

to stop hostilities

from Rooigrond to warn the Goshenites ~~against~~ Montshiwa, and to tell them that the South African Republic was not in ^aposition to assist them if they showed any armed resistance to Warren. He assured Warren that order was restored in Bechuanaland, and tried to persuade him to return. One of the results of their two days interview was that Warren nominated Capt. C.R. Conder R.E., while Kruger nominated Mr T.N. de Villiers to define and beacon ~~off~~ ^{off} the Western Transvaal boundary in accordance with the terms of the London Convention. The commissioners commenced their work at Christiana and proceeded northward to Ramatlabama beyond the Molopo River. Besides some dispute between them at Khunwana and Lotlhakane which was decided by a referee, their work went on apace, and was completed by August to the satisfaction of the contracting parties.

From Fourteen Streams the Special Commissioner went to Phokwane and had an interview with the chief Botlhasitse Gasebone with whom he had crossed swords a few years before.

56.a

1885
Feb.

On the following day, Warren met his friend the chief Mankurwane on his way to see him at Barkly West; later he also met the Koranna Chief Mossow. To all of them he promised a speedy settlement of their territorial boundaries, and a return to order and peace.

Warren arrived next at Vryburg on the 7th of February and spent three days there attempting to unravel the tangled skein of Stellaland affairs. During this time, he and Rhodes had several quarrels owing to their different assessment and interpretation of fundamental rights and freedoms. Warren's specific orders were "to remove the filibusters and re-instate the natives in their lands."

Moreover he held the idealistic view, the missionary view, the view of Mackenzies and Livingstones that the lands owned by

Africans should be absolutely inalienable, should belong to them in perpetuity under British protection and that any other people claiming them should be regarded as usurpers. Rhodes on the other hand had ^{made} many promises to the Stellaland volunteers or filibusters of those very lands carved from Mankurwane's country. ^{He} had a more realistic view that European settlement and penetration were inevitable, and that African land ownership must ultimately be confined to scheduled reserves. It must be admitted that history has vindicated Rhodes. The growing differences between the two men at last compelled Warren to complain to the High Commissioner that the presence of Rhodes was "prejudicial to the peace of the district and the success of the expedition and he insisted upon his recall.

1885 Feb.

Leaving his force at Vryburg on the 26th of February to follow him up, Charles Warren with a detachment of ^{cavalry} ~~salvage~~ bivouacked at Setlagole on the 28th, reached Modimola (Saane's post) on the 10th of March and arrived at Mafikeng on the same day. The chief Montshiwa was away from home on ^a ~~the~~ visit to Ngwaketse ^{the Bar-} Chief Gaseitsiwe at Kanye, and was at once sent for. Meantime Warren was received by his son Kebalepile, who went with a large body of men to meet the Special Commissioner many miles away from Mafikeng. As the excited and ever-growing concourse approached the town, the various sections of the populace almost seemed to vie with each other in their loud acclamations and the tumultuous ardour with which they welcomed the Queen's representative.

Their deliverance had come at last, and their joy was untrammelled.

March.

On Warren's arrival at Mafikeng, the Goshenites disappeared from Rooigrond, and even those ^{who were} working their acquired lands abandoned them and fled into the Transvaal.

On Saturday the 14th of March, Warren and his staff, escorted by a large company of his troops proceeded to Rooigrond to find

the grave of Christopher Bethell and examine his body relative to the circumstances of his death on the 31st of July 1884. Having had the body exhumed and identified, Warren had it removed ~~on a gun carriage~~ to Mafikeng for re-burial among the Barolong for whom Bethell had given his young life. The body was placed in a gun-carriage covered with a Union Jack. ^{Bethell} ~~He~~ was a young English-man of good birth, noble instincts and some education, was courageous, a personal friend of the Rev John Mackenzie, relation of Sir Charles Warren and also of Sir Ralph Williams who became Resident of Bechuanaland Protectorate (1902-1905).

Returned from Kanye, the chief Montshiwa and nearly all his people were present at the imposing military funeral accorded Bethell. The solemnity of the religious ceremony conducted by the Rev John Mackenzie, and the powerful address which he delivered with feeling, the lowering of the coffin by six royal headmen of the Barolong, the synchronous discharge of 200 Lee-medfords fired by a party of as many Inniskilling Dragoons, the shrill and eerie notes of the bugle as it sounded the "last post", the handfuls of earth solemnly thrown into the white grave by hundreds of black hands as their owners bowed and slowly passed on, all these were circumstances calculated to inspire awe and leave an indelible impression upon the minds of the hundreds of the Barolong assembled at the grave-side, while to the more serious minded and reflecting, the ceremony was symbolic of the end of filibustering and warfare, and had a deep significance of our spiritual common humanity beneath our different colours, and the spiritual values of duty and sacrifice, as well as the mysteries of life and death, judgement and eternity. Subsequently a marble stone with the following epitaph was erected on Bethell's grave:

In Memory of
CHRISTOPHER BETHELL
(of Rise, Yorkshire, England)
Who lost his life while performing
Military duty to Her Britannic Majesty

In Memory of

CHRISTOPHER BETHELL

(of Rise, Yorkshire, England)

Who lost his life while performing
Military duty to Her Brittanic Majesty

In defence of the Barolong Nation

July 31st 1884: Aged 29Years.

The resounding success of the Warren Expedition seemed to supply fuel to the High Commissioner's antagonism to Warren. Under the sinister influence ^{of} ~~and~~ the Bond, he tried all he could to discredit him with the Colonial Office to encompass his recall or resignation and himself superseding him. Instead, however, the High Commissioner received a gentle reminder that "Sir Charles Warren's appointed is civil and

political as well as military, and that any measures that would cause him to resign would give rise to much dissatisfaction in this country (England), and create serious military difficulty (C 4432.p.57)

March : In any case , new forces which imperiously prompted the Imperial Government to new orientations and action were at work. The scramble for Africa had begun. The German flag had been hoisted at Angra Pequena Bay on the West Coast of Southern Africa on the 1st of March 1883, and the shadow of Bismarck, the dynamic chancellor was looming ominously over Damaraland and Namaqualand, soon to annex them on the 24th of April 1884 preliminary to stretching across towards northern Bechuanaland and the Transvaal in the east, and might thus very soon straddle across the trade routes to the north- the old Missionary or Traders' Road and render them useless . The British cabinet had been rudely awakened to this possibility, this danger of being cut off from the interior beyond Mafikeng, and for ever losing its chance of northward expansion either by Germany or the Transvaal taking it, or by some understanding between them.

It had been Rhodes' inspired mission and master purpose to secure the north for Britain and Cape Colony, and he looked upon Bechuanaland as the key and gateway to the interior, or as he called it "the Suez Canal " of the trade to the north. Since 1881 he had harped upon this vision, he had repeated it in similes and parables, he had stressed it and elaborated it to Sir Hercules Robinson until the latter understood it and believed it, and Robinson had also made Lord Derby understand and believe this thesis of Rhodes.

The climax and grand finale to Rhodes' plea and clarion call for the annexation of Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony ^{came} in the long and powerful speech which he made in the House of Assembly on the 13th of June 1885, ^{and seemed to be his vindication} ~~now more as a vindication of~~ of his vision . (Vindex: Speeches 16th Aug 1883:30th June 1885).

Now the Colonial Office at last realised the advantage of extending ^{the} British ~~protection~~ sphere of influence northwards beyond Mafikeng, and now the Secretary of State for the Colonies decided to extend the British protectorate to the 22nd degree of latitude and Kgama's country, and there were no two people in the whole world better qualified for this duty than the two fatefully on the spot - Warren and Mackenzie.

On the 23rd of March 1885, a Proclamation establishing ^{ing} a British Protectorate over Bechuanaland was issued in terms of the Order in Council of the 27th of January of that year, providing for civil and criminal jurisdiction over the country between Griqualand West on the south and the 22nd parallel of south latitude on the north, and between the western border of the Transvaal on the east and the 20th degree

of east longitude on the west. Thus Mackenzies treaties with Montshiwa and Mankurwane were confirmed by this proclamation.

2. On the 14th of March, ~~the~~ the following telegram was received by the High Commissioner from the Secretary of State - "Warren should communicate with Sechele and Khama, and take care that no filibustering expeditions takes possession of the country, more especially Shoshong." Accordingly, on the 22nd of April, the Special Commissioner accompanied by Mackenzie and a small staff left Mafikeng for the north. He arrived at Kanye, 75 miles away and had an interview with King Gaseitsiwe of the Bangwaketse and his son Bathoen on the 24th, and received their consent to protection. He then proceeded to Molepolole and interviewed King Sechele of the Bakwena with his sons Sebele and Kgari and invited them to come under British protection. They were neither clear nor keen about this protection. It was a vague something they could not understand; they saw no difference between it and annexation, and were very unwilling to agree to anything that might rob them of their sovereign rights, the very thing they feared the Transvaal for. Prince Sebele, in particular objected outright to 'protection.' The ~~spring~~ ^{steen} ~~boks~~ ^{boks}, he said were not protected, and although they were weak there were always ~~spring~~ ^{steen} ~~boks~~ ^{boks}. God would look after the Bakwena in the same way that He looked after the ~~steen~~ ^{the} ~~boks~~ ^{terms} without any need for British protection. He advised Sir Charles Warren first to dry/Gaseitsiwe's eyes especially and Montshiwa's, whose cattleposts had been so often raided, and whose men had been shot down although they were supposed to be under British protection. How thrilled Mackenzie was to hear his thoughts and words re-echoed by this unlettered man.

May Warren and Mackenzie then proceeded to Mochudi to interview Lencwe king of the Bakgatla, then he went to Shoshong, where on the 12th of May and the days following, he had discussions with Kgama, king of ~~the~~ the Bangwato. The net result of all these meetings was that all the northern Bechuanaland kings placed themselves, their people and their countries under the protection of Queen Victoria's Government. Each king offered large areas of land to the Queen for European settlement, altogether some 170,000 square miles, and each reserved a larger tract of land in his country for tribal use. In accepting British protection, however, they all stipulated that their indigenous laws and customs should be respected, that lands remaining to them after grants to the Crown should be inalienable, and that, while ready to be guided and willing to be advised, they desired that their sovereignty over their lands and people should continue inviolate.

167
57
58 b e
5 When the High Commissioner's opposition to Warren ~~became known~~ and his Imperial policy became known in the Cape Colony, large public meetings were called in all the principal towns - Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Grahamstown, East London ~~and~~ Kimberley, Aliwal North etc. and motions of confidence and resolutions ~~supporting~~ supporting Warren's policy were passed unanimously. One of the most interesting of these meetings was held at ^{Debe Nek near} King Williams Town on the 14th of April under the chairmanship of Mr J. Tengo Jabavu, editor of the first African newspaper the Imvo which resolved that: "This meeting wishes to express its unqualified satisfaction with the objects of the mission of Sir Charles Warren in Bechuanaland, and its admiration of the fearless manner in which he has set about examining the claims of those who must be considered robbers of the lands of the natives until they prove themselves otherwise. This meeting expresses its strong opinion in favour of the Imperial Government taking over and administering as a Crown Colony all the native ^{Cape} territories beyond the Colony, as the anomaly of their administration by a Government responsible to a Parliament in which they have no representation is productive of mischief, and the Colony is, moreover at present unable to protect them from possible filibustering expeditions. "

6 JUNE: While the Royal Engineers of the Warren Expedition were stationed at Mafikeng in 1885, Sir Charles Warren offered to help Montshiwa to erect a new chapel for his Wesleyan (Methodist) subjects, as the one previously erected by Molema in 1870 had been wrecked during the Barolong-Boer war of 1881-1884. Three Barolong regiments were called out - the Magodu, the Mapetu and the Matlhaselwa, and ordered to make and burn bricks, and provide ~~xxx~~ other unskilled labour, while the ~~Rx~~ Royal Engineers under Col. Durnford undertook to do the masonry and other skilled work. Very soon the ground was cleared, ~~xxx~~ a plan made, and the foundation of a cruciform building laid.

The formal laying of three foundation stones or memorial tablets was performed on the 17th of June 1885. One at the head of the building is inscribed Major-Gen. Sir Charles Warren K.C.M.G., while of the two at the foot of the building one is inscribed - "Montshiwa- Chief of the Barolong.", and the other "Chiefs of the Barolong." Felicitous speeches were delivered on the occasion of the laying of these stones by Sir Charles Warren, the Chief Montshiwa, the Rev Owen Watkins- Superintendent of the Wesleyan Methodist Missions in the Transvaal, and by the Rev. John Mackenzie. The collection totalled £256:16.

In a remarkably short time, a solid structure, which stands to this day ~~with~~ after 75 years without a crack in its massive walls- (23 inches thick and 12)

walls 23 inches thick and 12 feet high was erected. The Methodist Church Synod provided the building material. The chapel was opened for divine worship on Saturday the 5th of December 1885 before a vast assembly which marched in a procession headed by the Administrator of Bechuanaland Sir Sidney Shippard from Molema's chapel, while the Rev George Weavind, the new Wesleyan Superintendent came specially from Potchefstroom to supervise the ceremony, and was ably assisted by the Rev Robert Appelbe, the resident missionary.

It was another day of rejoicing, and the tribe made it a festival. In the words of the Leviticus "It was an holy convocation unto them, a solemn assembly and they did not servile work therein." At least 1,000 of them packed the large and lofty building whilst a vast crowd assembled outside." "As this vast congregation rose and sang, as the Barolong can sing, ^{the} volume of sound was overwhelming, and tears of joy bedewed many a face. They had been for years hunted like wild beasts, and now they were met in a church of their own such as the most sanguine had never expected. How would Molema ^{have} ever rejoiced to be with them that day. If the spirits are allowed to visit the scene of their earthly labours, his was hovering near." (Whiteside: History of the Wesleyan Methodist Church of S.A. p. 433)

7. In Sir Charles Warren's force at Mafikeng was a ^{balloon} corps with three balloons and all necessary equipment. These were days long before the era of aerial navigation as we know it. The trial ascent that was made then at Mafikeng was the first in Africa, and the balloonists afford to take Montshiwa up:

It is doubtful whether or not Montshiwa accepted the offer. Mackenzie, who was present does not say so, as he certainly would have done and put it beyond doubt on record. He mentions the ascent of Major Elsdale in command of the Balloon ^{corps} corps, followed

by that of Warren, and then of other ~~officers~~ officers one after another, while "the chief Montshiwa leaning on his staff, stood apart from his people, his eye following the balloon, but ~~himself~~ ^{himself} wrapt in thought" and afterwards expressing ^{to Mackenzie} his wonder at the event ~~of to~~ ^{and his} Mackenzie admiration of the English.

Watkin Williams, the biographer of Warren follows Mackenzie and merely mentions that the "chief Montshiwa, 80 years old, and his stalwart son took a most keen interest in all the proceedings." It is true that in two stanzas of an epic ballad quoted by him, Montshiwa is represented as having ascended.

One ^{day} ~~day~~ the Engineers who were possessed of a balloon
Sent old chief Montshiwa up, a captive, towards the moon:
And it was a spirit-stirring sound to hear his women swear
As they saw their lord and master floating gaily through the
air

For it is the usual believe in Montshiwa 's town
That when a chieftain dies, he takes ^a lengthy journey down;
While a missionary murmured, as he gazed up in the sky,
"How strange that soldiers are the first to waft my flock
on high.

On the ^{other} ~~other~~ hand Ralph Williams, who was attached to Sir Charles Warren's staff, was later to be British Agent at Pretoria (1887-1890) and still later to be Resident Commissioner for Bechuanaland Protectorate and stationed at Mafikeng (1901-1904) ¹⁹⁰⁴ was present, and states ^{specifically} ~~specifically~~ that Montshiwa went up and "General Warren initiated him into the ways of modern civilisation by taking him up in a balloon - the first and the last native chief I fancy, who has ever had that experience." (Ralph Williams; How I became a Government p. 126)

8. On the 14th of July (1885) Sir Charles Warren left Mafikeng to attend to questions of land settlement in Vryburg. At this time there was much talk of Bechuanaland being annexed to the Cape, and it was known that Stellaland had petitioned **against** such annexation, preferring to remain directly under Imperial control. This was also Montshiwa's feeling, and he accordingly addressed the Imperial Government praying it to retain direct control of his country. Paradoxically enough no one except the ^{Kruger and Rhodes} ~~Transvaal~~ seemed to want Bechuanaland ^{not} ~~the~~ Cape ⁱⁿⁱ ~~masters~~ and ^{not} Sir Hercules Robinson.

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.
