



Moving place in Sesheke (1875)  
*(Holub, Seven Years in South Africa)*

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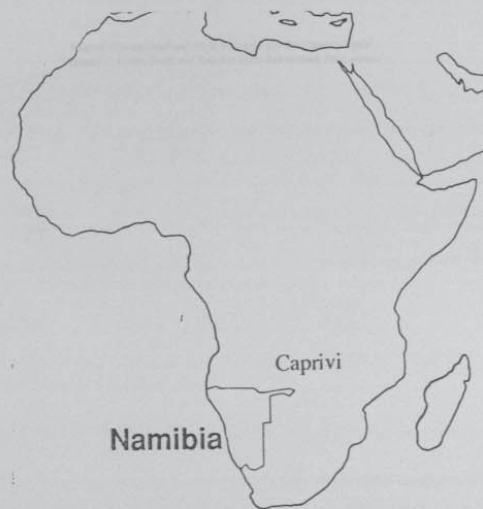
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1. Edition

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# Caprivi

## an African Flashpoint



An illustrated history of Namibia's Tropical Region where  
four Countries meet

Authors Edition in the year 2000

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## Acknowledgements

A book on the history of an area with everchanging overlords cannot be written without the insight and support of their people, be they prominent residents or the ordinary people in the countryside.

Many thanks go to the historians (Prof. Stals, Dr. Demhardt), the ethnologists (Dr. Budack, Dr. Maria Fisch), the pioneers of the turn of the century (David Susman remembering his father Elie), the Namibian politician (Ulenga Ben Ulenga, Andrew Matjila), the administrator (District Commissioner of Sesheke, Richard Cunningham) and the missionaries (Father Förg and Father Kapp).

In addition, the many unnamed people, the indunas at the Kutas in Schuckmannsburg and Sesheke (Mwandi), the guides who took us through the Caprivi-Zipfel on uncharted tracks, the many Masubia, Barotse, Mafe, Hukwe and Mbukushu who answered our questions.

And last but not least the owners of Impalila and Kalizo Lodge who took us by boat through the Kasaias, to the rapids along the Zambezi to Schuckmannsburg and Sesheke (Mwandi), around the much discussed island of Kasikili (Sedhu) and the islands of Kokumba and Crocodile where "the four countries meet". This was an unforgettable experience because their staff acted not only as guides but also as interpreters.

## Introduction

When the visitor of today comes to

"Caprivi, the Tropical Region of Namibia",

he is confused by the unfamiliar names of places, the strange shape of this part of the country and the many borders he has to cross.

It is in the nature of human endeavour to want to expand and explore. The Africans wanted to expand and conquer, the Europeans wanted to explore and take over.

This is the "Scramble for Africa" in a nutshell.

In the east, wedged between the Zambezi and Chobe lies Impalila Island. It is near this point that four countries meet, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Namibia. Down through the centuries that Island has been at the crossroads of man's search for new borders.

It was the entrance to the Barotse Kingdom, a trading centre for early explorers and hunters, a safe haven for fugitives from the law and later the white spearhead against the African Freedom Fighters.

A ferry crosses the Zambezi, connecting Kazungula in Zambia with Kazungula in Botswana. On the northern shore of the river the island of Impalila is passed by the road from Livingstone to Sesheke, whilst on the southern side a main road connects the Victoria Falls with the Caprivi-Zipfel.

The old Pandamatenga road crosses the river at the tip of the Island, and the ferry connects Southern Africa with Central- and East Africa.

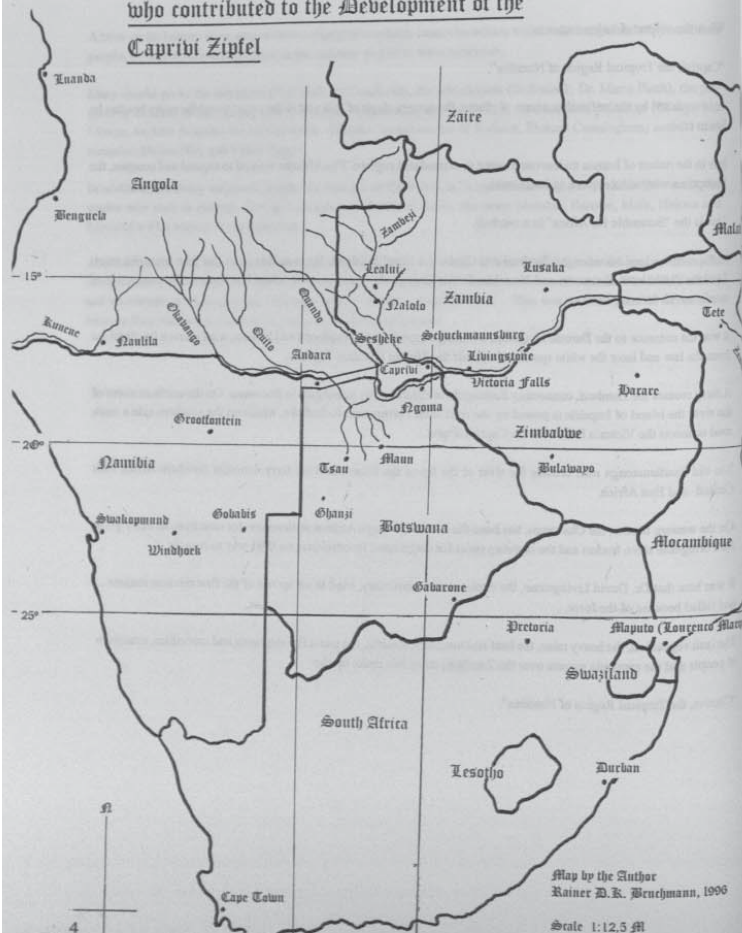
On the western border, the Okavango, has been the lifeline for large African settlements for centuries, an entry point for Portuguese slave traders and the crossing point for disgruntled Boertrekkers on their way to Angola.

It was here that Dr. David Livingstone, the explorer and missionary, tried to set up one of the first mission stations ... and failed because of the fever.

The lush vegetation, the heavy rains, the heat and humidity, malaria, the tsetse fly, elephants and crocodiles, a rainbow of people and the romantic sunsets over the Zambezi, all of this make up the

"Caprivi, the Tropical Region of Namibia".

**The Countries of Central-Southern Africa  
who contributed to the Development of the  
Caprivi Zipfel**



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On the slave trade ...

"All I can add in my solitude, is, may heaven's rich blessing come down on every one, American, English or Turk, who will help to heal this open sore of the world."

(David Livingstone's last words insaid in brass on his tomb in Westminster Abbey)

### The history of the land along the Zambezi and Chobe until 1820

Already in the 16th and 17th centuries Portuguese traders and adventurers tried to cross Africa from Luanda to Mocambique Island, their early trading post on the east coast of Africa. The travels of Joao Baptista have been recorded. He might already have seen the Victoria Falls.

Then came the slave traders. Portuguese of mixed blood penetrated from Portuguese West Africa as far as the Okavango and the Upper Zambezi to trade ivory and slaves for weapons and alcohol. From Zanzibar came the Arabs as far as Impalilla Island and Sesheke. They, too, brought gunpowder and weapons in exchange for Africans who had been captured during endless intertribal battles. These slaves were made to carry the ivory to the coast. (One reason why the slave trade died down at the end of the last century was that the White Traders from the south built roads and used oxwagons to transport their goods and ivory. Slaves were no longer needed for this purpose).



Arrival of a caravan of slaves and ivory from Central Africa and along the Zambezi, Daressalam (1895)  
(Graudenz, Schindler, Die deutschen Kolonien, p. 159)

"I look with satisfaction, sympathy and joy upon the extension of Germany in these desert places of the earth."  
(The British Prime Minister, W.E. Gladstone, 1884)

### The Africans from 1820 - 1916

Until the middle of the 19th century very little had been recorded of the history of the Caprivi-Zipfel and Impalila Island. This changed when traders, hunters, explorers and missionaries tested the shores along the Zambezi and Chobe. They not only recorded their own activities but wrote down whatever they learned about the history of the tribes.

There were no political borders but the various tribes jealously protected their territories against unwelcome intruders. The only permanent village of any size was then Sesheke (today Mwandu on the Zambian side of the Zambezi). It was an old Barotse village dating back in history. It attracted the early travellers and hunters and traders set up their shops. Letia ruled the Southern Province from here and later it became the seat of the British High Commissioner. The French founded the Paris Missionstation outside the village. In 1935, when the South African Administration moved their administration from Schuckmannsburg to Katima Mulilo for health reasons, the British did likewise and moved their seat from Sesheke to a place across the river from Katima Mulilo and called it Sesheke again whilst the old place reverted back to Mwandu.

#### The early Barotse and Masubia

Once there were the Barotse or Lozi, a Bantu tribe who lived on the upper Zambezi. (The name Barotse was given to them later by their conquerors, the Makololo; who once called themselves A-Luyi, men of the river). Their home was the Barotse Valley (valley of the upper Zambezi), north of Lealui.

The Barotse developed a government and political organisation much superior to that of the southern Bantu. They had an unwritten rudimentary constitution and had divided the country into districts. Each one was ruled by a Lozi appointed by the king. Their kings were often tyrants but were always elected monarchs. The Barotse were farmers, pastoralists, smiths and woodworkers. Their superior physique, intellect, and cohesiveness enabled them to extend their sovereignty over a large number of other tribes who greatly outnumbered them.

By 1840 the Barotse hegemony stretched to the area east of the Victoria Falls and in the south to the Zambezi and Chobe where the Masubia lived. These were boatmen, fishermen, potters and also raised cattle.

#### The Makololo

The conquest of Shaka, founder of the Zulu nation, caused great disruption among the Bantu in south eastern Africa in the early 19th century. One defeated group the Fokeng escaped under their able leader Sebetwane and began a long journey to the north in search of a home. They made their slow way northwards through Bechuanaland gaining strength by adding captives from Bechusana tribes to their ranks. They settled near Molepolo.

The Matabele, recent deserters from Shaka, under Mzilikazi, invaded western Transvaal and defeated Sebetwane. He, together with his followers retreated to Lake Ngami and conquered the Tswana. He did not like the lake district and

moved north across the Chobe. Sebetwane subdued the Masubia and fleeing his old enemies, the Matabele, who were driven north, too, by the Voortrekkers, went into the heartland of the Barotse. He found the Barotse in disarray. Their king Mulamwa had died and the rival claimants had caused an outbreak of civil war over the succession.

This made it easy for Sebetwane and his followers, who now called themselves the Makololo to conquer the Barotse. He became their ruler. He moved the Royal Kraal to Linyanti amongst the Masubia so as to be safe from the Matabele. This took place in 1850. Linyanti was the chief town of the Makololo overlords and the place where Livingstone first found them. It was on the north side of the Chobe opposite the mouth of the Savuti Channel.

In 1851 Sebetwane died and was succeeded by his son Seketeu, who was weak and foolish. Under his rule the Makololo degenerated and when Seketeu died in 1864 Mhololo became chief. He was extremely cruel and was deposed. Civil war broke out and the Barotse saw their chance to regain control again.

#### The Barotse regain their power

Sipopa (Sepopa), the son of Mulamwa, became the new king of the Barotse. During the take-over most of the Makololo men were killed and the women and children were incorporated into the Barotse tribe; but they retained the language of the Makololo. Sipopa was a despot, too, and became increasingly cruel. He died during the rebellion in 1876.

He was followed by Mwanawina, a grandson of Mulamwa, but was, in turn driven out by Lubosi in 1878. He, too, was a grandson of Mulamwa. However Lubosi cruelly made the tribe send him into exile (1884) and Akafuma Tatila took over. Lubosi fought his way back to power, took the name of Lewanika and became a just and great king of the Barotse. (President Nelson Mandela named his second son after Lewanika, see Mandela, Long Way to Freedom, p. 161).

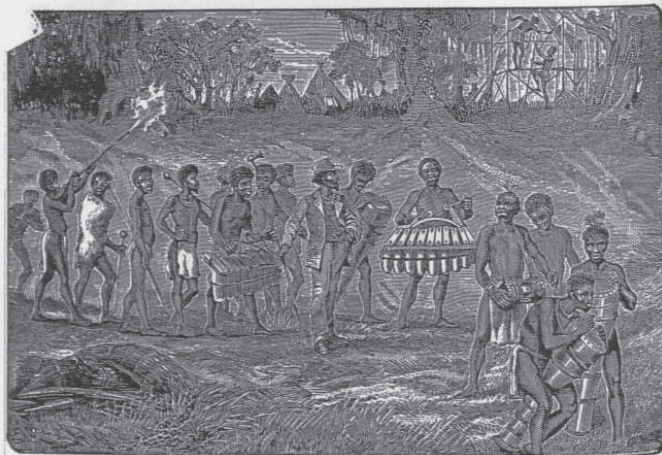
In 1895, his son Letia became chief of the Southern District of Barotseland. This included the land of the Masubia between the Zambezi and the Chobe. His Royal Kraal was in Sesheke. Lewanika ruled until 1916 when he was succeeded by his son Letia, who took the name Yeta I.

#### The Mukwaes of Barotseland

The Mulena Mukwae, then Lewanika's twin sister, was the next most important person in the tribe. By Barotse custom, the King's sister and other female blood relatives were given special rank and a share in the government. They were treated like men, were addressed by male titles and were permitted to choose their own husbands (one at a time) and change them at will. Several Mukwaes were local chiefs. The senior of Mulena Mukwae of Nalolo, governed a province and was consulted by the king in all important matters of state. She was a fierce partisan of her brother and, though reputedly a matrimonial spider, was also said to have been humane enough to deplore the bloodshed in her country. She died in 1934.

The daughter of the Mulena Mukwae resided as Mukwae in Sesheke, where Letia, the son of Lewanika was in charge. Her high position allowed her great influence. She, too, was a matrimonial spider but when she suggested that the female members of her tribe do likewise and change their men frequently, there was an uproar, and she was recalled by Lewanika to Lealui.





Reception at Sipopa's Kraal (1875)  
*(Hohb, Seven Years in South Africa, p. 137)*



The Mukwas of Sesheke in front of her house during the visit of Hauptmann Streitwolf (1909)  
*(private collection, Jürgen Streitwolf, Bruchköbel)*

#### Smaller tribes of the land between the Zambezi, Chobe Linyanti and Okavango

In what later became the Caprivi-Zipfel other tribes had settled too. A century ago the Mbukushu migrated from the Chobe and Linyanti to the Okavango. Andara was their chief. He was followed by his son Libebe who was a renowned "rinnmaker". They lived along the Okavango near the Pops Falls where the river flows from Angola into Botswana to create the world famous and game rich Okavango Swamps. (This stretch of the river forms the western border of the Caprivi-Zipfel although the actual border runs down the 21° longitude). During the insurrection of 1884 Lewanika was driven out of the Royal Knaal in Lesluis and found temporary refuge at Libebe (Andara). Lewanika thanked him by respecting his tribal boundaries in the future.

Along the Mashi (Kwando) settled the Mafe (Fwe). They lived on good terms with the Masubia and Barotse. Although at one time one of their chiefs, Mamili, took up arms to fight Lewanika.

The bushman tribe of the Hukwe (Khoes) roamed in what became later the "strip" between the Mashi and the Okavango.

#### Impalila and Kakumba Islands, the "Southern Watchtowers" of the Barotse Kingdom

Dr Holub writes in his book "Seven Years in South Africa" on page 109 and 118 about his visit to Impalila Island in 1875: "Makumba was away hunting north of the Zambezi at this time; it was made known to me that the local people were not permitted to receive me until an answer had been received from Sipopa giving his approval.

In due course of a walk down the riverside next morning I came to some deserted farms of the Masupias, who fled to the opposite shore after the destruction of the Manansa kingdom. In several places along the valley I saw the graves of some Masupia chiefs. These graves were oval mounds, covered with antelope skulls and elephant tusks, so arranged that the points protruded and bent downwards; some were bleached and cracked by exposure, but the smaller ones, weighing 20 lbs, near the centre of the graves, were generally in better state of preservation. Those which had been deposited most recently were only milk teeth and consequently worthless; in all probability they had been placed there since the Marutis had become better acquainted with the value of ivory, so that the deeds of reverence for the departed had not defrauded the rulers of any portion of their revenue".

Holub goes on to record that at that time there were three groups of homesteads on Impalila Island. The one nearest to the Chobe was made up of 135 huts; in another cluster of 25 huts the natives took refuge during the floods, and 32 huts were built further to the west. He notes, too, that Makumba's village proper was on the left bank of the Zambezi and that one of his wives lived on Impalila. He also mentions that Makumba (Kakumba), "the regional headman at Impalila and environment, made a good impression for honest dealing on all white men passing that way in those days."



Libebe with his brother Lisso (l) and his sons Lisso and Niina (r) (1905)  
(Seiner, *Die wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse im Caprivizipfel*, Abb. 30)



Chief Mamili, then 100 years old, lived in Mamili village near Linyanti along the tribal borders of the Masubia and Mafe (1909)  
(Stettin, *Der Caprivizipfel*, p. 143)



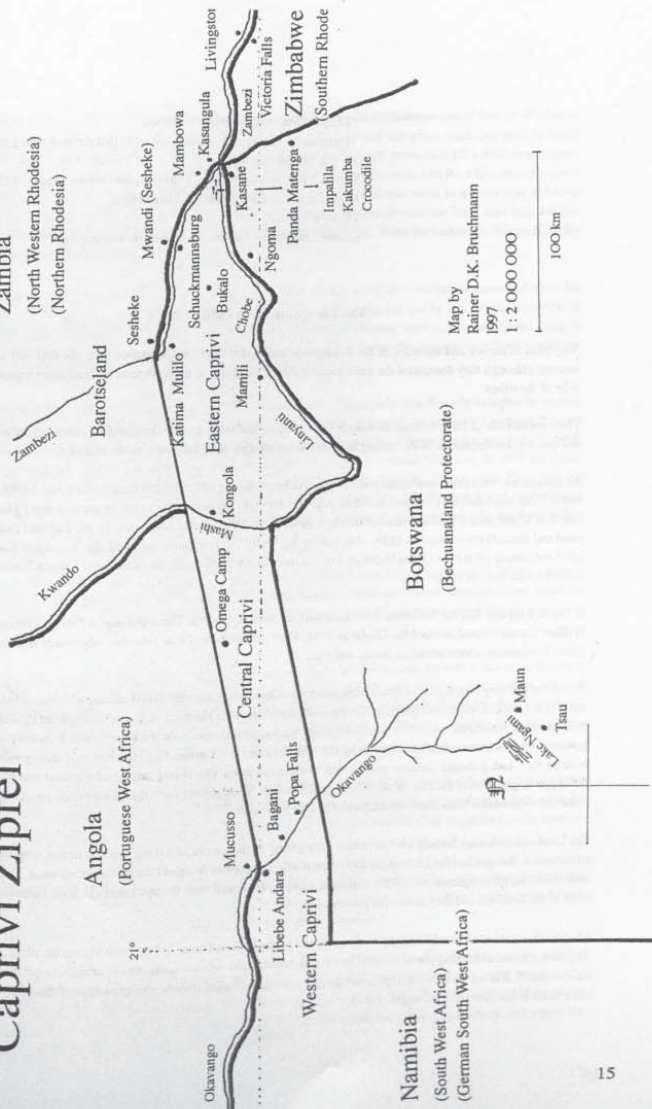


The Mafe  
(Streitwolf, *Der Caprivizipfel*, p. 144)



A Hukwe bushman (1909)  
(Streitwolf, *Der Caprivizipfel*, p. 168)

## Caprivi Zipfel





"I beg to direct your attention to Africa; I know that in a few years I shall be cut off in that country, which is now open. Do not let it be shut again. I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity; do you carry out the work which I have begun. I leave it to you."  
(David Livingstone, Cambridge University address, 1857)

### The Europeans from 1850 - 1890

Very little is known and recorded of the Portuguese traders, explorers and hunters during the first half of the 19th century; although they dominated the trade because they were closer to the west coast and had more intimate knowledge of the tribes.

There are records of Silva Antonio Francisco Porto, a slave and ivory trader, who travelled east from Bihe in Angola and entered Barotseland in 1848, visiting the Barotse before they were subjected by the Makololo

An unusual but very interested visitor was Carolus Trichardt, the son of the famous Boer leader Louis Trichardt, whose trek to Lourenco Marques (Maputo) ended so tragically for many because of malaria. Carolus was sent by his father in search of a land with a healthier climate in which to settle. He is reputed to have come up the Zambezi from the east coast and reached Barotseland in 1838, also visiting the "Falls", (Livingstone saw the Falls for the first time only in 1855 and named them after Queen Victoria), but it is more likely that he only got as far as the Cabora Bassa Falls, the Cabora Bassa Dam of today.

It was at Linyanti that the Makololo first made contact with the British. The missionaries David Livingstone and William Cotton Oswell reached the Chobe in 1851. They penetrated as far as Sesheke; where they met Sebetwane, whom Livingstone characterised as strong and wise.

British traders very soon followed the missionaries to the Chobe and attempted to do business with the Makololo. The tribes of the upper Zambezi bought their "European imports" from the Mambari, half-cast traders from Bihe in Angola. Because those merchants bought slaves, Livingstone wanted the tribes to trade with the British from the south, who, however, were not encouraged to come in by the Makololo and the Barotse. The Mambari sold their goods cheaper because they had a shorter distance over which to transport them. The British were badly treated and usually not permitted to go beyond the line of the Chobe and Zambezi. It may have been that the riverine people feared the Matabele would learn from the southern traders how to get at them.

The London Missionary Society tried to realize Livingstone's other desire, of having teachers in that country, but the missionaries that reached the Linyanti in 1860 were nearly all killed by fever and the survivors retreated. They did not come back, only Livingstone visited the Makololo again on his return from the east coast. In 1860 British influence north of the Zambezi and the Chobe was non-existent.

An early description of Impalila Island is given by the great elephant hunter Selous, who visited the island in 1874: "Impalila is a horrid-looking place, situated in a marsh between the two rivers, suggestive of nothing but fever, ague, and mosquitos. It is a most unhealthy spot, and the graves of three English traders, who died there of the deadly malaria fever, attest to the fact." C.E. Krueger, 1981).

The man responsible for establishing a British foothold in Barotseland was an Englishman named George Westbeech who was not a political agent or an evangelist, but a trader, an occupation that was often much maligned in South Africa. Westbeech and his partner George Blockley arrived at the Chobe-Zambezi junction in 1871 with three wagons loaded with goods. Sipopa came with a large retinue to visit the strangers, and he soon told the white men to remove their personal belongings from the vehicles. He then had the goods offloaded and taken to a town over the river (Kazungula on the Zambian side). Westbeech followed his goods and made friends with the King, who detained him for a year and a half in order to enjoy his company and cement their friendship. When the trader left, Sipopa filled his wagons with ivory and wept at his departure.

At first Westbeech had to compete with many half-cast Portuguese traders, all of them trading in slaves and ivory. He was able to beat them out and establish a near monopoly by bringing in better goods and by ingratiating himself with chiefs and headmen. His activities tended to reduce the slave trade by substituting other commerce. He did much to raise the British name in the eyes of the Africans. The upshot of all this was that the Portuguese influence with the Barotse was neutralized and British influence was firmly established.

Others followed, all having to be introduced to the Barotse kings by Westbeech, who was the only foreigner he trusted. These were Dr. Benjamin Frederick Bradshaw, a ship's doctor and Arnot a Scottish missionary. Lieutenant William Fairlie (1850-1913), an artist, visited Barotseland in 1878 and made the sketches illustrating the cover of this book (Caprivi, The Tropical Region of Namibia). He was accompanied by Captain Norman MacLeod. In 1879 the Jesuit Father Depelchin arrived, followed in 1885 by his colleagues Kroost and three Brothers. Others came. They took the "Old Bulawayo" or "Pandamatenga" road, an oxwagon track from the South. In 1871 Westbeech had established a trading station at Pandamatenga. It was the last high-lying place before the road descended into the Zambezi Valley with its malaria, fever, horse sickness and tsetse fly.

An illustrious visitor to the Caprivi-Zipfel was the Portuguese army officer Major Serpa Pinto. In 1877-1879 he crossed Africa from Benguela to Durban and in 1879 passed through the Caprivi-Zipfel and crossed Impalila Island which he called "Embaria Impalila". His adventures made him world famous and his books were translated into all major languages.

In 1875 the Austrian explorer Dr. Emil Holub visited the Zambezi region and Sesheke on his way to the upper Zambezi and Angola. He was a doctor of medicine, a zoologist, botanist, hunter, taxidermist, artist and cartographer, an avid collector of specimens and, above all, a keen observer. Where Livingstone broke ground, Holub followed to consolidate, record, and add detail to the broad canvas painted by his eminent predecessor. He was joined by his wife and two Austrian assistants.

Holub published his experiences in 2 books entitled "Seven Years in South Africa". His sketches illustrate the life in the land between and around the Zambezi and Chobe. In Sesheke he made the acquaintance of the slave traders, when he was discussing his further travels with Sipopa. The king had suggested he take two Mambari as guides into the interior. Holub declined.

After Livingstone, other mission societies tried to gain a foothold among the tribes. The most successful was the Societe des Missions Evangeliques de Paris (Paris Mission). Their leader, Rev. Francois Coillard and his wife arrived in 1885, with the help of Westbeech crossed the Zambezi and settled in Sesheke.

At the confluence of the Zambezi and Chobe was the main crossing into Barotseland. The two Kazungulas together with Impalila Island and its village had developed into a trading centre with the Barotse. The crossing was done by canoe (mukoro) across the confluence, provided there was no strong wind, which the delicate boats could not withstand. An alternative was to cross on to Kakumba Island, to negotiate the marsh towards Impalila Island, trek across the island and ferry across the Zambezi to Kazungula or Mambowa.

Kakumba Island, the tip of Namibia, was named after the headman Kakumba, a very intelligent Masubia, who was the keeper of the southern gateway to Barotseland and chief of Mambova and Impalila village and the village of Kazungula from 1875 until his death in 1895.



David Livingstone

The great explorer Dr. David Livingstone (1813 - 1873)  
*(Blakie, William, Garden, The personal life of David Livingstone, front page)*



F. C. Selous

Frederick Courteney Selous (1851-1917)  
 White hunter, scout, guide and explorer.  
 In 1890 he guided the Rhodes Pioneers into Mashonaland. He was killed in action at Bebo-Bebo (German East Africa) in a  
 skirmish with General Lettow-Vorbeck's Schutztruppe (4. 1. 1917)  
*(photo, Erika Bruchmann, Rhodes Cottage, Mutsaersberg)*

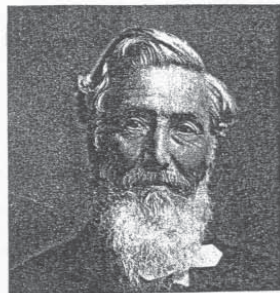






Alexandre Alberto Da Rocha de Serpa Pinto (1846-1891)  
Portuguese hunter, explorer and adventurer.  
*(Lanay, "J'ai traverse L'Afrique, front p.)*

Alexandre Alberto Da Rocha de Serpa Pinto (1846-1891)  
Portuguese hunter, explorer and adventurer  
*(Lanay, "J'ai traverse L'Afrique, front page)*



The French missionary Francois Coillard (1834-1904)  
*(Phillipson, Most-ou-Tunya, p. 86)*



George Westbeech's headquarters at Pandamatenga (1875)  
*(Phillipson, Most-ou-Tunya, p. 85)*





Impallila Island (1878)  
*(Hobbs, Seven Years in South Africa, p. III)*

"I am tired of this mapping out of Africa in Berlin;  
 without occupation, without development ...  
 the gist of the South African Question lies in the extension of the Cape Colony  
 to the Zambezi."

*(Cecil Rhodes in the Cape House of Assembly, 1888)*

### The Africans and the Europeans from 1890 - 1908

By 1890, the Colonial Powers had established their presence in Africa and political treaties had been signed with tribal chiefs. On recommendations from Westbeeck, Lewanika had sought British protection. In 1890 in Lealui a treaty with Frank Lochner of the British South African Company had been signed.

#### The "Helgoland-Zanzibar Treaty"

The year 1890 became the birthdate and the "Treaty" the birth certificate of the Caprivi-Zipfel. At a conference in London convened by the colonial powers of Britain, Germany and Portugal sorted out their claims and new borders were drawn. This affected the Barotse Kingdom very much as Britain ceded the Caprivi-Zipfel, as it became known, to Germany.

After the greater part of South West Africa had come under German protection in 1884 the eastern border was not yet determined. At this time British Imperial interests in South Africa, personified by Cecil Rhodes, were afraid that German South West Africa would extend from the west coast of Africa to the independent Boer Republic of the Transvaal, and in this way might endanger the British dream of a "Cape to Cairo" empire. Thus the British Protectorate of Bechuanaland was proclaimed in 1885. The eastern border of German South West Africa was, however, not recognised by Germany until 1890 when the "Helgoland-Zanzibar Treaty" was concluded. In addition, Germany now relinquished any claims on part of Bechuanaland but allowance was made for a connection of German South West Africa with the big inner African waterway, the Zambezi. It is widely interpreted that the Caprivi-Zipfel was also supposed to shorten the overland route to link German South West Africa to German East Africa, Tanzania of today.

The Masubia, Mafe, Hukwe and Mbukushu found themselves to be residents of the newly created Caprivi-Zipfel which was part of German South West Africa. Suddenly the "Kaiser" in Berlin was their Paramount Chief. Across the Zambezi to the north, Barotseland became North West Rhodesia and the land to the west of the river, Portuguese West Africa, was called Angola. To the east, Southern Rhodesia was carved out and across the Chobe the Bechuanaland Protectorate extended south.

The Caprivi-Zipfel was named after Count von Caprivi, who was German Reichskanzler at the time of signing of the Treaty in 1890. In this Treaty Great Britain agreed to give up the Island of Helgoland. Germany in exchange gave up the claim to Zanzibar and Wituland in favour of Great Britain. They in turn agreed to grant Germany

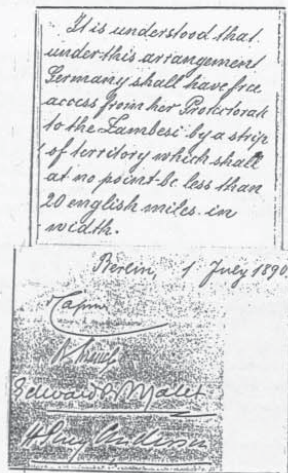
"Tree access from German South West Africa to the Zambezi by a strip of territory which shall at no point be less than 20 English miles in width."

But despite the new borders, for the next 18 years little changed for the people. Lewanika ruled from his Royal Kraal in Lealui through his son Letua, who resided in Sesheke and controlled the Caprivi-Zipfel's eastern part. The Barotse hunted, fished and grazed their cattle in the Caprivi-Zipfel when the floods had receded and saw that the Masubia paid their tribute. The long awaited Germans did not come and claim the country.

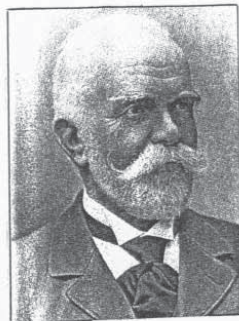
In the west, in Ngamiland, Chief Mathiba of the Tswana tried to extend his influence over Libebe on the Okavango. Near Libebe's kraal, where the Angolan border meets the Okavango, the Portuguese in 1909 built Fort Mucusso. It turned out to be on German (Caprivi) territory. It took the German Resident, Hauptmann von Frankenberg zu Prokisch, years to convince the Portuguese that they had "misinterpreted" the borderline and should remove the fort. They did so and rebuilt it on their side of the border further to the north in 19011.

#### "Crooks Corner"

Because of the new political constellation Letia could no longer prevent Europeans from entering the Caprivi-Zipfel and soon fugitives from the law of the surrounding countries sought shelter on and around Impalila Island. It became known as "Crooks Corner". Lord Selborne, the British High Commissioner in South Africa, challenged the German Government in Windhoek to "police the district or else ...". The Governor acted immediately.



Part of the original "Helgoland-Zanzibar Treaty"  
(Politisches Archiv, Auswärtiges Amt, Bonn)



Leo Count von Caprivi (1831-1899)  
(Gramatz, Schindler, Die deutschen Kolonien, p. 148)



Lewanika, photographed in 1886 at Lealui by F. Coillard  
The club, bangles and kaross were then symbols of royalty  
(Phillipson, Most-oo-Tunya, p. 87)





Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902)  
Government Gardens, Cape Town  
The inscription reads: "Your hinterland is there" (pointing his hand to the north)  
(photo Erka Bruckmann)

## Chapter 1

The Caprivi-Zippfel  
Created by

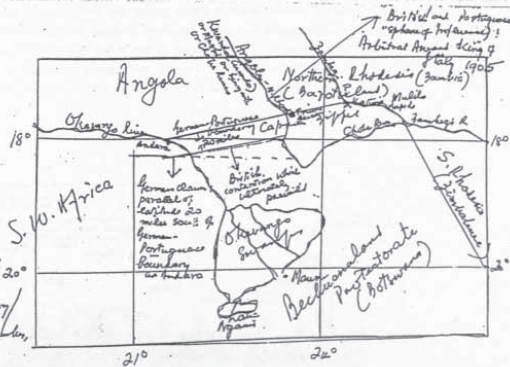
Anglo-German  
Agreement

1st July, 1890

Latitude: 20°

Declaration  
Germany/  
Portugal 30th Decemr,  
1886

and  
Convention  
Britain/  
Portugal, Lisbon  
11th June, 1891.



A hand-drawn map of the Caprivi-Zipfel by the Magistrate C.E. Krueger referring to the most important treaties which helped to shape the borders of the country  
(C.E. Krueger, A History of the Caprivi-Zipfel, unpublished)



Map of the tribes of the Eastern Caprivi-Zipfel  
(Omo, *Der Ost Caprivizipfel*, p. 88)

"Wohlan denn, daffere Teutschen,  
Machet, dass man in der Mapp neben  
neu Spanien, neu Engelland,  
auch  
neu Teutschland find."  
(Johann Joachim Becher, 1657)

#### The Germans 1908 -1914

In November 1908 the Governor of German South West Africa, von Schuckmann, sent Hauptmann (Captain) Streitwolf with 3 German sergeants, 14 Askaris (Hottentots and Hereros), 2 oxwagons, 3 horses and 16 mules to take the Caprivi-Zipfel into "visible German possession". After an 83-days trek through Bechuanaland they reached the Chobe river, crossed the border at Ngoma and went across the eastern Caprivi-Zipfel towards the Zambezi to set up camp opposite Seseke where the British High Commissioner and Letia resided. Hauptmann Streitwolf named the place Schuckmannsburg after the Governor.

In 1910 Seseke was an important administrative and trading centre of North Western Rhodesia. On the southern shores of the Zambezi, on top of a flat hill and under tall Mohonono trees, Schuckmannsburg was established. (The place, the river, the scenery became the background to part of the story of the "African Queen", starring Katherine Hepburn and Humphrey Bogart, in this Oscar-winning film, released 1951. Although the film was based on developments in German East Africa during the colonial war with Great Britain (1914), the scenes blended in well.)



The expedition of Hauptmann Streitwolf near Lake Ngami,  
the two dogs in front were later killed by crocodiles  
(Bildersammlung Streitwolf, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz)



The crossing of the Linyanti (Chobe) by Hauptmann Streitwolf and his party at Ngoma on the 25. 2. 1909. The photo shows the upper part of the ox-cart being ferried across on four canoes. The photo was taken from the shores of the Caprivi-Zipfel.

The scene is of historical relevance as it shows the "sichbare Inbesitznahme des Caprivi-Zipfels für Deutschland".  
(Bildersammlung Streitwolf, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz)



The three German sergeants who trekked with Streitwolf to the Caprivizipfel  
Schultz, Brunks, Ansorge  
(Bildersammlung Streitwolf, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz)

THE LIVINGSTONE MAIL.

**Sesheke Notes.**

1st February.

1909

The German Expedition under Capt. Streitwolf is expected here to-morrow. Messrs. Chalmers and Wilde, who left here two days ago met him at Moodie's Camp, in German South West Africa, and he gave them a very hearty reception. As far as can be gathered, every facility will be afforded anyone wanting to settle in that country.

Hauptmann Streitwolf was well received (1909)  
(Bildersammlung Streitwolf, Bundesarchiv, Koblenz)



The port of Sesheke (M'wandi) as seen by Holub in 1875. Schuckmannsburg was set up on the flat hill on left of the sketch.  
(Holub, Seven Years in South Africa, p. 140)





Hauptmann Kurt Streitwolf (1871-1945),  
 he set up Schuckmannsburg on the 7. 2. 1909 as the "First Imperial Residency of the Caprivi-Zipfel" and he was appointed as  
 the "Imperial Resident".  
*(Familienverband Jürgen Streitwolf, Brunsbüttel)*

3rd February, 1909

Capt. Streitwolf visited Sesheke on the 3rd inst. He was in full uniform and was received at the landing stage by Mr. J. F. Kenny Dillon, Lieut. McCarthy, Mr. W. T. Daniell, Letia and his Indunas. He stayed with Lieut. McCarthy until the next day, and then returned to his camp three miles distant.

The Germans and the British maintained good and cordial relations.  
 Paper cutting from the "Livingstone Mail, Sesheke Notes" dated 3. 2. 1909.  
*(Familienverband Jürgen Streitwolf, Brunsbüttel)*



Bruno Helmut Erich von Schuckmann (1857-1919)  
 Governor of German South West Africa in 1909.  
*(Familienverband von Schuckmann, Berlin)*



Coat of arms,  
German South West Africa (1884 - 1919),  
of which the Caprivi-Zipfel became an integral part.  
(National Archives of Namibia, Windhoek)

#### The Caprivi-Zipfel under German Administration

A German administration was established and the Barotse had to withdraw leaving the local tribal system in shatters, as many communities had left the Caprivi-Zipfel to avoid paying tribute to the Barotse or being robbed of their cattle and their women and children, by their overlords.

Hauptmann Streitwolf inspected the country on horseback and by canoe, visited the villages, confirmed indunas and asked the people to elect a new chief. After lengthy deliberations Chikamatondo was chosen to represent the Masubia.

On his inspection tours Streitwolf surveyed the country and counted the villages and people (5000 Masubia). Whenever he visited the confluence of the Zambezi and Chobe he camped on Impalila Island as it became apparent that this was the safest way to cross the river on the way to Livingstone, from where all provisions and the mail had to be collected. On the wide confluence of the river the wind would spring up suddenly and the waves made it difficult and dangerous for the lightly built local canoes to cross. To reach the Island from Schuckmannsburg was extremely difficult because of the often flooded plains and Kassaias. Streitwolf and his party had to come down the Zambezi as far as the Mambowa Rapids and land at Impalila Island near the big Baobab trees. They would then walk as far as Kakumba Island where the Chobe was only 100 m wide. To protect the road to Livingstone on the Bechuanaland side the British had built a police station at Kazungula in 1908.

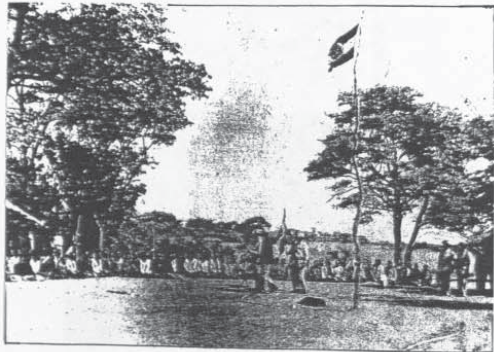
Before the Germans arrived Letia had pressured the Masubia into leaving the Caprivi-Zipfel with their families and cattle. Many resisted and consequently their women were abducted and cattle stolen by the Barotse. It was Letia with whom Streitwolf and the British High Commissioner Wallace negotiated to have the family members returned. In addition 300 heads of cattle were given back.



The British police station in Kazungula, Bechuanaland (1909).  
Major Eason was in charge.  
(Streitwolf, *Der Caprivizipfel*, p. 73)



The return of the stolen cattle, arranged by Streitwolf in 1909,  
the photo shows the cattle being driven across the Zambezi from Sesheke to Schuckmannsburg.  
(*Streitwolf, Der Caprivizipfel*, p. 160)



Chikamatondo is elected Chief of the Masubia in Schuckmannsburg (1909),  
Hauptmann Streitwolf presided over the ceremony.  
(*Streitwolf, Der Caprivizipfel*, p. 68)



Letia, son of King Lewanika, ruler of the "Southern Province of Barotseland" with his wife and son in front of his house in  
Sesheke (1909)  
(*Streitwolf, Der Caprivizipfel*, p. 73)

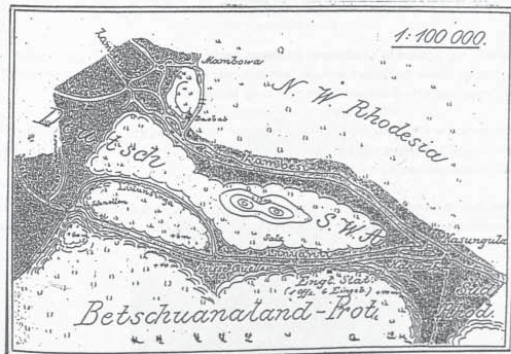




Der Administrator von N. W. Rhodesia.  
(rechts) Herr Wallace.

The Administrator for North Western Rhodesia,  
Mr. Wallace (r) and Hauptmann Streitwolf  
in Seneshe (1906)  
(Streitwolf, *Der Caprivizipfel*, p. 161)

The point where four countries meet,  
Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana



Map of the western tip of the Caprivi-Zipfel  
(Streitwolf, *Der Caprivizipfel*, backpage)

The map was drawn in 1909 by Hauptmann Streitwolf. It is the only one of its kind and shows Impatila-, Kakumba- (marked "Insel") Island and above the westernmost spot an unnamed island which is called by the locals "Crocodile Island". The "+ 60 m" hill is next to the Kasane police station of today. The "Engl. Stat." is near Kazungula village. The "Baobab" is the one referred to by Holub. The arrow points to the spot where the four countries meet.

**German administration is extended over the whole of the Caprivi-Zipfel**

In 1909 Streitwolf visited the Okavango and introduced the German Administration to Chief Libebe. The Portuguese had meanwhile used the lack of German control of the territory to build a fort at Mucusso near Andara along the disputed borderline. It took the future German "Imperial Residents" years of negotiations to make the Portuguese leave the Caprivi-Zipfel.

German policy was to portray to the outside world a commitment to stay, control and administer and, over an extended period, to develop the land. However the funds and the personnel to do so were scarce and the inaccessibility of the Caprivi-Zipfel from Windhoek added to the problems. The only viable connection was via Walvis Bay, Cape Town and the railroad to Livingstone, and from there on foot, by oxwagon and boat along the Zambezi to Sesheke and across to Schuckmannsburg.

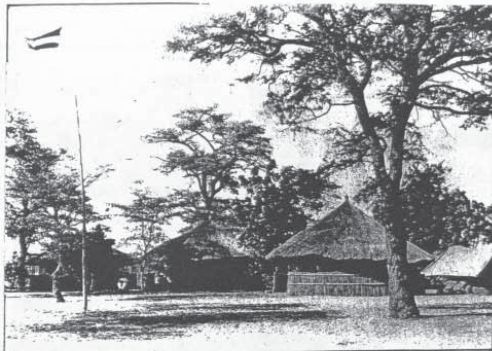
As it turned out the Caprivi-Zipfel was administered by no more than 4 Germans and 20 locally trained Askaris. Between them they had one horse and 7 mules, but there was peace, there were no taxes and for the locals hardly any interference.

Schuckmannsburg developed as the initial grasshuts had to be replaced with brick buildings. The sergeants built a kiln, made bricks, cut the wood and with the help of locals erected the necessary houses. Life was difficult for everybody. Malaria, the tsetse fly and the annual floods took their toll. The lung sickness prevented the cattle trade from growing.

In 1910 Streitwolf was replaced by Oberleutnant Kaufmann and he was followed by Hauptmann von Frankenberg. Due to the unhealthy climate the German sergeants were replaced every second year. The idea of settling the country with German farmers had to be abandoned for the time being because of the health hazards.

On inspections across the Caprivi-Zipfel Streitwolf encountered the wide range of wild life roaming the plains. One day he came across a lion. Together with his Askari "Bumskopf" they hunted him down. When they skinned him, they discovered that he had just eaten a porcupine.

Although plans were developed to connect the Caprivi-Zipfel by railway, with the rest of the Colony to search for minerals, to establish tropical agriculture and build roads between Libebe, Schuckmannsburg and Ngoma, time was running out. The First World War would break out in Europe on 1. 8. 1914.



The first three grasshuts built for the German sergeants in Schuckmannsburg (1909)  
*(Streitwolf, Der Caprivizipfel, p. 193)*



The house of the German Imperial Resident, Schuckmannsburg (1912)  
*(Peters, Baukunst in Südwestafrika 1884-1914)*







A "Townplan" of Schuckmannsburg, drawn by Streitwolf (1910)  
(Streitwolf, *Der Caprivizipfel*, backpage)

#### The Susman Brothers

Among the more prominent traders in and around the Caprivi-Zipfel were Harry and Elie Susman. An article given to the Author by Mr. David Susman, Cape Town (chairman of Woolworths), son of Elie, illustrates the life of these early pioneers.

## THE SUSMAN BROTHERS

The pioneering settlers of Northern Rhodesia rarely achieved much material success, but a notable exception was provided by two brothers born a century ago in a remote village in Lithuania. By their courage and enterprise, Harry and Elie Susman brought wealth for themselves and development for their adopted country, and no-one who knew them will forget the generosity with which they helped the less fortunate.

Harry, then aged 20, and Elie, aged 16, landed at Cape Town in 1896 and by trading and dealing in cattle worked their way up to Johannesburg.

Francistown, and at length to Bulawayo. Here, too poor to buy a wagon, they combined with others to hire one for the enormous sum of £100, a price vastly inflated by the rinderpest which had taken so fearful a toll of cattle throughout Southern Africa in 1896. With this wagon they took to Kazungula goods to trade for cattle and thus financed a series of similar journeys.

They were afflicted by the common enemies of the trader and traveller of those days: both were nearly killed by blackwater, both were tipped into the Zambezi by hippo and many of their cattle on the long treks were taken by lion. By 1906 they had



Mr. Harry Susman and the Paramount Chief of the Barotsse

by their endurance established permanent trading stations at Natolo and Sesheke and enjoyed the friendship and trust of the paramount chief, Lewanika. This they reinforced by the successful importation of a coach to which the chief had taken a fancy on his visit to England to attend the coronation of King Edward VII in 1902.

Less characteristic of their endeavours was their pursuit of one of the wildest of geese—Lobengula's treasure. In 1908 and 1909 with two other men, Sprincoer and Monks, they mounted two sizeable expeditions to the Balovale (now Zambezi) district. They were guided by John Jacobs, Lobengula's Coloured secretary, who claimed to have accompanied 13 wagon loads of gold, diamonds and ivory belonging to the defeated chief for burial on the Lukolwe stream. On the second and equally unsuccessful venture, which the Susmans did not accompany, Jacobs deserted to Angola with many of the carriers, and the wagons and most of the oxen were lost.

In 1913, the Susmans sold 50 wagons and trained teams of oxen to Lewanika who in turn sold some of them to the Anglo-Belgian Boundary Commission (of which the youthful Stewart Gove-Brown was a member). In its ignorance, the Commission entered Angola and brought back an epidemic of bovine pleuropneumonia which in its turn locked up Barotseland's cattle for years. After this disaster, the Susmans were obliged to transfer their operations to the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Botswana) and by the 1920s they were trekking thousands of head of cattle from Maun to Livingstone for railing to the Katanga and "Bonapola" Smith, the Congo cattle baron. With George Buchanan they also exported cattle from Ngamiland to the Portuguese and Belgian diamond fields on the Angola-Congo border: on one trek, Buchanan took nine months to reach his destination.

Meanwhile the Susmans had long since begun to establish themselves as farmers and ranchers, and by their purchase of Leopard's Hill ranch at Lusaka in 1910 may be considered among the pioneers of farming

in Northern Rhodesia. (The year 1910 was also that of Harry's marriage to Annie Grill, daughter of a pioneer of the Old Drift: it was the first Jewish wedding in the country.) At Leopard's Hill the brothers were among the first to attempt breeding from imported bulls, but not enough was known of the problems, and their Aberdeen Angus stock perished. The Susmans also grew wheat at Leopard's Hill, and at Kabulonga farm in 1926 they pioneered the growing of Virginia tobacco. But the crop price was too low, and they sold what is now one of Lusaka's most thriving suburbs for about £1,500. (They missed a far bigger coup in 1916 when a prospector they employed pegged the Nkana claims. The Susmans were not impressed by the potential of this find, and the Bwana Mkuhwa mining company, which should have known better, declined to pay £100 for them. The Susmans eventually got £500 for what became a few years later one of Zambia's biggest copper mines.)

Other farms the brothers owned from time to time included the Wolbertoo and Nanga estates on the Kafue and it was part of the Nanga which was presented in the the 1950s to Rhodesian Selection Trust (the forerunner of Roan Consolidated Mines) for the Kafue Pilot Polder, the experimental station for a scheme to farm vast areas of the flood plains of the Kafue river. In the 1940s, the Susmans' agricultural interests were linked with Harry Wulfsohn, and as Susman Brothers and Wulfsohn they developed Rietfontein ranch at Lusaka, Heales and Nanga at Mazabuka, Kala ranch at Zimba, other ranches at Choma, and Chamblish farms on the Copperbelt. In the 1930s and 1940s, the Susmans activities were also extended into a chain of butchereries and hotels on the Copperbelt, into the first blanket factory at Livingstone, and Zambezi Sawmills.

Elie Susman left Northern Rhodesia for South Africa in 1930, and with a pioneering friend from Bechuanaland days, Max Sonnenberg, established the Woolwort chain of stores. Harry moved to Salisbury in 1949, but the country of the brothers lost their close connections with Mulenberg in 1952, Elie in Johannesburg in 1955. Each left four children.

This article was published in Northern Rhodesia in 1970  
(Private records, David Susman, Cape Town)

## THE LIVINGSTONE MAIL

### Sesheke Notes

1st February.

1909

To-day being the anniversary of both H. and E. Susman's birthdays (they are 31 and 28 respectively) they invited all their friends to dinner, and as there are quite a number of traders passing through just now no less than fourteen ~~are shown~~ After a most excellent repast the remainder of the evening was devoted to music. Songs were contributed by several of the guests, the gramophone filling in the intervals. Mr. Levitz, on the flute, and Mr. Epstein, on the violin, provided the instrumental portion of the programme, and quite a surprising amount of talent was brought to light. Toasts were numerous, and if good wishes count for anything the firm of Susman Brothers should prosper.

The private life of the pioneers  
(Privatleben der Brüder Susman, Brüssel)

The German presents along the Okavango

The following map was drawn by Hauptmann Streitwolf in 1909. It shows the Okavango where it flows across the Caprivizipfel. It indicates the 'German Camp "Lager", Libebe's village and the Roman Catholic Mission Station. "Port Station" is the Portuguese Fort Mucusso, built by the Portuguese on "German Territory", in 1911 it was removed. (The map is from Streitwolfs book "Der Caprivizipfel".



Lager  
am  
Okavango  
bei  
Libebe  
Blick  
auf  
Gummkwe  
und  
Tqhoë  
Insel



The beginning of the German police station in Libebe (1911)  
(Hauptmann von Frankefeld, Durchs Deutsche Habwe-Feld)





Sergeant Hüpel, in charge of the German police station in Libebe (1911),  
together with the "rainmaker" Libebe, chief of the Mbukushu.  
(Hauptmann von Frankenberg, Durchs Deutsche Hukwe-Feld, back page)

#### The surrender of Schuckmannsburg and the end of Germany's colonial presence in the Caprivi-Zipfel

In his book "Urgent Imperial Service", Gerald L'Ange writes:

"22. of September 1914. The Germans had no strong force there, and the seizure was unopposed; in fact the whole business was very civilised and polite. One section of the BSAP (British South African Police Force) set out by train from Salisbury on September 10 and at Hartley found that the ladies of that sporting township had come to the station and provided a most excellent tea for us. In Hartley they, too, were doing their bit for the war effort.

At Victoria Falls a contingent from Bulawayo and 40 native police joined the force. They dug trenches to defend the Victoria Falls bridge, more as an exercise than in any serious expectation of a German attack. Then they trekked into the Caprivi on what was to be perhaps the first British conquest of the war.

At Sesheke they drew lots to see who would ask the Germans to surrender to avoid bloodshed. Lieutenant Stephens won and, accompanied by two corporals, one black and one white, crossed the river by boat. On the other side they were met by a black sentry who was obviously expecting them and who led them to the cluster of modest buildings that was Schuckmannsburg. The German Resident, Herr von Frankenberg zu Prokisch, was waiting for them on his verandah.

After some formal discussion he agreed to surrender and the parlementaire group returned to the river to fetch the rest of the BSAP force. Reaching Schuckmannsburg at dusk, the BSAP formed up on the square, Herr von Frankenberg formally surrendered and he and his white police sergeant were arrested and immediately released on parole. It was too late to raise the Union Jack, so the BSAP contented themselves with lowering the German flag. First thing next morning they hoisted the British flag, the District Commissioner of Sesheke taking the salute on behalf of King George V, with the men drawn up on the square and giving three cheers to His Majesty the King.

Von Frankenberg's native police force was told to disband and go home and, leaving a detachment of its own black police to occupy Schuckmannsburg, the BSAP took the German resident and his sergeant Fisher (Fischer) off to be interned in Livingstone.

And that was all there was to what was perhaps the most amicable confrontation of the whole war."

In the National Archives of Zimbabwe in Harare, are photographs of what was called the "Schuckmannsburg Expedition", unfortunately, it was not possible to copy these historical documents.

"L'appetit vient en mangeant"

(Lord Salisbury explaining his African policy to the French Ambassador in London)

#### The Caprivi-Zipfel 1914 - 1919

Schuckmannsburg was taken over by the BSPA on 22./23. 9. 1914. The 12 African Askaris, the total German police force, were sent home. For the Caprivi-Zipfel the First World War was over. At the same time the South African army, "obliged" to the British Government in London, had invaded German South West Africa across the Orange river in the south and had landed in Walvis Bay.

The war in this part of German South West Africa lasted until 9. 7. 1915 when the "Schutztruppe" surrendered at Khorab near Otavi.

On 24. 10. 1914 the BSAP under Major Capell was withdrawn and the Northern Rhodesia Police, under Captain Lakes, was left in control of Schuckmannsburg.

Meanwhile the British High Commissioner in South Africa instructed police and army agents of Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia to patrol along the Northern Rhodesian and Angolan side of the border as they feared that the Schutztruppe would "march through the Caprivi-Zipfel and attack the Victoria Falls". They reported back that the small German police station at Libebe had been destroyed by the Germans themselves.

Now the question arose what to do with the Caprivi-Zipfel. Some suggested to amalgamate the eastern part with Northern Rhodesia. The Barotse and Lewanika liked this idea very much. The western part was to be incorporated into the Bechuanaland Protectorate. (In 1911 North Western Rhodesia was amalgamated with North Eastern Rhodesia to become Northern Rhodesia with Livingstone the capital).

In the end the British High Commissioner in South Africa decided that the Resident Commissioner of Bechuanaland Protectorate should be in overall charge and the eastern part be administered by Captain Eason, who was appointed Special Commissioner based in Schuckmannsburg. He later moved back to Kazungula and Kasane and left Corporal Legge in Schuckmannsburg. The western part of the Caprivizipfel was to be administered by the magistrate in Maun. This arrangement lasted until the end of 1919.



The German Schutztruppe surrenders at Khorab near Otavi.  
German Commander, Lieutenant-Colonel Franke (left), Governor De Seitz (2. from left), South African Commander, General Louis Botha (right).  
The South African fielded 40.000 troops, the Germans 4.000.  
(Graudenz, Schindler, Die deutschen Kolonien, p. 90)

"Die weiße Frau bleibt auf alle Fälle besser diesem Lande fern. Ein Land, das in der Regenzeit mit Moskitos verpestet und voll von tropischer Malaria ist, in der Trockenzeit viel Schwarzwasser hat, ist keine Gegend für weiße Besiedlung."

(Hauptmann Streitwolf, *Der Caprivizipfel*, p. 140)

#### Under Mandatory Authority 1920 - 1929

In 1920 South Africa became the Mandatory Authority for German South West Africa including the Caprivi-Zipfel (Treaty of Versailles). As the previous arrangements with Bechuanaland Protectorate worked well it was decided to renew it. This lasted until 1929.

The local population was informed but not consulted. Chikamatondo remained the Chief of the Masubia. The other tribes lived more or less peacefully alongside the Masubia. Their common main problems were more trading stores, medical and educational facilities, and for the Barotse the right to graze their cattle and cut grass on the shores of the Caprivi-Zipfel.

The former Corporal J.A. Legge was allowed to open a trading station on Impalila Island. His cattle dip was so well built that it survived the years. Stores were later opened elsewhere. The Seventh Day Adventists set up a school in Nsundwa and Lusese, and Mr. Moody was allowed to cut valuable wood in the neighbourhood of Katima Mulilo. The "Northern Labour Organisation" gave Frank Balme permission to recruit labour for South West African mines.

A population census was made in 1921, showing 2003 male and 2246 female inhabitants. During these years the Administration consisted of:

The Magistrate in Kasane.

Schuckmannsburg: 1 European Sergeant, 4 mounted Native Troopers, 4 dismounted Native Constables, 1 Stock Inspector.

Katima Mulilo: 1 dismounted Native Constable.

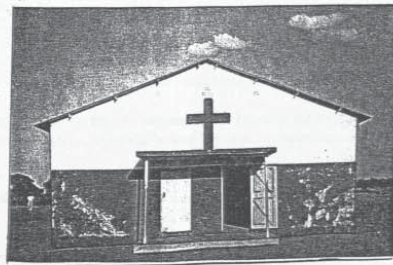
Sambalas: 2 dismounted Native Constables.

Bwabwata: 1 mounted Native Trooper, 1 dismounted Native Constable.

Andara: 1 European Sergeant, 3 dismounted Native Constables

Mbambi: 2 dismounted Native Constables.

There were only mules for riding, no horses. Supplies came from Livingstone by oxwagons as far as Mambowa Falls and from there by river barge up the Zambezi. The western part was supplied through Maun or Grootfontein. There was no traffic through the "strip".



Today Mbambi has a Roman Catholic Church  
(Förg, *R.C. Missions along the Okavango*)



"Man muß erkennen, daß im Laufe der Geschichte, alle Menschen Kinder ihrer Zeit und ihres Vokes sind und eine entsprechende Sicht haben."  
(Otto Heinz Mattiesen, Herzog Jakob von Kurland)

#### Under South West African Administration 1929 - 1939

Since the Union of South Africa had been entrusted with the administration, the League of Nations objected to the fact that they had handed over the administration to the Bechuanaland Protectorate. As a result South West Africa was charged with administering the Caprivizipfel. This was done in September 1929. The Caprivizipfel had been divided for purpose of better local control. The Eastern Caprivi-Zipfel from Impalila to the Mashi, the Western Caprivi-Zipfel west of the Mashi including the Okavango area. The stretch west of the Okavango up to the 21° longitude was included in the Okavango Native Territory. The eastern part was inhabited by the Masubia (Chief Chikamatondo, by now blind) and the Mafe and Mayey (Chief Mamili) and added was a strip of 10 km west of the Mashi river, due to some important Mafe villages in this area. The western part included the "strip" with its Hukwe Bushmen wandering, from north to south who payed no allegiance to any of the larger tribes, and the Mbukushu under Lisho with Libebe, as progenitors.

The South African Administration appointed policemen from the South West African Police Force as superintendents. For the eastern part it was W.S. Chadwick, who was soon replaced by sergeant Brits, assisted by Constable Blignaut. In the western part sergeant Wright took up his post as superintendent in Andara, near the Catholic Mission Station. (In 1937 the land west of the Okavango river was absorbed into the Okavango Native Territory as a Native Reserve under Chief Lisho. At the same time it lost its identity as part of the Caprivi-Zipfel. This left the narrow "strip" between the Okavango and the Mashi as the Western Caprivi-Zipfel).

There was very little interference by the authorities. The people under their chiefs were left to sort out their own lives. The only restriction was felt when the Caprivi-Zipfel was declared a "Prohibited Area" (Police Zone or Red Line). This meant that entry into this territory was not allowed to persons who did not belong there.

Schuckmannsburg was retained as the seat of the Superintendent and the address continued to be: "P.O. Box Sesheke via Livingstone". The only contact with the outside world was via Northern Rhodesia. The Paris Mission Hospital in Sesheke served the people in the Caprivi-Zipfel. In 1930, sergeant and Magistrate Brits had the first "road" cleared, from Mainui's Drift (Manyeta) on the Mashi to Katima Mulilo, 150 km, and then on to Schuckmannsburg.

In September 1930, Mr. Schoenfelder of the Northern Labour Organisation visited Schuckmannsburg from Grootfontein in a truck. He reported back: "The road has caused me no real trouble". He continued as far as Impalila Island where he crossed by barge to Kasane.

A tribal levy of 5 shilling was collected annually and placed in a Trust Fund from which Chikamatondo and Lefasi Mamili, son of Simata Mamili, received 20 English pounds per annum.

In 1934, it was decided for health reasons to move the Administration to Katima Mulilo. An interesting feature should not be omitted. E.C. Krueger reports: "When the new administrative buildings in Katima Mulilo were erected, bricks from one of the buildings left by the Germans in Schuckmannsburg (not being the armoury) were brought to Katima Mulilo by paddle barge in 1934. These were to be incorporated into the new establishment, with other bricks made below the Mission Station. Not only that, but when 10 years later Brit's dwelling and other buildings gave way to the

residency office, those bricks were again used in walls, floors or elsewhere, depending on their condition. The maker would doubtless have taken pride in the excellence of his product, but would hardly have thought or anticipated the niche in posterity his bricks were to fill". Katima Mulilo Station was opened on 28. January 1935.

Regarding the South West African Government in Windhoek, the Secretary of the S.W.A. Administration on a visit to Schuckmannsburg, reported back: "To the inhabitants the Government was a very nebulous abstraction."

In 1939 Chief Chikamatondo asked and was granted that he might step down and his son Mbusisi be appointed, as he was 90 years old and had been blind for the past 20 years.

#### The Caprivizipfel as an outlet to the sea

In 1932 the mood in Northern and Southern Rhodesia was to amalgamate the two countries and find an outlet to the sea. The sea was the Atlantic Ocean, the port the mouth of the Kunene. The country through which such a connection could be establish was the Caprivi-Zipfel. Mr. C.S. Knight, a member of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia suggested "... that the Caprivistrip be added to Rhodesia and extended to the western Ocean ..."

THE BULAWAYO CHRONICLE.  
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1932.

**New Route to the West**

**CAPRIVI STRIP SUGGESTED**

(From Our Own Correspondent.)

Livingstone, Saturday.

The Legislative Council today, Mr. C.S. Knight introduced a motion asking the Government to consider the possibility of obtaining an outlet to the sea on the West Coast, and to cross the disadvantages of Northern Rhodesia as an inland territory. Under the two Rhodesias amalgamation of South West Africa to the west would continue. It was undesirable to be dependent on outlets controlled by other powers. Even the route to the sea by inland to meet the need of a Rhodesian port was wanted.

He suggested that the Caprivi Strip be added to Rhodesia and extended to the western ocean. As far as he knew, there was no white population on that Strip, and the natives comprised only a few nomads, so that no injustice would be done anybody. The Strip would be on the central line, which was a advantage over the Kalis Bay route which was through barren country, and the land would be probably at the same time developed. Further, the line of proposed would open up good country likely to provide a main line of transport by means of the mouth of the river, and the line from the coast to the inland plateau was an easy grade compared with the ascent from vantage points. He thought that to obtain the port was a duty to themselves and to posterity. He would like to see co-operation between the two Rhodesias in the matter. Mr. Kennedy Harris supported the motion, regarding the amalgamation of Northern Rhodesia with the old colony of Southern Rhodesia and the extension of the Caprivi Strip to the western ocean.

"An irresistible movement is bearing the great nations of Europe towards the conquest of fresh territories.

It is like a huge steeplechase into the unknown ...

especially that huge black continent so full of fierce mysteries and vague hopes ..."

(Jules Ferry, 1890)

#### The Eastern Caprivi-Zipfel under the Administration of the Department of Native Affairs in Pretoria 1939 - 1962

In 1939 the Government of the Union of South Africa took over direct control of the eastern part of the Caprivi-Zipfel, calling it now the Eastern Caprivi-Zipfel. The Department of Native Affairs in Pretoria was charged with the administration and L.F.W. Trollope was appointed Native Commissioner and Magistrate with C.E. Krueger as his assistant.

Travel to the Caprivi-Zipfel became somewhat easier. The transport company R.R. Sutherland ran a truck from Livingstone to Katombora. From there a river paddle barge, 20 paddlers, plied the river upwards. It was always difficult to negotiate the Mambowa and Katima Rapids.

In his description of travelling along the Zambezi C.E. Krueger wrote in his book "A history of the Caprivi" in Chapter 6 "... the low-lying country between the Zambezi and the Mashi (Linyanti and Chobe) and the further westward containing the swamps, sunk below the surrounding elevations in the same way, possibly at the same time, as the Rift Valley, and when that happened the great rivers in this region were thrown off course; hence, as one of the consequences, the frustration of the Okavango river and, to a lesser extent so far, the Mashi. These deep issues were not in our minds as, alongside Impelila, then unoccupied (1940), we took note of the rather charming prospects - nature undisturbed - tropical palms and other existing features, swift-flowing waters of the Zambezi clear and fresh against the strong wall of the island."

In 1940 W.N.L.A. (Witwatersrand Native Labour Association) established a recruiting centre across the border from Katima Mulilo in Northern Rhodesia. They also looked for labour amongst the locals in the Caprivi-Zipfel.

On a trip to Liamshulu in the south-western corner of the eastern part of the Caprivi-Zipfel along the Linyanti, C.E. Krueger met up with the Indina Maiuni, who was blind and more than 100 years old. He remembered the White Hunter Selous. He told him that they had refused to help him cross the river in 1874 because they were afraid of him and fled into the reeds.

In 1945 the Northern Rhodesian Government moved their administration from Sesheke to a place opposite Katima Mulilo, also naming it Sesheke. The old Sesheke was then called Mwandji. The Paris Mission Hospital in Mwandji under Dr. Ficot and the missionary Reverend Monteverdi remained the only place for medical help to the locals of both sides of the river.

#### "From the Caprivi-Zipfel"

The Johannesburg newspaper "The Star" published on 16. 4. 1940 an article headed "From the Caprivi-Zipfel, 14 day Journey to Pretoria - Six Europeans in the Territory". It reads as follows:

"After six months in the steaming Caprivi Zipfel strip, Mr. L.F.W. Trollope, magistrate and native commissioner of the territory, is in Pretoria. "Although civilisation is pleasant as a change" he said, "I shall be glad to get back. The life appeals to me and there are so many things to do that one does not get bored - even though there is not a single car in the territory and only one radio set".

The Caprivi strip was in the news last August, when the Union Government announced that, for reasons of convenience, it would be administered by the Native Affairs Department instead of by the South West African Administration, which had been responsible for it up to that time. Situated at the confluence of the Zambezi and one of its larger tributaries, it is tropical, humid and malarious. almost completely flat, its lower portion consists of marshes and wide stretches of water from the Zambezi.

"The Zambezi and the low-lying country is the main reason for my visit to Pretoria" Mr. Trollope said. "Every year much of the territory is inundated by the swollen river and this season the floods were particularly serious, so serious in fact that the water came up to my front door and I want the department to do something about it".

Mr. Trollope arrived in Pretoria on Sunday after nearly a fortnight's travelling. The 150 miles between Katima Mulilo, his settlement, and Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia, was covered by paddle barge down the Zambezi. The trip took between five and seven days.

"It is a fascinating journey. The country is heavily wooded for much of the way and there is always something of interest. No traveller fails to make a call at any of the settlements along the river and one spends the nights either at one of the settlements or on the river bank".

After a 45 mile run by road to Livingstone, there remained the three day rail journey to Pretoria.

"I am afraid you journalists have rather romanticised the life at Caprivi. The "Sanders of the River" angle on Sergeant Brits, my predecessor, was a little exaggerated, for we are not as isolated as some of the Northern Rhodesian settlements. We are only 150 miles from Livingstone, whereas Mongu is 450 miles from it. There are also several settlements, notably a fairly big sawmill on the Northern Rhodesian side of the river, and my assistant and I pay periodic visits to them.

I am not bored.

We also have a Seventh Day Adventist missionary with his wife and two children living near-by, so that there are six Europeans in the territory.

Bored? No; one is never idle. We get up early to deal with most of the work in the cool of the day. Then there is plenty to read, and although groceries arrive by barge every three months we have to kill a little game for the pot. The district is a reserve and there is a tremendous variety of game.

As for news, a batch of newspapers arrives each week from the nearest post office at one of the Rhodesian settlements. If we are anxious to hear the latest about the war we listen in to the missionary's radio. The department intended to give us a transmitting set, so that we should be in touch with Pretoria in any emergency, but the war has held up its delivery."

The administration of the territory, by special request of the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, coincides largely with the South West African system, in spite of its transfer to the Union Government. The continuance of Native Court for the hearing of civil disputes relieves the Commissioner of a great deal of petty work.



Crime in the Caprivi strip is most infrequent.

An easy life.

"The natives are law-abiding and lead an easy, if not indolent, life. A few of them go to the goldmines but, as there is no taxation, they have little incentive to leave their homes. There are about 10,000 of them in an area of about 4,500 square miles."

Transport is simple in the Strip. It consists of paddle barge or motor boat on the river and mules and a Scotch cart on land. Motor cars are impracticable owing to the absence of roads and the denseness of the forest."

Mr. Trollope lives in a well-built brick house with his assistant. Adjoining the house and office or "boma" is a compound for seven or eight native constables. The nearest native village is five miles away, and the old German administrative settlement, established in about 1908, is 40 miles downstream and is now an outstation.

The territory, according to Mr. Trollope, has little economic future, mainly owing to the periodic inundations. Mr. Trollope served for nearly four years in South West Africa and Ovamboland before going to Caprivi at his own request. He will return to the north on Saturday after barely a week's stay in the Union.

#### Chief Chikamatondo, the Legend

In 1939, Trollope the Chief Magistrate of the Caprivi-Zipfel, recollected, when the II. World War had just broken out in Europe, Chikamatondo, now a very old man, arrived at his office and asked him if this was the war, the German Imperial Resident, Hauptmann von Frankenberg had spoken about before he was taken prisoner of war in 1914. Trollope was rather perplexed when he heard the full story:

"Before the British took von Frankenberg away to Livingstone", Chikamatondo said, "the Resident had called me to his office and said: 'Look after your people, the Germans will lose this war but there will be another war later and then the Germans might come back. Now my question is, asked the Chief: Are the Germans coming back?'"

It was again Trollope who in 1945 reported on the death of Chief Chikamatondo.  
(State Archives, Pretoria).



Chief Chikamatondo with his son Mibusisi.  
The son did not succeed his father as chief of the Maubia.  
(C.E. Krueger, *A History of the Caprivi*, unpublished)



MAGISTRATE AND NATIVE COMMISSIONER  
EASTERN CAPRIVI ZIPFEL  
KATIMA MULILO  
VIA LIVINGSTONE  
NORTHERN RHODESIA  
4th September, 1945

THE SECRETARY FOR NATIVE AFFAIRS  
P R E T O R I A

MASUBIA CHIEFTAINSHIP

1. I have the honour to confirm my telegraphic advice regarding the death of the late Chief Chikamatondo, a man of very great age who had in his youth listened to Dr. David Livingstone preaching and who had loyally served the German Government, the Bechuanaland Administration, the South West African Administration and the Union Government.
2. The Department's condolences were duly conveyed to the Chief's family and the Tribe through the Kuta.
3. As a matter of interest, I enclose herewith a statement regarding the last days of and the death-bed scene when the Chief died.
4. On 30th August, 1945, at Kabe I held a meeting of the Tribe in order to nominate a new Chief for the Minister's appointment. The meeting was very well attended - in fact there were only three absentee Kraal Heads from the whole Masubia area, two of them had sent valid excuses for their absence and the third being the only real absentee.
5. It will be noticed that on his death-bed Chikamatondo enjoined that his fly switch should be given to his son. That injunction is capable of the construction that he wished his son to succeed him as Chief. The son in question, Mubusisi, (an only son) is unstable and quite unfitted for the position. He did at one time act for his father with Governmental approval but was so unsatisfactory that he was eventually dismissed from his position. Chikamatondo on a few occasions expressed to me personally the view that his son was not a fit person to succeed him.
6. At the meeting on the 30th I informed the tribesmen that they were called together to make a nomination for the Minister's approval. I made it quite clear that their nomination was not to be considered as an appointment and that Government reserved the right to appoint whomsoever they deemed fitted for the position. I said that I hoped that a unanimous nomination could be made but that if there were rival nominations it would not matter but would entail a vote being taken. I thereon left the meeting and said I would return when I was sent for.
7. After an interval of but ten minutes I was sent for and was informed by the late Chief's Ngambela (Ntonda) that the tribe desired the appointment of Muraliswana Mayiba as their Chief. I enquired generally whether there was any other nomination but no further nomination was forthcoming. Mubusisi was present.
8. I enquired from Muraliswana whether he was prepared to accept the position were the Government to appoint him. He replied in the affirmative. I thereon called on those present to state whether they agreed with the Ngambela's nomination. A unanimous vote testified to their agreement.
9. I informed the meeting that I would convey their nomination to the Minister and in the meantime I charged the Ngambela and Kuta of the late Chief with the administration of the tribe until the Minister's decision was known.
10. Chikamatondo, although an important man and a great warrior in his day, was not of the royal house of the Masubia tribe. The tribe did once have its own Chief but towards the end of the last century had for many years been under the domination of the Malozi (Barotse). Upon the advent of the German Imperial Resident in 1908 the Malozi ruling representatives left the country and Chikamatondo was appointed as Chief by Hauptmann Streitwolf on the tribe's nomination. They had previously nominated Liswaninyana, the then senior descendant of the old Masubia royal house, as Chief, but Streitwolf declined to accept this nomination as the nominee was a minor. The present nominee Muraliswana is the senior living descendant in the Strip of the royal house.
11. I accordingly recommend the appointment of Muraliswana Mayiba as Chief of the Masubia Tribe with effect from the date of his assumption of duty at a salary of £40 per annum.

MAGISTRATE  
EASTERN CAPRIVI ZIPFEL

L/Cpl. Matali states:

1. On the Magistrate's instructions I proceeded to Schuckmannsburg to find out all I could about the last days of the late Chief Chikamatondo. I arrived at Schuckmannsburg on 21st July 1945. The Chief had died at 10 p.m. on 18th July, 1945.

2. On my arrival the Chief had already been buried. He was buried with the rites due to a deceased Chief. The Ngambela Ntonda had been in charge of the funeral arrangements. The Chief had himself before he died given certain instructions in this connection which will be referred to later.

3. The Chief had been ill for some time and he and his relatives and the Kuta members realised he was on his death-bed and they kept about the place to be present when the end came.

4. The first indication that he himself felt that he was near death was when he asked his grandson Mulene, who was planning to proceed to work at Johannesburg, not to go as if he went he would find him (the Chief) dead on his return. That was about a week before the end.

5. On the night of the 18th he sent for the people to come into his sick-room. There were there members of his family including Mubusisi (his son), Nathan Mnyapekwa (his son-in-law and the Secretary of the Kuta), and members of the Kuta including the Ngambela Ntonda, Mnyaza, Mbuhe, and others.

6. The Chief thereon spoke to Mnyaza. He said he was dying. He said that in his lifetime he had worked harmoniously with Letia (the present Paramount Chief of Barotseland) and with various Governments. He said that he had always been at peace with his people. He thereon enjoined his son Mubusisi to likewise remain at peace with the tribe. He said that after his death his fly switch should be given to his son and to nobody else. He continued by giving certain unimportant directions about domestic matters, dealing with the route that should be followed in fetching meemies from Mahundu. He then addressed Mnyaza by name saying "Goodbye, I am now going. When I am dead you must make me a good house which must have one wall". Shortly thereafter he expired in the presence of the persons mentioned.

7. In order to carry out his wishes regarding the "house", his favourite mukoro (native dugout canoe) named "Nayuma", was cut in half and a lutanga (a canopy) was constructed of laths and mats over the half canoe. In this "house" or coffin the Chief's mortal remains, wrapped in a blanket, were placed together with articles of a personal kind including his cups and saucers, dishes etc. A long grave was then dug and the canoe placed therein and covered up. The burial took place in daytime at Schuckmannsburg on the 19th July, 1945. A fence of branches has been placed round the burial place and in due course the tribe intends to plant trees round the grave.

8. A representative from the Mwandi Kuta in Sesheke, Nyambe Mnyumona, attended the ceremony.

TO ME THIS TWENTY-FIFTH DAY OF JULY, 1945  
 (Sgd) L. Cpl. Matali  
 (Sgd) L. Trollope  
 MAGISTRATE  
 EASTERN CAPRIVI DISTRICT

Trollope was the longest serving magistrate in the Eastern Caprivi-Zipfel and left his marks. He had some rather unusual ideas, as when he had an old Baobab hollowed out and a toilet installed inside.

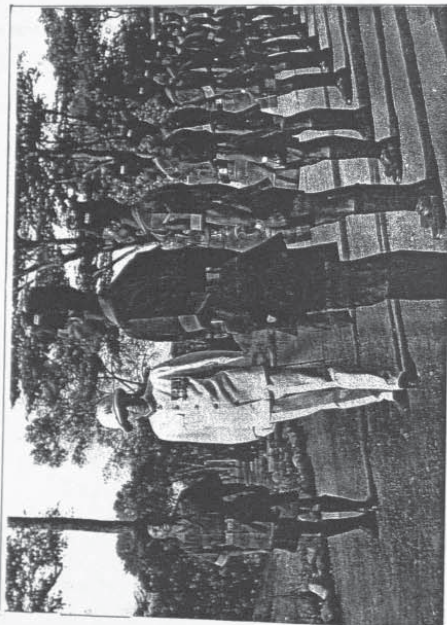


The toilet in the Baobab tree in Katima Mulilo  
 (Dable, Leyerer, Namibia, p. 516)









Richard Cunningham, the District Commissioner of Sesheke District, Northern Rhodesia, taking the parade (1960)  
*(photo by courtesy of R. Cunningham, Johannesburg)*

"Our mandate is in any event soon to end,  
 on which note we might conveniently end this chapter."  
*(C.E. Krueger, A history of the Caprivi, 1982)*

### The years of change 1963 - 1973

The winds of change had come to the Caprivi-Zipfel.

These were in the words of the then Magistrate C.E. Krueger:

"... an attempt to inflict on the Caprivi a new order, generated from the outside, ... having as its aim the supplanting of the South African Government."

The first indication was the building of Mpacha aerodrome capable of taking aircraft (type C.130) that would provide for the needs of the time.

Independence of Zambia resulting in the severance by that Government of practically all ordinary friendly relations as had been known locally, was a further step in this direction. (This divided the tribes, families, grazing rights, trading patterns).

Infiltration by SWAPO from Angola and Zambia encouraged by UNIP (Zambia), resulted in South Africa bringing in a Police Field Force.

Then the World Court (United Nations) started to sit on South Africa, and the South African Prime Minister B.J. Vorster visited Katima Mulilo.

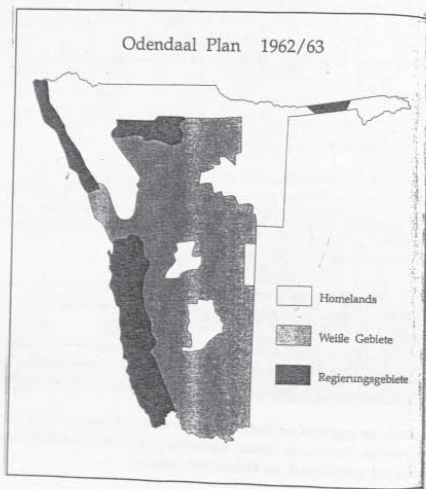
In 1962, the Caprivi African Union (CANU) was formed in Lusaka under the Masubia Brendan Kongongolo Simbwaye. He was a former teacher at a mission school and propagated "secession and independence from South Africa". In April Mshak Muyongo, a Mafe, was elected vice-president. The following years CANU made their presence known. It was the start of turbulent times between various groups of "freedom fighters", the traditional rule of the chiefs and the South African Government. Zambia had become the base for SWAPO.

Soon the South African army took over the defence of the borders. Similar arrangements took place in the western parts of the Caprivi-Zipfel. The South African Airforce provided now a quick and easy connection with Pretoria.

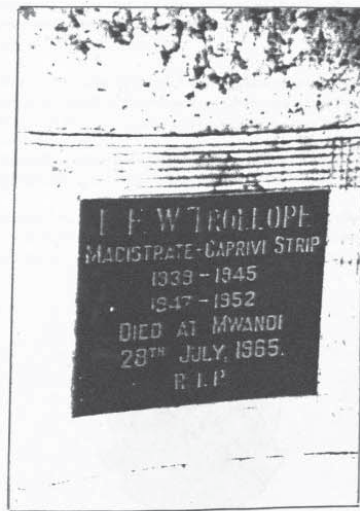
As time went on there was an intensification of outside enmity towards South Africa in her control of South West Africa, with increasing support for SWAPO from different quarters. This in particular from the United Nations, Angola (after independence in Angola, SWAPO had moved their headquarters to Luanda) and Zambia.

South Africa tried to maintain the support of the chiefs of the region and in 1967 had invited a delegation from all parts of the Caprivi-Zipfel to Pretoria. (By then, the official language used by the government had somewhat divided the Caprivi-Zipfel, the Eastern part spoke English, the Western part Afrikaans).

The Odendaal Plan, named after the Administrator of the Transvaal, F.H. Odendaal, reserved parts of South West Africa for the indigenous population. In the Caprivi-Zipfel it was the "Eastern Caprivi" (15.840 population, 1.153.387 ha), and in the west "Okavango" (27.871 population, 4.170.050 ha).



The Odendaal Plan  
*(Dahle, Leyerer, Namibia, p. 110)*



Gravestone of the former Magistrate of the Capriivi-Zipfel  
 L.F.W. Trollope  
 The grave lies on the present site of the Katima Lulilo golf course  
*(photo, Erika Bruchmann)*

"I am Alpha and Omega,  
the beginning and the end, the first and the last."  
(Revelation 22, verse 13,  
*The South African Army fighting in the Caprivizipfel*)

#### The Caprivi-Zipfel as a "Prohibited Area" from 1974 - 1990

It was the 22. 5. 1971 when the first landmine exploded in the Caprivi-Zipfel. Two constables were killed in the corridor which divides Angola and Botswana. It stretches from Bagani on the Okavango to the Mashi in the east. Here the local people were the Bushmen, the Hukwe.

Ian Uys writes about them in his book "Bushman Soldiers" as follows: "What can turn primitive, friendly people into dedicated and professional soldiers? The answer must lie in their own psyche - their way of life and beliefs. Without trying to change this, but by substituting the environment within which they operate and live, the South African Army succeeded in turning stone-age hunters into modern soldiers. Instead of the clan and hunt, the Bushmen had the battalion and the war.

The Kung Bushman's concept of his origin is simple. Kxau was the first man on earth, created by the god Khu, who gave him a wife, Zan. When evil came to the world Khu promised that he would care for Kxau and his family. To ensure their survival he gave them poison arrows to hunt, reeds for sucking up water and sticks to dig for roots.

They clung to their traditional style of life for aeons, a nomadic lifestyle with their legends and superstitions. They wore skins of animals, ostrich shell beads and danced and sang around their campfires at night.

By nature submissive and polite, the Bushmen only wanted to be left alone - to hunt small game with their bows and poisoned arrows, traps and spears, to dig for edible roots and live in their small bands of up to 30 people."



The badge of the South African Army fighting in the Caprivi-Zipfel, Alpha and Omega were also used as names for their important military camps.  
(Uys, *Bushman Soldiers*, p. 1)

The Caprivi-Zipfel had become a staging point for the South African Army to deflect the "Total Onslaught" from the UN-Community to bring down the South West African Administration. The United Nations had long ago rescinded the South African Mandate and insisted on the establishment of an independent Namibia.

The South African Army involved everybody and they again had to battle with half the world. In the west along the Okavango, the MPLA, SWAPO, Cubans, Russians and the rest of the Eastern Block attacked. In the central part, the "strip", the Hukwe Bushmen were recruited into the Koevoet and Tracker Anti Insurgent Units stationed at Alpha Camp (later renamed Omega). Nearby in Angola was Jamba, the headquarters of Dr. Savimbi's UNITA, supported by the South African Government and Army. The confrontation between the ANC, based in Zambia, and the South African Airforce based at Mpacha Aerodrome resulted in bombing raids on Barotseland and shelters being erected in Katima Mulilo (still to be seen today). On Kakumba Island the Army's observation tower is still maintained today.

Despite the mayhem, the build-up of the Caprivizipfel continued. The backwater of former times was provided with an infrastructure of airports, tarred roads, electricity, bridges, public buildings, clinics, schools and various means of communications. They also provided for future game reserves.

But the first casualty became the wildlife. As far back as German colonial times the authorities saw to it that game was only hunted to provide the local population with meat and to frightening off raiding elephants and menacing lions. Poaching was strictly forbidden and dealt with accordingly.

Due to this policy over the last century the Caprivi-Zipfel maintained a well balanced number of a wide range of animals. The rivers teemed with fish.

The arrival of the South African Army changed all this. Poaching by the officers became widespread and they decimated the wildlife to such an extent, that hardly any animals were left in some of the previously declared reserves. Still today the newspapers report gory stories of poaching and smuggling of ivory and rhino horns.

Of the ordinary people in the bush very little was reported.

In 1989, General Elections, supervised by the United Nations, were held. SWAPO won 41 out of 72 seats.





THERE can hardly be a more suitable flag for Caprivi than two elephants holding trunks - sign of strength and unity, besides that Caprivi is on the cross roads of big African game.

The flag of the Caprivi-Zipfel  
("The Newweek Republiken", Windhoek, 7. 8. 1981, page 8)

"The German colonists were nothing  
if not zealous measurers, counters and collectors."  
(*Getaway Magazine, South Africa*)

### Namibia since 1990

The result of "The Struggle" was independence for Namibia and the reincorporation of the Caprivi-Zipfel into the former "Mandated Territory".

On 21.3. 1990 South West Africa became the independent Republic of Namibia and Dr. Sam Nujoma its first president. Peace returned to the Caprivi-Zipfel. It became the stronghold of the opposition party DTA (Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, president Chief Kuusima Riruako, since November 1991 Mishake Muyongo). The new Government has restored the old borders, e.g. "From the confluence to the Zambezi and Chobe to the 21° longitude in the west", and called the Region "Caprivi".



Coat of Arms of Namibia  
(*Dahle, Leyerer, Namibia, p. 119*)

### The Changes

Germany is back again, but this time only with money. The Federal Republic has financed the "Trans Caprivi Highway", and a tarred road as far as Ngoma on the border of Botswana.

The small ferry from Kazungula to Kazungula is still going back and forth, provided the huge overland trucks crossing the river today do not damage the ferry and sink it. It recently happened again.

Kakumba Island is inhabited part of the year by fishermen who come with their cattle from Impalila. As in olden days, they still leave their families on the mainland.

Mwandi, the old Sesheke, has lost its importance. The buildings erected in colonial times are run down or have crumbled, and the village and its inhabitants mirror the economic and political malaise of modern-day Zambia.

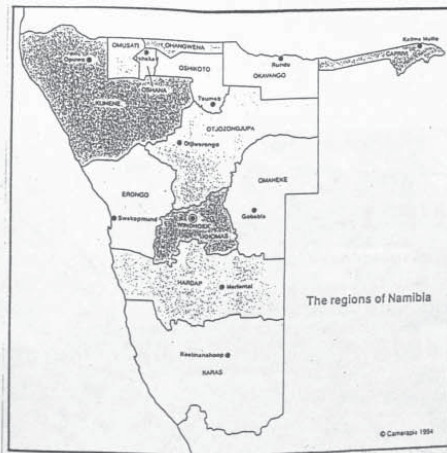
Andara-Libebe has grown due to the good work of the Roman Catholic Mission and their hospital.

The Omega Camp of today is trying to give the remaining Hukwe a new home with the help of the Father from the recently established R.C. Mission.

In Katima Mulilo the streetnames of Trollope, Krueger and Brits are reminders of the past.



Dr. Sam Nujoma, the first President of Namibia  
*(Doble, Leyerer, Namibia, p. 119)*



The new Regions of Namibia,  
the Caprivi extends again westwards as far as the 21° longitude.  
*(by courtesy of Ministry of Information, Windhoek)*



The "Trans Caprivi Highway"  
(photo Erika Bruchmann)

#### What remains in Schuckmannsburg "from German times"?

All that is left today is a small brick building, 5 x 4 m in size with a torn corrugated iron roof and two wooden doors of which the hinges have been pulled out. The floor is of once levelled earth. Today rubble is piling up. The walls show signs of repeated repairs.

There is no indication as to its previous use. The people in Schuckmannsburg only know that it is "from German times". It could have been an armoury or a magazine.

Recently the author found part of the foundation of the "First Imperial Residency", built during Streitwolf's time and enlarged during 1912.

There is still "Lake's Karre", "parked" in Schuckmannsburg, a kind of a scotch cart. It was allegedly built in 1914 by Captain Lake (Northern Rhodesia Police Force), for the son of Chief Chikamatondo, Musisi. When it needed repairing in later years it was just left standing and today all that is left is one wooden wheel and the iron axle and rim of the second wheel.

To reach Schuckmannsburg today is still a battle. There are no road signs and one needs a 4x4 vehicle. There are some 900 "Schuckmannsburgers", a school, a type of a clinic and a bottlestore and recently elephants again paid a visit to the village.



Captain Lake's Karre  
(photo Erika Bruchmann)





The only building remaining in Schuckmannsburg "from German times" (1994)  
(photo Erika Bruchmann)

#### To a bright future?

Independence had brought peace to the Caprivi. Tourists started to come, enjoying the upmarket fishing camps along the Zambezi und game lodges along the Linyanti. A small border crossing was opened from Kasane to Impalila Island and the Trans Caprivi Highway became a very popular way for tourists from the Victoria Falls to Windhoek and was extensively used by the huge trucks bringing coal from the Hwange coal mines in Zimbabwe to the smelters in Tsumeb. This traffic unfortunately helped to spread Aids throughout the Caprivi and along the Okavango

Rundu became a centre for tourists going to the Caprivi and Calais on the opposite Angolan shore was to be connected with a ferry to facilitate crossborder travel. A rather futuristic border post was being built. A trip in a mokoro on the Okavango became quite popular watching the locals trading. The Angolans would bring agricultural products and exchange them for tinned food and electrical goods and motor parts.

The Okavango, the Caprivi, Impalila Island had again become a rather peaceful "Crossroad of Southern Africa".



The bottlestore in Schuckmannsburg, the social centre of the town  
(photo Erika Bruchmann)

"In every outthrust headland,  
in every curving beach,  
in every grain of sand there is a story of the earth."  
(Rachel Carson)

### Unresolved problems at independence

But all was not right. The satisfaction to finally having achieved independence had left a number of important issues unresolved whilst others had been newly created.

1) The SWAPO Government in Windhoek drew its main support from Namibia's largest tribe the Ovambos, resulting in apparent neglect of the tribes in the Caprivi who in any case had never been fully integrated politically, economically and socially into mainstream Namibia.

2) Historically SWAPO was aligned in Angola with the MPLA who after independence became the government. Over decades the left leaning MPLA (Jose Eduardo Dos Santos, supported by the Cubans and the communist Eastern Block) was violently opposed to the right leaning UNITA (Dr. Savimbi, supported by the West and "Apartheid" South Africa). After independence Angola became a divided country. The Government controlled the capital Luanda, the north and oil rich Cabinda, UNITA the southern part of Angola bordering Namibia and the diamond rich west, with Jamba in the south eastern corner as their headquarter.

3) Because the tribes of the Caprivi had very little contact with Windhoek and were neglected by SWAPO they felt closer to the tribes and modern political entities surrounding them. In many cases the modern borders divided family ties with their common language, grazing and hunting. It could therefore be expected that new alliances would be forged.

4) Border demarcation issues which had resulted from early colonial interpretations, remained to be resolved. They were no longer acceptable to the newly established national states and threatened the otherwise peaceful borders.

These issues quite recently have been upstaged, overshadowed and enhanced by the involvement of the Namibian Army in the war in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC, formerly Congo, Kinshasa, Zaire).

### The historical development of these problems and the resulting consequences

To 1)

In 1963 Brendan Simbwaye formed the "Caprivi African National Union" (CANU). Because of his agitation unrest started in the Caprivi. The party was banned, and he was arrested and died in 1964 in custody. He was succeeded by Mshaka Muyongo (a Mafe) who fled to Zambia. In Lusaka he came into contact with SWAPO (President Sam Nuyoma) and it was decided to take up the fight together (assisted by the South African ANC). Although the two parties did not merge soon the Ovambo dominated SWAPO started to patronise and discriminate against CANU members. (CANU-members had been encouraged to join SWAPO's military-wing PLAN). To pacify them Muyongo was made Vice-President of SWAPO in 1969. (He hoped one day to succeed Nuyoma). Despite this, dissatisfaction grew among CANU members and in 1980 they parted after Muyongo was expelled from SWAPO and went into exile in a number of countries (e.g. Senegal).

Muyongo realised that he could only win back his influence over the future of the Caprivi by creating an opposition to SWAPO. In 1985 he formed the "United Democratic Party" (UDM) with widespread support from many quarters of the Caprivi. Soon afterwards the UDM joined the leading Namibian opposition party "Democratic Turnhalle Alliance" (DTA) and Muyongo became vice-president. When the President of the DTA, Chief Kuaima Riruako, resigned in 1991 Muyongo took over.

Muyongo would later claim that in 1964 Nuyoma had promised him that after independence discussions would be held on a special status for the Caprivi. This has been denied by SWAPO.

Muyongo was now in direct opposition to SWAPO. (His wife Helen Musialela had joined SWAPO and is now a MP in the Windhoek parliament). Apparently he had never given up the idea of a separate Caprivi Territory (e.g. an autonomous Province of Zambia) with him as president, and was secretly busy pursuing this plan. To unite the majority of the population behind him he propagated the idea of the revival of Lozi (Barotse) culture in Caprivi and made overtures to the Maubia. It was the time when the name Itenge instead of Caprivi was propagated for an unified and autonomous territory.

In 1998 it became known that he had visited, together with 13 of his followers, amongst them Mafe Chief Bwima Mamili, Pretoria, to discuss with South African agents the armed secession of the Caprivi from Namibia. He denied this but was immediately dismissed as President of the DTA.

Muyongo had secretly started to form the "Caprivi Liberation Movement". It was recruited from members of the Fwe, former members of Koevoet (Khoa's who fought for the South African army), disgruntled members of the Namibian Defence Force, students, teachers and former policemen. Apparently they were trained in Angola by UNITA and returned in October 1998 to Namibia where they assembled in Sachona and the Mudumu game reserve. In November the government in Windhoek learned about the group, some 150 "fighters" and Muyongo together with some 2000 sympathiser had to flee across the border into Botswana.

In May 1999 Muyongo was granted political asylum in Denmark. (With him went John Mabuku, a Totela and Boniface Bwima Mamili).

On the night of the 2. August 1999, 250 "Freedom Fighters" of the "Caprivi Liberation Movement" crossed the Zambezi from Zambia and took possession of the radio station in Katima Mulilo. Later they tried unsuccessfully to take over the airport and police station. By evening the Namibian Defence Force was again in control of the situation after some 15 people had lost their lives. It was claimed that documents had been found on the insurgents to the fact that they intended to blow up the bridge over the Okavango and Mashi to prevent the Army sending in relieve troops.

It was claimed that excessive force was used to quell the uprising and that later people involved were tortured. The government denied this.

In Zambia the President of the "Patriotic Front of Barotseland" Imasiku Mutangelwa assured his organisations support to Muyongo. (Mutangelwa afterwards sought asylum at the South African Embassy in Lusaka. This was denied and the Zambian authorities took him into custody).

From Denmark Mishake Muyongo let it be known that this was only the beginning.

To 2)

Angola became independent in 1975 and the MPLA invited SWAPO to move their headquarter to Luanda. (CANU officially remained in Lusaka). They did so and have ever been thankful for the resulting assistance. There common enemy was now UNITA, because the partly blocked the infiltration of South West Africa and the Caprivi. Nuyona promised to support the MPLA to attack UNITA from his territory should South West Africa become Namibia.

At the end of 1999 the Namibian Government redeemed this pledge. The "Forças Armadas Angolada" were invited to launch their attacks from the Namibian side of the border. UNITA warned immediately that they would retaliate against Namibia. The Angolans landed in Rundu and took up positions along the border the full length of the Okavango and the "Strip" of the Caprivi and started to attack UNITA.

Skirmishes started all along the border. Namibian villagers were coerced, attacked, taken hostages and huts burned and some 20 villagers killed. In the first week of January 2000 a campmobiel with French tourists was attacked along the Trans Caprivi Highway near Omega Camp. Three children were "first sliced apart with bayonets and then, as they lay dying, silenced by machine-gun fire". The parents were critically wounded. ("Sunday Times", J'burg, 9. 1. 2000).

An hour earlier a truck belonging to a Danish aid agency had been attacked and four people wounded, "they were aiming to kill" said Syma Jamil from Scotland. ("Sunday Times", J'burg, 9. 1. 2000).

Since than at least 15 people have been killed along the road. Traffic has come to a near standstill, a twice daily convoy protected by the Namibian Army runs now between Rundu and Katima Mulilo.

The Namibian government blames UNITA, they in turn deny it and blame it on the Angolan Army. The Angolan Army claim that these were Namibian bandits. Nuyona said Namibia will continue to give all necessary support to the Angolan armed forces.

To 3) Due to Caprivi's separate development over the past decades the distance from Windhoek, the geographical circumstances and the ethnical relationship with the tribes in Zambia and Botswana the people on the ground have little in common with their Namibian overlords and in particular with SWAPO. For practical reasons the question of a realignment had therefore been discussed on various occasions but for political reasons never taken seriously. Politically the Caprivi was split. The majority (Fwe, the aligned Yeyi and all the smaller tribes) supported the DTA, whilst the Masubia voted for SWAPO. To change this SWAPO exploited differences between the Fwe and Yeyi, resulting in the latter being recognized as a independent tribe with its own chief by the Government. Soon afterwards the Yeyi voted for SWAPO and the DTA lost its majority in the Caprivi.

Since the countries surrounding the Caprivi have their own dissatisfied minorities it became obvious that cooperations with similar inclined groups in the Caprivi would be formed. These were UNITA in Angola, Patriotic Front of Barotseland in Zambia and individual sympathizers in Zimbabwe and Botswana. The Government of all four countries deny any support for Muyongo.

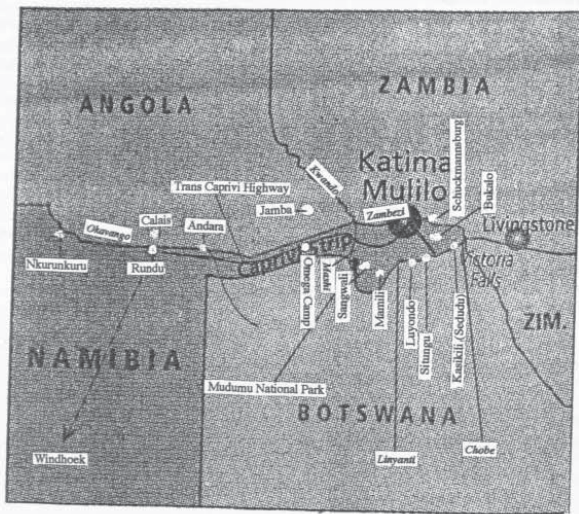
To 4)

Namibia's relations with its neighbour Botswana have been strained for many years. The reason was the disputed borderline between the two countries. Way back in 1890 Germany and England had decided on the "Thalweg" of the Linyanti and Chobe as the border. (The "Thalweg" is defined as the deepest channel of the mainstream of the river). This is fine if the river is not a swamp as is the case with the Linyanti-Chobe. In addition the main channel is meandering and changing after every major flood. The uninhabited islands of Kasikili (Sedudu for Botswana) 3,5 sqkm, Situngu, 91 sqkm and Luyondo are often submerged in times of flood and during droughts the water stops flowing which makes it difficult to distinguish the border. By early interpretations the islands belonged to Namibia since Namibians historically utilized them for planting and grazing. This was disputed by Botswana.

In 1992 Botswana occupied Kasikili Island and planted their flag. That descended into exchange of rifle fire and much war talk. In 1998 the same scenario developed over Situngu and Luyondo Island. The Zimbabwean President Mugabe was asked to convene a meeting between President Nujoma and President Masire of Botswana.

On 13. 12. 1999 the International Court of Justice in The Hague ruled that the Islands Kasikili (Sedudu), Situngu and Luyondo belong to Botswana. Namibia accepted this judgement, whether this will be understood by the farmers and fishermen concerned is another question.





The Okavango and Caprivi Region  
with the flashpoints of today  
(map by Rainer Bruchmann)



Mishake Muyongo

Mishake (Albert) Muyongo  
(Africa Post, Bonn, 9-10.10.1998)

Born 28. 4. 1940, married with 5 children,  
he was educated in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa to become a teacher.  
A great grand son of the first Mafe chief Imataq Kabende Mamilil he has also family ties with the Barotse and Yeyi tribes.  
In 1987 he was in line to be elected chief of the Mafe. He declined and Boniface Bwima was elected.



Two corpses lie in a Katima Mulilo street after the attack on the 2. 8. 1999  
("Der Spiegel", Hamburg, Nr. 32, 9.8.1999)

#### Conclusion on the present situation

The bright future for the North of Namibia and in particular of the Caprivi has gone up in smoke of the barrel. Fear reigns the Region, fear from the MPLA and their undisciplined armed forces, fear from Unita and their unpredictable revenges, fear from the trigger happy Namibian Defence Force and from bandits taking advantage of the situation.

Amnesty International has sent investigators to Namibia to probe alleged gross human rights violations in the country and across the Angolan border. They will also investigate the alleged torture by Namibian authorities of suspects in the Caprivan region, following the governments's suppression of an attempted bloody take over of the provincial capital Katima Mulilo by secessionists in August last year. ("The Star", 31. 1. 2000)

On 1. 2. 2000 the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) showed the film "Special Assignment, Caprivi". Namibian villagers confirmed that their youth were lured into the Angolan army, that UNITA robbed villages and that the Namibian army shot Angolan refugees claiming they were infiltrators.

Tourism has come to a standstill resulting in widespread unemployment.

The future looks bleak again.

## Things to come

On the 6th of February 2000 the South African Deputy Defence Minister Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge flew to Windhoek. She said: "My Government looks at the developments at the Namibian northern border with great concern and we will try to mediate before things get out of hand".

"Western Embassies have warned their nationals against travelling to northern parts of Namibia" said German Radio "Deutsche Welle" (6. 2. 2000).

## Nujoma warns of call-ups as border conflict intensifies

Windhoek - Namibian President Sam Nujoma has warned that citizens may be conscripted to defend civilians living on the north-eastern border, where Angolan rebels have been launching deadly raids into Namibia.

"Every citizen must be ready to be called on to go to Kavango and Caprivi to defend our citizens there," Nujoma said on state television on Monday.

The president reiterated his government's support for an Angolan army offensive against Unita, despite escalating raids by the rebel movement along Namibia's border with Angola.

"We are behind the Angolan government ... we will give every support to crush the Unita bandits in order to restore peace in Angola," Nujoma said.

Since December, Namibia has given the Angolan army

logistical support in its fight against Unita, such as allowing troop movements to take place inside the country and aircraft and vehicles to be refuelled.

However, the presence of the Namibian army, special police units and the Angolan army on the border have failed to stop repeated raids by Unita rebels into Namibia.

On Monday, suspected Unita rebels fired mortars at an agricultural project at Shankara, 80km east of Rundu, in Namibia's Kavango region. No casualties were reported, local newspapers said yesterday.

On Sunday Unita raided the Angolan border town of Santa Clara, killing at least 38 people and looting homes and shops.

More than a dozen people, including three French tourists, have been killed in raids by Unita inside Namibia in the past two months. - Sapa-AFP

A summary of what to expect  
("The Star", Johannesburg, 9. 2. 2000)

## the ambushes and killings continue ...

## Three more killed in Caprivi Strip

Caprivi Strip - Three people have been killed along the border between Namibia and Angola, in the same area where three French children and five aid workers were killed in separate attacks earlier this year, SABC radio reported yesterday.

A woman was killed when her vehicle was ambushed by unknown attackers in the Western Caprivi.

In a second incident, a civilian car on the Trans Caprivi Highway, also in Western

Caprivi, was ambushed by armed robbers, who killed the driver and a young girl.

The robbers stole cash and valuables, abducted a 15-year-old boy and injured three other people.

Namibia has repeatedly blamed the rebel group Unita for the ambush of three vehicles carrying aid workers and a touring French family last month. The French children were shot dead and their parents seriously wounded. - Sapa

Three people killed, a 15-year old boy injured ...  
("The Star", Johannesburg, 28. 2. 2000)



### Timetable

- 1486 Portuguese Explorer Diego Cao erects stone cross at Cape Cross north of Swakopmund
- 1488 Bartolemeu Dias erects stone cross at Lüderitz Bay
- 1700 Masubia settle in Eastern Caprivi-Zipfel
- 1725 Mbukushu settle along the Kwando
- 1800 Mafe settle in the Caprivi-Zipfel
- 1838 Carolus Trichardt visits Barotseland
- 1840 The Barotse settle along the Zambezi
- 1849 -
- 1850 Livingstone's first expedition and discovery of Lake Ngami
- 1950 The Makololo conquer the Barotse
- 1851 Livingstone reaches the Chobe river  
Sebetwane dies
- 1855 Livingstone "discovers" Victoria Falls
- 1864 Sekelutu, Chief of the Makololo dies and the Barotse regain control  
Westbeech establishes Pandamatenga
- 1871 Westbeech arrives on Impalila Island
- 1874 Frederick C. Selous on Impalila
- 1875 Headman Kakumba "Gatekeeper of Barotseland" on Kakumba Island  
Dr. Holub in Barotseland
- 1878 Sepopa, Chief of the Barotse dies
- 1884 Germany declares "German South West Africa" as their "Schutzgebiet"
- 1885 Lewanika regains power over Barotseland  
Paris Mission in Sesheke established  
Great Britain declares Bechuanaland their Protectorate  
Lewanika places Barotseland under British Protection
- 1890 Treaty concluded by Lewanika and F.E. Lochner of British South African Company  
"Helgoland-Zanzibar Treaty" concluded in Berlin, Caprivi-Zipfel becomes part of German South West Africa
- 1905 Libebe rules over the Mbukushu
- 1909 Imata Kabende Mamili rules over the Mafe  
Streitwolf arrives in the Caprivi-Zipfel  
Schuckmannsburg is founded  
Chikamatondo elected Chief of the Masubia  
Streitwolf visits Okavango to establish German administration over the Mbukushu (Libebe)
- 1914 1. 8. First World War breaks out
- 1914 22. - 23. 9. seizure of Schuckmannsburg and Caprivizipfel by British South Africa Police under Captain Capell, they stay until 23. 10. 1914
- 1914 24. 10. Northern Rhodesia Police take over the administration of the Caprivizipfel under Captain Lake
- 1914 25. 10. -
- 1920 31. 12. Bechuanaland Protectorate administers the Caprivi-Zipfel
- 1915 9. 7. Germany's "Schutztruppe" surrenders at Khorab near Otavi
- 1916 Lewanika is succeeded by his son Letia who becomes Yeta I
- 1920 Union of South Africa appointed Mandatory Authority over German South West Africa, it is now called "South West Africa"

- 1920 -
- 1929 Union of South Africa instructs Bechuanaland Protectorate to administer the Caprivi-Zipfel on behalf of the Union. This is done under the law of the Protectorate
- 1929 -
- 1939 Union of South Africa charges the South West African Administration to administer the Caprivizipfel. The Caprivi-Zipfel is partitioned into an Eastern and Western part  
The Caprivi-Zipfel becomes a "Prohibited Area"
- 1940 -
- 1963 The Eastern part is administered by the South African Government, the Department for Native Affairs is in charge, most of the Western part becomes part of the Okavango Native Territory (Odendaal Plan 1962).
- In 1945 Chief Chikamatondo had died  
The South African Army takes over the defence of all borders
- 1964 CANU is founded by the Subiya Brendan Kongongolo Simbwaye  
Northern Rhodesia becomes independent and is called Zambia
- 1974 The Caprivi-Zipfel becomes involved in the "Freedom Struggle" and is administered more or less by the South African Defence Force and its various formations  
The "Prohibited Area" policy is strictly enforced  
Large investments are made by South Africa to improve the infrastructure
- 1976 SWAPO is granted observer status at the United Nations
- 1977 DTA is formed  
Little is reported on civilian life, all information is being severely censored
- 1985 Transitional Government is formed without SWAPO participation
- 1989 United Nations supervise the General Elections, SWAPO wins 57,3%, DTA 21%, UDP 5,7%.
- 1990 21. 3. Namibia gains independence, this includes the Caprivi-Zipfel which becomes a Region of Namibia and is called "Caprivi"  
Dr. Sam Nuyoma becomes President

### Population

Total: 1,6 Millions, with 50% the Ovambos are the largest group followed by the Hereros and Damaras. There are 4% Europeans of which 50% are German and speak their mothertongue.  
Population of the Caprivi: 92.000, the Masubia are the largest group with 37%.

#### Governors of German South West Africa

1885 - 1890	Dr. H.C. Göring, Landeshauptmann (Reichskommissar)
1891 - 1894	Hauptmann Curt von Francois, Landeshauptmann
1894 - 1905	Major Theodor Leutwein, Landeshauptmann
1905 - 1907	Dr. Friedrich von Lindequist, Governor
1907 - 1910	Bruno von Schuckmann, Governor
1910 - 1915	Dr. Theodor Seitz, Governor

#### The German "Residents" of the Caprivizipfel

27. 1. 1909 - 24. 1. 1910	Resident, Hauptmann Kurt Streitwolf
25. 1. 1910 - 15. 1. 1910	Deputy of the Resident, Oberleutnant Hans Kaufmann
16. 1. 1911 - 14. 9. 1913	Resident, Distriktschef, Hauptmann Victor von Frankenberg zu Proklisch
15. 9. 1913 - 5. 6. 1914	Deputy of the Distriktschef, Hauptmann Hans Kaufmann
6. 6. 1914 - 23. 9. 1914	Resident and Distriktschef, Hauptmann Victor von Frankenberg zu Proklisch

#### Tribes of the Caprivizipfel

(Names of important rulers and chiefs)

##### Barotse (Lozi)

Royal seat: Lealui	
1840 - 1864	Makololo (tribe)
1864 - 1876	Sepopa
1876 - 1878	Mwanawina II
1878 - 1884	Luboni
1884	Tatila Akufuma
1886 - 1916	Luboni Lewanika
1916 - 1946	Yeta (Letia)
1946 - 1948	Imwiko
1948 - 1964	Mwanawina III
1968	Mbikusita
1996	Litunga Ilute Yeta IV

(from the book, *Mainaga, Buletzi under the Luyana Kings*, 1973)

##### Yeyi

In 1992 they split from the Fwe

seat: Sangwali

1993	Shifu (Boniface Lutibezi Sangwali)
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##### Masubia (Subiya)

seat: Schuckmannsburg

1909 - 1945	Chikamatondo
1945 - 1965	Mayiba Moralisiwani
In 1968 seat was moved to Bukalo	
1968	Moralisiwani (Mutwa Josia Muhongo)
1996	Moralisiwani (Jeramia)

##### Mafe (Fwe)

seat: Mamili (Linyanti)

1864 - 1910	Imata Kabende Mamili
1910	Lifasi Kafuma Imata Mamili
	Wanki Denteni Lifasi Simata Mamili
1944 - 1971	Noah Simasiku Imata Mamili
1971 - 1987	Richard Temuso Muhinda Mamili
1992	Boniface Bwima Mamili
1999	George Simasiku

##### Mbukushu

seat: Andara (Libebe)

	Andara
1919	Dyeve (Libebe) (Dimbu dya Kapande)
1919 - 1927	Disho (Dimbu dya Didihi)
1928	Disho II
1946 - 1947	Ndara
1947 - 1969	Max Makushe
1969 - 1970	Alfons Mayavero
1970 - 1985	Franz Dimbare
1985 - 1986	Alfons Mayavero
1992	Erwin Mbambo Munika

(information supplied by Father Aloisius Kapp, Omega Camp)

##### Khoe (Bushmen)

1999	their present leader Kipti George
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##### Special Commissioners of the Eastern Caprivizipfel

1914 - 1915	Captain H.V. Eason
1915 - 1916	Captain W. Surman
1917	Captain F. Garbutt
1918 - 1920	Captain H. Neale

### The Magistrates and Native Commissioners of the Eastern Caprivizipfel

Seat: Katima Mulilo

1943 - 1945	L.F.W. Trollope
1946	C.E. Krueger
1947 - 1953	L.F.W. Trollope
1953 - 1956	A.B. Colenbander
1956 - 1959	M.J. Vercuiel
1959 - 1961	D.J. Wium
1961 - 1963	N.W. Boshoff
1963	A.B. Colenbander
1963 - 1968	C.E. Krueger
1968 - 1971	P.N. Hansmeyer
1971 - 1972	E.L. Gregory
1972	Prof. Dr. E.F. Potgieter (Commissioner general for the Caprivi National Unit)
	J.M. Jannie de Wet



(South West African Postal Services, 1986)

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One of his more adventurous journeys took him and his wife from Johannesburg to Germany in a VW Beetle. It was on this trip that he followed and closely observed the wanderings of David Livingstone, the missionary and explorer. Out of this inspiring experience he developed a great interest and deep love for Africa.

Having settled in South Africa he is now able to travel through regions off the beaten track, writing of his experiences.

Also by Rainer Bruchmann

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The Mashi or Kwando near Kongola  
*(photo Erika Bruchmann)*



The Chobe does not run perennially, near Ngoma  
*(photo Erika Bruchmann)*