



British Bechuanaland 1885-1895

Primary Source Manuscript Letters and Documents Between Indigenous Chiefs And Colonial Administrators

Lot 1: King Khama III.

13 manuscript letters providing a comprehensive account of all matters concerning the governance of Bechuanaland under foreign administration, including tribal conflicts, mining, and trade.

For detailed description and condition, please click the link below:

[Lot 1 - Khama III](#)

Lot 2: Chief Bathoen I.

8 manuscript letters addressing issues of inter-tribal boundary disputes, firearms, liquor trade, cattle sickness and discontentment of revenue management in his country by British legislation.

For detailed description and condition, please click the link below:

[Lot 2 - Bathoen I](#)

Lot 3: Chief Sechele I.

5 manuscript letters dealing largely with the governing roles of chiefs within the reforms of the newly established Colony of British Bechuanaland, one featuring Sechele's rare colonial red wax seal.

For detailed description and condition, please click the link below:

[Lot 3 - Sechele I](#)

Lot 4: Multiple Chiefs led by Sekgoma II.

3 manuscript letters announcing a group of several Botswanan chiefs coming together to confront two others accused of being traitors by granting a concession to one allegedly unscrupulous prospector in Ngamiland.

For detailed description and condition, please click the link below:

[Lot 4 - Multiple Chiefs Against Mining Concession](#)

Lot 5: Seleka and Firearms Trade.

3 documents pertaining to arms and ammunitions importation and trade procedures, and 1 manuscript letter concerning a murder one of Chief Seleka's people.

For detailed description and condition, please click the link below:

[Lot 5 - Seleka II and Firearms](#)



Signed Manuscript Letters
King Khama - Chief of the Bamangwato
Ruling British Bechuanaland 1885-1895
Concerning Tribal Conflicts and Murder
Trade - Mining - Liquor - Arms

Colony of British Bechuanaland: Kanye, Lephephe, Shoshong, Palapye, Mafeking [Mahikeng], Crocodile River Station, Pitsani Potlugu [Pitsana-Potokwe], 1885-1894. Lot of 12 manuscript signed letters, eight of which are from King Khame - Chief of the Bamangwato, and 1 trade document, all concerning various aspects and events relating to the administration of the short-lived colony of British Bechuanaland, featuring discussion on foreign encroachment with respect to hunting, prospecting, and commercial development, as well as tribal conflicts over cattle, a destroyed corn crop which led to a vengeful murder, stolen sheep, tree felling, and a charge of child abduction, in addition to some requests for ammunition and liquor sale permits. Quarto & Octavo, mostly double-leaves varying in size and features, some being watermarked, a few bearing official embossed stamps. 26 pages in manuscript, all documents combined. The smallest leaf (a letter) measures approximately 12,5 x 20 cm; the largest leaves measure approximately 32 x 20,5 cm. Some creasing, otherwise in very good condition, an invaluable primary source archive involving a plethora of historical persons including notable African chiefs and British colonial administrators.

During the late nineteenth century, there was great tension between the people of Botswana and the Ndebele encroaching from the Kalahari; and subsequently between the Botswana and the invading Boer settlers from the Transvaal region (in South Africa). As a result, **Batswana leaders, including King Khama III, requested assistance and protection from the British Government. For this purpose, the Bechuanaland Protectorate was established on 31 March 1885.** It was one of Britain's three "High Commission Territories". The High Commissioner had some of the functions of a governor, but the major tribes were self-governing. The protectorate was not a British possession, therefore was not available for white settlement. **Soon afterwards, 30 September 1885, it was declared a British Territory and thus became the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland.** British Bechuanaland had an area of 51,424 square miles (133,190 km²) and a population of 84,210. **Rather short-lived, the colony existed until its annexation to the neighbouring Cape Colony ten years later on 16 November 1895.** From the time of the establishment of Bechuanaland, for eighty years until 1965, the territory was completely administered from outside, its capital initially being Vryburg (now a town in South Africa), and then moving to what is now Mafikeng. On 30 September 1966, it became the Republic of Botswana, a landlocked country in Southern Africa.

The Bechuanaland Border Police (BBP) was an Imperial unit raised on 4 August 1885 by Lt.-Col. Frederick Carrington of the South Wales Borderers, with a strength of 500 men. Their weaponry included Martini-Henry rifles equipped with bayonets and Maxim automatic machine guns. It is safe to assume that there was anticipation of the region officially becoming a colony of the British Empire, which did occur some six weeks later.

Spanning nearly the entire existence of the relentlessly conflict-affected Colony of British Bechuanaland, the present correspondence and documents are largely centered around the famous and most honourable King Khama III, specifically his rivals, his concerns for his inherited territory, and the involvement of British colonial administration - all being primary source accounts written by key participants of historic events as they were unfolding.

Tirelessly endeavouring to protect his people and grow a thriving nation, eight of the letters come from King Khama III, as he addresses a number of very legitimate concerns, always in a remarkably peaceful and deferential manner while also being assertive in his statements.

Khama III (ca. 1837 - 1923), sometimes seen as Khame, who was the Kgosi (king) of the Bangwato people (approximately 30,000 in number) based at Palapye, perhaps the most renowned of leading chiefs from the days of 'Bechuanaland', was one of the three chiefs who travelled to England for an in-person meeting with Queen Victoria to present his plea for protection against the ever-encroaching diamond magnate Cecil Rhodes who sought control over the chiefs' territories.

Born in 1835 at Mosu near the Boteti River in Bechuanaland, Khama III was the son of King Sekgoma I whose capital had been at Shoshong and who was said to be a powerful sorcerer. His first and brief reign over the people was from 1872-1873, until his father took over for a third period as chief. **Two years later, Khama became king in 1875, after overthrowing his father Sekgoma I, and expelling his brother Kgamane who had been devising clever methods to take the title from his Khama. His ascension came at a time of serious dangers and yet great opportunities, and he would steadfastly hold power until his death.** Ndebele incursions from the north (from what is now Zimbabwe), Boer and "mixed" trekkers from the south, and German forces from the West, all hoped to seize his territory and its hinterlands. **To overcome the threats to his chiefdom, he aligned with the administrative aims of the British, which provided him with protection as well as economic development. And simultaneously, he achieved an ambitious expansion, gaining his own control over a much wider area than any "kgosi" had done before him. He was highly regarded as a peace-loving king who prioritized improvements for the betterment of his people,** such as the founding of schools, scientific cattle-feeding, and the establishment of a mounted police force to suppress crime. This period also saw the arrival of white traders, missionaries and travelers from the south. Shoshong became a major link to the interior where commodities could be obtained and exchanged for money or manufactured goods, in fact becoming the center of ivory and fur hunters and traders moving between Matebeleland, Zambezi, Okavango, the Transvaal Boer republic, and British diamond mines at Kimberley.

In his young adult years, he had converted to Christianity. Missionaries referred to him as Khama the Good or Khama the Great. Khama III had a brother called Khamane. The two, who grew up getting exposed to Christian teachings by an evangelist in Bechuanaland, got baptized in 1860. Khama then went ahead to marry a Christian wife, to the great disapproval of his father who was upholding ancestral beliefs and resisting foreign conversion efforts. Khama's father loathed the fact that others in the capital were beginning to follow in the footsteps of his wayward son. Inspired by his Christian principles, Khama III banned alcohol and polygamy during his reign. He also abolished the payment of bogadi (bride gift), an initiation rite that usually ended with the killing of one of the initiates, and

traditional destroying of one of twin children. Khama III embraced Western education and justice, for example creating a law to protect big game and certain big birds. He empowered his subject chiefs by allowing them to own cattle as private property. For the first time, daughters could also inherit from their fathers. Along the way, the capital Shoshong became divided into two factions Christians and pagans. A few civil wars ensued over the course of time, leading to Khama's request for British protection.

In the 1890s, he learned of a plan by the British government to annex Bechuanaland to the territory of the British South Africa Company. **The Bechuanaland Protectorate was in danger of being forced to join the company under the command of diamond magnate Cecil Rhodes, thus losing the right to self-governance and falling to the exploitative rules of the company.** Highly resistant to this vulnerability, Khama III and two other Bechuanaland Chiefs - Sebele I and Bathoen I, gained support from the British army and missionaries and travelled to England in 1895 to negotiate with the Queen Victoria for freedom of the protectorate.

Khama III and the chiefs were unable to secure an audience with the Queen on their arrival, so they decided to first make a presentation to the British public, with the help of the London Missionary Society, in hopes of winning the people over, which could eventually get them to the Queen. The plan succeeded. **Khama III and the chiefs were subsequently granted a meeting with the Queen and Joseph Chamberlain, then Secretary of the state for the colonies.** The meeting ended in favor of the chiefs and the whole Bechuanaland Protectorate. **Queen Victoria put the country under direct rule of the crown, thus preventing Rhodes from adding it to the British South Africa Company.** The chiefs returned to Africa, their actions and successful negotiations empowering the various peoples of Bechuanaland to stand up against colonizers. From 1900 until his death, Khama III continually clashed with the protectorate administration and the missionaries. He wanted to buy land, while the foreigners invented laws for the protectorate without consultation. Finally, the country would gain independence on 30 September 1966, and his grandson Seretse Khama would be the first President.

Chief Sekhomo - Sekgoma I (circa 1810-1883), Khama III's father, was Kgosi [king] of the Bangwato from 1835-1857, 1859-1866, and 1872-1875. During his interrupted reigns, the Bangwato kingdom emerged as a regional power. In 1875 Khama seized control, and Sekgoma fled to Kweneng. He was allowed to return to Shoshong before his death in 1883.

Five of the letters in the lot are addressed to William Henry Surmon (1835-1900), Assistant Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for Southern Bechuanaland BP [British Protectorate]. He was born in South Africa to one of the early settler blue-collar families, and rose to distinction in colonial leadership.

From 1890-1892 Surmon held this title and responsibility, being based at Mafeking and Fort Gaborone, the latter founded in August 1890. He was seconded from Basutoland June 1890, confirmed as "Assistant Commissioner & Magistrate for Bechuanaland" (Protectorate) by 27 June 1891 Proclamation. On 15 October 1868 in Grahamstown, he had married Elizabeth Shone (1840-1942) of Johannesburg and they would have eight children together before moving north to Bechuanaland for the prestigious appointment in 1890. [Her grandfather is the famous diarist Thomas Shone who vividly portrayed day to day life of the Settlement Community.] In 1880 W.H. Surmon was the magistrate at Mohale's Hoek, where he and a dozen or so white men and a few loyalists had to defend his post gallantly against repeated attacks, once being surrounded by the enemy until on the 4th of October Colonel Southey was sent to his aid with a strong party of yeomen and volunteers, supported by a few Cape

mounted riflemen who succeeded in relieving him, though with a loss of two men killed and ten wounded.

His father William Henry Surmon (Senior), born in London in 1796, was among the early colonists in Grahamstown, emigrating in 1820 with his wife Louisa (née Hatt, born 1796) to South Africa as part of the 4,000 emigrants now known as the "1820 Settlers" who all arrived between April and June. He was a leather currier by occupation, his settler ID being No. 2587. He was awarded 240 acres of land as his share of the original settlement. Their first child died in infancy in England. Their second child, also named William Henry was born 1 April 1820 onboard the Nautilus whilst anchored in Table Bay, on the voyage to Algoa Bay, Grahamstown. William Henry Surmon (Senior) was a member of Rowles' Party of 1820 Settlers and was originally located on the right bank of the Kap river, fairly close to Cuylerville. However, he moved to Grahamstown fairly soon, and is listed in the "Lower Albany Chronicle" as being a cooper in 1833. He was one of the signatories, along with many others requesting assistance for the Settlers and making a statement on conditions in Albany signed on 10th March 1823 in Grahamstown, and addressed to the Colonial Government. [Interesting to note, our William Henry Surmon was the last of ten children, his father dying in 1836, the year after his birth, at the young age of 40. His name in family genealogies is reversed, showing him as Henry William Surmon. The first born of the family, and first namesake of their father, was born in 1818 and died in infancy, before his second birthday. The second child, born in 1820 presumably after his brother's infant death, was also named after their father; he would live until 1866. It is possible that Henry William reversed the use of his name in honour of his father and two brothers.]

Inter-tribal theft was a frequent occurrence, and the disputes described herein contain such intimate details that we learn of the historic relations between the leading indigenous rulers of the day. Consequently, the interactions also provide a glimpse into some moral and ethical beliefs that guided their actions, in some instances culminating in criminal a punitive activity, in other cases peaceful and patient diplomacy.

Specifically, the parties involved are King Khama, Chief Seleka II and his father Kobe, Chief Lentswe of the Bakgatlha, Mpule, and even Khama's own brother Khamane.

From the early years of the colony, a murder is revealed, stated by the offender as a retaliatory act over damaged crops, a dispute between Chief Khama and Chief Seleka II who was with his father Kobe. There are two letters concerning this matter.

18 April 1887, at Shoshong, a letter is written and signed by Lieutenant Bates, relaying a verbal report given from King Khama, addressed to the Officer Commanding B.B. Police [Goold-Adams]: *"The Chief Khama has just reported to me that two of his people belonging to Malchepong have been killed by Silika people. Khama's men were returning from Mangapanes with a woman & child... when they were stopped Silikas people said you are the people that destroyed our corn and immediately killed the two men and the child on the woman's back they then told the woman to go back to Mangapanes. Khama says that he will soon have to send his cattle to his posts on the Crocodile River... afraid that Silika's people will be attacking the herds if the case is not settled... I warned Kobe and Silika that they were to remain quiet until their case had been decided."*

Subsequent to the above, is a brief letter written and signed by Goold-Adams, 26 April 1887 at Mafeking, addressed to the Secretary to H.H. the Administrator of British Bechuanaland [Sir

Shippard]' confirming submission of Bates' report. This being an official correspondence, it bears the Bechuanaland Border Police stamp, as well as being numbered and dated in manuscript.

[Shoshong is a town in Botswana, formerly the chief settlement of the eastern Bamangwato. In 1875, King Sekgoma was overthrown here by his Christian son Khama (later Khama III or Khama the Great). In 1885 (at the time of the declaration of the British protectorate of Bechuanaland) Shoshong had 20,000 to 30,000 inhabitants, including about twenty Europeans. By the 1880s, Shoshong had existed in the same location for forty years, possibly a record for a Tswana town. But it became a 'Desert City', almost waterless with 'one trickling well' and with 'indescribable filth'. Due to the water shortage in 1888/1889, Khama and most of his followers moved to Phalatswe/Old Palapye, 95km (60 miles) N.E. of Shoshong, and later to Serowe to the north-west of Palapye.]

Chief Seleka II, and also his father Kobe:

Kobe was the second son of Chief Seleka I. Upon the chief's death Kobe ruled over a few small tribes (the eldest son had died in youth). In 1858, Kobe decided to take his people back to Ngwapa where the Ba ga Seleka under Kobe and other rulers had intermittently lived in close proximity to the Bamangwato for many years. Intermarriage occurred regularly, but there was also friction between the tribes. When Kobe went to Ngwapa, and his first son Madidimala returned to Lephhalala with a section of the tribe, Seleka II had stayed behind.

When Khama of the Bamangwato began his reign in 1875, Kobe was aged and soon became blind. Kobe's son Seleka II, second in rank for the position as tribal head, who was described as both stubborn and ambitious in nature, became the de facto leader of the Ba ga Seleka. Seleka II was also said to be envious of Khama's powerful position and envisaged the Ba ga Seleka also becoming powerful under his leadership - with the help of the Boers. To this end, he often allowed Boers from across the border to hunt in his territory. Khama found this unacceptable, especially when rumours reached him of Seleka II and a number of Boers plotting against him and his people. In 1886 there were reports of his cattle post being attacked with fire and three of his tribesmen killed. An emissary was sent to Kobe to warn him against such actions and thus a chain of events was set in motion which resulted in a battle, and a defeat for the Ba ga Seleka. Seleka II slipped across the border during the night leaving behind him a destitute Kobe and the scattered remains of his people. Kobe soon followed Seleka II, however, in 1887 the Ba ga Seleka were again settled on the Lephhalala. Kobe died in 1889, two years after the Ba ga Seleka's resettlement on the Lephhalala and Seleka II hence officially became kgosi (chief).

A few short years later King Khama is disputing with tribes over stolen sheep and land use rights - specifically unauthorized felling of trees from his land by other tribesmen.

Dated "Palapye, 4 December 1890," King Khama wrote two letters to W.H. Surmon. In one of these, he reports that someone had stolen eleven of his sheep from a post near Palla Camp, driving them away to follow him. Some of Khama's people caught the guilty party after they had crossed the Notwane River, and learned that he had already sold four of the sheep; two had been slaughtered and eaten; one had died. There were only four remaining, of the eleven stolen. Khama's men were unable to apprehend the thief and the four sheep, but instead commandeered four oxen and gave them to Khama, also reporting the incident to the British Bechuanaland Police force.

In the other letter, Khama is denouncing a claim made by Chief Lentswe [chief of the Bakgatla], the latter stating that Khama requested the return of any poles that were made from the trees cut in his country. Khama states that the claim is false, that he had not been on friendly terms with Lentswe for a number of years, and but rather that he issued a general statement to numerous chiefs including Lentswe, Ikanin [Ikaneng], Gabernone, Batwain [Bathoen], and one other, that anyone passing through his country are welcome to cut trees for wagon repairs but not to cut down Marula trees for making bowls and dishes. Recounting the trust-severing event between Khama and Lentswe, he writes, *"When some of my young men ran away from my town with horses they passed through Lencwe's Town and stayed a little while with him. I sent to ask him to stop the horses. He sent to me the reply that he would stop nothing. This was some years ago and I have not been on friendly terms with Lencwe since his conduct to Sir Sydney Shippard at the meeting about Coping."*

Lentswe [Lentswe I a Kgamanyane, b. 1854/57 - d. 1924] Chief of Bakgatla people [Bakgatla], was the eldest son of chief Kgamanyane, and his successor in 1874. During the Kwena-Bakgatla war of 1882, Lentswe sent many of his men to work at Kimberley for guns and ammunition. This resulted in a steady flow of Bakgatla to European centres of employment. When British control was established in 1885 by way of the Protectorate, peace was restored, and a boundary commission of 1893 confirmed the claim of the Bakgatla to the land they had occupied. By this time the numbers of the tribe had increased considerably. Many of the newcomers were placed by Lentswe in the outlying parts of his territory. In 1889 the chief turned to Christianity, the following year deciding to build a church, break with traditional African religion, and send away two of his three wives. In 1892 he was baptised.

Again 26 months later, Khama presents scenarios of tribal rivalry, including the theft of a firearm and the risk of being killed if the rightful owner were to try and retrieve it as a colonial officer naively suggested. In another instance, he accuses his opponent Mpule [Pula] of child abduction, said child evidently having been delivered to Khama's own brother Khamane. He is also concerned about boundaries and commercial development without his consent. Two separate letters written the same day address these concerns.

Khama explains to Surmon in a letter penned at Palapye, on 13 February 1891:

"I beg to enclose a letter received from Mr. Ernest E. Horman [possibly Harman].... Mr. Horman has simply ignored me as Chief of the country and put up what he calls a temporary store without as much as informing me of his intentions... I had distinctly refused to allow Mr. George Musson to do this very thing until the Government had settled the question of boundaries. "

"I have received your letter of Jan 27 with the copy of despatch from the Government of the Fourth African Republic in reference to the acts of [Chief] 'Mpule. I beg to thank His Excellency Sir Henry Brougham Loch and His Honour Sir Sidney Shippard for the trouble they have taken in this matter..."

It is acknowledged that 'Mpule has stolen property in his possession. But its owners are told they may go and seek it in person from the thief 'Mpule and from Khamane their bitter enemy. That is, my own son-in-law... is to go into the Transvaal to seek from my younger brother Khamane and his younger step-brother 'Mpule the double-barrelled rifle which I bought from W.C. Francis & Clark for £30 thirty pounds, and gave to my son-in-law; and which 'Mpule went to his house and stole in his absence; and which was found in 'Mpule's possession by the Commandant H. P. Malan. At the same time it is recommended that 'provision' be made 'for the prevention of difficulties from which murder and homicide may take place', because matters are in a very unsettled footing between Khama and Khamane.

... Khamane has already crossed over to this side of the River once and murdered a man of position in the tribe... Just as Mr. Grobler did not ever intend to pay his debts, just as Artillery Commandant Henning P. W. Pretorius never intends to pay his debts, just so today the Transvaal Government has no intention that my people should recover their stolen property. It is the wish of that Government that Khamane may remain where he is to steal cattle and do what harm he can and if possible start a war.

... when it was reported to me that sixteen of Khamane's cattle had been found strayed across the River I at once gave orders that the cattle were to be driven across the River at the drift near where Khama has his town, and it was done. The Boers too know that they never have any trouble with me in recovering stray cattle or horses...

*The remark that 'one of the most important Petty Chiefs with Khama went voluntarily with him (Mpule) to Khamane', is absurd. **The boy is a very young boy, much too young to be spoken of as going away voluntarily from his home. He is still a child.** He was taken from the Cattle Post. His mother is broken-hearted about him.*

... Mpule has gone away from his wife, and he took all the valuable property he could lay his hands upon. It is too true that there are other young men who wish to foresake their wives, like Mpule, and take other young women, and who would gladly avail themselves of the opportunity to run off with their fathers property. This is what Khamane encourages them to do. This is what the Boer Government upholds Khamane in encouraging them to do. It is shameful. But there is no remedy. "

'Mpule [Pula], part of the refugee Bamalete tribe from Transvaal. Evidently having the same grandfather as Ikaneng, thereby disputing and claiming the chieftainship as belonging to him, Pula left the tribe December 1891 with approximately half of its members to resettle at Crocodile Pools under his leadership, this according to the "Report of the Assistant Commissioner for the Bechuanaland Protectorate for the Period from the 1st August 1890 to the 31st March 1892" [William Henry Surmon].

Khamane, brother of Chief Khama, son of Sekgoma I. In 1860, both Khamane and Khama III were baptized by Heinrich Schulenburg of the German Hermannsburg Missionary Society, who had been among the Bangwato at Shoshong since 1859. They both fell out with their father, who saw his sons as shunning the traditions of their own people. The London Missionary Society (LMS), which replaced the Hermannsburg in 1862, supported the actions of the two heirs against their father. In spite of this common ground, the two brothers were often at odds, Khamane filled with jealousy and falling back under influence of his father Sekhome (Sekgoma I) in hopes of gaining reign of the tribe. The two, and attempting to overthrow Khama, would eventually be exiled by him instead.

In respecting the systems of protection and justice established by the British, King Khama was writing to Surmon so that the cases would be heard and tried accordingly. The present lot also includes a sworn statement concerning a dispute over cattle.

Dated 11 July 1893, signed by Moffat, it reads in part, as follows:

"I, Khama, make the following declaration. On a certain evening man came to me one Ngnuy [Nguni] people called Modise - and told me that a Colonial boy whom he had known before had come to him to say that he had nine head of cattle, two oxen, four cows, and a bull, all which he said that he had bought from a certain Lekalaka, on the other side of the Tuli River... Two or three days afterwards two

Makalaka arrived... looking for cattle, which they described to me, number as above, and that they were Mashuna cattle... they picked them out quite correctly... I gave the Makalake the cattle and they left with them. They were armed with guns.

King Khama was also frequently discontent with the encroaching activities of foreigners, including some of Britain's early colonial policing members and their hunting practices.

A letter of 26 August 1886 from Khama, written at Lephephe, concerning a dispute over land rights in that region, is addressed to Sir Captain John Goold-Adams, chief of the court. After a respectful introduction and warm plea for hearing his concern, with a firm tone he explains his frustration:

"I Khama speak of my own times, how I got the country inheriting the Kingdom of my Father. I do not speak the words of long ago. I speak about the government of my Father, he came from Moshuu he returned to the hills, as you/yours showed yesterday, your going from Lephephe and returning to the ruins in the country of my Father...

... you have failed to show that you returned to your old ruins... you were a fugitive who had been driven out from his Fathers country he has no true abiding-place where he shall abide and refresh himself with peace his heart resting in it, because the dwelling in this country of Lephephe was not to abide it was flight from war... flying is not abiding.

I Khama did not prepare but... agreed to speak one word only - the word of the Bamangwato... Lephephe was for game only, there was no paper, it was destroyed by the Matabele, there were no cattle.

The first person was Gordon Cumming who was sent by Sekhomo to hunt Lephephe with Molainyone who had Bamangwato. From that time, we have continued to hurt Lephephele, he killed game, he bought cattle, he placed them at Lephephele until the to day. [sic]"

He is referring to Roualeyn George Gordon-Cumming (1820-1866), a Scottish traveller and sportsman, known as the "lion hunter", and again Chief Sekhomo I (Khama's father) who facilitated the hunting. In 1843 Gordon-Cumming joined the Cape Mounted Rifles, but for the sake of absolute freedom sold out at the end of the year and with an ox wagon and a few native followers set out for the interior of Africa. **He hunted chiefly in Bechuanaland and the valley of the Limpopo River, regions then swarming with big game. In 1848 he returned to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.** David Livingstone, who furnished Gordon-Cumming with most of his native guides, considered Gordon-Cumming as "a mad sort of Scotchman" who caused him difficulties. When Gordon-Cumming supplied Setshele, the ruler of the Kwêna people of Botswana, with guns in exchange for ivory, it was Livingstone who was blamed for arming the Africans and in revenge Hendrik Potgieter's followers sacked the Kolobeng mission, taking the African women and children of the mission into slavery

[Lephephe, also known as Lehepe or Lephepe, is a village in Kweneng District of Botswana.]

Khama is also displeased with one well-known Dutch hunter for disrespecting his boundaries, and reports that he apprehended the offender and 'negotiated' a resolution with he and his party, ultimately seizing all hunting trophies and warning them never to return.

Dated 7 October 1886, Crocodile River Station, this altercation comes in the form of a 2-page report concerning a hunting trespass in Chief Khama's territory written by Princep White, Sub-lieutenant of the British Bechuanaland Police, addressed to Colonel Carrington, C.M.G., Commanding Officer of said police force.

From the report:

- "1. The letter to the Chief Khama entrusted to me was duly delivered.*
- 2. The Chief Khama on receipt of dispatches from Mafeking held a council for the purpose of deciding the case in question & came to the following settlement.*
- 3.... Chief Khama would give up all waggons, cattle, guns, ammunitions, & everything belonging to Groonies & the two Dutchmen (Van Zyl and Meiretyas) who had proceeded... into Khama's country... That the Chief would reep all the produce of their effort obtained during their trip, consisting of ostriches, elephant, and...*
- 4. ... Van Zyl... expressed himself entirely satisfied...*
- 5. Chief Khama... informed him that it was owing to having received a dispatch from His Honour the Administrator that he dealt with them as leniently...*
- 6. Van Zyl pleaded ignorance of the boundaries of Khama's country but the chief ignored this, at the same time strongly advising them not to return there."*

The Dutch hunter named "Van Zyl" would be a son (Marthinus and Andrew) of famous Hendrik Matthys van Zyl, who died in 1880, only 6 years before the letter which mentions communications with a "Van Zyl". [Hendrik Matthys van Zyl (a.k.a. van Zijl, 1828-1880) was the first Afrikaner settler in Ghanzi, Botswana. A former politician in Transvaal, he crossed the Kalahari several times and in 1874 set up a small trading enterprise in Ghanzi, where was known for his flamboyant character and extravagant wealth. He got the concession for Ghanzi from Chief Letsholathebe. He shot over 400 elephants, and the ivory from the beasts amounted to over 4 tonnes. With a vast ivory fortune, van Zyl built a two-story mansion with stained glass windows and imported furniture from France, the ruins of which still stand today. To this day, he is a legendary regional figure, and many tales have been written about him.]

Prospecting activities, trade of spirits, arms, and general goods, as well as the development of western style dwellings and stores, were also considerations and points of contention as King Khama balances the tribe's indigenous tradition, with new economic possibilities, and the involvement of a British legal system.

We find in the lot, a brief letter from a John Williams written at Kanye, 27 December 1885, requesting from Shippard, the authorization to sell liquor. Williams, was a resident of Kanye, having been appointed Postal Agent in 1888 and tasked to undertake the sale of stamps, without remuneration, and also to find reliable runners for a post once a fortnight each way, between Kanye and Molepolole.

[By the 1860s, Kanye was prospering as a trading centre for ivory, animal skins, and ostrich feathers. A formal mission was established in 1871, when the London Missionary Society sent a representative. The establishment of the Bechuanaland Protectorate in 1885 and the influx of British colonial police, administrators, and the like, brought the need for Western goods, development, and interest in sport hunting.]

From Palapye, Khama himself writes two letters to W.H. Surmon on 7 January 1891.

One of them indicates his willingness to embrace western-style development, whereby he would earn revenue from homes and shops erected by foreigners. He asks for advice on how to proceed. In the same vein, Khama also mentions the agent of a mining company actively prospecting in Bechualand, questioning his audacity to erect a store without permission.

"My friend, May I ask you if you think £50. a year would be a reasonable sum for me to ask if I give permission to put up houses of accommodation and stores in my country. Also may I ask your assistance in drawing up a suitable document giving guarantee in the matter of drink and obedience to my laws against any pretence to claim rights in [...] property.

I shall write to Mr. Harman to ask him by what authority he has put up his store in my country."

A disagreement between Khama and the notable British firm Messrs Francis & Clark is described in the other, over who is in possession of a substantial load of arms and ammunitions, ultimately bans the owners of the firm from building a home on his land.

"I have received your two letters of Dec. 8.90. with their several enclosures from Messrs Francis & Clark. I can neither acknowledge their claim for loss of £885.16.3 nor can I entertain the application of Mr. W. C. Francis on behalf of himself or his wife to erect a house of any kind at Palla Camp. His Honour Sir Sidney Shippard is well acquainted with the conduct... Upon their wagons turned back at Grobelaar Drift loaded with guns and ammunition for the Chief Lobengula were some of those very goods which I had permitted to be removed by their Mr. Tom Fry...

The goods were never left in my country. Then the 277 boxes of caps Mr. George Musson tells me were found to be simply unusable goods by Messrs G. Kynoch & Co., an no one of the traders would take them at any price...

... I would have been acting justly had I confiscated the property. This I have not done, but I have permitted it to go to its rightful owners.

Messrs W. C. Francis and Clark... had ample time to remove it..."

Mr. 'Horman' referred to in Khama's letter, may be a brother or relation of Mr. Frederick Edwin 'Harman', F.G.S., F.C.S., who was a prospector, the superintendent and agent for the Bechuanaland Exploration Company, Limited, which had been incorporated in 1888 and had secured mineral rights in Bechuanaland. In a subsequent letter Khama refers to the man with his full name Ernest E. Horman (perhaps actually Harman). King Khama had been disputing with F. E. Harman over the territory in which he was digging, though the two gentlemen typically came to amicable agreements. [Details are recorded in the 1891 publication of "Cape Times" Law Reports: A Record of Every Matter Disposed of in the Supreme Court"]. Harman had previously accompanied the 'Pioneer Column' (financed by the British South Africa Company) from Macloutsie in Bechuanaland to Mashonaland in present-day Zimbabwe, from July to September 1890, then being a mining engineer for the BEC. He contributed substantially to a book titled "The Story of Africa and Its Explorers" published in 1893.

[The Bechuanaland Exploration Company's General Manager was Lord Maurice Raymond Gifford, had two of Queen Victoria's sons-in-law as directors, and a well-known stockbroker George Cawston with financial backing from Baron Nathan de Rothschild.]

[Incidentally, four years earlier in 1887, Frank William Frederick Johnson with Maurice Heany and Henry Borrow (ex-members of the BBP) organized a group known as the Northern Gold Fields Exploration syndicate, which won a concession from Chief Khama covering all mineral rights in Bechuanaland. The Tati Concession was an area granted to the Northern Light Company by Lobengula, the Matebele king, which was detached from Matabeleland in 1893 and placed under the jurisdiction of the British Resident Commissioner of Bechuanaland.]

Another brief letter, by an unnamed trader, makes a request for a gun license from the British Government, for shooting medium-sized wild game, but at the same time states that he must first get permission from Chief Mantsiva. This is written 23 May 1892, at Pitsani Pothlugu. [Present-day Pitsana-Potokwe in southernmost Botswana, 80 km south of Kanye, 48 km north of Mahikeng].

The final item in the lot, dated 26 March 1894, an invoice is made at Palapye by the Bechuanaland Trading Association, for balance of funds owing on a contract for the transport of goods (wood?) from Tati to Buluwayo. [Bulawayo is the second largest city in present-day Zimbabwe, and the largest city in the country's Matabeleland region. Lobengula Khumalo ruled the region from Bulawayo until 1893, when the settlement was captured by British South Africa Company soldiers during the First Matabele War. That year, the first white settlers arrived and rebuilt the town.]

Remarkably abundant with historically significant individuals, there are even more notable people involved or mentioned in the correspondence than listed above, these being (in no particular order) as follows:

Reverend John Smith Moffat (1835-1918), Assistant Commissioner to Sir Sidney Shippard in Bechuanaland from 1884 to 1887. He had resigned from the London Missionary Society in 1879 John Moffat to join the British colonial service. From 1887 to 1892 he was a representative of the Chartered Company in Matabeleland (in present-day Zimbabwe) where he was sent by Cecil Rhodes to negotiate a treaty with Lobengula. Rhodes saw benefit in that Moffat was known in Matabeleland, and was also banking on his father's reputation there. [He was the son of the missionary Robert Moffat, who was friends with Mzilikazi, the father of Lobengula, and was also a brother-in-law to the missionary and explorer David Livingstone.] A treaty was indeed made, and it stipulated that Lobengula was not supposed to give any further concessions or enter into any other treaty without approval from the Queen's representative in South Africa. **Lobengula trusted Moffat, and his verbal promise of British protection, just like Khama III ruler of Bechuanaland had received, led to the signing of what became known as the Moffat Treaty on 11 February 1888.**

Later, Moffat discovered the extent of Rhodes' deception of Lobengula and the deceit behind numerous concessions negotiated by Rhodes' British South African Company (BSAC). After the Pioneer Column provoked Lobengula into the First Matabele War, Moffat fell out with Rhodes. In 1893 he exposed the fraud behind the BSAC Bosman Concession in Ngamiland (now the North-West District of Botswana), leading to its abandonment. In 1894, when the BSAC police clashed with warriors of the Bamangwato under King Khama III, Moffat warned that Khama was Rhodes' next victim, but this was dismissed by his boss, Shippard who was Rhodes's agent. In 1895, Bechuanaland was moved to the Cape Government and Moffat retired.

Chief Gaborone (ca. 1825 - 1931), of the Tlokwa tribe of the larger Tswana people. Upon the death of his father around 1880, he became the tribe's chief, being a relatively aged man himself, in his sixties, and secured the Tlokwa's status as the "smallest independent tribal unit" in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Botswana's current capital, Gaborone, was named after him.

Lobengula Khumalo [c.1836 - c.1894], the second and last king (1870-1894) of the Southern African Ndebele (Matabele) nation. From 1870, Lobengula maintained Ndebele power over a huge section of Highveld. He was tolerant of the white hunters who came to Matabeleland; he would even go so far as to punish those of his tribe who threatened the whites. However, when a British team (Francis Thompson, Charles Rudd and Rochfort Maguire) came in 1888 to try to persuade him to grant them the right to dig for minerals in additional parts of his territory, he was wary about entering into

negotiations. A treaty of friendship was signed with the British in February 1888 (the Moffat Treaty) although it was distorted by the British government in order to declare the kingdom a British protectorate. All attention was on the gold in the Ndebele kingdom, and in neighbouring Mashonaland which was invaded and prospected in 1889. Lobengula refused the British South Africa Mining Company access to areas under his control. Leander Starr Jameson, the BSAC administrator induced settlers to join an invading force against Lobengula's Ndebele kingdom in September 1893 with promises of gold claims, land, and cattle. Faced with this attack as well as a simultaneous invasion by British imperial forces from the south, Lobengula burned his capital, Bulawayo, annihilated a column sent to capture him, and disappeared in the direction of the Zambezi River.

Bathoen I (1845-1910) [Bathoeñ, Chief of Bañwaketse], a kgosi (paramount chief) of the Ngwaketse [Bangwaketse] people (1889-1910), who, together with Khama III and Sebele I, is credited with saving the young British Bechuanaland Protectorate, a predecessor of Botswana, from being absorbed by expansionist forces in the 1890s. Born at Tswaaneng, southern Gangwaketse, in present-day Botswana, he is the eldest son of Kgosi Gaseitsiwe and his senior wife, and heir to the Bangwaketse chieftaincy. As the son of Kgosi, he was leader of the Maisantwa regiment before he himself became ruler. He learned to read and write at a London Missionary Society mission (LMS) school. In 1895, he was one of the three chiefs (two aforementioned) from Bechuanaland who went to England, to enlist support for their campaign to protect their tribal lands from colonial expansion. They were supported by the London Missionary Society and the Temperance Movement. He died at age 65 and his son, Seepapitso Gaseitsiwe (1884-1916), peacefully took over the chieftainship.

Chief Ikaneng of Ramoutsa, in the Bamalete [Bamaliti] region, some seventy miles from Mafeking. Known as Ikaneng a Mokgôsi, he was a minor chief under Bathoen. Unlike other Batswana chiefs, he was friendly towards the Indian traders. In 1893 Ramoutsa had a population of approximately 7,000 natives of the Transvaal, Ikaneng and his people being fugitives who were permitted by Kgosi Gaseitsiwe a Tshosa, father of Bathoen I, to settle on his eastern border. He died circa 1896. [His name is occasionally seen as Ikanin in the present letters.]

Sir Sidney Godolphin Alexander Shippard K.C.M.G.; D.C.L.; M.A.; F.R.G.S.; (1837-1902), sometimes seen as Sidney Sheppard), a British barrister and colonial administrator who served as Deputy High Commissioner and Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland for ten years. He became a barrister-at-law in 1867, and rose up to the prestigious appointment of Attorney-General of Griqualand West, in 1873, serving in this capacity until 1877. He was also Acting Recorder of the High Court of Griqualand in 1877. From 1880-1885 he was Judge of Supreme Court of Cape Colony, and in this last year, from 1884-1885 he also served as British Commissioner on the Angra Pequena a West Coast Claims (Anglo-German) Commission. **From 1885-1895 his many titles and areas of responsibilities while governing Bechuanaland included "Administrator, Chief Magistrate, and President of Land Commission for British Bechuanaland; Deputy High Commissioner and Resident Commissioner for the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Kalahari."** From his first establishment in Bechuanaland he kept up a friendly correspondence with the Matabele king Lobengula, with the objective of attracting him to the British cause. After extensive negotiations between King Lobengula and Cecil Rhodes Charles Rudd, on 30 October 1888 King Lobengula granted a written concession for exclusive mining rights to Charles Rudd, James Rochfort Maguire and Francis Thompson, three agents of Cecil Rhodes. Shippard was then freer to devote himself to the special interests of Bechuanaland, which he governed with conspicuous success.

Colonel [later Lieutenant General] Sir Frederick Carrington, KCB, KCMG (1844-1913), a British soldier and friend of Cecil Rhodes, more notably the first Commanding Officer of the Bechuanaland Border Police. In 1885, he accompanied Sir Charles Warren's expedition to Bechuanaland in command of the 2nd Mounted Infantry, which soon became known as 'Carrington's Horse'. [The BBP was a semi-military mounted police force formed at Barkly West in August 1885 under Col. Carrington, raised with a strength of 500 including an artillery troop. Members comprised on the 100 existing local police, members of the Regular Army, Warren's three disbanded units, and some formerly from the Cape Mounted Riflemen. They wore brown corduroy, and later khaki drill uniforms, with slouch hats with a white pagri and blue puttees. They carried the Martini-Henry rifle and bayonet. They policed the areas which are now known as Zimbabwe, and Botswana. Besides carrying out police duties and assisting with Postal Services, the BBP also saw action in the 1893 Matabeleland War as part of the Shangani Patrol, being the first Imperial troops to use the Maxim automatic machine gun in action.]

Carrington was also Special Commissioner of British Bechuanaland Protectorate, for a short time, being appointed on 24 September 1885, only to see the Bechuanaland Protectorate be divided into 30 September 1885 into British Bechuanaland Crown Colony (south) and Bechuanaland Protectorate (north). At this time, he was appointed the same title for the British Bechuanaland Crown Colony. **He held this role until 23 October 1885 when the Administrator position was created and Sir Sidney Godolphin Alexander Shippard was assigned to hold the seat.**

In 1893, Carrington was appointed military adviser to the High Commissioner in the First Matabele War, being succeeded in the command of the BBP by Goold-Adams. In 1896, he acquired fame by commanding the immense British force that suppressed the Matabele Rebellion (the Second Matabele War).

Sir Hamilton John Goold-Adams, GCMG, CB (1858-1920), an Irish soldier and colonial administrator who was commissioned in the Royal Scots Regiment, serving principally in southern Africa, where he achieved the rank of captain in 1885 and major in 1895, leading many expeditions into the interior. In October 1893 during the Matabeleland War, he was selected for special service with the rank of as Lieut-Colonel, to lead a large military combined 'Southern Column' composed of 220 members of the BBP as well as 235 volunteers of Raaff's Rangers, seeing action at Bulawayo, and being the first Imperial troops to use the Maxim automatic machine gun in action. **During the Second Boer War he served first as Resident Commissioner in Bechuanaland,** afterwards as commander of the Town Guard during the latter half of the Siege of Mafeking where he was twice mentioned in despatches. He was appointed Deputy Commissioner of the Orange River Colony under the Administrator Sir Alfred Milner (later Lord Milner) in January 1901. Following the end of hostilities in May 1902, the colony formally received a new constitution on 23 June, and Goold-Adams was appointed Lieutenant-Governor, serving as such until 1907, when he became governor. He also served as Governor of Queensland from 1915 to 1920. Initially serving as a military officer in the India, Ireland, Malta and the West Indies, **Goold-Adams rose to distinction in the British imperial administration after serving in Bechuanaland and in the South African War. He subsequently became Governor of the Orange River Colony (1901-1907), High Commissioner of Cyprus (1911-1914), and Governor of Queensland (1915-1919).**

Adjutant A. Bates, Officer Commanding B.B. Police, who would be appointed Captain of "K" Troop, 1 July 1890.

Artillery Commandant (Later Lt.-Col.) Henning P. N. Pretorius (1844-1897) who gained distinction during the Battle of Elandsfontein on 11 January 1881, First Boer War (Transvaal War of Independence). In 1883 he participated in the military expedition against Nyabêla [Niabel], chief of the Ndzundza-Ndebele, and in 1894 in the Maleboch War. On 15 February 1896 he was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, and during a time of leave the following year he passed away.

Sir Henry Brougham Henry Brougham Loch, 1st Baron Loch, GCB, GCMG, PC (1827-1900), a British soldier and colonial administrator. In June 1889 he succeeded Sir Hercules Robinson as Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for Southern Africa. As a supporter of Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company (BSAC), he was involved in the First Matabele War of 1893. Permission was then given by Sir Henry Loch for his Salisbury and Victoria Columns to begin their march on Matabeleland, and Raaff's Transvaal Rangers were ordered to liaise with the British Bechuanaland Police (BBP). Major Hamilton Goold-Adams of the BBP was gazetted for special service with the local rank of Lieut-Colonel in command of the combined column with the BBP.

Mr. [Pieter] Grobler, a Boer trader in Nkosi Lobengula's Amandebele Kingdom (Matabeleland), where he also served as the consul for President Paul Kruger's South African (Transvaal) Republic. On 30 July 1887, he successfully renegotiated a friendship treaty between the Transvaal Boers and the Amandebele. Cecil Rhodes objected to Grobler's activities as he was plotting to extend his control, over Zimbabwe and Bangwato Kgosi Khama III, the latter whom was contesting Lobengula over control of the land lying between the Motloutse and Shashi Rivers. On 8 July 1888, when Grobler and some other Boers passed through the disputed territory, returning from Matabeleland, they **encountered a Bangwato patrol under Khama's brother Mokhutswane at Bains Drift on the Limpopo River. A firefight broke out when the Bangwato attempted to prevent the Boers from crossing. Grobler was hit in the leg during the encounter, resulting in his death sixteen days later.**

Commandant H.P. Malan, who in June 1885 was one of thirteen electoral candidates for the post of Commandant General of the South African Republic. Piet Joubert, his father-in-law, took the seat by a landslide majority.

George Musson, a Shoshong trader, having a store and smithery in joint partnership with his brother Alfred. In 1882, George established an independent trading company, inviting his brother to join in the venture, and so, called the firm Musson Brothers (Traders, Transport Riders and General Agents). Alfred Musson (1851-1938) having arrived in the Shoshong valley in June 1873, he was employed as a forwarding agent by the biggest Shoshong firm, Francis & Clarke, until then, and had gained considerable knowledge of the people and the area. In 1889 the brothers undertook the delivery of arms and ammunition destined for King Lobengula from Shoshong to Tati. From there **George delivered weapons to Lobengula at his kraal in Matabeleland** (See Tabler 1966: 121). In 1889-1890 Alfred moved to Mafikeng. George remained in Bechuanaland and continued his trade business.

Messrs G. Kynoch & Co. - an ammunition manufacturer. In 1887 they had a contract with the British Government to supply firearms cartridges. [The firm had begun as Pursall and Phillips operated a 'percussion cap manufactory' at Whittall Street, in Birmingham, in the mid-19th century. In 1856, Scottish entrepreneur George Kynoch (1834-1891) joined the company, and in 1863, he took ownership and renamed it G. Kynoch and Co..] Popularly known as the Lion Works, contracts were quickly secured to supply ammunition to the British and Turkish Governments. A company renowned for the exceptional quality of their products, at one time it supplied practically every major gun and rifle maker in Britain. In 1884 George Kynoch's interests were bought out and he was simply employed

as Managing Director. The firm manufactured, among other things, Martini-Henry cartridges (solid case .577/.450 GK = George Kynoch) between 1884 and the Anglo-Boer War. The Martini-Henry is a breech-loading single-shot rifle with a lever action that was used by the British Army and the British Bechuanaland Police Force.

The firm of Francis and Clarke, established at Shoshong in 1872, described as the most important business there in the 1870's, also having a store at Grahamstown, owned by trader William Curle Francis and Richard Clarke (1833 - c.1873). Francis had travelled from Grahamstown in 1864 with Chapman into the interior, and by 1870 was living in Shoshong from where he made trading trips into Matabeleland. Clarke, originally from Grahamstown, traded to the Matabele country in 1854, 1866 and 1867. **Together, they traded for fifteen years in ivory, ostrich feathers and karosses. Some say that they were expelled in 1887 by Khama III for trading in liquor, however one of the present letters suggests that they were still operating in the region in 1891. They must have made some amends with the powerful chief, but it is clear by Khama's remarks that they would not fully gain his favour.**

Thomas Fry, an independent trader based at Shoshong from about 1875. He frequently used the Western Old Lake Route from Shoshong to Nwasha pan and Pandamatenga. He was a known hunter from 1875 to 1886, being at Pandamatenga in August 1877, and again in 1886, the latter being an expedition with a wagon load of goods to barter, which killed almost all his cattle on the return journey. He was still trading at Shoshong in 1909, and died during the East African Campaign during WWI.



**Chief Bathoëñ - Ruler of the Ngwaketse
Signed Manuscript Letters
In His Own Language
Boundary Disputes - Firearms - Trade
Colony of Bechuanaland 1889 - 1895**

Colony of British Bechuanaland: Kanye, Gaborone, Gamashupa [Moshupa], 15 January 1889 - 13 March 1895. Lot of 8 manuscript letters, five of which are from King Bathoëñ, all of which he wrote in his own language and are accompanied by a translation by a notable colonial individual, the content of the lot largely concerning boundary disputes and other points of contention Bathoëñ has with Chief Montshiwa, and also bringing up matters of firearms and liquor trade. Five of the letters are addressed to Assistant Commissioner William Henry Surmon, the other three are addressed to other British leaders. Quarto & Octavo, mostly double-leafs varying in size and features, some being watermarked, two bearing official embossed stamps. 23 pages in manuscript, all documents combined. One letter splitting at center fold, occasional chips to extremities, otherwise in very good condition, exceedingly scarce primary source manuscript correspondence from a paramount chief of historic Botswana in his own language.

During the late nineteenth century, there was great tension between the people of Botswana and the Ndebele encroaching from the Kalahari; and subsequently between the Botswana and the invading Boer settlers from the Transvaal region (in South Africa). As a result, **Batswana leaders, including Bathoëñ, requested assistance and protection from the British Government. For this purpose, the Bechuanaland Protectorate was established on 31 March 1885.** It was one of Britain's three "High Commission Territories". The High Commissioner had some of the functions of a governor, but the major tribes were self-governing. The protectorate was not a British possession, therefore was not available for white settlement. **Soon afterwards, 30 September 1885, it was declared a British Territory and thus became the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland.** British Bechuanaland had an area of 51,424 square miles (133,190 km²) and a population of 84,210. **Rather short-lived, the colony existed until its annexation to the neighbouring Cape Colony ten years later on 16 November 1895.** From the time of the establishment of Bechuanaland, for eighty years until 1965, the territory was completely administered from outside, its capital initially being Vryburg (now a town in South Africa), and then moving to what is now Mafikeng. On 30 September 1966, it became the Republic of Botswana, a landlocked country in Southern Africa.

The present correspondence reveals Chief Bathoëñ's primary concerns and requests for his chieftom, which include such things as other tribes encroaching on his land - particularly Chief Montshiwa, inappropriate over-stepping by a representative of a foreign mining company, land use issues, African cattle getting ill from exposure to foreigners' livestock, mismanagement of revenue in his country by British legislation, the importation of firearms and the grave consequences of the liquor trade. Exceedingly scarce, these are primary source accounts written by key participants of historic events as they were taking place.

Bathoen I (1845-1910) [Bathoeñ, Chief of Bañwaketse], was a kgosi (paramount chief) of the Ngwaketse (Bangwaketse) people from July 1889, most notable in the history of Bechuanaland as being one of the three chiefs who went to England in 1895 to petition for the freedom of Bechuanaland, specifically for protection against Cecil Rhodes' exploitative measures and the potential loss of self-governance. Together with Khama III and Sebele I he is credited with saving the young British Bechuanaland Protectorate from being absorbed by expansionist forces.

An avid hunter, he was affectionately known as RraLesego which means "lucky". He was the son of kgosi (king) Gaseitsiwe, and thus became leader of the Maisantwa regiment, and inheriting the chieftdom upon his father's death in 1889. He married Gagoawgwe, the one-eyed daughter of chief Sechele I and brother of Sebele I who he would later travel to England with. At the dawn of colonial rule over Bechuanaland, he played an important part, as a mediator among diKgosi, during the establishment of the protectorate.

Bathoen I was instrumental and very active in limiting colonial interference and over-reach, which culminated in the journey abroad to meet with the queen. In the 1890s, the Bechuanaland Protectorate was in danger of being forced to join the company under the command of diamond magnate Cecil Rhodes, thus losing the right to self-governance and falling to the exploitative rules of the company. Khama III had specifically learned of a plan by the British government to annex Bechuanaland to the territory of the British South Africa Company. Highly resistant to this vulnerability, three chiefs banded together to protest, Khama III, Bathoen I, and Sebele I. They gained support from the British army and missionaries, and travelled together to England in 1895 to negotiate with the Queen Victoria for freedom of the protectorate.

Upon their arrival, the chiefs were unable to secure an audience with the Queen, so they decided to first make a presentation to the British public, with the help of the London Missionary Society, being welcomed to speak at Mechanics' Institute [Now Marlborough Hall] on in Crossley Street in Halifax, Yorkshire. They hoped that in winning the people over, they would eventually get the attention and an audience with the Queen. A clever plan, it succeeded. **The chiefs were subsequently granted a meeting with the Queen and Joseph Chamberlain, then Secretary of the state for the colonies. The meeting ended in favor of the chiefs and the whole Bechuanaland Protectorate. Queen Victoria put the country under direct rule of the crown, thus preventing Rhodes from adding it to the British South Africa Company.** The chiefs returned to Africa, their actions and successful negotiations empowering the various peoples of Bechuanaland to stand up against colonizers.

Within the BaNgwaketse Reserve, he was the principal supporter of Christianity, and abolished many traditional customs, most notably 'bogwera', the ceremonial rite of passage of a boy into manhood. He established the LMS as the national church. In 1902, in collaboration with LMS, he imposed an educational levy, which led to the formation of one of the first school committees in the Protectorate.

Later, he resisted British attempts to demarcate boundaries in the Southern Protectorate. And in 1908, he led protests by the Tswana against planned incorporation of Bechuanaland into South Africa. He died two years later at age 55, which was then considered old age. He died in old age. **His son, named after his father, was Seepapitso Gaseitsiwe (1884-1916), who peacefully took over the chieftainship and continued the family succession.** History shows continued clashes with colonial administrator, and finally, the country gained independence on 30 September 1966.

Chief Montshiwa (1815-1896) was a Barolong chief from 1849. [His name is sometimes seen as Montsiowa in colonial documents.] The Barolong Boo Ratshidi established their chieftaincy in the area with their capital in Mafikeng (Mahikeng: Ba Rolong pronunciation). During the nineteenth century the expanding Voortrekkers and the establishment of the Zuid Afrikansche Republic in western Transvaal became a threat to Barolong boo Ratshidi autonomy. As a result, **Chief Montshiwa of the Barolong Boo Ratshidi requested British protection. On the 22 May 1884, in Mafikeng, Chief Montshiwa signed a treaty ceding his sovereignty to the British. Soon afterwards the British government established a garrison in town.**

In five letters written by Chief Bathoen himself, one from secondary chief, and two from Assistant Commissioner William Henry Surmon, much detail about the state of British Bechuanaland and its many tribes co-existing under the umbrella of foreign influence and protection.

The earliest correspondence is a response to a requested meeting with the colony's administrator, the chief essentially affirming his allegiance to Chief Bathoen. Dated Gamashiepa [Moshupa], 15 January 1889, this brief letter is from Chief Tilann, replying to Sir Shippard, saying that he will attend the proposed meeting only if the head chief Bathoen of Kanya attends. It is the English translation or transcript of the chief's words.

Bathoen and firearms acquisition:

Dated 24 January 1891, Kanye, is a letter from "Bathoen, Chief of Bañwaketse" in his own language signed in his hand, addressed to Mr. Surmon, as "Lo Chief Surmon", **requesting firearms** via a man named C. Riley. It is accompanied by a manuscript translation, possibly translated by Mr. Charles Riley himself, who was a trader and later also went into law. **Most interesting, is that Bathoen, although a paramount chief, is not requesting a direct purchase from the British administrators, but rather an indirect acquisition through a trader,** which begs the question of possible procedures imposed or simply a friendly allegiance. He writes, *"... I wish to have the opportunity of purchasing Guns in my town seeing that Game is still to be obtained. I ask therefore that you will give Mr. C. Riley permission to obtain 100 (one hundred) that I may be able to purchase from him..."*

Bathoen and tribal boundary disputes, with moderation from British administrators:

A letter from Bathoen one month later, again in his own language and signed in his hand, together with a manuscript translation, reveals threats from invading Boer tribes, while asserting the traditional boundaries in the land. He lays out the original boundary, then describes the incessant invasion attempts of the Boers who were claiming territory from the Bangwaketse and attacking them. He brings forth the results of a recent boundary meeting hosted by the British administration at Bloemhof, where the Bangwaketse, the Barolong, the Boers and the English were all present, as it appears that some parties, presumably the Boers, were disputing the boundaries agreed upon by the groups indigenous to the region.

On 20 February 1891 at Kanye, he writes to Mr. Surmon, addressing him with his proper title, H.M.'s Assist. Commissioner Brit. Bechuanaland,

"Your letter has arrived which declares that I am to prepare the evidence concerning the boundary... our boundary and that of the Barolong formerly was the Molopo, viz. the river itself. But when Chief Gaseitsiwe & the Chief Montshiwa were already ruling in these countries, there arose a disagreement

*in their countries. **The Boers said that they would take from the Bangwaketse their country; but they (Bangwaketse) refused. The Boers continued trying to take their country from them by force... the Bangwaketse... told the English at the Bloemhof meeting....***
*When the Chief Gaseitsiwe and the Chief Montshiwa returned home, we heard them say 'The Ramathlabama is the boundary'... they told all the people... **Those words were written at the Bloemhof Award by Mr. Keate with the consent of all...*** [The Ramathlabama is a tributary, often described as a spruit, of the Molopo River, its course flowing into the Orange River.]

The meeting referenced by Bathoen, involving multiple Botswana chiefs and the Boers, took place in 1871 and was arbitrated by Robert William Keate, Lieutenant-Governor of Natal, to settle boundary issues between the South Africa Republic and the Batlapin, Barolong, and Bangoakietse native tribes. The territories on the Vaal River were clearly charted and agreed upon by all parties.

Keates' award placed Montshiwa's territory outside the limits of the Transvaal. This latest attempt of the Boers to gain possession of Bechuanaland having failed, T. F. Burgers, the president of the Transvaal in 1872, endeavoured to replace Montshiwa as chief of the Barolong by Moshette, whom he declared to be the rightful ruler and paramount chief of that people.

The Boers remained relentless in their efforts, both crafty and aggressive. The attacks of the Boers at length became so unbearable that in 1874 Montshiwa made a request to the British authorities to be taken under their protection. In formulating this appeal he declared that when the Boers were at war with Mosilikatze, chief of the Matabele, he had aided them on the solemn understanding that they were to respect his boundaries. This promise they had broken. Khama III, chief of the Bamangwato in northern Bechuanaland, wrote in August 1876 to Sir Henry Barkly making an appeal similar to that sent by the Barolong. In the mid-1870s, in fact several chiefs of Bechuanaland requested British protection.

At this time the British, wearied of South African troubles, were disinclined to respond to native appeals for help. Consequently the Boers proceeded without let or hindrance with their conquest and annexation of territory. In 1882 they set up the republic of Stellaland, with Vryburg as its capital, and forthwith proceeded to set up the republic of Goshen, farther north, in spite of the protests of Montshiwa, and established a small town called Rooi Grond as capital. They then summoned Montshiwa to quit the territory. The efforts of the British authorities at this period (1882-1883) to bring about a satisfactory settlement were feeble and futile, thus fighting continued until peace was made entirely on Boer lines. The Transvaal government was to have supreme power, and to be the final arbiter in case of future quarrels arising among the native chiefs. This agreement, having no reference to the British government, was a breach of the Pretoria convention, and led to an intimation on the part of Great Britain that she could not recognize the new republics. In South Africa, as well as in England, strong feeling was aroused by this act of aggression. **Unless steps were taken at once, the whole of Bechuanaland might be permanently lost, while German territory on the west might readily be extended to join with that of the Boers.**

In the London convention of February 1884, conceded by Lord Derby in response to the overtures of Boer delegates, the Transvaal boundaries were again defined, part of eastern Bechuanaland being included in Boer territory. In spite of the convention, the Boers remained in Stellaland and Goshen - which were west of the new Transvaal frontier, and in April 1884 the Reverend John Mackenzie, who had succeeded Livingstone, was sent to the country to arrange matters. He found very little difficulty in negotiating with the various Bechuana chiefs, but with the Boers he was not so

successful. In Goshen the Boers defied his authority, while in Stellaland only a half-hearted acceptance of it was given.

Indignant protest in Cape Town and throughout South Africa, as well as England, led to the despatching in October 1884 of the Warren expedition, which was sent out by the British government to remove the filibusters, to bring about peace in the country, and to hold it until further measures were decided upon. Sir Charles Warren's force of 4000 strong reached the Vaal river in January 1885, and without firing a single shot, broke up the republics of Stellaland and Goshen. Bechuanaland was formally taken under British protection on 30th of September 1885, and the sphere of British influence was declared to extend to the eastern limit of German South-West Africa. That portion lying to the south of the Molopo river was described as British Bechuanaland, and was constituted a crown colony.

As seen by the present correspondence, the tenacious Boers continued incessantly to persist and invade, even twenty years after the 1871 meeting which had settled the boundaries. In 1890, the northern frontier of the protectorate was extended to its present boundaries, and, alas on 9 May 1891 the whole of it was placed under the administration of the High Commissioner for South Africa, who started to appoint officials in Bechuanaland. In 1895 the British South Africa Company attempted to officially acquire the area, but the Tswana chiefs Bathoen I, Khama III and Sebele I visited London to protest and were successful in defending their land.

Bathoen on tribal boundary dispute resolutions, and the devastating impact of liquor being brought into his country:

On 13 October 1891, Bathoen confirms his content with favourable action on a previous boundary dispute, in that instance Chief Montshiwa attempting to take his land, then expresses ongoing desire for resolve with Chief Montshiwa who is also encroaching. He requests a trial hearing for the case with Montshiwa. He also made a strong statement objecting the importation of foreign liquor. He signs this letter as "B. Gaseitsiwe."

[Kanye] letter from "Bathoen, Chief of Bañwaketse" in his own language and signed in his hand, to Mr. Surmon, with integral translation.

"I was glad to receive your letter relating to my contention with the Bahurutse & rejoiced in the decision at which you arrived. I shall be glad if you will forward this letter to His Excellency Sir H. Loch as an appreciation of my thanks.

... difficulty with Montshiwa... The piece of country Montshiwa wishes to take from me, is mine just as certainly as the piece [chief] Gopane has been striving to obtain. I shall be greatly obliged if you can call a "Pitso" and hear our case... It is the land of Bangwaketse.

... Again Montshiwa has placed a white man at Philsane pohokwe who has opened a shop there & is destroying my people with Brandy & I can [not] do anything to prevent it so long as the case is under arbitration. I ask for a speedy reply that this matter may be settled before the plowing time.

... Our contention with Gopane was made more serious through his having been allowed to plow, we had two points in dispute, the land and the gardens."

(king) Gaseitsiwe also expressed displeasure with respect to the use of his land, specifically with Montshiwa, and also with British administrators for not responding fast enough. In a letter addressed to Mr. John Moffat, former Assistant Commissioner to Sir Sidney Shippard in Bechuanaland (1884-1887), he describes his discontent and his expectations. At the time of receiving the correspondence, Moffat was a representative of a Chartered Company in Matabeleland.

Gaseitsiwe's letter is written in his own language, signed by him, and accompanied by a manuscript translation by Moffat as he forwarded the concerns to William Henry Surmon, Assistant Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for the Southern Bechuanaland British Protectorate, to which he adds his own annotation stating that he will reply to the Chief upon getting a response.

Dated 8 January 1892, Kanye, Moffat translated and forwarded the letter from Vryburg, which reads in part as follows:

"... I am still well under the keeping of Gov. but I am living among affairs affecting my land which give me no sleep... I have been telling the Government & the White people that I am not happy. I am at issue with Montshiwa about my land & I have said to the White people: If Montshiwa carries on his work in the land that belongs to me, I am not consenting. You have tied my hands saying that I must not do any harm to Montshiwa. Why do you say this?

... Again at Ramokwa the white people to whom my father gave leave to dig for gold are forbidden to do by Ikaneng. And the white people agree with him and say that they must pay Ikaneng, before they dig for gold. And now Ikaneng is receiving money on account of my land, I not consenting."

At the time of this communication, Moffat was cooperating with Cecil Rhodes. In fact two years earlier Rhodes had sent Moffat to Bechuanaland to negotiate a territorial agreement with Chief Lobengula. Fully trusting of Moffat, and his verbal promise of British protection, on 11 February 1888 Lobengula signed what would become known as the Moffat Treaty. **A few years later Moffat's eyes would be opened to the Rhodes' deception and corruption.** After the Pioneer Column provoked Lobengula into the First Matabele War, Moffat fell out with Rhodes entirely. **In 1893, only one year after the present letter, Moffat exposed the fraud behind the BSAC Bosman Concession in Ngamiland (now the North-West District of Botswana), leading to its abandonment.**

On 8 March 1892, Bathoen addresses a new problem, petitioning Assistant Commissioner Surmon for a road closure, due to cattle sickness.

This letter is again in his own language, signed in his hand as Bathoëñ Gaseitsiwe, with integral translation penned on the same double leaf.

Essentially a land use concern, he reports as follows:

"I write to you about the road going to the West of me in the direction of Tawana & Tlamma. This road (kgosi) I wish to close, it brings lung sickness to my cattle; as the white men bring along all kinds of cattle, and mine & those of my people are all in these parts, and they are 'unsalted'.

If you hear that Bathoen has stopped any person going along it, you will understand it is from my fear of lung sickness.

If it be asked by which path can they travel I say by the old path as I have not thrown open my private road."

Two manuscript letters, correspondence between British colonial administrators, pertain to a legal dispute over land use protected by lease rights, in which one of Chief Ikaneng's family members was accused of taking wood from the land without authorization. The claimant was an administrator of a mining company, he taking the law into his own hands by in turn seizing two heads of the man's cattle.

Date: 6 March 1895, Gaborone [Gaborone]

To: Mr. Newton [Acting Administrator & Chief Magistrate British Bechuanaland]

From: W. H. Surmon [Assistant Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for Southern Bechuanaland]

*"I do not think there is any actual necessity for Mr. Ward to appear 'pro-Deo' at **the hearing case between Ikaneng and Smith**, but if he could conveniently come up and conduct the Plaintiff's case I would be very glad... Smith has most likely taken the present step... in asserting the rights claimed under the lease by the Company and probably with a view to further proceedings should he be sued and judgment given against him.*

It appears that the two cattle, which were seized are not actually Ikanengs but that they are the property of his men named Molapisi...

He and his nephew were returning to Ramoutsa with two waggons one of which was loaded with wood obtained on the land leased by the Kanya Company when the two natives in Smith's employ came up to them and said they had been instructed by Smith to take the waggon and oxen to Kanya because they were removing the wood from his ground. Molapisi refused... They then went to the post, seized two of his cows...

I saw Ikaneng yesterday he does not seem inclined to become responsible for the payment of any fee but seems to look to the Govt to see justice done... Molapisi himself said he was willing to pay."

[The Kanya Exploration Company, Limited, was leasing land.]

Date: 13 March 1895, Gaborone [Gaborone]

To: Mr. Ward [Barrister at law and Advocate for the Supreme Court]

From: W. H. Surmon [Assistant Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for Southern Bechuanaland]

Ward provides a situational update pertaining to the same case discussed in the previous letter, *"My messenger ... only returned from Kanya this morning and reports that owing to Smith's absence from home he was unable to serve the summons upon him but that he left it with the N.C.O.... It is uncertain whether he will receive the summons on time to appear here on the 20th."*

He then discusses the potential court date, other unrelated court cases, and whether his role might be augmented in one of these?

"Have you thought of the question of my jurisdiction in the Lamprecht case - as A.C. I have only the powers of an R.M. in the Colony."

[An index of military names pertaining to the Anglo Boer War lists a C.L. Lamprecht as a trooper in the Salisbury Field Force, BSACM Rhodesia, 1896, The force was disbanded in October 1897.]

Other notable individuals involved in discussions and/or named in the letters:

Chief Ikaneng of Ramoutsa, in the Bamalete [Bamaliti] region, some seventy miles from Mafeking. Known as Ikaneng a Mokgôsi, he was a minor chief under Bathoen. Unlike other Batswana chiefs, he was friendly towards the Indian traders. In 1893 Ramoutsa had a population of approximately 7,000 natives of the Transvaal, Ikaneng and his people being fugitives who were permitted by Kgosi Gaseitsiwe a Tshosa, father of Bathoen I, to settle on his eastern border. He died circa 1896. [His name is occasionally seen as Ikanin in the present letters.]

William Henry Surmon (1835-1900), Assistant Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for Southern Bechuanaland BP [British Protectorate]. He was born in South Africa to one of the early settler blue-collar families, and rose to distinction in colonial leadership.

From 1890-1892 Surmon held this title and responsibility, being based at Mafeking and Fort Gaborone, the latter founded in August 1890. He was seconded from Basutoland June 1890, confirmed as "Assistant Commissioner & Magistrate for Bechuanaland" (Protectorate) by 27 June 1891 Proclamation. On 15 October 1868 in Grahamstown, he had married Elizabeth Shone (1840-1942) of Johannesburg and they would have eight children together before moving north to Bechuanaland for the prestigious appointment in 1890. [Her grandfather is the famous diarist Thomas Shone who vividly portrayed day to day life of the Settlement Community.] In 1880 W.H. Surmon was the magistrate at Mohale's Hoek, where he and a dozen or so white men and a few loyals had to defend his post gallantly against repeated attacks, once being surrounded by the enemy until on the 4th of October Colonel Southey was sent to his aid with a strong party of yeomen and volunteers, supported by a few Cape mounted riflemen who succeeded in relieving him, though with a loss of two men killed and ten wounded.

His father William Henry Surmon (Senior), born in London in 1796, was among the early colonists in Grahamstown, emigrating in 1820 with his wife Louisa (née Hatt, born 1796) to South Africa as part of the 4,000 emigrants now known as the "1820 Settlers" who all arrived between April and June. He was a leather currier by occupation, his settler ID being No. 2587. He was awarded 240 acres of land as his share of the original settlement. Their first child died in infancy in England. Their second child, also named William Henry was born 1 April 1820 onboard the Nautilus whilst anchored in Table Bay, on the voyage to Algoa Bay, Grahamstown. William Henry Surmon (Senior) was a member of Rowles' Party of 1820 Settlers and was originally located on the right bank of the Kap river, fairly close to Cuylerville. However, he moved to Grahamstown fairly soon, and is listed in the "Lower Albany Chronicle" as being a cooper in 1833. He was one of the signatories, along with many others requesting assistance for the Settlers and making a statement on conditions in Albany signed on 10th March 1823 in Grahamstown, and addressed to the Colonial Government. [Interesting to note, our William Henry Surmon was the last of ten children, his father dying in 1836, the year after his birth, at the young age of 40. His name in family genealogies is reversed, showing him as Henry William Surmon. The first born of the family, and first namesake of their father, was born in 1818 and died in infancy, before his second birthday. The second child, born in 1820 presumably after his brother's infant death, was also named after their father; he would live until 1866. It is possible that Henry William reversed the use of his name in honour of his father and two brothers.]

Sir Sidney Godolphin Alexander Shippard K.C.M.G.; D.C.L.; M.A.; F.R.G.S.; (1837-1902), sometimes seen as Sidney Sheppard), a British barrister and colonial administrator who served as Deputy High Commissioner and Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland for ten years. He became a barrister-at-law in 1867, and rose up to the prestigious appointment of Attorney-General of Griqualand West, in 1873, serving in this capacity until 1877. He was also Acting Recorder of the High Court of Griqualand in 1877. From 1880-1885 he was Judge of Supreme Court of Cape Colony, and in this last year, from 1884-1885 he also served as British Commissioner on the Angra Pequena a West Coast Claims (Anglo-German) Commission. **From 1885-1895 his many titles and areas of responsibilities while governing Bechuanaland included "Administrator, Chief Magistrate, and President of Land Commission for British Bechuanaland; Deputy High Commissioner and Resident Commissioner for the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Kalahari."** From his first establishment in Bechuanaland he kept up a friendly correspondence with the Matabele king Lobengula, with the objective of attracting him to the British cause. After extensive negotiations between King Lobengula and Cecil Rhodes Charles Rudd, on 30 October 1888 King Lobengula granted a written concession for exclusive mining rights to Charles Rudd, James Rochfort Maguire and Francis Thompson, three agents of Cecil Rhodes. Shippard was then freer to devote himself to the special interests of Bechuanaland, which he governed with conspicuous success.

Reverend John Smith Moffat (1835-1918), Assistant Commissioner to Sir Sidney Shippard in Bechuanaland from 1884 to 1887. He had resigned from the London Missionary Society in 1879 John Moffat to join the British colonial service. From 1887 to 1892 he was a representative of the Chartered Company in Matabeleland (in present-day Zimbabwe) where he was sent by Cecil Rhodes to negotiate a treaty with Lobengula. Rhodes saw benefit in that Moffat was known in Matabeleland, and was also banking on his father's reputation there. [He was the son of the missionary Robert Moffat, who was friends with Mzilikazi, the father of Lobengula, and was also a brother-in-law to the missionary and explorer David Livingstone.] A treaty was indeed made, and it stipulated that Lobengula was not supposed to give any further concessions or enter into any other treaty without approval from the Queen's representative in South Africa. **Lobengula trusted Moffat, and his verbal promise of British protection, just like Khama III ruler of Bechuanaland had received, led to the signing of what became known as the Moffat Treaty on 11 February 1888.**

Later, Moffat discovered the extent of Rhodes' deception of Lobengula and the deceit behind numerous concessions negotiated by Rhodes' British South African Company (BSAC). After the Pioneer Column provoked Lobengula into the First Matabele War, Moffat fell out with Rhodes. In 1893 he exposed the fraud behind the BSAC Bosman Concession in Ngamiland (now the North-West District of Botswana), leading to its abandonment. In 1894, when the BSAC police clashed with warriors of the Bamangwato under King Khama III, Moffat warned that Khama was Rhodes' next victim, but this was dismissed by his boss, Shippard who was Rhodes's agent. In 1895, Bechuanaland was moved to the Cape Government and Moffat retired.

Charles Riley, a man of mixed race who had lived in Bechuanaland since 1882, and a trader from Mochudi, the capital of Bakgatla, obtained for his company, with references from Sydney Shippard, a monopoly (999 years) for trading and manufacturing in Chief Bathoen's country. Together with his partners, J. Potier Ablett and R. Fenton Riley, he obtained a land lease (200 square miles) and a concession to construct railways, electric telegraphs and telephones or electric lights for 99 years. Riley, in obtaining those grants had laid a lot of emphasis on the creation of stores. The chief and his people were given to understand that Riley would first erect ten cheap-selling stores for them and that another ten would be erected if gold was discovered in their country. Consequently, the chief who was eager to have trading stores from which, as he had been informed, his people would buy more

cheaply than they had done before, consented to these well phrased demands. He later claimed however, that although he consented to the erection of the stores, he did not intend that the trading rights should include sole rights to waters and ploughing grounds that might be included in the areas to be marked off for the stores. When he signed the document proffered by Riley, he understood it to be 'merely to show where the store was to be erected. They told me it represented the land they would mark out. Bathoen's headmen also testified that they were brought to believe that Riley's interest was primarily to erect stores for them. The Reverend Good also translated the documents. At the beginning of 1908 Chief Sekgoma would give a power of attorney to Charles Riley, who would be Sekgoma's dogged champion over the next four years in land rights disputes.

[His son, Harry Riley, followed in his footsteps and became a trader in Bechuanaland, founding what is today's Cresta Riley's Hotel.]

Sir Henry Brougham Henry Brougham Loch, 1st Baron Loch, GCB, GCMG, PC (1827-1900), a British soldier and colonial administrator. In June 1889 he succeeded Sir Hercules Robinson as Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for Southern Africa. As a supporter of Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company (BSAC), he was involved in the First Matabele War of 1893. Permission was then given by Sir Henry Loch for his Salisbury and Victoria Columns to begin their march on Matabeleland, and Raaff's Transvaal Rangers were ordered to liaise with the British Bechuanaland Police (BBP). Major Hamilton Goold-Adams of the BBP was gazetted for special service with the local rank of Lieut-Colonel in command of the combined column with the BBP.

Francis James Newton (1857-1948), a senior colonial administrator who spent some seven years in British Bechuanaland, first appointed Acting Administrator & Chief Magistrate British Bechuanaland in 1888, then Colonial Secretary and Receiver General of British Bechuanaland in 1890, and returning to the seat of Acting Administrator & Chief Magistrate British Bechuanaland in 1892, until taking the post of Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate in 1895. After the Jameson Raid he was dismissed. Additionally, throughout his illustrious administrative career for the British Empire, he served in Cape Colony, Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), and the West Indies.

Daniel Ward, M.A., LL.D., Barrister at law and advocate for the Supreme Court, who published several legal documents. He had a role in establishing laws in the colony of British Bechuanaland, as well as recording the historical progression of the colonial laws.

For example, in 1893, while living in Vryburg, he compiled and published a collection of the colony's official decrees, titled "British Bechuanaland Proclamations (Numbers 1 to 185)... and the More Important Government Notices, 1885-1893" a fascinating document which treats innumerable legal matters including laws to disallow "the whipping of females", "pretending to practice witchcraft", boundaries, taxation including Hut Tax, sanitation, marriage, game hunting laws, and so much more. In 1897 he published "A Handbook to the Marriage Laws of the Cape Colony, the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and Rhodesia: together with an appendix, containing orders in council, statutes, and proclamations." In the same year he also published a "Digest of the Reported Criminal Cases Decided in the Supreme Courts of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, from the commencement of the reports to the end of 1896." **Though little is known of Ward's personal life, it seems that he settled in Bechuanaland around the year 1890,** when he is listed as the local auditor for the finances of the territory, and undertook a special project of assessing the collection of Revenue for a court-led investigation. He was however, a lawyer several years prior. As early as 1885, while still living in Britain, he published a guide on Parliamentary Elections, and the following year co-authored a post-election report titled "Ward and Lock's Guide to the House of Commons Including Complete Returns

of the General Election of 1885." In 1898, he edited the "Orders in Council and High Commissioner's Proclamations" for printing.

Robert William Keate (1814-1873), a career British colonial governor, serving as Commissioner of the Seychelles from 1850 to 1852, Governor of Trinidad from 1857 to 1864, Lieutenant-governor of the Colony of Natal from 1867 to 1872 during which time he arbitrated an important meeting between the chiefs of the colony of Bechuanaland and the Boers. He was subsequently Governor of Gold Coast for eleven days, from 7 March 1873 until his death on 17 March 1873. He is also remembered for his skill and passion in the game of cricket, his career being at the first-class level. He died at Cape Coast Castle.

Kanya Exploration Company, Limited: A gold prospecting company operating in British Bechuanaland. The firm was organized in London, registered in October 1889, company number 29856. It was a subsidiary of Oceana Company and began with a capital of £250,000 in shares of £1. It was dissolved in 1916. **The concession for mining rights was granted by Chief Gateisiwe and his son Bathoen, giving in perpetuity the right to explore the whole Bangwaketse region which was estimated to be some 17,000 square miles or eleven million British acres.**



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**Sechele I - Ruler of the Kwêna People
Asserting Chief Roles in British Bechuanaland
Signed Manuscript Letters
With Sechele's Rare Colonial Red Wax Seal
1885-1892**

Colony of British Bechuanaland: Molepolole, Mangwato, 20 November 1885 - 23 May 1892. Lot of 5 manuscript letters centered around Chief Sechele I of the Kwena tribe in northern Bechuanaland, concerning the governing roles of chiefs within the reforms of the newly established Colony of British Bechuanaland, two of which are written by Chief Sechele himself (one of these in his native language and accompanied by an English translation) and one bearing a red wax seal imprinted with his name, one letter by his son Sechele (in his native language and accompanied by an English translation), and the other two being complaints against Sechele. Quarto & Octavo. Leafs vary in size. 14 pages in manuscript, all documents combined. Minor age-toning, separation at some folds, otherwise in very good condition, important and exceedingly scarce primary source correspondence from two notable Bakwena chiefs, father and son, written in their own language, signed in their respective hands, and one bearing Chief Sechele's scarcely seen red wax seal.

During the late nineteenth century, there was great tension between the people of Botswana and the Ndebele encroaching from the Kalahari; and subsequently between the Botswana and the invading Boer settlers from the Transvaal region (in South Africa). **A Kwena-Kgatla war developed after 1871, while the Afrikaners again began to encroach on Kwena territory, leading Sechele I and other Batswana leaders, to request British protection in early 1885. For this purpose, the Bechuanaland Protectorate was established on 31 March 1885, after which the conflict was settled.** It was one of Britain's three "High Commission Territories". The High Commissioner had some of the functions of a governor, but the major tribes were self-governing. The protectorate was not a British possession, therefore was not available for white settlement. **Soon afterwards, 30 September 1885, it was declared a British Territory and thus became the Crown Colony of British Bechuanaland.** British Bechuanaland had an area of 51,424 square miles (133,190 km²) and a population of 84,210. **Rather short-lived, the colony existed until its annexation to the neighbouring Cape Colony ten years later on 16 November 1895.** From the time of the establishment of Bechuanaland, for eighty years until 1965, the territory was completely administered from outside, its capital initially being Vryburg (now a town in South Africa), and then moving to what is now Mafikeng. On 30 September 1966, it became the Republic of Botswana, a landlocked country in Southern Africa.

Chief Sechele I has been described as "the earliest and most impactful defender of Tswana sovereignty at a time when both the Boers and Anglo-Saxons were intent at strong-arming them into their sphere of influence."

Chief Sechele raises grievances over the governance of chieftdom since the implementation of British protection, including the retained roles of the chiefs, foreign style colonial law, misdirected profit from trade licensing. In turn, the lot contains two letters complaining against Sechele over tribal land use dispute, specifically affecting cattle raising grounds, one of these complaints coming from the leading and powerful king Khama III.

Chief (kgosi) Sechele I a Motswasele "Rra Mokonopi" (1812-1892), also known as Setshele, was the last independent ruler of the northern Kwena (Bakwena) people, a major tribe (morafe) of Bechaunaland, being the principal group of the Tswana-speaking Hurutshe people who were living on the western fringes of the southern African highveld. Under Kgosi Sechele's leadership they fled to Bakwena (Bechuanaland) to escape oppression by the Boers. After the murder of his father Kgosi Motswasele II in 1821, which precipitated the division of the BaKwena, Sechele spent several of his childhood and teen years in exile. When Sechele was a young man, in the early 1830s, he returned to a portion of the BaKwena people, those who proclaimed him leader, and subsequently worked to restore cohesion to the divided group. Due to Matabele raids, Sechele and his people moved west. After the Matabele were defeated by the Afrikaners in 1837, they were able to return to their original home at Sokwane. Here he was visited by David Livingstone in 1841. After further Matabele raids, the Kwena moved to other locations until, in 1847, Livingstone persuaded Sechele to move to Kolabeng, where in 1848 he was converted to Christianity by David Livingstone. In 1852, the Afrikaners of the Transvaal attacked him, and drove him into what is now Botswana, where he set up the Kwena capital at Molepolole. In his role as ruler, he also served as a missionary among his own and other African peoples. Though he was criticized by some missionaries for resuming customs of rainmaking and polygamy, he has been praised posthumously for propagating Christianity in large numbers. Under his leadership, his region became a refuge to other people fleeing persecution, and the numbers that he ruled exceeded 30,000 at the time of his death in 1892. He was succeeded by his son Sebele.

Sechele I and Khama III have an interesting connection and a turbulent relationship. When returning to his people, he accepted protection of the Bamangwato people, and married into the Khama family. When Sechele was once captured by opponents, Khama ransomed him. Sechele helped place Macheng on the Bamangwato throne in 1857, but, later in 1872, helped Khama III to overthrow him. One of the letters in the present lot suggest that in 1886, Sechele and Khama were having land disputes, each asserting their desired authority over where cattle would graze and be kept safely.

Chief (kgosi) Sebele I (circa 1841 - January 1911), son and successor of Chief Sechele I, ruling the Kwena the time of his father's death in 1892 until his own passing in 1911. During his lifetime, he resisted the 1885 Bechuanaland Protectorate as well as the control of his domains by Cecil Rhodes' British South African Company, which was administering, by a royal charter signed in October 1889, his homeland in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and other regions of Central Africa. In 1895, Sebele collaborated with the Khama III - ruler of the Bamangwato, and Bathoen I - ruler of the Ngwaketse to prevent a complete take-over by Cecil Rhodes' British South Africa Company. With support from Christian missionaries, they travelled together to Britain in 1895 to argue against the latest attempts to incorporate the protectorate into the Cape Colony. They managed to secure support from Queen Victoria in exchange for an eastern strip of territory. Again later, in 1908 and 1909 he also resisted the incorporation of Bechuanaland into the Union of South Africa.

Gravely concerned about the governing roles of the chiefs of Bechuanaland since the implementation of the new British Protectorate status only 7 weeks prior, the earliest letter in the lot is written by Chief Sechele I in his own native language, signed by him in the original, and accompanied by an English translation.

Penned at Molepolole, 20 November 1885, addressed to The Honourable Mr. Shippard, Administrator of Bechuanaland, this correspondence is important in that it reveals the lack of clarity among chiefs as to the precise meaning and structure of a protectorate, in particular law and governance.

Sechele I writes,

"Sir, I, Chief of the Bakwena people, take the liberty of writing to you to tell you my views and I also wish to ask you one of two things about the state of the country. I hear from travellers and others that the Queen of England has taken over the territory of the Batlapin and the Baralong as far as the Malopo River... I hear that myself and the other chiefs on this side of the Molopo have been taken under the protectorate of Her Majesty. When I gave my country over to Her Majesty, through her Representative Sir C. Warren, I did not give over to him the chiefmanship over my town and people. I beg to ask you what is meant by the Protectorate of the British Government? What does the Protectorate signify and imply? What is my position as chief in my own town and country in relation to the Government? The Government has not yet told me anything whatever..."

... some people came here who I suppose were police... arrived at the house of the traders without any letter by which I might have known that they had been sent by you. Some of them remained in my town, I receiving no intimation from you on the matter...

... two others came, arriving at the house of Messrs Boynem Gray and Walker, nobody knowing where they came from or where they were going to. On Sunday morning they road on horseback and galloped through the town, riding over and hurting a little child in the street, one or two other people having narrow escapes besides... I took one of the horses so as to detain them till the Monday, but they procured another... To whom are these men answerable for such things?..."

Allow me to suggest two or three things:

- 1. The men whom you may send either to my place, or past me to places beyond, let them come with a letter or pass signifying that they are your people... I can help them such as a guide...*
- 2. If any of your people come here and commit any crime or fault in my country let them come and answer to me at my courtyard (Khotla).*
- 3. If any of my people go to you, let them go in my name and with my pass."*

Sir Shippard also receives a two complaint letters about Sechele encroaching on other tribes' land, both impacting the complainants' space for cattle.

On 15 March 1886, a local African "Tkunen son of Makgeri"[?] writes a letter to Sir Sydney Shippard from Ramotswa [village in South-East District of Botswana, some 55 kilometers from Kanye]. He informs the Resident Commissioner that his aged father "old Magheri"[?] has passed away and he is

having *"immediate trouble with Sechele who has sent his son Sebele to drive out all the cattle of the Bamelehe from his country into the Transvaal..."* He goes on to iterate the urgency of resolving the dispute, *"I have [been] told that if the old Beken should keep it up I would not find place for my cattle... I fear it will not end well."*

King Khama's complaint is also a tribal land dispute, claiming that Sechele is overtaking one of his important cattle posts. He dates his letter "Mangwato, June 1886" and addresses "the Administrator" [Shippard]. This manuscript is a translation in an English person's hand, with Khama's original signature. It reads, in part:

*"While Colonel Carrington was here, I spoke to him **about the Chief Sechele trespassing on our outside cattle-post of mine called Loppepie**, by bringing his cattle there and forming posts. I have asked the Chief kindly to move... the Colonel advised me to communicate with you on the subject at once. The Colonel arrived here on the 25th and enjoyed a little shooting... left here on the 29th... I am very well pleased with your Police stationed here..."*

By 1891, Sechele was showing and bluntly expressing discontent with British administration. In the present letter, he confronts the British for over-stepping with trade licensing, and raises questions of the government's loyalty to he and his people. The red wax seal in his name indicates that he had adopted much of western society's legal customs and that this was an official document worthy of weighty consideration.

Documents penned in the hands of colonial chiefs are rare, those with a chief's wax seal are exceedingly scarce!

Addressed to Assistant Commissioner William Surmon, 4 November 1891, from Molepolole, Sechele expresses frustration and distrust over the notion of foreigner traders' licensing fees being paid to the British government instead of to the Chief himself.

"A few days after you left here I was told that you had sent a letter to the traders living in my country telling them that they must pay Licenses to the British Government to be allowed to trade in my country. You did not speak of this to me though you said you were my friend.

Why must the Whitemen who I have given permission to trade in my country pay Licenses to the Government? If Licenses are paid by the traders they ought to be paid to the Chief of the Bokwana's.

When the Government said they would protect us from the Boers was it only to take our country and our rights from us instead of letting the Boers take it?

... The Bokwana's have always protected and treated well all white men who have come into their country... Why should the white people want police to protect them? Have any White man ever been treated wrongfully by myself and people?

*I appeal to you as you say you are truly my friend... to help me, that my country is not taken from us, and that we are left to starve or driven out into the Kalahari. The country is rightfully ours... **To whom must I appeal against what is being done and to save my country for my people?** We have always been at peace with the English Government...*

I ask that you will give Licenses to no one in my country, to trade, only those that I wish to trade in my country. I do not wish to have any Arab or Coolies in my country trading."

The final correspondence in the lot is written by Sechele's son and successor Sebele I, in his native language and signed in the original by him. Dated 23 May 1892, and concerning a meeting with British administrators, it is conceivable that Sebele was representing his father or even discussing aspects of his own imminent reign as chief, in light of the fact that his father was aging (he died a few months later in September 1892).

The letter is accompanied by a manuscript translation by LMS missionary Howard Williams. Addressed to Mr. Surmon, Sebele informs him of his upcoming trip to Fryburg, accompanied by three of his people and his teacher Mr. Howard Williams. He anticipates his arrival to be around 10/11 June. He sends his greeting to Sir H. Loch as well as Sir Sydney Shippard.

Notable individuals involved in discussions and/or named in the letters:

Khama III (ca. 1837 - 1923), sometimes seen as Khame, who was the Kgosi (king) of the Bangwato people (approximately 30,000 in number) based at Palapye. Born in 1835 at Mosu near the Boteti River in Bechuanaland, Khama III was the son of King Sekgoma I whose capital had been at Shoshong and who was said to be a powerful sorcerer. His first and brief reign over the people was from 1872-1873, until his father took over for a third period as chief. **Two years later, Khama became king in 1875, after overthrowing his father Sekgoma I, and expelling his brother Kgamane who had been devising clever methods to take the title from his Khama. His ascension came at a time of serious dangers and yet great opportunities, and he would steadfastly hold power until his death.** Ndebele incursions from the north (from what is now Zimbabwe), Boer and "mixed" trekkers from the south, and German forces from the West, all hoped to the seize his territory and its hinterlands. **To overcome the threats to his chieftom, he aligned with the administrative aims of the British, which provided him with protection as well as economic development. And simultaneously, he achieved an ambitious expansion, gaining his own control over a much wider area than any "kgosi" had done before him. He was highly regarded as a peace-loving king who prioritized improvements for the betterment of his people,** such as the founding of schools, scientific cattle-feeding, and the establishment of a mounted police force to suppress crime. This period also saw the arrival of white traders, missionaries and travelers from the south. Shoshong became a major link to the interior where commodities could be obtained and exchanged for money or manufactured goods, in fact becoming the center of ivory and fur hunters and traders moving between Matebeleland, Zambezi, Okavango, the Transvaal Boer republic, and British diamond mines at Kimberley.

In his young adult years, he had converted to Christianity. Missionaries referred to him as Khama the Good or Khama the Great. Khama III had a brother called Khamane. The two, who grew up getting exposed to Christian teachings by an evangelist in Bechuanaland, got baptized in 1860. Khama then went ahead to marry a Christian wife, to the great disapproval of his father who was upholding ancestral beliefs and resisting foreign conversion efforts. Khama's father loathed the fact that others in the capital were beginning to follow in the footsteps of his wayward son. Inspired by his Christian principles, Khama III banned alcohol and polygamy during his reign. He also abolished the payment of bogadi (bride gift), an initiation rite that usually ended with the killing of one of the initiates, and traditional destroying of one of twin children. Khama III embraced Western education and justice, for example creating a law to protect big game and certain big birds. He empowered his subject chiefs by allowing them to own cattle as private property. For the first time, daughters could also inherit from their fathers. Along the way, the capital Shoshong became divided into two factions Christians and

pagans. A few civil wars ensued over the course of time, leading to Khama's request for British protection.

In the 1890s, he learned of a plan by the British government to annex Bechuanaland to the territory of the British South Africa Company. **The Bechuanaland Protectorate was in danger of being forced to join the company under the command of diamond magnate Cecil Rhodes, thus losing the right to self-governance and falling to the exploitative rules of the company.** Highly resistant to this vulnerability, Khama III and two other Bechuanaland Chiefs - Sebele I and Bathoen I, gained support from the British army and missionaries and travelled to England in 1895 to negotiate with the Queen Victoria for freedom of the protectorate.

Khama III and the chiefs were unable to secure an audience with the Queen on their arrival, so they decided to first make a presentation to the British public, with the help of the London Missionary Society, in hopes of winning the people over, which could eventually get them to the Queen. The plan succeeded. **Khama III and the chiefs were subsequently granted a meeting with the Queen and Joseph Chamberlain, then Secretary of the state for the colonies.** The meeting ended in favor of the chiefs and the whole Bechuanaland Protectorate. **Queen Victoria put the country under direct rule of the crown, thus preventing Rhodes from adding it to the British South Africa Company.** The chiefs returned to Africa, their actions and successful negotiations empowering the various peoples of Bechuanaland to stand up against colonizers. From 1900 until his death, Khama III continually clashed with the protectorate administration and the missionaries. He wanted to buy land, while the foreigners invented laws for the protectorate without consultation. Finally, the country would gain independence on 30 September 1966, and his grandson Seretse Khama would be the first President.

William Henry Surmon (1835-1900), Assistant Commissioner and Resident Magistrate for Southern Bechuanaland BP [British Protectorate]. He was born in South Africa to one of the early settler blue-collar families, and rose to distinction in colonial leadership.

From 1890-1892 Surmon held this title and responsibility, being based at Mafeking and Fort Gaborone, the latter founded in August 1890. He was seconded from Basutoland June 1890, confirmed as "Assistant Commissioner & Magistrate for Bechuanaland" (Protectorate) by 27 June 1891 Proclamation. On 15 October 1868 in Grahamstown, he had married Elizabeth Shone (1840-1942) of Johannesburg and they would have eight children together before moving north to Bechuanaland for the prestigious appointment in 1890. [Her grandfather is the famous diarist Thomas Shone who vividly portrayed day to day life of the Settlement Community.] In 1880 W.H. Surmon was the magistrate at Mohale's Hoek, where he and a dozen or so white men and a few loyalists had to defend his post gallantly against repeated attacks, once being surrounded by the enemy until on the 4th of October Colonel Southey was sent to his aid with a strong party of yeomen and volunteers, supported by a few Cape mounted riflemen who succeeded in relieving him, though with a loss of two men killed and ten wounded.

His father William Henry Surmon (Senior), born in London in 1796, was among the early colonists in Grahamstown, emigrating in 1820 with his wife Louisa (née Hatt, born 1796) to South Africa as part of the 4,000 emigrants now known as the "1820 Settlers" who all arrived between April and June. He was a leather currier by occupation, his settler ID being No. 2587. He was awarded 240 acres of land as his share of the original settlement. Their first child died in infancy in England. Their second child, also named William Henry was born 1 April 1820 onboard the Nautilus whilst anchored in Table Bay, on the voyage to Algoa Bay, Grahamstown. William Henry Surmon (Senior) was a member of Rowles' Party of 1820 Settlers and was originally located on the right bank of the Kap river,

fairly close to Cuylerville. However, he moved to Grahamstown fairly soon, and is listed in the "Lower Albany Chronicle" as being a cooper in 1833. He was one of the signatories, along with many others requesting assistance for the Settlers and making a statement on conditions in Albany signed on 10th March 1823 in Grahamstown, and addressed to the Colonial Government. [Interesting to note, our William Henry Surmon was the last of ten children, his father dying in 1836, the year after his birth, at the young age of 40. His name in family genealogies is reversed, showing him as Henry William Surmon. The first born of the family, and first namesake of their father, was born in 1818 and died in infancy, before his second birthday. The second child, born in 1820 presumably after his brother's infant death, was also named after their father; he would live until 1866. It is possible that Henry William reversed the use of his name in honour of his father and two brothers.]

Sir Sidney Godolphin Alexander Shippard K.C.M.G.; D.C.L.; M.A.; F.R.G.S.; (1837-1902), sometimes seen as Sidney Sheppard), a British barrister and colonial administrator who served as Deputy High Commissioner and Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland for ten years. He became a barrister-at-law in 1867, and rose up to the prestigious appointment of Attorney-General of Griqualand West, in 1873, serving in this capacity until 1877. He was also Acting Recorder of the High Court of Griqualand in 1877. From 1880-1885 he was Judge of Supreme Court of Cape Colony, and in this last year, from 1884-1885 he also served as British Commissioner on the Angra Pequena a West Coast Claims (Anglo-German) Commission. **From 1885-1895 his many titles and areas of responsibilities while governing Bechuanaland included "Administrator, Chief Magistrate, and President of Land Commission for British Bechuanaland; Deputy High Commissioner and Resident Commissioner for the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the Kalahari."** From his first establishment in Bechuanaland he kept up a friendly correspondence with the Matabele king Lobengula, with the objective of attracting him to the British cause. After extensive negotiations between King Lobengula and Cecil Rhodes Charles Rudd, on 30 October 1888 King Lobengula granted a written concession for exclusive mining rights to Charles Rudd, James Rochfort Maguire and Francis Thompson, three agents of Cecil Rhodes. Shippard was then freer to devote himself to the special interests of Bechuanaland, which he governed with conspicuous success.

General Sir Charles Warren, GCMG, KCB, FRS (1840-1927) a notable officer in the British Royal Engineers, who was selected as Commander of the Bechuanaland Field Force and thus became an instrumental player in establishing the British Bechuanaland Protectorate. Much of his military service was spent in British South Africa, arriving there in 1876. In December 1884, Major-General Charles Warren was sent as HM Special Commissioner to command a military expedition to Bechuanaland, with the purpose of asserting British sovereignty in the face of encroachments from Germany and the Transvaal, and also to suppress the Boer freebooter states of Stellaland and Goshen, which were backed by the Transvaal and were stealing land and cattle from the local Tswana tribes. Warren's force of 4,000 British and local troops headed north from Cape Town, accompanied by the first three observation balloons ever used by the British Army in the field. **As announced in the London Standard of 6 January 1885, the entire command of the Bechuanaland Field Force was given to General Warren.** On 22 January 1885, Warren met the Boer leader Paul Kruger at the Modder River where Kruger sought to bring the expedition to a halt by claiming that he would take responsibility for maintaining order in Bechuanaland. **Warren did not abandon his march, however, and on reaching Bechuanaland he dissolved the republics of Stellaland and**

Goshen without bloodshed, and Bechuanaland became a British protectorate on 31 March. Warren was recalled in September 1885 when Bechuanaland became a Crown Colony.

Reverend Howard Williams was a LMS Missionary and enthusiastic educationalist, stationed at Kanye in Bechuanaland from 1876 or earlier. During an era of famine Bechuanaland in the 1890's many of the locals were leaving their villages to work on the Mahikeng-Bulawayo railway or the South Africa mines, to provide for their families. When Williams visited Kolobeng [approximately 20 km west of Gaborone] in 1898, it was nearly deserted, partly due to the exodus and partly from the large number of deaths. In the same year, some 1,500 residents of Kanye also died, and at Molepolole over one third of the Mission school's students perished from famine and malnutrition. In 1903, Howard Williams began work at Shoshong, where the elementary school had 53 pupils by 1904 and his wife also worked as a teacher. In 1907 Williams left Shoshong, and Reverend Edwin Lloyd replaced him. Williams wrote annual reports for the Society, until at least 1908.

Messrs Boyne, Gray, and Walker, a firm established in 1885 or earlier, having established a store and collaborating with Sechele. The owners were H. Boyne (a trader from Molepolole), George Gray, Fred W. Walker (resident in Sechele's country).

Sir Henry Brougham Henry Brougham Loch, 1st Baron Loch, GCB, GCMG, PC (1827-1900), a British soldier and colonial administrator. In June 1889 he succeeded Sir Hercules Robinson as Governor of Cape Colony and High Commissioner for Southern Africa. As a supporter of Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company (BSAC), he was involved in the First Matabele War of 1893. Permission was then given by Sir Henry Loch for his Salisbury and Victoria Columns to begin their march on Matabeleland, and Raaff's Transvaal Rangers were ordered to liaise with the British Bechuanaland Police (BBP). Major Hamilton Goold-Adams of the BBP was gazetted for special service with the local rank of Lieut-Colonel in command of the combined column with the BBP.



**Manuscript Letters
From Chief Segkome II and Others
Confronting Chiefs Ndara and Nyangana**

**Traitor Chiefs
Unscrupulous Prospectors
Ngamiland Boundary Disputes
1891-92**

Tawana, Palapye: 20 August 1891 & 2 February 1892. Three manuscript letters concerning two chiefs who allegedly relinquished land to British administrators, and an investigation of the matter by a group of seven other concerned chiefs led by Chief Sekgome II, two letters being transcribed manuscript copies by LMS Missionary Edwin Lloyd with integral English translations by him, accompanied by a further letter by him to impart his knowledge of the situation. 8vo. 7 pages in manuscript, combined. Double leafs measuring approximately 21 x 27 cm. Mild creasing, otherwise in very good condition, revealing a fascinating historical event in the history of present-day Botswana.

A fascinating trail of correspondence revealing significant events and communications, sometimes perfidious, affecting boundaries as well as the natural resources of indigenous tribes of Bechuanaland, present the culmination of a confrontation of the most uncommon kind. Multiple chiefs band together to confront two other chiefs, the former viewing the latter as their subjects, as traitors whose actions of granting foreign concessions should be corrected. Although hoping to have support from the British administrators in the matter, the chiefs do not hesitate to also rebuke the British subjects who crafted and executed the unscrupulous plot to acquire mining rights, and further petition Queen Victoria to restrain her people from causing such disturbances.

On 18 August 1891, two stern letters of declaration were made by 5 chiefs and 3 witnesses, addressed to Chief Ndara [Dimbu I] and Chief Nyangana, respectively, each letter confronting the chiefs on suspicions that they had each separately relinquished land to foreigners, declaring the land as their own, and further stating that Chief Sekhome was setting out to investigate the situation.

The inquiry and subsequent boundary survey were initiated by chief Sekhome. Both letters were originally penned and witnessed by Khukhwi Mogodi of Sechwana, signed and witnessed by numerous other tribal leaders. Both were transcribed in manuscript on the spot at Tawana by Edwin Lloyd of the

London Missionary Society (LMS), and translated into English integrally on the same leaf, in order to forward the information accurately to Assistant Commissioner W. H. Surmon.

Khukhwi Mogodi (ca. 1840-1910) was fluent in English and working with the London Missionary Society (LMS), at the time based in Tawana near Lake Ngami, where these letters were written.

King Dimbu I, popularly known as "Ndara", was one of the earlier known Mbukushu kings in the Kavango region. He died in 1895, only four years after the herein described dispute took place.

Excerpts from the English translations:

To The Chief Ndara,

"We have heard that you have given that country to the white men. That land is ours, not yours. You ought not to give it away apart from us, before we hear. It ought to be given away by us, your masters... You must take care of the white men's stuff; be sure you do not destroy it, and when the owner of it comes you must give it back to him.

Sekhome is also coming, but he is not coming with an army. He goes to see the boundary of the country. Sekhome will proceed to Nyangana's; and he will continue to look for the boundary of the country."

To The Chief Nyangana,

"We have heard it said that you have sold the country. But we do not know if the news be true. If you should do so you will be like Ndara. Do not trespass in that way like Ndara. People should not agree together to perpetuate a fraud...

Sekhome is also coming. He is not coming with an army... to see the boundary of the country..."

At the request of a united group of Botswana chiefs, the transcribed and translated aforementioned correspondence was despatched from Lloyd to Assistant Commissioner of Bechuanaland William Henry Surmon. He obliged, five months later, after doing some investigation and interviewing of his own, and included a separate introductory letter of his own, which reveals inter-tribal relations, the details of a convoluted story of false promises and underhanded agreements between a British prospector and two non-paramount chiefs.

This related letter, dated 1 February 1892, Phalype, consists of 3 pages on 2 double-leafs, Lloyd stating that he is forwarding the former two letters "from Chief Sekome & the Chief Regent, Dithapo, both rulers of the Batawana tribe of Bechwana at Lake Ngami", being his own manuscript copies of the two Botswana-language letters sent to Chief Ndara and Chief Nyangana.

He describes a concerning event, a Mr. Ian MacDonald of Molepolole being accused of manipulating Chief Moremi and proceeding to Ndara's country to obtain a concession for mining in Ndara-Land. McDonald was evidently accompanied by Messrs. Wiessel & Smitherman.

[We find in historical accounts from 1893 that Smitherman was a staff member of the "Tati Concession Mining and Exploration Company", most likely a surveyor or prospector as he was sent on reconnaissance expeditions. Mr. Wiels was the official contractor. The Tati Concession was a land and mining concession created in the western borderlands of the Matabele Kingdom, originally granted by the Matabele King, Lobengula. The Tati Goldfields are a mineral-rich band in Botswana and Zimbabwe in southern Africa.]

Indeed, a concession was obtained, at least from Lewanika in Barotseland, this being officially known as the Lochner Concession, which was later unsuccessfully contested by Lewanika.

King Lewanika (1842-1916) (sometimes seen as Lubosi, Lubosi Lewanika or Lewanika I) **was ruler of the Lozi Kingdom known as Barotseland from 1878 to 1916** (having briefly being deposed in 1884-5). Barotseland was brought under British control when he agreed with Cecil Rhodes for the region to become a protectorate under the British South Africa Company (BSAC). **Although Lewanika sought the protection of Great Britain, he was led into signing the Lochner Concession in June 1890, which assigned mineral and trading rights of Barotseland to the British South Africa Company (BSAC).** Not having a full understanding of the agreement terms, nor of its implications, when he saw these in practical application he felt deceived and he appealed, unsuccessfully, to the British Crown. [Barotseland is a region between Namibia, Angola, Botswana, Zimbabwe including half of eastern and northern provinces of Zambia and the whole of Democratic Republic of Congo's Katanga Province.]

Excerpts from Lloyd's explanatory letter:

To W. H. Surmon, Assistant Commissioner, British Protectorate. *"I am requested by the Chief Sekhome & the Chief Regent, Dithapo, Rulers of the Batauana tribe of Bechwana at Lake Ngami, to forward the two letters enclosed. They are copies of letters sent to Ndara, Chief of the Mampokushu, & Nyangana, Chief of the Mageriko, both living on the Orovango River.*

The facts are these - Mr. Macdonald of Molepole, visited the Lake in 1890, & asked Chief Moremi (since dead) to grant him the road to the Barotse country, Chief Lewaniko, as he wished to go there to collect trading debts. Moremi refuse, told Macdonald that he was a fraud... eventually Macdonald prevailed by promising Moremi a splendid horse on his return, & by leaving two oxen as a pledge...

But instead... Macdonald proceeded to Ndara's to obtain a concession for digging minerals in the so-called Ndara-Land... which he never mentioned to Moremi... Ndara had some scruples about giving the concession & therefore requested Macdonald to ask Lewaniko if he could safely do so...

On the strength of Lewaniko's recommendation Ndara gave the concession to Macdonald, who was accompanied by Messrs. Wiessel & Smitherman. The price paid for the concession is stated to have been a few blankets & some calies. Mr. Julius Wiel of Mafikeng is connected with this concession.

But Macdonald never returned to Moremi... This has made the Batswana very angry with Macdonald, as they regard Ndara as their subject...

The Batswana have also heard that Mr. Ericssen has obtained a similar concession from Nyangana, Chief of the Mageriko, about 100 miles beyond Ndara. i.e. N.W. Nyangana is also a subject of the Batswana, & on a recent visit to Tauana [Twana], he acknowledged Moremi as his over-lord, & begged his assistance against his enemies.

I have just returned from a visit to these Chiefs. Nyangana stated that he had not sold his country to Mr. Ericsson, but said that they had only 'exchanged presents'....

The Chief Sekhome is a nephew of Khame, & is about 19 years of age. He has succeeded his elder brother Moremi. But for the present Dithapo acts as Chief of the Batauana.

The Chiefs Sekhoma and Dithapo wish the British Government to know these facts, & chiefly that they claim as theirs the countries now occupied by Ndara and Nyangana. They also wish the Queen to restrain her subjects from creating disturbances in their country."

Notable individuals named and involved in the scenarios described in the letters:

Chief Sekhoma II (Sekoma/Sekgoma) (1869-1925) was the son of King Khama III by his first wife, Mma-Besi. He would have been about 22 years of age when he led the above-described boundary investigation and confrontation with chiefs Ndara and Nyangana, likely having a role of secondary chief under his powerful father and entrusted with this mission. In 1923, Sekgoma II ascended the throne at the age of 54 upon the death of his father. However, his reign was short as he died only two years later.

"Ndara" was the common name for the Mbukushu king Dimbu I, sometimes also called Libebe. He is one of the earlier known Mbukushu kings in the Kavango region. He was the ninth in the recorded genealogy of the Mbukushu kings, succeeding King Diyeve I. He died in 1895, only four years after the herein described dispute took place. He was succeeded by King Diyeve II who ruled for twenty years.

Chief Nyangana, the Gciriku king who ruled the Kavango peoples from 1874-1924. This region is present-day northern Namibia. He lived at Shitopogho, Matumba, Kanyondo and Mamono. Nyangana was a soldier and participated in the war against the German colonial forces. **A fierce critic of all European influence, particularly of missionaries, he prevented six Catholic mission journeys into the Kavango during his reign.** Only after the seventh journey, did missionary and later Archbishop Joseph Gotthardt manage to establish a mission station at Nyangana in 1910 and at Andara in 1913, using the severely weakened position of the King after the VaGciriku-Lishora Massacre of 1894. Although powerful, he was also described as amicable and having a calm demeanour. The Muduva Nyangana Conservancy, a Kalahari sadveld, is named after him.

Khukhwi Mogodi (ca. 1840-1910) was born and raised in the Hurutshe Tswana community of Powe near modern-day Zeerust in South Africa. He was introduced to Christianity at the London Missionary Society (LMS) station of Kuruman, where his family sought refuge from Boer attacks in 1852. He learned to read English, was baptized and then joined other southern Tswana hunting, trading and evangelizing in regions further north. Khukhwi helped found the LMS Ndebele mission in 1860. **Upon graduating from the Moffat Institution at Kuruman in 1875, Khukhwi agreed to be stationed in the territory of the Tawana near Lake Ngami in what is today northern Botswana. After a preparatory visit with James Hepburn in 1877, he and his classmate Diphokwe Yakwe returned in 1878 with their wives, wagons and £50 salaries from the LMS to commence work as official Native Evangelists to the people of Ngamiland.** Khukhwi devoted his life to working with LMS, intermittently working in Tawana (Ngamiland, north Bechuanaland) and Kuruman (South Africa), roughly 1000 kilometers apart, although occasionally finding himself in disagreements with the missionaries.

Dithapo Meno (c.1840-1918) is remembered as a powerful royal head of the Meno ward among the Batawana, playing a leading role in both the rise and subsequent downfall of Kgosi Sekgoma aLetsholathebe. He entered public life in 1854 as the leader of the Mekanopo regiment who, as reflected in their name, became renowned as marksmen. He defeated Makololo in 1864, subsequently emerging as powerful kingmaker in Batawana, then part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Apparently stepping in for his father, Dithapo served as acting Kgosi in 1876, he facilitated the installation of Kgosi Moremi II. During the same period, he also became the guardian of Moremi's younger half-brother Sekgoma who he had raised away from court for his protection. Following Moremi II's death in 1891, Dithapo once more served as acting Kgosi to install Sekgoma on the throne. He also played a leading role in the overthrow of Sekgoma Letsholathebe in 1906, by convinced the British Resident Commissioner Sir Ralph Williams to install Mathiba as the rightful Kgosi.

Moremi II (1855-1891) was the son and heir of Sekgoma Letsholathebe who died in 1874. Because Moremi was still a minor, Meno and his son Dithapo ruled as regents for two years, until 1876 when Moremi II succeeded to chiefship. Moremi II ruled for fifteen years, during which time the kingdom prospered. A highlight of Moremi II's reign had been his decisive victory over invading Amandebele in the 1884 battle at Khutiyabasadi. He died in the second half of the year 1891, leaving behind a nine-year old son and heir named Mathiba. Dithapo Meno then acted as regent until 1895 when Sekgoma, another son of Letsholathebe, became chief. [Moremi and Sekgoma were born of different mothers. Their father, Kgosi Letsholathebe I (c.1830-74; ruled from 1847-74) had had at least eight wives, but only three living sons at the time of his death. In 1889-1890, Sekgoma had twice attempted to seize power. The first coup occurred while Moremi was away on a hunting expedition. Sekgoma and his supporters were able to control the then capital, Tsau, for a few weeks until his return.]

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From 1890-1892 Surmon held this title and responsibility, being based at Mafeking and Fort Gaborone, the latter founded in August 1890. He was seconded from Basutoland June 1890, confirmed as "Assistant Commissioner & Magistrate for Bechuanaland" (Protectorate) by 27 June 1891 Proclamation. On 15 October 1868 in Grahamstown, he had married Elizabeth Shone (1840-1942) of Johannesburg and they would have eight children together before moving north to Bechuanaland for the prestigious appointment in 1890. [Her grandfather is the famous diarist Thomas Shone who vividly portrayed day to day life of the Settlement Community.] In 1880 W.H. Surmon was the magistrate at Mohale's Hoek, where he and a dozen or so white men and a few loyalists had to defend his post gallantly against repeated attacks, once being surrounded by the enemy until on the 4th of October Colonel Southey was sent to his aid with a strong party of yeomen and volunteers, supported by a few Cape mounted riflemen who succeeded in relieving him, though with a loss of two men killed and ten wounded.

His father William Henry Surmon (Senior), born in London in 1796, was among the early colonists in Grahamstown, emigrating in 1820 with his wife Louisa (née Hatt, born 1796) to South Africa as part of the 4,000 emigrants now known as the "1820 Settlers" who all arrived between April and June. He was a leather currier by occupation, his settler ID being No. 2587. He was awarded 240

acres of land as his share of the original settlement. Their first child died in infancy in England. Their second child, also named William Henry was born 1 April 1820 onboard the Nautilus whilst anchored in Table Bay, on the voyage to Algoa Bay, Grahamstown. William Henry Surmon (Senior) was a member of Rowles' Party of 1820 Settlers and was originally located on the right bank of the Kap river, fairly close to Cuylerville. However, he moved to Grahamstown fairly soon, and is listed in the "Lower Albany Chronicle" as being a cooper in 1833. He was one of the signatories, along with many others requesting assistance for the Settlers and making a statement on conditions in Albany signed on 10th March 1823 in Grahamstown, and addressed to the Colonial Government. [Interesting to note, our William Henry Surmon was the last of ten children, his father dying in 1836, the year after his birth, at the young age of 40. His name in family genealogies is reversed, showing him as Henry William Surmon. The first born of the family, and first namesake of their father, was born in 1818 and died in infancy, before his second birthday. The second child, born in 1820 presumably after his brother's infant death, was also named after their father; he would live until 1866. It is possible that Henry William reversed the use of his name in honour of his father and two brothers.]

Edwin Lloyd (1856-1932) who served as a missionary with the London Missionary Society in Southern Africa between 1884 and 1914. He served in the Shoshong and Kanye areas and performed work mainly of an evangelistic nature, working with local tribes and spending time on educational work. He employed his language skills in interpreting for the three chiefs from Bechuanaland on their visit to England, revising the Sechwana scriptures and composing hymns in the Sechwana language. He died at Durban on 29 September 1932.

Mr. Ericssen, possibly Axel Wilhelm Eriksson (1846-1901), a Swedish ornithologist, settler and trader, well-known for his extensive travels and hunting throughout southwest Africa, particularly in regions forming present-day Namibia. Eriksson went to South West Africa in 1866. In 1871 he established a brewery at Omaruru. He also established a trading post there, which flourished and by 1878 employed about forty people. Eriksson's business was based upon long-distance trading between southern Angola and Cape Colony. He also built up an extensive bird collection, specimens coming from South West Africa, Angola and the Transvaal. His activities gained much respect from a wide range of communities, including native and Boer, over a large geographic area. It is conceivable that a mining company could have hired him for a reconnaissance and survey mission into Bechuanaland.

It is also interesting to note, that on 30 June 1890 the northern boundary of the Bechuanaland protectorate was formally extended northward by the British to include Ngamiland, which was then dominated by the Tawana state. This claim was formally recognised by Germany the following day by Article III of the Heligoland-Zanzibar Treaty which was signed by the British and German Empires on July 1890. It confirmed the western boundary of the British protectorate of Bechuanaland and the German protectorate of South-West Africa and also created the Caprivi strip inherited by modern Namibia.



**British Bechuanaland
Signed Colonial Documents
Arms and Munitions
Chief Seleka Reports a Murder
1892-93**

Colony of British Bechuanaland: Palapye, Macloutsie, 1 August 1892 - 14 June 1893. Lot of 3 single-leaf documents pertaining to the transportation of arms and ammunitions into and through Bechuanaland, and 1 manuscript double-leaf letter discussing a murder resulting from a tribal dispute over stolen cattle. 8vo leaves of slightly varying sizes, two of the documents being printed forms completed in manuscript, one document bearing the embossed British Bechuanaland logo and the Swanson papermakers watermark being a manuscript permit, the letter being 3 pages manuscript on a double-leaf. Some creasing, one document splitting at a crease, otherwise the lot in very good condition, clean and bright, an interesting lot featuring notable individuals connected to the colony.

These documents represent early Customs procedures particularly with respect to arms and ammunitions, while the letter illustrate the involvement of the British colonial administrators and police force in solving inter-tribal crime and upholding justice.

The permits include the following:

Palapye, 1 August 1892.

Manuscript arms permit signed by John Moffat, then the colony's assistance commissioner, giving permission to Mosenthal & Co. to pass into Bechuanaland Protectorate with one double barrellled Express rifle and one box of cartridges. [Adolph Mosenthal & Co., based in Port Elizabeth, were agents for the prospecting Bechuanaland Exploration Company. The founder is presumably the son of Adolph Mosenthal who in 1842 with his brother Joseph became pioneers of the Cape wool industry, when they set up business operations in Port Elizabeth.]

Palapye, 1 December 1892.

A printed permit slip, completed and signed by John Moffat, granting to the General Manager (not named) of Bechuanaland Trading Association, the right to bring 100 muzzle loading rifles into the Bechuanaland boundary limits.

"District of Bechuanaland Protectorate", 14 January 1893.

Licence granted to Robert E. Codrington [a member of Bechuanaland Border Police Force] for transporting from "1 double barrel shot gun in case" from Port Elizabeth to Macloutsie in Bechuanaland Protectorate via Fryburg [Vryburg]. Printed document completed in manuscript and signed by the Resident Magistrate of the District of Bechuanaland Protectorate.

The manuscript letter deals with a murder reported by Chief Selika, outlining the work done to date by the Bechuanaland Police Force, with the assistance of a clever tribal boy, in locating and apprehending the offender.

Selika Station [(Botswana / Central region)], Macloutsie, 14 June 1893.

From: A. G. Hay. L/Cps.

To: The Adjutant B.B. Police [British Bechuanaland]

"... I have received a communication by letter from the Chief Selika on the evening of the 11th-inst that the murderer whom Sgt. Breda & party was searching for was in the neighborhood of his Stadt. I, accompanied by Jh. Bothman proceeded early on the morning of the 12th-inst in search of the murderer & after some difficulty we found him & took him prisoner..."

The letter goes on to describe an incident of stolen cattle and the murder being an act of retaliation.

"...the Chief Selika inquired whether there was a reward offered for the apprehension of the prisoner. P.S... I paid five shillings to Selika's boys for bringing the note & for showing us where the prisoner was & enticing him into a hut..."

People who are involved and named in the documents:

Chief Seleka II:

Seleka II, son of Chief Kobe, second in rank for the position as tribal head, became the de facto leader of the Ba ga Seleka in 1875. Seleka II was described as both stubborn and ambitious in nature, also said to be envious of Khama's powerful position and envisaged the Ba ga Seleka also becoming powerful under his leadership - with the help of the Boers. To this end, he often allowed Boers from across the border to hunt in his territory. Khama found this unacceptable, especially when rumours reached him of Seleka II and a number of Boers plotting against him and his people. In 1886 there were reports of his cattle post being attacked with fire and three of his tribesmen killed. An emissary was sent to Kobe to warn him against such actions and thus a chain of events was set in motion which resulted in a battle, and a defeat for the Ba ga Seleka. **Seleka II slipped across the border during the night leaving behind him a destitute Kobe and the scattered remains of his people. Kobe soon followed Seleka II, however, in 1887 the Ba ga Seleka were again settled on the Lephala. Kobe died in 1889, two years after the Ba ga Seleka's resettlement on the Lephala and Seleka II hence officially became kgosi (chief). Shortly after he took over the tribe, Seleka II moved his headquarters from Mmahlwana to Thothwane.** Seleka II died in 1917 and was succeeded by Mananya (Kutter), the eldest son of his principal wife.

Reverend John Smith Moffat (1835-1918), Assistant Commissioner to Sir Sidney Shippard in Bechuanaland from 1884 to 1887. He had resigned from the London Missionary Society in 1879 John Moffat to join the British colonial service. From 1887 to 1892 he was a representative of the Chartered Company in Matabeleland (in present-day Zimbabwe) where he was sent by Cecil Rhodes to negotiate a treaty with Lobengula. Rhodes saw benefit in that Moffat was known in Matabeleland, and was also banking on his father's reputation there. [He was the son of the missionary Robert Moffat, who was friends with Mzilikazi, the father of Lobengula, and was also a brother-in-law to the missionary and explorer David Livingstone.] A treaty was indeed made, and it stipulated that Lobengula was not supposed to give any further concessions or enter into any other treaty without approval from the Queen's representative in South Africa. **Lobengula trusted Moffat, and his verbal**

promise of British protection, just like Khama III ruler of Bechuanaland had received, led to the signing of what became known as the Moffat Treaty on 11 February 1888.

Later, Moffat discovered the extent of Rhodes' deception of Lobengula and the deceit behind numerous concessions negotiated by Rhodes' British South African Company (BSAC). After the Pioneer Column provoked Lobengula into the First Matabele War, Moffat fell out with Rhodes. In 1893 he exposed the fraud behind the BSAC Bosman Concession in Ngamiland (now the North-West District of Botswana), leading to its abandonment. In 1894, when the BSAC police clashed with warriors of the Bamangwato under King Khama III, Moffat warned that Khama was Rhodes' next victim, but this was dismissed by his boss, Shippard who was Rhodes's agent. In 1895, Bechuanaland was moved to the Cape Government and Moffat retired.

Sir Robert Edward Codrington (1869-1908) who in 1890, went to southern Africa and joined the Bechuanaland Border Police. In 1893 this force took part in the occupation of Matabeleland by white settlers, the overthrow of its ruler, Lobengula, and the taking of African land by force, which still has violent consequences in today's Zimbabwe. Codrington was appointed Collector of Revenue in the British Central Africa Protectorate. He rose rapidly through the colonial ranks and as a result of his military experience he was given the job of conquering the Ngoni and Yao by force and stamping out the last vestiges of the slave trade in the area. On 11th July, 1898, he was appointed Administrator of North-Eastern Rhodesia, based at Fort Jameson.

Adjutant of British Bechuanaland Police, Mr. A. G. Hay. Alexander Graham Hay, born 9th June 1871, was the son of Major-General A. C. Hay of Duns Castle, Berwickshire, Scotland. Prior to his role with the BBP, he was a cavalry trooper. Little appears to be documented and readily available on the subject of his career, though **he was known for having been hunting in 1892 in the disputed territory claimed by both chiefs Khama and Lobengula**, situated in part of Bechuanaland lying between the Macloutsie and Shashi rivers. **[Very limited original source material has been traced which relates to the Bechuanaland Border Police].**

Indirectly involved, through Mosenthal & Co., is the Bechuanaland Exploration Company, Limited, a British firm incorporated in 1888, having secured mineral rights in Bechuanaland, and also operating in the Zambezi region. The General Manager was Lord Maurice Raymond Gifford; two of Queen Victoria's sons-in-law were directors, as was well-known stockbroker George Cawston. Financial backing was provided by Baron Nathan de Rothschild. In the early part of 1888, negotiations were initiated by the Bechuanaland Exploration Company for a concession to build a railway from the southern border of British Bechuanaland to the Zambezi. **A group of business investors, headed by Cawston and Lord Gifford, came forward with a proposal to extend the railway from Kimberley to Vryburg (then part of British Bechuanaland) and beyond to the Zambezi.** R. V. Murray was despatched to South Africa by the company to make arrangements for the project with the Cape Government. At the same time, Sir Charles Metcalfe and John Blue, two engineers, were sent out to undertake a survey of the line from Kimberley to Vryburg. **In return for constructing the line, the Exploring Company hoped it would receive substantial land and mineral rights in the territory.** The Company was favourably regarded by the Imperial authorities and Colonial Secretary Lord Knutsford gave them preference over any other. **Sir Sidney Shippard, Administrator of British Bechuanaland, agreed to the railway scheme although he considered the company's terms extravagant, and would have preferred the railway to be constructed by the Government.**

The firm took over responsibility for the communication line between Elebe and Mafikeng in October 1889, including mail conveyance services, which was initially performed by male-led mule transport. They found it necessary to have men stationed at various out-posts along the routes, and worked with regional chiefs to dig water wells at the postal stations. Developments continued. By 1891 prospector Frederick Edwin 'Harman', F.G.S., F.C.S., was the superintendent and agent for the Bechuanaland Exploration Company, that year finding himself in a dispute with King Khama after erecting a store on his land without prior permission. [The Bechuanaland Exploration Company, Limited, was listed on Paris OTC (Coulisse) starting from 29 July 1895 to at least 31 December 1898.]