge is 10/- a month.  
Authority and control

316 The Urban Location is under the administrative control of the Municipality. A full-time Superintendent has been employed since November 1955, with a Native staff of three assistants, two Tswana and one Coloured. The Native constables of the S.A. Police live in the Location and are at the Superintendent's disposal in case of need.

## Transcription of Original Page 92

## GOBABIS URBAN LOCATION

317 In 1949, a non-European Advisory Board of six residents was set up, with the Superintendent as chairman ex officio. No term of office has been fixed for Boardmen.

318 In September 1956, the Board consisted of the following members, all of them appointed.

Name	Ethnic group	Occupation	Age
1. Immanuel Tlhabanelo	Tswana	teacher	39 years
2. Moses Garureb	Bergdama	gen.dealer	-
3. Benediktus Kita	Tswana	-	-
4. Willem Kakuetu	Herero	gen.dealer	35 years
5. Benjamin !Owoseb	Bergdama	teacher	28 years

319 The local Ovambo in the Location are represented on the Board by Bergdama members. Board meetings take place quarterly.

320 There is no Foreman in the Location, and no Native Arbitration sub-committee.

## Social

## a) Ethnic sub-divisions

321 The Location is divided into two major sections the Herero section to the west and the Bergdama section to the east of the main street. The local Ovambo live at the southern end of the Herero section, whilst the Tswana and Bastards/ Coloureds are at the northern end of the Bergdama section. On the eastern and western boundaries of the Location about 50 contract Ovambo are housed in five huts and three tents.

## b) Relations between ethnic groups

322 The different ethnic groups all appear to be on friendly terms. Members of all of them take part in the dances held from time to time.

## c) Surviving traditional customs

323 No information could be obtained in respect

Transcription of Original Page 93

## GOBABIS URBAN LOCATION

of Native customs, and there does not appear to exist much apart from the otjikaiva-custom of the Herero and certain marriage customs.

### Marriage and family life

324 In 1956, there were 380 women paying site rentals. These women, 72% of all adult females in the Location, were therefore single, unattached or living together with a man. (liefman) other than the legal husband.

325 The living together of couples is not regarded with much if any, disapprobation. Statutory Marriage solemnized by a Magistrate or missionary as marriage officer is evidently far from being Understood or accepted as an institution. But whilst many casual unions do not last very long, many other couples live together for years and eventually marry either legally, or according to Native custom (not recognised by law) and give ovitunja (bride-price.) to make it legal and proper in their own eyes, Premarital living together is very generally regarded. as a temporary stage preliminary to marriage. The number of female site rent payers therefore affords no indication whatever of the extent of "loose living" by Native standards .

326 Legal marriage are contracted between members of all ethnic groups and miscegenation between them is far advanced in Gobabis Location. This may be clearly seen in the schools The Bushmen intermarry with Bergdama and Khoi. The Herero dislike miscegenation more than any other group and intermarriage between them and Bushmen Does not seem to occur at all.

327 Men marry at 20-50 years, women at 16-50, but Marriages at greater ages are not very unusual.

### Illegitimacy

328 Bearing in mind the uncertainty about marriage, it is hard to say what constitutes illegitimacy the general Native, as distinct from

*Excerpts from Ethnological Publication Number 42  
"A Study of Gobabis District (South West Africa)" by O. Kohler*

## Transcription of Original Page 94

## GOBABIS URBAN LOCATION

the mission, view. It certainly is not an important matter for them, and children are always welcomed. The family of a child's mother will care for it, whether born in wedlock or out.

## Age structure

329 The accompanying graphs on the age structure date from 1951, being based on material collected by Dr. Wagner. They show that the older generation of Herero is hardly to be found in town at all. Cf. the age structure diagrams for Epukiro and Aminuis Reserves, para.263. When they get old, the people leave the Location and settle in the Reserves.

330 Children under 15 are fewer in the Herero group than among the Tswana. The latter keep their children with them in the Location whilst the former leave them with relatives in Reserves or on farms. The Herero's greater wealth in cattle is undoubtedly the main factor here, as the Tswana would do the same if they could.

## Economics

## a) Wage earners

331 Apart from the 32 paupers living in the Location in 1956, all able-bodied men are in employment with the S.A. Railways, the Creamery, the Municipality, the Post-Office, the Magistrate's Office, in garages, school hostels, or with building contractors, in households or as shop-assistants. Women work as washerwomen in town. As Gobabis is still developing, no surplus of labour ever occurs. On the contrary, the shortage is chronic.

## b) Independent trades

332 In 1956, the persons engaged in independent trades and occupations were:

- 3 general dealers (Herero, Bastard, Bergdama)
- 1 butcher (Herero)
- 1 cafer owner (Ovambo)
- 4 shoemakers ( 3 Herero, 1 Bergdama)
- a few firewood dealers.

Transcription of Original Page 96

## GOBABIS URBAN LOCATION

## Standard of living

334 There are a number of good houses in the Location. The Coloureds, Bastards and also the Tswana sections occupy most of these. Clothing is much as in other urban Locations described, and there are of course individual and ethnic differences.

## Education

335 There are two Government-aided Mission schools at Gobabis, the Rhenish Mission School and the R.C. Mission School. Both schools are situated in the centre of town. There is no school building in the Location. The pupils of both schools are from all ethnic groups, as the classification made in September 1956 shows:-

Ethnic group

Khoi

Coloureds

Herero

Local Ovambo

Bergdama

Tswana

Bushmen

Angola tribes

Totals

Transcription of Original Page 98

GOBABIS URBAN LOCATION

338 There thus were 50 out of 65 pupils (77%) in the sub-standards. The average age in Sub-Std. a was 9.3 years and in Std. III 15.3 years. 32 girls formed 64% of all pupils in the standards.

339 In the sub-standards there were 13 pupils from farms and 4 pupils from Reserves, in the standards there were 6 pupils from farms and 1 from a Reserve. Thus 37% of all pupils came from outside Gobabis town.

b) Roman Catholic Mission School

340 In September 1956, I collected the following information

Transcription of Original Page 99

### GOBABIS URBAN LOCATION

341 There thus were 74 out of 101 pupils (73.2%) in the sub-standards. The average age in Std. A was 10.5 years, and in Std III 13.25 ears, 46 girls formed 62% of all pupils in the sub-standards, and 15 girls formed 56% in the standards.

342 In the sub-standards there were 29 pupils from farms and 5 pupils from Reserves, in the standards 6 pupils from farms. Thus 39% of all pupils of the school came from outside Gobabis town.

#### Health

343 There used to be a Catholic Mission Hospital at Gobabis with a section for Natives and Coloureds. This service ceased with the opening of the new Government Native Hospital in September 1955. It is near the Location and can take 57 patients.

#### a) Water supply

344 The water for the Location comes from the municipal reservoir on the Nikodemus Berg. There are four taps in the main road of the Location and one in the Herero section which is also used by the local Ovambo.

#### b) Sanitation

345 Sanitation services are performed by a contractor. In 1956 there were six latrines in the Location, showers or bathing facilities nil.

#### Illicit brewing

346 There is no beer hall in the Location. The Advisory Board are opposed to having one. A great deal of illicit brewing takes place. An average of four gallons of beer are destroyed per day. The beer is mostly found concealed in the veld outside the Location, up to 1,000 yards away. The Tswana are said to drink more than the other ethnic groups.

#### Pastimes

347 There are three football teams in the Location  
Springbok I (Herero)  
Springbok II (Tswana)  
Jongspan (Herero)

348 From time to time there is a dance in the Location in which all ethnic groups take part. There is no cinema.

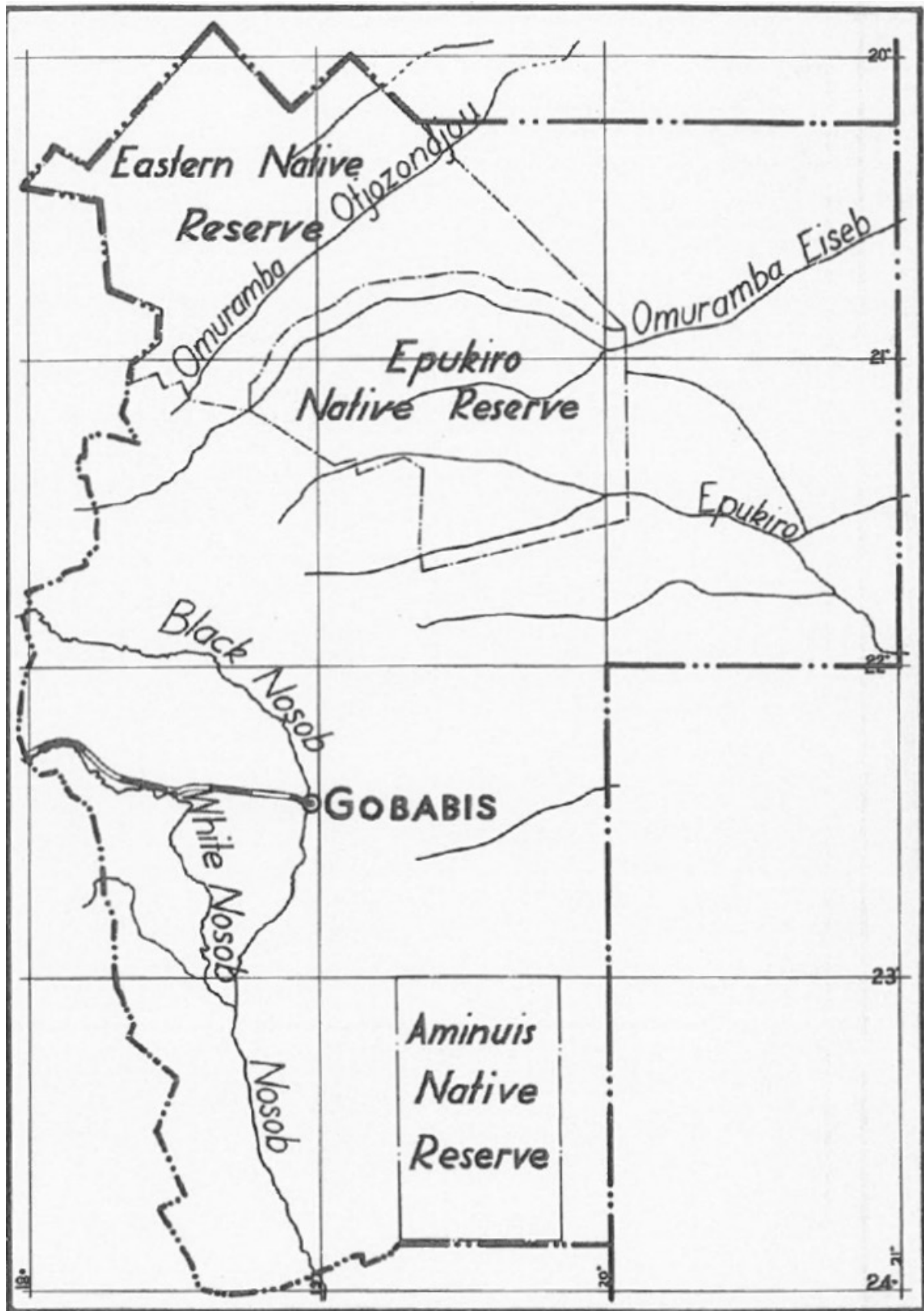


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Index of persons  
Numbers refer to paragraphs

Afrikaner, J. 36	Kool 36	Tjetjo 52, 56, 57
Albertina 247	Kordom 37	Tjiparura 135
Amraal Lambert 32, 41, 200	Kort 37	Tjiponda 30, 36
Andries 48	Kujamberra 256	Tjivirura, N. 137
Barend 37	Kutako, H. 242, 244, 256	Tlhabanelo, I 318
Cook 34, 59 (1840)	Lambert, Amraal 32, 36	Traugott 52, 56
Dannert, Rev. 248	Lambert, E. 49	Taariovandu 256
Edich 256	Lampe, Lt. 49	Tutjavi, P. 137
Eduard 48	Leutwein 48, 203	Ure 256
Eggert 25, 37, 59 (1856)	Lucia 255	van Zyl 43
Galton 34	Maharero, E. 133	Vledermuis 37
Garureb, M. 318	Maharero, S. 104	Von Estorff 49
Goeman 37	Makono, F. 137	Waterboer 37
Hahn 34	Maria 255	Watterott 208
Haini 135	Mathilde 256	Weila 208
Hengari, N. 257/5	Mbatinda 256	Zeraua 247
Herman, Father 208	Moffat 208	Zeze, G. 257/6
Hiakozondume 256	Mootseng, A. 242	
Hosea 256, see Kutako	Moruki, F. 87	
Hoveka 135, 181	Muvangua, J. 257/3	
Hoveka, N. 134, 135	Nachtwey 208	
Hoveka, S. 134, 135, 194	Nakaja 135	
Jaukua, C. 255	Natalia 250	
Judt 44	Ndjamo 256	
Juliana 255	Ngarizemo 256	
Kahimemua 50, 144	Nguakuu 1.35	
Kakuetu, W. 318	Ngura 256	
Kanane 135	Nguvauva, N. 146	
Kanangate 135	Nguvauva, Z. 257/4	
Kandjii, G. 137	Nikanor Hoveka 134, 135	
Kandjii, K. 257/1	Nikodemus 50	
Kanjota 256	Nunu 203	
Kapazu 256	Ohlsen 59 (1895)	
Kapuku 256	!Owoseb, B. 318	
Karambi 135	Palgrave 43	
Karuaihe, A. 257/2	Paschk 59 (1895)	
Kathrina 255	Samuel Maharero 144	
Kaunatjike, P. 137	Schmelen 32	
Kaftumbumbu 135	Stephanus 135	
Kita, B. 318	Streitwolf 53	
Kokurama, J. 137	Tindall 34, 37	
Komotjimbonde 256	Tjaimba 256	



Excerpts from Ethnological Publication Number 42  
 "A Study of Gobabis District (South West Africa)" by O. Kohler