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UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS.

Ethnological Publications

No. 38

A Study
of
Okahandja District
(South West Africa)
by
Günter Wagner

Revised and Edited
by

O. Köhler

The Government Printer, Pretoria
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Part 1.

5

GENERAL INFORMATION

Boundaries

1 The district of Okahandja was first defined in 1907 (Archives A III f 8 vol. 1, p.9). When the Mandate was established, it was defined anew by Proclamation No. 40 of 1920 (Gazette No. 40 of 17/11/1920) which, in turn, was repealed by the Re-definition of Magisterial Districts Proclamation (No. 15 of 1950, published in Gazette Extraordinary No. 1947 of 24/4/1950, p. 339 sq.) and by the Re-definition of Magisterial Districts Amendment Proclamation, 1952 (No. 19 in Official Gazette No. 1688 of 16/6/1952).

Extent

2 According to the latest definition of its area, the district is 6,236 sq. m. or 1,639,732 ha. in extent. It is composed of the following categories of land:

European-owned farms	1,560,495 ha.
Okahandja urban area	19,000 ha.
Ovitoto Native Reserve	61,194 ha.
	<hr/>
	1,640,689 ha.

Control

3 The district is administered by a Magistrate/ Native Commissioner (Grade I) resident at Okahandja. The town is situated in the southwestern part of the district, on the main railway line, 45 m. north of Windhoek.

4 The Ovitoto Reserve is under the administrative control of the Magistrate of Okahandja, while executive control is in the hands of a Superintendent and Welfare Officer stationed in the Reserve. He is assisted by a Native headman and a Native Reserve Board (see para.72 sq.).

6 GENERAL INFORMATION

5 The non-Europeans living in the Urban Area (Okahandja and Urban Location) fall under the Municipality of Okahandja. The Municipal Inspector of Health was formerly also Superintendent of the Urban Location. He had two Native police constables and administered the Location with the assistance of a non-European Advisory Board, of which he was chairman ex officio. Since the beginning of 1952, a full-time Superintendent has administered the Urban Location with the assistance of four Native constables and the non-European Advisory Board.

Communications

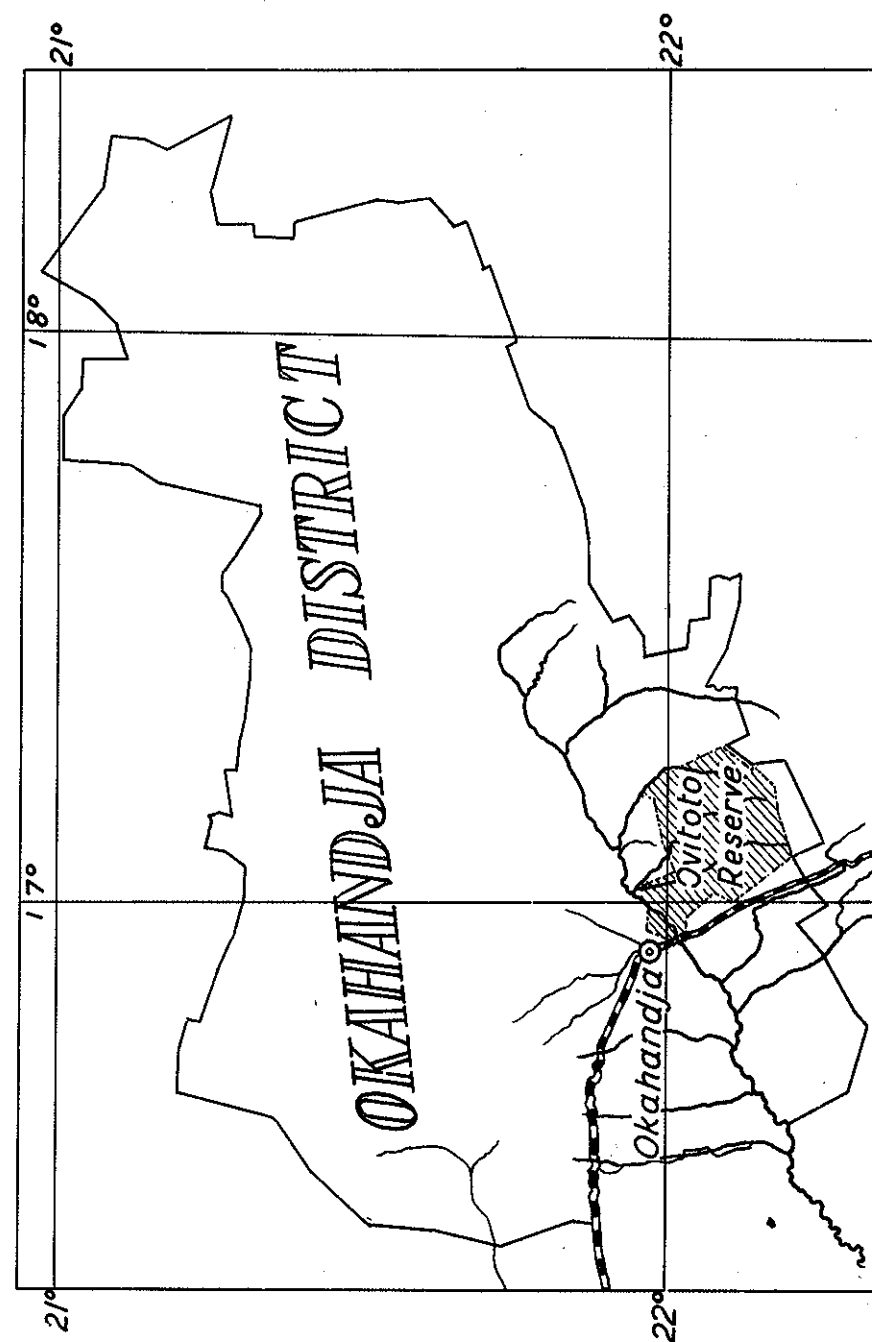
6 The main railway line from De Aar to Walvis Bay traverses the southwestern corner of the district (see map) and passes through the town of Okahandja. The district is served by four main motor roads: (1) Windhoek-Swakopmund, (2) Okahandja-Otjiwarongo-Grootfontein, (3) Okahandja-Omaruru, and (4) Okahandja-Steinhausen-Gobabis.

7 A number of privately-owned lorries transport non-European passengers.

8 There is one post office in Okahandja, and there are postal agencies at Okasise in the west and at Hochfeld and Otjosondü (sub-office) in the eastern portion of the district. The northern sector of the district is partially served by the postal agencies Osiri Suid, Prosit (formerly Sukses), and Imkerhof, which are in Otjiwarongo district.

9 Owing to the central position of Okahandja district and the fact that all traffic between Windhoek and the north passes through it, the Native population maintains numerous contacts with people living in other parts of the Territory. This is reflected both by the number of travel passes issued every month and by the great variety of places visited. Between 13/11/50 and 12/12/50, for instance, 78 travel passes were issued at Okahandja to the following places: Windhoek, Usakos, Walvis Bay; to the Reserves Ovitoto, Otjimbingue, Waterberg, Otjohorongo, Aminuis, as well as to various farms in

to face p.6



Okahandja and neighbouring districts. In July 1955, 63 travel passes were issued among which 23 were for places in Okahandja district and 15 for Ovivoto Reserve, whilst 13 were issued for Windhoek, and the remainder for the following places: Otjiwarongo, Usakos, Gobabis, Gibeon, Okakarara, Aminuis, and Ovamboland. The Herero travel more (also in proportion to their number) than any of the other groups. It would appear that women travel more than men.

Description of country

10 The greater part of the district is on an elevated plain that slopes down gradually towards the north and the west; the average altitude drops from 5,000 feet in the southeastern part of the district to about 4,000 feet along the northern and western border. Out of this plain rise the Ozonjati Mountains southeast of Okahandja. These mountains show interesting rock formations, some of the rocky outcrops resembling man-made walls that extend for half a mile or more in a perfectly straight line. There also are a few isolated hills and peaks rising like islands from the surrounding plain; most prominent among them the twin Omatako peaks (8,000 and 8,800 feet) in the north-western corner of the district. In the south, the foothills of the Khomas Hoogland extend into the district where they slope down towards the Swakop valley.

11 The principal rivers are the Swakop, which rises in the Ozonjati Mountains and flows in a south-westerly direction, and its tributary, the Okahandja River, which skirts Okahandja and joins the Swakop a few miles south of the town.

12 As Okahandja district enjoys a higher average rainfall than Windhoek district, most of it affords good grazing in normal seasons. Both the plains and the hilly parts are covered with fairly dense bush, the country becoming more open towards the east where it gradually acquires the character of the Sandfeld (Herero: omaheke). Some of the rivers, notably the Okahandja and the Okandjira (a tributary of the Swakop), are fringed by fine camelthorn bush.

13 Game has become rather scarce, but kudu, springbok, steenbok and duiker, as well as ostriches, still occur. Guinea fowl are plentiful, and in the Ovivotto Reserve one finds a large variety of birds.

14

TABLE No. 1 : AVERAGE RAINFALL AND RAIN DAYS

Okahandja District. Millimetres.

Month	Okahandja Town		Otjozonjati		Okakuja		Rodenbeck	
Jan.	83.5	9	105.9	10	103.7	9	108.1	12
Feb.	81.2	9	99.5	11	79.0	9	77.6	11
Mar.	85.7	10	99.4	10	67.1	6	100.4	10
Apr.	31.4	4	44.0	5	38.5	3	31.4	5
May	8.0	1	11.5	2	8.5	1	6.1	1
June	0.7	1	0.8	1	0.6	1	0.1	1
July	0.8	1	0.7	1	0.3	1	0.3	1
Aug.	1.1	1	1.8	1	0.0	-	0.0	-
Sept.	2.1	1	2.2	1	1.9	1	1.2	1
Oct.	10.6	3	11.8	3	8.1	1	15.4	4
Nov.	17.4	4	34.5	4	28.2	4	38.0	6
Dec.	49.9	7	54.1	7	70.1	7	77.3	10

Annual

aver. : 372.4 51 466.2 56 406.0 43 455.9 62

The above figures are based on observations extending over the following periods of years:

Okahandja Town	54-56 years
Otjozonjati	35-39 "
Okakuja	16-17 "
Rodenbeck	22-23 "

The great differences between one year and another may be seen from the annual rainfall figures for Okahandja Town. Rain days in brackets.

TABLE NO. 2 : ANNUAL RAINFALL FIGURES FOR OKAHANDJA TOWN

(Number of rain days in brackets)

1934	1097.8 mms	(94)	1945	306.6 mms	(52)
1935	238.3	(42)	1946	122.9	(38)
1936	316.7	(39)	1947	-	
1937	474.5	(52)	1948	-	
1938	450.9	(57)	1949	419.9	(49)
1939	316.2	(56)	1950	806.2	(60)
1940	308.6	(52)	1951	357.2	(36)
1941	134.4	(36)	1952	244.3	(38)
1942	565.7	(65)	1953	451.8	(39)
1943	250.2	(38)	1954	570.0	(58)
1944	386.1	(45)			

Early history

15 Up to the second half of the 18th century the eastern part of the district seems to have been Tswana area. The western part had a small Bush and Bergdama population.

16 The first Herero to enter this area hunted in small bands along the upper reaches of the Swakop towards the end of the 18th century. Many of these hunters settled down and, living by the chase and by raiding Nama cattle further south, became lawless robbers who lost all contact with the main body of the Herero tribes then in the Kaokoveld.

17 The next group of Herero to reach Okahandja district were Chief Tjiponda and his followers. After leaving his home in the Kaokoveld, Tjiponda moved in a southerly direction towards the mouth of the Swakop, then up that river and past Otjimbingue into the neighbourhood of the present town of Okahandja. He did not settle here, however, but went on to Windhoek. From there he turned east towards Gobabis where he encountered the Mbanderu (the eastern section of the Herero), who forced him to withdraw again in a northwesterly direction. On his way to the Waterberg he was killed in a fight with the San Bushmen.

18 The first bands of Herero who came to Okahandja district to settle there permanently were Chief Mutjise (the great-grandfather of Maharero) and his followers and, shortly afterwards, Chief Tjiraura who, after living for some time at Okahandja, moved on to Windhoek. Chief Mutjise's son, Tjirue, settled at Otjikune (the present farm Schenckswerder), about 25 m east of Okahandja. He grazed his herds throughout the eastern portion of the district. This led to armed conflict with the Tswana who still considered the eastern half of the district up to Ovambo their domain. In the battle of Etimba (in the northeastern corner of the district) the Herero defeated the Tswana but sustained heavy losses themselves. About 1820 the Tswana chief Tjekeue came to Okahandja to offer peace. Since then the district of Okahandja has been regarded as Hereroland, though during the bloody wars against the Nama Hottentots (1850 to 1870) the chief Jonker Afrikaner drove the Herero out of Okahandja.

19 After what is known as the "massacre of Okahandja" (23rd August 1850), Jonker Afrikaner made Okahandja his headquarters and lived there until his death in 1861. In 1868, after Maharero had defeated Jonker's son Christian in the battle of Otjimbingue, he returned in triumph to his former residence. In 1870 the peace of Okahandja was concluded between the Hottentots and the Herero.

20 During the second Herero-Hottentot war (1880 to 1890), Okahandja and the Swakop River again became the scene of various encounters between Herero and Hottentots, notably the massacre of all Hottentots at Okahandja on 23rd August 1880, which started the war, and the "Battle of Osona" (October 1885) where chief Hendrik Witbooi had come to negotiate a peace with Maharero.

European influences and development

21 The principal events during the European era of the history of the district are listed in the following chronology:

- 1827 Rhenish missionaries arrive as first Europeans to visit district.
- 1844 First missionary station founded by the Rev. Hahn at Otjikango (Gross Barmen). Shortly afterwards, the Rev. Kolbe of the Rhenish Mission founded a temporary station at Okahandja which he named "Schmelen's Verwachting".
- 1850 Mission station at Okahandja abandoned (cf. para. 19).
- 1851 Francis Galton visits Okahandja on his way to Ovamboland.
- 1870 First permanent mission station and mission school established at Okahandja by Rhenish Mission.
- 1872 Maharero approaches British High Commissioner on question of British protection.
- 1873 Mission station founded by Rev. Irle at Otjosazu (about 17 miles south-east of Okahandja).
- 1876 Rhenish Mission church completed.
W. Coates Palgrave, Special Commissioner for Damaraland, meets Herero chiefs on 29/7 and 8/9, and on 9/9/1876 makes agreement placing Damaraland under the protection of the Cape Government.
- 1880 British Government revokes British Protection over Damaraland.
- 1885 Treaty concluded between Robert Lewis and Maharero ceding sovereignty over Damaraland and mining concessions in Damaraland to Lewis (9/9).
Treaty of protection concluded between Dr. Goering, German Reich Commissioner, and Samuel Maharero (21/10).
- 1890 "Augustineum" training school (see para. 284 sq.) moved from Otjimbingue to Okahandja.
Death of Maharero on 7 October.
- 1894 German garrison established at Okahandja.
- 1897 Rinderpest (Herero: opesa).
- 1901 Augustineum closed down after the Rev. Viehe's death.
- 1902 Railway line from the coast reaches Okahandja.
- 1904 Outbreak of Herero war. Herero attack Okahandja town on 11/1.
- 1907 District of Okahandja first defined.
Osona day school for Non-Europeans opened.

12 GENERAL INFORMATION

- 1909 Okahandja acquires the status of a municipality.
 1915 Okahandja occupied by Union troops (8/5).
 1923 Ovitoto Native Reserve proclaimed.
 Augustineum re-opened at Okahandja.
 1924 Reserve Trust Fund established (Proclamation No. 9 of 1924).
 Reserve Board appointed.
 1933 Okahandja urban location proclaimed (Government Notice No. 72 of 1933).
 1943 Augustineum teachers' training college taken over by Government.
 1947 Non-European Advisory Board appointed for Okahandja Urban Location (19/12).
 Okahandja Creamery opened. Osona day school for Non-Europeans closed.
 1952 Extension of district to include Otjosondou Manganese Mine.
 1954 Native Government School opened at Bulskop in Ovitoto Reserve.

Farms

22 The development of farming in the district is shewn by the increase in the number of farms:

In 1906-07	39	In 1926	160
1908-09	71	1931-32	170
1910	77	1936-37	200
1911	87	1943	208
1912	108	1944	211
1914	117	1947	256
1917-18	107	1952	278
1919-20	105	1954	278

The rapid increase after 1944 is due to the subdivision of the two ranches Omatako and Gunthers-Au, and more recently to the extension of the district in the northeast.

23 In addition to the farms, there are a number of small settlements in the so-called Osona block, on both sides of the Swakop River, south and southwest of the town.

24 The growth of the European population appears to have been more or less on a par with that of the rest of the territory.

GENERAL INFORMATION 13

25 TABLE No. 3 : GROWTH OF POPULATION
(town and district)

Year	Okahandja town		Whole district	
	Eur.	Non-Eur.	Eur.	Non-Eur.
1900			75	
1901			211	
1905			210	
1906			394	
1907			493	
1912			580	
1914	232	820	648	3933
1921	315	485	998	4734
1929				8624
1936	435	787	1123	6377
1939				6500
1942				5939
1946	621		1276	5414
1951	691		1455	6664
1954	750		1650	6620

26

TABLE NO. 4: DISTRIBUTION OF NON-EUROPEAN POPULATION
(Census 1951 and annual estimates)

	Urban area	Ovitoto Reserve	Farms	Total
1951	1127	1419	4086	6632
1952	1454	1472	3559	6485
1953	1489	1525	3560	6574
1954	1211	1542	3867	6620

14 GENERAL INFORMATION

27

TABLE No.5 : ETHNIC AND SEX COMPOSITION AND
FLUCTUATION OF NON-EUROPEAN POPULATION
(WHOLE DISTRICT)

M: Men		W: Women			C: Children under 18				
Year	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total	
1943	M 255	28	880	1320	308	11	37	2839	
	W 77	52	1254	18	349	8	18	1776	
	C 102	58	729	21	265	10	27	1212	
	434	138	2863	1359	922	29	82	5827	
1944	M 110	30	864	1010	317	12	8	2351	
	W 86	29	1107	26	376	12	7	1643	
	C 135	23	692	17	331	8	6	1212	
	331	82	2663	1053	1024	32	21	5206	
1945	M 116	27	907	1041	343	9	12	2455	
	W 97	17	1276	32	423	4	4	1853	
	C 113	3	808	27	352	8	18	1329	
	326	47	2991	1100	1118	21	34	5637	
1946	M 115	33	912	1003	322	11	20	2416	
	W 95	20	1242	28	276	1	9	1771	
	C 98	8	781	41	292	-	7	1227	
	308	61	2935	1072	990	12	36	5414	
1947	M 126	40	972	1145	335	10	13	2641	
	W 84	12	1268	17	394	4	3	1782	
	C 108	12	803	15	332	11	4	1285	
	318	64	3043	1177	1061	25	20	5708	
1948	M 132	36	948	1205	342	6	2	2671	
	W 113	15	1253	60	407	7	1	1856	
	C 111	19	811	39	337	5	2	1324	
	356	70	3012	1304	1086	18	5	5851	
1949	M 118	71	943	1098	356	8	9	2603	
	W 98	25	1290	58	430	10	4	1915	
	C 93	47	900	37	385	17	9	1488	
	309	143	3133	1193	1171	35	22	6006	
1950	M 102	53	863	987	326	10	6	2347	
	W 92	20	1197	46	374	11	6	1746	
	C 80	31	884	39	355	13	7	1409	
	274	104	2944	1072	1055	34	19	5502	

Continued on next page.

GENERAL INFORMATION 15

M: Men		W: Women			C: Children under 18				
Year	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total	
1951	305	127	3546	1204	1427	36	19	6664	
1952	236	107	3247	1653	1105	121	16	6485	
1953	229	120	3584	1487	1013	122	19	6574	
1954	M 137	57	1099	1411	377	27	13	3121	
	W 122	44	1367	41	405	27	5	2011	
	C 67	34	941	45	361	34	6	1488	
	326	135	3407	1497	1143	88	24	6620	

Key to groups:

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

28 From the foregoing it would appear that the strength of the groups relative to one another has fluctuated within narrow limits. Some groups have gained at the expense of others. The Hottentots formed 7.45% of the total in 1943, 6.35% in 1944, 5.07% in 1949, 4.94% in 1950, and 4.93% in 1954 and thus lost ground steadily. The Herero on the other hand increased and decreased from year to year but on the whole increased slightly: 49.2% in 1943 to 53.15% in 1951 and back to 51.6% in 1954. The sex ratio of adults differs markedly between some groups. Whilst the Hottentots show a preponderance of males, Bergdama show the reverse, and the Herero likewise. In view of the considerable fluctuations of the total from year to year, the people having to be mobile in an arid country like South West Africa, no inferences as to rate of increase can be drawn.

II. NON-EUROPEANS ON FARMS

Extent of farming area

29 This is 1,560,495 hectares in extent and embraces 95% of the total area of the district. For the increase in the number of farms since 1906 see para. 22. Most of the farms are privately-owned.

Type of farming

30 Cattle and dairy farming predominates, as Okahandja is one of the best cattle farming districts in the Territory. On the small settlements of the Osona block tobacco and vegetables are grown on a fair scale.

Rural industries

31 In 1950, there were two lime kilns on the farms Okakango and Ongombeomuriu. There is a wine and brandy factory and mill on the farm Otjosondovombo. In the immediate vicinity of Okahandja there are the S.W.A. Tanneries (Pty.) Ltd. and a Bone Meal factory, the African Meat Canneries and a Wool Factory. The S.W.A. Creameries at Okahandja, which started production in 1947, are of great importance for local dairy farmers and one of the largest employers of industrial Native Labour in the district. They produced 2,134,090 lbs of butter in 1954. A casein factory was established at Okahandja in 1947, but was closed down again in 1950. The industrial establishments in the rural area employ both local and northern labour, but only on a small scale.

TABLE NO. 6: GROWTH AND ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF NON-EUROPEAN FARM POPULATION

Year	Nama	B.&C.	Her	Ov/Ok	Bergd	Bush	Others	Tots.
1943	414	49	1505	1222	602	28	63	3883
1944	299	44	1447	891	752	31	-	3464
1945	310	9	1526	920	762	19	21	3567
1946	291	23	1432	892	621	10	23	3292
1947	304	48	1418	1055	791	23	12	3651
1948	386	36	1453	1056	739	17	-	3687
1949	287	101	1558	942	797	34	15	3734
1950	253	62	1325	837	677	33	12	3199
1954	262	91	1521	817	693	88	22	3494

33 Ethnic groups do not vary much relative to one another, except for an increase in Bushmen and a decrease in "others". After the allround drop in 1950, attributed to faulty enumeration, the total rose to 4,202 in 1951 and fell to 3,179 in 1952 and 3,196 in 1953, probably for the same reason. The total of 3,894 for 1954 does not include 383 labourers of unknown origin on mines and works.

TABLE NO. 7: GROUPS, SEX AND AGE OF NON-EUROPEANS ON FARMS

Ethnic Group	Number of persons								
	Okahandja Police Area			Hochfeld Police Area			Totals		
	1947	1951	1954	1947	1951	1954	1947	1951	1954
Nama m	79	98	84	38	32	25	117	130	109
w	57	56	75	24	24	18	81	80	93
c	72	32	29	34	26	31	106	58	60
B.&C. m	22	29	24	5	9	14	27	38	38
w	10	18	29	-	4	5	10	22	34
c	11	16	10	-	13	9	11	29	19
Her. m	323	465	280	195	170	248	518	635	528
w	317	423	388	206	186	221	523	609	609
c	186	304	181	191	163	203	377	467	384

Continued on next page.

18 NON-EUROPEANS ON FARMS

Ethnic Group		Number of persons								
		Okahandja Police Area			Hochfeld Police Area			Totals		
		1947	1951	1954	1947	1951	1954	1947	1951	1954
Ov/Ok	m	722	726	579	328	332	224	1050	1058	803
	w	4	-	-	1	-	8	5	-	8
	c	-	1	-	-	-	6	-	1	6
Berg.	m	288	289	169	51	62	57	339	351	226
	w	191	259	201	41	49	45	232	308	246
	c	171	305	153	49	63	68	220	368	221
Bush &	m	10	-	3	8	10	27	18	10	30
	w	-	-	3	6	13	27	6	13	30
Others	c	-	-	2	11	13	34	11	13	36
Others	m					4	8		4	8
	w					5	2		5	2
	c					3	4		3	4
Tot-als:	m	1444	1607	1139	625	619	603	2069	2226	1742
	w	579	756	696	278	281	326	857	1037	1022
	c	440	658	375	285	281	355	725	939	730
Grand Tot-als:		2463	3021	2210	1188	1181	1284	3651	4202	3494

35 According to the farm census of 1947, male farm labour was distributed over the 221 farms as follows:

Farms	male workers
55	1-5
86	6-10
59	11-15
11	16-20
10	20-30

The average number per farm employed in December 1947 was 9.36 men, in 1948 about 10 men, and in the following years up to 1954 about 7 men per farm.

NON-EUROPEANS ON FARMS 19

36 Although most farmers prefer contract labour obtained through SWANLA to local labour, the proportion of the former has decreased during the past few years. In 1951, 887 contract labourers and 1681 local labourers were employed, a ratio of 34.5 : 65.5%. In 1954, there were 590 contract labourers and 1346 local labourers on farms, a ratio of 30.4 : 69.6%.

37 Apart from wages, income and subsistence are derived from large and small stock.

TABLE NO. 8 : STOCK OWNED BY NATIVES ON FARMS

Large stock:	1945	1950	1954
Cattle	2521	2163	3640
Horses	427	591	977
Donkeys	945	624	880
Mules	-	9	18
Total:	3893	3387	5515
Small stock:			
Sheep	64	123	
Goats	10988	7970	10871 ⁺
Total:	11052	8093	10871

+) Okahandja police area only.

The decrease in 1950 is thought to be due to faulty enumeration.

38 TABLE NO. 9: DISTRIBUTION OF NON-EUROPEAN OWNERSHIP OF STOCK ON FARMS

	1945	1950	1954
Large stock			
per 100 persons:	109	105	157
per 100 adult males:	213	208	284
Small stock			
per 100 persons:	309	253	470 ⁺
per 100 adult males:	626	498	770 ⁺

+) for Okahandja police area only.

Mission activities

39 Most Natives domiciled on farms belong to the Rhenish Mission Church. According to church records, members number 1,400 (1,000 Herero and 400 Bergdama and Hottentots). Some Roman Catholics are also found on the farms, e.g. on Waldfrieden.

40 The rural community is visited periodically by three travelling evangelists of the Rhenish Mission, viz. a Herero, a Bergdama, and an Ambo. The latter conducts services both for contract Ovambo and local Natives.

41 There is a farm church on a property in the Osona block. As all mission work in the rural area was suspended between 1940 and 1947, the Rhenish Mission lost some ground during the war years. This ground, however, is slowly being regained. At present, the active Christians (those who attend services and pay their dues) number about one-fifth of all those regarded as adherents. For circulation of religious literature in the rural area, see para. 302.

Health

42 There is nothing to be said on health which would apply specifically to the farms. Most Native patients consulting the District Surgeon at Okahandja live in the urban area.

III. OVITOTO NATIVE RESERVE

History of Reserve

43 Ovitoto Native Reserve, situated south-east of Okahandja township, is the only reserve in the district. The Herero form the bulk of the population. Otjikune (on what is now the farm Schenckswerder), the residence of Maharero's grandfather Tjirue, is only seven miles north-east of the eastern boundary of the Reserve (cf. para. 18).

44 In the German era, an Imperial decree (dd 10/4/1898) dealing with the establishment of Native reserves in the Protectorate contained provisions for the setting aside of a Herero reserve. The area earmarked for this purpose coincides roughly with that of the present reserve. The Herero rebellion caused the plan to be shelved but it had not been abandoned when war broke out in 1914 (Kolonial-Gesellschaft III 1899 p.26, No.27). After the occupation it was found that the Government farm Ovitoto had been set aside as a future Herero reserve (cf. Military Magistrate's Office, Okahandja, 27/11/1916) and that the intention had been to add portions of the Osona area to it (Archives, W II e 9 and e 10).

Boundaries

45 Ovitoto Native Reserve was proclaimed and its boundaries defined by Government Notice No. 122 of 1923. Portions BD, BE, BF, and BG of the Osona Commonage were added later. The northwestern corner of the Reserve borders on Okahandja Town and Townlands and on Osona Commonage; the remainder is surrounded by farms.

in 1943. Game is more plentiful in the eastern part of the Reserve, but guinea fowl only in the Otjongombe and Bulskop areas. There are about 20 ostriches near Oruna. The game has diminished in numbers owing to the depredations of dogs and jackals and through poaching by the residents. A further cause is that the grazing has deteriorated through overstocking, and the game is leaving the Reserve for better grazing outside.

50 In the mountainous parts a few leopards survive. Jackals and wild cats are so numerous that, even in recent years, they have done considerable damage to the small stock of the residents. About 500 head of small stock (mostly lambs and kids) are lost yearly through carnivora. Steps are now being taken to reduce their numbers.

51 The rainfall (see Tables Nos 1, 2) is measured only at Otjongombe, the Reserve headquarters, which however has an average higher than the rest of the Reserve, owing to its situation amongst the first range of hills rising from the plain. During the 1950-1951 rainy season, for instance, over 20 inches of rain were recorded at Otjongombe; yet Satan Dam, only twenty miles to the south, was dry by the middle of April.

52 The underground water-supplies of the Reserve are very poor so that only a few of the government's numerous attempts to secure water by boring have been successful. In addition to natural water holes and wells dug by the Natives in the dry riverbeds, there now are three strong boreholes with pumping plants distributed in the Reserve: a strong well and pumping plant at Otjongombe which is used for watering stock at stock sales, and two other boreholes supplying water for cattle and household purposes. At least twelve dams of various sizes have been built since the Reserve was proclaimed, including a sand-storage dam which it is hoped will eventually hold water throughout the driest periods. In respect of dams, Ovitoto is thus one of the best developed in the Territory. These dams are fairly

evenly distributed over the Reserve, but in the dry season, when all Natives are compelled to water their animals at these dams, the area surrounding them becomes heavily overstocked. The last serious shortage of water was experienced during the 1944 drought, when a number of Native stock-owners had to trek to Waterberg East Reserve.

Communications

53 The principal entrance to the Reserve is at Otjongombe which lies at its northeastern corner about twenty-five miles from Okahandja and six miles from the Okahandja-Steinhausen district road. The northwestern portion of the Reserve (adjoining Osona Commonage) is accessible also from the Okahandja-Windhoek main road. No public roads run through the Reserve, but the various posts or settlements are connected by about 150 miles of reserve roads. Owing to the mountainous nature of the country, most of these roads are very stony and often badly washed out during the rainy season. Normally, however, all the 25 Native settlements or posts can be reached by motor car.

54 Mail and passengers are conveyed to and from Okahandja by a half-weekly or weekly lorry service operated by the Concession Store at Otjongombe (fare for Natives 3/- for the single journey) and a Herero resident who visits Okahandja twice a week. In addition, one Native lorry owner in the Reserve and one at Windhoek Urban Location are licensed to convey passengers to and from the Reserve. In 1954, the monthly average of passengers using of the Concession Store Service amounted to 32 persons.

55 Numbers and distribution of population

TABLE NO.10 : ETHNIC AND AGE COMPOSITION,
AND FLUCTUATION OF POPULATION OF OVITOTO
RESERVE

Year		Herero	Bergdama	Ov/Ok	Others	Total
1943	M	263	28	17	4	312
	W	503	52	9	3	567
	C	297	34	7	7	345
		<u>1,063</u>	<u>114</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>1,224</u>
1944	M	243	21	11	3	278
	W	429	37	12	1	479
	C	240	29	9	4	282
		<u>912</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>1,039</u>
1945	M	279	31	17	3	330
	W	508	52	16	1	577
	C	309	49	11	4	373
		<u>1,096</u>	<u>132</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>1,280</u>
1946	M	290	32	17	4	343
	W	533	57	16	1	607
	C	311	56	11	4	382
		<u>1,134</u>	<u>145</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>1,332</u>
1947	M	291	31	15	4	341
	W	544	57	16	1	618
	C	329	56	11	4	400
		<u>1,164</u>	<u>144</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>1,359</u>
1948	M	298	29	15	4	346
	W	563	57	16	1	637
	C	358	56	11	4	429
		<u>1,219</u>	<u>142</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>1,412</u>
1949	M	292	29	15	4	340
	W	554	56	16	1	627
	C	370	58	11	4	443
		<u>1,216</u>	<u>143</u>	<u>42</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>1,410</u>
1950	M	289	33	20	3	345
	W	567	53	2	1	623
	C	404	61	4	4	473
		<u>1,260</u>	<u>147</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>1,441</u>

Continued on next page.

Year		Herero	Bergdama	Ov/Ok	Others	Total
1951	M	344	33	22	3	402
	W	549	52	3	1	605
	C	369	61	4	4	438
		<u>1,262</u>	<u>146</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>1,445</u>
1952	M	354	32	25	3	414
	W	546	49	4	0	599
	C	388	66	5	0	459
		<u>1,288</u>	<u>147</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1,472</u>
1953	M	361	34	25	3	423
	W	553	52	4	0	609
	C	418	69	6	0	493
		<u>1,332</u>	<u>155</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1,525</u>
1954	M	358	36	28	3	425
	W	545	55	5	0	605
	C	432	72	8	0	512
		<u>1,335</u>	<u>163</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1,542</u>

56 With the exception of the temporary decrease in 1944 which was due to a number of residents having to move temporarily from the Reserve because of the drought, the Reserve population has grown slowly but steadily during the last eleven years, the average annual increase being 2.1 per cent. If the above figures, together with the rainfall figures of para. 14 Table 2, are put on a graph (for which there is no room here unfortunately), certain trends or tendencies may be noticed. Herero and Bergdama women are seen to be very constant, numerically speaking, but the women of the Bergdama who as a group own less stock, move more easily in times of drought. For the same reason Bergdama men remain at home in good seasons and go out in bad ones. Herero men on the other hand tend to stay at home to water their stock in bad seasons and go out in good years when they feel secure about the water position. Not so the Herero children. These are sent away in bad years and come home in good ones. Bergdama children on the other hand steadily increased relative to Bergdama women and appear to have stayed on in the

Reserve even in bad seasons when some of the women had left. The Herero men form a slightly larger percentage of the Herero community than the Bergdama men do of theirs, as one would expect from the group which owns more stock. The proportion of children amongst the Bergdama is markedly higher, viz. 10% and more at various times.

57 The ethnic composition of the population has remained stable. Whilst in 1943 the Herero formed 86.8% of the population and the Bergdama 9.3%, eleven years later in 1954 the Herero were 86.5% and the Bergdama 10.5%. There are a few Mbandieru, not separately registered, among the Herero. Most of the Bergdama are concentrated at Ovitoto village, Ozondozonejenda, and Ombupauri (Spitzkop). According to Native informants, the Bergdama are mostly descendants of families which in pre-European times used to live as serfs among the Herero. Nearly all these Bergdama have retained their cultural identity and, above all, their language (cf. para.161 sq.) The Ambo (who form only 2.6% of the Reserve population) are said to have been in the district since German times. Most of them live at Ombupauri and Okatjasorui (cf. Table No.12), and most of them have married Herero women. They form no separate community, neither culturally nor socially.

58 Relations between the Herero on the one hand and the Bergdama and Ambo minorities on the other are good. The Bergdama's right of residence in the Reserve has never been contested by the Herero nor have there been any quarrels about pasture or water between them.

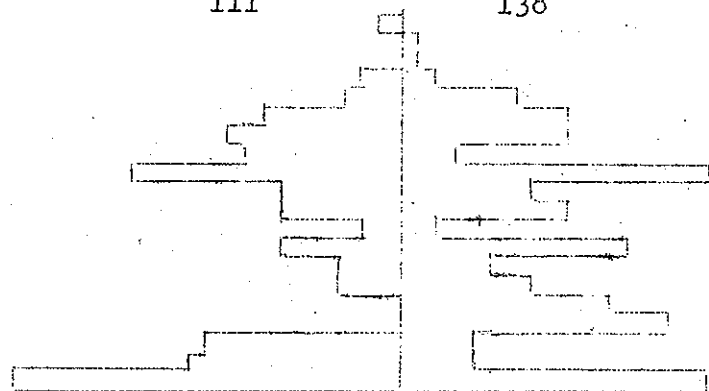
59 The women listed as Ovambo/Okavango are actually the Herero wives of men belonging to these groups. In the population figures for 1950 they were re-classified accordingly and this accounts for the drop from 16 to 2 females in the Ov/Ok column and the corresponding increase among Herero female adults from 554 in 1949 to 567 in 1950.

Age structure

60 The age structure of the whole Reserve population is not known but a sample of 249 persons forming the population of four villages situated in various parts of the Reserve gave the following picture:

61
TABLE No. 11: AGE STRUCTURE. SAMPLE OF 249 PERSONS
: 111 MEN AND 138 WOMEN. (OVITOTO RESERVE, 1950)

Age-Gr.	M	F	Total
0 - 5	20	16	36
6 - 10	11	4	15
11 - 15	10	4	14
16 - 20	-	14	14
21 - 25	-	11	11
26 - 30	3	7	10
31 - 35	3	5	8
36 - 40	6	12	18
41 - 45	2	2	4
46 - 50	6	9	15
51 - 55	6	7	13
56 - 60	14	16	30
61 - 65	8	3	11
66 - 70	9	9	18
71 - 75	7	9	16
76 - 80	3	6	9
81 - 85	2	2	4
86 - 90	-	1	1
91 - 95	-	1	1
96 -100	1	-	1
	111	138	249



62 This sample reveals a notable proportion of old people of both sexes, and of small children. Young men are absent whilst young women are at home. The reversal of this position in the 6-15 years group is thought to be due to boys having to herd stock whilst girls can be sent to relatives in town. In the Windhoek urban locations, for example, there actually is such a preponderance of girls over boys. Some of the other anomalies in the diagram are easily understood, e.g. the gap in the 40-45 group is due to mortality in the Herero rebellion, but other anomalies cannot be explained. Perhaps they are due to the smallness of the sample.

Distribution of population over Reserve

63 To be near water, the bulk of the Reserve population lives in village-like settlements which have sprung up near the natural water-holes and the dams constructed since the Reserve was proclaimed. There are at present 25 villages in the Reserve. Most of these are not compact settlements but rather groups of werfs (Herero: onganda pl. ozonganda), in some cases scattered over a radius of several miles. There are no cattle posts, but whenever a part of the Reserve becomes drought-stricken the people temporarily move to places where there is more water. The people of Ousema, for example, left their village in 1951/52 and moved to Otjivahiona.

64
TABLE No. 12: VILLAGES AND THEIR POPULATION
(OVITOTO RESERVE DECEMBER 1954)

Native name: (European spelling or name in brackets)	men	women	boys	girls	total
Eorouta	4	9	3	8	24
Okamangongua	15	14	4	4	37
Okamboro	20	31	15	14	80
Okandjira (Onganjera)	20	26	8	10	64
Okaokonguinja	12	13	3	3	31

Continued on next page.

30 OVITOTO NATIVE RESERVE

Native name: (European spelling or name in brackets)	men	women	boys	girls	total
Okapendua	4	4		1	9
Okasuvandjuuo (Okasongua)	60	77	18	25	180
Okatjasorui	23	22	13	13	71
Okomakuara	6	18	5	4	33
Okouue (Okaue)	9	22	5	4	40
Ombungururu (Ombunguruma)	4	8	2	3	17
Ombupauri (Spitskop)	38	44	11	21	114
Onduezu ongange (Bulskop)	30	33	13	15	91
Onjombo ja Henda (Onjombohende)	5	9	1	2	17
Oruuua rondondovazu (Oruwa)	13	26	7	8	54
Osatan (Satan Dam)	21	24	8	8	61
Otjikoto	17	13	3	3	36
Otjiporokotua	6	13	5	4	28
Otjiserandu	9	9	3	3	24
Otjivahiona (Otjimahona)	51	74	23	24	172
Otjongombe	24	49	12	7	92
Otjozondjupa	3	2	1	1	7
Ovanduongue (Ovandongua)	4	8	3	4	19
Ovitoto	57	86	27	25	195
Ozondozonejenda	10	8	6	4	28
	465	642	199	218	1,524

OVITOTO NATIVE RESERVE 31

Bergdama and Ovambo Population
included in Table 12

Village:	Bergdama	Ambo	Total
Okamangongua	1	1	2
Okatjasorui	7	16	23
Ombungururu	2	-	2
Ombupauri	10	21	31
Osatan	-	1	1
Otjiserandu	5	-	5
Otjivahiona	7	2	9
Otjongombe	9	-	9
Ovitoto	95	1	96
Ozondozonejenda	10	-	10
	146	42	188

65 Dams have been constructed at Okouue, Otjiserandu, Okaokonguinja (Nuwe Dam), Ovanduongue, Ombungururu, Okasuvandjuuo (Okasongua), Otjikoto, Onduezu Ongange (Bulskop), Oruuua Rondondovazu (Oruando), Osatan, Otjivahiona, and Ombupauri (Spitzkop).

Fluctuation of population

66 The population figures for the last twelve years show that the Reserve population has fluctuated very little, save in the drought year 1944. Most of the young male Natives leave the Reserve every year to take up employment on farms, in town and in the Department of Public Works. In 1954, about twenty young men were living in the Reserve, i.e. about 5 per cent of the adult male population. They were mostly employed in the Reserve as pump boys, fence labourers, road boys and dairy boys.

67 Persons of any age may own cattle in the Reserve. Under Proc. 14/23 every owner of stock is entitled to his own brand number but in practice only adults are allotted brands of their own, the large stock of children being branded together with that of their next of kin.

68 The Reserve is open to individual newcomers. However, as it is already badly overstocked (cf. para. 114), would-be residents are not allowed to introduce stock save in exceptional circumstances. If they desire to keep stock they buy animals already in the Reserve. Breeding stock is, however, virtually impossible to get as Natives rarely sell animals other than oxen and barren cows.

Authority and control

69 Administrative and judicial authority over the Reserve rests with the Magistrate/Native Commissioner (cf. powers of Native Commissioner, GN 68/1924) who visits the Reserve quarterly to hold meetings with the residents of the Reserve and the Reserve Board.

70 A Welfare Officer and Superintendent has been stationed at Otjongombe, the Reserve headquarters, ever since the Reserve was proclaimed in 1923. He acts as local deputy of the Native Commissioner, but no judicial or police authority is vested in him. His principal function is to look after the well-being of the residents and to advise them in the management of their affairs. His routine duties include, inter alia, the collection of grazing fees (see para. 85), maintenance of dams, fences, roads &c., branding and inoculation of stock, dispensing stock medicines and poison for the destruction of vermin, assisting the Native Commissioner in the Reserve Board, keeping various registers (stock, population, births and deaths etc.), supervising the school-feeding scheme and the dairy scheme.

71 The Reserve does not form part of the Okahandja Police area but a police patrol visits the Reserve every second month to inspect small stock for scab. Crime is reported to and investigated by the Police.

72 The Welfare Officer is assisted in the discharge of his duties by a Native Headman. For the duties of headmen cf. GN 68/1924, and GN 60/1930, para. 9. The present Headman, Jacob Kapeua, a Herero born at

Okahandja but who lived in Keetmanshoop from 1921 to 1933, was appointed in 1942. Though he owes his position primarily to merit, he is also of high rank in the traditional social order of the Herero. For this reason Daniel Kamuvaka, headman of the Herero section in Okahandja Urban Location and member of one of the leading Mbanderu families, treats him as a senior.

73 No separate headman or sub-headman has been appointed for the Bergdama in the Reserve, who are, however, represented by a Boardman. There do not appear to be, in Ovivotto Reserve, any rival leaders aspiring to political authority on the strength of hereditary status, nor are there factions of any sort.

Reserve Board

74 As an instrument of local self-government, a Reserve Board was set up in 1924 (Procl. 9/1924, as amended), with the Magistrate/Native Commissioner or Welfare Officer as chairman and the Headman and four elected Boardmen as Native members. Meetings are held monthly.

75 The Boardmen have no limited term of office. One of them served on the Board from 1929 to 1953. Since the Board was established, three members have resigned on grounds of age and one was discharged for misconduct in 1945. The members of the Board in 1954/55 were:

Name	Ethnic group	Elected on	Age
Stefanus Maritji-tuavi (literate)	Herero	24/1/1946	c.59 years
Coens Mungonge	Herero	1/1/1950	c.46 years
Frederick Baikua	Herero	17/11/1953	c.65 years
Frederick Tsusemab	Bergdama	18/3/1948	c.50 years

76 When a new member is to be elected, a special meeting is called which may be attended by all residents of the Reserve. After the nomination of candi-

dates, one is elected by the showing of hands. The election of C. Mungenge (1/1/1950) was attended by 70 persons (all men), i.e. by about 20 per cent of the adult male population. The election of F. Baikua (17/11/53) was attended by 85 persons (all men) or 20 per cent of the adult male population of 1953. Having regard to the distances travelled, duties detaining stock owners at their homes, etc., attendances cannot be improved and must perforce be regarded as representative.

77 Boardmen receive a monthly stipend of £2 which is paid out of Trust Fund money. It appears that people like to serve on the Board for the sake of prestige. At the same time they are generally reluctant to take any responsibility. Welfare Officers in their reports frequently mention this.

78 Agendas are drawn up for all meetings. During recent years, these have been held very regularly, and attendance was nearly 50 per cent. Although the greater part of the meetings is taken up by communications from the Chair, the minutes of the four quarterly meetings held in 1954 show that the Boardmen do not hesitate to put forward requests and argue out points on which they disagree with the views of the government. Most of the speaking on the part of the Native members is done by the Headman, but this does not necessarily mean that the other Boardmen and residents present adopt an indifferent attitude or hold inarticulate views. In keeping with tribal tradition, the Headman acts as the spokesman on various subjects which have been thrashed out prior to the meeting.

79 The vital interests of the residents centre round their stock, and it is natural that nearly all items discussed at the Board meetings concern such matters as the water supply (construction of new dams, improvement of existing ones, &c.), overstocking, and the cream scheme (cf. paras. 121). In 1954 some questions were discussed in connection with the school opened at Bulskop in 1954. A further item on the agenda was a future Native hospital at Okahandja and a clinic in the Reserve.

80

TABLE No.13: TYPES OF POINTS DISCUSSED AT QUARTERLY MEETINGS OF RESERVE BOARD IN 1954 (OVITOTO RESERVE)

Types of points	Number of meetings at which discussed
Water supply (dams etc.)	4
Overstocking	2
Cream scheme	2
Better stud bulls	1
Increase of grazing fees	1
Additional pasture land	1
Poison for extermination of vermin	1
Concession Store in Reserve	1
Transportation of passengers	1
Speculators' licences	1
Beer raid over weekend	1
Bulskop School	1
Huts (hostels) for children	1
School feeding scheme	1
School attendance	1
Erection of Nat. Hospital at Okahandja	1
Erection of Clinic in the Reserve	2
Statement of Estimates of Financial Year 1953/54	1

81 The Reserve Board has a share in administering the Trust Fund (cf. para.84 sq.). That is to say, the Native Commissioner and the Welfare Officer frame the estimates for the annual expenditure in consultation with the Boardmen. The residents are informed about expenditure by the Boardmen as well as by the Native Commissioner, at the quarterly meeting during December of each year. The Boardmen appear to understand that expenditure for improvements in the Reserve has to be proportionate to the revenue received from grazing fees, rentals etc. (cf. Table No.29) and that the grazing fees paid by the residents flow back into the Reserve. The annual Report for 1949 states that "as more and more

responsibility is placed on the Board in administering the Trust Fund, members show a keener appreciation of their position".

82 The general tenor of the discussions at Board meetings suggests that the Headman (as the spokesman of the Board) co-operates with the Administration in measures that must be adopted to cope with the vital problems of the Reserve, viz. conservation of pasture by combating the tendency of the Herero (as of most pastoral tribes) to overstock. He also realizes that the sale of surplus stock, the improvement of the existing stock, the imposition of a limit on individual herds (see para.110), the embargo on the introduction of stock into the Reserve (cf. para.68) and the prevention of a concentration of stock in the vicinity of dams (cf. para.52) are all intended to serve that end. In how far the Headman tries to impress upon the other Boardmen, and through them upon the population at large, the necessity of these measures is, of course, difficult to say. His task is a difficult one. The average resident still clings to the traditional attitude and is inclined to consider the various measures adopted by the Government as an irksome interference with his desire to see his herd increase. With a few exceptions, the residents' attitude about the future is one of complete indifference. They would allow all would-be residents in together with their stock and then blame the Government for their eventual losses.

83 Some complain that their aged relatives living in urban locations or on farms are being prevented from settling in the Reserve by the embargo on stock, and blame the Boardmen for it. Residents do sometimes oppose applications for the introduction of large numbers of stock from persons other than their relatives and friends, but each application is nevertheless forwarded to the Native Commissioner for approval.

Reserve Trust Fund

84 The Reserve Trust Fund (established under GN 9/1924) derives its revenue from grazing fees as well as from a few minor items such as rentals, dog tax, dairy levies etc.

85 MONTHLY GRAZING FEES (OVITOTO RESERVE) 1954

Large stock	Small stock
Scrub bulls, per head ..8d	Sheep, per head ...1d
Other Cattle, per head .6d	Goats, per head ...1d
(Limit: 50 head per family)	per lot of five sheep or four (goats) or part thereof.
	(Limit: 150 head of small stock per family)

The limits mentioned may not be exceeded unless the Administrator authorises, but are only temporary, i.e. until carrying capacity has improved.

86 TABLE No. 14 : TRUST FUND REVENUE (OVITOTO RESERVE)

Item	1943	1946	1950	1954
Grazing fees	£800.	£1159	£1200	£3840
Dog tax	13	16	12	47
Rentals	36	36	36	36
Forest Revenue	-	-	-	5
Sale of Res. property	-	-	-	40
Dairy levy	-	-	-	78
Kraal fees	-	-	-	111
Totals	£849	£1211	£1248	£4157

87 The figures for 1943/46/50 do not show all income. Rentals are for trading sites (Concession Store). Forest Revenue refers to wood permits.

88 The major part of the Trust Fund money is spent on recurrent items, and the framing of that part of the budget does not actually form a subject

of discussion. There are, however, other items in the annual estimates, e.g. the purchase of breeding stock, improvements of the water supply etc. which are discussed by the Boardmen and on which there has in some cases been a certain amount of genuine discussion before an agreement was reached. The Trust Fund receives a subsidy, in arrear, of 10/- per pupil per quarter for school feeding. The estimates for 1954 made provision for £180 to be contributed to the School Feeding Scheme. In the estimates for 1955/56 provision was made for £340 to cover inter alia the School Feeding Scheme. The inclusion of these items in the budget is due to Native initiative.

Social

89. The social sub-units composing the village settlements are the so-called ozonganda or werfs. Each consists of a number of huts occupied by the head of the onganda and his dependants. The group living together in one such onganda ranges from the individual family to a much larger unit, comprising, e.g., the owner's brothers, parents-in-law, nephews, widowed sisters, and their offspring. In all cases where all the residents of an onganda could be listed and enquiry made into their relationship, it turned out that they were related to one another, either by blood or by marriage. Persons living in an onganda merely on the strength of friendship are apparently a rare exception.

90. In some cases the arrangement of huts still follows the traditional Herero pattern, that is to say the cattle kraal lies in the centre of the onganda and is surrounded by a rough circle of huts, that of the head or owner standing on the east side of the byre and facing its gateway. In the majority of villages, however, no distinct pattern can be discerned. Individual huts often stand in a straight row or form an irregular cluster with doors and verandas facing in all directions.

91. Marriage according to Christian rites is regarded as too binding and incompatible with custom.

It is, therefore, not much in favour. According to the missionary in charge of the Rhenish Mission, Okahandja, it has happened that couples who had already had their banns published changed their minds. Such cases are rare, however. Instances are also recalled of the bride deserting after publication of banns but before the marriage could be solemnised.

92. In the Native view (excepting the "active" Christians, para. 146), it is actually the otjoto rite after the wedding feast that solemnizes the marriage. Otjitunja marriage cattle or money is given by all Herero whether marrying according to tribal custom or by Christian rites (para. 102). In the latter case, otjitunja is given before the marriage is solemnized.

93. Unmarried women live with their parents or other senior relatives and enjoy considerable freedom. Practically no disgrace attaches to the bearing of illegitimate children, and only very rarely is a cow claimed as damages from the father. To do so would give him a title to the child, and few women - and even less so their relatives - are willing to cede their rights to a child in this manner. For the same reason, alimony (a monthly sum in lieu of damages) is never claimed although it seems to be common knowledge that such claim would be allowed under common law.

94. The Welfare Officer, who registers all births, puts the number of illegitimate children at about 80% of all children born. Such children take their mothers' name (the mother's grandfather gives the child the name) and eanda (matriclan) but not the oruzo (patriclan) of their father, as is the case with legitimate children. Owing to the large number of children born from casual unions and promiscuous intercourse, it seems that the institution of the otuzo (plural of oruzo) is gradually disintegrating while that of the omaanda (plural of eanda) survives.

95 There are some half breeds (six men and four women, mostly of German fathers and Herero mothers). The men have no special status in tribal affairs, but their descent would not, it seems, prevent them from becoming Boardmen for instance. It has not done so in other Herero reserves.

Observance of traditional practices

96 Circumcision, the practice of knocking out the lower incisors, and puberty customs for girls are still generally observed, but many features formerly connected with these practices have now disappeared. Circumcision takes place in a circumcision kraal erected for the purpose by the circumciser. Boys between 1-4 years of age are operated upon in the presence of their mothers, and must stay in the kraal for at least six to eight days. The custom of filing the two upper incisors has been completely abandoned, but both sexes still have their lower four incisors knocked out when between 10-15 years of age. Traditional customs connected with birth, marriage, and death are still adhered to in part. I was told that there were two Holy Fires (omaruuo) at Bulskop.

97 The marriage gift (otjitunja) now consists of either stock or money but never of both. The average amount consists of an ox (only of red colour and with horns of a certain shape), of heifer (red or black), and four sheep (a young ewe, a big ewe with a lamb - the colour of these three is irrelevant - and a wether). If money is given instead of traditional otjitunja, the amount varies from £12 to £40. If a bridegroom cannot afford the marriage gift, it is provided, not just lent, by his kin.

98 In the distribution of estates, the present practice is to disregard the wife altogether, except of course, in respect of stock that was her own personal property during her husband's lifetime (cf. 109). Women bring their own brand into the marriage. But see para. 167, division of estates in case of statutory marriage.

99 The general heir to a man's property is still his younger brother or sister's son and he is allowed a good deal of discretion in distributing the estate among the various other heirs. The Headman and Welfare Officer are often consulted for advice.

100 Despite the individualizing tendencies of modern life, the Herero still possess a strong sense of solidarity quite apart from that of kinship. There is neither jealousy towards newcomers to the Reserve, nor much quarrelling about water or pasture. If one dam dries up and stock-owners have to trek with their cattle to another dam, their presence there is not resented. On the other hand, idle young men are no longer granted unlimited hospitality by their relatives in the Reserve, and pressure is brought to bear upon them to contribute towards the economy of the onganda in which they are staying or else they are urged to go out and work. A closer study of village economy would reveal more of the actual give and take between permanent residents and their visitors or boarders.

Economics: Income

101 The Reserve population lives almost entirely on its stock. All other income is negligible. The increase of stock over the last decade is marked.

102
TABLE No. 15: STOCK FIGURES (OVITOTO RESERVE)

Year	Large stock		Small stock	
1943	Cattle	4643	Sheep	708
	Horses	231	Goats	7399
	Donkeys	368		
	Total large	5242	Total small	8107
1944	Cattle	6292	Sheep	757
	Horses	228	Goats	8892
	Donkeys	730		
	Total large	7250	Total small	9649

Continued on next page.

42 OVITOTO NATIVE RESERVE

Year	Large stock		Small stock	
1945	Cattle	7316	Sheep	746
	Horses	235	Goats	8686
	Donkeys	800		
	Total large	8351	Total small	9432
1946	Cattle	8571	Sheep	788
	Horses	230	Goats	8416
	Donkeys	729		
	Total large	9530	Total small	9204
1947	Cattle	7725	Sheep	966
	Horses	241	Goats	8776
	Donkeys	806		
	Total large	8772	Total small	9742
1948	Cattle	8431	Sheep	997
	Horses	253	Goats	8827
	Donkeys	817		
	Total large	9501	Total small	9824
1949	Cattle	9841	Sheep	1170
	Horses	288	Goats	9421
	Donkeys	792		
	Total large	10921	Total small	10591
1950	Cattle	12523	Sheep	1410
	Horses	254	Goats	10786
	Donkeys	549		
	Total large	13326	Total small	12196
1951	Cattle	10685	Sheep	1467
	Horses	285	Goats	15810
	Donkeys	492		
	Total large	11462	Total small	17277
1952	Cattle	12275	Sheep	1296
	Horses	304	Goats	12862
	Donkeys	422		
	Total large	13001	Total small	14158
1953	Cattle	13392	Sheep	1458
	Horses	325	Goats	13761
	Donkeys	441		
	Total large	14158	Total small	15219
1954	Cattle	12652	Sheep	1107
	Horses	356	Goats	12565
	Donkeys	396		
	Total large	13404	Total small	13672

OVITOTO NATIVE RESERVE 4.

103 In 1950, 430 persons (362 men and 68 women) had brands of their own. By 1954 the number of brandowners had risen to 594 persons: 516 men and 78 women. In the first quarter of 1955, 21 new brands were granted to men and 21 to women. The number of male brandowners thus now exceeds that of all adult males resident in the Reserve. The reason is that some brandowners live on farms or in Windhoek or Okahandja. However, as their relatives in the Reserve who have charge of their stock enjoy usufruct, all Native stock kept in the Reserve may be lumped together in this survey of income, except in respect of proceeds of sales.

104 Individual herds vary considerably in size. In 1950, before the limit of 50 head of large stock and 150 head of small stock was imposed for Ovivotto Reserve, the distribution of stock was as follows:

TABLE No.16: SIZE OF HERDS IN 1950 (OVITOTO RESERVE)

a) large stock

(Numbers of stock-owners estimated for 1954 are given in brackets for comparison)

Number of beasts	Number of stock-owners	
	men	women
1 - 5	23 (5)	8 (6)
6 - 10	53 (30)	12 (14)
11 - 15	73 (20)	13 (15)
16 - 20	62 (60)	16 (16)
21 - 25	45 (88)	6 (6)
26 - 30	31 (70)	5 (10)
31 - 35	31 (70)	3 (10)
36 - 40	10 (18)	2 -
41 - 45	9 (17)	- (1)
46 - 50	10 (60)	- -
New Limit		
51 - 55	5	1 -
56 - 60	4	- -
61 - 65	2 (5)	2 -
66 - 70	1	- -
71 - 75	-	- -
76 - 80	3	- -
	362 (443)	68 (78)

b) small stock

Number of animals	Number of stock-owners	
	men	women
1 - 10	24	7
11 - 20	59	18
21 - 30	42	7
31 - 40	33	5
41 - 50	24	4
51 - 60	18	5
61 - 70	20	-
71 - 80	12	-
81 - 90	10	1
91 - 100	8	-
101 - 110	2	-
111 - 120	2	1
121 - 130	4	1
131 - 140	-	-
141 - 150	-	1
New limit		
151 - 160	2	-
161 - 170	4	1
171 - 180	1	-
181 - 190	-	-
191 - 200	1	-
201 - 210	1	-
267		51

105 In 1950 not a single brandowner in the Reserve possessed only small stock, but 95 (or 23.4%) of the male brandowners and 28 (or 41.1%) of the female brandowners had only large stock and neither sheep nor goats.

106 The average size of herds owned by men was 20.9 head of large stock and that of herds owned by women, 17.5 head. In April 1951 the total stock owned by both sexes was (with figures for 1954 for comparison in brackets):

Men Women Total

Large stock	7553(12,234)	1202(1,170)	8755(13,404)
Small stock	11579(10,942)	1638(2,730)	13217(13,672)
Total stock	19132(23,176)	2840(3,900)	21972(27,076)

107 The drop in the figures for large stock in 1951 as compared with 1950 was partly due to stock sales (cf. para. 116) and partly to a check of the stock register, which in 1950 still listed many animals already slaughtered or dead of disease.

108 In 1954, the average size of herds owned by men was 27.6 head of large stock and that of herds owned by women 15 head. For small stock the Welfare Officer estimated the average size of herds at 23 goats and 2 sheep. Some residents had no sheep, and two residents had about 30-40 sheep each.

109 In addition to those women who are registered stock-owners with a brand of their own, many married women and also some unmarried ones own cattle registered under the brands of their husbands or male relatives (cf. para. 67). It is difficult to ascertain the extent of this ownership.

110 When the limit of 50 head of large stock and 150 head of small stock was imposed for Ovitoto Reserve in April 1950 as result of a proposal made by residents, there were 15 male and 3 female stock-owners whose holdings exceeded the new limit for large stock, while 9 men and 1 woman exceeded the limit for small stock.

111 In 1954, only 5 male stock-owners had an excess of large stock of up to 25 head, and some had an excess of small stock up to 12 head.

112 Comparison with para. 106 shows that the average size of herds of large stock increased from 20.9 in 1950 to 27.6 head, in 1954 whilst the average size of herds of small stock decreased from 17.5 to 15 head. The total number of small stock in 1954 shows only a slight increase since 1951, but large stock increased by 4,649 head.

113 To avoid exceeding the limit, stock-owners resort to registering the excess in the name of poorer relatives. This accounts for the increase of the number of stock-owners with herds of 21-35 and 46-50 head of cattle.

114 Overstocking is one of the most serious problems of the Reserve, and every effort is being made to overcome it, e.g. by dividing the Reserve into camps, increasing the number of water points, encouraging stock improvement and holding regular organised sales for the disposal of surplus stock. Some parts of the Reserve are 300 per cent overstocked, largely because the stock is not herded and taken to areas where the grazing is better. Except for limited portions which during the very dry months cannot be reached owing to distance from water, the whole Reserve can be grazed throughout the year, and more water points which it is hoped to provide shortly will render even the remotest sections fully accessible even in dry periods.

115 The Reserve has been largely free from stock disease, a fact the Natives ascribe chiefly to its mountainous character. The only diseases that occur from time to time are anthrax (Herero: okapirauka), blackquarter, and dourine (last outbreak in 1942). In May/June, 1949, there was a minor outbreak of anthrax; in March 1950 and in 1953 and 1954 one of blackquarter.

Income from sale of stock

116 Regular stock sales have been held in the Reserve for the last 12 or 14 years. Recently, large-scale auctions have been held at bimonthly intervals (formerly at quarterly intervals), the buyers being mainly Windhoek speculators. At the first auction held in 1950, about 300 beasts were sold, mostly oxen and some barren cows. At subsequent auctions the average number was 150 beasts, and the average price obtained for slaughter oxen was £12. The average price rose to £14.19.0 in 1953 and £20 in 1954. The Annual Report for 1943 states: "the urgency for timeous disposal of their surplus

stock has repeatedly been explained to the wealthier Natives in the Ovito Reserve by the Welfare Officer, but, excepting instances where a couple were sold to satisfy the need of ready cash, there has been no response".

117 However, reluctance to sell is decreasing. Sales of large stock during the last six years were:

1949:	1176 head of large stock sold
1950:	853
1951:	1017
1952:	1418
1953:	1448
1954:	2025

118 The following income was derived from the sale of stock. Amounts in £ only.

Year		£
1949	Large stock	9,524
	Small stock	346
	Hides & skins	387
	Bones	25
	Total income	10,282
1950	Large stock	9,267
	Small stock	477
	Hides & skins	123
	Bones	18
	Total income	9,885
1951	Large stock	13,087
	Small stock	327
	Hides & skins	182
	Bones	7
	Total income	13,603
1952	Large stock	12,026
	Small stock	447
	Hides & skins	430
	Bones	17
	Total income	12,920

Continued on next page.

Year		£
1953	Large stock	16,216
	Small stock	295
	Hides & skins	116
	Bones	14
	Total income	16,641
1954	Large stock	25,270
	Small stock	1,037
	Hides & skins	150
	Bones	
	Total income	26,457

Since June 1954 individual sales have been stopped, as residents themselves prefer to sell at auctions. In case of emergency the sale of up to two animals is permitted, e.g. when money is urgently required for reasons of health.

Dairying

119 Over the last 14 years the residents of the Reserve have taken an increasing interest in dairying. During 1942-49 milk was bought in small quantities by a licensed European, the annual quantities ranging from 1,000 to 1,800 gallons. In the last years of this period, Okahandja Creamery bought from suppliers in the Reserve:

July 1947-June 1948 3,130 gallons of milk, i.e.
939 lbs of butterfat

July 1948-June 1949 3,046 gallons of milk, i.e.
914 lbs of butterfat.

The sale of milk then went up by over 500 per cent. In 1950 the Concession Store at Otjongombe (which bought milk from 26 Native suppliers at Otjongombe and neighbouring settlements as far as eight miles away) supplied Okahandja Creamery with 5,467 lbs of butterfat, i.e. 18,223 gallons of milk, and the total income derived by the residents from the sale of milk amounted to £973 that year.

120 At the end of 1951 (in which the income from the sale of milk was £324), the sale of milk ceased

altogether. Two years of insufficient grazing followed, in which the production of cream went down from £126 in 1951 to nil in 1952.

121 The cream scheme gradually gained favour, and more residents bought separators. Eventually six dairies were built, well distributed over the Reserve. At present (1954/55), the residents no longer sell milk but separate it themselves (either in their own separators or in the dairies) and send the cream to Okahandja twice a week, either individually or through the dairies. In 1954, the income from the sale of cream amounted to £1,946, an increase of 700 per cent as against the preceding year (£246).

122 Privately owned separators and the distribution of dairies have reduced overstocking and over-concentration of cattle at milking posts. Overstocking of certain areas and subsequent soil erosion seem, however, unavoidable, if the cream scheme is going to develop at the rate of the last few years.

123 Another danger connected with the cream scheme is the tendency to overmilk the cows, which has caused an increase of 20 per cent in the death rate of young calves. Some competent judges therefore think the dairy scheme should not be encouraged too much and may even have to be discouraged in some areas.

Crops

124 The only section of the Reserve population that cultivates gardens to a moderate extent are the Bergdama, who grow tobacco, pumpkins and some maize. Only very few Herero make gardens and all they grow is tobacco. The gardens are usually circular in shape, and fenced with the thornbrush so that they resemble cattle kraals. Both sexes may work in the gardens, but few women do. The acreage cultivated is not known. The produce from gardens is a negligible quantity in the economy as a whole.

Business, Trades and crafts

125 The bulk of all trade in the Reserve is done by the Concession Store (cf. para. 145 sq.). General dealers' licences were granted in 1949 to two Herero, Willem Njaha at Satan Dam, who went out of business in 1952, and Stephanus Maritjuavi at Oruua, who still had his general dealer's licence in 1954/55. Two other Herero were granted hawker's licences. Owing to lack of capital, neither of them has been doing much business. In 1950, the turnover of the two general dealers was £100 and £220.15.3 respectively. They sold mealie meal, boer meal and sugar.

126 At present there is one Native resident hawking in the Reserve. Another general dealer's licence has been granted at Otjimahona in 1954, but so far the store has not yet been opened.

127 One lorry owner in the Reserve and one in Windhoek transport passengers and carry supplies for the Native-owned stores. The first vehicle goes to Okahandja on Tuesdays and Fridays, the second has no fixed schedule. The main business of the latter seems to be to convey parties of visitors from Windhoek to the Reserve, especially to areas not served by the half-weekly lorry service operated by the Concession Store (cf. para. 54).

128 Of the traditional crafts, that of carving wooden milk vessels, ladles, spoons etc. has survived on a moderate scale. A number of men manufacture these articles for sale. Pipes with bowls of horn and wooden stems are also carved on a commercial scale and sold not only in the Reserve but in the Okahandja and Windhoek urban locations. Other manufactures, though on a negligible scale, are quilt-like rugs and carpets made from ox- and goat-skins, as well as bead necklaces, sandals, churning gourds (with stoppers and leather lacing), and horns for storing butterfat ointment. Butterfat for food is kept in milk cans and not, as formerly, in leather sacks. Milkpails, cooking pots and all other household utensils are of European manufacture.

129 There are two Herero shoemakers at Okasongua. Another, a halfcaste, lives at Okamangongua. Most of his customers were Europeans in Okahandja and Natives from the Urban Location and Osona. The ordinary Reserve resident does his own repairs.

Standards of living

(a) Housing:-

130 The general standard of housing in the Reserve is comparatively high, especially among the Herero. In the settlements visited (Otjongombe, Okandjira, Okasuvandjuuo, Okamboro, Okamangongua and Bulskop), rectangular houses predominate over round ones. Most of the latter are occupied by young boys, widows or widowers. Living huts do not vary much in size, and cover about 10x15 feet. Most houses are plastered with clay mixed with cow dung, both outside and inside, and roofed with flattened petrol tins. In many cases the plastering of the outer walls begins at 1½ to 2 feet above the ground, except at the corners. This is done mainly to check termites. Some people also say it looks better. The roofs of the round huts are often thatched with bark or grass. Here and there one still sees the traditional Herero pontok, which is either plastered completely with clay or has a bark- or tin-covered top. Some of the rectangular houses have roofed verandas or a small rectangular front yard, fenced except for one or two gateways. The floors of practically all houses are of beaten earth with a stone slab for a threshold. Most houses have only one door and some small windows with wooden shutters and sometimes gauze.

131 Recently a halfcaste hawker built a house of wood and iron with concrete floors at Bulskop. This is the only Native house in the Reserve which has glazed windows.

132 The fireplace in front of the house is either completely unprotected or, as in most cases, surrounded by circular or semicircular clay or stone walls, two or three feet high. Sometimes a small

canopy is erected over it. In many cases a fireplace is made of a motorcar wheel rim filled with earth. As practically all cooking is done in three-legged iron pots, no hearth-stones are used.

133 A dozen houses visited contained beds, tables, chairs, simple chests of drawers or wardrobes, a few framed photographs or pictures, mirrors, etc. These houses correspond to the better type of house found in the Windhoek Urban Location. There are, of course, also houses which lack such furniture. Sewing machines and flat irons are common. Matches are found in most houses, but here and there an otjitoroha (iron ring, flint and receptacle for tinder) is still in use for kindling.

134 There are two bicycles in the Reserve, and reportedly one radio set.

(b) Clothing:-

135 The men's standard dress is khaki. They wear khaki slacks and shirts both during the week and on Sundays, since Sunday is not observed by the average resident. They work on Sundays and above all, drink. The Herero are fond of wearing riding-breeches, and wear them especially when leaving home on horseback.

136 Besides their ordinary wear, most men have one or two suits of clothes, bought secondhand in town or received as gifts from employers. Suits are not stocked by the Concession Store, only shirts, jackets, long pants (khaki preferred), and army greatcoats. Vests, shorts, and during winter, long underpants are generally worn by men as under-clothing, and in cold weather greatcoats or half-woollen cardigans with long sleeves (for older people) rather than pullovers. These latter only came into vogue more recently and are worn by younger people. The shoes worn by men are of good and even of best quality. The demand for boot polish is correspondingly high. The Concession Store sells an average of two gross of tins of brown boot polish every month, but some of this polish is used as cosmetic by females.

137 Women wear the same clothes as one sees in town, the average dress length being ten yards of red or blue print. Like all Herero women, they fancy bright colours and large patterns, but fashions in cotton materials do not change as they do in Windhoek. Women line their dresses (3 to 4 yards per dress) and wear petticoats but no other underwear. They make petticoats themselves out of 'checks', the favourite cloth for it. Herero women dislike silk. Long-sleeved cardigans are also very popular with them.

138 Though practically all women wear footgear, they are not as well shod as the men. Many wear home-made sandals. Shoes of quite good quality are bought. Older people prefer black, younger people brown.

139 Like their sisters in town, Herero women in the Reserve wear a quantity of ornaments (bead necklaces of glass, of ostrich shell or a cork-like fruit, ear-rings, bangles, brooches and finger rings) and other ornaments such as fancy buttons on their dresses and ornamental leather belts. Bergdama men like to wear small round ear-rings but no fancy ear-rings. These are worn by women. Occasionally one may see an old man with a bead necklace.

140 Children up to the age of about six go naked except for a leather apron and tassels. Small girls are sometimes clad in shirts but as a rule they merely wear larger aprons and longer tassels than boys. Few children have clothes for festive occasions or cold weather. Up to 1954 there was no demand for children's shoes, but this has changed since the opening of the Bulskop school in April 1954. Shirts (khaki or white) and khaki shorts for children have been stocked in the Concession Store since school was opened. In the years before 1954 children's shirts were practically not bought.

(c) Food:-

141 Daily diet varies considerably with the seasons. From February to August, when the cows are in milk, the Herero enjoy their staple food: thick

milk (omaere), and hardly any mealie meal and boer meal are consumed. From September to January, the normal diet consists of mealie meal, samp, mealie rice and boer meal. During these months the Concession Store sells about 40 bags of mealie meal (90 lbs per bag), 12 bags of boer meal (100 lbs net per bag) for making bread, 400 lbs of samp (broken maize) and 200 lbs of mealie rice per month, a quantity about ten times as much as that sold at the height of the milk season.

142 To supplement their staple diet, people collect veldkos (wild bulbs, etc.) which is said to be fairly plentiful. They also consume a great deal of sugar, both pure and in the form of raisins and sweets. 200 lbs of raisins and 280 lbs of sweets (5 boxes of 28 lbs of 'Uitspan Mengsel' and 5 boxes of 28 lbs of 'Metro Mixture') are sold every month by the Concession Store. The same amount of raisins was sold during last few years whilst the amount of sweets has gone up by 180 per cent since 1950. Sugar see para. 145.

143 Large stock is slaughtered only on very special occasions, but small stock is killed more often and residents do some poaching on the side. Poultry and eggs are eaten mainly by younger people.

Expenditure and saving

144 The material wants of the Reserve population are considerably lower than those of the urban population. Nevertheless, the spending habits of the former were summed up at the Concession Store thus: "Herero do not buy inferior articles but are prepared to pay a good price for a good thing. It is the Bergdama who buy the cheap things." However, the Bergdama residents of the Reserve have during the last few years also been trying to dress as well as the Herero to avoid appearing inferior.

145 The bulk of the trade at the Concession Store is in foodstuffs (para. 141 sq.). Brown sugar is bought at the rate of 70 bags (100 lbs per bag) a month. Between August and January, when people need

more sugar because of the greater quantities of maize porridge eaten during these months, sales go up to 80 bags p.m. and more, but of course part of this is used to brew kari. The average inhabitant of the Reserve thus consumes between 4.5 and 5.1 lbs of sugar per month, not counting the sugar bought in Okahandja or at the store at Otjosazu outside the Reserve or consumed in the form of sweets or raisins.

146 A good deal of money is spent on stimulants, such as tobacco and tea, but less on cigarettes and coffee (see para. 182 sq.).

147 Tinned foods are not bought at all, not even for festive occasions.

148 The kind of clothing bought by both sexes has already been discussed in paras. 135 to 140. At the end of 1954, average prices for the principal items sold by the Concession Store were:

Men's clothing:

	£	s	d		£	s	d
Army greatcoats	3	7	6				
Jackets	1	10	0	to	1	15	10
Khaki shirts		14	0	to		18	0
Khaki shorts		11	6				
Long khaki trousers	1	3	6				
Army boots	1	14	0				
Vests		5	9	to		8	3
Trunks		5	6				
Underpants		10	0				
Socks		3	9	to		4	6

Women's clothing

Cotton prints per yard		3	6				
Lining (also used for petticoats) per yard			2	9			
Shoes	1	15	0				
Blankets	1	0	0	to	1	16	0
Socks		3	0	to		3	6

149 Other commodities sold by the Concession Store are various patent medicines (see para. 176), blue soap (two hundred 2 lb bars per month), very little toilet soap, but 100 bars (of 11 ounces) of Sunlight soap (for which there has been a demand since the beginning of 1954) per month; matches, paraffin (4 gallons per month), stationery, pocket knives (but very few spoons and no forks), elastic belts, combs, nails (also for horseshoes; the residents shoe their horses themselves), safety pins and similar items.

150 No toothbrushes or dentifrices are bought nor any cosmetics (except vaseline), but red ochre which people like to rub on their faces and which is not found locally is sold by a Native who pays regular visits to the Reserve.

151 Apart from the seasonal fluctuation in the sale of foodstuffs (cf. para. 141), there is a marked increase in the turnover of the Concession Store after every cattle auction, the boom continuing for about 3 to 4 weeks afterwards. Between May and August, when people spend little or no money on foodstuffs, they buy chiefly footwear and drapery.

152 Though many Natives, especially those living in the northwestern part of the Reserve, buy directly from Okahandja, some idea of the amount of money spent by the Reserve population on foodstuffs and cheaper commodities may be gained from the annual turnover of the Concession Store, which was £4,622 in 1950 and £7,107 in 1951. The turnover dropped considerably after a Farm Store had been opened at Otjosazu in 1952. This store attracted many residents of the Reserve in spite of the distance. There they bought, among other things, saddles and sewing machines which they could get on credit, the owner of the store having apparently decided to take the risk of granting credit despite the provisions of the Prohibition of Credit to Natives Proclamation 1927.

153 As one would expect from a stock-owning Native population, there is practically no saving of money, either in the form of cash or of deposits paid into savings accounts. People know that whenever they need money to buy food or other commodities or to pay grazing fees, they can sell some of their large or small stock; hence they invest their money in stock rather than deposit it in a bank. In 1950 there was only one resident in the Reserve, an ex-soldier, who had £50 in a Post Office savings account. The manager of a bank in Okahandja tried to persuade people of Ovivototo to deposit their money, but was told that they preferred to hide or bury it.

Education

154 In 1943 two children from the Reserve attended school in Okahandja (see para. 275 sq.). In June 1951 there were 14 such children, and some more were attending the Rhonish Mission Nama school at Windhoek.

155 Early in 1954 a Government School with two class-rooms was opened at Bulskop. An earlier plan to establish the school at Oruuua was abandoned owing to lack of water there. The school opened with 55 pupils and 2 teachers. At the end of 1954 the pupils numbered 47. Three had gone to Windhoek, others to Okahandja.

156 The pupils attending Bulskop Government School came from all parts of the Reserve. Two huts to serve as quarters have been erected on the Welfare Officer's initiative, and accommodate a limited number of pupils. According to the pupils, one or both parents of 23 pupils had themselves attended school.

157 All pupils but one (a Hottentot-Herero hybrid), are Herero. The medium is therefore Herero to begin with, and from St.I it is Afrikaans, with Herero 10 periods a week. English as a subject is introduced in St.II. One quarter (12) of the pupils had some knowledge of Afrikaans when enrolled. Seven

(14%) did not belong to the Rhenish Mission church. One was a Catholic. The age of the pupils was 7-16 years.

158 School feeding has been in operation since the opening of the school. In 1954/55 the Trust Fund of the Reserve contributed £180. Each child enrolled brings in one goat and one cow. The cows produce the milk and remain the property of the owners.

Literacy

159 The extent of literacy among the Reserve population is reflected in the number of letters written and received and in the reading matter found in the Reserve. No count is kept of letters in the mail. The weekly mail bag which arrived on 13/4/1951 at Otjongombe contained exactly 50 letters, while the out-going mail on that day numbered 47 letters. This was said to be normal, and points to an average weekly mail of 100 letters in and out in 1951. The mail bag leaving the Reserve on 14/6/55 contained 37 letters, whilst 63 letters had been received that day, but by this time mail was being received and despatched twice weekly. That there has been a considerable increase since 1951 is certain.

160 One copy each of the following newspapers is received by residents of the Reserve: Official Gazette, Suidwester, Suidwes-Afrikaner, Windhoek Advertiser, Allgemeine Zeitung. The religious monthly "Omahungi", published by the Rhenish Mission and appearing irregularly, was being read by four Herero Christians in 1951 and by about ten residents in 1954. The following periodicals received by the Welfare Officer are also read by a small number of the residents who return them to the Office afterwards: the Farmer's Weekly, Die Landbou-weekblad, Boerdery in Suid-Afrika.

161 While very few Herero are able to speak Nama, almost all of the Ovivototo Bergdama can speak Otjiherero. Of European languages, German is better known to the older generation, while Afrikaans is

the best-known among the younger people who, however, are not so numerous. The 28 Ovambo speak Herero (most of them being married to Herero women) and six of them who have Bergdama wives may have some knowledge of Nama. All Ovambo retain a knowledge of their own language.

Church Life

162 There is no mission station in the Reserve. The Christian community - mostly Rhenish Mission with a few Catholics - numbers c.500 Herero and 140 Bergdama, i.e. 37% of the Herero population and 85% of the Bergdama of the Reserve. A comparison with the proportions in 1951 (24% of the Herero population and 67% of the Bergdama) shows how the proportion of Christians has increased.

163 Only 50 to 60% of the Herero Christians attend prayer meetings and services and pay their annual church contributions whereas most of the Bergdama church members are active Christians.

164 Travelling evangelists (cf. para. 40) visit the Reserve every three months and hold services in most of the villages. Religious meetings and services are held in the open. The congregations in each village number between half a dozen to a dozen persons. In Ovivototo village a Bergdama showed sufficient initiative to build a chapel but this is now in disrepair.

165 At the end of 1954 the building of a chapel at Otjongombe was completed by the Rhenish Mission. The residents of the Reserve made a voluntary contribution of £30 for the benches.

166 In the Herero community women are, generally speaking, the more active element in church matters while men are indifferent or, at best, lukewarm. Though even pagans are not hostile towards the mission, men regard monogamy as an irksome restriction, whereas women are more in favour of it. In 1954 there were three Herero men with two wives each.

Disputes and crime

167 The main causes of disputes are drunkenness and the division of estates. All disputes are settled by the Headman or by the Reserve Board. They may be brought before the Native Commissioner's Court, Okahandja (see para.4; 71), but not a single case has been tried by that court during the last few years.

168 The division of estates is arranged by the elders of the family concerned, and hitherto all disputes in this connection have been settled out of court excepting one case which went to court in 1955. Only lawful spouses are legally entitled to each other's property.

169 Crime in the Reserve is negligible. In 1950 one case of grassburning and two cases of stock theft and malicious injury to property were reported. Grassburning is practically unknown now. Stock theft cases average one a year. In 1954 there was one case of housebreaking at Otjongombe, and a young Herero was brought to court.

170 There were two cases under the Native Stock Brand Regulations. In one case a young Herero had stolen two head of cattle on a farm and sold them to a European. When he was charged his relatives would not stand by him because they feared he would do the same with their own cattle, so the accused in despair hanged himself. A Herero woman also committed suicide. About two assaults are reported per annum. Most of these result from a resident's slaughtering a goat belonging to another. In such cases both parties lay a charge. Most disputes and crimes are caused or committed by young people who come to the Reserve as visitors.

171 No police are stationed in the Reserve (cf. para. 71).

172 The brewing of kari beer has assumed considerable proportions during the last years (vide the consumption of sugar, para. 145), but any attempt to combat illicit brewing by Police action would obviously be doomed to failure.

Health

173 Apart from venereal disease, especially syphilis, the principal diseases are pulmonary complaints (tuberculosis). This at least is the impression of Europeans long in contact with the people.

174 In July and August 1952 the District Surgeon made periodical visits to Ovito Reserve by way of experiment, but reported that the attendance of patients was disappointing so that the visits were discontinued.

175 Patients go for treatment either to the District Surgeon at Okahandja, or to the Native Hospital at Windhoek. In 1950, eighty passes, and in 1954 ninety-eight passes were issued to residents who wished to consult a doctor.

176 Among the various patent medicines sold by the Concession Store, cough mixtures rank first (three different kinds are stocked and asked for). Sloan's liniment is very popular among men, and Feluna Pills as well as "Essence of Life" among women. In Windhoek the latter medicine was said by some informants to be used primarily to procure abortions. Whether it is taken with the same intention in the Reserve is difficult to ascertain. Both Native informants and Europeans familiar with conditions in the Reserve are emphatic that the procuring of abortion is very uncommon in the Reserve.

177 Native doctors probably still practise in the Reserve, but the people are reluctant to admit that they consult them as this is forbidden. Ordinary home treatment consists, as everywhere in South West Africa, of massaging the body with butterfat or vaseline and of making incisions "to let out the

bad blood". In winter many people anoint themselves with "Vicks vapo-rub" or with a hair tonic to keep warm.

178 A medical chest and first aid outfit is kept by the Welfare Officer. Various medicines are supplied by Government and issued to residents free of charge.

179 The 27 deaths which occurred in the Reserve in each of the years 1953 and 1954 were attributed to the following causes:

	1953	1954
Natural causes (old age)	14	8
Undetermined	5	2
Pneumonia	4	5
Tuberculosis	2	3
Heart failure	1	-
Blood-poisoning	-	1
Infants (under 2 years)	1	8
	<u>27</u>	<u>27</u>

The eight deaths of infants of 1954 were attributed to influenza or diphtheria. Six infants died in Okahandja and Windhoek where they had been taken for medical treatment. These deaths were not registered in the Reserve.

Liquor and other stimulants

180 No data are available on the extent of kari brewing, but the monthly consumption of over 10 lbs of sugar per person (partly purchased elsewhere, see para. 145), suggests that it must have become extensive. Kari is brewed from split peas (bought at Otjosazu and in Okahandja), sugar and yeast. Commercial brewing of kari is rare, as most households make their own. Seasonal fluctuations in the amount of kari brewed do not seem to be great. During weekends more kari is brewed, as many young men working outside the Reserve come to see their parents or their cattle then.

181 During the last few years no residents of the Reserve were charged with being in possession of Native liquor. In former years, Natives were evicted from Urban Locations for repeated offences against the liquor laws and sent to the Reserves. Thus, five Ovambo were sent from Windhoek Urban Location to Ovitoto Reserve in 1950. At present the residents of the Reserve refuse to take in such people any longer because there is no room.

182 Both men and women are heavy smokers of pipe tobacco. Strong tobacco is preferred to the milder brands. Assuming that the Concession Store sells almost all the tobacco smoked in the Reserve, the average monthly consumption works out at about 290 lbs or 4.5 oz per adult Native for 1,030 adults. Cigarettes are smoked only by young men. Their favourite brand is "Commando round". Less than one in ten of all adults are non-smokers. Cigarettes were offered to many dozens of men and women, and only one man declared that he did not smoke whilst not a single woman declined a cigarette. Without exception they immediately smoked the cigarettes offered them. Young women smoke only at home.

183 Coffee and tea are both popular. The Concession Store sells 550 ($\frac{1}{4}$ lb) packages a month of Ajax coffee, a chicory blend. The turnover went down by 100 packages in 1951 owing to a rise in price from 1 sh. to 1/4 sh. per package. In 1954, 100 lbs of Ceylon tea were sold monthly by the Concession Store, double the quantity of 1951, though the price per lb. rose from 5 sh. in 1950 to 9 sh. in 1954. Both Herero and Bergdama prefer coffee but owing to the steep rise in its price of five years ago they have taken to drinking more tea.

184 Dagga (hemp) smoking is forbidden and very uncommon in the Reserve. There was one case of cultivating dagga (by a Bergdama at Ovitoto village) during the last few years.

Pastimes

185 Apart from beer drinking or sitting together in small groups to talk and smoke, people have very few pastimes to while away their long leisure hours. The pebble game (onjune) is often played by men and adolescents, never by women. Card games are known to very few residents and are seldom played.

186 Some mouth organs were sold by the Concession Store, but there is no demand, and no other musical European instruments are stocked.

187 The musical bow (otjihumba) is still known to most of the old Herero in the Reserve, but is now played by only one resident, who made his instrument himself.

188 Dances are still performed on festive and special occasions (circumcision, knocking out of the teeth, weddings, etc.). A distinction is made between the dance of men (omuhiva) and that of women (outjina).

189 In the afternoons, boys and young men may be seen galloping on donkeys or horses along the sandy river beds just for fun, but there are no organized horse, donkey or cattle races.

190 The main relaxation of men consists in visiting each other (on horseback or by donkey cart, of which there are about ten in the Reserve) or in extended visits to friends and relatives outside the Reserve (passes are issued for 5 days by the Welfare Officer, for longer periods by the Magistrate, Okahandja). From March to December, 1950, a total of 1,043 visiting passes were issued, only 36 of them to people leaving the Reserve to go to work. In 1954 a total of 1,484 passes were issued (including passes for medical treatment), only 60 of them to go to work.

IV. NON-EUROPEANS IN URBAN AREA

Definition of area

191 GN 150/1933 applying sect. 6 of Proc. 34/1924 provides that all Natives in the urban area of Okahandja, other than those exempted, shall reside in a location or Native hostel. GN 148/1933 declares that the area under control of the municipal council of Okahandja is a proclaimed area subject to the provisions of sect. 11 of the aforementioned Proc. 34/1924.

192 The Location is situated about $\frac{3}{4}$ mile to the west of the European township. Its main extension is from north to south, parallel to the railway line. It forms part of the town lands and was defined in GN 72/1933.

Numbers and ethnic composition of population

193 The population returns for 1954 give a non-European urban population of 1,195 souls. Most non-Europeans reside in the Municipal Location, but there also are some separate communities, e.g. the Native teachers and pupils of the Augustineum teachers' training school, the farm labourers at Otjihua, a small settlement on town lands, and a few families living on the commonage outside the Location. Some contract Ovambo and other extra-territorial labourers are housed on employers' premises in the European township.

194 In 1952 a compound was erected by the Municipality, and in 1953 another compound was built by West Minerals (cf. chapt. V) on the future site of the location. In these two compounds contract Ovambo are housed.

195

TABLE NO. 17 : NUMBERS AND ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION OF NON-EUROPEANS

(Okahandja urban area, 1954)

Ethnic group:	Municipal Location:	Urban Area: ¹⁾	Total:
Herero	479	70	549
Bergdama	253	34	287
Ovambo/Okavango	159	99	258
Bast. & Col.	33	21	54
Hottentots	24	23	47
Bushmen	-	-	-
Others	-	-	-
	948	2477	1195

¹⁾ including European township, Augustineum, Commonage and Otjihua.

196

TABLE NO. 18: GROUPS, SEX, AND AGE OF NON-EUROPEANS (Okahandja urban area)

	Hott.	B&C.	Her.	Ov/Ok	Bergd.	Bush	Others	Tot.
1943 M	13	16	97	92	79	1	3	301
W	3	25	141	5	82	-	3	259
C	2	48	57	7	45	-	1	160
	18	89	295	104	206	1	7	720
1944 M	14	11	106	123	62	1	8	325
W	7	24	133	5	80	-	4	253
C	10	1	65	2	43	-	2	123
	31	36	304	130	185	1	14	701
1945 M	4	20	115	125	62	2	3	331
W	4	16	163	3	103	-	2	291
C	7	2	91	8	59	-	1	168
	15	38	369	136	224	2	6	790

	Hott.	B&C.	Her.	Ov/Ok	Bergd.	Bush	Others	Tot.
1946 M	4	20	115	125	62	2	3	331
W	4	16	163	3	103	-	2	291
C	7	2	91	8	59	-	1	168
	15	38	369	136	224	2	6	790
1947 M	7	13	163	80	85	2	1	351
W	3	2	201	0	105	-	-	311
C	2	1	97	0	61	-	-	161
	12	16	461	80	251	2	1	823
1948 M	5	18	122	146	70	1	-	362
W	6	6	129	38	95	-	-	274
C	7	10	89	22	68	-	-	196
	18	34	340	206	233	1	-	832
1949 M	6	21	130	145	75	1	-	378
W	6	8	139	39	92	-	-	284
C	8	13	90	25	64	-	-	200
	20	42	359	209	231	1	-	862
1950 M	38	25	165	173	89	1	2	493
W	12	7	232	42	80	-	-	373
C	14	4	81	22	44	-	-	165
	64	36	478	237	213	1	2	1031
1951 M	11	10	171	63	61	-	-	316
W	10	5	291	29	109	-	-	444
C	15	23	111	24	84	-	-	257
	36	38	573	116	254	-	-	1017
1952 M	29	28	181	327	144	-	1	710
W	10	9	277	30	145	-	-	471
C	17	9	127	17	103	-	-	273
	56	46	585	374	392	-	1	1454
1953 M	15	39	152	176	110	-	-	492
W	13	10	233	21	104	-	-	381
C	18	11	123	24	75	-	-	251
	46	60	508	221	289	-	-	1124
1954 M	27	19	211	199	115	-	-	571
W	16	20	213	28	104	-	-	381
C	7	15	125	31	68	-	-	246
	50	54	549	258	287	-	-	1198

Conditions governing residence in the Location

197 Although the urban population of Okahandja has increased at a moderate rate compared with that of Windhoek, town life and the higher wages paid in town are sufficiently attractive to render certain restrictions on entry necessary (cf. GN No. 176/1936 prohibiting the entry of females, and GN No. 128/1950). The right to reside in the urban area is, in principle, granted to any Native employed in the European township or who pursues a recognized trade in the Urban Location. Applications for residence in the Urban Area are submitted to the Magistrate. Applications from farm labourers are not numerous at present, owing to the Herero's desire to breed cattle and to move into a Reserve in his old age. Nevertheless the few new residents of the Urban Location generally come from farms, whilst unattached women come from Reserves.

198 Most residents who leave the Urban Location move into Reserves, and about 10% go to farms, according to estimate.

199 Almost all adult non-Europeans residing in the Urban Location are employed by Europeans. There are about 10 aged and 2 disabled persons not so employed, and living, in most cases, with their children.

200 Married men are automatically granted permission to have their dependants with them. Building sites (plots) are assigned both to men and to unattached women (cf. GN No. 176 of 1936).

201 With the exception of Natives employed on any job involving the handling of foodstuffs, the granting of a permit of residence is today not subject to a medical examination. In the case of domestic servants, the employer has the option to insist on a medical examination for venereal disease.

202 Contract labourers reside either on their employers' premises or are housed in the two compounds mentioned in para. 193. About 10 local Natives have exemption permits allowing them to live in the

European township. Local Natives prefer to live in the Location. Contract Ovambo prefer compounds to the premises of their employers. Ovambo may only enter the Location under permit.

Authority and control

203 The Native Location as well as the affairs of non-Europeans residing in the European township, on the Commonage, at the Augustineum and at Otjihua (cf. para. 193) are under the control of the Municipality of Okahandja. Since the beginning of 1952 there is a full-time Superintendent for the Location.

204 A non-European Advisory Board was set up on 19/12/1947. It consists of the Superintendent of the Location as chairman ex officio and six Native members of whom three are elected by the residents while the remaining three are appointed by the Municipality. The present Boardmen are:

TABLE NO. 19: NATIVE MEMBERS OF ADVISORY BOARD,
OKAHANDJA URBAN LOCATION (1955)

Name:	Ethn. Group:	Occupation:
1 Nathanael Kotjipate	Herero	cart. contractor
2 Petrus /Uirab	Dama	shop assistant
3 Johannes Ijambo	Ambo	general labourer
4 Ferdinand Gertse	Herero	carpenter
5 Alfred /Garoeb	Dama	not working any more
6 Petrus Hiumbo	Ambo	general labourer

205 The term of office of all members is one year. Boardmen Nos. 3, 5, and 6 have served since it was established in 1947. Boardman No. 1 has been on the board since 1950, and No. 4 was appointed in 1955.

206 Elections were held when the Board was first set up. Of the present Boardmen, Nos. 1, 2, and 6 were elected, Nos. 3, 4, and 5 were appointed by the Magistrate.

207 In addition to the Boardmen, there was a headman, Daniel Kamuvaka, who died in 1953. He was a Mbanderu (born on the Black Nosob in 1892 and be-

longing to the same family as Christoph Kanguadjivi, interpreter of the Welfare Officer, Epukiro Native Reserve), and though he had no official status, he was recognized as the leading Herero (Mbanderu) in the Urban Area, and in a sense as the headman of the whole location. He regularly attended Board meetings and was one of the principal speakers. Since Kamuvaka's death no new headman has been recognized.

208 The members of the Board at first met every month in one of the Rhenish Mission buildings in the location. Since 1952 meetings are held in the Superintendent's board room. If - as often happens - there are only a few items to be discussed, these meetings are perfunctory, lasting half an hour or even less. Alfred //Garob is said to be the most active member. Attendance is regular and absence without leave practically unknown.

209 Boardmen use each his own language so that much time is taken up by translation from Afrikaans into Herero, Nama and Oshikuanjama and vice versa. Ferdinand Gertse, a Herero-German halfcaste with a carpenter's business in town, serves as interpreter.

210 Minutes are kept in Afrikaans. They are placed before the Municipal Council and circulated among the Boardmen who are to some extent conversant with that language.

211 The points raised by the Boardmen at the monthly meetings always revolve round a few favourite items, e.g. permission to graze more stock on the Commonage, of which 3,000 morgen are reserved for location residents. Another theme is the tax of 3/6 a month which visitors pay per family after a three days' stay in the location. It is objected that many of the visitors come to see a doctor.

212 Points regularly discussed years ago have been disposed of by the construction of two additional water tanks, by laying out a new cemetery and by the erection of a beer hall (cf. para. 326)

since which date (1952) "the alarming increase in illicit brewing and drinking" (a common theme at one time) has abated.

213 Co-operation between the Boardmen is said always to have been most satisfactory, and there are no rivalries or jealousies between Boardmen representing different ethnic sections. Residents recognize the Board as a useful institution and are really interested in it. After meetings the Boardmen call their people together to keep them informed.

Social

Ethnic sub-divisions: -

214 The Location is sub-divided into three sections: (1) Herero, (2) Bergdama, and (3) local or "old" Ovambo. The Hottentots, Bastards and Coloureds live in the Bergdama section. Formerly the latter two groups lived in the Herero section.

Relations between ethnic groups: -

215 The Herero are not only the strongest section numerically, but also consider themselves the élite and keep to themselves accordingly. Herero women are less particular. Bastards and Coloureds also keep aloof. Most of them are independent building contractors, brickmakers, etc. The only groups that associate to some extent are the Bergdama, Ambo, and Hottentots. Relations between the three sections have, on the whole, been friendly.

216 About five years ago the fact that both Police constables were Herero gave rise to clashes between the Herero on the one side and the Bergdama and Ovambo on the other. One of the Herero constables was then assaulted by a crowd, and among the Bergdama and the Ovambo there seemed to be growing resentment against taking any orders from a Herero. This position changed when some time later a Bergdama and an Ambo constable were appointed in addition to the two Herero constables.

217 The fact that the Nama, Bastards and Coloureds are not directly represented on the Board has never led to any friction. These groups are too small to possess a strong group consciousness.

Differences between ethnic groups: -

218 The Herero as a group are obviously the wealthiest, followed by Ovambo, and Bergdama. The standard of housing follows the same pattern.

219 Distinctions also exist between ethnic groups in regard to drinking and illicit brewing. It is thought that 10% of Herero adults drink but others brew for sale. The Bergdama drink most, and next come the Hottentots and local Ovambo. Of 20 beer hall customers one may be a Herero and all the rest Bergdama.

220 Since about 1949, illicit brewing for sale has increased also among contract Ovambo, even on farms contract Ovambo seldom drink themselves. If fined for illicit brewing they rather go to jail than pay. Among the Herero and Ovambo, especially contract Ovambo, there are said to be a good few total abstainers.

Surviving traditional customs: -

221 The old customs connected with birth are no longer observed. Some women come from farms and Reserves for confinement in Okahandja, returning home soon after as milk is scarce and expensive in town.

222 Circumcision, completely abandoned in German days, was reintroduced after Samuel Maharero's death in 1923 and is now again general among the Herero, including those in the urban area. The operation is performed in a Reserve only. Most Herero boys are taken from Okahandja Location to Ovitoto Reserve for that purpose when about one year old.

223 The Herero rite of consecrating a girl's hair at puberty is no longer observed, but when a girl is confirmed, or later when considered ready for marriage, her father gives her a headcloth, and a

feast is held. From then on (about one year after her first courses) she lets her hair grow and wears a long skirt.

224 Among the Hottentots and Bergdama, girls are still secluded at puberty for about two weeks (on farms up to one month) before they receive the headcloth from their father.

Marriage and family life: -

225 No statistics are available on the social structure of the urban population. It is thought that about fifty couples in the Location are married according to civil or Christian rites and that the proportion between married and unmarried persons is about the same in the different ethnic groups. According to this estimate, about 20% of all adult males, and about 15% of all adult females, are married.

226 Most of the 246 children (in 1954) in the urban area were staying with their mothers, a few with maternal grandmothers or mothers' sisters but never with paternal relatives.

227 If bride price (otjitunga) is paid, it nowadays seldom takes the form laid down by tradition which according to informants comprises the following:-

- a large ox of red-brown colour with long horns (the ox is called osazu after its colour otjisazu)
- a heifer (ongominja)
- a wether (ondu ondume)
- a young ewe (ondu ondema)
- an ewe (ondu ondanambe) with a lamb (ondjona)

Heifer and sheep of red-brown colour are preferred (cf. para. 102). According to J. Irle (p. 106) the heifer represents "purity" (oukajona) and the ewe "fertility". The above ovitunga are seldom given

in exactly this form. Thus one of my informants for example gave two heifers and no sheep at all. If otjitungja is paid in money, it amounts to £25-30.

228 At sunset on the day before the wedding the bridegroom stays outside the location whilst his parents or relatives take the otjitungja to his future parents-in-law, and rejoin him afterwards. Later in the evening he goes to the house of his future parents-in-law, accompanied by other young men. These latter depart again. The bridegroom spends the night there.

229 On the following morning, the wedding day, an ox is slaughtered by the bride's parents. The bride and the bridegroom are not allowed to partake of the meat for fear of misfortune or even death. Some fathers do not accept otjitungja until after two or three years as they wish to see first whether the union will last.

230 Since the civil marriage register was established at Okahandja (about 1920), a total of 63 civil marriages have been solemnized, practically all of them between residents of the urban location. The first of these marriages dates back to the year 1938. The men married between 21-65 years, the women between 17-60 years.

TABLE NO.20: RANGE OF MARRIAGE AGE (OKAHANDJA URBAN LOCATION)

(1938 - 1950)

Age:	Number of men:		Number of women:	
17 - 20	-	0.0%	2	3.2%
21 - 25	3	4.8%	9	14.3%
26 - 30	12	19.0%	21	33.3%
31 - 35	15	23.8%	12	19.0%
36 - 40	15	23.8%	9	14.3%
41 - 45	4	6.3%	5	8.0%
46 - 50	7	11.1%	1	1.6%
51 - 55	3	4.8%	-	0.0%
56 - 60	3	4.8%	4	6.3%
61 - 65	1	1.6%	-	0.0%

Average age: Men: 38 years; Women: 31.4 years

231 Adults over 21 years living with their parents either pay visitor's tax (3s. 6d per month), or are regarded as lodgers and pay the lodger's fee of 3s.6d. If fully adult sons are found living in their fathers' or mothers' houses (in some cases after they are married), the reason is usually lack of money or materials to build houses of their own.

232 Most adult daughters on the other hand build their own huts whenever they can afford it, even if they have relatives in the location. They build near their parents or mothers, if possible. Not all adult daughters who have their own huts also have their own fire places. If not, they share the fire of their parents or mothers.

233 In addition to married couples, there are a good many unmarried ones. In some cases the male partner of such a casual union has his own quarters and does not permanently live in the house of the woman though he regularly supplies her and their common children with food and clothes.

Illegitimate children

234 There is reason to believe that illegitimate births in the Urban Location are on the increase. In 1949, for example, only 22 out of 65 children baptized by the Rhenish Mission at Okahandja were children of couples married by payment of otjitungja and by Christian or civil rites. In general, couples marry according to Christian rites, if otjitungja has been given. Since children of casual unions are baptized by the Mission only if their parents live apart, the proportion of 22 to 65 sheds some light on the position.

235 In the years from 1951 to 1954 (cf. Table No. 37a) a total of 93 births was registered and only 14 of these were in lawful wedlock. This is about 15%. For the individual years the figures are:

NON-EUROPEANS IN URBAN AREA

Year	Births	Legitimate
1951	20	3
1952	28	4
1953	23	5
1954	22	2

The extremes of the annual percentages thus fluctuate between 9% and 21% for the period under review, i.e. about 80-90% of the births were illegitimate. Some of the parents may have been married according to Native custom only.

236 The attitude of parents towards daughters who bear illegitimate children is summed up by Natives thus: "Today, most women bear children before they get married. Formerly such a girl would have been severely punished. To-day this is different. When the girl's parents learn that she is pregnant, they are still angry with her (even if they are not church-goers), but once the child is born they do not mind".

Economics

(a) Sources of income (1) Wage earners:-

237 Most able-bodied males and females living in the urban area are wage earners employed by Europeans. No female industrial labour is employed. Women registered as washerwomen as a rule wash on two days a week.

TABLE NO. 21 : DISTRIBUTION OF NATIVE LABOUR
Okahandja urban area, July 1955

(a) men

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Tot
African Meat Canneries	17	5	3	6	-	-	1	32
Bone Meal Factory	4	2	-	7	-	2	-	15
Creamery	11	2	1	12	-	-	-	26
Garage	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	4
Hotels (2)	-	-	-	12	-	-	-	12
Municipality	3	3	7	64	-	-	-	77
Post Office	2	2	-	-	1	-	-	5

Continued on next page.

NON-EUROPEANS IN URBAN AREA

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Tot
Railways, Station	1	3	5	-	-	-	-	9
Railways, Nursery	14	-	12	-	-	-	-	26
Shops (5)	12	2	1	7	1	2	-	25
South African Minerals	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	4
Tannery	25	3	-	-	-	-	-	28
Wool Factory	12	-	1	7	-	2	-	14
	105	23	30	115	2	9	1	285

(b) women

Domestic & Washer- women	178	90	22	-	-	-	-	290
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Bastards and Coloureds are here included in the figure for the Bergdama.

Key to columns:

A : Herero	E : Bastards & Coloureds
B : Bergdama	F : Hottentot
C : Ovambo, local	G : Extra-territorial
D : Ovambo, contract	

238 In July 1955 average monthly wages were: Road labour £7; Administration £10; Railways construction £9 plus rations; Railways, others £6 plus rations; Farms £3 plus rations; Mines £4.3.0 plus rations; Urban: Municipality £8, Industrial £6.10.0 plus rations; Domestic £3 plus rations; Urban female £2 plus rations. Top wages were considerably higher and ranged from £15.10.0 to £8.0.0 viz. £15.10.0 (Cape Coloured, line boy; Post Office), £14.0.0 plus rations (African Meat Canneries), £13 plus rations (Creamery), £12.1.1 (Railways), £10.0.0 plus rations (Municipality), £9 plus rations (Bone Meal Factory), £8.12.0 (Tannery) and £8.0.0 (Wool Factory).

239 For the past few years, the demand for labour has always exceeded the supply, despite the steady increase in the non-European population in the Urban Area. In view of this shortage, employers have much reason to be prepared to pay even higher wages than those mentioned in the preceding paragraph, if they can get better service. The fact that the

average wage is not higher in some cases is due largely to the unreliability and inefficiency of the workmen falling in the groups concerned. Employers, both industrial and domestic, complain that absenteeism and irregular working habits are rife.

240 Period of employment varies a great deal. In stores for example the record is held by a Hottentot with 25 years with one firm and a Herero with 15 years. In industry, the Okahandja Creamery has employed a local Ovambo for 21 years, one Herero for 17 years and another Herero for 12 years. But periods of employment of some months or even weeks are not uncommon.

241 Northern contract labour is generally preferred to local labour. The Native Commissioner's annual report (1950) said: "The Extraterritorial and Northern Native renders better service, and this type is also preferred by all employers. There is not the slightest doubt that if Urban Areas are thrown open to the extraterritorial and northern Native, he will freeze out the local Native within a very short space of time".

242 Some employers (Railways, Post Office etc.) prefer local labour not bound by a time-limit.

243 The Ovambo are said to be either very good or very bad labourers. This is not unconnected with the question of experience. The increase in Ovambo labour both in district and in urban area is mainly due to the acute shortage of local labour.

(2) Independent trades and occupations:-

244 Apart from Bastards and Coloureds, who are nearly all independent builders or brickmakers, and a number of older men from the other ethnic groups who look after the Native-owned stock grazed on the commonage, there are in the Location nine persons engaged in independent trades, viz.:

- (1) One Herero restaurant keeper (Union Café) who also has a general dealer's licence;

- (2) One Bergdama restaurant and Café owner,
- (3) Three shoemakers (a Herero halfcaste, a Herero and a Bergdama);
- (4) Four Herero lorry owners trading in firewood.

245 In 1950, a Herero halfcaste shoemaker who had lived in Cape Town from 1931-49, opened a café. In 1952 it was rebuilt and was called the Union Café. This man also had a general dealer's licence. His weekly turnover was £5.0.0 in the shop and £2.0.0 in the café in the years 1950-52.

246 After 1952 his turnover went down, possibly because his prices were high, and in 1954 it sank to £35 - £50.0.0 for the whole year. So he let both café and shop to another Herero and returned to his old profession.

247 The "Damara Café" was opened in 1951. During the first years it had a few boarders who paid 10/- a month for one warm meal a day. It also served 60 to 70 meals a week to casual customers. In July 1955 there were no boarders, and only about 20 warm meals at 1/- were being served per week. The usual customers are visitors and road labourers. In former years milk was sold at 6d a bottle, but the sale of milk has stopped as no milk is available. Tea with sugar (4d a cup) and bread, and coffee (seldom) are also served, and tobacco, cigarettes and matches are sold.

248 According to the proprietor Frederik Haoseb, the daily turnover is about 15 sh. at present or about £235 a year.

249 The lorry owners have been in business for over seven years. None of them employs a driver. They appear to be doing fairly well but no figures of their earnings could be obtained.

(3) Native stock on the Commonage:-

250 In July 1955, there were 109 stockowners in the location, viz.:

71 owners of large stock,
37 of them also owners of small stock,
38 owners of small stock only.

The total of adults in the Location at the end of 1954 being 965, the stockowners then formed 11% of all adults. The stock consisted of :-

355 head of cattle
6 donkeys
32 horses
1 mule
826 goats

By comparison, there were 271 head of large stock and 605 head of small stock in the Location in 1950.

251 The owners of large stock were distributed over the ethnic groups as follows:

Herero	36
Bergdama	26
Local Ovambo	9

The Herero are the wealthiest. One Herero owns 24 head of cattle, 3 horses and 73 goats, and another owns 10 head of cattle, 3 donkeys and 60 goats.

252 There are other Herero in the Location who have no cattle here but leave them with relatives in a Reserve, mostly Ovivototo or Waterberg. There are Herero who possess no cattle at all. Some Bergdama have cattle in Okombahe Reserve or in the western part of Ovivototo Reserve. Herero and Bergdama of the Location also keep sheep in Reserves.

253 Residents of the Location who own cattle in a Reserve pay money to the herdsmen, mostly their own relatives. Some Herero send clothes and blankets instead. The milk of such cattle is used by the herdsmen, but calves remain the property of the owners in the Location.

254 Some time ago an attempt was made by the Superintendent to organise cattle auctions, but without success. The Herero do not sell cattle, even if they see that they are going to die in a drought. One of the reasons for this attitude is that the Herero cannot keep money. They spend it and, as a rule, do not save, as most of them distrust savings accounts. Bergdama and local Ovambo on the other hand sell their cattle to local butchers.

255 An area of 3,000 ha. of the commonage (19,000 ha.) has been allotted to the residents of the Location as grazing. Originally it was intended for large stock only, but actually small stock also grazes on the commonage.

256 There is no regulation limiting Native-owned cattle, but each stock owner has to apply for permission to graze stock on the commonage. The Town Clerk submits the application to the Municipal Board. The cattle are branded, and the following grazing fees are levied:

2/- monthly per head of large stock,
6d monthly for a calf 6-12 months,
6d monthly per head of small stock.

Grazing fees in the Location are higher than in the Reserves, to prevent a further overstocking of the commonage.

257 Fowls are kept in most households, and their owners make some money from the sale of eggs and poultry to Europeans.

258 A few Herero formerly sold cream to the Okahandja Creamery. At present no cream is sold.

(4) Gardens:-

259 In the Bergdama section of the Location a good many small garden plots may be seen in front of living huts where some maize, tobacco, pumpkins and melons are grown. Though the amount of food grown seems negligible, these gardens considerably enhance the appearance of the Location. Significantly, these efforts at gardening are limited to the Bergdama and Ovambo sections.

(b) Standards of living:-

(1) Housing:-

260 Generally speaking, housing conditions in the Okahandja urban location are more satisfactory than for example in Windhoek location. Houses are well

spaced and, save for a few dwellings in the Nama/Bergdama section, the type of very poor houses seen in Windhoek is not found in Okahandja.

261 There is no overcrowding in any of the three sections, though the average number of occupants has risen from 1.6 to 2.3 persons per house in five years.

TABLE NO. 22 : NUMBER OF OCCUPANTS PER HOUSE, URBAN LOCATION

July 1954

(figures for 1950 are added in brackets)

Section	Houses	Average number of occupants
Herero	218 (240)	2.2 (1.7)
Bergdama	119 (153)	2.1 (1.3)
Ovambo	57 (53)	2.8 (2.3)
Total	394 (446)	2.3 (1.6)

Since 1950 some Herero and Bergdama have broken down their huts and gone to a Reserve.

262 Nearly all houses have tin roofs and walls, and many of them are plastered with clay inside. In the Herero section three households have a kitchen stove; in all houses cooking is done outside in three-legged pots over an open fire. A number of people use pressure stoves to make coffee or tea before going to work.

(2) Clothing:-

263 This is as in Windhoek and other towns, that is, European clothing is worn, but females have some adaptations peculiar to themselves and still favour some styles dating back to many decades ago.

(3) Expenditure and saving:-

264 All informants agree that the pooling of earnings, even within the family, is the exception rather than the rule. Everybody likes to manage his

own affairs. In the majority of cases, adult sons lodging with parents contribute towards the family budget only if they eat at home every day but not if they come only for occasional meals. Much money is spent on a few good meals after pay-day and on kari beer over the weekend.

265 There are no savings clubs. Pooling wages, known as "gooli mekaar", is done by some of the younger men. A number of people send money or clothes to parents and relatives in the Reserve. All informants maintain that living conditions are better in the Reserve than in the Urban Area.

266 According to information kindly supplied by the Director of Postal Services, Windhoek, 119 Savings Accounts were in the name of Natives and Hottentots at the Post Office of Okahandja in 1950/51. In August 1955 there were 153. As there was only one woman among them, holders of accounts formed about 25% of the male population of the Urban Location.

267 The total balance in August 1955 amounted to £2,200. Some accounts had balances of over £10.0.0. These accounts were distributed among the ethnic groups as follows:-

Herero 19, Bergdama or Hottentot 4, Loc. Ovambo 1.

Among the Herero accounts 5 had a balance over £100.0.0., and one over £350. One account of a Bergdama or Hottentot had a balance over £100.0.0 and another over £300.0.0.

268 The credit balance of the above-mentioned 24 holders of accounts totalled:

19 Herero	£1,386
4 Bergdama or Hotten-	
tot	558
1 Loc. Ovambo	60
	£2,004

or about 90% of the total balance of all 153 accounts. These data indicate that the Herero are the thriftiest of the local Natives. They drink

less and possibly also smoke less than the others. An important source of income is their cattle, but figures could not be obtained.

269 The Contract Ovambo are also very thrifty, even stingy, and might be termed the Scots among the Natives of South West Africa, so many stories and anecdotes are told about their thriftiness. They do not bank their money. They buy clothing and send it home, and also take clothing and other articles back with them for sale in their own country.

270 Six Natives had savings accounts with banks in Okahandja in August 1955. Savings are apparently never entrusted to missionaries or European employers.

271 Those Natives who have relatives in the Reserve usually invest their savings in live stock in the Reserve if possible, but as already explained this is not easy. There are virtually no other fields of investment.

Education

(a) Literacy among adults:-

272 Nearly all adult men in the Herero section of the Urban Location can read and write, though only in their mother tongue. A small number of women is literate. Among the Bergdama and Hottentots, literacy is with few exceptions confined to the younger generation. Among the Ambo who have lived at Okahandja for a long time, the percentage that is literate is about the same as, or even higher than, among the Herero. About 10% of all couples married in church over a period of five years were able to sign their names (both urban and rural Natives).

273 With the exception of school-teachers, nobody reads newspapers regularly, and no one in the Location subscribes either to Windhoek or to Union newspapers or periodicals. The number of letters

written and received cannot be estimated as many persons receive their mail through their employers. At the Rhenish Mission about ten letters a day are received for members of the Native Christian community.

(b) Languages spoken (other than mother tongue):-

274 The Herero, numerically the strongest section in the Urban Location, cannot, as a rule, speak Nama or Ambo. The majority of the local Bergdama and Ambo, on the other hand, can speak the Herero language, but only few Ambo have a knowledge of Nama. The local Hottentots and the Rehoboth Bastards speak, as a rule, only Nama except those who have lived for a long time among the Herero and have acquired a knowledge of Otjiherero.

274b Of European languages, German appears to be best known among the older generation of all groups, while Afrikaans prevails among the younger generation. Very few adults speak English or have more than a smattering of it, although the desire to learn English seems to be strong.

(c) Schools:-

(1) Okahandja Day School:-

275 The Rhenish Mission Day School at Okahandja was founded in 1870 and has received Government aid since 1924. In the years 1907-47 a Native day school was run at Osona near Okahandja.

276 Okahandja Day School goes up to Standard III, and to Standard IV if there are 5 or more pupils. Enrolment figures for a period of 9 years show considerable fluctuations, primarily due to changes in the teaching staff. After the death of Urbanus Kanovengi, for instance, enrolment figures dropped suddenly by nearly 20% but rose to their former level when another teacher arrived who had the parents' confidence.

277 TABLE NO. 45 : ENROLMENT FIGURES AND ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS, OKAHANDJA DAY SCHOOL

Years:	Herero	Bergdama	Hott.	Ambo	Col.	Tot.
1946	44	27	3	2	-	76
1947	40	33	3	5	1	82
1948	43	26	6	4	2	81
1949	37	23	5	5	3	73
1950	29	14	3	8	3	57
1951	40	37	5	7	5	94
1952	30	39	5	2	4	80
1953	43	47	5	6	5	106
1954	46	56	5	8	3	118
1955	54	65	8	7	8	142

278 In June 1951, 43 children of a total of 74 enrolled were living permanently in the Urban Area; 14 came from Ovitoro Reserve, and 17 from farms in the district. In August 1955, 105 from a total of 139 enrolled were living permanently in the Urban Area, while 21 came from Ovitoro Reserve, and 13 from farms in the district.

279 The great majority of all pupils are in the sub-standards.

TABLE NO. 24: DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS OVER STANDARDS OKAHANDJA DAY SCHOOL

a) Period 1946 - 1951

Year	Sub-Standards a, A, B		Standards I - III
1946	57	75%	19
1947	71	90%	8
1948	59	73%	22
1949	49	67%	24
1950	36	63%	21
1951	54	73%	20 (also St. IV)

b) Period 1952 - 1954

Ethnic group	Sub-Standards a, A, B			Standards I - III		
	1952	1953	1954	1952	1953	1954
Herero	23	37	34	7	6	12
Bergdama	32	38	38	7	9	18
Nama	3	2	1	2	3	4
Ambo	2	5	7	-	1	1
S.W.A.Col.	3	5	3	1	-	-
Totals	63	87	83	17	19	35
Percent.	79%	82%	70%	21%	18%	30%

280 There is no information about the occupations chosen by pupils after leaving school. In 1950 three of the eleven pupils who had completed Standard III went to Windhoek to attend school there, while seven went on in Standard IV, then provided for the first time at Okahandja Day School in 1951.

281 The attitude of parents, especially of the Herero, towards school education was summed up by one who knows: "If there is no school, the Herero will constantly clamour for one. If there is one, they will send only a few children to it." This contradiction is due to the existence of an active minority which strongly believes in education, whilst the bulk of the population is indifferent. There is no hostility to school education in any section of the Native community but mothers who are themselves both pagan and illiterate are mostly quite indifferent towards the education of their children and either do not bother to send them to school at all or take them out again on the slightest pretext. One of the main reasons why children leave school prematurely is that their mothers return to a Reserve (usually when a relative there has died) and take their children with them if they have no relatives in town with whom to leave them.

282 Another reason why so few children attend school beyond the sub-standards must probably be sought in the high average age of pupils.

TABLE NO. 25 : AVERAGE AGE OF PUPILS IN THE VARIOUS STANDARDS: OKAHANDJA DAY SCHOOL

Standard	Average age	
	years	months
a	9	6
A	11	4
B	12	4
I	12	3
II	13	5
III	16	5
IV	15	

283 The attitude of parents towards school education seems to depend a great deal on the personality of the teacher. Parents show considerable concern about the treatment of their children and, in particular, will not allow their children to receive corporal punishment.

(2) The Augustineum Teachers Training School.

284 The Augustineum, the only Government teachers training school in the Territory, was founded in 1866 at Otjimbingue (District of Karibib) by Dr. Hugo Hahn of the Rhenish Mission. It was named after the Duchess Augusta von Lippe who had donated the funds for its establishment. In 1890 it was moved from Otjimbingue to Okahandja where training courses were held until the Rev. Viehe's death in 1901. After an interval of ten years, during which no suitable principal could be found to continue Viehe's work, the Augustineum was re-opened at Gaub (District of Grootfontein) under the directorship of the Rev. (now Dr.) Vedder. In 1915 the first world war caused the school to be closed down again. In 1923 courses were resumed by Dr. Vedder on the old premises at Okahandja and have been conducted since then without interruption until the present day. In 1943 the Augustineum was taken over by the S.W.A. Administration.

285 In 1952 the Teachers' training course was reduced from three years to two. St. VI is the

minimum requirement for this course. Standards IV, V and VI were also begun in 1952. St. IV was closed at the end of 1953 for lack of pupils.

286 As the Natives had asked for a Secondary School with Junior Certificate, Standard VII was introduced in 1954 and Standard VIII in 1955. The first examination for Junior Certificate took place in November 1955, under the University of South Africa.

287 Students may choose to take the training course first and then go through Standards VII-VIII, or the other way round. An applicant admitted to St. V may consequently spend seven years in the Augustineum. The age of enrolment for Standards V and VI is seldom under 16 or 17 years. Students admitted to the teachers' training course average 19 or 20 years.

288 Accommodation and board in one of 20 hostels, tuition, and books are free. Students furnish their own clothing only, and are fairly well dressed. Clothing may be supplied to poor students. Each student also gets 3/- pocket money a month from the Administration.

289 All ethnic groups and denominations are accepted. Most Catholic teachers, however, get their training at Döbra, the R. C. teachers' training school near Windhoek. Among the students enrolled in 1955 there were 24 members of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (A.M.E.) and one Catholic, the remainder belonged to the Rhenish Mission.

290 The number of applicants fluctuates considerably from year to year. Between 30-60 are admitted to every course. Students obviously showing too little promise are sent home within the year. In June 1955, 25 students and 93 pupils were enrolled, total 118.

291 The first female students were admitted in 1946, and the maximum enrolment in any one year has increased from seven in 1949 to about 11 or 12

(1950-54). Natives take little interest in the education of girls. Some female students do not complete their course because they have become pregnant.

292 At present the number of teachers turned out about equals the demand. There is a tendency to break away from the teaching profession after a number of years as teachers find living up to the moral standards expected of them too irksome and the work too hard for their natural indolence.

293

TABLE NO. 25 : ETHNIC CLASSIFICATION OF STUDENTS,
AUGUSTINEUM TEACHERS TRAINING SCHOOL

Year:	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	Total.
1938	5	1	4	6	1	2	1	20
1939	9	3	19	12	-	-	-	43
1940	6	2	14	8	-	-	-	30
1941	5	2	12	8	-	-	-	27
1942	11	5	10	8	-	2	1	37
1943	7	5	8	7	-	2	1	30
1944	11	6	7	11	-	2	1	38
1945	8	7	6	11	-	4	2	38
1946	6	14	8	11	1	3	2	45
1947	10	9	17	13	-	8	5	62
1948	7	7	24	17	2	16	2	75
1949	7	7	33	22	1	15	-	85
1950	5	2	22	19	1	17	-	66
1951	8	3	22	20	-	13	2	68
1952	5	-	12	8	-	8	1	34
1953	4	-	6	4	-	4	-	18
1954	6	-	2	13	-	1	-	22
1955 (2nd quarter	5	-	5	13	-	2	-	25

Key to columns

A : Herero

B : Ambo

C : Bergdama

D : Hottentot

E : Union

F : Coloureds

G : Others

294

TABLE NO. 26 : NUMBER OF STUDENTS WHO COMPLETED THE
TEACHERS COURSE 1946 - 1954

Year	Male	female
1946	7	-
1947	9	-
1948	17	1
1949	21	1
1950	20	1
1951	21	1
1952	18	-
1953	11	-
1954	7	2

295 The female students who completed the course were Herero, Bergdama, and Ovambo. In the 2nd quarter of 1955, there was one female student, a Herero, in the 2nd year.

296 Relations between students and pupils belonging to different ethnic groups are harmonious.

297 The teaching staff of the Augustineum in August 1955 consisted of seven Europeans, one S.W.A. Coloured and one Native (Ndonga) teacher.

298 In the opinion of the teaching staff there are no marked ethnic differences between students in mentality, character, or achievements.

Missions and Churches

299 All mission work in the urban area is done by the Rhenish Mission which commenced its labours in Okahandja in 1870. The Herero congregation has a substantial church building in the European township, opposite the former headquarters of the Rhenish Mission. Separate services because of language differences are held here every Sunday for Herero, Bergdama and Ovambo. In the Herero and Bergdama sections of the Urban Location there are two small buildings for prayer meetings, and a small Catholic chapel.

300 It is difficult to say how many residents of the Urban Area are registered Christians, as there is a continuous coming and going. About 25-30% of the Christians regularly attend church services. The Ambo as a group seem to take their religion more seriously than the others. One contract Ambo, for instance, conducted weekly bible and catechism classes for a whole year without remuneration.

301 The missionary-in-charge is assisted by Andreas Kukuri (formerly a Herero teacher at the Okahandja Day School and now an ordained minister) and by three travelling evangelists, a Herero, a Bergdama, and an Ambo. The last-named works both among the resident Ambo of Okahandja and among the contract labourers, most of whom belong to the Finnish Mission in Ovamboland.

302 The following religious literature is read in the district (August 1955):

(1) Omahungi, a quarterly published by the Rhenish Mission in Windhoek. Annual subscription 1/-. It has 60 subscribers in Okahandja urban area, 14 on farms of the district, and 4 in Ovivot Reserve.

(2) Omukuetu, a monthly published by the Finnish Mission in Ovamboland. Annual subscription 2/6. In 1955 it had 42 subscribers in Okahandja, and 30 on farms.

(3) //Gau-Sari-Aob, a monthly published in Nama by the Rhenish Mission in Luderitz. Annual subscription 2/- since 1952. It has 15 subscribers in Okahandja and another 15 on farms.

303 Interest in religious literature is greatest among the contract Ambo. They eagerly buy not only the two editions of the New Testament but also hymn-books and devotional works. If they stay in the district for a long time, especially if they come back for a second contract, they often ask for literature in Afrikaans as well, e.g. "Lees met lus", a series of readers in Afrikaans. Next come the

Bergdama. The Herero on the other hand generally are reluctant to buy any devotional literature except hymnbooks.

304 Although only 25-30% of the registered Christians are active church members (i.e. attend church services and meetings and pay their church dues of 8/- per annum for men and 4/- for women), practically all of them marry in church and have their children baptized and confirmed.

305 Among the Herero the influence of the mission has been waning for the last few decades. This was particularly so during the last war when mission work in the rural areas had to be conducted solely by Native evangelists. It is even said that the Herero have ceased to be Christians. Since the war, some of the lost ground is slowly being recovered. Among the Ambo, Bergdama and Hottentot sections of the urban population the Rhenish Mission has on the whole been able to keep its active members.

306 In the Urban Area there also are some Catholics who are visited occasionally by clergy from Windhoek.

307 There are no Native sects or churches in the district. Though in 1954 the Hottentot community numbered 47 souls, it seems that the African Methodist Episcopal Church has no adherents anywhere in the district, except for a few students at the Augustineum.

Disputes between Natives

308 Disputes between Natives are sometimes, but rarely, heard by section foremen, who are appointed by their sections but have no actual official status.

309 The only civil cases ever brought before the Native Commissioner's Court are applications for divorce. The divorce rate would appear to be low, but the reason is that only c.50 couples are legally

married in a population of 1030 adults, the bulk of whom therefore require no divorce when they wish to separate.

TABLE NO. 27: DIVORCE CASES HEARD BY THE NATIVE COMMISSIONER'S COURT

Year	Applications	Divorces granted
1946	3	2
1947	5	2
1948	2	1
1949	2	2
1950	1	0
1951	0	0
1952	2	0
1953	2	1
1954	2	2
Totals	19	10

310 There is very little serious crime among non-Europeans in the urban area. There is practically no juvenile delinquency. Even cases of petty theft or minor mischief are very rare.

Health

(a) Medical facilities:

311 The nearest hospital facilities are at the Government Native Hospital at Windhoek. There are, however, four rondavels in the Location for the isolation of patients with infectious diseases. These have not been occupied during the last few years as patients refused to be put there after a number of people had died in them.

312 Patients receive free medical treatment and free medicines from the District Surgeon, Okahandja, who has regular consulting hours for non-Europeans once a week. There is also a second general practitioner at Okahandja.

(b) Prevalent diseases:

313 According to the District Surgeon's annual reports, the most frequent non-venereal diseases are tuberculosis, influenza, malaria (this being endemic, only comparatively few patients come for medical treatment), catarrhal conjunctivitis (mainly between September and December) and gastro-enteritis. During the last few years there were some epidemic outbreaks of chicken pox, whooping cough, and mumps. On tuberculosis the annual report for 1954 says: "It is difficult to assess the true incidence of this disease amongst non-Europeans, as only a very small number of the total population is examined in the course of routine practice. I have no doubt, however, that it is fairly high, and moreover that the incidence is on the increase. ...not infrequently Natives die of the disease without ever having consulted a doctor".

314 According to the annual report for 1954, "there has been a marked decrease in the incidence of syphilis while there was a considerable increase in cases of gonorrhoea during the period under review".

TABLE NO. 28 : INCIDENCE OF VENEREAL DISEASE, OKAHANDJA

Year	S y p h i l i s				G o n o r r h o e a				
	Primary or		Tertiary		Congenital				
	secondary								
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	Total
1943	23	20	11	20	-	-	29	5	108
1945	53	27	12	20	-	-	37	12	161
1946	31	31	6	30	-	-	40	16	154
1947	44	24	17	21	-	-	26	4	136
1948	35	26	16	20	2	3	62	18	182
1949	48	34	8	16	4	1	67	10	188
1950	42	24	14	11	1	2	63	13	170
1951	50	33	10	12	1	1	64	14	185
1952	55	41	8	11	1	3	63	8	190
1953	28	14	6	8	-	2	71	16	145
1954	24	9	6	7	-	-	84	35	165

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TABLE NO. 29 : VENEREAL DISEASES : ATTENDANCES AND INJECTIONS

Year	Attendances	Injections
1943	1876	802
1945	3790	1191
1946	3266	989
1947	2406	1099
1948	3553	979
1949	2942	1062
1950	2983	1011
1951	2885	1121
1952	2277	1324
1953	1205	463
1954	1074	453

316 The following passage from the annual report for 1949 is still true to-day: "As regards gonorrhoea, treatment is, in spite of the use of the newest drugs, in most cases long and tedious and does not demonstrate to the Native mind the same startling results that he sees in the case of syphilis. The consequence of this is that there is a tendency for him to hide the fact of his infection. It is a very difficult matter to get hold of the infected Native female, for whereas in syphilis the infected male will readily volunteer the name of the partner responsible for his disease, it is only very rarely that he will do so in the case of gonorrhoea, and as long as this class of female escapes, the disease must remain prevalent."

317 According to a well-informed Herero who has been living in Okahandja Town for several decades, the incidence of venereal disease is not as high as it used to be. He maintains that most fresh cases come from the farms and from Ovitoro Reserve. There was a consensus among informants that the incidence of venereal disease is highest among the Herero and lowest among the Ambo.

318 It is interesting to note that during the years 1946-1950 there were 16 cases of insanity (10 male adult Ambo, 4 female adult Herero, 1 male adult

Coloured, and 1 male adult Herero), and 3 cases of suicide (1 male adult Herero and two male adult Bergdama).

319 In the years following, the cases were distributed as follows:

1951: insanity 2 cases (adult male Ambo)
suicide 1 case (adult male Bergdama)

1952: insanity 4 cases (2 adult male Ambo, 1
adult male Herero, 1
adult male Bushman)
suicide 2 cases (adult male Herero)
attempted suicide 1 case (adult female
Herero)

1953: insanity 1 case (adult male Herero)
suicide none

1954: insanity 3 cases (1 adult male Herero, 1
adult male Bergdama, 1
adult male Bushman)
suicide 3 cases (3 adult female Herero)
attempted suicide 2 cases (1 adult female
Herero and 1 adult
female Coloured).

320 The total period under review shows 26 cases of insanity: Ambo 14, Herero 8, Bushmen 2, Bergdama 1, and Coloureds 1. Whilst here the Ambo were at the top, no case of suicide was recorded for them.

321 There were 9 cases of suicide and 3 cases of attempted suicide in the same period, distributed as follows: Herero 6 and Bergdama 3 cases of suicide; Herero 2 and Coloureds 1 case of attempted suicide. Here the Herero are at the top. An explanation for this may be found in the extreme sensitivity of the Herero and their disposition to lose all self-control when depressed.

(c) Sanitation:

322 Water for the Urban Location is supplied from three galvanized iron tanks which are linked to the water supply of the European township and have a

total capacity 600 gallons. One tank with 4 taps stands in the centre of the Location, the two other tanks have 3 taps each. One of the tanks, is in the centre of the Herero Section, the other in the centre of the Bergdama Section.

323 Sanitary conveniences consist of 30 latrines in the Herero Section, 20 in the Bergdama Section, and 4 in the Ovambo Section, with 44, 28, and 11 buckets respectively, which makes about one per 11 residents.

324 In 1953 the Herero and Bergdama/Ovambo Sections got 4 showers each.

325 Household refuse is deposited in 60 dustbins evenly distributed over the Location and collected twice a week. No special facilities exist for slaughter but, as very few animals are slaughtered, this is done by permission outside the Location and under supervision of one of the Location orderlies.

Liquor and other stimulants

326 The establishment of a Municipal beer hall in the Location was suggested to the Town Council by the Native Commissioner in 1946. The proposal was at first rejected, mainly on the grounds that the beer hall in Windhoek had not reduced the consumption of the concoction known as kari beer. It is still an open question whether the supply of liquor of low alcoholic content, as prescribed by law, contributes towards the solution of the liquor problem. One of the main objects of establishing a municipal beer hall was to provide the residents with a beverage with nutritive ingredients. The motion was therefore carried and the building was completed on 1st July 1954.

327 The beer hall is now open on weekdays from 5-10 p.m., on Saturdays from 12-2 p.m. and 5-10 p.m. and on Sundays from 12-2 p.m. and 6-9 p.m. The beer is sold at 6d a bottle or 3s. a gallon. It may not be taken away.

328 Most of the customers are Bergdama, then come the local Ovambo, Hottentots and Coloureds. It is thought that about 85% of all consumers are other than Herero.

329 It is difficult to say what the average consumption of beer per resident is because visitors from Reserves and farms, railway workers and road workers also patronise the beer hall.

330 Kari beer is brewed chiefly by women of the Herero and Bergdama sections and by contract Ovambo. It is sold at 1/- to 1/6d a bottle. Kari beer used to be drunk on the premises of the brewer, but very few brewers now do any brewing in their huts owing to the risk of detection. Most of them take their peas, sugar etc., into the veld, up to three miles away. On Saturday afternoons and Sundays, when the beerhall is closed, clients are then taken out there and served on the spot.

331 Tobacco is smoked chiefly by the older generation. The Bergdama seem to be even heavier smokers than the Herero. Younger people smoke cigarettes. The taking of snuff is far less common in town than in some of the Reserves.

332 Only one case of dagga (hemp) smoking was reported in the district during the last nine years.

V. NON-EUROPEANS ON MINES

333 The redefinition of the northeastern boundary in 1952 (see para. 1) transferred Otjozondou Mangane mine from Otjiwarongo District to Okahandja District. The mine is owned by S.A. Minerals Corp. Ltd.

334 The mine covers the three farms Otjozondou, Ebenezer and Labusrus. The labourers live in compounds on the first two farms. On Labusrus there are a few more. Only single quarters are provided. No Bergdama and only a few Herero work on the mine. The labour force is composed mainly of Ovambo:

100 NON-EUROPEANS ON MINES

TABLE No. 30: ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF MINE LABOUR
FORCE (OTJOZONDU)

Ethnic group	1952	1953	1954
Ovambo SWA	257	241	222
Extra-territorial	90	103	143
Okavango	-	10	16
Herero	9	10	2
Nyasa	3	-	-
Totals	359	364	383

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