

of State, two others were later added, namely:

1. That the seat of the European magistracy should be maintained at Mafeking,
2. That the Glen Grey Act would not be introduced among the Batswana without express legislation and Her Majesty's consent.

With these ^{assurances} reservation, and after many meetings, special pleadings, protestations and promises by Sidney Shippard, Montshiwa was ultimately induced to reconsider the matter with a view to partially withdrawing or modifying his Petition against Annexation, but even then, not without grave misgivings, Sidney Shippard jumped at this sign of weakening and at once wired the High Commissioner that Montshiwa had withdrawn his Petition against annexation. In fact however, the chief had done nothing of the kind. He had not met his council to put the question before them in its new light, and when he did, the majority were for rejecting the Annexation outright and favoured the retention of the status quo. They also now spoke strongly against the intention of the British Government to hand over the administration of their lands, known as Barolong farms in Bechuanaland Protectorate to the Chartered Company. They unanimously applauded and supported the action of the three Protectorate chiefs - Sebele, Khama and Bathoen, who were about to proceed to England to protest to the Colonial Office against the contemplated transfer of their territories to ^{the} British South African (Chartered) Company.

Montshiwa was a very old man (80 years old) at this time and would very much have liked to join the three Protectorate chiefs, but had to content himself with deputing his son Besele and his secretary Stephen Lefenya to join the three chiefs to represent him at the Colonial Office.

Shippard had of course to notify the High Commissioner, and the latter the Secretary of State of the new developments, and wired - "Montshiwa has modified his previous withdrawal of his Petition against Annexation, and also petitions against transfer of his Protectorate lands to the British South Africa Company." On the 17th August Prince Besele and Montshiwa's secretary Stephen Lefenya left Mafeking to join the three Protectorate chiefs at Cape Town, en route for London. They carried the following letter -

Mafeking,
16th August, 1895

To the Queen of England and her Ministers,

We send greetings and pray that you are all living nicely. You will know us; we are not strangers. We have been your children since 1885.

Your...../

Your Government had been good, and unde it we have received much blessing, prosperity and peace.

We are sorry you have taken our land from us and given it to the Cape Government. We do not know their ways and laws.

Please make it very just that the Cape shall not have the power to take away the piece of land you gave us in the Land Settlement of 1886.

Again we Barolong are very astonished because we hear that the Queen's Government wants to give away our country in the Protectorate to the Chartered Company; we mean the B.S.A. Company.

Our Land there is a good land, our fathers lived in it and are buried in it, and we keep all our cattle in it. What will we do if you give our land away? My people are increasing very fast and are filling the land.

We keep all the laws of the great Queen; we have fought for her; we have always been the friends of her people; we are not idle; we build houses; we plough many gardens; we sow lots of mealies, kaffir-corn, wheat and forage. Our people work in the gold fields.

Why are you tired of ruling us? Why do you want to throw us away? We do not fight against your laws. We keep them and are living nicely. Our words are No: No. The Queen's Government must not give my people's land in the Protectorate to the Chartered Company.

I have given that land in farms to some of my headmen. The farms have been measured a long time ago, and the Administration has promised to register the titles. That land is my people's and we are just sitting quiet until we get the Registered Title Deeds of those farms as promised by the Administration.

Besele my son and heir, and Stephen Lefenya, one of mt sub-chiefs who carry this letter will speak all our words to the Queen.

Peace to you all, we greet you;

Please send a good word back.

I am etc.

Montshiwa

If the great monarchs ever read some of these quaint epistles, brimful of pathos and childlike faith from their devoted subjects, then surely though they may compalin that "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown," yet they may agree that it is not wholly without some compensation in parental pride mingled with good-humoured amusement at such childlike assurances of confidence and devotion.

The High Commissioner was furious at the bold step taken by Montshiwa without previous consultation with him. He wired the Administrator Shippard at Vryburg - "I understand Lefenya, Montshiwa's representative accompanied Khama's party to England."

He feared that the Secretary of State would not be able to see him, and asked Shippard to urge Montshiwa to recall him.

Shippard therefore wrote (21/8/1895) excitedly to George Boyes, the magistrate at Mafeking - "Urge Montshiwa by all means to recall Besele and Stephen Lefenya at once. Assure him he will do more harm than good by sending messengers to England at this time of crisis. He is quite safe and may be sure that promises made to him will be carried out provided he does not renew his Petition against Annexation. Point out that his position is very different from that of the chiefs Bathoer, Sebele and Khama none of whom pay hut tax, and who are not actually subjects of the Queen as he is, but merely protected chiefs. I shall be in Mafeking Wednesday and will discuss the whole matter with him. I depend upon his showing his loyalty and faith in the Queen's promises by recalling Besele and Lefenya at once (C.7932 p.27)

Actually however, neither Besele Montshiwa nor Stephen Lefenya had left for England. The chiefs Sebele, Khama and Bathoen had sailed on the 20th of August without them, and they returned to Mafeking in due course.

Still bristling with anger and trembling with emotion, the High Commissioner a few days later wired the Administrator a message of studied sarcasm to be conveyed to Montshiwa - "Montshiwa has behaved in such a shuffling manner that I do not attach any importance to his withdrawal. He first petitioned against annexation, then withdrew his petition; then he repudiated his withdrawal, and then ratified his withdrawal. Finally I learn by today's press telegrams that he has sent two men to England to petition against annexation, and that he has done this without consultation with me. I feel that it is difficult to place any reliance on any engagement made by him, and I must refuse to make any contract or bargain with him in regard to annexation of the Crown Colony beyond what is embodied in the Annexation Act. I think he ought to know that I am displeased at his conduct and informed of the position I assume in this matter." (C.7972 pp. 32,33).

Administrator Shippard duly delivered this message to Montshiwa, who, so far from evincing any signs of contrition chuckled at the intended censure and then said with some bitterness that he had learnt his shuffling and vacillation from both the High Commissioner and the Administrator himself. As for faith and reliance, why he himself had lost all faith and reliance in all the high officials so long ago as 1881 when he was distressed and in sore need, when his faith and reliance were prodigious, when he received abundant promises of succour, when he was uniformly disappointed with official shufflings, withdrawals, repudiations and reversions. Reliance on engagements! the High Commissioner must not speak about reliance to him who was so often left in the lurch ^{while} by relying on official

promises and engagements.

Undeterred by these conflicting currents of thought and utterance and action, the plan of annexation went on inexorably to fruition, and at the end of August, the British Bechuanaland Act of Annexation was passed by the Cape Parliament.

Tired of haggling and bargaining, but triumphant, the High Commissioner Robinson again wrote to the Administrator Shippard - "It does not matter now whether Montshiwa withdraws his petition or not, and it is undesirable to make any contract or bargain with him on the subject except as regards his pension. Please inform Montshiwa of this and that as he seems unable to make up his mind, the petition can stand." The Annexation received Royal assent on the 3rd of October, and the Annexation Proclamation was duly authorised by an Order in Council, and Montshiwa's country which had been constituted a Crown Colony in September 1885 now became a part of Cape Colony.

Throughout the early months of 1895, rumours had been filtering through to the Imperial Government was about to withdraw from Bechuanaland Protectorate and hand over its administration to the Chartered Company, and when in August steps were taken to annex British Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony, no more proof was needed to convince them that the British Government was anxious to shed all Bechuanaland and its Batswana inhabitants. This realisation came to the people with something of a shock. To be handed over lock, stock and barrel to the Chartered Company which had just luridly displayed its temper by smashing up the powerful Matebele tribe of Lobengula and ruthlessly disposing of that potentate: Was it for this the Batswana had asked for British protection ten years previously? To be sold and handed over like tobacco without as much as consulting their feelings? "We have heard statements", they wrote to the Colonial Office on the 31st of July 1895, "We have heard statements that have startled us, and we are in distress concerning them. We cannot believe or think it possible that the Government under which we have found rest and peace can thus leave us and put us under another Government, especially that concerning which we have heard such deeds in Matebeleland. Such a prospect is not one to which we can look forward except with weeping and distress and we beg of you to help us if there can be found a means of escape and we will thank you with all our hearts"....."Is the British Government weary of us? We refuse to be thus cast away. We wish to remain under the protection of the Queen of England.....Hear we beseech you, the prayer of your petitioners which is the petition of the three chiefs and their three tribes, namely Bathoen, Sebele and Khama." A month later, Lencwe Pilane of Mochudi on behalf of himself and his Bakgatla tribe also sent a petition to the Queen as follows: -

"We...../

"We do not expect any good from the Chartered Company. We know that we will be slaves in their hands. We know that all the rights will be taken from us.....Our utmost prayer is that we should remain in your Majesty's protection."

Accompanied by their missionaries, the Reverends Edwin Lloyd and W.C. Willoughby as interpreters, the Batswana chiefs Sebele, Khama and Bathoen, respectively of the Bakwena, Bangwato and the Bangwaktse tribes of the Bechuanaland Protectorate had in the meantime, on the 20th of August gone to England personally to protest to the Secretary of State for the Colonies against the intended transfer of jurisdiction ^{of their lands} to the British South Africa Company. Arrived in London they saw the Secretary of State Mr. Joseph Chamberlain on the 25th of September and made their protest. In simple, quaint and picturesque language they told the great minister:- "We come to England to ask the government of the great Queen to continue her protection over us.....We pray you therefore not to throw us away.... Our people have been alarmed at the words which say that we are to be given to the Chartered Company..... We fear the Company because we think they will take our land and sell it to othersWe fear them also because we hear the words of the Makalaka and the Matebele who live under the Company..... The Government will not give us away without asking us what we think about it."

The chiefs made their representations to Chamberlain verbally, and then repeated their words and fears in writing. Somewhat impatiently Chamberlain told them that the matter of transferring the jurisdiction of their country to the British South Africa Company had long been settled, that it had been promised to the Company by his predecessors in office; the decision was irrevocable; they must just make the best of it. They must arrange the best terms they could with their new masters. He also made his answer to them by word of mouth, and then repeated it in writing.

After an arranged recess of three weeks during which the chiefs went sight-seeing and visiting the larger cities of England and Scotland, they returned to the Colonial Office as arranged, and with old-world courtesy rehearsed, almost word for word, their apprehensions to Mr. Chamberlain. "The Company wants to impoverish us so that hunger may drive us to become the white man's servants and dig in his mines and gather his wealth. If you will keep us under the Protection of the Queen, we will give you a part of our country, and we are willing also to give you land for the railway." The chiefs received much help from political, religious and philanthropic bodies, from private people, from the general trend of British public opinion, and not least from Mr. Chamberlain himself, who believed that direct Crown rule was the fairest way of governing backward communities. All these influences, coupled with the reasonableness...../

reasonableness of the chiefs' request, and their readiness to agree to a compromise assured for them a large measure of success in their mission. Their offer of land was accepted, and Rhodes got his strip of land along the Transvaal border to build his railway from Mafeking to Charterland, while the chiefs obtained their main request, namely the continuance of the direct administration by the Imperial Government of territories which were now set apart for them in Bechuanaland Protectorate.

Finally agreeably to their wish, they were honoured by being presented to the Queen Victoria by Mr. Chamberlain, and were able to return home to Bechuanaland in November, feeling that their visit to England had not been in vain. In fact they had triumphed.

Receiving the report of the negotiations from Dr. Rutherford Harris, the secretary of the Chartered Company, who had been present in the meetings in London, Rhodes wired back to him balefully: - "It is humiliating to be utterly beaten by these niggers." (C.E. Vulliamy: A Study of Imperial Expansion.)

Before their leaving England to return home, a farewell meeting was arranged for the chiefs at Queen's Hall, Langham Place on the night of the 21st November. After many felicitous speeches Khama replied on behalf of himself and his brother chiefs. In thanking the British people and the Queen for their hospitality, he referred to that august lady as "Mosadinyana." This word literally means "old woman" or "small wizened woman". Idiomatically it is translated 'dear or grand lady', and was always so used by the Batswana when speaking of Queen Victoria, and was of course so intended by Khama. The Reverend Edwain Lloyd, who interpreted, good as he was in Tswana had however not learnt the language in his childhood, and had not drunk deep enough of the rich well of Tswana idiom, and shockingly he rendered the word 'mosadinyana' into its literal translation of 'old woman', and thus nearly caused disaster, occasioned very great dissatisfaction, and turned a happy cordial meeting into a murmuring and threatening fiasco which perplexed and embarrassed the speaker, who of course did not know enough English to appreciate the anti-climax. He was a tragic ending to a successful pageant. The reverend gentleman's interpretation had become an interruption which nearly translated hospitality into hostilities between the hosts and their guests, the British public and the Bechuanaland chiefs. (Information from Miss Daniels, daughter of Dr. Daniels, born at Thaba Ncho, a Tswana scholar and present at the meeting.).

While the chiefs were seeking safeguards at the Colonial Office Rhodes was leaving no stone unturned in South Africa to neutralise their efforts. With his restless energy, his dogmatic authority, his self-assertive temperament and his indomitable will he had his

ordnance...../

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ordnance and his orderlies, his myrmidons and his messengers - every-
one and every-thing he could employ - working at high pressure, and
he gave his friends Sir Hercules Robinson and Sir Sidney Shippard
no rest. Something must be done now, they must help him immediately
to nullify the efforts and the petition of the three northern
Bechuanaland chiefs - Sebele Khama and Bathoen, as they had helped
him to defeat the efforts and petitions of the two southern
Bechuanaland chiefs - Montshiwa and Mankurwane. He - Rhodes had
annexed Montshiwa and British Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony; why
should he not be able to annex Khama and the Bechuanaland Protectorate
to the British South Africa Company Colony ?

And ^{by contrast} while the three chiefs - Sebele, Khama and Bathoen were
subduing empires, conquering continents and winning worlds, their
brother chiefs at home in South Africa were doing the diametrically
opposite thing - eating their words, allowing themselves to be
blindfolded, led by the nose and shifted about like dominoes.

In September 1895, Administrator Sidney Shippard and Colonel
Frank Rhodes representing the Chartered Company paid a treacherous
visit, first to Chief Ikaneng of the Ba-Maleta at Ramotswa, and then
to Chief Montshiwa of the Barolong. By specious argument they
managed to extract from the two chiefs their consent to the transfer
of their respective territories to the Chartered Company. This ~~consent~~
consent is surprising because all the Tswana chiefs from the Orange
River to the Zambesi were apprehensive and suspicious of the
Chartered Company, and indeed unanimous in their aversion from it.
It is even more surprising in the case of Montshiwa who had recently
discussed the matter of transfer with Sebele Kgama and Bathoen, and
with whom he had made common cause in vehemently rejecting Rhodes'
overtures, and had, in fact, not only addressed a Petition to the
Queen, but had also sent two envoys to join the three chiefs to
England to protest against the contemplated transfer. How then was
it possible to get Ikaneng and Montshiwa so completely to turn round.
The presence of Sidney Shippard in these negotiations was both
puzzling and disarming to them. They knew that he was Assistant
Commissioner and Imperial Officer of high standing, a representative
of Queen Victoria. They did not know, though they might vaguely
suspect that he was something else in addition. Actually he was a
bi-valent factor, a common divisor, a double-edged weapon. He was
an envoy of High Commissioner Robinson, and therefore of Cape Colony
and the Queen, and he was at the same time an emissary of Rhodes,
and therefore of the Chartered Company. His ambiguous words and
his vague assurances were to them more misleading than if they had
known this for certain, and their answers to his proposals - his,
because there is no doubt that he had much more to say than the
naturally retiring Frank Rhodes - their answers were wishfully and
almost certainly, deliberately, misconstrued, their doubts on some
points...../

points interpreted into acquiescence, and their silence on most other points transformed into consent.

Subtle indeed must have been the arguments with which Sidney Shippard and Frank Rhodes plied Montshiwa to make him succumb to their blandishments. It was significant that Chief Ikaneng subsequently denied, most emphatically, that he had ever agreed to cede his territory to the Chartered Company, and that Montshiwa said he understood that part of his territory was being leased, ^{by the Company} for, strange to relate, when Silas Molema refused to part with his farm Mabete generally known in the history of this episode as Pitsana Photloko, being part of Montshiwa's territory on which Dr. Jameson wished to make his ^{deception} ~~sinister~~ ^{spurious} police camp, Sidney Shippard and Dr. Jameson jointly offered to give him two other farms in exchange (J.F. van Oordt: Paul Kruger p.263) and because he did not like one of the two farms offered in exchange, he Silas Molema was offered to keep one - Wolwedraai, and ^{isza} paid £300 for the lease of Mabete.

2. a
"Whereas Ikaneng, Chief of the Bamalete did, on the 23rd day of September 1895 at Ramoutsa, with the consent of his council and people, cede to Colonel Francis Rhodes D.S.O. his capacity as representative of the British South Africa Company, jurisdiction over the Ba-Malete territory; and Whereas Montshiwa, chief of the Tshidi Barolong, did on the 1st day of October 1895 at Mafeking with the consent of his council and people, cede to the said Colonel Francis Rhodes D.S.O. in his said capacity, as representative of the said British South Africa Company jurisdiction over so much of the Barolong Territory as is situate within the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

And whereas it is expedient to withdraw the operation of the laws of the Bechuanaland Protectorate from the said Ba-Malete and Barolong Territories respectively, and to substitute for the same the laws of the British South Africa Company and to authorise the said Company to appoint such officers, establish such administration, and make such provision as may appear to be necessary in the interests of peace, order and good government therein....

Now therefore, under and by virtue of the powers in me vested, I do hereby proclaim, declare, and make known as follows -

- I. Within and in relation to the Bamalete and Barolong Territories in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.....all other proclamations or laws at variance with the provisions of this Proclamation, shall be and ^{are} hereby repealed.
- II. Within the Ba-Malete and the Barolong Territories aforesaid; the laws and regulations of the British South Africa Company shall henceforth have full force and effect.
- III. It shall be lawful for the British South Africa Company to appoint such officers, establish such administration, and

make such provision as may appear to be necessary in the interests of peace, order and good government, and for the said Ba-Malete and Ba-Rolong Territories respectively, provided:

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1. That the Chiefs Ikaneng and Montshiwa and their respective successors shall be allowed internal jurisdiction in their tribes;
2. That no direct Taxation shall be levied on them by the British South Africa Company;
3. That no land shall be taken from them for public or private purposes without the previous consent of the Secretary of State.
4. That all existing laws prohibiting the sale of liquor to natives remain in force.

On the same date as this Proclamation was issued, Dr. L. Starr Jameson was appointed Resident Commissioner of these tiny territories in Southern Bechuanaland Protectorate, and almost immediately proceeded thither, ostensibly to exercise his authority.

Sidney Shippard's negotiations and Sir Hercules Robinson's telegrams and recommendations on this strange chapter of the history of the Chartered Company reflect their servile, perhaps mercenary devotion to Rhodes and the Chartered Company's interests, and their total lack of sympathy with Batswana rights and welfare. While emphasising the fact of their being the Queen's representatives, and occasionally beating the Imperial drum, they were in fact playing the Rhodesian rhapsody.

In any case the consent or acquiescence of the two chiefs was no sooner extracted or presumed by Shippard and Colonel Frank Rhodes on the 23rd of September and the 1st of October than, with indecent haste a Proclamation by the High Commissioner was issued on the 18th of October 1895.

The territory of the Tshidi Barolong lies between that of the Batlhaping on the south, the Bangwaketse on the north, the Transvaal on the east, and the Batlharo on the west. It is traversed in its northern parts by the Molopo River and its Ramatlabama tributary. These water courses were made the boundary in 1895 between the erstwhile Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland in the south and the Bechuanaland Protectorate created in 1885. In this way the Barolong territory was arbitrarily divided into two parts - the British Bechuanaland Crown Colony portion on the south, and the Bechuanaland territory portion on the north. It was thus subjected to "a dual mandate" or double administration. The southern portion which was first created a Crown Colony as British Bechuanaland in 1885, subsequently annexed to the Cape Colony in 1895, and finally became part of the union of South African

one way, while the northern portion has to a great extent shared the vicissitudes of the Batswana countries north of the Molopo and Ramatlabama rivers, and come in common with them under the direct control of the Imperial Government.

In primitive Tswana life, land had no intrinsic value, and land proprietorship was a vague conception, while its occupancy of residence were fitful and precarious, its limits and boundaries shifty and vague. Anywhere that you or your vassals pitched a wattle-and-daub shelter for however short a season, anywhere you grazed or watered your stock, or raised melons or hunted for game, or had your relative or vassal buried was your land. Thus the land for miles north, south, east and west of Mafikeng was Montshiwa's land, as much as anybody else's land. Even today, the Vaal and Orange Rivers, and the Kgalagare (desert) are regarded as the limits of the land of Tau, the ancestor of Montshiwa if perchance his shadow ever fell there, until definite boundaries were laid down between him and his neighbours in the south, (Ratlou Barolong) east (the Transvaal) and west (Ratlou Barolong ^{and} Batlharo). There remained the north, where the cattleposts, garden lands, waterpits and hunting grounds of the Barolong and those of the Bangwaketse overlapped, where the old *cattle* stations and the graves of their vassals and relatives were dotted haphazardly among each other's. In such localities, each tribal chief claimed the land as his but there was no actual dispute until such a thing as a boundary line came to be recognised with the advent of European ideas of individualism, and territorial, as distinct from personal jurisdiction about 1885. Then quickly, the question of demarcation between the Barolong of Montshiwa and the Bangwaketse of Bathoen assumed a foreign importance and became a dispute which reached its culmination in 1892. The High Commissioner, representing the Protecting Power then appointed a Boundary Commission first under ^{Major} Hamilton Gould Adams then Cloete and later ^{another} ^{ing} consisted of the assistant Commissioner - ~~Reverend~~ John Smith Moffat and St. Quentin to define the line between Montshiwa and Bathoen. The decision was in favour of Montshiwa's claim, being a line from Mahura Pan (Mabete) westwards beyond Matsheng pans, very much to the indignation of Bathoen at whose instance the Commission had been appointed. When the beacons were to be erected, (November 1892) both contending chiefs were invited to send representatives. Montshiwa sent his son, Besele, and his nephews Lekoko and Silas Molema, while Bathoen came in person, accompanied by Tsimas and ^s Several other counsellors. The beacons were no sooner put up than Bathoen protested vehemently, washed his hands of the whole boundary-making business and in high ^d dudgeon left the astounded boundary makers.

Moffat and W.H. Surmon were then sent to review the boundary, and they moved it considerably south to appease Bathoen, but in so doing injured Montshiwa, who now sent three men - Josiah Mōtshegare

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