

The History of Bethany in Great Namaqualand

Part One. A collection of material from 1800 to 1920



First edition of the manuscript 01.05.2022 Frankfurt am Main

Editor: Hanspeter Mühlbach



Introduction

After the book on the history of Maltahöhe www.maltahoehe.de had a great response, the editors tried to create a similar collection of material on the neighboring district of Bethany. Unfortunately, for the time being, the editors had to limit the collection of materials to the period from 1800 to 1922, as there is hardly any information about the 1920s and 1930s available so far. I would like to write another chapter about this time and invite knowledgeable readers to help me. zahnarzt.muehlbach@gmx.net

While there was almost no readily available literature about Maltahöhe (North Bethany), missionaries and researchers had already reported in detail about Bethany from 1810 and on. Much secondary literature was based on this primary literature, which came mainly from the libraries and archives in London, Wuppertal, Capetown and Windhoek. This collection of material made use of facts from the primary literature, or from their presentation in the secondary literature. Furthermore, the editors used material from the colonial collections of the University of Frankfurt and Bremen. Especially the colonial address books often proved helpful. Old travel reports of explorers and soldiers gave small insights into time slots. However, a continuous description of the history of Bethany could not always be achieved. Therefore, this collection of material often jumps from one time slot to another and allows a good overview of the historical events by interpolation. Photos supplemented the facts and at the same time became evidence of the facts. For example, the editors were able to prove through found photos that the stations of Churutabis, Chamchawib, Chamis, Brackwasser and Garub were larger than assumed. Each piece of information had been chronologically arranged by the editors and checked against other literature. Newly found names of persons, terms, and places led to routine searches for further information. This often caused that initially small keywords resulted in a larger text module at the end. In the chronological classification of events, it was noticeable that dates often varied by days. Also names of persons, for example of David Christian Frederiks, were often written differently by the authors. Old route descriptions often used place names that are largely unknown on today's maps and new literature. The late **Klaus Dierks** did an excellent job of translating old place names. In his online chronology of Namibian history I always found important dates and names.

Narrowing down the area named Bethany was a challenge in itself. The place called **Ui#gandes** by the Nama tribes of the Red Nation translated the Orlam in 1804 in Cape Dutch as "**Klipfontein**". Places called Klipfontein were many. The missionary Schmelen baptized the place at Konkiep 1814 Bethany. The terms "Bethanieland" or "Bethanians" for the surrounding land and its inhabitants were not yet used in the early 19th century. Only the captains were noted on a map of the Rhenish Mission. For North Bethany **Jan Boois** and for South Bethany **David Christian** (Frederiks). Only after colonization began in 1884 was the term Bethany used for the land of Captain **Joseph FrederiksII**. His claim to power stretched from the Fish River to the Atlantic Ocean and from the Orange River to the Naukluft. In this area, the inhabitants, mostly Orlam and Nama of the red nation, called themselves in their entirety "!Aman". But even here there are no exactly defined boundaries. The Orlam group of Frederiks, also called **Boois**, were also retroactively referred to as Bethanians in colonial literature. The family name Boois was ultimately replaced by Frederiks. The Frederiks' claim to rule North Bethany was disputed and finally revoked by Leutwein in 1894.

After first discussions of the editor with the well-known author **Klaus-Dieter Gralow** about Stone Age caves, this collection of material began with the explanations about the Stone Age settlement of the western Gross-Namaqualand. This was followed by telephone conversations with the missionary **Walter Moritz**. In his retirement home in Werther/Westphalia, the 90 year old continues to deal with the history of the missionaries, whose work he had described in numerous books. Walter Moritz also sent me a copy of the Hermannsburg writings from 1895 about Hinrich Schmelen in Bethany.

The primary literature on the events in the town of Pella south of the Orange River and the occupation of the south in Grossnamaqualand by Orlams comes mostly from the German and English missionaries of the early 19th century. These Orlam practiced robber economy. Robbing they moved accompanied by missionaries into the country of the peaceful Nama of the Red Nation. The missionary Schmelen describes in English the tribe of the Buys which was later written Boois. The groups in Grossnamaland were constantly on the move and changed their settlement areas frequently. The missionaries tried to fix these groups in place by building gardens, churches and school buildings. Colored catechists helped maintain church services and schooling in more remote communities. The importance of the colored missionaries received little mention in the historical record. In a chance find, a website (www.kawango.net) of unknown origin, the editors discovered essays on previously unknown catechists and deaconesses of colored origin from Bethany. This information corresponded with the report of the Rhenish Missionary Society of 1850 and the book of Vedder 1934. The Hermannsburg writings, Vedder and newer literature of U.Trüper and T.Dederling describe among other things that the first congregation in Bethany consisted not only of Boois but many groups to which Nama of the red nation, Feldschuhträger, Damaras (possibly also Hereros), Swartboois, Amraals and Vledermuis belonged. The book ("Die Hottentottin Köln 2000) by Ursula Trüper from 2000 and the publications by Horst Kleinschmidt 2020 (a descendant of Schmeles daughter " Hanna") emphasize the importance of missionary work by colored preachers. Ursula Trüper describes the underestimated value of Zara Schmelen. She had probably almost alone done the Bible translation attributed to the missionary Schmelen, since it is proven that missionary Schmelen himself had very little command of the Nama language. Most of Schmelen's manuscripts are now in the Grey Collection in Capetown and in London. Tilmann Dederling's 1997 book "Hate the old and follow the new" and the aging standard work from 1934 by H. Vedder "Das alte Südwestafrika" shed light on the situation of the Nama and Orlam groups and their missionaries before and after their emigration from South Africa in the early 19th century. To match names and dates of missionaries I used a list of RMG missionaries originally published by Linda Zöllner in 1984. The "Report of the Rehoboth Commission" of 1922, the expedition account of Sir Alexander 1838, Palgrave's reports 1868, Memories of Missionary Pabst 1878, Vedder's book 1934, Dierk's library 2000, the publications of Walter Moritz and the book of Robert Budak 2015 supplemented by reports of the missionaries provided the editors with insights into the early history of Bethany. However, all authors only touched on the history of Bethany.

Only with German colonization did significantly more literature emerge on the subject of Bethany. Farmers, military leaders, politicians, and researchers published reports analyses and books on the subject of DSWA. Mention should be made of Gessert's reports on agriculture, Rehbock's analyses of water management, and Hermann's remarks on the breeding of wool sheep. I found this material in the digital colonial collections of the University of Frankfurt and Bremen. The publication of Hermann's letters to his sister-in-law made possible completely extraordinary, almost private insights into life in Lüderitzbucht, Kubub and Bethany from 1884 to 1904. There were countless reports from the German side about the war in Bethany in 1904 and about the construction of the southern railroad. Information about the

further development of Bethany until 1922 I took mainly from smaller contributions. Special importance is given to the "Blue Book", which the British published to show the "misdeeds" of the Germans. The special feature of the book lies not in the intended agitation but in the fact that here for the first time colored people themselves have their say in interviews. Unfortunately, the book gives little account of Bethany. Like the book on the history of Maltahöhe, this collection of material is aimed at scholars, students, local farmers, and interested tourists. This book with its bumpy character is not meant to please the reader but to make information about the subject of Bethany accessible.

This book is a plagiarism :)

This collection of material does not claim to meet today's usual scientific criteria, because endless statements of sources, in which also every author wants and must be mentioned with a huge volume of information, would disturb the actual flow of information. In order to offer the today so popular plagiarism reproaches the critic is said that the *zusammengetragenen* Informationonen do not come from the editorship but from old and new literature were collected. Nevertheless, the "searcher", be it a professor, student or doctoral candidate, can find well-checked facts in this collection of material and continue research based on them. Even these carefully checked facts may contain errors. If you wish to make additions or correct errors, please write to the editors.

zahnarzt.muehlbach@gmx.net.

Thanks to:

I would like to thank the well-known Africa expert K.D.Gralow for conversations and his books. Thanks to the kind missionary Walter Moritz who gave me many hints by phone and also provided some literature. Thanks also to Mr. Werner Hillebrecht former head of the Nationalarchieves in Windhoek and the Goethe Institute Windhoek for their efforts. Thanks also to the late Klaus Dierks who in an exemplary manner made so much material digitally available to anyone interested. However, the then management of the National Archives in Windhoek was particularly uncooperative with my many unsuccessful requests in 2021. I was unable to obtain a single sheet.



The pre-colonial history of the Maltahöhe district in the Stone Age

About 40000 years ago people lived in the Bethanierland. These were not the ancestors of the Namib Bushmen (s.Vedder). But from this population originate so-called "bushman drawings", as already described by District Chief Seydel during his expedition in 1909 through the Namib. Researchers and farmers have discovered artifacts at several places in the Maltahöhe and Bethanien districts, especially after 1945. They found worked material from different rocks formed into mittens, striking stones, scrapers or pointed blades. In addition, the scientists recovered bone material, ostrich eggs and ceramics. There must have been several periods when the land had much more water and vegetation and the sandy desert was narrower. Proof of this is the Totevlei behind Sossusvlei with its dead ancient trees. It is astonishing that particularly many artifacts are to be found at the Namibrand and in the Namib while to the Fish River the finding frequency decreases. Namibia is said to have been deserted for several thousand years until 500 years ago. On what this frequently mentioned knowledge is based is unknown. In the Hunsbergen at the Nuabrevier, in the southernmost part of Bethania Wolfgang Erich Wendt discovered, on the day of the moon landing 24.06.1969, the most spectacular cave from the Stone Age with artifacts from sediment layers of 100000 years of human history and therefore named it "Apollo 11". (see also Klaus-Dieter Gralow and Ralf Vogelsang Cologne 1998)



Bushmen photo from Leutwein's book

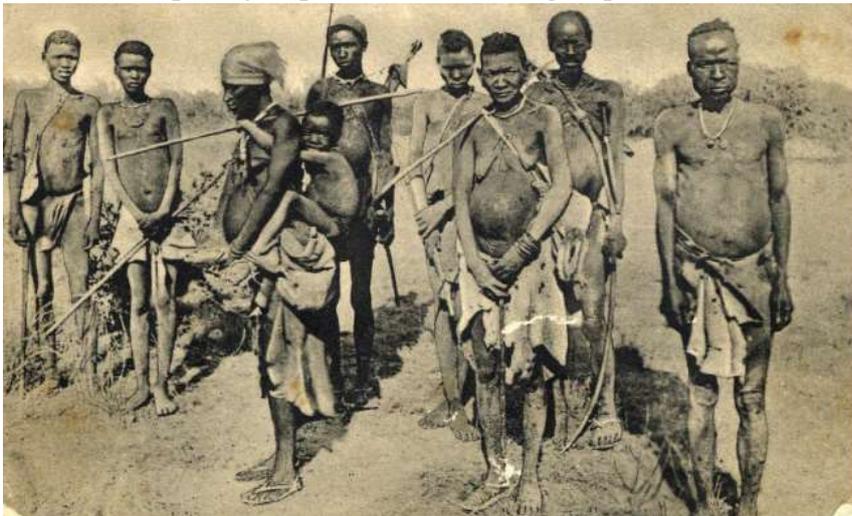
Bushmen in Bethany

The Bushmen are the original owners of Namibia. This is described by missionary Vedder as well as by the English in the Report of the Rehoboth Commission 1927.

Bushmen (San) of the Hunsberg and Kalahari are the oldest existing species of Homo sapiens with their own language and lived in southern Africa already 20000 years ago. Until around 1500 the south of Namibia remained for a long time without provable settlement.

Probably small groups of San roamed the land. Then came the Namib Bushmen from the south. There lived in the 19th century in North Bethany the Huini in the Huib plateau and the Koma as well as the Ganin further north of it. The IGainin lived on the Namibrand, in the Namib and on the coast. As early as 1864, missionary Brinker referred to the group in what was later called Bethanierland as Nama Bushmen. With this he wanted to express that they were not pure San. These Namib Bushmen possessed the same customs as the Bushmen of the Kalahari, but according to researchers such as Hans Schinz 1886, were very much mixed with other ethnic groups. The Namib Bushmen did not differ visually from the Namas, according to Trenk and Vedder. They were originally probably impoverished, outcast Nama from the Cape, who mixed with other tribes around 1500 in Namibia. Missionary Vedder also supported these views in his standard work of 1934. These Bushmen moved nomadically through the country in small independent groups, hunting and gathering only what they needed at the time. They accumulated no stock or possessions and knew no concept of property in the European sense. In contrast, the Cape Namas were periodically more sedentary pastoralists and gatherers with substantial herds organized in large groups. Due to the Nama, Baster, and Orlam groups that migrated from the Cape country into Southwest Africa in the 18th and 19th centuries, the Bushmen in Bethany and North Bethany (Maltahöhe) were displaced into the Namiband areas up to the coast. Since they stole little but constantly cattle

they were despised, persecuted, enslaved and also systematically killed by the immigrant groups. Missionary Albat even spoke of "purgues." The Schutztruppler Trenk and Seydel reported from their own knowledge that in 1909 the few Bushmen lived on the Namiband and the unreal Atlantic coast. District Chief Seydel estimated the population of these Bushmen in the Maltahöhe district at well under 400 in 1909, and the *Jahrbuch über die Deutsche Kolonien* mentions an armed group of 200 individuals. The same book also describes persecutions of Bushmen after cattle thefts by patrols. In 1908, Regierungsrat Külz estimated the number of Namib Bushmen at several hundred. Bushmen assisted the German troops as land-savvy trackers and water seekers, but did not lend themselves well to use as laborers or cattle herders. From the British Mandate onward, there is no evidence of Bushmen in the Maltahöhe and Bethanier districts. Assimilation into Nama tribes, persecution, and introduced diseases completely wiped out this ethnic group.



Bushmen postcard from Gibeon 1909

Situation at the beginning of the 18th century at the Cape

In 1652 Jan van Riebeck founded Cape Town. At first sailors and soldiers lived there. To secure food, farmers from the Lower Rhine and the Netherlands were recruited, joined by expelled Huguenots. The first "Bure" was a native of Cologne. Afrikaans is a mixture of Lower Rhine and Dutch dialects.

There were first trade contacts of the Cape administration under the leadership of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) with chiefs. Hides, ostrich feathers and elephant teeth were coveted trade goods. A delegation of Namas also brought gifts to Cape Town from Namaqualand. Among them was a heavy copper hoop. The highly coveted copper prompted the administration to send several expeditions to the north.

In 1806 Great Britain finally annexed the Cape and banned slavery from 1834. Formally, black and white people were treated equally. This legal situation was counteracted by ordinances. Mandated militias, so-called "commandos" mostly Orlams "cleaned" the country from "poachers". These were in this case San or bushmen who were killed by the hundreds. Farm areas expanded more and more. At first, white farmers had no qualms about marrying Nama women and socializing with the local colored people. Thus, at some distance from the Cape Colony, more and more mixed-race groups emerged, calling themselves "bastards".

Immigrations and expeditions in the 17th century in Grossnamaqualand

Nama tribes under the name of Red Nation migrated to what was later called Grossnamaqualand in the early 17th century. Their headquarters was Hochanas (near Mariental). The area they claimed covered the southern part of present-day Namibia. Most of the Namas stayed in the rainier eastern part. The Red Nation allowed related Nama groups to move from Elephant Territory/SA to the arid area of Ui#gande (Bethany) in the late 17th century ca.1750. These groups called themselves !Aman. The name may have come from the Malay language area and from escaped slaves. Aman in Malay means "he is safe," in the sense of peace and tranquility. According to Vedder's unproven theory, the name comes from the first Namakapitän in Klipfontein !Garib they called because of the leather belt on his leather pants !Amab . (Vedder 1934 p.174) . From this !Amab then arose !Aman, according to Vedder. This group is not identical with the later "Bethanians" of Jakobus Boois.

The term !Aman was handled variably in the literature. At times, other groups that later resided in the western part of Grossnamaqualand, including the clan of Jakobus Boois, Amraals, Isaaks, Goliaths and possibly groups of the Vledermuis, Veldschuhdrager and the Swartboois, called themselves !Aman.

The Boers at that time called the Nama who were already familiar with Europeans Hottentots, in contrast to the Namaquas, the red nation. Orlams were called mixed groups which consisted mainly of servants of the white farmers and of former slaves partly of Malay origin. They partly spoke Cape Dutch. While the Orlams at the beginning of the 19th century wanted to distinguish themselves from the Namas of the Red Nation, the term Nama came to be used as an umbrella term for the Orlams.

At that time the missionaries called all people from Damaraland Damaras. So the original population, the mountain Damaras and the Herero immigrated from the north also called Commaka Damaras. In the modern literature one differentiates between the Hereros (Bantu) and the Bergdamara who are called Damara today. (s.Vedder)

The first "white man" who fled South Africa because of a murder trial and settled in Grossnamaqualand about 1793 was Guilliam Visagie. He lived in #Nu#goaes (Swartmodder), later Keetmanshoop. It is known about him that he was attacked at least once by Veldskoendraeer (field shoe wearers). There is further the vague hint that Orlam, possibly Klaas Afrikaner, pursued Visagie 1793 on behalf of the Cape government. (J.du Bruyn /B.Lau 1982)



One of the first expeditions into the Gross Namaqualand was undertaken by Jacobus Coetzee in 1760 to the north of Warmbad (see Mossop 1935), while Hendrik Hop reached the Homsrevier (Leeuwen-Revier =Chamobrevier) further north in 1761 with 15 ox wagons and almost 90 men. In 1791 Willem van Reenen trekked to what is now Rehoboth and found copper there. In 1793, two van Reenens brothers (Sebastian and....) made an expedition to Walfishbay by ship. The Reens' companion, Pieter Pienaar explored the Swakop with a small expedition. A Robert Gordon who gave the Orange its European name explored with Klaas Afrikaner the land of the Bondelswarts near Warmbad. (Cape Town Archive Gordon's Diary). Pieter Pienaar was later commissioned by the East Indian Company to arm the Afrikaner clan to fight the Bushmen in the southern Orange area. With so called " Komandos" the Orlams drove out the original population and killed hundreds of Bushmen. (Vedder 1934 p.189 / Brigitte Lau 1982 p.51 / 61.ff)

https://open.uct.ac.za/bitstream/handle/11427/9966/thesis_hum_1982_lau_b.pdf?sequence=1

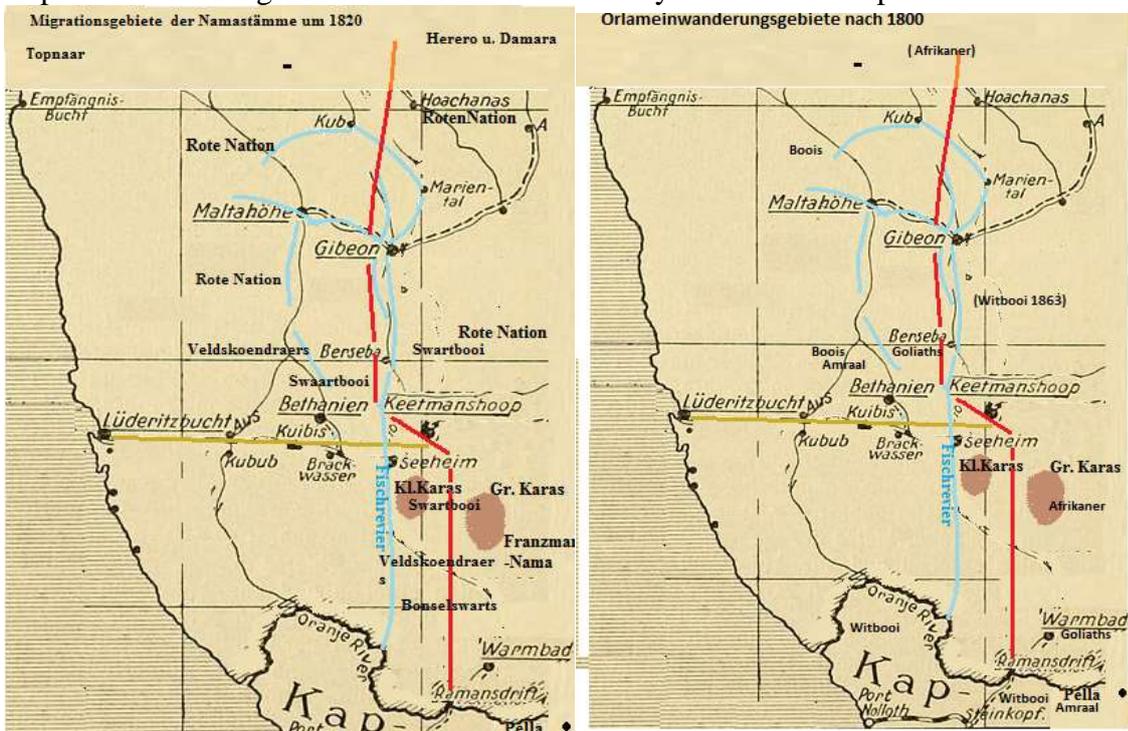
The expeditions to the Great Namaqualand were the forerunners of Christian missionary work. Especially the expedition of Willem van Reenen showed the followers how they could reach the Great Namaqualand with large ox wagons. Ox wagons and horses were new to Namaqualand at that time. Reenen's expedition began on Sept. 17, 1791, and on Oct. 30 he crossed the Orange River at Ramansdrift, where there was only 30 inches of water. On the way he met his guide to the Damara country,

the bastard Jan Siebert and two other companions, Barend Freyn and Pieter Brand on 02.11.1791 at the Warmbadrevier. Already on November 08 they reached the place of Guilliam Visagie, Modderfontein (Keetmanshoop). Visagie was a Huguenot who farmed there with his wife and employees. At Modderfontein, the expedition waited for the rainy season on the advice of guide Siebert in order to find enough watering places on the way. On December 27th, after the first rain showers, they moved on until they hit the Leber River. The further stations were called Buschmannsloch and Klipfontein (Hankeyson). (This Klipfontein is not the later Bethany. It was probably north of Gibeon.) Reen reports lions that had attacked them and rhinos that the drivers hunted for their meat needs. Crossing the Sack River and Bad River, they reached Oanob near what later became Rehoboth at Rhenius Mountain. This was the territory of the Hey Damaras who had lost their land to the Namas (Red Nation) some

time ago. The Mountain Damaras reported that they were considered slaves by the Namas and, deprived of their cattle, lived in poverty. However, they were proficient in smelting copper and working iron and used it to trade animals to the Namas for food. This iron came in part from the Gibeon meteorite. Pieter Brand trekked 15 days further from the Rhenius Mountains to the area of Windhoek (Auasberge) to the Commaka- Damaras (Herero).

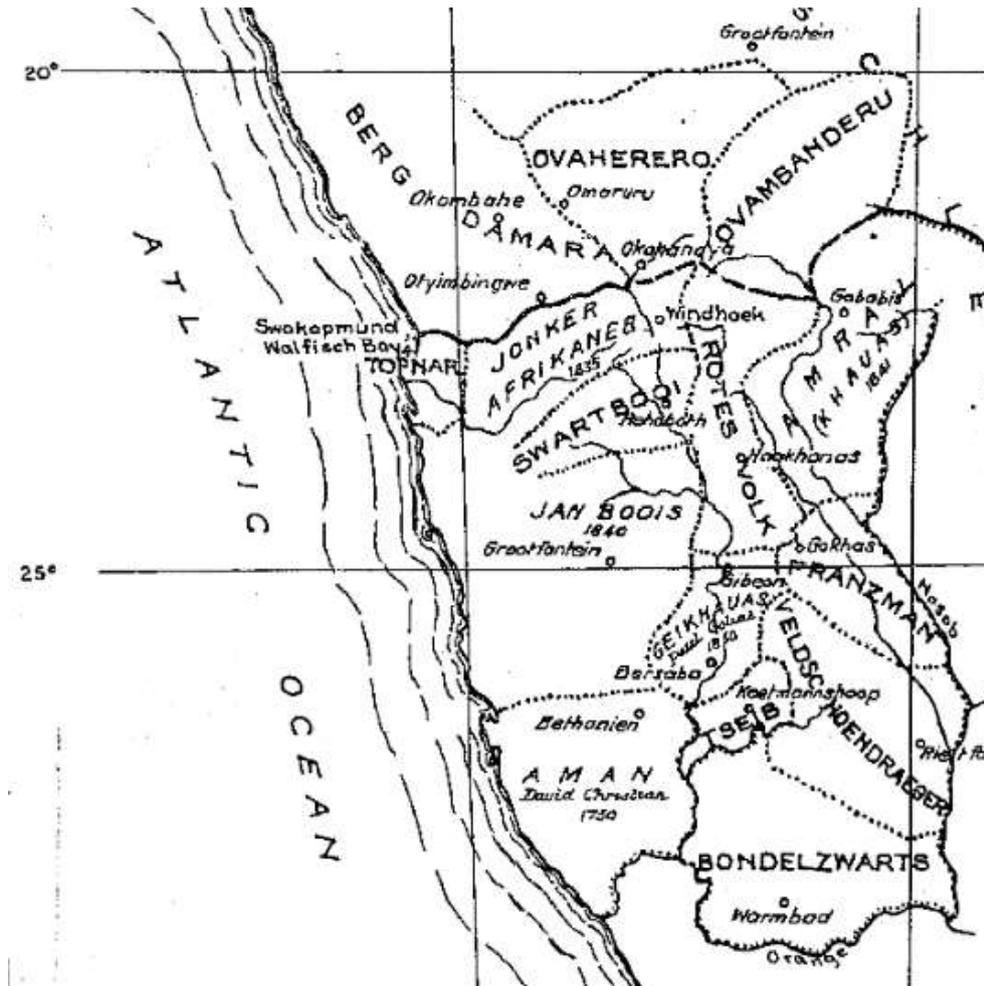
From the seaside there were documented explorations in the 18th century, for example under Captain Thomas Bolden in 1786 with the HMS Nautilus to Walfishbay. The coastal population was already trading with the whalers. Cattle for knives and beads, horses and muskets were unknown to the tribes living in Namibia until that time.

In connection with the turmoil of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, Cape Town was first handed over to the British on September 16, 1795, but they briefly left the Cape to the Boers again in 1802. The British finally annexed the Cape in 1806.



Migration areas of the Namas around 1800

and the Orlam until ca. 1850



Tribal areas ca. 1840

The Orlam at the end of the 18th century

In 1713, the African explorer Peter Kolbe (Kolb) found groups of Nama near St. Helena Bay (South Africa) who had absorbed many (Maleyan) slaves and were on their way to the North. They called themselves Grigriqia (Grigriqua = jackal men). They were groups that were later called Orlam.

According to missionary Albat, the name Orlam comes from the Malay language, means "people experienced in housework" and refers to the slaves of the Dutch from the Cape. The heterogeneous Orlam clans were groups of Boers, Basters, Malay slaves and Namas. That they were descendants of Boer settlers with Nama women from the Cape is only partially true. Through contact with Europeans, they also spoke Cape Dutch and adopted ways of life from European culture. Some Orlam could read and write Cape Dutch and handle muskets and horses. They increasingly dressed like Europeans and had also adopted other skills of the Europeans. Orlam increasingly adopted Christian teachings through the influence of missionaries. Since they always made up for their lack of livestock by a predatory economy, they were very dependent on trade relations with the Europeans to obtain guns and powder. The missionaries fought against this predatory culture, but were often themselves indirectly involved in arming the colored people. It went so far that many groups assumed that they could only get weapons and powder through a missionary.

Due to the European influx at the Cape, Orlams and Namagroups were pushed to the north and settled at the Orange River already at the end of the 18th century. This pressure was intensified by the conquest of the Cape Land (Batavian Republic) by the British at the beginning of the 19th century. In the Battle of Blaauwberg, the Boers finally lost the Cape Land to the British. Thereafter, British emigrants flooded into the Cape and increasingly displaced the Boers to the northeast, who in turn displaced the Orlam and Nama.

At the beginning of the 19th century there was an exodus of the Orlams beyond the Orange River into the land of the Red Nation. The Nama of the Red Nation had conquered this land less than a hundred years earlier and assimilated, displaced, enslaved or killed the Mountain Damaras and Bushmen as well as previously resident Nama groups. The descendant Orlams established themselves first at the Karas Mountains and then in what later became Bethanierland. The Bethanierland, stretched from the Orange River to the Kuisip River and from the Fish River to the Atlantic Ocean.

The Afrikaner Orlam at the beginning of the 19th century

Near Winterhoek in South Africa lived the tribe of the Jackalmen who later called themselves Afrikaners Orlam. A mixture of Boers, half-breeds, Malay servants and Namagroups. They were commissioned at the end of the 18th century by the East India Company under the leadership of Petrus Pinaar to act mainly against the San with "Komandos" (see "Pandoeren Corps") (T. Dederling 1997 p.54). For this purpose they got horses and muskets. Their task was to contain the cattle thefts and to prepare land for settlement militarily. In the process, entire groups of Bushmen were wiped out (see du Bruyn Orlam Afrikaners p.6). These genocidal actions by the Orlams, as at the Zakrevier in 1792, were called "Bushman hunts". During a quarrel, the Afrikaners killed their superior Pinaar and had to flee northward across the Orange River from pursuit by the Cape government, which offered a bounty (B.Lau 1986 p.29). Banished by the East India Company, the group of Afrikanerorlams led by Jager Afrikaner sought a new place called IKhauxa!nas in the Karras Mountains at the end of the 18th century. Orlams probably built a defensive wall about 1.20 meters high and over 1000 meters long around their camp on a high plateau above a precinct. However, the dating of the fortification rediscovered by Klaus Dierks has not been conclusively clarified. Probably the wall served to fire muskets in case of defense and to have enough time to reload afterwards. In the following years the Afrikaners attacked many tribes on the Orange River and threatened the mission stations. They spread fear and terror in the south of Namibia which caused the other tribes to flee in all directions but mostly to the north.

Booi's Exodus from South Africa and Arrival in Bethany

It is assumed, but unexplained, that the Orlam group of Boois and Frederiks are two related families. Initially, missionary Schmelen referred to them as "Buys." Thus the interpretation that the name Boois comes from the English boys, the Umgan term for a servant, is not compelling. Their original settlement area was at the Olifantrevier / SA. The Boois seem to be closely related to the Afrikaner-Orlam as well. The first mention of the Boois was made by missionary Albrecht about 1800, according to which Captain Kobus Boois is said to have conducted peace negotiations for Captain Klaas Afrikaner with the English Governor Sir George Yonge (Governor 1799-1800) in Stellenbosch. He received permission from the governor to possibly occupy "Klipfontein" in the Great Namaquas land.

Which Klipfontein was meant, besides in South Africa, as well as in Namibia several other Klipfontein come into Bertacht is unclear. Probably the Klipfontein which later was called Bethany north of the Oranje, i.e. outside the British territory, was meant. In 1802 Kobu's name appears again in written records, when he was arrested by the Fieldcornet Roussow near the Piketberg for a few days. In 1802, the British had briefly returned the Cape to the Boers and then reoccupied it in 1806. Kobus Boois apparently illegally traded arms and powder during that time to supply the Afrikaners- Orlam with them. He adopted the alias "Breekland." Meanwhile, the Boers at the Cape mobilized the army because of the threatening invasion by the British and also drafted coloreds. Probably out of fear of being drafted, Kobus moved with his followers from the camp in the Karee Mountains across the Orange River to the site of Klipfontein (Uigandes) in 1804. In return for a symbolic tribute, the Boois received permission (right of use) from the Red Nation under the Nama chief captain "Games" to settle in the area later named Bethany. The Boois were thus formally subjects of the Red Nation Chief Captain. The area on which the Boois and other groups settled extended from the Great River (Oranje) to the Kuisib. Actually, the term "settle" is not the correct one, since the Nama were mostly nomadic groups. Kobus Boois was the first captain of this Orlam group from 1804 to ca.1825. He reported in a conversation with Schmelen in 1914 that he had bought the Klipfontein site in 1804 from a Namah chief for 10 rolls of tobacco. This chief was still camped nearby. Missionary Albat wrote that this Namah chief was called Namimap Zabuk. Possibly a namah chief of the Field Shoe Bearers or the Red Nation. It is further reported of this Nama chief that he watered his cattle at the springs of Uigantes at all times without asking as if the place still belonged to him. This behavior indicates that the "purchase price" had more the character of a rent. Anyway, actually all the land continued to belong to the Red Nation and served as kraal in the dry season. The source Uigandes named the Kapholland speaking Boois "Klippfontein".

The name Boois is now equated with Frederik's name. All Nama and Orlam possibly also some Damara groups, with the exception of the Bushmen (Igeinin), west of the Black Margin from Orange to the Naukluft, were called "!Aman" and later Bethanians. The area of the later Bethany often experienced drought periods of several years during which almost all groups tried to find better grazing land in the south, north or east. Fighting and theft of cattle from each other occurred everywhere. The wandering small groups of bushmen were not organized among themselves, unlike the Namas and Orlams. The Namas and Orlams treated the bushmen like servants or slaves. If they did not belong to a master, they continued to be systematically eliminated by "commandos", especially on the occasion of their frequent cattle thefts. However, this is not documented for the Bethany area in this period. The first records about the Bethanian land were made by missionary Schmelen in 1814. Through him there are also first records about the land between Bethanien and the later Maltahöhe (North Bethanien).

According to Dederling, the immigrating Orlam groups initially had agreements with the respective Namah chiefs and are not to be seen as conquerors at first. He refers to statements of Olpp, Moffart, Vollmer and Jod (T.Dederling 1997 p.64). The editors regard, however, the following 60 years of immigration by Orlam as a brutal, warlike occupation with partly genozoidal character. (see Brigitte Lau 1982 p.61 ff). Schmelen described about 1828 this situation in which children and women of the Nama were treated by the Orlam, also the Bethanians of his community as whores and slaves.

Amraal Lambert, lived in his youth as a slave in Cape Town and was forced to participate in the Battle of the Blue Mountain against the British. He was descended from a Khoikhoi group who had settled in Table Bay. Later he lived in Pella, allegedly as head of a smaller group with contact to the Witbooi

(see Tilman Dederling 1997)

(Stuttgarthttps://books.google.de/books?id=anD2mOjDdMIC&pg=PA59&redir_esc=y#v=onepage&q&f=false)

Muskets had great symbolic status among the Nama and Orlam. The desire of the indigenous clans for missionaries usually had the background that the tribes could get weapons and powder that way. Also the Bondelswarts-Nama, who were located a bit north of Warmbad and were involved in disputes with the Africans, tried to get weapons by force from missionary Ebner. As a superior weapon, however, muskets could only be used effectively with the use of horses, since after firing a shot the attacker had to retreat to reload. Horses as mounts were unknown to the Nama at that time. As a fast means of transport for the Orlam fighters, horses were decisive in the war against the Nama, who were armed with bows and arrows and outnumbered on foot. However, there were epidemics in Namibia (horse epidemics) that often killed entire herds of horses, so that riding oxen were preferred for transporting people. The Nama also quickly realized that they could achieve a lot of effect in attacks by killing the horse. Most missionaries, as well as Schmelen, did not want to help the Orlam and Nama communities with weapons and therefore got into disputes with their community members.



Hinrich Schmelen

Another German missionary Johann Hinrich Schmelen of the London Missionary Society LMS came to Pella in 1811 and first missioned in the north of the Kleinnamaqualand on the Great River, the Oranje. During the destruction of Warmbad by the Afrikaneroram, quite a few inhabitants had fled to Pella. Mission Inspector Campbell ordered Schmelen to make an expedition from Pella to the Damara and then return to establish a station at Steinkopf / South Africa. At the same time, Piet Vlermuis was anxious to move with his clan to Klipfontein because of the Afrikaner attacks and had a letter written to Schmelen in March 1814 to motivate him to establish a mission at Klipfontein. With a group of 150 Orlams (probably Amraals and Vledermuis) Schmelen set out from Pella on 13.04.1814. Schmelen's charioteer was Jacob the brother of Amraal Lambert. During the trek Schmelen married the 20 years younger Nama woman, Zara Hendrichs whose mother lived in Steinkopf. Zara could read and write in Cape Dutch and also knew English.

The London Mission Society LMS, however, did not want any marriages of the missionaries with colored people. The trek of missionary Schmelen reached Oranjemund on 04.05.1814 and from there it went back again some hours to cross the Oranje at a favorable place, probably at Sendlingsdrift. Because of the unrest in Warmbad, the trek chose a more westerly route to the north. Bushmen attacked the accompanying group of Vledermuis and robbed them of cattle. Under the leadership of another bushman, the trek made its way northward past the Hunsbergs over the Haimaibrevier to the Korn Kaürevier and through the sandy bed of the Konkieps to Klipfontein (Ui#gandes). On 30.05.1814 they reached the 3 springs of the later settlement site Bethanien at the Konkiep Revier. There, on 02.06.1814, Schmelen met Captain Kobus Boois and his tribe, who lived somewhat away from Klipfontein and wanted to come to Schmelen's services.

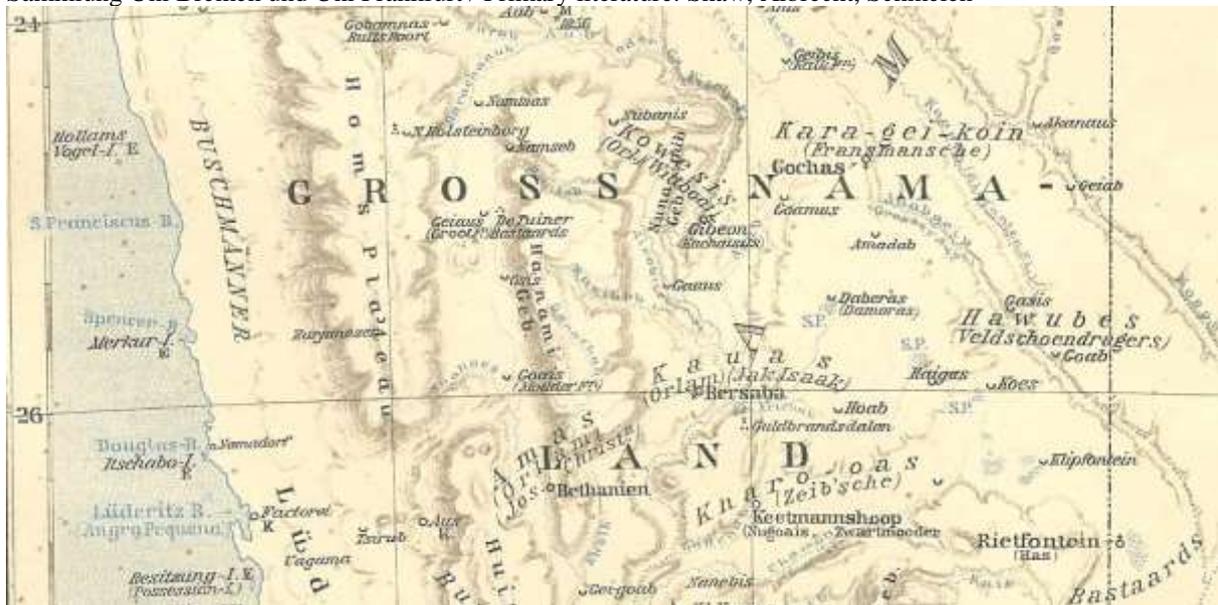
From the conversation of Schmelen with Kobus Boois, according to the records of Schmelen: *"Does the place (Klipfontain) belong to you. Yes I bought it for five rolls of tobacco." "How long have you been here ?" "10 years".* (s.Ursula Trüper).

The next day Kobus accompanied Boois missionary Schmelen to the **Vlermu**s half a day's journey away near Chamis, who had been living there for a year. Kobus, when asked by Schmelen, also offered them that they could settle at Klipfontein to establish a mixed Christian community there.

Schmelen's trek continued north on its exploratory journey. On 09.06.1814 Schmelen spoke with the Nama Naugamap who mentioned in his conversation "his chief **Tsaumap**". Tsaumap also had the wish to get a missionary. On 11.06.1814 the trek came to the end of the Koonrevier (Konkiep?) in a mountainous landscape. (This is on the present southern border of the Maltahöhe area, near the Chamchawib farm). Schmelen mentioned rhinos and lions at the place. There Schmelen met the Nama Kaissimap, who actually lived at the Fish River. The latter had already heard of the Christian teachings through a colored missionary named Piet Berend from Pella. This Piet Berend was obviously already missionary in the Bethanierland before Schmelen. Continuing north, the trek reached the kraal of Nama chief Nannimap and Korissimap on June 17, 1814, who met them with 20 men riding oxen. Bushmen had already announced the visit. These Nama rubbed their hair with grease, sprinkled it with red powder and tied it back with a leather strap. They wore balls made of iron on their necks and hips and a sheepskin apron. These iron balls may have been made from fragments of the Gibeon meteorite. The Nama themselves, did not know how to make iron products. The trek rested at the Goontoprevier (Hutup). Here the natives fished for catfish in the puddles with baskets. The chiefs asked for clothing and were disappointed that Schmelen could not give it. They, too, were interested in being proselytized. They lived, according to themselves, originally at Klipfontein. Other groups displaced them from there. (see Ursula Trüper). On 21.06.1814, according to Schmelen, 1000 Nama appeared in the Kraal for his mass. Schmelen traveled further east through the Hutub Valley and reached the Tsub. There he met a Kraal of about 1000 Felschuhträger on 23.06.1814. Some of them had also been expelled from Warmbad. On 29.06.1814 the trek reached the kraal of the Nama chief Tsaumap. Furthermore, the chiefs Tsaugamap and Karramap were present. According to Schmelen, the kraal consisted of about 6000 people. Tsaumap and Tsaugamap were leaders of the Red Nation, who also considered themselves the masters of the Bethany area. Schmelen also spoke with a Damara named Kairissip. He had never been to the sea, but knew many details about the sea, the ships and the whaling.

Schmelen learned on 04.07.1814 about a war between Kemma-Tawoop and Aimap (Veldskoendraeer). He advised Schmelen not to trek back south along the Fish River because the Hereros were there and conflicts were to be expected. So Schmelen retreated on the same way and expressed his disappointment not to have found a guide who could have led him to the sea at Walfishbay. On the way back he learned that Titus Afrikaner had attacked the Namas in the Karras Mountains and threatened to attack other tribes as well. In his letter of July 29, 1814, Schmelen wrote to LMS Inspector John Campbell that he had actually intended to establish a mission at Steinkopf after his expedition on the Orange River, but that his followers at Klipfontein would not let him go any further. In addition, many Namas had fled from Titus Afrikaner to Klipfontein and were in need of his assistance. That the accompanying Orlams apparently forced the missionary to stay in Bethany shows that they were in charge and not the missionary. The reports of the influential missionaries lead to the wrong conclusion to see the missionaries as leaders.

Sources: http://www.rhinosourcecenter.com/pdf_files/139/1397993165.pdf "Die ältesten Reiseberichte über Namibia" Prof Eduard Moritz 1915 / Klaus Dierks / Ursula Trüper "die Hottentottin" 2000 Cologne / Koloniale Sammlung Uni Bremen und Uni Frankfurt / Primary literature: Shaw, Albrecht, Schmelen



Map ca. 1890

In 1815 Schmelen named his settlement in Klipfontein "Bethany". (In the Israeli place Bethany Jesus was baptized by John). Enthusiasm for the Christian teachings was initially strong among the mixed followers. **Schmelen agreed among the groups of followers on equal rights to worship and to attend classes.** In 1815 Schmelen registered 15 men, 46 women, 25 boys and 15 girls whom he had baptized after appropriate instruction. Near the springs, according to Schmelen's records, Nama (red nation?) camped with 100 huts. On another place there were 150 huts of the Veldskoendraeer whose leader was called Aimap. The Veldskoendraeer had meanwhile moved from the Hutup area to Klipfontein. Even Damara and Bushmen came to the fairs. The Orlams of Amraal Lambert and the Boois were Schmelen's constant companions. In 1815, Schmelen claimed to have baptized 65 adults and 40 children. Some took 10 day trips to get to him. 140 children attended the school where Zara Schmelen also helped and taught the children hat weaving (see U.Trüper).

The Swartboois under Wilhelm Swartbooi also camped at Bethany and took part in church life before moving north. Wilhelm's wife Annatje was baptized by Schmelen and was to play a special role in history as a deaconess.

In 1815 another tribe of Boois, probably Jan Boois, entered the Bethanierland and settled in the north near Amaruab (near Helmeringshausen or Amrub?). These Boois, in contrast to the clan of Kobus, made raids mainly on the Herero in the north.

To supply the mission stations via the direct route to Cape Town was a goal of highest priority. In May 1815, Schmelen and Piet Vlermuis attempted to reach the coast at Angra Pequena to expand supplies. A Nama had told Schmelen that he had been there once as a child, but that there was only one spring on the way called Oegrawip. (possibly Aus). Schmelen abandoned his first expedition to Anguara Pequena because of lack of water, but Piet Vlermuis came through and traded 2 oxen and sheep for goods with the whalers and established for the first time a trading relationship from Bethany, which to the missionary's chagrin he could not control. The way to buy guns and powder without the control of the missionaries was now open (Marion Wallace History of Namibia 2015 p. 85 Basel). On 28.11.1815 the daughter of Schmelen Anna was born.

In 1816 the main group of Goliaths and Isaaks emigrated from Pella to Bethany. Dirk Isaak was their first captain. This Orlam group |Hai-|khauan, descendants of the Khauas, actually came from Ebenezer at the Doornrevier at the Cape Land and fled about 1812 via Pella until they moved to the land of the Bethanians with the subsequent permission of ||Oaseb (Oasib). Tibot's family also belonged to this group. They first camped at the Karas Mountains and then migrated to the area west of the Fish River. Christoph Tibot was baptized in Warmbad by Albrechts and had good contacts with the Witbooi.

Tibot and Paul Goliath were already baptized and knew Schmelen. Paul Goliath came from Ebenezer /SA and lived temporarily with the Africans in Jerusalem near Warmbad, where he was baptized by J.L.Ebener ca.1814 (Source:NA Krönlein 1869). Tibot kept very close contact with the Bethany congregation and represented Schmelen at the outposts. He preached in his congregation in Nama language and could read and write Kappholland.

In 1816, Schmelen traveled to Cape Town to get new clothes, as he wrote. Whether his wife Zara and children accompanied him is unclear. The 2nd daughter Hanna Schmelen was born on 04.08.1817. (She married the missionary Kleinschmidt in 1841). On the way back Schmelen was ordered by his mission to stay in Steinkopf, because there was no missionary there. Schmelen continued to maintain contact with his congregation in Bethany as well. Despite his absence, regular church services were held in Bethany by colored catechists. Until September 1818, Schmelen lived mainly in Steinkopf. The location of his nomadic congregation was dependent on rain in the Bethany area. Without enough grass, the groups had to leave the place and look for pasture. Because of his marriage to a Nama woman, the LMS London Missionary Society excluded Schmelen from the community from 1817 to 1818. Nevertheless, he continued to do missionary work.

Schmelen let try again to reach Angra Pequena on 03.01.1818. He gave a letter to his people. There was indeed a small trade exchange between Captain Barker (sailing ship Timor) and the employee.

Schmelen then wanted to meet the ship himself and establish controllable trade relations. But when he arrived there with his family, the ship had already sailed on.

Around September 1818 Schmelen returned to the place Bethany. Despite a suspension, Schmelen built, as if in defiance, a stone house near the spring reported Albat. It remains today the oldest stone house in Namibia. Timber for construction was scarce. Schmelen reported in his diary about the very different stones that were found in Bethany and were used in the construction of the house. Here and possibly in Aus, Schmelen began to plant gardens and fields to show his community that it was also possible to settle permanently in these places. (See Walter Moritz). But the displeasure of the community grew due to the persistent drought. The animals did not have enough grass and many of the community trekked to distant pastures. This led to disputes over the pastures and also to cattle thefts, which resulted in bloody skirmishes.

In 1819, a son of Captain Boois wanted to get weapons in Angra Pequena. In the meantime, trade, cattle for weapons and powder had established itself in Angra Pequena. All the Orlams of Bethany made raids on the Namas and also in Hereroland. Also in the following years 1820/1822 the community of Bethania and Bersebas committed raids which were reported by Schmelen and Kitchingham. The missionaries were very angry about this but powerless.

According to Schmelen, during his absence, the Korans had raided Bethany and left behind a new understanding of the commandments. This new teaching allowed that one could also commit sins like robbery and murder if good came out of it. Moses son of Piet Vlermuis moved north in 1819, stole cattle from a Namakral and tried unsuccessfully to buy weapons with them in Walfishbay from the election catchers. They returned to Bethany with these cattle. Schmelen demanded the return of the cattle, whereupon a break with the Vlermuis tribe occurred. Schmelen wrote to London that the basic problem was that he refused the Vlermuis weapons and powder.

Piet Vlermuis moved south from Bethany. He sought to renew contact with the Afrikaner-Orlam. There were further raids and clashes also with the Africans whereupon Piet Vlermuis took refuge at Pella. However, the captain there, Kido Witbooi, wanted Piet to come to an agreement with Schmelen first. However, it did not come to that. An alliance of Witbooi and Africans defeated Vlermuis. Piet Vlermuis probably escaped and later appeared as an ally of the Amraals in eastern Gross Namaqualand.

Kobus Boois also did not listen to Schmelen and at times went his own way and led raids against some Namaquas on the Fish River against Schmelen's will. Even the Goliaths are known to have conducted such raids. Repeatedly Schmelen threatened to leave if these acts of war did not cease. The captains said it was politics that did not concern him, Schmelen.

The Orlam and Nama tribes were independent and largely not run by the missionaries. Of course, the missionaries had an influence in the development of the local and trade network. In the missionaries' reports to their employers, the missionaries exaggerated their importance. The tribes saw an advantage in Christianizing and Europeanizing themselves, defending themselves with guns, being able to read and write, trade and horticulture, and build wells and retention basins. They used the missionaries as teachers.

In 1820, the Bethany community made the road to the west and also to the east. The prehistoric roads in Namibia were often unsuitable for ox carts trampling elephants moving from one waterhole to another.

Report from Kitchingman 19.05.1820. : "Brother Schmelen's people (the Bethany community) had been busy for some time repairing the road, in the hope of getting some necessary articles from there (from Angra Pequeña) in the future".

Bullock carts were something new in the Namibian country and needed prepared tracks. On their own, Orlam and Nama tribes built trade routes all over the country, passable with ox carts. The first efforts to create trade routes passable with ox carts had far-reaching consequences. The duration of trade journeys was shortened enormously by these roads. Trade increased significantly.

(see Klaus Dierks https://www.klausdierks.com/Namibian_Roads/2.htm)

On 11.05.1820 Barnabas Shaw and Kichingman visited Bethany . (s. Walter Moritz) Together with Schmelen they rode on oxen to the fishing area to meet the chiefs of the Kai||khaun (Red Nation), Gammam, Nanimap, Tsaumap and Tsauggamaap. Tsaugamap, had a large kraal with about 158 pontoks. The land was dry. The chiefs were interested not only in Christian teachings but also in obtaining trade goods such as alcohol, clothing and weapons. They saw a great threat coming from the Orlams. Schmelen, however, specifically denied the chiefs the required purchase of powder and weapons. (CA, LMS Journal, Schmelen, Great Namaqualand, 1819-1828).

Several times Schmelen mentioned refusing arms and powder to different groups. Conversely, this suggests that missionaries influenced the importation of arms from the Cape.

Jonker Afrikaner's 2nd son Jan Jonker Afrikaner is believed to have been born in Bethany around 1820. His mother was Beetje Boois the daughter of Jan Boois I.

In 1820, missionary James Archbell of Yorkshire, accompanied by his wife Elizabeth (Haigh) and colored preacher Jakob Link, was commissioned by the Wesleyan Missionary Society to explore supplies for missionaries from Walfishbay. He recommended in a report to his missionary society that a mission station be established. ("Beschrijving der Walvischbaai en omliggende platsen aan de westkust van Afrika", J.Archbell 1823). This suggestion, which was also supported by Schmelen during his later expedition (1824), was nevertheless not followed. Both missionaries praised the place with the annually returning whaling ships, especially since the Topnaar, the local Namaclan, also sold cattle to the sailors here.

Links, a colored catechist, had grown up in the **Albrecht** brothers' congregation in Lilliefontein and had learned to read and write there. He could translate Bible texts from Cape Dutch into the Nama language and preach. James Archbell (WMS) moved on from Walfishbay in a southeasterly direction and in 1821, together with Jacob Links, founded a mission station near the Bosfontein waterhole in the Haseweb Valley. They named this place not far from today's Maltahöhe, Grootfontein (-South). On 11.11.1821 (WMMS Journal1821) Archbell reported a Namakapitän named Gammam (Red Nation), who was camped at Grootfontein-South at that time. (CI WMMS Journal 11.11.21) . He and his men expected without much ado from the missionary, guns, knives, clothing and hats.

Archbell threatened to expose the illegal munitions trade to the unwilling Nama if they did not cooperate. The Nama told Archbell of a Red Nation conflict with the Herero at Kuiseb and Swakop (CL, WMMS journal, Archbell, Orange River, 11.11 1821) . That same year Archbell persuaded Schmelen to go on a reconnaissance trip to Angra Pequena. There was not enough water on the way, however, and they had to turn back because of it. In 1821 Schmelen's son Nicolaas was born. The missionary activity, so successful in the beginning, weakened so that in September 1821 there were only thirty huts left at Bethany Mission Station. (U.Trüper). Further east, Jager Afrikaner requested a missionary in 1822.

In the meantime, the captains, aided by improved roads, had been able to exchange many weapons for cattle behind the missionaries' backs. Food became scarce due to the sale of cattle and the drought. Because of the drought, Orlam captains organized an increasing number of raids. In February 1822, Schmelen reported that his chiefs in the Bethanier country jointly intended to attack the Kubas / Guibes. The captain of the field shoe carriers also came to Bethany for a discussion of this attack. Schmelen did not have the authority to stop this happening.

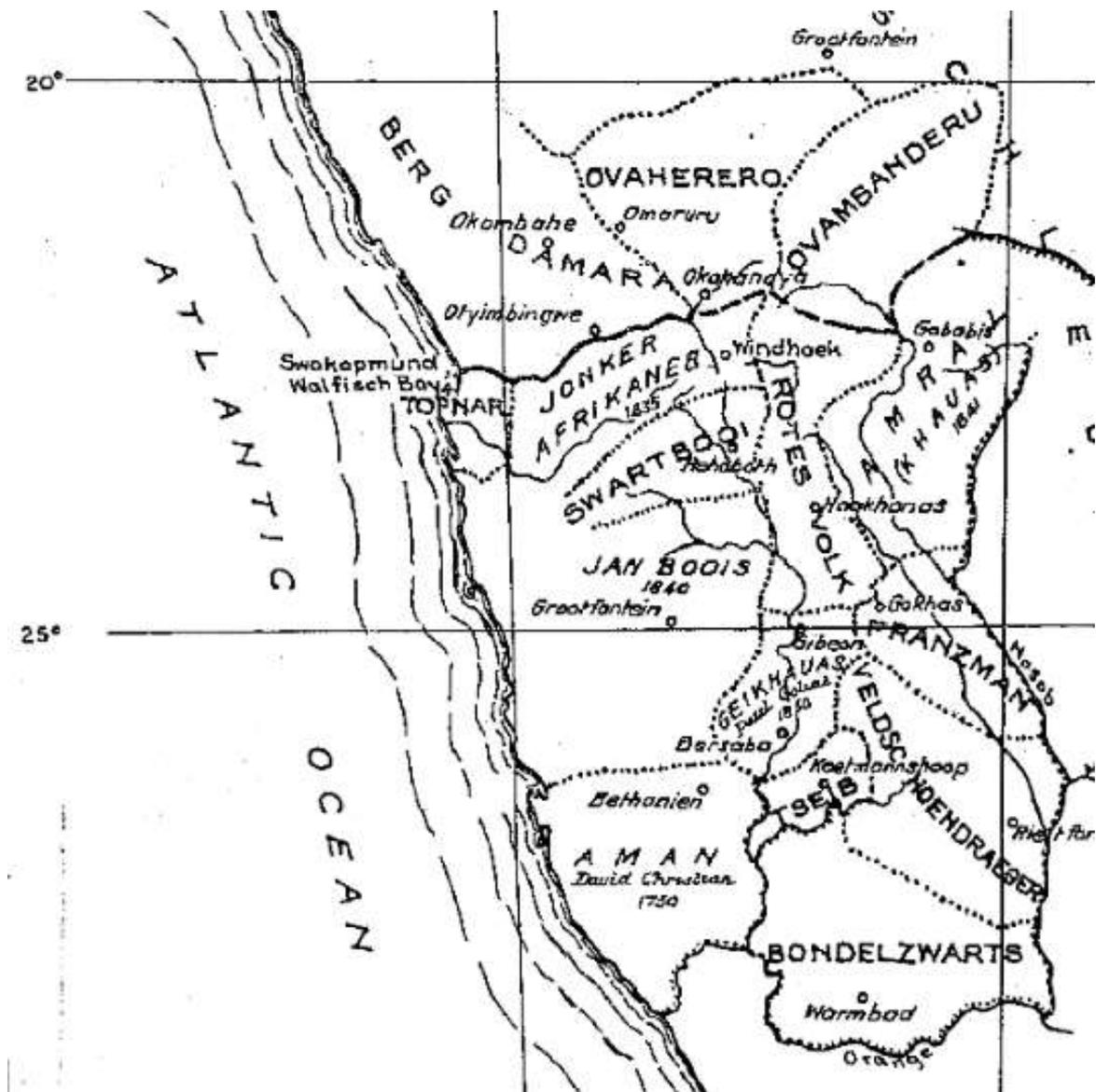
In 1822, Schmelen tried again to reach Angra Pequena. Once again it failed due to the lack of water on the route. During his absence, a dispute arose between the Namaka captain Jantje Kaggap and Zara Schmelen. Zara accused one of his men of breaking the legs of several of her sheep. (This later turned out to be unfounded. Silk Thread and Champbell had described that such a disease could occur in sheep resulting in the breaking of legs.) Fisticuffs ensued. When Schmelen returned after his unsuccessful attempt to travel, he took replacements for the supposedly killed sheep from the Jantje Kaggap flock. The situation escalated into a two-day shootout between various community groups with 2 deaths. During peace negotiations, his opponents handed him 19 muskets which he kept with the intention of returning them when things calmed down in the community. The tribes at Bethany Square were now divided into two camps. The Nama Habusomop was considered the instigator. Amraal Lambert and Kobus Boois continued to hold to Schmelen.

Accordingly, there were still three groups near Bethany Square in 1822. The Boois, the Amraals, and a group of Nama under Jantje Kagapp. Schmelen reported that where in good times 600 could live there was not even enough food (grass) for 10.

Schmelen also left Bethany because of the continuing drought and moved entirely to Steinkopf. He wrote about the trade with Angra Pequena through which a lot of cattle were exchanged for up to 60 lbs of gunpowder and that he could no longer control this trade. Now many groups were threatening each other. Already since the 1820s the Cape government was informed about the increasing illegal arms trade at the border. Because of the unrest, the Namah chiefs Tsaumap and Tsaugaumap moved to Bethany and urged Schmelen to return. (CA LMS 29.08.1823 Kamiesberg letter v. Schmelen).

In 1823 Jager Afrikaner died and his son Jonker Afrikaner became captain. There were skirmishes between the Afrikaners and the Bondelswarts in the Karas in which Jakobus Afrikaner a brother of Jonker was killed. Jonker Afrikaner carried out several raids from the Orange to the Karas Mountains, which consolidated his power. A split in the Afrikaner tribe occurred. Jonker first moved with his group north to the Kalahari while his uncle Titus stayed in the south (Blydeverwacht).

For their part, the Orlam captains in Bethany became active and also robbed. The leader of the Red Nation Games agreed with Jonker on his resettlement in the north. She led the Red Nation in representation of her still too young son **Oasib** (||Oaseb !Na-khomab). Games wanted to create a buffer zone between the Red Nation and the Hereros. Thus, Jonker's group settled north of Rehoboth around 1824, in contact with the Herero to the north. Jonker led many raids against the Herero. About 1824 the eldest son of Cobus Boois, Jan Boois I, separated from the Bethanians and moved as an independent captain with his people to the north at the flower fishing area. Later they stayed between Kuisep and Swakop. Jan Boois was the father-in-law of Jan Jonker Africans.



map ca. 1840

Shaw quoted Threlfall August 1824: "We have had some alarming reports of the condition of the natives and the country beyond the Orange River. They say that Gammag (chief of the Gai-/khaun, B.L.) and another chief are dead ... (Source B Lau?). Meanwhile, the **Namachief**

Tsaumap (Red Nation) criticized the behavior of the missionaries, meaning he said: *"The missionaries (especially Schmelen) came as teachers and turned into judges. We accepted their peace that you preach, but they are our biggest enemies who want to kill us. "*

Schmelen's wife Zara translated the New Testament in Steinkopf around 1825. With an expedition of 80 men, Schmelen accompanied by Amraal Lambert and Kobus Boois moved through empty Bethany to Walfishbay and met the Topnaar (IAonin). Schmelen recommended that the missionary society establish a mission station on the Rooibank site. Schmelen also visited Jonker Afrikaner at Tsebris west of Rehoboth during this expedition in 1825. Jonker remained on friendly terms with Schmelen for decades afterward

At the same time missionary William Threlfall came to Warmbad accompanied by Links. Naugap was the son of silence of Tsaumaps (Red Nation). He commissioned subordinate bushwhackers to murder Links and Threfall in June 1825. Impressed by the murder of Threlfall, missionary work in Grossnamaqualand stagnated for almost 15 years. Nevertheless, it can be assumed that many colored believers, such as Tibot maintained their Christian congregations. Schmelen addressed the governor of the Cape in which he demanded a minimum of protection and structure as a prerequisite for continued missionary work in Namibia (26 Sept., 1822 Schmelen).

While Schmelen was still in Rehoboth near Jonker, Naugap came to the house of Zara in Steinkop (see Wimmer) with murder intentions. But her community protected her. Zara, who was also fluent in English, continued to write the Catechism in Nama language which was later published under her husband's name in Cape Town after her death.

In 1825 Kobus Boois (Frederiks) died. From 1825 until his death in 1842, Josef Frederiks I (Boois) was the captain of Bethany Square. In 1828 Schmelen tried again to return to Bethany but found the land in drought and stripped bare by locusts.

Schmelen wrote: *" We hear of nothing but oppression and persecution. The poor Nama are often treated so badly by the Orlams that my heart bleeds. The Africans and most of my people treat the natives (Namas) in an abominable manner, not only by depriving them of everything, but also by using the women and children as whores and treating them worse than slaves."*

In 1833, slavery was officially abolished in the Cape and in 1834, missionary Eduard Cook reopened the Warmbad mission station. In 1835, the great Burentreck began from the Cape to the Northeast. This stimulated the need for cattle in the Cape Country, as a large portion of the cattlemen moved away with the Boers. Cattle and livestock trade with Greater Namaland via Angra Pequena (Lüderitz Bay) and Rostra da Pedra Bay (Whale Bay) increased. The Orlam had considerably developed the roads and tracks for ox carts. Where previously only the whalers replenished their meat supplies from the natives through trade, merchant ships came specifically to bring the natives glass pelts, iron products, alcohol, and weapons in exchange for cattle. In 1836, the American merchant ship Helemar was anchored at Anra Pequena and traded gunpowder and old muzzle-loaders with the natives in exchange for a considerable number of cattle and sheep. (s.Cecille1836). In 1838, the explorer Alexander also reported on the possibilities of cattle trade with the island of St. Helena. The trade, and with it the spread of weapons, promoted the warlike conflicts in central Namibia and unwelcome dependencies arose. The Orlams in particular robbed their peaceful neighbors of cattle to buy weapons and

became dependent on the supply of powder and lead. In the beginning, the cattle-raising Hereros had nothing to oppose this predatory economy of the Orlams. They had no choice but to acquire rifles and horses. Especially the horses turned out to be a war-decisive but unstable component of the European battle strategies. Horses were very sensitive to the disease spread by mosquitoes during the rainy season, the "horse sickness". *Pferdesterbe*" (German)

Literatur: Felix Schürmann Herrschaftsstrategien und der Einsatz von Pferden im Südwestlichen Afrika von 1790-1890



1837

Sir James Edward Alexander's expedition trekked, on behalf of the Royal Society of the Cape 1837 with 50 men into the Great Namaqualand. On this way he met Schmelen and followed on the further journey the ways which also the missionary had already explored. Alexander explored the Great River (Oranje) to the Atlantic Ocean. The mouth of the river Alexanderbay was named after him. In February Sir Alexander reached Nanebis 30 km southeast of Seeheim. This was the residence of Captain Kuisip. Here Alexander learned of a white trader who wanted to rob him. But it did not come to that. When Alexander moved on from Nanebis on February 20, 1837, 12 native men of Chief Kuisip accompanied him. The trek crossed the Fish River on February 22, 1837. There Alexander observed a peculiar fishing method of the Bushmen using baskets. Further west, Alexander also describes encountering Damaras (Herero) at the Konnkieprevier. He found the village of Bethany abandoned. The ruins of the stone house of Schmelen and the long-drawn chapel as well as the farm buildings were still standing next to the spring.

Along the **Schwarzrand** via **Chamis** and **Amhub** the trek was led by Orlam Henrick and Jan Boois. Thereupon they came to the area which was later called North Bethany and still later Maltahöhe. Alexander called it a bushman's land, which was seasonally visited by Namas. The trek encountered only one bushman family with 4 huts. Alexander described that their appearance was no different from the Nama except for their clothing. He also described the difference from the smaller Bushmen of Orange. The Bushmen of northern Bethany hid from the trek, expecting to be killed. A piece of meat that a Bushman leader got he threw directly into the embers and ate it completely by taking semi-rough pieces of the meat between his teeth and then cutting them just above his lips. The bushmen were armed with a bow and arrow and an assegai. They poisoned the arrows with the boiled down sap of the euphorbia. The bushmen lit fires by twisting a small stick back and forth between their hands and pressing the end of the stick on a piece of wood. The frictional heat produced embers, which

they carefully caught with a tuft of grass, which then ignited. At **Kei Kap** (Gei Gab) (Groot plaas) Alexander's trek found holes dug everywhere, which served the Nama as pitfalls for hunting rhinos. A bushman named Ariseep reported that he trailed lions and waited until they had gorged themselves on their prey. He then chased away the full lions. This is how he got the rest of the prey. However, Alexander also learned that in this dealings with lions, a bushman himself became a victim. Alexander's trek continued through the place called **Kei Us** ("Gai out") (Grootfontein South). Large trees grew there. There was open water and rhinos grazing nearby. Further east, an indentation in the mountains 20 miles away called "Isa coodee taos" (=beautiful girls pass) appeared. This could have been the black rim at Maltahöhe. Finally they reached the Huntoprevier (Hutup) (Spinging River) with many big trees (Farm Namseb). There was great danger of being attacked by lions and bushmen. Alexander had a bush kraal made of thorny bushes erected around the camp. That night, the first documented crime in the Maltahöhe district occurred when his orlam attacked the bookman girls. When Alexander heard this, he rebuked his captains. But these Orlam reacted with incomprehension. For them, this incident probably had no greater significance. On 26.03.1837 the trek passed through the Blumen fishing district =Arigha`Oup (the northern part of the fishing district is called so). There, not long before, bushmen had attacked a Namatreck. Alexander's trek also lamented the nightly theft of several oxen at the Narobrevier. At Bullspoot, Alexander observed swarms of locusts from a mountain and in the valley, giraffes and rhinos. A little further on, while crossing the Naukluft Alexander named a mountain Mount Michell after Surveyor General Charles Collier Michell of the Cape (surveyor). At the end of the Naukluft near Ababis, Alexander shot a rhino. His men spotted footprints of bushmen, pursued them, and encountered a group camped at a waterhole under a rocky outcrop at the station. These bushmen were also initially afraid of the strangers. They had killed a young giraffe shortly before. Alexander intended to take the group with him as guides through the desert to Kuiseb. In exchange for gifts and tobacco, they were willing to do so. The men and women wore loincloths of leather and chains of leather straps with teeth and bangles of iron. On leather straps around their necks, they all carried an ivory scraper for eating narras. Narras are pumpkin-like fruits that grew in the desert. Alexander noted that the Bushmen had no problem with his namas having philandering sessions with their wives. They were more interested in the gifts like tobacco and beads. The next morning a few shots were fired to orient a lost companion. In an instant the bushmen disappeared, leaving all their belongings in their camp in fear that they would now be killed. This behavior suggests that there was systematic persecution of Bushmen by Orlams and Nama. The trek was now forced to travel alone through the dry desert to the northwest without being able to use the water holes known only to the Bushmen.

From Ababis they trekked further through the desert, to Kuisep, to Walfishbay and further eastward into the interior where they met Jonker Afrikaner. The latter entertained them amicably and asked for news about Schmelen. The trek moved on and met Chief Aramap at Niais. He was anxious to get a missionary for his group. From here their way led again to the south first along the Keikuruprevier until they came on 01.06.18.37 to a small village. This Alexander named "Glenelg Bath" after Lord Glenelg from Cape Town because of its springs. It was the later Rehoboth. Resident Bergdamaras (Kamaka) reported massacres of women and children who had their hands and feet chopped off before they were killed.

On 18.06.1837 Alexander crossed the Hutup (about 40 km. west of Gibeon) on his return journey and continued south across the Home Plain, into the valley of the Konkiep, through the deserted Bethany and Sendlingsdrift back to South Africa.

Alexander's records indicate that Amraal Lambert was by now a noted leader of a group. He was staying in eastern Namaqualand at this time along with the Vledermuis.

Jan Boois (Frederiks) traveled to Cape Town in 1837, possibly with Alexander's trek to request a missionary. (Jan became captain of the North Bethanians in 1842).

In 1840 the British (WMS) Wesleyan Mission Society withdrew from Grossnamaland and handed over its duties to the German (RMG) Rheinische Mission Gesellschaft. In 1841, therefore, Hugo Hahn, Heinrich Kleinschmidt, and Hans Christian Knudsen first came to Schmelen in Komaggas and shortly thereafter traveled north. Kleinschmidt married the daughter of Schmelen Johanna (Hanna). She spoke English, Afrikaans, Nama and German and could read and write. She contributed significantly to the translation of Bible texts.

On August 30, 1841, Kleinschmidt began missionary teaching in Bethany. He found only a small community of 100 inhabitants. (see Walter Moritz). Captain David Christian Frederiks supported the Christian mission but did not take it too seriously even with Christian discipline. When Kleinschmidt heard the music of a drinking bout in the middle of the night on September 11, 1842, Kleinschmidt got up and found David Christian celebrating extensively in a mat house. The enraged missionary then knocked over the beer mug and took the violin away from David Christian.

The missionary Jan Bam, the brother-in-law of Schmelen (brother of the 2nd wife) also came to Bethany with his wife. On 01.09.1841 Jan Bam set up a garden next to the spring and his wife built a mat house with the support of some community members. Mrs. Jan Bam stayed at first in Bethany while Jan Bam and Kleinschmidt went on a reconnaissance trip to the north.

On 15.09.1841 Jan Bam and Franz Heinrich Kleinschmidt accompanied by Christian and Jakob Lambert traveled first to Jan Boois Kral, which was at that time about the height of the later Helmeringshausen. Jan Boois the eldest son of Kobus Boois lived separately from the rest of the clan. Jan's daughter Beetje was the wife of Jonker Afrikaner. Kleinschmidt and Jan Bam moved on and visited Jonker Afrikaner in Windhoek. Jonker Afrikaner insisted that only missionaries recommended by Schmelen be allowed to proselytize in his area. Thereupon, in December 1841, Kleinschmidt and Bam took their belongings from Bethany and moved to Windhoek, which they then called Elberfeld.

Kleinschmidt wrote on October 6, 1842: *"We rejoiced to our joy at the results of the praiseworthy activity of the Jonker Afrikaner, who has laid out a well-built road over these inaccessible mountains. During the construction period, the road builders consumed two oxen and seven sheep."* (Source K.Dierks)

The increasing trade via Walfishbay caused the Africans to build roads for ox wagons all the way to Windhoek in 1842. (For more information see Dag Henrichson, Brigitte Lau, Felix Schürmann, K.Dierks). The captain from Bethany also developed trade routes to the north and to

Lüderitzbucht. Traders like Morris, Dixon, De Pass, Spence established trading stations in Walfishbay and also showed first trading activities via Lüderitzbucht.

Groups formerly belonging to Bethany had left Bethany after Schmelen did not return. Amraal Lambert, who had remained with Schmelen for 14 years, emerged as the leader of the Kai|khauan. Amraal founded Leonardsville in the east and concluded a peace treaty with ||Oaseb in 1841. Meanwhile, the remnants of Piet Vleermuis' group were also part of the Amraal clan. The Swartboois, who for a time belonged to the Bethany community, had also left the place after Schmelen's departure.

In the meantime, a colored preacher named Gert Zadel had traveled from Komaggas back to Bethany. In 1842, missionaries Carl Hugo Hahn and Knudsen also moved to Bethany. (Carl Hugo Hahn not related to Samuel Hahn). Hugo Hahn had brought with him a Burmese catechist Daniel Cloet who could translate very well into the Nama language. Cloete's daughter **Anna Maria Cloete** was born in Bethany in 1842 and baptized by Knudsen. Anna Cloete later (1866) married the Scottish arms dealer **Robert Duncan**.



Hugo Hahn

Only a few Boois, who were also called Fredericks now stayed near the place Bethany. The Bethany captain Joseph Frederiks I (son of Kobus Boois) led the Bethany community in the period from 1825 to 1842. Little is known of him. After his death in 1842, his brother Jan Boois, who was already sub-captain of North Bethany, took over the captaincy until his death in 1846. (Dierks Biographies 2003)

The Norwegian missionary Knudsen began missionary work in Bethany. On 18.11.1842 the "elder" from the Goliath tribe Christian Tibot visited him with his following. (Vedder 1934:p241). They had ridden 3 days with the riding oxen from their camp at the fish river to Bethany. Tibot also requested a missionary for his place which Knudsen called Guldbrandsdaalen (Farm Snyfontein). He was "elder", thus preacher at this "outer place".

In Bethany there already existed again a small church made of mud brick and also the rebuilt stone house of Schmelen. Christian Tibot held services there several times during Advent.

Knudsen baptized at Christmas 4 persons among them the sons of Kobus Frederiks (Boois). **Christian** and **Piet Boois**. Their brother was captain Jan Boois

Meanwhile the chief **Willem Swartbooi** and Jan Boois camped in the Aub valley near the flower fishing area. Because of the continuing drought, Knudsen's community also had to move north at times. Thus the Bethanian community, to the delight of Annatje came closer to the Swartboois. The catechet Annatje was the wife of Captain Willem (Wilhelm) Swartbooi. Schmelen had baptized her in Bethany ca.1824. She functioned under Knudsen in 1842 for the Bethany congregation in the north, and from 1845 after the move to Rehoboth under Kleinschmidt in Rehoboth as deaconess. (1998 The Swartboois Moritz Walter)

According to Dierks, **Jan Jonker Afrikaner** married Mietje Hendrik in Bethany in December 1842. Jan Jonker ,born ca.1820 in Bethany, was the son of Jonker Afrikaner and Beetje Boois of Bethany. Beetje Boois was the sister or daughter of Jan Boois. Thus the Afrikaners were related to the Bethanians in several ways.

By **March 1843**, Knudsen had baptized 40 adults and 40 children. Two colored catechets helped with the teaching. Jakob Vries and Ferdinand Bam. Knudsen sent another colored catechist, Timotheus to Tibot as a school teacher. Knudsen named the place of Tibot after a fjord in Norway "**Guldbrandsdalen**". Knudsen visited Tibot's group, about 100 people, at the Fish River and for 8 days examined 18 adult baptized people, among them Damara (Herero) and Bushmen whom Timothy had taught. They first had to confess their sins. Among others, murder of Damara, infanticide and fornication. Paul Goliath and part of his group were also present. They had dressed in European clothes and many spoke Cape Dutch. Knudsen's community was widely scattered throughout Bethanierland. This was for ecological reasons. To gather the whole community in Bethany Square, there was not enough water and grass for the cattle in most years. So outside places were formed, which the missionary visited. Also in the north near the Naukluft probably at the farm Neuhoof Knudsen had founded an outpost near the source of the Usibrevier and the Zuntoprevier called **Neuholsteinburg**. According to an entry in a map there was a church at a spring. Unfortunately, only the entry in several old maps and 2 other references from transcripts are known about this place. Not far from Neuholsteinburg camped the groups of **Jan Boois** .



Map from ca 1850 with more recent additions by David Christian Frederik.

Missionary Kleinschmidt and Joh. H.Bam, Schmelen's brother-in-law, came from Neubarmen in 1845 and founded a mission station at the springs of Rehoboth named after the town of Rechowot in Israel. On 08.07.1845 the Swartboois moved to Rehoboth. The missionary's wife, Hanna Kleinschmidt was the daughter of Schmelen. As a mixed-blood woman, she knew the Nama language and acted as a translator and preacher. That same year, the Swartbooi congregation in Rehoboth began building the church. Annatje Swartbooi often visited the congregation of Captain Jan Boois at the Naukluft in her capacity as deaconess.

Quote of unknown origin from <http://kavango.info/table%20of%20evangelists/1.txt>.:
"Knudsen had visited during the year 1845 all the individual wefts of his Bethanian congregation scattered far to the north, as far as Rehoboth, had brought back from there towards the end of the year the assistant Jan Bam, and had provisionally handed over his congregation to him, while he himself traveled to Capstadt to have a reading book printed in the Namaqua language."

In 1845, H.Bam was given as a "catechist" a sub-station of Bethany. (probably Neuholsteinburg and the parish of Jan Boois).

Captain Jan Boois I (Frederiks) died in 1846 and was succeeded in Bethany by Captain David Christian (1847-1880). David Christian Frederiks, sometimes named Boois felt himself to be the independent leader and owner of the land from the Orange River to the Flower Fishing District and from the Fish River to the Atlantic Ocean. To underline his claim to power, he had himself inaugurated with solemn anointing by Knudsen into his captaincy on 01.01.1847. Based on the treaty of Kobus Boois, the land of Bethany actually did not belong to the Frederiks but to the red nation under Oasib, who also expressed this at least to the Goliaths of Berseba. In 1847 there were 766 Christians in the Bethany community. David Christian, as Orlam, wanted to distinguish himself from the Namas of the red nation. His behavior was clearly oriented toward European rulers. At a parents' meeting, David Christian demanded instruction in Cape Dutch. He did not want the Nama language (Khoekhoegowab) to be taught. In 1847, missionary Knudsen and David Christian drew up the **Ryksboek**, the first printed code of law based on the European model, which was also adopted by other Orlam and Baster groups in Rehoboth, Warmbad, Berseba and Windhoek. It regulates the inheritance of the captaincy and the election of councilors and sub-councilors. The rights of citizens and servants, marriage rights, criminal law, inheritance law and property rights are included in this code. Poligamy, which had been common until then, was forbidden and the rights of women, as subordinate to men, were established. Knudsen also arranged a contract between Christoph Tibot, Paul Goliath #Hobexab and Jakob Isaak on 17.05.1847. After that Knudsen went on the vacation trip to Norway. Bethany Square was deserted after Knudsen's trip home. David Christian was camped at Aus in the meantime. A missionary inspector Zahn reported in 1848 that he had encountered only one goose at Bethanien Square. Meanwhile, Missionary Schmelen, who was so influential, died at Kommagas on July 26, 1848.

Missionary Vollmer reported in his diary 1848/ 49 that JonkerAfrikaner threatened the Damara (Herero) in the north, but also the mission in Rehoboth. Missionary Vollmer wrote a letter from Rehoboth to Jonker on August 14, 1849, asking him not to be so hostile. The latter replied that he was not hostile to the Rehoboth people. The Swartbooi nevertheless had old rifles prepared. They were not well disposed towards Jonker.

Around 1848, when the British officially declared the Orange River as the new colonial frontier in the north, the first Baster groups, the Vigilanders and at the same time the Witboois migrated to Namibia. The Witboois initially stayed in the Karas Mountains..



Palgrave Photo Album: "Bethany to Berseba Road ,,"

In 1848 missionary Samuel Hahn came to the Berseba area. (Carl Hugo Hahn missionary at Windhoek is not related to Samuel Hahn). Before that Samuel Hahn lived at Ebenezer Station in Cape Town. Samuel Hahn's mission was to settle the clans and thus pacify the land.

In the beginning of 1848 Hahn visited Tibot's parish in Gulbrandsdalen for a few weeks. On 21.08.1849 84 Guldenbrandsdaler celebrated a mass together. The parish had a total of 400 members. Tibot's school had 70 pupils. Tibot was looking for a steady source for his parish. Gulbrandsdalen did not provide enough water for the groups of Tibots and Goliaths. The families therefore camped far apart. According to legend, Tibot's hunting dogs found springs called Outsawesis about 60 km to the north. Missionary Hahn then founded the mission station Berseba there on 17.10.1850 named after Beersheba in Israel. The Goliaths, Isaacs and Tibots separated from the Betanians against David Christian Frederik's will. They finally moved to Berseba (!Autsawises). The Bersebans (!Hai-|khauan), descendants of the Khauas, actually came from Ebenezer at the Doornrevier/SA and had come about 1812 via Pella, first to the Karas Mountains until they moved to the area of eastern Bethany. Their first captain was named Dirk Isaak (!Aioib !Êi-gaosenmab). After his death in about 1850, Paul Goliath (!Hobexab) took over the captaincy. To settle the groups, Samuel Hahn laid out gardens near the brukkaros. Hahn had the community build a mission house and chapel of adobe. In the rainy season of 1849, the community repaired the ox cart roads. The old bay road to Bethany from Schmelen's time was washed out. Berseba's community also built first ox cart roads from Berseba to Bethany and to Gulbrandsdalen. (see K.Dierks). On September 13, 1850 Samuel Hahn reports about the new road through the Brukkarosberge, which is also mentioned with praise in the RMG annual report. Huge boulders had to be moved by the community members. Drought conditions prevailed again. The chief captain of the Red Nation Oasib, according to him, was the real owner of the land and reprimanded the high-handed land grabbing of the Goliaths. However, Oasib gave them permission to settle there in exchange for the symbolic tribute of a mare until revoked. Oasib said "... the water is mine..." (see Reinhard Köbler 2007).

In the spring of 1849 Knudsen returned to Bethany and was deeply disappointed. David Christian of Bethany and others had joined Jonker Afrikaner in raids against Hereros in the north during his absence and no longer adhered to Christian guidelines. Only 2 huts remained at the Bethany site. Because of the drought, the Bethany community was widely dispersed.

The mission inspector Haderland came to Bethany on June 31, 1849, bringing with him Jakob Vries, a 20-year-old colored catechet. Vries was to substitute for Knudsen during his visits to the outposts. Knudsen and Captain David Christian Frederiks clashed. The missionary's influence became too dominant for the captain. As a result, he expelled Knudsen. Knudsen, embittered, left the Bethany congregation after Pentecost on Feb. 11, 1851. He returned to Norway. Knudsen was also a trained painter and had painted several pictures during his time at Bethany. (s. Walter Moritz)



Oil painting by Knudsen ca 1845 of Bethany and a watercolor by Kleinschmidt 1842

The chronicler of the Rohden Rhenish Missionary Society reported that groups of one Jan Boois (II?), Willem Swartboois, David Christian and other Orlam clans were roaming the country in a predatory manner. When the community leaders were rebuked by **Samuel Hahn** at a council meeting for this disregard of Christian principles, they told him that this was a political issue in which the missionaries should not interfere. According to the missionary chronicler Rohden, the local council complied with the missionary's instructions. (Rohden 1871:215-126. RMS Inspector Ludwig von Rohden Chronicler of the Rhenish Mission Barmen Reports of the Rhenish Missionary Society (**BRMG**) The reality was different. All Orlam groups replenished their livestock after 3 to 5 years at the latest by bloody robbery by means of so-called "**Komandos**". (Dag Henrichson Basel 2011 p. 78 Rule and everyday life in pre-colonial Central Namibia). Alexander (1837 p.444) reported that not only cattle but also people were robbed and enslaved as cattle herders.

Samuel Hahn and his wife became increasingly weak. Hahn moved from Berseba to Germany because of his illnesses. A year after the founding of Berseba, introduced by Superintendent Missionary Zahn, Johann Georg Krönlein took over the mission in 1851. Zahn is reported to have said of Berseba, "Neither dog nor cat can live here!". Among Krönlein's missions was to learn the Nama language. He married Sophie Terlinden of Stellenbosh on Nov. 30, 1852. The marriage remained childless. At the beginning of Krönlein's missionary activity he could already fall back on more consolidated Christian community structures and colored catechists, which had been maintained since Schmelen's departure, even without a missionary. Thus the elder Tiboth and Captain **Solomon David Isaak**, who lived several days' journey from Berseba, helped as preachers. Krönlein's translation work made slow progress. Reading syllable by syllable from the mouth of the Nama, Krönlein worked his way into the Nama language. Baumann reported in 1867, citing Rhode, that the translation of Luke (Gospel) progressed only slowly until the gifted Cloete took up the cause. The catechist **Daniel Cloetes** (Baster), a pupil of Carl Hugo Hahn, was ordered to Berseba to help Krönlein learn the Nama

language. He arrived on 27.10.1853 with his family and the first thing he did was to build a two-room house out of mud, typical for Baster. Due to the lack of slaughter cattle they had to starve during the construction of the house. On 12.01.1854 Cloetes son was born. The catechist had also built a garden. Cloete also helped Missionary Krefit in Bethany in the school and as a preacher at the New Year's service in 1854 in the house that once belonged to Schmelen. In the coming years, Cloete translated the New Testament into the Nama language with Missionary Krönlein. Daniel Cloete's network extended throughout Namaqua and Hereroland. He probably knew all the important people of his time personally and spoke 5 languages. Historians forgot to mention his outstanding work as a missionary and translator. In Vedder 1934 he is mentioned only as Kloetes in passing p.427.

Link: <http://kavango.info/table%20of%20evangelists/2.txt>



Krönlein reported about Berseba: *"Since I have been here, however, I have had to do almost nothing but ensure discipline in church and school, for young and old. Even the old Christoph Tibot I had to subject to many a serious admonition and sharp rebuke. "*

The fact that Krönlein wanted to bring discipline and order to the community reveals that the community and its leaders Tibot, Goliath and Isaac were by no means acting independently. The independent achievements of the Nama in road building and missionary work are underestimated, since the written documentation of such events was only done by missionaries.

The Rheinische Missionsgesellschaft RMG reports for the year 1852 that as a replacement for Knudsen the missionary **Matthäus Gorth** came via **Walfishbay** in November 1852. But David Christian Frederiks no longer wanted a patronizing missionary in Bethany. The center of missionary activity was now Berseba. Gorth camped at #Goais (the later Grootfontein South) on open ground 30 km from the present Maltahöhe. This can be seen as an indication

that David Christian no longer counted this land as part of his direct domain from Grootfontein South on.

Interestingly, on the maps of that time the name Jan Boois stands for North Bethany and David Christian for South Bethany. However, Jan Boois the eldest son of Kobus had already died in 1846. It is certain that there was a Jakobus Boois who was allied with the Africans. Possibly he was called Jan Boois in the linguistic usage.

From 14.11.1852 **Groth** held his sermons to which daily about 50 native Nama, presumably from the red nation, came under the open sky. A colored assistant had to translate. The local women built Groth a mat pontok within 2 hours on 17.11.52. The RMG also sent missionary Krefth from Wallenbrück to Bethany. Krefth had already arrived in Cape Town in October 1852 and traveled to Tulbagh via Stellenbosh. Gorth died suddenly on 06.01.1853 of malaria, others say of typhoid fever. David Christian changed his mind and let Krefth move to Bethany in May 1853. At first, missionary Johann Rath and the Herero woman **Urieta Kazahendike** supported him for 7 months.

Through baptism and marriage her name changed to **Johanna Gretze**. (She worked with C.Hugo Hahn on the Hererobiebel). **Krefth** was subordinate to the missionary Johann Georg Krönlein of Berseba. Krefth's first wife was Julie Seringhaus. After her death he married Magdalena Hatje. Krefth grew tobacco for several years to attract people to Bethanien Station.

On 07.12.1853 (1853-1869) the Rhenish missionary Friedrich Simon Eggert took over the congregation in Berserba. Krönlein, after his trip to Germany, became the present of the Namaland of the Rhenish Mission from 1867 to 1877.



The problems in the north between Jonker Afrikaner and the Herero and also the Red Nation intensified in 1854. Jonker tried to win over the Bethanians and Besebans. However, the Bethany and Berseba missionaries succeeded in keeping the two communities away from the fighting.

Quote from Dierk's biographies : *The chiefs //Oaseb of the Kai//khaun, Amraal Lambert or #Gai/nub of the Kai/khauan, Piet Koper !Gamab of the Fransman Nama or !Khara-khoen, Hendrik Henricks or !Nanib gaib #Arisemab of the //Hawoben and Jacobus Boois of Bethany supported Jonker Africans,*

while Willem Swartbooi of Rehoboth, the chiefs from Bethany (David Christian Frederiks) and Berseba, and later Kido Witbooi of Gibeon, supported by Captain Tseib of Keetmanshoop, represented the anti-Jonker coalition.

In 1855 Krönlein wrote that the community in Berseba had decided to build a church. This was consecrated on Pentecost 1857.

In February 1858, a language conference was held at Bethany at which Krönlein presented his handwritten dictionary of the name language. The conference worked out terms from the Bible that did not yet exist in the Nama language in order to be able to translate the New Testament. Symbols for the click sounds had already been worked out by Schmelen. Many Orlam, therefore Bethanians, Witbooi and Bersebians spoke Cape Dutch and already used the Bible in this language. Cape Dutch was a mixture between Dutch and North German dialects. Due to the droughts, the tribes were completely impoverished and therefore robbed each other of their cattle. David Christian Frederiks, like many, drank increasingly more alcohol. The few cattle the Orlams had, the traders took from them and paid with alcohol, tobacco and gunpowder. Several traders had settled in Aus around 1855.

Knudsen baptized Sara Frederiks (b.ca 1822- d, 11.07.1885 in Bethany) on Christmas 1842 with the name Maria. Her husband was Piet Saul Frederiks from the captain family of the Bethanians. After several years of nomadic wanderings, Maria and Saul returned to the place Bethany in 1859 (BRMG 1859). Out of Christian conviction, old Saul Frederiks did not participate in the raids and "shooting down" like his brothers (meaning Captain David Christian Frederiks with his men) and thus remained impoverished in Bethany. The poverty of Saul and Mary increased when they remained in the place of Bethany even in the times of drought. Kreft entrusted Sarah Mary with the office of deaconess. Her purpose in life was to lead her community on the "right" path. It is known that the deaconess had intensive conversations with members of the congregation when they had committed "transgressions" in matters of faith.

Kreft welcomed their local authority and said that the others should be ashamed to leave the area. Kreft condemned the raids of the Bethanians on the Nama and Hereros. The missionary Kreft gave as much as he could to the few community members who remained in the village. He paid them for construction of more buildings from mud bricks in Bethany.



Bethany painting painted by Knudsen?

On September 6, 1855, the missionary Kreft traveled with his assistant Daniel Klute to Angra Pequena to pick up material that came by sea to Angra Pequena from the copper prospector van Reen. The journey with the 2 ox wagons took 20 days. Kreft also bought from van Reen some ship planks for the construction of the mission station in Bethany, which came from a stranded ship. There were 2 other Europeans Vollstedt and Haverson living in Angra Pequena and bushmen who participated in the Sunday masses. Tuesday the 18th of September Kreft and his ox cart started on their way back and on Friday the 21st of September 1855 they reached the place Guos (with a bitter spring) after that they went on via Zirup (Tsirub) where they had to dig for water in several places. On Monday they reached the place Graspforten and then took the eastern way to the Aoser field and to the Aoser mountains where there were three small springs. Here Kreft found small stones which, according to the description, could have been diamonds. This later earned Kreft the name "Diamond Missionary". Finally they reached Kuiseb on September 26th. From here it was another day's ride to Bethany. (The place names Kreft used were still used in later route descriptions in 1885 by the botanist A.Schenk and H.Schinz).



Map from 1905

Increasingly, European traders and copper prospectors, coming by land and sea, became interested in Bethany. David Christian, not least to buy liquor, leased the entire coastal strip to an unknown trader in 1857. The Red Nation, however, still had the attitude that the Bethanians were subjects and demanded Bethany follow the army against the Herero. Captain David Christian did not follow this demand. From the actions of the Berserba and Bethany captains, it can be seen that these captains increasingly felt that they were independent rulers of Bethany and Berseba.

Missionary **Eggert** left Berseba and moved to Gobabis. Berseba's new missionary Friedrich **Wilhelm Weber** finished the church construction. On 18.05.1857 the church was consecrated by Berseba. Kreft and Captain David Christian also came from Bethany. Christian Tibot, Paul Goliath, Saul and Jakobus Isaac were present. On the evening of 04.04.1857 important members of the congregation spoke to the congregation who had come to the celebration. The last to speak was Christian Tibot.

In 1858 another language conference of the missionaries took place in Berseba.



Kirche von Berseba



Kirche von Bethanien

Jonker Afrikaners and Oasib signed the Hoachanas Peace Treaty in 1858. The treaty was also signed by the following chiefs: Willem Swartbooi, Huiseb Swartbooi, Aimab Grootte Doden, Garib, Hendrik Henricks Arisemab Piet Kooper, !Gamab Fransman, Kido Witbooi, Amraal Lambert, David Christian Frederiks, Naixab of Bethany, Paul Goliath of Berseba, the Ovaherero Jan and Piet Kopervoet. The Herero were thus under the rule of Jager Afrikaner. The leader of the peace conference was missionary Vollmer. Thus, for the first time, all of Southwest Africa was covered by a treaty, albeit a very fragile one.

On 26.06.1859 the work on the church in Bethany was finished. It had 2 towers and a rush roof. The congregation and also David Christian had donated 16 oxen for it. A merchant donated the pews. David Christian wanted to move to Bethany Square with his people because of the church.

The double-towered church of Bethany was built after the model of the church in Unterbarmen near Wuppertal. The builder of the church in Unterbarmen was the father of the revolutionary of the same name, Friedrich Engels. The architect's name was Heinrich Hübsch. The towers are supposed to represent the Reformed and Lutheran traditions. The three arcades represent the Trinity.

Missionary Weber moved from Berseba to Gobabis in 1860.

(Linda Zöllner list of RMG missionaries "The Nasate van die Rynse Sendelinge in Suid-Afrika" link: <https://safrika.org/index.html>)

More and more explorers, traders and prospectors came to the country. In 1860, Scottish geologist Sinclair prospected in Bethany on behalf of the firm of **De Pass & Spence** and Co. and found a mineable copper deposit north of Bethany with the help of David Christian. De Pass had already established trading posts at Walfishbay, Sandwichhabor and Angra Pequena in 1849. From 1856, Captain Spence also joined the company. Spence bay near Angra Pequena (Lüderitz bay) is named after him. These entrepreneurs engaged in guano trading and distributed fish products such as shark liver oil and dried fish. Madagascar, Mauritius, St.Helena, Europe and USA were their customers. In 1861, explorer and trader Andersson came through Bethany for the first time from the north with a large cattle train. This was not authorized by the captain David Christian. The Bethanians had already had bad experience with the lung disease in their cattle a year earlier. Andersson had to pay 100 sheep as a

penalty. According to an unconfirmed statement, Andersson was then allowed to continue south via Aus. It is astonishing that David Christian Frederiks possessed such power, especially since Andersson had a considerable private army and the blessing of his ally Jonker Afrikaner. For the first time, the captain of the Bethanians was recognized as the owner of the land. The claim of the former owners, the red nation seemed to be extinguished. Andersson and other traders had been driving cattle from Hereroand south to Cape Land for some time. James Chapman reported in 1861 that Charles John Andersson even wanted to build a road through Rehoboth to drive cattle into the Cape Country. The overland journey by ox cart to Cape Town took 9 months. Carl Hugo Hahn described the ox wagon route between Berseba and the Orange River in 1852. Berseba ---6 hrs ---- Aub---6 hrs--- Gulbrandsdalen---9 hrs--- Spitzbergen---9 hrs---Lion River--- 9 hrs---Gaab---10 hrs---Khanibes--- 11 hrs---Gaibes-12 hrs---Uhabis--- 6 hrs---Vioolsdrift/Oranje.

Jonker Afrikaner died in Okahandja in 1861. His eldest son Christian Afrikaner became his successor. Thus the power positions of all captains changed and the Hereros under the chief Maherero strengthened again.

In April 1861 missionary Kleinschmidt visited the " Booische people " in Onis near Bullspoort. The wife of the Swartbooi chief Annatje lived there at that time. On 29.04.1861 they celebrated baptism and a confirmation. There was a church built of mud there. (Ridsdale, B.: Scenes and Adventures in Great Namaqualand, London, 1883).

This reference to "Booische Leute" shows that the group of Jan Boois I, who died in 1846, still lived in North Bethany and still owned it.

In 1863 David Christian Frederiks made a contract for mining rights with Captain John Sinclair working for De Pass & Spence. David Christian is said to have shown him the best place himself. Thus the Sinclair mine was established north west of what is now Helmeringshausen. The ore was extracted from the mine by bushmen and brought to South Africa by land. Sinclair paid only the Bushmen as miners but not their wives. The Bushmen rose up against this. They stole draft oxen. David Chrstian beat back the rebellious workers and received a whole barrel of rum from Sinclair. More and more traders such as Kemel, Bruce, Gilmore now roamed Bethany selling clothing, glass beads, tobacco and brandy. This development took place throughout the country. Trade relations with the Cape increased. The Cape government sent commissioners into the country to protect its interests and those of the white traders.

On 15.06.1863 Christian Afrikaner attacked the Herero in Otjimbingwe. Christian lost the battle and was killed by Maherero. Jan Jonker Afrikaner, a friend of Maherero, took over the captaincy for the weakened Afrikaner. Maherero now allied himself with his former opponent, the merchant Karl Johan Andersson. They were now the biggest power in central Namibia. The power of the Orlam dwindled.

In 1863 the last group of Orlam, the Witbooi, tried to settle in Great Namaqualand near Gibeon. A sick girl who had come with them in 1864 triggered a smallpox epidemic. Many Witbooi, but also Amraal Lambert and his family died of it. Allegedly, according to missionary Albat, missionary Kreft vaccinated his congregation against it. This is difficult to

understand but possible. Chief Oasib tried to expel the Witbooi several times. Oasib was no longer able to defend his claim to power due to his dwindling means of power, especially since the Herero had regained strength in the north. The Bethanians did not follow Oasib's army. On the contrary, they and the Witbooi formed an alliance against the Red Nation. However, David Christian did not help the Witbooi in the warlike conflicts against Cornelius Oasib (!Na-khomab). The Bethanians and Beserba were safe from territorial claims by Oasib, who actually owned this land, due to the arrival of the Witbooi. David Christian now considered the land of Bethany definitively his possession. Whether North Bethany was also included or belonged to the group of the late Jan Boois is unclear. On the map from that time, the name Jan Boois appears on the territory of North Bethany and South Bethany David Christian.

In 1864 Krönlein traveled from Berseba to Germany to present his manuscripts in the Nama language. On his trip he took with him the oldest children of the Kreft family of Bethany so that they could attend school in Germany. Missionary Johannes **Olpp** came in place of Krönlein. The latter reported in his notes about his arrival in Angra Pequeña in 1864 and the following years. After his arrival in Angra Pequeña, Olpp had to wait on the beach until missionary Kreft from Bethany picked him up with an ox cart. In the meantime he spent the night in the only hut in town, the windowless storage shed of the American merchant Mr. Robertson. Kreft brought the trek with 14 oxen in 4 days through the desert without water for the animals. The head of the drivers was called Tsaumareb. It was customary to give the driver the burnt stubs of a cigar, which he then smoked to the end with relish. All tobacco was highly prized by the Nama. At the mountains near !Aus there was the only spring far and wide with good water and a little pasture. Here, however, traders were camped with 1000 cattle, which came from Hereroland. These were suspected of having pneumonic disease, which caused Kreft to move on quickly without much rest. Arrived in Bethany, this place presented itself by the church made of mud bricks with two towers and the pontoks of the Orlams. Olpp asked a merchant, who was in Bethany at the time, to take an order list that he had worked out with Kreft to Cape Town. The merchant was to have everything a missionary needed sent to him in Angra Pequeña. Barter items such as cloth, food, coffee. David Christian Frederiks, whom Olpp met when he left for Berseba lived some distance from Bethany. They encountered him with a bottle of brandy in the midst of his councilors. The Witbooi of Gibeon had just asked David Christian at that time to assist them against the attacks of the Red Nation. This he refused (initially), because he himself had kinship relations with the Red Nation. On the further way on horseback to Berseba the 26 year old Olpp was accompanied by Kreft. In the icy nights they buried themselves in the sand and kept the fire burning all night because of the danger from lions. In Berseba they were greeted by "old Jakobus" and the missionary Friedrich Wilhelm Weber. Missionary Schröder also worked in Berseba since 1863. At that time !Oasib repeatedly attacked the newly arrived Witbooi in nearby Gibeon. The warlike events necessitated a conference of missionaries in Gibeon. All missionaries of Namaland met there in June 1864: **Knauer, Olpp, Schröder, Weber, Vollmer and Krapol**. On **02.07.1864** Olpp was inaugurated into his new office after his return journey to Berseba. In the main he was in charge of the school there at first. Almost a year later came the news that his ordered things were stored in Angra Pequena. He asked Lazarus Frederiks, the brother of the Bethany captain to fetch these boxes. However, Olpp found that bushmen on the beach had stolen some of his order. Theft was the order of the day. Olpp reported that around 1866 a Bethany group also stole cattle from the Berserbians and the "Old Jakobus" went out, caught the thieves and brought them to the Berserbian camp. One of them had a shattered leg. Olpp

pulled many pieces of bone from this wound for him. Olpp then mediated between the Bethanians and the Beserbians. Three times Oasib attacked the Witbooi in Gibeon on 03.12.1864, 17.7.1865 and 1866. The Witboois were skilled to wage war with horses and modern British breech-loaders. After several battles with Oasib in which Gibeon was destroyed several times, the Witbooi allied with the Bethanians and defeated Oasib and the allied Africans at Rehoboth on 25.9.1866. (Source: 1884 Olpp Kulmbach " Erlebnisse im Hinterlande von Angra Pequena").

In Schwartmodder, on 14.04.1866, Johann Georg Schröder, financially supported by the director of the Rhenish Missionary Society RMG Johann Keetmann from Elberfeld, founds a mission station named after him " Keetmanshoop". (With only one "n").

In the meantime, **Kido Witbooi**, coming from the south, had finally settled at the Fish River on the place called Khowesin. This place was named after the original tribe of the Witbooi, the "IKhowesin". The Rhenish missionary Jacob Knauer named the place Gibeon in 1863. Knauer was succeeded by Olpp in Gibeon in 1868. Olpp baptized the 90 year old Kido Witbooi. Hendrik Witbooi became Olpp's disciple and later appointed as "elder" of the community. Hendrik Witbooi was slightly older than Olpp.

Krönlein returned to Berseba from Germany and, as a present of the Rhenish Missionary Society, directed the expansion of the mission stations at Gochas, Gibeon, Keetmanshoop and Warmbad. He enlisted the help of several local catechists.

Oasib, head of the red nation, defeated by the 3 Orlam tribes fled to Hoachanas. Missionary **Vollmer** died as a result of these attacks and was buried at **Sendlingsgrab**/ Tsaobrevier south of Rehoboth by Paul Goliath of Berseba. When Oasib died shortly after, the "**Peace of Gibeon**" between Kido Witbooi, David Christian Frederiks and Paul Goliath took place on 19.12. 1867. With this peace treaty the 3 Orlam tribes took over the power over the Great-Namaqualand. By the right of the conqueror, the Witboois saw themselves as the legal successors of the Red Tribes of Hoachanas and thus as the suzerain over the whole of Gross-Namaqualand. The assumed power, however, was not recognized or respected by the other tribes of Berserba, Bethany, Warmbad.

During raids in Walfishbay, the Danish merchant Inverson died. European merchants in the Herero capital Otjimbingwe were also threatened by robber bands of Jan Jonker Afrikaner (half-brother of Christian Afrikaner) and Jan Boois II (possible the son of Jan Boois, who died in 1864). As a result the Europeans, that were 87 women and 31 men in a conference of Otjimbingwe on 07.07.1868 asked for protection from the Cape Governor. The South African deputy Palgrave took up the cause. The Rhenish Mission also approached **Bismarck** on their part. Two British warships initially took up positions off Walfishbay. As a result, Southwest Africa also became an international issue between the German Empire and the British. The Cape Government sent a commissioner named **Piers** to Bethany on **09.10.1868**. On behalf of the South African Administration, he urged the captains in Bethany, Berserba and Gibeon to deal amicably with the European traders and big game hunters. In particular, the behavior of Jan Jonker Afrikaner and **Jakobus Boois** (Jan Boois II ?) should be regulated by the chiefs.

After renewed incidents, Captain David Christian of Bethany then first conducted an action in the south against the Bushmen who had robbed the Sinclair Mine on the border of the Maltahöhe area.

When the British Cape government denied land ownership to the **Baster families** by an act passed about 1860, and the whites evicted the resident Basters, many Basters migrated north. One of these groups of 90 families under Hermanus van Wijk crossed the Orange River about 1868 and looked for a settlement site first at Keetmanshoop, but moved further north to the heights of Berserba. Then the trek made an amazing U-turn at the Fish River and moved in a big curve over the Baiweg to Chamis in the Bethanierland. There they camped for over a year. At the end of 1870 all the captains, chiefs and missionaries gathered for the conference at Okahanja . While the conference was still in progress, van Wyk and Abraham Swartbooi (captain 1864-1882) verbally negotiated a treaty of sale of the Rehoboth area through the mediation of missionary Hahn. The contract was concluded with the knowledge of Maherero and David Christian Frederiks in September 1870.

The Swartbooi had left the area long before because of the attacks by the Africans and had found refuge in the north. The Basters now moved from Chamis across the Maltahöhe area to Rehoboth.

In 1869 Paul Goliath of Berseba died and James Isaac took over the captaincy at Berseba 3 years later (1873-1892).



Jakobus Isaac (English James Boois)

The sailing ship "Prince of Wales" brought a shipment for Bethany Church to Angra Peqena in April (1870?). Missionary Kreft complained that bushwhackers were again stealing much material from the coast. Trader Gilmore donated the pews to the Bethany congregation. In 1870 there were 1000 Namas and 1200 Orlams in Bethany according to an estimate by Missionary Kreft.

On June 23, 1875, David Christiaan of Bethany and Baster Captain Claas Zwart entered into a lease agreement for the Grootfontein South land. Signatories were Claas Zwart and the Orlam captains David Christiaan, Willem Boois, Joseph David Frederiks II (||Naixab), Adam Lambert. (successor of Amraal Lambert). Thus David Christian Frederiks took over the until then unclear claim to power over North Bethany. The borders of North Bethany were in the north the Flower Fishing District in the south the watershed at Chamchawib, in the west from north to south the Schwaartrand to Breckhorn, Tsubgaris and in the west the desert. Four Baster families now settled in Grootfontein South.

At the same time (31/12/1875) Kido Witbooi (91) died in Gibeon and his son Moses (||Gäbeb ||imab) took over the leadership in Gibeon. In 1876/1877, the South African envoy Palgrave came to Walfishbay and also passed through the Bethany area to negotiate peace with the disputing tribes, as well as to offer treaties of protection under the auspices of the Cape government. He had little success. Palgrave also negotiated with Captain of Grootfontein-South Claas Zwart in April 1877. Palgrave's reports and early photographs from Bethany are now stored in the archives in Capetown.



Photo of Palgrave passing through Grootfontein in 1878 (Note: Palgrave's logs, photos and diaries located in the Cape Town Colonial Archives were published in 1991/2004).

In 1877 Krönlein moved from Berseba back to Stellenbosch at the request of his wife. Until 1878 the Grootfonteiners (North Bethanians) were ministered to by the missionary from Gibeon **Johannes Olpp**. The Basters of Grootfontein-South requested a missionary of their own. Heinrich Pabst arrived from Germany in 1877. On **27.04.1878** the missionaries from the Rhenish Mission, Herrmann Kreft and Heinrich Pabst started to build up a mission in Grootfontein-South. In his diary missionary Pabst reports about the establishment of the small settlement. The Grootfontein Basters built several houses made of mud bricks, a small church, gardens and several wells. Grootfontein South was thus the first settlement with permanent houses in European style in the Bethanierland. The cattle grazed in the entire Grootfontein depression between the Zarris Mountains and the Schwarzrand.

Missionary Kreft died suddenly on 03.05.1878 and (Johannes) Jan Bam took over the missionary office in Bethany. J. Bam, born 01.03.1848 in Scheppmannsdorf, son of missionary Johannes Hendrik Bam (brother-in-law of Schmelen) came to Germany as a child to the mission in Barmen after the death of his father in 1859 in Scheppmannsdorf. There he was trained as a bookbinder and later as a missionary. He first missioned in Namaland in 1874 and married a widow in Gütersloh in 1877.

In 1879, Missionary Olpp left Gibeon and was replaced by **Heinrich Rust**. In 1881, bushwhackers hired by Sub-Captain Daniel Boois in Grootfontein South killed, among others, Baster Jakobus von Zyl, Missionary Rust's mail boat on the way to Grootfontein South, and a shepherdess. There was a loss of over 1000 animals of the Grootfontein basters due to robbery. To make matters worse, the water from the wells in Grootfontein-South kept running dry.

During this time, conflicts developed in central Namibia. The Herero invaded more and more the territory of the now defeated "Afrikaners" near Windhoek. The South African commissar Palgrave again tried to mediate between the hostile parties. The Cape government sought to gain more influence in Namibia and annexed Walvis Bay and some guano islands off Angra Pequena. Captains Jakobus Isaac of Berseba and Moses Witbooi were opposed to any interference by the Cape government. Bethany Captain David Christian recommended that Palgrave return to Capetown for his own safety. On **25.08.1880** the Hereros finally destroyed Jan Jonker's domicile in Windhoek and drove the Afrikaners to Rehoboth. Jan Jonker Afrikaner fled further to the Gamsberg. In August 1880, fierce fighting ensued at the Gamsberg and then near Windhoek between the Orlam captains of the south led by Moses Witbooi and the Herero. Mutual warlike raids followed in the coming months in which more than **30000** cattle were stolen by the Orlam and the Nama. The traders Conradt, Gunning,

Duncan were delighted because they had to pay only 5-10 pieces of plate tobacco for one ox. 2000 Herero fought in October 1880 against about 3000 Nama, Orlam and Baster. Among them Jan Jonker Afrikaner (captain 1863-1889), Jakobus Isaak, Petrus von Hochanas, the Baster of Kalkfontein and Moses Witbooi. The Swartboois, under Sub-Captain Petrus Swartbooi raided the Herero at Otjimbingwe on 02.12.1880 and also robbed the cattle of the whites. The missionaries could only with difficulty stop the Swartbooi from a massacre of Herero women. Rehoboth was the rallying point for the Nama. David Christian of Bethany joined them with another 250 fighters. David Christian Frederiks of Bethany, Daniel Goliath of Berseba, a brother of Hendrik Witbooi and the successor of Oasib Pertrus (Gâberob #Goraxam) fell on 12.12.1880 in the battle of Otjikango near Gross Barmen against the Herero as reported by the missionaries Pabst and Olpp. Wilhelm Maherero the son of Maherero also died of his wounds. Days later Moses Witbooi was also defeated east of Okahandja and fled to Gibeon. Moses Witbooi's brother-in-law, Paul Visser committed a massacre of 101 Herero women and children in January 1881 in the east near Otjisanna on the Kamurang tribe (Herero). In the absence of their husbands, who were at war, he had them driven into a kraal, chopped off the hands and feet of some, pulled off the scalps and burned them all. ("The Herero" J. Irle Gütersloh 1906 p.190)

After the death of David Christian, Joseph Frederick II the nephew and ward of David Christian took over the captaincy in Bethany. Missionary Bam solemnly blessed him into his office on March 15, 1881. The German press even referred to him as King of Bethany. A sub-captain, Daniel Boois, was camped northwest of Bethany at the TaoXab site. He had 120 Bushmen gathered around him as militiamen and lived by raiding. The group of Daniel Boois also participated with Jan Jonker in fights against Hereros which had the character of raids. Missionary Pabst from Grootfontein South wrote that he had to leave Grootfontein South with his Baster community in 1881 because of continuing bloody raids by Sub-Captain Daniel Boois. A small part of Grootfontein's basters fled to Rehoboth. On the way, accompanied by a friendly group of Groote Doden, they happened to come across a Baster werft at the height of Nomsas. They then attacked this wharf and killed all the bushmen.

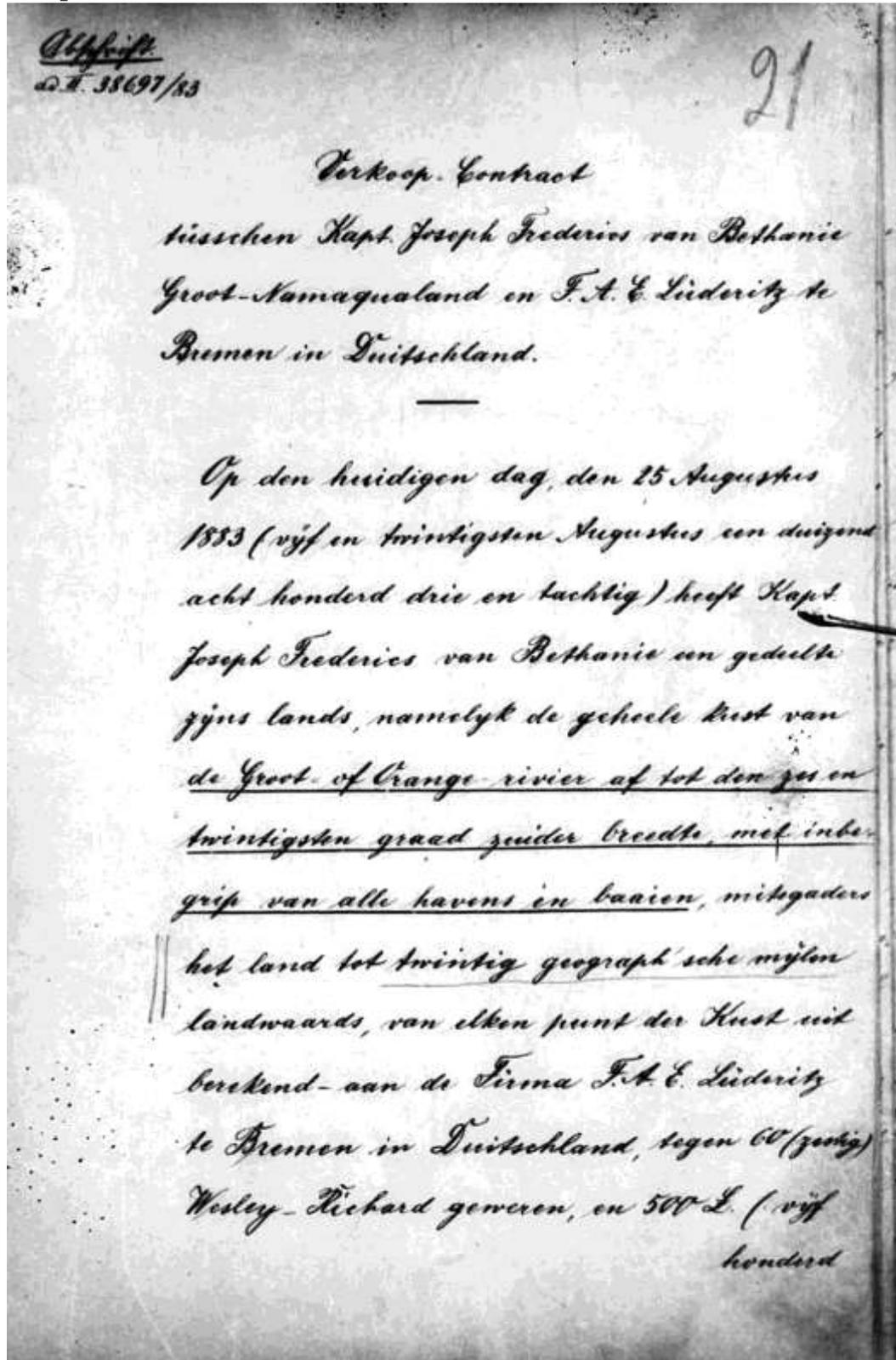
Most of the Grootfonteiner-Basters, however, first moved with Missionary **Pabst** to Chamis north of the Bethany place. When Missionary Pabst met Captain Joseph and his councilors in the presence of Missionary Bam junior, they were unwilling to take action against Daniel Boois. The newly appointed Captain Joseph Frederick of Bethany probably did not have the fullness of power of his predecessor. Whether Joseph Frederiks even had the means of power to consider North Bethany as his country remains questionable. So the Grootfonteins moved temporarily to Slangkop near Seeheim in the region of Berseba. Captain Jakobus Isaac gave them permission to rest there.

In November 1881, Moses Witbooi and Jan Joker Afrikaner lost another battle in central Namibia near Osana against the Herero. Defeated, Jan Jonker Afrikaner fled to Gamsberg and Moses Witbooi to Gibeon. Beginning in 1882, missionaries began to lead peace negotiations between the Herero and the Nama. With the mediation of some missionaries, peace treaties were reached between the Basters at Rehoboth and Maherero in February 1882. Carl Hugo Hahn also negotiated a peace treaty with the Herero on behalf of the Swartbooi. They then moved to **Franzfontein** in the north. On June 13, 1882, under the leadership of Rhenish missionaries, Captains **Ovaherero**, Jakobus Isaak / Berseba, Manasse / Hoachanas and Hendrik Windstaan /Grootedoden concluded another peace treaty in Hoachanas. Moses Witbooi and Jan Jonker Afrikaner did not participate in the treaties. The captain of the

Swartbooï (1865 -1882) wanted back the land that was leased to the Baster. He allied himself with Jan Jonker Afrikaner on 16.11.1882 and attacked Rehobot and set it on fire. Abraham Swartbooï was wounded in the process and died in Bethany. The Basters along with an allied group of Hereros then attacked the Africans at Gamsberg. Moses Witbooï and Paul Visser made further raids in the east in June 1883. While his father was still in office, Hendrik Witbooï launched several unsuccessful attacks against the Herero. During this, Paul Visser had Moses execute Captain Moses Witbooï and declare himself captain. Hendrik Witbooï then killed Paul Visser and declared himself captain-in-chief of all "Nama" (meaning Nama and Orlam). However, the other Nama captains, including the Bethanians, refused to follow him into the army. Hendrik Witbooï attacked almost every tribe in Grossnamaland and permanently robbed cattle to pay for his weapons purchases.

Certainly, the inglorious raids of the Carismatic Hendrik Witbooï were the most noteworthy events in Great Namaland for 30 years. Several Nama tribes were almost wiped out by him. In today's politically oportune literature, Hendrik Witbooï is often highly stylized as the leader of all Nama and Orlam. Unfortunately, this evaluation of Hendrik lacks any evidence.

The purchase contracts of A. Lüderitz 1883/ 1884



honderd Pond in goud) verkocht en afgegeven.

Door de onderteekening des Verkopers, verklaart dezelve te gelyker tyd het boven betoekend lands gedeelte afgegeven, als ook de 60 (zestig) Wesley-Richard geweren en 500 £ (vijf honderd pond in goud) ontvangen te hebben.

De Kooper van zijne zijde, verklaart door zijne handteekening te gelyker tyd de inbegitneming van het gekoopte land, als ook de overlevering der 60 (zestig) Wesley-Richard geweren en £ 500 (vijf honderd pond in goud).

Bethanie d. 25 Augustus 1883.

x Joseph Friedrichs Kapitein	Als getuigen:
(77) F. A. E. Lüderitz	(77) J. B. Bam, Rh. Wiss.
Heinr. Vogelsang	" F. A. E. von Pestalozzi
Atty.	+ Adam Lambert
	+ Keuben Friedrichs
	+ Joffha Mattys
	(77) Daniel Friedrichs
	" J. Christian Goliath
	" A. de Jongh.

The 2. treaty between Lüderitz and the Bethanians from 25.08.1883

With the contracts of 01.03.1883 and 25.08.1883 the 21 year old German Heinrich **Vogelsang** acquired the bay of Angra Pequena for the merchant Adolf Lüderitz from the Orlam captain Joseph Frederiks II of Bethany. The linguistic missionary of Bethany Bam brokered the contracts for the sale of land in Bethany in 1883/1884. Josef Frederiks received 200 guns plus accessories and 200 English pounds for the first contract and 500 pounds and 60 English guns for the 2nd contract. Other contracts followed. Decisive for the conclusion of the contracts was the communication through the missionary Bam, who had been educated in Germany. Not many Bethanians could read and write or even understand the content and scope of treaties. The captain of Bethany and the Bethany council mostly just put crosses under the contracts.



Flaggenhissung in Angra Pequena 1884

The owner of the Pomona mine near Lüderitz Bay, the English Jewish family with Spanish roots De Pass sued against the acquisitions of Lüderitz and made a claim themselves. De Pass's employee, Sinclaire had leased or acquired parts of this land as early as 1863. Another employee a Mr. Spencer had also already done business on the coast. Spencersbay was named after him. David Radford of Colchester in Essex also registered his claims. He had lived permanently in the small bay named after him near Lüderitz Bay since 1860 and had signed contracts with David Christian Frederiks.

Imperial Chancellor Bismarck pressed for clarification of the British ownership. Lüderitz traveled to Bethany to clarify the controversial legal situation on 16.11.1883 and, with the approval of the council, obtained insight into David Christian's original contracts with De Pass, Spence and Sinclaire. They were all, from the German point of view, expired contracts of use. The contract archive was under the administration of Missionary Bam, On February 22, 1884, the German gunboat "Nautilus" anchored in Angra Pequena and officially reconnoitered the situation. Bismarck then informed the English Foreign Minister, **Lord Graville**. In agreement with the British, **Bismarck** placed the purchased land under German protection on **April 24, 1884**. At the first flag hoisting by Captain Herbig and his crew of the "S.M.S Elisebeth" on 04.08.1884 in Lüderitzbucht Joseph Frederiks II and his councilors took part. In Lüderitzbucht there were only three wooden barracks of the merchant Lüderitz. **Dr. Gustav Nachtigal** was appointed the first Consul General. Prepared by Vogelsang, the German envoys came to Lüderitz Bay with the gunboat "Möve" to sign a treaty in Bethany in October. The missionary Bam reported how on 24.10.1884 Dr. Nachtigal, Vogelsang, Count Spee, the councilors and the "chief" Joseph Frederiks II appeared for negotiations in the captain's house in Bethania.

Josef Frederiks presented himself quite European in a black suit, but with dirty hands (Others transcribed "Dirty shirt"). They shook hands and talked. Then they visited the garden which was just in full bloom. On Sunday, October 26, 1884, Captain Joseph II visited the church in the German uniform that Lüderitz had given him. Count von Spee, the officer of the "Möve", also appeared in uniform. He actually accompanied Dr. Nachtigal only as a witness. On October 28, the negotiations continued in the captain's stone house. In this house (built in 1883), which served as the meeting place of the Bethany Council, the pictures of the Emperor and of Martin Luther hung above an armchair. Missionary Bam read aloud the treaty of protection written in Cape Dutch and Christian Goliath from Berseba translated. Joseph had already discussed these treaties with Captain Jakobus Isaac of Berseba as well. After the treaty was read out, an unpleasant conversation about the mileage issue ensued. It was a cheat of Lüderitz to let the captain believe that the contract was about English 20 miles and later to insist that the geographical 20 miles were meant, which was about 4 times larger. Nachtigal initially dispelled Joseph's justified objection. On 28.10.1884 Joseph Frederiks II signed the first protection treaty for the land of Bethany. On 29.10.1884 the German flag was solemnly hoisted in front of the captain's house in the presence of all. Again the captain appeared in the Uhlán uniform, this time with saber, but drunk, as missionary Bam reported.



Maximilian Johannes Maria Hubert Reichsgraf von Spee 1885



Joseph Frederiks Foto vom 30.06.1897 Foto Th Rehbock



Dr. Gustav Nachtigal

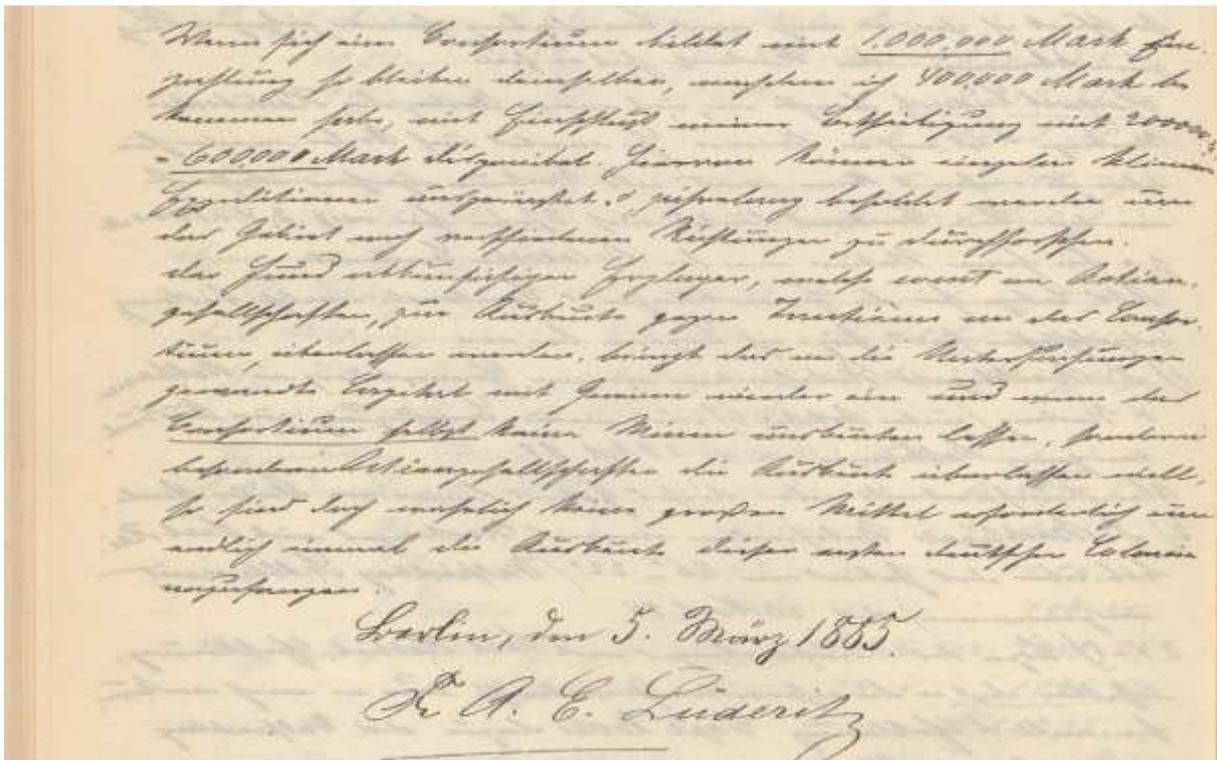


Vogelsang



Lüderitz

(Sources: s.Die Geschichte des Fürsten Bismarck VIII 1909 Berlin S106ff as well as Golf Dornseif, Wikki, Prof.Th Rehbock1898,)



In the book "Die Geschichte der deutschen Kolonialgesellschaft Bd.I 1912 Berlin" the history of the first treaties is presented in the first volume. Original handwritten records of Lüderitz are printed especially extensively.

The fact that the Boois in 1814 had only a right of settlement on the land of the red nation was no longer of importance in 1883. Joseph Frederiks II considered David Christian's treaties with British merchants to be obsolete, outdated treaties of use. Nor were Joseph Frederiks and his councilmen impressed by the claims to power of Hendrik Witbooi, who declared himself captain-in-chief of Namaqualand. The Frederiks saw the land as their rightful possession.

The sale of land for arms by the captain of Bethany and the protection treaty with the Germans were necessities for the Bethanians in order not to become victims of the raids by the Witbooi themselves. However, in the first period there were no German soldiers in DSWA who could guarantee protection.

In Europe, Otto von Bismarck invited all colonial powers to Berlin on November 15, 1848 for the so-called Congo Conference to clarify the interests of the parties involved. The effects of the conference were reported in the press as the division of the "African cake". In the end, the participants drew borders comparable to a straight cut of a saber through the map of Africa.

After the conclusion of the Treaties of Lüderitz, German traders, prospectors, settlers and adventurers explored the country. In 1884, natural scientists commissioned by Lüderitz landed at Angra Pequena to explore the country. The first was Waldemar **Belck** (Uni Halle), a German chemist, mining expert and archaeologist. After that came: The botanist Professor Hans **Schinz** (Uni Zürich), the geologist and botanist Adolf **Schenck** (Uni Halle) and Ludwig **Conradt**. They mainly explored the usability of the land.

On behalf of Lüderitz, Bleck trekked north via Aus to the Kunjas farm near Helmeringshausen. At the end of 1884 he wrote a report about it that was published in 1885 in the Koloniale Zeitschrift.

He had gathered some plant collections from the area of the collection of the Bothan Museum in Berlin.

In March **1885** the Swiss botanist Prof. Dr. Hans Schinz from Zurich, had walked the way from Bethania to Grootfontein South on behalf of Adolf Lüderitz and was robbed there by 15 Nama bushmen on riding oxen. They could also have been Witboois. He reported the deserted country and the ruins of the abandoned village of Grootfontein-South. The inhabitants had fled from the Witboois. North Bethany, the later Maltahöhe district still nominally belonged to John Frederick II of Bethany at that time, but Hendrik Witbooi wanted suzerainty over Great Namaqualand. Fearing the Witboois, many Baster families with their captain Swart Klaas, who actually wanted to return to Grootfontein South, stayed in the safe Bethanierland near Aus. As Hermann reported, they raised Angora sheep.



Mason's house 1897 (Kuyas farm) and ox wagons loaded with wool. Photo Prof. Rehbock.



Schinz expedition. In the background trading station of Lüderitz ca 1885

The explorer and trader Ludwig Conradt and his expedition column trekked from 18.09.1885 with 3 ox wagons and a cart with 64 oxen and 50 cattle as slaughter cattle from Lüderitzbucht to Aus and from there to the northeast. At Tiras there was plenty of grass and water with which the trek filled the empty barrels. Up to there Mr. Jordan the colored overseer of Aus accompanied them. They continued via Kamachas, to Khonias (Kunyas farm) near the Sinclair Mine where the merchant John Robert Mason had his stone house. They only met his wife, as the man was on a business trip to the Cape. The farm was not far from what is now Helmeringshausen. Sinclaire had had wells drilled here many years before and had raised over 1000 head of cattle.



Ludwig Conradt

Mostly at night, Conradt's trek moved along dry river courses, through Ob, Ublup, Remhogde, past Kamramale (Near Maguams). In the area of what later became Maltahöhe, the road improved before Oris and led to Kleinfontein via the waterhole Amhub (Green Land). Conradt reported that Kleinfontein was deserted, surrounded by mesas and had fertile clay soil. Bastards had lived here before, whose houses could still be recognized. With much diligence the bastards had built wells. The trek moved on to Grootfontein South. Conradt wrote that the abandoned place had also been inhabited by Baster in former times. 12 ruins he could still recognize. Each house had a garden, surrounded by stone walls. Fig trees still grew there. The expedition went over the plain Rundum (Karab?), west past Nomtsas, to Xurareb and Garib over the Bloom fish area, Kurush, Pavian wreath to the werft Gamis. The men of the werft had been detached as warriors to Hendrik Witbooi. The trek now left North Bethany and moved further north. (see Conradt travel report in the Deutsche Kolonialzeitschrift 1887)

Until 1881 a German and a Burian trader Mr. Fisch and Mr. Ricketts (Riketts) are said to have lived in North Bethany near Nomtsas for 11 years. (See History of the German Colonial Society) . Rickett may have been the previous owner of Tsub Garis. Both merchants allegedly paid rent to the Bethany captain. The fact that they paid rent was later listed as evidence in the judicial reappraisal of the land rights issue that North Bethany (Maltahöhe district) was still within the sphere of influence of the Bethanians at that time.

Dr. Nachtigal died of tuberculosis on 20.04.1885 on the return trip to Germany on board of the gunboat "SMS Möve" and Dr. Göring (father of the Nazi minister) became the new consul of German Southwest Africa DSWA. On 28.06.1885 Samuel Izaak of Berseba also signed a protection treaty with the Germans.

Meanwhile Hendrik Witbooi camped for several weeks near Rehoboth and on 17.04.1886 again attacked the Hereros in Okahandja, was again defeated and had to retreat to the Gamsberg. Afterwards he raided Nama tribes in order to be able to buy ammunition again with the looted cattle. Hendrik rejected the protection treaties of the Germans. A protection treaty was incompatible with the robber economy of his clan. His entire tribe had consisted of experienced fighters for many generations and was not skilled in cattle raising, unlike the industrious Herero.

Adolf Lüderitz had to sell a large part of his new acquisitions to the Colonial Society for lack of money. Unimpressed by the setbacks and the turmoil of war in the north, he himself undertook an expedition to the Orange River in **1886**. He wanted to sail with his nautically experienced companion Steingröver in a small portable sailing boat with few provisions on the open sea back to Angra Pequena. In his last letter to his wife on 19.10.1886 he reported about his plan. The last ones to see Lüderitz alive in October 1886 were Rainier Coetzee, a Boer farmer on the Oranje, and the Nama Jan Toontijes. A thorough fruitless search as far as Port Nolloth began. On December 13, 1886, Joseph Frederiks II of Bethany reported on the status of the search expeditions in a letter to Reichskommissar **Göhring**, who was in Berseba. The German Colonial Society, after Lüderitz was declared dead, took over the legal succession over its property and renamed the place Angra Pequena to Lüderitz Bay.



Expedition Lüderitz 1886 (s. Dornseif)

In a booklet written for laymen in 1886, the author reports that in Bethanierland almost all ostriches had been wiped out by hunters. This may well be seen in connection with the great need for hat feathers in Europe. The booklet reports further that in the garden of missionary Bam in Bethany most diverse vegetables and fruits, like wine, peaches, figs, pomegranates

etc. grew and by purposeful irrigation also grain cultivation would be possible. (s.Daheim Kalender für das deutsche Reich p.80 1886 Bielefeld)

Missionary Johannes Bam himself reported on everyday problems in **1887**. So also about the catechist **Christian Goliath**, a pupil of Krönlein. The latter had abused his office as a religion teacher in Bethany. Although married, he began an affair with the daughter of Captain Goliath. Bam wrote further: "This is already the third fall of man". As a result, Kathechet Christian Goliath was dismissed from his teaching position in front of the assembled congregation and was no longer allowed to attend Mass. Shortly thereafter, he drove oxen to Port Nolloth to sell them.



Expeditionen des Curt von Francois 1883-1884

In the Deutsche Kolonialzeitung No.27 1889 Farmer **Hermann** reports about his first expedition as representative of the Colonial Society in September **1888** to North Bethany. Coming from Windhoek via Rehoboth, Hermann's trek encountered a Witbooi group of 100

men heading north to rob Herero cattle. Hermann, accompanied by a cousin of the Bethanier captain, got to Hutupsenke scot-free. There he spent a few days in the abandoned Grootfontein South, in the house of the late Ari van Wyk. Hermann reports the ruins of the houses, the church, the lime kiln and the wells. The valley was deserted for hundreds of miles except for a few almost starving bushmen. The inhabitants had left the plain, fearing raids by the Witbooi and hired bushwhackers. In Bethany, Hermann met the missionary Jan Bam. The latter told him that the Grootfontein area had been promised to the Baster as soon as the war was over. Hermann also visited Baster Captain Claas Swart, who had settled with his Baster clan, on the road to Aus. Hermann bought the sheep wool of the Baster, who were very happy about it, for the German Colonial Society. They persuaded him to send a petition (19.09.1888) to the actually powerless Reichskommissar Göring, asking for German protection to return to Grootfontein.

Hermann even held out the prospect of arming the Basters to defend themselves. In Kubub Hermann established the first experimental farm for wool sheep. Both he and the German Colonial Society were involved in this experimental farm.

In 1888, Hermann reported on Aus. It was situated in a valley full of acacia forests with 8-10 Namakrals. The colored judge Moses Fries was in charge of the store Lüderitz had built. Lüderitz had a 15 foot deep well dug 8 feet in diameter and the "King" of Bethany had in turn had another well dug at a higher point.

In **1888** the Herero cancelled the protection treaty with the Germans, because the promised German protection with only 21 soldiers was not granted. The Imperial Commissioner Göring had to flee to Walfischbay for a short time, October 1888.

Hermanns reports in his letter of August 11, **1889** to his sister-in-law in Germany from Lüderitzbucht that he was still commissioned by the Deutsche Kolonial Gesellschaft, but that he resigned in January **1890** because of the low salary of 6000M/ Pa. At 46 years of age, he had tirelessly traveled South West Africa for a year, reporting to the Society. Most of the time he slept in the open air. Hermann wrote about the replacement of Goering by Curt von Francois. In addition to his work as a civil servant, Hermann had plenty of time to work as a self-employed merchant. He bought and sold wool and hides in Lüderitzbucht. In DSWA in 1891 there were only 600 whites half of them Germans. The interest of Germans, but also of the British in this dry land was not great.

Although Göring had asked Hendrik Witbooi in a letter not to rob the Herero, Hendrik Witbooi attacked the peaceful Herero on 07.07.1890, robbed 1000 cattle and used them to buy rifles and cartridges in Keetmanshoop in August. In 1890 Andreas Lambert Captain of the Amraal reported that the Scotsman Ducan had reached Keetmanshoop with 6 ox wagons full of rifles and ammunition. Ducan had already played a larger role in the 1880 war against the Hereros. Hendrik Witbooi received a large part of this supply. It was not until March 1890 that an arms embargo was imposed. Despite the embargo, Hendrik procured further arms shipments, mostly from Port Nolloth. Hendrik was so self-conscious that in 1890 he came to the German station of Tsaobis near Otjimbingwe with cattle stolen from the Herero and watered them there. The German Schutztruppler could only watch embarrassed because they were hopelessly outnumbered. In **1891** Hendrik Witbooi was able to raid Okahandja. In **1892**,

despite the arms embargo, a German/Burton trader brought 8 ox wagons of ammunition and weapons from South Africa to Gibeon. Hendrik then raided Ojimbingue again, Omaruru, then the Nossob region again. The situation continued to resemble a civil war, which Hendrik Witbooi in particular instigated.

In Bethanierland, things were quiet at the same time, so Hermann and the colonial company were able to expand their ventures here. During the first 10 years of colonization, there was no resistance from the colored population. Even Moses and Hendrik Witbooi did not turn against the Germans despite their superior strength. The German Colonial Society nevertheless requested protection troops, whereupon the German Empire sent only 21 soldiers under the leadership of C.v.Francois to DSWA. In 1890 Hermann made a business trip to Germany where he successfully lobbied ministers for wool sheep breeding in DSWA. He received the government order to build an agricultural experimental station and to continue to represent the interests of the German Colonial Society. The D.K.Gesellschaft and the government committee invested a total of 54000.- Marks for the experimental farms.

A big problem was the "**horse disease.**" (germ.Pferdesterbe). A disease from which hundreds of horses died in 1890 during the rainy season, December to March. As a result, even the Bethany captain sent his horses to dry Aus. Places like Aus were called "dying posts," the posts where the animals were protected from the disease during the rainy season.

Hermann leased the land for the experimental farms from **Captain Josef Frederick**. When Hermann arrived at Kubub in September **1890** he found 2 wells. Bailers and roads were built. The colored workers had no experience. Hermann, who got along very well with his workers had to teach them every move. The handling of wool sheep was largely unknown to the colored workers. Hermann had to hurry because everything had to be ready in Kubub for the winter of 1891. On 22.09.**1891** Hermann brought 1200 sheep from Carna South Africa to the experimental farm Kubub. Even the newspaper reported about this journey which lasted 6 months. Hermann personally trained shepherds to shear sheep. Hermann had the wool shipped by sea. This meant that he also had to prepare Lüderitz Bay so that landing craft could dock at the Pierre.

The Colonial Society instructed Hermann to move his **headquarters from Aus to Bethany**. There he leased the dilapidated house of Adolf Lüderitz with 1.5 ha of garden from Captain Josef Frederiks and had it restored. The house had five rooms with kitchen and bathroom. The servant Sadrach, a Nama, cleaned and cooked. In the garden Hermann planted a platage of 300 fig trees, another 100 trees, including oranges, grapes, alfalfa and vegetables. Only the 50 year old mission garden was more magnificent. Hermann bought the furniture of the house from the widow of missionary Jan Bam, who had died of abdominal disease 2 years earlier. The new missionary **Friedrich Heinrichs**, a Rhinelander, visited Hermann often for lunch. The missionary was expecting his fiancée in November 1891. Heinrich was a very skillful young man and even pulled a tooth for Hermann that had been bothering him for days. Today you need a degree to do that. At that time the help of the Holy Spirit was enough. ☺ In the letter of **29.04.1892** to his sister-in-law, Hermann describes that he leased a large area in the north of Bethany around Nomtsas for 20 years from Captain Josef Frederiks. The rent was 300M/pa for the first 10 years and 400M/ pa for the further 10 years. The actual station of the German Colonial Society was to be established there with cattle breeding, arable farming and

mulberry and fruit plantations. The beginning of the project was to take place in 1992. Silkworms were also to be bred in Nomtsas in order to obtain silk. Hermann had an enormous knowledge of horticulture, geology and of course the breeding of wool sheep and other livestock. He planned very far-sightedly the logistics and the economic aspects of his enterprises and published many articles but also books on this subject. Hermann estimated the population of North Bethany at over 2000 inhabitants who were available to him as potential workers. About half of them were Orlams, the rest Nama and some Herero and Bushmen.

In the early days, Hermann employed an old Englishman named Radford, who had lived in the bay permanently since 1860, as "harbor master" in Lüderitzbucht from 1891. The latter was an alcoholic, so that his wife had to handle arriving and departing ships. Hermann requested from Governor Francois several former Schutztruppler to support him. He eventually appointed Reiter Morhenne as harbormaster to handle the ships and expand the landing site at Lüderitzbucht. Hermann began to build water desalination condensers to better supply Lüderitzbucht. By granting sealing licenses to an Englishman Matthews, he financed a sailing cutter, which was to sail the route Cape Town - Lüderitzbucht on a regular basis.

On 18.02.1892 a raid by Hendrik Witbooi in the north resulted in a defeat against the Hereros. The Hereros attacked the Witbooi camp at Hornkranz with 1500 men in April 1892. The ammunition embargo showed effect for the first time. Hendrik had to conduct negotiations with the Herero for lack of cartridges. For the first time Hendrik Witbooi was confronted with German colonial politics. Mediated by the Rehoboth Baster a peace treaty between Witbooi and Herero was reached. Hendrik Witbooi now raided Nama tribes robbed their cattle to buy weapons.

In 1892, a German (or Burian) trader again brought Hendrik Witbooi 8 ox wagons of ammunition and weapons from South Africa to Gibeon, despite the arms embargo. Hendrik then raided Ojimbingue again, Omaruru, then the Nossob region again. The situation continued to resemble a civil war. The German Schutzmacht was powerless in the face of its few soldiers.

On 01.01. 1892 Hermann stocked the Nomtsas farm with wool sheep. The farms Nomtsas and especially Kubub were stocked by the Colonial Society with about 3000 sheep, 300 cattle and some horses. The rider Talheim took over the supervision in Nomtsas. For protection they stationed 5 protection troopers on the farm in vain. Hendrik Witbooi robbed 700 sheep and 100 cattle. He unsuccessfully claimed suzerainty over all of Gross Namaqualand and would not tolerate the sale of land to the Germans. 9 years after taking possession of DSWA, Hendrik Witbooi for the first time showed resistance to the land seizure by Germans.

Some quotes shortened in sense: 20.05.1892 H.Witbooi to Hermann:..." *I do not accept that they settle in Nomtsas...*" 12.06.1892 Hermann to Witbooi "...I asked Captain Frederik of Bethany ---.Nomtsas belongs to Bethany----Josef Frederiks rented me the land..." 27.06.1892 H.Witbooi to J.Frederiks"...I don` t want you to give the land to a white man---"12.06.1892 Frederiks to Witbooi---we have already signed a contract with the Germans giving them free access to our land---the land is already His(Hermann`s)....". Hendrik

Witbooi to Josef Frederiks 07.08.1892 “*...As for the farm (Nomtsas), I repeat: "I consider it mine according to the law of conquest. All the lands and possessions of the old IOaseb became mine, as you know very well."*

Hendrik threatened Josef Frederiks with his letter, which from today's point of view can be seen as a declaration of war. In contrast to Hendrik, Josef Frederiks did not have enough power to maintain his claim to rule over North Bethany. As an expression of this, one can also evaluate the extremely low rent of Hermann for the area of Nomtsa. Joseph leased land that he could not defend and therefore had not belonged to him for a long time.

Talheim had initially withdrawn the livestock to Grootfontein because of the thefts from Nomtsas, but had to drive the 800 sheep to Windhoek/ Klein Heusis in December 1892 because of too much harassment by the Basters.

Despite the threat of Hendrik Witbooi from the north, a flock of 1472 sheep came from the Cape to Kubub on 17.08.1893. A newcomer to the country was the wool sheep breeder Herr Mühle (or Mühling), who had leased 45000 Ha in Keetmanshop from the local chief. Like Hermann, he raised wool sheep. In Kubub, the yields were already appreciable. Hermann shipped the wool to Cape Town and in July 1893 expanded the stock to 4000 with another 1500 sheep from the Cape.

At the same time in 1893, the German Empire began to expand the other German port, Swakopmund and the route inland. This access to DSWA was much easier than over the shifting sand dunes at Lüderitzbucht. The importance of Bethany and Lüderitzbucht dwindled.

The police station Keetmanshop had temporarily evacuated the Schutztruppe because the threat was too great, thus opening the door for Hendrik Witbooi to be supplied with ammunition from Port Nolloth/ SA. The Witbooi proved to be a troublemaker in the country who continued to murder and rob their neighbors to supply them with cattle. The German Schutztruppe was far too small to provide the allied protection promised by protection treaties.

Worse. The allies also the Bethanians were hit by the arms embargo and they feared not to be able to defend themselves against Hendrik. On 08.08.1892 the German Colonial Society wrote to the German Colonial Department urgently to provide for the protection of Kubub. The Colonial Department assessed the situation completely wrong and referred to the almost powerless Captain van Francois.

On behalf of the Grootfontein Basters who had fled from North Bethany, the German farmer August Körler, who presumably lived near Aus, wrote 2 petitions (8/ 13.2.1893) to C.v.Fancois to authorize a return of the Basters to Grootfontein-South and to provide for their protection. The Rehoboth Basters also feared attacks from the Witbooi and petitioned C.v.Francois to establish a Schutztruppen post at Rehoboth. The Germans then successfully trained Baster soldiers.

On 16.03.1893 211 German soldiers arrived in the English Walfishbay. For the first time, the German Empire had a significant number of soldiers in DSWA. With them, on April 12, 1893, Governor Curt von Francios attacked the Witbooi at their ancestral home the Hornkranz. 85 Witbooi, among them many women died. Hendrik Witbooi, however, was able to escape with almost all the warriors to the Gamsberg. Hendrik robbed a supply column of the Schutztruppe with 20 wagons near Horibes and also several Baster freight drivers. Hendrik had all drivers and wagon drivers killed, some of them cruelly, reported Missionary Heidemann on 20.09.1893.

Hermann wrote a rather sobering letter from Kubub to his sister-in-law on July 31, 1893, one year after his euphoric letter about his great plans. In it he reports that he had to move large parts of his herd to Horibes near the Schutztruppe of Windhoek because 100 cattle and 700 wool sheep had already been stolen from him by Hendrik Witbooi. A loss of 15000 M. Hermann's house in Kubub had to be rebuilt for defense. He describes that the Colonial Society had contributed to half of his projects with large contributions. In the meantime, more fountains and gardens were built in Kubub.

Joseph Fredericks of Bethany died on 02.10.1893 (20.11.1893?) and his son Paul Fredericks, took over the leadership of the Bethanians. A dispute arose between Paul and his cousin Cornelius over the dominion, which Paul won. Hermann went to Bethany as late as October 1893 to quickly put his affairs in order after the death of Captain Joseph. There he was strongly advised to leave Kubub. Hendrik Witbooi personally came to Bethany to settle the dispute between Paul and Cornelius, but was reportedly not strong enough for his son-in-law Cornelius to intervene. Cornelius then left Bethany with a great many fighters and joined Hendrik Witbooi, who must have been delighted. The Bethany clan, on the other hand, was now very weak, especially since Cornelius took most of the rifles and young men with him. The Schutztruppe had probably reinforced Bethany by some soldiers, but very insufficiently. (See Leutwein). A Witbooi column moved past Bethany toward Kubub. Hermann and his helper Max von Quitzow were able to react just in time after a messenger had warned them on 02.11.1893 with a message from the missionary Heinrichs and the elders of Bethanien. The colored employees hid with their flocks in the mountains, while Hermann and 4 helpers watered the mostly pregnant sheep one last time and then fled to Lüderitzbucht without this flock. Due to the embargo, you yourself had only 60 cartridges left. On 06.11.1893 100 men of Hendrik Witbooi attacked the model farm in Kubub, robbed the cattle and destroyed the buildings. In the letter to his sister-in-law of 27.05.1894 Hermanns confesses about his escape, his stay in Cape Town and his return to Lüderitzbucht. In Cape Town, Hermann had been looking for craftsmen to rebuild his ventures. Meanwhile, Hendrik Witbooi's claim to power obviously extended to Bethany. The Bethanians had hardly any ammunition due to the arms embargo while the Witbooi still managed to get supplies mainly via Port Nolloth. The German Empire clumsily favored the Witbooi through the embargo, although it had long before asked Hermann and the Colonial Society to stop the smuggling of monitions from South Africa. Hermann, however, did not give up and started to build up Lüderitzbucht. He installed new condensers for water desalination and improved the landing stage. For the unsuitable Schutztruppler **Mohenne** Herrmann appointed a professional merchant as harbour master. He also organized that the landers could be fed.

In the meantime, Hendrik considered Nomtsas and also Grootfontein-South, i.e. North Bethany, as his country. He exchanged the 150 cattle, 3000 sheep and 20 horses stolen from Kubub for weapons with Duncan, a Scottish trader living near Gibeon. Afterwards, unimpressed by the Germans, the Witbooitroop moved south via Keetmanshoop to Klipfontein, the seat of the influential trader Spangenberg. There Hendrik was supposedly received like a sovereign. He was given fresh horses and other amenities, but none of the captains would join Witbooi or submit.

Hendrik even offered 6 million acres of land (which he did not own) in the south to the Baster and Nama in Upington and South Africa to support his struggles against the Schutztruppe. (*Deutsche Kolonialzeitung* of 18.04.1894 p.69/70). His search for support in the south was ultimately unsuccessful. Even the weakest tribes remained independent and did not follow him. In his fantasy, he had seen himself as the supreme captain and now had to retreat to the Naukluft disillusioned. However, he repeatedly won young men as fighters through his charismatic appearance. Hendrik's spectacular raids on the rather peace-loving Herero, Nama and Baster earned him a legendary reputation in the German press.

On 12.01. 1894 there was a small skirmish near Bethany between the Bethanians under Paul Frederiks and Cornelius Frederiks, who was close to the Witboois. Cornelius had to retreat defeated. North Bethany remained an uninhabited transit area of the opposing parties. In a skirmish on 12.01.1894 with the Witbooi the horseman Albert Mouton, a Rehoboth Baster, fell at Nomtsas. (s.report of Voigts von Schütz.)

Swakopmund was further developed as the 2nd German port. The Schutztruppe under Leutwein and Francois established a system of military stations from Swakopmund, Otjimbingwe via Windhoek, Gibeon to Keetmanshoop and Bethania. This cut off Leutwein from larger supplies of arms to the Witbooi, but also reduced the striking power of his force, which he needed to attack Hendrik. On March 24, 1894, Sergeant Bohr and 14 men quartered in the abandoned mission church at Gibeon. Francois had also established a station at Bethany during his expedition in early 1894 and had assigned Lieutenant von Ziethen as station chief with 2 NCOs and 20 men. In addition, 7 other police stations were established. Von Ziethen was ordered to establish a small police station in the abandoned Grootfontein South in 1894. The first crew included Sergeant Neuweger with the riders Quenow, Hoch and Gerlow. They occupied the empty house of the murdered Baster Ari van Wyk. This was thus the first German station in what is now Maltahöhe District. In Tsubgaus near Gibeon a German military camp was established. On 24.04.1894 Leutwein from Tsubgaus started the advance to Witbooi. In doing so, he moved along Hutup`s and then through northern Bethany via Namseb, Nomtsas to the Naukluft. A small allied baster patrol from Rehoboth raised a bushman`s kraal and used these bushmen to spy on the enemy. The escaped Grootfontein Baster and the Bethanians did not provide Leutwein with any men, which made Leutwein very angry.



Camp in front of the Naukluft 1894

Leutwein used the lively exchange of letters to explore the enemy's position. He wrote Hendrik on May 5, 1894, that he could have peace if he retreated to his territory (Gibeon) and did not attack and rob the tribes with which the German Empire had protection treaties anymore. Still in May 1894, during the postal peace negotiations, the Witbooi robbed the Rehoboth Basters, who were allied with the Germans, of 1000 head of cattle. In the Naukluft there were also again and again small skirmishes. After arms dealer Dunken was arrested in Keetmanshoop on 21.05.1884 Hendrik lacked the supply of cartridges. On 24.05.1884 a temporary ceasefire was reached. A detachment of the Witbooi nevertheless sneaked past the Germans, probably to procure ammunition. They were arrested there by Lieutenant Ziethen. The powerless Paul Fredericks of Bethany stood by the Germans. Even in British Walfishbay Hendrik begged for ammunition without success. During negotiations with Leutwein, Hendrik described that his grandfather Kido had conquered Grossnamaland from the Red Nation (1863) and that he was now chief captain of the Nama. Hendrik was alone in this fanciful view. The other captains of Gross-Namaqualand did not feel in any way connected or subordinate to the Witboois. None came to Hendrik's aid. Leutwein delayed the attack by stalling negotiations until reinforcements landed in Swakopmund on 17.07.1894 under **Estorff** and **Burgsdorff** with 225 men. On 20.08.1894 Leutwein announced his attack in writing. In the meantime the Naukluft was completely surrounded. The Rehoboth basters also participated on the German side. The blockade of the ammunition supplies and the following fighting from 27.08.1884 brought Hendrik with his entire tribe into a hopeless situation. Witbooi's main camp was at "Tsams- Ams" in the Naukluft. The battles developed with heavy losses on both sides. On 03.09.1894 the last waterhole at Gurus fell into the hands of the Germans. Hendrik, himself wounded, was at the end. Only an evasion to the waterless desert or a breakthrough through the German ranks was left to Hendrik. His fighters had nothing to eat and no ammunition. Leutwein, with his guns and soldiers in position in the south of the Naukluft, would have the physical destruction of the Witboois in hand, albeit at the cost of his own casualties. Nor could Leutwein rule out the possibility that Hendrik might escape him by night with a small group and become a problem elsewhere with new fighters. He relied on diplomacy. He decided, knowing full well what criticism the raid on the Hornkranz had provoked, not to crush the completely exhausted Witboois. Many dissenters in Germany demanded the shooting of Hendrik Witbooi. Leutwein did not want this. On 15.09.1894 Hendrik Witbooi signed the "protection contract" in the Witbooi camp. The Witbooi were so weakened that they first insistently asked for and received food from the Germans. According to the treaty, Hendrik was obliged to submit to the Germans, to follow the army and to resettle in the area of Gibeon.



Photo 1894 Schutztruppe with "captured Witbooi Hottentots 1894".

The hoped for peace came. Tensions through oppression remained. Hendrik amazingly kept to the protection treaty in the following 10 years. His tribe strengthened again. Hendrik supported the Germans against the Nama tribes like no other. Without the support of the Witbooi, in the suppression, it would have been questionable whether the German Empire could have held its ground in the south.

Hendrik Witbooi helped the Germans to suppress the uprisings: 1895 against the Khauas, 1896 against the Mbanderu, 1897 against the Afrikaners, 1898 against the Swartbooi, 1901 against the Grootfonteiner Baster, 1903 against the Bondelswarts, 1904 against the Herero at the Waterberg.

Leutwein wanted to settle the "land question." The Grootfonteiner Baster had only a lease agreement with the Frederiks. Leutwein saw it as proven that North Bethany was no longer part of the property of Paul Frederiks because he had not defended it against the Witboois. Thus the lease of Hermann and the lease of the Grootfonteiner Baster were also invalid. Leutwein declared North Bethany to be crown land. Negotiations took place between the government and the Colonial Society which was also disadvantaged by these regulations. Hermann had to sign a settlement agreement in Bethany on November 12, 1894. Paul Frederiks finally recognized the 20 miles landward designated in the contract with Vogelsang not as English but as geographical miles. In connection with a settlement agreement Hermann as representative of the Deutsche Kolonial Gesellschaft had to grant Captain Paul Frederiks grazing rights in Kubub during the time of his death and had to pay 2000M for the construction of a new church. For the signing of the contract the newly appointed district chief Mr. Duft from Keetmanshoop came to Bethany to the house of missionary Heinrichs. Hermann leased grazing land and watering places near Aus in November 1894 to **Radford**, an Englishman who had worked for the Colonial Society as harbormaster in Lüderitzbuch before Morhenne,

Hermann's letter to his sister-in-law from Berlin dated 28.12.1895 describes how he negotiated with the German authorities to get compensation for war-related losses in Kubub and Nomtsas. But at first the authorities did not want to know anything about compensation. During the negotiations Hermann quarreled with the colonial society. Thereupon he broke off all contacts with the company. On 27.02.1897 Hermann was awarded 30000 Ha from

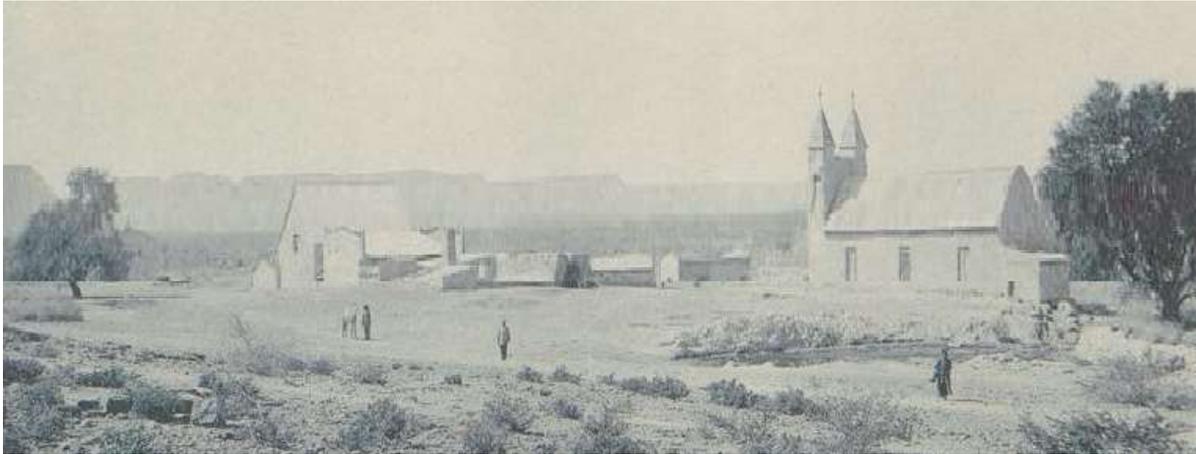
Nomtsas and the Colonial Society of the Gorab place (finally only in 1907) in a settlement as compensation. In the meantime Hermann's projects, the sealing and the guano mining in Lüderitzbucht had started.

(Source of Hermann's letters: Edeltraud Erdelt Hermann 1996 daughter of nephew Paul Hermann . "Wie ich Südwest Afrika sah")

The station Grootfontein-South and the North Bethanier Land were subordinated by the governorate in 1895 to the station of Captain Burgsdorff in Gibeon. On February 15, 1895, Private Adolf Bernhardt was ordered by Burgsdorff to ride from Gibeon to Grootfontein-South in order to relieve the existing garrison from Bethany four weeks later. Thus Bernhardt, Karl Kirsten, Schneider and the Swabian Wendlinger formed the new garrison in North Bethany, later Maltahöhe. If Bernhardt's account is to be followed, he was initially in the capacity of district chief of Maltahöhe. In 1895, Governor Leutwein had the "station chief" Bernhardt clarify the former ownership of the Baster in Grootfontein South and referred the clan of Zwart Claas to ancestral sites for lease. In return, Leutwein demanded contractually that the German troops be supported by Baster soldiers. Claas signed on Sept. 28, **1896**. Now, according to Leutwein, from mid 1895 the Grootfonteiner-South Basters who had fled the Witboois to the Bayweg in Aus during the troubles dared to return. In 1896, 5 Germans, 1 Bure, and scattered Bushmen lived in Grootfontein-South. 70 Baster had returned in the meantime. The Baster families under Captain Claas Zwart were called: Ockhuizen, Bezuidenhout, Pieter, Jarman, Smit, Dentlinger, Olivier, Schwartz and others. The original missionary of Grootfontein-South Pabst camped with 9 other families of the Grootfontein Basters in Rietmont, which was now on South African territory after the agreed border draw. They did not return to Grootfontein. The Germans gave the farm Kleinfontein to the Boers. The Boers in Kleinfontein were also reported by water engineering expert Professor Rehbock in 1896. They had already built retention dams and planted gardens.

The Bethany area was considered unsuitable for crops according to the first scientific expeditions in DSWA. Ferdinand Gessert had a very different opinion about crop cultivation in Bethany and bought the Inachab farm from Paul Frederiks in 1895. Gessert built the first retention dams on the Konkiep and planted large gardens. The hydraulic engineering expert Professor Theodor Rehbock also visited the Inachab farm during his expedition in 1896/1897 and described how the young Gessert used the Nuganib (also called Kanasrevier) district to irrigate fields. As early as 1897, he published ideas on water management in DSWA in colonial and scientific journals. Rehbock also believed that dams could be built and the land made usable with sprinklers and plantations.

By 1898, the Bethany site had become a steady settlement of merchants, stores, and artisans. Groenefeld and Borchers ran a branch of the Hamburg company Burmester, the Englishman Gordon operated a Spedituion, G.M Angelbeck ran a store and Otto Seidel & Adolf Busch opened a department store. The blacksmith shop was owned by Adam Boois, a colored man. According to the colonial address book of 1896 and 1901, 29 Germans, 35 English, 35 Boers, 1 Swede and 1500 Nama and Orlam lived on Bethanien Square. The Christian community numbered 1100 people. School was held daily in the old church. In 1899 Bethany got a post office. In the same year the big stone church, which took 2 years to build, was inaugurated. It had a capacity for 500 people. Not far from it was the mission building with the large garden. Other houses and stores were built.

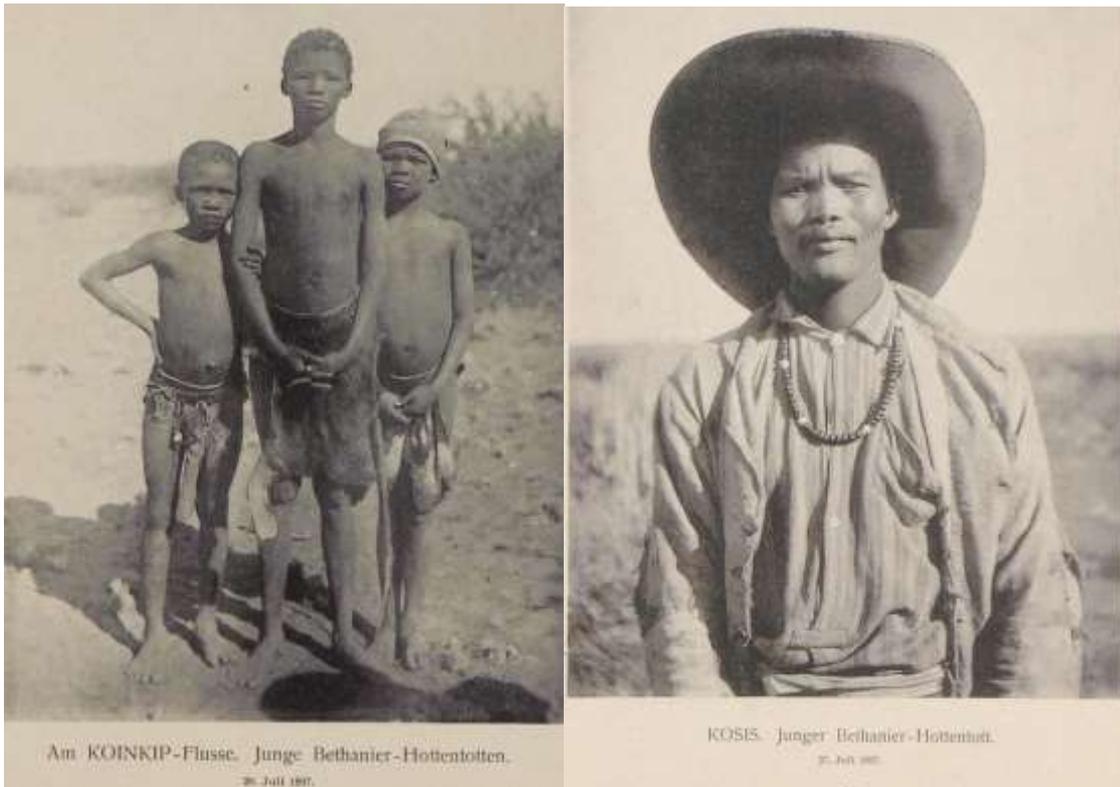


Bethanien 1897 Foto Prof.Rehbock



Bethanien 1899

Gardens for sustenance became more important as the former nomads became more sedentary. In Bethany there was the Station Garden, the Garden of Hermann and the Mission Garden. These large gardens at the 5 springs offered good harvests. Wheat was planted in the winter and pumpkins, melons, alfalfa and corn in the summer. Plantations were also established in Seeheim and on Inchab. The German Empire acquired land from Paul Frederiks. 16000 Ha at the place Bethanien, the pasture land "Umub" approx. 30Km north at the Konkiep, as well as land at the Oranje and at the Fish River and let it cultivate. On the Oranje, Heinrich Petersen had already established a plantation in 1885, which he took over the "Auskjer Syndikat" in 1894.



Bethanier

Fotos von Prof Rehbock 1897

On March 28, **1897**, a decree to stamp all rifles went into effect. The Germans intended to confiscate rifles smuggled mostly from Port Nolloth. The registration and stamping of rifles was intended to stop illegal trade across the Orange River border into DSWA. There was a revolt by the Bethanians and the Bondelswarts in Keetmanshoop against the rifle stamping requirements. An intense exchange of messages took place between the Bondelswarts and the Bethanians. The captains suspected that the Germans' ultimate intention was a confiscation of all arms. The captain of the Bondelswarts (Warmbad) Willem Christiaan suggested in a letter a conspiratorial meeting of all captains. Leutwein moved out with the 1st Field Company to Gibeon in September **1898** after this uproar became known in order to avoid a roundup of Nama captains in the south. The riot calmed down with the presence of the troops. A court was convened in Keetmanshoop with the participation of Hendrik Witbooi and the Berserbian. (Captain of the Berserbian Diederik Goliath 1895-1900). Together they condemned the Bondelswarts and the Bethanians. As punishment, the Bondelswarts had to cede Keetmanshoop to the government and Bethany had to cede the farmland of Churutabis in the south. Keetmanshoop then became the seat of the district. To lend weight to the cause, Leutwein and his troops marched back through northern Bethany to Windhoek as a show of force over Bethany and onward under the leadership of Grootfontein stationmaster Bernhardt. The taking away of Keetmanshoop, however, caused continued unrest among the Bondelswarts.

The Englishman **Charles George Wheeler** acquired the farm Schlangenkopf at the Fish River with 1000 Ha from Jonathan Tseib in April 1899. The latter sold the land to pay off debts. From Captain Paul Frederiks Wheeler bought land on the Fish River (Seeheim) of 6666 Ha for 500 pounds on October 28, **1899**. Wheeler was the first to plant gardens and grow tobacco there. He was already known in the 1880s in the Bethany area because he bought weapons and alcohol from the Cape.

Expansion of the port of Lüderitzbucht around 1894



Lüderitzbucht 1896 Fotos von Prof. Rehbock

Lüderitzbucht was developed by the Colonial Society into a small port for the transport of sheep's wool from Bethany and for the import of goods needed in the southern DSWA. In 1899, the jetty was extended by 80 meters and equipped with a steam crane. From April 1897 the steamer "Leutwein" of Lieutenant Troost sailed regularly to Cape Town. In 1900, the Woermann line took over this task. In 1901 Lüderitzbucht owned 10 German landing craft. They could dock at the landing stage of 120 meters length. The steam crane lifted cargo up to 4.5 tons. 3000 liters of drinking water in 12 hours produced the condenser of the colonial company. The square was occupied by customs buildings, station buildings, the Seidel&Mühle trading house, the powder house somewhat off to the side, and residential and storage sheds. The tour steamer "Leutwein" also brought water from Cape Town. The harbor facilities and the condenser were under the control of a harbor master of the Colonial Society, who also had to ensure that new arrivals found food and lodging here. Around the square were several wharfs of different colored dockworkers. Hereros, Namas, and Bushmen. Several businessmen mined guano on nearby islands and beaches and engaged in seal hunting.



Dockworkers in Lüderitzbucht 1897 Photo Prof. Rehbock

The ox wagons arriving and departing Lüderitzbucht still had to overcome the enormous thirsty distance of 140 kilometers to Aus. 28 kilometers south of the town there was the so called grass field which got its name from the fact that alfalfa was stored here to feed the

oxen. According to reports, the road to Aus was littered with the bones of oxen that died here. It was not uncommon for oxen wagons to break down and lie on the side of the track.

At one point, the wagon of Baster Jonny Coleman also broke down, leading to the naming of what would later become Kolmanskop.

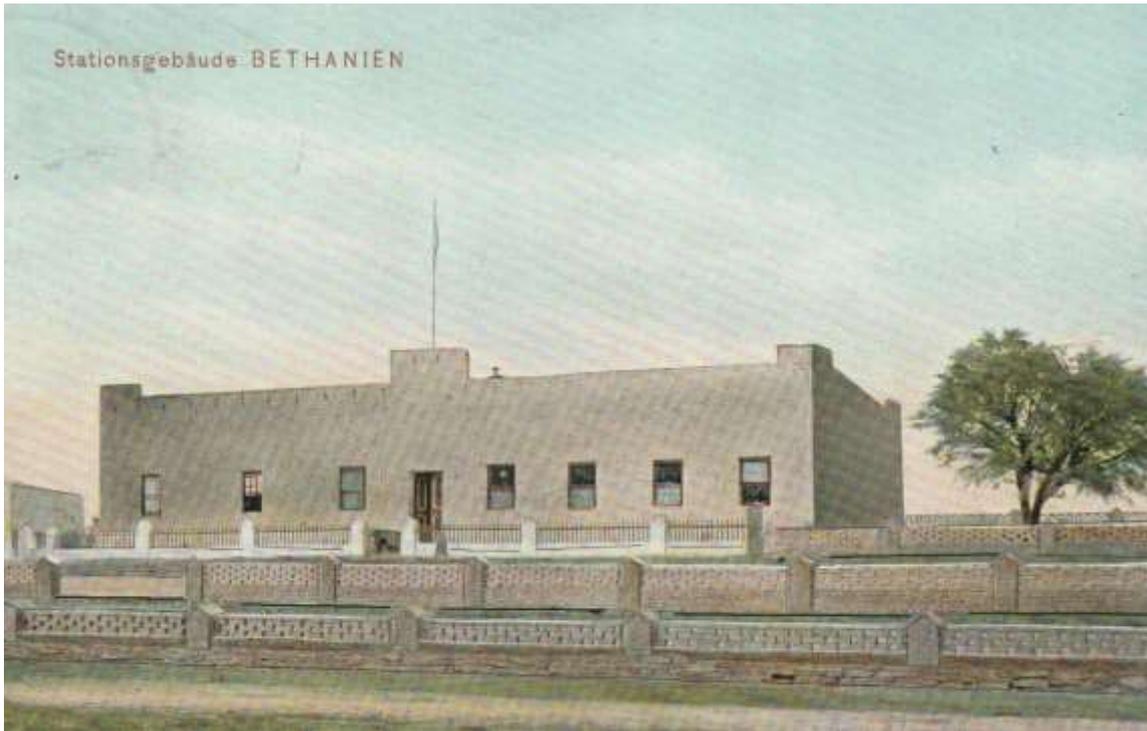
The development of Bethany from 1894 to 1906



Lentia church ca 1905 built in 1899. The strange name Lentia is the Marcomannic name of a Roman fort near Linz.



Business building in Bethanien ca. 1904 with the Hamburg flag



Station building Ca 1909

Colonial development of Bethany from 1894 to 1904 was slow after the initial successes of Farmer Hermann's wool sheep expansion and Ferdinand Gessert's efforts in water management and horticulture. The Southern Drilling Company provided a water supply for livestock and the transportation of goods through a number of drilled and dug wells, especially along the bay roads. Few European new settlers bought farms or practiced their trade. Letter traffic was initially established from 1897 by a letter carrier every 14 days between Lüderitzbucht and Keetmanshoop. From **1903** onwards, parcels and newspapers were also transported to Bethanien by mail cart. To secure the Bayweg, the Schutztruppe built small forts, for example at Kubub by Captain Zeh, at Chamis by Captain Willm and at Naiams by the 14-man crew. In addition, there were many police and military stations. South Bethany had been administered by the administration in Keetmanshoop since 1894. Lieutenant Duft was district chief in 1897, then came Gonelli and in 1900 Baron von Stempel. In 1901 Baron von Stempel is listed in the address book as district chief of Bethamien. (He was killed in action on Aug. 30, **1904**, against Morenga).

Bethanien (S. 183).
Distriktschef: Baron v. Stempel, Leutnant.

The development of the colored population was more orderly and seemingly peaceful since 1894. The civil war-like conditions before 1884 and the mutual robbing and killing ceased after the subjugation of the Witbooi. The Bethanians owned large herds of cattle and sheep and lived in kraals with 5 to 20 pontoks scattered throughout the country. By buying on credit, which the colored people did not know so, they lost increasingly the overview. They became more and more indebted and sold land to pay for their consumption, especially alcohol and weapons. Due to the loss of land, many groups became impoverished, suffered from hunger and were humiliated because they now had to work as servants on their former property. Leutwein probably noticed this development and ordered measures against it. However, the German and European merchants successfully resisted the prescription of debts ordered by

Leutwein. At the same time, German courts ruled very one-sidedly in favor of the whites in conflicts and offenses between whites and blacks. The discontent of the colored people grew.

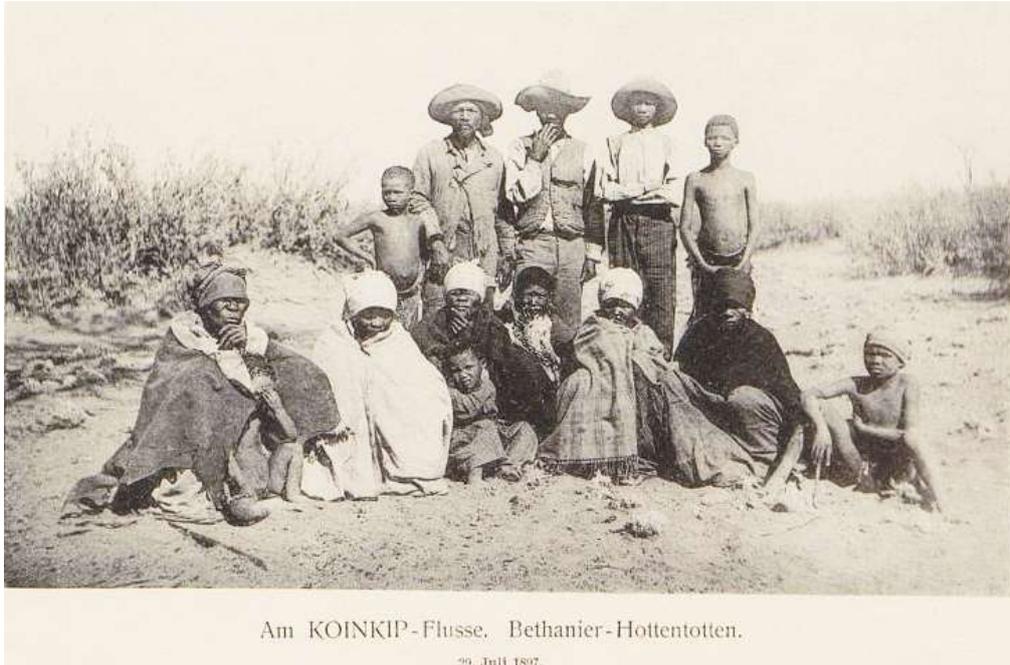


Photo by Prof. Rehbock 1897

In 1897 Prof. Rehbock described Captain Paul Frederiks as a good-natured man in his middle years. Paul lived at the time on the farm Ausis No. 47. He sold large parts of his land to European settlers and farmers. Large farms like Kunjas already belonged to Europeans from old contracts and the desert and coastal strip was owned by the legal successors of Lüderitz the German Colonial Society. The first farms of Europeans were Kunjas, which already in 1860 belonged to the Scottish Mason family, Inachab, Sandverhaar, Seeheim, Pavianskranz (Waldsee No.91), Tschauchaibis, Kubub with Aus.

The beginning of the uprisings in 1903

After the subjugation in 1894 of Hendrik Witbooi, the Germans had managed to win him as a loyal partner. With his decisive military help, the uprisings of the tribes in the south of DSWA were put down. In 1895 against the Khauas (Gobabis), in 1896 against the Ovambanderu, in 1897 against the Bondelswarts and Bethanians, in 1897 against the Afrikaners, in 1898 against the Swartbooi, in 1901 against the Grootfonteiner Baster, in 1903 against the Bondelswarts, in 1904 against the Herero at the Waterberg. His reward was a share of the spoils. (Source: http://www.klausdierks.com/Geschichte/index_uprisings.htm)

A Bondelswarts sued his own captain in **1903**, in a German court. He claimed the captain had stolen a sheep from him. After the verdict in favor of the shepherd, the arrogant Lieutenant Walter Jobst summoned Captain Jan Abraham Christiaan to lecture him. The captain did not follow this request, whereupon Jobst arrested him personally. Jobst and the captain died in the ensuing gun battle. This undiplomatic action by Lieutenant Jobst caused an uprising among the Bondelswarts. Tensions that had been building since the 1897 riot over rifle stampedes erupted. Leutwein had to move out with the third field company to Gibeon where the allies of the Germans, i.e. Witbooi, Bersebans, Bethanians and Basters joined the campaign. The South Bethanians placed themselves, on the German side, together with the Third Field Company on the Orange. At the same time, however, due to clumsy colonial policy, the uprising in

Hereroland flared up on 12.01.1904. After a few battles, Leutwein therefore hastily agreed on a peace treaty with the condition that the Bondelswarts surrender their weapons in order to hurry to his troops in the north. Most of the auxiliary troops, the Bethanians, Baster, and the Witbooi, also had to move north on the German side against the Herero. The sub-captain of the Bethanier auxiliaries of Chamis was Cornelius under the leadership of Thilo von Trotha. The first signs of revolt by the Bethanians, long before Hendrik Witbooi's rethinking, made themselves felt. Thilo described that Cornelius took only a very passive part in the fighting against the Herero. Leutwein described in his book (p.450) that he could already sense that the Nama of Hochanas were also only too eager to join the rebels and he had to show troop presence there at times.

In Warmbad, Johannes Christian was appointed the new captain and Captain von Kageneck district chief in Keetmanshoop. The leaders of the uprising including **Morris** and **Morenga** had initially retreated into English territory. In their retreat they had defeated the patrol Leutnat von Böttlin and amazingly brought the wounded German soldiers to Pella. Under the leadership of Baron von Stempel, who had previously been the district commander of Bethany, some Bethany auxiliary troops remained on the Orange River.

It was only due to the presence of the Germans' most loyal vassal until October 1904, Hendrik Witbooi, that the freedom fighters of Hochanas maintained peace. In July 1904, the district bailiff in Keetmanshoop reported the growing distrust of the Bondelswarts. The Witboois, armed by the Germans, had been the strongest force on the side of the Germans in the south for 10 years, next to the Baster troops. The Germans, with the help of the allies, succeeded in defeating the Herero at Waterberg on 10.08.1904. The allied colored auxiliary troops now returning from the battlefield had to hand in their rifles again. This caused distrust. It became clear to the Nama that the Germans wanted to take away their freedom and property. The inhumane cordoning off of the Omaheke Desert after Trotha's victory over the Herero claimed tens of thousands of civilian victims among the Herero. From the Battle of Waterberg, some Witbooi fighters opposed to the Germans returned, and Hendrik Witbooi publicly exhorted them to be loyal to the Germans. The Germans relied on the Witbooi's treaty loyalty to keep tense Namaland quiet. Quoting the situation in 1904 after the Battle of Waterberg: *"It all depended on the good behavior of Hendrik Witbooi and his influence on his fellow tribesmen."* (" Der Hottettottenkrieg "Page 7ff, 1907 Berlin)

The War of Liberation from July 1904 in Greater Namaland

German journals, Leutwein wrote, carried articles about the demands for **general disarmament** of the colored population, expansion of the crown land and the reinforcement of troops also in Namaland. Leutwein had asked the German newspapers (19.04.1904) not to publish such considerations. Of course, the Nama tribes also read these articles and found themselves confirmed in their assessment of the German colonial policy. The Germans left no more room for the tribes and increasingly claimed this land for themselves. The tensions after

the suppression of the Bondelswarts in the south of the Namaqualand were at a peak. After the victory of the Germans against the Hereros and the collection of the weapons, the Namaka captains finally changed their minds. They no longer trusted the Germans and rightly feared expropriation. They were no longer intimidated by the Germans and the Witbooi auxiliaries. A war of liberation was unleashed. The forerunners of this uprising Morenga, Morris, Kooper and others had already formed up again in the south with 300 rifles and were gaining more and more followers. Jakob Morenga, began already on 10 July 1904 with renewed attacks on 30.08. 1904 at Kauchanas (Kouchanas). He defeated the troops of the lieutenant Baron von Stempel victoriously. The baron died in the battle. Simon Kooper, the Frenchman Nama participated in the fighting in October 1904.

A preacher named Shepherd Stuurman from South Africa had found many supporters for his freedom movement among the young Witbooi. The motto of this movement was "Africa to the Africans." Hendrik Witbooi let himself be convinced by the religious thoughts of the "Ethiopian movement". On 03.10.1904 Hendrik Witbooi also declared war on the German Empire. With the Witbooi's threat gone, all other Namakapitans could now take up their fight for liberation against the Germans. In letters, Hendrik Witbooi, who was about 80 years old, also called on other captains to revolt. A clever move with which Hendrik elevated himself to the central figure of the uprising.

When Cornelius Frederiks was dismissed from the service of the Germans, he immediately sat down at the seats of the 400 Bethanians already involved in the uprising. At Blutpütz, about 50 km north of Helmeringshausen, there were first battles of the renegade Bethanians against a patrol of Thilo von Trotha. Paul Frederiks of Bethany, Goliath of Berseba and the Namas of Keetmanshoop did not participate in the rebellion.

The captains mostly fought independently in their territories. Jakobus Morenga and Johannes Christiaan of the Bondelswarts with 400 men, Andreas with about 300 men, Hendrik Witbooi with 200 men, Simon Kooper of the Franzmann-Nama with 700 men, Cornelius of Bethany with 400 men and Manasse of the Red Nation with 100 men. At times there were mergers such as: the Herero **Andreas** with Nama groups, Cornelius with Elias or Morenga with Morris. Collusion of captains existed, but there is no evidence of a leadership role of one group or coordination of all insurgents. The insurgents first murdered many white farmers, missionaries, and policemen. Women and children were mostly, but not always, spared by the Nama.

At Bethanien Square in 1904, during the war activities, in addition to the station crew led by District Chief Max Wasserfall, Captain Paul Frederiks and 100 of his Bethanians remained, as well as about 100 other community members consisting of Baster or Europeans living in intermarriage. European families were ordered to bring all their livestock to safety at the military stations so that they would not fall into enemy hands. A patrol sent north from Bethany under Lieutenant Raabe was shot down by Bethanian-Nama on 24.10.1904 near Kunjas (near Helmeringshausen) except for one rider. On 13.11.1904 there was again a skirmish between Witbooi troops and the Bethanian garrison at Kunjas. All farms were destroyed and the cattle driven off. With the help of Captain Paul Frederiks, who remained loyal to the Germans, and the military station chief Lieutenant Effnert, District Chief Wasserfall secured the stations on the Bayweg as best he could. The initially small number of German troops in Namaqualand had nothing to oppose the liberation fighters until the arrival of German Schutztruppen.

The German Empire responded to the publicized atrocities of the liberation forces with a huge increase in troops at Lüderitzbucht. The place was inhabited by about 20 white people before the war. Massive numbers of troops now landed here as a result of the war. The dimension in which the German Reich could react had been underestimated by the Namas. Many hundreds of German soldiers were now camped on the Bayweg to Aus. In total came 15000 German soldiers to DSWA. The 3rd Replacement Company landed at Lüderitzbucht in November 1904. First Lieutenant von Liborius secured the Bayweg to Berseba and also disarmed all Bethanians who remained neutral. The stage stations on the Bayweg, Kubub and Chamis, were hastily expanded. These were needed for supplies via Lüderitz Bay.

Missionary Albat commented that the colored people remaining in Bethany were not initially considered hostile during the war. The peaceful intentions of Paul Frederiks were also attested to by Governor Leutwein in his 1906 book. However, at Wasserfall, near the Karras Mountains, four Bethanians, including the brother of Paul Frederiks attacked a supply wagon of the troops on 06.11.1904. This was the reason for Leutwein to intern the remaining 100 Bethanians as well.

Paul Frederiks died in **1906** under unknown circumstances.

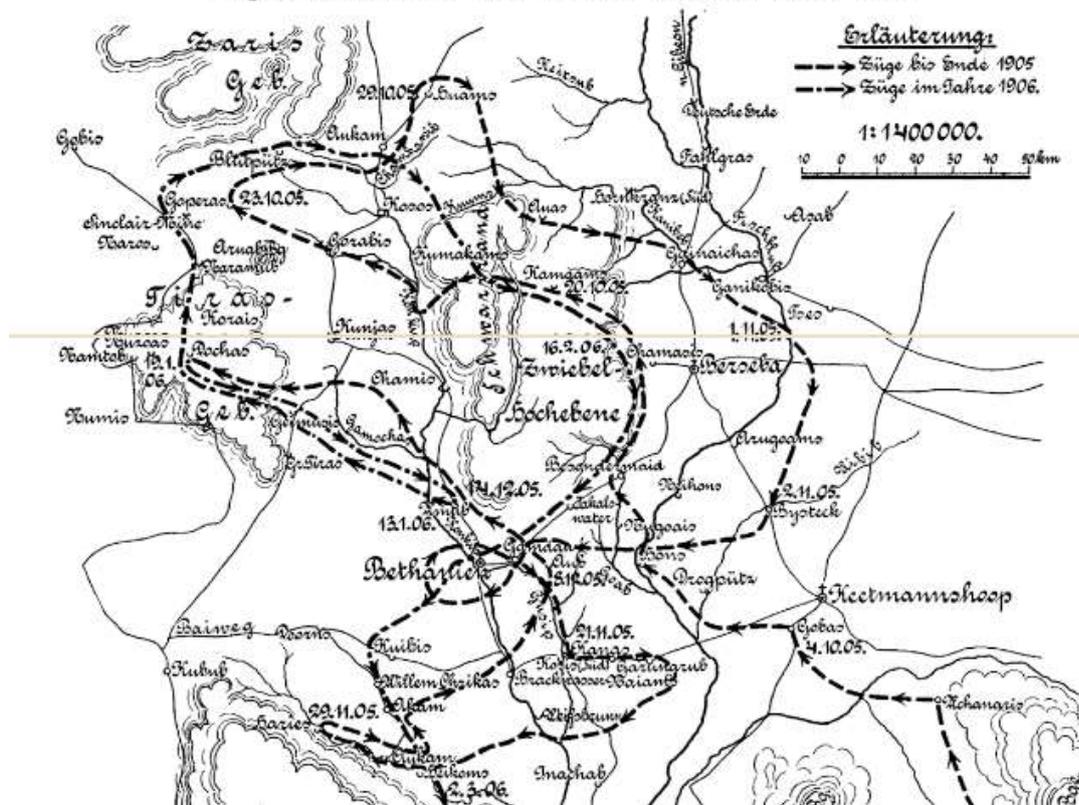
Trains of Cornelius in the 1906 war



Cornelius Frederiks, Bethanier, Sohn von Kapl. Cornelius	Herero David Friedrich, Bastard v. Witbooi u. Klippflaffer (war nach Togo deportiert gewesen) Bastard	Herero Paul Bastard Georg	Fritj Ifaat, Witbooi, Sohn von Samuel Ifaat
--	---	------------------------------	---

Fighter of the Nama ca. 1904

Züge des Cornelius vom Oktober 1905 bis März 1906.



In the Chamis area, Cornelius, son-in-law of Hendrik Witbooi had a large following. He was considered their sub-captain of the Bethanians. Cornelius was the leader of the colored auxiliary force in Chamis under the leadership of **Thilo von Trotha** the nephew of the general. This colored auxiliary force had participated on the German side against the rebellious Herero at the Waterberg. After the fighting, they had to return their weapons to the Germans. Suspicion arose in them and they joined the rebels together with the Witbooi. Captain Paul Frederiks of Bethany remained loyal to the Germans. De facto he was disempowered since he had only about 100 Bethanians left around him.

Cornelius now led a large part of the Bethanian tribe. The approximately 400 armed Bethanians and their retinue settled at Uibis on the Hutup. The men of Cornelius and Elias (Witbooi) attacked Maltahöhe and the farms. All the farms were destroyed and the farmers were cruelly murdered or driven away. The Germans could hardly defend themselves against the insurgents at the beginning of the uprising. Only newly formed German troops from Windhoek, with the participation of the Basters and Boers, pushed the rebellion back to the south. Lieutenant Ritter's troops attacked Cornelius from Gibeon at Uibis on 12.12.1904, who then moved to Huams and, after further attacks by Bülow and others, into southern Bethanierland. After the losing engagement at Gaos on 26/05/1905 against Captain von Kopy, Cornelius moved on to the southern Fish River to Kanibes where he met up with John Christian of the Bondelswarts and Morris. On 11.03.1905 there was a skirmish in Narudas Gorge between Morenga and Captain von Kopy. Thilo von Trotha was ordered by his uncle to pursue Cornelius and to hold peace talks with his former comrade-in-arms. After battles with Captain von Kopy at the Fish River, negotiations took place. Cornelius warmly received Thilo at the Nabas Reef and invited John Christiaan and Morris to join these talks. At the same time, the 9th Company was waiting at nearby Churutabis. While there, the overzealous Lieutenant Rosenthal pursued rustlers and inadvertently disrupted the peace

negotiations. (Source: "The Hottentot War" p.118 1907 Berlin). Thereby it came on 14.06.1905 briefly to the fire exchange. Thilo was shot with intent by Christoph Lambert von Bethanien. Cornelius arranged for a funeral. Source: Hans Grimm "Der Leutnant und der Hottentott" Hamburg 1913 and Dornseif "Das einsame Grab im Fischrevier Canyon" ca. 1990.

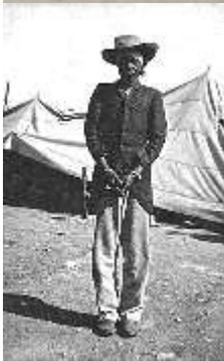


Old photo from 1905 of the grave of Thilo von Trotha from the estate of Schutztruppler Max Schreiber 3rd Company Kanus.

Lieutenant Rosenthal then attacked Cornelius, who moved out to the south. Cornelius, the Boldelswarts from Warmbad, and Morris first assembled at the mouth of the Konkiep on 02.07.05. Cornelius deported all the women and older men of his clan across the border into South Africa. Then again at Chamchawib on 29.10.1905 there was a skirmish between Cornelius and a patrol of Captain von Reese.

The German troops pursued the now much more mobile Cornelius who had separated from Morenga again in September 1905 and then moved in large loops through the Bethanierland. He still had over 300 men who were well armed. Cornelius' wife and family lived in a werft in Gibeon. Cornelius's troops depended on booty to replenish their losses of battle cattle. Therefore, General Trotha ordered all the farmers of Bethany to bring their livestock to safety at the stations. (Sources: The Defeat of the Hottentots Paul Kolbe Leibzig 1907). During an attack on a horse guard at Kunjas on 22.12.1905 2 Schutztruppler were injured (Brunnquell u. Sünder). Lieutenant von Crailsheim followed the trail of Cornelius on 07.01.1906 from the German staging post Kunjas with 70 men of the 4th Company. The latter's men had driven off the local cattle near Umub. At Namtob the German pursuers attacked a werft. The Namas fled without belongings to Tiras. The pontoks of the werft were burned. Freiherr vom Stein then took over the further pursuit, also from Kunyas, with the 4th Company and returned unsuccessful. Cornelius, meanwhile, moved into the canyons of the Schwarzrand Mountains and further south. After the death of Hendrik Witbooi on Oct. 29, 1905, Cornelius' father-in-law, many fighters were war weary. Captain Richard Volkmann was able to persuade Cornelius to surrender at Heikoms on 03.03.1906. His entire clan was then imprisoned in Lüderitzbucht under terrible conditions. After the death of Captain Paul Frederik, Cornelius was officially captain of the Bethanians until his death on 16.02.1907. The circumstances of his death are not known. The skull of the dead Cornelius was sent to Berlin for racial research. After him there was no captain in Bethany until 1916. The housing of 1700 captured Nama and Herero men, women and children in cold Lüderitzbucht proved inhumane as 1200 fell ill and died. The local authorities were not prepared for so many prisoners. Nama men were not allowed to leave Shark Island. They were not required to perform forced labor. They were still considered too dangerous. It is said that only about 200 Bethanians survived the imprisonment in Lüderitzbucht. In September 1907, the surviving Nama were moved from Lüderitzbucht to the horse post Okawayo near Karibib and given 200 sheep. The high mortality rate dropped

immediately. On June 21, 1910, the Germans deported the imprisoned Nama to Cameroon. Most of them died from the unfamiliar diseases. On 08.03.1913 the German Reichstag decided to bring back the Nama who had survived there. (Sources: Colonial Collection Bremen, Dierks, Donseif)



Capture and removal of Cornelius and his tribe to Lüderitz Bay in 1906.

Bethany after the arrest of Cornelius on 03.03.1906

After the arrest of Cornelius and his followers, there were only sporadic skirmishes in Bethany. However, the war in the Southeast continued. On 27.04.1906, still during the war, the administrative secession of the Lüderitzbucht district took place. A tract of land 20 geographical miles from the Maltahöhe district to the Orange River. The head of the Bethany district was Max Wasserfall. On 27.12.1905 the construction of the railroad line started at Lüderitzbucht-Aus and was completed within 7 months to Aus (The railroad construction will be described separately later). In October 1906 the Member of Parliament Dr. Semler reported on his visit to Aus in the wake of Leutwein and the final extension of the railroad line. The dry stretch through 140 km of desert was now overcome and the Bayweg to Keetmanshoop was used more intensively, for the transport of troops and goods with ox carts. Small settlements sprang up along the Bayweg. In Bernhardt's writings, he described that his ox wagon was also involved in bringing war-related material from Aus to Keetmanshoop. From Aus, the wagons were escorted by the military. In 1906, a considerable number of soldiers must have gathered in Bethany, since in that year alone 33000 mail items were sent from the

Bethany post station. In Lüderitzbucht, Aus /Kubub, Keetmanshoop, Bethanien, and Berseba, the German Red Cross set up sick collection points, field hospitals, surgical stations and the like. The wounded and sick were transported by ambulance from Keetmanshoop via Aus to Lüderitzbucht and from there by ship. Lazarette No.14 in Bethany had 4 ambulances at its disposal. Ida Kreft, probably a granddaughter of Missionary Kreft worked as a nurse in Bethanien in 1905. In addition to injuries requiring surgical treatment, infectious diseases such as thyphoid, cholera, malaria, and venereal diseases had to be cared for.

In particular, Ernst von Heynitz, as head of the German Red Cross, organized the expansion of the medical service of the DSWA. He reported, for example, how he collected so-called "Liebesgaben" (donation packages) for the soldiers in Lüderitzbucht in March 1907. On March 17, 1907, he traveled by train from Lüderitzbucht to Aus. Lieutenant Colonel Fromm, District Chief in Maltahöhe, picked him up with the donkey cart in Aus and they drove to Bethany. There they met District Chief **Wasserfall** and discussed the expansion of the infirmary and also his private interest in buying land. On March 24, 1907, **Heynitz** drove on to Keetmanshoop where he organized the expansion of the hospital there. Lazarets were also established for the colored population.



Source: Medical report on the Kaiserliche Schutztruppe of Southwest Africa Berlin 1909
Consequences of the war after 1904 in Bethany

In the course of the war, the Bethanian community was largely interned, shrinking from 1300 to 233 people. Missionary Heinrichs left the country in 1907. In his place came Missionary Peter (1907-1948). From 1950 came Missionary Albat who wrote a small breviary on the history of Bethany. Albat described that in 1904 the Bethanians were deprived of all their land and possessions. The few Bethanians, in order to earn their living, now had to work for the whites. Albat: "The free nomads have become sedentary servants..." "But it is still a question whether what is positive can outweigh the damage that has been done". "The Bethany tribe is extinct but the community is still there." Hired workers from northern Namibia and the Cape intermingled with the surviving locals. The number of illegitimate children registered in the parish grew from 5% before 1904 to 26% after the war. This high percentage also persisted during World War 1. Only when the British soldiers left in 1920 did the percentage drop rapidly. Albat wrote about 1950: "Especially demoralizing was the moral behavior. The children of whites soon became part of the good graces. As fathers of these unfortunate children, almost all professions are represented in the church register." Hundreds of German

and later British soldiers had left their half-breed children behind after leaving DSWA, as Missionary Albat testified. This means that every "Bethanian" today also has European and Herero blood in his veins. Albat wrote that by 1950 there were virtually no "real" Bethanians left due to the intermixing. The insignificance of the Bethanians after 1914 becomes clearer when one considers the size of the "Soromas" reservation. Budack (1989) sees nowadays no possibility to distinguish Nama and Orlam groups because of the mixing of the clans. A part of the colored population living in Bethany today calls itself interestingly regardless of the arguments mentioned above as !Aman and sees itself as successor of the former Bethanians. There are indeed descendants from the original captain's family even today. David Frederick who died in 2018 was a direct descendant of Cornelius Frederiks who died in 1907. The last election of the new !Aman leader was held Feb. 29, 2020. The candidates for the post were Cornelius Cloete, Christof Boois, and Johannes Frederik. ("Namibian" Feb. 2020). Gaob Johannes Frederik won the election as Chief. (Information from Pricilla Frederik)

The dispossessions and abuses

The colored population lost its sovereignty after 1904. The right of the attacked to keep conquered land of his attacker as his property, as Hendrik Witbooi claimed for himself in several letters, was now also claimed by the German conquerors. In 1907, the German administration expropriated the Bethanians and all but a few of the clans in the southern district of the DSWA. The coloreds were also prohibited from raising large livestock. Formally, the coloreds had freedom of movement in the choice of place and place of work. However, coloreds were only allowed to live in the yards of the towns or farms and had to register and have their employment approved. The few surviving Bethanians were desperately needed as laborers. In 1909, Bethany's deputy county superintendent prohibited them from any migration out of his county. It even came to a legal dispute with the district chief of Lüderitzbucht Böhmer. The mines and railroad construction were heavily soliciting labor and competing with the farmers.

Employers' duty of care to coloreds was strongly ignored despite the labor shortage. The right of employers to punish their colored workers resulted in scandalous widespread mistreatment. Governor Lindquist's appeals and edicts to judges to adequately punish crimes committed by whites did not change the situation. Corporal punishment increased to such an extent that it became a topic of discussion in the German Reichstag and the domestic and foreign press. In most cases, the delinquents were beaten 15 times with the pubic ram. This left deep physical and psychical wounds. Hendrik Witbooi and Jonker Afrikaner are also known to have inflicted such beatings on their subjects..



For the passport system of the natives, the authorities issued from about 1906 registered, numbered passport stamps made of brass. The colored population, starting from 8 years had to carry the passport marks around the neck and show if necessary to each white. If a colored person had to leave the district, the district office cancelled this stamp with a second hole and issued a passport instead. Natives were each issued a "service book" for the duration of employment. Offenses against the passport law were severely punished. The British Mandate government also initially adopted this system until 01.04.1917. For this purpose, the SA Union removed the German imperial crown from the stamp.

Literature on this from: Wemer H. Stahl and Taschenbuch f, SWA 1908 //Kolonialblatt 18.08.1907. The passport stamps reach today a collector's value of over 400.-€.



Berseba 1904-1907

In 1896 the Berseba community counted 1138 members. After the death of Captain **Jakobus Isaak** (see photo) on 12.12.1892 **Christian Goliath** had inherited the captaincy of Berseba and signed the protection contract in Keetmanshoop with the district chief Mr. Duft on 28.07.1885. In 1901 the missionary of Berseba was called **Hegner**,

The mission inspector Johannes Spieker reported his visit to the community on 02.12.1906. He also visited Captain Christian Goliath and the elders, most of whom were from the other large family, the Isaaks. The station chief was the chief lieutenant **Fromm**. During the visit of the school and the mission building, the inspector noticed especially damages on the roofs, so he recommended a new building. The elders and the captain were ready to donate the land for this purpose. At that time the school was rented to the troops for 4 marks a day. This money was now to be used for the new building. On Spieker's departure for Keetmanshoop, news came that a rebel group of 25 had been sighted at Schlangenkopf. After Spieker's arrival in Keetmanshoop, a conference was held in which the question arose as to who should take care of the captive Nama community in Lüderitzbucht, including the Bethanians. The choice fell on missionary Hermann Nyhof, who then lived with his wife in Lüderitzbucht until 1908.

During the war, the Bersebans, with the exception of a few, did not participate in the uprisings. They remained neutral. As the only Nama clan they received after the war in 1907 a large reservation that corresponded to their former ancestral land and could live largely autonomously. Next to the church stood the school, the mission house with garden as well as trading houses. The colored community lived exclusively in Pontoks. In 1905, missionary Friedrich **Eisenberg** replaced missionary Carl Ludwig Hermann **Hegner**, who had served the community since 1877. Eisenberg reported about the excessive alcohol consumption of his community, especially of the captain, who ran around the village crawling.



Berseba ca. 1906



Berseba ca 1910



Captain Christian Goliath and his councilors 1906

Berseba (Be), Bezirk Keetmanshoop: 1910

Karl Berger, Wilhelm Browning, Friedrich Eisenberg, Polizeisergeant Hörmann, Max Johannsson, Peter Just, Friedrich Klingbeil, Hans Kriess, Ludwig von Lockstedt, Ernst Noak, Benedikt Sichinger, K. Schacht, K. Schneider.

Deutsche in Berseba 1910

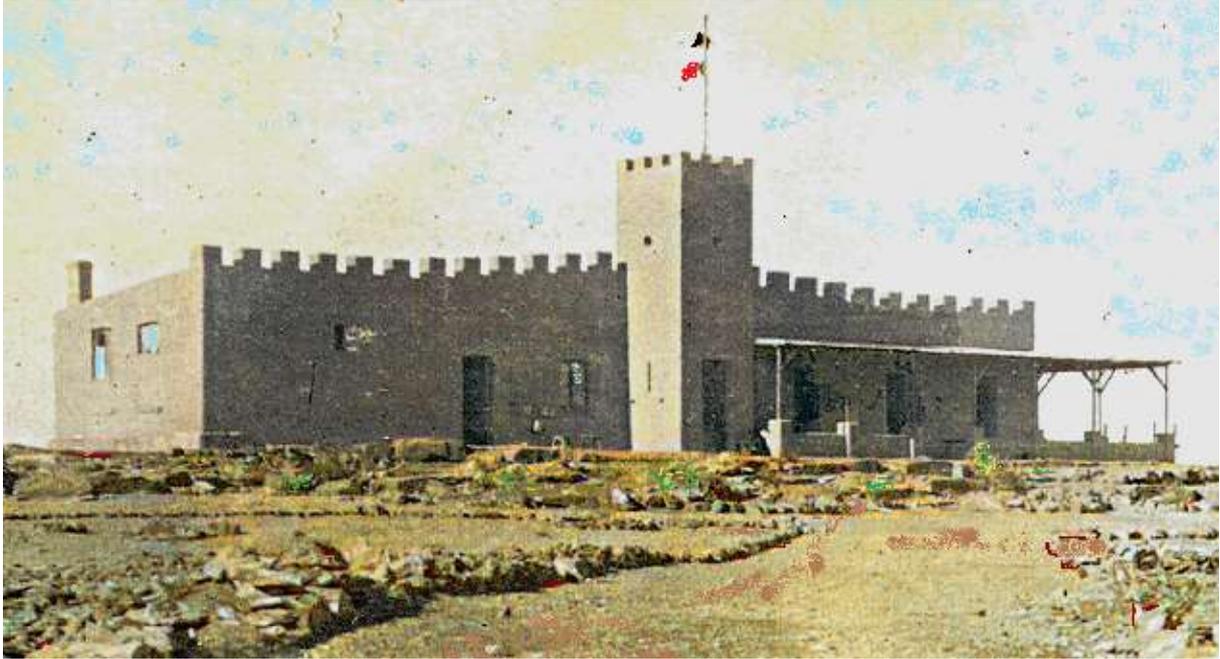
Government Inspector **Külz** reported in 1907 that the land continued to be tribal land and the village had only the church, mission building, police station and 2 business houses. Johannes Christian Goliath was captain from 1900-1925. Berseba had 1138 parishioners in the church around 1906. Mass was held daily in the stone church one hour after sunrise. The postal aid office was located in the mission station and opened on 01.11.1907. K.Sass, managed the store of Berseba. The freight price to Lüderitz was 22M for 50 Kg. For comparison, a sheep cost 10M and a cow 100-200 marks.

The Hottentot Elections (“Hottentottenwahlen”) and Dernburg

In 1906, the Social Democrats protested in the German Parliament against the high costs of the colony. Chancellor von Bülow dissolved the Reichstag and held new elections (named Hottentottenwahlen), which resulted in a majority for the colonial supporters. As a result, a colonial ministry was established. The Colonial Office was chaired by Colonial Office Secretary **Dernburg**. Now the funds for the 2nd construction phase of the Southern Railway could be approved on March 12, 1907. DSWA was to become more independent in its administration. Reichskommissar **Wilhelm Külz** was sent to Windhoek in 1907 to draft the Komunalverwaltungsverordnung. On 27.04.1906 the districts of Lüderitzbucht and Bethany had already been separated from the district of Keetmanshoop.

Dernburg also toured the Bethany area after the diamond discovery in 1908. He issued the closure order for the diamond area on 22.09.1908. During his tour, he particularly had the economic efficiency of the country in mind. The colonial policy of the German Empire cost the state enormous sums every year until the diamond discovery. In 1901, for example, costs of 10 million M (german Reichsmark) were offset by only 1.2 million M in revenue.

Bethany as of 1906



Feste von Bethanien ca.1910 (Wiki)

Distrikt Bethanien.

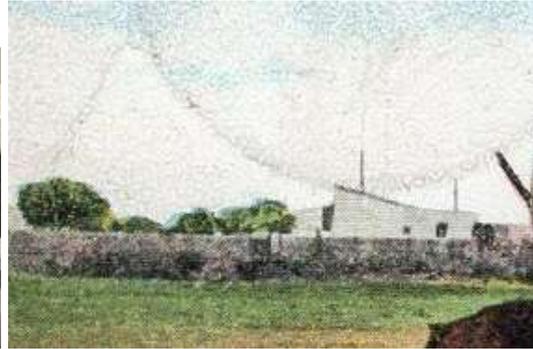
Ackermann, Friedrich	Keßlersbrunn
v. Alvensleben, Konstantin	Dabis-Goais
Annis, John	Bethanien
Bassingthwighte, Ed.	Aris
Bergmann, Hugo	Dreylingen
Borowsky, Andreas	Kalkfontein b. Kuibis
Brüggemann, Albert	Aruab
Campbell, John	Krügerspütz
Dickbröder, Wilhelm	Inachab
Elze, Friedrich	Barby
Fish, Thomas	Kanas
Hester, Hubert	Helmeringhausen
Hite, James	Bethanien
Hite, Thomas	Bethanien
Hübsch, Heinrich	Guperas
John, Max	Sürberg
Klein, Hermann	Nabibis
Krüger, Friedrich	Aubures
Ludwig, Erich	Aukam
Mason, Eduard	Kunjas
Mason, John	Kunjas
Mlynarczyk, Nikolaus	Korais
Otto, Bernhard	Huns
Radford, David	Kalkfontein b. Kuibis
Reinhold, Emil	Doroguis
Schmidt, Albert	Chamis-Süd
Seifert, Albert	Buchholzbrunn
Sowden, Josef	Bethanien
Traub, Franz	Tschaunaup
Ulrich, Otto	Naiams
Uth, Eduard	Ganaams
Zäh, Paul	Zachareibis

Bethanien [Bez. Keetmanshoop]. † *Distriktsamt*: Hauptmann a. D. Wasserfall, Distriktschef; Buchmann, Distriktsamtsschreiber. † *Polizeistation*: Albrecht, Barczynski, Polizeiwachtmstr.; Herzel, Hoffmeister, Krause, Müller (Ernst), Reinecke, Richter (Otto), Polizeisergeanten. † *Postagentur*: Ansiedler Noack. † *Ev. Mission*: Rhein. Missionsges. — Missionar Wilhelm Peter, Vorst. † *Brunnenbohrer*: Franz Krügel. † *Kaufläden*: Peter Hahn; Hermann Kessler; Emil Tempel. † *Kleinsiedelungen*: Eduard Bassingthwaighte; Johann Lewanczik; Wilh. Noack; Karl Schenk; Henry Sowden; John Sowden; Georg Stillger; Wilhelm Ulbrich.

List of Bethany inhabitants from 1907 out of „Kolonialen Adressbüchern“



Lazaret Bethany ca 1907



Buildings in Bethany

The following buildings and facilities existed in Bethany in 1907: the police station, the fort, the post and telegraph station, the mission building, the new church, the school, 3 stores, a blacksmith's store, several private houses and the werft with many pontoks. Large experimental gardens were planted in the village with apples, pears, oranges, peaches, mulberry trees, corn, alfalfa and all kinds of vegetables.

Schooling for white children became compulsory and took place in the old adobe church. The two towers of the church had been removed because of the danger of collapse. A photo from about 1911, retouched at the time, shows a mixed class and an unidentified teacher couple with a child. On the walls hangs a map of the German Empire and one of Africa.



Schule in Bethanien ca. 1911.



School



Werft of Bethany ca. 1910



Building of the station manager ca.1907



Missionshouse ca.1907



Bethanien from east ca. 1900

From the Atlantic to Keetmanshoop, the Bayweg was heavily traveled by ox carts. MP Semler reported as late as 1906 that he drove past hundreds of dead draft oxen from Lüderitzbucht to Brackwasser and that at night the stench of bloated carcasses deprived the soldiers of sleep. Trips by ox cart were expensive. The freight price from Bethany to Lüderitz was about 20M for 50 kg. Three drivers and food cost 30M a day.

Colonial development in Bethanierland accelerated after 1907. The 2nd construction phase of the railroad from Aus to Seeheim brought a wave of settlers. By the end of 1908, the Southern Railway reached the junction with the Northern Southern Railway at Keetmanshoop. Transportation accelerated and became cheaper. Farms sprang up everywhere, especially along the railroad line and the Baiweg. The stock of cattle multiplied. Parallel to the expansion of the railroad, the telegraph network was extended from Lüderitzbucht in the first section to Aus and then from Aus to Keetmanshoop. In Bethanierland, among the few natives who had survived the war, there were now many hired workers from the Cape, Herero and later many contract workers from Ovamboland. The individual districts were anxious to keep the colored population in their area. In particular, the diamond industry in Lüderitzbucht competed with the farmers and peasants in Bethany.

The nutrition of the population through local products improved with the development of water sources and the cultivation of fruit and vegetables. Right next to the military station and the mission house, gardeners had planted large vegetable fields and fruit orchards. Missionary Heinrichs also planted alfalfa fields, which he harvested five times a year. On a much larger scale, the farmers cultivated vegetables and fruits and also planted fields of corn, wheat and potatoes. In 1911, efforts were made to sell horticultural products on a cooperative basis. The colored population found work on the farms and fields and lived in the yards away from the settlements.

There was no longer an acting captain of the Nama until 1916. Mr. Wasserfall was replaced by Mr. von Roebern and, after him, by Captain Püschel as district chief. At the military and railroad stations small settlements with stores butcheries craftsmen and hotels were built. The

Aus settlement had a considerable number of inhabitants. In Kuibis the drilling crew under the leadership of geologist Range settled down, in Brackwasser a store, the station building and a nama werft were built next to the military camp. In Sandverhaar and Simplon Köttger operated a lime factory and in Seeheim a small village with hotel inn and department stores was established.



Bethany station building with the experimental garden ca. 1908



Stationsgebäude von Bethanien ca. 1911.

Koloniales Adressbuch Bethanien

Bethanien (Bt), Distrikt: **1910**

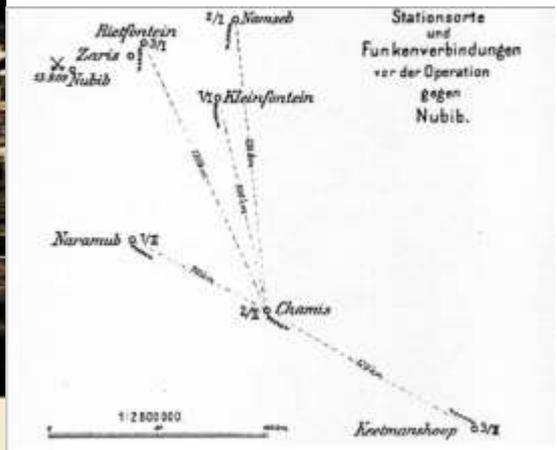
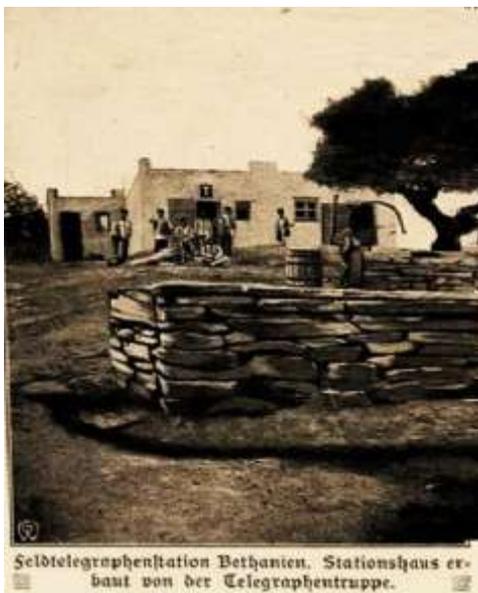
Oberleutnant a. D. Max Wasserfall, Distriktschef, Fritz Ackermann, Erich Albrecht, Stephan Barizynski, Eduard Bassingthwaigthe, Curschmann, Alfons Deck, Leo Edelstein, Simon Goldberg, Peter Hahn, Paul Hoffmeister, Alwine Kemnitz, Gustav Krause, Franz Krügel, Else Kuckuk, Johann Jakob Lewanczik, Nikolaus Mlynarzyk, Ernst Müller, Wilhelm Noack, Wilhelm Peter, T. Reinecke, John Sowden, Jacob Stadter, Wilhelm Ulrich, Johannes Winkler.

Bethanien Distrikt 1913 stellv. Distriktschef von Roeborn, Inspektionsoffizier der Landespolizei. **Polizeistation:** Geißler, Polizeiwachtmstr.; Herzel, Hofmeister, Richter (Otto), Polizeiserg. **Postagentur.** **Versuchsgarten für Obst- u. Gemüsebau.** **Ev. Mission:** Rhein. Missionsges. — Missionar Wilh. Peter u. Frau, Vorst. **Gasth. u. Kaufläden:** Peter Hahn; W. Ulbrich. **Kleinsiedelungen:** J. Anis; E. Bassingthwaigthe; Gaukler; Th. Hite; J. Lewanczik; Jos. Sowden; J. Hite; F. Gessert. **Kommission:** H. Groeneveld. **Landmesser:** H. Curschmann.



Post in Bethany ca.1907

Telegraphsystem in Bethany



1905 Telegraph station in Bethany Heliograph stations at the battle of Nubib.



Transportation of cable reels 1905



Kuibis Telegraphenstation ca. 1904

Captain Gundel leader of the 2nd Field Telegraph Division reported in 1906 on the expansion of field intelligence in the south of DSWA. This included the field, radio, and signal divisions. Telegraph lines were in place from Lüderitzbucht to Keetmanshoop and from Sandverhaar to Bethany and from Bethany to Chamis. The telegraph stations provided both Morse and voice communications. In addition, the detachments established a heliograph station near Chamis that corresponded with Namseb Farm to the north near Maltahöhe and a field line that extended to Inachab in the south. The 2nd Field Telegraph Section laid cable in the sand as early as February 1905. This was discovered in some places by the Nama fighters and often torn out several hundred meters. Nevertheless, the Nama seem to have been unaware of the all-important strategic importance of the cables. The cable laid on and in the ground was only a provisional arrangement due to the war. It would have been easy to disrupt this cable connection permanently. The radio operators used large balloons to raise their antennas high in the air and to reach places far away with their radio messages.



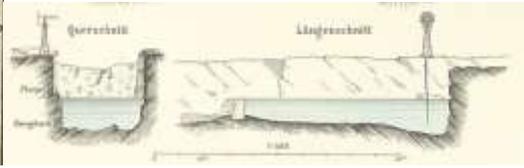
1906

Seldtelegraphenstation Kubub an der Straße Süderitzbucht-Keetmanshoop. Links Unterkunftsraum der Telegraphisten, in der Mitte Seldtelegraphenstation, rechts Depot des Seldtelegraphenbezirks Kubub. Die Bauten wurden von der Telegraphentruppe aufgeführt.

In addition to extending the 2nd section of the Southern Railway in 1907, the troops pulled the telegraph cable on wooden telegraph poles along the railroad and made the connection between the telegraph stations at Lüderitzbucht and Aus on February 23, 1907. This line, laid on poles, replaced the line buried in sand due to the war. On November 12, 1907, the connection reached as far as Brackwasser, and on January 16, 1908, it extended in part provisionally to Keetmanshoop. The 366 km long connection was finally completed in July 1908. The telegraph stations were located together with the post offices mostly in the railroad stations. The connection to Windhoek and also to Swakopmund was still under construction. (Sources report of Captain Gundel 1906 .see also: Sebastian Mantei 2004 Uni Halle <https://sundoc.bibliothek.uni-halle.de/diss-online/04/05H118/prom.pdf>)

Watersystem

One of the first Germans in the area of Bethany, who dealt scientifically with the water system was Ferdinand Gessert. Above all, he saw the potential of reservoirs and dams. He studied water management for a year in Egypt before he began to build retention basins around 1895 on the Inachab farm. Dams in precincts, in particular, proved economical and practical. They allowed large gardens to be sprinkled. However, there were setbacks as well. The dams had only the disadvantage that they could not withstand the floods when it rained too much and had to be renewed. The wells, on the other hand, at times had brackish water in Inachab that was unsuitable for planting.



Theodor Rehbock, professor from Karlsruhe, made an expedition to DSWA in 1896/97. He also investigated the situation in the Bethany district and on the Fish River. In 1897, Rehbock proposed a system of dams along the Fish River but also at Konkiep and elsewhere. The recently built Neckartaldamm, was based on his plans.

In November 1901, the Colonial Economic Committee financed a drilling team from Germany and an experienced drilling foreman from South Africa. They developed water points along the Bayweg from Lüderitzbucht to Kubub. It is known from the district chief in Gibeon Burgsdorff that he also had 4 drilling rigs come over Lüderitzbucht around 1902 and drilled 94 wells along the Bayweg and on strategically important farms. In 1902 Burgsdorff investigated with the company Philipp Holzmann from Frankfurt / Main the possibilities to build dams to dam up the huge water masses of the rainy season.

The heads of the Drilling Column South were Dr. Heinrich Lotz in 1904 and Dr. Paul Range from 1906. The drilling column was initially based under Lotz in Lüderitzbucht then in Aus and later in Klein Kuibis. In 1905, drilling crews under Lotz, unsuccessful in Lüderitzbucht during the Hottentot War, drilled 4 wells in Ukauma, 4 wells in Kaukausib, 2 wells in Klein Kubub, one well in Gross-Kubub, one well in Kurusis and one well in Aus. In the reporting year 1907, the column worked on 9 drilled wells of a total drilling depth of 194 meters. The success increased so that in 1909 38 drilled wells with a total length of over 1000 meters and 7 dug wells of 7 meters depth each were constructed. The cost per meter of drilling depth varied between 13 M and 101M. (Reichsmark). In 1905, 215000 M for drilled wells and 85000 M for dam construction were approved by the Reichstag. In the following years, expenditures for water management almost doubled. Farms now increasingly began to hire drilling crews at their own expense. By 1911, there were 8 drilling crews in the South, half of which were drilling private wells on the farms. Increasing new settlement was making itself felt. In 1909, the drilling party-South drilled water at the Neisibrevier on the notoriously dry Aus, Tiras to Maltahöhe. They also had success at Garub at a depth of 70 meters. Both boreholes yielded 5184 cubic meters per day. That is enough for 130000 cattle.

Nevertheless, despite all the progress, it must be remembered that the colored population benefited little from the new water sources. Their livestock was limited to small herds of goats.

Diamond discoveries in 1908

A poor railroad employee, Mr. **Stauch** from Thuringia, who had immigrated only in 1907, had officially discovered the first diamonds near the railroad tracks of Lüderitz and had secured the first claims. Actually it was his colored employee **Zacharias Lewala** who discovered the diamonds due to his experience in the mines of Kimberley. In 1908, Colonial Office Secretary Dernburg then traveled to southern Africa in a four-wheel drive Mercedes. The financial situation of DSWA had changed completely. DSWA no longer needed subsidies. An extremely large number of abenteuers from all over the world traveled to Lüderitzbucht to profit from the diamonds. Factories, houses, villages were built overnight in the desert. Colored workers came from all over. The mine owners brought in 800 Ovambos alone as contract workers. Bethany benefited from the economic boom of Kolmannskop and its mines. They sold firewood, lime, horses, oxen, cattle for slaughter, and vegetables. The settlements at the railroad stations of the Southern Railway and thus hotels and store, craftsmen, brothels flourished. Diamonds brought money into the country.



Kolmannskoppe ca. 1909



Zacharias Lewala

Desert expeditions of Rappard, Stillger and Trenk 1909

Triggered by the diamond discoveries, the administration had the northern fields of the Namib investigated by expeditions and declared the entire desert a diamond restricted area. Even before Trenk's expedition, Captain **Rappard** had crossed the Namib in March 1909 with an expedition from Bethania via Haib, Awasibberge and had returned via Lüderitzbucht. (Dt. nat. Blatt 1909) The expedition did not find the Bushman's Paradise, only a small Bushman's wharf at Spencers Bay. It was not until August 1909 that **Trenk's** expedition found the so-called Bushman's Paradise at Meob on the Atlantic Ocean. Von Rappard undertook another expedition with Lieutenant von Hartmann in search of oases in the Namib from Bethany in June, July 1909 and explored the Namib with camels at the Awasib Mountains. Captain von Rappard and First Lieutenant Trenk were listed as living in Chamis in the Colonial Address Book in 1910 along with Max Dachsel, Heinrich Greiner, First Lieutenant Haxthausen, Dr. Lüttschwager. Georg M. Stillger operated a blacksmith shop in Brackwasser with Runkwitz around 1908. Stillger owned the Hope farm and had a store in Keßlersbrunn in 1910. The Lüderitzbuchter newspaper of June 19, 1909, reported Georg M. **Stillger**. Stillger started in April 1909 from Bethanien with camels and reached Sesriem one month later. There were already several prospectors. From there, it went along the Tsaucha area westward to Sossusvlei and then for 6 days 85 kilometers over the dunes to the sea. That was on 06.06.1909 at the height of the "Holam Birds" island. From there it went partly chest-high through the sea water in the direction of Lüderitzbucht. This expedition had covered a total of 650 kilometers. On June 13, 1909, diamonds were found in Spencerbay. Prospectors searched the coast as far as Meob. In 1911, Stillger, a farmer, was a partner and founder of the Regent

Diamond Company and owned prospecting fields north of Spencerbay. Stillger also owned the Huns farm in 1929.

Settlements in Bethany Country

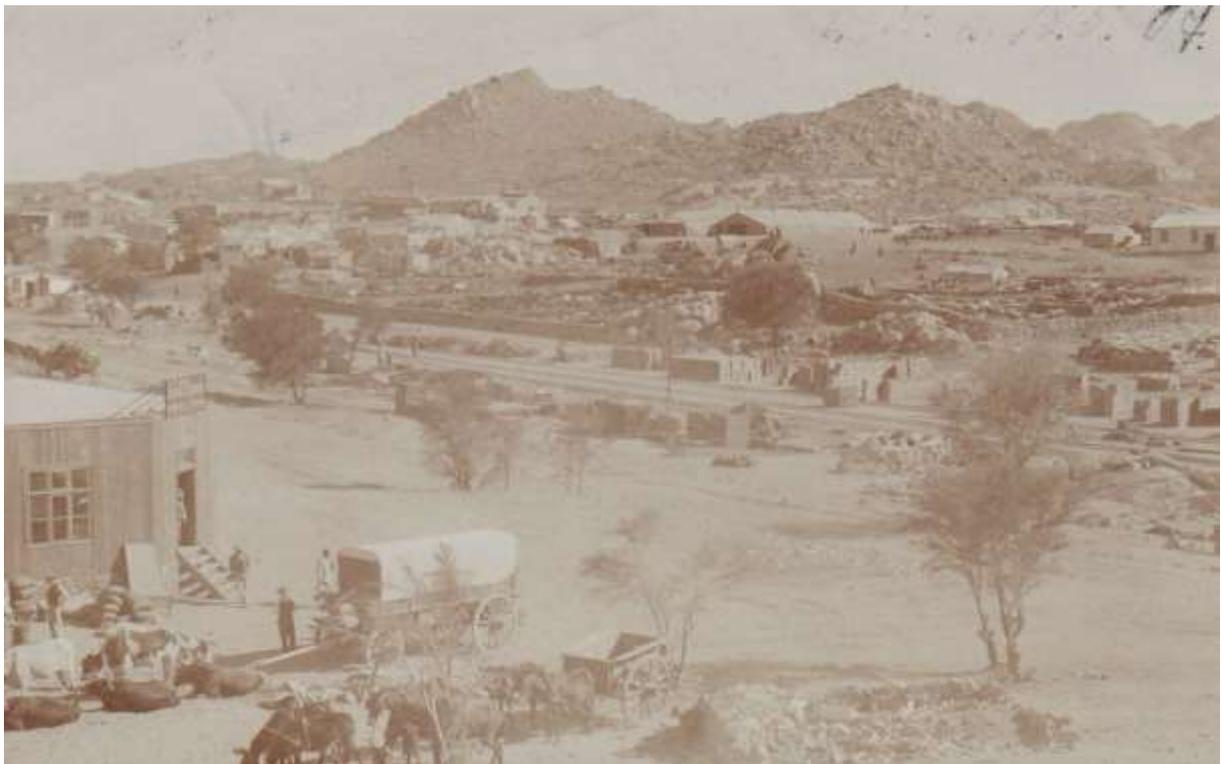


Karte von ca. 1860 (Ausschnitt)



Settlement Kubub and Aus

The Huib Plateau forms the eastern border of the Namib Sand Desert. The altitude difference is considerable. From the Aus site, the descent of the Bayweg descends 700 meters in altitude within 38 km to Garub. In Aus there was the last natural watering place on the Bayweg before the 140 km desert stage to Lüderitzbucht. The Nama called the highlands to the west of Aus Kubub.



Store Adolf Busch in Aus bottom left Ca.1907



Horse depot in Aus/ Kubub ca.1905

Police station Kubub 1905

The farmer Hermann operated a farm for wool sheep and a horse breeding station in Kubub from 1891. The experimental farm built by Hermann was destroyed by Hendrik Witbooi on 06.11.1893. To protect it from further attacks, a small military fort was built under Sergeant Zeh in 1898. Kubub had a police station and a post office around 1900. The post office Kubub was located in the building of the small fort and opened on 16.01.1900. It was moved to Aus after closing on 12.10.1906. In the place lived 3 Germans and a mixed colored population. They got the water from a 20 feet deep well. Also in Klein-Kubub, the road construction manager (Max?) Eyth had a dug well constructed in 1898 with enough water for larger herds. In the rainy season, the Schutztruppe and also the captains of Bethany stabled their horses in Kubub. The climate here was so dry that the mosquito that spreads the horse disease could not thrive. Such horse depots were called death posts which, contrary to what the name suggests, protected the horses from the deadly disease. In 1906, 300 meters from the station in Gross-Kubub, there was a walled well used by the whites and another for the colored population. Not far from the station stood the small officers' mess built of stones. In Little Kubub in 1905 there were another 6 kettle wells whose water contained hydrogen sulfide. There they watered large herds and the draught oxen.

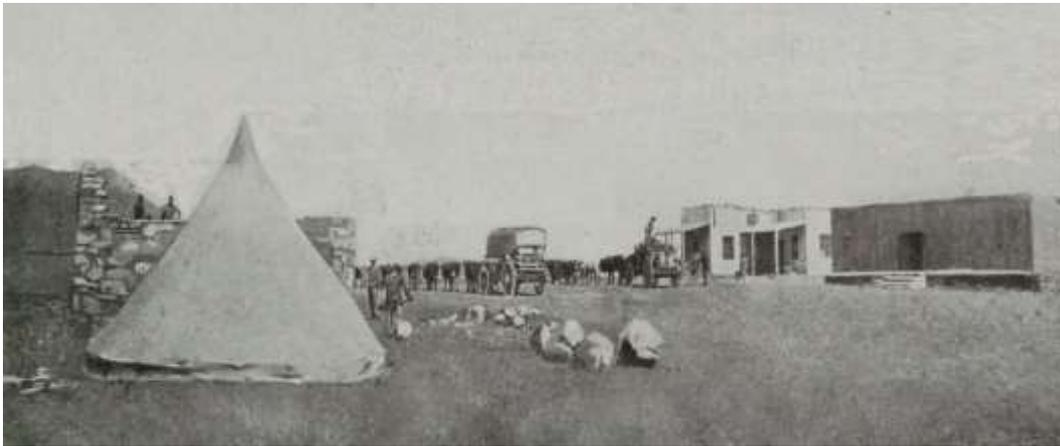


Kubub station building ca 1900 Small Kubub ca.1905



Destroyed Kubub 1894

(Foto Klinkhardt)



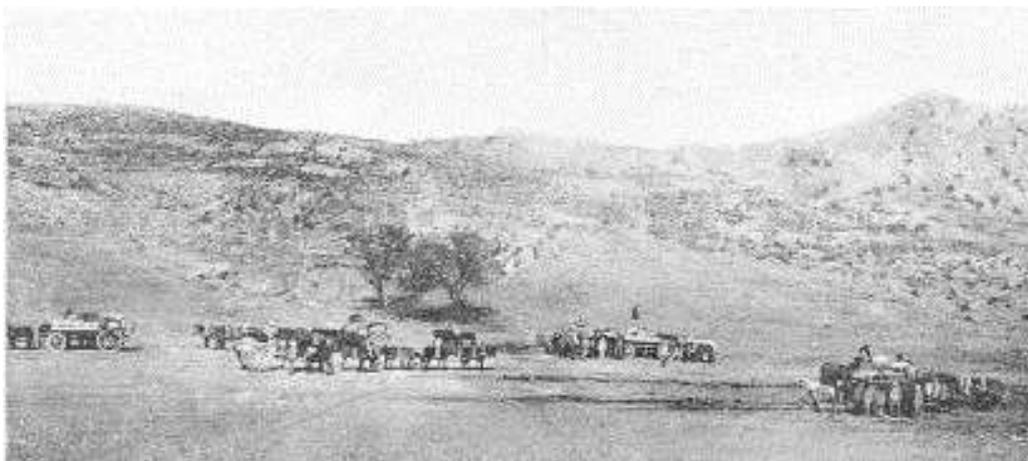
Militärlager Kubub ca. 1905



Ox cart and the fort near Kubub ca.1909



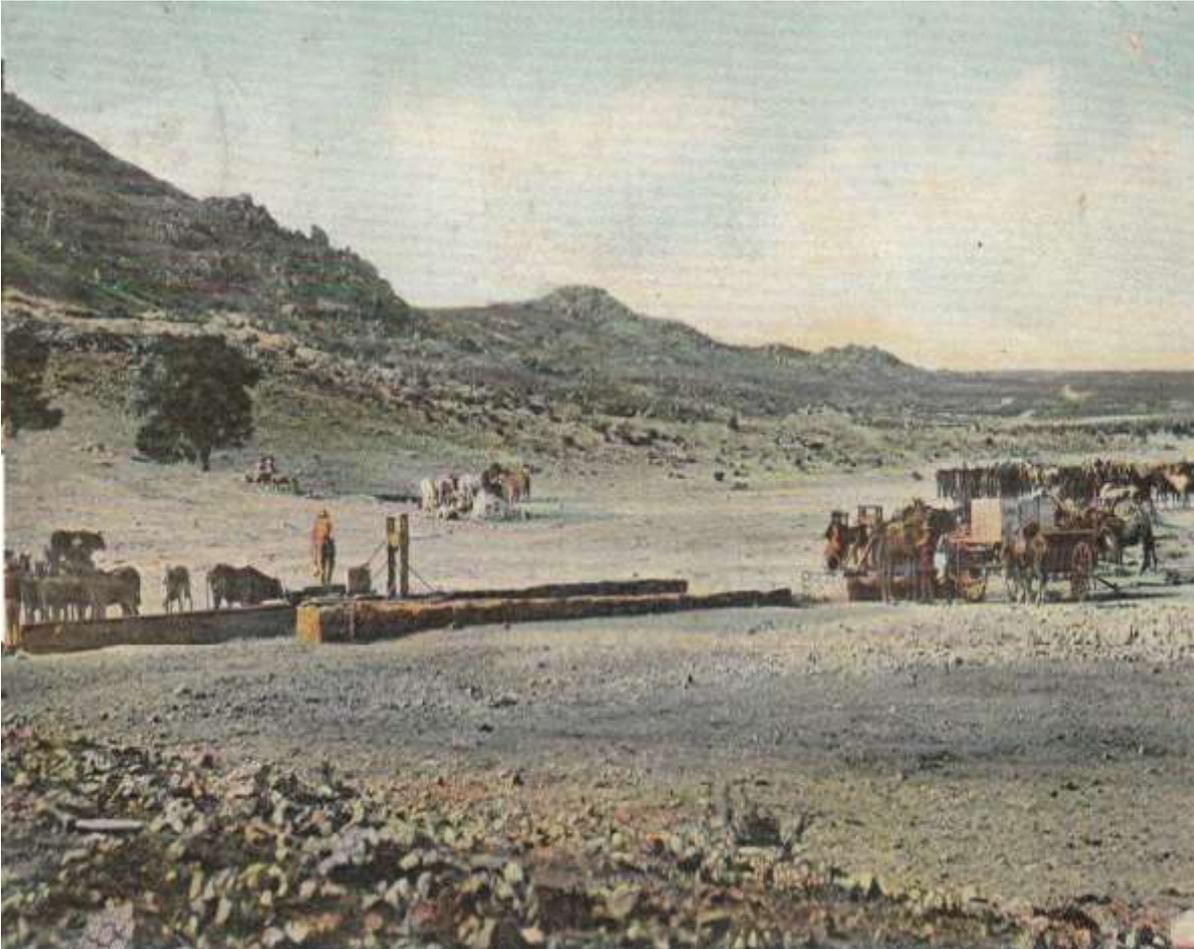
Fort Kubub ca.1909



Klein Kubub ca. 1905



Klein Kubub ca.1905



Klein Kubub ca.1905



The settlement Aus

Before 1905, Aus was an only intermittently inhabited pasture between towering mountain peaks on the Baiweg. Here was the last natural source of water before the 140 kilometer long dry spell through the sandy desert, which began after the descent from the Huib plateau. Because of the high altitude above the desert, there is somewhat more precipitation in Aus, so that cattle breeding was possible here to a limited extent.

The railroad station opened on 01.11.1906 and the postal station on 06.10.1906. The settlement of Aus developed by leaps and bounds as a staging post during the 1904/1906 war and due to the railroad construction. Immediately settlers, craftsmen, farmers and traders came to settle at the station and also bought land. In Aus two inns, a bakery, a butcher's store, 11 stores, the troop's horse depot and the houses of the Southern Railway construction management were built. The village even had a civic association and the streets were bustling with activity. Many cattle, sheep and horses stood in the open stables of the village. In the village there were two kettle wells with 13 and 15 meters depth and a suction well. According to the laboratory in Windhoek, the suction well contained too much nitrate (NO_3^- saltpeter) to be drinkable in the long run.

1908 Aus (Groß-Aus) [Bez. Lüderitzbucht].
Post- und Telegraphenamt: Schultz, Postassistent: Gollan, Postschaffner.
Essen- und Trinken: Reinhardt, Buckwold, Drz. Baumstark.
Lüderitzbucht Eisenbahn: Bauleitung: Deutsche Kolonial-Eisenbahn-Bau- und Betriebs-Gesellschaft. — Niffen, Oberingenieur; Koch, Maschinenführer; Di. Wolf, Peper, Artz; Roser, W. Schmidt, Zschlitz; Rustemeyer, Gross, Bureauvorsteher; Knabe, Bureauassistent; Gellow, Adolf Hoffmann, Registratoren; Hell, Korrespondent; Andrichuk, Bureaugehilfe; Hirsch, Arbeiteragent; Schultz, Postassistentenverwalter; Scheps, Magazinverwalter; Julius Köhler, Stationsassistent; Dehnel, Zugführer.
Polizeiorgan: Stark.
Bücherei: Eisen; Schuster.
Bäcker: E. Schmidt.
Gastwirtschaften: Hänel & Brüggemann; Martini; Möller.
Kaufhäuser: A. Lüderitz; Louis Worms; Adolf Busch; K. Hillmann; Edmund Treuet; A. Hübscher & Co.; Rosenbluth, Bayer & Buckmann; Lüderitzbucht-Gesellschaft L. Scholz & Co. (Vertreter Kall).
Schlächtereien: Nagel & Geider; G. Quell.
Schneewasserfabrik: Esser & Engelhardt.
Spezialgeschäft: K. Schmidt.
Chemiker: van Grinsven.
Verein: Bürgerverein Aus.
Waffenhandlung: Simon.

1910 Aus (As), Bezirk Lüderitzbucht:
 Heinrich Baus, Hotelier Burgard, O. Geider, AugusteGronostei, Oberleutnant v. Hanenfeldt, Obervet. Hoppe, K. Ingwersen, Eduard Kesslau, Robert Krüger, G. Lässig, Jakobus Louw, Polizeisergeant Maletzki, Walter Niejahr, K. Ochs, Arthur Sättele, Joseph Singer, J. A. Smit, Fritz Spurgat, Johann Szioska, Karl Schulz, Richard Wezorek, K. Wollert. **Klein-Aus** Bolz.

1913 Aus (Lüderitzbucht). Polizei-Station. Pferde-Depot der Schutztruppe: Oberleutn. Schrewe. **Regierungsschule. Postagentur. Gasthöfe:** Bahnhofshote (E. Martins); Germaniahotel. **Gastwirtschaften:** Bahnhofswirtschaft (J. Molter, Inh.); Kellau; Ocas. **Kaufhäuser:** Lüderitzbucht-Gesellschaft L. Scholz & Co. v. b. H. (Kall) Vert.; Jul. Möller. **Schlächtereien:** Heinrich Geider. **Schmiede:** Kellau. **Spezialgeschäft:** Kellau. **Waffenhandlung:** Simon. **Verein:** Bürgerverein Aus.

Excerpts from the Colonial Address Book

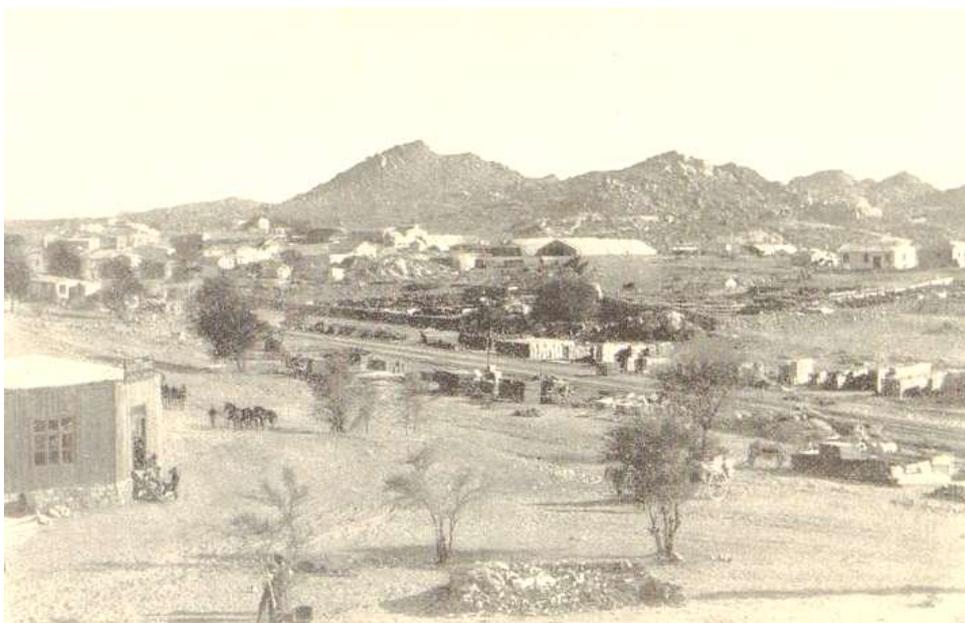
Shopkeeper Hillmann had a merchandise business in Aus, Maltahöhe and Lüderitz Bay. In 1910 he was manager of a copper mine in Lüderitz Bay. Shopkeeper Albert Voigts had one of the biggest stores in Aus and one in Maltahöhe. In 1910 he closed this store in Aus with the help of the accountant Richard Wegener and the merchant Bracke. In 1909 Adolf Busch owned another store on the outskirts of Aus..



Hermann Hillmann 1900 Lüderitzbucht



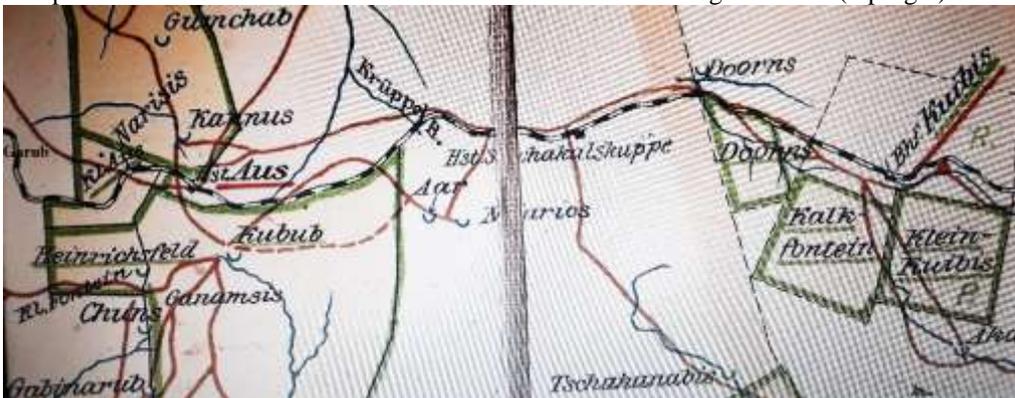
Albert Voigts in Aus 1908



From ca 1909. front left the store of **Adolf Busch**



The place Aus with horse station and the business house of A. Voigts ca.1908 (top right)



Map from 1911

After 1915 the British internment camp for about 1300 German soldiers was located in Aus. A cemetery still bears witness to the British and German soldiers who died here, especially during the Spanish flu in 1918.

In the larger area around Aus several species of Lithops (succulents) were found and named by Prof. Cole as Nr: C145,C144,C146,C148,C150,C249



Settlement Kuibis Farm Gross- Kuibis Nr.100

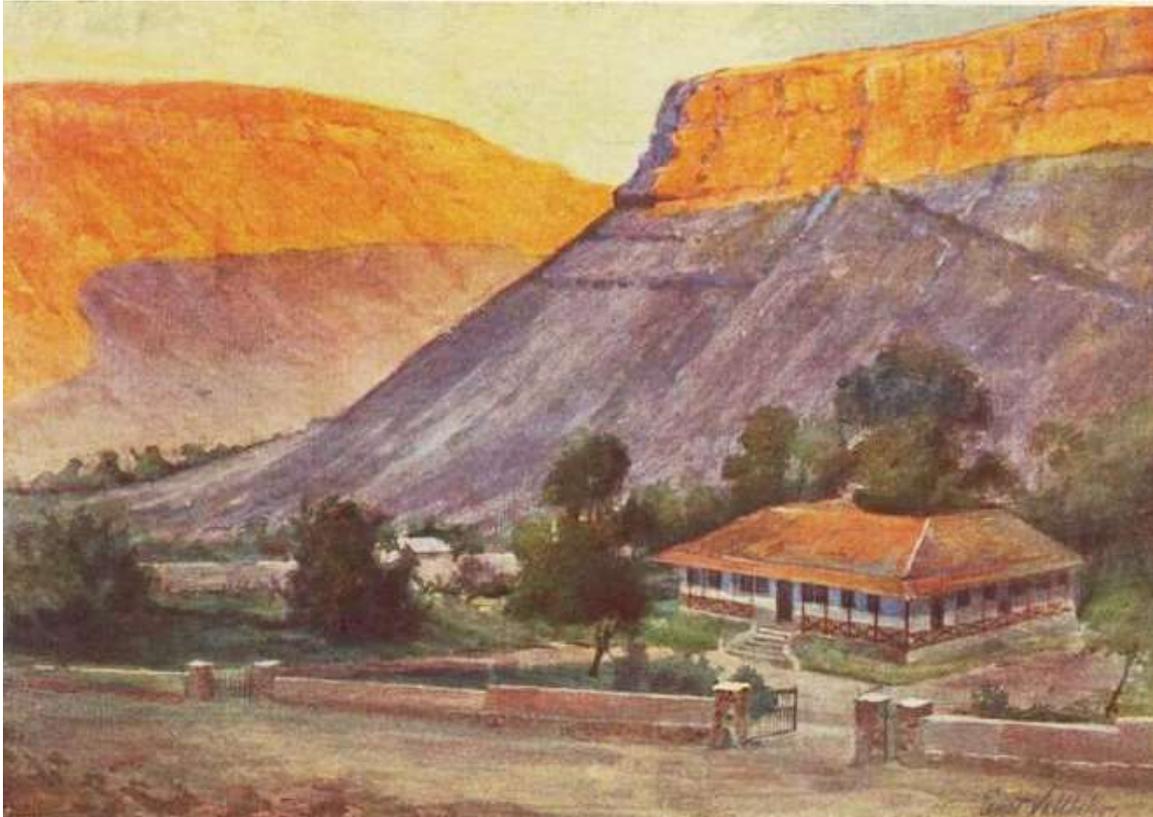
The way from Lüderitzbucht to Kuibis had only one productive water source in Aus. After that, the ox wagons had to get along without water for another 65 km. From Kuibis on, the treks had much less problems finding water and pasture on the way to Keetmanshoop in the east or to Bethany in the north. In 1906 a station building with a brick well and a telegraph station stood in Kuibis. Adolf Lüderitz had a house built 20 years earlier on the Baiweg a little to the west, the ruins of which could still be seen in 1905.



Kuibis area with the house of the drilling column -south ca. 1910

In 1904 Dr. Heinrich Lotz led the drilling column south from Kuibis, which was taken over by the geologist Dr. Range after him. Before 1905, the water from Kuibis came from the masonry well, which was only 2 meters deep, but very productive. The Windhoek laboratory objected to the quality of the water in 1905. The drilling crew provided several more water points at the site. Some farmers and merchants and the nursery Lippe settled there. The farm Klein Kuibis No.38 was bought by the farmer Anderson. On 20.07.07 the railroad station Km. 206 was opened. On the farm lived in 1908 the well-known geologist Range, drilling inspector C.Eyth.and the clerk Leonhard Dennenburg. South of the railroad was the police station occupied by policeman Wagner, the store of Mr. Herzel and the hotels "Salomon" and "Hohenzollern" of Geschke & Weigel. Then there was the department store of Carl Bödiker & Co and the store of Goldberg.

In 1911, the Africa traveler Dr. Hermann Thomsen reported about Kuibis at his meeting with Dr. Range that in the meantime farmers could also request the drilling column. They had to pay 30 marks per day. This meant that farms in Bethany also got their own water points. The station in Kuisib was not far from the geologists' home at the station. There was a large garden at the drill crew's residence that was irrigated by a suction well with a wind motor. The planting showed to be very diverse with vines, vegetables, beet, cucumbers, tomatoes, corn and oats. Next to the dwelling house were the magazine and the workshop. A little further away there was a Nama and a Herero yard. The leader of the practical work was called "Papa Eyth", an African (Bur) who had long owned his own farm with 500 sheep not far from the station. In his garden grew figs, pumpkins and egg fruits. This farm was also supplied by a well. Eyth`s farm, he recounted, had suffered greatly during the 1904 war. The Burian freight drivers and German soldiers helped themselves in their need to everything that they considered useful there.



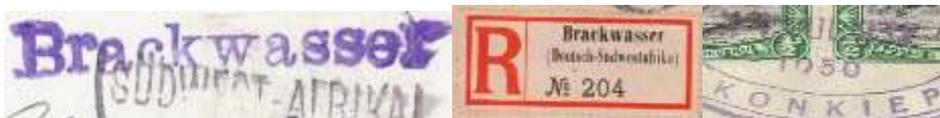
Kuibis drilling column (Source:German Land in Africa Dr.Hermann ,Ernst Vollbehr Thomson Munich 1911)

After the war the settlement of Kuibi had increased. Approximately 1913 the colonial address book recorded the following inhabitants:

Police Sporn, Herzel, Post Friedhoff, Secretary Wilhelm Kirst, Drilling Inspector Karl Eyth, Geologist Range, Hotel Hansa Bs.C.Bannau, Slaughterhouse Paul Pfeiffer, Store Adrian Anderson , Wilhelm Noack .



Settlement Brackwasser /Konkiep/ Goageb railroad station Km 246



In October 1906, Governor Leutwein stayed overnight at Brackwasser Station on his way to Keetmanshop. His companion, Reichstag Member Dr. Semler reported that there was an officers' post and officers' mess there and that the 6th Battery under Count von Zech was stationed here for a time. At a recovery station, the troops nursed 1800 diseased draught oxen on Brackwasser. The losses of draught oxen along the Baiweg were considerable. There were three wells on Brackwasser. All showed too much hydrogen sulfide, chloride, and ammonia in a laboratory test in December 1906. Hence, probably, the name brackish water.

Probably only with and after the construction of the railroad line a small settlement developed. From October 1907 there was even a post station. The railroad station Brackwasser was located about 40 km south of Bethany on the Baiweg. A steel bridge led

over the Konkiepevier. On some maps the station is also called Konkiep or after the old name of the Konkiep Goageb (Goagib). According to the inscription on postcards from about 1907, the 17th (?) Company was camped on the square. This could not be confirmed even after intensive research, but there are several so labeled old photos. The store in Brackwasser belonged to the merchant Peter Schmidt around 1907. According to the Colonial Address Book, Georg Fath, Hermann Salecker, Georg Sasse, M. Kumleben, J.Schlecker were listed as residents on the site in 1910.



Ca.1908 station house in Brackwasser of the 17th (?) company



ca.1908 horse trough from Brackwasser



Die Werft from Brackwasser ca.1908



17.(?) Kompanie ca.1908



Houses of Brackwasser ca.1908. The Konkieprevier in front



Houses of Brackwasser ca.1908 from the collection of a Schutztruppler (film photo)



Poststation in Brackwasser ca 1907



Map from 1911 section Brackwasser

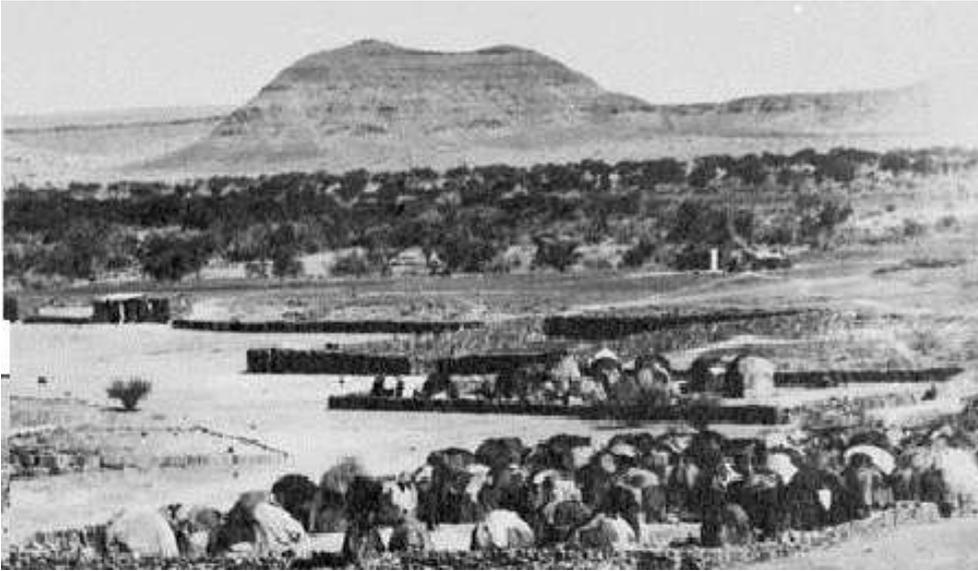


Seeheim settlement

At the crossing of the Fish River a small settlement was established on the quay road. Traders and a werft of workers settled here. Seeheim was located southeast of Bethany and 53 km southwest of Keetmanshoop at the confluence of the Sheep River and the Fish River. The Nama called the place Guaxase !gaos. Here the ox wagons stopped after crossing the Fish River. The space between the two precincts provided water and pasture. The Fish River was sometimes several hundred meters wide, but did not have constant flowing water. Small pools usually held water all year, so fish could thrive here, burrowing into the mud when it dried up until the next rainy season. Catfish, carp and whitefish lived in the river. The terrain provided enough digging water and well water for horticulture and livestock. When the river turned off because it had rained in the north, it was heard long before. The water rolled loudly old branches and stones in front of it. Many a donkey cart and some a flock of sheep that tried to reach the saving shore were swept away when the river broke in a mighty wave.

From the captain of Bethany, Paul Frederiks, the Englishman Charles George Wheeler had bought a piece of land of 6666 ha for 500 pounds around Seeheim on October 28, 1899. This farm was also called Seeheim. Prof. Rehbock reported on his visit in 1897, describing the cultivation of vegetables, cereals and fruit irrigated by a centrifugal pump operated by 2 oxen.... (Travel Pictures from German South West Africa : Th. Rehbock p. 29 Berlin 1898)

After the war, the annual report on the development of the protectorates from 1906 notes **Ferdinand Gessert** as the owner of the farmland Seeheim.



Die Werft von Seeheim



Seeheim Brücke ca.1909

Hotel 1902 (?)



Seeheim Bahnhof ca 1909

Fischfluss bei Seeheim

In 1907, the second section of the Southern Railway was built. Seeheim became a junction of the railroad lines. **Paul Simon Weiss**, who had previously worked at Ohlson's brewery in Lüderitzbucht, recognized the gastronomic potential of the stations. In Aus and Seeheim, he opened inns at the station with accommodations for passengers who had to wait overnight for trains to continue their journey. Weiss also marketed his own brand of cigars which he called "Diamond Finder". The growing need for accommodation prompted Weiss to build the "**Hotel Bellvue**" on the highest ridge above the railroad station.

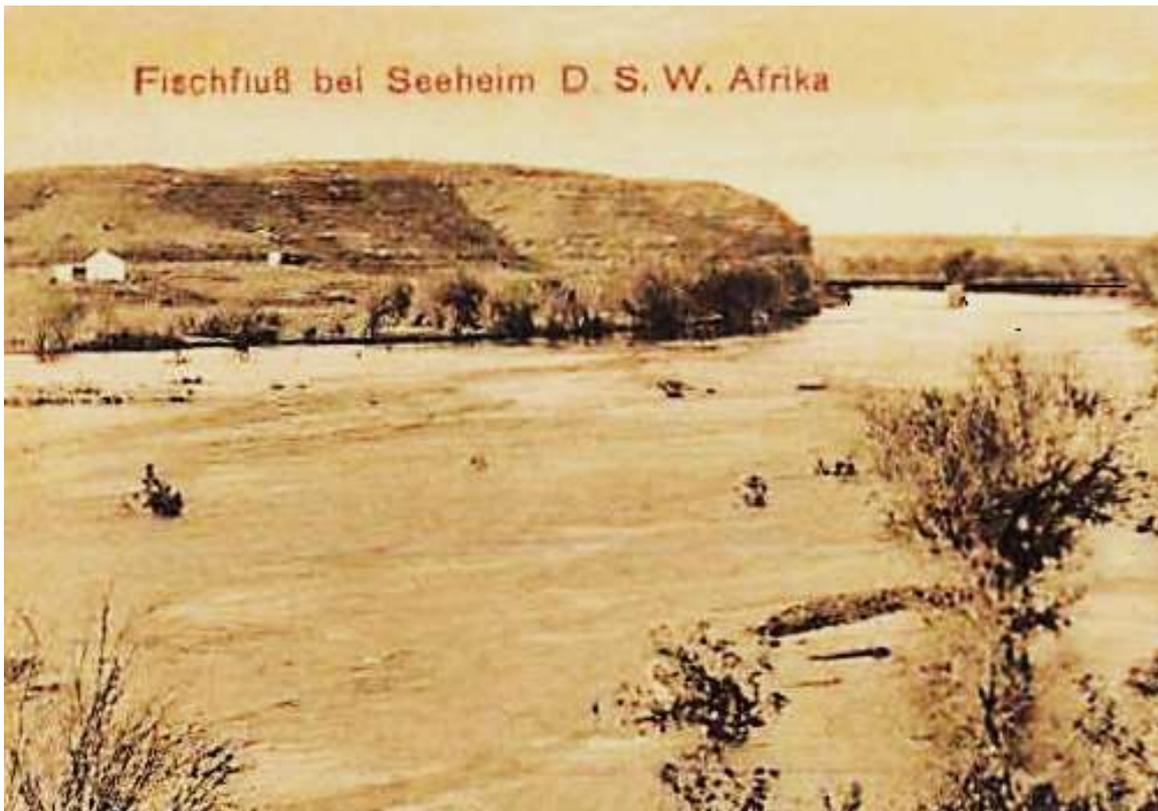
Settlers bought plots of land on the Seeheim site. Several stores were built. Karl Bambers even opened an officially licensed brothel. The authorities were concerned that all too many

soldiers would contract venereal diseases from uncontrolled prostitution. The post office opened in the station building on April 25, 1908. On a side track there was a maintenance house for the railroad. (Sources: Willem F Kotze, Uwe Albert, Colonial Address Books)

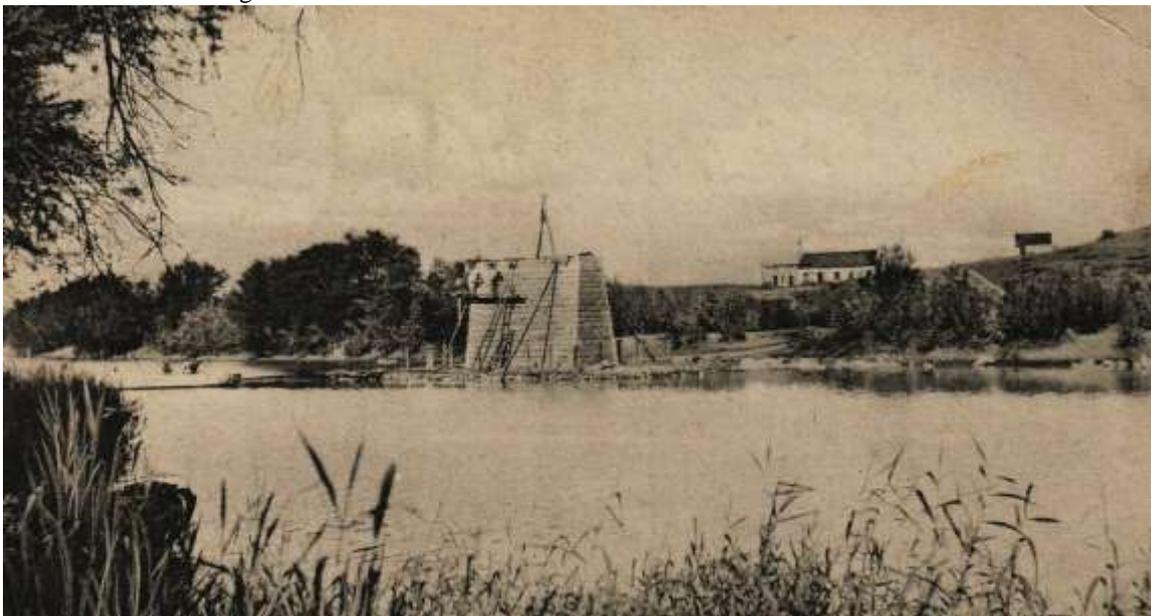


Station-Pub ca.1909





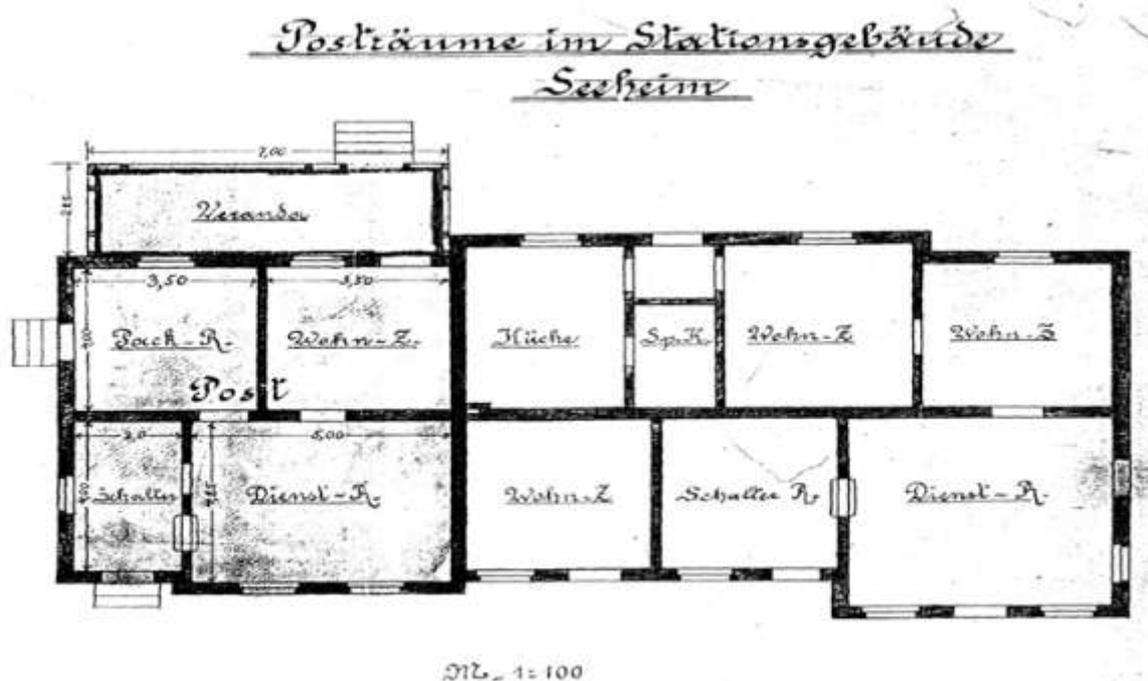
Seeheim with the bridge at Fishrevier ca. 1911



Seeheimbrücke in constuktion ca. 1909



Seeheim bridge ca. 1913



In the northern square "**Schlängenkopf**" on the western side of the Fish River stood a military hospital for coloreds and one for whites". Not far away were two Herero yards. These Herero worked for the railroad construction. But as a rule, workers were also recruited from the Cape, so-called "Cape boys". During the construction phase of the southern railroad around 1910, 180 Schutztruppler and 60 impoverished whites, who mostly worked for the construction company Lenz & Co, lived in Seeheim, which was getting bigger. The company had a total of 2500 colored workers, who built the railroad to the south from 25.02.1910..



Hotel Bellevue in Seeheim



Das Wartungshaus für die Bahnfahrzeuge



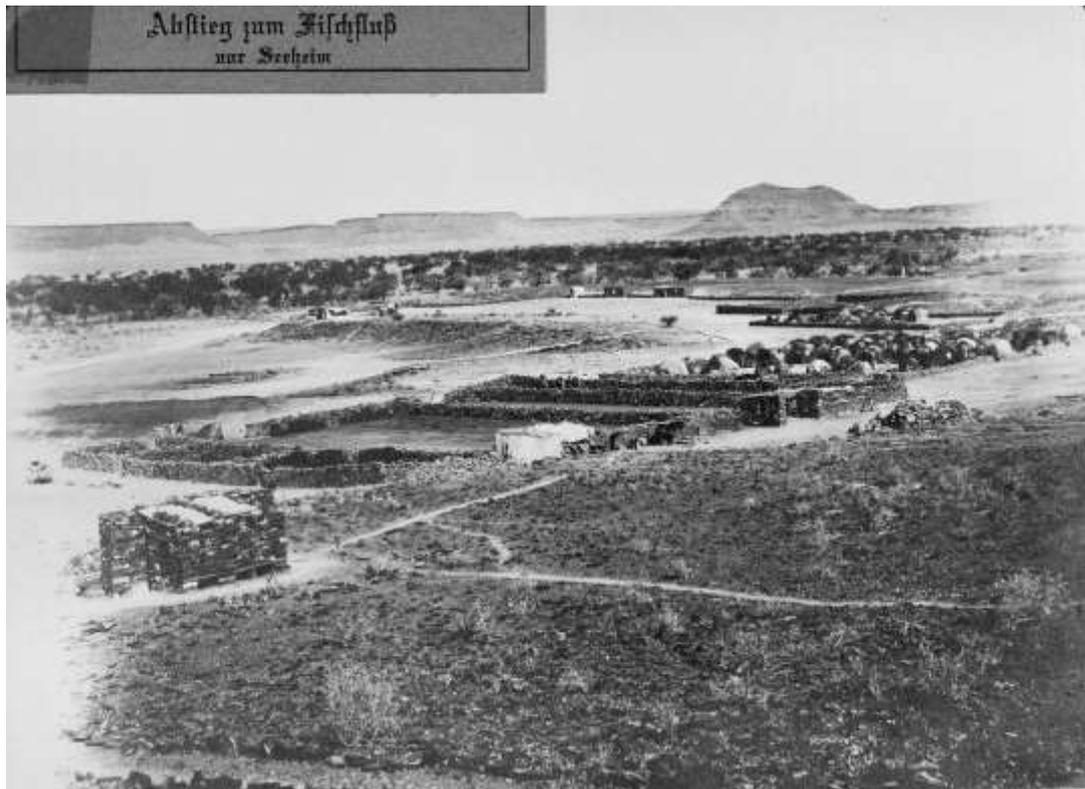
Das erste Haus von Charles Weeler in Seeheim



Ein Store in Seeheim ca. 1930



In 1915 there was a battle in Seeheim with the 5000 South African soldiers under Colonel Deventer near the military station Naiams.



Seeheim ca 1910



from 1911

Map

Chamis Süd 55 Mooifontein Farm 50



Chamis = Löwenquelle 5.Kompanie

On the place Chamis in the north of Bethany, at the Konkieprevier the later so called Rehobother Baster camped already in 1870 until they moved to the Rehobother area. Around 1900, the Schutztruppe expanded a station here. An officers' mess, a blacksmith's shop and other houses were built. Not far from here the Schutztruppe built a fenced cemetery in the middle of which there is a small chapel-like monument made of cemented natural stones. Today the place is called **Mooifontein**. The officer's house is currently the farmhouse of Mooifontein. This house was built before 1904 by Captain Rappard and completed by Captain Wilm in 1909. The Schutztruppers had also trained Namahilftruppen at Chamis under the leadership of Cornelius, who was under the command of Lieutenant Thilo von Trotha. The auxiliary troops changed fronts shortly after their assignment to the Germans at the Waterberg. Von Trotha was initially given the task of securing the road from Chamis to Maltahöhe at the beginning of the uprising. Chamis became an important staging post for the German troops.

From the station leader Rappard it is further known that he fought with the first stage company against Cornelius in early May 1905 at Ganachbrevier with heavy losses and retreated himself with 4 wounded in a stone rattle until his men from Chamis got reinforcements and freed the 4 wounded. (Dt. Kol.Zeitung June 1905). After the war, even before Trenk's expedition, Rappard had crossed the Namib from Bethania via Haib, Awasib Mountains in March 1909 with an expedition and had returned via Lüderitz Bay. (Dt. nat. Blatt 1909)



Officershouse in Camis 1911



A Farmer with two children at Chamis ca 1910



Werft of Chamis ca 1907



The road to Bethany near Chamis ca.1907



The Konkieprevier near Chamis ca.1907



The Read mountain



The signal mountain



Konkieprevier 1908



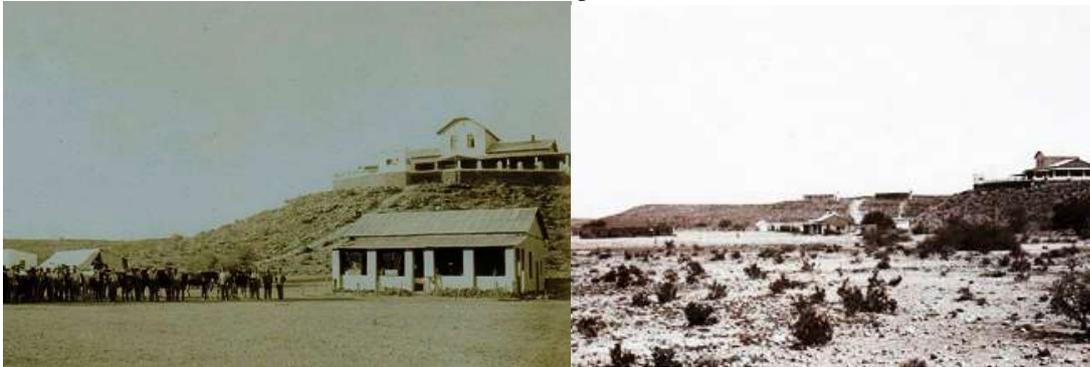
Konkieprevier 1908



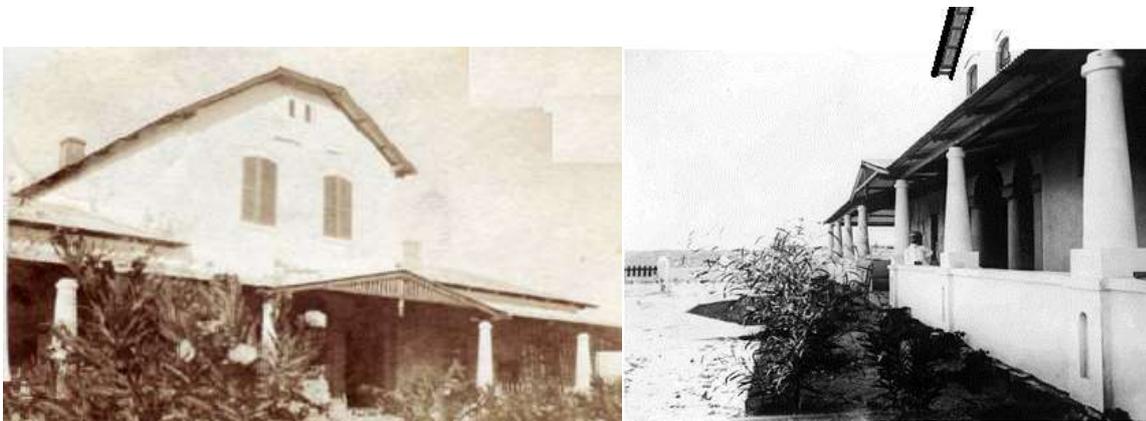


Horseman at a Kokerboom co 1906

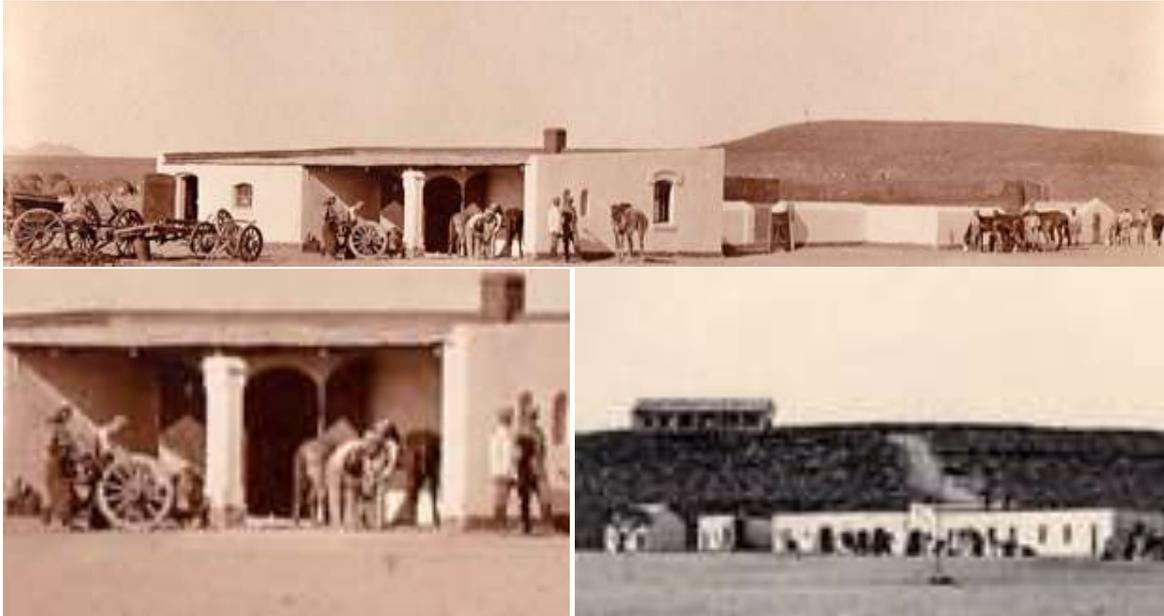
Konkieprevier



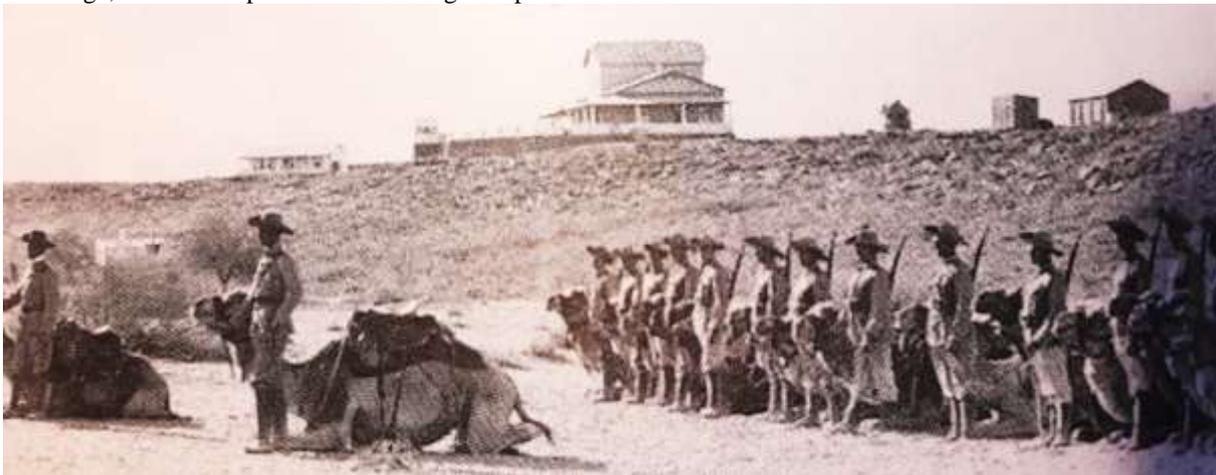
Views of Chamis with the officer's house ca 1908



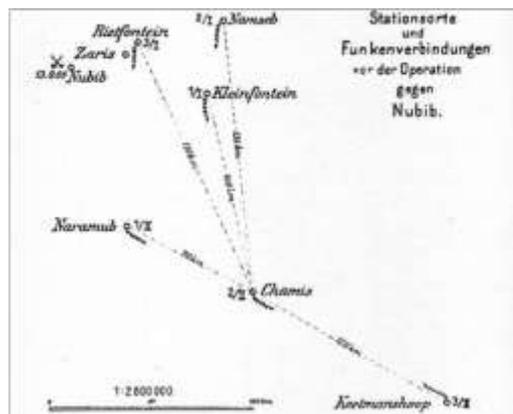
Officershouse of the 5.Kompanie 1912



The forge, In white Captain Willm and right Captain Blumental ca1909



Camels on Chamis with officers house 1909



Signal mountain near Chamis 1912 . From here the Schutztruppen sent their radio messages and heliographic signals to Maltahöhe and Keetmanshoop.



Konkiep 1912

These photos are of quite different, unknown origin taken after 1904 but before 1914. Some were made on glass plates and some on roll film, and some have been digitally colorized in more recent times.



Photos of the sergeant Jukowiak of unknown persons in Chamis





Chamis farmhouse with tame ostriches

Photos of Sergeant Jukowiak



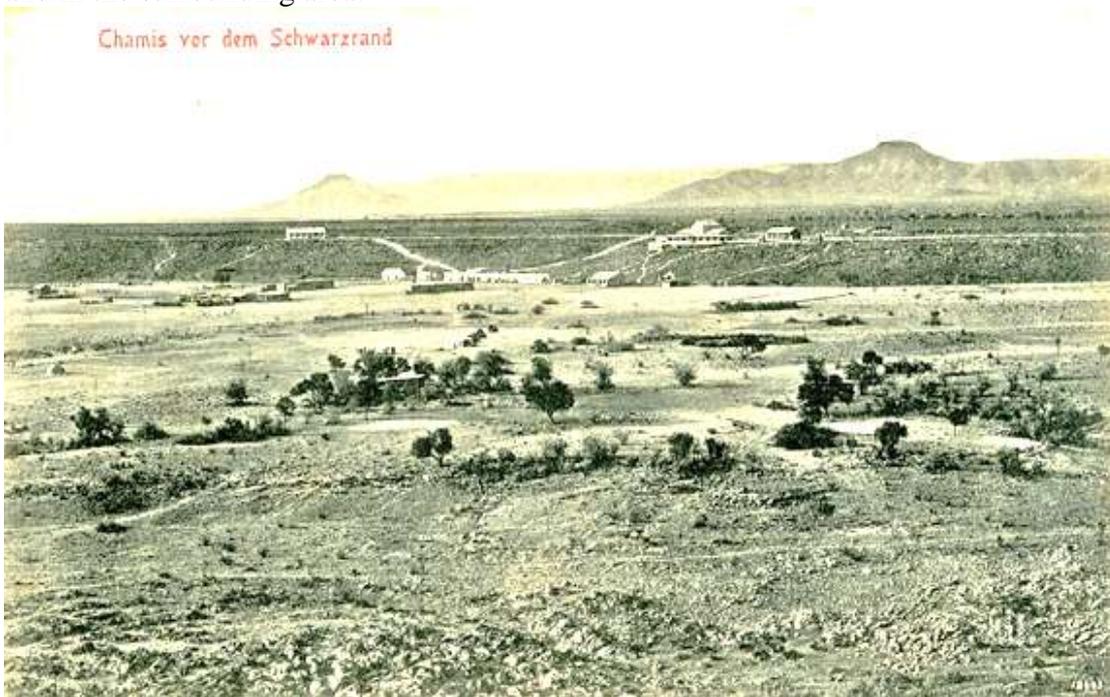
Graves from the heroes' cemetery of the German Schutztruppe.

Konkiep with water

Some photos of Chamis were taken by Sergeant Jukowiak circa 1912, who was a motorman driving one of the few cars in DSWA. In the photos you can see unknown soldiers, policemen and civilians. The houses were probably part of the police station. One photo shows a man, probably Albert Schmidt with a girl and a small boy in the middle of a flock of sheep. The

Chamis farm belonged to farmer Schmidt, who was convicted of accessory to murder in 1917 and shot by the British.

More recently, another collection of postcards from the Anrew Fudge has been published. These photos were not brought into this collection of materials. Fudge was a member of the "Cape Mounted Police" that Chamis administered under martial law in 1915. The South African Union troops plundered the farms and stations. This is presumably how this collection came about. Fudge had probably taken all the postcards that the 5th Company had left here and in the surrounding area.



Unknown persons in Chamis ca 1910.



Map detail from 1911 Helmeringshausen was introduced subsequently



Helmeringshausen

The next place after Bethanien to the north is Helmeringshausen north of Chamis. Hubert Hester born on October 30, 1885 came in 1907 at the age of 22 as a Schutztruppler from Helmeringshausen in the Sauerland west of Kassel. There is traceable evidence that he was stationed in Chamis and had accompanied one of Captain von Rappard's or First Lieutenant Trenk's expeditions through the Namib in 1909. According to the colonial address book, he lived at Farm Kesslersbrunn No.78 in 1912, at Dabis in 1913, at Goais No.13 in 1914, and finally at Helmeringshausen in 1914. A Schutztruppen Traditionsverband dates Hester's purchase of the Helmeringshausen farm to 1913, others say 1918. The 1914 colonial address book lists Hester at Helmeringshausen, suggesting a pre-World War I purchase. The farm is said to have previously been "Browns" or "Brons." In 1914 **Hester** had fought victoriously at Sandford on the Orange against the approaching British and was awarded the Iron Cross for his efforts. His former superior the former Captain von Rappard died as a Major in the same battle. Surprisingly, Hester was not deported after the war. In 1922 Hubert Hester married Hilde Luise née Kaempffer. The owners of the neighboring farm Uitkoms No. 3 were called Kaempffer. To build up Helmeringshausen, Hester often trekked to Bethanien with the ox cart and also brought mail and materials for the neighboring farms. In 1934, Hester built a small hotel on the wharf road and then a small store and gas station for the surrounding farmers. Thus the farm, at the crossroads to the north, gained importance as a central location for the surrounding area. Here in the middle of nowhere, Hester raised Karakul sheep and cattle. With only a few buildings (8) Helmeringshausen was and is the smallest village in Southwest Africa (Namibia). In 1943 a hard blow of fate hit the family 2 times. 2 sons, Hubert Hester and Ulrich Hester died in Europe on different fronts, Italy and Russia, as German soldiers. Presumably they were in Germany at the beginning of the war because of vocational training and were therefore drafted into the army. In 1936 the address books list several craftsmen and employees who had settled in Helmeringshausen. 1929 Oliver Erdmann, 1936 Gebhardt Bruno/ locksmith , Küfer Georg /saddler, Kühland/ employee, Weigel Gustav /carpenter, Paul Wetzold /salesman.



From a list of fallen from 1949



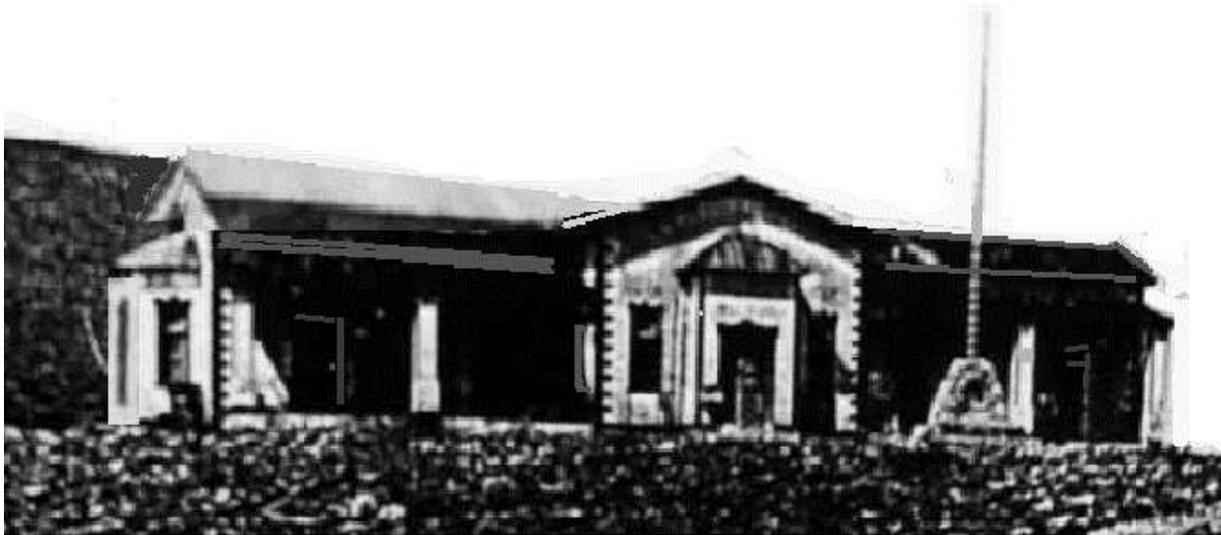
This is supposed to be a photo from Helmeringshausen ca 1930. The Ford still had rims with wooden spokes and was loaded with bales of sheep wool.

Hester is said to have been interned in Koffiefontein/South Africa for 6 years from 1940. After his return, he established a post office on his farm in 1948. Farm meetings and celebrations took place in Helmeringshausen and also first tourists stopped here. On 27.05.1972 Hester died at the age of 87. The graves of Hubert Hester senior and his wife are still on the farm. Today the farm houses a museum of old cars and machinery. In 1971 M.K.Jensen found some stone-worked stones at the north gate east of the road, which he left to the museum in Rehoboth. (Ralf Vogelsang Cologne 1998).

In the further surroundings of Helmeringshausen 12 different Lithops species were found and described by Prof. Cole as No. C077, C079, C080, C164, C184, C186, C191, C192, C211, C247, C248 and C265,



The military station Churutabis Farm No.108



The officers' house ca.1910

After the riots in 1898, Captain Paul Frederiks had to give Churutabis to the German Empire as a punishment for the so-called attempted insurrection. The name means "the place with a lot of water". The Nabas River runs through the northeast of the farm and flows into the Fish River. On the land 5 km to the south, 5 Boers with 29 Namas and some bushmen already operated the farm Tsarachiabis No. 107 in 1901. According to the colonial address book, most of the indigenous population in the south of Bethany had emigrated to South Africa. From Churutabis a difficult road led through the mountains to Sendlingsdrift on the Orange River. The Konkieptal, which had been extensive until then, is narrowed here by the mountains. Thus this place was strategically important, so that the Schutztruppe established a larger station here.

The most important task of the Churutabis station was to defend the south of Bethany in 1905. Cornelius, the Boldelswarts and Morris assembled at the mouth of the Konkiep on 02.07.05. Several battles took place. On 05.05.1906 there was a bigger battle at the eastern Gawachabrevier. Two fallen troopers from this battle were buried on Churutabis. Two Schutztruppler (von Reese, Buchal) were shot during a patrol on 29.10.1905 in the Chamchawibrevier. (Source: "The Hottentot War" p.118ff ,316ff 1907 Berlin)

After the war the animal researcher Adolf Fischer was in Churutabis for a short time in 1908 (Source: Adolf Fischer 1914 Stuttgart Menschen und Tiere in DSWA) . The Huns Mountains seemed to him unsuitable for farming because of the drought. Fischer mentions Paterson's writings of 1779 and those of Barrow in 1798, which had reported "Bushmen" north of Oranjemund. Accompanying these bushmen were little domesticated Kaffir dogs that still hunted game entirely of their own accord and then returned to their bushman clan. Near Churutabis Adolf Fischer found old bushman drawings of dogs and wild animals in the mountains.

In the Jahrbuch der deutschen Kolonien (Yearbook of the German Colonies) Dr. Max Eckert described in 1911 that in the southern Hunsberg bushmen (real San) had retreated from the

Namas. They would have, except the weapons with the Bushmen of the Namib nothing in common. The explorers at this time wanted to make clear that the Namib Bushmen were a mixture of Nama and other tribes and were different from the San of the Kalahari and on the Orange.

In 1910, the large officers' building with many smaller outbuildings, the blacksmith's shop, the bathhouse, camel stables, horse stables, gardens and crew dwellings, which were under construction, stood on Churutabi's site. The cemetery was located a little bit aside. At that time, the 3rd and 4th Machine Gun Platoon and parts of the 5th Company were camped in Churutabis. The structure of this military installation was similar to that of Chamis. Water could be pumped with windmills from a few meters deep to fill watering troughs for the animals and irrigation systems for the gardens.

In the cemetery still today lie the graves of: Cemetery Karl Butow gest.05.03.03 near Feldschuhhorn , Johann Simiantkowski gef. 27.07.06 near Churutabis during a patrol ride, G.Weiss gef.05.05.1906 near Gawachab, Fr,Dorsch gef.05.05.1906 near Gawachab, H.Hubrig 05.05.1906 near Gawachab. Gawachab is located 50 km east of Churutabis at the lion district..



Churutabis ca.1910

Sources : Koloniale Sammlung der Uni Bremen, Allgemeine Zeitung 19.08.1998.

hannelie@churutabis.com Rheeder JOHANNA <http://www.churutabis.com/>

Map of Bethany





Farms in the Bethany area

Now follow short descriptions and histories of various farms in the Bethany area with a small sketch of the location at the beginning. The material comes from the Colonial Address Books, the Colonial Collections of the University of Frankfurt and Bremen and small publications. Since this collection of material about Bethany will be expanded from time to time, the reader is asked to send further information and reviews to the editors. zahnarzt.muehlbach@gmx.net



Farm **Inachab** owner **Ferdinand Gessert**

Ferdinand Gessert, (12 July 1870 Wuppertal -5 May 1953 Keetmanshoop) had studied physics in Berlin. His father, who was very interested in the German colonies, was named Theodor Gessert and lived in Wiesbaden. Theodor and Ferdinand Gessert wrote articles on the agricultural promotion of DSWA. In 1894 Ferdinand emigrated to DSWA and after some searching intended to buy the farm Inachab. In 1895 he first spent a year studying hydraulic

engineering in Egypt on the Nile. Through the mediation of the missionary Heinrich the contract of sale came about. All councilmen and the captain Paul Frederiks signed. The district chief Baron von Stempel and Governor Leutwein also approved the deal. The farm Inachab (!nachab) was located 80 km south of Bethany on the Nugani border and had with 50000 ha, the extent that Gessert could ride around in one day with his horse. (Source: son Ferdinand junior Gessert). By 1901, Ferdinand Gessert had built 16 dams and 4 wells on Inachab. The wells were located within the farm at Poufontein, Kunab, Kouchab, Oriameb, Onarwib. As early as 1896, he published ideas on water management in DSWA in colonial and scientific journals.

The hydraulic engineering expert Professor Theodor Rehbock visited the Inachab farm during his expedition in 1897 and described how the young Gessert used the Nuganib district to irrigate fields. (Reisebilder aus Deutsch-Süd-West-Afrika : Th. Rehbock Berlin 1898 p.30)

Remarkably, he fenced the farm in 1901, unlike most other farms. Ferdinand raised cattle, horses, Merion, Angora, fat-tailed sheep on Inachab and grew wheat, barley, oats, kaffir seed, sunflowers, melons, vines, tobacco and more. With horticulturist Kurt Dinter, Gessert experimented on crops. Prosopis seeds, eucalyptus seeds, salt bush seeds from Australia, cactus leaves from Mexico, and date seeds from Algeria. Ferdinand built his first house on the farm out of stones above the well where he lived for the first few years. The farm had 60 employees. Baster, Nama, Damara, Bushmen, later also Ovambo and Herero. In 1901, his workers received 1 Reichsmark per day and food, as usual. Gessert also traveled through South Africa in order to find out how to achieve high-yield harvests in the driest soil. The country, crisscrossed by the Konkiep and its tributary areas, offered many opportunities, as groundwater was usually encountered at a depth of 5 meters. Unfortunately, this water was often brackish. In October 1906, Gessert met Congressman Dr. Semler who was on his way to Keetmanshop in the entourage of Governor Leutwein. Gessert expressed that he wanted to rebuild his agricultural fields despite the devastation caused by the war situation. He was a great supporter of the southern railroad, since only with it the transport of sheep wool, according to his calculation, to the port of Lüderitzbucht was worthwhile.



The land purchases of Ferdinand Gessert extended over a large piece of the south of Bethany. Around 1896 Ferdinand Gessert bought the farm Wittpütz (Waldsee No. 91 ?) at Konkiep with 1200 ha and a house, well, dam and a garden. In 1901 Ferdinand also bought the square Sandverhaar through which the Bayweg and later the railroad passed. The central place Sandverhaar became his domicile. This farm had a house with several rooms, a garden plantation of 1250 square meters with vegetables, vines and prickly pears. The water came from a well and a dam. The farm was bordered to the east by the Kanas district, also called the Nugani district, and to the west by the Guri district. Furthermore, before 1908 Gessert bought the dry farm Feldschuhhorn at the railroad tracks of the southern railroad with 8000 ha. On the site there was a dam but no house. The land was conveniently located for him on the eastern boundary of Sandverhaar. Ferdinand had also bought the farm land along the southern railroad from Seeheim and from Schlangenkopf, which in turn was adjacent to Feldschuhhorn. Ferdinand Gessert married Hewig Block on Jan. 29, 1909. In 1913 Gessert was elected as a district administrator. The bids for the land register entries of his farms

Sandverhaar, Seeheim -West, Seeheim-East and a property with 0,97 Ha on the place Seeheim, took place in 1914.

It is astonishing that Gessert could acquire so much land and got it approved although most farmers had trouble to get more than 10,000 Ha approved. Probably the administration was more interested in the utilization of the land for agriculture and therefore gave him a free hand. Gessert had already shown in 1903 that large areas could be cultivated with retention dams and sprinkler systems. In his analysis " 1910 Southwest Africa as a future destination of mass immigration" Gessert pointed out the too pessemistic assessment of arable farming. He calculated in detail that much more money could be made with arable farming than with cattle breeding with the same land use. As a result, there were a lot of critics. (German Colonial Gazette 1910 No.33)

Stationmaster Bernhardt about Gessert. (abbreviated and comentated)

In April 1895, Ferdinand Gessert entered the station house at Grootfontein-South (near Maltahöhe) and spoke with stationmaster Bernhardt. Gessert reported that he was from Kassel and was traveling to Windhoek to settle his affairs. He had received 300000 marks from his father and was in the process of buying 21 farms. He criticized the Schutztruppe, which was only there, as he put it, to eat ox meat. Bernhardt, a Schutztruppe member, resented this condescending attitude. Bernhardt reported this conversation to the district office in Gibeon.

On his way back from Windhoek, Ferdinand Gessert passed through Gibeon. There his horses were examined by the sergeants there. The backs of the animals were festered. The Gibeon station then confiscated the horses and Gessert had to pay a fine for mistreating the animals. Weeks later, a transport of oxen from Gessert passed through Grootfontein-South. Berhardt shot a sick animal and upon post-mortem examination found pneumonic disease. Gessert's animals were then quarantined at the Plattfontein farm and vaccinated by a baster. After the legal period expired, Ida Meierfeld, Gessert's housekeeper, collected the cattle. Bernhardt reports that she had had enough of her mistress life with Gessert and of her intention now to buy her own farm. She obviously made advances to him which he did not return.

It is interesting that Bernhardt mentioned Gessert so negatively in his transcripts in 1940, 40 years after the events, especially since he even became a district administrator and was very respected.



Farm Seeheim Ferdinand Gessert Nr.84

Seeheim. Tabakfarm. 2 Engländer.
 Die Pflanzung von Mr. Wheeler ist in dem breiten Thale des mit prächtigen Uferwäldern gesäumten Fischflusses dort, wo der Schafflufs einmündet, gelegen. Der Boden, durchlässiges, humusreiches Schwemmland, ist vorzüglich, auch die Luft besitzt einen genügenden Feuchtigkeitsgrad, eine Frostgefahr scheint nicht vorzuliegen, so dafs alle Bedingungen für einen erfolgreichen Tabaksbau gegeben sind. Gewöhnlicher Tabak wird im Lande mit 4,50 M. fürs Pfund bezahlt.

From the Kolonialen Adressbuch ca.1900

Even before German colonization in 1884, Charles George Wheeler, an Englishman from Cape Town, sold arms and alcohol to the Nama in Bethanierland in the 1880s. From Captain Paul Frederiks he bought a piece of land of 6666 hectares for 500 pounds on October 28, 1899. Presumably Wheeler had an agreement with the Bethanier captain before 1897, since Prof. Rehbock already reported about the initial plantation arrangements. (Reisebilder aus Deutsch-Süd-West-Afrika : Th. Rehbock p. 29 Berlin 1898)

This land was called Seeheim and was located southeast of Bethany and and 53 km southwest of Keetmanshoop at the mouth of the Sheep River into the Fish River, directly on the Bayweg. The Nama called the place Guaxase !gaos. Wheeler ran a tobacco plantation there. A pound of tobacco cost 4.50 M at that time. In 1898, 15 Schutztruppler set up a military station on the Seeheim site to protect the bayweg and the waterhole.

After the war in 1906 and 1907, Ferdinand Gessert is listed as the owner of Seeheim's 6666 ha of farmland in the annual report on the development of the protected areas. As previous owners are written in the report, Paul Grützbach and Weehler-Bethanierstamm. So obviously the trader Wheeler had sold this farm to Grützbach and he to Gessert.

Seeheim (Farmteil am rechten Fischflußufer)	Ferdinand Gessert	—	a) Paul Grützbach b) Wheeler-Bethanierstamm	6 666
Heiragabis Nabas	Katholische Mission	—	v) vonoeizwartsstamm a) Ch. G. W. Wheeler b) Bondelzwartsstamm	angeblich 180 000

Ferdinand Gessert continued to expand the Seeheim plantations and operated mechanical pumps to bring water from the river to the fields. As a result, mosquitoes multiplied and several workers became ill with malaria.



Farmhaus von Gessert in Seeheim



Farm Sandverhaar Nr 79 Km 272

The farm was operated by 25 Transvaal Boers in 1901 and had 70 colored farm workers. It was located about 50 km southeast of Bethany on the Sandvehaar district in a valley basin of the Gurib.

Inscribed in the colonial address book were: carter and cattle breeder Hite 1901, Ferdinand Gessert 1908, lime works 1913 Georg Köttger.

On the Baiweg there was the British carter and cattle breeder Mr. Hite in 1901. He probably sold the farm to Ferdinand Gessert in 1906. The lime works on the site was built before 1900 probably by Mr. Sandberg.

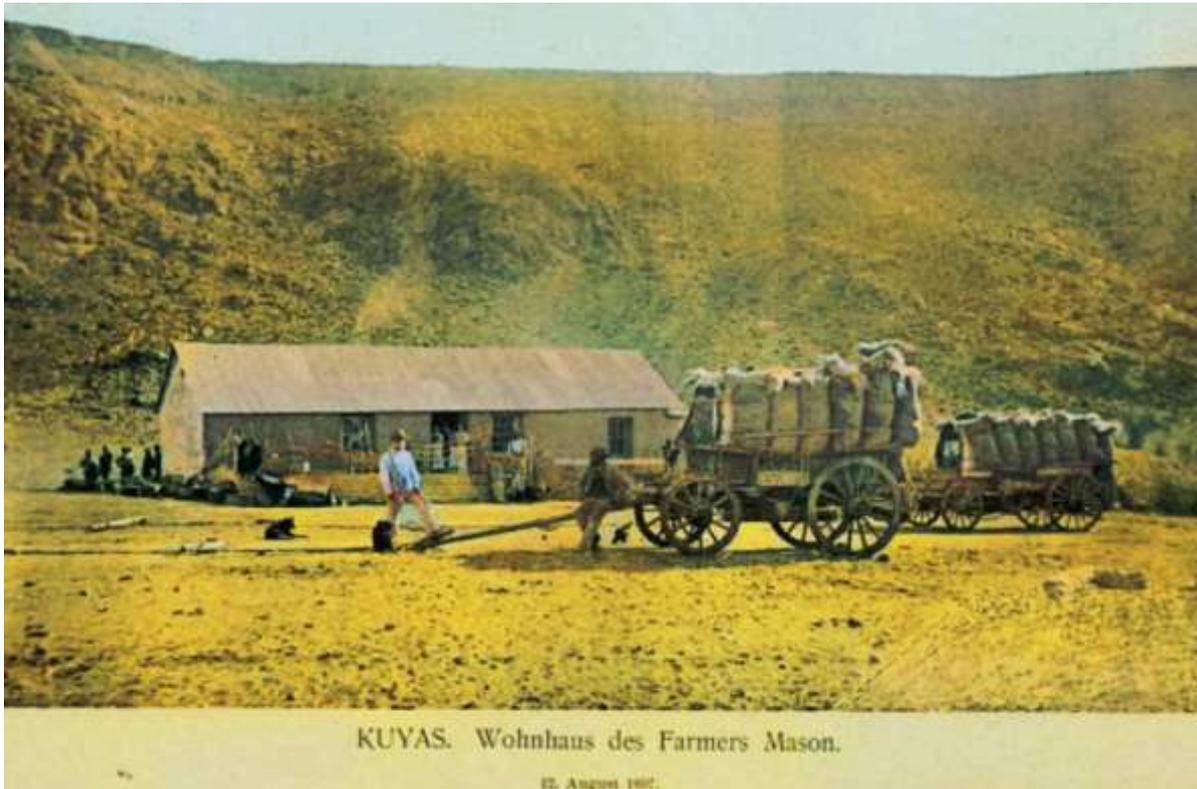
In 1906 the laboratory in Windhoek examined the quality of the 3 wells and found only the water of the 20 meter deep private well to be drinkable while the two 10 meter deep government wells had too much salt chlorine and amióniac.

A railroad station was built on Sandverhaar in 1908. 60 meters from the station stood the big water tank for filling the locomotives. 2 steam engines pumped the water from wells in the district.



Farm Kunjas Nr.14 (Kunyas)

The farm is located on the southern boundary of Helmeringshausen, where the English merchant John Robert Mason had his stone house since about 1870 in 1885. The mine operator Sinclair had wells dug here many years before and raised over 1000 head of cattle. In 1897, Prof. Roebuck came over the farm. The farm was operated by Mason's son about 1908..



12.08.1897 Kunjas photo prof. roebuck Two ox carts loaded with wool on the way to Lüderitzbucht.

Haus aus ungebrannten Backsteinen (mit mehreren Zimmern)	Gartenbaubetrieb, 2025 qm, Wein, Feigen, Mais, mehrere Gemüse- arten	1 Brunnen mit Baggerpumpe
---	--	---------------------------

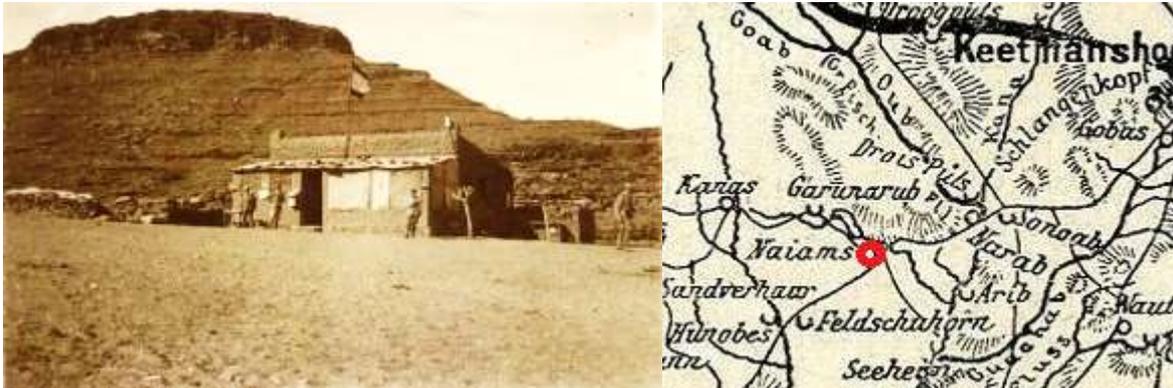


Farm Goeis Nr.13

The farm north of Bethany on the western border of Helmeringshausen with gardens and pasture land belonged (ca.1900 ?) to an Englishman. On the farm lived 40 Baster and Nama employees



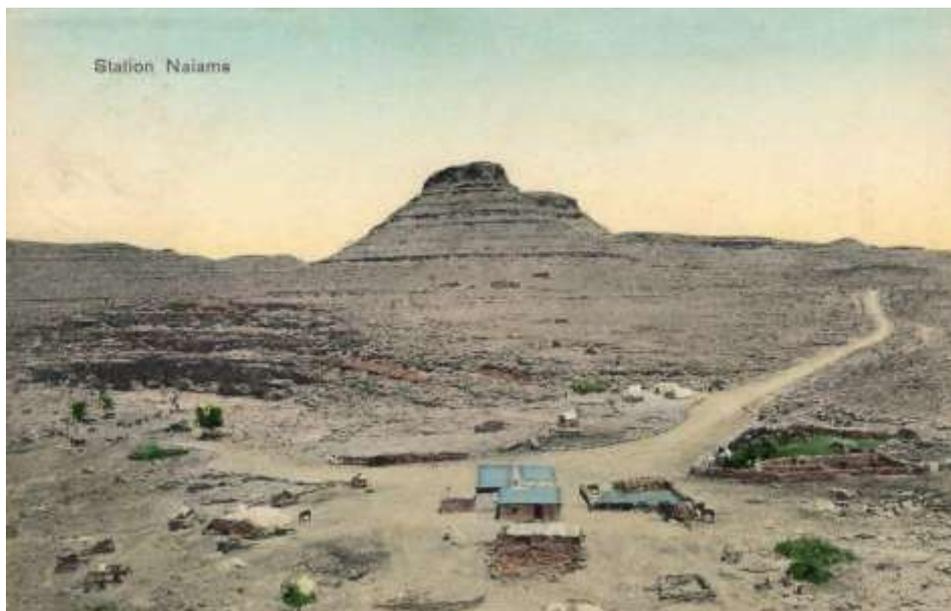
Farm Naiams (Nai-Ams)



Polizeistation „Fort Naiams“ ca 1910 (Wiki)

The Naiamsrevier, which flows into the Fish River not far from here, gave the farm its name. In 1908 Paul Grützbach owned the farm and operated a store there. The Baiweg here led through the Garomarub Gorge (Garunarub), infamous during the Hotetotten War, to the Fish River. The gorge was so feared because snipers could hide ideally on the rocky slopes. Near the well, a group of 15 protection troopers had built a small garrison fort of natural stones to protect the waterhole in 1898. Large walls made of stones protected the garden and the cattle kraal next to the buildings. The remains are still visible today on the national road B4 $\delta 26^{\circ} 48' 59''$ S, $17^{\circ} 47' 53''$ E. Next to the fort are two graves of Rudolf Honig born in 1880 in East Prussia and died 12 .08. 1906 and Dauve Voss born in 1884 and died 21.07.1906.

On 12.09.1906 the rider Rosenberger was wounded in a skirmish near Naiams.

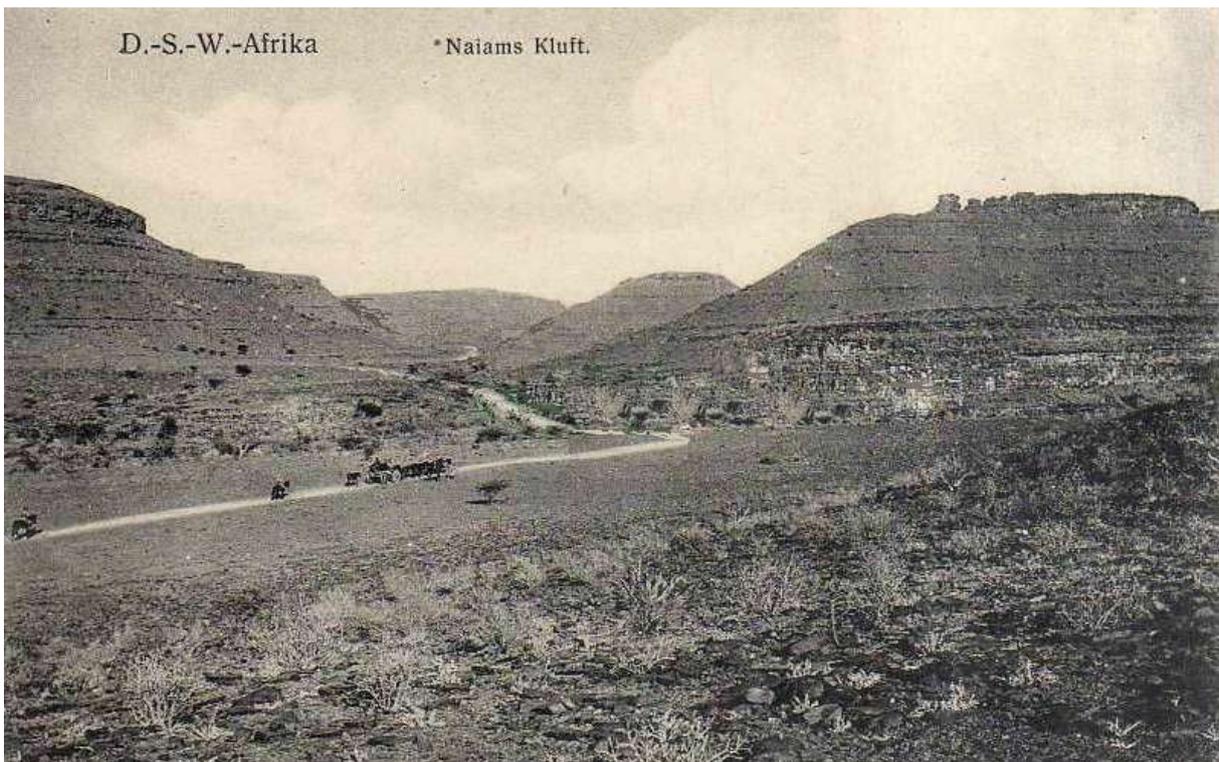


Colored postcard ca.1905

In Naiams many ox carts were resting before 1905 (center right). The unharnessed oxen were grazing in the precinct on the left of the picture while the horses were being cared for in the steinkraal on the right. Besides the three main buildings there were several outbuildings.



The fort with outbuildings, kraal and ox carts. Ca.1907



The way near Naiams ca.1907



NAIAMS. Wasserstelle im Tafelgebirge.

21. Juli 1897.

Naiams 21.08.1997 Foto Prof. Rehbock



Naiams graves



Farm Schlangenkopf Slangkopp

In April 1899, the merchant Wheeler purchased 1000 ha of land on the Fish River, 10 km north of Seeheim, from Captain Jonathan Tseib. With it the captain paid debts he had with Wheeler. This place was called "Snakehead" because of the peculiar cone mountain. The Namas called the place "Sonuwap". The water from the 16-meter deep well near the station was of drinking quality and, according to the report of a laboratory test, accumulated 1.8 meters in the well. The railroad had a station there and the store operated in 1909 W. Kramer.



Station Schlangenkopf ca. 1905



Station Schlangenkopf ca. 1905

Reichstag Representative **Semler** reported in November 1906 that a Burish farmer named Colimann was operating a store at Snake's Head. Colimann kept 160 cattle and 320 sheep under the protection of the station. He intended to purchase a tract of land at the site for a farm after the war. Still on 02.12.1906 Namarebellen were observed on the place before the passage of mission inspector Spieker.



Station Schlangenkopf ca. 1905

Below "Slangkop" the Germans had stationed a number of troops about 1906. There was a heliograph station on the hill. The small barracks was later used as a residence by a Mr. Erens Schneidman. (Stals ELP, 2009). Also this land bought Gessert, probably in 1907.

Farm Waldsee



ca. 1900 the farm at Konkiep was possibly called Pavianskranz. It was run around 1900 by a German 4 Boers and 30 colored employees. The farm is located south of Bethany and 30 km from Inachab. The farm was bought by Gessert in 1906.

Farm Tsarachaibis (Zarachaibis) Nr.107



According to the colonial address book in 1900 on the remote land 4 Boers 20 Nama and Bushmen lived 30 km south of Inachab. There, in the Konkieptal there was good garden soil. Most of the Nama had emigrated to South Africa as laborers. From this farm it was not far over mountainous ways to the Oranje where further Boer and Baster farms were.

Expansion of the Southern Railway and Railway Stations

Nowadays the former railroad construction of the Southern Railway from Lüderitzbucht to Keetmanshoop is an Eldorado of stamp collectors and railroad historians. The editors refer readers interested in this topic to the excellent websites of **Peter Vogenbeck** and **Uwe Albert**.

Link: <https://www.petervogenbeck.de/KolonialEisenbahnen/DSWA/Suedbahn/index.php?offset=13>

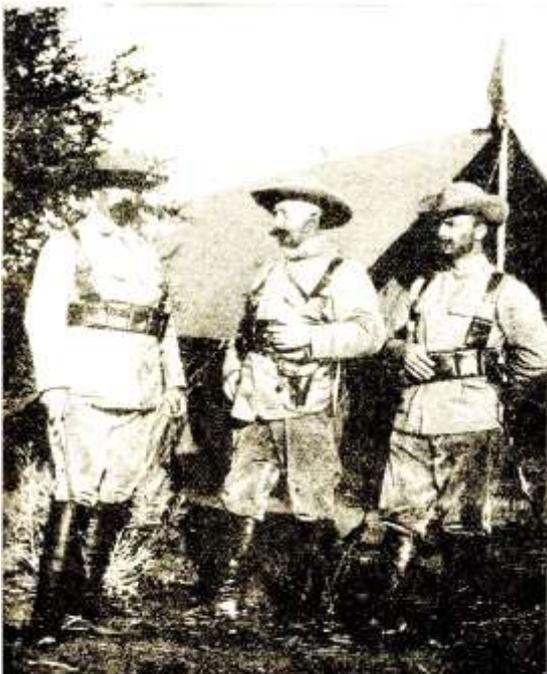


Departure of the train from Lüderitzbucht.



Lüderitz Bay ca 1908

Lüderitzbucht consisted until 1904 only of 4 wooden houses, the landing stage with steam crane and the water condenser. This changed abruptly by the troop transports around 1905 to Lüderitzbucht. With the construction of the railroad, stores and trading posts and several private houses were built.



Eisenbahn-Ingenieure auf der Reise nach dem Innern von Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika zwecks Ausbau der neu beschlossenen Bahnstrecke Lüderitzbucht-Kaobab.



Engineers of the Southern Railway 1905

Commentary on the Southern Railway 1905



Original 1905 plan of railroad route over Bethany in black. Final route via Sandverhaar and Seeheim in red.

In 1905, the concerns of the Chief of Railway Regiment I, Lieutenant Colonel Gerding on the subject of shifting sand dunes from Lüderitzbucht to Aus (Colonial Journal 1905) were ignored and the section Lüderitzbucht to Kubub demanded by the troop commander Throtha was approved on December 15, 1905. On a trial basis, the shifting sand dunes were planted with beach grass at kilometer 22. On 27.12.1905, construction of the railroad line began at Lüderitzbucht and reached Aus station after 7 months of construction. At the same time 27.04.1906 the separation of the district Lüderitzbucht took place. A land area of 20 geographical miles from the Maltahöhe district to the Orange River. On 12.03.1907 the German Reich approved the construction of the second section to Keetmanshoop. Surprisingly, one deviated clearly from the originally planned route and built the railroad road not via Bethanien but via Sandverhaar and Seeheim. They wanted to save costs and the village of Bethanien was not ideally located on the route from Aus to Keetmanshoop.

The "non-inclusion" of Bethanien weakened the importance of the Bethanien location, especially since after the death of Captain Cornelius Frederiks in 1907, the tribe of the original Bethanians also ceased to exist. The former Bethanians dwindled to a small cluster due to the war and the conditions in the prison camp at Lüderitzbucht.

The opening of the railroad stations took place: Lüderitzbucht 20.03.06, Grasplatz 30.05.06, Rotkuppe 11.7.06, Tschaukaib 23.08.06, Garub 30.9.06, Aus 13.09.06. After contractually agreed seven months the first railroad section, through the desert from Lüderitz to Aus opened its service on 01.11.1906. Troops and supplies were now transported across the desert in the shortest possible time.



Bau der Südbahn 1905

The first part of the railroad line leads 140 km through shifting sand dunes and desert via Kolmanskuppe, Rotkuppe, Tschaukaib to Gorab and then on 38 km 700 meters altitude up to

Aus. In 1906, there was a water transport wagon on the siding at Tschaukaib with water from the Lüderitzbucht condenser. There, the locomotives had to be refueled with 150 cubic meters of water. In October 1906, Dr. Johannes Semler, a member of the Reichstag, accompanied Governor Leutwein on his trip to Lüderitzbucht and on to Aus by rail. The occasion was the opening of the first section of the railroad line. (Source: "My Observations in South West Africa" Dr.J.Semmler1906)



Tschaukaib ca. 1907

Railroad station Garub Km. 104 Altitude: 767m



The station was opened on 13.09.1906. Mr. Kleist and Mr. Jochen were the station masters in 1909.

Garub means tiger mountain. Others say Leopard Mountain. The place offered the first bushes and grass after the waterless way through the desert at "**Dicken Wilhelm**", an inselberg. It was a blessing when water was discovered nearby in 1908 with a 70 meter deep borehole. However, the water had to be transported several kilometers from the spring to the railroad line by a narrow-gauge railroad. Due to this productive spring, a small settlement was established in 1908 on the place called Garub. Passengers could get food and drinks in Garub. The Lubowski family even bottled their own water in their mineral water factory-Garub, which they advertised in Kubub as "**fresh Garub water**". In 1915 a post office opened in Garub. From Garub began the difficult climb with over 700 meters of altitude to Aus, 37 km away.



“Fresh garub water with extra wagon arrived today”

Garub was also declared a diamond sanctuary after the discovery of diamonds on 10.04.1908. No one was allowed to enter the area outside the station without permission except for 30 meters to the right and left of the tracks. Many abentheurs therefore searched this strip. During the war, in 1915, the Schutztruppe blew up the station house and watering hole and retreated to Aus ahead of the Union troops. However, the British re-drilled the borehole in the same place and repaired the tracks. Garub developed into a staging camp with 10000 South African Union soldiers.



Transportation of drilling equipment to Garub ca. 1915

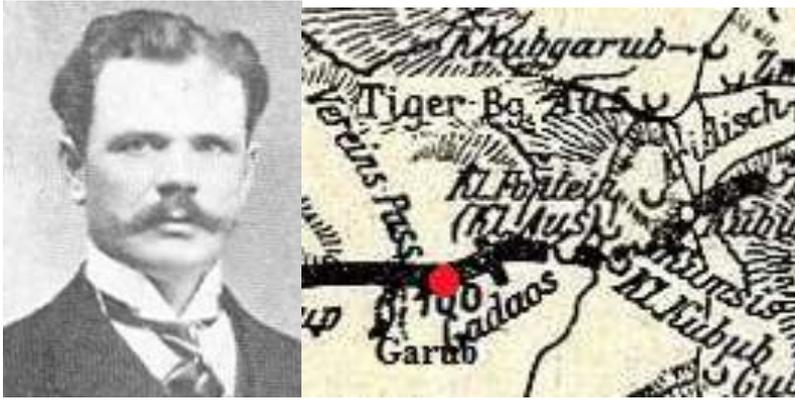


Garub ca. 1914

Wildhorses of Garub.



Emil Kreplin, later mayor of Lüderitzbucht, came to DSWA as a Schutztrupper in 1894. In 1908, he worked as the supervisor of August Strauch, who found the first diamonds at Kolmanskop. Kreplin also entered the diamond business and became a co-founder of the Charlottentahl Diamond Company. He bought a farm 30 km south of Aus on the land of Kubub to breed Arabian horses. The present wild horses of Garub are said to have been runaway horses from this stud farm. According to another theory, 1700 horses of the Union troops escaped during the bombing raids by German planes on Garub in 1915, and over time they ran wild. The third theory, that the horses came from Duwisib near Maltahöhe, has since been rejected. In 1920 these feral horses, which multiplied almost undisturbed in the diamond reserve, were mentioned in writing for the first time. The Garub borehole was the only watering place for these horses. Thirst and spotted hyenas have been their biggest enemies for 100 years.



Kreplin and his horse breeding on Kubub ca. 1914



Railroad station Aus Km.140 altitude:1495 m

Aus was at the end of the 19th century an only temporarily inhabited pasture on the Baiweg. The name Aus is said to mean "big snake" in the Nama language. Before 1906, the last water source for the ox wagons on the way to Lüderitzbucht was located here. From Aus began the 140 kilometer long dry stretch through the sandy desert after the descent from the Huib plateau.

The railroad station opened on 01.11.1906. At that time there were other huts and work sheds of the railroad construction company Lenz & Co at the site besides the railroad and post station. A second well was under construction in 1906. At that time it was still a 3.5 hour ride from Aus to the military station Kubub where in 1906 the farmer Klinghardt lived. Aus developed by leaps and bounds into a small settlement due to the construction of the railroad.



Aus ca 1909.

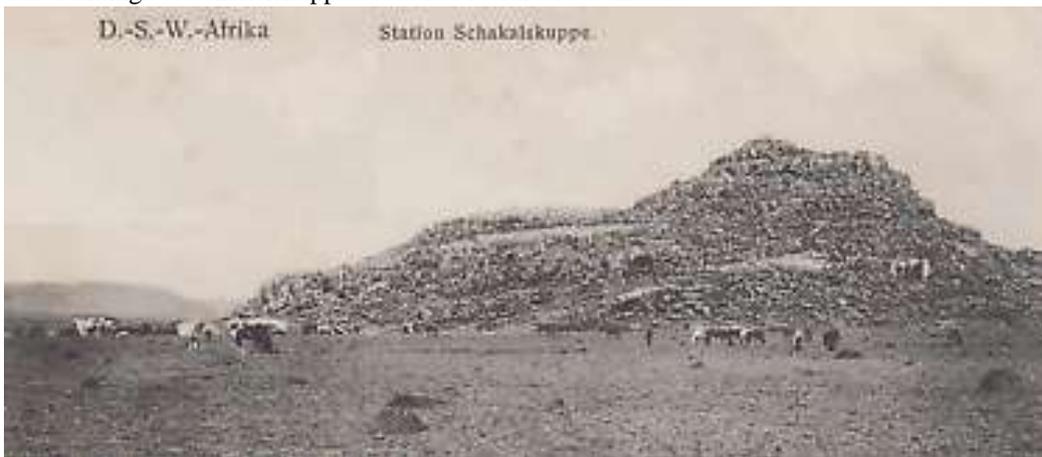


Railwaystation Schakalskuppe Km.172

From Aus to the next water point, to the well of Kuibis in the east, it was 65 kilometers. The way led over the Jackal's Hill and the farm Doorns. On 17.06.1907 the railroad station Schakalskuppe was opened. In the years 1909, 1913 Mr. Vollmer is listed in the colonial address books as station assistant.



The buildings of Schakalskuppe about 1914 with an automobile



Schakalskuppe ca. 1907



The railroad station Schakalskuppe ca. 1914



Railroad station Kuibis Km. 206

On 20.07.07 the railroad station was opened in Kuibis. A small village with stores was built around the railroad station. The farm was called Gross Kuibis with the number 100.



Railroad station Kuibis



Railroad station Buchholzbrunn Km. 236 Farm No. 142

Buchholzbrunn station opened on 15.09.1907. Colonial Councillor Dernburg, who directed the political fortunes of the colony DSWA from Germany visited the station in 1908. Also here a settlement was established. In 1910 Felix Güttler had a store at the place. Approximately 1913 there was a tannery and wool laundry. Albert Seifert operated a farm on the surrounding land.



Buchholzbrunn with the secretary of state Dernburg 1908.



Railroad station Brackwasser /Goageb /Konkiep Km 246

The police station Brackwasser housed an officer's post. This one was especially beautifully built with a wide view from the terrace. There was a railroad station, the officers' mess and a telegraph station from 1908. A steel bridge crossed the Konkieprevier. On some maps the station is named as Konkiep or after the precinct Goageb. The water for the station came from 3 wells.



Railroadstation Brackwasser



Railroad station Simplon Km. 261

The Bayweg diverged here shortly after Brackwasser in 1906 from the railroad track northeast across the farms of Kesslersbrunn, Kanas, Naiams and led through the Garumarub revier to Snakehead and to the Fish River. There were military stations at nearby Kesslersbrunn and Niams in 1906.

The farm and Simplon station are not shown on the 1905 map or in the 1909 address book. The railroad station was also named Gurieb after the precinct that the railroad line crossed from north to south. The abundance of camel thorn wood and the high quality limestone on site were ideal for the lime works that Georg Köttger built in 1909. The decisive factor for the establishment of the railroad station was the transport of the lime burned there. Köttger also operated the old lime kiln in Kuganis on Sandverhaar. This is said to have been built by Mr. Sandberg before 1900. Sandberg owned a farm on Schwarzrand in about 1912 and then the Hotel Sandberg, in Mariental. When Köttger gave up the lime works in 1938 for reasons of age, he moved to Kuibis. Karl Schneider bought the lime works and, due to the lack of wood, continued to operate the distillery with hard coal. There were 15 Ovambos working for the distillery. The cutting down of the ancient camel thorn trees had caused great ecological damage.

Railroad station Sandverhaar Km. 269

Groundwater was usually found at a depth of 5 meters. In 1913 Georg Köttger operated the two lime works here and on the Simplon farm. The railroad station was probably built after German times to transport the lime and was listed in the Colonial Address Book in 1928. The farm land around the station belonged to F.Gessert.



Bahnstation Sandverhaar

Southern railroad 2nd construction phase

The 2nd construction phase of the Southern Railway from Aus to Keetmanshop was opened in 1908. Thus, the southern railroad was connected to the railroad line to Windhoek. The extension of the railroad line to the south to Kalkfontein was started from Seeheim in 1908.

Initially, many Herero prisoners of war were used as forced laborers for the railroad construction. The railroad construction company also recruited other Herero and so-called "Cape boys" from South Africa, who lived in separate yards near Seeheim. For them there was even a separate medical station of the railroad company.

The railroad from Lüderitzbucht to Seeheim had 125 white and about 400 colored employees. Once a week the train ran from Lüderitzbucht to Keetmanshoop and back. In Konkiep the train had a break overnight. For passenger transport, there were first and second class for whites and a separate car for coloreds. On the way, the train made breaks to which passengers could disembark while the Lock was refueled with water. Hoteliers and inns had prepared for the guests on the train and offered meals and drinks. The Southern Railway's fleet consisted of 22 locomotives, 245 freight cars and 15 passenger cars.

In 1909, the Seeheim-Karasburg railroad line was opened. In Seeheim, which was getting bigger, 180 Schutztruppler, 60 impoverished whites, who mostly worked for the construction company Lenz & Co, lived in the construction phase of the southern railroad around 1910. The company had a total of 2500 colored workers who extended the railroad to the south in 1910.



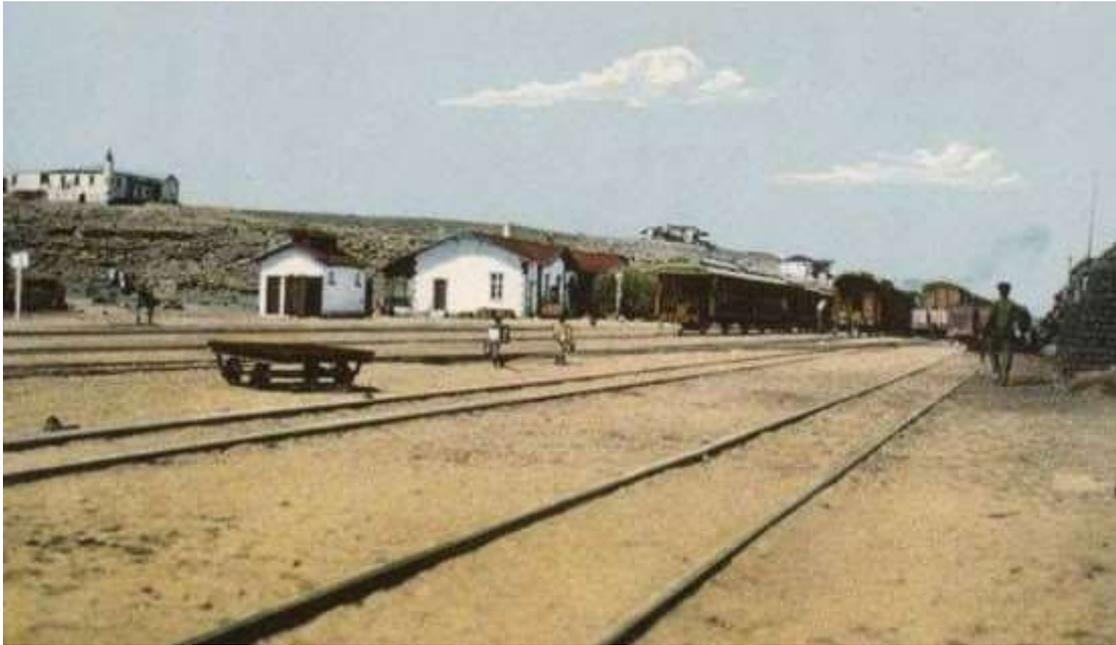
Seeheim ca.1908



Seeheim ca.1909



The bridge over the fishriver 1907



Train station and hotel in Seeheim ca.1909

Bethany in the war 1914-1916 in DSWA

In the Congo Conference of 1884-85 the colonial powers agreed on neutrality of the colonies. Shortly after the beginning of the war in Europe, Berlin sent a telegraphic message to Windhoek in 1914 that DSWA had nothing to fear from this worldwide neutrality agreement for colonies. The British did not keep the agreement.

Although the Boers and also Botha had previously been massively supported by the Germans in the 2nd Boer War and in the reconstruction 14 years earlier by the Germans and the German "Boer Aid League", they faced the Germans as enemies on the British side. Thilo von Throtha, for example, had fought alongside the Boers in the Boer War of 1900 and was wounded. Governor Seitz still assured the Boers on posters that he did not want to wage war against Boers. But on 11.09.1914 the Boers decided to attack the German South West Africa as a result of the outbreak of war in Europe on the side of the British. A motorized superiority of 60000-80000 soldiers of the British and Boers faced about 3000 badly equipped Schutztruppeler and old Resevisten on horses.

Even before the outbreak of the war, old Boer generals with different opinions thought that the time had come to free the Boer Republic from the British. So did General Maritz and General c.r. Andries de Wet, Wessell Wessells, Rocco De Villiers, Niklaas van Rensburg. A group of Boers from DSWA joined the rebels from the Cape. The rebellion was unsuccessful. The British shelling of unarmed Swakopmund took the Germans in DSWA by surprise. It was more inconceivable to the Germans when the Boers, of all people, overran DSWA's small

Schutztruppe. The British-Boer press saw the events in a completely different light. Botha judged a small police action at the border in which a German policeman died as a war-triggering enemy attack. The prospect of gaining possession of the diamond mines lured the British. Lüderitz Bay and the mines were one of their first targets. They landed there on 19.09. 1914 with a massive contingent of troops. The few Germans who had not fled were deported to Cape Town.

The Schutztruppe had already moved the **radio station** from Lüderitzbucht to Aus at the beginning of September 1914 and put it into operation on 15 September 1914. The radio station consisted of two very powerful 50 meter high towers. The station had a range as far as Durban and the Ivory Coast. The site was developed into a good fortification despite its low armament. Lieutenant **Brock** inaugurated the Aus radio station in December 1914. (Koloniale Sammlung Bremen and Schmidt, Willy/ Werner, Hans, Geschichte der Deutschen Post in den Kolonien und im Ausland, Leipzig 1939, pp.78-79.)



Garub 1915. The mountain in the background "**Dicker Wilhelm**". In the foreground. South African troops under Botha with drill and gun. "QF 12 pounder 18 cwt naval gun "



Garub 1914 . The invasion of the South African troops

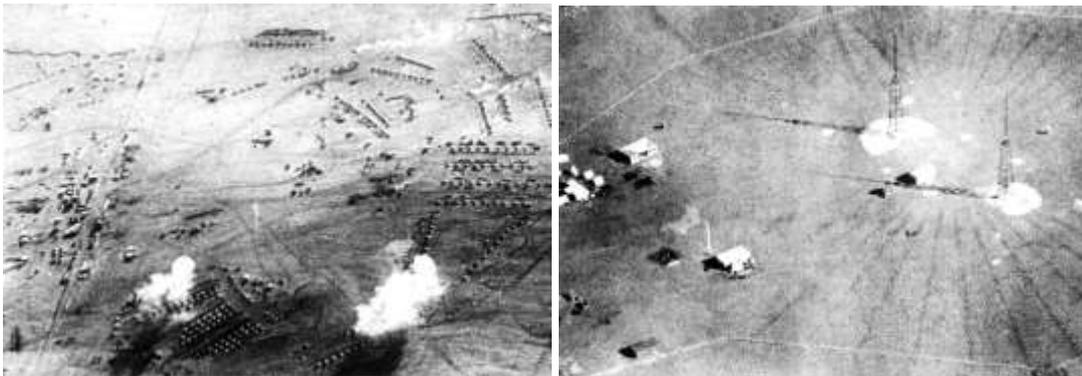
The Germans possessed only 2 Maxim guns and one Pom-Pom gun. (A 3.7 cm machine gun M97 Krupp type "Pom-Pom Gun). SA Union assaults were successfully repulsed by the Germans at Garub. Nevertheless, the Germans surrendered Garub on 22.11.1904. They blew up all buildings and water points beforehand and entrenched themselves in Aus. In Garub the Union soldiers built a huge camp with 10000 soldiers and 6000 horses. The Union soldiers attacked unsuccessfully on 16.12.1914. On 17.12.1914 Lieutenant Fiedler bombed the Union troops near the railroad station of Tschaukaib in the middle of the Namib with his airplane and took reconnaissance photos of the huge tent camps of the Union troops. Lieutenant von Scheele also conducted reconnaissance flights in December 1915, throwing hand-held grenades without much effect at the Union camp near Rotkuppe and at Garub.



German airplain in Aus 1905



Leutnant Fiedler, 17 Dec 1914



Bombardment of Tschaukaib by Lieutenant Fiedler on 17.12.1914 Radio towers in Aus 1915

General Botha had personally appeared for the inspection of the SA Troop in Garub. The well entrenched Schutztruppe of Aus could not be passed by the Union troops even after bloody attacks on 22.02.1915. After the initial losses in the east at Sandfontein, the numerically superior Union troops ousted the German Schutztruppe and thus also threatened the German team in Aus from the east. In anticipation of the superior South African troops from the Oranje, the post offices in Bethany and Berseba closed on 31.03.1915 and in Seeheim on 08.04.1915.



Union soldiers in front of Aus Aerial photo 1904 from Aus

Probably during further blasting of the railroad tracks or a skirmish not further known, Schutztruppier Michael Reichhold fell near Garub on April 23, 1915. There must have been other German and British dead. The Rheuter Agency reported a foiled demolition attempt in which 5 Germans allegedly fell. Reporting on both sides was colored by heroic grandstanding. Aus was like the eye of a needle. The waterless desert squeezed the Union troops in and they had to climb 700 meters in the heat for 38 kilometers to get to Aus. A single old machine gun could hold off the enemy in the terrain. However, the Germans also had to abandon Aus because Union troops were closing in from the east. For tactical reasons, they also blew up water tanks and boreholes in Aus tracks.



Garub station was destroyed by the Union troops who left in 1914.



Blasting of tracks before Aus 1914



Blown up tracks in Aus 1915

The last trains from Aus transported the dismantled radio towers via Keetmanshoop to Tsumeb. The German Schutztruppers of Aus withdrew without a fight to the north via Maltahöhe and Rehoboth on March 28, 1915. **Major Mc Kenzie** could thus continue unhindered and reached Bethany and Seeheim on 12.04.1915, then also Berseba on 22.04.1915. In Berseba the geologist Dr. Merensky had tried to resist and was interned together with some farmers who were trying to escape. From Behanien policemen and farmers fled first to Maltahöhe. Among them also Bethanien's missionary Wilhelm Peter.

In Gibeon it came once again on 23.04.1915 to battles full of losses. The Union troops coming from the south took Keetmanshoop and Gibeon. On 03.05.1915 (30.04.1915 ?) a group of the Natal Mounted Rifles (Natal light Horse) under Captain London occupied Maltahöhe. In the meantime, the protection troops from Maltahöhe had rushed to Bullsport where insurgent Baster had killed farmers and policemen. On April 22, 1915, Battery Hensel, and a brigade coming from Aus found the body of Policeman Rogge, murdered during the Baster uprising, near the Bullsport Police Station.

According to an unconfirmed report, between Garub and Aus again in May 1915 there was a skirmish between the British and a German rearguard attempting to blow up railroad tracks. In the process, Union soldier Captain de Meillon was killed. (It is not very likely that this was the diamond millionaire of Lüderitzbucht).

The surrender of DSWA 09. 07.1915



The surrender treaty, written in English, was signed at Otavi on July 9, 1915. The Germans arrived by train from the north. Some policemen and officers, Lieutenant Colonel Bethe, because he could read English, as well as Governor Seitz and Lieutenant Colonel Franke. From the other side Botha appeared with his men. After the signing, the martial law of the British victors applied. The approximately 1500 soldiers of the Schutztruppe interned the South Africans at Aus. The camp was fenced with barbed wire in an open area with tents. However, most of the officers and officials were interned on farms and allowed to move about relatively freely, subject to conditions. Governor Seitz was farm interned at Grootfontein and Franke at the Okawayo farm.

The first military governor of Southwest Africa as of June 11, 1915, was Percival Scott Breves.

In the district of Gibeon Major E. Manning and in Bethany Lieutenant C.E. Wimble were appointed as military magistrates. From Nov. 12, 1915, Lieutenant K.G. Mac Kenzie was first assigned as military magistrate at Maltahöhe.

The military magistrate's initial task was probably to intern certain persons, including policemen and officials, and to collect weapons. Weeks later, the farmers were allowed to return to their farms under conditions of martial law.

Some German civilians were interned by the Union troops in South Africa. The British and Boers looted German farms and also allowed looting and murder of colored locals by Germans, especially in connection with the Baster Uprising at the end of April 1915. (see Budak) The English-language press very often referred to press reports by Rheuters, and the German press apparently used these reports as well for lack of its own news sources. Each source manipulated the content according to its own view. The British saw themselves as the "liberators" and the Germans as the victims overrun in violation of international law. According to the international law agreements, the colonies were neutral zones. The "liberators" did not grant equal citizenship rights to the now "liberated" colored people. The British, however, took great care to ensure that labor contracts were strictly observed by the whites vis-à-vis the coloreds. The Bethany land confiscated by the Germans was not returned to the coloreds. The farms in Bethany continued to be owned by the whites. Farming in the Bethany District, as well as economic and public life, continued on a small scale during World War I in Europe.

The prison camp Aus.

The German Schutztruppeler were accommodated in Aus from 1915 to 1920 in a barbed wire fenced account detention camp in tents. However, since it got very hot here in the summer and well below zero in the winter, the prisoners built their own little houses out of mud bricks covered with tarps. Without these houses many soldiers would not have survived the cold winters. From the settlement of the prisoners exist today only ruins.

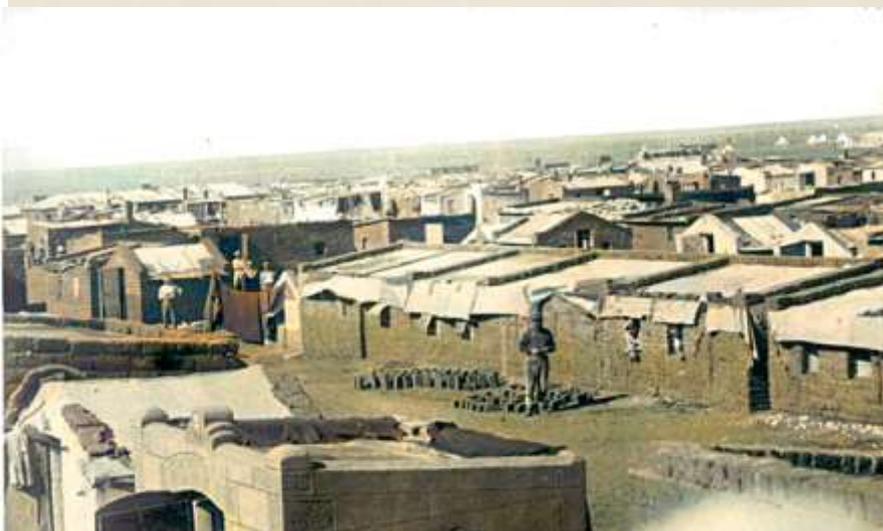


1915 The German Schutztruppeler behind barbed wire in Aus





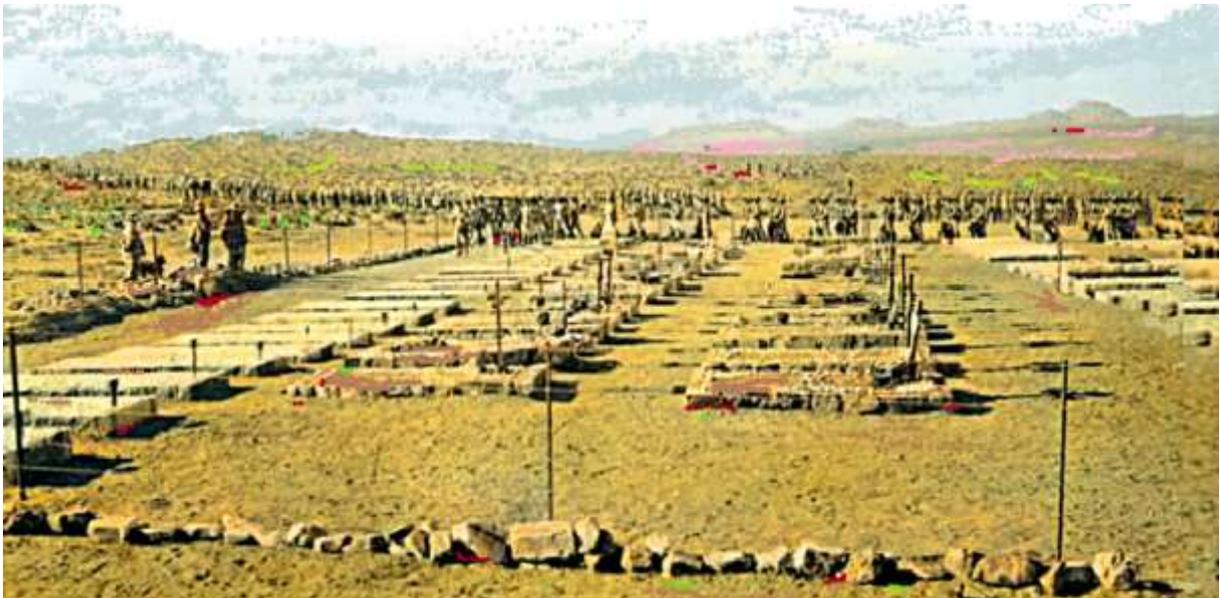
Nr. 206. Eine Straße in der vom deutschen Gefangenen erbauten Stadt



The little houses of the captured Germans made of mud bricks in 1917 in Aus.

After 3 years of captivity, a much greater danger came and cost the lives of nearly 60 Germans and many British guards in 1918. It was, the "Spanish Flu" introduced by US Americans. The Schutztruppler who died of the Spanish flu died within two months in October and November 1918. They were buried together with several of their English guards, who suffered the same fate, in a cemetery set up for this purpose. This cemetery in Aus is still maintained today.

Schutztruppler from the camp in Aus who died of the pandemic: ALTHAINZ Heinrich, BIER Bernhard, BOBE August, BORCHERT Johann, COENEN Wilhelm, DUMSCHAT Hugo, FISCHER Leopold, GÄRTNER Otto, GENNERMANN Alfred, GFUG Hans v, GIESEN Wilhelm, GUTMACHER Hermann, HAPP Josef, HARTMANN Fritz, HERRMANN Paul, HETT Otto, HOMBERGER Johann, HÖRNKE Ernst, IMMEL Karl, JASKER Wilhelm, JUNGCLAUS Paul, JUNGHANNS Hans, KÄUBLER Johannes, KLUGE Bruno, KNAPP Lorenz, KOHTZ Hermann, KRAWIETZ Heinrich, KÜBLER Gottlob, KÜHMICHEL August, LAURIN Michael, LEONHARDT Bruno, LEUKER Wilhelm, LIER Otto, LOCKE Paul, LUTZ Jakob, MAHLER Franz, MELLIES August, MÜLLER Friedrich, NEUBAUER Clemens, NITSCHKER Willy, PENNEWISS Willy, PETERHÄNSEL Willy, QUICKERT Paul, RABE Wilhelm, ROHE Josef, SCHLÄGER Wilhelm, SCHWENGLER Anton, STEPHAN Johann, STRUBE Robert, WEISS Adolf, WETSCH Johann



From 1919. graves of German Schutztruppler who died of the Spanish flu



. Postcard with British censorship postmark from the "**Hold Out**" bowling club to interned Schutztruppler District Sergeant Oskar Loose in Aus. 27.08.1916

The German colonial period in the Bluebook

The Bluebook was published in London in 1918 at the Royal Printing Office with the blessing of both Houses of Parliament. It was intended to show Germany's inability to run a colony. The British collected in the book the misdeeds of the Germans. They wanted to get the mandate over South West Africa themselves. The Bluebook contains interviews with colored people in which they report about misdemeanors of the Germans and publications of secret documents of the German administration which should show German misdemeanors in the colonial time.

Even today, regardless of the book's intentions, these interviews with many colored people serve as a valuable source of the zeitgeist of the colored people. Of course, there was no criticism of the British in this book. Therefore, shortly after its publication, there was a German response that was no less subjective.

(German rejoinder) <https://brema.suub.uni-bremen.de/dsdk/content/pageview/2017277>

A case from the Bluebook p.196 . The murder case occurred in the Bethany district and ended with three death sentences. The accused were James Markus, John Annis, Albert Schmidt on 15.05.1917.

Meaningful shortened summary: Schmidt was the German farm owner of Chamis-South south of Helmeringshausen. His neighbor, Annis was a son of a Portuguese and a Baster woman. Markus was a half-breed who worked as a shepherd for Schmidt. The Nama Lindip, who worked for Annis got to know that Schmidt owned a rifle and ammunition. This was forbidden for Germans. On 06.10.1916 Annis and Schmidt agreed on a plan. Annis sent Lindip into the field. Markus meanwhile got the rifle from Schmidt and the three followed Lindip. After a conversation, Markus shot the Nama Lindip in cold blood. The police were notified that Lindip had disappeared. A short time later, Markus used kerosene to burn the body. The other colored employees became suspicious and the Nama Hans Lukas followed the tracks and found the ashes. He reported this to the police sergeant Enslin in Chamis. Markus noticed this and made a full confession to the police. Sergeant Coetzee in Bethany took the confession. Annis and Schmidt were arrested. During the trial, Markus tried to explain that he had shot Lindip by accident, but he was sentenced to death. In the further trials, all incriminated each other and were sentenced to death.

The narrative of the German colonial period, born from the British point of view at that time, has been preserved in large parts by the colored population today. For today's colored population, this narrative is expressed in the word "**genocide**".

Situation in Bethany after the surrender in 1915

During the war, German literature reported 400 fighters of Cornelius and 100 Bethanians who remained with the captain in Bethany. If one follows the relevant literature, there were hardly any survivors of the Bethanians, who were estimated to be about 1300 individuals before the war. The number of Orlam Bethanians surviving in 1907 is estimated by the editors to be well under 300 individuals. The original Bethanian people, the descendants of David Christian Frederiks clan ceased to exist. However, the ranks filled up again.



The Bethanier captain and his grand men postcard probably from 1904.

Workers recruited from the Kappland and Hereo areas and the German and British soldiers left behind many illegitimate children. A mixture of surviving Bethanians, enlisted Kapnama and Hereo, along with mixed-blood children of the soldiers, make up today's Bethanian community. There were survivors from the captain's family who took over the captaincy. The new Bethanier captain from 1916 was called Eduard Frederiks.

After the surrender treaty on July 9, 1915, the German farmers had to surrender their weapons. Wives of interned farmers, the combat widows had a hard fate. They had to continue the farm business alone. Meat procurement was considerably limited, as hunting without a rifle was not possible. The security situation of the farmers' wives was also very bad, especially since the British did not punish reported attacks by colored people during the first period of the takeover. Moreover, as is known from some cases, the coloreds sometimes made themselves at home in the farmers' farmhouses in their absence, in the expectation that they would now be given land again. The British had promised them this before the war. In Gibeon, missionary Siebold described the behavior of the English/Burish soldiers after the occupation toward the civilian population as uncouth and rapacious, but largely moderate. The British had confiscated the cattle illegally at first, but had to return them to the civilian population. Rarely, however, did the farmers get their herds back in their entirety. (Hans Siebold Potsdam 1916). After the first organizational phase, it turned out that not much changed for the black population. Formally, the British made sure that the colored people were entitled to an enforceable minimum wage and "good" treatment by their employers. Indeed, many a colored rancher could call stately herds his own, but the sense of the British regulations were undermined by the farmers, mine owners, and officials. Colored people were still required to wear the altered passport stamps in the first years after occupation, and segregation also applied. Even the acquisition of land ownership outside the reservations was permitted only to Europeans, including Germans. Therefore, even in British times, there were uprisings.

Initially, military magistrates oversaw the districts, later replaced by civilian magistrates. Unattended livestock of interned farmers, such as von Heester, were cared for by commissioners at so-called Lootposten, such as on the farm Brekhorn (Maltahöhe). Lootposten were farms that were no longer looked after due to the war. After 1915, some German policemen who had been released from internment in Aus were also housed on such farms. They had to provide for themselves there. Farms belonging to German companies were confiscated and sold by the British war administration. Letters sent by Germans were censored. In 1919, the British deported half of the Germans. Vacated farmland that had once

belonged to the Bethanians was given by the administration to poor Boer families from South Africa as part of an aid program.

Magistrates of Bethany. In 1915, Lieutenant C.E. Wimble was appointed as a military magistrate. Wimble was succeeded by A.B. Vallency and from 1915 to 1917 by de Witt. In January 1917, de Witt was succeeded by CMS Forsbroehr. Forsbrook took over as Magistrate Maltahöhe in 1918 and C:E. Wimble the magistrate's post at Bethany.

In 1923 the British magistrates of Bethany were named Poppe and Clerk and that of Maltahöhe Forsyth and Clerk. After a ten-year hiatus, in 1916, others say 1922, Eduard Frederiks became Kapitan at Bethany. He was followed by Joseph Fredreiks III from 1922, Simon Frederiks from 1938 and David Frederiks from 1977 to 2018.

Bethanien after 1922

The British and Boers based their legal conception of Bethanian land ownership on the German legal conception. They gave nothing back to the black population who had lost land to the Germans 11 years earlier. More precisely, it was land that did not actually belong to the Bethanians, but had been leased to them by the Red Nation 100 years earlier. And consistently considered, the Red Nation had also stolen the land from the actual inhabitants, the San, decades before.

The displacement and extermination of the San, committed by the Nama and Orlam in the 18th and 19th centuries is never a big topic of historians for political reasons. For today's politically accepted view of history, the history of Namibia only begins with the warlike invasion by the Nama and the Herero, who are uncritically regarded as the rightful heirs of the land bloodily stolen by the San and Damara. Hendrik Witbooi, like many chiefs, was of the legal opinion that land bloodily conquered in war belonged to the victor.

Many German farmers had remained under British rule in Bethanierland after 1922 or had returned after their expulsion from Southwest Africa in 1919. A large proportion of forcibly abandoned farms were now owned by the Boers. Despite post-war tensions between Boers and ethnic German farmers, both groups got along. Unfortunately, the editors have not been able to obtain much historical material about Bethanierland from this period and can only present readers with a list of the ethnic German and some other inhabitants from 1936.

List of people and farms in Bethany County 1936.

Adolff, Arthur Gärtner Beth.

Ascheraden, von, Edgar Harry Farmer **Sandverhaar**

Ballauf, Jakob Tischler **Garub**

Berner,Georg Ansiedler Beth.

Bertram ,Gustav Gärtner Beth.

Blackbeard, Walter Anis **Kubub**

Block, Wilhelm Farmer b.Gessert Gamib

Borowski;Andreas Ansiedler Kalkfontein Listed 1929 Borowski August Farm 101

Bukowski ,August Kumakams Maltah. Post Beth.

Listed 1929Otto Cyriase ,Finder Max Chamis Süd

Darams, Otto Gärtner Beth.

Deck,Alfons Maurer Beth.

Ebernach, Otto Dreher CDM Aus

Listed 1929 **Erdmann** Oliver Helmeringshausen

Gengler,Gregor **Dabis**

Gebhard,Bruno Schlosser Helmeringshausen.

Grabow,Franz Kumakams Aroab/ Beth

Haschke, Fritz Mickberg Seeheim

Hester, Herbert **Helmeringshausen**

Hilsch,Joseph Pater Tschaunaup Seeheim

Holder, Walter E. Farmverwalter Sandpütz Kalkfeld

Hübsch, Heinrich Farmer **Guperas**

Hübsch, Wilhelm Farmer **Saurus** (Gelistet 1916, 1929 **Guperas** Hübsch Heinrich po Beth **Sarams**)

Izko,Franz Farmverwalter Haruchas Malt. Post Aus

Kaempfer, Adolf Farmer Bethanien (Platz) (seit 1910)

Kaempfer Ulrich Beth.Nr3 **Uitkoms**

Klose, Karl Maurer Kudis Post Beth.

Kraatz (Kratz),Erwin Bahnspedition Konkiep

Küfer, Georg Sattler Helmeringshausen

Listed 1929 **Mason** Edward Robert **Kunjas**

Peter, Wilhelm Missionar in Beth.

Pfeifer, Paul Jun. Akam Beth. (1916 Packer Windh.)

Pfeifer, Paul Albert Schlachter u. Store Kuibis

Reiser, Otto Heinr. Arbeiter Feldschuhhorn

Reister, Emil Elektriker Seeheim

Rohmann, August Siedler Beth. (Listed 1916 Polizist in Haib bei Warmbad)

Rohmann, E. Farmer Sandverhaar

Sass, K. Berseba Store--

Schlemmer, A Harris Post Aus(1916 dito)

Schmidt Frl. Siegrid Aus

Schmallmann, Wilhelm Farmer **Aubures**

Gelistet 1929 **Schmidt** Albert Chamis Süd

Serrer, Germann Maurer Beth.

Siebert, Heinrich Farmer **Geigoab** Post Konkiep

Stolze, Werner Farmer Kirris West Post Seeheim –Heliographenstation

Listed 1929 **Stillger** Georg Huns

Tigulus Anna Wirtschafterin Kudus

Ulbrich, Otto Naiams Post Seeheim (Listed 1916 Pächter Naiams Post Brakwasser)

Ulrich, Otto jak. Farmer Seeheim

Wache Max Farmer Kiris West (Listed 1916 Farmverwalter Kiris west)

Weigel, Gustav Helmeringshausen (Listed 1916 Aukam Farmverwalter Post Gochas)

Zäh, Paul Farmer **Zaracheibis**. 1916 -1936

Historic buildings in Bethany



Special stamps of 2004 Paul Kiddo/ A.Vogt

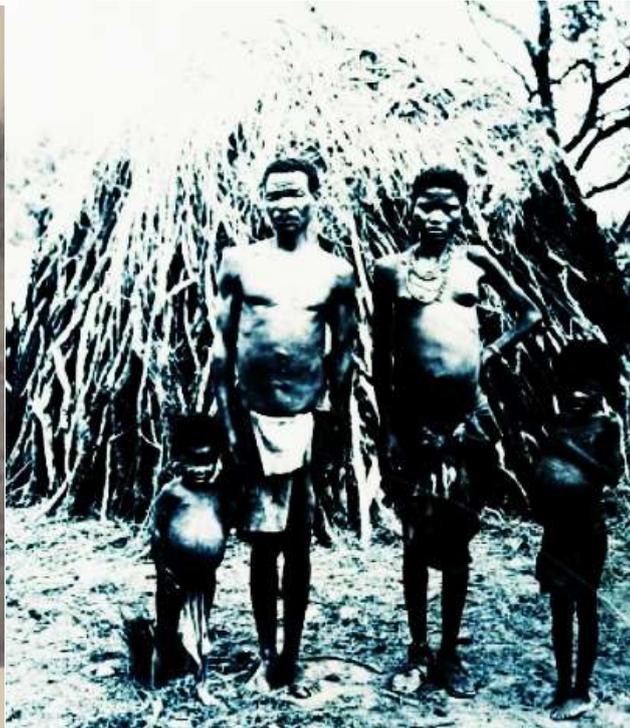
Historic structures still standing in Bethany today include the old stone smelting house, the two-towered adobe church, the stone church, John Frederik II's stone house, the mission house and the mission cemetery. They are extremely significant to the early history of the Great Namaqualand. These buildings represent not only the missionary work but also the development of the Orlams. The buildings were mostly built on the own initiative of the Orlam-!Aman even if the influence of the missionaries is unmistakable.

In the mission cemetery, surrounded by a wrought iron fence, next to the old church, lie the graves of: Albat Brigitte 1877-1952, Bam Agnes 18??-1891, Bam Johannes Heinrich 1849-1891, Gorth Matthaus 1823-1853, Heinrichs Friedr. Wilh. 1899-1899, Heinrichs Lydia nee Band 1867-1895, Kreft Herman Heinrich 1823-1878, Kreft Johanna Juliane nee Seringshaus 1821-1867 , Peter Wilhelm 1876-1948 Source : https://graves-at-eggse.org/main.php?g2_itemId=3528363

The two towers of the old church, used as a school, were missing since about 1900 until they were lovingly restored in more recent times. The stone church was built by the congregation and David Christian Frederiks supported by the missionaries and white donors with considerable own funds. The first treaties with the Germans were signed in the stone house of Johannes Frederiks II. The Schmelenhaus now serves as a small museum.



Nama am Konkiep 1897 Foto Prof Rehbock



Nama-Buschleute aus Bethanien 1906

Concluding remarks

Initially, in 1804, the Boois in southwestern Namaqualand had grouped with other Nama clans which were then joined after 1814 by the Feather Shoe Bearers, the Vledemuis, the Swartboois, the Goliaths and Isaaks from South Africa. They called themselves as a group, the !Aman. These nomads became increasingly settled, but none of these groups except the Boois remained at the Bethany site. The transition to a place-based community also required the transformation of economic value consciousness to a more capitalist-oriented settler community. The missionaries brought the necessary "know-how" into the country. Dictionaries to put the Nama language into written form made new ways of communication possible. For the first time, the Nama were able to communicate reliably in writing in their own language, even over long distances. Previously, they had to rely on messengers who, more or less incorrectly, transmitted their memorized messages to the recipient. Written agreements between the captains and chiefs, such as peace treaties, arrangements, and boundary definitions could now be drawn up. Captains and missionaries worked out laws for life in settled communities. Law books were printed. The development of wells and ox-wagon roads by the Nama and Orlam accelerated trade and communication. Newly constructed waterholes allowed for more livestock and crops. Unproven but very likely, infant mortality declined. The population of the Orlam and Nama clans increased. The captains and chiefs requested more and more missionaries to participate in the new technologies. White traders and the missionaries brought tools and plants. The initiative to transform the social structures into settled communities on the European model came far more from the captains and chiefs than was assumed. Although the white missionaries were the religious leaders of the

communities, the far greater part of the missionary work was done by the colored catechists. As a visible sign of Europeanization, clothing changed from leather aprons to European cassocks, which were considered a status symbol. The tendency to consider European as a status symbol induced Captain David Christian to be initiated into the captaincy like a European king. On his instructions, only Cape Dutch was taught in the schools of Bethany. Despite the Orlam's desire to live according to the European model, ideas about sexual morality, Protestant work ethics, and hygiene differed considerably between the Nama and the European missionaries. Years of drought forced Orlam to abandon their local life and start anew elsewhere, against the will of the missionaries. The false image of dependent colored people led by missionaries is a cherished but erroneous view today, based on the missionaries' subjective accounts of their activities to their employers in Europe. Today's literature that rightly condemns colonialism, often in a false zeal to develop arguments, portrays the colored population as manipulated and foreign-controlled. But this is also a prejudice against the colored people, which is not to be evaluated differently than the likewise pejorative prejudice of the colonialists. Orlam captains such as Jonker Afrikaner, David Christian, Kido Witbooi and their councilmen made use of missionaries as advisors, but with cunning led their tribes independently and on their own responsibility. Most captains and chiefs saw Europeanization as an advantage for their tribes. Progress was seen in the establishment of schools, European forms of communication, settling in places with their own churches, law books, written treaties and access to European weapons.

The dark side of Orlam social change was the wars and raids that were fought with guns. These wars of conquest by the Orlam brought ruin to the previously relatively peaceful Nama of the Red Nation and Herero to the point of extermination of some tribes. The predatory economy of the Orlam tribes, especially the Afrikaners and the Witbooi, but also the Bethanians, brought more than 80 years of war, robbery, murder and slavery. Tens of thousands died. Only the German colonial power ended this state of affairs in 1894. However, this peace, based on oppression and collaboration, lasted only 10 years. With few soldiers of their own, the Germans skilfully managed to maintain the oppression of the Nama tribes by Baster and Nama auxiliary troops, mainly by the Witbooi. The tensions caused by the creeping land expropriation of the colored people finally led to the uprising of the Herero and Nama. Cornelius led the vast majority of the Bethanians against the Germans. The Germans brutally put down the uprising. According to disputed estimates, 100000 colored people died and the survivors became dispossessed servants of the whites. The British overran the officially neutral country 10 years later, as "liberators" in World War I, with 20 times their superiority. They brought neither their country nor their civil rights back to the colored people.

If one follows the current Diskussion over the controversial topic Genozid the Bethanier perished in the war 1904 except few families. The present colored inhabitants of Bethany are therefore not pure children of the former !Aman, but mixed descendants of the few surviving Bethanians (about 200) with the railroad and mine workers who immigrated after 1904, as well as the German and British soldiers. These inhabitants of Bethany today call themselves !Aman and consider themselves their material, traditional and cultural heirs. According to missionary Albat, unmixed descendants of the former Bethanians no longer existed. It is astonishing that members of the captains' family have survived and their descendants still hold the captaincy of the !Aman today.

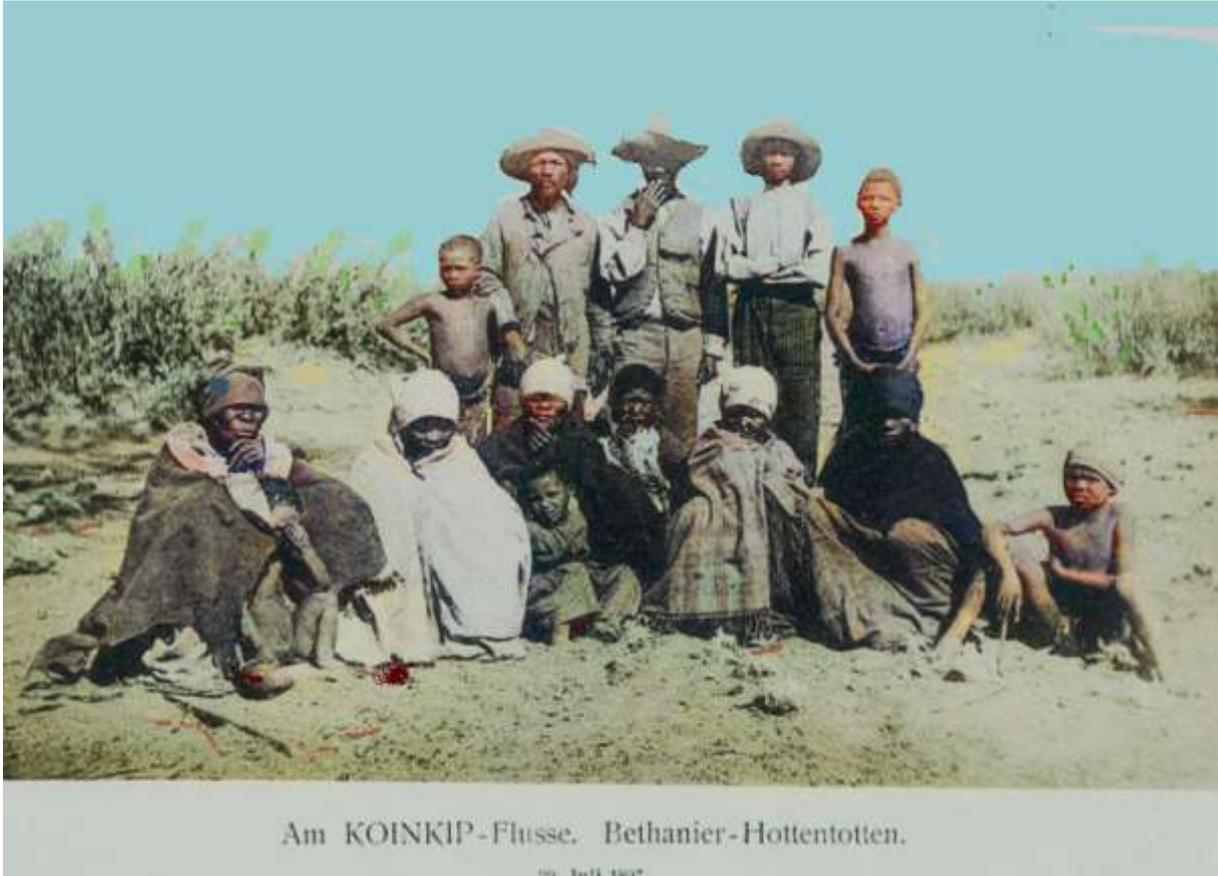
Today's !Aman especially the captain's family look at their history clearly different than it is provable and listed in this collection of material.

Martinus Frederiks from the captain family for example summarized very briefly the history of the !Aman in an interview 16.06.2018. For him, the most important parameters for the identity of his people are 1. language, 2.culture, 3.tradition and the 4. right to the land. Due to the battle of Blaubeerg and the wish not to be dominated by the British, the !Aman migrated to Klipfontein in 1806, led by their captain Jakobus Frederiks. Klipfontein /Uigandes bought the !Aman from the Red Nation. (Source:<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IxI29PYy4m4>)

There is no comparable summary literature on the history of Bethanierland. The editors had made it to the task to present by this material collection to the reader as much as possible at present discoverable facts from 1800-1920 chronologically. The language used in this collection of material was deliberately chosen to be understandable to a very broad readership. This collection of material should also be updated in the future. Especially the time from 1920 to 1950 I would like to add. If you should be able to report something to the topic, please inform me.

zahnarzt.muehlbach@gmx.netritten and transn in germw

The original book is written in german.This translation was improved with the help of the program **DeepL** and other translation programs. I am very grateful if errors in translation and also factual errors are reported to me.



Bethaniernama 1897 Foto Prof. Rehbock (digital coloriert)

Note

There is a book about the !Aman Nama in Afrikaans that was published in 2017 but cannot currently be found. "**!Aman Volks Geskiedenis**". What makes it special is that it was compiled by the present Bethany community, thus by Nama.

The daughter of Bishop Emeritus Dr.Hendrik Frederik, Precilla Frederik kindly gave me this hint. Bishop Hendrik Frederik had served the Bethanier community until his death in 2021. Christiaan Uth was one of the authors of the book.