

enemy low before he was perforated by as many spears of the reinforcing army under Gobuza, which effected junction with Gundwana's division at the critical moment and turned the scales against the Tshidi Barolong. The latter now gave way and fled in disorder through the narrow passage between the closing horns of the Matebele crescent.

In their invasions, the Matebele usually killed old men, old women and fighting men, but captured young women young men and boys for incorporation in their tribe. On this occasion, however, the order was specific - "Khunwana delenda est." - Khunwana must be destroyed; it must be blotted out, and not a vestige of living thing left. Obediently and thoroughly the commanders tried to carry out this order of their king. Man, woman and child were butchered with ferocious cruelty, and when all the blood that could be spilled was spilled, the town was committed to the flames with all its stacks of grain, and the fleeing remnants were pursued for several miles towards the south.

Among the slain were five of Tawana's wives - Sebudio, mother of Montshiwa, Mosela, mother of Motshegare and Molema; Dikgang, Letshane, and Senaanye, also his sisters Koto and Kotonyane. There perished also Lekoma, and several subchiefs and the bravest fighting men among hundreds of Barolong casualties.

CHAPTER IV MIGRATIONS:

How Tawana escaped while nearly all his wives perished was a miracle. The women were the first to flee, but were intercepted by the encircling right wing of the Matebele crescent and decimated. The chief (57 years) made good his escape while the Matebele were temporarily pushed back and their line broken by the force of the Magalatladi counter attack.

Tawana's people fled southward towards Mamusa (Schweizer-Reneke), but here their progress was barred by the Koranas of Gert Taaibosch who fell on their vanguard and robbed them of the cattle they had saved. As they proceeded to Taung to seek asylum under Mahura they were attacked by a Batlhaping band of thieves under Kenakamorwa, brother of chief Mahura. This band stole the few remaining cattle and treacherously murdered Tlala, chief Tawana's eldest surviving son. Mahura was ^{afterwards} profuse with apologies for his brother's brigandage, but the injury had been so great that destitute as they were, the Barolong could not rest among the Batlhaping. Without even stopping to avail themselves of the planting season, they continued their journey another fifty miles south, their objective being Motlhanapitse (Platberg on the Vaal) then the abode of the Seleka branch of the Barolong, lately under Sefunelo their guest at Phitshane 10 years previously under similar circumstances (v.p..)

Platberg.../

Platberg is a flat-topped hill on the southern bank of the Vaal river six miles east of Warrenton. Below it the Seleka Barolong had settled with their missionaries James Archbell and Thomas L. Hodgson in 1827, after being tossed hither and thither by warring tribes since their emigration from Bechuanaland at the end of the preceding century. Sefunelo was now dead, and the tribe was now ruled by his son Moroka. To him therefore, the Tshidi Barolong of Tawana, followed by the Ratlou Barolong under Gontse came for asylum. Two parties arrived at Motlhana-wa-pitse. The first to arrive was Tawana and his Tshidi Barolong. The chief was accompanied by his sons Montshiwa, Marumulwa, Selere and Seru of the principal house, that is to say the sons by Sebudio, who as noted was slain by the Matebele at Khunwana; Motshegare, Molema and their sister Majang by the second house of Mosela, whom latter we also noticed as one of the Matebele victims. There were also Saane and Rabodietso, Tawana's baby sons by the last house of Masefera daughter of King Makaba of the Bangwaketse. Tawana's party also contained Nkhabele daughter of Palo a Nnone of the Schuba ward and widow of Tlala who had been assassinated by the Batlhaping of Mahura. She had two children - a girl - Moutlwatsi, and a boy - Tshipinare. Her other son - Setlogelo, had disappeared at Khunwana during the sack of that town, but turned up many years after about 1878, married and childed. The Tshidi party consisted of about 3,500 souls.

The refugees were not long at Motlhana-wa-pitse before Moroka fell victim to the allurements of the young widow Nkhabele, and duly annexed her to his seraglio, at the same time adopting her children as his very own. This in time Tshipinare, the grandson of Tawana of the Tshidi clan became chief of the Seleka clan as Moroka's successor. The second party of arrivals at Motlhana-wa-pitse was the Ratlou clan - of highest rank in the Barolong tribe. They were under Gontse who was accompanied by his sons Shope, Phoi and Mutla, and his strong advisers - Letsapa and Leepo as well as his wards and future Ratlou chiefs Masisi and Moshete for whom he was acting. The Ratlou party was not numerous, perhaps only 1,500 by far the greater numbers having remained at Morokweng under Maiketso who fled with them to Monyelatsela to escape the Matebele.

The settlement at Platberg was not very happily situated from the point of view of water supply and grazing. The rainfall also was not abundant, and the terrain is stony and somewhat barren. These considerations had made the missionaries and the chiefs think of finding another and more suitable place for settlement. Now when the population of Platberg was suddenly increased from 8,000 to about 13,000 by the arrival of the refugees, the matter became urgent.

It was known that large tracts of unoccupied land lay along the sources of Modder, Caledon and Riet Rivers towards Basutoland and...../

and it was decided to explore the possibility of a settlement there.

At the beginning of May 1833, an impressive expedition set out for this purpose. It consisted of 11 wagons and several armed horsemen under the direction of the Methodist missionaries James ^{Coch}Campbell and John Edwards, assisted by Chief Moroka's counsellors Motlhwane and Jacob Ngakantsi and also some Griquas of Barend Barends, Koranas of Jan Kaptein and New Zealanders of Piet Baatjes (J. Edwards: 50 years of Mission Life in South Africa). Tawana also sent some of his men under Motshegare and Mokgweetsi. The expedition followed the course of the Modder River eastwards, traversing a country inhabited by Bushmen and teeming with all manner of wild animals and game, while the rivers abounded in hipopotami, rhinos and crocodiles. After 10 days travelling, the expedition came to the land they had in view and successful negotiations were completed with the Basuto chief Mosheshoe vesting in the missionaries on behalf of the Seleka Barolong the ^{territory} land that we now know as Thaba Ncho a large piece of land lying to the west of the Caledon.

On the return of the expedition to Motlhana-~~wa~~-pitse, Chief Moroka in consultation with his missionaries and counsellors immediately appointed a day of emigration to Thaba Ncho, and so on a night early in December 1833, the town crier announced the hour in the succeeding day or two when Motlhana-~~wa~~-pitse must be evacuated, and all must take the road to the new home.

And so it came to pass, the chiefs Moroka, Gontse and Tawana travelled in a wagon drawn by sixteen fat oxen. In another wagon travelled their queens. The princes, among them Montshiwa, were on horseback, and assisted in keeping the populace in order and protecting them and their belongings from the accidents of the road and the molestation of the surrounding Bushmen and beasts of prey. At places of rest, when the draught animals were loosed from the yokes and turned off for grazing and watering, they helped the men to look after them, and combined this duty with hunting along the Modder River, a sport in which they found their Griqua fellow-travellers masters, both as marksmen and in general veld lore.

After a week or so of steady progress, the migrating Barolong, Griquas, Koranas and New Zealanders and ^mMissionaries reached Thaba Ncho towards the end of December. It was a day never to be forgot as company after company, wagon after wagon, horseman after horseman and one pedestrian after another, all gathered in a V plain formed by two streamlets converging on the west while Thaba Ncho hill towered loftily and protectingly above them on the East. The Reverend J. Archbell after reading a scripture lesson and invoking God's blessing on the immigrants and their new settlement sang a hymn in which all joined lustily, and

for..../

for the first time since their creation the hills and the plains of Thaba Ncho re-echoed with praise to God.

In accordance with custom the people were allocated building sites in keeping with their lineal descent. Moroka and the Seleka clan building on the south side, while the Ratlou clan (Gontse), and the Tshidi clan (Tswana) built on the north-west.

Tawana and his people were destined to spent 8 years in Thaba Ncho. During this time, Montshiwa as a chief's son had access to the remotest recesses of Batswana communal life. He attended the secret sessions of tribal councils, was present at interviews with distinguished visitors, and in that way got some elementary knowledge of men and their affairs. Reverend James Archbell, Moroka's missionary was a kindly man who often visited Moroka and Tawana at their homes and tried to interest them in spiritual matters. With Tawana's sons - Montshiwa, Motshegare and Molema, he lived on terms of great friendship and many informal conversations with them had the effect of conveying to their minds the idea of things eternal, and if they did not all publicly accept the missionary's faith, the density of darkness in their minds was definitely lessened, and it was remarkable how, throughout his life, Montshiwa's conversation was interspersed with apt and intelligent quotations from the Bible and references to the greatness and goodness of God.

Montshiwa had an active mind and inquisitive nature. From his earliest years, he was anxious to acquire knowledge about all kinds of things. His interest had especially been awakened by white people who had always something strange to tell. He therefore never let slip the opportunity of attending meetings addressed by European visitors to Thaba Ncho. In that way he met Dr. Andrew Smith who visited Thaba Ncho at the end of 1834.

Cattle raiding is almost a normal occurrence in inter-tribal life, and it is not to be supposed that the Barolong at Thaba Ncho had forgotten their insatiate love for cattle, or forsaken that illegitimate way of acquiring them. Between them and the Basotho, there were constant forays. The Tshidi Barolong were necessarily very poor. They were refugees. They had been dispoiled by their Matebele ^{victors} visitors and were anxious to mend their fortunes. When the Seleka men went out, therefore to raid or steal Basotho cattle, they were readily joined by the Tshidi young men of Tawana under Tawana's sons - Montshiwa and Motshegare and Molema. So frequent and so successful were their raids that Mosheshoe, the Basotho chief complained in 1835 that Tawana's sons were a band of cattle thiefs ^{thieves}.

The year 1836 was one of great excitement for Montshiwa. The Voortrekker party of A. Hendrik Potgieter arrived in Thaba Ncho

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and were welcomed by Moroka and treated with great kindness by the Barolong chiefs and people. After resting, Potgieter and his party proceeded northward towards the Vaal River. At a hillock since called Veg Kop, 12 miles to the south of the present site of Heilbron, they were attacked by the Matebele of Mzilikazi, and though they inflicted severe casualties on their assailants, they were robbed of all their cattle, sheep and most of the horses.

By the help of Chief Moroka, Reverend J. Archbell and Gerrit Maritz the leader of the third party which had in the meantime arrived at Thaba Ncho, the followers of Potgieter were brought back to Thaba Ncho. While there was no social admixture between white and black, the leaders of the emigrants, namely Potgieter, Maritz, Carl Celliers, Reverend Erasmus Smit, and, afterwards, Piet Retief, as well as the rank and file of the trekkers moved freely among the Barolong. The leaders had many conferences with the Barolong chiefs individually and collectively. Many of these conferences young Montshiwa would undoubtedly be present at with his father Tawana.

When in December 1836 Potgieter decided to proceed against the Matebele to punish them for their assault on his party, Tawana sent several men with the expedition under the immediate command of his eldest surviving son Motshegare, while the Ratlou men were under their brave general Leepo, and the Rapulana men under their chief Matlaba himself, who acted also as guide of the commando, having been in Mzilikazi's service two or three years previously. Montshiwa was then about 21 years of age. It is not clear whether or not he went with the expedition.

Leaving Thaba Ncho on the 2nd of January 1837, the expedition went directly north, crossed the Vaal at Commando Drift, passed near the present site of Mafeking, and came upon the Matebele military camp of Mosega on the 16th. This village was on the present railway line between Mafeking and Zeerust adjacent to the siding Zendelingspost. The commando attacked it, routed the Matebele present consisting mostly of old men, women and children and captured an immense booty in cattle. As luck would have it, the Boer commando descended on Mosega at the time when the Matebele fighting men were away on commando and their victory was of course much easier than it might otherwise have been.

In November another commando consisting of 135 mounted whites and an unrecorded - possibly smaller number of blacks under Potgieter and Pieter Uys went out and defeated Mzilikazi at his residence Kapayin (Egabeni) or Silkaatskop on the Tholwane River; or "Borwala Khutso" (the crown of curses, locus criminis). Again the Boers were lucky in that both Mzilikazi himself and his generalissimo Mkalipi were absent.

After this second rout, Mzilikazi withdrew from these southern parts northwards to establish his northern kingdom of Matebeleland.

About...../

About 1837, Montshiwa, then 22 years of age took a wife unto himself, or more correctly speaking, he was given a wife. According to an honoured Tswana custom he married his cousin Motshidisi, daughter of Mokgwetsi Phetlhu. A year after, a son was born to the union and named Sekgoro. This boy was accidentally killed by gunpowder at the age of 15 years at Moshaneng. Montshiwa then contracted another marriage in 1839, and a strange marriage it was from a European point of view, but one wholly in keeping with Tswana custom and law. Like Abraham of old he married his half-sister - Majang, daughter of his own father Tawana by Mosela (daughter of Molekane of Rapulana), Montshiwa himself being son of Tawana by Sebudio (daughter of Phetlhu of Makgetla. Majang, incidentally was the sister of Motshegare and Molema. From this union resulted a daughter - Buku, the only issue of the marriage in 1840. This Buku was in after years taken to wife by Tshipinare, Moroka's successor.

In 1841, the Barolong who had sought refuge with Moroka, prepared to leave Thaba Ncho to return to their country, now cleared of the Matebele peril by the Dutch emigrants.

There were reports and there was fear among the Barolong that after the ~~expulsion~~ of the Matebele, the Dutch emigrants were spreading themselves over the conquered lands of the Marico and the Molopo, and it was clear that many springs that the Barolong had formerly occupied were now being occupied by the victorious Dutch emigrants and that the longer ^a Tswana and others remained in Thaba Ncho, the less land they would find to occupy. This consideration urged them to move. The facts of this move are controversial. The probability is that knowing the land to be clear, the Barolong just moved without thought of asking anybody's permission.

Leaving Thaba Ncho in three large parties according to their clans - the Ratlou clan under Gontse, the Tshidi clan under Tawana and the Rapulana clan under Matlaba, the Barolong passed by the Maje-masweu, to the north-east of Branfort, crossed the Valsch River (Ntha) halfway between its confluence with the Vaal and the present site of Kroonstad, ^s crossed the Vaal River (Lekwa) a little below its confluence with the Rhenoster River and did not halt for a long time anywhere until they reached the Matlwang Hills (Machavie) on the Mooi River (Tlokweg) to the west of the present town of Potchefstroom. Here a rest was made to take advantage of the planting season. Commander Hendrik Potgieter, the great friend of the Barolong was at this time at the Mooi River at a place later to be named Potchefstroom. He is stated to have said that Moroka, Tawana, Gontse and Matlaba had come to him to express their desire (for the three latter) to return to their country at the Molopo River, and their willingness to live under

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the laws and jurisdiction of the Boer emigrants, that they further asked him to guarantee them against molestation by the Boer farmers while traversing their territory, and that he issued them a pass enabling the clans to travel through Boer farms on condition that the people committed no aggression in the course of their journey (J. Agar-Hamilton: The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers p. 54). The surrounding farms were already occupied by Dutch emigrants who knew the Barolong from Thaba Ncho and were friendly disposed towards them. They all co-operated, therefore in making the sojourn of Gontse, Tawana and Matlaba and their clans pleasant, and the idea of a pass is strangely inconsistent with the time and circumstances.

At N. Matlwang, Gontse and his people built their huts to the east on Kgaba-tsetsho hill while the Tshidi of Tawana built to the south on Phalagomo, and the Rapulana of Matlaba occupied the hills Maje-a-maredi on the north side. The halt at Matlwang was not meant to be of long duration, but for some reason or another, the Barolong stayed here from year to year from the summer of 1841 till the spring of 1848. The seasons were favourable and labour in the fields among the Boer farmers received its due reward. Relations with the Dutch-Afrikaners at Potchefstroom (founded 1838) and the surrounding country were amicable. It was not until 1845 that the Ratlou clan of Gontse moved from Matlwang, but it was not to go far. They went past Mutswana, a flat topped hill on the east side of the Schoenspruit, and therefore also called Plaatberg by the Dutch-Boers. Having crossed the river they halted above its west bank at Motswi-wa-petlwana, at place now known as Laapfontein and Kafferskraal. The remains of their stone kraals are still to be seen on the hills and have no doubt suggested the exalted name kafferskraal.

Tawana and Matlaba and their respective Tshidi and Rapulana clans stayed behind at Matlwang. Montshiwa was now a man of 30 years. Besides the three wives he had married at Thaba Ncho, he had now taken another, namely Onyana, daughter of Nea Dingoko, *his cousin?* one of his father's counsellors. Onyana had been married to Segotshane son of King Makaba and had three children. Montshiwa eloped with her and subsequently had issue with her in two sons Makgetla and Tawana. Elopement with other men's wives was quite in vogue in those days - especially in high Tswana Society *and no stigma was attached to it.*

For many months Chief Tawana was in poor health, and in 1848, feeling that the end was near and being desirous to be buried in his native land, he decided to leave Matlwang and return to the Molopo. The Tshidi Barolong accordingly turned their backs on Matlwang in August 1848. Their route was by Mutswana (Plaatberg) on the Schoenspruit), Lomawe (Goedgevonden) across Khing (Schoenspruit) to Mogodiring (Taaiboschspruit), Matlape (Coligny) to Ditsobotla (Lichtenburg), and thence through Bodibe (Pohlfontein) to Ditsobotla (Lichtenburg).

to...../

to Lotlhakane (Rietfontein) and Dithakong where they arrived at the end of September. Shortly after their arrival, in the middle of 1849, Tawana, now an old man of some 75 winters, called his tribe together and gave them final instructions.

After a few more weeks towards the end of October 1849 he closed his eyes in death and was buried in his cattle enclosure at Dithakong in the Lotlhakane valley according to custom.

He was survived by his three widows Mma-Sefera, daughter of ^{The Bangwaketse chief} Makaba; Mojanku and Mojankunyana - both daughters of Marumula Makgetla, his other five having perished at the sack of Khunwana (1832).. He was survived also by nine sons and six daughters. The sons were Montshiwa, Marumulwa, Selere, Seru, Montshiwane, Motshegare, Molema, Saane and Rabodietso and the daughters Morwanyane, Motshidisi, Mamoraila, Manca, Majang and Keithufilē. Several of the sons subsequently made a mark in Barolong history. Of the daughters only one is important, namely Majang, because she became wife of his heir and successor Montshiwa.

CHAPTER V

MONTSHIWA BECOMES CHIEF

Tawana the great chief of the Tshidi clan of the Barolong had been buried according to ancient custom, in the royal cattle enclosure or kraal at Lotlhakane, actually in fact at what is now called Dithakong, which is however not to be confused with the more famous place of that name in the Vryburg district which was the scene of Reverend Robert Moffat's missionary activities before his removal to Kuruman in 1820.

The burying of chiefs in cattle enclosures makes it impossible to locate their graves after a few years, and I have failed to locate Tawana's.

In accordance with Tswana law, after Tawana's death, the reigns of government were temporarily vested in his next eldest surviving brother as trustee, until the deceased chief's successor should be formally enthroned. That trustee was Moshwela affectionately called Tawanyane or small Tawana, commander-in-chief of the Tshidi army, a man highly respected by the tribe, and noted for his courage in war. In due course this personage assembled the tribe at the royal forum and publicly pointed out Montshiwa to them as their new chief, and subsequently installed him in the traditional manner by draping him with the mantle of a leopard skin and investing him with a battle axe and a spear. Montshiwa was unanimously acclaimed by the excited populace as the new chief of the tribe, and his

praises...../

praises and panegyrics were sung lustily by the tribal bards. Again were repeated in boastful verse and florid language the facts of Barolong history and especially their exploits at Khunwana in the assassination of the Matebele envoys Bhoja and Ehangele. Again the valour of the chiefs and the prowess of the Barolong were declaimed in impassioned language.

At his accession Montshiwa was of middle stature, chubby face, pock marked by the small-pox of 1831, broad shoulders and athletic form. He had a slight impediment of speech, his "s" tending to be pronounced "sh". He was noted for his courage, his humour, his kindness and generosity.

Montshiwa's accession was not without those querries that arise in nearly all successions of polygamous chiefs, especially where the Israelitish practise of the levirate or a man raising seed to a deceased brother is in vogue. The facts with regard to Montshiwa ^{have been stated, but being strange they may be paraphrased} are as follows: Montshiwa's grandfather - Tlhutlwa had several sons - some of them natural, most of them putative - by several wives. These sons were Tau, Tawana and Moshwela by three sisters; Lekgetho by a fourth wife, Legae and Lekone by a fifth, Masetlha by a sixth and Matsheka by a seventh wife (see table). Tau who should have succeeded his father Tlhutlwa in the chieftainship had died in early youth, perhaps at the age of fifteen years before marrying or having issue, and so his younger brother Tawana became the heir presumptive. On the decease of Tlhutlwa, Makgetla, and after him Leshomo acted for Tawana, although he was already a man, married and childed. First he had married Dikgang, daughter of Leshomo, by whom he had four daughters only and no male issue. Then he married Mosela, daughter of the Rapulana chief Molekane. By her he had five sons - Seetsela, Tlala, Motshegare, Molema and Phetogane, and one daughter Majang. Tawana then married Sebudio, daughter of Phetlhu Makgetla, and therefore his own cousin, and gave out that by her he was raising seed for Tau, his elder brother long deceased in boyhood. By this step, the issue by Sebudio was to take precedence over issues or children by previous unions or wives, Sebudio being now regarded ceremoniously as the wife, and her issue in Montshiwa, Marumulwa, Selere and Seru as the children of the deceased Tau. So while in the ordinary straightforward way the eldest son Seetsela (or his son or brother) should have been Tawana's principal heir and successor, Montshiwa and other sons by Sebudio being raised as seed and being counted to Tau took precedence.

CHAPTER VI: WHITE POLITICS AND POLICIES

Montshiwa assumed his duties as chief about the end of the year 1849 at Lotlhakane. His people were just settling down to normal life after much moving about and an absence of 18 years from their country. One of his ^{first} acts was to send his brother

Molema to Thaba Ncho to request the Wesleyan District Missionary Society for a teacher or missionary. There can be no doubt that this step was taken at the instance and advice of Molema himself, who, although he had betrayed the tribe by accepting a foreign faith - the Christian doctrine - at Thaba Ncho had publicly received the express permission of their father Tawana to practice that faith untrammelled. Molema was, moreover a man of strong personality and exceptional gifts. He had great influence in the tribe, and was in fact Montshiwa's chief counsellor in vital matters. He would have no great difficulty in convincing the chief of the overwhelming advantage of having a missionary adviser at his court. Montshiwa himself had been witness of the incalculable benefits of the enlightened services rendered by the Reverends James Archbell and James Cameron to Chief Moroka in his external affairs. He had for himself seen how the French missionaries - T. Arbousset Eugene Casalis and others guided and piloted Moshoeshoe through the labyrinthine intricacies of European diplomacy which sought and threatened to entangle him. Who else could intelligently handle the interviews and requests for grazing, for land and for labour, the endless procession of hunting parties, the disputes about straying and stolen cattle, the questions and arguments about the vague dividing line between the Boers and the Barolong? Who otherwise could read, and having read understand and answer the letters, written in stately Hollandsch, that were already pouring into Montshiwa's office under the tree of justice? All these things required, not only a thorough knowledge of the Dutch and Tswana languages, but also a skill in the argument and negotiation in the European manner - matters which neither Montshiwa nor the ablest of his counsellors had any experience of. And so Molema went to Thaba Ncho, and having placed Montshiwa's case before the Wesleyan District Missionary Meeting in December, that body appointed the Reverend Joseph D.M. Ludorf to be Montshiwa's missionary, and with Molema he proceeded to and arrived at Lotlhakane Montshiwa's town on the Molopo, in January 1850.

Chapter VI: White Politics and Policies

The assumption of the chieftainship by Montshiwa seemed to be a signal of dispute and strife between the Dutch-Boers and the Tshidi Barolong, dispute and strife destined to last throughout the long reign of Montshiwa - 46 years.

In 1851 some Dutch farmers came to settle well to the west of Lichtenburg upon land claimed by Montshiwa at the eye of the Molopo River, at Poosedumane (Grootfontein) and at Mooimeisjesfontein. After warning them several times to quit, but in vain, Montshiwa made a formal protest to Commandant-General Andries J. Pretorius, newly appointed Commandant General of Potchefstroom and Rustenburg districts. Pretorius replied immediately:

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