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

by

O. Kohler

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Index and Map

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I. INTRODUCTION

Boundaries

1 The district of Grootfontein, which formed part of the Outjo district in the first years of the German regime, was declared a separate district in 1899. After the occupation, the district was defined anew by Proc. No. 40 of 1920, and re-defined by Proc. No. 15 of 1950. The north-western portion was excised to form the Tsumeb district by Proc. No. 49/1952, amended by Proc. 10/57 and 55/57.

Extent

2 According to the latest definition, the whole district is 26,358 sq. miles in extent, the portion inside the Police Zone 10,235 sq. miles. This report deals with the portion inside the Police Zone. The Okavango Native Territory was excised and created a separate magisterial district by U. Proc. 68/57.

Control

3 Administrative control of the district is vested in the Magistrate, Grootfontein. A post of Assistant Native Commissioner was created for Grootfontein district with effect from 22/6/1950, primarily with a view to the establishment of an Extraterritorial and Northern Natives Central Registry (cf. GN 201/1950, Gazette No. 1537 dd. 15/8/1950). The Assistant Native Commissioner was appointed Native Commissioner with effect from 1/11/1955.

4 The Native Commissioner at Grootfontein deals with the Native affairs of the district inside the Police Zone, except for trading licences and court cases, which go to the Magistrate.

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5 Otjituuo Reserve falls under the administrative control of the Native Commissioner, Grootfontein.

6 All Natives living in the portion of the district outside the Police Zone fall under control of the Native Commissioner at Runtu (Okavango Native Territory), but see above para. 2.

7 The Locations at Grootfontein and Otavi are under the Municipality of Grootfontein and the Village Management Board of Otavi respectively.

8 In the Reserve, the Welfare Officer is assisted in his work by a Native Headman and a Native Reserve Board. In the Locations, the Superintendents are assisted by non-European Advisory Boards.

9 Native Commissioners Courts were first constituted by GN No. 177/1930. The schedule to this Government Notice was withdrawn and replaced by an amended schedule by GN No. 126/1941, and further amended inter alia by UGN 303/57.

10 Headquarters of the Police district are at Otjiwarongo. Grootfontein district is divided into three Police Station Areas, viz. Grootfontein, Otavi and Maroelaboom (formerly Nurugas).

Communications

11 Grootfontein district is linked with the rest of the Territory by a good system of communications. The narrow-gauge railway from Usakos (268 miles) has its terminus in the heart of the district. Main roads connect Grootfontein with other centres.

12 Traffic to the Northern Native Territories uses two main roads: (1) Grootfontein-Maroelaboom - Karakuwisa-Runtu (Okavango) and (2) Grootfontein-Tsumeb-Namutoni-Ondangua (Ovamboland). The route from Grootfontein via Tsintsabis to Kuring-Kuru on the Okavango is seldom used. Otjituuo Reserve headquarters at Okatjoruu are reached from Grootfontein by a good road (33 miles).

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13 Railway buses operate between Abenab Mine and Grootfontein, and between Grootfontein-Tsumeb-Namutoni. A number of non-European transport drivers have licences to convey passengers.

14 There are Post Offices at Grootfontein and Otavi, and Postal Agencies at Kombat and Uchab (formerly spelt Guchab), Abenab, and Maroelaboom.

Description of country

15 The part of Grootfontein district falling within the Police Zone consists geographically of two distinct regions:

(1) The Karst region. The following description is quoted from the Guide Book on South West Africa by H. F. Frommurze and T. W. Gevers (see Bibliography at end).

16 "North of the Plain of Damaraland is an extensive semi-circular tract of country underlain mostly by rocks of the Otavi Dolomite Series, which is known as the Karstveld or Karst region. It is characterized by the peculiar topography so frequently developed in limestone and dolomite regions, resulting from denudation by underground water.

17 The outstanding features of this region are the entire absence of running streams although the mean annual rainfall is almost 20 inches; the comparative rarity of watercourses and the occurrence of large and small sink holes, solution fissures and large caverns.

18 It is an area of low relief except for the Otavi Mountains. These are a range of ancient folded rocks of the lower division of the Nama System, which by faulting and denudation form a series of roughly parallel ridges separated by flat-bottomed valleys. The most important of these ridges extends from Otavi to near Asis north of the Grootfontein-Otavi railway line. The highest peak is the Nagaib, '7000 feet'.

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19 (2) The country east and north-east of the railway line from Otjiwarongo to Grootfontein is geographically a continuation of the Damaraland plain and merges gradually into the Sandfeld or Omaheke (Omuramba Omatako area).

20 As Grootfontein district enjoys the highest average rainfall (500-600 mm) in the Territory and as actual drought years are virtually unknown, both its open and its bushveld portions are covered by a far more luxuriant vegetation than is found elsewhere in the country. Some twelve miles east of Grootfontein there is the so-called palm belt, and some forty miles to the north the "Parklands", characterized by a particularly rich variety of trees and shrubs.

Hydrography

21 The southeast of the district is drained by the Omuramba Omatako (or Omuramba ua Matako) with its tributary, the Omuramba Omambonde (or Omuramba ua Mambonde) which join at Coblenz in Otjituuo Reserve but are prevented from draining into the Okavango by drift sand in the channel.

22 The mountain range northwest of Otavi is the source of the Ugab (Nama !U--/- gab) which drains into the Atlantic Ocean some forty miles north of Cape Cross.

23 The northern border farms of the district are drained by the Omuramba Ovambo (or Omuramba u-Ovambo) which discharges into the Etosha Pan near Namutoni.

24 In the Karst region there are some perennial springs, the most important ones being Grootfontein, Rietfontein and Otavifontein.

Fauna

29 Game is still fairly plentiful in most parts of the district, especially in the North. The commonest kinds of game found in the farming areas are kudu, steenbok, and duiker. Of the carnivora , leopards, cheetahs and jackals, especially in the Otavi Mountains, in Otjituuu Reserve and on the more recently settled farms. In Otjituuu Reserve lions also appear, as they do now and then on the adjoining farms. Eland occur on some farms and in the Reserve.

Economics

30 Stock rearing and maize production are the main sources of income in the district. Mining activities are restricted to Abenab and Berg Aukas. Farming and mining are the main branches in which non-European labour is employed. Industries play a minor part.

History

Hartmann's report

31 The only records obtainable on the early history of the district are some notes written by Dr. Hartmann, the representative of the S.W.A. Company, in 1895. They are kept with the files of the

INTRODUCTION

Grootfontein Magistrate. Although these notes call for some critical comments and require further investigation, they appear to be worth quoting:

32 (1) The time of Kamaharero, son of Aignamb.
"As far as can be remembered by the fathers and forefathers of the people of my time, the Ovambo lived in the country north of the Etosha (called Sootpan Kgumo), but since the early days they dealt in copper with the Bushmen at Groot Otavi. The Ovambo chief Nangorro, father of the old Kantucke, had also from early times been the protector of the Bushmen.

33 The Damaras at the time had many sheep and lived with their huge herds south of the Oratato Mts. The enormous country from the Omatako in Ovamboland to Hatirberg, in Otavi and Grootfontein areas over Otjisamgo, was only inhabited by Bushmen and Klipkaffirs (Berg Damaras) and they had chiefs of their own. When the Damara chief Deitucib ruled in Omuveromni (Geilkheis), the Hottentots came from the south to conquer the Damara, which they did at Okahandja. The Damaras became poverty-stricken and went north of the Omatako Mts to the Bushmen to look for veldkos and to live peacefully with them. About this time, Nangorro made his first trek from Ovamboland via Otavi to Waterberg. En route he proceeded beyond the Omatako and married a Damara woman, after which he entered into a peace treaty with the Damaras and then returned to his homeland.

34 Being hard pressed by the Hottentots in the south, the Damaras appeared for the first time with their herds north of the Omatako. They went as far as Grootfontein and expressed the desire to join their friend Nangorro in Ovamboland. However, owing to differences with the Bushmen in Waterberg, of whom some were killed, Nangorro came to the assistance of the latter and defeated the Damaras at Nutsas (Swartwater) and Grootfontein, and drove them beyond Waterberg. They remained at the Omatako, but being troubled by the Hottentots, a portion of them fled in a state of poverty to Nangorro in Ovamboland and applied to him for peace and protection.

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35 Among them was Aignab (alias Aignamb), father of Kamaherero. Aignamb was a child and grew up with the Ovambos. As a young man he proceeded for the first time to the land of his forefathers south of the Omatako.

36 Being ill treated by the Hottentots he returned to Ovamboland and asked permission from Nangorro for himself, his people and their herds to settle with the Bushmen north of Omatako. The mission must have been fruitless, for the Damara remained in their country south of Omatako even after Aignamb had returned to them from Ovamboland. This was at the time when Jonker was in power.

2. The times of Andersson.

37 With the arrival of Andersson, hunting of elephants in the whole country commenced. During this period more and more white people came in to the country north of the Omatako. The Damaras only came to the Bushman country as casual labourers to the Europeans during the hunting season.

38 Amongst the hunters one should mention the three brothers Krueger who joined the hunter Bonis at Waterberg in the hunting season. They pitched their camp at Karakobis (Karkuwisa).

39 War had broken out at the time between the Hottentots and the Damaras. The latter took refuge with Andersson and Green, another hunter. A section of the Hottentots fled from Okahandja in a northerly direction and settled at Waterberg. They were called 'Usib' by the Bushmen.

40 These Hottentots now made an expedition against Krueger's werf at Karakobis and killed all they found and brought the waggons, servants and horses to Waterberg. Krueger and Dowie together only just managed to save themselves by fleeing to Ovamboland. From there in a roundabout way Krueger returned via Grootfontein to the land of the Damaras to wage war against the Hottentots.

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3. The times of Krueger.

41 Aignamb was dead and Kamaharero had become Chief of the Damaras. Krueger's war with the Damaras against the Hottentots proved successful. The latter were defeated and fled to Maru and Harab. In the following years they were engaged in wars against the Ovambos but eventually they were so decimated by the Umbanambi that only a few left Ovamboland for Huab. About this time Krueger planned another attack against the Hottentots which ended in his having to take over the women who had become widows. The Bastards John and Adam Krueger of Huab are sons of old Krueger.

42 Now that the Damaras were free and the hunters had gone north, where Green did his utmost to restore peace among the Native tribes, they, the Damaras, gradually went past the Omatako. It was the same time that Erikson was in the country, and that the first Boer settlement in the Grootfontein district was established.

43 About the gradual infiltration of the Herero into the southern part of what is now Grootfontein district, Dr. Hartmann wrote:

44 "The Damaras made for the north and eventually settled at Waterberg. They were afraid of the Bushmen and Berg Damaras. They went along taking revenge on the Bushmen wherever they could as they still do today (August 1895). An important event at this stage was the establishment of a Damara Mission station at Waterberg (Missionary Eich). It must be emphasized that at that time the Damara had not reached the boundaries of Ombaongomba (Gaikop), Otjenga (Agob), Otjiwarongo (Kaknobio), Okomsu (Kileib) on account of the strong Bushman tribes under Chief Aribib of whom they were afraid. They therefore waged war against the Bushmen in the south from Waterberg to Grootfontein and Nutsas (Swartwater). It might be mentioned here that their advance into the Grootfontein district was only temporary; they did not settle there.

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45 The Bergdama then living in the Otavi Mountains were known as "Honigkaffern" because they supplied both the Herero and the Bushmen with honey.

According to Friedrich Awasib, the Herero minister at Grootfontein, the country originally occupied by the Bergdama extended from Tsumeb in the north to Waterberg in the south.

The Bushmen

46 In the original district of Grootfontein two main Bushman groups had their hunting areas: (1) the Hei-//um to the west and north and (2) the !Ku in the north-east and east. Both groups still differ in language, the Hei-//um speaking Nama (Hottentot) while the !Ku have preserved their Bushman dialect of the northern Bushman language type.

47 At the beginning of this century, the "Kumg'au" Bushmen lived to the north and north-east of the Police Station Choantsas (Xoantsas), east of the present Police Station Tsintsabis. Their leader was Nama-Gurub, a name which in its linguistic form is Nama, and it may be that the "Kumg'au" in von Zastrow's spelling were the Xom-khoin mentioned by Dr. Vedder (Grundriss einer Gr. d. Buschmannsprache p.10, vide Bibliography). It is said that the "Kumg'au" did some trading and bartering as far north as the Okavango and even beyond it among the Bushmen in Angola. A polio raid on Nama-Gurub's camp revealed that the Kumg'au even had some rifles at that time. The Kumg'au were most likely Hei-//um.

48 Another Bushman group mentioned at the beginning of this century were the Nog' au (von Zastrow's spelling). This group still roams the Karakuwisa area. In old reports Berckfontein and Gasamas are mentioned as their main waterholes. The No-kao were hostile to the Kumg'au.

49 Labourers travelling from the Okavango to Grootfontein area were often held up and plundered by the Bushmen, who shot them with their poisoned arrows if they resisted. Though it does not appear that this Bushman banditry was as organized as it

INTRODUCTION

was between Outjo and Ovamboland, it was bad enough to make the German police patrol the road via Karakuwisa to the Okavango from time to time.

50 In the early years the German Government concluded two protective treaties in the Tsumeb-Grootfontein area with a view to establishing good relations between the various northern tribes and the Government.

51 A treaty signed between the Government and the Bastard Jao Krueger at //Gaub on 31st August, 1895, recognised Krueger as chief of various ethnic groups, including Bushmen who lived within the Concession Area of the South West Africa Company, Ltd., founded in 1892.

52 A second and more important treaty was signed at Outjo on 14th October, 1898 between the German Bezirksamtmann von Estorff and the Bushman leader Aribib already mentioned. The purpose of this treaty was to get the Hei-//um Bushmen of the Etosha Pan under German control and create some order as between the Bushmen and colonists. For this development in later years cf. Kohler, Dokumente etc. (see Bibliography).

53 In course of time many Bushmen of Grootfontein district became farm labourers. More of these are Hei-//um than !Ku.

Chronology

54 Development may be traced from the following:

- 1851 Andersson and Galton pass through the western portion of the district on their way to Ovamboland.
- 1884 The Humpata Boers, led by w.w. Jordan, found the Republic of Upingtonia with headquarters at what is now Grootfontein. The Humpata Boers had been in the great trek which left Transvaal in 1875 in search of new land in the west, and had made their way to Angola. Dissatisfied with Humpata, a plateau near Sa da Bandeira (Lubango), and with Portuguese rule, a section

INTRODUCTION

decided to return to the fertile and relatively well-watered region of the Otavi Mountains. They negotiated with Chief Kambonde at their encampment near Okahakana west of the Etosha Pan. For "25 muskets, one salted horse, and one cask of brandy" Chief Kambonde gave them a tract of land extending from west of the Naidaus and Nunab ranges to the Great Omuramba. (Omatako) in the East and about equal in extent to the present district of Grootfontein (called Otjivanda.-tjongue "Hill of the Leopard" in Herero).

These early settlers built the first stone houses :In Grootfontein

The Republic of Upingtonia was, however, short-lived, partly because the settlers were decimated by fever and hardship, and partly because the Herero tried to dispossess them of their land. After Jordaan been murdered in Ovamboland when on a trip to Angola (1886), the settlement was abandoned. Some of the Boers returned to Humpata, others trekked on to the Waterberg, and thence back to the Transvaal. "Of their brief occupation of Grootfontein only a few ruined buildings bore witness at the time the first expedition of the South West Africa Company visited the district in 1893".

- 1892 The German Government grants a concession to the S.W.A. Company. It included a freehold area of 13,000 square km. The area, as later defined, included the present town of Grootfontein.
- 1893 The first expedition of the S.W.A. Company visits the district ("The Company had acquired Jordaan's land rights and certain mining rights given to Lewis by Maharero - rights which were confirmed by the German Government in the form of a concession to the Company").
- 1894-96 Second trek of Transvaal Boers under Lombard and Joubert enters the district through what is now Otjituuu Reserve. Some members of the trek passed on to Angola, but some families

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- acquired land from the S.W.A. Company and settled in the district Kreyfontein, Olifantsfontein, Strydfontein , Uitkomst and Gemsboklaagte were among the farms thus taken up.
- 1896 German military posts established at Otavifontein and Grootfontein. "Swamps were drained, swimming pools constructed, springs regulated and fever banished". The fort is still preserved and forms part of the present Government School.
- 1897 Herds, principally those of the Herero, wiped out by the rinderpest.
- 1898-99 Trading business of the S.W.A. Company transferred to the "Damara und Namaqua Handelsgesellschaft" of Hamburg.
- 1899 Grootfontein district separated from Outjo district.
- 1902 School opened at Grootfontein for 32 European children . "Close investigation of the area north to the Okavango and Amboland is commenced".
- 1904 Outbreak of the Herero rebellion isolates Grootfontein from the rest of the Territory. Communications resorted after action at Uitkomst, 12 miles southwest of Grootfontein. In the encounter at Uitkomst a Herero Chief was killed. Otavi was besieged for five days and relieved on 22nd January 1904.
- 1908 Narrow gauge railway from Usakos reaches Grootfontein. R.C. Mission station founded at Grootfontein.
- 1910 Rhenish Mission station founded at Grootfontein (14th August).
- 1914 Hauptmann Lehmann captures the Portuguese Fort Cuangar on the Okavango (30th October).
- 1915 Action between German and Union troops at Otavifontein (30th June).
- 1920 District of Grootfontein defined anew under Proclamation No. 40 of 1920.
- 1923 Otjituu proclaimed a Native Reserve.
- 1925 R.C. Mission station, farm and school founded at Mariabronn (Varkfontein), 6 miles west of Grootfontein.

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- 1927 The "Northern Labour Organization Ltd" established at Grootfontein.
- 1929 The Caprivi Zipfel added to the district of Grootfontein. (Procl. 26/1929).
- 1933 Grootfontein becomes a proclaimed area in terms of the Natives (Urban Areas) Proclamation (No. 34/1924).
- 1936 Otavi becomes a proclaimed area in terms of the Natives (Urban Areas) Proclamation (No.34/1924).
- 1937 The Okavango Native Territory defined by Proclamation (No. 32/1937).
- 1939 Union Proclamation No.147 of 1939 repeals the provisions of Proclamation No. 26 of 1929 in so far as they apply to the Eastern Caprivi Zipfel.
- 1943 The Northern Labour Organization Ltd" and the "Southern Labour Organization" (Consolidated Diamond Mines) with headquarters at Luderitz are amalgamated to form the "South West African Native Labour Association" (SWANLA) with head.-quarters at Grootfontein.
- 1947 Grootfontein becomes a Municipality (Proc.27/1947).
- 1948 Assistant Magistrate appointed for Tsumeb.
- 1950 The post of an Assistant Native Commissioner created for Grootfontein.
- 1951 New Native Location and new Ovambo Compound formally opened at Tsumeb.
- 1952 Tsumeb Magisterial district proclaimed, separate from Grootfontein, by Procl. No. 49/1952 (Gaz. 1731 of 1/12/52).
- 1957 Excision of Okavango as separate magisterial district.

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56 As these figures are largely based on estimates it is difficult to draw conclusions. It appears, however, that the larger groups represented in the district before the separation of Tsumeb district in 1952 were fairly stable in number, and it is only Northern and Extra-territorial labour that grew steadily. The Bushman element is shown as fairly constant, and the drop in their number after the separation of Tsumeb district shows that many of them were living in the rural area there .

57 Since 1952, a steady increase of all groups is apparent. The group called "Others" comprises mostly Extra-territorial labour that stayed on in S.W.A. after completion of contract instead of going home. These men are almost invariably married to local women.

Transcription of Original Page 26

The S.W.A. Native Labour Association (SWANLA)

64 SWANLA was the result of amalgamation, in 1943, of the Southern and Northern labour Organisations. The Northern Labour Organisation had had its office at Grootfontein, and headquarters were established there.

65 SWANLA has a Recruiting Officer at Ondangua in Ovamboland and one at Runtu on the Okavango. Mines and Industries contract their labour at Ondangua, whilst labour from Runtu is attested in Grootfontein.

66 There are eight SWANLA compounds in Grootfontein for the accommodation of Ovambo/Okavango contract labourers in transit. The special position of Grootfontein in connection with recruiting called for the creation of a separate post of Native Commissioner as from 1/11/1955. All cases are, however, tried by the Magistrate.

Education

67 Besides the Government-aided Rhenish Mission Schools at Grootfontein and Otavi and the Government Schools at Okatjoruu and Coblenz in Otjituuu Reserve, there is a R.C. Mission School at Mariabronn, some miles west of Grootfontein. This school was opened in 1926 when the Mission station was founded.

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the pupils, most of whom are accommodated in the Mission hostel, come from farms in the district. In December 1956 there were 10 pupils from Grootfontein and 5 pupils from Abenab.

68 There was not a single Herero pupil at Mariabronn nor have any Herero attended the school in the past. Bergdama and Bushman children constitute about 75% of the pupils. Bergdama halfcastes form c.5% and Ovambo or Ovambo/Bergdama hybrids c.20%.

70 47 out of 60 pupils (78.3%) were in the substandards. The average age in Std. A was 8.75 years and in Std.-II 13. 57 years.

Introduction

Health

71 There is a Government Native Hospital at Grootfontein. In 1955, 2,553 out-patients and 1,809 patients were treated.

72 The District Surgeon resides at Grootfontein. Owing to the distance to Otavi, a district surgeon will also be stationed at Otavi soon.

Missions

73 The figures available for the district before the establishment of the Oruano Church refer to the year 1954. The Rhenish Mission then claimed to have 3,500 members, the R.C. Mission 1,213 .

II. THE RURAL AREA

1. Farms

74 In 1911 ,the district of Grootfontein had 128 farms 605,808 ha. in extent. In 1913, the number of farms had risen to 173 with a total area of 777,077 ha. In course of time, the number of farms increased to 549 in 1953, and 559 in 1954 after 10 new farms had been given out in the Nurugas Block.

75 The new farms absorbed much labour. The labour shortage on the farms has now been described as acute. SWANLA supplied about 40% of all farm labour in the district in recent years. Apart from Native labour, Bushmen now constitute an important source of farm labour.

76 To give a general idea of the distribution of farm labour in the three Police Station Areas, figures for 1951 and 1954 are quoted. The tables show an average of 45 labourers per farm, Bushman labour included. This average is low if one considers the amount of work involved in reaping maize.

∴,

RURAL AREA

Members of Bushman families usually give a hand at this time when the labour shortage is particularly felt.

79 Some Bushmen on the farms also own stock. The figures for Otavi and Grootfontein given below may seem remarkable, but it should be borne in mind that the Bushmen there are mostly Hei//um, i.e. Bushman half-castes, who are fairly adaptable. The !Kung in the Nurugas area do not care much for stock.

80 TABLE No.11 STOCK OWNED B Y BUSHMEN ON FARMS

Police Area	Year	cattle	horses	donkeys	goats
Otavi	1951	50	4	30	350
	1954	117	11	41	320
Groot-fontein	1951	46	2	86	114
	1954	60	5	85	140
Nurugas	1951	10	-	-	-
	1954	-	-	-	-

2. Rural industries

81 There are a few industries in the rural area, viz. Rietfontein Co-operative Creamery founded in 1928, Decker's brickworks at Otavipforte, and a brickworks near Otavi. No special figures are available for these. Rietfontein Creamery employed 28 contract Ovambo and local labourers in 1956.

3. Mines

82 There are two mines in the district, viz. Abenab Mine and Berg Aukas Mine. Both mines are in the Grootfontein area and belong to the South West African Company Ltd. Berg Aukas was closed down on 22.4. 53 and was reopened at the end of March 1955.

84 Among the local labourers recorded in 1952, 79 were "de-tribal-ized" that is, Northern Natives changed into local inhabitants; in 1953 there were 49, and in 1954 also 49 of them. In 1956 the detribalized Natives working on mines numbered 42.

85 Mining and prospecting on a small scale is being carried out in Otavi Police area and in 1953 employed 58 labourers and, in 1954, 12 labourers.

III. OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE

History

86 In the 19th century, the course of the Omuramba ua Matako (generally called Omatako Omuramba by Europeans) was the main route of hunters and traders on their way to the Okavango and Lake Ngami. With a view to better supervision, the German Administration decided to establish control posts somewhere on the Omuramba.

87 In 1895 two spots were chosen for such posts: (a) the confluence of the Gunib Omuramba with the Omatako and (b) a spot further north where the Omatako Omuramba makes a sharp bend. Such a bend is called "otjituuo" in Herero, and the place was known as Okotjituuo "place of the bend" long before the Germans arrived.

88 The country was inhabited before German times by Herero, Bergdama and Bushmen. Chief Kambazembi of Otjozondjupa is said to have had a cattle post at Otjituuo, where there was a spring, and at Okatjoruu, where there was open water. Along the "Omuramba", as the Omatako Omuramba is simply called by the Herero of that area, there also were a number of Herero waterholes, and it seems that Herero from the south came in times of drought to herd their cattle there. The place "Okaamatutjindo" ("it protects the treks") refers to these migrations of Herero along the Omuramba.

89 The name of the Gunib Omuramba, called "Omuramba-ua-Marind'-ovirongo" by the Herero, is mentioned in early German reports. Gunib is a Nama name and was probably given by the Bergdama who lived here. Support for this is found in the fact that certain Bergdama who had moved to Tsintsabis returned when the Otjituuo Reserve was established

OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE

and claimed Coblenz as "their" place.

90 At each of the two spots mentioned above a small house was built and a military post established. Communication was maintained with Grootfontein once a month.

91 When the rinderpest ravaged the country in 1896/97, Otjituuo became one of the control stations in a long line of posts leading to the post Neitsas in the northeast.

92 The posts at Otjituuo and on the Gunib were notorious as the worst places for fever. Gunib was therefore soon abandoned, whilst one or two soldiers were left at Otjituuo.

93 In 1899 it was decided to build a substantial station at Otjituuo. A stone building with three rooms and a storeroom were put up. There was plenty of open water in those days, which made the ground swampy near the waterholes, and for this reason malaria for many years remained a scourge at Otjituuo.

The Herero rebellion

94 On the 18th January 1904, the Herero living near the station attacked the few people assembled there, and killed most of them.

95 The Herero of Okotjituuo or (Okahua) had evidently been preparing for this attack for a long time. When a certain unrest became noticeable and most of the Germans interpreted this as a renewal of cattle raids by the Herero, a certain Herero Kanjemi spread the news that raiding Ovambo had entered the area east of Otjituuo. So a German patrol left Otjituuo together with Kanjemi. They travelled to Ericsons Putz to collect information.

96 The attack on the station occurred in their absence, and when they returned they found all was over. It must be added that one of the garrism had gone to the Herero huts to recruit labour, as nobody

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would help to fortify the station. The Herero obviously waiting for the right moment to commence hostilities, saw the time had come, and in this way a small chance act became the signal for the events that followed.

The years after the rebellion

97 In 19057 the station at Otjituuo was enlarged and in the middle of the following year the garrison was re-inforced. The soldiers built their own houses. As malaria was still rife, steps were taken to drain the swamps around the waterholes.

98 In 1907, a new station was established, and completed in March 1908. The military garrison departed soon after, and it was taken over by the Police. In 1913, only a few police were stationed at Otjituuo

99 When I visited the Reserve in October 1956, I found the ruins of the station hidden in dense bush. Part of the wall on the Omuramba side was still standing. The waterhole in the Omuramba also still existed, and a Herero just happened to be watering his cattle there.

Establishment of Native Reserve

100 Along the Omatako Omuramba, where farms had already been given out in German times, a Reserve was established by GN 122/1923 (13/11/1923). The new Reserve was called "Otjituo" (European spelling) after the old German post on the Omuramba, and had an extent of c.105,768 hectares Many Herero now moved in from Otjiwarongo, Otavi, Tsumeb and Grootfontein.

101 The Reserve was extended by the following Government Notices:
GN 119/29 dd. 28/8/29 (GG No. 342 dd. 2/9/1929)
GN 19/31 dd. 13/1/31 (GG No. 402 dd. 2/2/1931)(
which added the farms Okabumba (5,429 hectares)
and Otjomikambo (4,986 hectares)

OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE

GN 127/36 dd. 1/9/36 (GG No. 682 dd. 1/9/1936), which made an extension to SW of 166,000 ha.
 GN 374/47 dd. 4/11/47 (GG No. J331 d.d. 15/11/1947), making an extension to SW and linking up Otjituuo Reserve with Waterberg East Reserve, with an area of approx. 39,000 hectares.

Boundaries

102 The Reserve borders on Waterberg East Reserve in the south, on the Eastern Native Reserve in the east, and on farms along the western and northern border.

Description of country

103 The southern portion of the Reserve forms part of the Omaheke whilst the northern portion lies in the so-called Owangowa-Veld. It is more densely studded with trees and bushes than the south of the Reserve. The central portion of the Reserve is covered with sand dunes, water is scarce and the vegetation sparse

Hydrography

104 The main dry course in the Reserve is the Omuramba ua Mataka, which runs through the southern and northern portion of the Reserve but by-passes the central part. It is joined by the Small Omuramba at Okauha and at Coblenz by the Omuramba ua Mambonde. The Gunib (illegible) the Omuramba from the east. The Gunib itself is connected with a drainage system coming from the south called Omuramba ua Karuvahona (Omuramba of the young tall giraffes").

105 The courses of the Gunib and Giraffe-Omuramba are not yet well known, and little is also known about the pans in the east and south-east.

106 In normal rainy seasons the Omatako Omuramba begins to flow in about March or later, and carries much water northwards. It embouches into the Okavango at Ndonga, but silt and drift sand have blocked the channel in places, so that the waters are said to flow back at times.

OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE

108 Vegetation is relatively dense along the dry river beds where evergreen bushes and shrubs are also found. Among the big trees we note the Camelthorn tree and Omumborombonga. The former prefers dry soil and is therefore not found in the vegetation belt along the Omiramba.

109 Thornbush and a variety of plants characterize the northern and southern portion of the Reserve whilst its centre has sparse vegetation. Grazing appears to be sufficient along the dry river beds and in some areas in the north and south. Much of the grazing cannot be used for lack of water at reasonable distance, despite efforts continually being made to improve the position.

Fauna

110 There is a considerable variety of game in the Reserve, and jackals, wild dogs, cheetahs and leopards occur, also hyaenas. Lions come in from the east now and then, but only rarely.

OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE

Communications

111 Headquarters of the Reserve at Okatjoruu are connected with Grootfontein by a good road of about 40 miles. Another road comes into the southern portion of the Reserve at Ongongoro. From there Reserve roads lead south to Waterberg Reserve, along both the Small and the Big Omuramba. Recently a road coming from the west and by-passing Otjituuu (Okahua) has been made along the Omuramba to the east, in order to link up the farms given out east of the Reserve with the rest of the district.

Numbers and distribution of population

112 Reliable data on the growth of the Reserve population are not available for the first years after the proclamation of the Reserve. In 1938, the Reserve population numbered 1,933 residents.

113 The figures for 1955 show an increase of Coloureds and corresponding decrease of Herero. One must conclude that the Welfare Officer counted numerous Herero halfcastes as "Coloureds" and Bush.

114 The figures quoted for 1956 are based on a population census which I took in the Reserve in October 1956. In this I counted all Herero halfcastes as "Herero". The numerous local Ovambo shewn for 1955 were not to be found. I encountered only a few individuals. Finally, the Bushmen also were found to be fewer than in previous years. Possibly this was because my census was held in October, whereas the Bushmen are wont to come back to the Reserves in November/December.

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Fluctuation of population

116 By far the largest group is that of the Herero whose number has also remained remarkably constant. This is of course abnormal, but then, as the adult/children ratio shows, the age and sex composition of the community is also biologically speaking abnormal. The sex of children not being given, the figures mean little. But see those for 1956 below.

117 The Bergdama element has also not increased at all for years.

118 The Bushmen are not as stable as the annual count would seem to indicate. This count is taken around the end of each year. When the rains set in, most of the Bushmen leave the Herero families with which they live in a sort of symbiosis, and disappear into the veld, in which only they know how to exist. They remain there, enjoying their boundless freedom until water supplies give out, then begin to drift back to the Reserve, generally a few months before the first rains fall.

Distribution of population

119 The following data are based on the population census which I took in the Reserve in October 1956. There were 29 inhabited places in the Reserve. Some new settlements were being prepared, but the people had not yet moved there. The placenames are in correct Herero spelling.

OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE

120 TABLE No.14. VILLAGES AND POPULATION
OTJITUUO RESERVE (October 1956)

Village	Ethnic Group	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
1. Coblenz	Col	8	3	3	3	17
	Her	40	66	33	24	163
	Ov	1	-	-	-	1
	Bgd	4	6	2	1	13
	Bush	13	6	5	3	27
						221
2. Erakarombi	Her	11	19	10	12	52
3. Okaamatutjindo	Her	7	8	4	7	26
	Bush	4	4	2	3	13
						39
4. Okaheke	Her	19	16	4	4	43
Okahua see Okotjituuo						
5. Okahumba	Her	34	43	24	10	111
	Bush	2	-	-	-	2
						113
6. Okamboora	Her	8	8	5	-	21
7. Okangeama	Her	26	31	16	15	88
	Bush	7	6	4	4	21
						109
8. Okanguindi	Her	31	43	22	17	113
9. Okarupuka	Her	8	20	8	9	45
10. Masitu	Her	6	11	3	3	23
11. Okatjiporanga	Her	6	8	2	2	18
12. Okatjoruu	Her	43	60	34	18	155
	Bush	1	1	-	-	2
						157
13. Okatjozongondi	Her	5	7	4	6	22
14. Okatuakoverua	Her	31	43	24	18	116
15. Okatumuama	Her	16	15	5	2	38
	Bush	3	3	3	5	14
						52

Continued on next page.

OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE						41
Village	Ethnic Group	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
16. Okauha	Her	21	21	5	8	55
	Bush	1	1	3	3	8
						63
17. Okavare	Her	11	13	8	4	36
18. Okomuparara	Her	11	19	11	9	50
19. Okotjituuo	Her	5	7	6	1	19
20. Omarindi- uozongombe	Khoi	1	2	1	1	5
	Col	1	1	1	2	5
	Her	8	10	2	4	24
						34
21. Omboora-ja- Kaatus	Her	12	11	10	6	39
	Bush	5	3	2	3	13
						52
Ongomb'- okaandja see Coblenz						
22. Ongongoro	Khoi	5	3	2	2	12
	Her	17	27	14	9	67
	Ov	2	-	-	-	2
						81
23. Oruauku	Khoi	2	1	1	-	4
24. Otjikango	Her	33	47	31	18	129
	Bush	5	4	5	-	14
						143
25. Otjinakui	Her	3	-	-	-	3
26. Otjindjumba	Her	3	3	-	3	9
27. Otjiuanomaso	Her	9	14	6	4	33
28. Otjomikambo	Her	26	28	10	10	74
	Bgd	3	3	1	1	8
	Bush	4	3	4	-	11
						93
Ovitoto-via- Mojao see Coblenz						

42 OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE						
Village	Ethnic Group	Men	Women	Boys	Girls	Total
29. Ozondema	Her	16	21	8	8	53
Windmeul see Omarind Omarindi- uozongombo						
		538	669	348	262	1,817

Group totals		Age	
Khoi	17	Adults	1,207 (66.4%)
Coloured	22	Children	610 (33.6%)
Herero	1,629	Sex	
Ovambo	3	Males	886 (48.8%)
Bergdama	21	Females	931 (51.2%)
Bushmen	125		
	<u>1,817</u>		<u>1,817 (100.0)</u>

121 For the Herero, the largest group, the ratios were (in 1956, the only year for which such figures are available):

Age		Sex	
Adults	1,073 (66.5%)	Males	771 (47.8%)
Children	541 (33.5%)	Females	843 (52.2%)
	<u>1,614 (100.0)</u>		<u>1,614 (100.0)</u>

122 Water supplies being mainly tied to the course of the Omatako Omuramba, almost all the settlements in the Reserve lie along it. They are concentrated in the southern portion from Okarupuka to Ongongoro and in the northern portion from Okahuroba to Okotjituuo. The central portion of the Reserve is almost uninhabited. It is covered mostly with sand.

OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE

Boreholes have been sunk at Okangeama and Okomuparara, and new settlements have sprung up there. Steps are being taken to open up more water supplies in the central area.

123 The vast south-eastern part of the Reserve is uninhabited. It is Bushman country. These nomads collect veldkos there and get water from a few pans and along some small dry river courses like the Gunib and its southern tributaries.

124 Most of the settlements lie on the left bank of the Omuramba-Omunene. The two settlements on the Omuramb'-Okatiti or the Small Omatako Omuramba are likewise situated on its left bank. Exceptions are Okavare, Okaheke and Otjiuanomaso, which have some people on the right bank (50 persons in these three places), whilst all the residents of Okanguindi (113 persons) live on the right bank.

125 Of the 29 settlements, 7 have more than 100 inhabitants each, 8 have less than 25 inhabitants each. The average number of residents is 62 per settlement.

126 In 17 settlements only Herero residents were found, in another 8 Herero and Bushmen were found so that almost all the settlements (25 out of 29) may be considered purely Herero. The remaining 4 settlements are at Coblenz at the confluence of the Omuramba ua Mambonde and the Omatako Omuramba. Coblenz with its 221 residents is the biggest centre in the Reserve. The Welfare Officer makes his headquarters there when working in the southern portion of the Reserve. Omarindi-uozongombo includes Khoi and Coloureds, Ongongoro Khoi and local Ovambo, and Otjomikambo has some Bergdama.

127 Bergdama were found at Otjomikambo and Coblenz. All the Coloureds were living at Coblenz, and Khoi were at Omarindi-uozongombo and Ongongoro.
Authority and control

128 Otjituuo Reserve is under the control of the Native Commissioner, Grootfontein. Civil cases are

OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE

brought before him, whilst criminal cases go before the Magistrate's Court at Grootfontein. The Reserve is administered by a Welfare Officer stationed at Okatjoriuu. He has one constable (Coloured/Khoi) who also acts as interpreter.

Native Headman

129 The Native Headman of the Reserve, Reinhard Maekopo, was appointed on 29th March 1949 on an allowance of £30 p.a. The Reserve residents considered him "an honest and respectful person" and refused to nominate anybody else, so he was appointed. He used to live in Aminuis Reserve, until expelled by Hosea Kutsko in 1939.

Reserve Board

130 The Welfare Officer is assisted in his work by a Reserve Board. Meetings are held quarterly, and more frequently in case of need. In view of the distance between the northern and southern portions of the Reserve it has been found difficult to hold meetings monthly.

131 A monthly allowance of £2 is paid to Board members out of Trust Fund money as from 1/4/1956.

132 In October 1956, the Board members were the following:

Name	Ethnic group
1. Joas Ngurinana	Herero
2. Mika Venaani	"
3. Fritz Kakonde	"
4. Hendrik Kahongoro	"
5. Thomas Kapekatua	"
6. Elfius Karea	"

133 All six Board members were chosen at representative meetings and appointed by the Administrator.

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Four of them have been on the Board since 1947. The other ethnic groups in the Reserve have no representatives on the Board.

134 The Board members represent the following wards:

No. 1 Otjikango, Omboora-ja Kaatua

2 Okatjoruu, Omarindi-uozongombo, Okatjiparanga and Gunib area

3 Otjomikambo, Okatumuama, Okahumba, Okamita (not yet occupied)

4 Okangeama, Ongongoro, Coblenz, Okavare

5 Okamboora, Otjinakui, Okatpakoverua, Okasitu, Okaheke, Ozondema, Okauha, Erakarombi, Okamuina, Oruauku and Okanguin51-i

6 Otjindjumba, Okatjozongondi, Okaamatutjindo, Otjiuanomaso, Okarupuka

Reserve Trust Fund

135 The Trust Fund derives its revenue mainly from grazing fees. The following monthly fees are charged:

Large stock

cattle per head 6d

horses, donkeys per head 6d

scrub bulls per head 8d

donkey jacks per head 8d

Small stock

goats 2d per lot of 4 or part thereof

sheep 2d per lot of 5 or part thereof

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136 Trust Funds are spent on various items in connection with the maintenance and development of the Reserve (cf. Omaruru Report, chapter on "Reserves").

Social
Sub-units

137 The social unit is the onganda, in which one or more families are concentrated. Each onganda has a dwelling place of its own which constitutes a subunit of a settlement.

138 The settlements with the greatest number of ongandas are Otjikango (23), Okatjoruu (20) and Coblenz (18). Some have a few ongandas only e.g. Okatjiparanga (3), Ozondema (3), Okotjituuo (2), Okatjozongondi (2), Otjindjumba (1) and Oruauku (1).

139 In October 1956, the 29 settlements in the Reserve had a total of 212 ongandas. If the Bushmen are excluded, residents numbered 1,692 persons, giving an average of 8 persons per onganda. This high average is due to the considerable number of ongandas with many members, e.g.

Settlement	Number of members of large ongandas
Coblenz	36
Ongongoro	29
Okatjoruu	28, 22
Okatuakoverua	26
Okarupuka	26
Ozondema	23
Okanguindi	23, 18

OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE

Age structure		
140 TABLE No.14. AGE STRUCTURE, OTJITUUO RESERVE (collected by G.Wagner, 1951)		
Age- groups	m a l e s	f e m a l e s
0 - 4	91	70
5 - 9	64	54
10 - 14	65	58
15 - 19	41	42
20 - 24	26	45
25 - 29	24	45
	311	314
30 - 34	43	44
35 - 39	48	53
40 - 44	33	56
45 - 49	21	25
50 - 54	15	29
55 - 59	50	60
	210	267
60 - 64	38	41
65 - 69	54	71
70 - 74	42	52
75 - 79	25	15
80 - 84	6	20
85 - 89	6	9
	171	208
90 - 94	-	4
95 - 99	1	3
100-	-	-
	1	7
<u>Total males</u>	<u>693</u>	<u>Total Females</u> <u>796</u>
Persons: 1,489		
See diagram next page.		

OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE



141 The smallness of the age-groups 45-49 and 50-54 is due to the casualties of the Herero rebellion. The gap in the 20-29 group of males represents the absence at work elsewhere of this category.

Intertribal relations

142 Relations between the Herero and the other ethnic groups in the Reserve are friendly. The Bergdama are in such a minority that no trouble could arise, though the Bergdama did at one time claim Coblentz for themselves because their ancestors had lived there.

143 The Bushmen, mostly of the //Kx' au-// en (alias Kaukau) group, live in 8 places near the Herero, in a sort of symbiosis with them. The men do various jobs, especially that of herding cattle. The Herero and Bushmen now seem on friendly terms, and those Bushmen who go into the veld every year always return to their regular patrons when life in the desert has lost its attractions. This relationship of patron and client is in some cases of quite long standing.

OTJITJUUO NATIVE RESERVE
Political

144 The Red Band Organisation (Otjira tjotiserandu) has a branch in the Reserve. The leader lives at Otjomikambo and the meeting place is at Omarindiuozongombo.

Traditional practices

145 Circumcision is still practised. One of the operators is said to live at Okahumba and goes round to the various places to circumcise boys who are old enough (about 1 year).

146 At Okatjoruu there is a man to whom people go to have their lower incisors knocked out according to custom.

Economics

1. Livestock

147 Stock, especially large stock, is the main source of subsistence. The stock figures in the following Table show great fluctuations in both cattle and small stock. These are partly due to droughts and partly to losses through gallamsiekte and plant poisoning. The owners concerned have only themselves to blame for losses through gallamsiekte. Government offers of vaccine and bonemeal, on repayment, are rarely taken advantage of. But the fluctuations are also partly due to faulty counting.

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149 If one takes 1953 as a very good year for cattle and 1954 as a very bad one and compares both with 1956, the following picture emerges. Bushmen are excluded.

Year	Cattle	Cattle units	Population	Head of cattle per 100 of population	Cattle units
1953	17,850	19,513	1,697	1,052	1,074
1954	11,611	13,162	1,680	692	724
1956	15,542	17,144	1,692	918	955

150 In 1956, Otjohorongo Reserve had 887 head of cattle per 100 of population, and Okombahe Reserve had 410, an indication of how much more favoured Otjituuo Reserve is, due largely to the higher rainfall.

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151 Table No. 16 Ownership of Livestock
Otjituuo Reserve (October 19560
(Bergdama owners in parenthesis)

Number of owners:

	men		women	
	cattle	small stock	cattle	small stock
Totals:	514(9)	168(3)	119(4)	36(1)

152 Besides the Herero cattle owners there were 13 Bergdama, 11 Coloureds, 2 Khoi, 2 Ovambo and 3 Tswana

153 Deducting Bushmen adult males, there were 493 male adults in the Reserve, but 523 male cattle owners. This is due to the absence at work of some of them. Some old people may possibly have no stock at all, but generally speaking every Reserve male adult resident is a stock owner. The commonest size of herd is seen to be that of 11-15 head.

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Sales of livestock

155 In the early years of the Reserve, stock was sold to speculators. The first auctions were organized shortly after 1950, and since 1954 regular cattle auctions have been held.

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2. Dairying

159 The cream scheme is run by the residents themselves. The cream produced in the northern Reserve is taken to Rietfontein Creamery by a Bergdama truck owner from Grootfontein, whilst that from the southern Reserve is taken to Rietfontein direct by a Herero halfcaste trucker.

160 The income derived from the sale of cream varies considerably. In 1955, when 44,995 gallons were delivered to the Creamery, this meant an average income of £12 per adult male resident excluding Bushmen. In practice of course it is only the owners of the larger herds who produce cream for sale.

161 TABLE No.19. INCOME FROM THE SALE OF CREAM

Year	Income	Year	Income
1949	£3,000	1953	£1, 914
1950	3,500.	1954	2,000
1951	4,780	1955	6,449
1952	1,977	1956	5,755

Agriculture

162 Otjituuo Reserve is the only Reserve producing a real maize surplus. Most of the dry land. cultivation is done on both sides of the Omatako Ozuramba near Ongongoro and Coblenz Lands are allotted by the Foremen, and only difficult matters are brought to the welfare Officer.

163 A good crop may yield up to 100 bags, per owner. In 1955, the crop at Coblenz and Ongongoro yielded 364 bags.

OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE

164 There is a mill now at Okatjoruu so that residents can have their maize ground there and need no longer go outside the Reserve.

165 In 1956, about 400 bags of maize were sold as surplus. "The following income from the sale of surplus maize was recorded:

year	£
1951	1,300
1954	2,000
1955	500
1956	600

4. Trading

166 Besides the Concession Store at Okatjoruu (building completed in 1954), leased to a European, there are three Native stores, viz. at Coblenz, Okatuakoverua and at Okanguingdi.

167 The concessionaire also holds a hawker's licence. Another for the whole Reserve has been issued to the storekeeper at Coblenz and a third to a Native living at Okaamatutjindo.

5. Transport

168 One of the five owners of motor vehicles in the Reserve holds a transport licence.

6. Crafts

169 There is a well-known and talented woodcarver at Otjomikambo. He carves milk vessels (omahoro), mostly with three short legs and a decoration burnt in with a hot iron. He also carves spoons and funnels. There probably are other carvers in the Reserve, but if so they mostly make utensils for their own use. The man at Otjomikambo, however, has made a real trade of it. He sometimes makes lids for milk vessels and even fits round glass panes in them. There are therefore some signs of adaptation and the idea of improvement of design. He charges a pound or more for a milk vessel.

OTJITWO NATIVE RESERVE

7. Standard of living

170 With regard to housing, clothing, diet etc. there is little or no difference from other Reserves already dealt with in previous reports, and the reader is referred to the relative sections there.

Education

171 There were, in October 1956, two Government schools in the Reserve, viz. at Okatjoruu and at Coblenz.

172 Pupils from other places in the Reserve live with relatives and friends. One meal is issued to the pupils per day and paid for out of the Trust Fund, on subsidy from the Administration, as elsewhere.

1. Govt. School at Okatjoruu

173 There was formerly a Rhenish Mission school at Okatjoruu. It was closed in 1939, when a drought made the parents take their children out of school. The building fell into decay and was reopened as a Government school at the beginning of 1956. In October, when I visited the Reserve, there was only a Sub-standard a. All the pupils were Herero.

175 14 boys and 8 girls had come from elsewhere. Most of the boys came from Otjikango, some even from as far as Okangeama, as

OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE

the school at Coblenz in the southern portion of the Reserve had not yet opened. Most of the girls also were from Otjikango, besides a few from places between Okatjoruu and Okahumba.

2. Government School at Coblenz

176 A new school building has been built at Coblenz, and opened on the 9th October 1956. In view of the distances the school at Okatjoruu could not serve the southern Reserve.

177 In October 1956, when school had just begun, I collected the following information on the pupils:

TABLE No. 21. AGE OF PUPILS IN SUB-STANDARD a (October 1956)											
Age	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	total
b	1	2	2	1	3	3	7	6	3	1	29
g	2	5	1	-	3	-	-	2	-	-	13
	3	7	3	1	6	3	7	8	3	1	42

178 The average age of the boys was 11.27 years and that of the girls 8.53 years; the average age of all pupils was 10.42 years.

179 14 (50%) of the boys and 1 girl were from elsewhere. 4 pupils were Bergdama or Bergdama halfcastes, and one a Bushman boy, seven years old, and one a Bush girl, thirteen years old.

Mission activity and religion

180 The Reserve is served by the Rhenish Missionary at Grootfontein. As he also serves the European community, he cannot visit the Reserve more than once or twice a year.

181 Holy Fires are said to be not numerous in the Reserve, nor is the new Herero Church (Oruano) very active.

OTJITUUO NATIVE RESERVE

Health

182 For a time the District Surgeon at Grootfontein came to Okatjoruu on a fixed day of the month. Because of the distances it was mostly local people who came to the consulting hour, and they were so few that the visits had to be discontinued. In case of need, patients go or are taken to the Government Native Hospital at Grootfontein. Simple drugs are issued by the Welfare Officer

IV. THE URBAN AREAS

1. Grootfontein Urban Location
Definition of area

183 Certain provisions of the Urban Areas Proc. No.34/1924 were applied to the urban area of Grootfontein by GN No.186/1933 and GN 188/1933, and regulations were applied by GN 187/1933. GN 186/33 was replaced by GN 231/57; GN 187/33 was replaced by GN 65/55) and GN 183/33 was amended by GN 23/34. This also amended GN 186 and GN 187.

184 The Location lies south-west of Grootfontein, a few minutes walk from the township. It is c. 70 ha. in extent and could, if need arose, expand into the adjoining townlands.

185 The Location is for local Natives and Coloureds. Contract labour is housed on employer's premises, but the South West Africa Company has its own compound. Some 200 Ovambo, Okavango and Extra-Territorial labourers live in the urban area, not in the Location.

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Number and ethnic classification of population

186 In the following table, contract labour is shewn under "Ovambo/Okavango", and Extra-territorial labour, mostly from Angola, under "Others".

TABLE No.22. NON-EUROPEAN URBAN POPULATION
GROOTFONTEIN 1947-1956

Year		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
1947	m	5	7	76	76	43	22	3	232
	w	3	17	122	48	63	15	-	268
	o	4	8	50	45	63	30	-	200
		12	32	248	169	169	67	3	700
1948	m	4	7	90	78	42	22	3	246
	w	3	19	130	50	64	15	-	281
	o	4	9	49	45	65	32	-	204
		11	35	269	173	171	69	3	731
1949	m	4	7	90	134	45	18	-	298
	w	2	14	149	36	58	26	-	285
	o	2	8	46	65	80	41	-	242
		8	29	285	235	183	85	-	825
1950	m	5	8	91	151	85	18	7	365
	w	4	16	132	67	75	19	5	318
	o	5	11	53	82	99	12	11	273
		14	35	276	300	259	49	23	956
1951	m	5	17	117	132	97	16	8	392
	w	6	20	133	36	83	16	6	300
	o	8	14	95	29	113	19	14	292
		19	51	345	197	293	51	28	984
1952	m	4	19	75	181	64	13	14	370
	w	6	31	107	63	59	15	11	292
	o	5	27	40	64	56	9	16	217
		15	77	222	308	179	37	41	879
1953	m	3	10	71	122	82	13	4	305
	w	4	13	115	69	64	31	5	301
	o	5	15	97	94	78	36	9	334
		12	38	283	285	224	80	18	940

URBAN AREAS

Year		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
1954	m	5	16	83	99	69	24	11	307
	w	12	20	142	84	79	34	13	384
	o	10	21	158	109	75	34	16	423
		27	57	383	292	223	92	40	1114
1955	m	4	19	56	238	114	17	3	451
	w	12	23	50	66	98	22	3	274
	o	17	17	99	84	102	22	7	348
		33	59	205	388	314	61	13	1073
1956	m	3	23	58	240	121	16	2	463
	w	11	22	52	67	90	30	3	275
	o	19	19	100	92	102	16	6	354
		33	64	210	399	313	62	11	1092

Key to groups

A Khoi	E Bergdama
B Bastards, Coloureds	F Bushmen
C Herero	G Others
D Ovambo, Okavango	

187 This steady increase of the last nine years corresponds to a growth of the town, as reflected in the increase of its European population.

	Europeans
1947	490
1949	525
1950	653
1953	675
1955	837

188 Some anomalies in the trend may be due to faulty enumeration and classification (cf. Ovambo/Okavango in 1951). Most newcomers among the local Natives come from Otjituu Reserve and only a few from farms. Very few residents leave the urban area to return to farms or to the Reserve. There was for a time a drift of males to the canneries at the coast, but this seems to have ceased.

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Conditions governing residence in the Location

189 Location regulations for Grootfontein were gazetted in GN No. 189/1933, amended by GN 23/1934. They correspond in all essentials to the Windhoek Location regulations of GN No.120/1925.

190 The provisions of GN No. 173/1924, (replaced by GN 65/55) Chapt. I, 1 are applied so as not to discourage male newcomers in search of work, provided they can prove proper discharge by the previous employer. They are given seven days to seek employment. Farm labourers are, as a rule, not admitted to the Location.

191 The regulations prohibiting the entry of females have had to be applied as there were more women in the urban area than was desirable. At present, unmarried women are only permitted to stay in the Location if employed. As a result of these restrictions, the female/male ratio in the Location has on the whole changed steadily against the females.

192 No properly registered residents have ever been evicted from the Location. All aged and disabled residents permitted to live in the Location are maintained by their relatives.

193 Rates charged by the Municipality are 1/6 per month for site holders and 1/- per month for lodgers.

194 TABLE No.23. SITE-HOLDERS AND LODGERS
GROOTFONTEIN LOCATION

Section	Site-holders				Lodgers			
	men		women		men		women	
	1952	1956	1952	1956	1952	1956	1952	1956
Herero	59	68	52	55	44	42	39	46
Ovampo	93	80	14	28	28	19	39	42
Bergdama	42	65	27	28	36	43	38	67
Totals	194	213	93	111	108	104	116	155
Site-holders	1952: 287		Lodgers		1952: 224			
	1956: 324				1956: 259			

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195 Visitors pay a fee of 1/- if they stay in the Location or urban area for more than 3 days up to one month. Registered visitors vary between 100 and 120 persons a month, mostly women from Otjituuo Reserve. Authority and control

196 The Town Clerk is at the same time part-time Superintendent of the Location. He is assisted by a Native Clerk. One Native Constable (Bergdama) was employed by the Municipality in 1956. The Location is policed by constables of the S.A. Police Station, Grootfontein, who reside in the Location.

197 The Industrial Ovambo Compound housing the S.W.A. Company's labour is run by a Compound Manager employed by the Company.

198 In 1933 a non-European Advisory Board was set up by GN No.189/1933. The Board consists of the Superintendent as chairman ex officio and of three elected and three appointed members. The three major sections (Herero, Ovambo, Bergdama) are represented by two Boardmen each. No Khoi or Coloured has as yet served on the Board. In October 1956, there were five members on the Board, one seat being vacant. The Board members were:

Name	Ethnic group	Profession	Age	On Board Since	Status
1. Joel Tjambondi	Her	messenger	42	1946	elected
2. Phillipus Angab	Bgd	abattoir-asistant	50	1953	appointed
3. Paulus Himbala	Ov.	shiftman	42	1953	elected
4. Eddie Naibeb	Bgd	constable	29	1953	elected
5. Titus Kambera	Ov.	painter boy	38	1954	appointed

199 Members are supposed to serve for one year, but are frequently re-nominated or re-appointed. The last election took place in December 1955 because during the last few years there were no rival candidates.

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200 Meetings are held once a month in the Municipal Office. As only two of the five members are fluent in Afrikaans, the proceedings are interpreted into Herero, which is also understood by the Ovambo members. E.Naibed serves as Nama interpreter.

201 According to the Superintendent, only two members show active interest in the work of the Board: Minutes of the proceedings are kept in Afrikaans and distributed to the -three senior Boardmen of each section.

202 A variety of items are discussed. at Board meetings, e.g. matters referring to stock (straying, grazing) and permits to remove stock to Reserves; health and sanitation, local wages, collection of dog tax, explanation of sections of Local regulations, requests for information concerning the removal of the Location.

203 It is hard to say whether any progress is being made towards local self-government, see 201 above. Copies of all minutes are sent to Windhoek and all requests and suggestions are given attention.

204 There is no Foreman in the Location, and no Native Arbitration sub-committee has been established.

Social Ethnic sub-divisions

205 The ethnic groups shown in the preceding tables live in three distinct residential sections, viz. (1) Herero, (2) Ovambo, and (3) Bergdama. About half or less of the women in the Ovambo section are Bush women and Bergdama. The Bergdama section also has almost all the Khoi and most of the Bastards and Coloureds i whilst the remaining Coloureds live in the Herero section. A separate location for the Coloureds is being considered by the Town Council:
206 While site- permits are, in principle, issued to applicants only to live in their own sections,

URBAN AREAS

lodgers may live in other sections. Except in cases of intermarriage, residential segregation is fairly strictly observed by both male and female residents.

Relations between ethnic groups

207 There is no evidence of any tension between the ethnic groups apart from the general tendency of the Herero to keep to themselves. But the children from different sections do sometimes clash, as happened early in 1956 between those from the Herero and Bergdama sections.

208 Factions within the ethnic groups do not exist. Intermarriage occurs between the Ovambo men and Bush and Bergdama women, to some extent also between Bergdama men and Bushwomen. Among the pupils in the Rhenish Mission School numerous hybrids are proof of increasing intermarriage. A contributory factor nowadays is the influx of Bushmen into the district and the growing number of detribalized Northern and Extra-territorial Natives.

209 There is little intermarriage between the Herero and members of other groups, but a number of Herero women live with Ovambo men (seldom with others). The Bastards and Coloureds marry among themselves.

210 Social contacts between the ethnic groups are virtually restricted to dances. In sports, ethnic segregation appears to prevail. In the Rhenish Mission School social segregation is almost non-existent.

Surviving traditional customs

211 Among the Herero, circumcision is still practised, the boys being taken to Otjituu Reserve when 10-12 years old. An age of one year is preferred as the best. Some parents have the operation performed at the Native Hospital, Grootfontein.

212 As regards customs observed in connection with the puberty of girls, both the Herero and Bergdama still observe these.

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213 At funerals, the Red Band Organization of the Herero is in evidence. The only other occasion on which the Red Band members assemble is Maharero Day which is sometimes celebrated in the Location and sometimes by an excursion to Otjituuo Reserve in a hired lorry. No delegations appear to have been sent to Okahandja in recent years.

214 Old Bergdama still consider "green " as their national colour and wear green hat ribbons and armlets on the occasion of funerals though the "green" and "blue" factions were abolished in 1955 by the Bergdama Senior Headman in Omaruru. See *ibid.* paragraph 158.

215 The Bushman community in Grootfontein lives scattered among the Bergdama and Ovambo and has retained no traditional Bushman customs whatever. One Bergdama informant said, "The Bushmen are like apes. They copy the ways of life they see around them in the Location as closely as they can. In former years, the spokesman and unofficial foreman of the Bushmen was a certain Noah Hendrik Tsanegab, a literate man with a knowledge of some European languages. He called himself a Hei-//om though he was apparently a Khoi hybrid. After his death, the Bushmen started talking their troubles to the Location constable Eddie Naibeb".

Marriage and family life

216 As in all urban areas, the proportion of people married by Christian or civil rites is small. According to information collected by Dr. Wagner from the Board members in 1952, legally married couples then numbered five among the Herero, seven among the Ovambo and about forty among the Bergdama. Of the Coloureds it appeared that the greater number were legally married, viz. about ten or twelve. As 209 women out of a total of 300 adult females paid site or lodger's fees and were thus clearly not married, this leaves some 25 women, who, though not legally married, enjoyed a quasi-matrimonial status. About 30% of all adult females and about 23% of all adult males are married either legally or according to

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Native custom. Among the Herero and especially among the Bergdama, all legally married couples are at the same time, married according to Native custom, i.e. the husband has paid ovitunja or bride price. According to the Superintendent of the Location, legal marriage is gaining favour.

217 As already mentioned above, about 50% of all marriages are mixed marriages. In the Rhenish Mission School, the 129 pupils attending school in 1950 were asked by the Medical Inspector of Schools to state the tribe of their father and mother. No less than 41 or 31.7% said that they were of mixed parentage, but only one of them had a Herero father and Bergdama mother. This was the only case of a Herero in a mixed marriage. In 1956, the position in the Rhenish Mission School in respect of racial mixture was still much the same. It seemed that an even larger Bush element was present in the mixed parentages of the pupils.

218 For unmarried couples the prevailing custom is for each partner to live in his (or her) own quarters. Not infrequently the male partner is a lodger in the woman's house, but only very rarely does the reverse apply. Notwithstanding the casual appearance of these arrangements, the majority are fairly stables especially if there are children. Many legal marriages begin in this way. There are no records to show how many couples have one or more children when their marriage is solemnized, but all agree that their number is high.

Illegitimate children

219 These generally take their mother's name, for it is only the mother and her kin who are looked upon as the "owners" of such children. However, if an unmarried father contributes towards food and clothing for his child until it is grown up, he thereby acquires (or is conceded) much the same rights as he would have had in wedlock. But such cases are exceptional because most casual unions that last such a long time eventually lead to legitimate marriage.

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220 According to Native ideas a child should take its mother's name as long as no ovitunja has been given by its father.

221 Among the Herero, an illegitimate child always takes the oruzo of its father provided he acknowledges paternity. If he does not, the child is considered to be fatherless and takes the oruzo of its mother's father. It must be added that the oruzo is nowadays regarded as a family name, the rules regarding the otuzo passing more and more into oblivion.

Economics
1. Wage earners

222 All able-bodied male residents and all unmarried adult female residents of the Location are in employment. More than half are in domestic service, in stores, garages, hotels and with the Municipality. Many men are employed with the Railways, the S.W.A. Company; SWANLA, and in the building trade.

223 Labourers from the different ethnic groups are fairly equally distributed over all types of work, but contract labourers are especially numerous in domestic service and with the S.W.A. Company.

224 Length of service of local labour varies from under a year to over ten years but the average is around two years. The more desirable jobs are those with the S.W.A. Company, the Railways, the Municipality (which employs many local Ovambo) and garages.

225 Many wage-earners employed by private employers get food in addition to their cash wages, either in the form of weekly rations (shop assistants) or from the employer's table. To the wages paid by SWANLA and the S.W.A. Company must be added full board and lodging in special compounds.

226 Female residents of the Location are mostly employed in domestic service or as washerwomen.

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2. Independent trades

227 In 1956 the following businesses were carried on in the Location:

1. Herero halfcaste, cartage contractor, has had his business from long before the war and employs two Natives;
2. Coloured lorry owner, in transport business since 1948, employs 4 Bergdama and 1 Ovambo;
- 3 Herero halfcaste with transport business and holder of a cafe licence (in the Bergdama section), employs five boys;
4. An Ovambo cafe was licenced in 1955;
5. Coloured who took over a cafe formerly operated by a Bergdama woman but closed down in 1951.

228 In addition to the licensed traders there is an Angola Native who runs donkey cart transport and employs two local Ovambo on a wage basis. A Coloured shoemaker works for customers in the Location.

3. Native-owned stock on the Commonage

229 In 1956, there were 102 non-European stockowners (as against 72 in 1951) in the Location, the majority of them Herero. The Commonage, 3,616 ha. in extent 9 is not overstocked. As it is fenced off both from the European township and from the surrounding farms, no serious trouble is caused through the straying of stock as is the case with Native owned stock in other urban areas.

Grazing fees for stock on the Commonage are:

- 1 head. of large stock 2 / - per month
- 10 head of small stock or part thereof - 2 / - per month

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231 As from October 1956, goats are no longer permitted. None of the non-European stock-owners sell milk to the public.

4. Gardens

232 A number of site-holders, especially in the Bergdama section, have small gardens adjoining their houses and grow small quantities of tobacco, pumpkins etc. The food produced in these gardens is, however, a negligible item in the people's diet.

5. Standard of living

233 Housing is much the same as found in other urban Locations. Most houses have mud walls and tin roofs, and are kept in fairly good repair. Tin shacks of the worst type (as may be seen in Karibib and Usakos Locations) are few. Some houses in the Location are large and airy; they have verandahs and are surrounded by shrubs, and here and there by some flowers. Some Natives have built solid limestone houses.

234 On the whole the Herero and Ovambo sections are neater in appearance than the Bergdama section. The streets and lanes in the Location are wide and most of the houses well spaced. Some are clustered together because additional buildings have been put up between them, especially in the Bergdama section.

235 The generally pleasant appearance of the Location is mainly due to the large number of trees

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and flowering shrubs, and the attempts at making small gardens. The more favourable climate of the north-east of the Territory is of course an important factor.

236 The number of adult occupants per dwelling is about the same as in 1951, when Dr. Wagner found these averages:

Herero section	1.8 adults
Ovarmbo	1.7
Bergdama	2.6

237 The diet of the Location population is somewhat better than that in other Locations in the Territory. This is partly due to additional food being issued by employers (a custom probably due to the example of the employers of contract labourers) and partly to the supply of vegetables and fruit received from relatives working on farms nearby. Some cattle are allowed in from Otjituu Reserve each year by permission of the Magistrate, to add to the daily diet of the Location residents.

238 In return, the Grootfontein Herero send sugar, flour, boermeal etc. to their relatives in the Reserves, especially to Otjituu Reserve, during the winter months when the cows are dry. The Bergdama send parcels to relatives on farms.

Education

239 The Rhenish Mission School, situated close to the Rhenish Mission church in the European township, was built in 1930 and has received Government aid since then. Prior to that and since C. 1922 a Mission School had been conducted in the Church building.

240 For the Catholic Mission School at Mariabronn (Varkfontein) see para. 67 above.

The Rhenish Mission School

241 The Rhenish Mission School present goes up to Std. III. Some years ago, provision was made for Std. IV but in the absence of sufficient (at least three) pupils it subsequently had to be discontinued.

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242 Whilst the number of children in the Location, and the number of pupils in school have both gone up, the proportion of the latter to the former has gone down.

Year	Pupils	Children in Location	Percentage which pupils form of Location Children
1945	110	193	57%
1951	128	292	43%
1956	126	348	36%

The category "Children" embraces all those under 18, and in the absence of figures of children of schoolgoing age the meaning of the decline must remain a matter for conjecture.

243 In October 1956, there were 61 Bergdama or Bergdama halfcastes (33 boys and 28 girls) and 26 Herero or Herero halfcastes (15 boys and 11 girls) in the Rhenish Mission School, whilst the child population at the end of 1955 showed 99 Herero and 102 Bergdama. The Bergdama pupils thus formed 60% of the children of their group, whilst the Herero pupils formed only 26% of theirs. This proportion seems to confirm the observation made in other schools that education is held more in esteem by the Bergdama than the Herero.

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244

TABLE No.25. AGE AND DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS
RHENISH MISSION SCHOOL, GROOTFONTEIN
(October 1956)

Std.	a g e i n y e a r s													totals
		7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	
a	b	2	9	8	1	3	2		2					27
	g	2	6	8	3	1		1						21
		4	15	16	4	4	2	1	2					48
A	b			1	1	3	2			3	1			11
	g	1	1	2	7	3	2	1	1	1	1			20
		1	1	3	8	6	4	1	1	4	2			31
B	b			1	3	3	2	1		3				13
	g				2	3		1	2	1				9
				1	5	6	2	2	2	4				22
I	b					2	1			2	1		1	7
	g						1	3	1					5
						2	2	3	1	2	1		1	12
II	b							1	1	1	2	1		6
	g							1	1		2			4
								1	2	1	3	2	1	10
III	b								1					1
	g							1		1				2
								1	1	1				3
		5	16	20	17	18	11	10	8	14	5	1	1	126
		boys 65, girls 61.												

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245 No less than 101 out of the 126 pupils (80.1%) were in the substandards. The average age in Std. a was 9.18 years and 14 years in Std. III.

246 12 boys and 6 girls came from farms, 10 boys and 7 girls from Ot-jituu Reserve, mostly from the southern portion (Ongongoro-Coblenz area) where a school was only opened in October 1956. The pupils from outside Grootfontein live with relatives in the Location.

Languages

247 The large number of contract labourers from Ovamboland, the Okavango and Angola, and the presence of Hei-/ /um and !Kung Bushmen make the language position in Grootfontein a complex one. The two main languages are Herero and Nama. The Bantu learn Herero, while the !Kung speak Herero or Nama depending on the ethnic group with which they associate.

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The Hei-//om speak Nama as their mother tongue, and many local Ovambo married to Bergdama or Bushman women also speak it. A small number of Herero can speak Nama and a few know other languages used in the district.

2. Otavi Urban Location Definition of area

248 GN No. 114/36 declared the Small Settlement Otavi. No.102 and the farm SWAPS No.755, situated in the Magisterial district of Grootfontein, to be an urban area for the purposes of the Urban Areas Proclamation No. 34/1924. GN 115/36 applied provisions of §11 of that Proclamation to the urban area in question. GN 116/36 applied provisions of §6 of the Proclamation to the urban area and GN 117 /36 applied regulations (framed for Windhoek) to the area. Location regulations were laid down in GN 22/37, and GN 84/37 defined the area of the location.

249 SWAPS was an area of crown land opposite the Old Settlement, its name being an abbreviation of "South West African Police Station".

250 The present Location is 9.7 ha. in extent, and SWAPS is 286 ha. Future extensions of the Location is to take place on SWAPS ground.

251 The Otavi Location is occupied by Natives and Coloureds. As there is no Compound for contract labour, such labour is housed on employers' premises in the European Urban area. In 1956, about 50 contract labourers were accommodated in this way.

History

252 When the Otavi Minengesellschaft commenced its prospecting and mining activities towards the end of last century, there already was a small Herero settlement where Otavi is now. With the development of mining, Native and Coloured labourers were recruited for the Mining Comp, and the white population of Otavi increased.

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253 In 1900, a German Police Station was established at Otavi.

Numbers and ethnic classification of pollution

254 There has been a slow steady increase of the Location population. Within the last ten years this increase has been about 200 persons, if one accepts for 1956 the total of 522 residents submitted by the Location Superintendent, and which varies from that in the statistics (489).

255 In the table given below, contract labourers are not shown. The figures for Ovambo/Okavango refer to detribalized or "local" persons living in the Urban Location.

TABLE No.26. AGE AND SEX OF POPULATION
Otavi Urban Location

Year		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
1947	m	-	9	16	48	31	13	-	117
	w	-	6	45	11	58	13	-	133
	o	-	9	21	7	60	4	-	101
		-	24	82	66	149	30	-	351
1948	m	-	3	14	50	38	9	-	114
	w	-	2	28	5	68	10	-	113
	o	-	6	9	2	64	6	-	87
		-	11	51	57	170	25	-	314
1949	m	-	14	31	48	65	28	5	191
	w	-	9	39	10	68	17	1	144
	o	-	10	22	8	99	23	2	164
		-	33	92	66	232	68	8	499
1950	m	-	12	22	45	61	10	-	150
	w	-	11	36	17	88	14	-	166
	o	-	15	14	9	83	10	-	131
		-	38	72	71	232	34	-	447

Continued on next page.

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Year		A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total
1951	m	1	10	26	43	65	11	-	156
	w	-	10	40	19	91	13	-	173
	c	-	14	17	11	90	12	-	144
		1	34	83	73	246	36	-	473
1952	m	-	12	14	41	55	14	11	147
	w	-	8	31	7	97	5	1	149
	c	-	14	26	13	160	15	1	229
		-	34	71	61	312	34	13	525
1953	m	-	12	13	45	61	18	9	158
	w	-	10	28	9	92	9	1	149
	c	-	12	27	12	171	13	3	238
		-	34	68	66	324	40	13	545
1954	m	-	10	25	46	60	11	-	152
	w	-	10	30	18	83	7	-	148
	c	-	15	17	17	91	8	-	148
		-	35	72	81	234	26	-	448
1955	m	-	10	25	46	65	11	-	157
	w	-	10	30	18	90	7	-	155
	c	-	10	17	17	106	8	-	158
		-	30	72	81	261	26	-	470
1956	m	-	10	25	49	66	10	-	160
	w	-	9	29	22	85	8	-	153
	c	-	14	22	22	110	8	-	176
		-	33	76	93	261	26	-	489

Key to groups

A : Khoi	D : Ovambo and Okavango
B : Bastards & Coloureds	E : Bergdama
C : Herero	F : Bushmen
	G : Others

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256 The fluctuations in the figures of Bergdama and Bushman children are possibly due to their movements from farms to the Locations and back again.

257 The Bergdama are seen to be far the biggest ethnic group in the Location, with a steady increase until 1953. The numbers of the Herero kept approximately on the same level over a period of ten years. The large number of Bergdama is possibly explained by the fact that the Otavi Mountains used to be Bergdama country. These people did not move when the land was out up into farms. They also outnumber the Herero on these farms by far.

258 The Bushmen living in Otavi Location are apparently all Hei//um. Many of them have intermarried with Bergdama. These Bushmen have their relatives on farms in the Otavi Police area.

259 Khoi are notably absent. It seems they prefer the Grootfontein Location, which is larger.

260 In the Grootfontein Location the Herero element is much stronger than the Bergdama group, owing no doubt to the proximity of Otjituuo Reserve.

261 Figures to show the growth of the European township Otavi over a longer period are not available. Over the last few years the European residents numbered about 300.

Conditions governing residence in the Location

262 Men and women coming from other Locations or from Reserves are permitted to stay in Otavi Location provided they find employment within seven days. If men find employment, their families usually follow and live in the Location. Location residents temporarily taking up employment on farms are re-admitted to the Location after discharge.

263 Rates charged by the local Village Management Board are 2/6 per month for site holders and 1/6 per month for lodgers. An extra fee of 5/- is charged for each plot per year. In 1956, 195 residents paid site fees, among them 50 women. 17 houses were exempt from site fees.

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Authority and control

264 The Location is administered by a part-time Superintendent employed by the local Village Management Board.

265 There is no official Foreman in the Location. A part-time Location Foreman serves as interpreter. He is paid by the Village Management Board and the Location.

266 A Location Advisory Board was established in 1952. Its first meeting took place on 1st June of the same year. Each year, three Board members are elected and three appointed. The age of the members is between 40 and 50 years. In 1957, when I visited the Location, the following members were serving on the Board:

267

Name	Ethnic Group	Profession	Status
1. Jakobus Swartbooi	Col.	Foreman	appointed
2. Martin de Wet	Col.	general laborer	"
3. Cornelius Garosab	Bgd.	transportation laborer	"
4. Petrus Pambi	Ov.	laborer	elected
5. Willy Kandakura	Her.	shoemaker	"
6. Levy !Gaoaseb	Bgd.	railway laborer	"

268 According to the Superintendent, all the members were literate. It appears that Location residents are on the whole not fond of serving on the Board, the main reason being that they fear it may make it more difficult for them to speak on behalf of their respective ethnic sections.

Social

Ethnic groups

269 The residential sections of the ethnic groups are not clearly marked. Local Ovambo mix mostly

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with Bergdama, and Bushmen do the same.

Relations between ethnic groups

270 On the whole all the ethnic groups appear to be on good terms. Trouble arises from time to time when newcomers settle in the Location, and it is mostly over women.

Economics

1. Wage earners

271 About 130 local male adults are wage earners. The Otavi Creamery employs two or three local labourers. The rest of its labourers are contract Ovambo.

272 The local labourers are employed as store assistants, garage assistants, as cleaners in the Government School and the German Hostel, on Railway construction, in the Post Office, Roads Department, and some other types of work.

273 Female adult Location residents are employed in domestic work and as washerwomen.

2. Independent trades

274 As yet, no licence has been issued for any business, nor do there seem to have been applications. One Native, holding a transport licence for goods, left the Location early in 1957.

275 A shoemaker employed by a European in town does some business in the Location in his spare time.

3. Native-owned stock on Commonage

276 Half of the total Commonage (500 ha.) is reserved for Location residents, and 280 ha. of SWAPS are leased for grazing so that 530 ha. are available for the grazing of Native-owned stock.

277 A monthly charge of 2/6 per head of cattle or one donkey is made, and 3d for each goat.

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278 A limit of two head of cattle and 10 goats has been imposed per stock owner, but it is not strictly enforced because there is enough grazing at present, or so it is thought.

279 In 1956, there were 150 head of cattle, 40 equines and 49 goats owned by Location residents.

280 There is one water supply on SWAPS and one on the Commonage for the stock. Both Commonage and SWAPS are fenced off.

4. Standard of living

281 Housing conditions are partly below average. Gardens cannot be laid out as the ground is very rocky, and there is no water for gardens in any case.

Education

282 There is a Government-aided Rhenish Mission School in the Location. The teachers are a Bergdama and a Coloured.

283 Of the total of 88 pupils present in June 1957, the vast majority were Bergdama, so that Nama is the medium as far as Std. II. I saw only one Herero boy and one Herero girl in Sub-Std. a and one Herero girl in. Std. A.

284 The distribution of Bushman pupils was as follows:

Sub-Std. a	1 boy, 2 girls	Std. I	1 girl
B	1 girl	II	1 girl

285 Of the 88 pupils, 29 (8 boys, 21 girls) or a third came from farms.

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286 TABLE No. 27. AGE AND DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS
RHENISH MISSION SCHOOL, OTAVI
(June 1957)

Std.	a g e i n y e a r s												totals
		7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	
a	b	1	4	2	1	3	2	-	1	-	-	-	14
	g	4	9	3	3	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	23
		5	13	5	4	5	2	2	1	-	-	-	37
A	b	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	4
	g	-	1	2	4	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	12
		-	1	2	7	4	1	1	-	-	-	-	16
B	b	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	3
	g	-	-	-	1	4	2	1	-	-	-	-	8
		-	-	1	1	4	3	2	-	-	-	-	11
I	b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
	g	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	2	1	-	-	8
		-	-	-	-	2	1	2	3	1	-	-	9
II	b	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	5
	g	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	3	4	-	-	10
		-	-	-	-	-	1	3	4	5	1	1	15
		5	14	8	12	15	8	10	8	6	1	1	88

287 Of all the pupils, 64 or 73% were in the sub-standards. In each sub-standard and each standard there were more girls than boys. Boys totalled 27, girls 61, a ratio of 31:69%. The average age in Std. a was 9.27 years and in Std. II 14.3 years.

Religion

288 There is a church elder of the Rhenish Mission in the Location, and the Rhenish Mission counts most of the Location residents among its adherents. There also are some Catholics, served from Otjiwarongo.

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