

weighted have the scales always been against Africans. There can be no doubt that this decision was made in deference to the wishes of the Boer deputation. The Deputation was received by Lord Derby on the 7th of November. (1883) Amongst other things they objected to the Retoria Convention as a whole because they had ~~agreed~~ only agreed to it under compulsion and as a temporary measure. They objected to the western boundary of the Transvaal as encroaching on their rightful territory; they objected to the ~~interference~~ ~~xxxxxx~~ of British Resident as a derogation of their national integrity and they objected to the Imperial veto on their native legislation. Amongst other things they demanded the re-affirmation of the Sand River Convention of 1852, freedom in dealing with African tribes on the western Transvaal border, and addition to the Transvaal of the lands of Montshiwa, Moshete, Mankurwane and Mossou. In support of this last claim they put in a historical resume that their predecessors in office had conquered and expelled Mzilikazi who had over-run all these countries, and that therefore Bechuanaland belonged to them by right of conquest. They fortified themselves by citing the deeds of cession made ~~to them~~ by some chiefs - Moshete and Matlaba and Mossou - to their former president Thomas Burgers. They referred to the Keate Award as a deliberate avulsion of the Transvaal.

Lord Derby in replying ^{therefore} to this told ~~them that~~ the Deputation that Montshiwa and Mankurwane objected on behalf of themselves and their people to being included in the Transvaal, and there was a strong body of feeling in England in favour of their independence unless they were under British protection.

While willing to concede to the demands of the Deputation in most things, ~~Lord Derby was adamant~~ even to the point of modifying the Transvaal boundary to include an additional 2,600 sq miles of land being parts of the lands of Moshete and Massou, Lord Derby was adamant in ^{and Mankurwane} resisting the inclusion of Montshiwa's ^{territory} and the Missionary or Trade Route in the Transvaal.

The establishment of a British protectorate over the lands of ~~Montshi~~ Montshiwa and Mankurwane was at the same time decided upon, and a commission was issued to Sir Hercules Robinson to protect British interests in Bechuanaland, and the High Commissioner recommended the Rev. John Mackenzie to be Special commissioner on the spot to assist him. Mackenzie was not a persona grata in the Transvaal. He was too outspoken a critic of their "native policy", and no sooner was his appointment known in South Africa than there was an outburst of indignation against it, expressed in telegrams of protest to the Colonial office. The news of the new delimitation of the western Transvaal boundary, and the probable establishment of a British Protectorate over the countries of Montshiwa and Mankurwane at once incited the freebooting volunteers of Moshete to greater activity, and they determined to get possession of those lands in anticipation of the proclamation of a protectorate. They held several meetings in March to arrive at this decision. On the 1st of April Gey van Pittkus, "administrator of ~~the~~ the land of Goshen" and leader of Moshete's volunteers gave Montshiwa four days notice to quit these farms at Rooigrond which Montshiwa's people had never wholly vacated in spite of the expropriating provision of the Snyman treaty of October 1882. Montshiwa refused and said he would regard any attempt to dislodge him as "an act of war". The Goshen volunteers answered by turning their cattle and horses into the Barolong ripening ~~the~~ cornfields. ^{demurred} ~~On the 12th of May, after giving them due notice, Montshiwa sent a large body of men to expel the freebooters from Rooigrond. They burnt their huts and took occupied the place.~~

Gr. Pitso also notified Motshiwa of their intention to survey his ^{his} land ~~to set it up into farms~~, occupy it, set it up as the Republic of Goshen and cut it up into farms. ^{I have received that your intention is that you will come and survey my country and that you will also try to take my cattle.} In reply Motshiwa wrote: "I do not know the Land of Goshen you write of. My people are living on the lands their fathers have lived on - the land of the Barolong." ^{look to me for payment or for farms. I did not know you would} On the 12th of May, after giving Gey van Pittius due notice, Montshiwa sent a large body of men to expel the freebooting volunteers from Rooigrond ~~which was~~ across the Transvaal border, which they did, burnt their huts, and occupied the country.

On the 12th of April, the Rev J. Mackenzie had received the following orders, inter alia from the High Commissioner:

The case of the persons laying claim to the so-called Land of Goshen would appear to differ materially from that of the present European population of Stellaland. The farms assigned to Moshete's volunteers

When the Transvaal delegates arrived, they imagined that they had only to come and see and conquer. If they had some nine months earlier their anticipations might have been fulfilled. When they arrived, however, it was too late. Mr Mackenzie had been beforehand with them, and to their unaccounted chagrin, they found that the public would not tolerate their attempt to erect a Red Banner across the great trade route from the Cape to Central Africa. (Stead in Pall Mall Gazette as quoted by W.D. Mackenzie in Life of John Mackenzie p. 309)

Liberal-minded, urbane, and even "cold-water engine" as he was.

3. In reporting this intemperance of Lord Derby to the Volksraad, President Paul Kruger ~~said~~ stated "He could not say that the British Government had not been willing to hear them, yet it had been induced to withhold justice from the Deputation by lies and fraud on the part of traitors and intriguers of whom Mr Mackenzie was one. There were officials of Her Majesty whom Her Majesty must ~~believe~~ believe. He said that if Her Majesty really caused an impartial investigation to be made, they would learn the whole truth. At present the (British) Government went on the letters of liars. The Government in general, and Mr Gladstone on particular were influenced by the opinion of the English people to whom they must give account. If it had not been for Mr Mackenzie and the High Commissioner, everything would have been right. These liars had stirred up the people to stand in the way of the Government."

4. I have heard that your intention is that you will come and survey my country, and that you will also take my cattle. You cannot look to me for payment or for farms; I did not hire you. You all know this. I did not interfere with your seeking your payment from the person who hired you as his volunteers. At the same time I warn you to leave my country.

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in Montshiwa's country have never been inspected, surveyed, occupied or improved. Moreover the territory left to ~~Montshiwa~~ the chief Montshiwa by the new Convention is so limited that no portion of it could well be alienated, and you may find yourself obliged to order the ejectment of the persons now trespassing at Rooigrond. In such a case it may happen that prompt and decisive action may be necessary, and should you feel yourself strong enough, you are authorised to take such action as may seem to you to be desirable without delaying for a further reference to me."

Mackenzie went north, and arrived at Taungs (Taungs) on the 30th of April and at once entered into treaty with Mankurwane after explaining to him the nature of the protectorate over his country. From Taung Mackenzie went to Vryburg and with the cooperation of Gert van Niekerk, the "administrator" of Stelland, secured the submission of that state to the British crown. He then visited Moshete at Khunwana to find that the chief was in complete darkness about the moves that determined the destiny of his country in the recent Convention and was now blaming ~~every~~ everybody except himself. From Khunwana, Mackenzie went to Mafeking, where he arrived on the 20th of May. There was great excitement among the Tshidi Barolong at the arrival of their old friend John Mackenzie in his new capacity as a messenger of Queen Victoria to restore order and bring peace to their strife-torn country. The Chief Montshiwa was especially delighted at the prospect of the establishment of the Queen's authority after petitioning for it for so many years and the constant fear of its being snatched by the Transvaal. It is an interesting psychological problem that Montshiwa was happy to lose his independence to the British Government, but was bitterly averse to losing it to the Government of the South African Republic. It was like a choice between drowning in clean water or in dirty water. The end result is the same, namely loss of life.

But Montshiwa had said it many times that he had the greatest confidence in the humanity and justice of the British Government and its representatives, while for the Government of the South African Republic he entertained feelings of distrust and dislike.

Mackenzie first went to Rooigrond to warn the Goshenites ~~that~~ who were still in camp there that the Queen's authority was now extended over Montshiwa's country as defined by the London Convention. He was accompanied by Kebalepile, Montshiwa's eldest son and heir, Stephen Lefenya, the Chief's secretary and the Rev Stuart Franklin, the Wesleyan missionary stationed with Montshiwa.

As Gey van Pittius however declined to meet Mackenzie, the latter ^{returned to Mafeking where he} wrote out a public notice and sent it to him: Public Notice

"To the Europeans now residing on the boundary line between the South African Republic and the Barolong Country at a place known as Rooigrond and to all whom it may concern :

Public notice is hereby given that it has pleased Her Majesty the Queen to establish a protectorate in Bechuanaland and for that purpose among other steps, to enter into a treaty with the chief Montshiwa, by which that chief concedes to Her Majesty jurisdiction and authority over all white people and black people within the Barolong country.

In terms of my commission as Deputy of His Excellency the High Commissioner and in accordance with the treaty now mentioned, I hereby declare the whole of the Barolong country to be under the protection, jurisdiction and authority of Her Majesty the Queen etc (C.4194 .50)

On Thursday the 22nd of May 1884, a treaty was entered into between the Chief Montshiwa and ~~the Rev John Mackenzie~~ Deputy Commissioner John Mackenzie representing Her Majesty's Government, whereby Montshiwa ceded jurisdiction of his country to the Queen's Government. The ceremony was performed in the royal kgotla before a large and excited gathering of tribemen, who applauded the Chief and the commissioner to signify their approval.

After the ~~Chief had made his mark~~ ^{Chief had made his mark} his son ~~Kebalepile~~ treaty had been signed (or marked) by the Chief and his son Kebalepile and his nephew Israel Molema and other princes, Christopher Bethell, Stuart Franklin, Edgar Rowland and J. Mahon attested the signatures. A prayer of Thanksgiving was then offered at the request of the chief, and then Montshiwa's cannon and a volley of musketry was fired to mark the historic occasion and the joy of the people.

The crowd had not yet dispersed when there was a report that the Rooigrond freebooters had gone across the line on the north-east from the direction of Zeerust, and had raided Montshiwa's cattleposts at

Tlapeng taking

1884

Mackenzie

taking hundreds of cattle and sheep. This was an early indication to ~~Montshiwa~~ Montshiwa and his people of the contempt with which the men of Gey van Pittius treated the assumption of a authority over Montshiwa's country by the Queen's Government, and that the chaotic state of affairs reigning in the western Transvaal border ~~had not~~ was likely to continue.

Mackenzie followed these cattle, and made representations to the landdro Otto of Zeerust, and also reported the matter to the British Resident at Pretoria and to the High Commissioner, but no tangible result was ~~not~~ obtained.

From Mafeking Mackenzie travelled westward along the Molopo river and entered into treaties of submission with the Chief Makgobi at Phits-hale, and Chief Bonokwane at Morokweng, and Chief Letlhogile at Ganyesa returning to his station at Kuruman on the 21st of June, to ~~write~~ a detailed report to the High Commissioner.

By Mackenzie's treaties, the whole of the country north of the Cape Colony, west of the Transvaal and east of the 20th ~~degree~~ meridian of east latitude became a British sphere of influence.

In spite of this, the Goshenites attacked Montshiwa on the 13th of June and on the ~~13~~ 20th there was heavy fighting. The Barolong had gone out with their wagons to reap their lands at Dishwaing - Buurmans drift and Lucydale - the reapers being supported by ~~regiments~~ the Madisakgomo, Matsetse and Magodu regiments (24 to 32 years age groups) altogether numbering about 300 men. They were attacked by the Goshenite ~~force~~ and intercepted in their attempt to go to Mafikeng. A sharp engagement ensued and continued from morning till late afternoon, both sides suffering severe casualties. Among the Barolong ~~slain~~ were Chief Montshiwa's son Makgetla, and also his cousins Isaac Mococe and Morwanyane. The Boers lost about half that number.

When the Barolong arrived at Mafikeng in a funereal mood by reason of the death of their prince, Montshiwa upbraided them "Who think you must die for his fatherland if not the princes? Think you that an enemy's bullet or ball respects a king's son, or that a king's son is dearer to his parents than a commoner's to his parents? Away with you and your heaviness of heart: Makgetla has died well because he has died for his country as we must all be prepared to do. So on with the fight for our country and our freedom."

For this attack of the Goshenites on Montshiwa and the consequent loss of life inflicted after the Queen's protection had been proclaimed, ~~then~~ there were feeble remonstrances with the Transvaal Government by the British Resident and the High Commissioner, but these were just so much wasted time and paper. The Goshenites went on undeterred in their intention and activities to seize Montshiwa's country.

Mackenzie left Mafeking at the end of May. As soon as his back was turned there was renewed activity in recruiting for the ranks of "Moshete's volunteers" and on the 24th of June, Gey van Pittius issued a proclamation in the Volkstem in Pretoria to "All true sons of South Africa", inviting them to join the ranks of the Volunteers upon the understanding that they would share in the land booty to be procured, which ~~in~~ with God's help we hope to bring to pass. ~~published a declaration of~~ ~~of "War in the fullest sense against Montshiwa"~~ in the Volkstem a "retort" published in a Pretoria paper Die Volkstem a declaration of "War in the fullest sense against Montshiwa", and invited

When the British Resident complained of this to the Transvaal Government, the latter issued a proclamation "stringently prohibiting anyone from engaging in the hostilities, and ~~enjoining~~ enjoining the Transvaal officials, i.e. fieldcornets and landdrosts to immediately report to the Government all persons contravening the order. ~~But no one~~ ~~heeded~~ formally

On the 25th of June, the High Commissioner notified the Transvaal Government that "a British protectorate had been established over Bechuana land, and a cession of jurisdiction had been accepted from the Chief Montshiwa."

But of course no one took the slightest ~~notice~~ ^{heed} of all these prohibitions and notifications. Hostilities went on just as before and were in fact working up to a climax. ^{on the 10th July} rapidly

July. About this time Montshiwa received news of an alarming nature. Chief Tshupane had been assassinated by his brother Samuel who claimed to be the rightful chief of the Sekake section of the Barolong at Shabana Noko. Montshiwa received the news on Saturday 12th July and was very much cut up.

Tawana

Montshuma Mawumbi, Solere Sere Setaela Thala Notshegane Molomo, Saane Rabedee
 Buke Kibakphi Lekoko Tenge Choko Bhefina Ndlovu, Bafidoo Israel, Anzoo, Randuloo

→ Tshupumane gave his nephew and also son in law, being espoused to Buke-Mantshi
 only daughters by his principal wife, so that in Buke-Tshupumane union Mantshi
 reposed in the chieftainship of Thabakani being reported in the direct line of Tawana
 Montshuma's father and in the Tshupumane-Buke union he cherished the hope
 of an issue which would make the Tshupumane royal line
 and his (Montshuma's) own blood dominant in Thabakani. But
 Buke did not conceive and Tshupumane was now dead. His hope of
 being Thabakani's successor, being Tawana blood, Montshuma's own blood, though
 it would still be Tawana's, was perished.
 It was the middle of July 1881. just when Montshuma was in a desperate
 plight. It was at the climax of his anxiety about his personal
 safety and the survival of his tribe and country. In his
 great disappointment he was precluded from sending his sons
 let alone going himself, to attend the obsequies of Tshupumane at Thabakani

Tawana
 Montshuma Mawumbi, Solere Sere Setaela Thala Notshegane Molomo, Saane Rabedee

On the 31st of July 1884 some 250 Transvaal Boers from Rooigrond raided the Barolong cattleposts at Tlapeng, sixteen miles to the ~~xxx~~ north-west of Mafikeng, and drove away over 3,000 herd of cattle. On return they passed along the west and south of the Barolong town, purposely near enough to be seen, and thereby lure ~~the~~ Montshiwa's people to fight. Sure enough, unable to resist the desire to recapture their cattle, the Barolong at once ~~attax~~ went ~~off~~ out to attack. A severe engagement followed on the Magogwe spruit ~~the~~ miles to the south of the village, ebbed and flowed, now backwards to Magogowe and now forward to the village as the Barolong or the Boers dominated the fight.

In the afternoon a contingent ~~of~~ consisting of burghers from Stellaland and Harts river arrived to assist their kinsmen ~~from Goshen~~ of Goshen or Rooigrond, and turned the scales against the Barolong, who were in any case already short of ammunition. The Barolong were utterly defeated and suffered severe losses in 181 killed and many wounded, while the Goshenites lost only 30 men. This was a decisive battle, wherefore the Tshidi Barolong call it "Tigele" meaning collapse or submergence. The Goshenites and their allies were masters of the field, and ~~later they mopped up small pockets of resistance here and there or forcing their enemy to take to flight, they collected their slain and proceeded with their booty to Rooigrond.~~ There was much weeping and lamentation in the Barolong that night, as one after another the corpses of men who had given their lives for their country and for freedom were carried ~~into~~ home. *This was the most disastrous field of the campaign.*

Among the slain were ^{Nathanael} Walker and Christopher Bethell, two Europeans who had assisted Montshiwa. The circumstances of Bethell's death were unsavoury and led afterwards to much correspondence and bitterness. Says J. Mackenzie "Mr Bethell and Israel Molema, a nephew of Chief Montshiwa and member of the Wesleyan Church among the Barolong prepared to escape together. While doing so, however, Israel's horse was first shot and then he himself was shot through the shoulder. Mr Bethell attempted to lift Israel on his own horse, intending to spring on behind him, but did not succeed in this. Israel was unable to help himself and begged Mr Bethell to leave him and make his escape. While still persisting in his efforts to carry off his companion Bethell was shot in the face. The bullet almost missed him, but entered below one eye which was destroyed, passing out in front of the ear. Thus wounded he fell to the ground and his horse ran away. The first freebooter who came to the place was an Englishman. He recognised Bethell and taunted him with his condition. Bethell asked the Englishman to take him to the camp as a prisoner. This man consented for himself but said he would not answer for the Boers. Then two Boers came up and later taunting Bethell shot him through the head, both firing at him. Israel Molema feigned death successfully while all this took place, and after nightfall made his escape to Mafikeng, where he announced to Mr Wright and to Montshiwa the manner in which Bethell had met his death." (*Austral Africa Vol 1. p 389*) Wright had also opportunities of hearing ample corroboration of the story from Boer sources as it was at this time rather boasted of as an achievement. *This was the most disastrous field of the campaign.*

Two days after the engagement, Commandant J.P. (Kotie) Snyman of Marico, the same who had dictated the peace terms of October 1882, came to Montshiwa to ask for his submission, as it was clear to friend and foe alike that England would not or could not help him. Though torn and bleeding, Montshiwa was, however neither dead nor utterly desponded, and he declined Snyman's proffered hand. The commandant returned to Marico breathing out threatenings and slaughter against Montshiwa and his tribe.

Although Mackenzie had been appointed Deputy Commissioner by Secretary of State Derby at the special request of Sir Hercules Robinson, it was remarkable how completely the latter succumbed to colonial views and prejudices once he returned to South Africa. Mackenzie was now accused of being too partial to the Bechuana, and being a liberal, his attitude to the blacks was disliked, and his policy was steadily undermined by Colonial officials Sir Thomas Upington (Prime Minister), Graham Bower (Colonial Secretary) and Cecil Rhodes who had great influence with the High Commissioner, and ultimately altered the views and sympathies of a personalities never remarkable for stability. Thus almost from the day of Mackenzie's entry into Bechuanaland he was working under a running fire of adverse criticism from his superior officer, Colonial members of parliament, and of course the officials of the Transvaal, whom he had so annoyed at the negotiations of the London Convention,

The news of the raid had been received, and the Basotho were assembled in a detachment or battle muster preparatory to going to dispute the possession of the cattle with the Boers. Mathane Nkwanang the tribal M.O.H and royal magician was still sprinkling the army with his protective infusions, and amulets, and incantations against military accidents, and Mankhase was still giving firm orders when the enemy poured into sight.

→ ^{to the Basotho} the most disastrous field of the campaign

→ and the Basotho call it Tigolo (catastrophe)

→ Dr. Joseph Ruskell was a young Englishman of good birth, noble instincts, and some education. He was courageous, a relation of Sir Charles Warren.

It had been decided jointly by the High Commissioner, and Mackenzie to enrol a force of 200 police to maintain order on the Bechuanaland border and ~~they had~~ Major Stanley Lowe had been appointed to raise and organise this force. This ~~task~~ duty could have been completed in a few days because there were many applicants, but instead, it was made to drag on for weeks and weeks by the intrigues, plots and counter-plots that developed among the leading people with a view

1. To hinder the development of Imperial interests, abrogate the Imperial protection, and remove the Imperial officer from Bechuanaland. Or as Rhodes put it "to eliminate the Imperial factor."
2. To extend colonial interests by increasing the say of Cape Colony and bringing about its annexation of Bechuanaland.
3. To extend the authority of the Transvaal over Bechuanaland, and ~~bring~~ bring about ~~the~~ annexation of that country in spite of the clear terms of the London Convention and the proclamation of British protection.

The contest was at first concealed, and was as two to one in favour of the ~~colonial~~ Cape Colony and Transvaal factors or interests as against the Imperial factor, and after the elimination of the Imperial factor the contest became ~~an~~ ~~straight~~ ~~fight~~ ~~between~~ ~~the~~ one against one, or a straight fight between the Cape Colony and the Transvaal for the possession of the prize.

In these controversies, ~~mysterious moves and double crossings~~, the alignment of forces was (1) John Mackenzie for the Imperial factor against (2) ~~Sir Hercules~~ Cecil Rhodes, Sir Thomas Upington (Prime Minister), and Sir Hercules Robinson (Governor of Cape Colony) ~~and~~ for Cape Colony and (3) President Kruger (and the Transvaal Deputation to the Colonial Office) and Jan Hofmyer (and the Afrikaner Bond) for the Transvaal.

From these controversies, ~~double~~ mysterious moves and double crossings, Sir Hercules Robinson has emerged with his lance and armour rather damaged, as a man of feeble will power, a pliant administrator, or as some one has put it "a lath painted to look like a steel rod," while Rhodes showed the early signs of what was to be his characteristic feature as a man ~~without scruples~~ totally devoid of scruples.

On the 18th of July, the High Commissioner groans and moans that great pressure is brought to bear upon him to remove Mackenzie from his post and on the 30th July, with his mind open to this insidious act, this sabotage, he succumbs to the pressure by recalling Mackenzie under ~~the~~ cover of "wishing him to come down here (to Cape Town) at once to confer with him", while at the same time authorising Rhodes to act as Deputy Commissioner during Mackenzie's absence.

Rhodes shows his political growth & early signs of what was to be his chief characteristic - a man of granite will - totally devoid of scruples

Afrikaner Bond: Hofmeyr - Unionist
new wave of secreted power
awakening of national consciousness
issue of national pride played
Introduction of Imp Govt to govern lands
Govt of Cape objected to
affairs of CC to be handled here & if not done so
ought to come from SA by Cape Govt

Challenged by attacks of Bond by Imp Govt leading to extension of Imp rule in SA
Control of the North Rd
Afrikaner Bond

Colonialism & Hofmeyr - up to the Parliament 1884, Bond, Rhodes, Roberts
The public opinion in Cape
Imperialist
Colonialist
Imperialist

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