

On the 13th of August Col. F. Stanley, Colonial Secretary in the Salisbury ^SCon^eservative Government which had succeeded Gladstone Liberal Ministry in office sent a dispatch to Sir Charles Warren withdrawing his military force from Bechuanaland, to be substituted by a force of mounted police, while at the same time "acknowledging the zeal and ability with which he had discharged his important duties, and conveying the high appreciation of Her Majesty's Government."

After a triumphant progress through the cities and larger towns of the Cape Colony, ~~Charles Warren sailed from Cape Town on the 24th September.~~

→ Kimberley, Cradock, Grahamstown, and Port Elizabeth at which he was hailed with thunderous acclamation of joy, and feted in a succession of public receptions, banquets torchlight processions, and inundated with congratulations and addresses, ^{Charles Warren} he sailed from Cape Town amidst unforgettable scenes of enthusiastic and cyclonic applause on the 24th of September. CHAPTER XII ^{PRICE AND} PROBLEMS OF PEACE.

Since March (1885) Sir Charles Warren had been urging upon the British Government the necessity of speedily instituting a commission to effect land settlement in the recently disturbed territory of Bechuanaland, and the suggestion had been welcomed by the Secretary of State.

In August, therefore steps were taken to form a Land Commission to inquire into the validity of land titles in Stellaland and Bechuanaland, to investigate the many claims of Europeans to land in African Bechuana territories, to define, allocate and beacon off sufficient lands for the present and future requirements of the Bechuana for their towns, grazing their stock as well as for agricultural purposes, and to make all such lands for the Bachuana inalienable.

The Land Commission under the presidency of Sir Sidney Shippard commenced its duties soon after the departure of Sir

Charles Warren for England. It sat Mafikeng from the 15th of January to the 10th of February 1886, then at Vryburg from the 15th to the 25th of February, and at Taung from the 1st till the 21st of March, and then finally again ~~11th till the 21st of May.~~ at Mafikeng from the 1st till the 11th till the 21st of May.

When the Commission commenced its work, there were already many Europeans squatters in close proximity to the eastern outskirts of the Barolong town a matter which fell within the Commissions terms of reference. But before the item came up for consideration, Sir Hercules Robinson visited Mafikeng on ~~the~~ November (1885) and gave his approval to the planting of the European township within a mile of the Barolong village.

A fort had been established by Warren on the north-eastern side and close to the Barolong town, and possibly, this fact influenced the High Commissioner, and afterwards the Land Commission in deciding to permit the planting of the European township later known as ^{Mafeking} ~~Mafikeng~~, so close to the African village of Mafikeng, a step that was opposed by the chief Montshiwa, who wanted the European township to be built at Rooigrond- 10 miles to the east of his town. He was supported in his protests by his missionaries the Revs. Robert Appelbe, and Owen Watkins, Superintendent of Wesleyan Missions in the Transvaal.

Receiving no satisfactionⁱ Montshiwa addressed (10th May) his protest to the Secretary of State, mentioning in his letter the demoralisation that would ensue among his people by reason of the canteens, and the carrying on of the police with Bechuana women, as well as the losses to ^{the} ~~the~~ tribe as a result of the way the police horses were let loose on Barolong cornfields. Sir Hercules Robinson was in London at the time and, probably by an error of judgment on his part, the Secretary of State was, ~~however~~ made to believe that the European township was ^{two} ~~two~~ miles away from Montshiwa's town, and no steps were taken *to correct the error.*

Another matter referred to the Land Commission was the granting of freehold or individual titles to ground occupied and improved by some of Montshiwa's people. Unfortunately, the High Commissioner in referring this question to the Land Commission prejudged it by informing them that he was "personally unfavourable ~~to~~ allowing natives to hold land on individual tenure, (C.4929.2) a pronouncement worthy to have been ^{reproduced} redeemed from the minutes of the Transvaal Land Laws relating to Natives. Agreeably to this dictum, Administrator Shippard refused to grant or recognise any individual title to land, however much improved, and so, unchanged and primitive has land occupancy remained in Bechuanaland during 76 years of change, progress and evolution of the Bechuana in keeping with changing economic conditions.

The Land Commission recommended that "Native Reserves" belong to natives, that they be made inalienable and be distinct from Government or Crown Lands from which Africans can be removed at the pleasure of the Government.

60.a

That the so-called Native Reserves were made inalienable is of course no answer or reason why within that block of territory individual titles should not have been available for Africans desiring them. It is often imagined that Native Reserves are lands set apart, or grants made and guaranteed in perpetuity to tribes, or in other words, permanent appropriation of lands for the use and occupation of the native ^{population} ~~Government~~, so that such grant shall be placed beyond recall by Government or people. In actual fact, however, a Native Reserve as constituted only means that the State reserves land for blacks, and undertakes, for the time being, not to make grants in the delimited area, and not to allow Europeans to purchase farms in it. Legally, the land does not cease to belong to the State. It continues to be Government land unless and until, or except (~~those parts of it in which~~) individual titles are acquired by grant or purchase from the State. If this is right, then it follows that the security of

tenure by Africans in their reserves is chimerical, that it has always been imaginary inasmuch as it has always been understood by implication that the Government, through its parliament, or by proclamation can disposses them of their reserve, and resume it, ostensibly for public purposes with the consent of both houses of Parliament, but in practice at the discretion of the Governor General which means the Department or Minister in charge of "Native Affairs."

It is interesting to note that Sir Theophilus Shepstone "Diplomatic Agent to the Native Tribes," ^{the so called} Father of the Natives and of Native Policy, while professing to favour the granting of individual tenure to Africans yet circumscribed it with such onerous conditions as almost to make it impossible, so that ~~it~~ it can confidently ^{be} said he virtually denied it to them.

That tenuous security has, in latter years been further watered ^{and whittled} down, or even annulled by recent Acts of Parliament, such as the Natives Land Act (1913), Native Administration Act (1927), Natives Land and Trust Act, Natives' Urban Areas Act (1923), and Natives' Resettlement Act (1955) among others, singly or collectively.

Now, individual ownership of landed property confers and inspires pride and dignity. It is a motive force of industry, progress and responsibility. It is an agency of civilisation. Denial of it has opposite effects, and problems like afforestation and land conservation are made more difficult ⁱⁿ / ⁱⁿ tribal reserves by its denial.

Recognising the overwhelming advantages of individual tenure, however, the Commission recommended that "this should be steadily kept in view by the Government, with the distinct object of taking advantage of every favouring opportunity- at the request of the people or from other encouraging circumstances- to establish that system, so that at the earliest practicable period, the native ~~the~~ custom should be superseded by the better system of holding under individual right and separate title-deed." (C.4889: 12)

Finally the Land Commission recommended that the Chiefs Montshiwa and Mankurwane should each receive a pension of ~~£300~~ £300 per annum from the revenues of the country in consideration of revenues they might have lost by their countries becoming ~~British~~ British protectorates. In the case of Montshiwa they added a rider that they took into account the establishment of a European township so close to his town, and the necessity of appropriating some land for the ^{European} town commonage ~~European~~, and last but not least "the unwavering loyalty and devotion of the chief Montshiwa for many years to the British Crown."

At the end of the work of the Land Commission Sir Hercules Robinson reported (August 1886) to the Earl of Granville, Secretary of State (1886) that the land reserved for the Barolong of Montshiwa was ~~2610~~³⁶⁹ acres per head and compared more than favourably with the extent reserved for Africans elsewhere in South Africa. Without a survey of the country or a census of the population, that figure is simply a guess and may or may not be near the truth. It was surely given with the full knowledge that the statement was not amenable to the ordinary methods of verification. It is a useless figure.

Since the 30th of March, all Bechuanaland, from the northern border of Griqualand on the South to the 22nd parallel of South Latitude on the north was known as the Bechuanaland Protectorate. SEPT: In the 1885 session of the Cape Parliament, there was further debate on Bechuanaland. Annexation to the Cape Colony was urged by a few, but strenuously opposed by the majority as liable to bring collision with the Transvaal Government, also because the Cape was not strong enough to maintain peace and order there, and finally because the inhabitants of Bechuanaland themselves - the chiefs as well as the people - had several times unanimously expressed their wish to remain directly under the Imperial Government. (Hofmeyr: J.H. Hofmeyr p. 272).

Now when the motion for ~~the~~ annexation was defeated, the High Commissioner divided the large expanse of country into

north and south by the Ramatlabama tributary of the Molopo River. On the 30th of September, the southern portion was proclaimed British soil and constituted into a Crown Colony as British Bechuanaland, while the northern portion retained its ^{caption}~~caption~~ as Bechuanaland Protectorate.

1887 Matabeleland Intrigue

61. CHAPTER XIII PEACEFUL PENETRATION

1887: Between the years 1887 and 1894 there was feverish activity among the Europeans - the British and the Dutch of South Africa - to extend their influence northward beyond Bechuanaland Protectorate. The great rivals at empire building^{ing}, Rhodes and Kruger were dreaming dreams and seeing visions of extending their respective territories northwards~~x~~ and annexing African lands.

Kruger had every reason to look northward. He had tried to get hold of the land of Montshiwa and Mankurwane which the Transvaal, not without reason regarded as their rightful legacy by virtue of Hendrik Potgieter's conquest of the usurping Mzilikazi. The London Convention had however definitely wrenched them from his grasp. Now owing to the ambitionⁿ of Rhodes, those countries had been constituted into the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland. Again by Article IV of the London Convention, the Transvaal was debarred from extending its frontiers either to the east (Swaziland) or to the west (Bechuanaland) ^{without British} sanction, (and ^{yet-} some people still argued that the Suzerainty was abolished). The south was not mentioned, because that was the Orange Free ^{State} ~~State~~. The north was also not mentioned. It was African the territory of Matabeleland, and therefore legitimate territory to rape. Kruger therefore turned his eyes northwards and in 1887, entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with Lobengula, king of the Matabele. The treaty was negotiated by Piet Grobler, and when Rhodes heard about it from Ralph Williams, the British Agent in Pretoria (**B. Williams: Cecil Rhodes p. 117**) he was greatly perturbed^r because he was himself scheming to form just such alliance with Lobengula, with the ultimate ^{view} to annexation exactly like Kruger. Rhodes immediately

ins/panned his pliant tools - High Commissioner Robinson and Assistant Commissioner Sidney Shippard to neutralise Piet Grobler's diplomacy and treaty. The Rev John Smith Moffat, son of the venerable missionary Dr Robert Moffat, trusted friend of Lobengula's father - Mzilkazi, was selected and agreed to do the sordid job of cajolry and deceit, and he succeeded beyond his sanguine hopes in getting Lobengula to put his mark (February 1888) on a paper purporting to be one thing, a letter, but which turned out to be ~~xxx~~ something else - a treaty.

"Moffat asked me to enter into a treaty, which I refused. Moffat thereupon said that I must at all events answer that I refused it. Then he read a letter to me in which I acquainted the High Commissioner that I did not wish to enter into any treaty." These are the ^{despairing} words of Lobengula, and this is the letter ^h he signed which was in fact the treaty itself, with ^{out} its preface and its 'whereas': ^{without} giving prominence to the hateful word 'treaty' ~~forward~~ ^{but on the other hand} and emphasis being put on Lobengula agreeing not to correspond or bind himself or cede or sell his country or any part of it to any foreign State or power. (Green J.S: Rhodes goes North) p. 69). Moffat represented to Lobengula that Grobler's treaty was a fraud. But in effect the Moffat Treaty does not differ materially ^{at least} or in purpose from Grobler's. It is/equally fraudulent.

In the nature of things all treaties between civilised nations and primitive tribes, at the instance of the former are inequitable and must be regarded as fraudulent because the civilised treaty hunter knows perfectly well that the illiterate can never understand the true import of the terms used, nor the value of the lands or assets negotiated upon.

Moffat had no sooner succeeded in thus inveigling Lobengula ~~than~~ than he gleefully rubbed his hands and excitedly wired to his master

the ominous words -

"The days of the Matebele are numbered" which show the depth and deliberateness of the treachery. To him, Lobengula could also appropriately have addressed the rebuke he later administered to the Rev Charles Helm, who later advised and witnessed Lobengula's concession to Rhodes and Rudd. "You call yourself a man of God, but you are no better than a trader" and he might have added "Traitor".

Matters now moved quickly and in July 1888 while Grobler was proceeding from Bulawayo to Pretoria he was stopped by Khama's emissary - Mokhutshwane - as he traversed a strip of land between Shashe and Motloutse (Macloutsie) rivers, claimed at the same time by Lobengula and Khama. The Transvaal naturally suspected that this was at the instigation of Rhodes and his henchmen Shippard and Moffat. There was a fracas and Grobler was shot in the leg and died of ~~an~~ sepsis in the wound a fortnight after. With Grobler ~~dead~~ ^{died} the Transvaal ~~Lobengula~~ ^{with Lobengula,} treaty of defensive and offensive alliance ^{with} and the death of both, the Moffat-Lobengula treaty ~~with~~ flourished unopposed. It was in the (same ~~self~~ partner) month (July 1888) that C.D. Rudd, a partner of Rhodes obtained an exclusive concession of all mining rights in Matebeleland from ^LLobengula in return for a consideration of a pension of £100 per month, 1,000 Martini-Henry breech-loading rifles, and a commensurate supply (100,000 rounds) of ammunition and an armed steamer to ply the Zambesi - a very questionable transaction which led in Rhodes for much adverse criticism both in South Africa and in England.

In April 1889, the indomitable Rhodes made proposals to and received permission from the British Government for the formation of a company to develop Bechuanaland Protectorate and Matebeleland by extending the railway and telegraph systems northward, encouraging immigration and colonisation, promoting trade and commerce,

developing and working mineral concessions in the regions immediately to the north of the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland. It is the last phrase that concerns Montshiwa.

The Rev John Mackenzie, Rhodes' redoubtable antagonist was at this time in England. With prophetic instinct and true missionary zeal he opposed Rhodes' schemes as calculated to bring suffering and injustice to the Matebele. He was supported by the Aborigines Protection Society, The London Chamber of Commerce, the African (Parliamentary) Committee, and by many influential organisations and people including Joseph Chamberlain.

~~62.a~~ 62.a

1889: In spite of all opposition, however, Rhodes, the king of diamonds, the man of destiny and indomitable will obtained his Charter in October 1889, and his child - the British South African Company became a realised ideal. British filibustering and marauding in Central Africa ^{were} ~~was~~ now fully licensed and the days of the Matebele were ^{indeed} numbered. The fact is often conveniently overlooked that whatever territorial advantages later accrued to the British Government, the founding of the British South African Company was primarily a commercial concern in pursuit of yellow gold, and launched by naked coercion and chicanery.

1890: The next thing was for Rhodes to find settlers for his Chartered territory, and in May 1890, some 184 young men, full of the spirit of adventure were gathered at Mafikeng. They included all trades and professions - butchers, bakers, bankers, builders, doctors, engineers, farmers, lawyers, tailors, miners, good men and bad men. After a march of twenty days they ^{reached} ~~xxxxxx~~ Macloutsi where they were joined by 500 British South African Company police, and, also of all people in the world, by 200 Bangwato of Khama under his half brother Raditladi, to act as scouts and road makers. Instead of thanks they received insolent abuse as cowardly, lazy ^{lousy} unblushing psalm-singing liars (Green Rhodes goes North p. 218) Hyatt Northward Trek p. 198).

On the 27th of June, after three weeks recuperation and more preparation the pioneer column, as it is called, with its 90 wagons and complete army equipment pushed on under the guidance of the famous hunter and veldmaster Frederick C. Selous, and on the 11th September, halted at a point in a boggy plain which was to be Salisbury / ten miles ^{short of its destination} ~~short of its destination~~

after the three British Prince Muccatis
 In 1889 Sir Hercules Robinson's ^{Robinson's} term of office as High Commissioner came to an end. On the 27th April he made a speech which greatly pleased the Colonials by its deprecating the Imperial factor in colonial matters, and the amateur ^e ~~er~~ meddling of irresponsible and ill-advised people of England which converts many a colonist from an Imperialist into a republican." (quoted Hofmeyr: Jan Hofmeyr p. 386).

of Cape Colony
 About this time (November 1890) Rhodes recently become Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, and at the acme of his power and prestige paid a visit to the chief Montshiwa at Mafikeng, ^{before} ~~and then~~ passing on to the land of his dreams ^{he spinned the chief about his view of his country under the charter of the Chartered Co. and how far from being sacrificed of the edca - Mafikeng had but one desire that was for his country to come directly under the British flag. He resented the substitutes}
 Now, all these movements and activities were not without meaning to even the prosaic Batswana people and their chiefs who had themselves been hustled by similar movements of Europeans, and Montshiwa ^{repeatedly} ~~repeatedly~~ said, in unconscious quotation of the Rev Mr Moffat that 'the days of the Matebele were numbered'. ^{The Matebele} ~~his~~ enemies and objects of his utter detestation of yesterday (1832) ^{today} were today (1890-1893) victims of Imperialism like him and objects of his sincere commiseration.

In July (189) the whole of Bechuanaland Protectorate, from the Molopo to the Zambesi was placed under the jurisdiction of the Governor or Administrator of the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland, pending its transfer to the Chartered Company as being included within the territories defined by the Charter.

CHAPTER XIV DOMESTIC SORROWS

Mokgweetsi : Majang : Kebalepile

The two years 1890 and 1891 brought much domestic grief to Montshiwa. First on the 11th ^{of} June 1890 he lost his uncle Mokgweetsi Phetlhu who was also his chief adviser. ~~and~~ Montshiwa

Collection Number: A979

Silas T MOLEMA and Solomon T PLAATJE Papers

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand

Location:- Johannesburg

©2012

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: Copyright for all materials on the Historical Papers website is owned by The University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and is protected by South African copyright law. Material may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. While these digital records are true facsimiles of paper documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

This document is part of a collection owned by the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg and deposited at Historical Papers at The University of the Witwatersrand.
