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Your Excellency's notice that due notice has been given to the occupants on the place called Poosedumane (Grootfontein) to quit, and that a party of my people has been instructed by me to proceed to that place to plough over and sow the lands", and on the 15th of May 1877 he wrote out a notice to the squatters of Vleyfontein to quit forthwith.

~~KENNISGIVING~~

Zijt bekend dat ik de ondergetigene beval alle menschen de op Vleyfontein is, dat zij alle grond moet verlaat om dat ik zelf de grond alleen deze jaar ploeg en zaai, en dat geen mensch dat buiten mijne order gezaaid heeft helzelve zaal maaij.

Montshiwa: Kapitein des Barolongs.

~~KENNISGIVING~~

Aan de inwoners op Vleyfontein

At the same time Montshiwa gave written authority to his brother Saane and some of his counsellors Stephen Lefenya to proceed to Vleyfontein to plough his lands.

Imagine his surprise and chagrin when he received a letter from C.B. Scholtz, Commissioner at Lichtenburg, now in the service of the British Government, in these terms; "Johannes ~~xxx~~ Cotzee complains of your people having come with intention to plough up his farm. I request you to stop them at once, and I give ~~you~~ notice that the Keate Award is of no avail. Coetzee will continue in his occupation rights and must not be disturbed."

Feeling provoked, Montshiwa immediately wrote Scholtz a letter far from conciliatory, and practically accusing him of duplicity and divided loyalty:-

I am surprised at the contents of your letter, more especially as you have now assumed office under the British Government. How is it then that acknowledging as you do now the existence of the Keate Award you still seek to get over the line to exercise your jurisdiction in a country that has been given me by that Award? Allow me to ask you to what purpose it would have been, if after having the country fairly arbitrated these people were allowed to remain? For what purpose did I seek it? Was it that I might merely exercise my chieftainship? or was it not rather that I sought for arable ground and water for the purpose of sustaining my people with food? Much rather the latter. I shall at once exercise my authority over the country which has been awarded me by giving instructions to my people to plough over the lands at Vleyfontein."

Naturally enough, Scholtz was taken aback and angered by the high tone of this letter and at once answered:

*ende*

Kapitein: Tot antwoord is dien/dat ik zelf naar Pretoria ga om Sir Theophilus Shpstone te spreken oor de zaken..

~~Ysdaar~~/Verder.



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Verder zoo ek u vriendelyk raaden om niet weder op zoo eene heftige toon aan mij te schrywen."

To Pretoria, then, Scholtz went. He interviewed Administrator Shepstone, told him about Montshiwa and showed him the chief's letters. Then he came back to Lichtenburg, presumably with enlarged powers and assurance, for he at once gave Montshiwa notice to quit Vleyfontein within five days. Shepstone himself wrote to Montshiwa (2/6/1877) a letter of sharp rebuke which he handed to Scholtz, and the latter victoriously read it and handed it to the bewildered Montshiwa. Thus it went:-

"Chief Montshiwa: Mr. Scholtz, a Commissioner of this Government at Lichtenburg has presented personally to me a letter to him, signed or purporting to be signed by Montshiwa, together with a notice to Mr. Cotzee owning or claiming to own the farm Vleyfontein. The language and tone of both these papers are not what I should have expected and I am afraid that they have been adopted without due consideration of the consequences and perhaps upon advice of persons who are anxious for reasons of their own to see trouble come upon the Barolong chief and people,..... I am as yet unacquainted with the circumstances which in Montshioa's opinion give him the right to use threatening language to subjects of this Government.

Montshioa knows that violence on one side provokes violence. I trust that whatever his claim may be, Montshioa has withdrawn all interference with farmers of this territory who have hitherto occupied these farms without molestation."

Montshiwa was nettled by this rebuke which he felt was ill-judged and made, as the administrator himself admitted, without acquaintance with the circumstances and facts connected with the dispute, except such as Scholtz cared to reveal. Nevertheless he replied courteously but firmly and without any cringing; 14th June 1877, "I must inform your Excellency that my letters are my own, thought out and dictated by myself. I feel grieved that you should have listened to all that Mr. Scholtz told you and come to such a conclusion as to impute evil without first making inquiries .....I have kept up friendly intercourse with the British Government for the last 30 years. It was this that made me to seek at the last Arbitration at Bloemhof the support of Her Majesty's Government..... Nothing seemed to be left unturned on the part of the Transvaal to upset the Keate Award, and I trusted to the British sense of right.

Your Excellency cannot deny that by the Keate Award the country is mine. I was only hindered from taking possession of my country, not because it was not mine, but because of commandos.

I rejoiced in hearing your Proclamation (of Annexation),  
read...../



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read, and thought that now my struggles were nearly ended. But now my hopes are dashed to the ground, and that by Your Excellency..... Your letter has not strengthened friendly intercourse between us, for you make my position that of 20 years ago when I was driven from my fountaions of waters.

As Your Excellency does not understand the circumstances connected with my country, I have sent (your letter) to His Excellency W. Owen Lanyon Esq., who is informed in all matters respecting these parts".

And sure enough he sent his son Kebalepile and his nephew Israel Molema to report the whole incident to Lanyon whom he also addressed as follows:-

"Since writing to you last I have received a letter from His Excellency Sir Theophilus Shepstone in which he threatens to confirm the Boers in the country occupied by them within the Line accorded me by Keate, and, further Commissioner Scholtz has given me five days notice to leave the lands ploughed by my people. My position is now worse than ever it has been and I now send my son to confer with you to know what would be the best course to pursue under the circumstances."

Judge J.D. Barry who was there acting during Lanyon's absence advised Montshiwa to lay his grievances at the earliest opportunity before Sir Theophilus Shepstone the Queen's Representative in the Transvaal, that state and its British Administrator being now Montshiwa's nearest neighbour.

As may be expected Lanyon took the matter up with Shepstone and presumably educated him in the history of the Bloemhof Arbitration and the Keate Award and the loyalty of Montshiwa to the British Government.

In July 1877, Administrator Shepstone paid a visit to Lichtenburg, Zeerust, Rustenburg etc., and although Montshiwa had asked him for an interview there, he instructed Commissioner Scholtz to write to the chief to say "It was impossible to seem him this time, but hoped soon to be down in these parts again when he will be most happy to see him.", words in which Montshiwa saw official red tape and bureaucratic evasion.

Montshiwa was however <sup>so easily</sup> not to be put off. On the 26th July he wrote again to Shepstone, asking him to hasten his visit to the border to finalise the boundary question, and that pending his visit, the Boers at Vleyfontein should be put under the same restraint as the Barolong. On the 27th October Montshiwa wrote again <sup>to</sup> the Administrator, sending him a long catalogue of protests and representations, and gently reminding him that he had not as yet acknowledge his letters.

Reconciliation and pleasant relations were <sup>in the meantime</sup> ~~not~~ restored between...../



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between Montshiwa and Commissioner Scholtz. They were able to condole with each other in their family bereavements, and Scholtz was able to write to Montshiwa (10th November 1877): "I am glad to see you are going the right way to work.... I am confident and state such to you that His Excellency will not see you suffer."

On the 1st (or 7th December) Montshiwa feeling totally frustrated wrote once more to his friend Administrator Owen Lanyon:

"I have many troubles in my country and can find no peace. His Excellency Sir Theophilus Shepstone both refuses to reply to my letters, and to come and settle our dispute on the border. The result is that I am harassed by the border Boers.... I cannot understand my position with the British Government. I have sought their friendship for the last 30 years as well as their advice in all critical circumstances, I have always tried to adhere to their counsel at all times, I have withstood advances made to me by the Transvaal authorities which would have led to some compromise, and this I have done, solely by reason of overtures made to me by the British Government. And what have I gained? Just nothing and worse than nothing, for my people are kept out of their country and are starving.

After repeated applications to Sir Theophilus Shepstone to settle our dispute I am now going to meet him personally at Pretoria, and shall not return until I have had an interview with him. It is impossible for me to continue any longer in this state - the menace of the Boers, as well as Moshete and Matlaba who claim to belong to the old (Republican) government and thereby try to monopolise my country through certain treaties made by the late President (Burgers) and themselves and also the silence of the British authorities to all my representations. All this makes my position most trying, and makes me wonder whether I have not mistaken the British Government, yet I hope and await the result of my interview with His Excellency.

I write to you my friend, not because I seek help from you, but as I have been in communication with you on behalf of my country just that you may know my awkward position through the taking-over of the Transvaal (by the British Government)."

To this letter Lanyon replied; "My Good Friend, I think you are right in going yourself to see Sir Theophilus Shepstone in order to explain your position to him."

On the 13th December, Montshiwa though old, fat, heavy, *dropsical* and short of breath went to Pretoria accompanied by his secretary Stephen Lefenya to see Shepstone in person. As he said in a preparatory note "I have travelled so far with the hope that Your Excellency may be able to grant me an interview to enable me personally to represent my case to you."

It.,...../



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It was an unfortunate visit, because as Government Secretary Melmoth Osborn informed Montshiwa, His Excellency was away on the Zulu border in connection with serious questions with Cetuyayo whose army was menacing the Transvaal, and the date of his return to Pretoria was uncertain .

In the absence of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, Montshiwa laid his complaints before Government Secretary M. Osborn (17th December):

1. That his(Montshiwa's) letters remained unanswered by the Government.
2. That six years, <sup>had</sup> now passed since the Keate Award was made, and he wanted the Government to help him occupy the country so awarded him.
3. That the corn raised upon his ground by his labour with his oxen and ploughs, and now stacked up in Commissioner Scholtz's store while awaiting His Excellency's decision was his own and should be delivered to him, as he and his people were in want of food. This complaint he said was one of his chief reason for coming to Pretoria.
4. That Matlaba(Machavie) was occupying his (Montshiwa's) land at Polfontein. Matlaba had obtained his right and authority from President Burgers who had no title to it and no right to dispose of the land.
5. Matlaba had robbed his (Montshiwa's) people of their cattle and sheep. The matter had been referred to Commissioner Scholtz, who had decided in Montshiwa's favour, but Scholtz <sup>t</sup> either could not, or would not restore the property.
6. Moshete was also occupying his (Montshiwa's) land at <sup>n</sup> Khukwana and causing a lot of trouble to his (Montshiwa's) people by attempting to drive them away or threatening them.

At this point, Osborn suddenly remembered and unearthed a letter dictated to him by Shepstone for transmission to Montshiwa on the 3rd of December, but which had never been posted, most probably due first to the intervention of Administrator Lanyon and partly to the firm and fearless answer of Montshiwa. The tone of this second letter of Shepstone was much more conciliatory and was a definite retreat on the first. It stated that "It was from reasoning on general principals <sup>les</sup> and with a strong desire to preserve peace and goodwill between the parties concerned that His Excellency dictated the first letter..... of which you complained to the Administrator in Kimberley...." further

His Excellency complained of what appeared to be Montshiwa's taking the law into his own hands, righting what he considered a wrong done to him and ignoring the Government and even acting in opposition to the Government.

The gist of all which was that His Excellency was not sufficiently...../



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Such was the state of political affairs when diplomacy, fate and human nature conspired to defeat and nullify Montshiwa's hope and ambition of being master of the fertile strip of land between Makwassie Spruit and Hart river in implementation of the Keate Award.

First and foremost was the British scheme of confederation evolved by the Earl of Carnarvon, Secretary of State, envisaging the close alliance of all South African States under the British flag. This policy dictated the removal of all causes of irritation and estrangement, the conciliation and appeasement of the white population of the Dutch Republics. It involved the soft peddling of African claims and rights given them by the Keate Award. In effect it implied the tacit recognition of the repudiation of the Keate Award by the late South African Republic. Lord Carnarvon had said in the house of commons: "I look most earnestly to a better understanding being created between the two Dutch Republics and ourselves. I think it would be to the interest of all parties to concur in demanding that there should be a better understanding and a more conciliatory course of action between those republics and ourselves. "In pursuit of this better understanding, little irritations and vexations like Montshiwa's complaints and protests against the republics would naturally receive less and less attention.

Secondly there was grievous unrest and confusion due to disturbances, rebellions and wars on all sides and adjacent to the British colonies in South Africa. The Anglo-Xosa or so-called Ninth Kaffir War of 1877 was still raging in Cape Colony, the Bapedi of Sekukuni in the northern Transvaal were defying the Transvaal Government, the Zulus of Cetshwayo were menacing the Transvaal from the east, the Griquas of Griqualand were up in rebellion under Smith Pomeroy and Adam Muis, and now there was insurrection among the Griquas, the Batlhaping and the Koranas in Griqualand West.

In other words, the hands of the British Government were full. All their energy was taken up in their trying to maintain their authority, and safeguarding the integrity of their own borders. Under these circumstances they would have but little time and inclination of protecting foreign interests of petty monarchs like Montshiwa.

Finally, within the newly-fashioned British colony of Transvaal there was strife, a struggle for independence by the party that was rejecting Carnarvon's confederation, and as this was the identical party that had rejected Keate's Award and was dominant in the Transvaal, it was neither policy or diplomacy to thwart them or embarrass them by introducing disturbing subjects like Montshiwa's claims and rights. Montshiwa and his rights had to be immolated at the altar of appeasement and reproachment.



69.  
CHAPTER X  
DISORDER AND STRIFE IN BAROLONG TRANSVAAL BORDER

In 1877 confusion and unrest reigned on the western border of the Transvaal in the territory lately the subject of the Keate Award, Europeans living west of the line laid by Keate were in an anomalous position. Some of them possessed farms by title from the South African Republic Government, some from the Orange Free State Government, and others from Waterboer's Griqua government. All of them were theoretically under the jurisdiction of African, (including Griqua) chiefs, and clamoured for the annexation of their properties to European states, and some drove a lucrative trade in land jobbery. Many European <sup>a</sup>Adventurers and men of questionable instincts from the Diamond Fields spread themselves over the country, and swept the Africans and Griquas from their lands by shady land transactions.

To agelong resentment against the Dutch-Afrikaners which characterised the Transvaal tribes was now added the irritation against the British Government for its <sup>actual sale</sup> annexation of <sup>metastory and unaffiliated their lands as</sup> Griqualand West and the South African Republic which brought about this confused state of affairs.

Bothhasitse Gasebonwe, the highest ranking of the Batlhaping chiefs by descent was intensely aggrieved that part of his land had been awarded to the Griqua chief Nicholas Waterboer, and included in Griqualand West. His view was shared by many distinguished, well-informed and disinterested people like the Reverend Robert Moffat and Justice Andries Stockenstrom. Now with the annexation of Griqualand to the British dominions, Bothhasitse lost his lands irrevocably. But he was now further incensed against the British Government by the knowledge that while Nicholas Waterboer was receiving from them an annuity of £700, he got nothing at all. Bothhasitse therefore decided to recoup himself by looting cattle from the British Griqualand West. He also resented the meddlesomeness and ignorance of the British authorities in placing the petty Batlhaping chief Mankurwane, his hereditary junior, above him by styling him, and letting him style himself "the Paramount Chief of the Batlhaping Nation" with the result that he issued pompous proclamations as an ally of the <sup>her</sup> august British Government.

Bothhasitse therefore launched upon a campaign of retaliation, self-compensation and indemnification by cattle lifting on a large scale. In 1877 he made several excursions across the northern boundary of Griqualand West, raided cattle posts and committed many acts of violence. After a punitive expedition made against him by Colonel W. Owen Lanyon he now preached a war of the extermination of white people of British descent, and rallied as many chiefs and people as possible to his standard of revolt. <sup>her Majesty the Queen or</sup> Morwe, chief of the Batlhaping, and Jantje and Jantje and his sons Luka and <sup>her Majesty the Queen or</sup> Lefoko joined him.

The.....



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The British were at this time engaged in the so-called Ninth Kaffir War in the Cape Colony, and Bothhasitse redoubled his canvassing and predatory efforts with the avowed intention not only to cripple the Europeans of Griqualand, but also to blot them out. He was joined by many disgruntled elements of the Griquas, Koranas, and some Xhosa refugees originally emanating from the Transkei disturbances, besides other tribes. Besides, it was now confidently broadcast and believed among the Batlhaping and the Griquas that the British had been everywhere defeated by the Xhosas of chief Sandile in the Nith Ango-Xhosa war and that the black man was about to be supprement in South Africa, and woe to traitors, backsliders and neutrals. On the 25th of May 1878 the rebels fell upon a lonely trading station at Daniels Kuil and killed the proprietor John Burness and his wife and brother. Shortly after, they besieged the Europeans in Kuruman, and on the 18th of June, Bothhasitse and his men tortured and murdered another trader- Francis Thomson in Griqualand West, robbed and wrecked his store and then retired to Modimong near Taung.

The position was now that of open warfare between Griqualand West Government and the Batlhaping, the Griquas and Korannas. Colonels Owen Lanyon and Charles Warren who were in charge of the operations to quell the rebellion had several skirmishes with the enemy at Kuruman, Dithakong (Takoon) Gamopedi, Langebergen (Makgolokwe), Bothithong (Motito) and Manyeding, all which the Batlhaping fought desperately, with a will and determination foreign to the Batswana tribes and reminiscent of the bravest Zulu and Xhosa regiments. For all that they were finally vanquished and lost 200 men killed, 2000 cattle and 67 wagons captured. Their chiefs went into hiding in some or other part of the country.

In these disturbances, Montshiwa and Mankurwane were on the side of the British Government, and they were ready to assist the British authorities materially by sending men to fight against the rebels. To this end Montshiwa wrote Lanyon on the 20th June and Lanyon replied.

On the 5th of August Lanyon replied from Spitskop to Montshiwa giving him a full report of the campaign and ended by saying "I know you will be sorry to hear all this, and that you will do all in your power to prevent these wrong doers from entering your country." I shall report to the Queen's High Commissioner Sir Bartler Frere what you have written to me and of your loyal friendship to Her Majesty."

Soon after on the 12th August, Montshiwa wrote to Sir Theophilus Shepstone offering to raise a contingent to help suppress the rebellion in Griqualand West, and asking for authority to apprehend the rebels that might enter his country, and "advice of how to act in the event of native stragglers and others from Griqualand West."

Montshiwa...../



Montshiwa displayed remarkable energy and zeal in ferreting rebels. Hearing about this time that some people from Griqualand had arrived at Khunwana, Montshiwa reported to Commissioner C.B. Scholtz of Lichtenburg with whom he was cooperating on this matter. He intimated his intention to proceed at once to Khunwana to investigate, as he was determined not to harbour or allow rebels to take refuge in his country."

He subsequently sent 50 men to arrest four of them : Handrock Jakob, Verslag and Indongwana - subjects of chief Sandile, and suspected of having been involved in the murder of Francis Thompson. These he sent with an escort of 19 men under Israel Molema to Administrator Lanyon in Kimberley.

Scholtz, former commissioner in the South African Republic, now "In Her Majesty's Service" showed equal diligence with Montshiwa in desiring to be informed of suspects coming into the country and investigating the identity of such men as Gert August, alias Masireletsa, Piet Katlhong and Jan Kruger, whom he requested Montshiwa to send to him together with their cattle, horses, sheep and goats for further screening. On the 29th of August, Scholtz sent Montshiwa a list and full description of rebels in the Griqua War, asked him to do his best to apprehend them and wrote "Your exemplary conduct will be reported to the Government at Pretoria with what you have done, and as I believe there is a reward attached to some of the rebels, I shall take care that you get the reward.

I must further tell you that I am personally very much pleased with you."

This was soon followed by a letter from His Excellency Theophilus Shepstone thanking Montshiwa for his "Loyalty and friendship when so many chiefs in South Africa seem to be possessed of the demon of war and like the evil spirit in the scriptures Diable demon will rend whom he possesses before he is cast out..... I assure you of the friendly feeling I entertain towards you, and I thank you for the assurance of loyalty and good will towards Her Majesty's Government which your letter contains."

*and encouraged by*  
Pleased with the recognition of his services, Montshiwa wrote (September 1878) to other Barolong chiefs, Bonokwane of Morokweng and Moshete of Khunwana, urging them to clear the country of the rebels - "I beg you will allow no evil to come to the whites living with you or near you. The people who murdered the white people will say to you that you must assist them but you must not do so."

By the end of November the Batlhaping and Griqua rebel forces had been broken up, the submission of the tribes that had taken up arms secured, and the district between the Molopo River and the Orange River pacified. Some chiefs and ringleaders of the insurgents...../



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insurgents had fled and taken refuge in the desert but they were soon captured.

Throughout the year Montshiwa had, in a greathearted way given all his thoughts to the trouble of the British Government in Griqualand West, and said very little about his own troubles. He wrote on the 13th November to Lanyon about the Line (Keate's Award)

"The Boers still continue troubling me greatly by committing acts of violence <sup>but I am</sup> and doing my best to preserve peace."

He wrote also to Magistrate C.C. Campbell of Barkly, one of the arbitrators at the Bloemhof Inquiry: "I have not yet received my right to the Line. The Transvaal people on the boundary are trying all they can to create trouble."

On the 25th of November, Botlhasitse Gasebonwe and his two sons and brother were captured by Mankurwane as they emerged from their hiding in a cave near Taung and were handed to Warren. About the same time Luka Jantje was captured by Montshiwa and Christopher Bethell at Kanye among the Bangwaketse people. These leaders were all taken to Kimberley for trial, and were sentenced and imprisoned till May 1886.

In December 1878 Colonel Charles Warren was appointed Special Commissioner for Griqualand West, to settle land disputes between African tribes and Europeans. In January 1879 he succeeded Colonel W. Owen Lanyon as Administrator of Griqualand West. He visited several Tswana chiefs in southern Bechuanaland to ascertain how far they were disposed to place themselves under British protection, and on his advice he received petitions from all to be taken under British rule. Morwe, chief of the Batlharo, Mankurwane chief of the Batlhaping, Motlhabane, chief of the Ba-Maidi, David Taaibosch Mosweu chief of the Korannas, Bonokwane chief of the Ratlou Branch of the Barolong at Morokweng all expressed their desire to be annexed. More than all these Montshiwa had long and consistently longed for British protection and he at once addressed a petition to Charles Warren:

"I Montshiwa, chief of the Tshidi Branch of the Barolong tribe having heard that the British Government is about to take the nations of the Barolong, Batlhaping, Batlharo, Korana, etc. under its rule state that/the first of the Bechuanas who has spoken about the country. On the 4th of May 1874 I wrote to His Excellency Richard Southey, Lieutenant Governor of Griqualand West as follows:-

"The time has now come that the Boers have made up their minds to destroy us, and I now do humbly place myself under your care and protection. I wish Great Chief that you would ask the great Queen of England to take me and my people to be hers. I trust in you, and because the

Boers...../



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