

(c 7884 p. 90) there were two documents which differed materially, and one with milder terms was signed by the chief, whilst he refused to sign the harsher one, presumably the one reproduced above. The question is however academic and unimportant now. The main thing is that Montshiwa was hard pressed and wholly in the hands of <sup>his</sup> ~~the~~ enemies including the so-called mediator.

In any case after the peace treaty was passed as signed, Niklaas Gey van Pittius, leader of the Moshete-volunteers at Rooigrond issued a proclamation annexing all the land taken from the two chiefs - Moshete and Montshiwa and constituted it into a republic under the Biblical name of Goshen. It was intended to cut it up into farms of 3,000 morgen each.

Similar tactics as above had been followed further south in the case of the war between the British protege Mankurwane and the Transvaal Moss<sup>weu</sup>ou. A treaty of peace drawn up by the Transvaal partisans of Mossou had been inflicted upon him and Mankurwane on the 26th of July 1882, by which a tract of land 3,000 morgen by 416 morgen was taken from them and constituted into a republic called Stellaland, of which Gerrit J. van Niekerk was elected administrato.

It was envisaged to unite the two puny republics of Stellaland and Land of Goshen under the style of the United States of Stellaland and it was published that Moshete and Moss<sup>weu</sup>ou, the allies of the Transvaal had given their approval; One wonders if they were as much as told about it.

When the provisions of the Snyman Peace treaty were communicated to the Earl of Derby, who had now succeeded the Earl of Kimberley as Secretary of State, (December 1882) he turned the treaty down as in conflict with the Pretoria Convention and therefore inadmissible.

In November Rutherford, Secretary to the British Resident at Pretoria visited the western border on a mission of observation and inquiry. He found that the conditions of Snyman's peace treaty had not been observed, and Montshiwa seemed to have treated them with contempt and that his people had ploughed and sowed their old lands over the country <sup>so</sup> ~~expropriated by the treaty~~ at Dishwaing (Buurmansdrift), Sehuba, Dithakong (Seleri's) Lotlhakane, Modimola, and even near Rooigrond. More remarkable is the fact that when the volunteers attempted to survey the country <sup>so</sup> ~~expropriated by the treaty~~, Montshiwa stopped them. Rutherford met Montshiwa at Mafikeng, and witnessed for himself the distress caused by the recent investment of the town, besides hearing the chief's grievances against the utter unreliability of the British Government. From Mafikeng Rutherford went to Khunwana <sup>e</sup> to see Moshete and thence to Taung to meet Mankurwana who complained,

, very...../



very much like Montshiwa that he had been treated by the British Government as if he was their enemy, and had been compelled to sue for peace to save himself from the wrath of Mossouw's volunteers.

In January 1883, Montshiwa dispaired of getting any help from the British Government and set about to help himself. He therefore approached Chief Gaseitsiwe of the Bangwaketse and Sechele of the Bakwena, besides sounding other chiefs in southern Bechuanaland with a view to forming a defensive alliance against what he called their common enemy, the Transvaal, and incidentally against the Transvaal satillites - Moshete, Matlaba and Mossou. Montshiwa and the other chiefs came to <sup>an</sup> agreement and they formally notified the British Resident in Pretoria of the fact. When the Transvaal Government received this news, they immediately complained to the Resident, who then wrote to Montshiwa:

"My Friend, I have just heard from the President that you are joining with Gaseitsiwe and Sechele to attack Moshete, who has applied to the Transvaal state for protection. I trust it is not true that such is your intention, as such action on your part would, I think, lead to direct interference on the part of the Transvaal. The Government has asked me to communicate with you on the subject and to desire you to abstain from attacking him. It is my duty to influence all you chiefs and native tribes in favour of peace, and I shall be glad to hear from you at once as to the cause which is leading you to attack Moshete, and I want to know if I can assist in bringing about a peaceful settlement of matters between you. Meanwhile I urge you to refrain from fighting and to respect the Convention Line."

At the end of March 1883, Chief Montshiwa received two letters, one from Eduard Bok, State Secretary of the Transvaal, and the other from Vice President Paul Kruger. The letter from Bok threatened Montshiwa with severe pains and penalties for alleged theft of stock by his people from the burghers living on the western Transvaal border, and peremptorily ordered him to put a stop to such thefts. In reply Montshiwa stated: "With respect to this letter, a copy of which has been forwarded to Her Majesty's representative in Pretoria, I can only say that according to Articles 2, and 17 of the Pretoria Convention, any communications from your Government to me should come through Her Majesty's Resident, and further that the implied threat in the last sentences is totally uncalled for, as no one knows better than the Transvaal Government that I am, and always have been ready to search out and restore anything that may have been taken by my people from your people."

The letter from Vice-President Paul Kruger was a request to Montshiwa to give evidence before a Commission which the Transvaal Government was sending out to inquire into the circumstances



of the alleged murder of Jan Masibi's people by the burghers of the Transvaal. Shortly before this, the British Resident had invited the Transvaal Government to take part in a joint commission to investigate the condition of affairs in the western border of the Transvaal, and chiefly the murder of Masibi's people. Mr. Bok, the State Secretary had, however, curtly refused to co-operate. His words were:- "So long as the Transvaal has received <sup>no proof</sup> that any one Colonial English Government in South Africa co-operates with it in confirming its lawful authority over the Kaffirs within the Republic it has decided to defer the carrying out of any investigations into Kaffir cases beyond its borders, however weighty they may be in regard to humanity." (C.3486: 23), and so Rutherford, the British Resident's secretary had had to conduct the investigations single-handed (Nov. 1882), and had reported that Jan Masibi's people had been beyond doubt murdered by the burghers of the Transvaal.

In reply, on the 23rd March 1883 to the Vice-President Kruger's letter, Montshiwa reminded him of these facts, and added: "It is not my desire or intention to have such things hushed up, but I cannot agree that a Commission consisting only of members nominated by the Transvaal Government should inquire into a case of such importance, which implicates chiefly subjects of the Transvaal. Therefore I must inform your honour that I cannot give any evidence whatsoever before such a commission, unless it be accompanied by a member sent by Her Majesty's representative. I have also written to the British Resident, urging him, if possible, to send some person with your Honour's commission in order that the veracity of my statements may be completely proved."

The receipt of Montshiwa's answers to his and to the Vice-President's letter threw State Secretary Bok into a paroxysm of rage. In common with the officials and citizens of the Transvaal, he had never been enamoured of Montshiwa (Theal: 1873-1884 p.148), <sup>now he</sup> but simply loathed him. He could find no epithet opprobrious enough to hurl at him, he called him an "arch villian." Ibid p.149) and other such names in his correspondence with British officials. It is interesting to note how the historian Theal completely assimilated Eduard Bok's hatred - typical of all Transvaal's animosity to Montshiwa, and became a concave reflecting mirror of their animus; a resounding chamber or microphone of their calumniations, Theal catalogues and annotates these calumnies with evident relish and approval in his history (1873-1884 pp.145, 146, 148, 149, 152, 164 and 166).

In May 1883, the Transvaal held its Presidential election, and Paul Kruger was returned with an overwhelming majority over Piet Joubert, the only other candidate. ~~ppp/p/~~

Soon...../



Soon after the election, the Transvaal Government made preparations to send a deputation to the Colonial Office to seek modifications of the Pretoria Convention. It was, however not until September that the delegates - President Paul Kruger, the Reverend S.J. du Toit and General Niklaas Smit left Pretoria for London where they arrived early in November. Sir Hercules Robinson, High Commissioner of South Africa had also been called by the Secretary of State to advise him. The Reverend John Mackenzie, agent of the London Missionary Society stationed at Kuruman was at this time on furlough in England, and had been for nine months addressing large meetings all over the country - London, Birmingham, Leeds, Bristol, Chester, Edinburgh etc. educating the British public from platform and pulpit, and by press and by personal interviews about Bechuanaland. He had issued pamphlets on South African affairs and these had awakened interest and resulted in strong resolutions being sent by civil and religious bodies to the Colonial Office, urging the Gladstone Government for firm action in Bechuanaland, and "to discharge the duty which they had undertaken in protection of the native races on the Transvaal border. Mackenzie had been supported by Sir Henry Barkly and Sir Bartle-Frere, former High Commissioners of South Africa and by Sir Richard Southey, former Lieutenant Governor of Griqualand West. He had interviewed members of Parliament, cabinet ministers, editors of influential papers and periodicals. "He saw everyone who had any influence in the matter, and compassed sea and land if by any means he might make a proselyte." (W.T. Stead).

When Montshiwa and Mankurwane heard that a Transvaal Deputation was going to England to discuss the question of the western Transvaal boundary among other matters, they met to consider the advisability of one or both of them going to present the <sup>a</sup> Betswana point of view, with the result that Mankurwane actually left Taung en route for London. At Cape Town, however, he was informed by the Acting High Commissioner, as African deputations have been ever since always informed, that he would not be admitted to the Conference in London, but that he could make his representations in writing. So heavily weighted have the scales always been against Africans even in the highest courts, if their interests clashed with those of Europeans.

There can be no doubt that this decision was made in <sup>deference</sup> deference to the feeling of the Transvaal Deputation. The Deputation was received by Lord Derby on the 7th of November (1883). Among other things they objected to the Pretoria Convention as a whole because they said they had only agreed to it under compulsion and as a temporary measure. They objected to the western boundary of the Transvaal as encroaching on their rightful territory although it had been pushed further out <sup>and west</sup> beyond the Keate line by the Pretoria Convention; they objected to the British Resident as a derogation of...../



1. Since subjected to acceptance
2. In his letter dated 1876
3. Driven to desperation by long deferred before Montshiwa on 16th Dec 1876
4. When in Jan 1877 the chief expressed his intention
5. In March 1877 towards the end of his presentation
6. On the 13th Sept 1877 the SAR was accepted

I have sent a copy of your letter to Sir Henry Barkly the Queen's High Commissioner. I am sending you a small present of a saddle and bridle which I hope you will accept as a token of goodwill.

With expressions of esteem, I remain, Worthy Montshiwa,

Your good friend W.O.L."

Again on the 24th of June 1876: Montshiwa writes: "Again I write your Honour to acquaint you of fresh troubles which have occurred in my country respecting the line. Landdrost Scholtz of Lichtenburg came down to move my people by power (sic) from my gardens at Rooigrond and Buurmansdrift.

I am also subjected to annoyances from the chief Matlaba..... He had made a raid among my people, killed my oxen and taken others..... He is a Transvaal subject and used by them as a tool to provoke me to do something by which war may be brought about. But I still wait to hear what is to be done for me by the British Government."

2. *Transvaal subject*  
*due to the same reason of 1876, Montshiwa is his friend*

When in January 1877 the chief expressed his intention to visit Kimberley to discuss his difficulties with the Administrator W. Owen Lanyon, the latter immediately expressed his readiness and pleasure at the anticipated meeting, and when Montshiwa subsequently arrived, the Administrator immediately sent him a note (2nd Feb. 1877) "I have heard with pleasure of your arrival at Kimberley to see me, and I shall be glad to meet you today at 12 o'clock."

At this meeting or shortly after it, there was an interchange of cordial <sup>expressions</sup> services and presents, in recognition of which Lanyon wrote (6th Feb. ) My Good Friend Montshiwa:

"I thank you very much for the very handsome kaross that you presented to me, and which I have much pleasure in accepting as a token of your friendship and good wishes towards me as the representative of Her Majesty Queen Victoria.

In order that you may not be wanting anything, I take this opportunity of sending you the following articles:

12 Bottles of Sherry

24 Bottles of Brandy

1 lb of Snuff and

10 lbs of Tobacco which I trust you will find acceptable W.O.L."

*by hope long deferred*

Driven to desperation, Montshiwa at last on the 16th December 1876 dispensed with intermediaries, and the ritual of sending letters of protest through ascending stages of offices of the South African Republic. He wrote directly and in Tswana to "Motlotlegi Morogo, Mo-ppresitanta wa Transefala" (His Honour



He was a great intellectual worker, with diverse interests  
of the period for his part in the domestic affairs of the tribe  
which - arranged these settled their disputes, patching up their quarrels  
in the face of ordinary occupational restrictions, where chiefs sought to divorce  
their sons (e.g. Skunkpaw). He was the center of all tribal

activities, place of aggressions & alliances  
like James IV he could justify his total existence. I am the  
conscience of the tribe, I am the state - I am the brain & heart of the  
tribe. He was a great intellect, the director of B. L. and  
his capacity for both peace & war. He was a great intellect, the director of B. L. and  
He was a great and intelligent worker, the first and center of all  
tribal activities - military, administrative, social, traditional, ceremonial  
but he seemed to have a hand in both a recognized part in the domestic  
affairs of the tribe, especially regarding laws, the arrangement of marriages  
meeting aggressions, alliances, place of aggressions, the chiefs & even  
patching up their quarrels, arranging marriages for the chiefs & even  
deciding on the restoration of captured rights where chiefs sought to divorce their sons,  
planning arranged alliances, planning aggressions & diplomatic strategies,  
conducting meetings  
arranging alliances  
settling their disputes, planning aggressions & diplomatic strategies  
2 conducting a happy & peaceful  
1 informed & advising chiefs  
2 arranging marriages & succession of chiefs  
4 not deciding on constitution of captured rights ... Such a man could

but being a clear diplomat & a man of long personality, he found  
his will to them & they reflected his viewpoint

1878  
1815  
63





80 85  
Government evoked uniformly courteous expressions of sympathy with him in his troubles, appreciation and esteem of his friendship to the British Government and hope of its endurance, and finally the bright prospect of compliance with his request to be received under British protection.

Thus on the 6th of March 1876 W. Owen Lanyon to "My Good Friend Montshiwa:

I am grieved to learn that any of your subjects have been maltreated. I accept with pleasure your assurances of confidence in.

B: new sequence.

Montshiwa again writes: <sup>85</sup> 84 B + 86  
And to W. Owen Lanyon: 6/6/1876 Administrator of Griqualand West; "Encroachments are taking place daily regardless of the Keate Award and in open defiance of the same.....The Boers are strengthening their position with the hope of having their claims confirmed by the British Government. This is entirely at variance with my wish."

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86 (FROM PAGE 84) Later (14th August 1876) by way of reminder, he wrote to Administrator (TO THE END OF page 84) <sup>85</sup>

Rec'd Page 86 (1) Driven to desperation .... did land 3yl.

I believe in January 1877 (2) Later 14th Aug 1876 .... Territorial rights

Continue 86 87 88 89

1877  
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said Montshiwa could neither remove nor govern the Dutch-Afrikaners within the Keate line. The chief refused Burgers' overtures outright, and reported the event to Richard Southey, Lieutenant Governor of Griqualand West and to Sir Henry Barkly the High-Commissioner.

President Burgers next approached chief Matlaba of the junior (Rapulana) branch of the Barolong, and succeeded in obtaining from him a cession. Armed with David Mosweu's, Moshete's and Matlaba's deeds of cession, Burgers now issued a proclamation on the 11th of March 1874 that all the territorial rights of the Barolong are now by cession from the Paramount chief Moshete the territorial rights ~~of~~ of the South African Republic, and that, therefore, all Moshete's people, including Matlaba and his people are subjects of the South African Republic."

President Burgers' interviews and discussions with the chiefs had the effect of dividing them into two opposite camps according as he succeeded or failed to persuade them to throw in their lot with him and the South African Republic. The pro-Burgers chiefs - Moshete, Matlaba and Mosweu allied themselves together against the anti-Burger chiefs - Montshiwa and Mankurwane who also handed together against the former. The members of each group and especially the pro-Burger group, felt that the Keate line had encroached upon them, and were determined to indemnify themselves. In consequence of this mutual jealousy, there followed unending disputes, raids, bickerings and reprisals leading to frightful disorder in the western Transvaal border.

By way of reply to President Burger's Proclamation and Montshiwa's petition, the High Commissioner Sir Henry Barkly issued a Proclamation in the following month. "Whereas.....(9) and whereas ever since the Keate Award became known the Government of the South African Republic has endeavoured to evade its effects by repudiating the acts of their president and by entering into agreement with individual members or petty captains of tribes for the cession of rights and territories which these individuals have no power to cede; (10) and whereas under cover of such agreements or alleged agreements the President of the South African Republic for the time being has published a proclamation announcing that the territorial rights of the Korana, Barolong and Batlhaping Tribes have been ceded to, and have now become the rights of the said republic.....NOW therefore I do hereby proclaim ..... that the territorial acquisitions to which the said South African Republic lays claim under and by virtue of the alleged cessions made by petty captains and others will not be recognised unless and until the award of the late Robert Keate Esquire shall have been first <sup>fairly</sup> and fully carried into execution."

Regardless of this Proclamation, President Burgers in the same month ~~in~~ (April 1874) moved Matlaba's people into localities claimed and occupied by Montshiwa's people into ~~localities claimed and~~

occupied...../



occupied by Montshiwa's people at Polfontein. Montshiwa, of course immediately fell upon Matlaba, tied up his son and other people, and captured several of his cattle, horses, sheep, goats and wagons. This coming to the ears of the South African Republic authorities, Samuel Melville, the South African Republic Commissioner and agent for Native Affairs at Lichtenburg wrote (30/4/57) to Montshiwa at Moshaneng, and to Molema at Mafikeng - "Machavie (Matlaba) and his people are subjects of the Transvaal. Our Government has never yet acknowledged the award of Lieutenant Governor Keate. Polfontein and the farms near it are on Transvaal territory.....Injuries to Matlaba or Moshete's people will be regarded as injuries to the Transvaal and retaliated..... Property captured and people taken from Matlaba must be restored by orders of the President.

This was the commencement of a long and at times acrimonious correspondence about conflicting territorial claims, spoliations and reprisals between Montshiwa and his people on the one side, and the South African Republic and its officials and subjects on the other: Samuel Melville: Republican Agent for Native Affairs at Lichtenburg; I.B. Roode: Field-Cornet at Rooigrond; C.R. Otto: Landdrost at Zeerust; I.B. Bantjes: Acting Commissioner at Lichtenburg; C.B. Scholtz: Republican, then British and again Republican Commissioner of Native Affairs at Lichtenburg; Commandant Hendrik Greeff of Lichtenburg; Commandant Piet Cronje of Petchefstroom; S. Swart: South African Republic State secretary; Piet Joubert: Commandant General and Acting President of the Republic and Thomas Burgers himself: State President of the South African Republic.

Necessarily, at the same time, Montshiwa carried on an equally large correspondence with the officers of the British government - Owen Lanyon Administrator of Griqualand West; Richard Southey: Lieutenant Governor of Griqualand West; C.C. Campbell: Magistrate of Barkly West; I.D. Barry: Acting Administrator of Griqualand West; and again with Charles Warren and C.J. Moysey British military commanders in Griqualand West; later he exchanged letters with M. Osborne Government Secretary and Theophilus Shepstone: Administrator of Transvaal and still later with Evelyn Wood: Commanding Officer of British forces in Natal, and George Hudson: British Resident in the Transvaal of the Retrocession period. These letters are in the nature of complaints and reports about the citizens of the South African Republic on the western border, requests and prayers for assistance and appeals for intervention and annexation.

May 1874  
On the 4th of May 1874, the chief Montshiwa in Council addressed Lieutenant Governor Richard Southey of Griqualand West: - "The time has now come that the Boers have made up their minds to destroy us, and I now do humbly place myself under your care and protection. I wish, great chief, that you would ask the great Queen of England to

take...../



I am grieved to learn that any of your subjects have been maltreated. I accept with pleasure your assurances of confidence in, and love you bear for the British Government. I can assure you that Her Majesty highly esteems the friendship of the native tribes in South Africa, and I trust that the Barolong and the English may always be amicably related to each other. I have sent a copy of your letter to Sir Henry Barkly the Queen's High Commissioner. I am sending you a small present of a saddle and bridle which I hope you will accept as a token of goodwill.

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Your good friend W.O.L."  
on the 6th June 1876

And Montshiwa again writes to W. Owen Lanyon, Administrator of Griqualand West; "Encroachments are taking place daily regardless of the Keate Award and in open defiance of the same..... The Boers are strengthening their position with the hope of having their claims confirmed by the British Government. This is entirely at variance with my wish."

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*In his Pres. Burgers replied from Polokwane on the 18th Dec  
Hollandisch  
Hare Kopitein Mousier - Land zyl.*



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