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Marengo and Malinowski The French-Austrian Oblates of St Francis de Sales (Salesians) in Great Namaland, southern Namibia

Walter Sauer*

Abstract

The Catholic missionary Johann Malinowski is generally remembered as the facilitator of peace between Germans and Bondelswarts (!Gami-#nun) in 1906. Yet, biographical information on this man, who had received medals of distinction from the German Emperor on two occasions, remains clouded. This applies to the history of the Catholic mission enterprise in what today is southern Namibia as well, and more generally, to the establishment of the Catholic Church in Namibia. This paper throws some light on these historical developments, offering a first inroad for further research.

The establishment of the Oblates of St Francis de Sales in Great Namaland

The beginnings of Catholic mission activity among Nama developed in the context of quite complex and competing political relationships between colonial interests and Catholic missionary endeavour as carried by religious orders, and implemented subject to the politics of the Holy See.¹ This has been dealt with elsewhere.² Little Namaland, south of the Orange River in today's Northern Cape Province in South Africa was

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² Cf. William Eric Brown, *The Catholic Church in South Africa. From its Origins to the Present Day*, London, Burns & Oates, 1960: 137-150; Franz Wehr, *Mission am Oranje. Geschichte der Oblaten-Mission der Vikariate Keimoes und Keetmanshoop nach Briefen, Tagebüchern und Visitationsberichten*, Eichstätt, Franz-Sales-Verlag, 1994: 37-58; 145-151; A. P. J. Beris, *Making the Desert Bloom. Part I: Go and Prepare the Fields*, Keetmanshoop, Diocese of Keetmanshoop, 2001: 1-17.

elevated to an Apostolic Prefecture with Pella (formerly a station of the Rhenish Mission Society) as seat of the Prefect. Supervision of the prefecture was eventually granted to the Salesians (OSFS), a French missionary order. Under the leadership of Jean-Marie Simon, consecrated a bishop in 1898, Pella was fully established as a missionary settlement with priests and nuns in 1882/3. Pastoral care for Great Namaland, north of the Orange River in German South West Africa (GSWA) was added to their tasks in 1888. Catholic mission endeavour in the southern half of the still young German colony – the area between the Orange River and Rehoboth, just south of Windhoek – therefore was anticipated to be deployed from the British Cape Colony. This constituted a somewhat contradictory situation, as the Germans, British and French did not always see eye to eye in terms of colonial and religious policies. After all, these were the years of Anglo-German global power differences, a difficult Franco-Prussian era and ultramontanism.³

Locally, this expansion was accompanied by problems. Prefect Simon had already by 1888 attempted to establish a mission station to the north of the Orange River, requesting the consent of the local !Gami-#nun authorities in Warmbad.⁴ Various rounds of consultations as from 1888 with *Onderkaptein* Timoteus Sneeuwe and *Kaptein* Willem Christian (ruled 1868 to 1901) were inconclusive. Bondelswarts leadership rejected the establishment of a Catholic mission endeavour, as this would lead to dissent among the population: Great Namaqualand was, after all, Protestant territory and local rulers had already been Christians since before 1830.⁵ Further to this, it was understood locally that a French missionary order, operating from British territory would be perceived to not be in agreement with a prospective Protection Treaty with the Germans, considered by the Bondelswarts leaders during this period.⁶ Even the lease or purchase of a farm in Bondelswarts territory was not considered feasible by Willem Christian, as he "had sold too much land already".⁷ The German colonial authorities refused Prefect Simon's request for a farm in 1895, making an argument for denominational homogeneity in the southern half of GSWA.⁸

A year later the missionaries were offered an unexpected chance to finally make an inroad. Charles Edward William Wheeler, a South African trader living in Great Namaland,

³ John M. Simon, *Bishop for the Hottentots. African Memoirs 1882-1909*, new edition, Springbok, Jopie Kotzé Namaqualand Tourism Development Company, 1997: 88f.; see also Wehrl, *Mission am Oranje*: 158.

⁴ Spelling of ethnonyms as per Government-gazetted rules; cf. *Government Gazette of the Republic of Namibia*, No. 5564, 19/9/2014.

⁵ Tilman Dederig, *Hate the Old and Follow the New. Khoekhoe and Missionaries in Early Nineteenth-Century Namibia*, Stuttgart, Steiner, 1997: 40.

⁶ Cf. Simon, *Bishop*: 91-94 on these consultations and the adversary role played by the Rhenish missionary; Beris: *Desert*: 7-12; a protection treaty with the Germans was concluded in 1890, cf. Marion Wallace, *A History of Namibia*, Auckland Park, Jacana Media, 2011: 127.

⁷ This is quite an interesting aside in a situation of German colonialism emergent. Cf. Beris: *Desert*: 10. Willem Christian was quite indebted and, (therefore) in the eyes of his business partners quite blackmailable; also Horst Drechsler, *Südwestafrika unter deutscher Kolonialherrschaft. Die großen Land- und Miningesellschaften*, Stuttgart, Steiner, 1996: 75, 77 and 291.

⁸ Beris, *Desert*: 12f.

offered the farm Heiraxabes for sale to the missionaries at Pella.⁹ He had purchased the land in 1886 from Bondelswarts, probably as the chief defaulted on debt accumulated.

Alongside the built infrastructure, the farm amounted to more than 100 000 ha with exclusive grazing rights, tax exemption on yet to be explored minerals. The contracts repeatedly insisted that Wheeler was to enjoy full property rights, a clause that surely was meant as a measure against any possible future influence claimed by Chief Willem Christian.¹⁰ The sale of Heiraxabes to Wheeler had been endorsed 1894 by the German colonial authorities.¹¹ It is quite possible that Wheeler lost interest in the farm, as the mining rights had been ceded to different firms in the meantime.¹² The Salesians seized the opportunity, and bought the farm for 100 000 Reichmark. The amount was made available by an anonymous benefactress from Munich. They took possession of the farm on December, 8th, 1896.¹³ A short while later, another farm, Nabas next to Heiraxabes, was purchased from Wheeler.¹⁴ This he had bought too from Bondelswarts in 1888. It measured c. 52 000 ha; the Salesians' property now amounted to more than 150 000 ha.¹⁵

Theodor Leutwein, the German colonial governor of the protectorate, described this as an approach characteristic for Catholic missions – bypassing governmental policy aimed against the establishment of new mission stations through the purchase of real estate, and by not approaching the indigenes directly but by providing these with opportunities to visit and settle on purchased farms, where they could be evangelised and converted subsequently.¹⁶ Prefect Simon described this approach in similar terms, arguing that the Christians would settle nearby, which would lead to Christian settlement against which

⁹ Wehrl, *Mission*: 150-154. Standardised Khoekhoegowab spelling is Heiraxabes, in German colonial and mission sources, the name is spelled Heirachabis / Heirachabies. The Wheelers were an important trader family in Great Namaland, often recorded as godparents in indigenous families in the church registers of the Rhenish Mission society. Pers. communication Wolfram Hartmann, 19/9/2020.

¹⁰ According to Brown, *Catholic Church*: 150, Wheeler had been granted “sovereign legislative rights” by Christian. This seems to be an overstatement but seemingly Wheeler insisted on legal certainty against possible claims by Christian. The purchase contract and deed of sale, dated May, 1st, 1886 are in NAN-ZBU U.V.h.2, fol.2-4. The purchase price was £ 800 Sterling.

¹¹ Cf. Notice by *Kaiserlicher Assessor* Köhler, dated March, 19th, 1894. NAN-ZBU 1910 U.V.h.2, fol. 10-11.

¹² Mostly to the Kharaskhoma-Syndikat, cf. Drechsler, *Südwestafrika*: 74-80 and 153-177.

¹³ Cf. Simon, *Bishop*: 113-115 for information on this transaction.

¹⁴ NAN-ZBU 1931 U.V.n.6, fol. 2-6.

¹⁵ In a list of 1906/07 the size of Heiraxabes was given as an extraordinary 180 000 ha. Aside from some unsurveyed properties, the average size of farms in Keetmanshoop district was c. 15 500 ha around that time; cf. *Jahresbericht über die Entwicklung der Schutzgebiete in Afrika und der Südsee im Jahre 1906/07*, Berlin 1908, Anlage E. X: 74-79. The two land transactions, funded by Austrian and German donors, therefore made the Catholic mission presumably the biggest land owner in the district.

¹⁶ Theodor Leutwein, *Elf Jahre Gouverneur in Deutsch-Südwestafrika*, Berlin, 1906, facsimile ed., Windhoek, Namibia Wissenschaftliche Gesellschaft, 1997: 284f: “indem sie nicht die Eingeborenen aufsuchte, sondern sich von diesen aufsuchen ließ, d. h. sie erwarb Farmen und missionierte hier diejenigen Eingeborenen, die sich behufs bleibender Niederlassung freiwillig bei ihr eingefunden hatten.”

nobody could take action, as “I am the owner of the property”.¹⁷ A new pattern had thus been established. While *kapteins* had, hitherto, assigned pieces of land to the Protestant Rhenish Mission Society, to build a church, a school and a house for the missionary—according to sociologist Kössler, “the organisation of the missionary society doubled up the structure of the political community, which was in turn reinforced in this way”¹⁸ — the Catholics inserted themselves as owners of large tracts of land and water, and as economic entities. Colonial law provided for such sale of land, even if these transactions were based on corruption and bribery with the local leadership. Whether these transactions conformed to notions of traditional property concepts among the population remains to be answered.¹⁹

While this rather fortuitous acquisition of land made it possible for the Salesians to establish a presence in Great Namaland, Catholics still were excluded from actively pursuing their evangelising in the colony emergent beyond their farm borders. By that, the colonial administration wanted to avoid competition between different Christian denominations, and resulting irritation of the population.²⁰ Only in 1905, the Roman Catholic Church would be allowed to evangelise in GSWA without restrictions.²¹ Furthermore, political considerations in Windhoek that arose from historical developments between Germany, France and Great Britain since the 1870s, and compounded by Protestant-Catholic tensions, prompted a cautious approach towards an acceptance of a Catholic mission enterprise in the colony. While the Salesians were operating from within the Catholic hierarchy in the British Cape Colony, this order, French in origin, was not even accredited in Germany.

Years later, P. Joseph Lebeau, the founder of the Austrian Province of the Salesians, explained that the solution to this problem was found ‘with the help of God’: the Salesians had their organisation registered in Austria-Hungary, the latter an ally of the German Empire.²² This move happened at a time when mission enthusiasm was reaching

¹⁷ Quoted in Wehrl, *Mission*: 154: “Die Christen werden sich da in der Nähe niederlassen können, und es wird aus diesen Ansiedlungen eine christliche Gemeinde entstehen, die niemand behelligen kann, da ich der Herr des Landes bin.”

¹⁸ Reinhart Köbler, *In Search of Survival and Dignity: Two Traditional Communities in southern Namibia under South African Rule*, Windhoek, Gamsberg Macmillan, 2005: 22f. Also idem, “Land und Mission im Süden Namibias”, in: Hanns Lessing, (ed.), *Deutsche evangelische Kirche im kolonialen südlichen Afrika. Die Rolle der Auslandsarbeit von den Anfängen bis in die 1920er Jahre*, Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2011: 555-568 (558f.).

¹⁹ Wheeler’s farms, today owned by the Catholic Diocese of Keetmanshoop, have been claimed as ancestral property by the Traditional Authority of !Gami-#nun; it has engaged in bilateral talks with the Diocese on this topic, but without results. Cf., among others, Luqman Cloete, “We were robbed of our land”, *The Namibian*, 4 January 2007, <https://www.namibian.com.na/index.php?id=32677&page=archive-read>

²⁰ Leutwein, *Gouverneur*: 284.

²¹ Gerhard L. Buys and Shekutaamba V. V. Nambala, *History of the Church in Namibia 1805-1990*, Windhoek, Gamsberg Macmillan, 2003: 82.

²² For information on the establishment of the Salesians in Austria, cf. Erich Hehberger, *Die Oblaten des heiligen Franz von Sales in Österreich. Von den Anfängen bis zum Jahre 1930*, Wien, Wiener Dom-Verlag,

its apogee, and was backed by mission-minded Christian-Social and wealthy aristocratic circles, who had actively sought the recognition of the Salesians in Austria, with generous financial backing. It was granted in 1897.²³ P. Lebeau – a naturalised Austrian and based in Vienna – organised the training of German-speaking priests and nuns (*Oblatinnen des Hl. Franz von Sales*) for GSWA and a fundraising campaign.²⁴ Theodor Leutwein had insisted that missionary personnel was German-speaking.²⁵

The first mission priests sent by the Austrian Salesians to arrive in and after 1899 in GSWA were the Germans Johann Malinowski and August Trüten.²⁶ They were accompanied by four nuns. The first of these were Louise-Alphonse and Joseph-Alexis.²⁷ At first, the missionaries sent from Vienna were mostly German, the first Austrian mission priests only arriving in 1905. The same is true for the nuns, who were of different nationalities initially, but had been trained together at Linz-Urfahr in Austria.

Locally, the mission's success depended on the voluntary settlement of people, and subsequently on their willingness to engage with the tenets of Catholicism and eventual conversion and baptism.²⁸ And indeed, this is what happened soon enough. Reports to the order's leadership speak of great poverty among Bondelswarts, of oppressive chiefly authority, and that the Rhenish missionary in Warmbad, Carl Wandres' rule was harsh and that he was feared.²⁹ He was accused of ineptitude, self-enrichment and

1967: 13-37; Wehrl, *Mission*: 175-183; "Man mußte [also] einen Umweg suchen, [...] und diesen Umweg ließ uns Gott finden".

²³ There is no general treatment of the context and history of late 19th century Austria-Hungarian 'philanthropic imperialism'. See, i.a. Walter Sauer, "Schwarz-Gelb in Afrika. Habsburgermonarchie und koloniale Frage", in: idem, (ed.), *k. u. k. kolonial. Habsburgermonarchie und europäische Herrschaft in Afrika*, 2nd ed., Wien, Böhlau, 2007: 17-78 (75-77).

²⁴ Cf. Magdalena Waygand, *Fremd- und Eigenbilder in der Missionszeitschrift "Das Licht" von 1906 bis 1910. Zur Repräsentation von AfrikanerInnen, Kolonialherren und MissionarInnen im kolonialen Kontext*, Dissertation Wien University, 2011, <http://othes.univie.ac.at/14803>

²⁵ On the recognition of the Salesians in GSWA, see Wehrl, *Mission*: 156-161.

²⁶ Johann Malinowski, was born 1872 in Czempirń, (today Poland). He took Holy Vows in Troyes (French OSFS) in 1890. After theological studies in Regensburg and Vienna he was sent as the first missionary from Austria to Pella in 1889, where he took Holy Orders in 1899 and was dispatched as superior to Heiraxabes by Bishop Simon. Despite a successful career on the mission field he was deposed in 1907, financial mismanagement and high-handedness being given as a reason. After a very successful fundraising tour through Germany and Austria, incl. Vienna (cf. *Das Vaterland*, 26/1/1908:7) he was installed as confessor at the Salesian nunnery of Chotěšov (Czech Republic), d. 1929. Cf. Wehrl, *Mission*: 189, 206 and 266-272; Beris, *Desert*: 75-77.

²⁷ Beris, *Desert*: 23

²⁸ Leutwein, *Gouverneur*: 285, "freiwillig".

²⁹ Quoted in Beris, *Desert*: 10, 25 and 27f. Carl Wandres (1858-1933) was the Rhenish missionary from 1884 to 1899 in Warmbad. Beris describes him as being an ardent German nationalist. On the conflicts between him and the Catholics, see pages 11f. and 20f.

corruption.³⁰ Still, the Catholics were able to offer material, cultural and social incentives to their impoverished and disgruntled clientele, as despite their humble beginnings, they had access to donations from their basis in Europe.³¹

In the harsh and dry environmental context of Great Namaland, water was an important asset. The farm had six wells, while more were being constructed. During prevailing droughts these were made available to the population. Gardens were laid out. Resin, extracted from locally growing acacia was bought by the mission and sold at the Cape, realising profits for both, the local population and the mission at Heiraxabes. The sales turned out to be part of the economic basis for the mission at Heiraxabes. Sheep were slaughtered on the occasion of high ecclesiastical festivities, celebrated by Malinowski with pomp and circumstance; the meat was given to the believers. The sick were tended to, children were provided with clothing, and in time free meals were made available. The school was opened in 1901. C. fifty children up until the age of 15 and some aged women were living at the mission; gradually, men with their herds started living in the surrounds. They were drawn to the station, amongst others, by payment for work; the missionaries paid with coffee and tobacco. Up until the start of the war in October 1904, the mission was able to recruit followers. A breakdown for Heiraxabes and surrounds, dated October 1904, lists 300 believers and 100 catechumenes (evidently there were conversions from the Protestant Rhenish mission³²), and a school with 50 children as well as a shelter for the needy. Additional bases, visited regularly, existed in Keetmanshoop (50 Catholics), Warmbad (40), Ukamas (60), Nakap (15), Blaufontein (20) and Springpütz (25).

Father Malinowski und the Peace of Ukamas

What was the role played by the mission at Heiraxabes and, more specifically, Father Malinowski in the war of 1904-07? One needs to recall this: the Oblates, even though operating as a large landowner with foreign financial assistance in a locally privileged context, were legally not secure. The prevailing *modus vivendi* between the mission and the administration in Windhoek as granted by Governor Leutwein was provisional only. Also, the Austrian Salesians were not legally registered in Germany, and the Rhenish Mission's privileges in GSWA were still valid. The position of the *Kapteins* and their headmen, who had never consented to the establishment of the mission station at Heiraxabes, had been weakened considerably when the colonial government had

³⁰ Ibid. 10 and 27f. In the German colonial archival records the emphasis is on the conflict between Wandres and Chief Christian; see e.g. NAN-ZBU 2029 W.II.d.18, Bd. 2, fol. 90, *Bericht des Stationschefs von Warmbad an den Bezirkshauptmann von Keetmanshoop*, dated 27/7/1896.

³¹ Cf. Beris, *Desert*: 21-33; Wehrl, *Mission*: 169-175 and 189-194 for this and the next paragraph.

³² Local Afrikaans- and German-speaking farmers became interested especially as Heirachabis offered grazing rights to them, on condition that their children should attend catholic schools. Cf. E. L. P. Stals, *Môrewind oor die Karasberg – 'n Kulturhistoriese verkenning van die Karasstreek in die laat negentiende eeu*, Pretoria, Protea Boekhuis, 2009: 410-411. I thank André du Pisani (Windhoek) for drawing my attention to this source.

enforced the registration of all guns in their possession in 1898.³³ Subsequently they gave in, even offering more land to the mission.³⁴ Among Bondelswarts, however, radical tendencies represented by the young headman Jakob Marengo gained traction.³⁵

On this background it is plausible that the mission cooperated closely with the colonial administration. Both, political conviction and the superior aim of getting the Salesians acknowledged in Germany would have informed the order's approach in the situation.³⁶ A much discussed incident in October 1903, during which the acting Chief Abraham Christian and the District Captain Walter Jobst were killed, would be the igniting spark for the OvaHerero-Nama-German Wars of 1904 to 1908/9.³⁷ The District Captain of Keetmanshoop directed a request to F. Malinowski to ensure that the !Gami-#nun would not join the insurrection.³⁸ Malinowski complied with conviction.

His sermon on the following Sunday, November, 22nd, has come down in two versions, with quite some difference in nuance. One rendition, clearly addressed to the home base in Austria and Germany, stressed religious arguments.³⁹ The other rendition, Malinowski's report to von Eschstruth, the colonial representative, however, emphasised political aspects, and claimed to have been directed against the resentment simmering between the Warmbad and Heiraxabes sections of !Gami-#nun. The homily was also aimed at weakening the position of the chief.⁴⁰ Malinowski accused the chief of being

³³ Horst Drechsler, "Let us die fighting". *The Struggle of the Herero and Nama against German Imperialism (1884-1915)*, 2nd ed., London, Zed, 1980: 115; Wallace, *History*:155f.

³⁴ Wehrl, *Mission*: 154.

³⁵ On the opposition to the Bondelswarts chief, and the subsequent arrest of three headmen, cf. NAN-ZBU 2029 W.II.d.18, fol. 102-120, *Bericht des Bezirkshauptmanns von Keetmanshoop, Gobinelli, an Landeshauptmann Leutwein vom 8. 9. 1896*. See also John Masson, *Jakob Marengo. An Early Resistance Hero of Namibia*, Windhoek, Out of Africa, 2001: 2.

³⁶ Simon, in: *Das Licht*, 1/1906/3: 43, "Ich hoffe, daß die deutsche Regierung unsere Dienste berücksichtigen und unseren Bitten endlich Gehör schenken wird...".

³⁷ On this and the course of the war, cf. Drechsler, *Struggle*: 107-110 and 176-230; Walter Nuhn, *Feind überall. Der große Nama-Aufstand (Hottentottenaufstand) 1904-1908 in Deutsch-Südwestafrika (Namibia). Der erste Partisanenkrieg in der Geschichte der deutschen Armee*, Bonn, Bernard & Graefe, 2000; Wallace, *History*: 165-172; Andreas Heinrich Bühler, *Der Namaaufstand gegen die deutsche Kolonialherrschaft in Namibia von 1904-1913*, Frankfurt am Main, IKO-Verl. für interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2003; Werner Hillebrecht, "Die Nama und der Krieg im Süden", in: Jürgen Zimmerer and Joachim Zeller, (eds), *Völkermord in Deutsch-Südwestafrika. Der Kolonialkrieg (1904-1908) in Namibia und seine Folgen*, Berlin, Links, 2003: 121-133.

³⁸ NAN-ZBU 445 D-IV-K-2_1, fol. 13 v. Eschstruth an Malinowski, 10/11/1903.

³⁹ Malinowski, in: *Das Licht*, 4/1909/39: 417, "Ich versammelte sie [die Anhänger der kath. Mission, WS] im Gotteshaus, erinnerte sie an die Lehren der heiligen Kirche und erklärte ihnen, daß der Augenblick gekommen sei, sich als ihre würdigen Kinder zu zeigen. [...] Und wirklich, als die Auführer, deren es in unserer Gegend an 400 gab, kamen und unsere Christen aufforderten, sich mit ihnen zu vereinen, da antworteten diese: 'Sprecht mit dem Vater, fragt ihn, ob wir mit euch kämpfen dürfen; ohne seine Erlaubnis werden wir es nie tun!' Die Achtung der Krieger vor dem Priester verhinderte sie, eine solche Frage an ihn zu richten."

⁴⁰ NAN-ZBU 445 D-IV-K-2_1, fol. 16-17 Malinowski to v. Eschstruth, 26/11/1903, "Hätte der Kapitän der wiederholten Aufforderung des Herrn Leutnant Folge geleistet, so hätten wir heute nicht den unglückseligen

exclusively responsible for the insurrection – in this he was following the official German reading – and promised those that opted to obediently remain in Heiraxabes not only the protection and assistance of government, but also freedom and independence from the Warmbad Bondelswarts.⁴¹ Such promises, however, were met with incredulity by the District Captain (as recorded in the documents). Even Leutwein repudiated this later.⁴² Yet, Malinowski's activities undermined the rebels, even if this is not really quantifiable.⁴³ Economic incentives might have contributed to this, as the mission had assisted them with food during the drought of 1903-05.⁴⁴ Some of the settled Bondelswarts were offered remunerated employment as waggon drivers, others found work as scouts, spies and leaders for the German military, offering a livelihood in the precarious conditions prevailing.⁴⁵ As the German military intended to undercut the supplies of the insurgents, Sr Noemi de Chalten was ordered to drive the station's herds across the Orange River into the Cape Colony.⁴⁶ For the German troops, Heiraxabes was logistically important. The remaining nuns and F. Trüten provided victualling and tended to the wounded and sick.⁴⁷

Malinowski opted to serve as chaplain to the German troops to encourage and energise their fighting morale, saying mass, preaching and even handing out devotional

Vorfall zu beklagen, der dem Staate gute Beamte weggerafft u. unsere Familien in Europa in Trauer versetzt hat u. das ganze Land, das schon durch die Trockenheit so schwer heimgesucht ist, in solche Aufregung gebracht. [...] Leider kam es dann soweit, daß zu den Waffen gegriffen wurde seitens der Umgebung des Kapitäns. [...] Die Leute [in Heiraxabes, WS] sahen ein, wie die Handlungsweise der Hottentotten von Warmbad unrecht war."

⁴¹ P. J. G., "Das Friedenswerk eines Missionars (Zum dreißigjährigen Gedächtnis) [2]", in: *Das Licht*, 29/1936/3-4: 49, "für alle Zukunft volle Freiheit und Unabhängigkeit vom Stamme der Bondels in Warmbad". This piece was possibly written by F. Peter Gineiger, an eye witness. It was complemented by a report authored by a German soldier, Emil Hoffmann, who had been present at the peace negotiations. He wanted "diese Schilderung [...] auch deswegen schreiben, weil er fürchtet, daß in den weiteren Berichten über das Friedenswerk etwas von den Verdiensten des P. Malinowski um die deutsche Kolonie ausgelassen werden könnte und daß P. Malinowski in seiner unbegrenzten Bescheidenheit nicht alles hinterlassen haben dürfte" (letter dated 25/1/1936), in: *ibid.*: 51.

⁴² Drechsler, *Struggle*: 107.

⁴³ In a letter, dated March, 31st, 1910, Prefect Stanislaus von Krolikowski, a successor to Malinowski since 1910, writes that nobody living at Heiraxabes participated in the war. Cf. *Das Licht*, 5,1910,56: 685, "keiner von den Bondels, die ständig in Heiraxabis gewohnt haben, an dem Kriege teilgenommen" [emphasis in original]. An estimated 250 Catholics are said to have lived at Heiraxabes before the insurrection. Cf. *Das Licht*, 9,1914,97: 7. If, hypothetically, among these had been maybe 40 to 50 combat-capable men, then this would not have been negligible in the face of 400 insurgents, cf fn 39.

⁴⁴ Wehrl, *Mission*: 192.

⁴⁵ *Jahresbericht über die Entwicklung 1905/1906*, Anlage D. III: 279.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, also: Anonymous, *Fünfzig Jahre Afrika-Mission der Oblaten des hl. Franz v. Sales*, Düringen, Thaddäusheim, 1948: 8.

⁴⁷ *Das Licht*, 1/1906/3: 41f. Two additional nuns had been seconded at the request of General von Trotha to assist as nurses in different military clinics, *ibid.*, 1/1906/2: 29.

scapulars.⁴⁸ Going by the sources, Malinowski was absolutely true to the principles of German colonialism. Evidently he expected a German victory soon, and in light of this was quite surprised when he realised that the Germans had started negotiating for peace with the rebels.⁴⁹ In these negotiatory talks he was evidently involved as interpreter, probably for Cape Dutch; the talks were concluded with the Peace of Kalkfontein, modern-day Karasburg, January, 17th, 1904. On the occasion of the ratification of this treaty, Malinowski preached a solemn sermon, passionately emphasising loyalty to the Emperor, *Kaisertreue*. This would have been Kaiser Wilhelm II. His Superior Bishop Simon reported that this was appreciated by both parties.⁵⁰ Yet, how this really went down with the two parties to the treaty we cannot gauge. His reputation was acknowledged widely, however.⁵¹

Malinowski indeed performed according to the expectations of Governor Leutwein, i.e. to secure the loyalty of the Nama.⁵² This, however, did not qualify him to be a mediator, as in the eyes of the insurgents he clearly was a member of the German enemy. Despite this, he was accepted at a later stage as diplomat, although only by some Nama. Personality-wise he may have had traits that are not recorded, as, furthermore, the mission as such may have had another 'face'. Rebels are said to have been allowed to visit their relatives on the mission station during the night: probably to find shelter or for victualling.⁵³ Heiraxabes may have had, therefore, logistic value for the rebels as well.⁵⁴

In light of what happened next, the mission's growing collaborative stance towards the rebels was vindicated. Marengo's return from the Cape Colony resulted in guerrilla war proper as from July 1904. And when Hendrik Witbooi broke his alliance with the Germans and declared war in early October 1904, most of Great Namaland was inflicted with war, Heiraxabes now being in the middle of the operational zone. Marengo "had often passed through Heirachabies with his troops and he had stopped at the mission which

⁴⁸ According to a letter of Malinowski of December 1906, quoted in: *Das Licht*, 1/1906/3: 41. "Es sind manchmal 600 Soldaten, die von ganzem Herzen deutsche Lieder singen. [...] Ich verteile auch oft Skapuliere, denn die Soldaten halten sehr viel darauf, mit Skapulieren versehen, zum Kampf, vielleicht zum Tode zu gehen." Regarding scapulars cf. <https://duckduckgo.com/?t=ffab&q=scapular+wiki&ia=web>

⁴⁹ P. J. G., "Das Friedenswerk eines Missionars (Zum dreißigjährigen Gedächtnis) [2]", in: *Das Licht*, 29/1936/3-4: 50.

⁵⁰ Simon, *Bishop*: 179.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Leutwein, *Gouverneur*: 278-296, *passim*.

⁵³ Anonymous, *Afrika-Mission*: 8.

⁵⁴ This might be the real reason for the complaints against the mission station from settlers and the administration. "Schon während des letzten Aufstandes hat es sich gezeigt, daß das lichtscheue Gesindel fast stets eine Zuflucht in Heirachabis fand." Cf. NAN-ZBU 2365 VII.L, fol. 43, *Eingeborenenkommissariat Warmbad [Ebeling] an Kaiserl. Gouvernement Windhuk, 24/2/1914*. The distribution of coffee and tobacco to the insurgents, and the extension of encouragement was later seen to have been building confidence ahead of the 1906 Treaty of Ukamas. Cf. P. J. G., "Friedenswerk" [4], in: *Das Licht* 29,1936,7-8: 116. On the farmers critical view of the mission, see Beris, *Desert*: 44 and 41.

he held in great respect [!]”.⁵⁵ A German supply convoy was ambushed by Marengo in September 1905 in the vicinity.⁵⁶ German troops attacked Heiraxabes, because the commanding officer had seen Bondelswarts there.⁵⁷ All of this added to a perception that Heiraxabes was a neutral, non-partisan space, an image of use for the mission.

A probably quite dangerous situation developed in late 1905. In a letter, addressed to his superior in Vienna around year's end, Malinowski reported that they had been completely isolated during a few months in the desert, but that he had been told on this day that Heiraxabes was in danger of destruction.⁵⁸ He did not say who endangered the station though. Marengo had concentrated his 300 to 400 fighters near Heiraxabes after the battle at Ham River (5/1/1905), however not with the intention to attack. Marengo and Malinowski met, the former explaining his view on the present situation.⁵⁹ Major von Estorff reacted with the dispatch of a company, to prevent the guerrillas from moving across the border into British territory.⁶⁰ Sr. Joseph-Alexis, a nun at the military hospital in Warmbad, watching the situation unfold explained this move to have been a measure to monitor Heiraxabes as the missionaries stood accused, by German settlers, of cooperating with the insurgents.⁶¹

The German side considered two strategic options, confrontation or negotiations. After a first attempt at talks with Marengo⁶², General von Trotha tasked F. Malinowski in early April 1905 to get in touch with the rebellious Bondelswarts in the Karas Mountains to convince them to relinquish their guns and to persuade Jakob Marengo to make peace.⁶³ This ultimatum corresponded to von Trotha's proclamation issued to Nama on April, 22nd, 1905. Unarmed, only with a white flag and escorted by a few locals,

⁵⁵ Simon, *Bishop*: 190; for an example, see *ibid.*: 194. Allegedly, Marengo even pledged non-aggression towards Heiraxabes in 1905, cf. Beris, *Desert*: 42.

⁵⁶ NAN-ZBU D-IV-m-2_3, fol. 8; Nuhn, *Feind*: 195f.

⁵⁷ Simon, *Bishop*: 195.

⁵⁸ *Das Licht*, 1/1906/1: 16: “Während mehrerer Monate waren wir ganz isoliert in der Wüste, eben heute hat man mir erzählt, daß unsere Station Heiragabies von Zerstörung bedroht ist.”

⁵⁹ Paul von Lettow-Vorbeck, *Mein Leben*, Biberach an der Riß, Köhlers, 1957: 95. Malinowski was, without doubt, well informed regarding most aspects of the conflict, as he was travelling and messaging back and forth between the parties, cf. Simon, *Bishop*: 188. The originals of his reports to Pella, and also Vienna, cannot be found in the archives, however. Extracts have been published in the literature and from 1906 in *Das Licht*. Nuhn, *Feind*: 210-212 described the battle at Ham River.

⁶⁰ *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 17/1906/: 71

⁶¹ Beris, *Desert*: 44.

⁶² According to generally well-informed Bishop Simon, Marengo had, exhorted by von Trotha, sent four envoys to Keetmanshoop; they were treated almost like prisoners by von Trotha, however. Cf. Simon, *Bishop*: 188.

⁶³ Cf. P. J. G., “Friedenswerk” [3], in: *Das Licht*, 29/1936/5-6: 77, “die aufständischen Bondelswart in den Karras-Bergen aufzusuchen, um sie zur Abgabe der Gewehre aufzufordern und Jakob Marengo zum Frieden zu bewegen”. For context see Jon M. Bridgman, *The Revolt of the Hereros*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1981: 144-149; Bühler, *Namaaufstand*: 249-255, and 270f.; Leutwein, *Gouverneur*: 292 and 321, picture.

Malinowski travelled through enemy territory, arriving in Marengo's camp on April, 21st. The latter was astonished at the courage of the missionary and quipped that his people were dangerous.⁶⁴ Malinowski was allowed into his clandestine stronghold Iikhauxalnas (Schans Vlakke).⁶⁵ Even though all indigenous military leaders in the south had misgivings about the intentions of von Trotha, Marengo (but not the Bondelswarts' Chief Johannes Christian – ruled 1903-1910) was willing to meet a German envoy.⁶⁶ This meeting fell flat though, not least because of an allegedly mistaken attack by the Germans on the negotiators. Malinowski was almost killed. The event is not mentioned in the German record.⁶⁷ “Not only am I being deceived and made fun of, but the same thing is happening to you, too”, Marengo is reported as having said to Malinowski.⁶⁸ Aside from this, he considered unacceptable the German demand to surrender their herds.⁶⁹ Another meeting in June failed too, as, again, Bondelswarts would not give up their arms.⁷⁰ A last meeting of Marengo and Malinowski in August 1905 was unsuccessful as well. A meeting with the Germans, suggested by the missionary to take place at Heiraxabes, was declined as Marengo had lost all illusions about German willingness to conclude a peace proper.⁷¹ After German troops were heavily defeated at Hartebeesmund in the south on October, 24th, 1905, Marengo moved in a northerly direction.⁷²

⁶⁴ P. J. G., “Friedenswerk” [3]: 77.

⁶⁵ Klaus Dierks, “The history of | | KhauXalnas”, <http://www.klausdierks.com/KhauXalnas/3.htm>

⁶⁶ Marengo answered “[t]ell the general that I have no proof of his sincerity and that I do not want to act blindly”, quoted in Simon, *Bishop*: 190; Marengo and Malinowski might have even communicated in German, as Marengo would have been able to handle German after a sojourn of 18 months in Germany or Austria; cf. Masson, *Marengo*: 2 and fn 74 below. German explanations of the misgivings of the Bondelswarts stress that the peace of Kalkfontein was not honoured by the Germans. See e.g. NAN-ZBU 2367 VIII.E: fol. 82v, v. Estorff: “Bericht über die Verhandlungen mit den Bondels 1906/07. Schlussbemerkung über den Aufstand”. Henceforth cited as v. Estorff, “Schlussbemerkung”.

⁶⁷ P. J. G., “Friedenswerk” [3]: 78f. and by way of summarising Bühler, *Namaaufstand*: 250-252.

⁶⁸ Simon, *Bishop*: 191.

⁶⁹ P. J. G., “Friedenswerk” [3]: 78f.; cf. Bridgman, *Revolt*: 148.

⁷⁰ Nuhn, *Feind*: 155f. NAN-ZBU D-IV-m-2_4, fol. 22 15/4/1906. A warrior of Marengo, Wilhelm Sahl, rendered this episode when questioned by the German military, as follows: “Als Morenga nach 14 Tage [sic!] hörte, dass Malinowski mit einem Hauptmann [Salzer] käme, sagte er, jetzt sollen wir also die Gewehre abgeben. Er wollte das jedenfalls nicht gerne tun.” To my (WS) knowledge, this is the only instance of Malinowski's involvement recorded for 1905 in the German colonial documents.

⁷¹ P. J. G., “Friedenswerk” [4]: 115, “Vom Vorschlag des Missionars, in Heirachabies mit den Deutschen zu verhandeln, wollte der Guerillaführer nichts wissen: Er sehe überhaupt nicht mehr ein, was für einen Frieden die Deutschen mit ihm machen wollten. Nach seiner Ansicht beabsichtigten sie ja, ihn und die Hottentotten zu Sklaven zu machen. Malinowski tat alles, um dem Anführer und seinen Leuten die Überzeugung beizubringen, daß die Deutschen die Hottentotten weder ausrotten, noch zu Sklaven machen wollten, sondern sie als achtbare Menschen zu behandeln gedächten. Doch alles Zureden half nichts, zumal Marengo in seiner Hartnäckigkeit noch durch die ablehnende Haltung der anderen Bandenführer bestärkt wurde. [...] So dauerte der Krieg fort.”

⁷² Letter of F. Peter Gineiger, dated 10/7/1906, in: *Das Licht*, 1/1906/10: 156; “Vor einigen Tagen waren wieder mehrere Gefechte hier ganz in der Nähe. Überhaupt spielt sich jetzt der Krieg um Heiragabies ab.

The respect shown the missionary Malinowski and Heiraxabes by the rebels is remarkable in light of his personal political convictions. He had recently joined the German forces. Köbler has explained that missionaries as mediators in conflicts matched Nama traditional role models.⁷³ Further to this, and explaining this, Marengo's family had been in a close relationship with the Catholic mission at Pella; young Marengo himself had been employed by F. Rougelot at its outpost Matjieskloof.⁷⁴ Also, Marengo had dealt with the missionaries at Heiraxabes while being a member of the Bondelswarts headmen's council. A closer relationship with Malinowski is manifested in his evaluation that "If you were the commander I would believe you, for I know that you have a conscience and that you consider it one of your duties to keep your word".⁷⁵ Even if one evaluates this merely as a tactical compliment, it speaks to a certain degree of trust. Malinowski responded on the same level, without really having to, calling Marengo a splendid human and one of his best friends after he had been killed.⁷⁶

This somehow ambiguous relationship between the insurgents and the mission and their representatives would not have been enough reason for entering into negotiations though. Much rather, it would have been the realisation of their increasing military desolation.⁷⁷ As Hendrik Witbooi had been fatally wounded in October 1905,⁷⁸ and the arrival of more German soldiers and the forced relocation of all cattle herds in a northerly direction, the Bondelswarts advance had stalled and their strategic situation deteriorated. While Marengo had moved across the border into British territory, some of his followers were victualled at Matjieskloof in the Cape Colony,⁷⁹ Chief Christian readied himself to negotiate with the Germans.

In early July of 1906, the new governor, von Lindequist had appealed to Bondelswarts to surrender, yet only with a promise to spare their lives on the condition of handing in their guns, whereas the new commander of the Imperial armed forces, Bertold von Deimling followed a different strategy. It was based on the wish of the Kaiser, to end the

Täglich kommen Truppen und ziehen von hier fort. In Heiragabies liegt eine starke [deutsche, WS] Besatzung", cf. *Deutsches Kolonialblatt*, 17/1906: 280.

⁷³ Cf. Köbler, "Land und Mission": 558; he posits that in some cases the missionaries acted "als Vertreter und Fürsprecher der ethnisch-politischen Gemeinde", in other cases they were "wichtige Türöffner bei der Aushandlung der Schutzverträge".

⁷⁴ Simon, *Bishop*: 186; As F. Rougelot had been at Matjieskloof between 1894 and 1897 (ibid.: 101-104), Marengo's employment there would be during these years. His travels to France and possibly Austria-Hungary would have been facilitated by the Catholics and not the Protestants therefore.

⁷⁵ Simon, *Bishop*: 190.

⁷⁶ According to an interview of June 1908, "ein prächtiger Mensch, einer meiner besten Freunde", quoted in Bühler, *Namaaufstand*: 317.

⁷⁷ Drechsler, *Struggle*: 192f.; Bridgman, *Revolt*: 155-163; Bühler, *Namaaufstand*: 296-310.

⁷⁸ This would have increased the possibility of a German victory, and expressed by Malinowski in a letter to Captain Salzer: "Mit Freuden habe ich ihre Nachricht begrüßt. Es tut einem wohl, nach soviel traurigen Nachrichten endlich eine solch gute zu erhalten. Nur jetzt mit Güte vorgehen!" Cf. P. J. G., "Friedenswerk" [4]: 117.

⁷⁹ Simon, *Bishop*: 203.

war as soon as possible.⁸⁰ He requested the Rhenish missionaries Wandres, Nyhof and Meisenholz to act as intermediaries and deliver an offer to negotiate to Abraham Morris.⁸¹ Morris had taken refuge with over 600 of his people across the Orange River in British territory, where they were taken care of (and evangelised) by the Catholics of Matjieskloof.⁸² Malinowski was employed to facilitate the negotiations with Chief Christian. Whether this was deliberate or coincidental remains unclear. Malinowski himself reported that a wrongly understood telegram prompted him to immediately leave for Warmbad.⁸³ Deimling thereupon instructed him, giving him all the necessary information. Just like his Rhenish colleagues, Malinowski thus knew the bargaining parameters, with which he could bring the by now rather exhausted Bondelswarts to the negotiating table.

Wandres and his envoys had almost no difficulties accessing Chief Morris; the latter consented to an armistice in written form on September, 19th, 1906.⁸⁴ Malinowski and his men, however, spent several weeks to search the area around Lifdod, where Chief Johannes Christian was assumed to be. On October, 19th, 1906, three Bondelswarts envoys showed up at Heiraxabes. The first encounter between Malinowski and Marengo happened three days later, October, 22nd, 1906, at Springpütz, Marengo's camp. Malinowski's report noted that their access to the camp was accompanied by mysterious ceremonies, and that inside the camp exemplary discipline was maintained. Chief Johannes made sure he was escorted, just like Marengo, by patrols, who also assisted on their ways in and out. In addition, guards were posted everywhere to make sure no mistake happened.⁸⁵

Yet, these talks were characterised by considerable mistrust. Small wonder, as the stronghold was almost attacked by a German unit, who purportedly, had not been informed of the negotiations.⁸⁶

The chief served up his misgivings, indicating that Malinowski was perceived to be on the side of the traitors.⁸⁷ Malinowski replied with guaranteeing the security of the

⁸⁰ Drechsler, *Struggle*: 195. The following is based on Malinowski's information, in which Protestant involvement is not mentioned. In addition I have used v. Estorff, "Schlussbemerkung": fol. 81-89.

⁸¹ Kirsten Zirkel, *Vom Militaristen zum Pazifisten. General Berthold von Deimling – eine politische Biographie*, Essen, Klartext, 2008: 64f.; Bühler, *Namaaufstand*: 297-299.

⁸² Simon, *Bishop*: 201.

⁸³ Bericht des hochw. P. Malinowski, Missionär der Kongregation der Oblaten des heiligen Franz von Sales, über sein Wirken für den Friedensschluß in Deutsch-Südwestafrika an seinen Provinzial in Wien, Wien 1907: 1. Both, Wehrl, *Mission*: 222-232, and Beris, *Desert*: 39-49 have used this report of Malinowski extensively for their respective renditions. Reportedly, Malinowski himself had suggested to negotiate with Johannes Christian, cf. P. J. G., "Friedenswerk", [4]: 118. Zirkel, *Deimling*: 65 assumes it was von Deimling's deliberate decision.

⁸⁴ Zirkel, *Deimling*: 65.

⁸⁵ Malinowski, "Bericht": 4, "Der Einlaß in das Lager der Aufständischen war immer von geheimnisvollen Zeremonien begleitet. Im Lager herrschte aber musterhafte Disziplin. Kapitän Johannes sicherte mir wie Marenga [sic!] den Weg durch Patrouillen, die mir entgegenkamen und mich zurückbegleiteten und durch Posten, die überall aufgestellt waren, damit 'ja kein Fehler vorkomme', wie sie sich selbst ausdrückten."

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*: 3f.

negotiators. It is quite possible that von Deimling had authorised this. As Heiraxabes was a place known well to both parties, the missionary intended to get both parties to the negotiating table there. Another motive here was to one-up the Protestant negotiators. Malinowski also hoped that those Catholics who had settled at Heiraxabes would positively influence their 'tribesmen' – *Stammesgenossen*.⁸⁸ Holding talks at Heiraxabes was risky in terms of security for the Bondelswarts. Von Deimling therefore imposed a ceasefire (and, allegedly, a ban on all Protestant mission activity). And Chief Christian cordoned off Heiraxabes with armed men.⁸⁹ At the first meeting of the two parties, von Estorff had to supply hostages, two German soldiers and a nun.⁹⁰

Eventually the negotiations took place alternately at Heiraxabes and Ukamas. Lieutenant-Colonel von Estorff and Chief Christian led the respective delegations for the Germans and !Gami-#nun. They were both accompanied by their advisers. Malinowski participated as interpreter for Dutch, headman Abraham Kaffer for Khoekhoegowab. A stumbling block was the chief's demand to involve his brother Josef. As the latter and his troops were somewhere in the mountainous area, they had to be tracked down first by Malinowski. When, after a delay of five weeks, Josef still had not been encountered, the negotiations finally commenced.⁹¹

To describe Malinowski as "chief negotiator for the German army" is doubtless overstating the case.⁹² As an intermediary, however, he certainly played an important role.⁹³ Malinowski does not really surface in the German colonial record.⁹⁴ In his own report, clearly written for public consumption, he emphasised what he called *Pendeldiplomatie*, i.e. his diplomatic activity commuting between the two parties and his influence on the decision-making process among Bondelswarts. His main aim was to convince their leaders of the honesty of the German demands. True to his priestly identity and the spirit of Heiraxabes as mission station, he even framed important steps in the negotiations liturgically. When resistance among Bondelswarts against the chief's willingness to negotiate with the Germans arose, Malinowski offered personal

⁸⁷ Ibid.: 5. The chief "tischte mir eine Menge Befürchtungen auf, als wäre ich im Komplott mit Verrätern." Missionary Wandres reported the same with regard to Morris. Cf. Zirkel, *Deimling*: 65.

⁸⁸ Josef Skyer, a Bondelswarts commander was only allowed to marry a girl, who was under the tutelage of the nuns of Heiraxabes in the event of a peace treaty. Cf. Malinowski, "Bericht": 6.

⁸⁹ Zirkel, *Deimling*: 65; Wehrl, *Mission*: 224. Von Estorff mentioned the termination of all troop movements, "Einstellung der Truppenbewegungen" von Deimling, however, had envisaged a ruthless attack "rücksichtsloser Angriff" on the Bondelswarts delegates. Cf. v. Estorff, "Schlussbemerkung": fol. 82 and 87f., telegram von Deimling December, 15th, 1906.

⁹⁰ P. J. G., "Friedenswerk" [5], in: *Das Licht*, 29/1936/9-10: 144.

⁹¹ v. Estorff, "Schlussbemerkung": fol. 82f.; Malinowski, "Bericht": 10 claims as a personal success a letter of Josef Christian, in which the latter voted for a peace treaty with the Germans. This letter is not mentioned by von Estorff, however.

⁹² Beris, *Desert*: 42.

⁹³ Masson, *Marengo*: 35.

⁹⁴ Malinowski, "Bericht": 2, *passim*, mentioned a number of telegrams exchanged between himself and the German generals. These are not contained in the archival records though.

guarantees, to strengthen chiefly authority. He even made a solemn oath, to always champion the concerns of the Bondelswarts, and to be a father to them; he knew that he would never be able to keep this pledge.⁹⁵ Whether he also tried to influence the German envoys remains unclear, but his two-time protest against the government's approach regarding Marengo (see hereunder), and his appeals to the German military to act charitably, mentioned above, makes such influencing likely. When Malinowski was recalled by his superiors to Europe in 1907, Bondelswarts were quite upset.⁹⁶

The so-called Christmas Peace of Ukamas was signed on December, 23rd, 1906.⁹⁷ It settled, most importantly, the complete disarmament of the insurgents. On a case-by-case basis, arms would be made available for hunting though.⁹⁸ Another issue covered was the (re-)settlement / relocation of !Gami-#nun as demanded by Governor von Lindequist. Bondelswarts were able to pre-empt their deportation to other parts of the colony. They retained part of their traditional settlement areas as a reservation, including three watering places.⁹⁹ To guarantee their survival, they were allowed to keep 1500 head of goats and sheep, amounting to roughly one-twelfth of their pre-war herds.¹⁰⁰ The chief was given 300 sheep as a gift, and for as long as Bondelswarts were not able to feed themselves, they were promised government assistance. An improvement on the Treaty of Kalkfontein was that this treaty was to be applied to all those not present in the colony as well, including those that had not yet assented to it. That would have covered the followers of Morris, Johannes Christian and Joseph Links. Marengo was not mentioned. There is no mention of forced labour which was introduced a short while after in the reserve, though it would have doubtlessly been a topic during the negotiations.¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ Ibid.: 12. Even more reckless in Malinowski's official report: "In einer einstündigen Ansprache bot ich ihnen: 1. im Namen der Regierung [!] eine bessere Zukunft an, da die Regierung nicht ihr Unglück wolle, wie ihnen vorgefasst wurde." See *Jahresbericht über die Entwicklung 1905/1906*, Anhang Missionsberichte: 71. While he had no real influence on German colonial policy, he was already contemplating a sojourn in Europe for health reasons.

⁹⁶ Letter Sr Paula Hafners of January, 1st, 1907, in: *Das Licht*, 3/1908/28: 245f.; Beris, *Desert*: 64f.

⁹⁷ Bühler, *Namaaufstand*, has a summary: 301-304. A copy of the original is in NAN-ZBU 2367, VIII.E, fol. 33-34.

⁹⁸ Johannes Christian's followers relinquished their guns already on the evening of 23rd December, 1906; and Jakobus Christian's people followed suit on Christmas Day, cf. Malinowski, "Bericht": 13 and 15.

⁹⁹ These reservation areas were established as from 1907 in Haib, Gabis, Draihoeck und Wortel, measuring some 1275 000 ha. Context for this development can be found in Wolfgang Werner, "A brief history of land dispossession in Namibia", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 19 (1), 1993: 135-146 (138-140).

¹⁰⁰ Jeremy Silvester, "Beasts, boundaries & buildings. The survival & creation of pastoral economies in Southern Namibia 1915-1935", in: Patricia Hayes, Jeremy Silverster, Marion Wallace and Wolfram Hartmann, (eds.), *Namibia under South African Rule. Mobility & Containment 1915-1946*, Oxford, Currey, 1998: 95-116 (99, fn 24).

¹⁰¹ A cryptic remark, made by the German negotiator on the topic of hunting, "that the question as to how Bondelswarts were to exist would be solved differently altogether" probably referred to the issue of forced labour. Cf. Malinowski, "Bericht": 13, "daß die Existenzfrage überhaupt anders gelöst werde". Also cf. Wallace, *History*: 171.

The weeks into early 1907 were used by Malinowski and a team of German envoys to visit those exiled Bondelswarts, that had sought refuge across the border in the Cape Colony. The aim was to convince them to assent to the treaty and their return to GSWA.¹⁰² Malinowski had promised ahead of the negotiations to assist with the inclusion and return of those not present at Ukamas.¹⁰³

The treaty did not include Marengo. He had surrendered to British authorities in Cape Town in May 1906, and was detained in Tokai.¹⁰⁴ The Germans had hoped that he would be extradicted and tried, but instead he was freed in June 1907. Von Estorff's alternative promise of immunity if he returned to the colony, could not move Marengo to return.¹⁰⁵ An interesting observation is that communication with Marengo was to happen through officers and the German consul in Cape Town, not through other peace brokers, missionaries for instance.¹⁰⁶ When Marengo disappeared without a trace from Upington, renewed hostilities were feared in GSWA. Captain von Hagen, tasked locally with finding Marengo, suggested involving Malinowski. Marengo himself had allegedly said that Malinowski would be the only one he would maybe talk to about a possible peace.¹⁰⁷ Significantly, Malinowski, who was aware of his key role, refused to be drawn into this. Deputy Governor Hintrager insisted, however, that Marengo surrender unconditionally. Malinowski considered this to be entirely futile. Another attempt by the Deputy-Governor, related through military channels to involve Malinowski in negotiating with Marengo, this time guaranteeing to spare his life should he give himself up, was also declined by the priest.¹⁰⁸ When Governor von Lindequist, in early September, promised safe conduct, and assured that Marengo would not be tried and that settlement rights would be extended, Malinowski accepted to act as go-between. However, by this time Marengo

¹⁰² Dudley B. Fenn, a Cape Colony Police Captain, who was stationed to the border region reported to the German Consul-General in Cape Town on January, 25th 1907 that "The terms of Peace were read out in Dutch by Father Malinowski". See NAN-ZBU 2367 VIII.E, fol. 57-59; also v. Estorff, "Schlussbemerkung": fol. 84f.

¹⁰³ Beris, *Desert*: 48.

¹⁰⁴ Masson, *Marengo*: 40f.

¹⁰⁵ NAN-GEH VIII-F_1, fol. 63a Kommando der Kaiserl. Schutztruppe an Gouvernement, 20/4/1907.

¹⁰⁶ NAN-GEH VIII-F_1, fol. 76a, Generalkonsul v. Humboldt an Gouvernement, 13/6/1907: but not through "allerhand Friedensvermittler (Missionare u.s.w.)".

¹⁰⁷ NAN-GEH VIII-F_1, fol. 97, v. Hagen: Bericht über Morenga, 30/7/1907: "Morenga soll selbst geäußert haben, dass dies der einzige wäre, mit welchem er vielleicht wegen des Friedens sprechen würde."

¹⁰⁸ NAN-GEH VIII-F_2, fol. 87 Kommando des Südbezirks (Baerecke): Bericht über die Expedition gegen Morenga, 28. 10. 1907: "Der stellvertr. Gouverneur [Hintrager, WS] nahm dies Anerbieten [des Schutztruppenkommandos, WS] nur unter der Bedingung an, dass Morenga sich auf Gnade oder Ungnade ergäbe. Diesen Auftrag lehnte Malinowski als gänzlich aussichtslos ab. Am 21. [August 1907, WS] traf durch das Kommando eine Anfrage des stellvertr. Gouverneurs ein, ob Malinowski bereit sein würde, mit Morenga zu verhandeln, falls diesem das Leben zugesichert würde. Auch diese Grundlage schien Malinowski jedoch für Verhandlung nicht genügend." Malinowski's communications with the authorities are rendered in quite some detail. I have, for brevity's sake, quoted from a summary of some time later.

had left his hide-out at Gamsib near Ariams already. Soon thereafter, on September, 20th, 1907, he was killed by British troops in the Cape Colony.¹⁰⁹

Andreas Bühler, in his substantive history of the Nama Wars explains the Ukamas Peace Treaty as extremely favourable for Bondelswarts.¹¹⁰ And Marion Wallace evaluated the treaty as “sign of the effectiveness of the Bondelswart’s guerrilla campaign and their success, if not in achieving outright victory, at least in establishing a military stalemate.”¹¹¹ Still, some of the treaty’s outcomes were ambivalent, the long-term consequences being still felt today.¹¹² On the one hand, !Gami-#nun were not forced off their land as so many others after the so-called Native Ordinances of 1906/07 had been decreed and implemented.¹¹³ On the other hand, Bondelswarts could not move about freely and had to carry passes, the reserve being turned into yet another labour-resource for the colonial economy, as the herds left to them were not adequate to rebuild a viable pastoral economy either. The newly arrived Viennese missionary Franz Xaver Lipp described the misery of resettled Bondelswarts in the location of Warmbad in clear words, observing that they were meant to work, yet unfit for it, and not even allowed to hunt, with too few goats and no real means to make a living.¹¹⁴

For the mission enterprise of the Catholics, the balance of events was rather positive, though not for F. Malinowski, as we have seen earlier.¹¹⁵ Additional stations were established at the request of the colonial government near the reserve at Gabis and Warmbad. The deeds of sale for Heiraxabes and Nabas were now approved expeditiously by the authorities in Windhoek.¹¹⁶ More satellite stations were set up during the following years at, among others, Lüderitz and Keetmanshoop. In September 1912, there were 8 priests, one lay brother, 11 nuns and 12 indigenous catechists in the service of the Catholic mission. There were 1510 European Catholics, 1566 indigenous Catholics. Calculated by percentage, Catholics amounted to 25% of all Europeans, and 15% of all indigenes in Great Namaland. The Salesians were eventually acknowledged in Germany in 1907.¹¹⁷

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.: fol. 90. On Marengo’s last days, see Masson, *Marengo*: 44-48.

¹¹⁰ Bühler, *Namaaufstand*: 302 “müssen die Friedensbedingungen des Friedens von Ukamas als äußerst günstig für die Bondelswarts angesehen werden”; Masson, *Marengo*: 40 has a similar evaluation.

¹¹¹ Wallace, *History*: 171.

¹¹² Reinhart Köbler, *Namibia and Germany: Negotiating the Past*, Windhoek, University of Namibia Press, 2015: 215.

¹¹³ Helmut Bley, *Namibia under German Rule*, Hamburg, Lit, 1996: 170-173; Jürgen Zimmerer, *Deutsche Herrschaft über Afrikaner. Staatlicher Machtanspruch und Wirklichkeit im kolonialen Namibia*, 3rd ed., Münster, Lit, 2004: 57-68.

¹¹⁴ Letter dated 27/11/1907, in: *Das Licht*, 3/1908/26: 209 and 212, “Elend dieses armen Volkes. [...] Man sagt immer, die Hottentotten sollten arbeiten, wie viele sind aber zur Arbeit unfähig und die Jagd ist ihnen verboten! Ziegen haben sie in geringer Anzahl, wovon sollen sie also leben?”

¹¹⁵ Wehrl, *Mission*: 272-360. For Malinowski, cf. fn 26.

¹¹⁶ NAN-ZBU 1910 U.V.h.2, fol. 21-22.

¹¹⁷ *Das Licht*, 8/1913/86: 22; Wehrl, *Mission*: 183.

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