

Contents

List of Photographs	10
Abbreviations	11
Map: Herero Reserves	13
Preface	15
1. The Herero, Missionaries and Colonial Rule: An Introduction, 1904–1940	19
Introduction	19
The Herero and the war of 1904–1908	22
The new colonial dispensation	26
The impact of the funeral of Samuel Maharero	29
A return to ancestral ways	30
The Herero and the mission after 1923	33
Conclusion	35
2. “Healthier and More Natural Living Conditions”: The Herero and Reserves, 1920–1940	36
Introduction	36
Establishment of the reserves	38
Van Niekerk and the Epukiro reserve	40
The move into the reserves	41
Reality of the reserves	44
The Great Depression	52
The views and attitudes of NAD officials	54
Conclusion	64
3. “Most Ill-Mannered, Worst Disciplined and Most Ungrateful”: Octavus George Bowker and the Herero of Windhoek, 1920–1940	66
Introduction	66
Racial difference	67
Windhoek, Otjomuise, Ai Gams	68
Bowker	71

Orumbo	73
Windhoek location	76
Controlling residence	76
Determining location	79
Controlling style and behaviour	81
Physical involvement	83
Conclusion	84
4. “We are Pleased to Be Recognized at Last as Human Beings”: Alcohol in the Windhoek Location, 1920–1940	86
Introduction	86
Missionary values and alcohol	88
Alcohol and ritual	89
Drunken protests in sacred places: masculine identity and the Otruppe	91
Meteor	93
Alcohol and commemoration	94
Brewing beer	95
Initial colonial support	97
Concocting Khari	99
Alcohol as an instrument of control	101
Headmen	101
The Herero response	105
Colonizer disputes	106
Calls for legalisation	107
The Great Depression	109
The Location Advisory Board	111
Bowker’s brew	112
Khari brewer and Otruppe opposition alliance	114
Advisory board vs. Otruppe	115
Bowker’s ‘baby’	117
Bowker’s advisory board alliance	120
Continued opposition: Khari brewer vs. Otruppe	122
Conclusion	124

5. “In Constant Danger of Breaking One’s Neck or Bumping One’s Dear ‘Tannas’”: The Politics of Public Sanitation and History in Windhoek Location, 1920–1940	125
Introduction	125
Sanitation in the locations	126
Municipal control	129
Money	130
Protest	135
The good old German days	137
Conclusion	143
6. “When the Lord Jesus Milks my Cows, then I Will Come to Church Service”: The Herero and the Church, 1920–1940	145
Introduction	145
From conversion to opposition	145
The depression, UNIA and the move away from the mission	147
Turning away from the mission	151
Refusing to associate with the mission	155
Betrayed trust	156
Loss of land	157
Loss of people	158
Missionaries queried	159
Recreating the past	161
The bankruptcy of mission Christianity	162
The ways of the ancestors	164
Marriage	165
The return of polygamy	168
Birth rates and STDs	172
Polygamy and the Christian Herero	175
New polygamy and women	176
New relationships	178
Return to the practices of circumcision and dental mutilation	180

Nineteenth century customs	184
Women and hair	186
Dental mutilation	187
The mission and Herero circumcision	189
Missionary fears and fantasies	190
Correct male behaviour	191
Circumcision and marriage	192
Missionary sanction	193
Anti-Semitism	194
“The war with the holy fire”	196
Bible texts, missionaries and Herero	201
Conclusion	206
7. Mobility, Space and Information:	
The Social Impact of the Motor Car in Namibia before 1940	208
Introduction	208
The introduction of the motor car	209
World War One	211
The car and colonial rule	211
Regular inspection and rule	213
Penetrating the last frontier	215
Transient motorized rule	216
Status	216
New legislation and increased distances	217
Herero mobility	219
The Herero and motor-vehicles	221
Cars and status	222
The downside of motor-vehicles	227
Cars and farms	229
Missionaries and mobility	230
The loss of insight	240
Conclusion	241

Contents	9
8. Conclusion: “We Were Told We Would Be Free”	243
List of names	249
Sources	251
Namibian National Archives, Windhoek, Namibia (NNAW)	251
Archives of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in the Republic of Namibia, Windhoek, Namibia (ELCRN)	252
Botswana National Archives, Gaborone, Botswana (BNA)	253
Bundesarchiv Potsdam (now Berlin), Germany (BAP)	253
Archiv der Vereinten Evangelischen Mission, Wuppertal, Germany (VEMA)	254
Unpublished Papers and Theses	257
Bibliography	259