

RUBEN MAKARANGA

For the power and glory

The Biography of an extraordinary Kavango.

by

Hans-Martin Milk

TO THE MEMORY OF MANDHAVELA "JOSEPH" KHASERA
(6.10.1975 – 15.1.2004)

Figure 1: Foto on the cover; Makaranga as a young man

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Introduction

When the former Sauyemwa Combined School was finally re-named to Ruben Makaranga Combined School on 30th September 2022, a longstanding wish of the Makaranga/Makuti family and the Locust clan came true. At long last, the name of Makaranga became "immortal", as one of the speakers during the re-naming ceremony phrased it.

A Kavango proverb says: "A sharp tongue can hit better than a stick" - A motto which characterizes the path of Makaranga. He was at home in many languages, cultures and hierarchies, which he effectively altered in his own interests. Although officially part of the colonial administration, he performed his functions in different ways - Makaranga was a wanderer between different worlds, between the boundaries of languages, cultures, traditions and political lines. The dazzling figure of Makaranga can be understood as a prototype or precursor of hybridity. Makaranga was at home in many societies, religious beliefs and political systems, integrated within different cultures and used them for his own strategical advantage. His person cannot be defined ethnically and his activities cannot be limited to a single African tradition alone. Nevertheless, traditional elements play a large role in his life - he was a committed Christian yet at the same time had several wives. However, Makaranga was not a Western-educated intellectual or a keen missionary student who dedicated his life to the mission. The reference to his own, autochthonous traditions, to traditional knowledge and to traditional culture represents an important element of African intellectual activity. Makaranga's personality does not fit into the stereotype of the oppressed colonial subject. He was not a passive agent of colonial interest, nor was he a resistant fighter. The person cannot be standardized and reduced to a single factor. His identity was a place in between spaces. The benefits Makaranga derived from his work were not intended by his employers, and Makaranga's own interests and strategies for their realization undermined many an enterprise. The colonial power does not appear completely homogeneous and static, an insight that does not change the violent character of colonial rule and leaves enough room to discuss the potential for resistance.

I invite the reader to discover the history of Makaranga as part of the colonial past in which his life bears witness to a lived diversity. I want to thank all who have helped me to trace it, namely Immanuel Shikukumwa, Rakel ya Ruben Makuti, Helvi Ihemba, Asser Kazumba Lihongo, Gabriel Haita, Abraham Sikwaya, Laimi Sikondomboro, Andreas Katana, Johannes Sindano, Alisa Regida Makuti and all the Makaranga/Makuti family members.

Hans-Martin Milk (Tate Masini)

Chapter 1

Nyime ta tanta asi: "Ukorero wange makaha"

The lion says: "My only allies are my claws"

Makaranga's different names, his origin and his outer appearance

Makaranga's social-political importance in the Kavango can only be understood through the background of his personality, his origin and his outer appearance. The first chapter will therefore describe Makaranga as a person. To start with, his different names under which he was known will be described, as they alone give an idea of the diversity of his personality. His origin will come into the focus to show the various factors that formed him before coming to the Kavango. A detailed description of his physical appearance, his typical clothing and character traits draws a complete picture of Makaranga as a person. Numerous examples are used to complete the image.



Figure 2: Makaranga alias Looper alias Ruben

1.1 Makaranga also known as Looper also known as Ruben Manuel Kandjabu Sikwaya

These different names were used for the same individual. The distinct names for this man, who influenced the social and political development of the Kavango between 1921 and 1955, already casts a light on the different roles he played and the functions he exercised. In archival documents he is recorded under different names and in the active memory of people of the Kavango yet another name is used. Skilful combination is required to realize that the partly contradictory information is referring to the same person. He became known under three names: Makaranga, Looper and Ruben Kandjabu, three names which are symptomatic for the multifacetedness of his personality in different periods of his life. The people of the Kavango speak of him as Makaranga, Looper is the name which the Administration used if they referred to him in official documents, and Ruben is the name by which he is most often referred to in mission documents.

Makaranga

Makaranga was a nickname. This is the name under which he is still known amongst the elderly of the Kavango. Two explanations are possible to describe the origin of this name; the first explanation refers to the big population group Makaranga, in the present day Zimbabwe.¹ During the 16th century the Makaranga – as part of the legendary Monomotapa Imperium – were known for their wealth and sought after as important trading partners. Their neighbours, however, used to call them Makaranga, as a term of reproach and a synonym for cowards. It is not known, whether Makaranga had this in mind, when he always addressed the people of the Kavango with the salutation "You Makaranga!" in his speeches. This habit – according to one explanation – earned him the nickname Makaranga. Another explanation refers to the Rukwangali words "kara haruka", which means "to be yelling/shouting".² Makaranga's typical behaviour was captured in the words and "kara haruka" turned into Makaranga.³

Looper

Looper is the Afrikaans word for runner/racer. The name must have had its origin in the period of time when Makaranga was working for Afrikaans speaking transport drivers, who hired him for various jobs with the ox wagon. When he later worked as an employee/translator for the Administration he retained this name, as it also described his function as a "messenger", another name for the "office boys" within the English colonial system. Revealingly the colonial masters still used this name for Makaranga, even when he had accomplished political importance and was no longer their office boy.

Ruben Manuel Kandjabu Sikwaya

Ruben was the Christian name which the missionary gave Makaranga on the day of his baptism. It must have been the positive association with this biblical name which motivated the missionary to choose this name when he baptized the 32-year old Makaranga. It was Ruben – according to the Old Testament – who prevented his half-brother Joseph from being slain by his brothers. By saving Joseph, he made it possible that the nation was later saved from starvation.⁴

Makaranga himself never used this name, except – astonishingly enough – in his signature. Makaranga also did not appear to use his other Christian name Manuel, a name which was given to him already in Angola. Makaranga's father was named Kandjabu.

1.2 Origin and background

Makaranga was born around 1887 in the vicinity of Naulila in the south of Angola.⁵ Little is known about his forefathers, only the names of his parents are recorded. His father's name was Kandjabu, or Kandjambu, and his mother's name was Mukatji Uana.⁶ Makaranga belonged to the small ethnic group of the Hinga,⁷ who lived at the banks of the Kunene. The settlement zone of the Hinga stretched along the middle reaches of the Kunene and the main town was Naulila.

The Hinga was a small group and numbered, together with the Kwankwa – according to Estermann in 1975 – not more than 2000 Persons.⁸ They were considered to be part of the larger group of Nyaneka-Nkumbi. An anonymous missionary once wrote about them:

"The weak is despised, while the strong, whatever his conduct, is always esteemed. They have respect for the strong man even if he is evil, vicious, criminal – for wakola ("He is strong, powerful"). If he practices actions contrary to nature, wakola; if he poisons and kills, wakola. If he prospers in spite of everything, wakola".⁹

Estermann used the quotation of the missionary to describe typical characteristics of the Hinga, but Estermann points out at the same time that the words of the missionary generally describes human nature. It is, however, striking how much of Makaranga's personality is contained in the description, therefore it seems sensible to highlight the history of the Hinga during colonialism.

By 1845 the Portuguese had already erected a military post at Huila, but all efforts to settle colonists there were in vain. This is why the Portuguese allowed Kaptein Vita "Oorlog" Tom to settle near Humpata/Neves. Tom and his father Vita were leaders of a group of Otjiherero, Otjihimba and Otjimba who had left the Kaokoland and sought protection in South Angola.¹⁰ The town Humbe (Mutano), right in the centre of the Nkumbi area, became the outpost for the colonial occupation of South Angola. Humbe is at the confluence of the two rivers Kunene and Caculuar. In the middle of the 1860s the Portuguese stationed further colonial troops in Humbe to strengthen their influence on the adjacent ethnic groups. The few troops at the military outpost were not able to successfully defend itself against the Humbe and left again in 1880.

At the same time a group of ca. 300 *boers*, who had trekked together with their domestic servants from Transvaal to Angola, were allowed to settle and farm at Humpata. These "trek-boers" – together with the armed men of Oorlog-people formed the core of a voluntary army that supported the Portuguese in the battles against the Nkumbi in the following 20 years. This happened on the background of an aggressive colonial expansion in the South of Angola by the Portuguese and the occupation of South West Africa by the Germans. The colonial army, together with voluntary groups, organised so-called "punitive expeditions". These were limited military attacks which were effective enough to quell local uprisings but not strong enough to completely suppress the resistance against colonialism. The decisive battles against colonialism were fought only in 1914/15 when the Nkumbi joint forces with the Kwanyama under Mandume. "However, the firepower of the colonial army under General Pereira de Eca – who lead a major campaign "*Campanha do sul de Angola*" against the Kwanyama and Nkumbi – outraced the African soldiers. Many died during the war and the succeeding famine annihilated thousands, from the 80 000 Nkumbi in 1912 only 10 000 had survived by 1915.¹¹

Catholic missionaries from the order of Espírito Santo missionized the Nkumbi from 1900 onwards. They had a mission station in Typelongo at the Caculuar, a few kilometres upstream from Humbe.

This rough sketch of the situation in the South of Angola at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century gives an idea of the many points of contact between Makaranga's area of origin and South West Africa.

People in Kavango always talked of Makaranga as an "Ovambo". This can be understood on the background that Makaranga's origin was in close vicinity to the influential group of Kwanyama. Generally the Hingas are not categorized under the Ovambo.¹²

As a small ethnic group, the Hinga (like the Nyaneka-Nkumbi) were characterized by unique habits and customs that will help to understand some of Makaranga's further development:

- The Nkumbi were an ethnic group small in numbers and therefore much more exposed to famine and colonisation than other larger groups. A number of them chose close cooperation with local colonialists in their battle for survival, dismissively they were therefore called "*ovi-lamba-na-ngulu*" – those who remained in good standing with the whites.¹³
- Makaranga spoke a dialect of Nkumbi, which has some words in common with Oshikwanyama. It seems possible that Makaranga learned Oshikwanyama in his youth and that he understood and spoke it.¹⁴
- As the Kwangali, the Hinga were also organised matrilineally.¹⁵ However, according to Estermann, they showed little willingness to accept a woman as their leader, e.g. as a *homp*a.
- A marriage with two or three women was very seldom found in a Nkumbi homestead. Estermann describes this as one of the big differences to the Ovambo-group. Even amongst rich men, or homesteads of the hompa-family, marriages with more than four women were extremely rare.¹⁶
- The first wife ("tembo yeumbo") in a polygamous marriage never had all the privileges that were normal in a comparable situation amongst the Ovambo. The first wife, for example, did not have not the right to allocate the different tasks in the homestead amongst the other wives. Possession remained separate in the marriage and the woman had her own fowl, crop, goats and tobacco.
- Unlike all the other ethnic groups in their surroundings, the Hinga governed themselves without any *homp*a.¹⁷

If Makaranga is considered to be a "true Hinga", then some aspects of the influence of the Nyaneka-Nkumbi – and thereby also the Hinga – on their neighbouring ethnic groups will be of interest. The *kimbanda* (sorcerer) of the Nyaneka-Nkumbi played an elevated role in different rites of their neighbouring ethnic group – the Kwanyama and possibly also amongst the Kwangali.¹⁸ Three situations are described in which this happened:

- It was a Nyaneka-Nkumbi (Hinga) *kimbanda* who prepared the ritual meal during the inauguration of a new Kwanyama hompa.¹⁹
- It was a Nyaneka-Nkumbi (Hinga) *kimbanda* who crafted the charms for the young Kwanyama soldiers before they went off to one of the countless campaigns.²⁰
- It was a Nyaneka-Nkumbi (Hinga) *kimbanda* who could teach a Kwanyama *ovatikili* (somebody with magic powers) how to kill a person purely through witchcraft.²¹

Nothing is known about Makaranga's childhood amongst the Hinga, nor is it known when he left his parents homestead to enter the service of Pieter Ignatius du Plessis, one of the Angolan *boers*. The parents of du Plessis belonged to *dorslandtrekkers*, who had left their homes in Transvaal to look for new pastures in South West Africa. Peter was born in Rustenburg/Transvaal on the 19th June 1868 before his parents left Transvaal. Both his parents died on the trek, his father in South Africa and his mother while they were trekking through the Kavango, at which time Pieter Ignatius was nine years old. Pieter du Plessis temporarily settled in the Grootfontein district, from where he undertook extended hunting trips into South Angola. Pieter du Plessis married the six year younger Petronella Hendrika Oosthuizen in Grootfontein in 1892, and the young family moved to Humpata in Angola, where they farmed on the small plot "Mangol". In Angola Pieter du Plessis was known amongst the Angolans as "*Shiuelundu*", the general label for a white person.²²

In Angola Pieter du Plessis belonged to the small group of Angola-Boers, who mostly earned their living with the transport of goods on their ox wagon. As a boy and young man Makaranga lived along the transport route of these trips between Pereira D'Eca/N'Giva over Humbe and Humpata to the Atlantic coast at Moçamedes/Namibe.²³ Pieter du Plessis hired Makaranga as one of his workers on a transport convoy.

During this time Makaranga received his first experience with the patriarchal-authoritarian structures of the Angola-Boers. In their families the Angola-Boers had partly integrated domestic workers who were kept in a position of subordination according to the deep belief in the God-given inferiority of Africans. In hindsight it appears as if Makaranga had adjusted himself to this approach and partly internalized the response these Angola-Boers expected of him.²⁴ It is striking that white officers – with whom Makaranga worked for many years in the Kavango – were convinced that Makaranga had attained all his positive character traits from his early exposure to the Angola-Boers, or in the words of his obituary (which was written by one of the officers): "His deep feeling of social responsibility, his submission and his discipline can be attributed to the family of Angola-Boers in which he lived."²⁵

During his trips as transport driver, Makaranga will have seen most of the southern Angola. Even transport trips of the ox wagons of the Angola-Boers to the elevated plains of central Angola like Huambo and Bailundu, or to Sacanjimba in the northeast of Angola up to Katanga with its ore deposits, were not unusual. His exposure to all these parts of Angola should probably be also discerned in the fact that he married an Mbundu girl – contrary to all customs of the Hinga – at this stage of his life.²⁶

When the First World War started, Pieter du Plessis left Angola together with his eldest son and Makaranga. On a request from the German colonial

administration he transported provisions from Angola to German South West Africa. Once in South West Africa he joined the German colonial army as a volunteer. One of the first German war activities was an attack on the Portuguese fort at Naulila where the Germans killed 100 defenders and destroyed the fort. The Germans justified the attack as a retaliation strike because a few weeks earlier Portuguese soldiers had killed a civilian official and an army officer, Dr. Schultze-Jena and Senior Lieutenant Lösch, who went to Naulila in search of urgently needed provisions for the troops. During the preparation for this German attack on Naulila, knowledge of the local conditions at Naulila became a priceless commodity. Except for the German hunter Wilhelm Mattenklodt – who had been in the vicinity of Naulila – only Pieter du Plessis knew the location well.²⁷ During the military campaign against Naulila the two men – together with Makaranga – became very important for the success of the operation, not only because of their local knowledge, but also because of their command of the Portuguese language.²⁸ Pieter du Plessis and Makaranga joined the second military company which reconnoitred the 300 kilometers long route from Okaukuejo to Naulila and the military situation on the spot.

Through his involvement in the attack on Naulila Pieter du Plessis became a public enemy in Portuguese circles and he could no longer return to Angola, where his wife with his children still stayed, requiring him to send a donkey cart to Angola to bring his family unharmed to South West Africa. During all these events – which were narrated by his daughter – Makaranga must have played a role. He joined the family on the farm Vaalbank in the Grootfontein district which they had bought.²⁹

After separating from du Plessis, Makaranga's tracks can again be traced in the 1920's in Grootfontein itself, although his time as an escort of transport ox waggons and simple worker for an Angola-Boer was over. His new home country had new challenges ready for him. According to informations from his family, he never returned to the part of Angola where he had spent his youth.³⁰

Makaranga grew up in the direct vicinity of a big river, the Kunene. The advantages of a life next to a river – such as fishing and the permanent availability of water for one's own consumption, for cattle breeding and gardening – were known to him from an early age. It is therefore hardly surprising that he later settled at the Okavango, where the similarities with his original home are evident.



Figure 4: Kwangali homestead in the time of Makaranga

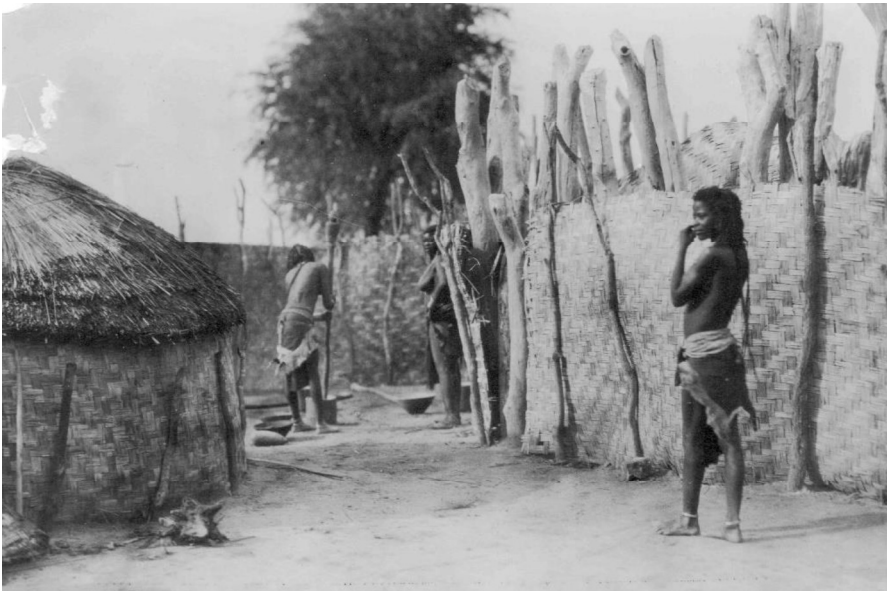


Figure 5: Kwangali homestead in the time of Makaranga - the kitchen

1.3 Big and strong, unflappable and courageous

1.3.1 Makaranga an impressive appearance

Undoubtedly Makaranga's physical appearance also contributed to his impact. In the Kavango during Makaranga's time, body height and physical strength were of uttermost importance. This made him outstanding amongst all others.³¹ On photos it can be seen that his height exceeded all others on the photo. In his later years he developed a remarkable tummy which was clearly seen as a token of wealth.³²

When mentioning his size, people also praised his physical strength. Amongst men in his surrounding it was a distinction if somebody could boast of being stronger than Makaranga.³³ Coupled with his strength was his choleric character. Not only the children in his homestead respected and feared him, but also adults who were in contact with him – be it privately or through the office – were afraid of his outbursts of rage and his beatings.³⁴ His enterprising spirit, his courage and bravery completed the image of a "strong man". Makaranga preferred choice of headgear was a cowboy style hat, folded up on one side and decorated with beads.³⁵ It is remarkable that Makaranga used a piece of clothing that was unmistakably associated with *hompa* Kandjimi who was respected and feared amongst the Kavango peoples.

Hompa Kandjimi – who reigned until his death in 1923 – used the hat of the German Schutztruppe during the German occupation as a sign (or so people believed), that he did not fear the whites.

For his wardrobe Makaranga preferred items that had a clear military character or could be understood as military symbols. As a token of his authority he wore the typical Khaki uniform, with short or long sleeves and trouser legs, depending on the time of the year.³⁶ This outfit identified Makaranga as a member of the social class that was employed by the colonial administration.³⁷ Khaki uniforms were widespread amongst the white colonial officers as well as in the colonial army, and Makaranga no doubt used something similar when he was working as a "police boy".³⁸ According to Kampungu it was a special honour that people said about him: "He was not afraid of Europeans." Reason enough for Makaranga to use the same status symbol.³⁹

It must have been this firm attitude – demonstrated through his outfit – that earned him so much respect amongst the population. During his time in Nkurenkuru, Makaranga was convinced that he was in control of the colonial officers and not the other way round, and he was unconcerned enough to pronounce this attitude openly. This changed when the colonial power established itself in the following years, and Eedes with his distinct leadership personality proofed himself on a par with Makaranga's demeanour. Not that Makaranga caved in, but he adjusted his tactics to the new situation. By this

time Makaranga no longer boasted of his unlimited power openly, but through his actions he could clearly prove that the administration found it nigh on impossible to limit his power and influence. Just like the colonial administration used Makaranga to forward their political aims, Makaranga used the administration to forward his personal aim to establish himself as a new potentate of a new era.



Figure 6: Homba Kandjimi (in white clothes) together with German colonial sergeant Oswald Ostermann (with uniform) and the German settler Karl Angebauer (without hat) during one of their drinking bouts which provided the basis for their friendship. Foto taken before 1915.

In spite of his strong physical constitution, Makaranga was not spared from the prevailing and in many cases deadly disease of the Kavango – Malaria. In the 1930s Malaria was the most common illness in Nkurenkuru and the surrounding area, followed by respiratory and eye diseases. Malaria was however the most disastrous illness because of its catastrophic consequences, and the already high number of people affected by Malaria increased further in years with good rainy seasons like 1934/35 and 1937/38.⁴⁰ At regular intervals Makaranga was also affected by Malaria. Malaria and the excessive consumption of strong, home-brewed alcohol left its mark on Makaranga, especially in his old age.

1.3.2 Makaranga an undaunted employee

Makaranga needed a healthy portion of courage as an employee of the colonial administration, as the colonial officer left police activities, like tracking of suspects and arrests, in the hands of Makaranga. Although he was equipped with a service weapon, this would not necessarily have been to his advantage, since weapons in private property were not unusual in Kavango. The registration of weapons became compulsory in 1934, and in 1936 450 shotguns were registered in Kavango.⁴¹ If a suspect was a respected person in the traditional structures, an arrest needed a lot of skilfulness and courage. After all, Makaranga represented a new power structure which was not firmly established in all spheres of public life and not in all corners of the vast Kavango area. An infringement of the privacy of a respected personality, e.g. through an arrest, could have easily resulted in the active resistance and revolt amongst the followers of that person.

The planned arrest of Lisho was an example of such an incident. As the son of a deceased Mbukushu-*hompa* Libebe, Lisho had a high reputation and was feared by the ruling *hompas*. The authority of the *hompa* was undermined when Lisho ignored an order to pay a penalty because of an offence he was found guilty of. This open disdain against a *hompa* provoked the Native Commissioner who felt impelled to react. He therefore commanded on his next inspection trip that Lisho should report himself to the administration office in Nkurenkuru. After Lisho had ignored Eedes command repeatedly, the Native Commissioner entrusted the risky task of arresting Lisho to Makaranga and other employees.

That Eedes had expected the active resistance of the followers of Lisho becomes obvious in the handwritten remark which Eedes added to the official report about Lisho's apprehension. Eedes wrote: "No attempt was made by the natives present to assist him – only one old decrepit native shouted 'take off your coat – let us fight them.'"⁴²

The report itself sketches a vivid picture about the arrest of Lisho. Together with the two "young Kuring Kuru natives" prevented Lisho from crossing the river, where he would have been safe from the persecution of the South African colonial administration. The report states: "[...] Lisho had refused to come, and had stated that if Mr. Eedes wanted him, he could come and "beat him up" in his own kraal. Four natives were therefore armed, and sent to arrest him. On their arrival at the kraal Lisho was found to be hidden under reed mats in the kraal. When hauled out he adopted a very threatening attitude. After a long argument as to whether he would obey the order or not, he was prevailed upon to proceed to the station. When he heard the order given for his arrest, he attempted to draw his knife, and one of the natives – Jonas – was cut across the fingers when he caught hold of him. Lisho then slipped out of the grasp of

the Police boy holding him, plunged into a crocodile infested pool and attempted to swim across the river. Fortunately a canoe was lying on the bank, and due to the prompt action of two young Kuring Kuru natives and Interpreter Looper, Lisho was prevented from reaching the opposite bank of the river. He was caught and handcuffed in about twenty feet of water."⁴³

1.3.3 Makaranga the brave lion-hunter

Makaranga's fearless courage during a lion hunt was documented in one of the Administration files and it reflects his daring character. Lions were a threat to people and cattle in the western Kavango up to the 1960s.⁴⁴ Since there was no more game on the flood plains of the Okavango from the beginning of the 20th century, lions in the region had to prey on the antelopes in the savannah woodland to the west of Nkurenkuru.⁴⁵ When, due to drought, the herds of eland left the woodlands, the lions moved close to the homesteads and caught cattle or donkeys.

After the poor rainy season of 1933/34 Makaranga had lost two donkeys to lions. Because of the high value of donkeys, this was a big loss for Makaranga.⁴⁶ He followed the track and found the lion about 10 kilometers from Nkurenkuru. The carnivore, who had frightened people because of his extraordinary size, was able to kill two dogs, before Makaranga shot it.⁴⁷ Makaranga had again reinforced his image as a fearless hunter, although the oral narrative about this episode had another turn to that documented in the administrative files. According to this oral version, Makaranga followed the tracks of the lion with his colleague, the policeman Meesi. When they finally tracked down the lion, they both shot at him at the same time. Meesi's bullet struck the lion lethally – and Makaranga's shot missed the target. In spite of this sheer fact, Makaranga presented himself as the successful shooter and was duly celebrated as a big lion hunter.



Figure 7: Makaranga (with short trouser) – the lion-hunter in 1934

Another hunt of a lion – this time under dramatic circumstances – became more prominent than just a note in the files. This time his extraordinary fearlessness brought him the acknowledgement and the lifelong appreciation of the Native Commissioner.⁴⁸ It happened during the Christmas period of 1934, when the inhabitants of a village along the river asked Eedes to kill a lioness who had already killed a number of cattle and who scared people to death. Eedes decided to help asked Makaranga, together with Meesi, Hikerwa and Pinias to come with him on the chase. After they eventually tracked the lioness and encircled her, Eedes was able to shoot. However, the shot did not kill the lioness, but only wounded her. The furious lioness attacked Eedes, jumped on him, seriously wounded him at his right shoulder and leg and remained seated on the badly injured man. It was only Eedes' tropical helmet on his face that prevented further injuries. During the attack all his employees had climbed nearby trees out of pure horror. Notwithstanding his initial reaction, Makaranga now carefully climbed down the tree when he saw the desperate situation in which his boss found himself. Makaranga grabbed the rifle which Eedes had lost when he tried to bolt the wounded lioness and lethally shot the wild animal which was still crouching on top of Eedes. Makaranga then tore his own shirt to stop the bleeding of the semi-consciousness Eedes. Only after this, and after Makaranga had finally beaten the half-dead lioness to death, did his colleagues come down from the trees and helped him to carry Eedes into the car. Since Makaranga was never allowed to drive the commissioner's car and therefore was not physically able to do so, he had to force Eedes in his desolate condition to drive the car back to Nkurenkuru. The news that Makaranga had saved the life of the white Native Commissioner by killing a lion under these dramatic circumstances spread through the Kavango like a bush fire. Over the many months that Eedes recovered in the hospital in Tsumeb, Makaranga already became aware that the Administration considered him to be highly important in the office. After Eedes had finally recovered from this traumatic experience, Makaranga became one of his closest confidant and Eedes showed his thankfulness through all the years of their cooperation. This narrative about Makaranga and the lion hunt became part of Kavango oral history and Makaranga liked to be referred to as "Makaranga govanyime", Makaranga the lion.

1.3.4 Makaranga only himself Lord

Makaranga found himself in the role as a representative of the colonial authority, but his personal authority did not depend purely on the power delegated to him. Whenever he fulfilled a task on behalf of the colonial authority, he did it with his own brisk appearance and energetic character. To demonstrate this supplementary interaction between the delegated authority and his own distinctive authority, an episode from the Second World War is recounted. This episode was the only known case in which Makaranga's authority was questioned publicly and he was exposed to physical assaults.

The Kavango – like the rest of South West Africa – did not experience any active combat actions during the Second World War, but there were far reaching consequences in other regards. One of the repercussions of the War was the recruitment of soldiers.⁴⁹ In 1940 the South African army started to recruit black South Africans for services in the army. On the 29th June 1940 the Windhoek Advertiser brought the following news in this connection: "The Government has decided to recruit four thousand natives to assist the European personnel in guarding vital points. The recruiting will be carried out by the Department of Native Affairs assisted by chiefs and headmen." To also be able to recruit in South West Africa, the South African Defence law of 1912 was extended onto this country.⁵⁰

The permanent shortage of workers for households, farms and mines caused some reservations within the Administration towards the recruitment of soldiers. A meeting in September 1941 between representatives of the South African Army and the South West African Administration tried to sort out these concerns.⁵¹ It was decided that the recruitment should only be done outside the *police-zone* and that no contract workers who were already employed in the South should be recruited. It was further determined that only men who were classified in the fittest group (category A) according to the contract worker system should be recruited for the army. The first recruitments started at the end of 1941. The Native Commissioner, together with Senior Lieutenant Thompson were in charge of the recruitment procedure. A Medical Orderly was stationed in Rundu in order to do the first medical check-up on the spot.⁵²

Depending on the military rank a black soldier received a pay of 2/3 up to 3/3 per day, of which 1/6 was withheld for later payment to the family. Additional to these deductions an amount of £2 per Month was retained and only paid at the end of the war. Sleeping accommodation and rations were free and the soldier had 12 days off per year. The soldier signed the obligation that he would "[...] serve anywhere in Africa."⁵³

Eedes himself signed up as a war volunteer, but was not made available because of his indispensability as an officer in the Kavango. In October 1941 he informed the hompa and the population about the registration procedure.⁵⁴ In his first report to Windhoek in this matter, he informed his superiors, that there was very little interest amongst the men to join the army. According to Eedes' opinion this was due to the cowardice of the people, their lack of desire for adventure and their refusal to leave their homesteads and families for a longer period of time.⁵⁵

In April 1942 the rumour surfaced in the Kwangali and Bunja area that the Northern Labour Organization allocated t workers in Grootfontein and press ganged them into military recruitment centres.⁵⁶ Eedes blamed the catholic Padres in Bunja for the origin of this rumour. The background to this rumour

was however, that the labour recruitment organisation had been trying desperately to recruit more workers for the labour market, so that more Ovambos could be urged to join the army as volunteers.⁵⁷

After one year of recruitment attempts, the campaign had proven to be completely fruitless and Eedes reported to Windhoek in August 1942 that not a single Kwangali or Bunja had volunteered for the Native Military Corps. This prompted the army to organize a two week long recruitment campaign which started in Tsumeb under Lieutenant Wither and went through the western Kavango. Except for two Sergeants, 42 black soldiers – 15 of them from the Kavango – joined the group. Eedes allowed Makaranga and his assistant to take part as translators.

The success of the elaborated campaign was not overwhelming: only 24 young men were found who agreed to join, of which 11 were not physical fit enough to be recruited.⁵⁸ Others demonstrated their resistance towards the campaign by fleeing the Kavango to avoid a forced enlistment. The legitimacy of their fears of being harassed became clear during the next days, after the new recruits had their first drill in a temporary army camp at Musese, when the marauding soldiers and the new recruits went through Musese, Ntara and Sivare, raping women, arbitrarily beating men and stealing all that they could put their hands on.⁵⁹

The soldiers justified their behaviour towards the population with the new military circumstances. They proclaimed that they only obeyed the military command and that they no longer had to observe the restrictive orders of the Native Commissioner or his representatives. Again and again they repeated, that they were not fearing "Nakare", the Commissioner or his messengers. Eedes ordered an inquiry into the behaviour of the soldiers and charged them as well as the recruits. However, it seemed that the remarks of the soldiers provoked him more than the atrocities, as they questioned and undermined his authority in a hitherto unknown manner. The indictment and trials accused the soldiers and recruits of something similar to high treason: the charge included the intentional attempt to overthrow the existing administrative order and to disturb the peace.⁶⁰ Another piece of information had reached Eedes that must have justified such measures in his eyes: *hompa* Sivute had considered to relocate all the Kwangali to Angola, as he had the impression that the South West African Government had authorized the atrocities.⁶¹ Remarks by the soldiers towards the *hompa* had aggravated the situation and suggested the motivation of the soldiers to overthrow the existing order: they had informed the *hompa* that he would be deprived of his power and replaced by former soldiers after the war.⁶²

Eedes did not succeed in having the soldiers dismissed and let them be handed over to the administration in the Kavango for a trial. The responsible Major of the Native Military Corps in Tsumeb ignored the detailed documentation of

the atrocities. Only with the help of the authority of the top officials of his Department did Eedes finally managed that the case was handed over to the office of the Prime Minister of South Africa. Only now did the events drew some attention.⁶³ The archival files in this matter gives an insight into the mind-set of the white ruling circles. Again it was not so much the atrocities which caused the trouble, but what really caused a sensation was the fact, that the soldiers had mentioned that they were now allowed also to rape white women. Such remarks must have indeed felt like the breakdown of the existing order. The Administrator used his summer holidays to endorse Eedes demands and forwarded the letter together with his own to the South African Prime Minister. The demands were unequivocal: dismissal of troops who were involved, a court case against them according to "native law" resulting in the expulsion of all soldiers from Kavango and the temporary end of recruitment campaigns in the Kavango.⁶⁴

The answer from the office of the Prime Minister even went beyond the demands by Eedes. The Prime Minister ordered that disciplinary proceedings should be introduced against all whites who were involved in the recruitment campaign. Furthermore, all recruitment in the whole of South West Africa had to cease.⁶⁵ After this, the former soldiers were handed over to Eedes and a traditional court hearing started on the 8th February 1943 at the *mbara* of *hompa* Sivute in Musese.⁶⁶ Eedes made sure that the extended court case was widely perceived. It ended with the *hompas* verdict that all former soldiers were expelled from the Kavango.⁶⁷

The general reorganisation the Native Military Corps was probably also a sequel of the events in the Kavango. After June 1943 all black volunteer soldiers from South West Africa (about 5000 of them, mostly from Ovamboland) were dismissed.⁶⁸ Even two years after this dismissal the former soldiers created numerous problems in their areas. "[...] the majority seem to be restless" was the remark the administration wrote about them when they offered 1600 former soldiers to the Witwatersrand Labour Association as workers for the gold mines.⁶⁹

The autocratic and violent activities of the soldiers and recruits of the Native Military Corps had spread fear and panic throughout the Kavango. Although Makaranga was directly addressed in the threatening talks and gestures of the soldiers, he did not show any anxiety. They had specifically named Makaranga in their inflammatory speeches and had called his authority in question, but he found no reason to look for protection in the Commissioners station. They could not frighten Makaranga. Later on he related that he had confronted them personally and told them that he would defend himself and would fight tooth and nail.⁷⁰

One soldier who had been recruited before this episode was Josef ja Ruben (called Kandjimi), the eldest son of Makaranga. He was 23 years old when he

registered for voluntary service in the army.⁷¹ The payment as a soldier – which was better than the one of a farmworker – and his father's career might have encouraged him to take this step. His fingerprint under the contract sealed his contract with the army and his unconditional loyalty to His Majesty King George IV and his heirs.⁷² After he was recruited in Tsumeb and waited for transport to Warmbath in the Transvaal, he was confronted with the cruelty of the war. Without his knowledge and whilst he was far away from home, his wife was raped by one of the soldiers on their destructive tour.⁷³

1.3.5 Makaranga enchanting and quick-witted

The spiritual influence of the Nyaneka-Nkumbi (Hinga) on the neighbouring ethnic groups has already been described. Makaranga will have benefitted from this image that the other ethnic groups had of the Hinga. The notion that his clan commanded some magical powers was used by Makaranga whenever needed.⁷⁴ During his public appearances right through his whole life – or so people believed – he not only used his personal power of persuasion, but was always supported by his supernatural powers. The Rukwangali words "a kara remba" (remba can be translated as charisma) described his might over other people, with which he was able to turn an opponent into a best friend.⁷⁵ All these powers also frightened people. His supernatural charm was also used to describe his success among women.

His curtness formed an important part of his personality and was closely linked to all the other character traits with which he guaranteed that people always met him with the necessary respect, or even dread. The attempt to explain Makaranga's name with these characteristics, has already been mentioned.



Chapter 2

“Sirovero kumana ndyo”

The fishing spot consumes the bait

Makaranga and the mission

Makaranga's contact with the mission after his arrival in South West Africa influenced his career until he reached the position of being an important leader in the Kavango, although it is impossible to say what deeper motives or personal conversion moved Makaranga to join the mission church. Only the milestones in his life can be used to sketch his role in the Protestant mission. This chapter shows how Makaranga used his connection with the mission to establish and then stabilize his influence in western Kavango. Makaranga was baptized in the Grootfontein mission congregation, where he only stayed for a few years. In comparison to Grootfontein, his part in the congregation Nkurenkuru was of much greater meaning. In fact, in Nkurenkuru Makaranga was one of the founders of the Protestant congregation. After he had helped to lay the early foundations for a congregation he was appointed as one of the elders of the congregation during a short surprise visit by a Protestant missionary. For many years he held this position and only relinquished it when a permanent missionary was appointed for Nkurenkuru. The rigid principals of the mission and Makaranga's lifestyle were irreconcilable and a final rift between the two was inevitable.

2.1 First contacts with the mission in Angola

A part of Makaranga's name, Manuere, which he rarely used himself, contains a hint to his contacts with a mission before he came to South West Africa. Makaranga himself used this name very seldom. The Portuguese name Manuel (from the Hebrew name Immanuel, "God is with us") was translated in Rukwangali into Manuere. The Christian name Manuel/Immanuel suggests that Makaranga probably had contact with the Catholic mission in Angola, and was possibly baptized and married there by Portuguese Padres. The name of his first wife Esperança, who came with him from Angola, supports the supposition that both were baptized and married in Angola. The proximity of the Catholic mission station in Tyipelongo to their own village also makes this seem likely.

Without any doubt did Makaranga come into close contact with Christianity during his stay with the Angola-Boer family of Pieter du Plessis in Humpata. Most of the time the Angola-Boers had a reformed pastor amongst them until 1909, when the last one left, because the congregation was split on the

question of whether he should be allowed to work amongst their black congregation members. Even without a pastor the congregation of the workers of the Angola-Boers was held together by elders, who preached and gave the Holy Communion without support from outside.¹

2.2 Makaranga's baptism in Grootfontein

The many gaps in Makaranga's biography are supplemented by detailed information which are preserved in the church registers of the mission congregation in Grootfontein, where all the Christian occasions of Makaranga and his family are recorded from 1920 onwards.

Why did Makaranga choose Grootfontein as his first place of residence in South West Africa? A short history of the town and the Grootfontein mission station offers an explanation. Grootfontein – the place with the big fountain was inhabited long before Europeans settled there and gave it this name – was originally founded in 1884 as the headquarters as the so called "Republik van Upingtonia" by discontent Angola-Boers who had left Humpata to find new pastures next to the well-watered and fertile Otavi-mountains. The so-called republic did not exist for long and by 1892 the SWA Company Ltd. had been given the concession to exploit resources in the surrounding area.²

The first Protestant Christians were workers of the SWA Company Ltd. who organised themselves into a small congregation. However, as Eurocentric understanding dictated, the first Rhenish mission station was only established with the arrival of the first Rhenish missionary on the 14th August 1910. Heinrich Pardey lead the progression of the mission station for 36 years until his death.³ As the SWA Company Ltd. developed and grew, Grootfontein and its Protestant congregation also expanded. By 1911, shortly after its foundation, the congregation had 400 members, a few years later, in 1914 they were already 2000. Eight full-time Evangelists worked in the congregation, until the outbreak of the First World War brought financial problems for the Rhenish Mission Society and the amount of work that could be done declined. In 1918 Grootfontein and the mission congregation were hit by the Spanish Flu from which many people died and the congregation declined in numbers.⁴

When Makaranga joined the Rhenish Mission congregation in 1920, the congregation had recovered from this setback. Shortly after his arrival he was baptized into the Rhenish Mission congregation. Through his baptism he became a member of the congregation with a total of 2515 members. Only 365 (that is 14%) of them stayed in the town itself, the rest lived and worked on farms or outposts like Guchab-Asis, Otavi, Okaputa and Okonukandi. The organisational character of the mission had divided the congregation into two

parts: the mission congregation and the Ovambo congregation. Four permanent full-time assistants supported the missionary in his work. According to the estimation of Heinrich Pardey, about half of all inhabitants of the Grootfontein district belonged to the Rhenish Mission.⁵

Makaranga was 30 years old, when he was baptized on the 25th April 1920 in the Rhenish Mission congregation by missionary Pardey and recorded in the baptism register of the congregation.⁶ This registration indicates that he was one of the permanent members from Grootfontein and not part of the "Ovambo congregation". Members of the "Ovambo congregation" were contract workers – mostly Ndonga and Kwanyama – who worked e. g. in the mine outside the town. The number of members in this part of the congregation changed all the time, because of the different length of the contracts before workers went back to Ovamboland or Kavango. During this period high numbers of baptisms into the "Ovambo congregation" were recorded – in 1920 alone 250 workers were baptised. Pardey repeatedly emphasized the striking eagerness of the contract workers to join the baptism classes and learn to read and write.

Makaranga visited the baptism classes of the congregation. Within the Rhenish Mission congregations the baptism classes were a weekly compulsory session that lasted for several months and were conducted by the Evangelist. In most cases the teaching of reading and writing formed part of the baptism class, as it was Protestant conviction that every baptised Christian should be able to read the Bible. It is not known whether Makaranga was literate after this baptism classes, nor how proficient he was in these skills.⁷

Makaranga was baptised into the name Ruben, his wife into the name Sofia and his son was given the name Josef. Ten other individuals were baptised alongside them. The two names Manuel and Esperança – which the couple used before and after the baptism – were not documented in the Protestant register.⁸ As the two baptizand were adults, no god-parents were designated. In the same service on the 25th April 1920 in which Makaranga and his wife were baptized, they were also married.⁹ Makaranga and his wife belonged to the batch of 247 baptism (half of whom were adults) and 40 married couples in the mission congregation.

Makaranga's baptism and marriage in the church coincided with a new episode in his personal and professional life. He gained employment as a policeman and went into service as a translator to the Kavango. During his time in Grootfontein Makaranga worked as an escort of patrols to the Kavango and through that he became an important link between the inhabitants of Nkurenkuru and the mission congregations in Grootfontein and Tsumeb.

Little is known about the numbers of congregation members at the Okavango and their relationship with the Rhenish Mission congregation in Grootfontein. Following the terminology of that time, the workers of the Kavango as well

as those from Ovamboland were all referred to as "Ovambos". According to this rough categorization, workers from Kavango were registered in the "Ovambo congregation".

Despite this inaccuracy in the statistics about workers from Kavango in the "Ovambo congregation", valuable other clues give an impression of their presence. Pardey writes in his report of 1919 that "scores of" people came from the Okavango and that he had baptized "quite a number of them".¹⁰

Another link between Kavango and Grootfontein can be seen in the visit that Pardey received in 1920. In that year – a precise date has not been recorded – the Kwangali hompa Kandjimi visited Pardey during one of his stays in Grootfontein and officially requested a missionary of the Rhenish Mission for Nkurenkuru. According to Pardey's own account, he informed the *hompa*, that the Rhenish Mission Society was in financial crisis and had no possibility of financing further missionaries or teachers. In 1922 Pardey wrote in his report: "At the moment it cannot be said if a missionary will be able to visit the baptismal candidates up there (in the Kavango), or if they have to come down to Grootfontein or Tsumeb for the baptism after they have been sufficiently taught."¹¹

The visit by *hompa* Kandjimi must have demonstrated to Pardey how urgent the small group of Christians considered the request. The core of this group were the people around Makaranga who had moved with the Officer-in-Charge from Grootfontein to Nkurenkuru. Pardey reported on this group of Christians who had all been baptized in Grootfontein. Amongst them was Johannes Saduka, a former elder of the Grootfontein congregation, who started with school- and baptism-lessons as soon as he reached Nkurenkuru. As soon as baptismal candidates had completed their courses they walked all the way from Nkurenkuru to Grootfontein to be baptized by Pardey.¹²

One of the members of this group in Nkurenkuru was Makaranga, who had been appointed as a translator for the administration by the colonial officer Robarts. The group around Makaranga – eight men, three women and three children – planned to establish a Protestant congregation in Nkurenkuru, an intention they already had prior to their departure from Grootfontein.¹³ The elder Johannes Saduka had even been given the task (by missionary Pardey) to serve the new congregation in Nkurenkuru, by holding sermons, baptisms, school and confirmation classes. This was a practice not uncommon within the Rhenish Mission Society for new congregations on far-flung branch stations: an established man, mostly an elder, who had proved himself as a reliable and faithful would be given the task to hold school- and baptism-lessons, celebrate the church services and look after the weak and sick in the congregation. He would do this work without compensation and only if he had shown his reliability would he be appointed as an Evangelist and receive a small allowance.

Grootfontein was the centre of the vast Grootfontein district, and by this time the whole Kavango was part of the Grootfontein district. After the First World War, Grootfontein was also the seat of the military magistrate who had sent an officer with a group of employees to the Kavango. It was in Grootfontein that Makaranga met his future employer, the military magistrate. In later years the centre of administration moved from Grootfontein to Tsumeb, because of the existing road over Tsintsabis to Nkurenkuru and the railway station in Tsumeb.

2.3 Nkurenkuru grows into a branch station of the Tsumeb congregation

Since Tsumeb will play a role in the following part of Makaranga's biography, it is necessary to shed some light on its history. By 1905, the commercial exploitation of the copper deposits in Tsumeb had been begun, was started by the Otavi Minen und Eisenbahn Gesellschaft (a subsidiary of the SWA Company Ltd.). In 1906 a narrow-gauge railway was completed between Tsumeb and Swakopmund.¹⁴ A congregation amongst the many mine workers was gathered by the teacher Samuel Kutako and later developed into a mission station by Ferdinand Lang, a missionary of the Rhenish Mission Society.

Tsumeb was especially hard hit by Spanish Influenza in 1918. Kutako, as well as the missionary and his wife, died during the pandemic.¹⁵ The town, as well as the Protestant mission congregation, had always been dependant on the economic wellbeing of the copper mine. More than half of the congregation (between 1918 and 1926 the average was 56%) worked as contract workers in the mine and came from the Ovamboland. As the congregation members from "Okawango (sic) and Sambesi"¹⁶ were also counted under the Ovambo in the statistics, no exact numbers of Kavangos are available. With the economical ups and downs of the mine, the numbers of members in the "Ovambo congregation" also changed drastically. Alongside the contract workers, the so called *oombwiti* – people from the North who permanently settled down in Tsumeb – formed the "Ovambo congregation", together these two groups constituted 80% of the total congregation.

In 1925/26 the number of workers from Ovamboland decreased and more "Zambesians"/"Okavangoians" – as the missionary called them – arrived. The missionary estimated their number to be about 700 from five different language groups. He wrote: "Many of them are sick. The long journey by foot has weakened them so much that they need weeks to recover. Some of them walked 8 to 10 weeks before they reached here. We gather them and teach them in the Ovambo language. We have to wait and see if the influx continues. Because so many of them die, others will get frightened and not come."¹⁷

In 1920 the Rhenish Mission congregation had 1443 baptised members and earnings of 3600 Deutsche Mark from membership fees, offerings and fees for baptism, funerals etc. The numbers of Ovambo who attended the baptism classes were – like in Grootfontein – strikingly high. 200 to 300 Ovambos regularly attended the baptism classes which were held – in order to accommodate the working shifts of the mine – daily from 9-11, 15-17 and 19-21. Large services with baptisms of 99 workers – like the one during Christmas 1921 – were not uncommon. Like in Grootfontein, it is unfortunately not possible to estimate exactly how many of the members of the "Ovambo congregation" were actually from the Kavango. Only some general remarks in the countless reports of the missionary occasionally refer to Kavangos, e.g. when missionary Gehlmann wrote in his yearly report of 1922 about "a number of people" from the Okavango at Bobos who could barely communicate in their language with the Ovambos. Bobos was a smaller mine of the SWA Company Ltd., 25 kilometers to the West of Tsumeb, with about 120 workers.¹⁸ Additionally to these, Gehlmann mentions workers on the farms, under which also "people from the Okavango (sic) and Sambesi".

Amongst the group of Christians who moved to Nkurenkuru with Makaranga in 1921 were also members of Tsumeb, indeed they were the ones who kept the connection to their former congregation alive. Shortly after their arrival in Nkurenkuru they contacted their former missionary Herman Gehlmann in Tsumeb and asked for reading primers (reading books for beginners) and books. The reason for the request was simple: they were eager to start teaching reading and writing to their new neighbours.¹⁹ He sent the required books and kept in regular contact with them through Makaranga and other *police-boys* who routinely traversed the distance between Tsumeb and Nkurenkuru. Another way of communication between Nkurenkuru and Tsumeb was through the baptism-candidates who – after a lengthy period of instructions – walked the demanding and dangerous route down to Tsumeb, in the hope that they would pass the strict test of the missionary to be finally baptised by him. Gehlmann's successor after 1925, Heinrich Welsch, maintained close contact with Nkurenkuru. The figures from Nkurenkuru reflected the keen interest in the baptism classes. Already by the end of 1921, elder Johannes Saduka had reported to Tsumeb that he had gathered "74 persons, 32 men, 18 women, 24 boys and three girls".²⁰

2.4 Nkurenkuru becomes a bone of contention between the two confessions

Makaranga moved to the Kavango in 1921 with the intention to permanently settle there. Because of his repeated visits he was already acquainted with the situation there and not a stranger. At his arrival in Nkurenkuru he represented two facets of the new era the population was confronted with: on one side he presented the administration for which he was working and soon started to interfere in matters of daily life and on the other hand was he an active member of the Christian congregation which attracted a lot of attention with their baptism classes. The two groups were not identical as there were some women who were not employed by the administration. Not all was new of what the group around Makaranga brought to Nkurenkuru: returning contract workers had already attended baptism classes in the South, some had even been baptised in the South and were now eager to share their knowledge with those who stayed behind. One of them was Benjamin Shilomboleni, a former contract worker on the diamond fields near Lüderitzbucht, who started to give baptism classes on his own after his return to Nkurenkuru. Shilomboleni attended baptism classes under missionary Carl Sckär of the Rhenish Mission Society in his free time on the diamond fields. His contract ended and he returned home without having completed the baptism course and before being baptised.²¹

What motivated people in the 1920s to start with baptism classes, celebrate services and teach reading and writing without anybody having them requested to do so or without receiving any remuneration? The mission history of Namibia shows that many similar cases occurred at other locations throughout the country.²² Christians initiated the beginning of a Christian congregation without missionaries or other ecclesiastical institutions expecting it of them. Contract workers had grasped Christianity as a coping strategy due to the extreme conditions under which they were working in the South, and considered Christianity as an integral part of all the new sensations they were exposed to. They were eager to handle all the skills – like reading and writing – of the new system. They had also learned that an active Christian life always goes hand in hand with the endeavour to try to convert others to the new faith. Besides all this, they must have had the wish to communicate their experiences from the South to those who remained at home and to share with them their own knowledge.²³

The fact that local people came together without the supervision of a missionary is exactly the point that made the Officer-in-Charge for Native Affairs suspicious about all the activities.

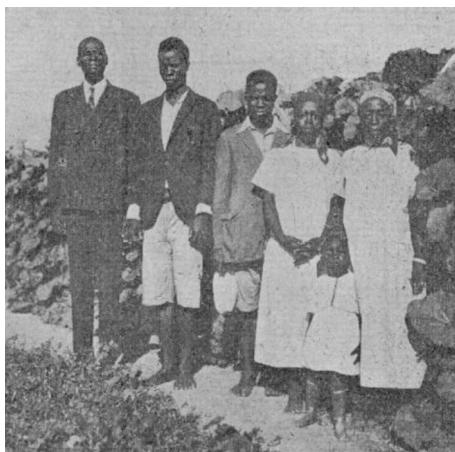


Figure 9: Benjamin Shilomoleni (left) with James, Wilson, Monika and Alma in the 1930's

The colonial administration was not prepared to tolerate the existing situation as long as it was not clear under whose surveillance of the two confessions Nkurenkuru would fall. Otherwise the administration had no interest whatsoever in the activities of the small congregation – as reading and writing skills were not considered necessarily desirable for a successful contract. Besides that, the administration was too busy recruiting enough workers for the South that they did not bother much of other developments within the community.

Although the self-styled teachers in the congregation were given baptism classes, they were not authorised to test or baptise the successful candidates, therefore many walked the dangerous way down to Tsumeb or Grootfontein to be baptised. Makaranga's wife Sofia did exactly this when she walked the five day long route to have her oldest daughter baptised in Tsumeb on the 13th September 1925.²⁴ This was not an option for all of the 400 who had attended baptism classes by 1924 in Nkurenkuru.²⁵ Therefore repeated requests and petitions for their own missionary were sent to Tsumeb. Since both the missionaries in Tsumeb and Grootfontein were either unwilling or unable to risk the journey to Nkurenkuru, Gehlmann came up with an unconventional proposal. Contrary to the practice of the Rhenish Mission Society he suggested sending an Evangelist to Nkurenkuru who would have the authority to baptise. The suggestion of asking the Finnish Missionary Society (FMS) to take over the work was also mentioned internally amongst RMS missionaries.²⁶ The fear of the Protestant missionaries that the Catholics would get there first was a constant drive to find a solution.

The Catholics were indeed not idle in their undertakings to have a Catholic mission station established in Nkurenkuru; in 1924 the Catholic priest from Andara, travelled to Nkurenkuru and requested – in the name of the Catholic bishop in Windhoek – the permission to open a Catholic mission station in Nkurenkuru from *hompa* Mbuna. The elder Johannes Saduka reported the

efforts of the priest to Tsumeb and told the Protestant missionary that the Catholics were about to build a house and settle on a plot in the middle of their congregation. Saduka again used the opportunity to urge the Protestant missionary to come to Nkurenkuru and baptise children and baptism candidates.²⁷

Back in 1903 Catholic missionaries of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI) had originally tried to open a mission station in the vicinity of Nkurenkuru. However, their attempts to start with the mission work amongst the Kwangali was confronted with the stiff resistance by *hompa* Himarwa. As the effort to start mission work amongst the neighbouring Mbunza was also inconclusive, the Catholics had to abandon their plans. When father Hermann Biegner died of Malaria near Nkurenkuru and the other priests also fell ill, they left the Kavango.²⁸

These deterrent experiences in the western Kavango had the consequences of the OMI priests shifting their efforts to the eastern Kavango. There they founded the first Catholic mission station in Andara by 1909. But also here the deadly malaria and frictions with the Mbukushu-*hompa* resulted in the closure of the station not much later. Only when they founded the mission station Nyangana in the Gciriku area in 1910, was the work more successful and from there they re-established Andara in 1913.²⁹

In spite of all their activities in the east of the Kavango, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate never lost sight of their original aim of establishing mission stations in western Kavango. Originally the German colonial authority had designated the whole Kavango area to the work of the Catholics, thereby ensuring a kind of monopoly for mission work in this area.³⁰ After the first unsuccessful attempts in the West, it took the Catholics up to the 1920s before their staff numbers and logistics allowed them to re-start their efforts in western Kavango, with the journey of Biefert in 1924 allowing them to do as they had originally intended.

It was the same year in which Johannes Saduka was appointed as a police-boy and with his new position, his eagerness to work in the congregation ceased. In May 1926 Saduka was therefore replaced by Stefanus Hakuenje. Hakuenje – who was originally from Kavango, was appointed as an elder for the congregation Nkurenkuru and sent to Nkurenkuru by Welsch.³¹

Makaranga continued to play an important role in the congregation and it formed a part of his rise to power. His membership in the congregation, his work as an employee of the administration and his good contacts with the *hompa* safeguarded him a social standing in Nkurenkuru and its surroundings. He grew further and further into the position as an intermediary between the local population, the small congregation, the colonial representatives and the mission society. This became obvious in 1926 when an event changed the further development of western Kavango.

2.5 A Finnish missionary on a flying visit to Nkurenkuru

An unexpected and unannounced visit of a Finnish missionary from Ovamboland had a decisive influence on Makaranga's role in the small Christian congregation which by this time had existed for six years and which he himself had helped to establish. The Finnish missionary Emil Närhi from Oshigambo visited Nkurenkuru from the 28th to the 30th April 1926, and Makaranga offered him accommodation and at the same time acted as the representative of the congregation Nkurenkuru.

To understand the nature of Närhi's visit to Nkurenkuru it is necessary to shed a light on Närhi's own nature. Otto Emil Närhi was sent to Ovamboland by the FMS in August 1920. After teaching for three years in the missions teachers training seminary in Oniipa, he was sent to the Oshigambo congregation where he worked until his return to Finland in 1928.³² Oshigambo was the furthest eastern mission station of the FMS in the 1920s. The adventure-loving missionary was so much attracted by the legendary Okavango-river to the east of his station that he had been determined to stand on the bank of this river at least once in his lifetime. His first attempt (in 1925) to reach the Okavango was unsuccessful and nearly cost the life of the missionary and his companions.³³ This could not deter the venturesome missionary and in April 1926 he again set off, this time with eleven men as his escort. The strenuous ride, full of difficulties, through the Oshimpolo from Oshigambo to Nkurenkuru took them eleven days. They arrived on the morning of the 29th April and the first location Närhi visited was the office of the Acting Officer-in-Charge of Native Affairs, where he gave Mr. Roger Carr a courtesy call. Carr was the third officer of the South African administration on this post and he stayed in the old German police station which the Germans had left behind after their withdrawal. One of Carr's duties was to control the written permits which white visitors needed if they visited Kavango. Närhi knew of this requirement – as the same procedure existed in Ovamboland – but because of the pure adventurous character of his journey to the Okavango he had not bothered with this bureaucratic procedure. Närhi was therefore not completely relaxed when he greeted Carr. When Carr asked Närhi about his permit, he skilfully switched to another theme of discussion. Little did he realise at that point that his decision to ignore the regulations about a permit, would have later repercussions.³⁴

Makaranga had organised an audience with *hompa* Mbuna, and together with his companions and Makaranga, Närhi visited the *hompa*. To the great surprise of Närhi – who was obviously unprepared for such a visit – he met Christians in the *hompa*'s palace who had been baptised by RMS missionaries in the South.³⁵ Närhi's astonishment grew even further when people requested baptisms from him during the visit at the *mbara* of *hompa* Mbuna. They then told Närhi in detail about the congregation, the school- and baptism-classes. Only now did Närhi discover that all of them were able to read and write and

knew the basic Christian dogmas.³⁶ Stunned about such surprising encounters, Närhi invited everybody to a church service for the next day in Makaranga's homestead.

The next day, Friday 30th April, Närhi baptised, during the service in Makaranga's house, twelve persons. He had taken the decision only after careful considerations and against his own objections, after he had consulted his companion Paulus zaShamena. All of them had been taught by Johannes Saduka and all had proven their knowledge of the Christian beliefs during an examination. Närhi married a couple who were part of the 19 other baptised Christians who attended and he confirmed others. At the end of the service he celebrated Holy Communion with the (around 40) members of the congregation. The whole event had drawn a big crowd who experienced their further baptism of a number of latecomers, amongst them Benjamin Shilomboleni.

Before Närhi left on the same day he convened a congregation assembly in which Makaranga was elected as the congregation leader and Moses Himarwa, together with Wilhelm Sientu as his two assistants. With Moses Himarwa and Wilhelm Sientu two important members from the *hempa* family were baptised and elected into leading congregation positions. Moses Himarwa later married *hempa* Kanuni and was the biological father of *hempa* Kandjimi Murangi, the successor of Kanuni. Wilhelm Sientu was the biological father of *hempa* Mpasi Sientu who followed Kandjimi Murangi. Both men, Moses Himarwa and Wilhelm Sientu, had their first contact with Christianity in the baptism classes of the RMS in the South and later joined the classes of Johannes Saduka.³⁷ The first Protestant congregation in Nkurenkuru – according to Närhi with about 40 active members – had clearly positioned itself within the local power structures of the 1920s: the leader of the congregation was an employee of the administration and his two assistances were members of the ruling *hempa* family.

The FMS underlined the meaning of Närhi's visit with a marble monument and distorted the mission history in so far as to suggest as if the activities of Närhi alone were the beginnings of the Nkurenkuru congregation. As the monument reminds of Närhi's baptism activities, it was erected on the spot of Makaranga's former homestead where the service was celebrated. Definitely not intended by the FMS, but with the monument Makaranga's special contribution is also highlighted. When the new church of the Nkurenkuru congregation was built in 2018, it was erected right on the spot of Makaranga's former homestead.



Figure 10: The group of Christians who had established a congregation long before the first Finnish missionary came to Nkurenkuru. Makaranga can be seen in the back (second person from left), Moses Himarwa and Wilhelm Sientu are seated in the front row (the first two persons on the left side) 1926.



Figure 11: Makaranga (seated on the ground behind the table) during one of the court cases in the 1940s.

Närhi had very little to no insight into the situation in Nkurenkuru during his short visit. This is most obvious in connection with his host, Makaranga. Makaranga had three wives – all of them had children from him – when Närhi came to Nkurenkuru. Makaranga's marital status was well known in the village, but he managed to keep it secret from the missionary. Considering the fact that Närhi did not know that Makaranga was practicing polygamy, his appointment as congregation leader takes on further meaning.

The FMS had a distinct negative attitude towards polygamy. During the first 30 years of their work in South West Africa they completely rejected polygamy and not a single polygamist was baptised until 1901. In the years following 1901 the FMS relaxed this strict stance under the influence of German protestant missionaries and polygamists were admitted into baptism classes. Some of them were even baptised. According to a decision by the mission board in 1913, the traditional marriage – also the polygamous one – was considered to be valid. Since this was only an interim provision and this ruling also was misused, a radical repudiation of polygamy followed. This latest attitude was formulated in a proposal for a church order as follows:

"The polygynous man has before baptism to refrain from polygyny. He has to agree with the attendant of the congregation as to which of his previous wives remains his marital partner. If nobody agrees to stay, he has the right to take a new wife. If one of a polygynist's wives wants to be baptized, and the husband does not agree to refrain from polygyny, she has first to part from her husband, if possible."³⁸

Since polygamy played a role in Kavango, it seems unlikely that Närhi knew of Makaranga's different wives and that he just ignored them and on his return to Ovamboland withheld this information from his superiors. Närhi knew that his autocratic decision to baptise the Nkurenkuru people would provoke dissent among his superior colleagues in Ovamboland. If he had have appointed knowingly a polygamist as the leader of the congregation, it would have most probably cost him his position as a missionary in Oshigambo.

Närhi later wrote a book about his experiences as a missionary in Africa. He dedicates a whole chapter on his journey to Nkurenkuru and his alleged congregation founding activities. Närhi's writings exposes his naivety in the encounter with Makaranga. The first Christian congregation lost credibility with the official appointment of Makaranga as leader. The first permanent Finnish missionaries found it difficult to remove Makaranga from his position and they suffered under the structures created by Närhi in his naivety. On the other hand, it is indicative of Makaranga's skill that he kept his contradictions with Christianity hidden and secured the leading role in the congregation for himself.³⁹ Another credible alternative could have been somebody like Benjamin Shilomboleni, but with his humble and restrained personality he probably had no chance against Makaranga.⁴⁰ With the hompa family members, namely Moses Himarwa and Wilhelm Sientu in the leadership, the Protestant congregation had a direct link to the hompa and thereby managed to prevent the Catholics from opening a mission station in Nkurenkuru.

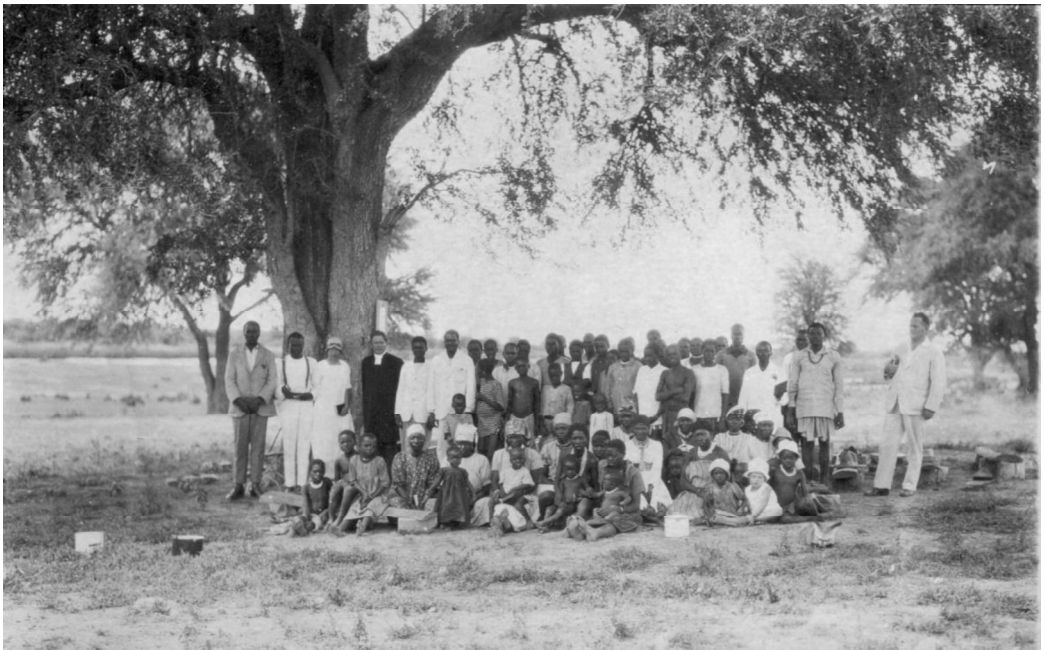


Figure 12: The Protestant congregation under the tree where they held services. Foto taken 1936.

2.6 The implications in Oniipa, Helsinki and Windhoek of Närhi's visit

The events during Närhi's visit were directly influenced by Makaranga's organizational talents. He arranged what the Finnish missionary saw and experienced and what could have a positive effect on any future support for the congregation. At the same time Makaranga avoided impressions that could have complicated communication with the mission society. However, Makaranga's influence on events was in fact only restricted to the local situation. The decisions that resulted from Närhi's flying visit to Nkurenkuru were taken outside Makaranga's sphere of influence in Oniipa, Helsinki and Windhoek. The specific conditions of the congregation under Makaranga's leadership presented a particular challenge to the mission boards in Oniipa and Helsinki and the illegitimate visit of Närhi did not go unnoticed in offices of the administration in Windhoek. As the outcome of these discussions influenced Makaranga's future role, they are discussed here in detail.

The return of Närhi to Oshigambo and his report of his journey immediately triggered a lively discussion and hectic activities amongst the representatives of the missionaries in Ovamboland and their superiors in Helsinki. Närhi was summoned to appear before the board of leading missionaries in Oniipa, where he was critically scrutinised and reprimanded before a board of his long-serving colleagues.⁴¹ Baptism was one of the few sacraments in the Lutheran tradition and within the FMS it was practiced with pronounced restraint and only after a lengthy course with a strict examination of the candidate's knowledge and sincerity. Närhi defended his decision to baptise the candidates stressing that the group of Christians in Nkurenkuru were "so scattered and without order". He further justified his activities in Nkurenkuru by reporting that the officer in Nkurenkuru had informed him that the Catholics already had the permission to start with their mission in Kavango.

The supreme board of the FMS in Helsinki, however, expressed their joy about the journey of Närhi and the related events and decided in their meeting on 4th September 1926 – only a few months after Närhi's trip – to start mission work in Kavango with the deployment of an Ovambo-teacher to Nkurenkuru.⁴² This euphoric reaction from Helsinki must be viewed with the background that the mission society came under pressure the same year when the 50 year long monopoly of FMS mission work in Ovamboland came to an end. In spite of protest from the side of the FMS, the South African administration allowed Catholics and Anglicans to do mission work in Ovamboland. Although the permission strictly followed ethnic criteria, the FMS leadership in Helsinki felt they were losing significant areas and influence in Ovamboland and they were more than eager to compensate for this with a new mission field in Kavango.

Against the territorial and ethnic constrain of the work of the FMS in

Ovamboland, its director in Helsinki, Matti Tarkkanen, organised international protest. During an inspection trip to South West Africa in 1925 he had discussions with the Administrator and the Prime Minister of South Africa and thereby managed to have the restrictions on the FMS mission work repealed. Tarkkanen could, however, not change the decision that other mission societies were allowed into the Ovamboland.⁴³ An extension of its own work into Kavango and Kaokoland was welcomed by the FMS as an apparent compensation for the changes in Ovamboland. The envisaged extension of the mission work into Kavango was further complicated by an unexpected development – the illegitimate visit of Närhi to Nkurenkuru was considered by the administration more serious than the FMS had been expecting. When the FMS, in a letter dated 25th November 1926, requested the administration for the necessary permission to start mission work in Nkurenkuru, they were confronted with a typical bureaucratic procedure of delay and intimidation.⁴⁴ Without reacting to the actual application, the administration inquired if missionary Närhi had had permission when he visited Nkurenkuru.⁴⁵ Victor Alho, the Praeses of the local board of missionaries who answered the letter in this capacity, pointed out that Närhi came to Nkurenkuru "[...] quite as a private person" – and unfortunately without a permission.⁴⁶

In a later letter of 26th February 1927 the application of the FMS was rejected with the argument that the population of the Kavango was very small and that the "spiritual requirements [was] adequately served by the Roman Catholic Mission". This answer already shows the despotism and demeanour with which the administration would treat the mission society in the following years. The administration used the same letter to express displeasure about the visit of Närhi, which was considered as an aggravated offense and reprimanded the FMS for it. For the FMS, the only positive feature in the letter was the permission to start mission work in Kaokoland.⁴⁷

In the meantime OMI had built their third mission station in Tondoro and from there they reattempted to open another station in Nkurenkuru. Up until that date hompa Kanuni and her *masimbi* had not openly committed themselves to one of the two mission societies. Kanuni did not feel obliged to the promises her predecessor had made some years prior about a possible plot in Nkurenkuru. Makaranga and his congregation members had done some good ground-breaking work and prevented a Catholic mission station in Nkurenkuru. Although the Catholic priest Gregor Weillhoefer stayed over in Nkurenkuru for two weeks in which he obtrusively tried to convince the hompa to allocate the mission a site in Nkurenkuru, he finally had to settle with a plot in Tondoro.⁴⁸

The FMS could not condone the refusal which they had received from Windhoek, and instead responded in two letters. The first letter was written by mission secretary Victor Alho in May 1927 to the administration, in which

he expressed his deep disappointment about the decision. At the same time he formulated an unambiguous statement of submissiveness towards the Government: "[...] on behalf of the Finnish Mission, (I) beg to apologize to His Honour the Administrator for the transgression of the law by the Rev. Närhi. I assure His Honour that such a crime will no more happen among the members of our mission."⁴⁹

The second letter was written in Helsinki by mission director Matti Tarkkanen to the administration in Windhoek. In his letter he reminds the administration about the achievements of the FMS.⁵⁰ He writes: "Your Honour, You know, that the Finnish Missionary Society has laboured in Amboland from 1870. It has built up there a Christian Community of 19,309 souls. It saved the people from taking part in the Herero uprising of 1904. It has organized a school system, in which now 12 Europeans and 240 African teachers are giving instruction to over 6000 pupils according to principles accepted by the best modern educators. [...]"

After listing the social and health contributions of the FMS he thanks the Administrator for the freedom to do mission work. Then Tarkkanen regrets the refusal by the administration to send an Ovambo-teacher to Nkurenkuru. He argues for the big numbers of people in Kavango – according to Tarkkanen 40 active members and another 400 potential members – who could not be served by the Catholic mission. At the end of his letter, he reminds the Administrator of the status of South West Africa as a mandated territory in which the freedom of the mission is guaranteed by all respective nations.

In his reference to the visit of Närhi, Tarkkanen distorts the facts as he writes that Närhi came to Nkurenkuru as a true missionary who was not aware that he would have needed a permission in that function.

It cannot be traced as to how far these letters influenced the final decision of the administration. Another correspondence reveals what finally convinced the administration to change their mind. It was an intervention by the Officer-in-Charge for Native Affairs in Ovamboland that finally gained the desired permission. Alho approached Cocky Hahn, the Officer-in-Charge during a private event and asked him to put in a good word for the FMS to the Secretary of South West Africa, Courtney-Clark. In a private letter, Hahn notified Alho that he had done so and that a further application "[...] in one, or perhaps two months" will be successful. Again it became clear, how much the administration had been felt offended by the visit of Närhi, and how this was the only issue which prevented a positive decision on the beginning of the mission work in Kavango, according to the information forwarded from the highest ranks of the administration. Now, that the FMS has made it clear that it was a private visit and now that Närhi had been reprimanded – so the official version – a favourable decision could be expected.⁵¹

On the 24th September 1927 Alho repeated his application in a letter to

Windhoek in which he reiterated his position that the treatment of Catholics and Protestants are not the same if the former are now allowed to work in Ovamboland – a fact which was demonstrated by the Bishops intentions – and the latter are not allowed to extend their work into Kavango.⁵²

Yet the ordeal of the FMS in this matter was not over with the last letters from Helsinki and Oniipa. Again the administration in Windhoek found another issue, with which they kept the FMS in suspense. In the next writing the administration wanted to find out, if the mission planned to put the new station under the supervision of a white missionary.⁵³ Indeed, this was not what the FMS planned to do, as they always had thought of the deployment of an Ovambo-teacher. Anticipating that this arrangement would even further delay the application, Alho explained that the future work in Nkurenkuru would not be in the hands of an Ovambo-teacher alone, but that he would be strictly controlled from Oniipa. Alho tried to soothe the administration by pointing out that the deployment of an Ovambo-teacher and –pastor was only a temporary solution as the FMS might station a missionary in Nkurenkuru in the future. This decision, however could only be taken in Helsinki.⁵⁴

By this time the patience of the local mission board was running thin, over a year had passed since the visit of Närhi. Again Alho used his private contacts with officer-in-charge of native affairs Hahn to find out if a decision of the administration could be expected before 1928.⁵⁵ This time the private contact was of no help, because Hahn also just knew that the application was handled by the Administrator personally.

Finally, on the 25th October 1927, the long awaited permission came from Windhoek that the FMS was allowed to open a mission station in Nkurenkuru, under the strict restriction that only a permanent mission station under the control of a white missionary would be allowed. In another letter the administration found it necessary to once again underline the conditions: no deployment of black co-workers without the direct control of a white missionary.⁵⁶

The persistence with which the administration repeated the last point shows a dubious conformity between the interests of the administration and the interest of the mission. For the administration the future development in Nkurenkuru was dominated by the consideration that an institution like a congregation must at all times be controlled, if not by the administration directly, at least by a white person. For the FMS it was likewise obvious that the congregation in Nkurenkuru, which had grown "uncontrolled" for seven years, urgently needed the guiding hand, discipline and control of a white missionary. Even if the arguments were different – for the administration purely political, while theological for the mission – the postulation behind it were very similar.

The theological thinking behind the argument of the mission was formulated

by the mission director in Helsinki in a letter to the Administrator. Although he requests the temporary employment of two Ovambo-members, the mission director is in line with the colonial administration when he writes: "There is now practically going on an uncontrolled mission work through unlearned native Christians of Uunguungali, which does not guarantee such teaching and church discipline as is according to the Scriptures."

For the temporary solution with the two Ovambo-church workers Tarkkanen guaranteed their genuine faithfulness and trustfulness. The two men had been approved by the Officer-in-Charge and it was safeguarded that they would only work for "order and benevolence".⁵⁷

The formation and development of an independent Protestant congregation in Nkurenkuru must have provoked the administration so much, that they pressed the FMS to guarantee a white missionary for the station. As the placing of a Catholic missionary had failed because of the *hompa* intervention, the colonial administration wanted to ensure that a Protestant missionary directed the development of the Protestant congregation at this important administrative centre in orderly and established fashion.

Makaranga's leadership role would not have been very much affected by an Ovambo-pastor or -teacher. Compared with that option, the arrival of a white missionary would have meant far-reaching consequences for Makaranga's role. It was foreseeable, that the arrival of a Finnish missionary would drastically change the structure within the Protestant congregation and not leave Makaranga's position untouched.

2.7 The Finnish Missionary Society starts working in Nkurenkuru

After the final permission was given, the preparations for the first missionary in Nkurenkuru started. On the 18th July 1928 representatives of the FMS visited Nkurenkuru to receive a site from *hompa* Kanuni for the future mission station. Significantly the plot of the mission was directly next to the homestead of Makaranga – what a closer link could have *hompa* Kanuni set between the mission and Makaranga? About a year later, on the 8th June 1929, the first Finnish missionary, Aatu Järvinen (later he called himself Järvineva) and his wife Alma moved to Nkurenkuru. They now lived in the mission house which his brother had built shortly before – within calling distance of Makaranga and his family.⁵⁸

The FMS kept their promise which they had made to the administration and chose an experienced and reliable missionary for the post in Nkurenkuru. Järvinen had been working in Ovamboland since 1917 and had focused his work in his congregation on medical care. Because of his training he was well

grounded in medical matters, another reason why the FMS relocated him to Nkurenkuru. As the administration requested somebody with basic medical knowledge to conduct the medical check-up of contract workers, Järvinen was the obvious choice. Since April 1931 he did this additional work of examining and sorting out unfit contract workers before they continued their journey to the South. The FMS received a yearly contribution of £ 50 for this work, a substantial amount in the 1930s.⁵⁹ In his main work Järvinen laid the foundation for a Lutheran mission congregation. In the first church registers which he compiled, Makaranga and his family can be found on the first page.⁶⁰

Shortly after his arrival in Nkurenkuru, Aatu Järvinen baptised three of Makaranga's children, from his second and third wife. Kwanyama- and Ndonga teachers – who followed Järvinen to Nkurenkuru – became the first Godparents. Makaranga himself was already excluded from the Holy Communion by this time. With the arrival of the white missionary the first disciplinary measures were introduced and Makaranga was faced with the choice either to divorce from his wives and choose one of them as his only marital partner or to accept the consequences of being excluded from Holy Communion and lose his position as an elder in the congregation. With his additional marriage to one of the wives of the deceased hompa Kandjimi he openly showed which option he chose and clearly demonstrated that his role as a leader of the community was no longer only dependent on his position in the congregation.

Makaranga's real breach with the congregation only took place much later. This missionary – who was no longer burdened with the history of the strong independent congregation under Makaranga's reign – came in 1934. He was Eino Pennanen, who came directly from Finland as missionary to continue building up the congregation which Aatu Järvinen had started to bring into line with the "teaching and church discipline as is according to the Scriptures". Makaranga was excluded from the congregation in 1936 because his marriages and lifestyle had led to an open confrontation between him and the Protestant mission.⁶¹ With his excommunication the congregation finally split with its own history during which Makaranga had significantly contributed to its foundation. By this time the FMS was well established in western Kavango, it had founded two additional mission stations in Rupara (Lupala) (1931) and Mupini (1932) and was no longer dependent on people like Makaranga.

By the middle of the 1930s four Finnish mission couples, two single female teachers and one nurse worked for the FMS in Kavango. All FMS employees in Kavango had to report to the mission secretary in Oniipa and formed part of the mission conference of Ovamboland. Due to the weak communication links between Ovamboland and Kavango and because of the different working conditions, the two mission fields were separated into two organisational structures in 1936. From now on the FMS missionaries had their own missionary conference and one of them was appointed as a missionary

secretary. In all other aspects the FMS staff in Kavango remained an integral part of mission society.⁶²

Even though Makaranga was excluded from the congregation, he remained in Nkurenkuru and his influence as a communal leader directly also affected the congregation. A few years later Pennanen described the situation in connection with Makaranga as follows:

"About two years ago [1934], two Mujeba-men [Njemba-men] came from the Angolan side to settle here. Both of them were heathen and they started with the School here and brother Järvinen baptised them last autumn [1935]. The men became faithful Christians. Since they stayed in the close vicinity, I asked them to work for me. They were hardworking and cut planks for me. One of them died in January [1936]. Lukas – the other one – continued with the work. He stayed about 200 meters from here in the house of Ruben, the policeman.

Lukas was not married and therefore he look for a Jemba-heathengirl [Njemba-girl]. He found one and send her to our baptism classes. One day I was told by somebody that Lukas was already staying with another woman. Lukas denied it fiercely. I asked her to come and see me, but she did not turn up. She promised to come, when she finally had said farewell to her family on the Angolan side.

When she came from Angola, she did not keep her promise and did not come to me. One day the family of the girl demanded that Lukas should marry her. Lukas refused and said that she first had to become a Christian before he would take her as his wife. This, he insisted, were the customs of the Christians and he did not want to contravene the habits of the Christians. The family of the girl was very angry. A few days later they reported to *hompa* Sivute that Lukas had transported a few fruits from Angola to our side. The matter was brought before the Native Commissioner Eedes. Lukas was arrested and kept in prison for four days. During that days he was beaten, but received no food. Eedes accepted the verdict of *hompa* Sivute. Lukas were to be punished with five lashes with the branch of a palm tree. The sentence was executed in Eedes office. Afterwards Lukas was further sentenced to leave the kingdom of *hompa* Sivute, which means he had to leave the country.

We accompanied the heart-broken man onto the other side of the river and gave him some food for his journey. Indeed a very sad verdict. It was argued that the fruits Lukas had brought to here are very important and used by the bushman to produce some kind of beer. Lukas had traded it for a little bit of salt and he was not aware that it was not allowed to by articles on the other side of the river.

The accusations clearly originated from Maakala-policechief Ruben. Lukas stayed in his house. Since Lukas did not participate in the drinking bouts at Ruben's house, Ruben had asked him to leave the house. Probably Ruben

suspected Lukas that he had told us about the heathen life and the two wives in the house of Ruben. That was why he was excluded from the congregation."⁶³

It's likely that the missionary was right when he suspected Makaranga of having had initiated the case against Lukas. The different functions in which Makaranga is described in the above conflict reflects his influence in the different spheres in which he was active. Makaranga's widespread contacts to Angola allowed him to establish the contact between the family of the bride of Lukas and the *hompa*. Makaranga knew all the rules and strict regulations of the administration and – in the close knit network of the village – he knew who disregarded some of the rules now and then. This also applies to the rules in connection with the export and import of articles over the border. As the vast border could not be guarded it very much depended on Makaranga to report violations of rules to the Commissioner. It therefore remained with Makaranga to decide which cases were to be prosecuted and which not. The cases in front of the Commissioner and in the presence of the *hompa* were translated by Makaranga and he could easily manipulate the procedure. The arrests and the following treatment in the cells were under Makaranga's control and he would be the one who executed any corporal punishment.

The event demonstrates that Makaranga had reached a position of power in which he was able to take revenge on Lukas. Under normal circumstances Lukas transport of fruits over the border would not – without Makaranga's intervention – have attracted much attention. Makaranga managed to utilise both the traditional leaders and the new colonial power structure – in which he formed an important element – for his own purpose. At the same time Makaranga exposes the limited power of the missionary: he might have had the authority to exclude Makaranga from the congregation, but he was powerless in the light of Makaranga's intrigues in the Lukas case. It is not surprising that the missionary was frustrated when faced with the unfair treatment of Lukas and what the missionary called the "sad judgement". However, even his written complaint to the colonial officer could not change anything.⁶⁴

Makaranga marked the final split with the mission by moving his whole homestead away from the mission area – to about half a kilometre to the southwest.⁶⁵ For his whole life Makaranga kept his distance from the mission; he used it as an institution whenever he needed it, e.g. when he schooled his children or when he applied for a new school.

The following short story from Makaranga sheds a light on his religious thinking. Makaranga's children were educated in the mission school in Mupini. One day, a conflict between the two teachers of the school and pupils emerged. Since the children of Makaranga were part of the problem, the teachers decided to visit Makaranga in Sauyemwa and inform him of the

situation. Makaranga's reaction epitomises his understanding of religion and religious education: "Teach them", he told the pious teachers, "to fear God, or I will teach them to fear the devil!"⁶⁶

Makaranga never had any close contact with the Catholic mission, because the relationship between the Protestant and Catholic mission during his time was dominated by competition and confrontation.



Figure 13: The first Finnish mission church in Nkurenkuru in the 1930's

Chapter 3

"Nsene nyime ta nungu, maMbungu taga mwena teete"

When the lion roars, the hyena keeps quiet

Makaranga and the colonial administration

Makaranga's affiliation with the colonial administration dominated his life for 30 years. Not only was his career directly connected to the colonial structure, but also his social ascent and his development as an important leader of the region was closely linked to the simultaneous establishment of the colonial administration. Notwithstanding the above, he was not a willing tool in the hands of the colonialists. His biographical details show how he managed to help shape the events in Kavango, how he organised the occasions according to his own concept and how his ambitions influenced processes. This chapter analyses the interaction between the European representatives of the South African administration and Makaranga's own work.

3.1 Makaranga's first contact with the military administration

Before Makaranga became a permanent employee of the administration he already had contact with their office. Makaranga moved to Grootfontein district between 1915 and 1917, when his employer, the Angola-Boer Pieter du Plessis, bought a farm. The town of Grootfontein had regional importance during the German colonialist period and hence the South African military chose it as their headquarters for the district after the occupation of the country. Here, where the new administrative structures were created, the chances to find a job must have been most promising to Makaranga.

The district, with a total area of nearly 100 000 km², was extremely big and the central administration of such vast area, that a great deal of travelling was required. It made sense that Makaranga offered his skills and experience as a transport assistant. Makaranga joined the service of the military which, soon after the surrender of the German forces, started on their regular trips north-eastwards to the Kavango. The first one was needed – in the eyes of the military command – to demonstrate the presence of the new rulers.¹

3.2 Nkurenkuru during the German colonial rule

When Makaranga reached Nkurenkuru for the first time he still found the remains of the police station which the Germans erected there to demonstrate

their claim on this part of the country.² Since Makaranga's centre of life soon shifted to Nkurenkuru after his first visit there, a short history of the town will be sketched.

When Senior Lieutenant Zawada explored the banks of the Okavango on the search for an appropriate plot for a police post, he suggested Nkurenkuru as one of the choices. He proposed to name the spot, which was situated right opposite the Kwangali *hompa* homestead and the Portuguese fort, Bismarck-castle of Bülow-fortress.³ Up until the Zawada-expedition the interest of the German colonial forces in this almost impassable section of the colony was extremely minor. These first expeditions – another so called "punitive expedition" and survey rides followed – had all started in Grootfontein and only remained in the Kavango for short periods. The final decision to establish a police station in the Kavango was taken by the colonial authorities in 1910. A group of 6 German policemen (Sergeant Westphal, constable Oswald Osterman and Ulrici, and the officers Fahrig, Saathof and Zeller), together with 8 "police servants" travelled under the command of Senior Lieutenant Freiherr von Hirschberg on the 1st June 1910 to the Kavango to establish the police station. Their task was to occupy a suitable place that would be easy to defend, was in close vicinity to the hompa homestead and the Portuguese fort and would not pose too much of a health risk.

Nkurenkuru was the spot that could satisfy all three preconditions, according to the judgement of the commanding Senior Lieutenant von Hirschberg. Because of its openness to all sides it was considered to be easily defendable, a "gunshot could reach the fort and the hompas homestead" the distance from the river would avoid the risk of sicknesses – at least that was what the commander thought.⁴ The arrival at Nkurenkuru on the 17th June 1910 was considered as founding date of the police station at Nkurenkuru. After the first provisional buildings, the first brick buildings were built by 1911.⁵

The staff of the station had to do regular patrols along the border, negotiate with the local population and to mediate in conflict cases between Kwangalis on both side of the river. The police officers soon realised, "[...] that it was not always easy to deal with the Ovambos who were suspicious and not easy to handle, because they had realised very quickly that both the Germans as well as the Portuguese were keen to remain in good standing with the Ovambo. This they used to their own advantage wherever possible."⁶

"To remain in good standing with the Ovambo" was indeed an important motivation, because the German staff knew that this was the only way to survive as a vulnerable small group far away from any support. If the aim of the German colonial state was to be reached, to have all Kwangalis and their *hompa* to settle on the German side of the river, they had to lure them over. That the contacts between the German staff of the police station with hompa Kandjimi and his entourage must have been very amicable is documented in

a photo which shows them all at a boozy session in a Kavango homestead.⁷ The brutal attack of the German policemen on the Portuguese fort – lead by the commanding officer "Otoman", as the Kwangalis called him – was not aimed at the local population, but against the Colonial representatives on the other side of the river.⁸

It was not so much the conflicts with the local population which forced the authorities to give up the police station in Nkurenkuru, but the disastrous health conditions of the staff. Only eleven months after the founding of the station, two of the policemen had died of Malaria, and two others had to be withdrawn from Nkurenkuru because of their critical condition.⁹ The surrender of the German colonial troops in Khorab on the 9th July 1915 also brought the end of the German police station, less than five years after its establishment.

3.3 Nkurenkuru becomes South African administration centre

After the occupation of South West Africa by the South Africans the existing administrative structures were not altered for the time being, although the German officials were replaced by South African military personnel.¹⁰ For the district of Grootfontein, the highest command became that of the military magistrate in Grootfontein itself. From the 1st January 1916 the military magistrate also had to take over the tasks of the Native Commissioner and thereby also became responsible for the Kavango.¹¹ This made long journeys to the Kavango necessary.

Three journeys of the military magistrate Frank Brownley to the Kavango are documented. All three journeys took place when critical events excited the minds of the people of Kavango. The first visit in July/August 1916 by Brownley had the purpose of asserting the rights of the new occupier. The police station – which had been looted in the meantime and which was tentatively protected by the Portuguese commander – was inspected by the military magistrate.

In the eyes of the South African military command the appearance of a representative of the new colonial power was urgently needed, because "[...] the local had not seen any British official during the last twelve months."¹² According to the authorities, the lack of presence had provoked the revolt of the Kwanyama under Mandume in Ovamboland. The important group of Kwanyama in Kavango will have followed the confrontation between Mandume and the new colonial power with great interest. Military magistrate Brownley must have feared the possibility that similar complications like in Ovamboland would also occur in Kavango. On his second visit to Nkurenkuru – only three months later – Brownley brought with him an arrest warrant for

the two German settlers Planert and Westermann.¹³ The authorities accused them of having instigated Mandume's action against the British.

At long last the police station in Nkurenkuru was re-opened on the 28th July 1917, staffed by Lieutenant Swemmer. This proved to be a far-reaching mistake, because the overzealous Swemmer started to disarm the Kwangali and register their cattle.¹⁴ This nearly led to an explosive situation which prompted *hompas* Kandjimi to travel to Grootfontein and request the military magistrate to come to the Kavango. In October/November 1917 Brownley travelled to Nkurenkuru on his third visit to reassure the worrisome Kwangali and discharge the police lieutenant.¹⁵

The following years from 1917 to 1919 were less tumultuous, indeed, on 16th August 1919 the new military magistrate R. H. Gage came to Nkurenkuru to stage a grandiose "Kuring Kuru Peace Celebration Feast" for 500 guests from Nkurenkuru and surrounding.¹⁶ The new colonial power was eager – like everywhere in South West Africa – to give the impression that the new rule brought liberation and would be less violent than the German rule.

All these activities by the military magistrate were coupled with exhausting journeys along the road which later became known as the "Labour Route Kuring Kuru". The biggest problem of this path was however not the long distance between Tsintsabis and Nkurenkuru, but the shortage of water along the way. As Makaranga had accompanied all these journeys, he soon became an expert on the conditions of the route, the situation at the Kavango and for the people of that region. As the military office was satisfied with Makaranga's service, he was promoted on the 1st February 1920 from transport native to temporary native constable. He was registered under the service number T446 and now received a monthly salary of £ 1-10-0 and a daily allowance of 1/- if he was out of town.¹⁷

Not long after the authority promoted him again, because they were convinced that his skills and knowledge could be used more effectively in another position. Only a year after his appointment as a policeman he was given the opportunity to permanently settle in Nkurenkuru and take up a position there. Makaranga joined the staff of Lieutenant Robarts who was the first civil officer to be sent from Grootfontein to the office in Nkurenkuru. Robarts was in the precarious situation of building up the infrastructure for a civil administration in the Kavango – with an area as big as half of the vast Grootfontein district. The financial resources for such a daring task were an absolute minimum.¹⁸ The task was – except for the financial constraints – also aggravated by a number of other problems: very little was known about the Kavango as such, about its people, the languages and customs and about the ruling *hompas* and the power structure. It was well known that the route to Nkurenkuru was extremely complicated and that therefore the maintenance of the station and communication with the staff would create serious problems.

In spite of these many problems the civil administration – which had taken over after the end of the military rule – cherished the hope that contract workers from the Kavango would finally solve the shortage of workers in South West Africa. At the beginning of the 1920s a serious shortage of workers existed on the mines, the diamond fields and farms. The administration was convinced that only a permanent point of presence could motivate people to come down to the South as contract workers. The experience during the war with Mandume in the Angolan and South West African border area had also shown that a permanent presence at an outpost at the border was essential for a good working relationship with Portuguese colonial administration.

The expectations of the office of the Superintendent for Native Affairs Nkurenkuru – that is what the officer was called at this stage – were high. His "general instructions" – given to him by the secretary for South West Africa – for his work were summarized on one sheet of paper and included the following points:

- The Superintendent for Native Affairs has to improve and regulate the influx of workforces and has to encourage the Kavango to search for work in the industrial centres. "Engagement [of contract workers] must be purely voluntary."
- He has to refrain from any interference into the traditional governance of the *hompa* but use his influence to prevent deliberate and serious offences.
- He has to develop and maintain friendly relations with the Portuguese.¹⁹

It seems self-evidently that the recruitment of contract workers must have been "purely voluntary", considering the powerless stance of the few badly equipped colonial officers. In case of a conflict, and that the staff at Nkurenkuru would have needed any support from outside, the next police station was in Tsintsabis, separated from Nkurenkuru through a difficult negotiable path – about two to three days away. No other option seems to have been available than to recruit workers without use of force. Additionally to the inability of the administration to enforce any effective measures, the local inhabitants always had the possibility of crossing the river to avoid any infringement on their freedom of choice on the South African side. During the first years of South African mandatory system the mass migration of Kwangali from Angola to South West Africa was in full swing and the administration must have had full reason not to jeopardize this process.

The handling of so called "deserters" already shows that it was impossible for the administration staff to carry through their own interests. "Deserters" were contract workers who broke their contract before the stated time and returned

to Nkurenkuru – a phenomenon that increased in the 1920s. Only when the Officer-in-Charge was informed about a "deserter" who came directly from Nkurenkuru and returned there before his contract was ended, was the officer able to do something about the affair. Only once a "deserter" was apprehended by the officer, would he be sent them back to the South with the next batch of workers, to set an example for others. This method, however, also proved fruitless as they mostly returned back to Nkurenkuru, only a few kilometres outside the village.²⁰

Two reasons are plausible why the authorities in Windhoek had added the clause "Engagement [of contract workers] must be purely voluntary" into the job description of the local Officer-in-Charge. The first reason was that the "Swemmer-Scandal" was fresh on the minds of the authorities, when the attempt to enforce an order nearly lead to a revolt in the Kavango.

The second reason was that the Portuguese on the other side of the river practiced a system of enforced labour recruitment as part of their colonial politics. The British system of "indirect rule" left the duty to coerce Kavango men into a work contract in the hands of the *hompas*. To make sure that the Officers-in-Charge did not prefer the Portuguese way of recruiting, the instruction of "purely voluntary" recruitments were written in their instructions.

With the end of martial law the mandatory power started to create the same repressive system of law for blacks as was already in operation in South Africa. By the end of the 1920s this system had been implemented with the two "Native Administration Proclamations" No. 11 of 1922 and No. 15 of 1928, amongst many others. While the introduction of the Proclamation of 1922 also referred to the "welfare of the natives"²¹ as the motivation for the law, the Proclamation of 1928 only refers to the "management of native affairs".

For the blacks in the central settlement area of the whites, a system of direct control through the welfare officers/superintendents was constructed. The blacks outside this area – which was named the "police zone" according to Proclamations No. 15 of 1919 and No. 26 of 1928 – were considered to be part of the reservoir for the workforce and were controlled according to the classical system of "indirect rule".²²

The first civil officer who worked according to these new instructions was Lieutenant Robarts. During his preparations in Grootfontein it became evident, that all the tasks in the instructions could not have been implemented without a competent person with local knowledge, language skills and authority. Robarts prearrangements therefore also included the retrieval of the right staff in Grootfontein. Robarts traced Makaranga – as a policemen who satisfied all preconditions of the project. With a telegram of 1st April 1921 to Deputy Commissioner of South West Africa Robarts arranged for the transfer

and promotion of Makaranga.²³

This is how Makaranga became one member of six of the staff of the Superintendent of Native Affairs in Nkurenkuru. There he built his homestead about 600 meters to the west of the administration centre in April 1921.²⁴ Makaranga was accompanied by the small group of Christians from Grootfontein and Tsumeb. The choice of Makaranga and companions as employees of the administration created a certain pattern amongst this new type of elite in Kavango – up to the 1950s the majority of employees of the administration were members of the Protestant mission church.²⁵ Soon it became obvious in how far the administration had to rely on Makaranga, as can be seen in the many duties he took over.

3.4 Makaranga as translator

Amongst the manifold abilities of Makaranga it was his talent for languages and eloquence that contributed to his career until the time that he became an indispensable part of the administration. The spoken word was his medium and with it he commanded a powerful tool that had an exceptional meaning in an oral society, or, like the Kwangali used to put it in one of their sayings: "A sharp tongue can hit better than a stick". Quite contrary to all the verbal statements which are remembered of Makaranga, it is significant that only one written document exists, which was initiated by him and which can be traced back to him.

Before Makaranga's arrival in South West Africa he already spoke several languages in addition to his mother language Hinga: Oshikwanyama, Oshimbundu and Nyemba, as well as Portuguese and Afrikaans (resp. Cape-Dutch out of which Afrikaans developed). It is possible that Makaranga picked up some Herero, Nama and Oshindonga through the congregation in Grootfontein, and some German on the campaign to Naulila. His first contacts with English-speaking army officers will have also brought him the opportunity to learn some English.²⁶ During his work as employee of the administration he learned to speak fluent Rukwangali, some Gciriku and Mbukushu. His fluency in different languages made him suitable for the work as translator in Kavango.²⁷

Makaranga translated mostly from Afrikaans into Rukwangali. It became well known that Makaranga used the ignorance of the colonial officers to alter the contents of some of the sentences while translating, a fact that made him famous throughout the Kavango. From what people said of him, it became clear that he translated topics not in the manner the Commissioner had intended them, but more to what have fitted his own interests. It went so far that he abused the Commissioner while allegedly translating his speech. When the laughter of the listeners made the Commissioner suspicious so that he

would query Makaranga, he would just answer evasively. One weird example of this was recounted by different independent observers: the Commissioner opened the meeting with the usual addresses of welcome and greetings from his wife. Makaranga's translation changed it into the following: "The misters says: 'You cocks! And this is what Mrs. Eedes also says.'" In the usual manner the listeners had to answer with: "Thank you, mister!"²⁸

Up till today this type of narrative reflects the amazement with which these manipulated translations were received by the locals and how much they underpinned Makaranga's authority. Seemingly these manipulations went unnoticed by the authorities and if they ever detected them, the consequences did not seem to have harmed Makaranga's career.²⁹

3.5 Makaranga's multiple functions in the administration

Makaranga's multiple skills correspond with the various job titles he held. "Camel boy", "police boy", "messenger", "native constable", "interpreter" – were the descriptions given to his various functions. A listing of all his different tasks shows this variety: translating in all matters of the normal Kavango inhabitant, translating during meetings and negotiations, establishing and maintaining contacts to prominent personalities in the surrounding, organising all formalities in connection with contract workers, working on the outposts, advising the Commissioner.³⁰ Within the administrative staff he became the spokesperson for all employees, and acting on behalf of his employers, he was responsible for police duties and executing corporal punishment.³¹

Even when Makaranga executed the instructions of his superior, an administrative officer, he had his own scope in which he could influence the decision, especially in the first eleven years of his career, when the officers were exchanged frequently and they were dependent on his advice.³² During this time Makaranga's superiors were mostly former army officers who were detached for this unpopular duty in remote Nkurenkuru. Occasionally the work of the so called superintendents was supplemented by a medical orderly, who was responsible for the medical inspection of the contract workers and who would be in charge of the station while the superintendent was on his twice-yearly inspection tour through rest of the Kavango.

These extended trips from the most western part of Kavango in Nkurenkuru to the other ethnic groups along the Okavango were necessary to permanently urge the *hompas* to provide young men for contract workers. Makaranga's skills on these journeys were again essential as not only the private belongings of the officer needed to be taken along, but also a basic part of the office equipment for the smooth handling of administrative tasks. Amongst this

travel group were – the Superintendent and Makaranga aside – the camel driver, a cook, an administrative employee and policemen. The private excesses of the administration staff on these trips soon became notorious and prompted the Catholic missionaries to complain to the Officer-in-Charge about the immoral behaviour of the "Government Natives".³³ It was only under Commissioner Eedes that these journeys became professional inspection-trips during which Makaranga was responsible for the detection and destruction of marijuana plants, arrests and many other tasks.



Figure 14: Camels - here at Nkurenkuru – Makaranga's mean of transport in the 1920s

With Makaranga's move to Nkurenkuru, his lifestyle turned into a more settled one, and from then on he lived as an administrative employee and farmer. The surrounding in Nkurenkuru provided the right setting for the latter: there was always enough water from the river, enough empty space to cultivate fields, enough pastures for cattle and no shortage of helping hands who could be reimbursed from an administrative employee's income. After his arrival at Nkurenkuru, his household remained small with no other direct family members than his wife and his first born. Soon after however, this changed when he married more wives and with their relatives his homestead developed into a centre for visitors from near and far.



Figure 15: Makaranga's impressive homestead in Nkurenkuru in 1926

While Makaranga settled for a long-term stay in Nkurenkuru, his superiors mostly lived there for only periods of short-term employment. The extremely low numbers of contract workers speaks volumes about the lack of effectiveness of the administrative officers. In regular helpless attempts they tried to explain their failure – it was therefor not surprising that the staff turnover of the station remained both high and constant.³⁴

The only constant of the colonial equation in the Kavango was the "police boy" Makaranga, who imparted the knowledge and experiences of one Officer-in-Charge to the next one,³⁵ "police boy" being the exact term which was used for Makaranga in the files. The label "police boy" for the 40 year old Makaranga reveals a lot of the underlying interaction between the administration officers and their employee. On the side of the white officers it shows the racial prejudice which considered the employee as an inferior, dependent juvenile without own initiative or intention. On the other side Makaranga seemingly nourished this impression to create the smoke-screen behind which he managed to effectuate his own agenda. According to Kwangali culture, Makaranga no longer belonged to the group of "mumatikurona" (young men between 30 and 40), but was part of the "nturagumbo" (owner and head of a homestead) as he had reached reputation and dignity. With the social recognition Makaranga was already enjoying, he might have even been considered as of the *masimbi* of the *homp*a.³⁶

Gradually Makaranga became an important advisor for the Commissioner. His advice was not only required in the Kavango itself, but also in Abenab near Tsumeb, where many mineworkers from Kavango were employed in the 1930s. In March 1936 workers protests brought the production of the Abenab mine to a standstill. The Grootfontein magistrate ordered the Commissioner from Nkurenkuru to negotiate between the workers and the management. With him on the trip to Abenab the Commissioner brought the *homp*a and his advisors – and Makaranga.³⁷

3.6 Makaranga's links to Cuangar/Angola

When Makaranga moved from Grootfontein to Nkurenkuru, he had again come closer to his country of origin, Angola. The part of Angola opposite of Nkurenkuru belonged in the 1920s to the Cubango district ("*distrito cubango*"). In the common parlance of the colonial masters in Lisbon and Luanda it was called "*terras do fim do mundo*" – the land at the end of the world. Because of its remoteness from Luanda it was occupied late in the Portuguese colonial era and without the brutal occupational wars which characterised the area of Makaranga's origin. The Portuguese post Fort Cuangar (the fortress of the Kwangali) was within sight of Nkurenkuru and was established in the middle of 1909 by João de Almeida with the aim to "pacify" and to "conquer the tribes" this part of Angola.³⁸ Like in the case of Nkurenkuru the reason for choosing the site of Fort Cuangar was the proximity to the *hompas mbara*.

The founding years of the new Republic Portugal (after 1910) was characterised by a high degree of uncertainty concerning the countries colonial politic.³⁹ One consequence of this uncertainty was that the regional borders and names of the area in the southeast of Angola changed constantly, and with it the role of the settlement Fort Cuangar. On the 31st October 1914 the garrison of the German police station in Nkurenkuru launched a surprise attack on the fortress in Fort Cuangar and completely destroyed it. During the attack the Germans killed 9 Portuguese and 18 Angolan soldiers, without incurring any of their own losses. The attack – which was later called the "massacre of Cuangar" was intended in revenge for a deadly ambush by the Portuguese against a German delegation in Naulila.⁴⁰

With the constant changes in the importance of Fort Cuangar, the station commander also changed. One aim of the police station in Nkurenkuru was also to nourish good formal contacts with the commander and staff of Fort Cuangar. However, few of the Portuguese personnel spoke English, so the contact between the Germans and Portuguese were mostly cherished with a bottle of Portuguese Port wine. This situation did not change, essentially, when South West Africa became South African mandated territory, thanks to Makaranga, who used his Portuguese language knowledge to help in the communication between the two different commanders.⁴¹ Additional to these official contacts, Makaranga used his knowledge of Portuguese in his contacts with Angolans on both sides of the river. During the 1920s and 1930s the group of Angolans who passed through Nkurenkuru on their way as contract workers for the South and who partly settled permanently in Nkurenkuru on their return, became an increasingly important group on the southern side of the river. Angolan contract workers had to register themselves in Nkurenkuru before they continued their journey to the mines and farms in South West Africa. The exact numbers of migrants are recorded and can be verified until 1931, when the Commissioner and his office moved to Rundu:

1925	247
1926	703
1927	640
1928	303
1929	382
1930	571
1931	366
Total	3212

Figure 16: Numbers of Angolan contract workers who moved through Nkurenkuru from 1925 to 1931

During these years the Angolan job seekers formed 63% of the total number, and it can be assumed that the number of 3212 is way below the real number of Angolans who left to the South in search of earnings, since many will have bypassed the weak administrative control in Nkurenkuru.

In colonial Angola it was strictly illegal to cross the southern border to South West Africa in search for work. However, due to the sheer impossibility of manning the long border and control the crossings, it was tolerated by the local Portuguese officers.⁴² To master an otherwise uncontrolled exodus of workers, the Portuguese colonial administration employed agents (the so-called "*cypaes*") at the border posts whose task it was to impede suspected migrant workers. As they were part of the police force they also had the task to arrest recruiters of South West African recruiting organisation on the Angolan side.⁴³

The catastrophic economic situation in Angola ("*Crise de Angola*") in the 1920s was the reason why so many Angolans hoped to find work in South West Africa. The economic crisis in Angola was triggered by the decline in value of the Escudo, which in the beginning of the 1920's had only 30%, at the end of the 1920s, only 15% of its original value. Even the attempt to improve the economic situation with the introduction of an own Angolan valuate ("*Angolares*") could not improve the situation.⁴⁴

The intrusion of the colonial Angolan state into the private sphere was extremely intense. High annual taxes were due, even on a small income. Every adult man without a regular income had to do compulsory yearly labour which was only compensated with a small amount. Compulsory labour was therefore widespread and differentiated, either without direct force as "*Voluntários*", or with coercive measures, so-called "*Contratados*". While "*Voluntários*" were mostly employed private owned plantations, "*Contratados*" mostly worked in the fish-industry. When the state itself enforced labour, it was usually for road constructions or to carry army stock.⁴⁵

When Angolan work migrants were interrogated by the Officer-in-Charge at Nkurenkuru about what caused them to come to South West Africa they gave

two reasons: the extraordinary taxes and the forced labour. When they reached Nkurenkuru, they were penniless and emaciated, so that they looked more than refugees to the administrative officer than migrant workers.⁴⁶

Little is known from where exactly in Angola they came. They reported that they had been walking for more than three weeks and the officer estimated the distance they had covered to be about 450 kilometers.⁴⁷ If these guesses are roughly correct, then they must have originated from Villa da Ponte/Ganguelas/Cubango (the upper reaches of the Okavango/Kubango), Vila Serpa Pinto/ Menongue (the upper reaches of the Kuebe, a tributary of the Okavango), Almeida/Kuito Kuanavale (the confluence of Cuito and Cuanavale) or the upper reaches of the Kuando. Angolan maps of the 1920s recorded the ethnic groups of the Ganguela and Mbunda for these areas.⁴⁸ The files do not give any information about the ethnic groups of the migrants. A pressing question from Windhoek in this regard was answered by the Officer-in-Charge in Nkurenkuru with the remark: "We have been trying to ascertain where they come from but have failed".⁴⁹ Angolan migrants were anxious not to supply too much personal information for fear of repression after their return to Angola. If the ethnic groups are mentioned in the South African files, they are listed as Mviko, Mbundu, Warutyazi or Swanyemba/Nyemba.⁵⁰

Most probably they used the old trade route⁵¹ on the right side of the Okavango which had been upgraded by the Portuguese for the general supply of Kayundu and the other stations along the middle reaches of the Okavango.⁵² On their long walking tour to the South, the migrants met countrymen in Nkurenkuru who recovered from the exhaustive march and tried to gain strength for the next stretch. After the first stage of the walk they gathered information for the next part. If they received word that the route between Nkurenkuru and Tsintsabis was (as often) impassable, they either stayed on in Nkurenkuru for a longer period or returned to Angola.⁵³ Some of the economic migrants came with their wives and children and left them in Nkurenkuru until they returned from their contract.⁵⁴ Some tried in vain to receive official permission to let their wives join them in the South after they managed to find a job.⁵⁵

A considerable number of Angolans settled permanently in Nkurenkuru after returning from their work contracts. Some of these former contract workers collected their wives from Angola before permanently settling in Nkurenkuru. Others married women from Nkurenkuru as they had become much sought-after husbands with the new possession which they had brought back from work.⁵⁶ Again others were taken into the homesteads of inhabitants of Nkurenkuru and became – like many other of their countrymen – part of the Kavango population.⁵⁷

On their long journey the migrants came in contact with Makaranga in Nkurenkuru, because it was him who was responsible for their registration and handling. As somebody with an Angolan background, he was the link between

their home country and the new surroundings. Here, in Nkurenkuru the migrants received, for the first time, detailed knowledge about the requirements of the contract and the anticipated work conditions. Here, in Nkurenkuru they heard about the painstaking "Labour Route Kuring Kuru" which was still between them and the first train station.

3.7 "Labour Route Kuring Kuru"

The Angolan migrants, who had reached Nkurenkuru after week-long treks, were still far from their actual destination. A waterless route of about 175 kilometers separated them from Tsumeb and Grootfontein. They knew that they were risking life and limb on the long walk and were therefore dependent on the help and advice of the Nkurenkuru administration employees. The conditions of the route to the South dictated the effectiveness of the work of the administrative post in Nkurenkuru. If the route to Tsitsabis was impassable, the replenishment of the station and thereby the work came to a halt. The employees were the ones who knew the route like the back of their hands and who made a living from it. Makaranga's intimate knowledge of the route had attained him the job as an escort for the convoys between Grootfontein and Nkurenkuru.

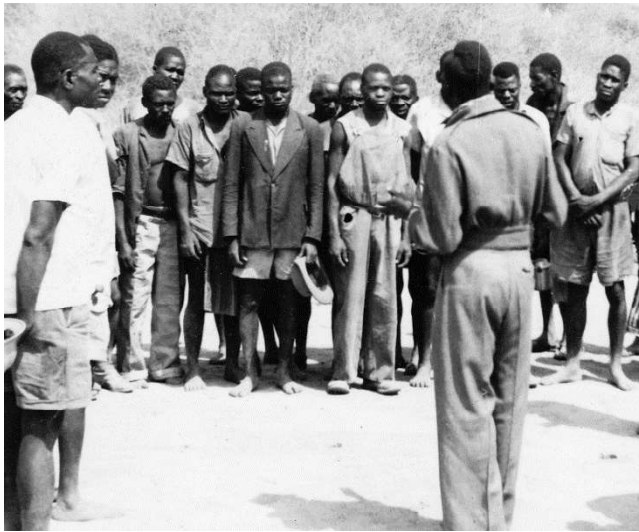


Figure 17: Contract Worker Recruitment in Nkurenkuru before 1936

Through the increasing numbers of contract workers from Angola, the "Labour Route Kuring Kuru" gained additional importance. Its relevance in the context of the contract labour system needs a few words of explanation. The path from Nkurenkuru over Siudiva, Mpungu- and Namungundu-Omuramba, Kasimba, Tsitsib to Tsintsabis and finally Tsumeb became known

as the "Labour Route Kuring Kuru" in the 1920s. It became infamous because of the scarcity of water for most of the year. The route had already been used in the 19th Century, but was cleared of bushes and trees at the beginning of the 20th Century, because it had become completely overgrown with vegetation by that time.⁵⁸ It was the path which Makaranga had used on his first official trip to the Kavango. Because of the number of contract workers who used the route, the water deposits were soon depleted and the use of the route during the dry season became a dangerous endeavour. Time and again people died of thirst on the "Labour Route Kuring Kuru".⁵⁹ An additional danger presented the thieves and ambushers who robbed the returning contract workers of their hard-won belongings, so that the officers reported to Windhoek: "It is becoming almost the exception rather than the rule for any returning labourers to get safely through with any of his hard earned money and goods and I am beginning to be surprised that any Native is willing to go to work at all."⁶⁰

Without much intervention from the colonial officers, the number of migrant workers from Angola increased considerably during the 1920s and 1930s. Other migrant workers from East-Kavango used the much easier route in the east – along the Omuramba-Omatako to reach Grootfontein. The administration post in Nkurenkuru had no control over this movement. The Angolan as well as the East-Kavango migrants were the only legitimation for the existence of the Nkurenkuru administrative office, because the number of registered contract workers directly from the surrounding Kwangali and Mbunza failed to meet the administrative expectations.

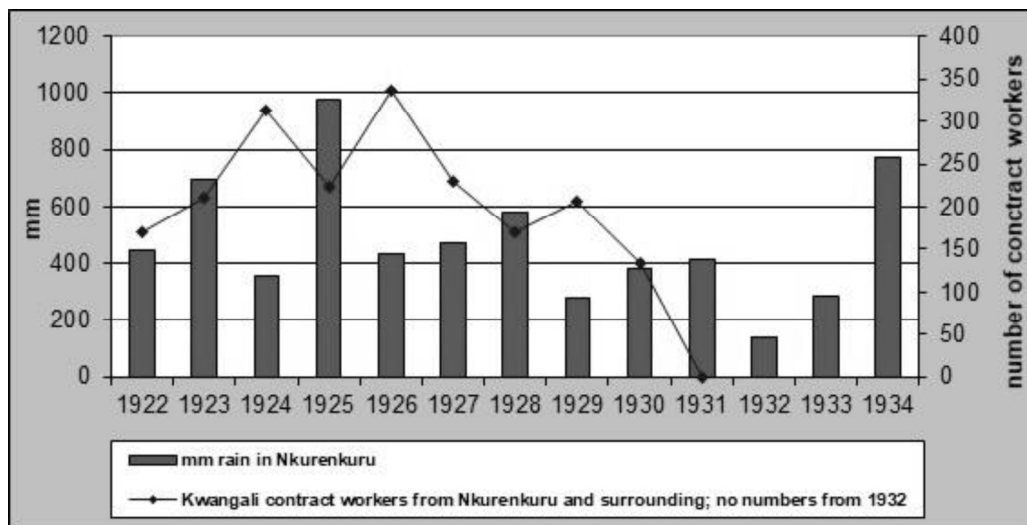


Figure 18: The correlation between rainfall in Nkurenkuru and the number of contract workers

For the first ten years of the existence of the Nkurenkuru office until June 1930 – when recruitment was ceased because of the economic recession – only 2250 contract workers from the Kwangali and Mbunza area was recorded.⁶¹ A significantly low yield for an administrative office with one officer and nine employees.⁶²

Unlike the Angolan migrants, whose economic deprivation had prompted them to risk the dangerous march up to Nkurenkuru, the Kwangali did not live under a comparable impoverishment which could have forced them to leave their homesteads and risk the hazardous "Labour Route Kuring Kuru". Only during years in which drought resulted in crop failure, like 1924 and 1929, – migrants moved to the South, just as in the drought years 1932/1933, when Kwangli moved northwards along the river in search of food, because the South suffered under depression and did not offer any relief.⁶³

When word repeatedly reached Nkurenkuru that workers had died on the diamond fields of Lüderitzbucht, workers from Kwangali refused to sign contracts for that area⁶⁴. "The wind is killing us" was the argument why workers refused to go and others returned to the Kavango.⁶⁵

By 1921 the recruitment agency tried to avoid this obstacle and was sending workers from Grootfontein over Tsumeb to Lüderitzbucht,⁶⁶ with the result that workers no longer reported themselves in Tsumeb.⁶⁷ This massive rejection lead to the agreement between representatives of the Consolidated Diamond Mines and the Native Commissioner in Tsumeb in September 1924, that no workers from the Kavango was to be send to the diamond fields.⁶⁸

A distinct rejection of the contract system can not only be verified with these number, but also with remarks of the population from these years. A comment by hompa Kanuni became typical for the attitude of the people in West-Kavango. In January 1925 the Commissioner quotes her in his monthly report as having said: "[...] we are not going to be the white man's slaves."⁶⁹ Again and again various Commissioner complained about this stance, as one of them put it in October 1929: "(the Kwangali) [...] would in most cases rather suffer hardships owing to food shortage than go to work."⁷⁰

Another officer supplied his own interpretation of the low response to contract work recruitment: "These people are extraordinarily lazy and hate the idea of work in any form particularly if it takes them away from their home."⁷¹ This negative attitude in West Kavango culminated in an incident in January 1927, when the Officer-in-Charge sent a *hompa* adviser – along with one of the black administrative employees – to surrounding villages to recruit workers. The reception in the villages was extremely hostile and in two villages they were chased away with sticks from the homesteads.⁷² To organise the recruitment of workers more effectively, the colonial state launched the Northern Labour Organization (NLO) in Windhoek. From now on the NLO – together with the

Southern Labour Organization (SLO) – was responsible for the recruitment of workers. With it, the classification into "A-, B- or C-labourers", was introduced.⁷³ Within the management of the NLO, the Administration was represented, together with the Otavi Minen und Eisenbahn Gesellschaft (OMEG) and the South West Africa Mines Ltd. as representatives of the mines in the northern part of South West Africa.⁷⁴ From now on the administration ceased to try to recruit workers, as the NLO took over this work, together with the development of rest camps, waterholes along the "Labour Route Kuring Kuru" and escorts for the convoys of contract workers.⁷⁵ In spite of the shift in the tangible work, the administration kept overall control of the recruitment. The problem of the serious water-shortage along the "Labour Route Kuring Kuru" had to be solved before the NLO could prove that recruitment was thriving under a commercial organisation. The route not only posed the risk of dying of thirst, but most of the workers reached Tsintsabis or Grootfontein half famished and completely exhausted and unfit for work.⁷⁶ It took days, if not weeks, and extra portions of maize meal before they gathered their strength again. It was the German farmer Friedrich on the farm Duwib, who initiated an improvement of these conditions. Time and again contract workers from Nkurenkuru reached his farm in a state of absolute fatigue and starvation. Out of poor compassion he took care of these – in his eyes – pitiful men. Friedrich kept on sending the bills for all expenditures he had to the administration. Only the negative publicity of these conditions made the NLO provide grain for rations for the workers at different points of the journey.⁷⁷



Figure 19: One of the granaries along the Labour Route 1999

From the beginning of 1928 the Officer-in-Charge received money from the NLO to purchase grain in Nkurenkuru for the rations of contract workers. This

proved to be a problem, as the population not even had enough for their own consumption. Only when the harvest was abundant, did the Officer-in-Charge manage to buy enough stock for this purpose.⁷⁸ In the coming years the NLO built a network of granaries along the Kavango, to provide a basic supply of food for contract workers, so that their physical strength could be preserved for the much sought after labour force.⁷⁹ Less than five years after the formation of the NLO – in the beginning of the 1930s – the recruitment of workers from Kavango was ceased because of the economic situation. During its existence the parastatal had not increased the number of contract workers or relieved the high demand for workers in the South.⁸⁰ It is not known what part Makaranga played in this episode. As an employee he will have supported the efforts of the administration to recruit workers. As he knew the risks of the march to the South well enough, he might have discouraged others from taking the hazard upon themselves. On the other hand, it is possible that his social status – which was closely linked to his experience in the South – encouraged one or two to follow his example and work in the South. By all means was he – just like the *hompa* – not able to change anything about the small numbers of migrant workers, even if he had tried to do so.

3.8 Eedes becomes the superior of Makaranga

The numbers of contract workers during the first eleven years of South African rule show that the administration never reached their self-defined targets, which were formulated in the first work contract for the Officer-in-Charge. Even the attempts to use the influence of the *hompa* – who profited directly from the work migrants – proved inefficient.

The administrative office ceased to be some kind of toothless tiger when the state also started to subjugated the inhabitants outside the *police zone*. An important instrument in this process was Proclamation No. 15 of 1928, the so called "Native Administration Proclamation".⁸¹

The regulation provided the Administrator of South West Africa with an unrestricted amount of power, which enabled him to make drastic changes in the social structure of the mandate area. This included the following rights:

To "recognise or appoint any person as a chief or headman in charge of a tribe" and to "make regulations prescribing the duties, powers and privileges of such chief or headman". To "remove any chief or headman found guilty of any political offence, or for incompetency or for other just cause from his position as such chief or headman" and "remove with his family and property to some other part of the mandated Territory". To "define the boundaries of the area of any tribe", "divide existing tribes" or to "amalgamate tribes or parts of tribes into one tribe". To "remove any tribe or portion thereof or any Native from any place to any other place" and to "call upon chiefs, headmen and all other Natives to supply armed men or levies for the defence of the Territory or for

the suppression of disorders and rebellion". To practice the authority of a chief himself.

Any resistance or infringements against any measure of the administration was punishable with high penalties. In contrast to all these administrative privileges and strict regulations, the Administrator was not subject to any court of law. The Proclamation further introduced the so called "Court of Native Commissioner", a jurisdiction under the control of the Native Commissioner, which ruled in disputes between "native and native only" and which had to follow traditional customs, according to "native law".

While the "Native Administration Proclamation" created the tools for the total control of the work force in the so called "Native Reserves", the "Prohibited Areas Proclamation" No. 26 of the same year guaranteed the total isolation of the Kavango area. From now on, people who lived outside the Kavango were only allowed to enter the area if they were employees of the administration or had special permission – the so called "Permit" – to enter.

By the time that these Proclamations became law, the colonial state had no effective administrative structure to enforce the far-reaching changes in the power structure of the Kavango. Furthermore an assertive colonial officer – who could have extorted all the rules with his personal authority and perseverance – was lacking. This only changed in the Kavango during the 1930s.

Only in 1937 did Proclamation No. 32 defined for the first time the "Okavango Native Territory (ONT)" and its borders. The ONT was declared to be an area for the sole "occupation of natives". With it taxes became compulsory and an "Okavango Native Territory Police" was formed.

The first Native Commissioner who used all the powers define in these Proclamations and who symbolized this period of colonialism, was Harold Eedes. He came to the Kavango in 1932 after he had worked as an administrative officer in Namakundu/Ovamboland – in the so called Neutral Zone. For the first time, after all the years with unsatisfactory solutions with military personnel, an effective job – in the eyes of the colonial state – was possible.

Harold Lionel Pritchard Eedes was born on the 26th June 1899 in Elliot (in the Cape Province).⁸² His father, Harold Gray Eedes born in June 1875, died on 28th February 1908 in Lady Frere, grew up in Simons Town and schooled in the Diocesan College in Rondebosch. As Harold Eedes, his father worked for the British colony as a Civil Commissioner and Resident Magistrate in the Cape.⁸³ Harold Eedes mother was Ann Eedes né Murray⁸⁴ and his brother William Frederick Eedes. Harold Eedes was schooled in "Bishops", one of the more prominent schools in the Cape, where he excelled in sports.⁸⁵ When Harold Eedes was still young, his father died, and at only 15 years old he

joined the army as a volunteer at the beginning of the First World War. Together with his younger brother he was deployed as a dispatch rider under General Botha in the battles against the German forces in South West Africa.⁸⁶

Due to their commitment during the First World War both brothers were employed in the Department of Native Affairs in South West Africa.⁸⁷ While his brother William pursued a career in the head office of the Department – and even visited London – Harold Eedes remained in the North for his whole life. After his appointment into the public service on the 11th June 1919, Harold Eedes became the second officer in the South African administration in Ovamboland – next to Major "Cockie" Hahn.⁸⁸ It is here, in Ovamboland, that Harold Eedes received his nickname "Nakale" among the population. In Kavango the name insignificantly changed into "Nakare" – the long one.⁸⁹ In 1927 he married Helena Christina Botha.⁹⁰ The marriage was to be childless.

Harold Eedes took over the work in Nkurenkuru on the 1st May 1932. The position of a "Superintendent of Native Affairs" in Nkurenkuru was upgraded into "Officer-in-Charge, Native Affairs, First Grade Clerk". Harold Eedes was promoted from "Second Grade Clerk" to "First Grade Clerk" and with his move to Nkurenkuru received a salary increase. He now earned a yearly remuneration of £430, an amount which was a relatively high income in the years of economic depression.⁹¹ He received about five to seven times the salary of Makaranga.

Harald Eedes met Makaranga in Nkurenkuru where the latter had worked for all the predecessors of Eedes. With Makaranga Eedes took over an experienced policeman, translator and mediator. In Nkurenkuru the two of them shared an office, a sign of how greatly Eedes considered his cooperation with Makaranga.⁹² Harold Eedes introduced a greeting form in Kavango which he enforced with oppressive power: when his car passed, passers-by had to stand still and greet Eedes with outstretched, raised arm. Amongst his employees it was only Makaranga who managed to enforce the same greeting form for himself, even when he was travelling without the Commissioner. Harold Eedes never spoke any of the languages of the Kavango himself and always had to rely on Makaranga.

It is striking, how many remarkable resemblances in their biography and appearance can be found between Harold Eedes and Makaranga: both of them came to South West Africa at the beginning of the First World War, both of them were in the service of the South West African Administration from about 1920, both were enthusiastic hunters, both wore the typical Khaki-Uniform of the colonial service, both carried a weapon while they were on duty, both were tall and stout.

They closely worked together for 15 years until Harold Eedes was again transferred and without the cooperation of Makaranga the work of Eedes would not have been as decisive as it was. Together Eedes and Makaranga

became an epitome for colonial rule in the 1930s and 1940s and in the narratives of the old people they are still mentioned in the same breath, firmly convicted, that both of them came from Ovamboland to Kavango.⁹³ The population phrased the close relationship between the two with the Rukwangali proverb: "Muheke ndje ngandu", "The sandbank belongs to the crocodile".⁹⁴ Tellingly it was always Makaranga of the two who presented the brutal and violent side of colonialism, because it was Makaranga who lashed with the stick, even for minor reasons.⁹⁵ Eedes in contrast, never had to get his hands dirty, as he presented the just colonial master in the background.

Only a few month after his arrival in Nkurenkuru, Harold Eedes caught the attention of his superiors in Windhoek and Pretoria. In 1933 he compiled a lengthy review about the inhabitants of the Kavango for the yearly report of South Africa to the League of Nations.⁹⁶ These annual reports were part of the obligations of South Africa to summarize the developments within the mandate territory. This publication – printed in large numbers and distributed worldwide – obviously had the aim of describing the low state of development among the population in the "Native Reserves" and their economic dependence. Eedes masterfully managed to create an image of the population that his masters in Windhoek and Pretoria liked. The report ends with a quotation that is attributed to Eedes: "This will no doubt convey an idea of the low mentality and moral outlook of these people – notwithstanding the fact that the missionaries have been labouring amongst them for years and it is hoped that the difficulties of the Administration in dealing with people of this character will be realised and appreciated."⁹⁷

These lines were written with Eedes own prejudices to be considered, but they were primarily directed at the readers of the report and motivated by the intention of the South African rulers of continuing the occupation of South West Africa. As the aim of the mandate, given to South Africa by the League of Nations, was to "bring the sacred trust of civilization to more primitive non-white peoples", Eedes report was contrived to sketch the peoples of Kavango exactly in this light. When one considers that Eedes had only spent a few months in Kavango when he wrote the report, it becomes obvious that he must have relied heavily on the information and support of Makaranga.⁹⁸

Despite the long distance from his superiors in Windhoek, Harold Eedes was a loyal officer who organised his work under the difficult conditions with great effectiveness.⁹⁹ In comparison to his colleague and friend "Cocky" Hahn, Eedes always shunned publicity. The colonial episodes of Harold Eedes were characterized by his personal diction. He created the image of himself as the "*Lord of the last frontier*" (the athletic, untiring, horse riding ruler over a remote border area)¹⁰⁰ and as its "*benevolent despot*" (the rigorous, but just colonial tyrant).¹⁰¹ In an image like this, there was no place for somebody like Makaranga. For the few white visitors – who were allowed to enter the

Kavango after a strict screening process in Windhoek – and who experienced Eedes in his official function as Commissioner, he showcased the exotic Kavango population and organized stirring hunting expeditions. These hunting trips mostly lead to the Angolan side of the Okavango, which was open to Eedes because of his good working relations with the Portuguese officers.

With the relocation of the administrative centre from Nkurenkuru to Rundu¹⁰² on the 1st October 1936, Eedes was promoted to the position of Assistant Native Commissioner (Senior Clerk).¹⁰³ Although he lacked the necessary legal qualifications for this post, his longstanding experience in "native affairs work" compensated for this shortcoming.¹⁰⁴ In Rundu the administrative staff was enlarged by a "Clerical Assistant, Grade II".¹⁰⁵ Another five years later, Harold Eedes was promoted to Native Commissioner for Ovamboland and Kaokoveld and thereby reached the peak of his professional career.¹⁰⁶

The confidential cooperation between Eedes and Makaranga can be seen in the fact that Makaranga became his de facto deputy whenever Eedes was absent from the station. When, in 1935, Nkurenkuru was without a white administrative officer for a lengthy period because of his serious injuries, Makaranga became the contact person for all issues regarding the colonial office. When, for example, Hahn travelled to the northern border on official mission in April 1935, he interrupted his journey in Nkurenkuru to keep himself informed on the current situation in Kavango by Makaranga. He conferred with Makaranga – who impressed Hahn with his competence. He considered all the information which he gathered from Makaranga with such authoritativeness that he based his report to Windhoek on it and spared himself another trip to Kavango-East.¹⁰⁷ Although the central administration did not entrust Makaranga with the payment of the monthly wages and Makaranga did not choose to record the monthly rainfalls, he de facto ran the whole station.



Figure 20: Makaranga's office in the administration building Nkurenkuru before 1936.

3.9 Makaranga moves to Rundu with the administration

The relocation to Rundu marked the end of an important chapter in Makaranga's life. After 15 years in Nkurenkuru he moved with the administration office to Rundu. The decision to move his homestead about 140 kilometers to the east was not a personal choice, but was dictated to him by his professional circumstances.

It was Commissioner Eedes who, shortly after his arrival in Nkurenkuru, started to prepare the relocation of the administrative office from Nkurenkuru to Rundu.¹⁰⁸ It was decided that a more centrally situated location like Rundu would simplify communication with Windhoek and make the administration of the long and stretched Kavango region easier. The unfavourable location of Nkurenkuru in the most western part of the region had already become obvious in the 1920s, as more and more of the contract workers walked from the East of Kavango to Grootfontein and Tsumeb. The impassable "Labour Route Kuring Kuru" had occasionally completely cut off Nkurenkuru from the South.

When Makaranga moved away from Nkurenkuru, he also moved away from his original Christian roots – figuratively speaking.¹⁰⁹ He had distanced himself from the Protestant mission early enough not to get himself involved in any conflicts of loyalties between the mission and the colonial authorities, because the arbitrary acts of Eedes against the mission soon created plenty of problems. Eedes restricted both missions sphere of influence drastically. Eedes was an Anglican, although rather not active, and had a very critical position towards the idea of the Christian mission.¹¹⁰ According to his own understanding, he wanted to practice a neutral policy towards both missions – Catholic and Protestant – and wished to avoid the preferential treatment of only the Protestant mission, as was practiced during German colonialism and as he had experienced under Hahn in Ovamboland.¹¹¹ Confrontation between the administration and mission was, however, unavoidable when the state started to restrict the activity of the mission only on spiritual and social issues. Another cause for conflict between Eedes and the Protestant mission was his personal persuasion: according to Eedes, Europeans should intervene as little as possible in the "traditional" beliefs and ideas of the Africans, a concept which was completely opposite to mission practice.

When Makaranga moved away from Nkurenkuru not only did he leave the centre of the Protestant mission in Kavango, but he also departed from the Kwangali hompa – the seat of the Kwangali power. Makaranga's close relation with the Kwangali dynasty had significantly contributed to his social advancement. He therefore kept close contact with the Kwangali centre, although a journey from Rundu to Nkurenkuru could last two days by horse. This trip became shorter, when Eedes prompted the Kwangli hompa Sivute in 1940 to move with his *mbara* 50 kilometers in the direction of Rundu. Over

the time, Rukwangali developed into the lingua franca of the Kavango and more and more Kwangali settled in Rundu and surrounding – all factors which played into the hands of Makaranga.¹¹²

Not only Makaranga, but all his employees – together with their families – moved to Rundu. The relocation of his whole homestead, he had four wives by this time – was an important event. In Rundu Makaranga build himself a new homestead about 4 kilometers northwest of the administration office. In this area – already called Sauyemwa by this time – few other homesteads existed. Eedes cook, the Ndonga man Nambala and Eedes gardener Sam built their homesteads not far from Makaranga's. Not far from Makaranga's homestead were the houses of Mokufa and Mohembo.¹¹³ From now on Makaranga rode with his bicycle over the floodplains to the office of the Commissioner.¹¹⁴



Figure 22: The returning migrant workers, seen here on a foto from the 1940s, contributed to the earnings of Makaranga.

3.10 Makaranga's earnings

Since Makaranga's employment in the police force and later administration, he had been receiving a regular income. During the lifetime of Makaranga this was an exception in Kavango, as only the administration and the recruitment agency paid their employees in cash. The mission societies paid their helpers in kind, e.g. used clothes, or with only small financial handouts, for e.g. the Evangelists. Only when the wages of the mission teachers were paid by the state after 1946, were similar salaries paid as in the administration.

The financial situation of the administrations staff improved a little bit when Eedes requested a salary increase of £48 across the board. Together with this improvement of the remunerations the administration employed workers for the outposts¹¹⁵ and an "Okavango Native Territory Police" was created.¹¹⁶ Makaranga also benefitted from these improvements; as a translator he received £84 per year and free meals.¹¹⁷

Compared to other incomes this was the highest level of salary achievable for blacks:

- A "native constable" in Grootfontein had a yearly salary of £63 (without lodging and board) plus a onetime allowance of £4-10-0 for the uniform.
- A Government teacher, or so called "native teacher" in Grootfontein received ca. £40 per year.¹¹⁸
- An Ovambo-teacher who was called by the FMS to work in Kavango as a teacher or an Evangelist had to build his own homestead and till his own fields. For his work in a bush-school and his own congregation he received a yearly allowance of £4.¹¹⁹
- A helper of the Catholic mission received an amount of yearly £4 plus provisions.
- A contract worker on a farm received a yearly pay of £14-15-0 plus free accommodation and food.¹²⁰

It is difficult to prove that Makaranga received other additional cash contributions, however it stands to reason that he had other financial sources due to his position between the general public and the administration. One example of such an activity were his regular trips for "*tribal area tax collection*" together with Eedes – a tax which was introduced after the introduction of the "Tribal Trust Fund Scheme".¹²¹ Due to the minimal cash flow in Kavango not everybody will have had the money to pay the tax. Makaranga's regular incomes will offered him the opportunity to help out – under his conditions. Amongst the many duties he had to fulfil as "Station Headman", it was mainly the official contact with returning contract workers which offered him a lucrative auxiliary income. Makaranga was in direct contact with the contract workers before and after the contract in the South, e. g. during translations for their first contact with the office, during medical examinations and during the whole process of selection and registration. Traditionally it became custom, that the *hompa* received his part of the earnings of each contract worker. When this became a habit, Makaranga will also not have gone empty-handed. One indication of this common practice is the Commissioner's complaint about the corrupt payments from returning contract workers to his black officials in one of the Commissioner's reports to Windhoek.¹²²

Additional to his salary and the above mentioned unofficial incomes, Makaranga lived from the agricultural products of his big fields. In Rundu – as before in Nkurenkuru – he owned big fields in which others toiled for him. He owned big cattle and goat herds and was in charge of the administrations cattle herd, which supplied enough milk for his household and the Commissioner.¹²³ In addition to these herds he owned horses and donkeys. Horses were in high demand in Kavango and seen as a status symbol. Makaranga used his horses on his hunting expeditions in the Savannah forest, where the hunt for eland was the most profitable undertaking. The tasty meat of the 500 kg heavy eland was a welcome addition to the food supply in the big household of Makaranga.

Makaranga used the advantages of the new administrative structures wherever possible. When a former teacher had not repaid him the debt which he owed Makaranga, he requested the administration to have the amount directly subtracted from the man's salary, as he was now working for the mine in faraway Abenab.¹²⁴

3.11 Makaranga is appointed as *headman*

When the administration moved to Rundu it was financially upgraded. New staff members were appointed in a further attempt to take control of the Kavango. For Makaranga the move to Rundu meant an improvement in his social status and his financial conditions. One of the most far-reaching changes was his appointment as a *headman*.

In the terminology of the bureaucracy the word *headman* (in Afrikaans *hoofman*) was used as the equivalent for the traditional *esimbi*. In the Kwangali tradition the *esimbi* was the advisor of the *homba* and appointed by him. In 1930 the South African Administration created the post of a *headman* in a Government Regulation. Using the same name, this *headman* was no longer part of the traditional structure, but directly subordinate to the Native Commissioner. In Government Notice No. 60 of the same year the position and duties of the *headman* were defined as: "Headmen shall be such persons as are appointed by the Administrator to control a minor tribe or location under the direction of a Native Commissioner, but shall not include persons commonly called headmen, or indunas appointed by chiefs to assist in the administration of their tribes."¹²⁵

In the same regulation this newly created position of *headman* was furnished with the same substantial legal powers as the *homba*. The headman had to collect taxes, investigate crimes, punish offenders and recruit workers for the farms. They were obliged to prevent *witchcraft* and other *native customs* which were contrary to humanity and decency. They had to dissolve so called riotous and unlawful assemblies and were not supposed to be members of any

subversive political organisation, as the law formulated it. Additional to all these tasks they had countless other obligations in the fields of agriculture, veterinary services and nature conservation.

Before Makaranga was appointed as *headman* according to Government Notice No. 60 he already had the authority of power which were later defined in the Notice. When he was appointed as headman he was finally put on the same level as the hompa and eventually enjoyed the same privileges like the hompa. That included the attested rights, such as the loyalty, respect and submission of Kavango living in his territory, the traditional favours for a *hompa* and a remuneration for his duties. For the hompas the consequences of Government Notice No. 60 meant a complete loss of their former unrestricted and unchecked powers. Humiliation and demotion was already part of the colonial Administrations approach towards the *hompas* before 1930, but this Government Notice became the legal instrument for colonial oppression.

Who were the subjects over whom Makaranga reigned? For lack of a substantial number of ethnic followers, Makaranga was made *headman* for all inhabitants of the emerging town Rundu and its surrounding. Since the traditional border between the Mbunza and Shambyu passes through Rundu, the Administration found it sensible to declare all inhabitants of Rundu as subjects of the new *headman*.¹²⁶ Before the relocation of the Administration from Nkurenkuru to Rundu, Rundu was nearly uninhabited.¹²⁷ The big group of the employees of the Administration and their families, together with all of the others who moved to the new centre of the Kavango, soon changed this and Makaranga's subjects soon formed a substantial group within the region.

After 20 years in the Kavango, Makaranga had finally reached the peak of his political power. Even without his own *tribe* or any rights of traditional inheritance, he was made one of the hompas and afforded same rights. From now on, Makaranga was referred to as headman Looper by the Native Commissioner, and Makaranga himself made sure that everybody else called him with that title.¹²⁸ Amongst the population Makaranga kept this title long after he was forced by the Administration to lay down his title in 1948.¹²⁹

Only one other case is documented in the Kavango in which the colonial Administration used its power to appoint a *headman* outside the traditional structures. In this case Tom Kamanya was appointed as *headman* for the so called *reserved area* along the South West African-Angolan border. Unlike Makaranga, who received the title *headman* to confer official power and recognition upon an administrative employee, Kamanya became a headman because the so called *reserved area* needed a ruler. The *reserved area* had a distinguished status because of its unusual history¹³⁰ – it had only become part of South West Africa due to a misunderstanding between the colonial powers. In 1886 Germany and Portugal agreed on the temporary border between their colonies South West Africa and Angola. They determined that the boundary

should run from the mouth of the River Kunene up to the waterfalls in the Kavango-river south of Humbe. As there were two waterfalls in the area, the treaty was more ambiguous than its authors had thought, and Germany and Portugal – later South Africa and Portugal – came to believe in two different border lines about eleven kilometres apart. When the colonial powers realized this discrepancy in 1915, the zone between the two lines was declared a *neutral zone*, co-administered by the two powers and pending a definite agreement. When the South African Administration finally demarcated the boundary in 1928, it was discovered that the new border did not follow the southern limit of the *neutral zone*, but that a strip of land, which formerly believed to be in the neutral zone, actually belonged to South West Africa. It was declared as a *reserved area* for the settlement of Kwanyama. Tom Kamanya - who was originally from Kwambi – was made the headman of the *reserved area* and had the same rights as the hompa of the Kwangali.¹³¹ Over the years, many people made the *reserved area* their home country, amongst them Kwangali who fled the tyranny of some of the hompas.¹³² Makaranga and Kamanya received the same rate of remuneration – calculated according to the number of inhabitants under their control – as the other five hompas of the Kavango.¹³³ The colonial Administration treated both of them – like the hompas – with etiquette and a degree of formal respect. For Kamanya this only ceased when the *reserved area* became part of the Okavango Native Territory in 1952.¹³⁴

3.12 Makaranga's public prominence until his retirement

Although Makaranga was forced to resign from his post as *headman* in 1948, he never lost his public prominence and his important position within the Administration lasted until his retirement seven years later.¹³⁵ His importance can be traced in all the meetings which he attended and all the reports of negotiations which he authorized with his thumbprint or sometimes with his signature. In some cases he was also consulted as the official expert, when the Commissioner felt it wiser to have Makaranga pronounce an official viewpoint, e.g. when Makaranga declared in an important court hearing against hompa Sivute that it would take him two and a half days to ride on horseback from Rundu to Musese. With this statement by Makaranga, the assertion of Sivute, that the distance could be covered in one and a half days, was considered to be proven wrong.¹³⁶

The files of the Administration also indicate that the Commissioner relied in all aspects on the unofficial suggestions of Makaranga.¹³⁷ Makaranga informed and advised the Commissioner on questions of customs and traditions of the different *tribes*, about infighting amongst the hompa lineage,

about opinions and varying moods within the population. As one of the *masimbi* he had a direct link with the Kavango hompa and was always aware of their deliberations. On the other side, Makaranga was involved in all the considerations and plans of the Commissioner. This put him in the unique position that he participated in both sides of the social and political scene.

The hompa were treated with respect and recognition – in spite of their disempowering by the Administration. Their deep rooted role in the tradition of the Kavango was reason enough for Makaranga to include them in his thirst for power.

In spite of the fact that the Commissioner repeatedly reported to Windhoek that Makaranga's lifestyle contradicted all principles of decency, he retained the Commissioner's unfettered trust. The files reveal that Makaranga was incriminated in countless cases. In most of these cases Makaranga managed to reject the accusations and arranged that somebody else was held to account and punished for his own wickedness. Makaranga came off unscathed out of each of these affairs and every time the event strengthened his position and reputation.

Two examples should suffice to demonstrate this phenomenon. During his time in Nkurenkuru Makaranga was incriminated in a court case in Sá de Bandeira/Lubango in 1934 Makaranga in connection with a murder seven years ago. The court files – which was forwarded through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria to Windhoek and from there to Nkurenkuru – documented the following history of the murder case. During November 1927 Kasiku Kajojo, who lived north of Nkurenkuru on the South West African side, was suspected of witchcraft. She was abducted by two men who took her to the Angolan side of the Okavango and killed her at the river. During the court case the two men declared under oath that Makaranga had advised them to use this tactic to throw suspicion on people on the other side of the river. According to their statements, the two men witnessed that Makaranga assured them that he was the official translator in Nkurenkuru and that he had the power to prevent the white office bearer in Nkurenkuru of bringing a charge against them. Makaranga further promised that he would inform the hompa about the murder so that the background of the deed could be further obscured. For his support Makaranga received a cow with its calf.¹³⁸

It was only once that Makaranga's doings had a traceable impact on his employment within the colonial Administration. In November 1940 the Native Commissioner verified whether he could bring a charge for child prostitution against Makaranga and suspended him temporarily from his job. However, since the head office of the Administration in Windhoek reckoned that a court case would not find Makaranga guilty under the given circumstances, no charge was brought against him, he henceforth enjoyed a certain kind of criminal immunity.

Another example is related to the destruction of marijuana-plants (*epangwe*) which formed part of the duties of the native patrols during the inspection tours of the Commissioner in the Kavango. The cultivation of *epangwe* was commonplace within the *mahangu*-fields and the fertile flood-plains of the Okavango.¹³⁹ It seemed therefore implausible that a lengthy report about an extended inspection-tour only mentioned one single *epangwe*-plant which was destroyed during that tour.¹⁴⁰ The explanation can be traced in another file years later. In April 1950 Kashela Haushona – one of the close co-workers of the Administration – was sentenced by the tribal authority to pay a calf, because he had warned the local population about an imminent raid on *epangwe*-fields by the Administration. The immediate sacking of Haushona was only prevented, because Makaranga pleaded with the Commissioner and Haushona was only reprimanded in front of all members of the staff. A closer inspection of the story reveals Makaranga's role in this case. Only the Commissioner and Makaranga knew of the exact date of the raid on the *epangwe*-fields and Haushona could only have had his information from Makaranga. That the Administration was not able or willing to trace this leak up to the highest level is one of the contradictions of an Administration which boasted of its military discipline. Makaranga's image as the great puppet master behind the scene must have been boosted by these sort of events.¹⁴¹

When Commissioner Harold Eedes finally left Kavango, Makaranga was directly affected by the consequences. Eedes' successor was Robert Frank Morris who took over in 1946. Morris' work as Commissioner was determined by the fear of *tribal disturbance*, a term which described the supposed danger that the Administration expected in the tribal areas after the disempowerment of the traditional leaders. The fear of resistance – bolstered by the self-confidence of returning African soldiers after World War II – started to govern the daily events even in the remote region of the Kavango.¹⁴² But even under these new conditions Makaranga had no problem adopting.

In 1952 Makaranga was officially made the senior translator in the office of the Commissioner.¹⁴³ In reality, Makaranga already had been the head of staff and the chief of Police who led all Police deployments in the Region, for some time.¹⁴⁴ According to the files they were employed as: Native Constables, Translators, Native Clerks, Native Messengers, Builders, Mechanics, Special Labour Guards, Cattle Guards, Sanitary Servants, Gardeners, Herds Men, Bushman Guards, Labour Camp Guards, Grave Maintenance, Postal Runners, Camel Boys, Piccaninis, Kitchen Boys, House Boys and Garden Boys.¹⁴⁵ Some of them are also mentioned by name in the documents, but only one of them ever reached similar importance to the Administration as Makaranga. His name was Meesi Haingura and he worked as Messenger/Native Constable from the end of the 1920s until the 1950s for the Administration.¹⁴⁶ Although he was of comparable importance within the Administration, he never had the unique political and social standing in

Kavango society as Makaranga, who combined his professional position with his social role in an unequalled manner. When Morris used the title *My Station Headman*, he clearly outlined the elevated status of Makaranga.¹⁴⁷

When the National Party came to power in South Africa in 1948, H. F. Verwoerd was appointed as the Minister of Native Affairs. With this appointment, further policy was also predetermined for the Kavango. A few years later the South West Africa Native Affairs Administration Act No. 56 of 1954 regulated that the Administration of Native Affairs was to transfer into the hands of the Ministry of Native Affairs in Pretoria. Makaranga's supreme authority was no longer the Administrator in Windhoek, but the South African Minister Verwoerd in Pretoria. As one of the loyal employees of many years, Makaranga will have been presented to Verwoerd on his visit to Kavango in July 1955.¹⁴⁸ After eight years as Minister of Native Affairs, Verwoerd became Prime Minister of South Africa and introduced the repressive *bantustan* policy for the Africans in the Reserves of South West Africa. In Rundu the forerunner of this development was heralded when the first Afrikaans-speaking Commissioner – C. E. Kruger – was appointed in June 1954. This was the beginning of the *homeland-policy* in Kavango. At the beginning of the new phase of colonial policy, Makaranga retired in September 1955. With Makaranga's withdrawal from his active service an episode in the history of colonialism came to an end. It included the beginning and establishment of South African presence in Kavango.



Figure 223: The eucalyptus tree planted by Makaranga at his homestead is still a landmark in Sauyemwa 1999.

Chapter 4

Nzovhu goulake kapi a vhuru kututumuna mbundu zonzi

A single elephant cannot swirl up a lot of dust

Makaranga's membership in a clan and his relationship with the Kwangali-kingship

Makaranga's rapid advancement as an important leader has so far been described with his active membership in a mission-church and his role as an important employee within the colonial Administration. What was his relationship to the power-structures and social organizations which he encountered when he arrived in the Kavango? Two aspects have to be considered in order to answer this question: first his own membership in a clan and secondly his relationship with the different Kavango hompa. This chapter shows how he used both of these aspects to find the approval required amongst the traditional leaders of the Kavango to achieve extraordinary powers. Colonial systems used the new emerging social class of the *police boys* to undermine the authority of the traditional leaders. In the Kavango the colonial Administration systematically instigated the humiliation and fall from power of hompa Sivute, and at the same time installed Makaranga as a prototype of these *police boys* as new leader. The following chapter will trace this dynamic process in which Makaranga was not a spineless lemming but played an active role.

4.1 Makaranga's clan

Makaranga was at home in different cultures. He spoke an extraordinary number of languages, was married to wives of six different ethnicities and lived in a time and in an area which was shaped by the encounters of different cultures. Makaranga never presented himself as a person of unshakable cultural or ethnic affiliation. He could not fit into the image of a *bantu* belonging to a certain tribe with one engrained cultural identity. He never presented the concept of a *bantu* the Europeans created in their understanding of Africans and which the Apartheid later cultivated as the base of their oppression-system. Makaranga grew up amongst the Hinga of South-West Angola, but his association with the Hinga never played a role in his adult life. He always defined his identity not so much in terms of culture and tradition, but rather with regard to recognition, power and influence. His authority in the community was not based on his membership of a certain tribe, but his cleverness and harshness on which he based his identity. His social ties were not founded ethnicity, but he used his connection with the powerful among different ethnic groups and his membership in his *clan* for his own aims.

Scientists have argued, that the *clan* played a more important part than ethnicity. Estermann put his argument forward in this way in 1979:

"There is no doubt that in the mind of our natives, the clans are anterior to the tribal organization. [...] It is not easy, however, to enumerate all the clans that entered into the formation of a tribe, much less to indicate the numerical and status importance of the various constituent elements of a tribal aggregate. [...] In everyday life at the present, the fact that two individuals of different tribes belong to the same *eanda* (clan) leads them to recognize each other as distant relatives and treat each other as such. [...]"¹

This might have also been the way that Makaranga saw things, although it is not documented to which *clan* he belonged before coming to the Kavango. Makaranga must have belonged to a clan before he joined the Angola-Boers in his youth, and when he came to the Kavango as a young man he identified himself as a member of the *Kwambaho-clan*.² It cannot be verified if this was his clan through his mothers or fathers side. It is possible, that Makaranga had not even heard about a *Kwambaho-clan* before.³ Estermann has identified 40 different clans amongst the Nyaneka-Nkumbi of which he names 25 by name. There is no *Kwambaho-clan* amongst them.⁴

When Makaranga arrived in Nkurenkuru he lived in close proximity to a group of Kwanyama under the leadership of Shikongo Hakutunina in Kahenge.⁵ They were the owners of large cattle herds, affluent homesteads and reached a high level of political importance. Their leader, Shikongo Hakutunina, belonged to the *Kwambaho-clan*. It would have made sense that Makaranga joined the same clan out of practical and opportunistic reasons. It was not extraordinary that a young man, who moved to a place away from his area of origin, would join a clan of his own choice. As an aspiring young man with his own income, he must have been more than welcome with his contributions and social support to any clan. When he later moved to Rundu – again to the area of another ethnic – he again met people with considerable influence, like Mbuangungu, who belonged to the *Kwambaho-clan*.⁶ As a member of the same clan he became a remote relative and could always reckon on the support of other members of the *Kwambaho-clan* – as he was always prepared to help others from the same *clan*.

4.2 Makaranga and the Kwangali-authority

After having shared some light on Makaranga's affiliation with the Kwambaho-clan, it is now appropriate to examine Makaranga's approach towards the Kwangali-authority. Colonial topography had divided the region along the Okavango into the territory of five different official *tribes*. At the beginning of the 1930s the South African mandatory government published the first estimates of numbers of the different tribes. According to these

estimations the numbers were as follows: Kwangali 11120, Mbunza 3160, Shambyu 1360, Gciriku 4040, Mbukushu 2480.⁷ Although the numbers must have been based on wild guesses, they indicate that the Kwangali outnumbered all other groups. These numbers suggest that the Kwangali were more than all the other tribes together. This fact and the high mobility of the Kwangali people helped to make Rukwangali the dominant language in Kavango.⁸ Makaranga's relationship with the Kwangali hompas can be used to exemplify his connections with all other hompas of the Kavango.

When Makaranga came to the Kavango in the beginning of 1921 he built his homestead in the direct neighbourhood of the Kwangali *hompas*. The Kwangali royal house had moved over the river some years before and resided at Mayara, only a few kilometres to the East of Nkurenkuru.⁹ Hawanga (Kandjimi) was the *hompa* of the Kwangali when Makaranga settled in Nkurenkuru. Kandjimi had already held the important position of the *hompas* adviser under the rule of his predecessor, the old hompa Himarwa. Kandjimi was considered an authoritarian, unrestricted ruler of the Kwangali and was known and feared because of his military campaigns in the neighbouring areas.¹⁰

Before Makaranga settled down in Nkurenkuru he already knew hompa Kandjimi. During Makaranga's numerous official trips to Nkurenkuru as an employee of the colonial Administration in Grootfontein he must have paid a visit to the hompas palace (the *mbara*) to introduce himself and report to the hompa the reason for his sojourn in the area. It was the beginning of a close relationship between Kandjimi and Makaranga which was deepened by the visits of Kandjimi to Grootfontein. One indication of this bonding is the fact that Makaranga named his son after the hompa. Kandjimi ya Ruben, Makaranga's first born son, was born in Grootfontein in 1918 and was baptized under the name Joseph.¹¹

Before Kandjimi's death in March 1923, Makaranga had enough time to get acquainted with the structures of Kwangali rule, the power struggles and the succession claims. When the important hompa died, Makaranga had already gained considerable power within the traditional structures. He demonstrated this by marrying one of the wives of the deceased hompa. This as such was already an unprecedented step and a demonstration of his claims to fame. Henceforth, Kauharere lived as the third wife in the homestead of Makaranga. It was the same Kauharere, whom late *hompa* Kandjimi affectionately had called his beloved one, Muharwa.

Hompa Kandjimi was followed by hompa Mbuna. The young man was believed to be an auspicious successor. However, his early death through an accident foiled all expectations.¹² It was during the short reign of hompa Mbuna that the Finnish missionary Emil Närhi visited Nkurenkuru on a three day stay-over. Närhi went to the *mbara* to greet the hompa and asked him to

come – together with his advisors – to a visit the next day in the house of Makaranga. During the baptism service in Makaranga's house, two in-laws of the *hompa* were baptized. Motivated by power-political considerations Nārhi appointed Makaranga and these two in-laws of hompa Mbuna as the leaders of the newly established Lutheran congregation in Nkurenkuru.¹³ These events – the baptism and appointment of members of the hompa family – were of significant importance for the further development of the protestant church in West-Kavango. They were linked with the efforts of the Lutheran missionaries to have the whole hompa family be baptized into the Lutheran church. The fact that both events transpired in Makaranga's homestead, gave Makaranga's reputation a significant boost.¹⁴

After the death of *hompa* Mbuna, Kanuni took over the reign. She did this only as an acting hompa, since the lawful successor – Kanuni's brother Sivute – was still too young.¹⁵ It was during this first regency of hompa Kanuni that the colonial Administration curtailed the traditional powers of the hompas and extended the control of the Native Commissioner. From now on the hompa and his staff were intimately bound into the colonial system which loaded them with duties and responsibilities in exchange for certain privileges.



Figure 234: Young hompa Kanuni (seated) and the hompa family in the 1960's

Little is known about the relationship between Makaranga and the female *hompa* Kanuni. Makaranga gained a direct connection with *hompa* Kanuni through her husband, Murangi za Himarwa – or Moses Himarwa, as he is listed in the baptism records. It was Murangi together with Makaranga, who had been appointed by the first Finnish missionary as the congregation leaders. The close contact between the two men in leading positions during this period will also have forged a relationship between Makaranga and Kanuni. However, that was before she became *hompa* and before Makaranga lost his leading position within the congregation. After the arrival of missionary Aatu Järvinen, Makaranga was soon expelled from the congregation and treated as an opponent of the group of Christians. This must have tarnished his relationship with Murangi and his wife Kanuni.¹⁶

Hompa Kanuni's first period of office is wrapped in mystery. The Administration repeatedly complained about the inactivity of *hompa* Kanuni when it came to taking decisions. The colonial documents do not suggest that *hompa* Kanuni resisted the colonial Administration in its attempt to exploit the powers of the *hompa* in their own interest. The documents neither imply that *hompa* Kanuni faked her unwillingness to take the type of decisions the Administration seemed to find appropriate. What the documents bluntly reveal is the fact that Makaranga offered his assistance to the Administration to get rid of Kanuni.¹⁷ In Kampungu's narrations of the history of the Kwangali it was Makaranga who spread the rumour that the Kwangali preferred a male *hompa* instead of Kanuni. As Makaranga had the direct access to the Native Commissioner this fabricated rumour will also have reached Eedes quickly. As for Makaranga's opinion on this matter – it is beyond doubt that Makaranga was in favour of deposing *hompa* Kanuni and putting his friend Sivute in his position. A dramatic power struggle between the supporters of Kanuni and those of Sivute evolved until Kanuni fled to Angola with her husband.¹⁸ Consequently, Sivute was declared *hompa* on the 8th November 1940. Eedes, apparently pleased by this development, reported the event to Windhoek with the remark: "Sivute will make an obedient and efficient *chief*."¹⁹

Obedience and effectiveness were important prerequisites for a good *hompa* in the eyes of the colonial Administration. Additional to all obligations of the *hompa* defined in Government Notice No. 60 of 1930, Eedes had laid down a great number of additional sets of practical instructions for the Kavango, all of them had to be executed by the *hompa*. To have them all implemented in the practice, the *hompa* had to follow the orders of the Native Commissioner willingly and also develop some effective methods to force his followers to observe the restrictive directions. Among the strict rules was the prohibition of starting bushfires or catching fish by killing them with poison, only two examples of directions the implementation of which the *hompa* was responsible for.²⁰

The optimistic remark about Sivute which Eedes had telegraphed to Windhoek after the appointment of Sivute as hompa, soon turned out to be a complete misjudgement. Only a year after his appointment, Sivute was charged with abuse of alcohol by Eedes and sentenced to pay 10 cattle.²¹

Sivute was born between 1910 and 1912.²² When hompa Mbuna died, Sivute was next in line as a hompa. But Sivute was only 12 years old and according to Kwangali tradition too young to take over as hompa. Amongst the protestant missionaries Sivute was considered to be the first person from the *hompa* lineage whom they baptized. Kampungu writes about Sivutes baptism:

"He was a Finnish Christian, but shortly afterwards, took back all his wives. The Finnish missionary, proud of his success, once related the conversion of the Chief to a Catholic Missionary at Tondoro, in these words: 'We have felled the biggest tree in the land'. Sivute heard this and jokingly said, 'But it will soon take roots'. "²³



Figure 245: Hompa Kanuni and her husband in the 1960s

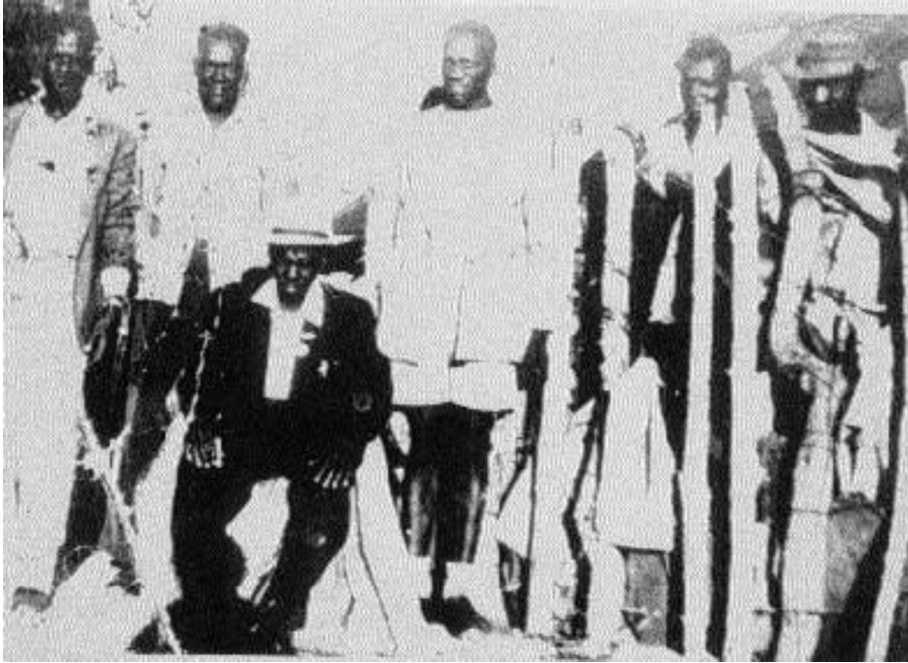


Figure 256: Hompa Sivute (sitting) and Makaranga (3rd from the right) 1951

Sivute's reign was characterized by countless conflicts with the colonial Administration. The above mentioned conviction because of alcohol abuse was only the beginning. Both court cases under Eedes successor Morris were more than disciplinary procedures. Especially the second case was well-orchestrated to have *hompa* Sivute be degraded in front of all his followers. The case culminated in the administration's attempt to intervene, for the first time, directly in the traditional rule of the Kwangali. The aim was to depose Sivute.

Both cases are well documented in archival files of the colonial Administration. On the 31st March 1951 all seven, except two of his headmen/*masimbi* and 500 Kwangali assembled in Musese to follow the case against the *hompa*.²⁴

The main accusation was the same as the one under Eedes. Hompa Sivute was accused of excessive drinking and the claim that his behaviour under the influence of alcohol was not in line with the expected decency of a *hompa*. He was accused of rude behaviour towards his followers and elders and blamed for forcing too high tolls and too much communal work from his subjects. Another complaint was that he did not properly compensate those people who were working on his fields and that he showed no impartiality during traditional court cases. The fact, that so many men had left the Kwangali

territory to the Mbunza area and to Angola, was a proof for his inability to rule – or so it was argued during the case against Sivute. Morris' elaborated minutes of the proceedings reflects his assessment of the hearing. In it Morris claims, that a number of the *masimbi* had complained to him privately about Sivute's behaviour, but were not willing to repeat their statements in public. Morris explains the reluctance of the *masimbi* as being due to the fear of reprisals by the *hompa*. Because of the unwillingness of the *masimbi* to cooperate with the Commissioner and repeat their accusations in public, the case against *hompa* Sivute turned out to be without a plaintiff and no conviction was possible. On the contrary, Kanuni, as the most important possible witness during the trial, backs Sivute. The minutes quotes her verbatim as having said: "He has not treated me badly at all. I sit with him when he tries cases. He tries them well and is patient."²⁵

The failure to have *hompa* Sivute openly convicted by his own *masimbi* must have been an obvious humiliation for the Commissioner. As he himself was unable to expose *hompa* Sivute, he now used Makaranga to have the situation solved in his, the Commissioner's, favour. Makaranga took centre role in the next public hearing that took place against *hompa* Sivute. Makaranga's role in the following case shows blatantly how much power he had consolidated. By this time he was no longer one of the normal subjects of the *hompa*. His advancement to the position as a headman and more so as leading employee of the Administration allowed him to instigate a process that finally led to the downfall of the *hompa*.

The final case against *hompa* Sivute began with an investigative patrol under the command of Makaranga collecting evidence of *hompa* Sivute's misbehaviour.²⁶ This patrol took several weeks. Finally, in June 1951 the catalogue of witness statements, collected by Makaranga's patrol, seemed long enough to start another case which, according to Morris, would finally end in a conviction of *hompa* Sivute. Makaranga's inquiries made Morris better prepared for the next public case against *hompa* Sivute. This time he not only had the waterproof testimonies against him, but all *masimbi* had been pestered so much, that they were now prepared to witness against their own *hompa*. The next meeting took place at *hompa* Sivute's *mbara* in Musese from the 23rd to the 25th June 1951. The gathering again attracted a big crowd. All the Kwangali *masimibi* were present as well as Kanuni and her son Mbandu Mulange. This time the emphasis of the charges was shifted from drunkenness to abduction of married women. Morris presented seven witnesses, amongst them Kanuni, who all attested that *hompa* Sivute had abducted married women to sleep with them. In some cases this happened during the time that the husbands of the women were absent from home, as they were working on farms and the mines in the South (*usimba*). Some of the cases happened ten years ago. In none of the cases did the husband dare to undertake any action against *hompa* Sivute. *Hompa* Sivute admitted all cases without any

reservation. Another charge was brought up in which *hompa* Sivute showed no respect for an old man. Drunkenness was only third on the list of accusations against the *hompa*. Unlike in the meeting in March of the same year, all seven *masimbi* declared that they had warned the *hompa* because of his drinking habits, but that no improvement had come to pass. During the three daylong hearing it was only Kanuni who spoke in favour of *hompa* Sivute. She publicly declared that she had warned him repeatedly not to drink excessively and that she noticed that he had improved. *Hompa* Sivute was given the chance to call up witnesses who could witness in his favour, but nobody supported him. The trial ended with *hompa* Sivute's public admission of guilt when he declared: "My drinking habits have led me astray. I will not drink in future. I will do well. I stole the women because of drunkenness on my part."²⁷

After sending the elaborated minutes to Windhoek, Morris recommended to his superiors to have *hompa* Sivute sacked as a *hompa*. Together with this recommendation he suggested appointing Mbandu Mulange, the son of Kanuni, as the new *hompa*. For the interim period he suggested appointing a number of *masimbi* as temporary rulers. But the Administration in Windhoek feared the consequences of such a drastic step. They rejected Morris' suggestions, also with the remark, that it was Makaranga who had declared in April of the same year that most of the subjects were loyal to their *hompa*.²⁸ That was the reason, why *hompa* Sivute remained *hompa* of the Kwangali until three years after Makaranga's death. When Sivute died on the 30st August 1958, Kanuni again became the *hompa*.



Figures 267/28: The grave of *hompa* Sivute at Musese 1999 (left) and 2018 (right)

Chapter 5

Walye atu hudireni mvhura, ose twa hana kuwapeka tanko epya

We should not ask for rain before we have tilled the fields

Makaranga and the new institutions of his time

Although Makaranga lived in a purely agricultural environment, and although he never enjoyed any formal education, he was open to all new institutions. Institutions such as the administration, schools, hospitals, public roads that were brought to the Kavango by missionaries and the colonial administration. One example can be used to show that Makaranga did not blindly adopt these new institutions, but that he used them to boost his own ambitions and aims. This example used covers the attempt by Makaranga to have a non-denominational school established in Kavango. His attempt was not successful, since the colonial Government's policy in the 1950s was not to build any schools in the so called reserves. The colonial Administration left the establishing and building of schools in the hands of mission-societies with their meagre budgets. Makaranga therefore never saw the establishment of the school he fought for. Nevertheless, his initiative and effort to have such a school built, shows his vision, his entrepreneurial spirit and his political skills.

5.1 Makaranga the teacher

Makaranga received his calling as an educator during the short visit of Närhi in Nkurenkuru. Närhi not only appointed him as the leader of the congregation, but also loaded the Christian training and teaching of the baptism-candidates on the shoulders of Makaranga in his function as a congregation-leader.¹ This made him one of the first "teachers" in Nkurenkuru, although it cannot be verified by the historical documents if Makaranga really took this tedious responsibility upon himself.

Whatever is true about Makaranga as a teacher, his influence as an educator was not so much in a school or in a baptism-class but in his own homestead. Makaranga's reputation was built upon his prosperity and his influence. He was therefore considered to be a perfect role model. In many quarters it was considered beneficial to a young boy if could grow up in the homestead of a person like Makaranga. It is therefore unsurprising that there were always a big group of young boys who lived in the household of Makaranga. Amongst them were boys who later became important personalities within the Kavango society.

Nafitali Mukoso Lihongo is one example of them. He was born on the 1st April 1926 in Kapako and belonged to the *hompa* family of the Mbunza.² For

nearly ten years Lihongo lived in the homestead of Makaranga in Sauyemwa from 1939 to 1948.³ They were his formative years before he started his formal schooling in the protestant mission school in Mupini. After his training as an Evangelist, Deacon and Pastor in Engela he worked as a congregation pastor of ELCIN in Mupini and Etumo-Muparara. Nafitali Lihongo died in 1999. Immanuel Shikukumwa is another example of a community leader who, as a young boy, grew up in the homestead of Makaranga. Shikukumwa's father made sure that his son learned the skills of life directly from Makaranga.

5.2 When the School was used as an instrument of repression

The importance of Makaranga's effort to have a non-denominational school established in Kavango can only be understood on the background of the historical development of the school system in Kavango. Makaranga's lifespan covers the time between the founding of the first mission schools up to the takeover of these mission schools by the Apartheid state. Soon after the South African Administration took over the private schools from the mission, the infamous Bantu Education System was introduced. With the takeover of the schools by the South African Administration the full control of the contents of the curriculum fell into the hands of the state. With the Education Proclamation No. 55 of 1921, the South African administration demonstrated the special importance it attached to formal education as an instrument of submission. It is no coincidence that the Education Proclamation entered into force almost simultaneously alongside measures to control the freedom of movement of Africans.

The Education Proclamation determined that every "non-European" school, together with its "manager", must be approved of by the South African Administration. The Proclamation guaranteed that the Administration had an influence on the choice of students that would be admitted and their treatment. The Proclamation paid particular attention to the selection, employment and payment of "non-European" teachers. They could only be employed with the special permission of the Administration. In return for this massive intervention in the education system, the administration began to subsidize the mission schools.

When Makaranga came to Nkurenkuru, there were no mission schools in the western Kavango. Only in eastern Kavango, missionaries of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI) had started to build schools after their arrival at the beginning of the 20th Century. They were all accredited by the Administration in terms of the Education Proclamation in 1925.

Nkurenkuru became the centre of western Kavango and it was here that Johannes Saduka and Benjamin Shilomboleni established the first informal

school. This was, however, not more than regular baptism classes under a tree, where baptism candidates were taught to read and write by these two Evangelists. It was only in the 1920s that Finnish missionaries built the first mission school in Nkurenkuru. Missionaries founded schools to form future congregation members. One of the aims was therefore to prepare learners for baptism classes by teaching them to read and write.

As the Catholics did not get the permission of the *hompá* to open a mission station at Nkurenkuru, they established one in Tondoro in May 1927. From there the OMI priest Gregor Weillhoefer regularly came over to Nkurenkuru to celebrate mass once a month and teach the children. His untiring efforts to get permission from *hompá* Kanuni to open a mission school in Nkurenkuru was to no avail.⁴ Only four years later, in 1931, did he succeed and the first catholic mission school – the single room was used as the church on Sundays – was opened at the periphery of Nkurenkuru. The first teachers were Wilhelm Kandjimi, who was later joined by Nicolaus Nauyoma. Nauyoma was the son of Himarwa and Singenge and had been trained as a teacher in Döbra.⁵

Amongst the protestant missionaries it was mostly the wife of the missionary who took care of the teaching. Alma Järvinen and her husband, the missionary Aatu Järvinen, established the mission school in Nkurenkuru in 1929.⁶ It was the first protestant mission school in Kavango – many others would follow. The small church in Nkurenkuru was used as the classroom. Some years later Matias Sikondomboro took over the teaching of "native languages", reading, writing, arithmetic and bible studies.⁷ Sikondomboro was part of the first small group of learners in 1935 who walked the 350 kilometers from Nkurenkuru to Oniipa to start his three-year training as a teacher. Much later he continued his studies, like many other teachers of Kavango, and became a Lutheran pastor.⁸

Originally it was the *hompá* alone who decided about allocation of premises for mission churches or schools. This procedure changed in the 1930s when the Administration started to control the activities of the mission societies. Now the Administration had to confirm every allocation of land to one of the mission societies. In addition, the mission societies had to submit annual reports on the number of students and their presence. However, the interest of the colonial administration in pedagogical questions remained low and except for a brief fact-finding visit by the director of education in 1936, the administration never gave any prominence to how and what the missionaries were teaching Kavango children. This only changed ten years later, on the 1st April 1946. From this day the Administration paid the salary of all teachers at the mission schools. Now now the Administration also determined the contents of the lessons, and the normal school lessons had to be done during the morning, strictly separated from the baptismal lessons in the afternoon.⁹ It was shortly after this that, in 1947, all the syllabi of the mission schools were standardized to form the backbone of "Native Education".

To control the implement of these regulations, the Department of Education employed an organiser in 1945, who was stationed in the Ondangwa.¹⁰ By then the Catholics operated five schools on mission stations and 21 bush schools with a total of 987 pupils. At the same time the Protestants had 358 pupils, in four schools on mission stations and in 6 bush schools. The difference between schools on the mission stations and bush schools was substantial. While the former schools were accommodated in brick buildings and run by mission sisters or missionary wives, the latter were mostly very simple structures or held under a tree. Bush schools were all run by Namibian teachers, who only now and then were visited by a female teacher from the mission station.¹¹

The Finnish Missionary Society (FMS) had recruited teachers from Ovamboland – the majority of them were Oshikwanyama, Oshindonga or Oshikwambi speaking – and stationed them on outposts within the mission area. Here a piece of land was allocated to them on which they could build a house and which they could use for cultivation. The yield was needed to augment the meagre salary of the teacher.¹² Most of these teachers from Ovamboland settled permanently in Kavango and formed the core of the Lutheran congregations. The offspring of these teachers married Kwangali and were integrated in the communities of western Kavango.

After the National Party came to power in South Africa, a commission was appointed to outline the aims of an education system. In 1953 the Eiselen commission gave the first recommendations for a separate education system for black South Africans and Namibians, the so called *Bantu Education*.¹³ It took until 1959 before the reorganisation of the education system in the northern areas of South West Africa was implemented. Here it was the Van Zyl commission that did the detailed planning of the new system. One of the aims was to transfer all mission schools into state schools.¹⁴

Which grades existed in Kavango before *Bantu Education* was introduced? The longest time a student could attend school was four years. Only now were the Higher Primary grades – in the so called "Hoër Primêre Skool" - for the next four years up to grade 8 introduced. It took up to 1960 before the first students completed their 6th grade at the Protestant Boys School in Rupara and another two years before the first learners completed their grade 8 at the Catholic School in Nyangana. School attendance was only possible, if the parents belonged to the same denomination that ran the school. For the missionaries in the Kavango, giving up sole responsibility for their schools was tantamount to losing their influence. On the other hand, expanding school operations had become an intolerable burden on the missions. This, and a distinct expectation on the side of the Administration, finally made the missions willing to hand over their schools. By 1962 the Catholics indicated this to the Administration, followed by the Protestants in 1963. With the final transfer on the 1st April 1966 the Education Department initiated a five-year

plan by which all mission schools were transformed into community schools. Although this plan was intimately entangled in the infamous Odendaal plan to install homelands, it also brought some advantages for pupils and parents. For the first time parents were given a say in the affairs of the school of their children. The concept of the community school included a school committee for each school. The school committee consisted of three elected parent members, two elected members of the church congregation to which the school formerly belonged, one member appointed by the *homp*a and one member appointed by the mission society to whom the school formerly belonged. With this construction, the unrestricted power of the mission societies in school matters was finally broken.

5.3 Makaranga's initiative for a non-denominational school

Until the 1960s schools were strictly divided along the line of the two confessions. Besides this, students and their parents were exposed to the omnipotence of the missionary in all school matters with no possibility of influencing the basis of decision-making. The fact that parents were completely and utterly at the mercy of the missionary in school matters, provoked Makaranga to demand a school that was run by the community, long before similar schools were founded many years later.

Makaranga had long recognized the importance of school education for his own children. After he moved from Nkurenkuru to Rundu and his children reached school age, he sent them from Saywemwa to the protestant school of the Finnish Missionary Society in Mupini, about 12 kilometers upstream.¹⁵ A report by the official representative of the Education Department from 1946 draws a picture of the mission school in Mupini. By this time the school was not in a good state. The two teachers present, were described as "poor" in the report. The 18 students in the first three grades, who were present on the day of the inspection, were between the age of 15 and 30.¹⁶ The poor state of the school of his own children and the conflict with teachers and evangelists of that school in Mupini strengthened Makaranga's alienation to the Protestant mission.¹⁷ This, together with the long distance to the school, motivated Makaranga to campaign for a state-run, non-denominational school.

Makaranga had already pressed Native Commissioner Eedes in 1940 to suggest to his superiors to establish a new school in Rundu, arguing that the new inhabitants had voiced a clear need for a suitable school. The Administration dismissed the request by referring to the Director of Education, who had informed them that "[...] owing to the shortage of qualified teachers his Department cannot at this stage recommend the adoption of your proposal."¹⁸

After a meeting with the *homba* and his *masimbi* seven years later, the Native Commissioner again brought the same matter to the attention of the Administration in Windhoek. The administration reacted with the same answer as they had seven years prior: "[...] the Director of Education states that the position in regard to the availability of qualified teachers mentioned in my evenly numbered minutes of the 18th September 1940, a copy of which is attached, has not yet improved."¹⁹

When the Chief Native Commissioner, Naser, visited Rundu in 1951, the staff under Makaranga used the opportunity to repeat the request for the school for Rundu once again. Since all the schools were still owned by the missions, Makaranga knew that he would not have any success in approaching the missions for a new school. Naser left Rundu without promising a new school, but with the assurance that he would request the necessary data from Rundu to come to a decision.²⁰

This sequence of bureaucratic communication shows the complete lack of interest in the schooling of the children of their own employees by the Administration. A list of existing schools demonstrates, how desolate the situation for these children really was. Although the administration centre had already been in Rundu for 15 years, there was not a single school in Rundu itself, notwithstanding the fact that the Administration knew what importance their employees attached to the schooling of their children. The closest Protestant mission school was in Mopini, 16 kilometers to the west of Rundu. Mupini was established in 1932, when a big group of Angolans settled there.²¹ The closest Catholic mission schools from Rundu were situated in Shambyu (36 kilometers) and Sambusu (54 kilometers). Bush schools in the vicinity of Rundu – like Sia (protestant, 36 kilometers), Ndonga (6 kilometers), Ruga (27 kilometers), Gamale (31 kilometers) und Vunguvungu (13 kilometers) – all catholic – were not chosen by Administration employees in Rundu. Their extremely low level of teaching and the fact that they did not offer accommodation in a hostel meant that they were no option for their children.²²

The fact that the Administration employees had managed to put the request for a school in Rundu on Naser's agenda during his visit, shifted the priority of the whole issue. To satisfy the request by the Chief Native Commissioner for further background information his subaltern officer in Rundu called a meeting with interested parents. The response was overwhelming. 90 parents and 25 children turned up. The large number of participants indicated that not only employees of the Administration had an interest, but that the matter received wide interest.²³ This seems hardly surprising if it is considered that by then, Rundu had become the fast-growing hub of the Kavango and the population that settled close to the administration centre and associated facilities (workers' recruitment bureau, shop, and hospital) also wanted an adequate school. During the meeting it became clear that the parents wanted a practice-orientated school which was organised and paid for by the

Administration – and not the mission. After this public meeting in September 1951 the school matter – which had formerly only been a controversial subject between the Native Commissioner and his employee – now became an issue of high political significance.

In an attempt to frustrate these political ambitions, the application was shortly afterwards – in October 1951 – again rejected. This time the answer was straight forward, leaving no space for further expectations: "[...] I regret to inform you that the establishment of a Government Industrial School is not feasible at present."²⁴



Figure 279: This former Primary School in Sauyemwa – which later moved to the premises of the Sauyemwa Combined School – traces its existing to an initiative of Makaranga. The foto was taken in 1999.

Mr. R. Kandjabu,

PK Rundu,
Okavango,
via Groofofontein,
25th March 1953

To the Administrator of SW Africa.

We have a few words which we want to inform the Administrator about. It concerns the school which the Commissioner had already mentioned to you.

Please, Administrator; here is a town called Rundu, here are many children, but no school. We therefore eagerly want the permission by the Administrator to build the school.

We want the school in Rundu, so that our children also can learn something.

Please Administrator! Can we build the school in Rundu?

Thanks a lot.

519/232

Mr. R. Kandjabu,
PK Rundu,
Okavango,
via Groofofontein,
25 March 1953

Aan die Administrateur van S.W. Afrika.

Ons het nog
hier woorde wat ons vir die Administrateur
wil graag mededeel, verband met die skool
wat die Naturelle Kommissaris ons li vertel
het.

Ons blyf Administrateur. Ons het nêl
wat Rundu gesien word. In daar is
baie kinders. Maar daar is nie skool
nie. Daarom wil ons graag die toestemming
by die Administrateur hê sodat ons die
skool op Rundu kan bou.

Wants ons wil graag die skool op Rundu
wil hê, sodat ons kinders ook kan
leer.

Verreëlig Administrateur. Kan ons
op Rundu die skool bou?

Ons dankie.

40/1576

Figure 30: Makaranga's original letter to the Administrator

However, the lower echelon of the Native Administration had not reckoned with Makaranga's political skills. The more than frustrating long history of the application for a school motivated him to change the line of action. He reckoned that the application would only have a chance of success if the Native Commissioner was circumvented. One and half years after the last negative answer from Windhoek, a handwritten letter reached the office of the representative of the South African Government in Windhoek. It was addressed to the Administrator personally and was sent under the name and address of Makaranga, without his signature attached to the document. In polite and friendly terms the letter again asks for the foundation of a school in Rundu.²⁵

The response of the authorities to this letter demonstrated the paternalistic repression with which African initiatives were treated.²⁶ The letter caused a lot of turmoil in the corridors of power in Windhoek. For the bureaucrats in Windhoek and their political masters it seemed obvious that only a rebellious mind-set could have formulated such a letter. The famous letters by Hosea Kutako to the United Nations in which he had exposed the South African Government because of the illegal occupation of South West Africa was still fresh in the minds of everybody. The mentality of the ruling politicians is overtly demonstrated by the reaction of the Secretary of South West Africa towards African initiatives when he reprimanded Kutako in 1947 with the words: "I am dissatisfied with you because you go behind the back of the Government. You write letters behind the Government's back. You send telegrams as well. You do these things without the permission of the Government."

The reaction of the Administration towards Makaranga's letter was not much different. Even in this polite and friendly document, so the argument ran, the seed of "tribal disturbance" was concealed, as the writer must have known that the Administration had just shortly before rejected the request for that same school. With this letter the addressors had gone behind the back of the Native Commissioner and had done so without his permission. With this letter the authority of the Native Commissioner was openly questioned, because his soothing words to *hompas* and *masimbi* were not taken seriously. In one of his speeches he had advised to let rest the matter of the school, because: "We must however be patient as the Government are building us a hospital and staffing it. The Government is committed to many improvements in South West Africa."²⁷

To trace the origins of Makaranga's letter, it was sent back to Rundu and the Native Commissioner was given the task of helping unveil the genesis of the writing. As the leading employee of the Commissioner put his name under the letter, the investigation about the instigators developed its own explosive power.

Obviously Native Commissioner Morris misjudged Makaranga's role and expected the Finnish Mission to be behind the letter.²⁸ This was not so far fetched, because the Finnish Mission became involved in the school matter after the 1951 meeting between Native Commissioner, *homba* and parents. As the attempt to have the school build through the Administration failed, the parents asked the Finnish Mission to take over the initiative. The application by the Finnish Mission was approved by the *homba* and it was decided to use the site directly adjacent to Makaranga's homestead as the school ground.²⁹

The fact that the Finnish Mission organised this application, aggravated the local leader of the Catholic Mission in Rundu. He requested his archbishop in Windhoek raise a complaint about the procedure of the Finnish Mission. The archbishop immediately sent a telegram, followed by a letter in which he pointed out that, if a Protestant school were to be built next to Makaranga's homestead it would not be more than 5 kilometers away from the nearest Catholic mission school. This rule, that mission stations and schools of the two denominations should always be further than 5 kilometers apart from each other, was part of an old package of regulations by the Administration to avoid open animosity between Protestants and Catholics. More than this formal argument, archbishop Gotthardt complained about the attitude of the Finnish Mission, which – according to the archbishop – had bowed under the pressure of the parents and by that undermined the authority of the mission.³⁰ In fact – this remark was an unintended compliment to the parents and Makaranga as their apologist, as it vocalized the respect for the successful negotiating tactics of Makaranga and the parents. Additionally to this complaint, the archbishop accused the Native Commissioner of not having shown the necessary fairness and neutrality towards both mission societies in this case. This rebuke was considered by the Native Commissioner as an insult and a very "serious matter".

Makaranga used this mixture of heterogeneous interest and strategies for his own aim – his own school directly next to his homestead. He considered the school building as a status symbol of the new age. An age in which the school would serve as a symbol for civilisation and he, Makaranga, as a herald of this new era. No proof exists, but it is most likely that Makaranga already had the vision that this school would be called after him: Makaranga Higher Primary School. This concept – that every *homba* had his own school which was built next to his homestead and named after him – only materialized 20 years later. In the 1970s four big Secondary Schools were built in the Kavango region, one for each tribe, next to the *homba's mbara* and named after the ruling *homba*.³¹

The Native Commissioner took his task to trace the authors of the letter very seriously. As one of the first steps he again convened a meeting in September 1952. This time more than 200 men came, together with an untold number of women and children – twice as many as for the meeting with the same concern

a year before. The Commissioner, both Protestant and Catholic missionaries, the hompa and the two translators Makaranga and Munango were the other participants. But in spite of the remarkable interest of the inhabitants of Rundu in the school matter, the Native Commissioner had nothing else to say, but to inform the participants that the school will not be built. The "infeasibility" of the project seems to have been the only reason against the erection of a school in Sauyemwa. The answer from Windhoek had put it forthright: "[...] I regret to inform you that the Honourable the Administrator has refused the application."³²

This last and final decision by the highest authority was however not the last act in the Native Commissioner's pedantic inquiry into the origin of Makaranga's letter of September 1952. With a disproportionate zeal – formerly unknown to the Administration in matters of the Kavango – the office in Windhoek hassled the Native Commissioner to unveil the masterminds behind Makaranga's letter. When Native Commissioner Morris finally informed the Administrator in Windhoek that he had not been successful in finding the perpetrator, he pointed out that the great majority of his staff belonged to the Finnish Mission and that any one of them could have initiated the letter.³³ However, the office of the Administrator in Windhoek was not satisfied with this vague explanation from Morris and posted the original letter back to Rundu, so that the writer could be identified by his handwriting.³⁴ Finally, in June 1953, the case seemed to have been solved: the handwriting of the letter was definitely the one of the Evangelist Festus Mangonga of the Finnish Mission. When Festus Mangonga was confronted, he declared that he had only translated the text from Rukwangali into Afrikaans and wrote it down. Mangonga steadfastly insisted that he had nothing to do with the original initiative and the drafting of the letter, on the contrary, he was not even aware who wrote the first draft in Rukwangali. Further painstaking inquiries by the Native Commissioner unveiled that the original Rukwangali version was formulated by the pastor in training, Nehemiah Mbamba. Having got so deep, Morris thought that he had finally pinned down the initiator. Yet, further investigations revealed that Mbamba had only done what disappointed parents had asked him to do: to formulate a letter in which their feelings were reflected. With this information Mbamba was off the hook and all suspicions pointed to Makaranga. At long last, Makaranga admitted that it was he who instigated the parents and suggested to them what procedure to follow so that his involvement could be obscured. It was only his long career in the Administration that prevented the Native Commissioner from immediately sacking Makaranga. An official rebuke is all that Makaranga had to face. More painful to him than this official rebuke must have been the fact that his undaunted effort to have a school built in Rundu finally turned out not to be successful. This time his exemplary endeavour to encourage normal people to claim their rights had failed. The case was finally put to rest in a letter by the Native Commissioner in which he emphasised that

he did not expect his right-hand man to dare to initiate such a campaign, and he pointed out twice that neither a missionary nor any of his white employees were aware of the campaign.³⁵

Many years after the death of Makaranga his school campaign found a continuation in a successful attempt by parents for an own school. By this time the parents had started to teach their children by their own self-initiative, but they did not give up on involving the administration.³⁶ Makaranga's dauntlessness can still be traced in the steps parents took in February 1956. Their letter to the Native Commissioner of this date is very much the same as those years before. They formulate their main argument in the haunting slogan: "We want our children to be part of Civilisation!" Attached to the letter is a long list of parents, children and "Christian children"³⁷

Times had changed and by this time it was the third Native Commissioner who was confronted with the request by the parents. This time Native Commissioner Kruger showed more willingness to handle the request and he forwarded the letter to the Finnish Mission. He then urged the Finnish Missionary Juho Syrjä to file an application for practical reasons.³⁸

Times had really changed, because now the Catholic priest who was responsible for the area around Rundu no longer had any objections to a Protestant school next to Makaranga's homestead.³⁹ As the clumsiness of bureaucracy had not changed, the application remained unprocessed on the table of an office in Windhoek. This must have been the reason why the application had to be repeated again under the next Commissioner. In the end, this application was approved on the 7th January 1959 – 19 long years after the first initiative⁴⁰ – and the Finnish Mission was allowed to open a mission school in the vicinity of Makaranga's homestead. The education system in Kavango was by this time under the Bantu Administration and Development. Finally the parents had a school, albeit not the one which they originally campaigned for, but at least one mission school directly in Rundu town. This school in the close vicinity of Makaranga's homestead was called "Rundu Primary School". It later formed the nucleus of the later schools Sauyemwa Primary School and Sauyemwa Combined School, both schools which continue to exist up till today. Parents and descendants of Makaranga – with the active support of the author of this book – have accomplished that the school will be named after the first initiator, Makaranga.

25 years after Makaranga's first attempt, a nondenominational school was established in Rundu with the involvement of many parents. It was in 1965 that the state-run Primary School in Ncua – east of Rundu – was opened. It was later moved to Nkarapamwe and still exists as Junior Primary School Rundu.⁴¹

Chapter 6

Ogu wa kwarera mepata lyondimba, walye o va temesa
komamutwi gawo

If you marry into the family of the hare, do not mock their long ears

Makaranga's women

A sketch of Makaranga's personality would not be complete without an attempt to describe his many marriages, although no attempt is made to describe Makaranga's emotional relationship with different women. This chapter describes only the different connections Makaranga publicly declared as his marriages and which played a role in his life as a leading personality. As in the previous chapters the aim is to understand Makaranga's motivation for his actions. It is also shown that his marriages were instrumental in his strive for power and fame. Of course it cannot be ruled out that affection, tenderness and love could develop within these relationships.

6.1 Makaranga the polygamist

Makaranga was married to 16 women, all of them who lived together with him in his homestead – most of them at the same time. Indeed, this is used here as a criteria for a marriage; that a woman moved to his homestead, regardless as to for how long. The large number of married women of Makaranga was extraordinary for the Kavango, as polygamous marriages were rare amongst commoners during the time of Makaranga. It was one of the privileges of a *hompa* that he could have as many women as he liked.¹ With these many marriages Makaranga not only demonstrated his wealth and power, but his position outside the otherwise fixed order of his time.

The list of Makaranga's women shows that they came from all ethnic groups of the Kavango. This suggests that his marriages stood in connection with his frequent visits to all the other ethnic groups in the "Okavango Native Territory". His marriage with women from these other ethnic groups guaranteed him a certain standing in that group so that he did not have to rely on his authority as an employee of the Administration. As he himself was not from one of the ethnic groups in the Kavango, he coupled himself to all groups through his marriages.

Name of his wife	Children with Makaranga	Background	Place	Date
			of wedding	
Sofia Esperanza Ngoyi	3	Ombundu	Grootfontein	1910/1920
Sirudi	2	Kwangali	Nkurenkuru	ca. 1922
Kauharere/Muharwa	5	Kwangali/Gciriko	Nkurenkuru	ca. 1924
Sihako	2	Kwangali	Nkurenkuru	
Sara Ihemba Ndambu	6	Kwangali	Rundu	
Mase	4	Sambyu	Rundu	
Katau	3	Nyemba	Rundu	
Zinya Mandando	1	Nyemba	Rundu	
Zinya Mukwahepo	2	Mbukushu	Rundu	
Zinya Kasumbi	None	Mbukushu	Rundu	
Nanzamba	None	Mbunza	Rundu	ca. 1939
Muhozi	None	Mbukushu	Rundu	
Zinya Kahonzo	3	Kwangali	Rundu	ca. 1943
Mpande	1	Nyemba	Rundu	
Sofia	None	Kwangali	Rundu	
Mate Safirua	None	Nyemba	Rundu	

Figure 31: The wives of Makaranga in chronological order of the marriage

- Makaranga's first marriage with Sofia is documented as a Christian marriage in the Church Register of the Lutheran Congregation in Grootfontein. The marriage with Sirudi and Kauharere can be backtracked in the Church Registers of the Lutheran congregation in Nkurenkuru and Mupini respectively, because in both cases Makaranga is registered as the father of the children.
- Only women who lived in the homestead of Makaranga and who were married according to traditional cultures are listed. All the other women with whom he had children during his travels through the region have been left out.
- "Yina" means "mother of" in Rukwangali.² "Yina Kahonzo" was therefore the mother of Kahonzo, named after her first-born Kahonzo, "The mother of Kahonzo".
- Only children are counted whose father was Makaranga. It could be

possible that a woman already had children from another man before marrying Makaranga.

- Not all women stayed their whole life with Makaranga. Sirude (sometimes written as Siluti), originally from Matawa, married Makaranga and had two children with him. Later in her life she became lame and Makaranga divorced her. This divorce is referred to in the Congregation Register of Nkurenkuru, where the Finnish missionary wrote: "Divorced. Married another woman".³ After this divorce Makaranga married Sihako a niece of Sirudi.⁴
- Makaranga moved to Rundu after he had married Sihako and before he married Ndambu. The first two children of Sihako, Hamunyera and Siwombe, were born in Nkurenkuru before he moved to Rundu.
- Mase twice gave birth to twins, an event that was associated with great luck in Kavango.⁵

A list like this one is unsuitable to depict the dynamic processes within a polygamous extended family. The list only registers the women and biological children of Makaranga during his stay in Kavango. A more realistic picture about the life as a wife of Makaranga can be a biographical sketch. Four women are chosen to throw some light on the different phases in the family life of Makaranga.

6.2 Sofia Esperanza, the "Undying hope."

Except for his first wife Sofia Esperanza, Makaranga married all his wives in the Kavango. Sofia Esperanza originally came from the Huambo province in Angola and belonged to one of the biggest ethnic groups in Angola, the Ombundu.⁶ Makaranga must have met her during one of his journeys through the Huambo province as a worker on the transport ox-waggons. The father of Sofia was Ngoi and her mother Monga.⁷ They married in the Protestant mission church in Grootfontein on the 25.4.1920. Sofia moved with Makaranga to the Kavango and – as the main wife – always retained great importance.⁸

Makaranga always presented Sofia to Europeans as his proper wife.⁹ Members of Makaranga's family referred to her as "ou-vrou", the old woman, and this is how she was introduced to outsiders. In the social hierarchy of his family, only Ndambu had a comparable position. Sofia Esperanza had three children with Makaranga and remained married to him until her death. After Makaranga's death, all his wives moved back to the homesteads from where they had come, except Sofia – she continued living in the homestead. This is where she died. She is buried in the graveyard in Sayemwa, opposite their homestead and near Makaranga's grave.¹⁰

6.3 Muharwa, the "Beloved one"

After the death of *hompa* Kandjimi, who died on the 19th March 1923, Makaranga married one of the wives of the *hompa*. This event, together with the unavoidable festivity, attracted wide attention far beyond Nkurenkuru. No exact date for this marriage can be traced. The fact, that somebody who was not part of the royal family, married the wife of a *hompa*, already pointed to the importance of Makaranga. With this action Makaranga demonstrated his special relationship to the family of the *hompa*. Muharwa the "Beloved one" of the *hompa*, was rather an end in itself for Makaranga.

The life of Mushaira was marked by tragedy even before this marriage. Kauharere was the daughter of Sirongo, the half-brother of Kandjimi. She was named after Kandjimi's sister. Sirongo, Muharwa's father would have been the lawful successor of Himarwa as *hompa*. During an attack on the homestead of Sirongo, Kandjimi killed Sirongo to secure the right to succeed to the throne. After the murder of his brother, Kandjimi married the wife of Sirongo and his niece, Kauharere. As one of Kandjimi's wives (to whom he had a strong emotional attachment), Kauharere became famous under the name Muharwa, the "Beloved one". As the third wife of Makaranga she soon stood in long line of women in Makaranga's homestead. A homestead that soon became as big and important than the one of her first husband.¹¹

6.4 Nanzamba the "Young one"

Nanzamba was the 11th wife of Makaranga. She only lived in Makaranga's homestead for a short time. It is therefore likely that she did not play an important role as one of his wives. As with five of the other wives of Makaranga, she never had a child of his. This already explains why she could not be compared with the like of Sofia, Muharwa or Ndambu.

Sofia Esperanza and Muharwa are mentioned here as examples of Makaranga's long term relations – Nanzamba's biographical details can be used to sketch other aspects of Makaranga's personality.¹² Nanzamba settled on the southern side of the Okavango with the Mbunza *hompa* Amatwi zaKayonga at the end of the 1930s.¹³ The Mbunza *hompa* had moved from Angola to Mayara because he feared the attacks of the Portuguese Colonial Police on his homestead. By moving to the South West African side, he submitted himself and his household to the power of the South African Administration. This seems plausible as the Native Commissioner did everything in his power to convince the groups on the Angolan side of the river, to move to the area under his supervision. Makaranga, as the proxy of the Commissioner, was the first representative of the colonial state in which *hompa* Amatwi zaKayonga now sought greener pastures. Whenever he was confronted with the Administration, it was through Makaranga.

With the influx of another ethnic group – this time the Mbunza, or at least a part of them – Makaranga's influence could only grow. As the newcomers were not familiar with the colonial peculiarities and the other language, they were highly dependent on Makaranga's agency. It was Makaranga's assessment of a *hompa* that was in the end to be decisive for the Commissioner's own opinion. Makaranga's intimate relationship with a *hompa* – on the other hand – was of paramount importance for Makaranga to always be thoroughly informed about the situation in the *hompa*'s family and among his subordinates. It seemed therefore natural that Makaranga requested *hompa* Amatwi zaKayonga to choose a wife for him. The decision was made by the *hompa* and he chose the young girl Nanzamba. Nanzamba was the niece of *hompa* Amatwi and her mother was Sidona Heikera.

Nanzamba moved to Makaranga's homestead in 1939. Why Makaranga sent her back to her parents in Matende not long after that, could not be verified. Two explanations are likely: either he sent Nanzamba away because the relationship remained childless and Makaranga – like in similar cases – separated again from the woman, or the Commissioner managed to use his private influence on Makaranga to break off the offensive affair. Whatever the reason was, the close connection between Makaranga and *hompa* Amatwi was not tarnished by this episode. Nanzamba later married a man called Joseph and had a son with him.

As in all other cases, Nanzamba had not moved into Makaranga's homestead in Sauyemwa alone, but came with a cohort of her own family members. Amongst them was her cousin Nafitali Lihongo. Over the years Nafitali Lihongo became an important man in the home. He had to make sure that there was always food in the house and took over responsibility if Makaranga was away. Additionally to these tasks, Makaranga also sent him on long tours through Kavango to meticulously collect information about everyday events that could be of any importance for the control over the people of Kavango. Nafitali Lihongo's accounts were the background on which Makaranga based his reports to the Native Commissioner about the state of affairs in the whole Kavango. Lihongo remained in Makaranga's homestead till 1948.¹⁴

Amatwi had not been allowed to keep his cattle when he moved over to South West Africa. Fearing the import of cattle diseases, the South West African administration slaughtered all his cattle. He received vaccinated cattle as compensation. Later, when Amatwi moved back to Angola, all these cattle came under the care of Makaranga.

When Nanzamba moved to Sauyemwa in 1939, she must have been a young girl. How old she was exactly, is difficult to prove. Her cousin, who came with her to Sauyemwa, was 13 years old at that stage.¹⁵

When Makaranga married the young Nanzamba, the colonial Administration considered him guilty of an offence which they identified and label as "child marriage".

The term was used for the first time in the files of the Administration in 1930, when the Superintendent of Native Reserves wrote in his year report: "Children of about 8 or 9 years of age are married by men with families [...] when the child is about 8 or 9 years old she is handed over to the husband as his wife and made use by him as such."¹⁶

This notice from Nkurenkuru alerted the Chief Native Commissioner. He requested background information about on this topic, contained in the single sentence. Furthermore the official from Windhoek expresses his lack of understanding for this – in other "bantu tribes" – unknown custom. The Superintendent of Native Reserves in Nkurenkuru is summoned to list all such cases by name and forward the findings to Windhoek.¹⁷

In his answer, the Superintendent of Native Reserves listed 12 cases and pointed out that he was made aware of the practice of "child marriage" by the Finnish missionary Järvinen. Järvinen himself was confronted with the practice, when three of the 12 girls fled to the Finnish mission station, seeking protection. When the mission granted them refuge, a palpable conflict with the family of the girls developed. When the mother of one of the girls reported the matter to the colonial officer and expected support, the officer refused it and endorsed the action of the missionary.

The answer of the Superintendent of Native Reserves further revealed that "child marriage" was not only practised in normal families, but that it was even custom in the homestead of the *hompa*: "Child marriage is general thought (sic!) the river peoples, there is scarcely a kraal that I have visited, but that abuse is in evidence. [...] In Chiefteness (sic!) Kanuni's kraal, child marriage is practised. The young chief "Sabuti" has two undeveloped girls as well as three young women as his wives."¹⁸

The response from Windhoek to these concrete cases of "child marriage" in the direct vicinity was not long in coming. Already in March 1931 the official standpoint and which steps should be taken were formulated in Windhoek and communicated to Nkurenkuru: "[...] I beg to state that the Administration views with the gravest concern the existence of child marriages amongst the natives and the evils resulting therefrom. The Chieftainess Kanuni and the other Headmen in your area should be informed that this practice is one that is not only utterly repugnant to the European, but is also unknown amongst the other native tribes of South Africa, and the Administration expects their assistance and support in putting an end to it."¹⁹

The reasoning behind the Administrators "gravest concern" only refers – at this stage – to "other native tribes". Four months later the Administration used

purely legal arguments to explain its standpoint and prohibit the practice of "child marriage".

In its letter of 24.7.1931 it gives instruction how to proceed in the existing cases: "[...] I beg to inform you that upon further consideration the Administration has definitely decided that the practice should no longer be allowed to continue and punitive measures are to be imposed upon all offenders in future.

It is considered, however, that reasonable warning should be given to the natives and that the views of Europeans on the question of child marriage should first be made known to them as widely as possible. You might therefore take immediate steps to inform the natives that no marriage is permitted amongst Europeans between persons who are under the age of puberty, i. e., 12 years in case of females, and 14 years in the case of males; that according to the laws in force in this Territory at the moment every male person who has unlawful carnal connection with a girl under the age of sixteen years or who commits with a girl under that age immoral or indecent acts or who solicits or entices a girl under that age to the commission of such acts shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding six years, with or without whipping not exceeding fifteen lashes and with or without a fine not exceeding five hundred pounds in addition to such imprisonment and lashes; that amongst Europeans if a male person has carnal connection with a girl under the age of 12 years, i. e., the age of consent, he can be charged with the crime of rape for which even the death sentence may be passed.

In view of the fact that the natives have not reached the same stage of civilization as Europeans, it is not intended to apply the same restrictions to native girls between the ages of 12 and 16 years, but to limit the law to the age of puberty, namely, 12 years. It should be made clear to the natives therefore that under no circumstances will sexual connection be permitted with a girl under the age of 12 years. This practice is contrary to the customs of the Bantu peoples and is unknown amongst the Ovambos and other tribes of South West Africa. Its continuance will inevitably lead to the deterioration of the race and the Administration is determined to put a stop to it.

It is proposed therefore after the 1st of January, 1932, to deal drastically with any native who is still indulging in the practice and if the offence is proved against him he will be liable to the penalties set forth above."²⁰

As the deadline was set for the 1st January 1932, the colonial officer in Kavango had 6 month to proclaim the legal prohibition and implement it. In these six months the personnel and Eedes took over on the 1st May 1932. On the issue of "child marriage" he was very much on line with the missionaries in their rejections of this custom and he was convinced that a drastic change was necessary. Already after his first inspection trip through the Kavango he

addressed the matter in an "urgent and confidential" letter to the Main office in Windhoek. Eedes accentuated the discussion by only referring to "child prostitution" from now on.

Two peculiarities are striking in Eedes letter. The first peculiarity is that he wrote his detailed letter after he had been in the Kavango for only six weeks. His background knowledge on which he elaborates at length seems to be scrupulously precise for somebody who had only six weeks to acquaint himself with a complete new situation. As his predecessor had recently informed the population how serious the Administration will treat future cases of "child marriage", it seems natural that homesteads in which of this type of marriage existed, would not be eager to show them openly. It therefore seems impossible that Eedes could have had his information from his own observations.²¹ The other peculiarity in Eedes letter is the information that he sent Makaranga – together with a number of policemen – to Tondoro from where he had some information about supposed cases of "child marriage". Makaranga went to Tondoro and arrested the mothers of the girls whom he considered as the main culprits.

Eedes detailed background knowledge in the letter can only be explained with the information, Makaranga had collected. Eedes had – after his first attempts of cooperation with the *hompa* – bypassed the *hompa*, in his aim to fight "child marriage" as he was convinced, that *hompa* Kanuni would not give her active support in this matter. In place of the *hompa*, Eedes entrusted Makaranga with the matter, because he saw in him a supposedly close ally. Makaranga used the inquiry into "child marriage" in the family in Tondoro – who was related to *hompa* Kanuni – as a welcome occasion to destabilize the power of *hompa* Kanuni.

Eedes reported his findings to Windhoek on the 12.7.1932: "I beg to inform you that during my tour of the Okavango river last month it was reported to me that child prostitution was still taking place throughout the Territory, particularly in the Tondoro area of the Kuangari country. On my return to the station I summoned Chieftainess Kanuni, and instructed her to investigate the reports. This she promised to do, but appeared to be more anxious to know the names of my informants. [...]. On my return from Tsumeb Chieftainess Kanuni reported to me that she had sent her messengers to the Tondoro area to investigate the reports made, and that they had returned with the information that they were false, and as far as she know no cases of child prostitution had taken place since she had given the order that it was to cease. I was not at all satisfied with her explanation, and therefore sent my own police, under Interpreter Looper, to investigate. He returned yesterday having arrested four women who have recently prostituted their daughters. [...] I would like to state that as far as I am able to observe, the chiefs in this Territory have not the influence nor the inclination to put a stop to this evil custom.

The person principally to blame is, of course, the mother who deliberately prostitutes her daughter for a present of a blanket a few reed mats or in return for services rendered. In many instances the youth tires of the work in the kraal, or is dismissed by the mother. She then immediately looks around for another "servant", and so in many cases a girl child has had sexual intercourse with four or five men before she reaches the age of puberty. No girl is recognised by the River People as being married until she attains this age.

In the case of a married man who desires another wife, he selects a girl child who may take his fancy, and makes presents to the mother, stating that he wishes to make the girl his wife. If he is accepted he has sexual intercourse with the child in the mother's kraal, although he does not live there, being usually from a neighbouring kraal. The child remains in the mother's kraal until she reaches the age of puberty when she is considered to be married to the man who is having sexual intercourse with her at this time. The girl then goes to his kraal as his recognised wife. [...]"²²

Again the answer was swift and harsh. By August 1932 the instructions how to proceed in cases of "child marriage" were on the table of the Native Commissioner in Nkurenkuru. According to it, especially the mothers of the girls, who were given into "child marriage", were to be punished severely, while the husband involved in it, would get a sentence of maximum three cattle. The instructions from Windhoek did not specify, which court had to decide about the cases. Normally cases which touched traditional costumes were handled by the system of the courts under the *hompas* jurisdiction. Eedes however, had urgently warned against the involvement of the hompa in the prosecution of cases of "child marriage".

The instructions from Windhoek included the following *modus operandi*: "[...] Chieftainess Kanuni should be informed that she apparently has either deliberately failed to enforce the instructions of the Administrator or she is unable to control her people. If she is not able or willing to exercise her functions as Regent of the Kuangari people and suppress the practice of child prostitution which is one contrary to the customs of the Bantu or any civilized people the Administration will have to intervene itself and see that the offenders are punished. She should be given a warning that if further cases are brought to notice where it is considered that she has failed to use her powers the Administration will be compelled to remove her. As a mark of its displeasure it proposes to withhold her salary for 6 months.

In regard to the individual offenders, the mothers of the children concerned should be deprived of their kraals and they can be allotted by you to suitable persons. If the husbands complain that they belong to them they should be informed that they can seek redress according to native custom against the women concerned. [...]

The young men concerned should also be fined according to their means, not exceeding three head of cattle, and warned that if complaints are again received concerning them they will be brought down to the Territory and tried before the High Court where, as already pointed out, they can be sentenced to long terms of imprisonment with lashes and if convicted of the crime of rape are liable to even the "death penalty. [...]"²³

In spite of the fact, that until 1931 countless cases of "child marriage" had been observed in the direct vicinity of the Administration office, not a single court case because of this transgression has been recorded. Had the severe threats of punishment already had their effect, or were the people able to skilfully hide the practice of "child marriage" from the colonial administration?

Eight years passed after this first stir among the Administration, before the first "child marriage"-case caught the attention of the public. It is almost an irony of history that it was Makaranga of all people who was accused of "child prostitution". Eedes used the marriage between Makaranga and Nanzamba to publicly hold his own employee to account. With his numerous marriages Makaranga had disregarded all conventions and norms. Not only that, but countless violent quarrels in the household of Makaranga had been brought to the attention of the Native Commissioner. Families who had married one of their daughters into Makaranga's homestead had complained about the slavery-like conditions under which the daughters had found themselves again.²⁴ It seems logical that the colonial administration tried to use a criminal conviction of Makaranga to curtail him in his – in the eyes of the Administration – excesses.

Eedes' preparation for such a procedure reflects his exact and rigorous nature. Eedes' plans were straightforward and clear: to set an example, Eedes wanted Makaranga – together with Kampamba – arrested, transported to Grootfontein, tried before a Magistrate Court and sentenced by a white Magistrate. In November 1940 Eedes sent this suggestion to the public prosecutor's office in Windhoek. In his arguments for this course of action, Eedes referred to the unveiled threats the Administration had made in their letters of 1931 and 1932. Only in the case that a Magistrate Court hearing seemed unsuccessful, would Eedes opt for a hearing before a traditional court.

Eedes had prepared the following testimonies to incriminate Makaranga in a possible court case: "[...] It has been established that when Looper arrived at Hamatwi's kraal, it was still dark, and that he had to wake the sleeping inmates. He admits going to sleep in the kraal on and under reed mats, but his witnesses, Mpata and Shimpu have made every endeavour to prove that Looper never entered the kraal. It is possible that Looper will influence the other young natives he mentions to swear that they never left his side while he was sleeping. Looper admits that he gave Haingula an old coat, and the reason he

gives for making this gift can be considered to be absurd. He admits having given the girl, Nanzamba, presents of cloth and a blanket, and the presumption is that he gave her these gifts because he had had, or intended to have, sexual intercourse with her. A significant feature of the case against Looper is his visit to the kraal in which Nanzamba lives, at dead of night. It is understandable that Haingula and Shidona should deny all knowledge of Looper's relations with Nanzamba, but the probabilities are that they gave their consent to his having sexual intercourse with her before she had reached the age of puberty, particularly as Haingula had also received a present of an old coat. [...]"²⁵

The negative answer of the public prosecutor reached Nkurenkuru a few weeks later. According to the public prosecutor, both cases described by Eedes were not convincing enough to justify prosecution. Windhoek therefore suggested having the two tried before the *hompas* according to traditional law and articulate a stern warning that similar cases would in future be tried before a "European Court".²⁶

In the same month in which Eedes received the answer from Windhoek Eedes immediately arranged that Makaranga and Kampamba were summoned before the *hompas* court. Since the two cases of "child marriage" transpired in two different tribal areas, the two cases were handled by two different *hompas*. The Mbunza *hompas* Kasiki was responsible for Makaranga's case. On the 23.12.1940 this trial took place at the *hompas mbara* in Kapako.

Since 1930 the *hompas* had the legal right to convict offenders according to Government Notice No. 60, Paragraph 4(g).²⁷ According to the ordinance the *hompas* was supported by his *masimbi* in his adjudication. It was practice that the Native Commissioner was also present and that he influenced the verdict if he thought it necessary.

Considering Makaranga's role in the Kavango, the verdict in his case of "child marriage" was not unexpected. Makaranga was acquitted.

Eedes reported to Windhoek: "Looper. Found not guilty by the Bunja Chief, Kasiki on the 23rd. instant. The Chief was of opinion that Looper had been falsely accused by the three young girls. While not agreeing with the chiefs' judgement, it is not considered that any useful purpose will be served by upsetting it."²⁸

It could not be traced who the three young girls were. All other witnesses in the case testified in favour of Makaranga and it can be assumed that the three girls stood under great pressure to repeat their statements – which they had given to Eedes before the court hearing – in front of the *hompas*. Eedes' attempt to have Makaranga officially condemned in a trial of great public interest completely failed. Still more, the Commissioner's humiliation was taken to extremes by a supplementary judgement. The *hompas* not only acquitted

Makaranga, but he furthermore sentenced the three girls – witnesses organised by Eedes – for false testimony. Eedes' side note on the document, reflects his frustration, as he wrote: "Looper found not guilty by Chief on 23/12/40, who fined the witnesses!"²⁹

That a court case with the same weak evidence could result in another judgement was shown in the process against Kapamba. Like Makaranga, he was also impeached for "child marriage". Only one day after Makaranga's acquittal, Kapamba was found guilty of practicing "child marriage" by the hompa of the Sambyu and sentenced to pay one cattle.³⁰ Although the verdict remained below the maximum penalty, this decision would have suited Eedes and the colonial administration more than the acquittal of Makaranga.

Makaranga had again won a battle in the power struggle against the colonial administration. Impressively enough for the people of the Kavango he had once again demonstrated, that the otherwise unrestricted power of the colonial official was insufficient to prevent him from practising his way of life. The official documents in the archives do not reveal if Eedes finally found other means to force Makaranga to send Nanzamba back to her parents.

6.5 Kahonzo the "Beautiful one"

Makaranga met Kahonzo in her home town when she was only 13 years old. Her beauty attracted him from the beginning and he showed her his blunt affection. All Makaranga's attempts to take Kahonzo to his homestead in Nkurenkuru, failed because of the will of her father, Karembera Muata. When Kahonzo's father died, the family moved to Mupini into the homestead of Samange Kauyuu, because the elder brother of her mother now became the head of the family. Samange Kauyuu was a close friend of Makaranga and had a personal interest in having Kahonzo married to Makaranga. That is why he promoted the marriage between the two with all his means. His efforts were successful when Makaranga married the beautiful, 19-year old Kahonzo in the 1940's in the same year her father had died.



Figure 282: Kahonzo in 1999

Kahonzo and her mother were against the marriage and so the marriage festivities turned into a grotesque and sad event. According to Kahonzo's memory they both wept the whole day and did not eat any meat. For all the visitors, who had come from near and far, the festivities was a good opportunity to enjoy the good drinks and the abundance of meat. Like all the other marriage festivities in Makaranga's homestead, the party lasted for three days – for a whole weekend. Among the honourable guests were the three policemen of the Commissioner's office, Paulus Mpengo (Munango), Haingura, Meesi und Haikerua.

For Kahonzo's uncle Samange Kauyuu, the marriage festival was not only a big party, but it changed his social status. From now on he lived in the homestead of Makaranga and received substantial support. Kahonzo's mother, Kasiku Pandu, refused to move to Sauyemwa and avoided the homestead of Makaranga for many years.

Kahonzo, however, was not prepared to simply accept her fate. In the same month of her marriage with Makaranga she fled from Sauyemwa to Angola. Here, in the homestead of the family of her deceased father, she considered herself safe. However, since Makaranga's influence did not end at the boundary, she was still at his mercy. With the permission of the Native

Commissioner he crossed the boundary into Angola, captured her and brought Kahonzo back to Sauyemwa on his own horse. Apart from this one attempt, Kahonzo saw no way to defend herself against the will of her uncle and the forced marriage.

Like all other women of Makaranga, Kahonzo received her own room in the homestead. Regulated by a fixed rhythm, Makaranga would sleep in at one of his wives rooms for three consecutive nights. Gradually Kahonzo became Makaranga's favourite wife and he developed an especially close link to her. Kahonzo remembered that Makaranga had told her right at the beginning of their marriage that she should run away when he was beating his women, so that he should get the opportunity to beat her. Since she always followed this advice, she was – according to Kahonzo's own recollection – never beaten by Makaranga.

After a year in Makaranga's homestead her son Mapeu Karumbuena Saparu was born.³¹ With the birth of her first-born, it was certain, that Makaranga would not send her back to her mother's homestead, as he had done in other cases. From now on their relationship was considered to be permanent. In 1946 their second son, Elias Sakindua was born. Makaranga choose a name for him which meant: I will give you everything, but not my wife. Their daughter, Naimi Nehova, was born in 1952.

During her marriage with Makaranga, Kahonzo developed a close link with Sofia, the first wife of Makaranga. Sofia, who was the same age of Kahonzo's mother, became a close friend. Kahonzo also became friends with two other wives of Makaranga.

When Makaranga died in 1955 in Sauyemwa, Kahonzo moved back to the family of her mother. As a former wife of Makaranga she now had rank and dignity and was considered a desirable spouse. A number of headmen and police-officers who were working for the Administration wanted to marry her. Now she alone could decide whom to marry. After 13 years of marriage with an important personality of the Kavango, she no longer wanted to stand in the limelight of her husband. 1957 she married a plain farmer, Matthias Sikondo, with whom he had four children.

Chapter 7

Nzira ga genda nkurundjamba, ndjamba ona nage yimo nga

kwama

Where the old elephant walked, the young one will also walk

Makaranga's children and heirs

This biography of Makaranga is made complet with the reference to his children. This listing of his children, grandchildren grand-grandchildren and grandchildren in the fourth generation ends in the modern period of the Kavango. A detailed description of every person in the family tree is no longer possible, but all names and the memory of their existence are still alive. A summary of family-members of the first three wives of Makaranga is documented in the following chapter. Makaranga left no contemporary documents, but his entrepreneurial spirit and his will to power lives on in his offspring.

7.1 Makaranga's descendants

Children are the real wealth of life. The number of children reflects ones own prosperity, and the parenting of children uplifts the social status of the parents. Romanus Kampungu once wrote about a *homp*a of the Kavango: "He has left an astonishing great number of offspring."¹ The same can be said of Makaranga, although he was never to be a *homp*a. The children of his first three women are documented in the following chapter. These were the ones who lived with him in Nkurenkuru and who's biographical details can be traced in the church registers in Nkurenkuru and Mupini.

7.2 Children from his marriage with Sofia

7.2.1 The first-born son Josef ja Ruben, called "Kandjimi"

Josef was born by 1918, most probably in Grootfontein.²

He was baptized on the 25th April 1920, together with his parents, in Grootfontein.³

Josef ja Ruben can not be traced as an active member of a church congregation.

His first wife was Mbava; he named his oldest daughter after his mother, Sofia.

He had another son with a woman whose name could not be traced.⁴

Josef ja Ruben's date of death could not be traced.

7.2.2 The first daughter, Rakel ja Ruben

Rakel (sometimes spelled as Rachel) was born in Nkurenkuru on the 12th December 1922.⁵

She was baptized in Tsumeb on the 13th September 1925.⁶

Rakel's other name was Nahango, a name which is omitted in the Church Register.

Rakel ja Ruben died in Ncumkara on the 13th July 2001.



Figure 293: Makaranga's daughter Rakel (right) and his grandchild Ihemba in 1999

The biography of Rakel ja Ruben and that of her children is closely connected with the Protestant Mission church in Kavango. She kept a close relationship with the church, even after Makaranga himself had cut his links with the church. Indeed, it was her mother, Sofia who kept the close contact with the Protestant Mission church after her and Makaranga's baptism. It was Sofia who decided to go her own way and who – in spite of Makaranga's opinions – gave Rakel a Christian education which was in sharp contrast to Makaranga's way of life. When Sofia risked the dangerous and painstaking journey from Nkurenkuru to Tsumeb with her three-year old to have her baptised in the Mission church of the Rhenish Mission Society in Tsumeb, she publicly demonstrated what importance she attached to this Christian ceremony. Sofia immediately registered her family in the Protestant congregation in Mupini. By now Rakel was 14-years old and her mother made sure that her daughter was admitted at the Mission School in Rupara. From now on Rakel's life was formed by her closeness to the congregation. That is why her marriage with Erastus Makuti was consecrated in the Mission Church in Mupini. She married the 12-year older Nyemba man – who had previously lived in household of Makaranga – on her 15th birthday, the 12th December 1937.⁷

The following children have been recorded from the marriage between Rakel Nahango and Erastus Makuti:

Helvi Ihemba	* 30.10.38	"Ihemba" = Erastus mother
Risto	* 1935	
Alice (Alisa) Sengu	* 25.4.41	"Sengu" = Erastus sister
Rauuna Mukatji Uana	* 3.1.44	"Mukatji Uana" = Makarangas mother
Robert Sikote	* 1946	"Sikote" = Erastus brother
Olavi (Efraim) Vatareni	* 2.11.48	"Vatareni" = Erastus brother
Hileni (Sylvia) Ndahava	* 10.7.51	"Ndahava" = family of Makarangas
Markus Sitongeni	* 1955	"Sitongeni" = family of Makarangas
Riita Ndapewa	* 16.11.63	"Ndapemwa" = family of Makarangas ⁸

7.2.2.1 Makaranga's first grandchild Helvi Ihemba

Like in her own education, Rakel made sure that her firstborn and eldest daughter, Helvi Ihemba, had a Christian education.⁹ Rakel had her daughter baptized by the Finnish missionary Eino Väkeväinen ("Nauque") in Mupini and sent her to the girls Mission School in Nkurenkuru from May 1953 to the End of 1956. As Helvi was the first of the generation of grandchildren of Makaranga who were baptized at the Kavango, she was considered to be the first baptized Christian of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (ELCIN). She became an icon of a true Christian woman in the Protestant narrative. A number granddaughters and grand-granddaughters of this branch of Makaranga's family are active in ELCIN up until today.

In 1956 Helvi Ihemba married Erkki Ntusi. Four children were born from this marriage.¹⁰ Much of the personal career of Erkki Ntusi and his wife Helvi Ihemba reminds one of the biography of Makaranga. Erkki Ntusi also worked for the Administration, from 1957 to 1959 in Grootfontein for the South West African Labour Association (SWANLA) and after that – from 1960 to 1969 – as an employee of the Bantu Administration under Bantu Commissioner Marshal McIntyre at Tsumke.

When Helvi Ihemba moved back to the Kavango, a congregation of the Evangelical Lutheran Ovambo- and Kavango-Church (ELOK, which later became the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia ELCIN) had been founded in Rundu. As Helvi Ihemba and her family lived in Sauyemwa, they became members in this congregation. When large numbers of refugees from Angola populated Sauyemwa in 1975, Helvi and her husband no longer felt at ease in the crowded residential neighbourhood and they moved – together with their children – to Ncamagoro (Myl 30), a settlement along the gravel road between Rundu and Grootfontein, which was completed in 1968. Not far from their homestead, the Bantu Beleggings Kooperasie (BBK) had erected a cattle post and drilled a borehole which supplied them with water. The tarred road – which was constructed in 1977-79 passed directly by their homestead and made the trip to Rundu easier.¹¹ During the bush war they were forced to leave their homestead between May and November 1983 and had to stay temporarily in Rundu. In 1985 Helvi Ihemba was appointed by hompa Sientu as the headman for the whole area between the Okavango and Masivi and Mayongora. Helvi Ihemba died in 2002 during a road accident near Nkurenkuru.

The different dwelling places of the family of Helvi Ihemba reflects the socio-political changes during her lifespan. Not only did the place of their home change over the years, but also the language they used in the family was subject to constant changes during the time frame between the arrival of Helvis grandmother in Kavango in the 1920s and her death in 2002. While her grandmother Sofia spoke Hinga with her husband Makaranga, she spoke Oshimbundu with her children. Her mother Rakel spoke Oshimbundu with her own mother and Oshikwanyama with her father, Makaranga. Rakel learned Rukwangali in her surrounding and was exposed to a peculiar mixture of Rukwangali and Oshikwanyama at the Protestant mission stations. (The Finnish missionaries who came from Ovamboland before settling in the Kavango, assumed that Oshikwanya and Rukwangali were so closely connected that Oshikwanyama, intermingled with some Rukwangali words and expressions was used as the common language on the Protestant mission stations. It was only in the 1970s that this was corrected and pure Rukwangali accepted as the language in the western Kavango.) Rakel only spoke Rukwangali with her own children.¹² This is why Helvi grew up in a Rukwangali-speaking family, although she had to speak Afrikaans at her

work. Helvi spoke Rukwangali with her husband as she was not fluent in his mother language Nyemba. It was only in Helvis generation, that Rukwangali became the dominant language in the family. Aksel Martha (born 1980), the daughter of Helvi Ihemba and the grand-granddaughter of Makaranga speaks Rukwangali at home, English in school and a little bit of Afrikaans with her friends. For 1980 the statistics stated the following distribution of languages in Kavango: RuKwangali 64%, Gciriku 25%, ThiMbukushu 13%, Nyemba 11%, Chokwe 7%, Shabyu 7%, Oshimbundu 5%.¹³

7.2.3 The second son Lazarus ja Ruben

Lazarus was born in Nkurenkuru on the 27th August 1931.
He was baptized in Nkurenkuru on the 18th October 1931.¹⁴
Lazarus' second name was Sirandu.¹⁵
The date of death of Lazarus is not known.

7.3 Children from his marriage with Sirudi

7.3.1 The first son Abraham ja Ruben ja Kanjambu na Siluti

Abraham was born in Matawa on the 9th January 1923.¹⁶

He was baptized in Nkurenkuru – together with his younger sisters Johanna and Rebeka – on the 25th August 1929 by missionary Aatu Järvinen.¹⁷ Stefanus Mundjangi was made his godfather.¹⁸

He called himself Abraham Sikwaya¹⁹ – a name he took from his father Makaranga – and was nicknamed Tweuagha, which means "This child was born during the war".

Abraham married Paulina Nankali from Shambyu. They had eight children and lived in the homestead of Makaranga, when he died in 1955. In 1970 the family was displaced by the South African Administration from Sauyemwa to Kayirayira. Kayirayira – which is situated south of Kasote and west of the Fontein Omuramba – is part of Nakazaza. Since the former inhabitants of Sauyemwa never wanted to move away, they called the new settlement Kayirayira, meaning something like "You have to move from here". Abraham lived in Kayirayira till 1999.

7.3.2 The first daughter Johanna Ruben na Silutizzz

Johanna was born in Nkurenkuru in 1925.²⁰

She was baptized in Nkurenkuru – together with her older brother Abraham and her younger sister Rebeka – on the 25th August 1929 by missionary Aatu Järvinen.

Her foster parents were Matheus Shinenge and his wife Eliina. Shinenge (sometimes written as Shininge) was a teacher, who completed his Teachers Certificate in Oniipa/Ongwediva in 1928. A year later he came to Kavango, with other Kwanyma teachers.²¹

Johanna Ruben na Siluti married Moses Armas Nampanja on the 18th April 1949 in Mupini. In the same church service she and her husband were confirmed and their oldest son baptized. No further data of her husband is available.

Ten children were born out of this marriage.²²

Johanna Ruben na Siluti died – aged 47 years old – 1972 in Rundu.²³

7.4 Children from his marriage with Kauharere

7.4.1 The first daughter Rebeka ja Ruben ja Kanjambu na Kauhalele

Rebeka was born in Nkurenkuru in 1926.²⁴

She was baptized in Nkurenkuru – together with her older brother Abraham and her older sister Johanna – on the 25th August 1929 by missionary Aatu Järvinen.

Her foster parents were Veijo Amuelo and his wife Fransiina. Veijo – his wife and two of their children, who were already born in Ondongwa area – came to Nkurenkuru in the 1920s.²⁵

She married Efraim Makuti in Mupini on the 21st October 1945. Her husband Efraim and Erastus – the husband of her sister Rakel ja Ruben were brothers. Like Erastus, Efraim had lived in the homestead of Makaranga, before he married Rebeka.²⁶

Rebeka was 19 when she married the 25-year old Efraim. They had two boys together of which the elder one was two years old, when they married. Rebeka's husband and her two children were baptized on the day of her marriage.²⁷

Ten children were born out of this marriage.²⁸

Rebeka died in 1999.

7.5 Makaranga's legacy

In the 1950s, Makaranga's many years of professional activity came to an end. He retired in September 1955. An extended festivity at the office of the Native Commissioner marked the event.²⁹ Makaranga died only a few month after his retirement at the age of 65. An episode without his profession and his functions was not part of his life.

The 29th November 1955 is recorded as Makaranga's day of death.³⁰ He died

in the Rundu hospital, although he had stayed in his homestead till shortly before his death. Makaranga is buried on the Sauyemwa cemetery, to the west and close to his homestead, where he lived out his years after his relocation to Rundu.³¹

No material belongings are kept in his family in the Kavango. His family members of his ethnic background came to collect it or burn it according to their old customs. Only an old hatchet, which originally belonged to Makaranga, was to be found in the possession of his grandchild Hileni Ndahava.³²



Figure 304: Makaranga's grave in Sauyemwa, erected by his descendants in 2018. John 14, 27: "My peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you." YOUR LEGACY WILL REMAIN WITH US FOREVER

Conclusion

Very few people are still alive today who experienced the special personality of Makaranga. All information we have about him is part of oral history, or people just know of him by hearsay.

However, the available written information about him (which has been collated from colonial or missionary archives) also forms an important source – no matter how biased they might seem.

When I began to trace the hints in the archives of Windhoek, Oniipa, Helsinki and Lisbon, it soon became obvious that previous academic researchers had shown very little interest in the subject of Makaranga. At first sight it even seemed as if the reports in archival files on the work of the "messenger", "policeman" or "headman" Looper (Makaranga) were referring to different people entirely, and detailed investigations were required to find out that the same individual was meant throughout. I have tried to include all relevant information supplied by colonial officials, colonial employees and missionaries – which could be traced in the files – in this biography.

From the beginning of my research, the oral narratives of his extended family have also formed part of my written memos. I was blessed to have met some of his children and wives in the 1990s, who are no longer among us. I was also delighted to note, that the interest in the historic figure of Makaranga grew visible in the decades after I completed the text of this book in 1999. His grave – which was difficult to trace under the bushes of Sauyemwa's graveyard in the 1990s – is living proof how the appreciation grew within the years.

Acronyms, Glossary, Photo Credits, Bibliography

AELCRN	Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Republic of Namibia (Windhoek)
AELCIN	Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia (Oniipa)
AFELM	Archives of the Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission (Helsinki)
ANC	Assistant Native Commissioner
BAB	Bundesarchiv (Berlin)
CDM	Consolidated Diamond Mines
CNC	Chief Native Commissioner
ELCIN	Evangelical Lutheran Church in Namibia
ELCRN	Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Republic of Namibia
ELOK	Evangeliese Lutherse Ovambo-Kavango-Kerk
FMS	Finnish Mission Society
FELM	Finnish Evangelical Lutheran Mission
HMM	The author
NAN	National Archives Namibia (Windhoek)
NC	Native Commissioner
NLO	Northern Labour Organization
NMC	Native Military Corps
OiC	Officer-in-Charge
OMEG	Otavi Minen- und Eisenbahn-Gesellschaft
OMI	Kongregation der Oblaten der Unbefleckten Jungfrau Maria (Congregation of the Oblates of the Immaculate Virgin Mary)
ONT	Okavango Native Territory
RMS	Rhenish Mission Society
SLO	Southern Labour Organization
SACT	State Archives Cape Town
SWANLA	South West African Native Labour Association
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association

Glossary

Bantu Education	In 1953 the South African Bantu Education Act brought African education under control of the government and extended apartheid to black schools. Previously, most African schools were run by missionaries, but Bantu Education ended the relative autonomy these schools had enjoyed up to that point. Instead, government funding of black schools became conditional on acceptance of a racially discriminatory curriculum administered by a new Department of Bantu Education.
Bantustan (Afrikaans)	Also bantu homeland, black homeland, black state or simply homeland. A territory set aside for black inhabitants of South Africa and South West Africa, as part of the policy of apartheid.
Boer (Afrikaans/Dutch)	Farmer or peasant. In the South African contexts, "Boers" refers to the descendants of the then Dutch-speaking settlers of the eastern Cape frontier in Southern Africa during the 18th and much of the 19th century.
Chief/Chieftainess	In a colonial context the leader/female leader of a tribal society or chieftdom.
Clan	A group of people united by actual or perceived kinship and descent. Even if lineage details are unknown, clan members may be organized around a founding member or apical ancestor.
Dorslandtrek (Afrikaans)	The collective name of a series of explorations undertaken by boer settlers from South Africa towards the end of the 19th century and in the first years of the 20th century, in search of political independence and better living conditions.
Epangwe (Rukwangali)	Marijuana-plant
Esimbi/masimbi (Rukwangali)	The advisor/advisors of a hompa.
Headman	Mostly used for the head of a village, but in this book it is used for the colonial function which was created through Government Notice No. 60 of 1930 by which the Administrator could appoint any suitable person as a leader of a group of people without a distinct affiliation.

Homeland	See bantustan.
Hompa/Vahompa (Rukwangali)	The Rukwangali word for leader/leaders for their people.
Kavango	In this book both Namibian regions – Kavango-East and Kavango-West – are generally referred to as "Kavango", the term which was historically only used for this area from 1970-89 and 1996-2013. Except for this periods, the territory was referred to as "Okavango", the same name which was used for the river.
Kraal (Afrikaans)	The original meaning of the Afrikaans word refers to a cattle pen. During colonial time it was also used to describe an African homestead. Because of this negative connotation the word only appears in this text when it is used in quotations.
Kimbanda (Nkumbi)	The name used for a sorcerer in the context of the Nyaneka-Nkumbi of Angola.
Ovatikili (Oshikwanyama)	Amongst the Kwanyama a person who could use the magic of evil to destroy.
Pereira d'Eca/N'Giva	The names of cities and towns in Angola are used in this text in the original-colonial Portuguese form, followed by the name used after Independence.
Police-Boy	An African employee in the police force with police functions. The derogative term "boy" was widely used in this context for an African employee of any age.
Police Zone	The Area of South West Africa which was declared by the South African Administration in 1919 as the land within which the farms for "white" farmers were located.
Mahangu	Pearl millet. A subsistence rain fed cereal crop which is the major staple food in Northern and North-Eastern Namibian.
Mbara (Rukwangali)	The homestead of the hompa and her/his entourage.
Oombwiti (Oshindonga)	People from the North and North-East of Namibia who permanently settled down in police zone.
Ovambo/Ovambos	In many of the archive documents, no difference between the inhabitants of Northern Namibia, Kavango and Angola was made. They were all referred to as the "Ovambos".

Reserved Area	A part of the Okavango Native Territory which was reserved for the settlement of Kwanyama only.
South West Africa	The colonial term used for the present day Namibia.
Tribe	A colonial term used for an ethnic group.
Usimba (Rukwangali)	The Rukwangali term used for the former police zone.



Figure 315: The bar in Sauyemwa named after Makaranga in 2020

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A460/19(V2)	Native chiefs and headman Okavango	1953-1954
A441/3	Native employees, Government service	1943-1945
A454/158	Murder of Native women, Okavango	1934
A489/13/1	Missionstations Okavango	
A519/1(V1)	Kuring-Kuru, Monthly Reports	1922-1928
A519/1(V2)	Kuring-Kuru, Monthly Reports	1929-1933
A519/1(V3)	Kuring-Kuru, Monthly Reports	1934-1936
A519/1(V4)	Kuring-Kuru, Monthly Reports	1936-1938
A519/1(V5)	Kuring-Kuru, Monthly Reports	1938-1941
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A519/1(V7)	Kuring-Kuru, Monthly Reports	1950-1955
A519/1/1(V1)	Rundu	1949-1951
A519/1/1(V2)	Rundu	1952-1953
A519/1/1(V3)	Rundu	1954-1955
A519/23	Proposed Government School at Rundu	1940-1954
A521/10(V1)	Recruitment Okavango Natives	1920-1941
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1/1/45 Vol. 30 243/3(V1)	Grootfontein Magistrate, Kuring-Kuru patrol	1916-1917
1/1/45 Vol. 30 243/3(V2)	Grootfontein Magistrate, Kuring-Kuru patrol	1917-1919
1/1/45 Vol. 30 243/3(V3)	Grootfontein Magistrate, Kuring-Kuru patrol	1919-1921

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1/1	Eedes, H. L. P. Personal	1932-1942
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18/2/4	Roman Catholic Mission Bunja	1932-1944
36/1/2	Bushwoman (Name Unknown). Alleged to have been Murdered by Native Shimbenda and Party	1933-1933
N1/15/7	District Administration:	

	Public Service and internal inspection reports 1939 - 1961	
N2/3/3/66	Land (Native). Sites, Schools, churches, missions: Runtu Finnish Mission	1952-1962
20	War reports and returns	1940-1944
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LGR 3/1/16 17/15/3	Annual Report	1927
LGR 3/1/16 17/15/4	Annual Report	1928
LGR 3/1/16 17/15/5	Annual Report	1929
LGR 3/1/16 17/15/6	Annual Report	1930

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4/290	Looper Kanjambu	1939
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Aaa 4	FMS Board Minutes	1923-1924
Aab 16	FMS Missionary Conference Minutes	1924-1962
Aabb 1	Missionary Conference Minutes from Kavango	1926-1963
Ddad 1	Annual Reports Kavango	1926-1939
Ddad 2	Annual Reports Kavango	1939-1963
Dfab	Kavango	
Eae	Sekalaisia	1932-1934
Eai	Kavango Files	1929-1963
Eai	Kavango Files	1947-1958
Eai	Paavo K. taloud hoid	1958 -
Eaj	FMS Correspondence with Government Officials	1920-1933
Eaj	Letters to Gov. Officials	1930-1938
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Notations

Chapter 1

¹ Groves, Charles Pelham (1948): *The Planting of Christianity in Africa*, London, p. 133.

² Sikondomboro, Laimi, Nankudu, 18th May 2002, in an interview with HMM.

³ The following combinations of names are also used in different publications: Ruben Kandjambu, Ruben Kanjambu, Kandjambo (the names Kandjambu and Kandjambo were created by the Kwangali who would not pronounce the "...abu.." of the Nkumbis. Shikukumwa). Looper Shikwaya Kanjambu (NAN SWAA A460/19(V1). "Interview with headman Tom Kamanya Shivoro at Mpungu Vlei". 8.3.1954). Ruben Kandjumbu (Nambala, Shekutaambra V. V. (1994): *History of the Church in Namibia*. Lutheran Quarterly, p. 113 quoting ELCIN church newspaper "Omukwetu". Oniipa**Fehler! Textmarke nicht definiert.** 15.5.86. P. 1, 4, 7.) The name Kandjumbu is obviously misspelled). Luban Manuere (Kampungu, Romanus (1965): *Okavango Marriage Customs investigated in the light of Ecclesiastical Legislation*. Rom, p. 229). Shikukumwa mentioned this name, as it was told him by Sofia Ngoyi. Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

⁴ Genesis 46, verse 8.

⁵ Bantu: An Informal Publication of the Department of Native Affairs. Compiled by the Information Service. Pretoria Juli 1956, p.46.

⁶ The parents are registered as Kanjambu and Mukatjiuana in the Church Register of Grootfontein. Kirchen-GrBuch der evangelischen Missionsgemeinde Grootfontein, Band II. P. 5. Registration No. 3035.

⁷ Sikondomboro, Laimi, Nankudu, 18th May 2002, in an interview with HMM.

⁸ Estermann, Carlos (1976): *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola*. Volume I. The Non-Bantu Peoples, The Ambo Ethnic Group. New York: Africana Publishing Company, p. 9.

⁹ Estermann, Carlos (1976): *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola* ..., *ibid*, p. 226.

¹⁰ Stals, Ernst L. P.; Otto-Reiner, Antje (1999): *Oorlog en vrede aan die Kunene*. Die verhaal van Kaptein Vita ("Oorlog") Tom, of Harunga 1863 – 1937. Windhoek: Author's edition, p. 24-26.

¹¹ Estermann, Carlos (1976): *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola* ..., *ibid*, p. 23.

¹² Estermann, Carlos (1976): *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola* ..., *ibid*, p. 7. Redinha, José (1971): *Distribuição étnica de Angola*. Luanda: Centro de Informação e Turismo de Angola, p. 25.

¹³ Estermann, Carlos (1976): *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola* ..., *ibid*, p. 229.

¹⁴ Estermann, Carlos (1976): *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola* ..., *ibid*, p. 187.

¹⁵ Estermann, Carlos (1976): *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola* ..., *ibid*, p. 113-114.

¹⁶ Estermann, Carlos (1976): *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola* ..., *ibid*, p. 97.

¹⁷ Estermann, Carlos (1976): *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola* ..., *ibid*, p. 132.

Officer-in-Charge Carr writes: "*I believe her however that the Chieftainship will shortly be abolished, and the tribe be ruled by a council of headmen under the guidance of the Officer-in-Charge.*" NAN SWAA A460/19(V1). Administrator to Officer-in-Charge Native Affairs, Nkurenkuru. 1.12.1926.

¹⁸ Estermann, Carlos (1976): *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola* ..., *ibid*, p. 122.

¹⁹ Estermann, Carlos (1976): *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola* ..., *ibid*, p. 122.

²⁰ Estermann, Carlos (1976): *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola* ..., *ibid*, p. 127.

²¹ Estermann, Carlos (1976): *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola* ..., *ibid*, p. 200.

²² Sikwaya, Abraham. Kayirayira, 25th March 1999 in an interview with HMM. Maritz, Engela. Letters to HMM. Otjiwarongo, 13.11.2000, 3.8.2001.

²³ Heese, Hans Friedrich (1976): *Die Afrikaners in Angola 1880-1928*. Proefskrif ingelewer

vir die graad von doktor in die wysbegeerte. Cape Town, p. 300.

²⁴ Stals, Ernst L. P.; Otto-Reiner, Antje (1999): Oorlog en vrede ..., *ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁵ Bantoe, Bantu. An Informal Publication of the Department of Native Affairs. Compiled by the Information Service. Pretoria. Juli, 1956. Bantoe, Bantu. An Informal Publication of the Department of Native Affairs. Compiled by the Information Service. Pretoria. Juli, 1956, p. 46.

²⁶ Ihemba, Helvi Ruben Ncamagoro, 28th February 1999 in an interview with HMM.

²⁷ Von Weber, Otto (1973): Geschichte des Schutzgebietes Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika. Windhoek: Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, p. 213-214.

²⁸ Mattenklodt, Wilhelm (1928): Verlorene Heimat. Als Schutztruppler und Farmer in Südwest. Berlin: Paul Parey Verlag, p. 29.

²⁹ Van Tonder, Maria Isabella. Otjiwarongo, 5th July 2001 in an interview with HMM.

³⁰ Sikwaya, Abraham. Kayirayira, 25th March 1999 in an interview with HMM.

³¹ Kampungu, Romanus (1965): Okavango Marriage Customs ..., *ibid.*, p. 231 and 234.

³² Sikwaya, Abraham. Kayirayira, 25th March 1999 in an interview with HMM.

³³ Sitambara, Chiyengo. Siena/Nkurenkuru, 30th June 1999 in an interview with HMM.

³⁴ Sitambara, Chiyengo. Siena/Nkurenkuru, 30th June 1999 in an interview with HMM. Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

³⁵ Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

³⁶ Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

³⁷ Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

³⁸ Hartmann, Wolfram; Sylvester, Jeremy; Hayes, Patricia (1998): The Colonising Camera. Photographs in the making of Namibian History. Cape Town: Out of Africa, p. 156 and p. 160.

³⁹ Kampungu, Romanus (1965): Okavango Marriage Customs ..., *ibid.*, p. 230.

⁴⁰ AELCIN Eai, Kavango Files, 1929-1963. Medical reports for the years 1932-1938.

⁴¹ NAN SWAA A519/1(V3). Monthly Report. Januar 1934. p. 4.

⁴² NAN SWAA A519/1(V2). Officer-in-Charge. Inspection Report. Juli 1933. p. 9.

⁴³ NAN SWAA A519/1(V2). Officer-in-Charge. Inspection Report. Juli 1933. p. 9

⁴⁴ Nauyoma, Nicolaus. Nkurenkuru, 24th June 1997 in an interview with HMM.

⁴⁵ Rafalski, Hans (1930): Vom Niemandsland zum Ordnungsstaat. Berlin: Verlag Emil Wernitz, p. 153. In the 1920s Statham reported the same experience cf. Statham, Brian J. D. (1924): With my wife across Africa by canoe and caravan. London: Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., p. 84.

⁴⁶ Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

⁴⁷ NAN SWAA A519/1(V3). Officer-in-Charge. Inspection Report. June 1934. p. 9.

⁴⁸ The story of Makaranga and the lion was told to me in this form by his wife Kahonzo. She heard the story from Makaranga personally. Others – like Sikondomboro – also narrated the episode in the same way. Paulus Munango – who was present during the lion hunt – was interviewed by Gelasius Sivhute, who documented the interview. The document reveals the same order of events.

⁴⁹ Windhoek Advertiser, 29th June 1940.

⁵⁰ Du Pisani, André (1988): Beyond the barracks: reflections on the role of the South African Defence Force in the region. Pretoria: South African Institute of International Affairs, p. 6.

⁵¹ NAN SWAA. A50/169(V2). "Conference held between military authorities and SWA Administration". 15th September 1941.

⁵² NAN SWAA A50/169(V1). Office of the Administrator to Magistrate etc. 13th October 1941.

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- ⁵³ NAN SWAA A50/169(V1). NC to CNC. 31st October 1941.
- ⁵⁴ NAN NAR 1/1. H. L. P. Eedes. Personal. ANC to CNC. Rundu, 12th September 1940.
- ⁵⁵ NAN SWAA A50/169(V1). NC to CNC. 31st October 1941.
- ⁵⁶ NAN NAR 20. NC to Missionstation Sambusu. 4th August 1942.
- ⁵⁷ NAN SWAA A50/169(V2) Administrator to Secretary of the SA Prime Minister. 6th June 1942.
- ⁵⁸ NAN SWAA A50/169 (V2). NC Confidential. 2.12.1942.
- ⁵⁹ NAN SWAA A50/169 (V2).
- ⁶⁰ NAN SWAA A50/169(V2). NC to CNC. Confidential. 25th February 1943.
- ⁶¹ NAN SWAA A50/169(V2). "Complaints against Native Details". 36/2. 25th February 1943. p. 13.
- ⁶² NAN SWAA A50/169(V2). "Complaints against Native Details". 36/2. 25th February 1943.
- ⁶³ NAN SWAA A50/169 (V2). NC to CNC. 27th December 1944.
- ⁶⁴ NAN SWAA A50/169 (V1). Administrator to the Secretary of the Prime Minister SA. 30th December 1942.
- ⁶⁵ NAN SWAA A50/169 (V2). Office of the Prime Minister to the Secretary of SWA. Secret. 14th January 1943.
- ⁶⁶ NAN SWAA A50/169(V2). "Complaints against Native Details". 36/2. 25th February 1943. p. 11.
- ⁶⁷ NAN SWAA A50/169(V2). "Complaints against Native Details". 36/2. 25th February 1943. p. 11.
- ⁶⁸ NAN SWAA A50/169 (V2). Defence Head Quarter to Secretary of SWA. 24th June 1943. After the war, in 1952, 19 soldiers from the Kavango was nominated to receive medals for their duty during the war. This was a small number in comparison to the 800 soldiers from Ovamboland who were nominated for the same medal. (NAN SWAA A50/169(V3). Office for War-matters to CNC. 19th September 1952).
- ⁶⁹ NAN SWAA A50/169 (V2). Administrator to WNLA. 13th October 1944
- ⁷⁰ NAN SWAA A50/169 (V2). "My name is Looper." p. 1.
- ⁷¹ Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.
- ⁷² NAN SWAA A50/169 (V1).
- ⁷³ NAN SWAA A50/169(V2). Eedes Protocol. 14th November 1942. p. 8.
- ⁷⁴ Hiltunen, Maija. 1986: Witchcraft and Sorcery in Ovambo. Helsinki: The Finnish Anthropological Society, p. 42.
- ⁷⁵ Mberema, Karl P. S. Letters to H. M. Milk. Rundu, 16th July 2002.

Chapter 2

- ¹ Stals, Ernst L. P. (1988): Die Van Der Merwes van Ehomba. Windhoek: Gamsberg, p. 10.
- ² Köhler, Otto (1959): A Study of Grootfontein District (South West Africa). Pretoria: Government Printer, p. 19.
- ³ Baumann, Julius (1967): Van sending tot kerk. Karibib: ELK in SWA (Rynse Sendingkerk) Boekdepot, p. 218.
- ⁴ Baumann, Julius (1967): Van sending tot kerk ..., ibid, p. 218-219.
- ⁵ The congregation had the following incomes from membership payments, fees for religious ceremonies and offerings: 1919: RM 6136,31. 1920: RM 4514,50. 1921: RM 3820,70 (AELCRN I.1.47. "Konferenzbericht der Station Grootfontein" for April 1920 till March 1922.).
- ⁶ Kirchenbuch der evangelischen Missionsgemeinde Grootfontein, Volume I, p. 5. Registration No. 3035.
- ⁷ One protocol from 25th August 1925 only shows the fingerprint of Makaranga (NAN SWAA A519/4(V4)), other protocols were signed by him (e.g. NAN NAR 36/1/2).
- ⁸ Ihemba, Helvi Ruben Ncamagoro, 28th February 1999 in an interview with HMM.

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- ⁹ Kirchenbuch der evangelischen Missionsgemeinde Grootfontein, Volume II. p. 123 Registration No. 133.
- ¹⁰ AELCRN I.1.47. "Konferenzbericht der Station Grootfontein über das Jahr 1919" p. 5.
- ¹¹ AELCRN I.1.47. "Konferenzbericht der Station Grootfontein vom April 1920 bis März 1922."
- ¹² AELCRN I.1.47. "Konferenzbericht der Station Grootfontein vom April 1920 bis März 1922."
- ¹³ AELCRN VII 32.2. "Konferenzbericht der Gemeinde Tsumeb. 4.20-3.22."
- ¹⁴ Schatz, Ilse (1997): Tsumeb zu O.M.E.G.'s Zeiten. Tsumeb: Selbstverlag, p. 7 and p. 13.
- ¹⁵ Baumann, Julius (1967): Van sending tot kerk ..., *ibid*, p. 210.
- ¹⁶ AELCRN VII 32.2. "Halbjahresbericht der Gemeinde Tsumeb. 10.20 bis 4.21".
- ¹⁷ AELCIN VII 32.2. "Konferenzbericht der Gemeinde Tsumeb. 4.22 bis 12.26".
- ¹⁸ AELCIN VII 32.2. "Konferenzbericht der Gemeinde Tsumeb April 1920 – März 1922."
- ¹⁹ AELCRN VII 32.2. "Halbjahresbericht der Gemeinde Tsumeb. 04-10.21".
- ²⁰ AELCRN VII 32.2. "Halbjahresbericht der Gemeinde Tsumeb. 04-10.21".
- ²¹ Jantunen, Tuulikki. Letter to H. M. Milk. Heinola, 8.8.2000.
- ²² Loth, Heinrich (1963): Die Christliche Mission in Südwestafrika. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, p. 21.
- ²³ Buys, Gerhard L. & Kritzinger, Jan Jakob (1989): Salig die Vredemakers. Pretoria: Instituut vir Sendingwetenskaplike Navorsing. Universiteit van Pretoria, p. 108.
- ²⁴ Kirchenbuch der Missionsgemeinde Tsumeb. Ovambo-alt. Without number. p. 75. It was part of the Finnish mission narrative that Rakel Kandjambu was baptized in the Kavango. Every anniversary of the congregation was used to repeat this distorted recollection, e.g. during the celebrations of the 70-year anniversary on the 29th April 1996.
- ²⁵ AELCIN Archiv Eaj. Tarkkanen to the Administrator. Helsinki, 18.5.1927.
- ²⁶ AELCRN Archiv. II 1.39. Gehlmann to Eich. Tsumeb, 27th May 1924.
- ²⁷ ELCRN Archiv. VII 32.2. "Halbjahresbericht der Gemeinde Tsumeb". 4.-10.1924.
- ²⁸ Eckl, Andreas (2000): Mit Kreuz, Gewehr und Handelskarre – der Kavango 1903 im kolonialen Fokus. In Frühe Kolonialgeschichte Namibias. 1880 – 1930. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, p. 36ff.
- ²⁹ Budack, Kuno Franz Robert (1976): The Kavango: The Country, its People and History. In Namib und Meer. Swakopmund: Volume 7. Society for Scientific Development and Museum, p. 33.
- ³⁰ Eckl, Andreas (2000): Mit Kreuz, Gewehr und Handelskarre ..., *ibid*, p.36.
- ³¹ AELCRN. II 1.44. Welsch to Olpp. Tsumeb, 26th May 1926. Stefanus Hakuenje only worked for a short time, since the RMS decided to abandon and left for the FMS. (AELCRN. II 1.64. Olpp to Welsch. 29.5.1926). When Welsch heard, that a Finnish missionary had visited Nkurenkuru, he informed the director of the FMS that the RMS from now on felt released from its responsibility for the Christians in the Kavango. Welsch expressed his joy that the FMS has taken over and emphasised, that the Finnish colleagues had to hurry up, so that the Catholics would not be there before them. (AELCIN. Eae. Welsch to Alho. Tsumeb. 3rd June 1926). The financial and personnel situation of the RMS prevented it from opening a new mission field, although some of the RMS wished to have seen an extension of their work.
- ³² AFELM. "Matrikkelit". Otto Emil Närhi.
- ³³ "I always cherished the hope to see the Okavango once." AELCRN. II 1.44. Närhi to the inspector of the RMS, Olpp. Ondonga, 12th June 1926.
- ³⁴ NAN SWAA A519/1(V1).
- ³⁵ Närhi only mentions, that they were baptized in "Hereroland".
- ³⁶ Närhi did not bother to question his hosts about the background, as he only mentions a "so called Johannes". In fact, it was the Evangelist Johannes Saduka.
- ³⁷ Churchbook of the Finnish missioncongregation Nkurenkuru. "Embo Enene Lyegongalo".
- ³⁸ Tuupainen, Maija (2000): Marriage in a matrilineal african tribe. Helsinki: The Academic

Bookstore, p. 104ff.

³⁹ Finnish Mission literature dates Makaranga's "backslide into paganism" in the time after the arrival of Närhi. Makaranga's exclusion from the congregation is justified with his decision to return to old customs. Makaranga's contribution to the founding of the congregation is not acknowledged in the FMS narrative. (Peltola, Matti. (1958): Suomen Lähetyssseuran Afrikan työn historia. Kuopio, p. 113 and p. 131-132).

⁴⁰ Jantunen, Tuulikki. Heinola, 6th May 2001 in an interview with HMM.

⁴¹ AELCRN. II 1.43. Alho to Welsch. Ondonga, 12th June 1926.

⁴² AELCIN. Aaa4. Tarkkanen to Alho. Helsinki. 4th September 1926. FMS Board Minutes. 1923-24.

⁴³ Kemppainen, K. (1998): Suomalaisen Lähetyksen Suhteet Anglikaaneihin Ja Katolilaisiin Lounais-Afrikassa. 1919-1937. (The Finnish mission's relationship to the Anglican and Roman Catholics in South West Africa in 1919-1937). Helsinki: Suomen Kirkkohistoriallinen Seura, p. 5.

⁴⁴ Alho to den Officer-in-Charge. Oniipa, 25th November 1926. AELCIN. Eaj.

⁴⁵ AELCIN. Eaj. Officer-in-Charge of Native Affairs, Ovamboland to Presiding Missionary FMS. No. 6/1. 15th December 1926.

⁴⁶ AELCIN. Eaj. Alho to Officer-in-Charge Native Affairs. Oniipa, 25th January 1927.

⁴⁷ AELCIN Eaj. Secretary for SWA to Alho. No. A 489/13. Cape Town, 26th February 1927.

⁴⁸ Weilhoefer – the priest who was intended to work in Nkurenkuru – visited Nkurenkuru from 27th October to 11th November 1926 and attempted to get the permission for a plot in Nkurenkuru from hompa Kanuni. However, Hompa Kanuni showed little intention to grant the permission for a Catholic mission station. The Officer-in-Charge, Gallibet, who observed the talks, reported that Kanuni requested an advice from him. This seems to be an indication how much Kanuni was under pressure by Weilhoefer. Gallibet wrote: " [...] they eventually disagreed to such an extent that Kanuni refused to again interview the Father and thereafter left her counsellors to meet with him in the matter." And the end of his stay, Weilhoefer was given a plot in Tondoro. (NAN SWAA A519/1(V1) Monthly Report Oktober/November 1926.). During one of his monthly visits in Nkurenkuru, Weilhoefer attempted in the middle of July 1927 to get the permission for a Catholic school near the homestead of the hompa. The hompa also refused this request. (NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). Officer-in-Charge. Monthly Report. Juli 1927. p. 2).

⁴⁹ AELCIN. Eaj. Alho to Secretary for SWA. Oniipa, 14th May 1927.

⁵⁰ AELCIN Eaj. Tarkkanen to the Administrator. Helsinki. 18th May 1927.

⁵¹ AELCIN. Eaj. Hahn to Alho. "Private". Ondangwa. 12th August 1927.

⁵² AELCIN. Eaj. Alho to Administrator. Ondonga. 24th September 1927.

⁵³ AELCIN. Eaj. Officer-in-Charge to Presiding Missionary. Ondangwa. 7th October 1927 and 19th October 1927.

⁵⁴ AELCIN. Eaj. Alho to Officer-in-Charge. Olukonda. 10th October 1927.

⁵⁵ "Please treat this all as private." (AELCIN. Eaj. Hahn to Alho. Privat. Ondangwa. 22th October 1927).

⁵⁶ AELCIN. Eaj. Secretary for SWA to Tarkkanen. Windhoek, without date.

⁵⁷ AELCIN. Eaj. Tarkkaanen to Secretary for SWA. Helsinki. 2nd December 1927.

⁵⁸ NAN SWAA A519/1(V2). Officer-in-Charge. Monthly Report. Juni 1929. p. 1.

⁵⁹ AELCIN. "Kavango-Matters. 1929-63". Eai. Letter of the Secretary for SWA to Superintendent for Native Reserves, Nkurenkuru. Windhoek, 29th April 1931.

The following notations are used for this text: £ depicts the English pound, bezeichnet das englische Pfund, the backslash divides shilling and pence; if an amount includes pound, shilling and pence, the units are divided by a hyphen.

⁶⁰ Churchbook of the Finnish mission congregation. "Embo Enene Lyegongalo" p. 1.

⁶¹ Marginal note in the Churchbook of the Finnish mission congregation Nkurenkuru "Embo Enene Lyegongalo" No. 1.

⁶² Eirola, Martti (1985): *Namibiana in Finland I. Guide to the Finnish Archival Sources*. Joensuu: Studies in History. University of Joensuu, p. 79.

⁶³ Suomen Lähetussanomia. No. 11. Marraskuu (November) 1936. 78 Vuosikerta. p. 303ff.

⁶⁴ AELCIN Eai. "Paavo K. taloud hoid. -58-" Letter of Eedes to Missionary in charge, Finnish Mission, Kuring Kuru, No. 11/1/1936, dated 3rd August 1936.

⁶⁵ Until the year 2000 the *manketti* nut trees (*ugongo*, or latin name *Ricinodendron Rautanenii*) which were planted by Makaranga around his homestead could be clearly identified.

⁶⁶ Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

Chapter 3

¹ NAN ADM 1/1/45. Vol. 30. 243/3(V1).

² Nkurenkuru was also written as Kuring Kuru or Nkure Nkuru.

³ BAB R1001/2184, Sheet 18. 21st November 1909.

⁴ BAB R1001/2184, Sheet 17. 21st November 1909.

⁵ The other police stations were: Grootfontein, Tsumeb, Choantsas, Nurugas, Otjituo, Esere, Namutoni und Otavi. (Amtsblatt für DSWA. No. 15. 1st June 1912).

⁶ Rafalski, Hans (1930): *Vom Niemandsland zum Ordnungsstaat*. Berlin: Verlag Emil Wernitz, p. 150.

⁷ Angebauer, Karl (1927): *Ovambo. Fünfzehn Jahre unter Kaffern, Buschleuten und Bezirksamtännern*. Berlin: August Scherl, p. 80.

⁸ Morlang, Thomas "Deutsch-portugiesische Gefechte. Ein Gedenkstein im Abseits." In: *Allgemeine Zeitung/Tourismus Beilage* No. 66, December 1999.

⁹ Rafalski, Hans (1930): *Vom Niemandsland ...*, *ibid*, p. 150.

¹⁰ Ngavirue, Zedekia (1997): *Political Parties and Interest Groups in South West Africa (Namibia)*. Basel: Schlettwein Publishing, p. 131.

¹¹ Others were: Major Brownlee and Capt. R. H. Gage.

¹² NAN ADM 1/1/45. Vol. 30. 243/3(V1).

¹³ Brownley did not arrest Westermann during his visit in August 1916, because there was no extra camel to transport him to Grootfontein. Brownley therefore ordered Westermann to report himself in Grootfontein, as soon as it had rained and the route to Tsintsabis was passable. (NAN ADM 1/1/45. Vol. 30. 243/3(V1)).

¹⁴ NAN ADM 1/1/45. Vol. 30. 243/3(V1).

¹⁵ Hompa Kandjimi had visited Grootfontein in September 1917 for a week. (NAN ADM 1/1/45. Vol. 30. 243/3(V1)).

¹⁶ NAN ADM 1/1/45. Vol. 30. 243/3(V1).

¹⁷ NAN SWAA A370 N. A. 10/1/8.

¹⁸ Gordon describes the desperate personnel resources of the "Native Administration", during those years. Even 20 years after its foundation the administration was poorly managed by the Secretary for SWA who was also the Chief Native Commissioner and did this job only as a secondary occupation. He was supported by two Commissioners (Hahn and Eedes), ten Reserve Superintendents and 12 clerks. The meager staff consisted of 18 Native Constables/Messengers, 46 Chiefs/Headmen, 54 Native Clerks/Translators and 3 Guards. (Gordon, Robert J. (1998): *Vagrancy, Law & 'Shadow Knowledge'*. In: *Namibia under South African Rule*. In: Hayes, Patricia; Silvester, Jeremy; Wallace, Marion; Hartmann, Wolfram (1998): *Namibia under South African Rule. Mobility and Containment*. 1915-46. Oxford: James Currey. P. 59).

¹⁹ "General Instructions". NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). General Instructions. Secretary for SWA to Superintendent of Native Affairs. 11th March 1921.

²⁰ NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). Monthly Report. Mai 1927. p. 1.

²¹ "Whereas it is desirable to make provision for the welfare and the control of natives in the Territory of South-West Africa."

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- ²² Ngavirue, Zedekia (1997): Political Parties ..., ibid, p. 216.
- ²³ NAN ADM 1/1/45 Vol. 30 243/3(V3).
- ²⁴ NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). Monthly Report. Dezember 1923.
- ²⁵ NAN SWAA A519/23. NC to CNC. 30.4.1953. Eedes was convinced that the Protestant congregation in Nkurenkuru would lose all their members when the administration moved to Rundu. (Officer in Charge. Inspection Report. Nkurenkuru. 24.8.1936. NAN SWAA A519/1(V4)).
- ²⁶ Kawo, Shiremo. Shamarajho, 25th April 1999 in an interview with HMM.
- ²⁷ In a telegram sent by Robarts from Grootfontein, dated 1st April 1921, he writes about Makaranga: "[...] speaks all Okavango dialects".
- ²⁸ In Rukwangali: "Muhona ta tanta asi: 'Mada geni'. Misisi nage ana tanta asi: 'Mada geni.'" The answer: "Ndangi Muhona." (Mberema, Karl P. S. Letters to H. M. Milk. Rundu, 16th July 2002; Kawo, Shiremo. Shamarajho, 25th April 1999 in an interview with HMM.; Haita, Gabriel and his wife Frau Namutenya, Rosa. Kakuru/Nkurenkuru, 22th June 1999 in an interview with HMM.)
- ²⁹ Except for Makaranga the administration also used other translators, amongst them Meesi. For his role in the administration see Chapter 3.12.
- ³⁰ NAN NAR N1/15/7. Inspection Report on Native Commissioners Office. 17th March 1948. "Acts in similar capacity as an R.S.M."
- ³¹ It is told that Makaranga could imitate the execution of corporal punishment, whenever a convicted person would pay him for that favour. For that Makaranga would hit the cane on a stack of papers and command the person to react with a loud scream, so that Eedes in the adjacent room would get the impression that the punishment was executed. (Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.)
- ³² 1920-21 F. Robarts, 1922-25 R. Dickmann ("Kayuru" – small nose), 1922-26 R. Carr, 1926-28 N. J. Gabillet ("Kaswamane" – the small old man), 1926-27 Captain Noël, 1926-29 H. J. Anderson ("Kasinganga" – the small doctor), 1928-32 E. I. Nelson ("Kaswamane gomvi" – the small white-haired man). The colonial representation was already on a low level between 1920 and 1928 under Robarts, Dickmann, Carr und Gabillet and became nearly irrelevant under retired Captain Nelson. Nelson, a passionate hunter, spent most of his time on hunting excursions and his monthly reports to Windhoek became shorter by each month and less and less informative. In January 1929, for Example, he only wrote: "Labour. 76 labour passes have been issued during the month. 8 for Kuangari and 68 for Angolan Natives. Native Affairs. Normal and peaceful. Work in connection with the making of a new road through Kuangari tribal area continue. Health. The health of the staff, European and Native has been satisfactory. Meteorological. Rainfall for the month: 76.9mm Postal Service. Arrival, 15th inst. Departure, 17th inst." (NAN SWAA A519/1(V2) Monthly Report. January 1929).
- ³³ NAN SWAA A519/1(V2). Pater Marx to OiC. Inspection Report. July 1933. P. 3.
- ³⁴ NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). OiC to NC Windhoek. Nkurenkuru. Januar 1924. "I can do no more than renew previous efforts about labour requirements."
- ³⁵ In his 34 years of service Makaranga had indeed worked with eight different Superintendents and Commissioners. Kampungu, Romanus (1965): Okavango Marriage Customs investigated in the light of Ecclesiastical Legislation. Rom, p. 229.
- ³⁶ Kampungu gives a detailed description of the different age-groups and their meaning in Kwangali culture. (NAN NAR 7. R. Kampungu. p. 5ff.).
- ³⁷ NAN SWAA A519/1(V3). Officer-in-Charge. Monthly Report. March 1936 p. 5.
- ³⁸ Fisch, Maria no date: Die Errichtung portugiesischer Forts am Kavango. Unpublished Manuscript, p. 3.
- ³⁹ "Colonial policies were thus hesitant, confused and often contradictory, as each new minister or governor cancelled the measures taken by his predecessor." Clarence-Smith, William Gervase (1979): The Myth of Uneconomic Imperialism: The Portuguese in Angola,

1836-1926. In *Journal of Southern African Studies*. Vol. 5 No. 2 April 1979, p. 176.

⁴⁰ Morlang, Thomas Deutsch-portugiesische Gefechte. Ein Gedenkstein im Abseits. In *Allgemeine Zeitung/Tourismus Beilage* No. 66, Dezember 1999.

⁴¹ Officer-in-Charge Dickmann (1922-25 in Nkurenkuru) was a born Belgian and spoke French. He reported to Windhoek that he managed to avoid Makaranga as a translator for his private meetings with the Portuguese by speaking French. (NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). 15th November 1922).

⁴² Clarence-Smith, William Gervase (1979): *The Myth ...*, ibid, p. 19.

⁴³ AHU-M. Machado 1930, p. 9.

⁴⁴ IAN. A0S/CO/UL-8F. Vincent Ferreira. "Situação económica e financeira de Angola".

⁴⁵ Clarence-Smith, William Gervase (1979): *The Myth ...*, ibid, p. 33.

⁴⁶ NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). Monthly Report. June 1925. NAN SWAA A519/1(V2). August, September 1929. NAN. SWAA A519/1(V1). Report on tour of Inspection. Nkurenkuru. 30th July 1927. p. 4. NAN. SWAA A521/10(V1). Distribution Roll.

⁴⁷ NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). Officer-in-Charge. Monthly Report. September 1927. p. 1.

⁴⁸ Esboço Geográfico de Angola. (1:2 500 000). (Tem legenda). 1922.

⁴⁹ NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). Magistrate Grootfontein to NC Windhoek. Grootfontein, 29th July 1925.

⁵⁰ NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). Officer-in-Charge. Monthly Report. Juli 1925, March 1927.

⁵¹ Fisch, Maria (1987): *Die Hydrographie des Kavangoflusses*. In *Journal. SWA Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft. XL/XLI*. Windhoek, 1987. p. 58.

⁵² NAN NAR 18/2/4. Martin Etopi. 3rd May 1937.

⁵³ NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). Officer-in-Charge. Monthly Report. September 1927. p. 1.

⁵⁴ NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). Officer-in-Charge. Monthly Report. January 1927. p. 3.

⁵⁵ NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). NC Omaruru to Secretary for SWA. Omaruru. 19th December 1935.

⁵⁶ Sindano, Dean Johannes. Rundu, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

⁵⁷ Cf. NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). "Tour of Inspection". January 1928. p. 4, "Tour of Inspection". July 1929, or Suomen Lähetussanomia. No. 11. Marraskuu (November) 1936. 78 Vuosikerta. p. 303-304. See also Circular No. 4 of 1937. Windhoek. 28th September 1937. In this circular eight ethnic groups from Angola are mentioned: Shimbundu, Mbunda, Ruwena, Kangangala, Humbe, Wayemba, Mbundu, and Luchase. As only "natives" are mentioned who have to pay taxes because they were residing in SWA, it can be assumed, that members of these ethnic groups were permanently living in Kavango.

⁵⁸ Volkmann in *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*. Jahrgang 12. 1.12.1901. No. 23. p. 866.

⁵⁹ Ct. NAN. SWAA A519/1(V1). Monthly Report. Okt. 1926, Sept. 1928, Jan. 1930, July 1932.

⁶⁰ Officer-in-Charge. Monthly Report. August 1927. NAN. SWAA A519/1(V1). See also Monthly Report. April, Mai 1929. NAN. SWAA A519/1(V1).

⁶¹ These number only includes workers from the Western-Kavango. Dickmann recorded 1080 workers from March 1921 to March 1925. (Monthly Report. 1925. NAN SWAA A519/1(V1)). If the separate numbers from the monthly reports up to July 1930 are added, an additional number of 1170 Kwangali contract workers can be traced.

⁶² In the mid-1930s, nine employees were working for the administration. (L/Sgt. Gouws to Secretary for SWA. Tsintsabis. 9th March 1935. NAN SWAA A519/1(V3)).

⁶³ NAN SWAA A519/1(V2). Officer-in-Charge. Monthly Report. March 1933. p. 4.

⁶⁴ NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). OiC Nkurenkuru to Magistrate Grootfontein. Nkurenkuru. 1st December 1923.

⁶⁵ NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). OiC to NC Windhoek. Nkurenkuru. 25th July 1924.

⁶⁶ NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). Secretary for SWA to Secretary for Mines and Industries. Windhoek, 26th August 1920.

⁶⁷ NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). OiC Nkurenkuru to Magistrat Grootfontein. Nkurenkuru, 1st

December 1923.

⁶⁸ NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). General Manager CDM to Secretary for SWA. Lüderitzbucht. 27th November 1924. The Northern Labour Organization (NLO), after its establishment in Dezember 1925, also followed suit and only recruited contract workers from Kavango and Angola for mines in the northern parts of SWA. (Emmet, Tony (1999): *Popular Resistance and the Roots of Nationalism in Namibia, 1915-1966*. Basel: P. Schlettwein Publishing. Basel Namibia Studies Series, p. 178).

⁶⁹ NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). Monthly Report. Januar. 1925. " [...] *we are not going to be the white man's slaves.*"

⁷⁰ NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). Officer-in-Charge. Tour of Inspection. 31st October 1929. p. 1.

⁷¹ NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). Report on tour of Inspection. Nkurenkuru. 30th July 1927. p. 4.

⁷² NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). Monthly Report. Februar 1927. p. 1 + 2. This had the consequence that the two masimbi in which area the villages were situated, were sentenced to pay a fine of three, respectively five cattle. (NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). Monthly Report. April 1927).

⁷³ Emmet, Tony (1999): *Popular Resistance* ..., *ibid*, p. 178.

⁷⁴ NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). Secretary for SWA to C. G. Fynn Esq. Winhoek, 18th June 1926.

⁷⁵ NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). Secretary of the Grootfontein Agricultural Society to Secretary for SWA. Uitkomst. 21st June 1926.

⁷⁶ NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). Resident Magistrate to Secretary for SWA. Grootfontein, 6th June 1921. NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). Monthly report January 1925. AELCRN VII 32.2. "Halbjahresbericht der Gemeinde Tsumeb. Mai – Oktober 1925". NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). Magistrate Grootfontein to NC. Grootfontein. 22nd February 1926.

⁷⁷ NAN LGR 3/1/16 17/15/2. Magistrat Grootfontein to Secretary for SWA. See also NAN SWAA A521/10(V1). Magistrat Grootfontein to NC. Grootfontein, 22nd February 1926.

⁷⁸ NAN SWAA A519/1(V1). Monthly Report. March 1928. p. 1.

⁷⁹ NAN NAR 11/7. OiC to Secretary for SWA. 31st October 1936.

⁸⁰ Emmet, Tony (1999): *Popular Resistance* ..., *ibid*, p. 178.

⁸¹ The "Native Administration Proclamation" remained valid till 1954 (when the control of administration was shifted to Pretoria) respectively 1970 (when the bantustan policy of the Odedal plan was implemented). In present Namibia, these regulations were set aside with the "Traditional Authorities Act" No. 17 of 1995, with the exception of paragraph 17 and 18 – "Marriage and Succession" – as well as 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27 – under "General" of the old Proclamation – which are still in power.

⁸² NAN SWAA A406/4/1875. Application for Tourist Passport No. 109412.

⁸³ SACT CO 4281. Harold Gray Eedes. Requesting Employment. Ref. E1.

⁸⁴ SACT R135/240. Eedes, Harold Gray. Liquidation and Distribution Account.

⁸⁵ Woods, D. 'Nakale' – Harold Eedes. A Legend in His Time. The last of the Lords of the Frontie". In: SWA Annual. 1977. P. 38.

⁸⁶ Green, Lawrence G. (1938): *Where Men Still Dream*. Cape Town: Howard B. Timins.

⁸⁷ On the 11th June 1919 H. L. P. Eedes was employed in the state service. NAN NAR 1/1. Form of Application for Leave. 7th February 1935.

⁸⁸ Woods, D. 'Nakale' ..., *ibid*, p. 39.

⁸⁹ Woods, D. 'Nakale' ..., *ibid*, p. 39. Eedes nickname showed no appraisal like the nickname "shongola" (the whip) of Hahn. Eedes even showed some kind of empathy when he protested about "my Kavangos" who were not take properly care of in Grootfontein before marching back to Nkurenkuru. He complained to his superiors that something should have been done to prevent the people from falling sick. (NAN SWAA. A521/10(V1). Additional Native Commissioner to CNC. Windhoek, 7th January 1939).

⁹⁰ Date and place of birth unknown. Mrs. Eedes died on the 28th September 1970 and is buried next to Eedes in Otjiwarongo. Her parents had a farm in the district Otjiwarongo and owned a

butchery in Windhoek. (Prickett, Anna, Grootfontein, 21st May 1999 in an interview with HMM).

⁹¹ NAR 1/1. Office of the Administrator to OiC. 22nd April 1932.

⁹² Haita, Gabriel and his wife Frau Namutenya, Rosa. Kakuru/Nkurenkuru, 22th June 1999 in an interview with HMM.

⁹³ Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

⁹⁴ Mberema, Karl P. S. Letters to H. M. Milk. Rundu, 16.7.2002.

⁹⁵ Fleisch, Axel/Möhlig, Wilhelm J. G. (2002): *The Kavango Peoples in the Past. Local Historiographies from Northern Namibia*. Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, p. 325.

⁹⁶ Report presented by the Government of the Union of South Africa to the Council of the League of Nations concerning the Administration of South West Africa for the Year 1932. Government Printer, Union of South Africa. Pretoria, 1933, p. 69.

⁹⁷ Report presented by the Government of the Union of South Africa ..., *ibid.*, p.69.

⁹⁸ The blue print for Eedes report can obviously be found in a publication of his colleague C. H. L. Hahn "The Ovambo", a discourse about the social and economical conditions of the Ovambo, as it was seen by an colonial Officer-in-Charge. Eedes does not mention the content-related support that he received from Makaranga.

⁹⁹ In spite of his elementary education, Eedes wrote an extraordinary good English.

¹⁰⁰ Green, Lawrence G. (1952): *Lords of the last frontier*. Cape Town: Howard B. Timins, p. 244ff.

¹⁰¹ Woods, D. 'Nakale' ..., *ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁰² A relocation of the administrative station was already considered in 1925, when the small numbers of contract workers from Nkurenkuru became obvious. The conference of the restructuring of the contract worker system was awaited, before the relocation was finally planned. (NAN A519/1(V1)).

¹⁰³ Government Notice No. 78 of 15th May 1940.

¹⁰⁴ NAN NAR 1/1. NC to CNC. Rundu, 26th April 1939.

¹⁰⁵ NAN NAR 1/1. Büro des Administrators to OiC. Windhoek, 20th October 1936.

¹⁰⁶ Government Notice No. 128. 1st September 1941.

¹⁰⁷ NAN SWAA A519/1(V3). Hahn to Secretary for SWA. Ondangwa, 20th April 1935.

¹⁰⁸ The Germans had already noticed the beautiful location of the high dune (in Rukwangali "Erundu") in central Kavango. Based on the Rukwangali word, Eedes suggested to name the new location of the administrative post "Erundu". He wrote his suggestion in a letter to Windhoek. The main office in Windhoek, however, rejected the name with the argument, that a train station between Otjiwarongo and Kalkfeld had this name. Windhoek therefore proposed the name Sambio. Eedes now argued against this name, since it was also used for the ethnic group Sambio. As a compromise Eedes then suggested Runtu or Rundu. After this correspondence, the first of the two were used in the beginning. Later Rundu became more common and used exclusively. (NAN SWAA A519/1(V3)) Eedes to Sekretär. Nkurenkuru, 17.11.1935. CNC to Eedes. Windhoek. Without date. Eedes to Sekretär. Nkurenkuru. 26th January 1936).

¹⁰⁹ The young Finnish missionary Eino Pennanen came to Nkurenkuru in 1934. Until 1936 he worked together with Aatu Järvinen, after which he took over the work completely. It was Pennanen who excluded Makaranga for good from the Finnischen mission congregation. From 1931 to 1933 Nkurenkuru also had a Finnish nurse, Anna Rautaheimo. Nkurenkuru was considered to be a Protestant area and soon many of the inhabitants aligned themselves with the expectations of the missionaries. A minority of inhabitants joined the Catholic mission congregation which was visited by Catholic missionaries from Tondoro. In 1927 they formed a congregation.

In comparison to this dominant presence of missions, Rundu was without missionary from either denomination. The next Protestant mission station was in Mupini (founded only in 1932), 10 kilometers upstream. The next Catholic mission station was in Sambio (founded in 1930),

25 kilometers downstream.

¹¹⁰ Prickett, Anna, Grootfotein, 21st May 1999 in an interview with HMM)

¹¹¹ Beris, Adrianus Petrus Joannes (1996): From mission to local church. Windhoek, p. 635.

¹¹² Kawo, Shiremo. Shamarajho, 25th April 1999 in an interview with HMM.

¹¹³ Sikwaya, Abraham. Kayirayira, 25th March 1999 in an interview with HMM.

¹¹⁴ Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

¹¹⁵ NAN SWAA A519/1(V4). Officer-in-Charge. Inspection Report. Nkurenkuru, 24th August 1936. p. 27.

¹¹⁶ Proclamation No. 32 of 1937 "Okavango Native Territory Affairs Proclamation".

¹¹⁷ Nobody dared to ask Makaranga what his salary was. A question like this would – according to Sitambara – have already provoked Makaranga so much, that he would beat up the questioner. (Sitambara, Chiyengo. Siena/Nkurenkuru, 30th June 1999 in an interview with HMM.)

¹¹⁸ NAN SWAA A441/3. Native Employees in Government Service. 31st July 1943.

¹¹⁹ AELCIN. Eaj. "Dienskontrak" Kavango File, 1937-43.

¹²⁰ Emmet, Tony (1999): Popular Resistance ibid, p. 200.

¹²¹ NAN SWAA A50/169(V2). Memorandum "My name is Looper". p. 1.

¹²² NAN SWAA A50/44/1. Excerpt of quarterly report 1949.

¹²³ Sikwaya, Abraham. Kayirayira, 25th March 1999 in an interview with HMM.

¹²⁴ NAN NAT 4/290.

¹²⁵ Government Notice No. 60, 1930 paragraph 2. "Regulations prescribing the duties, powers and privileges of chiefs and headmen".

¹²⁶ Diescho, Joseph (1983): A critical evaluation of the (Odendaal) Commission of Enquiry into South West Africa Affairs, 1962-63, with specific reference to its findings, recommendations and implementation in respect of Kavango, (A juridico-socio-political analysis). Fort Hare, p. 13. The border runs along the Fontein-Omuramba, to the West of Rundu.

¹²⁷ Haita, Gabriel and his wife Frau Namutenya, Rosa. Kakuru/Nkurenkuru, 22th June 1999 in an interview with HMM.

¹²⁸ NAN SWAA A460/19(V2). NC to CNC. Rundu, 15.5.1951.

¹²⁹ NAN SWAA A460/19(V2). "Chief Shivute of the Kuangari Tribe". Acting CNC to NC. Windhoek, 20th May 1951. Native Commissioner Morris called Makaranga "my station headman" and thereby purposely avoided a degradation. When he mentioned Makaranga in letter to Windhoek in 1951 and called him "Headman Looper", the answer from Windhoek referred to this title and remarks: "It is to be hoped that he (Makaranga) has not accepted another appointment as such."

¹³⁰ Haita, Gabriel and his wife Frau Namutenya, Rosa. Kakuru/Nkurenkuru, 22th June 1999 in an interview with HMM.

¹³¹ NAN A4460/19. 2/1/5. NC to CNC. Rundu, 12th September 1949.

¹³² Ausiku, Pastor Heikki. Windhoek, 12th July 2001 in an interview with HMM.

¹³³ Government Notice No. 193. 1st July 1952.

¹³⁴ NAN SWAA A460/19(V1). Notule van Vergadering te Mpungu Vlei. 15th September 1954.

¹³⁵ NAN SWAA A460/19. Native Chiefs and Headmen. Acting CNC to NC. Windhoek, 20th April 1951.

¹³⁶ NAN SWAA A460/19(V2) Case against Chief Shivute of the Kuangari. 3rd December 1948.

¹³⁷ E.g. NAN SWAA A460/19(V2). NC to CNC. Confidential. Chief Shivute of the Kuangari Tribe. Rundu, 3rd April 1951. Native Commissioner used Makaranga as his most trustworthy witness and referred to him: "Headman Looper informs me that the majority of the tribe is loyal to the Chief and support him but that a considerable number of Tribesmen have complained in a veiled manner but are not prepared to come out openly with their complaints for fear of reprisals. In this I feel that Looper is probably correct but up to the present I have always

adhered to the system of hearing complaints in public."

¹³⁸ NAN SWAA A454/158. The courtfile was sent from Sá da Bandeira to Pretoria through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From there it reached nach Windhoek, before the file was sent to Nkurenkuru. Eedes wrote a statement in July 1934. After this exchange of letters the investigation seemed to have petered out.

¹³⁹ NAN NAR 1/12/1. A50/88. Administrator to OiC. Windhoek, without date.

¹⁴⁰ NAN SWAA A519/1(V2). Officer-in-Charge. Nkurenkuru. 31st October 1932. p. 11.

¹⁴¹ NAN SWAA A521/10(V3). NC to CNC. Rundu, 14th April 1950.

¹⁴² Morris, for example, saw the possible fall from power of hompa Sivute under this aspect. NAN A460/19. NC to CNC. Chief Shivute Kangumbe of the Kuangari Tribe. 28th June 1951.

¹⁴³ NAN SWAA A460/19(V1). Annual Meeting with Chiefs and Headmen. 3rd to 5th January 1952. According to the colonial categories, Makaranga now belonged to professional group of "Naturelle Assistent Graad 1/Native Assistants Gradel". NAN A460/19. Native Chiefs and Headmen. 15th September 1954.

¹⁴⁴ NAN NAR 1/12/1. OiC to Secretary for SWA. Nkurenkuru, 12th July 1932.

¹⁴⁵ NAN NAR N1/15/7. Inspection Report on Native Commissioners Office. Windhoek, 28th June 1945.

¹⁴⁶ Meesi Haingula, or Mishe. NAN SWAA A50/169(V2). Complaints against Native Details. 36/2. 25th Februarz 1943. NAN NAR N1/15/7. Kruger report without date.

¹⁴⁷ NAN SWAA A521/10(V3). NC to CNC. Rundu, 14th April 1950.

¹⁴⁸ Bantoe, Bantu. An Informal Publication of the Department of Native Affairs. Compiled by the Information Service. Pretoria. October 1955.

Chapter 4

¹ Estermann, Carlos (1979): *The Ethnography of Southwestern Angola*. Volume II Nyaneka-Nkumbi Ethnic Group. New York, p. 125 and p. 126.

² Ndawedua ja, Ismael Jakob. Mpungu, 19th July 1999 in an interview with HMM. Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 31st July 1999, in an interview with HMM.

³ Kampungu mentions nine different Totemic Clans of the Kwangali und Mbunza. If we follow the old orthography of Kampungu, they are: 1. Wakuasipika (Hyena or Eland), 2. Wakuanyme (Lion), 3. Wakuanzovu (Elephant), 4. Wakunayatji (Buffelow), 5. Wakuanangandu (Crocodile), 6. Wakuambahu (Locust) 7. Wakuangombe (Cattle), 8. Wakuankora (Hunger oder a type of frog) 9. Wakuazadi (Falcon). Kampungu, Romanus (1965): *Okavango Marriage Customs investigated in the light of Ecclesiastical Legislation*. Rom, p. 462

⁴ Estermann, Carlos (1979): *The Ethnography ...*, ibid, p. 122 and 123.

⁵ Chief Shikongo Hakutunina fled the Kwanyama area in 1915 and found protection under hompa Hauanga Haroudi (Kandjimi) of the Kwangali. Shikongo Hakutunina and his people first lived in Rukanko before they finally settled in Kahenge. Kahenge – the name originated form the Oshikwanya word "Okahenge", which means "the place where grass grows" – had a permanent fountain. (Ndawedua ja, Ismael Jakob. Mpungu, 19th July 1999 in an interview with HMM).

Although the group of Hakutunina were refugees, they were not poor. This might have been the reason why they looked down on the Kwanyama-teachers and –evangelists who had been brought to the Kavango by the Finnish missionaries. In comparison to the Hakutunina-group, they were mostly poor and their busy timetable did not leave much time for farming. (Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM).

⁶ Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

⁷ Report presented by the Government of the Union of South Africa to the Council of the League of Nations concerning the Administration of South West Africa for the Year 1932. Government Printer, Union of South Africa. Pretoria, 1933, p. 58.

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- ⁸ Hausiku, Kefas Kamja. Nkurenkuru, 28th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.
- ⁹ Makarangas homestead was about 15 minutes by foot from the mbara of the hompa.
- ¹⁰ Kampungu, Romanus (1965): Okavango Marriage ..., *ibid*, p. 230.
- ¹¹ "Kandjimi", "the small Jimmy", a name which was specially created for the hompa. (Ihemba, Helvi Ruben Ncamagoro, 28th February 1999 in an interview with HMM).
- ¹² Kampungu, Romanus (1965): Okavango Marriage ..., *ibid*, p. 234.
- ¹³ One of these two men was Murangi za Himarwa, the father of hompa Hompa Kandjimi Murangi and husband of hompa Kanuni. In the baptism register of the congregation he is recorded as Moses Haimalua. The other man was Mipasi, the father of hompa Mipasi Sientu. (Baptism register of the congregation Nkurenkuru and Suomen Lähetysseuran. 1926 Elokuu. p. 146–150).
- ¹⁴ Hompa Kanuni – who was 36 years old when Närhi visited Nkurenkuru – not let herself be baptized during her regency. It was only shortly before her death that a Finnish missionary baptized her on the 18th March 1972. (Churchbook of the congregation Nkurenkuru).
- ¹⁵ Kanuni was the elder sister of Kandjimi. She already had taken over responsibility when hompa Kandjimi was not around. After the death of hompa Kandjimi, she approached the Officer-in-Charge with the request to help in the matter of succession of her ten year younger brother, since an older aunt of the deceased hompa also asserted a claim on the regime. The Officer-in-Charge reported the matter to Windhoek by writing: "In order to prevent friction between the two parties concerned I called a meeting of the people and in briefly outlining Government's policy in matters of succession, informed them that we would only recognize young Kanjimi (sic!) as present Chief of Kuangari, but as he was still too young to assume the cares and duties of a chieftainship, Kanuni would look after the affairs of the tribe until he came of age." (NAN SWAA A460/19(V1). O. K. No. 4/1923 Dickmann to Secretary for SWA, 31st March 1923).
- ¹⁶ In November 1960, Murangi, by this time nearly blind, took his own life.
- ¹⁷ Patemann, Helgard (1988): Kanuni. Frau an der Macht. In: N. Mbumba et al. Ein Land, eine Zukunft. Wuppertal: Peter Hammer Verlag, p. 47.
- ¹⁸ Kampungu, Romanus (1965): Okavango Marriage ..., *ibid*, p. 373.
- ¹⁹ NAN A519/1. 7/1/1940 vom 31st August 1940. In November 1940 Eedes reported the following interpretation of the political entanglements and his activity to solve the matter to Windhoek: The husband of hompa Kanuni, Eedes cited him as "Mulange", disagreed that Sivute would take over as hompa, since it would have meant a considerable loss of power and reputation for him as the husband of the reigning hompa. Murangi, according to Eedes, therefore went to Angola to buy "certain medicines and instruments of witchcraft", which could be used against Sivute. With this Murangi hoped to persuade people from not supporting Sivute. However, these intrigues "came to the notice of this office" and Eedes opened a case against Murangi. When Murangi heard of this, he fled to Angola in November 1940, together with Kanuni and two children. Since the country was now without a hompa, Eedes decided to convene a "tribal meeting" on the 8th November 1940. During this meeting – which was attended by 1000 men and an even bigger number of women – Sivute was unanimously elected as the new hompa. (NAN SWAA A460/19. ANC to CNC. Rundu, 11th November 1940).
- ²⁰ Other duties and rights included the following: The hompa had to prevent bush fires and was only allowed to shoot a hippo with the special permission of the Native Commissioner. (NAN SWAA A519/1(V2). Confirmation by the Administrator. Windhoek, 27th July 1932). The hompa was heavily expected to punish his subjects, if they killed fish by poisoning them. (NAN A519/1(V3) Officer-in-Charge. Inspection Report. June 1934. p. 6). The hompa was no longer allowed to allocate land to mission societies without the special permission of the Native Commissioner. (NAN A519/1(V2). Secretary for SWA to Oic. Windhoek, 28th July 1932).
- ²¹ NAN SWAA A460/19(V1). NC to CNC. Rundu, 29th December 1948.
- ²² Kampungu, Romanus (1965): Okavango Marriage ..., *ibid*, p. 285.
- ²³ Kampungu, Romanus (1965): Okavango Marriage ..., *ibid*, p. 286.

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- ²⁴ NAN SWAA A460/19(V1) Enquiry into certain allegations made against Chief Shivute.
- ²⁵ NAN SWAA A460/19(V1) Enquiry into certain allegations made against Chief Shivute. 31st March 1951. For the role of Kanuni in this period, also see Patemann, Helgard (1988): *Kanuni. Frau an der Macht* ..., *ibid*, p.39ff.
- ²⁶ NAN SWAA A460/19(V1). NC to CNC. Chief Shivute of the Kuangari Tribe. Rundu, 3rd April 1951.
- ²⁷ NAN A460/19 Chief Shivute Kangumbe of the Kaungari Tribe .No. 2/1/2/1, 23.-25th June 1951. Morris underlined the importance of this case by pointing out, that for the first time has a hompa been sentenced for an offence that was not punishable according to traditional rule.
- ²⁸ The head office used further arguments to reject the suggestions of Morris: A number of other rulers were drinking heavily without being disposed; the abduction of women was an insignificant delict in the eyes of the Kavango and Sivute had always been loyal towards the administration. (NAN SWAA A460/19(V1). Kaptein Shivute Kangumbe van Kuangari-Stam. CNC to Administrator 3rd August 1951).

Chapter 5

- ¹ Uotila, Liisa. Letter to M. M. Lategan. Turku, 27th October 1976. See also: Lategan, Martha Magrietha (1980): *Sending- en staatsonderwys vir die inheemse bevolking van die Kavango*. Pretoria: University of South Africa, p. 104. Also: Nambala, Shekutaambra V. V. (1994): *History of the Church in Namibia*. Lutheran Quarterly, p. 113.
- ² Nambala, Shekutaambra V. V. (1994): *History of the Church* ..., *ibid*, p. 118.
- ³ Lihongo, Asser Kazumba, Rundu, 21st July 2000 and Mupini, 17th May 2002 in an interview with HMM.
- ⁴ NAN SWAA A519/1(V2).Officer-in-Charge. Monthly Report. August 1931.
- ⁵ Nauyoma, Nicolaus. Nkurenkuru, 24th June 1997 in an interview with HMM.
- ⁶ NAN SWAA A519/1(V2). Officer-in-Charge. Monthly Report. June 1929. p. 1.
- ⁷ NAN SWAA A489/2. Particulars in respect of Missionsite. Rundu.
- ⁸ Nambala, Shekutaambra V. V. (1994): *History of the Church* ..., *ibid*, p. 201.
- ⁹ Lategan, Martha Magrietha (1980): *Sending- en staatsonderwys* ..., *ibid*, p. 120.
- ¹⁰ Lategan, Martha Magrietha (1980): *Sending- en staatsonderwys* ..., *ibid*, p. 123.
- ¹¹ Lategan, Martha Magrietha (1980): *Sending- en staatsonderwys* ..., *ibid*, p. 121.
- ¹² AELCIN Kavango Files 1937-43. Eaj. "Dienskontrak".
- ¹³ Ellis, Justin (1985): *Bildung; Repression & Befreiung: Namibia*. Darmstadt: World University Service, p.32.
- ¹⁴ Ellis, Justin (1985): *Bildung; ...*, *ibid*, p. 33.
- ¹⁵ Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM. The mission school in Mupini was founded in 1932 and one of the teachers was Stephanus Munsange. (NAN SWAA A489/13/2).
- ¹⁶ Lategan, Martha Magrietha (1980): *Sending- en staatsonderwys* ..., *ibid*, p. 106. Lategan quotes from a report of the school. (E1/60/2/4. Ondangwa. 17.7.1946).
- ¹⁷ Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.
- ¹⁸ NAN SWAA A519/23. CNC to ANC. Windhoek, 18th September 1940.
- ¹⁹ NAN SWAA 519/23 Acting CNC to NC. Windhoek, 15th November 1947. "[...] the Director of Education states that the position in regard to the availability of qualified teachers mentioned in my evenlynumbered minutes of the 18th September 1940, a copy of which is attached, has not yet improved."
- ²⁰ NAN SWAA A519/23. CNC to NC. Windhoek, 15th September 1951.
- ²¹ Sindano, Dean Johannes. Rundu, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.
- ²² The following background information concerning hostels in Kavango gives a short historical insight: The Catholics founded the first hostels together with the first schools in 1916. The hostels always formed part of the big mission complex – well planned and build – although

they were constructed only after the rest had been completed. In West-Kavango the hostels at Tondoro and Bunja were only completed in 1955. As all the Catholic mission stations were self-sustaining, the hostels were also supplied with fruits, vegetables and mahango from the mission gardens and fields. The boys of the hostels were obliged to work in the gardens, produce bricks and help in the production of furniture for the church, mission station and school. The girls of the hostels were supporting the mission with basket- and needle-work. From 1956 onwards, all the students of higher grades were always accommodated in the hostels of the Catholic mission. The Protestant had a different approach towards hostels. The aim of education was, not to estrange the students too much from their normal surrounding, which they were used to from home. Young children were therefore preferably accommodated with family members in Nkurenkuru. At the beginning, only the two "elite schools" in Rupara (for elder boys) and Nkurenkuru (for elder girls) had hostels. It was only in 1947 that a hostel was built in Mupini, due to the initiative of Lahja Väänänen and in Mpungu in 1952 because of the effort by Hellin Elooma. (Lategan, Martha Magrietha (1980): *Sending- en staatsonderwys ...*, *ibid*, p. 168). The hostels were always kept very modest, not only for financial reasons, but also to create a living surrounding that was as close as possible to their home. Hostels were originally built –not with bricks and corrugated iron roofs, like in Catholic hostels – but from local materials like tree-trunks, reed, clay and grass. Since the Protestant did not practice any gardening on a bigger scale, the mission bought the daily food for the students from outside and the hostel boarder had to bring their own food from home. The hostel boarders had to cook their own food, sew their own clothes, build their own traditional classrooms and rooms for accommodation and keep them repaired. In spite of these basic differences in the approach towards hostels, the academic performance in both schools, Catholic and Protestant, were not different.

²³ NAN SWAA A519/23. ANC to CNC. 3rd October 1951.

²⁴ NAN SWAA A519/23. Office of the Administrator to NC. 23rd October 1951

²⁵ NAN SWAA A519/23. To the Administrator. Rundu, 25th March 1953.

²⁶ Makaranga used the method of writing a request letter as he might have noticed from the letters by Hosea Kutako. A few years earlier the letters of Hosea Kutako to the United Nations became international famous and managed to bring the issue of Namibia on the agenda of this organization. Within the South African administration the letters created anger and led to reprisals against the writers. A remark by the Secretary for SWA to Hosea Kutako has been documented. He reprimanded him by saying: "I am dissatisfied with you because you go behind the back of the Government. You write letters behind the Government's back. You send telegrams as well. You do these things without the permission of the Government." (Troup, Frieda (1950): *In face of fear. Michael Scott's challenge to South Africa*. London: Faber and Faber, p. 117).

²⁷ NAN A519/23. Extract from Minutes with Chiefs and Headmen. Without date.

²⁸ As the mission society needed the written approval of the hompa, the Finnish missionary had approached hompa Kasiki, who supported the establishment of school. He therefore signed the form. When he later received a visit by the local Catholic priest, who was against the school, hompa Kasiki withdrew his signature again on a paper, which the priest had prepared. However, during the public meeting which discussed this issue, he again wholeheartedly supported the building of the school. (NAN NAR N2/3/66).

²⁹ NAN NAR N2/3/66. Handwritten confirmation. 8th September 1952.

³⁰ NAN SWAA A519/23. Catholic Archbishop to NC. Windhoek, 29th September 1952.

³¹ The names are still used till today: "Linus Shashipapo Senior Secondary School" in Gciriku, "Kandjimi Murangi Seniro Secondary School" in Kwangali, "Maria Muengere Senior Secondary School" in Shambyu, "Max Makushe Seniro Secondary School" in Mbukushu.

³² NAN NAR N2/3/66. Office of the Administrator to NC. 22th December 1952.

³³ NAN SWAA A519/23. NC to CNC. Rundu, 30th April 1953.

³⁴ NAN SWAA A519/23. Office of the Administrator to NC. Windhoek, 27th May 1953.

³⁵ NAN SWAA A519/23. NC to CNC. Rundu, 10th June 1953.

³⁶ Not surprisingly it was much easier for the successor to get the permission for a private school for Europeans in Rundu. Native Commissioner Kruger applied in October 1954 and had the permission only a few weeks later in November. The school opened in January 1955 and was later changed into a Government school, with the "Noordgrens".

³⁷ NAR N2/3/3/66. Letter by the parents to NC. 23rd February 1956. "[...] ons wil hê dat ons kinders sivilisasie moet wees."

³⁸ NAR N2/3/3/66. Finnish Mission at Okavango to NC. 20th October 1958.

³⁹ NAR N2/3/3/66. Handwritten letter. 22nd October 1958.

⁴⁰ NAR N2/3/3/66. Mission Outstations.

⁴¹ Lategan, Martha Magrietha (1980): Sending- en staatsonderwys ..., *ibid*, p. 131.

Chapter 6

¹ Gibson, Gordon D.; Larson, Thomas J.; McGurk, Cecilia R. (1981): The Kavango Peoples. Studien zur Kulturkunde. 56. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, p. 59.

² Zinya Mandando, e.g. means "The mother of Mandando", a name that would replace her own name and would be used throughout her life. (cf. Fisch, Maria. *Personennamen und Namensgebung*. In *Journal XXXIV/CCCV*, SWA Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft Windhoek, 1979/80 – 1980/81).

³ "Erotellu sista. Nai toisen vaimon."

⁴ Sikwaya, Abraham. Kayirayira, 25th March 1999 in an interview with HMM.

⁵ Gibson, Gordon D.; Larson, Thomas J.; McGurk, Cecilia R. (1981): The Kavango Peoples ..., *ibid*, p. 53.

⁶ Ihemba, Helvi Ruben Ncamagoro, 28th February 1999 in an interview with HMM.

⁷ Kirchenbuch der evangelischen Missionsgemeinde Grootfontein, Volume II. p. 5. Registration No. 3036.

⁸ Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

⁹ It was interesting to note that all interview partners, when asked about the marriages of Makaranga, always only mentioned Sofia. Only further insisting questions would lead to the other women of Makaranga. It seemed as if Makaranga was always eager to create an image of himself in which his first marriage was the only "real" one.

¹⁰ Ihemba, Helvi Ruben Ncamagoro, 28th February 1999 in an interview with HMM.

¹¹ Muharwa lived until the beginning of the 1960s "[...] some three miles east of Tondoro" on the angolan side of the river. Kampungu, Romanus (1965): Okavango Marriage Customs investigated in the light of Ecclesiastical Legislation. Rom, p. 277.

¹² Lihongo, Asser Kazumba, Rundu, 21st July 2000 and Mupini, 17th May 2002 in an interview with HMM. Asser Lihongo (1926-1999), was a deacon of the eastern diocesis of ELCIN. His mother, Muaji Haikera, and the mother of Nanzamba, Sidona Haikera, had the same father. Both were members of the Mbunza hompa-family.

¹³ From Mayara the Mbunza moved to Nzinze and then further to Mazwa (a few kilometers east of Rupara).

¹⁴ The informations on Nafitali Lihongo are based on the written life cycle. The document was in the possession of his brother, Asser Lihongo.

¹⁵ Asser Lihongo estimated that Nanzamba was 16 or 18 years old at that stage. Lihongo, Asser Kazumba, Rundu, 21st July 2000 and Mupini, 17th May 2002 in an interview with HMM.

¹⁶ NAN NAR 1/12/1. Ethnology and Customs. CNC to Superintendent of Reserves. Windhoek, 7th January 1931. "Children of about 8 or 9 years of age are married by men with families [...] when the child is about 8 or 9 years old she is handed over to the husband as his wife and made use by him as such."

¹⁷ The Chief Native Commissioner wrote: "This is the first information that has reached the Administration of child marriages being entered in this Territory. Amongst the Bantu tribes – to which the Okavango belong – although girls may, while still young be promised in marriage

by their parents, the girl herself is never handed over to her husband until she is fully developed. [...] It is desired that you furnish this office with details of all the cases which have come to your notice of children of 8 to 9 years of age being treated as wives." (NAN NAR 1/12/1).

¹⁸ NAN NAR 1/12/1. Ethnology and Customs. Superintendent of Reserves to Secretary for SWA. Nkurenkuru, 21st February 1931.

¹⁹ NAN NAR 1/12/1. Ethnology and Customs. Office of the Administrator to Superintendent of Native Affairs. Windhoek, 30th March 1931.

²⁰ NAN NAR 1/12/1. Ethnology and Customs. Office of the Administrator to Superintendent Native Affairs. Windhoek, 24.7.1931.

²¹ Report presented by the Government of the Union of South Africa to the Council of the League of Nations concerning the Administration of South West Africa for the Year 1932. Government Printer, Union of South Africa. Pretoria, 1933, p. 62.

²² NAN NAR 1/12/1. Ethnology and Customs. OiC to Secretary for SWA. Nkurenkuru, 12th July 1932.

²³ NAN NAR 1/12/1. Ethnology and Customs. Office of the Administrator to OiC Native Affairs. Windhoek, 8th August 1932.

²⁴ Lihongo, Asser Kazumba, Rundu, 21st July 2000 and Mupini, 17th May 2002 in an interview with HMM.

²⁵ NAN NAR 1/12/1. Ethnology and Customs. ANC to Attorney General. Rundu, 29th November 1940.

²⁶ NAN NAR 1/12/1. Ethnology and Customs. Office of the Administrator to ANC. Windhoek, 10th December 1940.

²⁷ Government Notice No. 60 von 1930.

²⁸ NAN NAR 1/12/1. Ethnology and Customs. ANC to CNC. Runtu, 24th December 1940.

²⁹ NAN NAR 1/12/1. Ethnology and Customs. ANC to CNC. Rundu, 24th December 1940.

³⁰ NAN NAR 1/12/1. Ethnology and Customs. ANC to CNC. Rundu, 24th December 1940.

³¹ "Karumbuena" means "The small white man". Sivhute, Gelasius without date: Rundu Geskiedenis, p. 21.

Chapter 7

¹ Kampungu, Romanus (1965): Okavango Marriage Customs investigated in the light of Ecclesiastical Legislation. Rom, p. 285.

² Finnish missionaries took over the Churchbooks – for the registration of all personal data of their congregation members – that were also used in Ovamboland. These Churchbooks were based on the same procedures that were introduced in Finland at the end of the 17th Century. (Siiskonen, Harri (1998): Migration in Ovamboland. In: Hayes, Patricia; Silvester, Jeremy; Wallace, Marion; Hartmann, Wolfram (1998): Namibia under South African Rule. Mobility and Containment. 1915-46. Oxford: James Currey, p. 220). These Churchbooks, listed here with the Rukwangali denotation, are the following:

– *Embo Enene Lyegongalo* – Main Book. Here are all the families listed, in chronological order, as they are registered in the congregation. Enough space is left for the additional children that are expected. Each entry has a unique number which forms the key for any reference in the other Churchbooks.

– *Aashashwa* – Baptism Book. Here are all the baptisms listed, together with a reference number from the Main Book, so that every baptized person can be identified according to which family he or she belongs.

– *Buke Zuvadiriku* – Outgoing Book. Here are all the families or single persons listed, who left the congregation for another congregation. A reference number to the Main Book identifies every entry in the Outgoing Book with an entry in the Main Book.

– *Buke zava wokudirukiramo* – Incoming Book. Here are all the families or single persons listed, who joined the congregation. An entry in this book also mentions the congregation from which a member came. Since these new members are also registered in the Main Book with a

new entry, the reference number makes it possible to trace all the details of the newcomer. In most cases, marriages, confirmations and funerals are registered in separate books or added in an extra part of the Main Book.

The Lutheran congregation Nkurenkuru already used from its beginning in 1929 to 2000, four bulky and copious Main Books. Only a longstanding secretary or pastor with intimate knowledge of the families in the congregation was able to handle this inconvenient mass of informations.

³ The Church book of the mission congregation Grootfontein mention as the date of birth "ca. 1918".

⁴ Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

⁵ Rakel Identity Document (which was issued in the 1970s) gives as the date of birth the 23rd February 1914. The Baptism Book in Nkurenkuru ("Aashashwa") gives the year 1922 as the date of birth and as the place of birth, "U-kali", für Ukwangali, is mentioned. The entry in the Church Book in Tsumeb gives as the date of birth the 12th December 1922.

⁶ Church Book of the mission congregation Tsumeb (the book is labled "Ovambo-alt"), page 75, registration No. 1370 documents that Rakel was baptized by missionary Heinrich Welsch on the 13th September 1925. God-parents are Samuel and Frieda. The entry carries the remark "Vom Okavango" (from the Okavango).

⁷ Rakels daughter, Helvi Ihemba Ruben, was aware of the family background and declared the dates from the Church books in Nkurenkuru and Mupini as the correct ones. According to Helvi Ihemba Ruben, her uncles – Joseph and Lazarus – had recorded all the details, but that everything was burnt after the death of their father Makaranga.

⁸ The details are taken from the Main Book of the congregation Mupini p. 67. The African names are omitted here till 1950. Only Sitongeni und Ndapewa – who were registered after 1950 – are recorded under these names. All other African names in this document have been mentioned by Helvi Ihemba.

⁹ Rakel (or Rachel) was taken by her mother to Tsumeb, where she was baptized. Details about the baptism of the parents and of their children Joseph and Rakel are missing in the otherwise exact registrations. This gap in the Church Books of Nkurenkuru must be the reason why Rakel was wrongly considered to have been the first Christian which was baptized by Nārhi in Nkurenkuru. Until the 70th anniversary in 1996 of the historical baptism by Nārhi in Nkurenkuru, Rakel was celebrated as the only living Christian of that event.

¹⁰ Ndeumona Sirikka Matjai * 1957; Mbanze Hendrik Gerson Erikki * 1959; Sindjanga Erastus * 1962; Lupale Efraim * 1967.

¹¹ Cf. Schneider, Karl-Günther; Richter, Werner (1991): Kavango und Ostcaprivi. Periphere Wirtschaftsräume im Entwicklungsland Namibia. Geostudien 13/91. Leverkusen: Author's edition, p. 98.

¹² Ihemba, Helvi Ruben Ncamagoro, 28th February 1999 in an interview with HMM.

¹³ Human Sciences Research Council (1981): Aspects of Language and Communication in SWA/Namibia. N.p., p. 6.

¹⁴ Here the place of birth is mentioned as "U-kali", for Ukwangali. He was baptized by the first Finnish missionary in Nkurenkuru, Aatu Järvinen.

¹⁵ Lazarus was born as the third child of Makaranga and Sofia. In the meantime Makaranga had two children with Sirudi and one child with Kauharere.

¹⁶ This date was taken from the Baptism register ("Aashashwa") of the congregation Nkurenkuru, page 24, registration No. 20. Abraham had a Namibian ID-Card with the date of birth as the 17th July 1917. According to his own information he was born in Matawa on the 6th August 1923.

¹⁷ A congregation card which was issued by the congregation Nkarapamwe (Rundu) mentions the 25th September 1929 as the baptism day. The card also certifies that he was confirmed in Mupini on the 25th December 1943.

¹⁸ Stefanus Mundjangi (Stephanus Munsange) was one of the Kwanyama-teachers who were relocated to Nkurenkuru shortly after the arrival of Järvinen. He was a teacher at Nkurenkuru till the 1st July 1935, when he was placed to Mupini. (Nkurenkuru Baptism Book and NAN SWAA A489/13/1).

¹⁹ The name Sikwaya was also used by Makaranga.

²⁰ Baptism Book of the congregation Nkurenkuru, page 24, registration No. 21.

²¹ Shininge was married to Mbaya. All their children settled in Kavango. (NAN SWAA A489/13/8 and Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM).

²² Raino Johannes * 1944; Vilhelm Moses * 18th July 1950; Alina Munondumbo Moses * 17th September 1952; Alfeus Safodino Moses * 21st February 1955; Akseli Johannes Moses * 1942; Julia Mpingana Moses * 22nd December 1956; Mate Anna-Liisa Moses * 24th May 1959; Musindeni Sylvanus Moses * 1961; Alvendo Jonathan Moses * 15th April 1963; Panduleni Erastus Moses * 22nd July 1967.

²³ Death Register Nkarapamwe 34: 3.5 VR 1.4.

²⁴ Baptism Book of the congregation Nkurenkuru, page 24, registration No.22. Place of birth: "U-kali", that is Ukwangali.

²⁵ Family Veijo is the third registration in the Main Book of the congregation Nkurenkuru, just after Makaranga. The heirs of the first Veijo-family played an important role in the congregation and are still playing an important role. At the moment the fifth generation of the heirs of Amuelo and Fransina Veijo are living in Nkurenkuru.

²⁶ Shikukumwa, Immanuel, Rundu, 6th June 1999, 28th June 1999, 31st July 1999, 22nd July 2000, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

²⁷ Efraim Makuti left the congregation shortly afterwards. The remark "Moepagani" (the word for heathendom) in the column "Waarheen getrek" (Where did he move to) on the 22nd November 1959 is an indication that he was excluded from the congregation because he married another woman. The note "awa tengura" and "vakadi vaareli kurakura" in the column "Remarks" confirms this.

²⁸ Filo Jonathan Efraim * 1943; Esra Ismael Efraim * 1945; Julius Efraim * 1st October 1949; Mbututu Naimi Efraim * no date, baptized 3rd May 1964; Sisengo Emilia Efraim * no date, baptized 3rd May 1964; Greis Efraim * 26th December 1952. Main Book Mupini, p. 11, 1/33.1.1. Main Book (II) 1.

²⁹ Sindano, Dean Johannes. Rundu, 24th June 2001 in an interview with HMM.

³⁰ Bantoe, Bantu. An Informal Publication of the Department of Native Affairs. Compiled by the Information Service. Pretoria. October, 1955.

³¹ Lihongo, Asser Kazumba, Rundu, 21st July 2000 and Mupini, 17th May 2002 in an interview with HMM.

³² Ihemba, Helvi Ruben, Ncamagoro (Myl 30), 28th February 1999, in an interview with HMM.