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counsellors Leshomo and Bogatsu, also Moroka of Thaba Ncho, Matlaba of Polfontein and his brother Mongala, Isaac Motlhabane of the Ratlou at Madibogo with Phoi and Mmui.

For two months and two weeks the court heard ~~the~~ and faithfully recorded the voluminous evidence, oral and documentary, given by an army of witnesses. As was anticipated, the judges disagreed, and the decision had to rest with the final referee - Governor Keate, which he gave on the 17th October 1871.

Sir Henry Barkly sent a copy of the decision to Ludorf at Klipdrift, who at once translated its text into Tswana and send copies to all his clients - the Barolong, and Batlhaping chiefs and the Bangwaketse chief Gaseitsiwe. It gave Waterboer the ~~xxxh~~ southern parts he claimed in the Orange Free State and Transvaal comprising the diamondiferous land on both sides of the Vaal at Dutoispan, DeBeers, Bul^tfontein and Kimberley in the geographical Orange Free State. The northern lines went to the Batlhaping and the Barolong, the latter being awarded a line from the source of the Molapo River to the source of the Harts River, thence to the source of the Makwassie spruit, and down Makwassie spruit to the Vaal River. It was but a few days after this award was published that Sir Henry Barkly annexed Waterboer's country as Griqualand West, ^{and} ~~while~~ his own name was perpetuated in the town formerly known as Klipdrift.

The Batlhaping living on the northern banks of the Vaal River and at the junction of the Vaal and Harts Rivers were aggrieved at Keate's decision and soon rose in rebellion. The Griquas of Griquatown away to the west were also resentful and rose up ~~rose~~ in arms. The South African Republic was unhappy, completely repudiated the award, blamed and cashiered its president Pretorius, and settled down to defeat the award by deliberately ignoring it and making it of no avail during subsequent years. Pres. Brand of the Orange Free State protested vehemently

against the annexation by Britain of territory he claimed against Waterboer. He finally ~~annexation by Britain~~ received £90,000 to soothe bitter memories of the loss of this 3,500 sq miles of fabulously rich district.

P/ With the copy of Keate's judgment to each chief Ludorf sent a covering letter urging them in words ~~is~~ reminiscent of the prophet Isaiah ~~Issaiab~~ to unite. "And now chiefs: rulers of the land, I appeal to you. Awake: arise and unite soon before your trophy is torn asunder by wolves; Come ye together, make protective laws; stop all breaches and gaps and close your ranks. Safeguard the heritage of Tau your ancestor. Hear ye all Chiefs: Come together and unite."

Governor Keate's decision was welcomed by the Barolong chiefs. Ludorf and Montshiwa in particular were delirious with joy. The former immediately drew up a manifesto and constitution for "The United Barolong, Batlhaping and Bangwaketse Nation", issued ~~an~~ ^{an} ambitious and ~~elation~~ unrealistic proclamation in their name, established a consulate at Klipdrift, constituted himself the commissioner, representative and diplomatic agent of the chiefs and convened a ^{mee-} ~~meeting~~ meeting of all the chiefs concerned at Taung.

year? In a letter to D. Arnot, Esq, Agent for the chiefs N. Waterboer and Mankurwane dated Nov 8th from Klipdrift he states: "No one can wish more than myself, that the various sections of the Batswana tribes included in the new line may ^{not only} live in unity and peace, but also to combine in a general confederation against the common enemy, should they think it fit and ^{proper} ~~proper~~ to break through the newly fixed boundary line as I am sorry to say the Transvaalers make it no secret that such is their intention. We have on our side Sechele, and ere long also Mapela behind Makapanspoort, besides others whom you know."

This was amongst the last letters that Rev J. Ludorf ever wrote. He was soon after taken ill and died at Dikgatlong on the 13th January 1872 greatly lamented by the chiefs and people of the Barolong

and Batlhaping. Montshiwa was disconsolate for a long time. He said he had lost a man who loved the Batswana and whom he loved as a brother - a scholar and a counsellor.

On the 16th November 1871 Ludorf wrote to Sir Henry Barkly, outlining what he had done he continued" Awaiting the general meeting of all the native chiefs whose territorial rights fall within the newly defined boundary line, I beg most humbly and gratefully to acknowledge in the name of the Barolong united, Bangwaketse and Batlhaping tribes whom I represent, the material service which Her Majesty's government in South Africa, and more particularly Your Excellency in sanctioning and constituting the Court of Arbitration have rendered to these numerous tribes so long oppressed by their white neighbours - the Dutch Emigrants - and I sincerely hope and pray that Her most gracious Majesty will continue to befriend these orphans in keeping her sovereign and protecting hand over them for the future."

This was among the very last letters that the Rev Joseph Ludorf ever wrote. He was soon after taken seriously ill and died at Dikgatlong on the 13th of January 1872, lamented by the chiefs and people of the Barolong and the Batlhaping tribes. Montshiwa in particular was grieved and said he had lost a friend who loved the Barolong, and whom he loved as a brother, a man who could be preacher doctor, mechanic, wagon maker, and political strategist/writer by turns. "An indefatigable worker of indomitable spirit, a talented linguist and many-sided man, the Rev Joseph Ludorf was a lover of the Batswana in general and of the Barolong in particular. He had laboured among them at Thabamcho, at Lotlhakane and in Bechuanaland for more than a quarter of a century, and had identified himself with them and their interests in a manner with which, even in those days of burning missionary zeal, liberal thought, philanthropy and self-sacrifice it is difficult to find a comparison. He threw himself into their struggles with a courage and

impetuosity, a disregard for criticism and personal safety which are surprising to contemplate. But his zeal sometimes outran his discretion, often clouded and deflected his judgment, or swayed him from the straight path of absolute impartiality, ~~justi~~ justice and truth. Apart from Montshiwa, chief of the Tshidi Barolong, Ludorf was perhaps the man best hated by the citizens of the South African Republic." (S.M.Molema: Chief Moroka p.137)

By the death of Ludorf, Montshiwa was left without an adviser who could read, explain and answer the letters now coming frequently from one or another official of the South African Republic or British government. He invited John Cameron, the son of the Rev James Cameron of Thaba Ncho to come and be his agent, but although that person accepted the offer, he failed to turn up, and the chief had in the meantime to ^rely on the good services of the Rev Jonathan Webb, of the Wesleyan church, who had just been appointed in 1873 to labour among the Tshidi Barolong at Mafikeng and Moshaneng.

About this time (1870) Montshiwa contracted another marriage-strange to European ideas of marital unions. He annexed to his seraglio one Gaeshele Motshegare - his own niece and a niece of his wife Majang who was his half sister. Majang was still alive but had borne only one child - Buku - a female. Tswana intricate tradition was that the young wife Gaeshele would raise seed to her aunt Majang, and would thus cover the latter's "shame" in giving birth to just one child. It is more than probable that Majang herself would take the initiative in arranging this extraordinary union.

To anticipate the story, Gaeshele bore two sons and a daughter. The two male children - Badirile and Bakolopang became chiefs of the Tshidi Barolong respectively in subsequent years.

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Having forced Marthinus Pretorius and his state attorney Klein to resign, the S.A. Republic, by the hand of its acting president Daniel Erasmus, issued a Proclamation repudiating the Keate Award on the

committed to the flames by the Transvaal Boers, hundred of their cattle captured, and their men taken prisoner and brutally assassinated. The Batlhwane had complete home rule. The independence of Masibi and his clan was only circumscribed by the common sense and goodwill existing between the two tribes. The ^{was} suzerainty of Montshiwa over them implied rather than expressed, inasmuch as they were living in the centre of the territory which ~~was~~ unquestionably belonged to Montshiwa. The two chiefs- Montshowa and ~~Masibixx~~ Jan Masibi so thoroughly recognised the common usages and courtesies of landlord and vassal, host and guest that there was never friction or stiffness in their relationship, nor need to resort to definitions, or demarcation of boundaries between them. In peace ~~the~~ and friendship they lived, and in peace and friendship they both died at the latter end of the year 1896.

It was left for their sons, heirs and successors to try and define the relations and boundaries between the two tribes, a course which entailed many pitsos ~~and~~ delegations, ~~missions~~ and commissions; much ^{disputation}, litigation and irritation, with uncertainty and vacillation on the part of successive governments of the Union, and no clearcut or satisfactory solution or ^{position} ~~result~~ of their status.

2. The Ratiou Clan of Makgobi: In 1872 a section of the Ratiou clan came ^{to the lower Molopo} from Morokweng and Tshidilamolomo under Gaetsalwe, ~~the~~ younger son of the great warrior Motsharef. ^{who had formerly lived at Ganyesa, Kwadi or Tshidilamolomo and Setlagole.} He was soon followed by his brother Makgobi (originally Ba-kgobi) the ruling chief of that clan, who with a large following had seceded from his senior chief Maiketso (and his successor Bonokwane) at Ganyesa and Morokweng to settle at Phitshane. In former days (c.1824) this Phitshane ^{had been} ~~was~~ a common city of the Ratiou and ~~the~~ Tshidi Barolong clans, but was now claimed by Montshiwa to be within his personal domain. At the time of Makgobi's arrival, Montshiwa was living at Moshaneng among the BaNgwaketse. It is said Makgobi asked and received Montshiwa's permission to make his home at Phitshane, ^{on condition of being subject to Montshiwa}

Now, Makgobi and his clan were very different from the Batlhwane of Masibi. They were a Barolong clan. They were ~~descended from Tau~~ ^{like Montshiwa and his} people descendants of Tau, and they were within the limits of the land of Tau, and if Makgobi spoke to Montshiwa about his coming to live at Phitshane, it was probably just ~~by way of courtesy, and Montshiwa could not have~~

~~effectively refused~~ a courteous formality. It is most unlikely that Montshiwa could have refused such permission, even though about this time or shortly afterwards, he claimed all the country/as far west as the confluence of the Setlagole stream with the Molopo River. Montshiwa afterwards asserted that Makgobi and his tribe were his vassals because they were living in his territory, and this legend became so well-established that the Rev John Mackenzie could confidently write-
 in 1886 that "Makgobi and Masibi are chiefs who are also living in the country of Montshiwa (Austral Africa Vol. I p. 251). This claim Makgobi and his successors, of course, steadfastly resisted, with the result that there was chronic dispute between the two chiefs and their tribes, and afterwards between their successors, after the principal actors had gone off the stage.

During the Barolong-Boer conflict of 1881-1884, with Montshiwa on the one side and the Ratlou Barolong of Moshete on the other side, Makgobi proclaimed himself to be neutral, although his sympathies were clearly with Moshete. *He died in 1884 while on a visit to Moshete at Khunwana, and his successor Molseakhumo was more outspoken and even vociferous in rejecting Montshiwa's supremacy.*
 3. The Ratlou Clan of Moshete at Khunwana: In 1872 Montshiwa took steps

to place Khunwana within his sphere of influence by placing Tsupaneng (Nathaniel) Marumo there as his representative. At this time the Ratlou clan of Moshete was still at Modimong near Taung under Masisi, Moshete the being still in service of Dutch farmers as a shepherd lad. *Pres. Burgers released him from his indenture and proclaimed him chief.*

When the Ratlou people left Taung, they made straight for Khunwana, which had been their capital in former days under Kgosi, Mokoto, Matlha-ku and Gontse respectively. Tsupaneng was therefore forced to retire to Mahukubu (Kraaipan), but was soon after pushed off there also, when ~~the~~ Kgosiethata Letsapa, Moshete's headman came to build a Ratlou sub-station there. Tsupaneng now retreated to Mareetsane and was there as Montshiwa's headman until Bathobatho took over.

4. Mosite: This is a tiny 'state' of about 5,000 morgen, 75 miles west of Mafeking, 30 miles south of Phitshane, 60 miles north of Ganyesa, and 100 miles north-east of Morokweng. It is the burial place of the old Barolong ~~chiefs~~ ^{kings} Ratlou, and his successor Seitshiro. It was here also that a skirmish took place between the Barolong of Montshiwa and the Dutch-Boers under Andries Pretorius and Paul Kruger in 1853.

Mosite has a mixed population of the Ratlou, Tshidi, Seleka and Rapulana Barolong; Bahurutshe, Batlhaping, Bangwaketse and Batlharo. Montshiwa annexed it verbally as early as ~~188~~ 1869 and appointed a Mhurutshe from Kuruman by the name of Motshawe as his representative. Motshawe died in 1898 - 2 years after Montshiwa, and was succeeded by his son Boas, whose position as elder was strengthened when Phetlhu Motshegare, Montshiwa's nephew, married his (Boas's) sister-Popinyana and made Mosita his residence. In 1893/an influential family/^{originally} of the Ratlou people of Maiketso from Dikgatlhong came/to Mosita to settle. ~~These~~ This was the Mooka family represented by Baokodi, Diutlule, Moruaesi, Tsikwe and Gaboutlwelwe. They were related to Boas, and added strength to his arm. Nevertheless, he became unpopular afterwards and was deposed by the Government in 1901, the headmanship being conferred by election on Thakadu Molefe.

Though after Montshiwa's death the Ratlou chief Phoi claimed Mosita as within his sphere, and though Montshiwa's successors have never seriously pressed their claim of jurisdiction, Mosite has been regarded administratively as falling under Montshiwa.

5. The Rapulana Clan of Matlaba: It has been noticed that ~~in 1844~~ the three Barolong clans - Ratlou, Tshidi and Rapulana - which had lived as refugees under Moroka at Thaba Ncho for eight years, ~~left~~ left that place for under their respective chiefs Gontse, Tawana and Matlaba. ~~for Matlwang on the Mooi River~~ moved The Tshidi clan ~~left~~ in its entirety, the Ratlou clan ~~left~~ left one family of Sebetso, the youngest brother of Matlhaku and Mongala behind, while the Rapulana clan divided in two, the larger and senior section going with its chief Matalaba, while the smaller and junior section by agreement, stayed behind with Moroka under its elders Seatlholo and Motuba, younger brothers of Matlaba.

Gontse, Tawana and Matlaba proceeded to Matlwang on the Mooi River, and lived there for a number of years, sheltered by the friendship of Hendrik Potgieter. In 1845, Gontse and his clan moved further off to the west, and in 1848 Tawana also left, and went to ~~his~~ Motlhakane, his homeland where he died soon after. Matlaba stayed behind at Matlwang. In 1846, Potgieter received useful help from him when he proceeded against the Bapedi of Sekwati, and at the successful conclusion of the campaign, he not only gave Matlaba a large portion of the booty, but also allotted him

land at Matlwang for his tribe.

After Potgieter's removal to Ohrigstad, however, Matlaba's people were accused of cattle stealing, and in 1849 the turbulent Comm-Gen Stephanus Schoeman took 41 cattle from Matlaba by way of indemnification, told him that "a kafir may not own land," and expelled him from the Mooi River district. (Bloemhof Evidence p.263). Matlaba and his people then went to Chief Mahura at Taung, and were placed by him at Shudintlhe where ^{Matlaba's} his son of that name was soon after born, and where he lived 7 years. When Schoeman was superseded in authority at Potchefstroom by Pres. Marthinus Pretorius, Matlaba was allowed to return to Matlwang in 1856, and lived there in comparative peace for another 17 ~~years~~ years.

Seatlholo, elder of the section at Thaba Ncho had died in 1846 (?), and the Thabancho section of the Rapulana people was now under the sole charge of his younger brother Motuba. In 1864, however Matlaba called Motuba to join him at Matlwang, leaving the Thaba Ncho section of his people now under Goutlwetswe, generally known as Abraham Motuba. In reality this man was the son of Moliwa- Motuba's immediate elder brother, and only assumed the surname of Motuba because he had lived with him from childhood, and succeeded him as elder of ~~the~~ headman at Thaba Ncho. This Goutlwetswe or Abraham Motuba was born in about 1830, and subsequently took Chief Moroka's daughter-Nnana to wife.

In 1874, having been sought out and befriended by Pres. Francois Burgers, Matlaba was directed by him to remove to Elandsfontein, and was soon after assisted by the S.A. Republic to settle at Bodibe or Polfontein, where he arrived with all his people, including the Thaba Ncho section of Goutlwetswe Abrahama Motuba in April 1874. This latter place-Polfontein, was claimed by Montshiwa, whose people, Israel Molema and Stephen Lefenya among others, had lands there under irrigation from the fountain fater which the place is named. They were unceremoniously pushed out in spite of Montshiwa's protests.

Mosikare Mothupi, a junior member of the Rapulana royalty, a cousin of the chief Matlaba and also cousin of Molema equally like Matlaba himself, soon after this came from Bodibe (Polfontein) with a handful of followers to live at Lotlhakane or Reitfontein - about

ten miles ~~from~~ to the south of Molema's town of Mafikeng. Naturally he ~~acquainted Molema with this step~~ called on Molema to acquaint him with this step, and Molema would undoubtedly in turn tell Montshiwa, who was still living at Moshaneng under the Bangwaketse chief Gaseitise. It is not likely that there were any conditions or formalities in connection with this coming and settlement of Mothupi. Lotlhakane had been the home of the original chief of Rapulana in the previous century. Rapulana was the great-grand father of Mothupi as well as Matlaba. He had come here with his clan on the dispersion of the Barolong nation at Setlagole about the year 1777, and ~~from here he had~~ here he had died and was buried. From here the clan had moved to Matlwang, then to Didi-baneng (Hartebeestfontein), then to Motlhanaapitse near Warrenton and then to Thaba Ncho, from whence they were now returning after nearly a hundred years. Montshiwa, however, claimed Lotlhakane as his territory, and regarded Mothupi's visit and words to Molema as a request for permission to settle there, and therefore Mothupi as his vassal. This became quite a favourite legend among the people of Montshiwa.

In 1875 Matlaba ordered that section of his tribe that had remained behind under Seatlholo and Motuba but ~~was~~ now followed up under Goutlwetswe to move to Lotlhakane. Their exodus from Bodibe was quite an imposing affair of 37 wagons, many horses ridden and driven, and a large number of cattle, sheep and goats. They made straight for Lotlhakane, and ~~there~~ there Goutlwetswe, probably without consulting either Molema or Montshiwa joined Mothupi Mosikare, and being of senior rank superseded him as elder of the clan at Lotlhakane. Without any specific understanding, Montshiwa regarded Goutlwetswe (Abraham) as he had regarded Mothupi, that is as being tributary to him because he had come to live in ~~the~~ what he claimed to be his country. Goutlwetswe on the other hand looked only to Matlaba at Bodibe as his chief, and regarded Lotlhakane as his inheritance.

Frequent mention ~~will be made~~ of this clan will be made in the ensuing pages. vide op.

CHAPTER IX ENTER PRESIDENT FRANÇOIS BURGERS

Having forced Marthinus Pretorius and his state attorney Klein to resign their offices, the South African Republic, by the hand of its acting President ~~Ern~~ Daniel Erasmus now issued a Proclamation, repudiating the Keate Award on the (ground that).....

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