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**A forgotten case of the #Nūkhoen / Damara people added to
colonial German genocidal crimes in Namibia:
we cannot fight the lightning during the rain**

Tsukhoe M. ||Garoes

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Dedication from Tsukhoe M. ||Garoes

I wish to dedicate this paper to three people:

My late young brother Prince Toage Justus ||Garoeb
(father of Mûtago |Nanub and Mabasen ||Garoeb)

Late Traditional Councilor Maria !Hoaes, my ‘ausie’ khoen mamakai, and

Late Chief Abraham †Khīdoeⁱ Gariseb, my ‘grandfather’ who passed away on the 23 June 2021 with a crystal clear mind at age 102.

These two elders were the best story-tellers that shared history with me at every moment we meet. They continuously enlighten my educated ignorance with their words and condemn my inability to write what ‘we know’ as nothing but unacceptable excuses blamed on hectic schedules... Now this is my ‘PhD’ of 6 years of research. We did it, *amae toxoba!*

ⁱ ||Garoes, T.M. 2021 †Khīdoe: *Autobiography of Chief Abraham †Khīdoe Gariseb*, 10 July 2021.

Future Pasts Working Paper Series

The **Future Pasts** *Working Paper Series* aims to facilitate rapid distribution of research findings and work in progress by researchers associated with the **Future Pasts** project. We also welcome relevant contributions by post-graduate students and other associates of **Future Pasts**. The series aims to open up discussion among the global community of scholars, policymakers and practitioners on pressing issues concerning conservation, sustainability, heritage, knowledge and value that are exemplified in west Namibian social and environmental contexts. All **Future Pasts** working papers are available to download free of charge in PDF format via the **Future Pasts** website (<http://www.futurepasts.net/future-pasts-working-papers>). All our papers receive a light-touch peer review, the copyright is retained by the author(s), and authors are welcome to publish further iterations of papers in journals and other formats (references and notes may be formatted as appropriate for such future publications).

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Future Pasts draws on Arts and Humanities research methodologies to document and analyse culturally-inflected perceptions and practices of sustainability. The project has a particular geographical focus on west Namibia, where three of our core research team have long-term field research experience.

The project seeks to:

- enhance understanding of sociocultural, economic and environmental changes in historical and post-independence contexts;
- document and support cultural heritage and indigenous knowledge regarding present and historical cultural landscapes of west Namibia;
- extend analysis and understanding of the historical ecologies of the Namib;
- interrogate interpretations of 'sustainability', particularly those contributing to the promotion of a growth-oriented 'green economy';
- foster cross-cultural public discussion of concerns relating to environmental change and sustainability;
- critically engage with the power dimensions shaping whose pasts become transferred forwards to the future in contemporary approaches to environmental conservation and sustainability.

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Although the formal funding period of the project is now over, we continue to have research material to share through this Working Paper Series. We also continue to be interested in making available work that fits with the project's research themes, but has not yet found a publication home.

A forgotten case of the †Nūkhoen / Damara people added to colonial German genocidal crimes in Namibia: we cannot fight the lightning during the rain

Tsukhoe M. ||Garoes¹

Abstract.

The †Nūkhoen – mostly referred to as Damara people in the literature – are one of the oldest inhabitants or original indigenous people in Namibia, together with Sān people. Traditionally identified as †Nūkhoen – which is literally translated as †Nu = ‘black’ or ‘real’ people – they speak Khoekhoegowab. The ancestors of the present-day Nūkhoen/Damara are believed to have been present in the country for perhaps more than 2,000 years.

Namibia was a former Colony of Germany from about 1884 to 1915. After World War One the country was assigned by the League of Nations to South Africa as a Class C Mandate, and hence was ruled by the South African Apartheid Regime until its independence on 21 March 1990, after about 106 years of colonialism. During the German Colonial era, long before the genocide of European Jews in the German Holocaust of World War Two, genocide took place in what was known as German Southwest Africa (Deutsch Südwestafrika). African resistance during this period, ending in crimes against humanity which, according to the British Blue Book of 1918, exterminated about 81% of Herero, 57% of the Damara, 51% Nama, as well as Sān and other black African peoples in especially the central and southern parts of Deutsch Südwestafrika.

This paper explores, presents and shares a written account of the forgotten history of the brutal effects of this period on the †Nūkhoen / Damara People of Namibia. In doing so, it adds a case of genocide realities of colonial Germany in Africa that is largely missing in contemporary discourse regarding these events. This paper was inspired by the people’s query in the Namibian Broadcasting Corporation radio (NBC Kaisame Radio Station) and the Namibian Government’s announcement to recognise and commemorate the genocide in the country. Knowing that the genocide affected most Africans mainly in central and southern parts of the country, the key questions that emerged were – How many †Nūkhoen people were killed by Germans during the 1904–1908 genocide? Why are Damara people silent if the impact is significant, and does it matter to clarify the †Nūkhoen story so as to contextualise understandings of impacts and contribute to reparation negotiations? What is the broader impact of genocide on the Namibian people? The distorted or, rather, forgotten history of the †Nūkhoen people reveals an imbalanced geo-political body of knowledge, hence the paper aims to both contribute to research on genocide, and also to capture existing indigenous knowledge on the †Nūkhoen History so as to place the genocide history into a †Nūkhoen indigenous perspective.

Key words: Namibia; †Nūkhoen; Damara; colonialism; genocide; racial segregation; war crimes; hidden histories; indigenous history; Khoekhoegowab; Southern Africa; German South West Africa; Hornkranz; Herero resistance; ||Haihāb ||Guruseb; Damara Kings; Gaob |Narirab; Gaob Xamseb.

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In preparing this text for publication as a *Future Pasts Working Paper* it has been edited by Dr. Sian Sullivan.

Editor’s note: it is an honour to be invited to publish this paper as part of the *Future Pasts Working Paper Series*. I hope the information shared here contributes to discussion around histories and experiences that have tended to be poorly understood and marginalised.



Figure 1. Damara Gaob Medusaleg Xamseb of the |Khomanîn between 1812-1889, also recorded as Chief Kamseb by the British Commissioner William Coates Palgrave, who took this image. See Section 5.5 for more information regarding Chief Xamseb. (Source: National Archive of Namibia, NAN.A.0068.02802, 'Damara Chief Kamseb').

1. The Country Context

Namibia is an independent country with a total surface area of about 82,429 million hectares², located in the south-west of Africa. The country went through different colonial eras historically. According to Gurirab (1988: 4-5):

[w]hile European contacts with and penetration of Namibia date back to the 1480s, particularly to 1485 when the Portuguese navigator Diego Cao set foot on Namibia's Atlantic coast, followed, during the intervening centuries, by various other uninvited visitors from Europe, Bismarck's outrageous declaration – resulting from the imperialist infamous and racist Berlin Conference (1884-1985), 'for the scramble of Africa', to seize Namibia, as a so-called protectorate of Imperial Germany – has gone down in history as the beginning of the most brutal and destructive colonial experience suffered by a people anywhere in the world. It has been a continuous, tragic saga of tyranny and genocide, as the United Nations describes today the mass killing of national, racial, ethnic or religious groups as 'a crime under international law and for the commission of which principals and accomplices are punishable'. ...

One hundred years after German colonial conquest of Namibia, the anti-colonial struggle, being waged by the Namibian people, continues unabated. SWAPO calls the current phase, the second patriotic war of national liberation.

In summary, Namibia had been under Imperialist colonial occupation for more than a century, or about 106 years: about 31 years as German colony, about 5 years as a British protectorate and about 70 years under South African Apartheid.

Namibia gained its independence on the 21st March 1990. SWAPO (The South West Africa People's Organisation) has governed the country for 26 years to date, after national elections were held in 1989 under the supervision of the United Nations (UNTAG – United Nations Transition Assistance Group), at which the party won with a two-thirds majority, and consecutively in five elections subsequently. After independence a new Constitution was endorsed, whereby all Namibians should enjoy freedom and unity in this beloved Democratic Unitary State. The right to life is protected amongst other important rights, with each person having a constitutional right to practise their culture and thereby also to tell their history. As articulated in Article 19 of the Namibian Constitution: '[e]very person shall be entitled to enjoy, practise, profess, maintain and promote any culture, language, tradition or religion [...] subject to the condition that the rights protected by this Article do not impinge upon the rights of others or the national interest' (GRN 2014[1990]).

There are more than eleven different ethnic groups of people in Namibia. Prior to colonialism, these different communities had economic systems ranging from hunter-gatherers to pastoralists and mixed farming communities. English is now the official language of the country, while each ethnic group speaks their respective language. Together with Khoekhoeogowab, Oshikwayama, Ondonga, Rukwangali, Kirigu and Otjiberero amongst others, German (Dutch) is also recognised as a Namibian language³. Namibia has a

² Editor's note: see https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Geography_of_Namibia, accessed 1 November 2021.

³ Editor's note: for more on the diversity on Namibian languages see https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Languages_of_Namibia, accessed 1 November 2021.

population of 2.4 million people, of which the Damara people make up about 8.5% of Namibia's population (figures from the Namibia Statistics Agency 2011).

This paper concerns the circumstances of one of Namibia's broadly conceived 'ethnic groups', the Khoekhoe-gowab-speaking †Nūkhoen or Damara. The following section provides a short summary of what is understood to have been the situation of †Nūkhoen / Damara in pre-colonial times. The paper then turns to a brief overview of the history of the genocidal colonial war and indigenous resistance in Section 2, followed by an outline of Resistance against German Colonialism and the impacts of the 1904 - 1908 Genocide on Namibian People in the southern and central areas of Namibia that were increasingly appropriated by colonists (Section 3). Section 4 provides oral accounts of the †Nūkhoe resistance to these circumstances, with more detail provided in Section 5 which focuses especially on six †Nūkhoe resistance fighters whose actions deserve recognition. In Section 6, the discussion turns to a consideration of the genocide concept in relation to the present debate in Namibia. Section 7 communicates honorable and unique meetings with the Aboxan/Ancestors, providing a reflection on possibilities for healing the ancestral trauma experienced by †Nūkhoen alongside other Namibian peoples. Section 8 offers a brief conclusion.

2. Prehistoric and Pre-colonial †Nūkhoen / Damara People of Namibia

The †Nūkhoen (mostly referred to in the literature as Damara or Berg-Damara, and sometimes as Dama) are considered to be original indigenous people of Namibia (Damara Kai-Gaob/King's Council 2019), alongside Sān lineages believed to be descendants of the 'first people'. This dark or ebony skinned people by tradition named themselves †Nūkhoen (plural) or †Nūkhoe (singular; also a descriptive term, for example '†Nūkhoe knowledge'): †nū meaning 'black' and *khoen* meaning 'people' or 'human beings'. This nomenclature is principally because of the pre-historical context. Orature relates that ebony-skinned people were distinctive in southwest Africa during ancient times, and differentiated from *Naukhoen* (Lebzelter 1934) or 'other people' framed as !Hunikhôkhoen (yellow-skinned) Sān or Sākhoen, and red-skinned |Apakhoen or Nama. The latter were especially associated with the area of the !Garib (Orange River) and south thereof, which they also increasingly crossed as they fled South Africa, mainly in the 1700s and 1800s as the Dutch Cape Colony expanded northwards.

In terms of livelihood practices and subsistence, †Nūkhoen are mainly hunter-herders and metal technologists who smelt iron or copper goods for trade (discussed further below) (as described by Hendrik Jacob Wikar 1778-1779 and Willem Van Reenen 1791 in Mossop 1935: 11, 75-81; Damara Kai-Gaob/King's Council (DKC) 2019; also see summary in Sullivan and Ganuses 2020: 288). People were primarily hunting wild animals, gathering wild foods and practicing pastoralism farming with Damara sheep. We understand that in Namibia, the history of †Nūkhoen can be traced back to Before Christ (BC), i.e. for more than 2,000 years, with archaeological evidence provided especially in mountainous locations and linked to pastoralist activity and metal workings (Sandelowsky 1983). Some archaeologists consider

it possible that the ancestors of †Nūkhoen may be linked with pottery, sheep and open hut circles found in sites in west Namibia (such as Dâures / the Brandberg) and dated to several hundred years ago or more (after Jacobson 1981: 10-11; also see Barnard 1992: 202-203).⁴ Additionally, rock art at for example !Uilaes (Twyfelfontein) shows paintings and engravings of hunter-gatherer Sān people with later works that may have been contributed by herding ancestors of contemporary †Nūkhoen (Jacobson 1981: 10-11; Sandelowsky 1983 in Boois 2017: 9).

Additional understandings are that the last⁵ major group of †Nūkhoen/Damara migrated from |Gopas-Kalahari Desert area (eastern Namibia and/or present day Botswana) around the 9th century (||Garoes 2020a), settling in southern Angola and northern Namibia: this group were linked with the genealogy of Gaob (King/Leader) !A!a |Nanub, see Table 1 (Lebzelter 1934; Damara Kai-Gaob/King's Council/DKC 2019): the 'Father of the Modern Genealogy of †Nūkhoe *Gaogu* [leaders]' whose forefathers re-entered Namibia through the great Okavango Delta and along its connecting rivers to settle in Northern Namibia in the 1390s.⁶ In historical times †Nūkhoen have lived as 34 Clans or *!Haodi* (Damara Kai-Gaob/King's Council/DKC 2019): led by different Chiefs which customarily resorted under one Gaob or Kai-Gaob (the King) who governs the |Aes (literally, 'a nation').

Many writers attest that the arrival of the †Nūkhoen/Damara pre-dates that of the Central-Bantu-speaking Herero, Aambo/Oshivambo and even Nama, making them first inhabitants of the territory alongside Sān people (see summaries in Lau 1979, 1987; Barnard 1992; Haacke 2018; Sullivan and Ganuses 2020). Historically †Nūkhoen/Damara people occupied large areas of central Namibia (Pfouts 1988; WHE 2000; Barnard 1992). Lau (1988: 92) agrees that Damara groups or clans were living all over the country and were later found in a multitude of changing relations to Nama and Herero groups, as individuals or as communities. It is worth citing here the words of Gaob Judas Goreseb of Okombahe (the 'head village') quoted in the British 'Blue Book' of 1918:

We are the original inhabitants of the country now known as Hereroland. My people were here long before the Hereros and Hottentots⁷ came. Our Chief's village used, many years ago, to be at the place known as Okanjande near the Waterberg. It was known to us by the

⁴ Editor's note: it is notoriously difficult, as well as often problematic, to attribute ethnicity to archaeological remains (Kinahan 2020). Nonetheless, overlaps in material culture of contemporary and recent historical times may provide pointers in this direction for more recently dated archaeological sites. An iteratively updated literature review of archaeological publications for west Namibia is linked online at <https://www.futurepasts.net/prehistory-and-early-historical-ref>

⁵ Note that our understanding is that †Nūkhoen/Damara were already in Namibia prior to 1390 based on archeological evidence. They certainly settled across the country during different times, as discussed in the text.

⁶ Note that there were already †Nūkhoen/Damara in Namibia prior to 1390 and were settled country during different times. Oral history shows that some Damara did not come through northern-Namibia like with the last group of Kings. Some moved in from Botswana near Gobabis (Soremûs) through central ||Khanigu near Auas Mountain, and settled at !Aolaexas – now Daan Viljoen Game Reserve near Windhoek – whilst others settled in the northwestern parts from early times (perhaps since BC) (Gaob ||Garoeb 2016; DKC 2019; ||Garoes 2019).

⁷ Editor's note: This term is today considered derogatory (Elphick 1977: xv). No offence is meant by its occasional inclusion when quoting directly from historical texts, in which the term denotes the specific ethnic and cultural identity for Khoekhoegowab-speaking pastoralist people known today as Nama or Khoe / Khoikhoi. It is included here *only* when quoting directly from such texts.

name Kanubis [‡Khanubes]. Later on the Ovambos (the Chief is certain that these were Ovambos. He says that the Hereros were in the Kaokoveld at the time) drove our people away and they trekked south, and had their chief town where Windhuk [Windhoek] now stands, we called it Kaisābes⁸ (= the big place). One of my ancestors, Nawabib [|Nababeb], was Chief then⁹. It was only later, by agreement with the Herero Chiefs (Willem Zerua and Kamaherero) that we shifted our chief town to Okambahe during the Chieftainship of my great uncle Abraham [Seibeb]. ... (Union of South Africa 2018: 104-105)

1. Gaob !A!a Nanub (settled northern Namibia, ca. 1390s)	13. Gaob Tsowaseb aka !Gariseb (born ca. 1690, son of Gaob !Gariseb, known for establishing plantations along !Garib/Orange River where people planted crops and tobacco)
2. Gaob Sâub	14. Gaob Nababeb (born ca. 1715, see footnote 7. Led people to Kaisābes/Windhoek and back to ‡Khanubes/Otjiwarongo)
3. Gaob Kai Garub	15. Gaob Tsauseb aka Nababeb (born ca. 1740))
4. Gaob ‡Khari Garub	16. Gaob !Gaoceb (born ca. 1765)
5. Gaob !Hau ‡Karib	17. Gaob Hoeseb aka Nababeb (born ca. 1790, son of Gaob Nababeb)
6. Gaob !Owosâub	18. Gaob Abraham Gaosib Seibeb aka Guruseb (born ca. 1805) + Gaob Medusaleg Xamseb, (born ca. 1812, Gaob in Khomas but from different genealogy, see Section 5.5)
7. Gaob Uruge Haib	19. Gaob Cornelius Goreseb (born ca. 1840 and died 1910 around 50 years of age)
8. Gaob ‡Goseb	20. Gaob Judas Goreseb (born ca. 1860 and died 1923, first son of Gaob Cornelius Goreseb)
9. Gaob !Khuteb	21. Gaob Hosea Goreseb (born ca. 1865 and died 1943, second son of Gaob Cornelius Goreseb)
10. Gaob Āruseb	22. Gaob Theodor !Gaoceb (born ca. 1880 and died 1962, son of Haise !Gaoceb, cousin and general of Gaob Abraham Guruseb and founder Āgomeb/Okombahe settlement, see also no 16 above).
11. Gaob Narib aka Narirab (died ca. 1715, after injuries in battle with Aambo/Oshivambo, northern Namibia)	23. Gaob Dawid Goreseb (born ca. 1891 and died 1976 at the age of 85 years, son of Gottlied Goreseb, brother Gaob Cornelius Goreseb).
12. Gaob !Gariseb (born ca. 1665, moved towards the south to escape conflict with Aambo. Migrated up to !Garib/Orange River, believed to have been named after him or him after the River)	24. Gaob Justus Uhuhe Garoeb (born 1942, current Gaob of the ‡Nūkhoen/Damara people)

Table 1(a). Genealogy of ‡Nūkhoen/Damara Kings, from 1390s to the present. Adapted by T.M. ||Garoes from Lebzelter (1934), Vedder (2016[1938]: 115), Van Der Merwe (1981), Blue Book (1918); ||Garoeb J (2019), and oral history.

⁸ Kaisābes means big place to rest or place of peace. This was the ‡Nūkhoen/Damara name for Windhoek, even before the name of |Aelgams, as it became known under Oorlam Nama leader Jonker Afrikaner.

⁹ Editor's note: born ca. 1715, according to Lebzelter's chronology of successive 'chieftains', in Vedder 2016[1938]: 115.

The economic activity of †Nūkhoen included making and trading mainly iron or copper goods, pottery and cultivated tobacco (Lau 1979). Prior to pre-colonial ‘ethnic wars’, they traded or bartered these goods in exchange for goats and sometimes cattle. Sullivan and Ganuses (2020: 288, drawing on Mossop 1935: 3-4, 29, 75-81) summarise some of the earliest observations by European travellers as follows:

The earliest written mention of those later named “Berg-Damara” is found in the 1778-79 journal of Hendrik Jacob Wikar, a Gothenberg-born Swede who travelled along the Orange River after deserting from the Dutch East India Company operating from Cape Town, before being pardoned in 1779. Wikar learned of different “Dama” groups interacting with Nama but described as “of a darker complexion than the Namacquas”. They lived near the coast and in mountainous areas near the Kailkhaun (“Keykoa”) / Rooinasie (“Red Nation”) Nama settlements and grazing grounds, which stretched at least from Hoachanas in the east to Hatsamas, south-east of present-day Windhoek in what was then known as “Great Namaqualand”. These “Dama” made and traded copper and iron beads and other products for “she-goats” on apparently favourable terms, acted as “middlemen” in cattle trade between the eastern “Bechuana” and the Kailkhaun, were apparently feared magicians, and resisted allegiance to the chief of the Kailkhaun.

A few years later, on 23 January of 1792, a Willem van Reenen reached a mountain in ‘the land of the Heydamarassen [Bergdamas]’ ‘which he [Willem] named Rheniusberg’ – considered by Mossop to be near Rehoboth – where a ‘valuable hot spring’ welled up and in the neighbourhood of which was a copper mine from which Willem van Reenen brings back ore ‘which proved to contain copper’ (Mossop 1935: 11; also Vedder 2016[1938]: 33; J. Kinahan 1980: 18). In 1849, a Rhenish Missionary Society report has been quoted as referring to the skill for agriculture of ‘Bergdamara’, commenting especially on the tobacco grown in their gardens:

... the Namaqua buys from him, and his Tabaco is good since he knows how to cure it so skilfully that it even competes well with the American brands. (see Lau 1979 for discussion of observed horticulture practices by Damara / †Nūkhoen)

British explorer Francis Galton (1853: 250) also tells that Ghou Damup [Xau Damab] lived in large communities about a mountainous district on the lower parts of Omuramba Omatako, where they appeared by no means to be an impoverished nation, but were agriculturalists and traders with Ovambo and other nations in the north. Similarly the writings of Dr Victor Lebzelter in 1934 describes Damara as making jewellery for the Kings of Oshivambo in the north in around the 16th to 17th centuries, and oral histories also attest to Damara making jewellery for Herero Chief Tjamuaha^{10 11} in |Khomas area around late 19th century, hence his

¹⁰ Editor’s note: Tjamuaha is recorded as Samuel Maharero’s father in Vedder (2016[1938]: 141) and as Samuel Maharero’s grandfather in Esterhuyse 1968: 14).

¹¹ Chief Tjamuaha was the Paramount Chief of the Herero who settled Windhoek around 1820s and battled over decades with the in-migrating Nama for the territory between 1842-1861. It is true that there is confusion as Vedder (2016[1938]: 141) recorded him as Chief Samuel Maharero’s father. Esterhuyse 1968 asserts that he was grandfather of Chief Samuel Maharero, also Dierks (2011) narrates that Tjamuaha and Katare were parents of Chief Samuel Maharero, whose mother Gaob |Garoeb (2019) also confirms as Kātare |Garoes, and that he was son of ‘kai’ meaning elder Maharero. Kātare’s father, Gaob Justus |Garoeb’s great great grandfather, gave him that Ma-Herero name. It emerged from the plea to his daughter ‘Ma-Herero ba |goaba’, which translates as ‘give the Herero (meaning Chief Tjamuaha) his son to raise’ (|Garoeb 2016, 2019).

name †Ai!gorob in Khoekhoegowab (*#Eichab, pers. comm. 2016*). These skills of the †Nūkhoen in metal working were displaced through enmity with and subjugation by others. Although Damara supplied labour willingly in specific contexts, there is also evidence of forced labour and slavery in Okombahe (Henrichsen 2008, see below) and Waterberg (Mossolow 1993a: 10) areas.

In closing this brief section on the pre-colonial history of the †Nūkhoen/Damara, it is worth noting the prejudices and perceptions by some early missionary and other colonial writers who subjected people as subordinates in attempt to classify them or their language or for reasons only known to them (Gaob †Garob 2016, pers. comm.; also Lau 1979). It is difficult to trace the origins of the †Nūkhoen or indeed any Namibian cultural group using limited scientific research. These limitations, coupled with the late adoption of Christianity by Damara which usually brought people close to share information with Missionaries and ensured their presence in mission station records, caused early writers to be speculative about †Nūkhoen history. Many scholars today critique the work on Damara ('Bergdamara') by mainly Reverend Dr Henrich Vedder as biased, although some writers repeat his unproven theories without ethno-history or detailed studies. Dr Vedder claimed that ethnically distinct Damara adopted their language from the Nama, denying the possibility of a 'black' tribe to be ancient to Southern Africa or to speak a language that includes 'click consonants'¹², a theory now deemed by linguists to be falacious (Haacke 2018). I understand that some scholars believe that the †Nūkhoen/Damara were influenced linguistically by Sān or Sākhoen, whom †Nūkhoen/Damara co-existed with in the south-west of Africa since before the common era (Damara Kai-Gaob/Kings Council/DKC 2019). Whether adopted or a language created through linguistic interaction or diffusion, like many around the world, oral history portrays that since time immemorial †Nūkhoen always spoke a rich †Nūkhoegowab dialect or language, which today is classified as Khoekhoegowab (Haacke 2018). Additionally, Namibia is known as the only home of †Nūkhoen/Damara people.

3. Resistance against Germans Colonialism and the 1904-1908 Genocide of the Namibian People

This section provides an overview of the historical circumstances of the colonial war against Namibia's indigenous peoples. The Colonial Germans ruled the country from 1884 to 1915 and fought different battles with the native people over that period. Professor Katjavivi, in his Master's Thesis of 1981 (University of Warwick) and subsequent paper for the London UN Conference on *Namibia 1884-1984: 100 Years of Foreign Occupation, 100 Years of Struggle*, of 10-13 September 1984, eloquently narrated the history of anti-colonial resistance by the Namibian people, whereby he comprehensively depicted the resistance by Herero, Nama,

¹² Editor's note: *Language note*: many of the Khoekhoegowab words in this paper include the symbols |, ||, ! and †, denoting consonants that sound like clicks and which characterise the languages of Khoekhoegowab and San peoples who live(d) throughout southern Africa. The sounds these symbols indicate are as follows: | = the 'tutting' sound made by bringing the tip of the tongue softly down from behind front teeth (dental click); || = the clucking sound familiar in urging on a horse (lateral click); ! = a popping sound like mimicking the pulling of a cork from a wine bottle (alveolar click); † = a sharp, explosive click made as the tongue is flattened and then pulled back from the palate (palatal click).

Damara and Ovambo peoples, amongst others. Katjivivi (cited in Wood 1988) further states that it was not until 1904 that the resistance reached an organised and effective level¹³, becoming ‘resistance for freedom’, in Prof. Katjavivi’s words.

Tensions arising from unscrupulous land acquisition practices by the colonists spurred on the war of resistance of 1904 (Werner 1993). Werner (1993) states further that European appropriation of land brought in its wake new forms of land tenure, the notion of private land ownership which rapidly replaced communal land utilisation and eliminated pre-colonial or customary systems. Chief Samuel Maharero was the vigorous leader who initiated the 1904 people’s anti-colonial uprising and mobilised other black leaders to join (Katjavivi in Wood 1988). In a letter written to Captain Witbooi of the |Hobesen, Chief Samuel Maharero said:

I appeal to you, my Brother, not to hold aloof from the uprising, but to make your voice heard so that all Africa may take up arms against the Germans. *‘Let us die fighting...’* rather than die as a result of maltreatment, imprisonment or some other calamity. (quoted in multiple sources, for example, Melber 2005: 97)

According to oral history (||Garoeb 2016), Chief Samuel Maharero also sent Chief Kambazembi – who originally came from Kaokoland and, as a wealthy Chief, was known as the ‘King of Cattle’ who also knew the existing Kings (leaders) of the Otjiwarongo and Waterberg area (see introduction of Section 5) – to bring a message in this regard to the †Nūkhoe Gaob Cornelius Goreseb of Okombahe. Chief Kambazembi, who had a female translator, was also sent to spread the message to †Nūkhoen/Damara leaders such as Chief Asser !Uwukhaeb of the !Ommen Clans of Okombahe, Omaruru and Wilhemstal areas (||Garoeb 2016). Furthermore, the message was spread by word of mouth amongst Clans in Ārob (Kamanjab-Outjo-Etosha) area, Ātsas (Otjimbingwe) and |Khomas areas. Many Damara / †Nūkhoen and Sān leaders and their people joined and were killed in the anti-colonial resistance battles, particularly in the Battle of Hamakari in the Waterberg area (Gaob Justus ||Garoeb 2011, pers. comm.; Maria !Hoaes 2016 pers. comm.; Hans †Eichab 2016 pers. comm.; Joseph †Khuruseb 2018 pers. comm.; also Boois 2017). Captain Witbooi reacted positively and joined the Battle of Hamakari when Herero and Damara were already in action, as the letter sent through Kaptein Hermanus Van Wyk of the Rehoboth Basters did not reach Captain Witbooi in time, instead landing in the hands of Colonial Germans (Melber 2005).

It is known in folklore that †Nūkhoen/Damara Clans under the leadership of the Chiefs of Arodaman, Aumīn and |Ūgoban residing in the battlefield area, and the neighbouring !Aeloben, !Ommen, †Aodaman, |Gaiodaman and |Gobanīn, formed alliances to fight at the Battle of Hamakari. As detailed in Section 6, during the battle of Hamakari, Chief Amburu !Hoaeb, Mutakume, Hoatabe, Burutago Tsâdago formed alliances with the Herero under the leadership of Chief Samuel Maherero. These †Nūkhoen had already established generally good relationships over the years with Herero in the Apabeb/!Hob (Waterberg) area, and they also fought the Battle of Hamakari until the bitter end, where they died alongside Herero people (||Garoeb 2011, 2016 pers. comm.; †Eichab 2016 pers. comm.; Boois 2017).

¹³ Editor’s note: this is not to discount the previous uprisings building up to this point. For an indicative list of ‘Battles and Skirmishes in the History of Namibia’ see https://www.klausdierks.com/Chronology/index_battles.htm.

The first attack in January 1904 by the Herero is believed to have awakened retaliation by the colonists. To settle the unrest, the German Head of State, Kaiser Wihelm II, appointed a soldier already notorious for his brutality in suppressing African resistance to German colonisation in East Africa, as well as the Boxer Rebellion in China (Gurirab 1988: 4; Pope 2011). Lieutenant-General Von Trotha brought with him to what was then ‘German South West Africa’ thousands of heavily-armed men (Pope 2011) and a plan for a war. Lieutenant-General Von Trotha was quoted saying:

I shall annihilate the revolting tribes with rivers of blood and rivers of gold. Only after a complete uprooting will something emerge. (Cocker 1998: 328)

The Battle of Hamakari occurred on 11th August 1904, when reportedly 5,000 to 6,000 poorly armed Herero and other warriors were encircled by 1,488 German troops and 96 officers armed with modern rifles, machine guns and cannons to kill (Steinmetz 2005). The massacres continued across the communities. Citing both oral history and Van der Merwe (1981) in his speech delivered at the Occasion of Reparations of Skulls from Germany to Namibia in 2011, Gaob ||Garoeb narrated that:

13 August 1904 has seen an unparalleled, horrible scene of a nation in flight. Our ancestors fled feverishly before the Germans and Herero bandits dressed in German Military Uniforms. In their haste elderly men and women, the crippled, the blind, children, and pregnant women were left to their mercy and awaited certain death through their pursuers and/or at the hands of the elements.

At Hamakari on the 16 August 1904, Von Trotha ordered the on-going pursuit of the fleeing Namibians. According to Schutztruppe soldier Deimling, cited by Gaob ||Garoeb (2011), the German forces went in an arc to the southeast to stop people from going south and entering the inhabited areas. A new division under the command of Von Heydebreck went from Windhoek to the vicinity of Gobabis and Epukiro to attack the #Nukhoen/Damara and the Herero there (see Figure 2). Von Estort Muhenfels and Volkmann assisted and forced those on the east of Waterberg / Apabeb (also called !Hōb mountain) into the Omaheke where they could be cornered, attacked and exterminated.

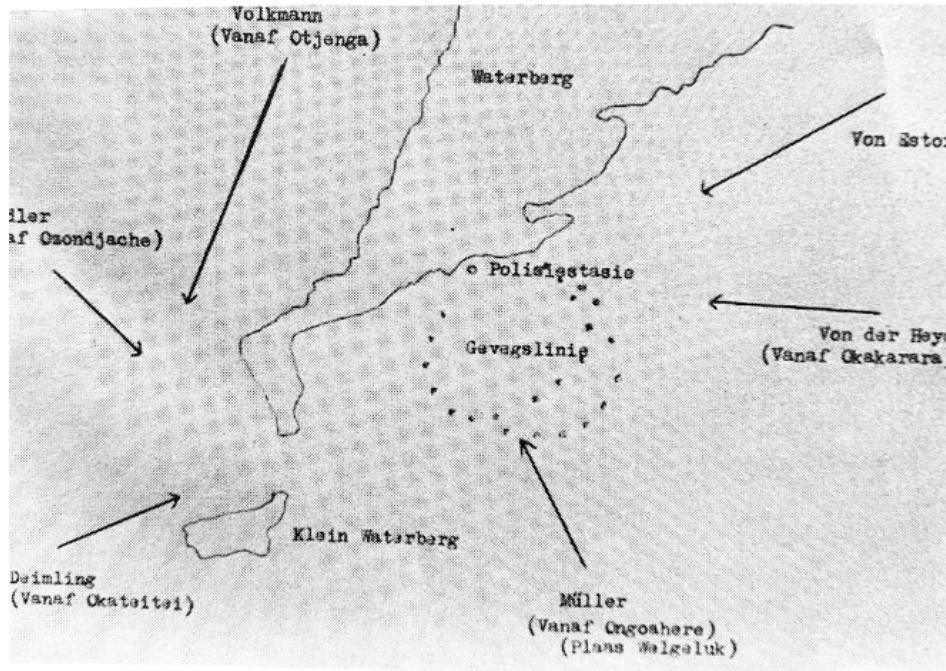


Figure 2. Sketch map of the attacks and tactics at the Battle of Hamakari (Waterberg) in 1904. Source: Paul van der Merwe 1981: 6.

During 1905, Nama people rebelled with uprisings believed to have started with !Ami^{un} (Bondelswarts) of Warmbad and joined by the |Hobesen (Witboois) of Gibeon. During these years, Gibeon was the epicentre of the Nama uprising. Colonial German General Von Trotha on the 22nd April 1905 sent a message to the Nama and told them to surrender:

The Nama who chose not to surrender and lets himself be seen in the German area will be shot, until all are exterminated. (Gilbert 2014: 25).

The Nama revolt against colonial Germans was led mainly by Captain Hendrik Witbooi and Jakob Morenga – referred to as the “black Napoleon” – with many other leaders also joining this fight. Captain Hendrik Witbooi was wounded in action on 29 October 1905 in the area of Vaalgrass (Lau 1995: 221; Katjivivi cited in Wood, 1988: 560). As a result of these battles, Captain Willem Christiaan, Chief Abraham Morenga amongst others were also killed. Captain Witbooi’s forces continued with the fight although they could not match the superior colonial German war machinery deployed against them. Captein Manasse |Noreseb of Hoachanas was killed in action during Battle of Gubuoms on 1st April 1905, whilst Simon Kopper of the Fransman Nama fled to Botswana, the final battle of the war being considered to be the Battle of Seatsub in April 1908 in the south-western Kalahari (Haacke 1992). Neib (2016) citing Robert Gordon who examined the Sān genocide of 1912-1915, also appeals for the genocide period to be reviewed to include the years up to 1915 (see Gordon 2009).

The colonial battles of 1904-1908 (as well as those both before and after these dates) resulted in a notorious massacre of many black African people (Khan 2012; †Eichab 2016). Based on extermination orders issued by Colonial German Authorities, the war intentionally targeted the Herero and Nama people. However the †Nūkhoen/Damara and Sān who intentionally joined the rebellion, as well as others who lived interspersed with leading rebellion tribes,

were also annihilated and exterminated (Garoeb 2008, 2011, 2016; Tjirange 2017). A significant reduction in the populations of Herero, Damara, Nama and Sān is evident during this years (see below) through the intended and/or unintended actions of the Colonial Germans during these years in ‘German Southwest Africa’.

Official accounts and statistics regarding the impacts of these war and resistance years on African peoples of the central and southern parts of Namibia clearly indicate that the effects on #Nūkhoen/Damara were devastating. The British Cape Colony Commissioner W.C. Palgrave in a report of 1877 cited in the British Blue Book (Union of South Africa 1918: 34) estimated population sizes for different native or ethnic groups at 98,000 Ovambo; 85,000 Hereros; 30,000 Berg-Damaras; and 1,500 Nama in Herero/Damaraland and 16,850 in Great Namaqualand. The German colonial Governor Leutwein in 1894 estimated the native population sizes as indicated in Table 2.

Natives		Estimated
Northern	Ovambo	100,000
Central and Southern	Hereros	80,000
	Hottentots (Nama)	20,000
	Bastards (Basters)	4,000
	Bushman and Berg-Damaras	40,000
	Total	244,000

Table 2. Native population estimates for German South West Africa in 1894. Source: adapted from Union of South Africa 1918: 34.

The impact of the German colonial war on the Namibian people was clearly severe. Table 3 provides population figures for before and after the German colonial war of the early 1900s, as recorded in the official British Blue Book (Union of South Africa 1918). The figures show a significant population decrease of indigenous people in Central and Southern Namibian. The report shows that genocidal atrocities committed by the German colonial military in these years caused the deaths of around 81% of the pre-existing Herero population, 57% of the Damara/#Nūkhoen, and 51% of the Nama. Even though data for all communities are not available, and it is unknown how accurate population estimates are, the magnitude of decline provides some indication of the devastating impacts on the peoples of central and southern Namibia. These impacts were clearly severe for Damara/#Nūkhoen, alongside Herero and Nama (and also Sān, unreported in the Blue Book).

	Estimate, 1904	Official Census, 1911	Decrease, difference	Decrease, percentage
Hereros (Ovaherero)	80,000	15,130	64,870	81%
Hottentots (Nama)	20,000	9,781	10,219	51%
Berg Damara (#Nūkhoen)	30,000	12,831	17,169	57%
	130,000	37,742	92,258	71%

Table 3. Comparison of Statistical results pre and post Genocide in Central and Southern German Southwest Africa. Source: Adopted from British Blue Book (1918: 35).

To conclude Section 3, the impact of Colonial German actions during 1884-1915 can be summarised as follows:

- 1) as a consequence of the 1903-1908 actions of the Colonial Germans about 80% of Herero people disappeared, with more than half of both Nama (51%) and Damara/#Nukhoen (57%) sharing the same fate. These natives of ‘South West Africa’ had been weighed in the German colonial balance and found wanting. Their ‘right of existence’ was apparently not justified.
- 2) Consequently, it appears that around 71% of the indigenous African people of central and southern Namibia died during this time, with around 29% surviving these mass atrocities that included crimes against humanity with the intended or inadvertent unlawful killing of people and genocide to destroy these ethnic and/or racial groups during the 1904-1908 wars.
- 3) The survival of less than half the pre-colonial populations of Herero, #Nukhoen / Damara, Nama and Sān indigenous communities may be linked with ‘genetic decline’ of the affected populations, and to have caused these groupings to have become minority communities of Namibia.
- 4) The actions of German colonists clearly changed the course of history in the country. The impact goes beyond those directly exterminated during the uprising. It extends to those surviving Herero, Nama, #Nukhoen/Damara, Sān and other Namibians who were interned in concentration camps as prisoners-of-war, and put to slavery and forced labour of such brutality that many people died. The aforementioned groups also suffered the rape of girls and women and the killing of leaders in this horrific onslaught.
- 5) Overall, the impact of the German colonial period is enormous, contributing a crime against humanity which justifies being named as genocide, causing land dispossession and significant changes in the socio-economic structure in the country. Land dispossession and imported tenure systems caused major marginalisation and economic inequalities.¹⁴ According to Gaob ||Garoeb citing (citing DKC 2019) the issues of ancestral land and the consequences of genocide are inseparable in Namibia, as the rebellion against Colonial German occupation was primarily for the land and natural wealth taken by colonial German Authorities.
- 6) The consequent loss and displacement of Namibian peoples, including into Diaspora communities, caused people to lose their customs and identity.

¹⁴ Editor’s note: for details, see Werner (1993) and Odendaal and Werner (2020).

4. Oral Accounts of the †Nūkhoen Resistance and Irreversible Crimes Against Humanity

As indicated in Section 3, the assumption that the Damara never fought in this colonial war is cynical and totally untrue. †Nūkhoen/Damara in fact fought many battles connected with in this context. These battles starting mainly from the pre-colonial period and continued during the anti-colonial German resistance, and again during the more recent liberation struggle. As outlined in Section 2, †Nūkhoen/Damara were a generally peaceful people who occupied most of northern, western and central Namibia from prehistoric times (cohabiting with Sān or Sākhoen), who became subject to battles with arriving communities and settlers. Oral history tells of a particular genealogy stretching back to Kai-Gaob !A!a |Nanub's Empire and subsequent Kings/Kai-Gaogu or Gaogu and their people also fought in-migrating Aambo in northern Namibia (Lebzelter 1934; Vedder 2016[1938]: 111; |Garoeb 2016 pers. comm.). These last pre-historic battles stimulated a migration from northern to central Namibia and a change of settlement based on displacements over the centuries, combined with continued use of northern areas. Close to eleven †Nūkhoen Kai-Gaogu / Kings in their time of ruling are told to have fought the strong inward migrating Aambo / Ovambo forces (see Table 1), which oral history relates were the second group of people next to the Sākhoen that the Damara / †Nūkhoen met in the territory that became Namibia. It is known that the Damara had a good co-existence with Mûtsixubi (i.e. Nkumbi or an Aambo group that settled in the north) (Damara Kai-Gaob/Kings Council/DKC 2019). With increasing in-migration of Aambo peoples, however, the scene changed and wars reportedly increased.

The †Nūkhoen Gaob |Narirab succumbed to injuries sustained in battle with Aambo and died in *ca.* 1715 (DKC 2019). Gaob !Gariseb, who followed, fled to the south with some people, whilst the majority who today make up the |Gaiodaman clan remained in the Parases/Parësis Mountains and towards Apabeb / Waterberg area. In the south, Gaob !Gariseb settled at !Garib River/Orange River, and it is believed that either the river was named after him or his name !Gariseb came from the River !Garib. Gaob Tsowaseb, who succeeded his father Gaob !Gariseb (born *ca.* 1665 according to Vedder 2016[1938]: 115) led people in the south and is remembered for establishing plantations along !Garib/Orange River, where people planted waterlemon/tsamadi, apadi/calabashes and tobacco, which he also smoked. Some people remained with the southern !Garidaman Clan, but others returned northwards. Gaob |Nababeb settled with people at Kaisābes/Windhoek and moved back to †Khanubes (Otjiwarongo) area. The Kai-Gaogu / Kings who followed were the next Kings who led again from †Khanubes. These Gaogu encountered mostly defeat and expulsion from their ancestral land, forcing their peoples to migrate to other areas drawing on knowledge of the country.

Following these Aambo battles, †Khanubes (Otjiwarongo) area was the long-standing royal settlement for the †Nūkhoen/Damara. Gaob Tsowaseb who succeeded his father Gaob !Gariseb (born *ca.* 1665 according to Vedder 2016[1938]: 115) led from here. Some people remained with the southern !Garidaman Clan, but others returned northwards. Gaob |Nababeb and related Kai-Gaogu / Kings who followed were the next Kings leading from †Khanubes.

1. Gaob !A!a Nanub	13. Gaob Tsowaseb aka !Gariseb
2. Gaob Sâub	14. Gaob Nababeb
3. Gaob Kai Garub	15. Gaob Tsauseb aka Nababeb
4. Gaob †Khari Garub	16. Gaob !Goseb
5. Gaob !Hau †Karib	17. Gaob Hoeseb aka Nababeb
6. Gaob !Owosâub	18. Gaob Abraham Gaosib Seibeb <i>aka</i> Guruseb + Gaob Medusaleg Xamseb,
7. Gaob Uruge Haib	19. Gaob Cornelius Goreseb
8. Gaob †Goseb	20. Gaob Judas Goreseb
9. Gaob !Khuteb	21. Gaob Hosea Goreseb
10. Gaob Āruseb	22. Gaob Theodor !Goseb
11. Gaob Narib aka Narirab	23. Gaob Dawid Goreseb
12. Gaob !Gariseb	24. Gaob Justus Uhuhe Garoeb (current Gaob of the †Nûkhoen/Damara people)

Table 1(b). Genealogy of †Nûkhoen/Damara Kings, from 1390s to the present. Adapted by T.M. ||Garoes from Lebzelter (1934), Vedder (2016[1938]: 115), Van Der Merwe (1981), Blue Book (1918); ||Garoeb J (2019), and oral history.

The name †Khanubes comes from a shiny round mountain / berg feature found at the farm about 25 km from Otjiwarongo to Windhoek, on the right from the Okakarara junction. The entire area was called †Khanubes, and was where people farmed with mainly small stock, while parts of today's Otjiwarongo was referred to as !Gûdil||gams (which means the waterpoint for acacia trees). There were also handmade wells / boreholes where people planted *tsamadi*/watermelons, *apadi*/calabashes and tobacco etc. The present-day Okanjande/†Khanubes-ais was where the royal homestead 'Chief Town' was located.

It was only in the 1820s that Chief Ruhaka of the Herero came to the †Khanubes-!Gûdil||gams area, changing its name to Otjiwarongo (Van der Merwe 1981), which has now replaced the former name of †Khanubes that appears on early colonial maps of the area. The †Nûkhoen/Damara would not reside close to water or waterpoints by tradition, but instead reside some distance away so as to co-share the water with wildlife that also used these sources. Now †Khanubes became the home too of a small group of Herero. Initially this immigration was insignificant for the Damara there, but increasing conflict between the Damara and Herero occurred in the †Khanubes-Otjiwarongo area from around 1861-1862.

At this time, the †Khanubes royal settlement, Apabeb – also called !Hôb / Waterberg – towards Okakarara area, was a water rich area of the †Nûkhoen/Damara. Before the migration of the powerful 'King of the Cattle', Chief Kambazembi into the area, people here lived a semi-nomadic lifestyle and with semi-permanent¹⁵ to permanent settlements. Chief Kambazembi came into the area for temporary grazing due to climate and biological challenges in the Kaokoland. After permitted and subsequent intermarriages, Kambazembi's

¹⁵ Except for food or sustenance, malaria and other diseases were reasons for why †Nûkhoen people seasonally lived on the mountains or had semi-permanent homesteads in the area. There are many stories of how on arrival to this area Herero people, who by their tradition as cattle farmers established big settlements close to water sources, suffered due to diseases in the low-lying areas, especially in the Waterberg towards Okakarara area.

people settled in the area peacefully, but soon built an industrious and royal empire, being very livestock rich (in cattle) and becoming powerful, causing conflicts with the Damara people who were constrained and displaced by this in-migration. Gaob Abraham ||Guruseb (born *ca.* 1815, according to Vedder 2016[1938]: 115, after Lebzelter 1934) was ruling at †Khanubes at this time. So as to avoid conflict, Gaob ||Guruseb (also known as Seibeb) sought refuge with Gaob Xamseb in the †Gāns (Gamsberg) area of |Khomas Region.

The exact year for when young Gaob Abraham ||Guruseb moved to †Gāns is a mystery, but is thought to be between 1830-1862. It is told that the initial arrival of Chief Ruhaka in †Khanubes area was not a threat for the Damara. Given their history with Aambo in north-central Namibia, and more and more individual in-migrations from the north from the 1830s, this situation caused increasing unrest, stimulating Gaob ||Guruseb to move to Kaisābes/Windhoek and towards †Gāns/Gamsberg. ||Garoeb (2016 pers. comm.) also tells that Gaob ||Guruseb kept and ruled from both these royal settlements/homesteads (†Khanubes and †Gāns) before moving more permanently to the west. In 1862 it is related that he even permitted Chief Kambazembi to settle in †Khanubes-Waterberg area for temporary grazing. This once good ally later became a threat, causing Gaob ||Guruseb to move further escaping the ethnic conflicts.

By custom or as a war strategy the royals and small groups (mainly constituted of young women) would mostly move first, while the majority stayed in the area and retreated to mountainous locations of which the people were knowledgeable. At this time, then, many †Nūkhoen in this area were living interspersed with Herero with whom they intermarried, but by whom they were also subjugated (Mossolow 1993a). Gaob Xamseb was a powerful leader ruling in today's |Khomas Region, who united and was leading a number of Clans of the Damara people in this area. Gaob ||Guruseb stayed for a short while in the |Khomas amongst mainly the Hākodaman and |Khomanīn Clans, before migrating to Guxanus (Bao goab area, as commonly called today) about 15 km from |A†gomeb (Okombahe) to settle in this water rich area amongst today's !Oetgā Clan, in around 1866.

The period from about 1860-1880 was known for ethnic wars in Namibia, mostly around present-day Windhoek / Kailaes, Okahandja and Ātsas / Otjimbingwe. These wars were between Herero Chief Tjamuaha aka Maherero and the Nama under the leadership of Captain Jonker Afrikaner. Captain Afrikaner was known as a visionary and powerful leader, who enhanced building infrastructure, economic development and trade amongst indigenous groups and merchants, but who was not very much favoured by the Rhenish Missionary Society (RMS) (Boois 2017). Captain Afrikaner controlled the whole of the central and southern parts of the country during this period, as he had the advantages of horses and guns. The Herero and other Nama groups had traditional weapons such as bow and arrow etc. at this time, prior to the arrival of the German colonists who changed the course of history. In and around 1861, the war between Herero and Nama, after the death of Captain Afrikaner, intensified and lasted for many years (under changes of leaders), until 1889. For most of the time during these wars the †Nūkhoen/Damara would live interspersed between these events seeking refuge in mountainous localities and also fighting from these strongholds. European

explorers, traders and missionaries and writers observed the mountainous areas as places of Damara settlement at this time, and hence they named the people ‘Bergdamara’, which translate as mountain Damara (for more detail, also see Sullivan and Ganuses 2020). After the death Captain Jonker Afrikaner, Captain Hendrik Witbooi in 1889 (also same year of Gaob Xamseb’s death) emerged as a new Nama leader, moving to the Hornkrans area of †Gāns / Gamsberg, close to Windhoek.

Captain Hendrik Witbooi and Chief Samuel Maharero now had different enemies to deal with. German Schutztruppe forces also landed in 1889 in Walvis Bay and moved towards Windhoek. Their mission was to serve as protectors of the emerging German colonial ‘Südwest-afrika’ territory. This protection assignment became a tactic of exploitation of the indigenous people and their resources such as land, grazing, mining and livestock. Governor Leutwein empowered settlers by giving them more commercially viable land, and by 1903 colonial policies (exacerbating the effects of rinderpest in 1897) had reduced the wealth of rich Herero and other pastoralists. Chief Samuel Maharero who had formerly had good relations with the German Authorities now led the 1904 revolt, as it became increasingly clear that the colonial policies were favouring white settlers, whilst murdering and ill-treating the indigenous people.

As discussed above, during 1904 many †Nūkhoen/Damara from namely !Gûdilgams or †Khanubes (present-day Otjiwarongo), joined with and were killed together with the Herero who led the Rebellion and the Battle of Hamakari. †Nūkhoen/Damara who joined this battle came from the water source of !Gûdilgams and the wider area of †Khanubes (the area of present-day Otjiwarongo and surrounding environment today, with Okanjande being the site of the royal homestead), Gomaxas (now Waterberg-proper or Okozongimia), Garagubes, Anihoreb (Ojikura), !Gai!ās (|Ugobas or Ukuvas) and Kailaes/Okahandja (namely Xoagun, |Garoen alias Kaukoroa), amongst other places. The word ‘Hamakari’ is the name of the village where the battle started. This name comes from the †Nūkhoegowab words ‘*Hamra* /*khari*’, meaning a strong scented traditional brew of the †Nūkhoen (†Eichab pers. comm. 2016). ‘*Hamra* /*kharis*’, made from *sâun* (*Stipagrostis* spp.) grass seeds and honey (*danib*) was drunk from wooden containers, as shown in Figure 3 from 1896. According to memory, of the 34 Clans of the †Nūkhoen most of the Arodaman, !Aobelæn, Aumîn and |Ugoban (|Garoeb 2016 pers. comm.) – clans who inhabited Apabeb!/Hob (Waterberg) up to Okakarara and the surrounding areas before and during the time of resistance – are believed to have perished in this battle. Some of the surviving people of these Clans are now subsumed under |Gaiodaman, |Gobanîn, †Aodaman and Herero communities. Smaller groups of the !Ommen Clan survived and are today found mainly in Omaruru, Wilhemstal and Okahandja areas. Similar stories are echoed by Gisella Pieters and Johannes Ubiteb (cited in Erichsen 2008: 18):

At a place called Hamakari, it is said that Hereros and Damara used to stand together and fight. ... there was an entire Damara Clan who had close family ties or mixed with the Ovahereros, called |Ugoban.



Figure 3. “Bergdama” group encountered in 1896 at Okahahaha, west of Etosha pan. To the right of the image are two distinctive oblong wooden bowls used for making and sharing beer – *hamra !kharis* – made from *Stipagrostis* spp. Grass seeds (*sâun*) and honey (*danib*). Source: scan from Rudner and Rudner [Möller] 1974[1899], opp. p. 147 in Sullivan and Ganuses (2020: 292).

In his response to join the Battle of Hamakari Gaob Cornelius Goreseb, based at |Ā‡gomeb (Okombahe), reportedly said: ‘We cannot join the war between friends or so called masters’ (Gaob ||Garoeb 2016, pers. comm.). Gaob Cornelius Goreseb is therefore considered to have taken an unpopular stand, being against the participation of †Nūkhoen/Damara in the colonial-indigenous war of these years. At the same time, however, this did not mean that Damara / †Nūkhoen were spared the impacts of the colonial war of these years (Tjiriange 2017). The position of Gaob Cornelius Goreseb not to join the battle between two friends or new masters of land, was also steered by the belief that Herero leaders had deceived the †Nūkhoen/Damara by signing protection treaties from around 1894 to about 1903 over †Nūkhoen/Damara ancestral lands (Gaob ||Garoeb 2016 pers. comm.), thus making the Herero and German colonists ‘friends’ in Goreseb’s eyes and preventing an alliance of the |Ā‡gomeb / Okombahe Damara with the Herero at this time.

Gaob Goreseb’s reluctance to ally with the Herero was exacerbated by the creation of a forced labour supply (or slavery) from the camp of Okombahe, facilitated in the late 1870s by especially Chiefs Tjaherani and Manasse Tjisetsa, then located in Omaruru, in conjunction with European traders (Henrichsen 2008). Earlier, the British Cape Colony Commissioner William Coates Palgrave had been impressed by the Damara peoples’ hardworking ethics, skills, agricultural production levels, trade and wealth creation (selling 300 muids of produce of corn, mielies etc. at £2/muid) at Okombahe in 1875 (Palgrave 1877, quoted in Union of

South Africa 1918: 105-106), opportunistically and tragically recommending that Damara people would be a good source of labour to benefit colonial enterprise. A forced labour-trade began recruiting people in 1877, increasing in 1879 because of drought, creating Damara and others as a ‘working class’ for colonial enterprise. For example, according to Henrichsen (2008: 68) by July 1882 a total of 14 shipments of 200 men, 50 women and perhaps 100 children were made from Walvis Bay to Cape Town. In 1894, an agreement between Colonial German Governor Leutwein and Herero Chief Manasse Tjisetsa of Omaruru also ensured the continued obligation of the Okombahe Damara leadership to provide labourers to the colonial government for the new German South west colony (Henrichsen 2008: 79-80; see Figure 4).



Figure 4. German colonial governor Theodor Leutwein (far left), Herero leader from Otjimbingwe, Zacharias Zeraua (2nd from left), interpreter Kleinschmidt (centre), Herero leader from Omaruru, Manasse Tyiseseta (4th from left), and the Paramount Herero leader Samuel Maharero (right) in 1895. Source:

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodor_Leutwein

Henrichsen (2008) draws on archival sources to write that in 1894 Gaob Cornelius Goreseb (leader of the Blue-Flag¹⁶) also sealed a contract with Governor Theodor Leutwein for the supply of labour to the German colony. However, Gaob ||Garoeb (2016) – the present bearer of Damara history – understands that Gaob Goreseb’s apparent ‘willingness’ to enter such an

¹⁶ The ‘Blue-Flag’ Mâ!gâb associated with the royals and !Oe!ga people. The ‘Green-Flag’ !Aubasen is used by the majority of the Damara Clans. These flags have a long history associated with conflict between Damara Clans which reached a climax when Gaob Hosea Goreseb’s wife Gaos Salinde Goreses died mysteriously at the Okombahe #Nûkhoen ||Aes or Gaogu festival, around 1925-1933. A full explanation of these flags and their history and meanings is beyond the scope of this paper.

agreement was more an outcome of his desperation to be formally allocated some land for the †Nūkhoen/Damara people at Okombahe, with Leutwein exploiting this vulnerability. Overall, these dynamics in the service of colonial interests is summed up by Henrichsen (2008: 64, 80) who writes:

The history of the ‘Damara shipments’ from Damaraland to the Cape is tied up with the history of south western Africa’s increasing integration into the expanding capitalist economy of the Cape Colony during the 19th century. ... it was not a coincidence that Damara became the first people who were forced to enter into a labour contract with the colonial government. Neither were the shipments of ‘Damara’ or their so-called ‘emigration’ to the Cape accidental. Their recruitment for the Cape and the German colonial government resulted from the intertwining interests of expansion and hegemony of both colonial governments and various Herero chiefs.

Gaob Judas Goreseb, the second child and successor of Gaob Cornelius Goreseb, also tells of the ‘humiliation’ suffered by the Damara people during the times of the Colonial Germans at Okombahe (Union of South Africa 1918). Gaob Judas Goreseb narrated that people were disarmed and had no authority as their customs and laws were over-ruled. Under German control people were flogged and beaten (often as slaves), which can be argued as a ‘crime against humanity’ (Tjiriange 2017). This situation led to a destroyed culture, structures and a weakened social entity which caused conflicts amongst Clans. Ultimately it also started to undermine the †Nūkhoen Gaob’s Authority and caused the early death of Gaob Goreseb in 1910 around the age of 40 years, matters which Gaob Dawid Goreseb (who succeeded Hosea, son of Gottlieb, brother of Gaob Cornelius Goreseb) and the Damara Raad/Council led by Gaob Justus †Garoeb from 1972 onwards had to deal with and restore, whilst at the same forming alliances with SWAPO for the liberation of Namibia (Boois 2017; !Auchab 2021).

The |Khomanîn and other †Nūkhoe Clans of |Khomas area and generally the Green-flag were initially suspicious about the weakened role of Gaob Goreseb, as well as the Goresen Royal House’s relationship with the Herero and above all their relationship with German military occupation of Okombahe and the labour recruitment and slavery of †Nūkhoe/Damara people. Furthermore, and utterly disappointed by the powers at play and previous experiences of German brutality – including the killing of Gaob Xamseb by German Colonists in 1889 (see Section 5.5) – the social marginalisation of the |Khomanin and the *de facto* locality of |Khomas, sandwiched between the Herero and Nama Uprisings, left the †Nūkhoen of |Khomas and the Southern Regions no option but to join the rebellion. It is also apparent that the colonists, as with some of earlier missionary writers, were unable to draw distinctions between Damara and Herero (the Bergdamara and the cattle Damara as often referenced in missionary literature – Gaob †Garoeb 2016, pers. comm.), thus many people who lived interspersed in these areas were little recognised historically.

It is also now understood that some Sān people under the leadership of Chief Fritz †Arebeb (also referred to as Aribeb) and Chief Korob fought amongst the Herero at Waterberg (in the Hamakari Battle). It is believed that Chief Korob was killed during this battle (Gordon cited in Erichsen 2008: 18). Neib (2016) in validating the reparation case for the †Nūkhoen/Damara

and Sān peoples argues that atrocities on these communities under the German colonial regime were equally severe and must be officially recognised: including slavery and massacres starting as early as 1884-1903, and the war years of 1904-1908 and 1912-1915 (also see Gordon 2009).

Returning to the Battle of Hamakari ('Waterberg'), those who survived the battle had to journey through the harsh Kalahari (|Gopas) Desert to Botswana (than Bechuanaland). The first group of people who escaped the country and entered Bechuanaland were reportedly Damara (Gordon cited in Erichsen 2008), followed by Herero, and other Damara, then later by the Nama. As people moved from the Kalahari (|Gopas) Desert of Namibia into Botswana the scene became more gruesome. According to Gaob |Garoeb (2011) also citing Van Der Merwe (1981):

cattle were left to their mercy and stampeded through the bush, in their digging for water at waterholes meters deep. In the struggle for water our people started to slaughter some of the beasts to drink their blood. Some even went to the extent of ripping out the intestines of the animals as to get some moisture. Human corpses and animal carcasses consequently showed the way on which the sons and daughters of the soil found their route.

Others who survived the battles were detained, tortured and brutally killed in concentration camps, while others were used as forced labourers or slaves (Hamutenya and Katjivivi in Wood 1988). Concentration camps were located mainly in Windhoek, Okahandja, Karibib, Omaruru, Swakopmund and Luderitzbucht (Shark Island). Okahandja boasted four different types of camps e.g. war camps, the missionary camp, the hospital camp and the police camp. The prisoners of war were forced to work on the Otavi bahn (railway) and the maintenance of the Swakopmund-Windhoek railway line, as well as for the building of the Luderitzbucht-Kubus railway line. The latter made further use of prisoners of war.

Having outlined the general contours of the impacts on †Nūkhoen / Damara of the German colonial war, this paper now moves on to provide detail of specific †Nūkhoe war heroes during this period.

5. Unsung Resistance Heroes against Colonial German Occupation of Namibia

Resistance leaders are well-known in Namibia. In this section the stories of 'Heroes' named by Matheus Tsaeb (see Boois 2017: 120-121) and others who resisted Colonial German occupation in their own way, in their respective areas and at different times, are highlighted. People mobilised each other and strategised as inspired by wisdom and the famous quote below of old Kai-Gaob Abraham |Guruseb whom Gaob Cornelius Goreseb succeeded. As documented above, Gaob Abraham |Guruseb himself first survived ethnic wars to migrate

with a group of people from †Khanubes (present day Otjiwarongo) to Kaisābes¹⁷ (Windhoek) around 1830-1862, after battles with Chief Ruhaha and subsequently with Chief Kambazembi who came from Kaokoland. This Gaosib (kinship group) group relocated for a short time at †Gāns (Gamsberg) amongst the Hākodaman and |Khomanīn, before moving to and settling at |Ā†gomeb (Okombahe) around 1866 in the present day Erongo Region. Gaob |Guruseb was a strategist who always said:

We cannot fight the lightning during the rain, let's fight it while it still sleeps. (Gaob |Garoeb 2016, pers. comm.)

In this section the actions of six †Nūkhoen / Damara resistance fighters are documented, from oral histories recalled and passed on amongst †Nūkhoen that provide further evidence for the roles and actions of †Nūkhoen / Damara leaders and communities in resistance to German colonial rule. Tracing the movements of peoples affected by and displaced through colonial era wars, from their own perspectives and experiences, is important for reaching fuller understanding of these past events and their ramifications in the present.

5.1 Chief Īda |Hūseb aka Tsaraeb

Chief Īda |Hūseb, born *ca.* 1870s, was a Hainadama warrior of the |Khao-adaman ancestry, also referred to as the |Huruben Clan, named after the rocky |Hurubes landscapes of the Palmwag / !Uniab (!Unixab) area in the Kunene Region. He was a fearless, strong leader who according to Krenz (1972) once led most of the free moving Northern (most likely Northwestern) †Nūkhoen. His people roamed over large areas and fought battles with inward migrating Nama, Herero and later with the German Imperialists. His elders lived in the !Nau |Hurubes area and at Kai-as, an ancient settlement enclosed in the Palmwag Tourism Concession of today¹⁸. |Huruben people would seasonally migrate between for hunting or due to climatic changes, from south of the !Uniab or !Unixab River to Daob!gāus, better known as !Gaus (meaning ‘crossing’), about 20km from the Dāures/Brandberg Mountain along the !U‡gab (Ugab river) in Erongo Region. Hainadama include mainly present day †Nūkhoen Clans of the Dāuredaman, |Huruben, Namidaman and !Narenīn ancestry amongst others. Dāuredaman would also seasonally migrate northwards to the |Hurubes area for sustenance, strong intermarriages between these Clans thereby arising. People call Chief Īda Īda’s |Hūse Tsaraeb being a son of Tsaraeb (Taurob 2020, pers. comm.) and Chief Īda’s brothers still carry the Tsaraeb surname. He actually had the |Hūseb surname from his mother¹⁹. Sometimes in †Nūkhoe customs one of the sons will be given the mother’s surname so that the surname will not die out. The name |Hūseb comes from |*hūs*, referring here to the scent of a fighting bull, and all the people called him by this name.

¹⁷ As noted above, Kaisābes means big place to rest or of peace. Sadly Kaisābes became one of the major battlefields in Namibia.

¹⁸ Editor’s note: a recent film by the *Future Pasts* project documents a journey to the remembered dwelling place of Kai-as by members of the Hoanib Cultural Group of Sesfontein to play, once again, their |*Gaidi* praise songs and *Arus* healing songs there. *The Music Returns to Kai-as* is viewable at <https://vimeo.com/486865709>; also see blog article here: <https://www.futurepasts.net/post/the-music-returns-to-kai-as-a-film-by-future-pasts>

¹⁹ Information from Jacky |Hūse-|Howoses, as told by |Awe!gahes 6th child of Idab and Muhogus.

Īda, as he was alternatively called was not known amongst the settled †Nūkhoen of Okombahe, and as he and his people were not Christians their stories were not written by Missionaries (Krenz 1972). He always seasonally migrated to the Erongo Region, with some of his people and wives later settling at !Gāus. Chief Ida |Hūseb was married to four wives namely |Uises (1st wife who was Erastus' mother)²⁰, Aibes, !Naibas and Muhogus !Uwusi-|Hara†gaes by birth. He had about seventeen children with these four wives (Huses, 2016 per. comm.). There is also reference to |Guruse children and the |Garoe daughter who gave birth to Hoan!ga |Garoes, who married Dāusab (Brand)²¹, who could also have been Ida's children or grandchildren. When missionary Rev. Steinberg (called Kuhle by the people) came and Īda's people adopted Christianity, Īda was forced to marry one wife, which was the young Muhogus |Hūses (Gao Taras).

Chief Īda |Hūseb was a resistance fighter well-known by his north-western (Kunene) people and later even by the Colonial Germans. Chief |Hūseb and his mother were imprisoned but escaped the Okombahe 'concentration-like' labour-camp in the 1890s (see above). This camp was one of the first of its kind in the country to assemble, recruit and trade mainly Damara people as labour through the Walvis Bay port to Cape Town to become indentured at the Cape in households and on farms (Henrichsen 2008), as recounted above. Angered by the brutality he experienced and observed, this Damara leader launched a rebellion against the Colonial German Authorities. Chief Īda |Hūseb on horseback survived the Tsoaxau-Usab (present day Husab mine) area battle that is believed to have had been fought with Prince |Haihāb (see 5.6) as well as Chief Īda's rebellion in the Kunene region with the German colonialist. There is also a belief that there is a mass-grave of †Nūkhoe/Damara people in the |Goanta†gab area of present day Kunene region, of those who died in the battle known as Chief Īda's rebellion against the German Imperialists (Gaob |Garoeb, 2016 per. comm.). Chief Īda died from old age (in around 1950) and was buried in the Dāures/!U†gab (Ugab river) area at !Gāus. Today the Dāuredaman Traditional Authority holds their annual traditional festival at !Gāus.

5.2 Chief Amburu !Hoaeb

Chief Amburu !Hoaeb (commonly called Ambru) is remembered and respected as the last warrior leader that ruled the †Aodaman (also referred to as Arodaman) residing in the areas of Ārob²² (Kamanjab-Outjo-Etosha) to Aro!hūb (Apabeb/Waterberg) when land issues and consequent wars erupted. He was well known by the Herero, as he initially rebelled against the occupation of land by Chief Kambazembi in the 1860s, and is later known to have intermarried with Herero. During this period †Nūkhoe/Damara co-existed with Sān (†Aodaman mainly with Hailom), and with gradually in-migrating Herero, when colonialism started and land was forcibly taken by Germans and later Anglo-Boers for use by white settlers building their new colonial economies. People were constrained to work for these new

²⁰ Information from Jacky |Hūse-|Howoses, as told by |Awe!gahes 6th child of Idab and Muhogus.

²¹ Brand is the surname of a Damara family in Uis whose elders may have intermarried with Europeans, changing their name from Dāusa to Brand.

²² Ārob refers to arid red earth feastures of the area.

settlers on their ancestral land, or to move to towns like Tsūob ('a place of no danger'), present day Outjo.

Chief Amburu !Hoaeb had two brothers, namely Âisagowab²³ and †Hīsa-ammi²⁴, as well as sisters. †Hīsa-am !Hoaeb (as he was called by his elders) or !Hai or !Gailgami (the great great grandfather of Tsudom Petrus !Hoaeb and Maria !Hoeas), stayed most of his life in the area of Ārob – specifically Nugubahes in Kamanjab and !Nūbes in Outjo, which were some of the main settlements for these †Aodama people. †Hīsa-ammi (the great great grandfather of Tsudom Petrus !Hoaeb and Kai-Robba Andrew !Hoaeb) was also a fighter and a prophet. He could see things in advance, and was also a spiritual healer (*|Hūs tsina ge re hī kai khoeb ge*) who even guided his elder brother Chief Amburu (!Hoaeb Mathews 2021, pers. comm.). Over the centuries, these Damara people were moving seasonally between Ārob (Kamanjab-Outjo-Etosha) and Aro!hūb (Apabeb/Waterberg area) to collect and to trade with salt from Etosha. Chief Amburu was a wealthy man whose ancestors were shown by their Tsaen²⁵ in-laws the routes for salt trading as far as Bechuanaland / Botswana (!Hoeas 2012, pers. comm.; |Garoes 2020b). He therefore had status, and over the years inter-marriages brought social cohesion between the ethnic communities, with Amburu known to have had †Nūkhoe/Damara and Herero wives. He led the Arodaman remembered today as !Hoaen, Somsen, †Nawesen, Guidao‡oan, |Awesen and some !Ganen assumed to be the last group of Arodaman of his ancestry and their Herero offspring of Kamuhange, Kamendu amongst others. Chief Amburu !Hoaeb (the great great grandfather of Otavi Mayor Isaac !Hoaeb) and his brother Âisagowab (Leonard 'Mistake', !Hoaeb's great great grandfather) were both skilled fighters and brave stalwarts that left no stone unturned. These royal brothers fought so many land disputes and ethnic battles that they had enemies and simply mentioning their names was forbidden within the Damara communities so as to shield them from their enemies, as well as because ancient Damara were very secretive and sacred people. Chief Amburu !Hoaeb was praised as 'a python during the day and mamba snake during the night' (|Khamuseb 2020, pers. comm. citing Erna Ganes and Ben |Hīna Guidao‡oab). He battled silently and slowly like a python in the day, and stiffened the ribs of the enemy in secrecy; but when cornered was skilful and struck like a mamba with his poisoned arrow.

There are many stories about Chief Amburu in the folklore amongst the Arodaman and †Aodama people. Nugubahes (close to Kamanjab) was the birth place of these brothers. Their first battles were to fight Herero back to the Kaokoland. It is believed that it is these ethnic wars frequently fought Herero back to north, until they said 'it is enough' and named the place Opuwo (meaning 'it's enough'). This Kamanjab area was like a buffer zone during these times. The only leader that came peacefully with many cattle and crossed as a group for seeking temporary grazing was Chief Kambazembi. Another story tells of how Chief Amburu followed the blood-path according to folklore, to the place where kidnapped Damara women were kept as wives. The story has it that when Herero warriors raided their village, the only

²³ Âisagowab is a descriptive term which means hilarious or laughter sounding, but a sincere deep talker.

²⁴ †Hīsa-ammi means garrulous or 'motomouth', a person who can be described as gallant or with a radiant personality.

²⁵ Tsaen is a surname of in-laws who mostly traded salt up to !Anib, which later became Botswana and South Africa.

survivor was a boy who escaped. This boy ran to Chief Amburu's village but was in shock and could not talk. Following the ancient practice of story-telling through a song, he told the story of the women who had been kidnapped and the men who had been killed or captured by Herero warriors. The elder men listened attentively to the song. They understood the message and followed the path to the women. Chief Amburu was a *soxa* (magical) man like many Damara warriors. His prophetic intuition was well known in the villages and guided them up to the so called 'blood-path'. Chief Ambururu's army attacked this Herero base and freed the captured women. He was a strong warrior using the skill and tactics mentioned above to defeat with his bow Herero fighters using guns. People therefore praised him as '*!Hūbi |na tama |gauseb*': 'the man whose arrow never falls to ground'. Chief Amburu !Hoaeb fought these initial ethnic wars with a bow and poisoned arrows, until introduced to a rifle with the arrival of Europeans. It is interesting that this war for beautiful †Nūkhoē/Damara women was not only a common fight with Herero men, but with changes of land systems and powers, some †Aodama and |Gaiodama *aoxae* (young women) were also sought after by German and British settlers, leaving mixed-blood children by European men or masters who their mothers worked for. This experience is also known in other central, southern and north-western parts of Namibia (for example, see Sullivan and Ganuses 2021).

Chief Amburu is 'the leader known to have who lost his life by the gun', according to folklore. He had a desire that when he dies he must be buried facing the sunrise and sitting straight up, as per his request (!Hoaes 2012 pers. comm.; |Khamuseb 2020 pers. comm. citing Erna Ganes and Ben |Hīna Guidao†aob). Although Chief Amburu was a very popular leader, his death remains mysterious. There is a story that the colonial Germans were aware of Chief Amburu and made an offer to hunt and kill this man, and that he was thus killed in around 1902-1903, before the Battle of Hamakari / Waterberg. One day German soldiers were escorted to his place by Herero and Nama men to kill him and collect his bow, arrows and gun. Knowing stories of skulls taken to Germany, he kindly requested to not be beheaded, and his head was not to be taken outside the country. He was known for saying 'Let me be buried where my umbilical cord is', meaning his birth village. That day when the alliance came to kill him whilst unprepared at his homestead, he was only with an old and sick man. This old man named Auda |Awiseb was a very sick man and had been deserted by his family when they moved for hunting, as he could not walk. Chief Amburu carried him in and out of the homestead every day. A German soldier shot Chief Amburu, and when he was falling down he nearly fell head first into the fire. Auda |Awiseb, the man who never walked, started miraculously to walk that day, rescuing Chief Amburu's body from burning in the fire. It is suspected that he is thus buried in !Nūbe |Garus area at (Amolida or |Ā|aras village), present day Namatanga area, although it cannot be confirmed. What can be confirmed is that his brother †Hīsa-ammi died of old age and was buried at Nugubahes, ancient village of !Hoaen²⁶ ancestors. Others tell a slightly different story: that, upon arrival of Germans in the country, Chief Amburu allied with Herero who were his in-laws (having also married Herero wives), and with them he fought the Battle Hamakari during 1904, where, together with his brother †Aisagowab, he was killed and was not buried at the place of his umbilical cord, as was his

²⁶ Mathues !Hoaeb in 2021 shared this !Hoaen family story.

desire. In all this mystery, one thing is certain from both stories: this man Chief Amburu !Hoaeb lost his life by the gun of colonial German soldiers.

During the Battle of Hamakari, some of Chief Amburu's people from Aro!hūb (Waterberg) fled to seek asylum with the ancient †Aodaman community. It is known today that after the death of Chief Amburu !Hoaeb another group of people led by Chief Petrus !Ganeb, who succeeded Chief Amburu !Hoaeb (!Aseb 2020, pers. comm.), moved to the Ārob (Kamanjab-Outjo-Etosha) area, and later as far as Fransfontein and Khorixas, to become today part of the †Aodaman Clan. From those remaining, most Arodaman / †Aodaman are still living in the Ārob area. Others remained with the |Gaiodaman in Otjiwarongo and others are still found in the east of Waterberg amongst the |Gobanîn and Herero communities, whilst many perished during the Battle with colonial Germans.

5.3 General Gamakhābeb |Awarab

Gamakhābeb |Awarab, better known as Gamakhābeb, is a warrior from the |Awaran descent (|Khamuseb 2020, citing Auma Vitoria |Awaras). This stalwart fighter's name Gamakhābeb means, a man with a uniquely askewed curved bow, hence the name Gamakhābeb (*khās* = 'bow'). Like most †Nūhoen/Damara fighters, he was a well-built man with inherited tough feet, making him a fine mountain climber, like many †Nūkhoe warriors of this time. He battled ethnic wars with Herero using his bow, prior to arrival of colonialists. Gamakhābeb is remembered as the warrior that belittled colonial Germans in the Battle of Parases (Parësis) (Gaob |Garoeb 2016 citing Gideon Geiseb), and as an ally with the Herero from around 1904. Many people refer to Gamakhābeb as a |Gaiodama warrior. Folklore, however, tells that his |Awara father was |Hurube man (of |Khao-adaman ancestry) of the Palmwag (!Uniab or !Unixab River) area in present day Kunene Region, just like Chief Īda |Hūseb mentioned earlier in 5.1. His father is the one who came to settle in Parases area with his brother, where Gamakhābeb was born. It is likely that his mother was a |Gaiodama woman of the area whom his father married at Parases, hence his |Gaiodama heritage. It is also known that Gamakhābeb's |Awaran relatives settled in Otjiwarongo and their offspring still live there today.

One day when he heard that there is peace and place for businesses Gamakhābeb move from Parases to that place which was Ātsas (Otjimbingwe). On the way he got lost and while following a path of the sheep he arrived to a homestead which happened to be Guxanus, the new settlement of Gaob Abraham |Guruseb (Seibeb) in the Erongo region. It was a surprising and exciting place for him: as well as being the royal palace of his Kai-Gaob, the place was known for its beautiful women. It is these women who nicknamed him Gomadi-gehab, which means he was found by the cows. Gaob |Garoeb knew about Gamakhābeb's battles and about Gomadi-gehab from Parases and his story, but it was Chief Max Haraseb of the |Gaiodaman that informed him that Gomadi-gehab was in fact Gamakhābeb. Gamakhābeb/Gomadi-gehab fell in love with a woman assumed to be of Goresen descent called Tabatamis. Their first child was †Gabasi-|loeb was born at Guxanus, after which they moved to Ātsas. Their second

son was born at Åtsas / Otjimbingwe and attended school there. He was given a Christian or European name Cornelius... a God fearing man, to represent the regenerated of the baptists, western educated and foreseen to soon be under different rule. It is believed that this second son was Gaob Cornelius (Goreseb) (see Table 1).²⁷ It is also known that Gamakhābeb's |Awaran relatives settled in Otjiwarongo and their offspring still live there today.

It is possible that Gamakhābeb only returned to Parases, the place where he grew up, when he heard about the Battle of Parases, at which he became known as one of best fighters ever. The history of Namibia tells that fighting a †Nūkhoe/Damara (also called 'Bergdamara') in mountainous terrain was not easy. Mountains were their stronghold, where people usually remained undefeated. Rolling stones down the slope 'to form an avalanche' from the mountain was one of the tactics of the †Nūkhoen/Damara, and was also used by Gamakhābeb, together with weapons and bows, during the Battle of Parases against the Germans (Gaob |Garoeb 2016 pers. comm.; |Khamuseb 2020).

During earlier mentioned ethnic wars, Gamakhābeb and Aiab (Katjinga or Katjomasa weja) and their warriors were battling Herero even up to Omururu area, using !Oetgāb or !Ui†gāb mountains as their hide-out or strong-hold. With reference to these tough ethnic battles, the Herero people renamed !Hūidilgams (the water-point for weaver birds by Damara) to Omaruru, which literally means it's tough (!Auchab 2021). The name Omaruru can also be a translation from the †Nūkhoen name for the |Eseb / Omaruru River (Doeseb, 2016 pers. comm.), which means arduous or stubborn. It is Gamakhābeb's fighting that made Omaruru a strong-hold for the |Gaiodaman, in an area originally associated with !Ommen and partly with !Oetgān Clans of the Damara.

Gamakhābeb initially battled ethnic wars using his bow with Herero people arriving in the area. This however changed with the arrival of colonial Germans to the area, against whom he fought together with Herero and was introduced to a rifle. Gamakhābeb was even more tactful with a rifle, and Herero people will also say 'he is ours' (Gaob |Garoeb 2016 pers. comm.), with all groups together praising him as '*Mûhe tama |haseb*' ('the man of an invisible bullet'). It was thus easy for Herero to trust Gamakhābeb to lead the Battle of Parases and during this Parases Battle he had 50 skilful frontliners, and the first frontline of 20 fighters – who were they? They were all †Nūkhoen/Damara warriors, while the following 30 warriors of the next frontline were a mix of Herero and Damara warriors. Some of the Damara were already subjugated by Germans and partly also by Hereros prior to that battle (a broader picture of area is provided in Mossolow 1993a). As such, it was easy for Gamakhābeb to strategically engage these hardworking, subjugated and skilful Damara young men, whom he trusted to fight their way to freedom from German rule. Many people died resisting German Imperialism and the Battle of Parësis battle must be remembered as one of the key battles in the resistance war of the Namibian people.

²⁷ Since it is known that Gamakhābeb returned to Parases and if what Chief Haraseb asserts is true, it could be that Tabamatis in later years fathered five further children with the man of the |Nababeb descent, as she had seven children according to Gaob |Garoeb (2016 pers. comm.).

Gamakhābeb is also known to have been a *soxa* man: a man skilled in magical powers. He was mainly a healer, but could prophesise too. It is said that he knew that one day he will die at the hands of a white man. Gamakhābeb told his people that, it was his desire not to be arrested by the colonial Germans, but to die in the battle. These stories depicting *soxa* or magical powers, prophecies and ‘ǂNūkhoen secrecy’ remind me of the narrative of Hendrick Jacob Wikar reporting from his 1778-1779 in the area of the Orange/!Gariep River that Damara were ‘feared magicians’ (as mentioned above and summarised in Sullivan and Ganuses 2020: 288), and also as what Chief Abraham ǂKhīdoe²⁸ Gariseb portrayed: ‘We ǂNūkhoen call our Ancestors ‘Aboxan’ (literally translating as ‘Those with God’). He stated further that:

!Nāu ge i kaikhoen ge. Aboxan ge ||khaudi tamas ga io !garob !oa gere ūi... tsî ||na-amaga
†gui toron, !khamde, !hû ||hanadî tsî |awexudi tsîna !kharu!nâ hâ, xawe ha-aona |nammi
!nâ !kho!oa tsî †khîb !nâ gere !khotga.

Our people were of great spiritual fortitude and naturalists like wilderness they lived in, and despite going through many ordeals that weakened and continuously defeated their kingdoms, displaced and deceived them, they still remained content, accommodating and able to survive.

It seems that the ‘ǂNūkhoen secrecy’ or *soxa* myth has also distorted information. Elders will classify information by stating that the incident was ‘*soxa*’ or sacred, but often meaning it should be kept secret. Once it is classified as *soxa*, it is concluded as ‘unexplainable’ and no young person will know of it, only key elders and the Gaob. This secrecy and unexplained or forbidden stories, even to date has made elders secretive or fearful to share all information on some stories, causing these stories to remain unwritten. The history of the lost settlement of Kai-as, the Battle of Chief Tuaguri ǂNameb at Sesfontein²⁹, the Battle of !Am-aib (Ameib) with colonial Germans and also with the Swartbooi Nama at the foot of !Oetgâb or !Ui‡gâb Mountains, the Battle of Tsaobis, and the Battle of Chief Ida |Hüseb with colonial Germans, including mass graves of Damara people in the northwestern Kunene region, are amongst those stories shrouded with secrecy and at risk of being lost.

Folklore has it that Gamakhābeb was shot as he had prophesized by the colonial German military in the Battle of Parases (Parësis) / Otjiwarongo area. When shot, he went to the mountain saying that he was going to die. Based on his earlier request, he was only buried after two years (||Khamuseb 2020, citing Auma Vitoria |Awaras). After two years – around 1905-1906 – his body was repatriated by his people and taken to Parases, where he was laid to rest.

²⁸ Chief Abraham ǂKhīdoe Gariseb died on 23 July 2021 at the age of 102.

²⁹ Editor’s note: a short video of this story, as told by the ||Khao-a Daman elder Ruben Sanib, is online at <https://vimeo.com/160633314>, with accompanying text.

5.4 Chief Burutago Willie Kambauruma (Chief Tsâdago) and Unknown Heroes of the Battle of Hamakari

As discussed above, the †Nûkhoen/Damara are original indigenous peoples of Namibia, a major lineage of which moved from northern to central Namibia after being defeated in Aambo battles in the north. Damara people fled northern Namibia and gradually moved and settled at !Gûdilgams or †Khanubes (near present-day Otjiwarongo) under the leadership of Kai-Gaob |Nababeb. As documented above, it was only with the arrival and attack by Chief Ruhaka in 1820s and Chief Kambazembi in 1861-1962 respectively that †Nûkhoen/Damara under Kai-Goab ||Guruseb left †Khanubes with a small group and moved, via †Gâns (Gamsberg) to settle in the Okombahe area, amongst the !Oe†gan or !Ui†gân Clan.

†Nûkhoen/Damara Kai-Gaogu/Kings ruled most of the central areas from †Khanubes – the royal settlement at the centre of the country – and that's why, as observed, two of the aforementioned warriors fought in this area. This area is rich in natural resources including water and savanna habitat suitable for grazing. More stories are to come about this area.

A large group of †Nûkhoen/Damara remained where they had always been, with some living east of Waterberg under the leadership of the Sân Chief Kaitana †Areseb (Aribib) alias Mutjira, who Boois (2017) also asserts as possibly |Gaiodama on the maternal side, also called Amsira by Damara people. Chief †Areseb Mutjira ruled from Etosha, Tsumeb and Otavi areas towards Omatako Mountains. †Nûkhoen/Damara people were residing in the area of Gomaxas (Waterberg-proper or Otjozondgombe), Okakarara and beyond the !Gâi!gas (|Ugobas) before the in-migration of Chief Kambezembi (who, as described above, became a wealthy and powerful leader in the area). Whilst Kai-Gaob ||Guruseb, who was settled at †Khanubes, sought refuge at †Gans/Gamsberg, Sân Chief †Areseb remained and was a strong ruler in the areas around Outjo-Waterberg. Chief †Areseb is believed to have been killed by Germans during the Battle of Hamakari. Chief Amburu !Hoaeb (see 5.2 above) remained mainly in the area, after Kai Gaob ||Guruseb's departure to |Khomas, but was killed as mentioned before. Sân Chief †Areseb people were nearly wiped out and only estimated to be about 4,800 of his people (Sân) survived in the battle with the Germans (|Khamuseb 2020). Chief †Areseb alias Mutjira was succeeded by Chief †Aobeb after his death in these battles. Thus the Sân Arodaman, |Ùgoban and |Gaiodaman all fought at the Battle of Hamakari. Gaob ||Garoeb (2011) also speaks of three Damara Heroes as Generals of the war at the Battle of Hamakari:

... it is a well-known fact that some renowned †Nûkhoen/Damara leaders and fighters fought on the Herero side. Amadamab best known as Mutakume, was one of the Generals or Chief Warrior of Chief Samuel Maharero who fought with the Herero. Mutakume is a Herero word which literally translates to Damara/†Nûkhoen. He was a strongly built man who could lift a donkey over a fence. Early in August 1904 the Herero people gathered their cattle at Hamakari, but the German colonists cut off their water supply. Guerrilla fighter Mutakume was brave enough to break the German cordon on the night of 10 August 1904 and chase the thirsty cattle to stampede through the German forces: in doing so he opened up a passage to the water for both humans and cattle to drink. ... On 11 August 1904 the main battle occurred and Tsâdago (also cited in Boois 2017), was another Damara who fought the battle as a General for Chief Maharero. Another Damara

leader, ‘Hoantabe, is remembered as one of the leaders who fought side by side with Amadamab Mutakume and Burutugo Willie Kambauruma (Chief Tsâdago), in alliance alongside Samuel Maherero, David Kambazembi and his three sons Salatiel, Kanjungu and Kombombo, as well as Asser Riarua and Ouandja. He was one of the leaders from Gomaxas (Otjozondgombe) and !Gai!gas (Ukuvas) who joined to fight at Hamakari.

Burutago Willie Kambauruma, the man with many names, was renamed as Chief Tsâdago or Jacob in Botswana (referred to by Boois 2017). ‘Tsâdago’ means we survived ordeals or experienced hard circumstances. At birth his #Nûkhoe mother of the |Goagosen descent named this son of hers Burutago, which means ‘I am surprise or shocked’. Almost like a response his father’s side (said to be Chief Samuel Maherero) responded and named him Kambauruma (which means I am not shocked) in otjiHerero, and hence Willie Kambauruma. Others argue that according to Herero tradition people were against Chief Maherero bringing his children of the Damara wives and raising them as royals (||Khamuseb 2020 citing Justus Kaderetitee Kambauruma and Else !Howaes), meaning that he grew up with his mother and strong father’s influence. It was also common for Damara of that area up to Kai||khaes/Okahandja to adopt an Herero language name for status (Gaob ||Garoeb 2016 pers. comm.; also narrated by Commissioner Willem Coate Palgrave in his expeditions), or to have a father’s surname which is not a custom for Damara, unless parents had a recognised marriage. The reality however was that the Willie Kambauruma name for Burutago came from Herero Chief Willie Kambauruma of Omaruru, which is in fact his father’s side. Today this Namibian Hero is known as Chief Burutago Willie Kambauruma and Chief Tsâdago or Jacob in Botswana (Boois 2017).

Burutago Willie Kambauruma was a leader known to have freed the people of Otjiwarongo (fighting alongside Gamakhâbeb in the battle of Parases, see section 5.3). He again served as a General of Chief Samuel Maherero during the Battle of Hamakari. During this later battle when his firearm was hot, Burutugo refuelled the rifle using ‘a liquid or water as quoted’. And while people thought he gave up, Burutugo moved his rifle in style and fearlessly into the German soldiers, to create a pathway out. He is said have shot many German soldiers. It is told that ‘they too were falling like flies’ (||Khamuseb 2020 citing Fanuel Kapama and Katitire Kaura). Gaob ||Garoeb (2011 and 2016, also citing Mixuo Naobeb – born 1909 at Gomaxas, Waterberg – and other oral sources) further clarifies that:

Chief Tsâdago led one group of #Nûkhoe to Botswana. Damara who know these ancient spaces were the first to arrive in Botswana. When the Namibians fled to Botswana, most #Nûkhoen/Damara remained around the Botswana / Namibia border at the settlement which they later called Töasis (meaning “go and perish”), but still a great number of them proceeded to inland Botswana. Another group moved under the leadership of a certain Kauritara !Aoxamûb alias Kongotwi. The people of Chief Tsâdago also known as Jacob, are still at large in Kalkfontein, Tsotsas, Lehututu, Logabe, Mapokong, Tsabong, Nonniesput, Boksputs, and elsewhere in Botswana. Some people are acculturated and are back with the Ba-Herero, i.e. the Herero at Gam. Other #Nûkhoen/Damara and Herero people branched off to the south via Kaidaos (Otjinene), |Naelkhoms (Epukiro), !Uri!khupis (Witvlei) for |Anes (Rehoboth), and alternately for Kainachas (!Gae|aexas, also !Gai|naexas), Hailgâseb (Vaalgras) and the deep, deep south as far as |Aexa-aibes

(Warmbad), under leaders like Kahere alias Max Dax, !Kharigub alias Kahuihee, †Nuseb alias Hamaa-Haman etc.

The †Nūkhoen/Damara, like the Herero, clearly also suffered the total onslaught of the Germans through the extermination order, and also initially fled through the Kalahari wasteland. The ammunition of the foe could not distinguish and or discriminate between a †Nūkhoen /Damara, a Nama, a Sān and/or a Herero.

The Damara leader Chief Tsâdago or Burutago is also the leader known to have negotiated the talks with the Botswana Government to repatriate the body of Herero Chief Samuel Maharero. Burutugo Willie Kamauruma, Chief Tsâdago-Jakob, only died in later years and was buried in Botswana.

5.5 Gaob Medusaleg |Gao Xamseb

Gaob Xamseb, born ca. 1812 was a son of Xamseb/Gawa!nan descendants of people from the |Khomas Hochland on his father's side. His mother was of Pirisamun descent (Guriras 2018 pers. comm), a Hâkodama: people who live in the area of Rehoboth heights (!Aib) as people called it, particularly the area west of Rehoboth up to and around Hâkos mountain or Hâkosveld. ||Garoen were rulers were rulers of the Hâkodaman from ||Naraes settlement and those who married into Hâkos royals were the |Uiran family, who at times also led the Hâkodaman. Generally Hâkos area was lived in mainly by family groups of ||Garoen, |Uiran, Pirisamun (Gariseb 2016, pers. comm.) and !Auchan amongst other (||Garoes, 2019). Gaob Xamseb farmed at !Naos where his mother's Pirisamun family lived and farmed. This well built warrior was known as Medusaleg by the family (Guriras 2018), but also as Chief Xamseb by others, which British colonial official Willem Coates Palgrave wrote as Chief Kamseb (see Figure 1).

Gaob Medusaleg |Gao Xamseb's royal crown was paternal from his Xamse and Gawa!na descent, and he led the people of the |Khomas Hochland (also referred to as the |Khomanîn). He was a resourceful leader who often moved between Kaisâbes (|Ae|gams/Windhoek), !Naos, and †Gâns (Gamsberg) which borders the Hâkodaman and |Khomanîn Clans). Kaisâbes and also †Gâns were the main settlement areas from where Gaob Xamseb ruled, †Gâns also being a neutral and safe place of high altitude. Gaob Xamseb is remembered as the Gao|gae|gui-aob (Boois 2017: 27) of the †Nūkhoen/Damara in the |Khomas, i.e. a leader who attempted to unite the people, although of a different genealogy³⁰ of the Damara Kings/Gaogu of Gaob Doe|goeb, coming originally from |Gopas (the Kalahari) through ||Khanigu and Auas Mountains (east of Kaisâbes, Windhoek). Gaob Xamseb mostly hosted the †Nūkhoen during

³⁰ The position of Gaob Xamseb is thought-provoking and interesting for contemporary understandings of †Nūkhoen/Damara paramount leadership. It might be argued that Gaob Xamseb was a Kai-Gaob (Paramount leader), albeit from a different genealogy to Gaob Abraham |Guruseb, the reigning northeren king of †Khanubes of these years. Orature of the area tells that the Damara Clans from |Khomas and southern areas were not in, or ever from, the north in ancient times. They came through ||Khanigu Mountains from |Gopas-Kalahari area (close to Gobabis) and settled in |Khomas and the south (||Garoes 2019; 2020a; 2020b; also Gaob Doe|goeb's genealogy of Kings/Gaogu by !Ainîn 2019). A common belief today is that Gaob Xamseb was the |Khomanîn leader, but not the leader for Hâkodaman, !Aolaen and other Damara Clans in the |Khomas: he was a !Haos Gaob, whilst Gaob Abraham |Guruseb was the only Kai-Gaob (the King) with authority over entire †Nūkhoen/Damara |Aes.

the Herero and Nama ethnic wars, which lasted over decades in the |Khomas territory where he lived.

‡Gāns (Gamsberg) is an area where British army captain James Edward Alexander encountered ‘Hill Damara’ in 1836-1837 (as reviewed in Sullivan and Ganuses 2020: 288-289). He truly was a warrior leader who provided asylum and protection for many people (such as Sān amongst many other) and those who fled battles in these years. Gaob Xamseb was also the explorer who established the route from Kaisabes/Windhoek to Walvisbay, to move between people as he mainly ruled over the |Khomanîn Clan in the ‡Gans (Gamsberge), |Khomas Hochland up to the Windhoek area and as a link to !Kuisebdaman. This route was later upgraded by |Hôalara |Aixa|aes (Afrikaner) Nama Captain Jonker Afrikaner, an industrialist (Boois 2017) and an ally of Gaob Xamseb (Gaob |Garoeb 2008), who is believed to have named Kaisâbes (Windhoek) as |Aelgams (which refers to the hot spring found there).

Gaob Xamseb was considered rich and powerful: his surname which means ‘the lion’. He had an army of strong well-built young men (Boois 2017: 27) who resisted colonial German occupation of today’s Namibia. According to Boois (2017: 27), Captain Jonker Afrikaner was his ally and, as told, the two in around the 1850s were negotiating arms deals before Captain Afrikaner’s death around 1861. Gaob Xamseb continued to strengthen his army of well-built young men, who were highly knowledgeable of the |Khomas mountain areas. According to Boois (2017: 27) both the Germans and British showed interest in allying with Gaob Xamseb because of this young army. Oral history depicts that Germans were suspicious that he would join the British on the part of the Union of South Africa during the first World War (WW1), as opposed to the Germans. During colonial times he refused to join the Germans when approached by General Franke, and refused to be part of the colonial army (Boois 2017: 27) so as to resist colonial occupation of the country. It is further told that he was arrested and detained in the oldest white building (not Alte Feste) behind Windhoek High School hostel (area of National Botanical Garden), which was build before the arrival of Governor Curt Von Francois who build Alte Feste in 1890. Oral sources maintain that he was killed by colonial German forces possibly on false accusations. Moreover since 1884 the country was already a German protectorate with German officials coming into the country as earlier groups to sign protective treaties with Namibia leaders, and possibly for scouting or preparations during the six years before the arrival official delegation of Governor Curt Von Francois in 1890. Gaob |Garoeb (2016) indicates that he read that the Germans once wrote that Gaob Xamseb committed suicide while in their captivity, but oral history maintains that the Germans being fully aware of his death Gaob Xamseb in 1889. The death of Gaob Xamseb remains mysterious. According to |Khomanîn Traditional Authority (2019) and oral sources, Gaob Xamseb and his brother were killed by the German forces in 1889 and his head allegedly decapitated, but this cannot be confirmed. Gaob Xamseb’s body is buried in the National Botanical Garden in Windhoek (Gariseb 2016 pers. comm.; |Khomanîn Traditional Authority 2019), with the grave re-discovered by the Damara Cultural and Heritage Forum in 2006. We ritually ask Gaob Xamseb to respond: *Oe am da re Gaob Xamsehe, oe am da re!*

On 23 November 2021, as we were coming close to publishing this paper, I came across information that German troops landed in Walvisbay in 1889, in the same year of Gaob Xamseb's death. These colonial German troops were on a mission to seize control of the trade routes leading from the coast into interior³¹ with German colonists signing treaties with indigenous leaders from the mid-1880s. Around the time of death of Gaob Xamseb, some people fled to the mountains in the |Khomas Hochland and up to Âtsās/Otjimbingwe and today's Erongo Region. According to Boois (2017: 79) and Chief †Eichab (2016), others fled to Sam!Khuis (†Khūbes) south of Rehoboth, the place where Damara people were attacked by the joined forces of the colonial Germans and Basters, before the Germans, in an act of betrayal, turned against their Baster allies.

After the death of Gaob Xamseb in 1889, Captain Hendrik Witbooi of the Nama settled amongst the †Nūkhoen/Damara people in the †Gans (Gamsberge) area around 1891 at a place called ||Nā‡gās (Hornkranz), within Hākosveld or upper !Aib and about 30km from †Gans (Gamsberge) (||Garoes 2019, 2020). The Hākodaman were people living primarily in this area, †Gaodaman were to the south-west, |Anesdaman (also referred to as the !Ainidaman) from Rehoboth and to the south of Rehoboth or lower !Aib, |Khomanīn north in the |Khomas Hochland and parts of Kaisābes/Windhoek, and !Aolae in the present-day Daan Viljoen park and Kaisābes/Windhoek (||Garoes 2019, 2020a). In 1892 Captain Witbooi refused to sign a protective treaty with Curt Von Francois. German Schutztruppe under the leadership of Governor Curt Von Francois attacked Captain Witbooi and the people at ||Nā‡gās (Hornkranz) where many people were massacred in 1893, including women, children and elderly of mainly Nama as well as adversely affected †Nūkhoen/Damara in the area. 1885 and 1893 are said to be the first Nama Uprisings against colonial German rule. Gaob Xamseb's resistance in 1889, in the context of Nama resistance to colonialism in the 1880s and 1890s, led to his death, making him one of the earliest Namibian Resistance fighters of the African people against German Imperialists.

5.6 Prince |Haihāb ||Guruseb

Prince |Haihāb's rebellion against the German Imperialists is a well-known story in orature and literature (see, for example, DCHF 2005; Haacke 2010) as one of the first resistance fighters of Namibia who revolt against colonialism. Prince |Haihāb ||Guruseb was born *ca.* early 1840s. Gaob ||Guruseb of the †Nūkhoen/Damara who ruled from †Khanubes / Otjiwarongo over the entire central areas, before becoming settled at Okombahe, had two sons, namely †Aitabeb and |Haihāb: |Haihāb ||Guruseb was the second (DCHF 2005). †Aitabeb the elder brother of Prince |Haihāb ||Guruseb was a great hunter, who wore trophy horn badges on his forehead. He had no political or leadership interests and the crown was passed to his brother. Folklore also talks about the rebellious tactician Prince |Haihāb as the crown prince, the son of Gaob Abraham ||Guruseb who fled the area of †Khanubes and Apabeb or !Hōb

³¹ Namibia (German South West Africa And South West Africa):

<https://www.encyclopedia.com/international/encyclopedias-almanacs-transcripts-and-maps/namibia-german-south-west-africa-and-south-west-africa>, accessed 23 November 2021.

(Waterberg) area to move west, blaming his father Gaob ||Guruseb to be too peaceful to fight any battle. Folklore depicts that Prince |Haihāb at the time of around the 1860s as unhappy about Herero Chief Kambazembi starting to rule the area of †Khanubes/Otjiwarongo and Waterberg after being welcomed for temporary grazing in this ancient †Nūkhoen area (see above and Mossolow 1993a). Others believe that |Haihāb was also aggravated by the increased missionary work of the Rhenish Missionary Society (RMS), promoting the God now called Elob in Khoekhoeogowab as supposed to ||Gammāb of his ancestors. More than 70% of Namibians are Christians today, attesting to the powerful work of the missionaries in the past in terms of spreading the gospel of God. Tjibebe (2003: 51) confirms that the RMS missionaries became prominent as early as 1840s, and able increasingly to influence and rule indigenous communities prior to the arrival of colonial German authorities which substantially changed the political system. Prince |Haihāb thus moved and settled at |Uikerens and !Khūos Mountain area in present day Erongo region and was the greatest fighter known amongst the †Nūkhoen/Damara.

Prince |Haihāb ||Guruseb was described by people as a gentleman, with children by wives especially in the |Uikerens, Swakopmund (Tsaoxub-ams) and Ātsas (Otjimbingwe) areas. He had a strongly built physique and was a man with extraordinary speed whose footprints were reportedly easy for Germans to identify. This strong warrior who often stayed and fought solitary battles – like a black rhinocerous bull, as he was praised – also had a small so-called ‘Guerilla gang or fighters’ who would strategically destroy the railway going from Karibeb and Ātsās (Otjimbingwe) towards Swakopmund, from his homestead located on the !Khūos (Blauberg) mountain. Prince |Haihāb ||Guruseb was thus called the Blauberg or Grey Stallion / Horse by the Germans. Although Prince |Haihāb’s rebellion started from around the 1860s, it only reached a climax around 11 September 1897, when the military railway brigade landed at Swakopmund to build the railway line. Prince |Haihāb and his brother †Aitabeb fought together with their people against colonial German occupation of the country and the building of the railway line. It was his strategy to delay the transportation system planned by the colonial Germans through distracting such development and movement of the colonial German military into the interior of the country.

Prince |Haihāb was always accompanied by his two well trained and reliable dogs that would do surveillance for him before he entered the battlefield (Damara King’s Council 2015; Gaob ||Garoeb 2016 pers. comm.). One was called |Gamirob (star) and was the leader; the other was called ||Khāb (moon). Prince |Haihāb’s Rebellion became an increasing headache for German Colonial Authorities in 1901 and the authorities placed a price of 500 Marks on Prince |Haihāb ||Guruseb’s head and 100 Marks for each of his proven allies. Knowledge of Prince |Haihab ||Guruseb activities reached the colonial authorities in Berlin in 1903, who responded by seeking to terminate his actions. After continuous humiliation by Prince |Haihāb the colonial Germans formed an alliance with |Hobesen (Witbooi) Nama under Captain !Nanseb (Hendrik Witbooi) to hunt and kill Prince |Haihāb and his small army of little more than ten. During the great search for Prince |Haihāb, most Damara found in the area were imprisoned or often killed, which complicates the story of the day leading to his death based on orature alone. †Nūkhoen/Damara however knew that colonial Germans were horrified and terrified by

the fact they could not arrest or kill Prince |Haihāb and his small army of little more than 10 individuals. They also knew that Witbooi Nama were involved as allies to colonial Germans in the killing of Prince |Haihāb (with Captain !Nanseb (Hendrik Witbooi) sending 20 instead of 12 soldiers as requested by the colonial German military, under the command of a Sub-Chief). Oral history relates that one of |Haihāb's wives was suspected to have trusted the Witbooi commando whom she met at a water source around the Khan river and !Khūos vicinity, and she shared information in the hope for him to be arrested rather than killed, through which the soldiers gained information they used to ambush |Haihāb through knowledge of his dogs and tactics. |Haihāb had a practice of knowing that if his dogs went first up the mountain whilst he was hiding and when they returned he would know that it is safe at his !Khūos homestead. That specific day, someone knowledgeable of the dog's behaviour held the dog back. Suspecting that Witbooi Nama men had fed or killed the returning dogs, he thought it was safe to return and eventually on the 30 September 1903 Prince |Haihab ||Guruseb entered an ambush in which he was shot many times at his hiding place in at !Khūos (Blauberg Mountain) (DCHF 2005; Boois 2017: 81). It is alleged that his head was removed and given as a prize offering to colonial German Authorities to send to Germany (Gaob ||Garoeb 2008; Boois 2017: 81) and his statue was set-up in Swakopmund during 1908.³²

History also reveals that after the battles of Prince |Haihāb, !Aman Nama from Bethanie were forcefully taken in 1905-1906 to Karibib to work as forced labourers on the railway and mining works, after !Oetgân and Tsaoxaudaman local people had rebelled in 1903–1904 after the death of Prince |Haihāb. Only after six months in around 1905-1906, based on oral history shared by Willem Rooi in Erichsen (2008: 18), the !Aman Nama people, together with Damara found in the Khan river and !Khūos vicinity during the search/battle of Prince |Haihāb, Herero and others were shipped via Swakopmund to Shark Island concentration camp at Lüderitz. It is further noted that, amongst others, Captain Cornelius Fredricks and his wife Aletta died at this Shark Island's concentration camp, due to maltreatment and food poisoning suspected to be from rice (Erichsen 2008: 18; Pope 2011). It is believed that amongst the group shipped from Swakopmund to Shark Island were the remaining members of Prince |Haihāb's army. In German Southwest Africa, there were about six main concentration camps established by colonial Germans (namely in Windhoek, Okahandja, Karibib, Omaruru, Swakopmund and Luderitzbucht/Shark Island). Shark Island is reported to have had a particularly shocking mortality rate of around 80-90% of its captives (Erichsen

³² Editor's note: The circumstances and details of such traumatic historical events often become expressed and retold with different details and it can be hard to know with certainty exactly what happened: part of the intention with this paper is to weave known historical events and their archived record with remembered retellings of experiences of significant disruption. An additional account of |Haihāb's resistance and eventual murder with more details of the German actions has been published by Professor Wilfrid Haacke (2010). Haacke relates that in May 1903, German colonial Governor Theodor Leutwein approached Captain !Nanseb Hendrik Witbooi in Gibeon for the supply of horsemen to search for |Haihāb. The commando based itself at Aukas / Aukhās – an outspan on the Khan River some 16km south-west of Usakos. They found footprints of |Haihāb's "gang" at various locations in this rugged terrain. At Charadeb waterhole they startled a group who took flight, at which point a Lieutenant Müller von Berneck ordered his men "to fire on the fleeing", killing several, including a woman and a boy. The tough and "extremely shrewd" |Haihāb was eventually shot on 30 September "in the area between the Khan River and the Chuos mountains". Haacke reports that |Haihāb's hand was cut off at the wrist for presenting to the authorities. Also see summary in Sullivan and Ganuses (2020: 304-305), which includes a map of localities important to |Haihāb's activities.

2008: 18; Pope 2011). According to Hamutenya (1988: 16) about 3,300 to 7,682 Herero, Nama and Damara prisoners-of-war died in German concentration camps during the period of 1904-1908.

Prince |Haihāb ||Guruseb's epic story is a story of a Namibian Resistance Hero who humiliated and held off invading colonial Germans in the country between around 1897-1903. It is also a story of a Namibian resistance fighter and unknown soldiers who put to shame Kaizer Willem II's local military in German Southwest Africa under command of Lieutenant Müller von Berneck and Governor Theodor Leutwein, whose only plan was to ally with the |Hobesen (Witbooi) Naman led by Captain !Nanseb who sent 20 soldiers to strengthen the colonial military on an offer in Marks on Prince |Haihāb's head and his allies, and their costly death in the hands of the alliance. Now it is clear why this Damara proverb is associated with Prince |Haihāb: '*|Gaisa tamats ga io, ots ge ni ga-ai*' ('If not strong, be wise').

This narrative of how Prince |Haihāb ||Guruseb and his small army of little more than 10 men who out-manoeuvred a very strong world military is an incredible story: a victory alongside the other battles won through the blood that has watered our freedom (as honoured in the Namibian National Anthem). All these battles contributed in their way to Namibia's independence on 21 March 1990. I am honoured, therefore, to salute Prince |Haihāb ||Guruseb, the crown prince to have succeeded Gaob Abraham Gaosib ||Guruseb as the 19th Kai-Gaob in the genealogy of the †Nūkhoen/Damara Kings. I also wish to salute Gaob Xamseb, Chief Amburu !Hoaeb, Chief Tsâdago Bututago Willie Kambauruma, General Gamakhābe |Awarab and Chief Īda |Hūseb aka Tsaraeb, and all Heroes and unknown Soldiers of the Resistance Wars and the Liberation Struggle of Namibia, for their unwavering commitment. *Hōxae!*

6. The Mass Atrocities and Genocide Concepts and Debate

The concept of mass atrocities or genocide is strange to us as young people of today, irrespective of race or ethnic origin, as we live in a modern democratic country far from genocidal realities. The fact remains, however, that colonial genocide happened in different countries with different people around the world. Adolf Hitler and Nazi Germany systematically exterminated six million Jews and other ethnic and social groups during World War Two (Pope 2011). The genocide in South West Africa (now Namibia) and the Jewish Holocaust in Germany had some similarities (although not on the same scale), with the order coming from the top leadership to effect organised massacres and the setting up of concentration camps and mass extermination (Olusoga and Erichsen 2010).

As noted earlier, the British Blue Book of 1918 recorded that about 81% Herero, 57% †Nūkhoen/Damara and 51% Nama were massacred under the German colonial regime in the early 1900s, although British Blue Book statistics are difficult to confirm. The figures may even minimise the damages and losses suffered by the Namibian people during German colonial period. These figures in percentages translate to the fact that about 71% of the inhabitants of the total aggregated population of these specific groups then living in the

central and southern parts of Namibia died mainly during the German colonial period of years of 1903-1908 (Union of South Africa 1918). It can be further calculated that only about 29% or one third ($\frac{1}{3}$) of the central and southern Namibian indigenous populations remained. Thus one can now comprehend the scale of this catastrophic brutality and mass atrocities, as a consequence of the intended and/or unlawful actions of the colonial Germans, which was brutal for all affected communities in the Namibian case. Steinmetz (2005) thus argues that this Namibian genocide case on the African people was ‘the first 20th Century Genocide’, taking place some decades before the Jewish Holocaust.

The word genocide was first coined by Polish Lawyer Raphaël Lemkin. The Greek prefix ‘geno’ means race or tribe and the Latin suffix ‘cide’ meaning killing. Therefore, according to the United Nations *genocide* is defined as a crime against humanity with the intention to destroy a race or ethnic group.

Although the ‘Extermination Orders’ (*Vernichtungsbefehl*) of Lothar von Trotha did not specify †Nukhoen/Damara and Sān people (Boois 2017: 80), close to 60% of Damara perished as a direct consequence of the Colonial German actions, more even than Nama people. The anti-colonial resistance included many †Nukhoen/Damara people, as representatives of a cultural grouping that has tended to be prejudiced against, and thus made invisible, in Namibian history. Instead, and as the figures clearly indicated, †Nukhoen/Damara intentionally fought in the resistance battles of these years, whilst others were interspersed with Herero and were devastated alongside them. It is therefore reasonable to argue that although genocidal orders were clearly intended for Herero and Nama who received ‘Extermination Orders’ (*Vernichtungsbefehl*), Colonial German actions also caused ‘mass extermination’ of †Nukhoen/Damara, with irreversible devastating social, cultural, mental and psychological impacts on the †Nukhoen/Damara people of Namibia.

This paper therefore supports the assertion that the actions of the German colonial regime were genocidal for these peoples (Steinmetz 2005). Hamutenya (cited in Wood 1988: 16) asserts that ‘.... a racist ideology found its most blatant and tragic expression in the German colonialists’ callous disregard of the lives and dignity of the Africa people. The new colonial order left the country without any means of redress’. These mass atrocities were clearly a racially intended action with disregard of the lives and dignity of the Africa people. Indigenous Africans encountered severe and unusually significant population decreases.

The leadership taken by the Herero and Nama in reparation talks with Germany, as those at the forefront of the genocidal extermination orders, is appreciated. It is equally clear that the underlining reason for extermination of the people also had a direct relationship with gaining access to formerly inhabited land, and economic benefits from this resource base. Thus the original indigenous people, namely †Nukhoen/Damara and Sān, encountered double losses – of life and of land – in the hands of the colonial Germans. For this reason, leaders such as Gaob Justus ||Garoeb and many scholars have requested the Namibian Government to also include †Nukhoen/Damara and Sān in its negotiations with the German Government regarding the colonial genocide and war crimes, and associated restorative justice proposals. As stated

in Gaob Justus ||Garoeb speech delivered at the occasion of the tombstone unveiling of Captain Jonker Afrikaner on the 17 August 2008:

To come to terms with its violent and disparaging past in which thousands of people lost their lives, were traumatised by imposed violence, and a far-reaching loss of ancestral land was experienced, where indignity and atrocities were witnessed, is not easy... the claim is surely justified, but those Namibians who suffered together must first accept and respect one another and not handle the genocide and crimes against humanity issue selectively.

Similarly, in June 2017 the then Secretary General of the Governing Party SWAPO – H.E. Dr Nangolo Mbumba (current Vice President of Namibia) – also called upon all Namibians to collaborate and handle the colonial genocide and war crimes issue as a national matter led by the Government.

For the Government of the Republic of Namibia to exclude †Nūkhoen/Damara people from processes of restorative justice and related processes with the German Government is unfair, as it is proven that †Nūkhoen/Damara people encountered 57% decrease in population due to battles of crime against humanity by Colonial Germans. What is also needed is a coherent strategy to build synergy and healthy relations that restore human dignity, social justice, psychological resilience, fair consideration of the ancestral land losses and related socio-economic developments in which *no affected people* are left out.

7. Sacred Meeting with Ancestors

I would like to share that in writing this paper, my ancestors also came little by little into action. I initially rejected this intuition, but opened up to the connection particularly in the last two weeks of concluding the first edition of this paper (in 2017), in ritual meetings led by the enquiring Aboxan (Ancestors). The spiritual connecting realm was special and somewhat scary. I decided to capture these moments and experiences in the poem shared below:

'Tobohes ||Aes dis tsî !haos ge ||aixasa'... Arusa go ||am tsoatsao tsîra ||gamma khoen ge, 'Soxa a', feel the Sacred Divinity with praises in form of poetic justice. *Mati ra mi Aboxana? So xa a, ti ra mî khoen ge.*

After so many small engagements in the evenings in which my ancestors came and went as I was completing this paper, I remember our talks about Namibia being independent country since 21 March 1990. It was not easy to explain independence. But one elder assisted me by asking “you mean a †Nū khoeba? as in, is the black man ruling the country as the Governor”. I was relieved to respond that yes the President is even stronger in the Sovereign State than a Colonial German Governor who was ruled by the Kaiser from Germany. I then started feeling jubilation and a sacred dance of *Arus* came into play. More men, women and children came out of bushes to celebrate. People were singing, laughing and praising the victory.

So xa a

*Arusa ra !nâu †nā khoen ge
Arusa ra ||gamma khoen ge
||Nae tsî ra †nā khoen ge
!Homga go †gai khoen ge
†Gai re tsats tsîna sa ||naoxan ti na*

*Di ra Aboxan ge, maba du ha?
Di ra Aboxan ge, maba da ha?
Soxa go Arus ge
Soxa go Arus ge*

*Arusa ra !nâu †nā khoen ge
Arusa ra ||gamma khoen ge
||Nae tsî ra †nā khoen ge
!Aga go †gai khoen ge
†Gai re tsats tsina sa ||naoxan ti na*

*Di ra Aboxan ge, maba du ha?
Di ra Aboxan ge, maba da ha?
Soxa go Arus ge
Soxa go Arus ge*

It is sacred... magical divine

People are dancing to the sacred divinity of Arus
People are dancing to water the magical Arus
The people are singing and dancing
The people are calling the names of the ancient mountains
Even you can call those of your forefathers

Ancestors are asking, where are you?
Ancestors are asking, where are the people?
The dance is becoming magical
The dance is becoming magical ...

People are dancing to the sacred divinity of Arus
People are dancing to water the magical Arus
The people are singing and dancing
The people are calling the names of the ancient rivers
Even you can call those of your forefathers'

Ancestors are asking, where are you?
Ancestors are asking, where are the people?
The dance is becoming magical
The dance is becoming magical

(continued below...)

This sacred meeting with my Ancestors was indeed magical. The quote below by William Saroyan (1936: 437-438) talking of the Armenian Genocide of 1915-1916 by the Turkish Ottoman Empire reminded me of †Nûkhoen and Sân people of Namibia:

A small tribe of unimportant people, whose wars have been fought and lost.
Whose structures crumbled, literature unread, music unheard and prayers no more unanswered... Then see if they will not laugh, sing and pray again.

One may see the potential relevance, as it is particularly true for the ancient †Nûkhoen who appeared so unimportant to many, starting with the missionary writers who wrote speculative and patronising histories without proper ethno-historical research. Signs warned us not to fight the lightning in the rain, as the Germans had powerful machinery and their propaganda was to exterminate. The fight was indeed racial, with those of black races given no choice or space at that time. Today, however, the Ancestors come out to applaud the actions taken by the new Governments and the Namibian people and their leaders, while also reminding us all that now is the right time for history not to leave behind the †Nûkhoen of Namibia.

<i> Hai go †guise khoen ge</i>	More people perform rituals
<i> Hai go †guise khoe ge</i>	More people perform rituals
<i>Oe am du re Abob namsa oahe</i>	Answer please beloved children of our God
<i>Oe am du re Abob namsa oahe</i>	Answer please beloved children of our God
<i>!Gaia †gaora khoen ge</i>	Jubilation exults the people
<i>!Gaia †gao †nāra khoen ge</i>	Jubilation dances excite the people
<i>Dubure Arusa</i>	<i>Dubure the Arus dance</i>
<i>Dubure Arusa</i>	<i>Dubure the Arus dance</i>
<i>!Hai daoba tsîra gamma aogu ge</i>	More men are performing rituals and watering the Arus dance
<i> Khaude xu †aoxa tsîra am khoeti ge</i>	More women came out of wilderness and clapping the Arus dance
<i>Oe am du re Abob namsa oahe</i>	Answer please beloved children of our God
<i>Oe am du re Abob namsa oahe</i>	Answer please beloved children of our God
<i>!Gaia †gao †nāra khoen ge</i>	Jubilation dances are becoming potent for the people
<i>!Gai †nā haira khoen ge</i>	Jubilation dances are reaching climax for the people
<i>Dubure Arusa, tudi ge go gamma</i>	<i>Dubure the Arus dance, it's raining</i>
<i>Dubure Arusa, tu go khoedo soxa a</i>	<i>Dubure the Arus dance, it's maginal divine</i>



Figure 5 First President and Founding Father of Namibia Dr Sam Shafishuna Nujoma dancing with the !Nani|aus (Sesfontein) Legends of the |Gais and Arus dance, at the †Nûkhoen ||Aes or Gaob Annual Festival at Okombahe after independence of Namibia around 6 November 1996 (Source: |Garoeb Royal Foundation).

The last four verses here say that the ancestors continue to dance in the style of the ancient dance of *Arus*. The rain starts to fall and celebration becomes more vigorous and proud knowing Namibia is a free and an independent country. They started to pass a message in jubilation:

Please tell His Excellency the President³³ of Independent Namibia that it is an honour for your ancestors, for you have chosen your battles wisely and never fought any lightning in the rain. Also tell the President we must Commemorate Resistance Battles by our Traditions and at Heroes Acre as Namibians led by the State at least once or annually, and celebrate all our victory forever!

In the midst of the celebrations I was keen to know when they will rest from a Christian Religious perspective. And I asked whether they know God, using words like ‘Elob’ and ‘!Khub’ in the Khoekhoegowab Bible as used today. This terminology sounded unfamiliar to them. I know about !Gammāb but it slipped my mind at this point in time. At the verge of almost thinking our ancestors were non-believers... I again asked them whether they know Hoalgaixab (Almighty). I got an overwhelming reaction from both men and women. They answered “Hoalgaixaba, !Gammaba”, is the supreme divinity or power of the universe and is the provider of water “rain”. They also said their souls will be taken by him. I asked again how would I know that you finally rested and are at peace. They said at Heroes Celebrations we requested from the President earlier, we all will feel it ourselves when yours and our rituals are done. The rain will pour that time (day or month) like it is coming down now and that will be a sign. The celebration dances for Namibia’s victory were again continued. The Ancestors sing, laugh and dance happily as communities throughout the evening. I slept later while the celebration was on-going and never connected with them again.

It was indeed an honor to learn and tell the story and humbling to appreciate more the struggles for resistance and freedom in liberating this country. I believe and lobby for a Heroes farewell for these brave warriors and where possible to give them at least a Heroes Funeral and recognition at the Heroes Acre. We salute them all for their bravery. In closing this session I am inspired by the late American Anthropologist Dr. Runoko Rashidi who said (on NBC TV One-on-One Show, 23 May 2017):

Be assertive and hold on to the truth... history is the light that illuminates the past and is the key that unlocks the door to the future. We have that light and key in our hands, it's up to us to apply. I will say realise our potential, realise who we are, what we have done and what we are capable of doing. It doesn't mean hating anybody but it certainly means loving yourself, the world is ours to gain and it is up to us!

8. Conclusion

ǂNūkhoen (mostly referred to as Damara people) are original indigenous people of Namibia, together with Sān people. Ancient memories portray that ǂNūkhoen encountered bitter losses as a result of the actions by the powerful in today's Namibia. Once a strong and vast ǂNūkhoen society of Gaob !A!a |Nanub's forefathers collapsed gradually over centuries, fighting battles in which they encountered defeat and expulsion from the ancestral lands.

The German Colonialist occupied and ruled ‘German South West Africa’ for the thirty-one years from 1884-1915. By 1904 the African anti-colonial resistance led by Herero and Nama

³³ His Excellency Dr Hage Gottfried Geingob, serving as the third and current President of independent Namibia.

leaders had reached an organised and effective level, but was met by the systematic extermination of African peoples by the German colonial regime. The extermination order by the former Colonial Germans, particularly between 1904 and 1908 against Herero and Nama people specifically, and the consequent extermination of almost 81% Herero and 51% Nama legitimise this crime as genocide. Alongside these atrocities, †Nūkhoen/Damara people also suffered a triple tragedy in the hands of colonial Germans. First, Governor Theodor Gotthilf Leutwein's protective treaties of 1894-1903 never protected or allocated native reserve land to the †Nūkhoen/Damara. Second, a forced labour (literally slavery and slave trade) policy that disproportionately affected †Nūkhoen/Damara people who were traded from Okombahe from 1877 onwards, transformed into official colonial policy from 1894 that subjugated †Nūkhoen/Damara and consolidated them as an underclass. Third, the reduction of an estimated 57% of the pre-German colonial population of †Nūkhoen/Damara demonstrates that they were subjected to the same mass atrocities and various inhumane acts, and shared the same fate of this crime against humanity as other persecuted peoples of central and southern Namibia.

'We could not fight lightning during the rain' whilst the powerful reigned and the lightning of exclusion skewed representation of our body of knowledge. It is, however, now time for the Namibian Government to fairly lead the 'war crimes and genocide' negotiations with the German Government. This paper thus appeals for recognition of these facts and the inclusion of †Nūkhoen/Damara, and also Sān people, in negotiations between the Namibian and German Governments, so as to fully meet the aims of restorative justice and reasonable claims of reparations including reconstructions, restitution, compensations and related claims.

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Maria !Hoaes, 2016 Late Traditional Councillor and Story-teller.

Michael Doeseb 2016 Educator, Story-Teller and Traditional |Gais and Arus Dancer.

Fransiska Guriras (Tanta) 2019 Family member of Gaob Xamseb and Story-teller.

Joseph †Khuruseb, 2018 Historian and Story-teller.

Issy Taurob, 2020 Senior Traditional Councillor of Dâuredaman Traditional Authority and Story-teller.

Jacky |Huse-|Howoses, 2020 Great grandchild of Chief |Huseb.

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