

of Louis XIV - "L 'etat c'est moi."

Towards the end of his reign, when his intellectual faculties were declining, and when he had to cope with new, strange intricate and unwanted problems of foreign penetration, European tortuous diplomacy, annexation and protection treaties in strange formulas and unknown tongues, when strange demands and importunate exactions were crowding upon him, he was often bewildered and confused; then he was forced to oscillate between the conflicting opinions and counsels of his equally bewildered and confused councillors, perplexed between what in his primitive way he conceived to be the highest interests of his tribe, and what he was assured to be the best by those who posed as friends to him, and representatives of a righteous government - Queen Victoria's government regarded among the Batwana as a guarantee of justice and honour, and others who also posed as friends to him, and representatives and exponents of a selfless religion - Christ's religion of brotherhood and love. // Always and universally respected in private and in public, it was interesting to note in public gatherings at the Kgotla the frankness of speech with which any tribesman could express himself, even if in so doing he expressed views different from those of the chief.

PECULIARITIES

The chief was used to swear by "Ra-Seetsela", this being his father Tawana's filionymic, derived from Seetsela, his eldest son. Thus, to emphasise a point or make an exclamation, or express surprise Montshiwa would say - "Ka mphata ya ga Ra-Seetsela"; that is to say, By the shades of Ra-Seetsela (or Tawana), but on account of his defect of speech, this would sound (Ka mphatja ya ga Ra-Sheetjela."

Among the Batswana, respect is shown to grown-ups by calling them after the name of their first born. Thus as soon as Reverend Robert Moffet^{his wife} had his first-born in Mary, ^{was} ~~they~~ ^{was} called Ra-Mary, ^{his} ~~that~~ ^{was} that is the father of Mary. ^{9 Mother of Mary's nephew} This rule does not however hold strictly in case of chiefs and kings. ^{Among the Batswana} as among Europeans, royalty is usually just called by the first name. ^{thus} Bathoen, Khama, Dingana and po montshuwa. ^{Paulwerth's}

Some of Chief Montshiwa's common expressions.

- He went to the lake to urinate, ka miphato ya ga Rasimall
 Today you will realise what I am; by the Shadso of Tawana
1. Bò boruru, motho ga eke ere a robilwe a otlwelwe,
 Jegofa O tle a sotle batho
 Mme le rona Jegofa O ka tla a re tlogela.
2. Legone lo ne lo ipaya fa pele gaga Jegofa pele
 Lo ise lo lebagane le baba;
 Mme fa baba ba tla, g'
 Lo tsenye marapo a diname.
- 3...../
- Translation: While gashelalane & moving his body and head towards the people he was addressing while the police shot from his mouth

A gas transport Re Kyntheleine
~~Went~~ he perhaps better have logged (ishan told that some body was killed in a battle)

[illegible]

Reports long & the richest men in California
 North had a large income, but retained, few requirements. He built himself houses after the
 style, but for much of his life, poorly furnished. He kept his money in a wooden box - some of it
 was used for buying & selling horses and a quarter in highly built, four wheeled carriage
 given to the disengaged poor. He had no relatives, & none of his kindred
 for as keeping to his Indian advisors, with few notes or needs.

Monsieur had a great store of knowledge & a wonderful memory of the events of his life and a remarkable gift of vividly telling a story - On several ^{when in a happy} occasions he ^{of} told us with the greatest fluency the most interesting & reliable & dramatic narratives from incidents of his life.

the & dramatic manner of his incidents of his life. ^{from 1860 to 1865}
 Before his death his medical condition was such that he excited the greatest sympathy in the public. These
 called him "Noble" who shared his by passion, & sympathy. In suffering after his wife's death
 (1865) 541 He had the gift of making the means of his suffering easier. In her attitude for several years,
 his life was a battle against the forces of nature.

Chief this month like many Bab. was a great lover of meat. He could eat pounds & pounds of fat beef ~~and~~ ^{and} at one sitting "without" vegetables or potatoes. He preferred to eat it outside under the tree and to show it to his young councillors, who after seeing the chief so early would exclaim - "May you eat this, whose large frame and formidable visage was then a source of terror to many children." I will however say none of this to you if I were.

(Bp)+1
 increased himself to his people ^{separately} by mixing with them
 some one of or three
 their children to be seen
 & favored by the chief also
 being ^{lower children}

He is considered a great honor to be thus visited by the King. The ruler of the region would then quickly ~~gather~~ ^{gather} together their leverage Kypta to reinforce him. The Kypta are usually seen on his return to the royal place & very often

(6) 1st, as a pioneer of vaccination among the Bets. Hilltribe, who have not known the disease of smallpox, he introduced the practice, and thereby saved the tribe. He introduced a wonderful gift of scientific science. Shortly before he died there was a fearful outbreak of smallpox in Nagikong, a district. The chief paid out people recovering from the attack and with the needles or pins from the box vaccinated personally hundreds of his people, beginning with his nearest relatives. The success of the vaccination - was remarkable & now when he has healed the people, displaying the 19th vaccination marks on their arms.

⁽²⁾ Bonaparte says of Napoleon that when he intended to give anyone a lecture he always waited until there was a hard frothy frost. Such long speeches seemed to express his disapproval of a better man or a crowd - but his feet of lead were too far & far between, and when they occurred, they pressed on

their armies.

Long winter: - e.g. direct seduction, theft; notice

(3) +1
 you excited & caused to anger, he would speak hurriedly and almost
 exclusively of a speaker & unimagingly - the gone to the unimaging concept and
 - emphasis on the Ra-Sekela. To day you will realise who I am. by the
 acts of Ra-Sekela (the teacher) it will bring you to your senses. While
 in this teaching, I would be would perhaps, more like a boy & head
 and he easily he was addressing you, would speaking this part of
 above would show in a spray from his mouth and imagine that the word

[illegible]

a prayer and closed with benediction. It was in strict keeping with this practice that when he was about to undertake his long, last journey, he summoned his European missionary to shrive and bless him.

During the latter part of his chieftainship, his tribe made considerable progress materially, socially and intellectually. From being a purely nomadic and pastoral society, they began to till the soil more extensively. This implied a more settled mode of life, and a corresponding improvement in the construction of their houses and cultivation of the peaceful arts. The wealthier classes among them acquired, not only cattle, goats and sheep, but also horses, wagons and of course guns as well. They also built houses of a European style and even bought ^{house} furniture and modern agricultural implements.

Montshiwa's intellectual eminence in his age is beyond question. It has been admitted by all those who knew him, and by others who only heard or read of him. It has been granted willingly by friend and grudgingly by foe, however the latter might hate, however much they differed from him, they could not ignore him.

Sidney Shippard, Administrator of British Bechuanaland who found Montshiwa to possess a mind of his own and not always ready to acquiesce in his views spoke of him as a "brave, sturdy and outspoken man". It is a proof of Montshiwa's independence of thought that those who desired to make a complaisant tool of him often found him an inconvenient stumbling block. *This was his great sin for which the officials of the S.A. Republic could never forgive him.*

It was thus at the Boemhof Court of Arbitration of 1872 when every chief wanted to disown Moshete on account of his alleged irregular birth, that Montshiwa championed his cause and pointed him out as of highest rank among the Barolong chiefs. *For this he was treated in after years as a traitor; Montshiwa's death.*

It was thus later when the Southern Bechuanaland chiefs had to decide which side to take - the English or the Dutch-Boer side in the Transvaal War of 1881. When Moshete and others chose the Boer side, Montshiwa declared for the British. In a sense, Montshiwa was in advance of his times, if such a thing is possible - in his political outlook, and the devotion with which he pursued his designs.

If there was to be a meeting of the Southern Bechuanaland chiefs, it was Montshiwa who was expected to convene it; if there was a decision to be made, everybody asked - What says Montshiwa? Under such circumstances he became the kingmaker among the Barolong clans and also the final judge of appeal, in their domestic differences, and could not avoid the accusation made in some quarters that he was ambitious and aspiring to set himself in glory beyond his peers and his fellow chiefs. Among the chiefs of Southern Bechuanaland, he was looked upon as the leader of thought, and no gathering of chiefs was possible without him, in fact Montshiwa was the initiator and spearhead of any inter-tribal action or

*Kruger fought + Dutoit each tried to possess 1897
control the Bechuanaland Rd and failed.
because Montshiwa expected them while Mth. Rhodes + Kruger were busy preoccupied with their fight
off it because Montshiwa so called it.*

movement.

To Montshiwa, more than to anybody else, black or white, is due the failure of the Transvaal to subjugate or annex Southern Bechuanaland, and to him is due the existence of the Missionaries' Road or Trade route to the interior. He is the central figure in the struggle for "the Neck of the Bottle and the Suez Canal of the Trade to the Interior. The question "Who will have Bechuanaland" has in fact been left to Montshiwa to answer as it has been answered.

Early in his chieftainship, Montshiwa incorporated into his tribe many foreign elements - members of foreign tribes who for some reason or other had separated themselves from their mother tribes. Such were some members of the Hurutshe (totem Tshwene or baboon) Bakwena (totem kwena or crocodile), Bangwato (totem phuti or duiker), Bangwaketse (totem kwena or crocodile) Banogeng (totem noga or snake), Bakgwatlheng (totem tlou or elephant, Masikwa (totem) Damara, Xhosa, Basotho. All these elements were knitted into the Tshidi Barolong society and shared equally in Tshidi Barolong nationality as a homogeneous entity.

As stated before, Montshiwa was a thorough-going polygynist of polygamist. He had altogether twelve wives, and never less than nine at any one time. Their names and issue are shown in the table at page X. His polygyny was perhaps not dictated purely by desire for sensual gratification, any more than is the case with other imperial polygamists of history. It had, as with them, political motives behind it. It was practised by him to consolidate his alliances with sister tribes and to cement the allegiance of subject or vassal tribal elements. Thus, beside Tshidi Barolong women for wives, he had also contracted marital bonds with women of the Makgetla Seleka, Hurutshe and Ngwaketse clans and tribes. Did not the magnificent King Solomon of Israel, who excelled all the kings and princes of the earth for riches and wisdom, did he not contract matrimonial alliances with the idolatrous daughters of foreign kings for the purpose ^{of} entente cordiale and political friendship with the surrounding tribes? What say the scriptures: "But King Solomon loved many strange women together with the daughter of Pharaoh, women of the Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, Zidonians and Hattites." And he had 700 wives, princesses, and 300 concubines. Solomon clave unto these in love." (I Kings: 11. 1-3).

Montshiwa's reign was more akin to advanced modern democracy than that of any chieftain of his times. He was a constitutional monarch. *Always and universally respected in private as well as in public* He ruled by his councillors. ~~He could conclude no national matter without consulting them and obtaining their definite consent and approval. It had of necessity to be so, because he derived his authority from them and not from some foreign overlords. He was their king by right of birth it is true, but he was their king also by their consent. Montshiwa could not ^{have made} make the haughty claim of..~~

being a shrewd student of human nature, an ingenious diplomatist
and a man of dynamic personality. His improved patriotism he
easily transmitted his will to his councillors and they reflected his
will. It had of necessity to be this because he
derived his authority from them and not from some
foreign overlords. He was their king by right of birth,
it is true - but he was at the same time their king by
their consent.

The Raksasa or generally, & the Barabara or particularly do not
hold with dictatorship, although that is so common in other
military tribes like the Zulus & Makololo - so the Raksasa like his father
could not drive his people but he could lead them.

He was a great and intelligent worker and his capacity and
aptitude for work undiminished increased with his complexity and
urgency of his problem towards the latter years of his life when
pressure from the Transvaal taxed his resources.

After his retirement at Mafeking properly so called, the Raksasa
was the centre and pivot of all tribal activities - military, administrative,
religious, social, traditional & ceremonial, but he seemed to have
a hand and to take a recognized part in the domestic affairs of
the Raksasa and especially Barabara clans - concerning meetings
arranging alliances, settling disputes, planning attacks and aggression
and dictating policy & strategy. With justice he could say like Louis XV
"To him fell the duty of upbraiding and advising governing chiefs in their
lapses and failures, may even arranged for their marriages and
successors and even deciding on questions of corporal punishments where
chiefs sought to divorce their wives."

By universal acclaim Mankhe received the ground title of The Father of his People
and that his devotion to the cause of his Barabara was appreciated
by them & that he even a place with respect.
by their & probably has confirmed the verdict of Mankhe.
contemporary records

Mankhe impressed himself upon his contemporaries & successors as few
kings have ever done before or since and is distinguished as a type of
ideal type of ruler in external qualifications of kingship even though his
private life by reason of his matrimonial alliances may not be
held up for emulation.

His influence is made all the more conspicuous by the mediocrity
his predecessors - some of whom indeed have been mere effluvia, lacking
question, political insight, knowledge & judgement - so that Mankhe
and they have paid after us the debt.

Now the Transvaal, the heartland head of the Barabara, I am the Commonwealth
of the Raksasa, I am the State, The State - that is I

Montshiwa's reign was more akin to an advanced modern democracy ^athen that of any chieftain of his times. He was a constitutional monarch. He ruled by his counsellors.

Always and universally respected in private and in public, it was nevertheless interesting to note, in public gatherings at the kgotla or forum the frankness with which any tribesman could speak, even if, in so doing he expressed views different from those of the chief.

Montshiwa could not conclude any national or public matter without first consulting his council and obtaining their definite consent and approval. Being a shrewd student of human nature, an astute diplomatist and a man of dynamic personality and proved patriotism, he was able easily to transmit his will to his counsellors and they reflected his view point. It had, of necessity to be so because he derived his authority from them and not from some foreign overlords. He was their king by right of birth, it is true, but he was at the same time their king by their consent.

The Batswana generally, and the Barolong in particular do not hold with dictatorship and autocracy that is so common in African military tribes like the Zulus and the Matebele. Montshiwa, therefore, like his predecessors could not drive his people, but could only lead them.

He was a great and intelligent worker, and his aptitude and capacity for work undoubtedly increased with the complexity and urgency of his problems during the latter years of his life when pressure from the South African Republic put him to great straits and taxed his resources.

After his settlement in Mafikeng, properly so called, Montshiwa was not only the centre and pivot of all tribal activities - military, educational, religious, social, traditional and ceremonial, but he seemed to have a hand and to take a recognised part in the domestic affairs of other Batswana tribes, and especially Barolong clans, now convening inter-tribal meetings, now arranging alliances, settling disputes, planning actions and aggressions, and dictating policy and strategy. With justice he could say like Louis XIV

"L'etat c'est moi" - The State it is I. I am the brain, the heart and the hand of the Batswana. I am the commonwealth of the Barolong, the state is I and I am the State. To him fell the duty of upbraiding, advising and correcting many of his fellow chiefs in their failures, and lapses, nay even of arranging their marriages and successions, and even deciding on such intimate questions as the restitution of conjugal rights when some chiefs sought to divorce their wives (e.g. Chief Maiketso of Morokweng).

3. By universal acclaim Montshiwa was given the proud title of "Father of his People", a proof that his devotion to the cause of the Barolong was not only appreciated by them, but that he

had...../

2
87-9 -87-488 59
I have much pleasure in accepting as a token of your friendship and good wishes towards me as the representative of Her Majesty the Queen Victoria.

In order that you may not be wanting anything, I take this opportunity of sending you the following articles:

12 Bottles of Sherry

24 Bottles of Brandy

1 lb of Snuff and

10 lbs of Tobacco, which I trust ^{you} will find

acceptable W.O.L.

1876
①
Driven to desperation, Montshiwa at last on the 16th December 1876 dispensed with intermediaries, and the ritual of sending letters of protest through ascending stages of offices of the South African Republic. He wrote directly and in Tswana to "Motlotlegi Borogo-Mo-presitanta wa Transefala" (His Honour Burgers: President of Transvaal). I wish to ask you - Why do you encroach on my territory as you are doing at Bodibe? Bodibe as well as the country adjoining is my territory."

To this, President Burgers replied from Polfontein on the 18th in Hollandsch: "Aan Kapitein Monsua:

Ik moet u thans....kennisgeven dat ik uit kracht van eene concessie aan mij Gouvernement gedaan door het groot opperhoofd Moshette en enige andere kapiteins die alleen onderdamen van die Republiek zijn geworden zoowel als uit kracht van de regmatige aanspraken van mijn Gouvernement op territoriaal gezag in een gedeelte van dit land volkomen aanspraak maak op het oppergezag in dit gewest.

Ik behoor U niet te zeggen dat daar volgens uwe eigen verklaring zoowel als die van Moroko te Bloehof, Moshete het hoofd aller Barolongs is, en dat ik en bezit het van al zyn regten niet erkennen kan dat gij of iemand anders heteenig hoodd van dit land zijt." [translation]

(3)
I March 1877, towards the end of his presidential term of office, President Burgers who after all the initial promise and hope had not been a hot favourite with his burgers, had an open quarrel with his volksraad, and he launched out in a vehement tirade at them: "I would rather be a policeman under a strong Government than the president of such a State. It is you - you members of the Raad and the Boers - who have lost the country, who have sold your independence for a drink. You have ill-treated the natives, you have shot them down, you have sold them into slavery, and now you have to pay the penalty.

On the 12th of April 1877, the South African Republic was annexed to the British Dominions as Transvaal by Sir Theophilus Shepstone against the united will of the Executive Council and

people...../

In the summer of 1876 Montshiwa and his tribe at last left Moshaneng and returned to their traditional home on the Molopo River after an absence of 23 years. It had been Montshiwa's intention to make his capital at Phitshane on his relinquishing Moshaneng, but he had been forestalled by Makgobi and his brother Gaetsalwe who had settled there in 1872 (after leaving Ganyesa. 1868 and 1872 respectively)

and flocks of sheep and goats Leaving Moshaneng on the 19th December in September 1876 in many wagons, and driving large herds of cattle, the tribe, about 10,000 strong passed by Selokolela, Tsoaneng, Majaneng, and crossed the Ramatlabama spruit close to its confluence with the Molopo and halted at Manawana - a sandy plain a little to the east of Disaneng where resided the Batlhwane of Masibi. From here heralds and officers of wards were sent forward to make allocations at Sehuba according to previously arranged plans. After tarrying for about six weeks at Manawana, Montshiwa completed the journey of 20 miles to Mafikeng and another 6 miles beyond it to Sehuba, where he made his capital about halfway between Molema's town of Mafikeng and the Rapulana village of Lotlhakane. Sehuba is a flat and stony terrain devoid of trees or shelter of any kind. It is in every way unsuitable for the settlement of a large population such as Montshiwa's was, and one wonders why it was chosen in preference to so many more beautiful sites.

- the Rapulana clan

Montshiwa was now in a position to exercise his authority at close range upon his recalcitrant subjects at Lotlhakane, and he was determined to make it clear to them that he alone was chief in the country they inhabited. They repudiated such ^{claim} right and so they met it first with sullen and passive resistance - called non-corporation - which afterwards became active defiance of his orders. It was clear that sooner or later there would be reprisals, mutual spoliations, violent collision, and physical conflict.

This happened when in 1878 Mokholokholo - Montshiwa's nephew was assaulted and severely man-handled and his cattle slaughtered by the malcontents because they alleged that the cattle had destroyed their corn lands.

All the Tshidi clan of Montshiwa now ^{clamoured} cried for the blood of the Rapulana "dogs", and even Molema and Motqoetsi who had hitherto tried to pour oil on the troubled waters of inter-tribal emotions were silenced.

Montshiwa ordered the Rapulana people to quit Lotlhakane forthwith and he backed his order by military action - entailing much loss and hardship upon these people of Mafikeng. It was afterwards this that the Chief Mafikeng died (4th Nov 1879) at bedbed at the great age of 89.

Among his last words was the order to his successor Andries Mafikeng to reoccupy Lotlhakane for the Rapulana, at all costs.

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P/ people of the Republic. The officials of the Republic who were willing to take an oath ^{of} allegiance to the Queen of England were allowed to retain their posts. One of these was B.C. Scholtz Native Commissioner at Lichtenburg. // With the annexation of the Transvaal by Great Britain, Montshiwa saw his prayers answered and his hopes realised. Thought he, thankfully, the Keate award would now be carried into execution, the Barolong boundaries according to the Award would now be recognised,; encroaching farmers from the Marico and Lichtenburg directions could now be safely given notice to quit and Matlaba's and Moshete's pretensions would now be silenced. The British officials, especially Lieutenant Governor Richard Southey and Administrator W. Owen Lanyon were quite right when they cautioned him to be patient and assured him that things would right themselves.

Bouyed up with enthusiasm, and radiant hope, Montshiwa wrote with a firmir hand to his trusted friend Administrator Lanyon: "It has given me much pleasure to hear that Her Majesty's Government has been pleased to annex the whole of the TransvaalFeelings as I do now, that there can be no hindrance to moving into the country awarded me by Mr. Keate.....I wish to bring to Your Excellency's

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