River, the main subject of the meeting being land and labour.

It is said and it is credible that the chiefs all admitted that the land they lived in had been overrun by Mzilikazi, and that it belonged to Boer emigrants by right of conquest, that they the chief lived in it by the grace of the emigrants; that their hearts were full of gratitude and they hailed the Dutch emigrants as their rescuers. The lands that the tribes occupied were now said to be assigned to them. By the Dutch emigrants

This admission of Boer suzerainty led naturally to the next step. The chiefs were told that they must now pay Labour Tax, that is, send their young men to labour on the fields of the Boers in consideration of their vassalage and occupancy of the lands thus assigned to them. In this, they acquiesced. Montshiwa, however, was at his request released from the Labour Tax, and given the option to pay tax in money and being liable to minary burgher or litary service like hurgherer Boer farmer.

This meeting is important first as showing the sentiments of gratitude and subservience which the African tribes entertained at the time towards the emigrant Boers for their expulsion of Mzilikazi, but human nature being what it is, in time as the Matebele danger receded the chiefs began to resent interference in their affairs, to chafe under the foreign yoke and to set up claims of independence.

Secondly, the meeting is important as showing the desire of the Boer leaders to seek justification of their land claims in ##
expresly seeking the admission, agreement and declaration of the chiefs that all the land formerly devastated by Mzilikazi now belonged to the Dutch Boers by right of conquest. Such admission, agreement or declaration was tantamount to a title deed.

It was useful to butress Potgieter's Proclamation issued in 1837 after the defeat of Mzilikazi that all the territory which Mzilikazi was forced to abandon was forfieted to the Boer emigrants, such territory being the whole of the present Transvaal,

76. £

about the northern half of the present Free State, and all southern Bechuanaland westward to the Kgalagare except the district of the Batlhaping.

It gave the Boers the right, therefore, to regared the African tribes in this extensive territory as their subjects, or tennants, and to tax them in labour or money. Montshiwa therefore, having chosen the latter was placed upon the footing of a burgher and made liable to military service although this implicitive in conflict with the terms of the recently concluded Sand River Convention, and Boer tradition which frowned at military alliance between black and white.

1852

After the ratification of the Sand River Convention by the Volksraad (March 1852) the emigrant Boers advanced further justification of their right to the land by declaring that the Convention had granted them undiputed ownership of all territory north of the Vaal, and that they were left at liberty to fix anywhere the western and eastern borders of their country hence known as the South African Republic. An unbaissed reading of the Convention seems to confirm this view.

Irrespective of the Dutch-Boer claims and the Native-African admissions however, the delicate question of a equity and morality is - If you disposses a robber of stolen goods, do the goods become yours, or must they revert to their original owner? If you drive the Matebele off from the land of the Batswana, does the land therefore become yours?

About this time the south African Republic launched the campaign of disarmament of African tribes. It was but natural that a small Boer community of 5,000 families north of the Vaal, surrounded by tens of thousands of blacks whom they considered their natural enemies, should feel uneasy and insecure. The Boer leaders remembered the conflict of the Khosas with primitive weapons against the Europeans for three-quarters of a century commencing in 1779, and realised the immeasurable superiority of the gun to the assegai as demonstrated by the emigrant Boer victory over the

Matebele at Vegkop in 1837. Now they were constantly receiving clear evidences that many African tribes possessed or were acquiat Viervoet ring firearms, and the recent defeat of the British waged them to (30th June 1851) by the similarly armed Basotho urged them to take in immediate steps, if they were to survive, not only to make it impossible for Africans to acquire guns and A powder, but to capture those (weapons) already in their (Africans') possession.

Soon after the signing of the Sand River Convention, there_

fore, Comm - Gen Andries Pretorius broached the matter to, High Com-

missioner Sir George Catheart. He complained that English hunters and traders going northward to Bechuanaland, mNgamiland and the Zambesi by the Traders, Missionary Road along the western border of the South African Republic were in the habit of supplying African tribes with firearms in defiance of the provisions of the Sand Ri-He asked that they should be compelled to got thver Convention. rough Potchefstroom to check this. This however proved impracticable, and the trade in firearms, depending as it did on barter for ivory and cattle was impossible to control, and went merrity on. The prelext that African tribes were stealing their caute The South African Republic made a move, first against the Bapedi of Sekwati at the Lulu Mountains (9 August 1852). The Bapedi were eased of thousands of cattle and sheep, the few guns and rounds of ammunition they had in their possession and they lost thousands of men, women and children, killed or starved to death.

The second move was against the Bakgatla of Mosielele on the or eventuated in Marico, which involved the attacked on the Bakwena of Sechele, and that again a quarrel with Montshiwa.

The accusations were, against

- 1. Mosielele: that though he had been paying the Labour Tax, he astrant(cheeky) was now XXXXIn, and declined to do so any longer
- (b) that his people had become troublesome as cattle · · (c) That he probably had guns and ammunition in his thieves possession .

1852

16.8

- 2. Sechele: (a) That he had flagrantly defied the South African Mosielele
 Republic by abetting, and refusing to hand them over.
 - (b) That he was setting up a claim to independence.
 - (c) That he had an abundant store of guns and ammunition - about 500 guns.
- 3. Montshiwa: (a) That he had disobeyed the orders of Commandant Pieter Scholtz when ordered to to assist him in fighting Sechele
 - (b) That he was setting up a claim of independence.
 - (c) That his tribe conducted cattle lifting on an extensive scale.

The common charge of cattle lifting was made against all African tribes, and this nearly and always led to a skirmish, if not war. There is no reason to doubt that in the majority of cases such an thefts did in fact take place because in African tradition, to rob your natural enemy of his cattle was not considered a crime. It was a normal thing for bands of young men to go out to 'gaap' or capture the cattle of Boer emigrants. It was not considered as theft, but rather as confiscation, repisal and for indemnification, the underlying psychological sanction being an assumed state of war, and anexpert cattle theef was regarded as something of a hero. Such were Thomedi Makestla and Maketo among the Tshidi Barolong and Maketo Montsosi Radion.

Mentshesi among the Barolong &

The tribes often made counter accusation of cattle theft against the emigrant farmers, but could not ofcourse follow the spoor right into the farms, for fear of their lives, whereas a spoor or supposed spoor of strayed cattle was regarded by the whites as proof positive of their being stolen by men of the village to which it led.

The neglect or refusal of Africans to pay the labour tax, and the claim of independence we have noticed as a natural development of self confidence and a feeling of security where first there was apprehension and diffidence.

There is not the slightest doubt that cattle belonging to Africans were often deliberately taken by the Dutch-Boers by way of reprisal, or by the strange philosophy that what belongs to the native way rightly be taken without permission.

The possession of firearms and ammunition by the tribes,

was
while essentially true, exaggerated in the suspicious minds of of

the whites. While every man desired to have a gun and gunpowder,

these were never possessed by the tribes in nearly the propotion

that it was imagined, nor were they neccessarily acquired for

military purpose.

The country abounded in game and wild beasts. The gun was not only in weapon of offence and defence, but also an apparatus of sport and a means of livelihood.

In any case Commandant Scholtz set out from Klein Marico with a commando of 300 to 400 burghers with orders to arrest Mosielele who had fled to Sechele for protection, and if Sechele refused to surrender him, to attack Sechele. Before leaving, Scholtz sent this latter to Montshiwa, who being placed on the footing of a burgher, was liable to military service: Chief Montshiwa:

You are here commanded to send immediately 20 armed men on horseback and provided with victuals for a fortnight to assist us in punishing Sechele." I am etc P.E.Scholtz: Comd."

To this, Montshiwa replied from Lotlhakane "As I am responsible to God and man for what I, or people under my command do, ere

I can accede to your orders, please first distinctly to inform what me wxxx the sin unto death of Sechele is?

Commandant Scholtz in anger wrote back: "As you have thus refused to obey my orders, I shall settle with you after my return from Sechele."

It is a fact, however, that the commandeering or forcible enrolment of Montshiwa's people for unpaid labour among the emigrant Dutch farmers was one of the constant complaints of the chief.

Scholtz then proceeded to the Bakwena capital of Dimawe. On

P/

requesting Sechele to hand up Mosielele, he was told - "Who w would have Mosielele must come and take him out of my kand Non trying to persuade Sechele to suscribe to the suzerainty of the South African Republic, as being the cause of the survival and his wealth by its annihilation of Mzilikazi, Sechele amswered-" I was placed here and made king by God and not by the Boers." Available evidence from both sides seems to show all things considered, thet/scholtz exercised a remarkable amount of patience on this Ultimately however, he attacked Sechele's town. occasion. There was a brisk skirmish on Monday the 30th Aug. in which it is Said the Bakwena sustained about 100 casualties, and the Boers At 4 to mine (Theal 1834-54. p. 519). The Bakwena were dislodged from their ridges and fled to the Kgalagare desert. 14101 1/2 captured a large number of cattle, hopses and goals also 48 guns besides laking 250 women and children as prisoners

At this time, Dr.Livingstone, who was labouring among the Bakwena was away in Capetown, and his house at Kolobeng, a few mit miles away was broken into, his furniture and library destroged.

Ithas never been determined who the culprits were. Livingstone and the Bakwena blamed the Boers, who in turn blamed the Bakwena.

The episode attained world wide publicity. Scholtz captured wimmense booty in cattle, horses and goats, and also 48 guns, besides taking 250 women and children as prisoners. Some of these were afterwards fedeemed by their relatives, some released, some excaped and the balance were distributed among the farmers as apprentices.

on his return to Klein Marico Scholtz wrote Montshiwa yet another note; "You are here by summoned before the council of War to appear within 5 days to answer for your disobediences to my orders." The chief sent his brother Molema, his cousin Bodumele Moshoela and his missionary Joseph Ludorf to hear what Scholtz had to say. But the irate Scholtz would not receive for he said that

the missionary's (f. Ludorf's) pen.

16 C. X.

16 6

Tempers have simmered and boiled over this matter of apprenticeship.

Were the prisoners of war treated by the Boers as tainess or as slaves

Dr Livingstone and the missionaries generally called it slavery

because the masters could do as they liked with their the liberty,

labour and life of their servants with impunity. The thing happens

even today in 1960. Dr Theal and theBoer-Afrikaners called in 'inboeking"- apprenticeship and training. Theal especially defends the system

with some warmth, but admits that "where the arm of the law is weak"

the practice must be condemned as it opens a door to many abuses. (Histo

(History of S.A. 1834-1854 p.521). Mostpeople will admit that even te

day the arm of the law is weak. How much more so in 1853 and succeeding years:

was Moreover it we Montshiwa himself he wanted, and if he did not report within the time given, "the cannon would roar upon him " Though Scholtz was incensed, it is difficult to tell howmuch in earnest he was by this threat incensed XXedxxitxisxdifficultxtoxtellxhownuchxhexwesxinxeernest In any case, the Barolong and x aranguarity after a table to be a contained and a table and a contained and contained and contained are a contained as a contained and contained are a contained as a contained are a contained a ked, wh trembled in fear, and thinking they had burny their boxxx bridges Dithakong on they decided to evacuate their new township of Lotlhakane and put as much distance as possible between themselves and Scholt's commando. It is difficult to comprehend the reason of this sudden flight of Montshiwa and his tribe and much more difficult to condone it. Was is perhaps due to the fact that the Barolong knew they kadxagt sufficient number of guns and ammunition to face their enemy, elated by their success over Sechele, or was it one of theose strange and capricious migrations of African tribes that had now become part of their character, motivated sometimes xx the by the singing of a bird, and sometimes by whim of the chief, and some times ** a mere rumour of the approach of an extension of the approach enemy? When every excuse has been made for Montshiwa, this & xxxxxxx teckxofxcouragexxendxinxfactxxnothingxelsexhaaxxevealedxxnoxexthanxxdcholts frintheartedness and axereveness iritax orxinx plaixwords xxonkx cowardice midnight flit of his suggests lack of courage, and in fact, nothing else has revealed, more than threat of Scholtz, the faintheartedness and crave spirit, or in plain words, the rank corwadice of Montshiwa and his peaple at this time, for hearing that a commando was marching upon them, Montshiw Dithakong on and about 18,000 of his tribe left, Lotlhakane on the 18th of September 1852 kerkt backthadeane and fled westwards to join Contse and the Ratlou clan

During their short stay at Setlagole, it is admitted that bands of Barolong young men under Mokoto Motsosi, of the Ratlou clan, Segae Motlhala mme of the Tshidi clan, Tswadibe and Tlhomedi of the Makgetla clan as well as some men of the Barutshe tribe under their young scion Lentswe made determined forage on the Boer farms in the Marico, Magaliesburg and Rustenburg districts in December 1852, Thexxpoorx of and took hundreds of cattle. The spoor of these herds was traced, and information confirmed the sudpicion that they had been driven to Setlagole. Quickly a commando was was called up and led by Comm-Gen Andries Pretorius himself with the rising Commandant Faul Kruger and Commandant Schutte as his adjuncts. When the commando reached Setlagole, Montshiwa and his tribe, aware of its approach

at Setlagole 45 miles away.

17.b

had retired to Mosite, 20 miles further west, and thither the commando followed them up. In the meantime the Ratlou clan, recently under Gontse, now deceased during 1852 also left Setlagole under Letsapa, and went to seek axx asylum under the Batlhaping of Mahura at Taung.

At Mosite Montshiwa at last made a stand and gave battle, in which he lost
were
several men. Among the slain was Lentswe, the young chief of the Bahurutshe who
waxx had been staying among the Barolong owing to disruption among his tribe at
and Phatudi Legae, the chiefs nephew.
the Marico / Some casualties were inflicted upon the Boers also. Comm-Gen Pretorius
who was well known to the Barolong had been seen riding a white horse at the head
of the commando. He now suddenly disappeared from the battle field, and the Barolong thought he was slain. Mococe Marumo claimed to have shot him and was duly
congratulated in verse as follows;
Mogale wa pitse e tshweu ga bonwe.

Mogale wa pitse e tshweu ga bonwe, Moetapele wa masoropo o jele mmu, O phamotswe ke phamole ya ga Marumo A moisa bogwera bo iwang ke Basweu le bantsho

Mnoi o a lela, ere a lela matlho a gagwe a kwano Ebile o futsa nkwe ya losika loo Makgetla, O futsa phamole e tsetsweng ke Marumo A re setlhodi sele se re jetse banna Sa tloga sa re baya ka boswagadi

The hero of the white is nowhere to be seen;
The leader of the white troops has licked the dust.
He has been snatched by the eagle of MarumoHe is initiated into colour-blind mysteries.

His lady is in tears, but her eyes look this way As she curses the tiger of the Makgetla breed: She curses the eagle that is born of Marumo, Says that monster has eaten up our husbands And thus condemned us to dismal widowhood.

The facts are, ofcourse that Pretorius was already ailing when the commando left Magaliesburg, and felt so ill on the battle fileld that he could no longer direct ø operations, and like his great rival Hedrik Potgieter in the expedition against the Bapedi of Sekwati in August 1852, he had been forced to retire from the field and go home to die.

The Boer commando bivuacked that night a short distance from the field of battle. In the morning when they wanted either to renew the fight or make a truce with Montshiwa, they found that he had withdrawn.

On leaving Mosite, Montshiwa and his clan went to Morokweng, 40 miles further west tof find refuge with a Ratlou clan whose chief was Maiketso. There they stopped just long enough to avail themselves of one planting season, that is from January to August 1853. About this time, the great emigrant Dutch leaders and rivals-Andries Andries Pretorius died, the one at the beginning of March, and the other on the 23rd of July.



A day after Pretorius' mexat death, Casper Kruger-pfather of Paul Kruger also died.

During this campaign and at Morokweng, the ma oldest members of the Matsetse regiment of the Tshidi Barolong were born.

Leaving Morokweng at the end of August or early in September 1853, Montshiwa and his clan now retraced their steps. They travelled east along the valley of the Molo until they came to Dikhukhung a few miles below Phitshane. Here Montshiwa was met by See Senthufi, chief of the Bangwaketse, and new vassal of the South African Republic, who brought a message from Comm-Gen Marthinus W.Pretorius the newly-appointed leader of the Boers, expressing a desire for the renewal of friendship between the emigrant Rose Boers and the Barolong of Montshiwa on the basis of a Peace Treaty, and guaranteein the chief and any counsellors he might choose to bring with him a safe conduct to the place of meeting at Marico. Taking with him about twenty men therefore, Chief Monts hiwa proceeded to the appointed venue- Mathebe, the chief town of the Bahurutshe of the Montshiwa on the Marico district. There they were met by Commandant Jan Jan Viljoen and Jacobus Snyman, who gave them a very friendly welcome.

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