reading themselves over the conguered lands of Marico and Molopo, and it was clear that many springs that the Barolong had formerly occupied were being occupied by the victorious Dutch, and that the longer Tawana 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 - Ratlow, (Gontse) Tshidi (Tawana) and Rapulana (Matlaba) the Barolong passed by Maje-masweu, to the north-east of Brandfort rt; crossed the Valsch River (Ntha) halfway between its confluence with the Vaal and the present site of Kronnstad, crossed the Vaal River (Lekwa) a little below its confluence with the menoster River and did not halt for a long time anywhere until they reached the Matlwang Hills (Machavie) on the Mooi River (Tlokweng) to the west of the present town of Potchefstroom. Here a rest was made to take advantage of the planting season (at a place lat) er to be named Potchefstroom, Comm Hendrik Potgieter, the great friend of the Barolong was at this time at the Mooi River. stated to have said that Moroka, Tawana, Contse and Matlaba hat the surrounding farms were siready necepied by Dutch emigrants Contse 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 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 aggresion in the course of their journey (J. Agar-Hamilton: The Native Policy of the Voortrekkers p. 54). and the surrounding farms were already of

occupied by Dutch emigrants who knew the Barolong from Thaba Ncho They all co-operated, and were friendly disposed towards them. 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.

1841 1848

H-Mathwang, Contse and his people built their huts to the east on Kgaba-tse-Phaltsho hill while the Tshidi of Tawana built to the south on Phaiexxx akgome, and the Rapulana of Matlaba occupied the hills Maje-a-maredi on the north side. The halt at Matlwang was not meant to Barolong be of long duration, but for some reason or another, the Bardio stayed here from year to year from the summer of 1841 till the sp-The seasons were favourable and labour in the firing of 1848. elds 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 clanof Gontse moved from Matlwang, but it was not to past They went pasted 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 stones kraals are still to be seen on the hills and have no coubt 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 Besides the three wives he had married at Thaba Ncho, he years. had now taken another, namely Onyana, daughter of Nea Dingoko, one of his father's counsellors. Onyana had been married to ishosa SegoIshane son of King Makaba and had Three Children Montshiwa cloped with her and subsequently had issue with her in two sons Makgetla and Tacoma. Elopment-with other men's wwes was quite in vogue in Those days - especially in high Towara Society. 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

1848

August 1848. Their route was by Mutswana (Plaatberg) on school Lomawe enspruit), Loma we (Goedgevonden) across Khing (Schoonsprtit) sto Mogodiring (Taaiboschspruit), Matlape (Coligny) to Ditsobotila (Lichtenburg), and thence through Bodibe (Pohlfontein) to al the end of September. Shortly after their arrival. In the middle of 1844 Lotlhakane (Reitfontein) and Dithakong where they arrived, Taw, ana, now an old man of some 75 winters, called his tribe together and gave them final instructions.

he closed his eyes in death and was buried in his cattle enclath Dithakong on the valley osure at Lotlhakane, according to custom.

He was survived by his three widows Mma-Sefera-daughter

the Amgentatio Chef.

of, Makaba; Mojanku and Monjankunyana - both daughters of Maru
mula Makgetla, his other five having perished at the sacks/ of

(1632)

Khunwana. He was survived also by nine sons and six daughters,

The sons were Montshyiwa, Marumulwa, Selere, Seru, Montshiwane,

Motshegare, Molema, Saane and Rabodietso and the daughters Mo
rwanyane, Motshidisi, Mamoraila, Manca, Majang and Keithufile.

hist
several of the sons subsequently made a mark in Barolong histor

ory. Of the daughters only one is important, namely Majang,

because she became wife of his heir and successor Montshiwa.

CHAPTER V PART II

MONTSHIWA BECOMES CHIEF:

1849

Tawana the great chief of the Tshidi clan of the Barolong had been buried according to ancient custom, in the royal cattle Administration and the royal cattle and the Research actually infact 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 Rev 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, he the

reigns of government were temporarily vested in his next eldest surviving brother as trustee, until the deceased chiefs's successor should be formally enthroned. That trustee was Moshwela affectionately called Tawanyane or small Tawana, commander-inchief 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 and panegyrics were sung lustilly by the tribal bards. Again were repeated in boastful verse and florid langualge the facts of Barolong history and especially their exploits at Khunwana in the assassination of the Matebele envoys Bhoya and Bhangele. 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 atheletic form. He had a slight impediment of speech, kix s his stending to be pronounced shi He was noted for his cowrage, his humowr, his Kindness and generosity.

Montshiwa's accessions of polygamous chiefs, sestent arise in nearly all successions of polygamous chiefs, sespecially where the Israelitish practice of the levirate or a man raising seed to a deceased brother is in vogue. The sestent with regards to Montshiwa are as follows: Montshiwa's grandfather - Thutlwa 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 should have succeeded should have succeeded should have succeeded should have

Thuthwa in the chieftaiship had died in early youth, perhaps at the age of fifteen years before marring 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, xithou 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 four sons - xekekxx detsela, Tlala, Motshegare , Molema and Phetogane , and one daughter- Majang. Tawana then married Sebudio, daughter of Phetlhu Makgetla, and there fore his own cousin, and gave out that by her he was raising seed for Tau, his elder brother long deceased in biyhood. By this step, xb 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, xexexexxxxxxx Marumulwa, Sefare and Seru as the children of the deceased Tau. So while in the ordinary straightforwrd way the eldest son Seetsela (or his son or brother) should have been Tawana's principal heir and successor, Montshiwa and hixxbrm other sons by Sebudio being raised as seed and being counted to Tau took precedence.

CHAPTER VI. WHITE POLICIES AND POLICIES to next lage

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 mis missionary. There can be no doubt that this step was taken at the insand advice tance/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 untramelled . 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 in convincing the chief of the 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 Revs. James Archbell

and James Cameron to Chief Moroka in his external relations affairs. He had for himself seen how the Frech missionaries - T.Arbousset, Eure Mugene Casalis and others guided and piloted Moshoeshoe through the labyrinthine intricacies of European diplocy which sought and threate ned to entangle him . Who else could intelligently handle the inteviews the requests for grazing, for land and for labour, the endless procession of hunting paries, 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 argument and negotiation in the European manner - matters which neither Montshiwa nor the ablet 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 Rev 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 Chapter VI White Polities and Policies 1850.

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

1851

In 1851 some Dutch farmers came to settle well to the west of
Lichtenburg upon land claimed by Montshiwa at the eye of the Mohopo R.,
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, new pointed Commandant
General of Potchefstroom and Rustenburg districts. Pretorius replied
immediately:

Aan het Opperhoofd der Barolong, addressing him "Waarde Vriend en Bondgenoot Montsioa.", expressing regret to hear that the emigrant Dutch farmers had encreached on his territory, and notifying him that he was appointing a Commission to go into the matter.

On the 30th December 1851, the Commission met Montshiwa at the eye of the Molopo R. It consisted of Pieter Scholtz and Adriaan Stander accompanied by two field-cornets and ten farmers. Montshiwa came wit with his two brothers Motshegare and Molema, accompanied by twenty other counsellors including the Rev Joseph Ludorf as interpreter. After a friendly discussion a boundary line between the Dutch emigrat ants and the Tshidi Barolong was agreed upon. This line which the historian G.M. Theal repeatedly alludes to but seems studiously to omit to menti specify in his otherwise very informative and factual lly reliable works, this line was from Mosega to Ottoshoop, thence by wagon road to Buurmansdrift, thence to the source of the Hartz R, and down along that river to a point opposite Makwassie. (Report of the Land Commission p.81; and Evidence at the Bloemhof Inquiry p. 183.) The Conference broke up with renewed mutual assudrances of frie-

ndship and goodwill.

In due course the termsxof findings of the Commission and its terms of agreement with the Barolong were laid before the Volksraad, and immediately after this, to wit on the 8th of January 1852, from Magaliesburg, Comm-Gen Pretorius, in the same courtegous manner and tone of absolute sincerity communicated to Montshiwa the Volksraad's approval of the Commissions recommendations . The letter reads :-Waarde Vriend en Bondgenoot Montsioa,

Met genoegen heb ik de Rapport van de Hge Commissie ontvangen aangaande de grenslyn. Ik heb hetzele voor de raad gelegd en zy heb het namens de Regering der Emiganten Boeren hunne goekeering daar aan gehegt . Ik vertrouw dat in het toekomende geen inbreuk op u gronden zal gemaakt worden , en dat by u zyde alle pogingen zult aanwenden uw volk in goe ... en regel te houden dat onze vriendschaap nog lang zal duur .
Uw D.W Dienaar en Vriend,

A.J.W.Pretorius :

Comd-Gen. Implicit in these conferences and letters is the recollection by Comm-Gen Pretorius and others of the friendly relations that had existed between the emigrant Boers and the Barolong since the Thaba Ncho days, and the occasion of their alliance against Mzilikażi .xxx Explicit is the hope that that friendship founded under such tragic ciccumstances might continue from generation to generation, but above all the fact that Montshiwa had territorial rights which, not only Pretorius but also the Volksraad and the emigrant Boers generally and. recognised aacknowledged.

It is beyond question that Pretorius and the emigrant Boers at this time recognised the Barolong as a free and independent people, and had no visible designs upon their land and liberty. The tone of the confereces and the discussions show that the Boers and the Barolong met as equals and spoke as man to man. The words six address - "Worthy Friend and Ally" always used by Pretorius in addressing Montshiwa were no meaningless effusion.

Motswiapethwana (Laapfontein) on the Schoonspruit, and arrived at Lothakane in two parties under Masisi and Contse respectively.xMaxx Masisi's party was the larger, and had left Motswiapethwana by reason of discontent. Contse was the Rathou regent - acting for Moshete, and had been for years 27, Masisi who was of senior atatus felt that Contse should have stood aside for him, and so he left to start his own show. Soon after he had arrived at Lothakane, Contse came with his group. He had left Motswiapethwana because of a quarrel between his people and the surrounding Dutch farmers on the Hendrick Schoonspruit, one of whom, Van Der Merwe had lost his goats and sheep, and having traced their spoor to Contse's village held him accountable for them.

Vention was concluded between Great Britain and the South African
Republic. Its terms were all previously prepared and were now proposed by the delegates of the Emigrant Boers and were readily agreed
to by the British Commissioners without xxxxi scrutiny. In fact
the Conference seems to have been a pure formality, and that the
and the British ministry in England
British Commissioners came with their mind made up to shed what they A
considered an intolerable burden of dominion. By it, the British
Government guaranteed absolutely independence to the Dutch Boers
beyond the Vaal River. It also bound itself not to make any alliances with African tribes nor to sell them firearms or ammunition.

1852

The elation of the emigrant Boers over the terms of the agreement ent was perfectly understandable. It was a victory for their diplomacy

42

and determination, for the tenacity of their view on African affairs or the so-called native policy in which they were to prove so different from, and even opposite to their English adversaries in after years and up to this day. The Sand River Convention was their Magna Charter, their Bill of Liberty. They had won their independence after striving for it for 16 years, and, says their historian, "men who had never been moved to shed a tear by all the blows that disafter had struck were strangely moved that day."

(Theal 1834-1854 p. 487).

Not so the Africans, not so the Batswana, not so the Barolong of Montshiwa. They could congratulate the Dutch Boers, or for that matter any nation for achieving for the boon of independence, their own the question of alliance with the British or with the Boers didn not worry them if they were left to live their lives in peace, but they heard with real dismay that they were prohibited from purchasing firearms and ammunition from both European races and wondered how they could defend themselves from one or the other if molested, they should be provoked or despoiled.

The terms of the Sand River Convention brought to the forefront the problems that had been exercising the minds of the Boer leaders, and were now to loom over other people interested in South Africa. The chief of these problems were: 1. The legal rights of the emigrant Boers to the boundaries of the lands they occupied or claimed.

ied or claimed.

2. The labour or slavery of Africans and their possession of lands right.

3. The possession of guns and ammunition by or

12 The possession of guns and ammunition py, or their Sale to Africans or outside military assistance with xexard to be freeze.

impact and
The 140 percussions of these problems we shall now notice with m

The the percussions of these problems we shall now notice with regard to Montshiwa and his tribe.

Shortly after the conclusion of the Sand River Convention, Commandant Pietr Scholtz, the highest authority in the Lichtenburg district convened a meeting of all the chiefs living on the Molopo

14 c after 1st lavage

Die ondergeskikte kapteins mog met toesteming van die witman in hulle krale bly woon mits hulle nie die rus verstoor nie. Hulle was verplig om van tyd tot tyd diensvolk vir hulle blanke bekeranhere te verskaf.

Ingeboorlinge wat nie onder die jurisdiksie van een of ander naturelle kaptein gestaan het nie was verplig om die Boere onder kontrak diens te doen, en weeskinders is vir 'n bepaalde tyd by witbase ingeboek

Collection Number: A979

Silas T MOLEMA and Solomon T PLAATJE Papers

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand Location:- Johannesburg ©2012

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