

Religion and Politics in an African Chieftdom: The Mothowagae Secession Revisited

by Leonard Ngcongco

I

Missionary contact with the Tswana reaches back to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when Robert Moffat established himself at Kudumane, among the Southern Tswana in 1821. From his base among the Batlhaping, Moffat visited the Ngwaketse capital, then at Kgwakgwe, during the rule of Makaba I. Without quite realising it, Moffat's visit to Makaba, in 1824, sowed the first tiny seed of conversion towards Christianity among the Bangwaketse.

By the 1840s agents of the London Missionary Society (LMS) were deploying the services of African teacher-evangelists at several of their mission stations and associated out-stations, where these religious pioneers were toiling away under the occasional or regular supervision of their white superiors.¹ Thus when the Tlharo teacher-evangelist Sebubi was in 1848 sent from Kudumane to work among the Bangwaketse his mission among them was probably not as strange as it might have appeared had Moffat not visited there a generation or so earlier. Sebubi however established himself at Ranaka, from where he paid regular visits to other Ngwaketse settlements. Sebubi's labours were soon to be reinforced by those of Tlhomelang and other evangelists.² Some of these had been trained either at Lovedale in the Cape Colony or Morija in Lesotho before arrangements to provide training had been mounted at Kudumane.

Even though these teacher evangelists operated at the frontline of Church's proselytizing campaign neither the church authorities nor traditional Tswana rulers accorded them sufficient respect and credit for the crucial role they were playing. The general attitude and opinion of senior church leaders was that the evangelist cadre constituted an inferior or even a half-baked rank in the church ministry, which of necessity, required the close supervision as well as guidance of the European pastors. The traditional rulers on the other hand resented the seeming obstructiveness or was it obtuseness of fellow Africans, often fellow tribesmen, who appeared to them hell-bent on aiding and abetting foreign baruti in their mischievous work of undermining and destroying values that formed the bastions of the life and culture of traditional society. Nor could the evangelist irritant be attenuated or compensated for by the prestige that the European missionary's semi-diplomatic role accorded a ruler with such a resident missionary.

This article examines the rebellion of a Mongwaketse evangelist against his European supervisor as well as his chief and shows how the secessionist movement that he subsequently led was, for a time, taken over by a group of traditional aristocrats and used as a vehicle for opposing the ruling kgosi (chief) Bathoen. It was only later in the course of the struggle between the secessionists and their kgosi that the movement took on the character of the more traditional Ethiopianist schisms.

II

Although Gaseitswe placed no obstacles before the evangelists who preceded the first resident white missionary among the Bangwaketse, and even though he warmly welcomed James Good (as his grandfather Makaba II had done to Moffat) and contributed significantly towards the success of his work, he himself never submitted to baptism. His son and heir Bathoen, however, did become a convert and was baptized into the LMS before he was installed kgosi in 1889. As had happened in other Tswana chiefdoms,³ the conversion of a leading member of the royalty (in this case the heir to the kgosi himself) gave a tremendous boost to the still small but growing number of Christian converts in the community. It also helped to increase the gulf between the traditionalists who resisted conversion on the one hand, and the Christian converts on the other.

In the years immediately preceding his installation as kgosi Bathoen began drawing closer to the missionary James Good, and also began appearing to many, especially to a group of conservative Ngwaketse aristocrats and traditionalists, as the champion in the traditional court or kgotla of the converts group in the community.⁴ This same powerful group of aristocrats, many of whom were descended from Makaba II, Moleta and Mongala had earlier shown opposition to Bathoen being designated heir-apparent to his father Gaseitswe, and had pressurized the latter to "divorce" Bathoen's mother and replace her, as queen, with the daughter of Mathiba, one of these Ngwaketse aristocrats.⁵ But to their disappointment Bathoen's succession could not be prevented when his father died. Nevertheless to these traditionalists Bathoen's ties with the Christians were a source of alarm and an additional ground for resistance.

Conscious of the existence of these strong pockets of resistance to his rule Bathoen deliberately cultivated the support of the Church and strove to develop strong ties with British officials in the Protectorate. He also did his best to maintain sound relations with the Bamanwato, Bakwena, as well as Tshidi-Barolong royal houses to all of which he was related through marriage.⁶ Bathoen's attachment to the LMS and to the British must have been strengthened by his visit along with Khama III and Sebele to Britain in 1895. It is also worth remembering that on that visit this chiefly trio had been chaperoned by two LMS missionaries Willoughby and Edwin Lloyd.

It is perhaps more against this background of political intrigues within the Ngwaketse state rather than the influence of the sweep of a general wave of "Ethiopianism" in southern Africa that the Mothowagae secession ought to be viewed.

III

The year 1902 was to witness the eruption of a church dispute among the Bangwaketse, which started as a simple dispute in one congregation but grew to take on the features of a secessionist movement that simultaneously provided a mask for incipient political revolution. The leader and central figure of the church dispute was a Mongwaketse teacher-evangelist of Kanye known as Mothowagae Motlogelwa. A member of the Ma-Isantwa mophatu or regiment of which Bathoen was the leader, Mothowagae was probably between the age of 50 and 55 years when the dispute erupted.

Mothowagae was trained at the Bible School at Kudumane as a teacher-evangelist between 1880 and 1884.⁶ At the end of the latter year he was appointed an evangelist at Kanye, a position which it appears combined the duties of assistant to the pastor as well as instructing the youth who attended the local mission school. He is thought to have been a popular teacher-evangelist, a brilliant and in many ways a progressive man, who was also well-versed in Tswana law and custom. He is also said to have been a powerful speaker, an assertive and bold, if not a courageous, person. By 1893 Mothowagae had already distinguished himself in church activities, where James Good's easy-going and somewhat lethargic manner of directing affairs provided excellent scope for the rather pushful, ambitious as well as capable evangelist. There is reason to believe that in traditional politics he was influential and that Bathoen relied much on his counsel.⁷

It seems likely that when the younger Edwin Lloyd, Good's son-in-law came to Kanye in 1889, his tighter control over the Kanye church created a great deal of disquiet among the leading church members accustomed to the easy-going manner of James Good.⁸ In the same year Lloyd divided the mission school at Kanye into a non-fee paying Tswana-medium school under Mothowagae, and one in which English was taught and where the pupils had to pay six pence a month.⁹ Towards the end of February 1893, Lloyd's fee-paying school had an enrolment of sixty-two pupils but for both the months of January and February he had collected only the sum of sixteen shillings and ninepence in fees. Although Lloyd used two Kudumane-trained monitors at his fee-paying school, it became progressively unpopular with the result that by October 1893 enrolment had dropped below thirty pupils and hardly any of those were paying any fees, while the enrolment at Mothowagae's school continued to climb as many pupils registered there instead of at the "Fee School".¹⁰

In fairness to Lloyd it ought to be stated that he was not responsible for the unpopular policy of introducing a "Fee School". The originator of that idea was the Reverend R. Wardlaw Thompson, Secretary for Foreign Missions of the IMS.¹¹ It appears very likely that it was the burden of fees that led to the decline of Lloyd's and the growth of Mothowagae's school. But given Mothowagae's own charismatic qualities there is no reason to suppose that his popularity as a teacher could not result in his "Free School" drawing nearly all the pupils from the rival school. To many people in Kanye, the setback experienced by the new "Fee School" project was probably seen as an example of Mothowagae's triumph over Lloyd. What is more, Mothowagae himself, who had by 1900 come to look upon himself as standing on a par with the youthful Lloyd,¹² the failure of the English school must have been a personal victory.

Lloyd's strict enforcement of a resolution of the Bechuanaland District Committee of IMS banning the consumption of kgadi by church members, as well as the doubling of church dues, contributed a great deal to the unhappiness of many Kanye church members with his strict and autocratic control over the congregation.¹³ Even before the war, plans were made to appoint a young Lovedale-trained teacher to take over the mission school at Kanye. Bathoen, who favoured the idea, pledged one half of the salary of the new teacher while the IMS were expected to raise the other half.¹⁴ The young man in question was Kgosisikobo Chelenyane, who returned to Kanye from Lovedale was considerably delayed by the Anglo-Boer war then raging.¹⁵ As soon as Kgosisikobo Chelenyane arrived in Kanye he was placed in charge of the

mission school, Mothowagae having been transferred in 1901 to the small out-station of Lehotu in the Kgalagadi desert.¹⁶

Indications are that Mothowagae had been among the outspoken critics of Lloyd's iron-handed control of the Kanye church. It accordingly seems difficult not to conclude that the decision of the Bechuanaland District Committee to transfer him to Lehotutu was not inspired or prompted by Lloyd's desire to remove a wilful and troublesome evangelist from his centre of popular support. In the event, transferring Mothowagae to Lehotutu was tantamount to sending him to Siberia. It is therefore hardly surprising that he should have declined to go, although he softened his refusal by pleading his wife's illness as an excuse for declining.¹⁷ But Lloyd, who desperately desired to remove Mothowagae from Kanye, had found a good excuse. So he promptly dismissed Mothowagae and paid him off in July 1901.¹⁸

Lloyd's dismissal of Mothowagae, like his earlier suspension of the salary of the evangelist Motlhanke Sera of Disaneng, was a blunder that upset many church members in Kanye. Mothowagae's leadership had earned him the respect and admiration of many Bangwaketse, while his wisdom and eloquence at the royal kgotla made him one of Bathoen's trusted advisers. The senior missionary at Kanye, James Good, had been aware of the tremendous respect Mothowagae enjoyed at Kanye, and despite Mothowagae's bump-tiousness, continued to treat him with great consideration. Good and Mothowagae were probably also men of the same age generation, and Mothowagae would accordingly be more prepared to take reasonable disciplinary action from "Monare Kwiti" than from the younger and not so tactful Lloyd. Further, there was an additional reason that would dispose Mothowagae to be more tolerant to any chastisement by Good. It was Good who identified and coopted him to the position of an assistant between 1874 and 1880, before sending him to Kudumane to be trained as an evangelist.

To the bulk of the Bangwaketse, Mothowagae's training spell at Kudumane was probably looked upon as a training which would make of him a fully-fledged moruti or teacher like "Monare Kwiti". They could not and did not know of the different gradations and ranks within the clerical cadres. There is abundant evidence suggesting that Mothowagae himself had by 1900 come to look upon himself as not just an evangelist but a fully-fledged pastor on a par with such men as Good and Lloyd.¹⁹ It would, therefore, appear that Mothowagae's own pretensions and his social standing among the Bangwaketse called for great tact or at least considerably more finesse in handling him than Lloyd seemed capable of. To justify his own action, Lloyd deliberately played down the seriousness of the discontent caused by his dismissal of Mothowagae. He suggested that most of those who complained were not full church members but "enquirers" whose real discontent was based on the fact that they had not been too quickly admitted to full church membership of the LMS congregation at Kanye. According to Lloyd that insignificant group of malcontent converts gained notoriety by being reinforced by an equally malcontent group of headmen who were planning rebellion against the chief.²⁰

This explanation, however, concealed more than it revealed. Those Bangwaketse who had become converts had been with missionaries long enough to have a general grasp of what the requirements were regarding admittance to full church membership. If they did complain it is possible that changes introduced by Lloyd were too drastic or had not been adequately explained

to the "enquirers", Otherwise it seems hard to believe that people who were only "enquirers" would take such a stand during their period of preparation for membership. Further, a petition sent by some members of the Kanye IMS congregation to London gave the sole reason for Mothowagae's followers rebelling against Lloyd as the prohibition of the brew known as kgadi.²¹ Needless to say, this explanation which gave the point of view of the loyal members of the IMS was as one-sided as Lloyd's version. Certainly, the expulsion of Mothowagae was a very important factor,²² as was the increasing of church dues from five to ten shillings per year. Many of these discontented church members stayed away from the regular services of the IMS and attended those of Mothowagae, who during the rest of the year 1901 held his own services at the royal kgotla, although he continued to regard himself as part of the IMS.

As we had already noted, Bathoen's supreme authority over his people was qualified by the efforts of a group of sub-chiefs and headmen who were always striving to increase their own power at the expense of that of the king. These nobles had failed to prevent his automatic succession mainly because of the relative minority of the young pretender whom they wished to put up against Bathoen's candidacy. Bathoen had in the meantime strengthened his ties with the missionaries and the British administration and also built up a strong following among the Ngwaketse Christian converts. These alliances made Bathoen a formidable ruler to those who might wish to overthrow his rule. In addition, Bathoen's popularity had been increasing among Christians and non-Christians as a result of his indefatigable efforts to prevent any encroachments on Ngwaketse territory and property. His strong stand against unpopular or disadvantageous boundary awards, his visit to Britain with Khama III and Sebele and his attempts to shield his people against the burdens of hut-tax at a time when the Bangwaketse were still very depressed by recent disasters - all these policies had done much to marshal the support of nearly all his people.

But some of Bathoen's reforms were irksome to many of the traditionalists. For instance, he started the new year of 1902 by renewing his ban on the ancient initiation ceremonies of bogwera and bojale.²³ Thus, although the Ma-Lau regiment was formed without having undergone the rite of circumcision, many of its members had in fact fled to neighbouring Tswana communities where the rite was not outlawed and had undergone circumcision there. These rites were too deeply embedded in the cultural lives of the people to be lightly done away with at the stroke of a pen. The dissatisfaction generated by some of Bathoen's reforms proved to be grist to the mill of the malcontent sub-chiefs and headmen. The immediate consequence was the flocking of several headmen, with many of their followers, to Mothowagae's dissenting church.

Thus, whereas Mothowagae started with a following of about forty-five members, by October 1903 he claimed to have 779 people in different parts of the Ngwaketse country.²⁴ The dissident headmen and other Bangwaketse who were opposed to Bathoen had found the Mothowagae's church movement a convenient way of continuing a political campaign under the cloak of religion, and Mothowagae was used as the stick with which to beat Bathoen. It is therefore likely that it was the accretion to his group of followers of this powerful clique that moved Mothowagae to sever links with the IMS early in 1902.²⁵ With his followers, they set up the King Edward Bangwaketse Free Church under Mothowagae's leadership.

According to a petition of the King Edward Church addressed to the Resident Commissioner, twenty sub-chiefs and headmen were listed as members of Mothowagae's church.²⁶ While Bathoen was sympathetic to Mothowagae's personal grievance against Lloyd, he was nevertheless loyal to the LMS and certainly could not be expected to look with favour upon the formation of a rival church in his own capital. It thus appears that his ambivalent attitude towards the new church stemmed both from his realisation of the forces that were ranged behind Mothowagae, as from some vague hope that the split was a transient affair that would disappear after some satisfactory settlement of problems in the Kanye LMS church. Thus his permission that Mothowagae conduct his services in the royal kgotla could have been partly a result of pressure exerted on him by these powerful rebel headmen, whose leader was thought to be Bathoen's own brother-in-law, Tsima,²⁷ and partly Bathoen's own belief that Mothowagae and his group had not moved so far away from the LMS that they were beyond reconciliation with it.

It was this belief on the part of Bathoen that made him take the initiative in getting LMS authorities to consider the possibility of ordaining Mothowagae. It was also the realisation by the B.D.C. of the calibre of men supporting Mothowagae that made them yield to Bathoen's pressure to consider Mothowagae as a candidate for ordination. This the B.D.C. meeting, sitting at Palapye in May 1902, agreed to do even though Mothowagae had broken away from the LMS and founded a separate church. According to LMS sources, Mothowagae failed the test set by the B.D.C. and thus lost all claim to be considered for ordination. Schapera is probably correct in stating that in addition to lacking "the necessary educational qualifications" he was rejected mainly because he had been guilty of schism.²⁸ While missionary sources are silent on the nature of the test or the panel that examined Mothowagae, he himself claimed that he was tested in subjects that the missionaries had never taught him:

... I was given (a) Latin Book, Greek and Hebrew and asked to read the same, I informed them that they had not taught me this language in their Schools and they refused to ordain me.

Clearly relying for his information on missionary accounts, Bathoen simply stated that Mothowagae had failed everything, while Willoughby described him as an "ignorant fellow".²⁹

Until Mothowagae's failure to secure ordination, Bathoen had been handling the Mothowagae group with much consideration. Once ordained, Mothowagae would replace Lloyd as the minister at Kanye. This would destroy the vehicle for the disguised revolt that Bathoen believed the King Edward Church had become. It must have been this realisation of the extent to which the dissident headmen had captured Mothowagae's religious faction that moved Bathoen to appeal to the Acting Assistant Commissioner Jules Ellenberger for advice.³⁰

When Ellenberger enquired of James Good what the real nature of the dispute was, his letter was answered by Edwin Lloyd who gave him the missionary version of the dispute. Obviously very sensitive and irritated by the Acting Assistant Commissioner's interest in the matter, Lloyd reminded Ellenberger that the dispute was a purely church matter.³¹ This was, of course, incorrect. Whatever it might have been when it started, the Mothowagae church movement had by June 1902 ceased to be a purely church

affair. Still unable to make a realistic assessment of the extent of the religious-cum-political revolt, missionaries were inclined to be hyper-sensitive about what they deemed the unwarranted interest of secular authorities in the Mothowagae affair. To reassure the missionaries the Resident Commissioner in Mahikeng affirmed that purely church disputes fell outside the purview of government.³²

Bathoen, who sought the advice of government officials on how to handle the Mothowagae dispute, had been far more perceptive than the missionaries about the complex nature of the dispute. He knew that it was religious only to the extent that Mothowagae started it in opposition to Lloyd, and on what looked like straightforward religious or church grounds. But he soon perceived that the number and calibre of people the new church attracted quickly changed its character turning it into a movement directed more against himself than against the LMS. He saw that the King Edward Church was both a movement to secure a definite African voice and leadership in church matters, as well as being a convenient vehicle for opposition and dissent.

James Good was therefore not far off the mark when he described the Mothowagae movement as part of a wider movement known as "Ethiopianism"; and represented a desire "to cast off the tutelage" in which the Tswana had lived up to that moment.³³ Where Good was missing the point was in ascribing "Ethiopianism" in Kanye to the influence wielded by migrant workers returning from the Johannesburg and Kimberley mines, as well as Tswana students at Lovedale who brought back "the most wonderful stories about the churches and their methods in the colony... the Ethiopians in particular".³⁴

Clearly, the causes of "Ethiopianism" among the people of Botswana were not radically different from those that led to the growth of that movement in other parts of Africa. Among the Bangwaketse those causes were partly dissatisfaction with the manner in which the teachings of the white-directed LMS sought to destroy African values and customs through its assault on the very pillars of indigenous culture - rain-making, polygamy, levirate and sororate marriages, initiation (both *bogwera* and *bojale*) rites and so forth. Partly the Bangwaketse resisted the frustration bred by a racial exclusiveness which made little or no provision for talented Africans in the normal operations of these mission churches. Finally the so-called Ethiopianism was sometimes caused by the high-handed manner with which white missionaries treated their African congregations or the cavalier treatment that young missionaries like Lloyd meted out to senior and respectable African leaders such as Motlanke and Mothowagae.

Bathoen himself did not wish to have anything to do with Ethiopianism. Less than four years before he had refused two "Ethiopians", Seele and Mareko, permission to build a small church in Kanye.³⁵ He had permitted Mothowagae to preach at the *kgotla* only as long as he thought there was still hope of reconciliation through the ordination of Mothowagae into the pastorate of the LMS. Once this appeared impossible he had ordered Mothowagae to desist, but his order had been ignored. To meet Bathoen half-way, the B.D.C. having declined to ordain Mothowagae felt it should accede to his other request - namely to transfer Lloyd from Kanye. But Lloyd's very strong reaction to that decision,³⁶ and a petition against the transfer of Lloyd signed by forty-six members of the Kanye LMS Congregation resulted in the cancellation of the transfer. This letter also asked the Board of Directors of the LMS to send a deputation of minister who were

thoroughly acquainted with the Tswana to investigate the religious dispute at Kanye.³⁸

Early in the following year, a commission of enquiry comprising two white missionaries, who had served a long time among the Tswana, was sent to investigate the dispute at Kanye and to prepare the way for a reconciliation. The Brown-Willoughby commission did not approach its task with an open mind. The commission appears to have proceeded on the basis that Mthowagae and his followers had defied the Mission and could therefore not be heard at the same meetings as those of loyal or regular members of the LMS. Because Brown and Willoughby insulted the Mthowagae party by refusing them entry at a meeting held in the church on Tuesday morning, 17 February 1903,³⁹ the Mthowagae party, in turn, administered a similar snub to the commission members when they subsequently sent for them.⁴⁰ Thus, when Brown and Willoughby reported that Lloyd was not to blame for the dispute at Kanye they had done so without hearing the case for the Mthowagae party.

The blatantly partisan approach of Brown and Willoughby drew a complaint from Bathoen that the commissioners had "consulted one party and left the other party unconsulted" despite their having asked him (Bathoen) to call Mthowagae and his followers.⁴¹ Bathoen then asked for a different missionary. To this the LMS Secretary for Foreign Missions replied on behalf of the Directors that Bathoen was wantonly interfering in church affairs, and reminded Bathoen that no secular authority, whether it be the chief of the Bangwaketse or the British Government, could remove a missionary.⁴² In a subsequent letter to Thompson, Bathoen reported that the Mthowagae party had now taken the position that they had finished with the LMS and would not rejoin it even if Lloyd were removed from Kanye. Bathoen had, however, made it clear that no other society would be permitted to establish itself in Kanye. This was bending over backwards to retain goodwill and reassure the LMS of their virtually "established" position in Ngwaketse country. In this way, Bathoen was taking care not to break with the missionaries as a body even though he emphasized that Lloyd himself would have to be removed.⁴³ This, Bathoen reckoned, would clear the way for reconciliation with the LMS and accordingly facilitate the ending of the schism.

Bathoen's comments suggest that he had as his principal concerns not only the division of Ngwaketse unity, but also the dangerous menace to his own position as king. His apparent tendency to blow hot and cold over the issue of the removal of Lloyd suggests his tremendous mental conflict and agony as he battled to keep the loyal supporters of the LMS and the dissenters happy. But towards the middle of the year 1903 it was becoming clear to Bathoen that the Mthowagae group had become irreconcilably alienated: what was more, the headmen in Mthowagae's church continued their political intrigues designed to supplant Bathoen with Kwenetsile. Thus, although only three months before Bathoen had been insisting that Lloyd would have to go, when in August 1903 he learnt of the decision of the Board of Directors to transfer Lloyd to Barkly West, he expressed the opinion that that transfer would make no difference to the split as the two parties were determined not to be reconciled.⁴⁴ About two months later, Bathoen had abandoned attempts to appease the secessionists over Lloyd's position at Kanye. He now definitely retracted his earlier pressure to have him transferred:

I beg to inform you that I have a missionary here at Kanye the Rev. Mr E. Lloyd. And if you sent (sic) another missionary it must be clearly understood that he is not coming (sic) to Kanye but to another place.⁴⁵

Lloyd's letter of 3 September 1903 protesting against his transfer from Kanye claimed that his continued stay there was desired by his deacons, the entire church as well as by Bathoen. Like Bathoen's letter of 27 August 1903, it represented the religious dispute as having gone into a state of abeyance:

Even the Mothowagae party does not cause the trouble it once did, as there is every probability of its falling to pieces presently. Indeed, several of them have already returned to us.⁴⁶

If this slightly reassuring picture was correct at all, that must have been so only on the denominational front. There was nothing to suggest that the political menace to Bathoen's position and authority was receding. On the contrary, Lloyd advised Thompson that:

The Headmen who have allied themselves with Mothowagae are conspirators working against Bathoen, and they have selected Bathoen's own brother to be chief, and they have done this under the cloak of religion.⁴⁷

The scheming of the headmen in Mothowagae's church appears to have reached such an intensity towards the end of 1903 that Bathoen was warned by both Khama III and Sebele about how the disloyal headmen were using Mothowagae as a tool to achieve their own ends. It appears likely that they also counselled him to suppress Mothowagae's church.

Meanwhile Mothowagae's own bumptiousness and over-confidence, bolstered by the support of the headmen, caused him to overreach himself, and thereby precipitate a collision between Bathoen and himself. For over a year Bathoen had been watching Mothowagae frustrating all his efforts to bring about reconciliation and end the disunity of the Bangwaketse at Kanye. Noting with horror Mothowagae's increasingly obstreperous and insolent bearing towards himself, Bathoen gradually lost what sympathy he had shown for Mothowagae at the start of the schism.

The feeling of mutual antipathy between these two members of the Ma-Isantwa regiment reached a climax in September 1903. At a public prayer meeting for rain held at the royal kgotla Mothowagae is said to have stood up and boasted that he had stopped the rain the previous year and had bewitched or cast a spell on all the efforts of the Bangwaketse to improve their lot. As a result, the Bangwaketse claims for compensation for losses incurred during the Anglo-Boer war would all fail. Mothowagae's pretensions annoyed Bathoen:

We, the Bangwaketse, were very much hurt ... at hearing that a teacher has power exceeding that of God and of the ruler. I saw that Motho-oo-gae would destroy the Bangwaketse by his actions and his words.⁴⁸

Bathoen further told Ramaeba⁴⁹ that although Mothowagae was an unordained teacher, he was dispensing holy communion and performing baptism: "he is

not afraid of anything". He complained that Mothowagae was misleading many Bangwaketse who were unaware of the fact that most of his activities were irregular. If he were permitted to continue to live in Kanye, the Bangwaketse would eventually be like a people without order. "I say that he must be removed from the village before he teaches evil to the Bangwaketse". Bathoen therefore appealed to the Administration because, he said, "I am a man in the hands of the Government ... and I would not like to do anything of any importance without Government knowing of it".^{49a}

On 26 October 1903, Bathoen summoned a large pitso or general assembly of the Bangwaketse and told them he had decided to expel Mothowagae from the Ngwaketse reserve because of his persistent defiance of his (Bathoen's) authority. Mothowagae himself stated in an interview with Ellenberger that Bathoen accused him of having paid a clandestine visit to the Resident Commissioner at Mahikeng and lodging a complaint there against him (Bathoen.)⁵⁰ After Bathoen's decision to expel Mothowagae from Ngwaketse country, the latter took refuge with the headman Makaba.⁵¹

Bathoen's decision to expel Mothowagae resulted in a great uproar in the village; as some of the sub-chiefs and headmen as well as other partisans of Mothowagae openly sympathised with Mothowagae. That night many people congregated at Makaba's kgotla and it was clear that Bathoen had little support. The hostile demonstrations of many Bangwaketse appeared clearly seditious to Bathoen and a few of his closest supporters. It was even considered that a guard be put to defend Bathoen at night, but he himself turned down the suggestion. Many pleas by several sub-chiefs and headmen that Bathoen should forgive Mothowagae were turned down by the chief.⁵² As Bathoen refused to be moved by these intercessions and representations from the hostile nobles, one of them, Seametso, accompanied Mothowagae to Gaborone to request the intervention of the British Administration.⁵³

As might have been expected, Ellenberger sought the advice of the Resident Commissioner. Although these officers were inclined to support Bathoen, they were hesitant to do so if the dispute was of a purely religious character. The Resident Commissioner stated:

I don't care if a man is a fire worshipper, a Mohametan or a Christian, he is entitled to his own views - but if he uses the fact of his religious belief to create disturbance in the tribe and as an excuse for disobedience of lawful authority, it cannot be allowed ...

If Bathoen turns out Mothowagae because he differs from his religious views, he is, of course, wrong.

If Mothowagae uses his religious belief as an excuse to disobey lawful authority, he is wrong.⁵⁴

This was consistent with the position Ralph Williams had taken the previous year when he told the B.D.A. that the Administration had no intention to interfere in strictly church affairs. Ellenberger therefore went to Kanye to determine the exact nature of the trouble there. During his interview with Bathoen, the latter catalogued the sins of Mothowagae. These included Mothowagae's unauthorised obstruction of Mabe, a Mongwaketse who came from Morija in Lesotho, by preventing him teaching the scriptures to some Bangwaketse at the royal kgotla and Mothowagae's refusal to appear before

Bathoen to explain his behaviour even though Bathoen had sent four times for him.⁵⁵ Mothowagae also refused to pay tax. Some time back Mothowagae had borrowed money from Bathoen to have a wagon made for himself at Grahamstown and was now refusing to repay the loan. Then there was his uncalled-for and provocative declaration that he had stopped the rain and had bewitched the work of the Bangwaketse. Finally, Mothowagae spoke to Bathoen in a most disrespectful manner, and was treating him as an equal rather than as his chief.⁵⁶

While it would appear from the foregoing that Bathoen was making a good case for a charge of civil disobedience by Mothowagae, he did not press the charge home. While he regretted his people following Mothowagae, who was misleading them, he also stated that his banishment of Mothowagae had nothing to do with religion. In the eyes of British officers, Mothowagae's offence was not sufficient to warrant the extreme punishment of banishment from the Ngwaketse reserve. Ellenberger accordingly suggested his banishment to an isolated part of Bangwaketse territory. All this was conditional upon Mothowagae apologising publicly to Bathoen and stating that he recognised him as his chief. Following very closely the advice given by Ellenberger, Bathoen announced at a public gathering held on 11 November 1903, his decision to send Mothowagae not "across the boundary" as he had originally stated but to Lekgolobotlo.

Mothowagae now displayed his thorough knowledge of Tswana law and custom. On the same night on which Bathoen proclaimed his banishment Mothowagae found his way into the hut of Bathoen's mother, who brought him to the royal *kgotla* early the next morning. This, according to Tswana custom, left Bathoen with no other option but to pardon Mothowagae, since Mothowagae had by so doing taken refuge in the belly of Gaseitsiwe.⁵⁷ In a subsequent letter to Ellenberger, Bathoen explained that according to an ancient Tswana law an offender (who was not a murderer) could by running into the chief's house be said to have taken refuge in the Chief's belly, from where he could not be extracted. "As Mothowagae has clearly found out his fault he has run into my House and that only has saved him from being punished."⁵⁸ Thus through the skilful exploitation of ancient Tswana custom, Mothowagae gained a last minute reprieve, and was allowed to continue to live at Kanye.

Bathoen's handling of Mothowagae is difficult to understand if one forgets his predicament concerning the rebellious nobles who were really the moving spirits behind Mothowagae. Most of these men seemed to be involved in the conspiracy to replace Bathoen with his younger brother Kwenatsile. Thus to the Bamangwato and other Tswana watching the activities of Mothowagae at a distance, Bathoen's ambivalence in dealing with the refractory "Ethiopian" evangelist was baffling. In November 1903, a Tswana newspaper published in Mahikeng, printed a commentary on the Mothowagae affair purporting to "The argument of the Bamangwato". It denounced Mothowagae on his own testimony, as a wizard for claiming to have stopped rain, and warned that Mothowagae was leading a seditious movement that would eventually bring the same kind of ruin on the Bangwaketse as similar movements in the past had brought on both the Bamangwato and Bakwena societies.

The article ended with a veiled and gentle reproof of Bathoen for his inability to punish Mothowagae. Turning to Mothowagae, the article stated that had he been among the Bamangwato, they would have taken him "round to those villages (that he had bewitched) and would have caused you to wash

yourself with bitter roots".⁵⁹ Another article in the same organ addressed itself to the followers of Mothowagae, calling upon them to be a little more critical in looking at his own teachings and reconciling these with the gospel as it was contained in the scriptures. Accusing him of being a charlatan and a false prophet, the article concluded by addressing Mothowagae in these terms:

Truly, if you speak in this way (and) you were among us, Mokhalahari, we should place you in the sun, and would rub you with the rain-stopper's roots, until you know that a rain-stopper is not spared from pity or love.⁶⁰

The articles in Koranta were in fact saying that if the Bangwaketse did not know how to deal with a "false prophet" the Bamangwato would show them how to do it.

Early in 1904 the young pretender Kwenatsile was reported to be dying of consumption. Dr Macrae who was attending him held out no hope for his recovery although he was of the opinion that he could linger a long time. At this time, while on his death-bed, Kwenatsile, who was the only member of the Ngwaketse royal house to have actually joined Mothowagae's church, returned to the IMS⁶¹ In January Lloyd had reported that twenty-seven persons had returned from Mothowagae.⁶² Kwenatsile's death occurred on 25 May 1904, his burial providing the final round in the long drawn-out contest between Lloyd and Mothowagae for the position of premier cleric of the Bangwaketse.⁶³

The death of Kwenatsile also removed the focus for the political intrigues and machinations of Bathoen's opponents, as well as disposing of what had been a veritable Achilles heel for that king. Most of the dissident nobles were not so vocal in their opposition and tended to rely on Mothowagae stirring up trouble on the religious side, while Kwenatsile was to keep the cauldron boiling on the political front. Thus the death of the young prince and the temporary silencing of Mothowagae threw these nobles into comparative obscurity, until Bathoen's programme of reform gave them fresh cause for rallying around Mothowagae. A letter written late in June 1904 described how dramatically Bathoen promulgated one of these reforms. This was done at a lecholo or meeting of armed men held outside Kanye on the veld. There Bathoen denounced kgadi as foreign liquor, brought into the country from the south:

Three strangers came into our country long ago - two were men, and the third was only a child. (1) The first man-stranger was called Brandy: him I sent away long ago. (2) The second man-stranger is called Khadi (made of honey, sugar, golden syrup etc.): him I denounce as an enemy today, on this eleventh of July 1904, and I hereby drive him out of my country, as a dangerous enemy. The seretse with which you leaven the khadi must all be brought to me that I might destroy it with fire. (3) The third stranger is a harmless child called "Coffee". Him I find no fault with - he can remain among us. Learn my people that khadi ceases today throughout my country.⁶⁴

Coming as it did after his recent renewal of his ban on initiation ceremonies, the banning of kgadi was not well-received by many Bangwaketse. Discontent arising from the banning of kgadi and the renewal of the ban on initiation rites was soon intensified by Bathoen's levy of an education tax of two shillings. This was to subsidise the costs of the school at Kanye, and to augment the Nowaketse educational fund which was being paid through a levy of one shilling since 1901.

At Moshupa the chief of the Kgatla-Mmanaana, Gobuamang, defied Bathoen's ban on initiation ceremonies by organising his own bogwera in 1904. At Kanye many Bangwaketse demonstrated their displeasure with Bathoen's latest reforms by going over to Mothowagae, who though a little more cautious in his bearing towards the chief, had nevertheless continued to hold separate services. On Mothowagae himself, these reforms had an indirect influence. His movement appeared to fare best when the Bangwaketse were upset with affairs at Kanye. Kwnaetsile's death seems to have marked a turning point in the career of Mothowagae. Hitherto his efforts tended to be directed both towards ousting Lloyd from Kanye and compelling religious and political authorities to recognise him as the moruti of the Bangwaketse. To do this he had relied heavily on the support of the dissident aristocrats to bend Bathoen's will.

Kwnaetsile's death robbed Mothowagae of leverage, since it removed the danger that posed a threat to Bathoen personally. It also took the fire out of the opposition with which some of the dissident headmen confronted Bathoen. Also, the supplicatory terms of the condition on which Mothowagae earned his reprieve from banishment dictated the need for much caution and the avoidance of a direct collision with Bathoen. It appears to have been this need to readapt his course or modify his strategy that eventually swung Mothowagae into the mainstream of "Ethiopianism" as it was generally known in southern Africa.

With the young prince dead Mothowagae's church lost the flavour of dynastic rivalry that had attached to it soon after its founding. The issue now became a straight-forward contest between a European-directed or an African church, the essential element of "Ethiopianism". Bathoen who was a strong ally of the LMS did not like Mothowagae's resumption of his preaching, especially when many Bangwaketse started to join his movement after 1904. But as long as he did not figure as the prominent leader of an anti-Bathoen movement, or did not openly defy Bathoen, the latter could hardly justify banning him purely on the basis of running a different church.

When the time came for Lloyd to go on furlough in 1905 he was, according to prior arrangement,⁶⁵ replaced by James Good as locum tenens. It is probable that the B.D.C. gambled that because of Good's popularity with the Bangwaketse it would be wise to send him to Kanye so as to keep the situation from deteriorating. Whatever their calculations were, the result was disastrous for Lloyd. After a year with Good the Bangwaketse must have made it plain to Bathoen that Lloyd would have to go. Suddenly in 1906 Bathoen called upon the LMS to send another minister to Kanye. He stated that:

The Rev. E. Lloyd has now preached long enough among the Bangwaketse tribe, and has passed the appointed time which is usually taken by the ministers in the other reserves.⁶⁶

This time Thompson did not tell Bathoen that he was meeting in church affairs. Instead the Board of Directors of the IMS in London instructed the B.D.C. to investigate. A commission of enquiry comprising Howard Williams and W.C. Willoughby was sent to Kanye in July 1906 to investigate the real reasons behind Bathoen's astonishing request. According to their findings the complaint of Bathoen and the other Ngwaketse members of the IMS congregation at Kanye was that Lloyd was a lazy man.⁶⁷ Late that year Howard Williams was sent to Kanye to take the place of Edwin Lloyd.

Early in 1907 Bathoen donated, as a personal gift, the sum of £220 for an organ for the Kanye church, and pledged another £20 for freight.⁶⁸ Howard Williams found that the effect of years of denomination strife and civil discord were reflected in the chaotic state of the records of both the church and school, making it difficult for him to send a meaningful report to London. It is probable that James Good's year as locum tenens was one in which much of the organisational structures collapsed, and back-slidings among the church members abounded making it necessary for Howard Williams to refer to a need to cleanse "this latter day Corinthian Church".⁶⁹ But if the dispute had robbed the Kanye church of quantity, it was, in the opinion of Williams, left with material of higher quality. The men and women who remained were said to be "jealous for the honour and purity of the church". Although Williams expressed much desire to see the split healed, his report to London showed that he expected the healing process to take place only on the basis of the unconditional repentance of the schismatics:

The Mothowagae party has on more than one occasion indirectly inquired on what terms they could be received. "Terms" however are quite out of court in this matter.⁷⁰

It appears that Lloyd's retirement was demanded by Bathoen as a last attempt at bringing about the sort of compromise that would facilitate reconciliation with the schismatics. But when Mothowagae and a few die-hards (many returned after Lloyd's departure) refused to rejoin the IMS, rumours spread that Mothowagae was in contact with one Matolo, an "Ethiopian" at Taung in the northern Cape Colony.⁷¹ Bathoen first accused the headmen who backed Mothowagae of attempting to bewitch him and his soon Seepapitso. He stated that those responsible for bewitching him were the sons of Makaba, Moleta and Mongala, together with several ward-heads and even some of his personal retainers were part of the plot to destroy him.⁷² He accordingly gave all those who held kgamelo cattle from him the option of renouncing Mothowagae and the schismatic movement or surrendering the cattle under their care.

Bathoen's last years were heavily burdened with the weight of the Mothowagae schism. Long after the recession of the Kwenatsile problem that Mothowagae's movement accentuated, Bathoen was battling to maintain unity of church and religion in his country. He had long declared that he would wanted no other church but "Lontone" in his chiefdom. Yet nothing that he tried in order to bring about the termination of the dispute seemed to yield the necessary results. Mothowagae resisted all efforts by church leaders as well as officers of the Protectorate administration to bring an end to the dispute. Oscillating sadly between alternate strategies of dangling the carrot and the stick, between blandishments and promises or compromising by offering to secure the withdrawal of Edwin Lloyd and

threats of banishing the rebellious teacher, Bathoen still could neither compel nor persuade Mothowagae and his followers to return to the "established" church. An emergency meeting (letsholo) attended by the Resident Commissioner Ellenberger was called early in 1910 to discuss the dispute. Mothowagae and his followers declared themselves unwilling to abandon their faith."⁷³ Bathoen died shortly thereafter.

It was therefore left to his son and successor Seepapitso to deal conclusively with the problem that to him must have seemed responsible for driving his late father to his untimely death. Seepapitso promptly banned the movement from his chiefdom and banished Mothowagae to the tiny hamlet of Lekgolobotlo, in a remote corner of the Ngwaketse reserve.⁷⁴ None of his followers except members of his family were allowed to join him there. Thereafter, the secessionist movement flickered weakly at a few isolated centres and appears to have finally expired with the death of Mothowagae.

IV

In retrospect the facts of the Mothowagae secession do not appear to confront us with a classic case of "Ethiopianism", which ex hypothesi should present a situation of African revolt against European leadership. While it is true that Mothowagae's revolt could be said to have been provoked by the relationship that subsisted between the younger Edwin Lloyd and himself, he appears not to have resented the supervision of the older James Good and indeed seemed quite happy to accept him as his mentor. Also it is essential to remember that throughout Mothowagae's conflict with the LMS he was striving for recognition as a fully fledged pastor within the LMS fold since he believed his own preparation and experience had equipped him for such a role. Thus his disqualification at what he considered a grossly unfair examination with the final judgement that he would therefore never be ordained must have driven him into the arms of Matolo, particularly after Seepapitso had banned his movement from Ngwaketse country.

Mothowagae's case therefore appears to have been more one of a struggle for independency of worship (during which for a time the protagonists were skilfully manipulated by "extraneous" elements more concerned with dynastic squabbles than with either religious independency or "Ethiopianism" per se). Given the long-standing rivalry between Bathoen and his adversaries on the one hand, and also Mothowagae's personality which was generally characterised by extreme intransigence one is tempted to wonder whether in the situation then prevailing in Ngwaketse society one could not still see the eruption of a Mothowagae-type secession without either an Edwin Lloyd or James Good for that matter.

FOOTNOTES

1. J.M. Chirenje, A History of Northern Botswana 1850-1910, London, Associated University Presses, 1977, p.202
2. L.D. Ngcongco, Aspects of the History of the Bangweketse to 1920, unpublished Ph.D Thesis Dalhousie University, 1977, chapter 4, passim; Chirenje, A History of Northern Botswana, pp.202-4.
3. Ibid., pp.196-198, 199-206.
4. Ibid., Chapter 5, passim.
5. Ibid., pp. 297-298.
- 5a. Bathoen's wife was Gagoanwe a daughter of the Kwena king Sechele and sister to Sebele. His sister Gasikete married Khama III. His paternal aunt Tshadinyana had been married to Montshiwa whose other wife was Gadibusanye, daughter of Sentlinfe Sebege and aunt to Bathoen see E. Lloyd, Three Great African Chiefs. pp. 165-166; S.M. Molama, Montshiwa: Barolong Chief and Patriot (1814-1896) pp. 198, 216-217; Ngcongco, Aspects..., pp.278-279.
6. Before that, i.e., from 1874 to 1880 Mothowagae was an assistant under James Good. (See B.N.A., R.C. 10/11, Mothowagae and Others, "Petition of the King Edward Bangwaketse Free Church", dated 19 October 1903.)
7. See L.M.S., Box 50, Folder 1, Jacket B, for Bathoen's consultation with Mothowagae regarding the transfer of Motlhanke to Kooi in the desert.
8. In 1893 Lloyd suspended the stipend of the evangelist Motlhanke Sera of Disaneng on the grounds that Motlhanke absented himself for long periods from stations without just cause.
9. Chirenje states that Lloyd's "Fee School" did not teach English. (The Northern Tswana, p.209). In a letter to Thompson dated 21 February 1893, Lloyd described his school as an English teaching school. (L.M.S., Box 50, Folder 1, Jacket B).
10. L.M.S., Box 50, Folder 2, Jacket D, Lloyd to Thompson, 21 December 1893.

11. L.M.S., Box 50, Folder 1, Jacket B, Lloyd to Thompson, 21 February 1893. At Moshupa John Kesieman reported that there were no arrears at the one school which was also a "Fee School".
12. B.N.A., R.C. 10/11/1, Petition of King Edward Bangwaketse Church.
13. Schapera, "A Short History...", p.20., L.M.S., Box 62, Folder 1, Kanye L.M.S. Congregation to Directors of L.M.S., London, 16 December 1902.
14. L.M.S. Box 56, Folder 2, Jacket A, Lloyd to Thompson, 23 May 1899.
15. L.M.S., Box 59, Folder 1, Lloyd to Thompson, 18 January 1901.
16. Schapera, "A Short History...", p.20.
17. While Bathoen gave as a reason for Mothowagae's inability to go to Lehututu the excuse that Mothowagae's wife was in poor health, he himself stressed that Bathoen and the Kanye congregation wanted him to stay.
18. It is interesting that when in 1897 Lloyd was sent to Molepolole by the B.D.C. to act as locum tenens for the Rev. Howard Williams, Lloyd refused to go. No-one even considered dismissing him. (See L.M.S., Box 54, Folder 2, Jacket B, Lloyd to Cousins, 23 September 1897).
19. B.N.A., R.C. 10/11/2, Evidence of Mothowagae, "Petition of King Edward Bangwaketse Free Church" dated 19 October 1903.
20. L.M.S., Box 60, Lloyd to Thompson, 9 May 1902; also B.N.A., R.C., 10/11/1, Lloyd to Assistant Commissioner, June 1902.
21. L.M.S., Box 62, Folder 1, Kanye L.M.S. Congregation to Directors of the L.M.S., London, 16 December 1902.
22. Lloyd admitted afterwards that Mothowagae's dismissal and replacement by the young boy trained at Lovedale, Kgosisikobo Chelenyane, was a fundamental cause of his secession. (See L.M.S., Box 62, Folder 4, Lloyd to Thompson, 23 December 1903, where Lloyd says of Kgosisikobo: "He came and replaced Motho-oa-gae (sic) in the school, and this was one of Motho-oa-gae's grievances".)
23. L.M.S., Box 60, Folder 1, Lloyd to Thompson, 15 January 1902.
24. B.N.A. R.C. 10/11/2. Evidence of Mothowagae, "Petition of Members of the King Edward Bangwaketse Free Church", dated 19 October 1903, enclosed in Ellenberger to Ralph Williams, 31 October 1903.
25. L.M.S., Box 60, Folder 1, Lloyd to Thompson, 29th January 1902.
26. B.N.A. R.C. 10/11/3, the sub-chiefs and headmen listed were: Paul, Tsima, Koko, Ratlhaudi, Boakgomo, Tlhori, Kookodi, Moremedi, Kgosiarean, Nakatlou, Rasepe, Koorapetse, Kelailwe, Modisenyane, Kgampu, Johanae, Loago, Moncholomi, Monyenyanne and Seana.

27. L.M.S., Box 60, Folder 1, Lloyd to R.W. Thompson, 27 January 1902.
28. Schapera, "A Short History...", p.20
29. Chirenje, The Northern Tswana, p.250
30. B.N.A., R.C. 7/8, Bathoen to Acting Assistant Commissioner 12 June and 27 June 1902.
31. B.N.A., R.C. 7/8, Lloyd to the Acting Assistant Commissioner, 27 June 1902.
32. B.N.A., R.C. 7/8, Ralph Williams to B.D.C., 18 August 1902.
33. B.N.A., R.C. 7/8, James Good, Kenilworth, Cape, to Ellenberger, 20 June 1902.
34. Ibid.
35. L.M.S., Box 55, Folder 2, Jacket D, Good to Thompson, 11 November 1898. On that occasion Bathoen told the "Ethiopian" representative, in the presence of many Bangwaketse, that he (Bathoen) was in the "Lontone". All he knew he had learnt from the "Lontone". They had come to his help when spoilers wanted to take his country. The "Lontone" had taken him to England. He asked whether the "Ethiopians" could do the same for him and his people.
36. L.M.S., Box 60, Folder 1, Lloyd to Thompson, 9 May 1902.
38. L.M.S., Box 52, Folder 1, Kanye L.M.S. Congregation to Directors of the L.M.S., London, 16 December 1902. According to Chirenje there had been an earlier request by twelve members of the Kanye L.M.S. congregation claiming to speak for five hundred members. (Chirenje, The Northern Tswana, p.252.)
39. See Report of Brown and Willoughby, p.5, in L.M.S., Box 62, Folder 1, March 1903.
40. According to the Brown-Willoughby Report, when the commissioners sent for Mothowagae and his people suggesting alternative places of meeting them, the Mothowagae party sent a message stating that they themselves had no particular wish to see the members of the commission; but if Brown and Willoughby wished to see them they could "follow them among the stones and go to Mothowagae's house". This the commissioners judged an "impudent message" and made no further efforts to contact them.
41. L.M.S., Box 62, Folder 1, Bathoen to Thompson, 19 February 1903.
42. L.M.S., Box 67, Folder 2, Thompson to Bathoen, 28 March 1906.
43. L.M.S., Box 62, Folder 2, Bathoen to Thompson, 21 May 1903.
44. L.M.S., Box 62, Folder 2, Bathoen to Thompson, 27 August 1903.
45. L.M.S., Box 62, Folder 4, Bathoen to Thompson, 23 October 1903.

46. L.M.S., Box 62, Folder 3, Lloyd to Thompson, 3 September 1903.
47. Ibid.
48. B.N.A., R.C. 10/11/1, Bathoen to Ramaeba, n.d. enclosed in Ellenberger to Ralph Williams, 31 October 1903.
49. Contrary to Truschel's view that "Ramaeba" was one of Bathoen's trusted headmen, he was in fact none other than the Acting Assistant Commissioner, Lieutenant Colonel Jules Ellenberger. "Ramaeba" was the name by which the Tswana called him. (Cf. Truschel, Accomodation, p. 168)
- 49a. B.N.A., R.C. 10/11/1, Bathoen to Ramaeba, n.d.
50. B.N.A., R.C. 10/11/4. Evidence of Mothowagae at interview with the Acting Assistant Commissioner held at Gaborone on 30 October 1903. Mothowagae's submission on this allegation was corroborated by Ellenberger who was present at that meeting.
51. Chirenje incorrectly states that Makaba was "one of Bathoen's brothers". (The Northern Tswana, p.258). He was not a brother but an uncle of Bathoen as he was the son of Segotshane and, therefore, first cousin to Bathoen's father Gaseitsiwe. As head of the Segotshane ward he was one of the very senior royal headmen (dikgosana)
52. B.N.A., R.C. 10/11/3, Bathoen to Assistant Commissioner, 29 October 1903.
53. B.N.A., R.C. 10/11/3, Bathoen to Assistant Commissioner, 29 October 1903; B.N.A., R.C. 10/11/4, interview between the Assistant Commissioner and Mothowagae, 30 October 1903.
54. B.N.A., R.C. 10/11, Resident Commissioner to Assistant Commissioner, 2 November 1903.
55. Bathoen stated that he first sent Motlhanke, then Siele, later he sent Thata-ea-one and finally Gabatshwane. All these messengers were baruti (teachers) like Mothowagae, but he refused to appear before the chief.
56. B.N.A., R.C. 10/11/9, Evidence of Bathoen, interview with the Assistant Commissioner held at Kanye on 10-12 November 1903.
57. B.N.A., R.C. 10/11, Ralph Williams to Ellenberger, 20 November 1903.
58. B.N.A., R.C. 10/11/10, Bathoen to Assistant Commissioner, 14 November 1903.
59. Translation from Koranta Ea Becoana, 25 November 1903, in B.N.A., R.C. 10/11.
60. Koranta Ea Becoana, 2 December 1903.
61. L.M.S., Box 64, Folder 1, Lloyd to Thompson, 3 March 1904.

62. L.M.S., Box 64, Folder 1, Lloyd to Thompson, 23 Jan. 1904.
63. L.M.S., Box 64, Folder 2, Lloyd to Thompson, 25 June 1904.
64. L.M.S., Box 64, Folder 3, Lloyd to Thompson, 22 July 1904.
65. Ibid.
66. L.M.S., Box 67, Folder 1, Bathoen to Thompson, 8 February 1906.
67. Chirenje, *The Northern Tswana*, p.266, citing Report of Deputation to Kanye, July 1906. (I did not see this report).
68. L.M.S., Box 68, Folder 3, Howard Williams to Geo. Cousins, 27 March 1907; Box 68, Folder 4, Williams to Thompson, 24 November 1907.
69. L.M.S., Box 68, Folder 3, Williams to Cousins, 4 February 1907; Box 71, Folder 1, Williams to Thompson, 24 February 1909.
70. L.M.S. Box 69, Folder 3, Williams to Thompson, 5 August 1908.
71. B.N.A., R.C. 10/11/26, Seepapitso to Resident Commissioner, 28 June 1911. According to Parsons it was Matolo who ultimately ordained Mothowagae at Taung in 1911 into the Ministry of the Native Independent Church (see N. Parsons, "Ethiopianism Among the Tswana in the 19th and early 20th Centuries" in Societies of Southern Africa in the 19th and 20th Centuries, University London (ICS), 1970, pp. 1-12
72. "Kgosi Bathoeng ... a simolola go dira mabatla, a bolelela morafe fa o mmolaya, e bile batlhanka ba gaqwe". (Schapera, "Bangwaketse", Ditirafalo, pp. 147-148.)
73. L.M.S., Box 71, Folder 1, Williams to Thompson, 24 February 1909.
74. Schapera, Migrant Labour and Tribal Life, pp. 28-29.