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This work is dedicated to all those Africans who selflessly died in defence of Namibia from the German colonizers in the 1896 and 1904/5 wars. Their sacrifice has indeed been a motivating factor during the course of my research.
Secondly the work has by no means exhausted all that needs to be known about the Ovambanderu and other related issues, hence I hope that this humble beginning will inspire more energetic scholars to take up the challenge. I wish to extend my sincere thanks to the History Department of the University of Botswana for the funds and materials which helped me to prepare this essay. I also thank my H403 colleagues, and all the lecturers who attended our course seminars for their valuable contributions. I am especially grateful to Dr Brian T.0 Mokopakgosi for his valuable criticism and advice on all that was required in preparation of this paper. Special thanks also go to Dr R.H. Kofi Darkwah for advice and enduring our seemingly never ending requests.
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1. INTRODUCTION
This paper is basically an attempt to write the history of the Ovambanderu people who live in the Ngamiland district of modern Botswana. Very little has been written on this group. This has therefore made the Ovambanderu one of the least known groups in historical scholarly circles. The Ovambanderu people have many things in common with the Ovaherero. It is held that the two groups speak the same language. But discernible differences in the version spoken by each group make one contend that the two groups speak dialects of the same language. Traditionally both practice pastoralism, Lastly, both groups have a double descent pattern of social organization based on Omaanda, matriclans or mother groups, and the Otuzo, patriclans. Many of these similarities make the Ovambanderu and the Ovaherero appear to be one and the same especially to the outsiders. Despite these similarities, however, some writers have correctly observed with regard to those in Ngamiland, that:
they remain distinct sections divided by an ethnic boundary which goes back to their different areas of origin in Namibia. The number of intermarriages across the sections is negligible, so that each is endogamous. Furthermore, most if not all the social relationships they have are contained within their own section.
The point therefore is that the two groups have existed as separate political entities. It is the objective of this paper among other things to show that while the two groups
share common origins, by 1890 each was managing its own affairs.
The Ovambanderu came to Botswana (then Bechuanaland Protectorate) in two waves: in 1896/7 and 1904/5 as a result of German conquest of their lands.2 They were hosted by the Batawana in Ngamiland who were themselves under the
control of Britain. Thus in their new land they had to deal not only with the Batawana, but also with the British administration.

The relations between the Ovambanderu and their hosts, the Batawana, were not always good. Thus while initially there were good relations between the two parties, after the Ovambanderu had recuperated from the effects of the wars, both in terms of political regrouping and livestock accumulation, the relations gradually became strained. The outcome of these poor relations were migrations from Ngamiland to Chobe in 1918 and to Ghanzi in 1942. There were also other problems in the 1950s and early 1960s which reflected animosity between the two groups.

In between the periods of crises there were periods of peace. The period between 1941 and 1957 was relatively peaceful. It was in this period that the Ovambanderu made attempts to restore their ‘chieftainship’, which had been disrupted by war with the German colonizers in Namibia.

A few methodological difficulties respecting this study warrant mention. The first one is that while this study focuses on the Ovambanderu, there are areas and scenarios where separating the Obambanderu from the Ovaherero is difficult. This is because in the context of the history of Ngamiland there were cases in which the forces acting on both groups were the same. Secondly, most oral data collected in Botswana for this work was collected during the Christmas festive season, hence this posed a few logistical problems - time was short, the area was very wide, and transport was unreliable. Lastly, almost all records on this subject at the national Archives of Namibia are in German or Afrikaans, both of which this author cannot read.

2. BACKGROUND AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The Ovambanderu of Ngamiland are part of the Herero-speaking people who fled to Botswana following German conquest of Central, Eastern and Southern Namibia (the area comprising Hereroland and Namaland) in the period between 1894 and 1904. The Herero-speaking groups who fled to Bechuanaland comprised the Ovambanderu and the Ovaherero. The Ngamiland Ovambanderu were not the only Mbanderu group that escaped the German wars by crossing into Botswana. Other Mbanderu groups fled into other districts of Botswana: Ghanzi, Kgalagadi and Kweneng. In addition some Ovambanderu escaped into the Cape colony.

The Ngamiland group was the largest, and it had among it the legitimate heirs to the Mbanderu throne. Possibly due to these factors and others, this group, unlike the others, succeeded in holding on to its identity. Loss of the Mbanderu-Herero language, loss of Omaanda and Otuzo and other Mbanderu ways of living are some manifestations of loss of identity among the other groups. The Ngamiland
group's internal dynamics geared towards political re-organization caused misunderstandings with the Batawana. The Ovambanderu of Ngamiland today constitute a significant percentage of the district’s population. In 1978 Uri Almagor estimated that there were approximately 5000 Ovambanderu at Lake Ngami. Irrespective of whether this figure is correct or not, it seems safe to say that the present figure, though officially not known, is probably well over 5000. The Ovambanderu are found in and around the following places in Ngamiland: Sehitwa, Maun, Kareng, Tsau, Bothatogo, Bodibeng, Toteng, Nokaneng, Habu and Xaxa. Many historians have written on the Herero-speaking people. These historians mostly concentrate on the period following German declaration of a protectorate over Namibia in 1884. A good number of these authors however, adopt the view that the Herero-speaking people, excluding the Ovahimba and Ovatjimba of Kaokoveld, constitute a single group. Whether by design or error many historians have not clearly distinguished the Ovambanderu and Ovaherero groups from one another. The result is that the history under Maharero (son of Tjamuaha) and later under his son, Samuel, became the main current in the history of the Herero-speaking people of Central-Eastern Namibia. Authors, therefore, who have written on the flight of the Herero-speaking people into Botswana during and after the 1896 and 1904 wars have referred to the Herero-speakers who came to Botswana as 'Herero' or even worse, 'Damara,' and this approach has resulted in confusion and has therefore left many events untold. Thus the main thrust of this study is to place the Ovambanderu in history with particular focus on their flight and settlement in the Ngamiland district of Botswana.

Some authors, for example O. Levinson, citing H. Vedder, do, however, acknowledge the existence of two 'Herero' groups in early Namibia: the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu. Some also do mention the role of the Ovambanderu in the 1896 Boundary War with the Germans. But apart from such sprinklings the Ovambanderu hardly play a significant role in the events which were later to force many of their Kinsmen to flee to various parts of Botswana and South Africa. In his book, A History of Ngamiland -1750 to 1906, T. Tlou traces the origins of the Herero-Batawana contact. However, he does not take into account that these 'Herero' comprised Ovaherero and Ovambanderu. Two other works by T. Tlou are important to the history of the Ovambanderu of Ngamiland. The first one HISTORY OF BOTSWANA by T. Tlou and A. Campbell, discusses the origins of the Ovambanderu, and their early 19th Century migrations in the country of eastern Namibia and parts of modern Ghanzi district. These accounts provide useful information on the Ovambanderu in that period. But the book does not go further than that. The other significant work by T. Tlou which is relevant to the history of the Ovambanderu of Ngamiland is his unpublished PH.D Thesis, "A POLITICAL HISTORY OF NORTH WEST RN BOTSWANA
TO 1906." Unlike the first two works mentioned above, this one discusses the settlement of the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu in Botswana after German occupation of Namibia, providing a bit more detail. But again one notes that the work goes into general 'Herero' history, not the specific history of the Ovambanderu. Secondly, the period really focussed on is up to 1906. It is therefore clear that a lot more work needs to be done on the history of the Ovambanderu arrival in Botswana after the German Wars of conquest in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century. It is this period which this study covers, thus adding to our knowledge about the Ovambanderu of Ngamiland. Some anthropological studies have also been done on the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu: F.R. Vivelo on the Ovaherero, G.D. Gibson on both, I. Schapera on both, and U. Almagor on Ovambanderu in certain issues relating to the history of the Ovambanderu. But these works deal with anthropological and not historical aspects of these societies. The introductions to these works are quite informative, but do not provide any detailed histories of these people.

In this body of literature is also George Manase's B.A. dissertation, "THE POLITICS OF SEPARATION: THE CASE OF THE OVAHERERO OF NGAMILAND". Manase's study focuses on the 'Ovaherero' (meaning both the Ovambanderu and Ovaherero groups) of Ngamiland. Respecting the Ovambanderu, this otherwise good study has two significant shortcomings. Firstly, it follows the traditional theory that the two groups constituted a single polity. Secondly, all the oral data used in the paper was collected from the Ovaherero informants and other non-Ovambanderu individuals. Only Chief Munjuku is cited. From the above it is evident that there are many areas in the history of the Ovambanderu of Ngamiland which warrant scholarly attention. It has also become clear that many writers treat the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu as though they are one group. This paper departs from this tradition.

3. THE OVAHERERO PEOPLE BEFORE 1896

The early history of the Herero-speaking people of Namibia in the period before the German occupation of Luderitz Bay (formerly Angra Pequena) in 1884 is not clear. Part of the reason for this is that the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu societies were illiterate, hence no proper records were kept about the past. Thus more illuminating accounts of what these societies were like are those given by traders, missionaries, travellers and colonial officials. However, these accounts have serious defects in the sense that they often tend to support government activities. This therefore makes oral research very crucial for this study, in early times the ancestors of the Ovambanderu and Ovaherero lived as a single group. The forefathers of this group were not then called 'Hereto', but Mbandu. The Mbandu people lived in a land where there was plenty of
water, and much sedge and reed grew. This country was called Reed Land (Ehi ra Ruu). It is not known where this place is. The Mbandu cattle farmers moved about their country in search of suitable grazing lands. Thus because Ehi ra Ruu was not suitable for grazing some of its Mbandu inhabitants left it to search for better grazing lands. These early trekkers were led by Huru, Tjivisiua and Kamata. Eventually they reached the land of the Batswana after having come from a northward direction. They were received well by the Batswana. It is not, however, easy to tell which of the Batswana groups these were, due to lack of a precise dating system and more information. However, there are two possible groups: the Barolong and the Batawana, if indeed these were Batswana people.

To pre-1790 contact then it would be safe to conclude that the Batswana so mentioned were the Barolong. This is because there is evidence of Barolong presence in parts of Ngamiland and Ghanzi in the period prior to the arrival of the Batawana in Ngamiland after their split from the Bangwato around 1790. Another remote possibility could be the Bakgalagadi.

The relations between the Batswana and the Mbandu people turned sour because of accusations of cattle theft. This resulted in open conflict between a section of the Mbandu and the Batswana. The Batswana inflicted casualties on their adversaries whereupon the latter left the country of the Batswana. They journeyed to the west to Kaokoveld where Otjitambi became their centre. But the Mbandu section under Keamata did not leave. They remained and grazed their stock in Ovitore, the watershed to the east of Gobabis. The result of these migrations was that two Herero-speaking groups came into existence. The group which was led by Kamata and remained in the east became the Ovambanderu. The Ovambanderu therefore inhabited the area of Eastern Namibia. The group which left after fighting the Batswana was called the Ovaherero. The above account thus explains how the two groups, the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu came to be in Namibia.

Another seemingly comprehensible tradition pin-points the cradle area...
with their animals (cattle) then west, settling at the following places Okanguati, Otjitambi, Kangundumba (in eastern Kaokoveld). They then swung to the central parts of Namibia such as Omaruru and Erongo Mountains. 19 According to this same account one leading Omumbanderu namely Kaimu, left central Namibia and trekked to the west as far as modern Swakopmund but returned after meeting salty sea-water and barren country. It was therefore after this abortive trip that Kaimu then faced east. His wanderings took him to the Ghanzi district in search of grazing land. K'aimu's people inhabited parts of present Rietfontein in Eastern Namibia. During these wanderings many clans accompanied Kaimu to the east. But many other Mbanderu clans remained in central Namibia and the eastern fringes of Kaokoveld.20

To the above two accounts one would add a third one propounded by J.P. Van S. Bruwer. According to this author, the 'Herero' crossed the Kunene River in the 18th Century from the regions of the Mossamedes Province of Angola. They entered Kaokoveld and gradually migrated southwards. In the process groups like the Himba and Tjimba were left behind in Kaokoveld. Eventually the general body of these migrants reached the arid stretches of the central regions of Namibia with their cattle. From this group two groups emerged: the vanguard which penetrated as far as the present Botswana border and became known as the Ovambanderu, and the rear to which the term 'Herero' came to be applied. This latter group settled in the central regions of Namibia.21 A recent study by Freida N. Williams is in agreement with Bruwer's account and concludes that 'South-Western Angola served as the nucleus home' of the Herero-speaking people.22

None of the three accounts can be singled out as the only explanation of the origins and early migrations of the Ovambanderu and the Ovaherero. Among other weaknesses the first account fails to give the precise place where Reed Land was. The second account like many other legends of origin ethnically links the Ovambanderu and Ovaherero, to the Ovambo who though have some resemblances to them are of a different stock. Thus we are left to speculate on whether the resemblances indicate common ancestorship or interaction over a long period of time. Of the three accounts the third one seems to be the mostly easily acceptable, though it too does not provide solutions to all questions. Despite the limitations which are inherent in these three accounts, they do however agree on the fact that following their migration into Namibia, the Ovaherero settled in the central parts, while the Ovambanderu inhabited the eastern parts. The expansion of the Ovambanderu to the east brought them into contact with the 3atswana near the Present Botswana-Namibia border. For some time there was peace between the two groups. But misunderstandings soon led to confrontation. The Ovambanderu were pushed from the Ghanzi to as far as
Ovingi where they finally beat off the invaders with the help of some of their kinsmen who had remained in the central parts during the eastward expansion. The identity of these Batswana enemies is not easy to ascertain. There are accounts which refer to these enemies as the Barolong. But some sources also name the Ndebele due to the fact that the enemy was armed with shields (otuvao), hence Ovita vio tuvao, Battle of Shields. It could therefore mean that these latter accounts refer to a different attack. This could as well be the attack by Sebetwane rather than the Ndebele. The defeat of the invaders left the Ovambanderu with the entire region of the east to as far as the modern Namibia-Botswana border, to the north as far as Ovamboland, to the west as far as Ombauejakamanja (a few kilometres) extended probably to as far as the lands south of Gobabis.

It was in eastern Namibia therefore where the Ovambanderu drew closer together in the 19th century. Early in this century they were ruled by a line of rulers who descended from Katua. The Ovambanderu society was made up of clans, Ozonganda (singular: Oncanda). Individuals in the clans belonged to two social descent groups: Omaanda (matriclans) and Otuzo (particlans). The Omaanda possessed common property, especially cattle and from which each member of the group was entitled to benefit. Poor members in need of cattle were loaned cattle for use until their fortunes changed. While a person derived his eanda (matriclan) from his female ancestors, the Oruzo (patriclan) membership was taken from one's male ancestors. The Otuzo (particlans) were religious orders, the head of the order was an ex-officio chief or head of the clan and high priest of his people. To him were entrusted the sacred emblems kept in the holy place (Okuruo) where the holy fire burned perpetually. To the Otuzo also belonged the sacred cattle, specially selected for their excellence. Religious cattle were usually slaughtered only on religious occasions.

The economic life of the Ovambanderu society like that of the Ovaherero was based on pastoralism. Cattle were their main property: a man's status and position in the community was determined by the number of cattle he possessed.

Through trade and war with the Nama in the 19th century the Ovambanderu came to possess horses, goats, sheep and donkeys. Pastoralism made the Ovambanderu lead a kind of nomadic life in which the Ozonganda (homesteads) were shitted from one place to another in search of better pasturelands. In addition, cattle were always moved from the homestead areas to areas with good green grasses and water during the first rains. Thus this second type of movement was seasonal and ensured that the pastures at the homestead area recuperated. The temporary seasonal grazing
posts were known as Ozohambo (singular: Ohambo). The effective use of these methods made the herds of the Ovambanderu multiply. The large herds which the Ovambanderu had were partly used in trade amongst themselves and with other neighbouring groups. Amongst themselves the Ovambanderu exchanged items such as tobacco for sheep or cattle, which they grew at Osona and Katjapiaa, and others. From the Nama, 3atswana and whites the Ovambanderu got guns, tinder-boxes, knives, sheep, clothes. There was also trade between the Ovambanderu and the Ovambo to the north. The Ovambo supplied Ochre power (Otjize), iron beads (omihanga), copper anklets (ovinqore) and salt in exchange for sheep, cattle and ostrich egg-shells.28 It can be said therefore, that before German conquest the Ovambanderu had a viable economy based upon pastoralism. This economy did not only satisfy their basic needs, but was capable of producing surplus, which surplus was exchanged for items which the Ovambanderu did not produce. It seems the Ovambanderu originally did not have a centralized political system, such as the Ovambo Kingdoms or the Batswana states had for instance. The possible explanation for this was the Practice of pastoralism which resulted in a great deal of mobility in search of lands with better pastures and water for their animals. But by the mid 19th Century power revolved around Kahimemua, the son and successor of Munjuku I. Much of Kahimemua's background is not known. He was born in 1822/3. After his circumcision in 1850 Kahimemua appears to have interacted with the Nama and as a result gained knowledge of the use of guns and experience in dealing with people.29 In addition Kahimemua is alleged to have had extraordinary magico-religious powers inherent in him because of the nature of his birth.30 It was therefore this man who came to exercise hitherto unknown influence over all Ovambanderu clan leaders after he ascended the throne possibly in the 1860s. This observation best sums up the position: Each [clan] had its own leader but all brave warriors stood under Kahimemua. In times of war they reported to him and received instruction from him. For most of the 19th Century the Ovambanderu came to be iff'scaA the N-ama. Naem--a raided Cvmads--
cattle, and went on to subjugate them, up to 1867, when the latter finally liberated themselves. During the wars against the Nama, the Ovambanderu and the Ovaherero worked together.32 This cooperation has been seized upon by some authors to try and depict Maharero as paramount chief of all the Herero-speaking people. But this contention does not seem to be credible as it has been increasingly challenged by a number of writers. One such writer argues that the Herero-speaking people came to be acquainted with the institution of chieftainship through their contact with the Nama and Oorlam tribes. After the Battle of Otjimbingwe in 1863, three chiefs divided the land amongst themselves:
the western part was allocated to Zeraua, the middle portion to Maharero, and the eastern lands (east of Okahandja) to Kahimemua of the Ovambanderu.33 The above arguments and many others clearly show that the office of the paramount of all the Herero-speakers did not exist. In fact the bankruptcy of this trend of thinking manifested itself in the difficulty which the Germans later faced, when attempting to implement their treaty of 'protection' with Maharero.

4. GERMAN COLONIZATION, GERMAN-MBANDERU WAR (1896) AND THE FITRST MBANT3ERU FLIGHT TO BOTSWANA

In the mid 19th Century the area of modern Namibia became increasingly coveted by European traders, travellers, and explorers. In other words, the area was a strategic location for European powers. William C. Palgrave attempted to acquire Namibia or the Cape government. But his plan did not have the blessing of the British government. Thus by 1884 only Walvis Bay was a British (Cape) possession.34 Britain's refusal to take control of Namibia gave the Germans a free hand in extending their influence in the territory. Thus "in May 1883 Henrich Vogelsang, an agent of Adolf Luderitz a Bremen merchant, bought Angra Pequena for the sum of $100 in gold and 200 rifles" from a Nama chief Joseph Frederick. Further sales were later made again in August of the same year by the same Nama leader to the same German merchant. These later sales greatly extended the area in German possession and culminated in the formal British recognition of German annexation of Luderitz's possessions on 29th May, 1884.

In October, 1885 Henrich Goering was sent to Namibia as imperial Commissioner for Germany. Goering proceeded to conclude "protection agreements with such chiefs as he was able to persuade to accept the protection of the German Emperor".36 The Germans exploited the old rivalries between African groups to get their agreements. The African rulers who eventually agreed to enter into treaties with the Germans were lured by prospects of getting weapons (guns) and other European manufactures. Thus Goering succeeded in reaching an agreement with Maharero, but failed to enter into one with Hendrik Witbooi of the Witbooi Nama. Later, even

the agreement with Maharero proved to be shaky as Maharero revoked it in 1888 and chased out Goering from Okahandja. But raids by Witbooi saved the treaty as Maharero reaffirmed it in May 1890.37 Maharero died in 1890 after having agreed to German protection.

When Maharero died in 1890 a succession dispute soon erupted. There were two contestants: Samuel Katjiikumbua Maharero, the son of Maharero who had had complicity in his father's death, and Nikodemus Kambahahiza Kavikunua,
son of Maharero's elder brother. According to the Herero custom governing succession Samuel had no claim to the throne. However, using the 1885 'protection' treaty as a lever, the Germans intervened in the dispute. Thus despite the fact that he had no legal claim to the throne Samuel got the German government's and Rhenish Missionaries' support and also that of his mother Kataree.

On 3rd August, 1891 the Germans declared Samuel Maharero, Kaharero's successor and most important, the paramount chief of all the Herero-speaking people. This action on the part of the Germans had serious consequences on the Ovaherero and Ovambanderu. The developments which followed Samuel's appointment to the paramount chieftainship of the Herero-speaking people had a bearing on the future history of not only the Ovaherero but indeed other groups in Namibia. Thus Wellington has observed that in appointing Samuel to that position Curt von Francois (the German

 administrator) secured for the German administration a willing tool for their designs and at the same time split the Herero people into two factions, aligning against the Germans a strong section who were wholeheartedly in favour of Nikodemus and violently opposed to the okahandja chieftainship and still more violently opposed to hg being recognized as paramount chief of all Hereros. The appointment of Samuel was therefore never acknowledged by any people among the Ovaherero let alone by Kahimenua in his domain of eastern Namibia. This was therefore the beginning of strained relations between the Ovambanderu, and the Ovaherero of Samuel. From now onwards Samuel acted in conjunction with the Germans to suppress resistance to German colonial policies and to his paramountcy. Thus the future developments between the Ovambanderu, and the Germans, Ovaherero of Samuel and the Nama of Witbooi should be viewed against this background. After installing Samuel as paramount chief, the Germans now set out to effect their control over the central and eastern parts of the country. In fact in the south such a process had already started, and had culminated in the eventual submission of the Witbooi Nama to the German forces in the battle at the Naukluft mountains in 1894.

On 6th December, 1894 Theodor Leutwein, the new German administrator concluded a frontier treaty with Samuel Maharero. The agreement fixed a boundary between the 'No man's land' to the south of it, which was earmarked for

Thus by the time the 1896 War broke out, Kahimemua was a sovereign leader of the east.
in 1896 the German-Dlbanderu war broke out in the east. The war was fought in two phases, and it was a culmination of the failure of the frontier treaty in the east. When the Germans sensed that the treaty stood no chance of being observed by the Ovambanderu they built two forts at Seeis and Gobabis. Oral traditions support evidence on these later developments. According to these traditions, one,

Lieutenant Lampe, established himself at Gobabis without permission from either Kahimemua or Nikodemus Kavikunua. His high handed actions led to fighting in which a number of Germans were killed including Lampe himself. The forces which fought the Germans here were from Ovambanderu of Kahimexua, the Ovaherero of Nikodemus and the Khauas of Edward Lambert. It appears the Khauas had by this time attached themselves to Nikodemus. However, this array of African forces were defeated and hostilities subsided.46 After the Gobabis hostilities subsided, Kahimemua sensed that the Germans would now come for him. So he evacuated Gebabis on a journey that took him through the following places Okeheke (praise song: Mo ncrombe Ja ndenua Okaveripa), okeupanga (praise song: Mo ncrombe Ja Honcruaize), Okounduve, (his. grandfather Nguvauva's burial place) and then finally *tjunda (praise song: Mo ncrombe Ja Rurongo). While Kahimemua went from one place to the other in this journey, he was followed by a joint force comprising German troops, the ovaherero of Samuel Maharero, Ovambanderu dissidents led Iy Kanangatie Hoveka and Zacharias Nguvauva, and the Nama of.

Wit 00it was the custom of the Ovambanderu that each clan leader who kept Okuruo (holyfire) in his homestead had a sacred family thong (Omuvia Omuranaere) The thong had knots and it was believed that each knot stood for an individual member of that clan. One or two days before the commencing of hostilities at Otjunda, Kahimemua loosened the knots (emamu) of all the Nguvauva male clan members in his sacred family thong. Only the knot of Hijatuvao (Nikodemus Kavarure) his younger brother's son was not untied. By having their knots untied the men had chosen death in battle rather than captivity. Nikedemus' knot was spared for a very good reason. Way back in the past Kahimemua had 'foreseen' that the country was going to be thrown into upheavals. To that effect therefore he had made a friendly agreement with chief Letsholathebe of the Batawana. Under this agreement they agreed to help one anthers people in the event of upheavals or problems. The agreement was sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two leaders. Kahimemua had given Letsholathebe a dog and a un (Ombua no ndjembo Ohuri) Muzeero, Hupita ua Tjavanga, HijA-Tjevereha, and Hija-Tamaro Hangara had brought these ifts to Letsholathebe. Letsholathebe on his part had given
Kahimemua a red bull (or cow according to another version) with white patches (Onpombe Ondaura). Thus when Nikodemus, unlike the others, was spared from destruction, he was commissioned to lead the people fleeing from upheavals in Namibia to Botswana.48 The above agreement with Letsholathebe is however a controversial issue in the Ovambanderu-Ovaherero-Batawana history. The reason is that some sources make reference to a treaty made between Maharero and Letsholathebe.49 Others mention an agreement made between Letsholathebe and 'some lerero chiefs', but who these 'Herero chiefs' were is not clear.50 On the other hand Mbanderu and Batawana oral sources maintain that Kahimemua did make an agreement with Letsholathebe as mentioned. It is perhaps safe to conclude that there might have been two parallel agreements: one between Kahimemua and Letsholathebe and another between Maharero and Letsholathebe.

The Kahimemua-Letsholathebe agreement was a very important link to the events before and after the final battle between the QVambanderu and the Germans. It was after the ritual of the untying of knots that on the following day fighting started at Otjunda in the last and major military encounter of the 1896 German-Mbanderu War (also called the Boundary Fierce fighting appears to have taken place. The *vaxan deru force was defeated, but the Germans who had cOxaratively superior weapons suffered some casualties and an ood number of injuries. Among the Ovambanderu Tuvirire, Nungairi, Kotjipati and other braves such as Kaitairiko of the Ondoto clan (a Herero clan which had lived among the Ovambanderu) appear to have fought courageously. Infact the hostilities only ended when Tuvirire (son of Kahimemua) was treacherously shot from behind by, one, Korutjira, after he had held the invaders at bay with his superb marksmanship.52

While fighting was going on, and it became clear that the enemy was gaining an upper hand, Kahimemua who was wounded, escaped to Omukuruvaro, somewhere in the Epukiro Reserve of modern times. He was with his wife Tjikuziu, Nangumui a man from the Ondanga clan, Nikodemus Kavarure and other people. In the meantime the Germans and their allies launched a man hunt for him after realizing that he was not among the dead. Before the enemy caught up with him, he bade Nikodemus Kavarure farewell with instructions that he should go to Botswana where he would be accepted. Shortly after this the enemy party found him at Omukuruvaro.53 After Kahimemua was captured and before they reached *kahandja where he was going to be tried, he requested his captor to give him thorns, Devil's claw, other herbs plus ilk. He concocted these together and poured the mixture into the fire. After this ritual he addressed his captors one after the other and predicted what was going to befall everyone of them, the land, cattle and people.54
Finally, in early June 1896, Kahimemua arrived in Okahandja where he stood trial with Nikodemus Kavikunua. As was to be expected, they were found guilty, and sentenced to death by firing squad. Apparently Leutwein had taken note of things that had transpired since Kahimemua's capture and his frankness throughout the trial. He asked those who were present, "what kind of a person is this man?" They replied, "This man is the leader of the Ovambanderu". Leutwein wanted to pardon him. But Kahimemua himself declined pardon on the grounds that he did not see any good in living when his people had been destroyed by the Germans. Samuel Maharero also strongly advised Leutwein against entertaining the idea of sparing Kahimemua's life.

The two prisoners were therefore executed. The death of Kahimemua robbed the Ovambanderu of a leader of his calibre and respect. This meant that the unity which had come to be manifest under him, ended. Secondly it led to a feeling of insecurity among the people who were under him. Some thus decided to leave eastern Namibia for other places such as Botswana. Thirdly the death of Kahimemua ushered in a crisis in Mbanderu chieftainship which took years to settle. And lastly the Ovambanderu lost their independence, lands and cattle. Many of their cattle were confiscated by the Germans to compensate for German losses in the war.

*no important outcome of the Mbanderu defeat was the flight of some clans from eastern Namibia to Botswana. Among the leaders of these clans were Kandu Matundu, Kuneho Henguva, Kaj OPere Eange, and Kahaka Seu. These clans fled to Botswana because they were distraught with the events that had taken place at Gobabis and Otjunda. They were also disgusted with the capture and execution of Kahimemua. Kahaka, who was an emuherero, resented Samuel's paramounty and the execution of Nikodemus Kavikunua.

The escapees trekked with their livestock, cattle and sheep. They probably entered Botswana via Rietfontein and descended into the Ghanzi district. These people did not travel in a single mass but in several units following one another or taking different routes. The total number of people was put at 200 by November, 1897. From Ghanzi they proceeded to Ngailand. They left Ghanzi partly because the area was already earmarked for Boer settlement by the British administration. One could also assume that the refugees themselves wanted to settle in Ngamiland where there was water for their animals.

*the British and the Batawana showed interest in the refugees. There are two possible reasons why Sekgoma Letsholathebe was interested in these refugees. Firstly, he might have wanted to boost his support in his political struggles against Batawana royals. Secondly, he might have wanted to recognize past agreements with the Ovambanderu and
The British on the other hand wished to dicile them at Kgwebe Hills with a view to having them work for the British West Chartered Company. Thus they were eventually settled in Ngamiland. The vaitherero section of the refugees were put under the leadership of Kahaka, and among the Ovambanderu, Kandu who was a wealthy man, seems to have been initially held as leader by the Batawana. However, shortly after that Xuneho arrived with his party. He was introduced as the nephew of Kahimexua, the late leader. Xun- ho was thus given the position of interim leader of these Mbanderu refugees. Amongst his duties was to collect tax from his people. The groups were allocated the area known as Makakung for pat-ral farming. Later both the Ovambanderu and Ovaherero refugees were given the Sehitwa - Thololamoro area. But it appears only the Ovambanderu section settled in the new area Permanently. The two groups were allowed to settle in Datawana territory subject to their acceptance of Batawana overlordship. They were also to pay hut tax to the British administration. These refugees therefore were later i by a second wave of their kinsmen following ^he utreak of the Great Uprising of 1904.

--- oVAMANDERU IN EAST NAMIBIA 1896-1904: THE GREAT
. IDS COND MBANDERU FLIGHT TO BOTSwANA.

The period between 1896 and 1904 is important to the history of the ovambanderu of Ngamiland. Firstly, the Ovambanderu in the east of Namibia experienced some suffering at the hands of the ovaherero of Samuel, the Germans and their allies. Secondly in 1904 the Great rising occured, rsUilting in unparalleled disruption and further flight of Mbanderu refugees to Botswana. Following Kahimemua's executJon, :anangatie, one of the Mbanderu conspirators who had attached himself to Samuel and Germans, got himself into the position of leader of *vambanderu. He appears however, not to have gained the necessary mass support to confirm him as paramount leader. But some people followed him because he was supported by Saxuel and the Germans. During this period the Ovambanderu suffered a great deal. Their possessions, especially cattle, were sometimes forcefully taken away from tkela by both the Germans and the Ovahero of Samuel. According to some oral sources there was in fact an attempt at "Hererorization," of the Ovambanderu in the east. For instance, Ovambanderu were said to have been denied the light to identify themselves with the name "Mbanderu". This state Of affairs forced certain clans to try unsuccessfully to &Trate to Botswana. Thus there was misery among many PO*Ple.
Arouni 1901, however a misunderstanding occurred between Sacel and Kanangatie over the former’s allocation of land to the Germans at Seeis (Okancondo) for the construction of a fort. Kanangatie charged Samuel with having allocated the place without his consent. After this dispute Kanangatie took steps to prepare for what he envisaged as eventual confrontation with Samuel. But Kanangatie did not live long enough to realize his plans for he died mysteriously after a drink at one of his Herero friends. By this time however, things quickly drifted towards the Great Rising of 1904. The Great Rising of 1904 was a product of long and short term factors which accumulated from the time the Germans established their economic and political control over South, Central and Eastern Namibia. These factors were many and have already received scholarly attention, hence only a few crucial ones will be mentioned for purpose of this paper.

The single most important factor which caused the Great Rising of 1904 was the land question. The massive transfer of land from the pastoral peasants to the Europeans was the unifying factor in the rising. Some recent works on the history of the German colonial state in Namibia have argued that at the root of land alienation which affected all communities were the big concessionaire companies. By 1904 the concessionaire companies, held over 33 percent of the best land in Namibia. Apart from land lost to the concessionaire companies, more passed to the Europeans through the policy of brandy bribery (schnapspolitik) used by the Germans. The Germans especially made use of Samuel to expropriate many people of their lands. Apart from the land question there were also other causes of the rising such as loss of cattle through the unequal trade operated by white traders; colonial court injustices and others. Due to these factors and many others only a spark was needed to start the rising. In other words the contradictions between the German colonial regime and the people were so pronounced that even Samuel, the erstwhile collaborator, was forced to take the side of the people. Thus Samuel Maharero became the leader of the rising against German imperialism in 1904.

The position of the Ovambanderu with regard to the rising of 1904 needs to be shown. When the rising broke out the *Vanbanderu were not united due to the lack of a central leader. The only semblance of Mbanderu traditional authority was the youngman, Nikodemus Kavarure. Thus when hostilities broke out in Okahandja, Kikodemus summoned the vaabanderu to a meeting at Okondjatu. His word was that, “all Of you who are followers of my father, let us flee into 3etswana. I do not want to fight the Germans”. The Retin, however, failed to reach a consensus on the stand to be taken. Some people at the meeting felt that the course suggested by Nike-deRus would make them vulnerable as a group. Thus those
...ho were against Nikodemus' position joined the Ovaherero and fought in the rising. Accordingly there were also some ovambanderu who fought only in self-defence since at the height of the hostilities the Germans treated all people as enemies (to them, all were Herero). The Nguvauva clan under Nikodemus therefore appears to have done little or no fighting in the 1904 rising.68 Those ovambanderu who joined the main stream of the Herero forces, it appears, fought with courage. These included men such as Kairimue, Karaheua, Kavaka, Tjiurura. These are said to have participated at one or more of the following battles Hamakari, Ombakaha, Okondjatu, Kamatangara.69

The war raged on for eight months. The Herero-Mbanderu forces finally succumbed to superior German fire-power at Hamakari. After their defeat the Herero-speaking population in Central and Eastern Namibia escaped eastwards into Omaheke thirstland where many died of thirst. As if enough horror had not occurred, on 2nd October, 1904 General Von Trotha, the newly appointed German Commander in Namibia, issued his infamous order of extermination of the Herero-speaking People.70 As the order was carried out, more deaths and suffering occurred among the Herero-speaking people in the War Zone.

One result of the defeat of the Africans at Hamakari was the flight of some survivors of the holocaust to Botswana. The great rising of 1904, therefore, led to a second major wave of ovambanderu refugees into Botswana. These people also fled with ovaherero. The flight from Namibia into Botswana was uncoordinated. The refugees took different routes under various leaders, each at the head of his own group. The groups varied from one another in terms of the number of people in it and cattle in its possession. Though on the way people interacted, in most cases people attached themselves to their own leaders. On the way, the survivors of the rising faced various perils. The first was the risk of being detected by German military patrols. Second, there was the problem of thirst which was compounded by the fact that the Germans posted patrols around the known water holes. Lastly there was the peril of attack by the San.71 While it is a fact that many of the survivors lost most of their possessions including cattle, there were some who had cattle, goats and sheep. And some even brought the horses and guns which they had used in the War.72

Entry into Botswana was through many points along the extended and not so well guarded border between the two countries. A common entry point, however, was via Rietfontein in eastern Namibia. The frequency with which this Point was used compelled the British administration to open a Police station at Quagganai (Quagganie) thirty miles south west of Gantsi. Another place used by the refugees...
was he Nxanxai country west of Nokaneng. Apparently this was the route used by Nikodemus Kavarure, for when Samuel Aaaro arrived in September 1904 he found the former at. 73

*r near Magopa. Furthermore, some people possibly entered o.tswana through the areas further south of Olifant's Kloof. Some of these people later wandered about in the Kalahari desert and ultimately found their way to the Tsabong area. It is thought that these people had been living in the lands south of Gobabis among groups of Nama people before the outbreak of the war. Infact the present 'Herero' of Tsabong are chiefly descendants of Ovambanderu. Apart from the above people, there were others who, it appears either fled into the, Cape directly or cut across Botswana territory.74 A common requirement for all the refugees was that they had to surrender their guns to the British. Initially they were also: confined to certain points for easy surveillance. Confinement was also done to check the spread of lunsickness to the cattle of the Batswana.

Thirdly, "XOn the refugees in the Quagganai district there was an Outbreak of smallpox.75 In the meantime Nikodemus reported to the British Resident at the Batswana capital, Tsau, on the 18th June, 19. , Before this, Nikodemus had got in touch with Chief SekOXIa Letsholathebe and obtained permission to settle in Sek ia'i's "reserve pending approval by the British enment. During an interview with the magistrate it became clear that the Ovambanderu desired not to recognise Samuel as their paramount leader nor to have anything to do With him.76 By 1906 the number of Mbanderu people who had attached themselves to Nikodemus had increased. Some of the people who entered Botswana through Rietfontein eventually found their way to Ngamiland.

Among the 2banderu people who had entered Botswana in the Ghanzi area was Kairirume, one of the veteran fighters in the Great Rising of 1904. He led a group which went towards the Kang-Lehututu area. On the way some People split from his group and went to Ngamiland. Examples of such people were Mutuana Njuva, Kahaheua Murangi and Ndero Njjarakana. The rest of Kairirume's followers went to live among the lakqalagadi at Lehubututu. Kairirume died here and thereafter his followers migrated to Lobatse for employment. It was from here that these predominantly Ovambanderu refugees dispersed, some going to find Mibanderu settlements at isaneng, Kuruman and other places in the Kimberley area, Ind others-at Ntsweletau and Pilane in Botswana. Some People from these groups later in the late 1920s joined the larger groups in Ngamiland and Boteti.77 In the meantime, in the immediate period following the end of the Great Rising in MCRibia, Ngamiland became the region with the highest "flcontraction of Ovambanderu refugees.

36

BATAWANA-MBANDERU POLITICS AND THEIR
Tk rallying of the Ovambanderu around Nikodemus confronted the British and the Batawana with the question of his egal status. The host authorities agreed to recognise no chftainship in the Batawana territory, except that of the Batawana. The Batawana state was a centralized political entity that was divided into provinces which in turn comprised administrative districts each headed by a resident sent'er headman. There was a chain of command which made all administrative officials ultimately responsible to the k (chief). In all the villages people were divided into wards and subwards. Every person belonged to a ward. Aliens or immigrants who came into the Batawana state in large numbers to make a ward were permitted to form their own under their headman. This study assumes that this was or less the situation into which the Ovambanderu were accepted.

When Nikodemus arrived at Tsau, Kuneho handed over the leadership of the Ovambanderu to him. Sekgoma gave him Sakalatswii to settle in with his followers. Though NikoleRus was legally the Ovambanderu leader, Kandu somehow intitued to command respect among some of the people who at Sehitwa. This was because Kandu was a wealthy man with many cattle. In 1912 when Kandu died, certain lemts that had attached themselves to him accused of invading Kandu's people at Sehitwa. These atiNikodemus elements reported the matter to the Batawana authorities, who then ruled that Nikodemus should exercise control over those Ovambanderu at Nakalatswii only. For kose at Sehitwa a new headmanship was formally constituted under Ephraim Matundu, a close relative of Kandu.80 This is therefore the start of the two headmanships among the Ovambanderu of Ngamiland. The Ovambanderu community in Ngamiland did not develop any advanced political institutions. The highest office was ziat of the headman. The headman was under the Batawana chief. Below the headman there seems to have been some advisers, probably handpicked by the headman himself. The possible explanation for this lack of a strong political system could be the continued overlordship of the Batawana rulers, which became increasingly tight especially after the Reposition of Sekgoma Letsholathebe. Secondly, the nomadic characteristics of the Ovambanderu due to pastoralism could have made political organisation difficult.

The Period between 1904 and the 1930s was one in which the Ovambanderu battled to earn a living through pastoral faring. For those who had lost their cattle in the German and through the 1896/7 rinderpest, ways had to be found to survive and own stock. Several ways were used to rebuild th*se Who had come to Botswana in 1896/7. The wealthy
relative would usually give the poor a cow to support himself with. They also worked in Batawana cattleposts as hordsmen and thereby expanded their own herds. Some were also given mafisa cattle by Batawana. In addition some people worked for whites as transport riders and trekkers. There were also people who grew tobacco and sold the bundles for either small livestock or cattle. It is also possible that they might have brought larger herds than has normally been thought. In addition to pastoralism, the Ovambanderu now began practising crop food production. But this new economic activity remained secondary to pastoralism. The process of repastoralisation, it has been observed, "was accompanied by several developments...and included the "closedness" of the Ovambanderu community, an increase in its social cohesion and a strengthening of its collective identity. The Omaanda played an important role in promoting social cohesion by, for example, militating against intermarriage with the Batawana and other alien groups in Ngamiland. Thus even though the Ovambanderu were under Batawana overlordship, they did not lose their identity, and most importantly were not absorbed into the atawa body politic. The period 1907 to 1918 was one of the most difficult times for the Ovambanderu. This was due to the fact that many were still economically dependent. Secondly, in this period there were upheavals at the political centre among the Batawana, engendered by the Jafwana coup d'état of 1906 in which Sekgoma Letsholathebe Wa deposed and replaced by Mathiba Moremi. Thus the understandings which later erupted between the Ovambanderu and the Batawana should be understood in the context of the above background.

NIKODEMUS presented his grievances against chief M iba to the British colonial administration. He claimed that Mathiba had accused him of trying to make himself an independent chief in the Batawana reserve. The accusation had indeed been made in 1915 by Mathiba because he saw as independent actions by Nikodemus, when he cooperated with the British in the expedition to Mohembo, to stop the Germans from marching through Botswana to reinforce their beleaguered compatriots in German East Africa, during the First World War. Nikodemus further said Ma iba had rounded up all Batawana cattle which had been entrusted to Ovambanderu men. He finally said Mathiba had refused him a pass to Mafeking to visit some of his people there. And because of all these 'things, he felt that Mat ila hated him. The conflict between the Ovambanderu of Nikodemus and Mate ia in this period partly arose from the clash of the 4eJIlle-descent customs of Ovambanderu and the patrilineal U Steins of Batawana. Hence apart from accusing Nikodemus...
in particular, and his people in general, of insubordination, he deplored the Ovambanderu for practising their laws.

He said did not protect the weak from the strong. He cases involving inheritance and marriage, saying in court Mbanderu legal practices were quite at variance those of the Batawana. He mentioned instances where Håa intervened to protect the weak against the strong. stated that his interventions were intended to ensure that everyone received what was due to him, and that it was his stand against "such cruel dealings" that made Nikodemus to raise complaints against him. The misunderstanding resulted in sending a deputation of two men, Timoteus and Korukosi to see the Resident Commissioner in Mafeking. The deputation stated that, they no longer wanted to be under "a native chief". They wanted to be under the British, and under their own leader, not the chief of the Batawana. The British, however, reminded the deputation that as long as the Ovambanderu were in the Batawana reserve, they had to obey the Batawana chieftainship, but that if they wished to move Out Of the Batawana reserve, the government was prepared to consider the idea. Following this meeting the British finally agreed to allow Nikodemus and his followers to move to Kabulabula in the Chobe region.

On 1918 Nikodemus was officially allowed to depart for his home. He went with only those of his followers who were willing to go. Those Ovambanderu who chose to remain were placed under Ephraim as headman subject to Batawana control. Among those who accompanied Nikodemus were some people who belonged to the group which came in 1904/5. Also among those who chose to stay on in Ngamiland were some elements from the 1904/5 arrivals. By the end of August 1918, Nikodemus and his followers were settled at Kabulabula. But after staying there for two to three years the group began experiencing problems. The first set of problems were because of natural disasters. First, the area was not a good cattle country. Secondly, the rivers were infested with crocodiles which killed cattle. Lastly, many people died of disease. These problems made people unhappy with the place. The other set of problems was of a political nature. Among the immediate people who had come from Namibia with Nikodemus was a young man called Keharanjo Kahimemua. The IeY's father was Kungairi, the son of the late chief Xakimemua. When the Ovambanderu settled at Kabulabula, Keharanjo was a young adult and in fact he was already married to his first wife Rahera. Thus there started a conflict among the Ovambanderu which called for Nikodemus to step down and hand over to Keharanjo as he was the legitimate heir to the Nguvauva throne. Among those who held this view were Kauzepani Hange, Tuahakuje Tuvare, akUa Kakero, Kamuuatira Henguva and
others. But another faction supported Nikodemus. These were led by Kambeni Virerft Kotjiuru Hange and others.91 Signs of an impending split became apparent.

As the conflict intensified, Keharanjo, in the company of some of his supporters, namely, Kamuuatira and Mekere Kange, went to Maun to request kaosi Mathiba to allow them to return to the Batawana reserve. Though at first Mathiba was reluctant, he eventually consented, apparently on the understanding that Keharanjo was going to respect his authority. In the meantime, Nikodemus tried by all means to block the efforts of the separatist movement. First he argued in a letter to the Government Secretary at Mafeking that Keharanjo had no legitimate claim to the Mbanderu chieftainship because he was his own son, not Kungairi’s. Secondly, he said even if he was Kungairi’s son, there were other older sons of Kungairi who were still alive in Namibia, and as such Keharanjo could not rule when his elder brothers were still alive.92 He also appealed to the British not to allow the intended resettlement of a faction of his people in Maun.

Lastly, when diplomacy failed to stop the split, he put the following separatist ring leaders in prison: Tuahakuje Tuvare, Karongana Rute, Hijangongera Itte and Muhimbi Mutuazu.93 The above counter measures did not, however, succeed in stopping the split. On the 25th November, 1922, Keharanjo issued with travelling permit to leave the Kazungula district with his people. His party comprised 60 adult males, 122 adult females, 99 children, 1500 head of cattle, 43 ad of small stock, 2 horses, and 7 wagons. It appears the group left immediately after permit was issued. On the way, Keharanjo married his second wife, Viatura, the daughter of Tuahakuje. The group arrived in Maun in early 1923.

After their arrival, Keharanjo’s son by Viatura was born at the present site of Maun Secondary School.95 He was named Munjuku after Kahimemua’s father. With regard to the group under Nikodemus, almost at the time Kelelaranjo struggled to secede, Nikodemus had also realized the unsuitability of Kabulabula as a permanent home for his people. Thus he applied for British government permission to exchange his Kabulabula area for one of similar size on the crown land on the bank of the Boteti river. On 7th February 1923 travelling permit was issued to him to move from Kabulabula to Harticol Drift on the north bank of the Actat river. The party consisted of 100 adult males, 152 WORe and children, 3428 cattle, 68 small stock, 14 horses and wagons.96 After the party set out, Nikodemus sent three scouts to go and see the place and report back. The three men were
i3 auparo Mbaeva, Palmenas Mbaeva and Kehetj i Kangunde. Yey r:ached their destination after having travelled along teti river. But for their journey back, they decided to Ve a direct route to Chobe. The route cut across (San) country, and the three men are said to have been ordered by Basarwa while camping at night. When news reached the main group which was at this time on its way to ati, Isome members of it wanted to take revenge on the Isara but Nikodemus spoke against it.97 Early May 1923 Nikodemus' people were already at Harticol orIft on the Boteti river. They accepted the conditions put By the British. For instance that they were not to settle to the south of the river and that they could be removed from their new home without compensation. Over the years these people lived at several places including Dikwalong, Nxamisane. A good number of them had become mixed farmers carrying out crop production alongside pastoral farming. Eventually Toromoja became their centre. $ne of Nikodemus' positive actions after his arrival in Noteti was the attempt to re-group Ovambanderu people in Betswana, and towards this end he made efforts to contact Ovambanderu groups in Tsabong, Ramotswa district, Pilane, an Maf8eking, Though his reunification scheme did not result in large groups joining his people, a few individuals and small groups responded positively, probably in the late 1920s. Some of those who joined him had initially been re-reuped by Hijahatjiti Hange at Mabeleapudi (some 30 kilometres north of Serowe), before he went back to Niamiland where he had earlier come from.99 Nikodemus died in 1945 at Toromoja and was buried there. His remains were, hi'Prver, reinterned at Okeseta, 3 kilometres south of G~oabis, in 1947.

45 RESISTANCE TO MAUN SETTLMENT PLAN AND ITS CONSEQUENCES 1924 - 1941.
Alter the failure to found a permanent Mbanderu settlement in the Chobe, the main centre of Mbanderu political activity 'ecame Ngamiland. As the Ovambanderu population of Ngamiland Vas more numerous than other groups in Botswana, it was in this group that the most concerted measures were taken to rehabilitate traditional leadership. It appears that attempts by Batawana authorities to assert their control over the Ovambanderu led to resurgence of misunderstandings between the two groups.
Wken Keharanjo arrived in Maun in 1923, it was reiterated to him tat his people had to strictly observe and obey Nataa laws. The understanding, furthermore, was that Zeharanjo was going to settle in Maun under headman Gabonewe if Mepako ward. His followers were to settle at Thamakalane
drift near Dikgatlong. He was further warned against laying claim to headmanship over those Ovambanderu who had not gone
With him to Chobe. However, many of Keharanjo's people ~4i 4t stay in the area allocated to them. They moved to
kinsmen at places such as Thololamoro, Sehitwa, Semieyo and Kaahakao. There were several reasons for this vent. Some of the people had lost their stock in Chobe therefore they went to these places to attach themselves to relatives for survival. Many were also attracted by the
Pastures they had abandoned in 1918. Thirdly Keharanjo net a wealthy man, so many of his people abandoned him

Because one cannot eat chieftainship", "ouhona ka 1101
.eharanje hung around for sometime. But without people with whom he had come, it became difficult for him to stay in. infact his own family broke up. The wife, Viatura and her son went with her father and settled in areas beyond Sehitwa. And because of that, Xeharanjo eventually left and went to live in the Sehitwa area. The migration of Keharanjo and his people from the area allocated them was seen not only as dishonesty, but also as disobedience of authority. This therefore was the beginning of a series of misunderstandings between the Ovambanderu and the Batawana. Politically, it left him weak because the area to which his people went, and he himself also moved to Was legally under Hijaviposa Kandu (Ephraim's successor at Sehitwa).

In 1930 the Batawana under their Chief Mathiba, submitted a series of grievances to the British government at Government Camp, Maun. The meeting was attended by leading Herero eadien, and the Ovambanderu headmen Hijaviposa Kandu and Keharanjo. The Batawana accused the Ovambanderu and OvaHerero of being unco-operative, alleging that the two IrrUps refused to take part in community works, e.g. fighting tsetse fly and locusts. At the end of the meeting the two groups were sternly told to respect the old terms of

their asylum, mainly that they should observe the authority the Batawana, or vacate the Batawana reserve. Most importantly the meeting resolved that the Ovambanderu and OvaHerero headmen Hijaviposa and Kazoninga settle in Maun to facilitate smooth communication between the Batawana authorities and the two communities.102 The attempt by the Batawana to have the headmen of the Ovambanderu and OvaHerero settle in Maun strained Batawana-Ovambanderu relations for many years to come. It turned out that the headmen's initial agreement to the order was only meant to avoid collision with Chief athiba. In 1937 Moremi took over as Batawana chief. The new chief wanted to assert his authority over the people under him. Consequently he summoned headman Hijaviposa to Maun. But on two occasions it appears Hijaviposa ignored the chief's Order. The relationship between Hijaviposa and Moremi developed into a series of wranglings which in 1938 resulted in Hijaviposa and his leading followers being convicted of insubordination. The convicted men, Tjihanda Tjituka, isak, landeitji,
Katjimutundu, Katuuii and Erastus Marenga, were given prison sentences varying from 6 to 12 months.103 The Period of the late 1930s was one during which relations between the Ovambanderu and the Batawana were at their Stbb. The chief, Mxoremi, was prepared to flex his and under the influence of his councillors repeated the &*daccusations of Mbanderu insubordination and lack of gratitude to the Batawana despite having been allowed to settle in their reserve following their miserable flight from the Germans.

While the Batawana interpreted the Ovambanderu's resistance to the plan of settling in Maun as typical Mbanderu disobeaience and lack of gratitude to them, the Ovambanderu advanced some arguments to back their opposition to the scheme. The main thrust of their argument was that as pastoralists Maun was not a suitable place for them because it had tsetse fly. They reminded the authorities that they lived on milk and meat unlike the Batawana who were partly crop farmers and therefore could afford to stay in Maun. The idea that they should settle in Maun was construed by the Ovambanderu as an attempt by the Batawana to interfere with their pastoral life. Because of this, their determination not to go to Maun became strong. The complex nature of this issue was due to the fact that Ovambanderu, unlike the Batawana, stayed with their cattle throughout, in order to provide them with water and good pasture.104 Thus they feared that taking part of their herd to Maun would result in losing them to tsetse fly. Secondly, staying at Maun with or without cattle would mean parting with part or all Of their cattle, which also might result in loss due to lack of management. Due to these considerations, the idea of settling the leading Mbanderu men at Maun met with stiff resistance.

49 The British colonial administration was torn between upsetting the Batawana and solving the problem fairly on the basis of its merits. As the solution to this vexed question proved elusive, the British tended to accept the arguments Of the Ovambanderu. This new thinking in British administration circles is clearly reflected in these words: *of the Assistant Resident Commissioner: Remember that the Government is not satisfied with the treatment of the Damaras. You have a section of people with different customs to Batawana. Their customs must be considered... This is my advice to you.

Thus even though the British agreed that the Batawana had every right to assert their authority over the Ovambanderu and the Ovaherero, they at the same time realized that the abovementioned misunderstandings were chiefly caused by the insistence of the Batawana that the two groups assimilate their customs and social organisations.
Tke ,other angle from which the alleged problem of gval dnderu (and also Ovaherero) insubordination can be "Viewed is in the context of the process of repastoralization an its implications. It is evident that a good number of the Ovambanderu who did not go with Nikodemus to Chobe had enjoyed a period of economic prosperity. This also explains the minimal influence which Keharanjo had over the people as SISPared to Hijaviposa's almost overwhelming authority. StIqi's conducted in the past have shown that by the 1930s

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tost of the Ovambanderu and Ovaherero had gained economic independence from the Batawana. Because of economic independence they therefore sought to loosen the grip of Batawana control over them. Deliberating on the subject of Ovambanderu and Ovaherero insubordination one Moteti, a 11,Mkoba" [Moyei] man said:

When the Damaras came, we all thought it was a good thing for this country but their behaviour has now given us the impression that they think that this country belongs to them. The Batawana have been very generous to the Damaras. When the Damaras first came here they were then obedient, now they are rich, they have plenty of everything and they have forgotten the Batawana's generosity towards them.

Chief Mathiba had also expressed the same feeling:. "When the Damaras came here, they had no guns, no cattle - they had nothing and today some of them are richer than the Batawana." Notwithstanding the jealousy inherent in the above views, they clearly indicate the way in which the Batawana were annoyed by the change of attitude of the Ovambanderu and the Ovaherero after they had accumulated Wealth in Ngamiland.

In 1941/2 two important local events in the history of the Ovambanderu of Ngamiland, and indeed that of the Batawana-Mbanderu relations took place. The first one was the death of Keharanjo. He died in about 1941 near Maun.

Sele time before his death he had been lashed at the Batawana kag-tla (court) in Maun for having not carried out Msrexiis orders that he should summon his people to Maun. At the time of his death he was living with his uncle Tjihambuma. Though Keharanjo died a--miserable ane, it was common knowledge among the Ovambanderu that he was, te rightful heir to the Nguvuva throne. .owing the death of Keharanjo, there elapsed a period dur-ing which his section of the Ovambanderu did not have a eaker. The only acceptable successor was Munjuiku, his scn, who was still a minor and living with his uncles at Xaxa. Bventually people agreed to install Erastus Katjaikuua arenea as regent.
The second major event was the removal of chiefman Hijaviposa Ka du to Kalkfointein in the Ghanzi district in 1942. The refusal of Hijaviosa to Ghanzi resulted from a chain of misunderstandings with the Batawana authorities over his resistance to settling at Maan. Following their imprisonment, Hijaviposa and some of his colleagues expressed desire to leave the Batawana country. Due to the fact that a solution to the Ovambanderu-Batawana conflict had been long overdue, the British administration agreed to the idea of their removal to another place outside the Batawana reserve. But when the statistics were provided it was revealed that the movement was going to involve very large sections of both the Ovambanderu and the Ovaherero: about 60 people and about 75% of all cattle belonging to the two units in Ngamiland.

It became clear that a large number of the Ovambande-u ...jotgers wished to leave Ngamiland, shock waves reached interested groups who strongly expressed reservations with, if not total opposition to, the British administration agreed to the idea of allowing such a scheme. One such party were the white traders in Ngamiland. They argued convincingly that 95% of trade in Ngamiland was done in five areas: Tsau, Sehit'wa, and Toteng where there were large concentrations of the Ovambanderu and Ovaherero. Thus the Irgrplem became a complex one, contrary to British expectations.

Acknowledging that by conceding to the removal of Hijaviposa and others to the Ghanzi district it had opened the floodgates, the British administration embarked upon a campaign to dissuade the Ovambanderu and Ovaherero from the idea of a massive trek to Ghanzi. A number of mechanisms were employed. For instance, they were told that the government was not going to shoulder any expenses in assisting the trek, that the area's water resources were not reliable, and finally that they were going to meet the same type of control they were running away from, in the new area. The seriousness of the situation was further shown in the following ways: firstly, in their official correspondence the British acknowledged that the Batawana rule over the "C"144 subtribes was oppressive. Perhaps this realisation resulted from awareness of Batawana-Bayei political tensions or the same "C"144 subtribes was oppressive. Perhaps this realisation resulted from awareness of Batawana-Bayei political tensions or the same....

ever allegations of Batawana oppression of Bayei, and reached an explosive stage in 1948.112 Secondly even the Batawana themselves became worried about the prospect of losing such large numbers of people, and above all, enormous wealth in cattle. On the basis of the foregoing considerations the British and the Batawana settled for a small trek - which would comprise a few political malcontents. Thus Hijaviposa's party...
consisted of 35 people, 700 cattle, 16 horses, 25 donkeys and 150 sheep and goats. The group proceeded to Kalkfointein. But in 1945 some of them came back to Ngamiland. Many had lost their livestock probably due to poor grazing and therefore they came back to their relatives. Later, even Hijaviposa came back to Sehitwa. Eyewey, some of his followers remained and can still be found in the area.

ENTER THE HAWK: BATAWANA-MBANDERU POLITICS IN THE AGE OF MUNJUKU NGUVUVA II

By 1941/2 the Ovambanderu in Ngamiland fell under two keanships, both subject to the authority of the Batawana chief’s representative at Sehitwa. It also appears that leaving Ovambanderu men had made one important compromise. That is, they had agreed to settle in Sehitwa. The first keanship was that of Erastus K. Marenga. The second keanship was Stephanos Mbingana who had replaced Hijaviposa at the time of his incarceration.

In the period 1941-57 there was relative thaw in Batawana-Mbanderu relations. The artificial division between the people in the form of belonging to two 'chairs', Kandu and Nguvauva existed, but it did not produce any major incident in this period. The Batawana authorities on the other hand relaxed their strict demands that headmen settle at Maun. It was also in this period that the Ovambanderu cooperated with the authorities by availing youngmen to serve in the Second World War together with other British subjects from other parts of the Bechuanaland Protectorate between 1941 and 1947. Some of these Ovambanderu servicemen went as far as Egypt, Libya and probably Italy. From the little remuneration they got some servicemen were able to maintain their families, and most importantly they bought livestock. Many people also came back from the war with a relatively better understanding of the world, while a good number learnt literacy skills. Hence there is a good sense in which the war was a big classroom for those who participated in it. But back at home the war had also resulted in the introduction of taxes: on cattle, and guns. Overall, as relative tranquility prevailed, the Ovambanderu went about their usual life and their herds increased.

In this period of relative peace and stability Moremi sought to rehabilitate the troubled Mbanderu traditional leadership in regard to the Ngluvauva 'chair' or throne. It may be that during the period 1941-57 there was relative thaw in Batawana-Mbanderu relations. The artificial division between the people in the form of belonging to two 'chairs', Kandu and Nguvauva existed, but it did not
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e@vambanderu in Ngamiland. This arose because of two reasons. First, Munjuku was the one and only heir to the Nguvauva throne. Thus many people supported him because he was their real traditional leader. Secondly and very importantly, Munjuku had become the leader or spokesman of Herero-speakers' movement in Ngamiland to return to Namibia, after the 1957 cattle shooting at Nxainxai, on the Botswana-Namibia border. The cattle were shot by South African forces after some Ovambanderu tried to return to Namibia illegally via Nxainxai. The likely reasons for the shooting were that the South Africans wanted to stop the spread of animal diseases, and also to punish the cattlemen for their illegal action. Perhaps in addition Munjuku's prestige in the eyes of the people had been increased by his application for a passport to go and speak before the United Nations (on the question of Namibia). His popularity among his people in appreciation of his work especially with regard to leading them back to Namibia was reflected in the traditional song and dance "Omuhiva".

Ombande, Ombande
Ombande, Nanguari Ombande na mokati Ko virumbu
He is brave, he is brave
He is brave, even among the whites
Thus Munjuku's popularity among the Ovambanderu became overwhelming in the years after 1957. The Outcome of Munjuku's popularity was that his following increased while that of Stephanos yzinaana decline.
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flared in late 1959 when 26 men from Stephanos' section wanted to pay their taxes under the name of headman
and not under that of the former. The taxcollector refused to effect their payment. The matter was heard in the KgOtlha at Sehitwa where the men flatly refused to remain under their headman, Stephanos. Steohanos and his loyal followers were incensed at what they saw as Munjuku's deliberate plan to rob him of his following. The matter was further tabled before the regent at Maun. The men stuck to their stand and said they were no longer under Steophanos but were determined "to follow Phakalane under all circumstances.10 Faced with this challenge to their authority, the Batawana naturally backed Stephanos. Thus when the 26 men (later 25) refused to budge the regent sentenced each to a fine of 10 pounds or 1 month in prison With hard labour In default of payment. Consequent to that an official enquiry was conducted into the whole affair. The result was that Munjuku was deposed from his headmanship ky the regent on 4th December, 1957.121 The deposition of Munjuku and the regent's belligerent attitude towards him and his people did not help matters. Infact things appeared to worsen. Thus further to that, the District Commissioner, Maun observed: Phakalane has picked on an unfortunate remark made by the Regent in my presence during the March Kgotsas. She spoke on the iniquities of Phakalane and that the tribe wanted him out of the reserve.

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She finished up to the effect that she was informing Government of this and that he was now in the hands of Government. He now asserts that he is no longer under the Regent and need not obey her commands.

The relations between the two parties therefore deteriorated further.*

Cone further incident strained the already nocrotosohere between the two sides. This incident in a way was a mani-Feszaion of -he way the events of the previous Year had widened the differences between the Ovambanderu and the Batawana under the regent. In June 1960 two youngmen, Nainaa Kakero and Tjiuhara Ubona both from Munjuku's section in Sehitwa, were charged with refusal to obey a tribal order to collect firewood with "their" regiment, ajahela. There followed two days of near-chaos as some Gvambanderu hotheads tried to obstruct the process Of justice by attempting to wrestle the two men from the hands of the police. It was however through the intervention of Munjuku who strongly restrained some of his "ore violent followers, that bloodshed was averted.123 ?or their part the British and the Batawana chieftaincy through the District Commissioner, Maun, had quickly got in touch with the police in Francistown and consequently armed P.1 i e reenforcements were flown into Maun by air. The tuation therefore with regard to the Ovambanderhu and the
Ithwana in 1960 was extremely volatile. This made the "Gdhities to hasten up plans of transferring the police station from Tsau to Sehitwa. In the meantime throughout the late 1950s and early 1960s the spirit of returning to Namibia among the Ovambanderu continued to reign strongly. And the misunderstandings of the same period with the Batawana, in a way fanned the flames of this feeling. Way back in 1958 Munjuku had made contacts with the Members of the Committee of South West Africa, the Reverend Michael Scott and Mbumbuma Xerina, and Petitioned the United Nations for Namibia's independence. Munukulu's active role in the struggle for Namibia's independence was perhaps first due to his own intelligence and good sense of judgement. These qualities enabled him to make forward looking decisions. But his thinking was also greatly influenced by the "winds of change" sweeping across Africa in this period. There were also other people with which he worked who might have greatly influenced his Political decisions on decolonization in Namibia. The first Of these people were young educated Ovambanderu such as Daniel Munamava, Edwin Kuazire and Kamue Tjozongoro. Finally, since 1948 he worked in close cooperation with chief Tshekedi Khama of the Bangwato, and also chief Hosea Xutako of the Ovaherero in Namibia petitioning the United Nations.125 't Was against that background that he wrote to the United Nations in November, 1958: "If all peaceful efforts fail to convince the Government of South Africa, we the Herero people in Bechuanaland would join hand in glove with our fellowmen in South West Africa, from Namaland to Ovamboland in positive action. 126' Munjuku's involvement in the struggle for Namibia's independence, and his birthright as the rightful traditional leader of all the Ovambanderu eventually resulted in his departure for that country in 1960.

In Namibia he was installed as chief of the Ovambanderu in the Epukiro reserve on 10th October, 1960. For the Batawana, his installation as chief in Namibia eventually solved the problem of his deposition. Apparently this had bogged down on the basis of a legal technicality that he had not been given the chance of being heard. When he came back to Botswana in 1961, he was cleared of his alleged misconduct, and in turn he officially renounced his claim to the Sehitwa headmanship in preference for chieftainship of Epukiro, Namibia. This therefore brought to an end a decade of his rule as headman at Sehitwa and turbulence in Batawana-Mbanderu politics.

To conclude, the Ovambanderu of Ngamiland were a section Of the Herero-speakers who fled the German wars of 1896 and 1904. These wars disrupted their economic and political Organization, and indeed some among the 1904 arrivals were in a state of poverty. But in Botswana, they were able to
rePastoralize remarkably fast. Repastoralization gradually lade them to seek political independence and social

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lusivity. This attitude led to quarrels with their

sts, and further migrations within Botswana in search of an ideal home. To a

large extent such an ideal home was not realized, though socially the

Ovambanderu have managed to retain their ethnic identity among other

groups in Namiland. Though by 1961 political disputes with their ests had not

completely disappeared, these later ones were noz of the same magnitude as the

ones discussed above.

FOOTNOTES


7. T. Tlou, Op. Cit, pp. 94-95


10. U. Almagor, "Some Notes on the Mbanderu Calendar". op. cit.,


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19. bid
23. BNA S3/1 Katwi Madenga's Oral account, recorded by Native Trooper Moses P. Malata. (Not dated).
25. Ibid
34. J.H. wellington, op.-jt., p. 168 35. bid. p. 168
36. Ibid. p. 169
37. Ibid. p. 170
38. Ibid. pp. 185-186
39. Ibid. p. 186
43. H. Bley, SOUTH WEST AFRICA UNDER GERMAN RULE. (LONDON, :EINEMANN, 1968) p. 52. 44. Ibid. p. 55.
52. Interview with Kunomundu G. Katjirua, 49 years, farmer/Councilor, Ezorongondo (Namibia), 11th August, 1991; T. Sundermeier, op. cit., p. 45
58. BNA H.C 145/1 Lt Scholefield, Machabin, to Resident commissioner, Mafeking, 8th November, 1897, Enclosure.
59. Ibid.
60. BNA H.C 145/1 Lt Scholefield, Machabin, to Resident Commissioner, Mafeking, 8th December, 1897, Enclosure;
Interview with Hijauarondo Kambara, 79 years, herdsman, Dithotwana, 28th December, 1991; Interview with Kurooro Kandu, 84 years, Herdsman, Sehitwa, 27th December, 1991; and Interview with Uuisira Jakii Hengari, 76 years, Herdsman, Manutaung, 30th December, 1991.

61. BNA H.C. 145/1 Lt Scholefield, Machabin, to Resident Commissioner, Mafeking, 11th December, 1897, Enclosure.


65. B.T.O Mokopakgosi, on. cit... p. 342 - 350.


68. Ibid., p. 53.

69. Interview with Uaraakuani Henguva, 77 years, herdsman, Kalpan (Namibia), 14th August, 1991.


73. BNA RC 11/1 Samuel Maherero, Nyainyai to Magistrate Ngami, 28th September, 1904.

74. Interview with Sakeus Hangero, 83 years, herdsman, Toromoja, 11th December, 1991.

75. BNA RC 11/1 Acting Magistrate, Tsau, to Resident Commissioner, Mafeking, 6th July, 1905, folio* 27.

76. BNA RC 11/2 Ralph Williams, Resident Commissioner, Tsau, to High commissioner, Johannesburg, 24th June, 1906.

77. Interview with Sakeus Hangero, 11th December, 1991; Interview with Uatumua nguvauva, 62 years Acting Headman, Sehitwa, 28th December, 1-991., and Interview with Commissioner Kapeke, 23rd December, 1991.

80. BNA S 126/3/1 "HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HERERO AND BANDEROS IN BATAWANA TERRITORY" BY BATAWANA REGENT, E.P MOREMI, MAUN, 8TH AUGUST, 1960.
84. Interview with Uisira Jakii Hengari, 30th December, 1991.
85. U. Almagor, "Some notes on the Mbanderu Calendar", op.cit., p.76
86. BNA S 126/1, "Complaint of Nikodemus": Presented to the British Administration., and Interview with commissioner Kapeke, 23rd December. 1991.
87. BNA S 126/1 Paramount Chief Mathiba, Maun, to Resident commissioner, Mafeking, 18th September, 1916.
88. BNA S 126/1 Interview between Resident commissioner E.G.G. GARRAWAY, and Timoteus and KOROKAS, Mafeking, 9th June, 1916.
89. Interview with Uiisira Jakii Hengari, 30th December, 1991., and BNA S 126/3/1 "Historical BACKGROUND OF HERERO AND BANDEROS IN BATAWANA TERRITORY".
90. BNA S126/3/1 Resident Commissioner, Mafeking to high Commissioner, Cape Town, 21st February, 1922., and Interview with Viatura Nguvauva, 83 years, housewife/chief Munjuku's Mother, Ezorongondo (Namibia), 12th August, 1991.
92. BNA S 126/1 Nikodemus (KAVARURE), Kabulabula, to Government Secretary, Mafeking, 1st September, 1920.
94. BNA S 126/1 Travelling Permit issued by the office of the Resident Magistrate, Kazungula District, Kasane, to

. BNA S 126/1 Travelling Permit issued by the office of the Resident Magistrate, Kazungula District, Kasane, to Nikodemus (Kavarure) and his followers, 7th February, 1923.

97. Interview with Anaria Hange (Virore), 75 years, Housewife, Toromoja, 12th December, 1991., and Interview with Tjitunga Leopold, 83 years, herdsman, Momong, 24th December, 1991.

98. BNA S 126/1 Lt Ellenberger, officer Commanding, Gaborone to N.C.O. i/c, Ramotswa, 23rd April, 1924.


100. BNA S 126/3/1 "HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HERERO AND BANDEROS IN BATAWANA IN BATAWANA TERRITORY", and in BNA 126/1 Acting Government Secretary, Mafeking, to Resident Magistrate, Kasane, 13th June, 1992.


102. BNA S 48/1 Resident Magistrate, Maun, to Government Secretary, Mafeking, 7th April, 1930.

103. BNA S 214/1/1, Acting District Commissioner, Maun, to Registrar, Mafeking, "REX VERSUS HIJAVIPOSA AND OTHERS." 4th November, 1938.

104. BNA S.214/1/1, Government Secretary, Mafeking, to R.M. Maun, 1931.

105. BNA S.214/1/1, MEETING OF ASSISTANT RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND CHIEF MOREMI AT MAUN ON 5TH DECEMBER, 1939, Assistant Resident Commissioner to Chief Moremi.


107. BNA S.48/1, MINUTES OF MEETING HELD AT MAUN CAMP, 31st March, 1930., Moteti’s Contribution at the meeting.

108. BNA S. 48/1 Minutes of Meeting held at Maun camp in March, 31st 1930., chief Mathiba's contribution at the meeting.


110. BNA S.214/1/1. MINUTES OF ASSISTANT RESIDENT COMMISSIONER'S MEETING WITH NGAMILAND TRADERS AT MAUN, ON 4TH DECEMBER, 1939., Mr A.D. WESKOP'S CONTRIBUTION.
111. Ibid.

113. BNA S.214/1/1, Acting District Commissioner, Maun, to Government Secretary, Mafeking, 15th November, 1939.
114. BNA S.214/1/1, Acting District Commissioner, Maun, to Government Secretary, 28th September, 1942.
117. BNA S.126/3/1, CONFIDENTIAL SAVINGRAM FROM DISTRICT COMMISSIONER, MAUN, TO GOVERNMENT SECRETARY, MAFEKING, 28th November, 1959.
118. Ibid.
119. This is one of the many traditional songs/dance composed during the 1950s and 1960s. Interview with Commissioner Kapeke, 23rd December, 1991.
120. BNA S. 126/3/1, Batawana Regent, Maun, to District Commissioner, Maun, 4th December, 1959.
121. Ibid.
122. BNA S.126/3/1 District Commissioner, Maun, to Government Secretary, Mafeking, 27th June, 1960.
124. BNA S.126/3/1 District Commissioner, Maun, to Government Secretary, Mafeking, 27th June, 1960.
126. BNA S.126/3/1, ANNEX XXII, Petition dated November, 1958 and related Communications dated 20th, February and 27th April, 1959 from chief P. Keharanjo, Bechuanaland, to the Secretary of the Committee on South West Africa.

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B.

11 Appendices

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OVAMBANDERU MIGRATIONS INTO NAMIBIA IN EARLY TIMES

APPENDIX 1

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KEY:

-First route mentioned in the text. . Second route, including Kaimu's wanderings.

X >K > -Third route of Ovambanderu migration as suggested by Van Bruwer.

- - - Approximate boundary of area occupied by Ovambanderu

C. 1840

APPENDIX 2

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CFITFRIAL HAMIDIA

by T. Sundermeier, p-31

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SOURCE: THE MBANDERU

APPENDIX 3

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APPENDIX 4

OVAMBANDERU FLIGHT AND MIGRATIONS IN BOTSWANA AFTER THE 1896 AND 1904-1905:

* Possible routestaken during flights in 1896 and 1904/5.

- Chobe trek 1918
- Nikodemus’ journey to Boteti, 1923
- Hijaviposa’s journey to Kalkfnntejn1942.