

Public meeting convened in Cape Town towards the end of September 1884 in connection with Bechuanaland and Montshiwa's affairs were attended by immense and enthusiastic crowds from all walks of life, the parliamentarian, the professional man, the municipal employee, the artisan, the tradesman, the labourer were unanimous in demanding the intervention of Her Majesty's Government in Bechuanaland for the maintenance of the trade route to the interior and the preservation of the Bechuana tribes to whom promises of Imperial protection had been given. The Boer ~~aa~~ attack on Montshiwa and the consequent annexation of his country in violation of the declared British protectorate was characterised as an insult to the British crown.

These meetings were said to be the largest and the most important held in Cape Town since 1849 on the occasion of protests against the Cape being made a penal settlement.

From the famous Cape Town meeting at the Exchange Hall (September 24th), similar meeting ~~sprang~~ sprang up all over the country at Stellenbosch, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown and other places in South Africa, and at London, in all which the feeling was similar, and the tone unanimous in approbation of John Mackenzie's policy. Mackenzie was vindicated. He was triumphant. But fundamentally, equally so could have been Rhodes, and even Sir Hercules Robinson. It was their combined efforts and failures, ~~it~~ it was their disunity that had ~~brrought about~~ ultimately brought about this crisis.

Sir Charles Warren was appointed on the 15th of October 1884 by Earl Derby as Special Commissioner for Bechuanaland "to remove the filibusters, to pacificate the country, to re-instate the natives in their land and to take such measures as are necessary to prevent further depredations; and, finally, to hold the country until its further destination is known."

Warren was 44 years of age at this time. With his staff he left England on the 14th of November and arrived at Cape Town on the 4th of December amidst memorable scenes of great rejoicing. Amongst the personnel of his staff were some men who were later to make history and reach the topmost rungs of the national ladder of fame. Such were Lieut-Gen & later Major-Gen Sir H.G. White; Lieut (later Field Marshal) Lord E.H.H. Allenby; Col. the Hon (later Field Marshal Lord Paul Methuen); ~~Gen~~ Col. (later Maj-Gen Sir) Fred Carrington and several others. The main streets were decorated as for royalty, and the Special Commissioner was inundated with loyal addresses of welcome from various public bodies. His force of 4,000 men consisted of regulars and volunteers, some of whom latter had been selected and enlisted in England while others were raised in the Cape Colony and the Diamond Fields, finally bringing the strength to 5,000, including a contingent of 500 Africans and Cape Coloureds for pioneer work, as well as to guard the baggage, draught animals and supplies. The raising of this corps was viewed with great disfavour ~~by many colonists~~ and adversely criticised by many Colonists, and later made a charge against Charles Warren. The High Commissioner made a frantic attempt to dissuade Warren from meeting Mackenzie or getting any advice from him, while at the same time foisting Rhodes on him. When Warren reached Barkly West, however, he called up Mackenzie by wire, as he considered that "his presence there of great importance."

Jan. On the 24th of January 1885, Warren accompanied by Rhodes and Mackenzie and an escort of 200 horsemen met President Kruger by appointment at Fourteen Streams. The President was accompanied by his State Attorney Dr Lleyds and others. He had just returned from Rooigrond to warn the Goshenites to stop hostilities against Montshiwa, and to tell them that the South African Republic was not in position to assist them if they showed any armed resistance to Warren. He assured Warren that order was restored in Bechuanaland, and tried to persuade him to return. One of the results of the ~~interview~~ two days' interview was that Warren nominated Capt. C.R. Conder R.E., while Kruger nominated Mr T.N. de Villiers to define and beacon off the Western ~~border~~ of the Transvaal boundary in accordance with the terms of the London Convention. The commissioners commenced their work at Christiana and proceeded northwards to Ramatlabama beyond the Molopo River. Besides some dispute between them at Khunwana and Lotlhakane which was decided by a referee, their work went on apace, and was completed by August to the satisfaction of the contracting parties.

From Fourteen Streams the Special Commissioner went to Phokwane and had an interview with the Chief Botlhasitse Gasebone with whom he had crossed swords a few years before.

his friend

On the following day, Warren met the Chief Mankurwane on his way to see him at Barkly West; later he also met the Koranna Chief Mossow. To all of them he promised a speedy settlement of their territorial boundaries, and a return to order and peace.

Warren arrived next at Vryburg on the 7th of February and spent three weeks there attempting to unravel the tangled skein of Stellaland affairs. During this time, he and Rhodes had several quarrels owing to their different assessment and interpretation of fundamental rights and freedoms. Warren's specific orders were "to remove the filibusters and re-instate the ~~the~~ natives in their lands." Rhodes on the other hand had made promises ~~fix and grant~~ to the Stellaland volunteers or filibusters of those very lands carved from Mankurwane's country. The growing differences between the two men at last compelled Warren to complain to the High Commissioner that the presence of Rhodes was "prejudicial to the peace of the district and the success of the expedition and he insisted upon his recall."

Leaving his force at Vryburg on the 26th of February to follow him up, Charles Warren with a detachment of Cavalry bivouacked at Setlagol on the 28th, reached Modimola (Saane's post) on the 10th of March **March:** and arrived at Mafikeng on the same day. The Chief Montshiwa was away from home on a visit to the Ngwaketse Chief Gaseitsiwe at Kanye, and was at once sent for. Meantime Warren was received by his son Keba lepile, who went with a large body of men to meet the Special Commissioner many miles away from Mafikeng. As the excited and ever-growing concourse approached the town, the various sections of the populace almost seemed to vie with each other in their loud acclamations and the tumultuous ardour with which they welcomed the Queen's representative. Their deliverance had come at last, and their joy was untrammelled.

On Warren's arrival at Mafeking, the Goshenites disappeared from Rooigrond, and even those working their acquired lands abandoned them and fled into the Transvaal.

On Saturday the 14th of March, Warren and his staff, escorted by a large company of his troops proceeded to Rooigrond to find the grave of Christopher Bethell and examine his body relative to the circumstances of his death on the 31st of July 1884. Having had the body ~~disinterred~~ ^{exhumed} and identified, Warren ~~was~~ had it removed to Mafikeng for re-burial among the Barolong for whom Bethell had given his young life. The body was placed on a gun-carriage covered with a Union Jack.

Returned from Kanye, the Chief Montshiwa and nearly all his people were present at the imposing military funeral accorded Bethell. The solemnity of the religious ceremony conducted by the Rev John Mackenzie, and the powerful address which he delivered with feeling, the lowering of the coffin by six royal headmen of the Barolong, the synchronous discharge of 200 Lee-medfords fired by a party of as many Inniskilling Dragoons, the shrill and eerie notes of the bugle as it sounded the "last post", the handfuls of earth solemnly thrown into the white grave by hundreds of black hands as their owners bowed and slowly passed on, all these were circumstances calculated to inspire awe and leave an indelible impression upon the minds of the hundreds of the Barolong assembled at the graveside, while to the more serious minded and reflecting, the ceremony was symbolic of the end of filibustering and warfare, and had a deep significance of our common humanity beneath our different colours, and the spiritual values of duty and sacrifice, as well as the mysteries of life and death, judgment and eternity. Subsequently a marble stone with the following epitaph was erected on Bethell's grave:

In Memory of
CHRISTOPHER BETHELL
(of Rise, Yorkshire, England)
Who lost his life while performing
Military duty to Her Britannic Majesty
In defence of the Barolong Nation
July 31st 1884 : Aged 29 Years.

The resounding success of the Warren Expedition seemed to supply fuel to the High Commissioner's antagonism to Warren. Under the ~~sin~~ sinister influence and the Bond, he tried all he could to discredit him with the Colonial Office to encompass his recall or resignation and himself superseding him. Instead, however, the High Commissioner received a gentle reminder that "Sir Charles Warren's appointment is civil and well

Meeting in Exchange Hall 24/9/1887 Mayor in Chair Stagnant

March 1888

the idealistic view, the missionary view, the view of ✓
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Major P. S.

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1885
Feb
March
25th
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18th to 14th March

imposing
Croyal heads
lower coffin

were symbolic
of the end of
warfare
Filibuster

Order in C of 27/1/85
Hagelore military ops

July 31st 1884 : Aged 29 years. Order in C 1

April

8

One day the Engineers who were possess'd of a balloon
Sent old Chief Montshiwa up, a captive, towards the moon:
And it was a spirit-stirring sound to hear his women swear,^{air}
As they saw their lord and master floating gaily through the

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~~welfare~~ and political as well as military, and that any measure that ~~would~~ ~~give~~ ~~rise~~ cause him to resign would give rise to much dissatisfaction in this country (England) and create serious military difficulty." (C.4432.p.57).

In any case, new forces which imperiously prompted the Imperial Government to new orientations and action were at work. The scramble for Africa had begun, and the shadow of Bismarck, the dynamic Chancellor of Germany was looming over ~~Agra Pequena Bay and stretching across~~ ^{the West} ~~Damara-~~ ^{towards Northern} ~~land and Namaqualand~~ ^{echuanaland} and the T Transvaal in the east, and might very soon straddle across the trade ~~new~~ routes- the old Missionary or Traders' Road, and render them useless. The British cabinet had been rudely awakened to this possibility, and now realised the advantage of extending British protection northwards beyond Mafikeng, ~~and they had now~~ ^{they had now} decided to extend the protectorate to the 22nd degree of south latitude and Khama's country, and there were no two people in the whole world better qualified for this duty than the two men on the spot in Warren and Mackenzie.

On the 23rd of March a proclamation of British Protectorate over Bechuanaland was issued in terms of the Order in Council of the 27th of January providing for civil and criminal jurisdiction over the country between Griqualand West on the south and the 22nd parallel of south latitude on the north, and between the western border of the Transvaal on the east and 20 degree east longitude. Thus Mackenzie's treaties with Montshiwa and Mankurwane were confirmed by part of this proclamation.

dated 14th March 1945 confirmed by him for this proclamation. The following telegram was therefore received from the Secretary of State) " Warren As soon as possible, Warren should communicate with Sechele and Khama and take good care that no filibustering expeditions takes possession of the country, more especially Shoshong."

Accordingly, on the 20th of April, the Special Commissioner, accompanied by Mackenzie and a small staff left Mafikeng for the north. He arrived at Kanye and had an interview with King Gaseitsiwe of the Ngwaketse and his son Bathoen on the 24th. He then proceeded to Molepolole, interviewed King Sechele of the Kwena and his sons Sebele and Kgari on the 27th, and invite them to come under British protection. They were not very keen about this protection; it was a vague something they could not grasp. ~~Prince Sebele~~ ~~xxxxxxSebele~~ ~~xxxxxxSebele~~ ~~xxxxxxSebele~~. They saw no difference between it and annexation, and were very unwilling to be deprived of their sovereign rights the very thing they feared the Transvaal for. Prince Sebele, in particular demurred outright to protection. The steenboks, he said, "were not protected, and although they were weak, there were always speenboks. God would look after the Bakwena in the same way that He looks after the steenboks without any need of British protection. He advised Sir Charles Warren first to dry the tears of Gaseitsiwe, and especially Montshiwa's whose cattleposts had been raided, and whose men had been ~~killed~~ shot down although nominally under British protection.

Warren next visited Mochudi to interview Lencwe, king of the Bakga Bakgatla, then he went to Shoshong, where on the 12th of May and the following days he had an interview with Khama, king of the Bangwato.

The nett result of these interviews was that all the northern Bechuanaland kings placed themselves, their people and their countries under the protection of Queen Victoria's government. Each king offered large areas of land to the Queen for European settlement, altogether some 170,000 square miles being thus offered, and each reserved tracts of ~~savanna~~ lands in his country for tribal use. In accepting British protection, however, they all stipulated that their indigenous laws and customs should be respected, that lands remaining to them after grants to the crown should be inalienable, and that while ready to be guided and willing to be advised, they desired that their sovereignty over their lands and people should continue inviolate. *Finally they wanted strong drink to be kept out of their*

When the High Commissioner's opposition to Warren and his Imperial policy became known in the Cape Colony, public meetings were called in all the principal towns- Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, Kimberley, East London, Aliwal North etc, and motions of confidence ~~were~~ and resolutions supporting Warren's policy were passed unanimously. One of the most remarkable of these meetings was held at Debe Nek, near King Williamstown on the 14th of April under the chairmanship of Mr J. Tengo Jabavu, editor of the Imvo, which resolved that "This meeting wishes to express its unqualified satisfaction with the objects of the mission of Sir Charles Warren in Bechuanaland, and its admiration of the fearless manner in which he has set about examining the claims of those who must be considered robbers of the lands of the natives until they prove themselves otherwise. This meeting expresses its strong opinion in favour of the Imperial Govern-

on the West Coast.

→ The German flag had been hoisted at Angra Pequena Bay on the 1st of May 1883.

→ Soon to annex them on the 24th April 1884 preliminary to stretching

→ His danger of being cut off from the interior beyond Walcheren, and for ever losing its chance of expansion northwards by ~~by some understanding between Germany and the Transvaal taking it~~ Rhodes' powerful speech. Do you think if the Transvaal had declined it would be allowed to keep it? Would not Bismarck have some quarrel with the Transvaal, and without resources, without men what could they do? Germany would come across from the colonies of Angra Pequena — and stretch to Delagoa Bay. What was the best in Germany's policy — Bismarck 30 June 1885. Said Rhodes in a most powerful speech which sounded as a clarion call to the hearts of the British people in Africa and England.

It had been Rhodes' mission and master purpose to secure the North for Britain, and he had been working since 1881 in the North. He had spread upon it, he reported it, he stretched it, he elaborated it, he had Sir H. Robinson saw it & believed it, and the latter made a clarion call. Lord Derby also saw it & believed it. The climax, the grand finale to Rhodes' plea for the annexation of Bechuanaland came in long & powerful speech which he made in the House of Commons on the 30th June 1885 — new move as a vindication of his vision.

Speech 16th of 1883
30 June 1885

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For it is the usual belief in Montshiwa's town
That when a chieftain dies, he takes a lengthy journey down;
While a missionary murmured, as he gazed up in the sky,
"How strange that soldiers are the first to waft my flock on high."

June 7 While the Royal Engineers of the Warren Expedition were stationed at mafikeng in 1885, Sir Charles Warren offered to help Montshiwa to erect a new chapel for his Wesleyan (Methodist) subjects as the one erected by Molema in 1870 had been wrecked during the Barolong-Boer War of 1881-1884. Three ~~regiments~~ Barolong regiments ~~were ordered~~ the Magodu, the Mapetu and the Matlhaselwa were ordered to make and burn bricks and provide other unskilled labour, while the Royal Engineers under Col. Durnford undertook to do the masonry and other skilled work. Very soon the ground was cleared, ~~plan~~ plans drawn up, and the foundations of a cruciform building laid.

The formal laying of three memorial stones was performed on the 17th of June 1885. One at the head of the building is inscribed "Sir Charles Warren K.C.M.G.", while of the two at the foot of the building one is inscribed "Montshiwa - Chief of the Barolong" and the other "Chiefs of the Barolong." Felicitous speeches were made on the occasion of the laying of these stones by Sir Charles Warren, Chief Montshiwa, Rev Owen Watkins and Rev John Mackenzie, and the collections totalled £256:16/- Quickly a solid structure which stands to this day after 76 years without a crack in its massive walls 23 inches thick and 12 feet high was erected. The Methodist Church provided the building material. The chapel was opened on Saturday the 5th of December 1885 before a vast assembly who marched in a procession headed by the Administrator of Bechuanaland Sir Sidney Shippard from ~~the~~ Molema's chapel, while the Rev George Weavind, Superintendent of the Transvaal Methodist Missions came specially to supervise the opening ceremonies, the Resident minister being the Rev Robert Appelble. It was another day of rejoicing, and "The tribe made ~~it a holiday~~ the day a festival, and at least 1,000 of them packed the large and lofty building, whilst a vast crowd assembled outside. As this vast congregation rose and sang, as Barolongs can sing the volume of sound was overwhelming, and tears of joy bedewed many a face. They had been for years hunted like wild beasts, and now they were met in a church of their own such as the most sanguine had never expected. How would Molema have rejoiced to be with them that day: If spirit are allowed to visit the scene of their earthly labours, his was hovering near." (Whiteside: History of the Methodist Church of S.A p. 433)

In the meantime, under the sinister influence of Rhodes and the Bond **The resounding success** of the Warren Expedition seemed to supply fuel to the High Commissioners antagonism to Warren and he ~~did~~ tried all he could to discredit him, ~~but in vain~~ with the Colonial Office. Instead, the High Commissioner received a gentle reminder "That Sir Charles Warren's appointment is civil and political as well as military, and that any measure that would cause him to resign would give rise to much dissatisfaction in this country (England) and create serious military difficulty (C.4432.57) *this Imperial policy*

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In any case new forces which imperiously prompted the Imperial Government to new orientations & action were at work. The Scramble for Africa had begun & the shadow of Bismarck the dynamic Chancellor of Germany was stretching across from Wilhelm Bay across the Atlantic on the west towards North America & the East. The shadow of the Kaiser's power was stretching across the Atlantic towards the East. The shadow of the Kaiser's power was stretching across the Atlantic towards the East. The shadow of the Kaiser's power was stretching across the Atlantic towards the East.

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