

delay cannot but be attended with mischief, he fears that all legislation must be deferred to that period.

I am to request that you will communicate this reply, together with His Excellency's thanks for the expression of their sympathy, to the gentlemen who joined in the Meeting over which you presided.

I have, &c. &c.

(Signed) JOHN MONTAGU.

MR. NORDEN'S STATEMENT.

(From the "*Cape Town Mail*.")

SIR,—As my name has been mentioned at the late Public Meeting, and more particularly in the columns of the *Advertiser*, charging me with having deserted the cause I had promised to support, I think it right that the public should have the facts before them, and I rely upon your impartiality to publish the following statement.

I was informed, and led to suppose that, upon the occasion referred to, Mr. Hamilton Ross would take the chair; and under these circumstances, I agreed to assist Mr. Stigant, at his request, in getting up three resolutions for the meeting. The three following resolutions were accordingly agreed upon,—the first, to show that distress existed,—the second, the cause of that distress,—and the third, the remedy:—

“1. That it is the opinion of this meeting that the depressed state of trade and the distress of the working classes call for an immediate remedy, to prevent the evil consequences likely to arise, should such a state of affairs continue for any time.”

“2.—That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the cause of the distress existing in this city, and other parts of the Colony, is occasioned by the prolonged political agitation, which has caused the stoppage of public works, and the discontinuance of large public contracts; thereby taking out of circulation upwards of £20,000 monthly.”

“3.—That it is the opinion of this meeting, that in order to remove the cause of the present distressed state of the Colony, a petition be presented to His Excellency the Governor, praying that he will exercise those powers vested in him by law, to nominate as many additional members as may be required to fill up the vacancy in the Legislative Council, in order that the Government of the Colony may be resumed, until the new Constitution, which has been forwarded to England, shall have been returned to the Colony.”

In referring to these subjects, I specially prohibited any remarks or censure upon any party whatsoever,—whatever my own opinion might have been. This was clearly understood. The great, and only, object of the meeting was, to petition His Excellency the Governor to fill up his Council, so that public works might be resumed and the Government proceeded with. And being firmly of opinion that the Municipality of Cape Town and the Press have not the confidence of the people, I intended—if these three resolutions were carried—to move a fourth; which I was prepared to support, and which expresses my real sentiments:—

“4.—That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the Commissioners of the Cape Town Municipality, as well as the Cape Town Press, have not the confidence, nor

do they express the opinions, of a great and respectable portion of this community.”

But, in consequence of there being no chairman at the time of the meeting, and Mr. Stigant failing in his first resolution, I did not consider it necessary for me to come forward, though I much regretted the result of the failure, as I felt that the cause was a good one. Had I moved the last resolution, I intended to support it,—as regards the Press, by showing that it does not represent the true state of the present agitation. For instance, it represented that at a meeting of “the good people of Stellenbosch” the Constitution prepared by the four popular members was “unanimously adopted;” when, in fact, that meeting consisted only of Mr. Onkruidt and six other persons, in a town of some five or six thousand inhabitants;—and the proceedings in other districts have been similarly misrepresented. As regards the Commissioners of the Municipality, I intended to show that they have not the confidence of the inhabitants, inasmuch as that, instead of attending to their duty by fumigating and cleansing the town, they have become an anti-government party. I think it unnecessary to answer Mr. Fairbairn’s editorial remarks about the “coolie demonstration,” because he has already discharged me by a public apology in his own columns, after having been convicted by the Supreme Court for making the same charge.

BEN. NORDEN.

It is announced that Mr. Fairbairn will sail to-

morrow by the *Madagascar* for England, where he hopes "by incessant strokes" and "rapid and constant hammering," to gain an easy victory over Lord Grey. His weapons are the memorials and petitions of several municipalities; and armed with these, he is to attack the Colonial office first, and then "if need be, Parliament and the British people." Although we admit that his journey is fraught with danger to the Colony, we have great hopes that he will not find Lord Grey quite so weak and compliant as he supposes.

Cape Town, 22nd October, 1850.

To the Editor of the Cape Monitor.

SIR,—I have been a good deal surprised and somewhat pained at reading in the *S. A. C. Advertiser* and the *Cape Town Mail* of last Saturday, an advertisement, which states that "Mr. Fairbairn proposes to proceed to England by the next opportunity, and will be followed by Sir A. Stockenstrom as soon as the necessary documents shall have been received from the country."

I have often differed in opinion from Sir A. Stockenstrom: I have often thought his proceedings hasty and unwise: but never till now did I see occasion to doubt that he was influenced by a religious regard for truth, and high principles of honour.

Yet it is commonly stated that not many days ago, Sir A. Stockenstrom was examined by a Medical Board, one of the members of which was the referee of the Association in which his life is insured; and

that it was decided that he could not, in his present state of health, attempt to go to England without great danger to his life, and that should he do so his policy would be vitiated.

It is further stated that upon receiving this decision Sir A. Stockenstrom, like a sensible man, determined to remain in the Colony, and has himself so stated to several persons. Yet we find a statement of his intention to go to England, in an advertisement urging the public to subscribe money to cover his expenses. If he is not going, it is unworthy of him to lend his name for the purpose of extorting money on such pretences.

Nothing short of a public denial by Sir A. Stockenstrom himself will satisfy the public that he has not lent himself to an unworthy deception. And if he should declare that he intends to go to England, he should also state when; because his colleague Mr. Fairbairn has in his paper pronounced that the deputation will be useless unless it is in London before the meeting of Parliament, which he states will take place in the first week in February.

I am Sir, &c.

A LOVER OF TRUTH.

THE CAPE MONITOR.

Cape Town, Friday, November 1, 1850.

THERE is one circumstance connected with the introduction of Representative Institutions into this

Colony which has been either entirely overlooked, or studiously kept out of sight, by all writers and speakers on the subject here; namely, that that measure must inevitably be followed by a considerable increase of Colonial expenditure. The Colonial Reform Society in England is, in fact, only an off-shoot of Mr. Cobden's Financial Reform Association, and the movement had its origin in a feeling of impatience at the amount of Imperial expenditure in the Colonies, and in the Cape more than any other.

This feeling was expressed without the slightest disguise by Mr. Cobden, in his great Colonial speech at Bradford, on the 20th December, 1849; the following are his words:—

“ Now I have no hesitation in stating, I have seen it from the first, that you can make no reduction in the public expenditure unless you fully remodel your Colonial system; for at present the great cause of your vast expenditure for the army and navy is on account of your Colonies. I say, then, to these Colonists, I will give you the fullest self-government you can require: but, on behalf of the people of England, I say you must pay for this Government—I say you must pay for your own army, you must pay for your own functionaries, you must pay for your own ecclesiastical establishment.”

And further on, speaking with particular reference to this Colony,—after complaining of the expense of the last Kaffir war, and alluding to the Rev. Dr. Adamson's military speech at the great Anti-Convict meeting, he says:—

“ I say after that speech, and the manner in which

it was received, there is no reason for putting you to one shilling expense for the protection of this Colony.”

The doctrine thus laid down is one to which the Cape Colonists cannot, with any appearance of consistency, offer the slightest opposition. When we were reminded of the two millions which the Home Government had expended in the last Kaffir war, and asked to take convicts as a set-off against that debt,—what was our answer? “Do you expect us to thank you for paying expenses incurred through your own mismanagement? It was because you would meddle in matters which, at your distance from the Colony, you could not understand, that all this money has been wasted; give us the management of our own affairs, and we will bear the burden.”

The Home Government have, naturally, not been slow to avail themselves of the principle thus enunciated by the Colonial reformers, and accepted by the Cape Colonists. They have not, indeed, unconditionally adopted the views expressed by Mr. Cobden and Dr. Adamson,—for ministers and agitators seldom employ exactly the same language—but they have nevertheless distinctly intimated what we have to expect. On the 8th of March last Mr. Labouchere, speaking as a Minister of the Crown, in his place in Parliament, in reply to Mr. Cobden’s motion for a reduction of public expenditure, said :—

“When the Cape obtained Representative Government it might fairly be expected to bear a considerable portion of the expense incurred for barracks and troops in that Colony.”

Moreover, there seems to be a disposition on the part of the Government partially to carry out this principle, even before the actual introduction of Representative Institutions. We have already been warned more than once that the British people will not be called upon to pay the expenses of another Kaffir war: and in the Governor's late Minute on the Orange River Sovereignty we find a charge for "military buildings, &c. which the Secretary of State has decided must be paid from local funds."

The actual result of all this may be briefly stated thus: the Colonial revenue in 1849 was, in round numbers, £230,000; the Colonial expenditure £240,000; showing an excess of expenditure of £10,000: the annual Imperial expenditure (as now reduced by the removal of the rifle brigade, and by a large decrease of naval and commissariat expenditure, partly caused by the importation of supplies, in consequence of the inconvenience felt by the army and navy from the operation of the pledge last year), may be stated at £250,000: add this to the Colonial expenditure, and you have—expenditure, £490,000; revenue, £230,000; deficit, £260,000. This is on the supposition that Mr. Cobden's proposal is to be adopted, and the whole military expense thrown upon the Colony; but suppose the Home Government, more moderate in their expectations, only require us to relieve them of a moiety of the burden,—still we should have a deficit of £135,000. The advocates of self-government cannot, of course, think that they have purchased that at too dear a price.

The price, however, must be paid, and with the

Prospect of a deficit possibly exceeding the whole of our present actual revenue, and certainly so large that no imaginable economy could save it out of our present means;—with the certainty, therefore, of increased taxation, which must, under any circumstances, be mainly borne by property, and which will be imposed exclusively on property, if unprotected in the new Parliament, is the demand for a special representation of property unreasonable or unfair?

It is settled now that there are to be two Houses of Legislature: whatever doubt there may have been on that subject, there appears to be none now. Why should we have two Houses? To preserve a balance of power, and to secure due consideration of every legislative measure. Surely, then, it is clear that there will be no balance of power in a Legislature consisting of two Chambers composed of the same materials, and that little additional deliberation is to be expected from a second Chamber elected by the same constituency and under the same influences as the first: the same amount of advantage might be expected from reading a bill in one House six times instead of three.

In 1841, the prayer of the Colonists was that their Constitution might be assimilated in principle and form to that of the mother country; and, until very lately, this view has been uniformly taken by all who have agitated the question, including the present leaders of the democratic party. This would have given a nominated Upper House, and it would then have rested with the Crown to make such a selection of nominees as would have secured the objects for

which only an Upper House is desirable. The scheme of an elected Upper Chamber originated not with the Colonists, but with the English Government; and it is too much to be feared that, not holding the Cape in very high estimation, they have been guided by the maxim,—*Fiat experimentum in corpore vili*. They have, however, left the Colonists to find out how the purposes of an Upper Chamber may be best reconciled with the elective principle.

In the discussion of this great question, one party, which has declared itself the representative of the unanimous feeling of the people has pronounced for a purely democratic Chamber, universal suffrage and universal eligibility. The consequence is that the capitalists throughout the country, in anticipation of increased burdens and reduced protection, are becoming alarmed, are looking closely to the security of their investments, and reducing the amount of their advances on mortgages hitherto deemed unexceptionable. Even while we write we have ascertained that the trustees of the Guardians' Fund (the great Colonial mortgagees), sharing these apprehensions, have been for the last fortnight engaged in an inquiry into the state of that fund with a view to similar reductions, and that instead of advancing two-thirds of the assessed value of property, as they have hitherto done, they have determined in future only to advance one-fourth. We have not heard that the Banks at present propose taking any steps in the same direction, but we trust that the Directors of the Savings' Bank will take due care that the deposits of the poor who have not the liabilities of share-

holders to fall back upon, be not exposed to risks which are shunned by private capitalists.

All the data for the solution of this problem are now before the Colonists: they are to have a Lower Chamber essentially popular, they require an Upper Chamber to balance this popular element; they have among them a class from which such a Chamber could be formed; the members of that class will soon be called upon to contribute largely to the general revenue; in return for such contribution they ask that they may be separately represented in the Legislature. Fearing that this prayer will not be granted, they are already giving palpable proof of their apprehensions for the value of property; and the only concession that is required to restore their confidence, so essential to the public welfare, is one which two years ago would have been readily made by the most violent of their present opponents.

How it is that the party which would formerly have been satisfied with a nominated Upper House is now opposed to the more moderate principle of elected members, with a reasonable property qualification, we are not bound to show: they must account for their own inconsistencies. It may be found possible, however, to assign a reason for the course they are pursuing, and next week the attempt shall be made. In the meantime, the colonists are showing a disposition to speak for themselves, and to be editor-ridden no longer. Petitions are in preparation in several of the Country Districts in favour of a higher property qualification for both electors and members of the Upper House than that proposed by the Government Commission.

This fact is in itself a sufficient answer to the assertions of unanimity so clamorously reiterated by the democratic party.

The qualification of electors is quite as important a question as that of the elected, and it seems likely that the Colonists will agree with Lord John Russell, that the Legislative Council should be "elected by persons having a considerably higher qualification than those who are the choosers of the Representative Assembly." Even with this provision, as observed by the premier in his great speech on colonial policy at the commencement of the session, "the experiment is new, and it would be presumptuous to say that it would entirely succeed:" but if we are to be made the subject of experiments, we have, at least, a right to demand that they may be cautiously made; and that if new theories of government are to be first practically tested here, the process be gradual. At present we are asked, like Curtius, to leap into a gulf for the benefit of the whole Colonial Empire.

In reply, apparently, to our challenge of last week, and at the last moment, the names attached to the memorial borne home by Mr. Fairbairn have been published in the *Commercial Advertiser*. To analyse and classify correctly a list consisting of nearly one thousand names, one-half of which are entirely unknown, and not traceable by the directory, would be a labour for which we have little taste or convenience, and it would involve us in personalities which we are desirous at all times to avoid. The public, moreover, will be perfectly able, without our assistance, to appreciate the

value of the names : our business was to bring about the publication. Among them there is not a single merchant, and there are very few considerable proprietors. The wonder is that in a population of 30,000 the municipal street-keeper was not able to collect many more such signatures.

We perceive that the *Advertiser* and the *Mail*—the leading organs of the democratic, or, as we may now fairly call them, the deceptive party—continue to assert that it is the intention of Sir A. Stockenstrom to follow Mr. Fairbairn to England: we therefore deem it right to explain that we entirely adopt the statements of our correspondent “A Lover of Truth,” on whose correctness we implicitly rely, and whose letter has extorted the explanations which it is now our unpleasant duty to notice.

The advertisement to which our correspondent referred, contained the following words:—

“Mr. Fairbairn proposes to proceed by the *Madagascar*, and will be followed by Sir A. Stockenstrom as soon as the necessary documents shall have been received from the country.”

This statement was signed, “H. C. Jarvis, Chairman of the meeting of householders.”

Our correspondent explained in his letter that there was a general impression that this statement was incorrect: that the state of the baronet’s health would not permit him to go to England: that he had been so assured by his medical attendants: that the referee of the society in which his life is insured had declared that his doing so would vitiate his policy: and that he

had himself avowedly abandoned all idea of the voyage.

What is the answer? We quote from the *Cape Town Mail* of last Saturday:—

“ Sir A. Stockenstrom intends to follow his colleague in January, by which time all the necessary documents will have been received from the Country Districts. The health of the respected baronet is of late much improved; but it is still considered advisable that he should not arrive in England before the close of the winter.”

We quote also from the *Advertiser* of the same date:—

“ The health of Sir Andries, which suffered most severely from the exposures and hardships to which he was subjected in the field during the late Kaffir war, is unhappily such that, in the opinion of five medical men, whom it was necessary to consult professionally in this case, without incurring the most unjustifiable risks, he cannot proceed immediately from such a climate as this to the cold and foggy north, where he would thus arrive in the depth of winter: but they are also of opinion that at a more advanced period of the year the voyage would be rather beneficial than otherwise.”

Now, on behalf of the public who are asked to contribute to send this government pensioner and landed proprietor to England, we desire explanation on the following points:—

Firstly, the *Advertiser* should explain how it happened that until the appearance of our correspondent's letter, no word was heard by the public of “the

opinion of five medical men whom it was necessary to consult professionally in this case.”

Secondly, the same paper should explain whether the referee of the society in which Sir A. Stockenstrom's life is insured is among those who are “of opinion that at a more advanced period of the year the voyage would be rather beneficial than otherwise.”

Thirdly, Mr. H. C. Jarvis should explain how he happened to sign a statement that the baronet was waiting for documents from the country, when it is now avowed that he was waiting for the English summer. Mr. Jarvis owes this explanation to the householders over whom he presided, and in whose name he signed; and he will have an opportunity of giving it at the municipality meeting next Wednesday, when we shall take care to have a reporter present to take a note of his statement.

Fourthly, Sir A. Stockenstrom—if he has any regard for his character—should explain whether it is, or is not, true, that he has stated his determination not to proceed to England; and, if it be true, how it is that he has allowed these false reports in the papers to remain uncontradicted.

Fifthly, the baronet, or some of his friends, should explain, whether it is or is not true, that application has been made to the Insurance Society in England to allow him to undertake the voyage: and whether a reply is expected in January.

Lastly, Mr. Fairbairn's present representative in the Colony—whosoever he may be—ought to explain how it is, if Sir A. Stockenstrom is to proceed to England in January, that “he (Mr. Fairbairn) will, from the

hour of his arrival in London, communicate *to his colleague*, and to a Constitutional Committee in Cape Town, and through them to committees in the Country Divisions, and through all to the public of this Colony, the fullest information which he can obtain respecting the progress and probable issue of the great cause so dear to every heart ;” all which he has in last Saturday’s *Advertiser* solemnly promised to do.

If the public will, in the absence of these explanations, continue to close their ears to the voice of reason and truth, they deserve to be gulled. It is, however, but right that we should warn the several parties from whom these explanations are required not to criminate themselves : for, if the story which we have heard, and which we believe, be correct, it will be a question for the Public Prosecutor whether they have not been concerned in a combination to extort money upon false pretences.

To the Editor of the Cape Monitor.

SIR,—Surely the time must have arrived for some decided effort to remove the scales from the eyes of “ the faithful and loyal inhabitants of the municipalities of Cape Town and Green Point,” and the greener inhabitants of our fields and vineyards, that they may see the manner in which they are practised upon to serve the purposes of a wily faction, who are making the people their stepping stone to the accomplishment of their own ambitious designs.

Two instances will be sufficient for my present purpose.

1st. The municipality have been advertising for money to defray the expenses of the joint embassy to

the Colonial Reform Association in London. Mr. Fairbairn is now gone, and the superannuated Baronet is to go, *they say*, when certain documents are received from the country. The period thus named for his departure is very convenient for the purpose of delay. The *Mail* is more precise; that organ names *January*. But Mr. Fairbairn, in his leading article for Saturday last, incautiously betrayed the secret which till then had not escaped, namely, that it had been determined that Sir Andries should remain in the Colony, till he should receive advices from *him*, after his arrival in England, reporting progress on his "*thrice blessed Resolution*"—see the leading article of the *Commercial Advertiser* of the 26th of October. This inadvertency has established and confirmed what before was but a subject of suspicion, so that the call on the people for money is clearly made under a false pretence which eventually they will not fail to see.

2nd. With regard to the methods resorted to for collecting the coloured people at their recent demonstrations, the following little anecdote will throw on them a flood of light:

It is confidently affirmed that the Malay fishermen were informed that the Government Draft of a Constitution would have the effect of reviving slavery in the Colony, and that as the gentleman who procured the emancipation of the slaves was going home expressly for the purpose of frustrating that wicked design, they should turn out with all their boats and streamers, to cheer him when he embarked on so noble an expedition. Of course they turned out accordingly; as to the rest who accompanied this gentleman and his corporate body guard from the

Town House to the beach, those only who saw them could picture to themselves such an assemblage of riff-raff.

These two facts speak so clearly for themselves, that they require neither note nor comment; but I dare say the signatures of the fishermen to a declaration denying this statement may be obtained in the same manner as most of the signatures to their numerous petitions have been obtained.

I acknowledge that practices of this sort are but too frequent in England; but here, it must be admitted to be a very bad beginning, in their attempt to attain what is called self-government, and will certainly curtail the limits of the popular branch of our anticipated representative legislature.

In old countries like England, where the liberty of all classes is secure, these blemishes are but as spots upon the sun; but here, where the best of us are inexperienced in legislation, they but too surely prognosticate the evils that will result from placing too much power in the hands of the lower classes; such numerical majorities as we have lately seen are no test of public opinion in the proper sense of the term.

A LOOKER-ON.

Swellendam, 16th October, 1850.

To the Honourable ROBERT GODLONTON.

SIR,—We, the undersigned Landholders and other Inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Swellendam, avail ourselves of the opportunity afforded by your passing visit, to express to you the high opinion we entertain of the steady perseverance with which, as a public journalist, you have, for a long series of

years, advocated the best interests of the Colony, and also of your upright and consistent conduct as a Member of the Legislative Council, by adhering to the tacit pledge under which you had accepted your seat.

When His Excellency the Governor issued the notice of the 6th of May last, conferring on the people the right of electing five gentlemen to fill the vacant seats in the Legislative Council, he stipulated for *one condition only*, which was, that we should refrain from recommending gentlemen whom we had not reason to believe would, if appointed, be willing to *serve as Members of the Legislative Council pending the establishment of Representative Institutions*. In the strict meaning of this condition we believe the five new Members to have accepted their seats, and therefore much regret that the Government should have reason to complain of its non-fulfilment.

You, Sir, have shown that you accepted the trust reposed in you by your fellow-citizens, with the honest intention and determination to keep faith with them and with the Government; and we congratulate you on having strictly maintained such your intention and determination.

We have the honour to be, with great respect,
 Your most obedient servants,
 (Signed by fifty-eight persons.)

Swellendam, 18th Oct. 1850.

GENTLEMEN,—I have had this moment the honour of receiving the communication which you have been pleased to make to me, informing me that yourselves and fifty-five other inhabitants of the division of

Swellendam, had been induced, by the opportunity afforded by my passing visit, to give expression to their opinion of my public conduct as connected with the press of this colony, and also as to the course which I felt it my imperative duty to pursue during the recent proceedings in the Legislative Council.

In reply, I must beg of you to have the goodness to convey to the subscribers my deep sense of the unexpected honour they have done me, and the gratified satisfaction it affords me in being thus sustained by the good opinions, and encouraged by the commendations of so numerous a body of men, whose intelligence and independence are so perfectly unquestionable.

To yourselves, gentlemen, I must tender my sincere thanks for the very handsome manner in which you have conveyed to me this flattering mark of respect ; and trust I shall ever be found ready, to the best of my ability, to co-operate with you and my fellow-colonists at large in the promotion of everything calculated to establish and uphold Constitutional Government, that shall tend to the conservation of property, and promote the true substantial interests of all classes. I have the honour to be, gentlemen,

Your obedient and humble servant,

R. GODLONTON.

THE CAPE MONITOR.

Cape Town, Friday, November 8, 1850.

It will scarcely be seriously argued that what its advocates style "the People's Constitution" has been the result of any very deep or mature deliberation on

the part of the people: but since the orators of the Town Hall and their organs of the press are in the habit of dwelling very complacently on the alleged unanimity of the Colonists in favour of that document, it may be as well to set the question at rest, by reference to a few dates which may be verified at pleasure by turning to the September newspapers.

It was on Friday, the 20th September, that Sir A. Stockenstrom and his three colleagues resigned: on Wednesday, the 25th, they were requested by the Cape Town Municipality to prepare a draft constitution, in conjunction with Mr. Wicht: on Saturday, the 28th, their draft was presented to and approved by the Cape Town Municipality: and then, for the first time, it was resolved that the country Colonists should be consulted: and petitions to the Queen and to both Houses of Parliament were accordingly prepared and circulated for signature. The space which intervened between the resignation of the four members and the adoption of their draft constitution by the Cape Town Municipality was thus barely a week: and before the first event was known throughout the colony, Sir A. Stockenstrom and Mr. Fairbairn had been already deputed to represent the Colonists in England. It is evident, therefore, that with the preparation of the draft the people had nothing whatever to do, and the whole proceeding reminds us of "Jedburgh law, where in the morn they hang and draw, and sit in judgment after." On the various important questions involved in the draft—questions which have perplexed the wisest heads for ages—on the franchise, the qualification of members, the formation of electoral divisions,

and so forth, all discussion has been postponed; and these modern Solons have first decided for themselves what the constitution is to be, and when all was fixed and settled have condescendingly consulted those who are interested in the question.

This method of proceeding may have its conveniences, and even advantages; but the wisdom and authority derived from the unanimous assent of a multitude of councillors is not one of them. The most ardent admirers of the proposed scheme of Government will scarcely argue that the fact of signing these petitions proves that the majority of the subscribers have carefully considered the several subjects involved—and have, after mature deliberation, arrived at the same conclusion. It may prove their confidence in the gentlemen who prepared the draft, but it can prove nothing more. The disciples of Pythagoras did not more implicitly rely on the *ipse dixit* of their master.

There can be little doubt that the same result would have followed if these petitions had been drawn up by the leader of the popular party when he held different opinions on some vital constitutional questions: had he told the people of this Colony to petition for a single Chamber, or for a nominated Upper House, they would doubtless have done so. In effect they ask, not for this or that form of legislature, but for what Mr. Fairbairn and his colleagues happen, for the time being, to recommend.

It therefore becomes of immense importance to consider how the influence thus exercised has been acquired, and whether it is likely to be beneficially used. If the gentlemen who possess this unusual amount of public

confidence are really deserving of it, and are likely to employ it for the public good, we may rest content; but if this confidence is misplaced, the danger is incalculable.

For example, it has been stated—we know not with what truth, and we only quote the case by way of illustration—that the sympathies of a portion of the coloured class have been gained by the representation that the Government are about to re-introduce slavery, and that Mr. Fairbairn has gone home to prevent it. Supposing this to be true, it is clear that a large class would be induced to give their support to the framers of “the People’s Constitution” by considerations quite unconnected with any constitutional question. In the same manner, we believe that the support of a large section of the community has been gained by considerations *wholly apart from the real question at issue*.

To explain what these considerations are, it is necessary to go back to a period of colonial history which we, at least, do not contemplate with pleasure. We allude to the Anti-Convict agitation. There probably never was such absolute unanimity in any community as was displayed here on the first proposal to send convicts to the Colony. All the inhabitants—Dutch and English, white and coloured—pronounced against the scheme. The officials threw off their habitual reserve, and protested as heartily as any. The people were of one mind, and the Government was with the people.

There was thus no danger to be apprehended from diversity of opinion in the Colony; but many thought that they had a dangerous enemy without, in the

person of the Secretary of State; and all were well pleased to see the leading writer of the Cape Press devoting his talents and his energy to the common cause.

The Governor was not less opposed than Mr. Fairbairn himself to the proposal for making this Colony a penal settlement; and at a very early period of the agitation he promised that he would not *disperse* the convicts against the will of the Colonists. This was all that was required at first; but by the time this was gained, a large party in Cape Town had discovered the strength which they had acquired from the previous unanimity of the people. They had put themselves forward as the leaders of a movement approved of by the entire Colony; they had gained the confidence of a great body of the public; they were thus enabled to dispense with the support of the respectable names, by the influence of which they had mounted to power. At the commencement of the agitation the anti-convict meetings were held at the Commercial Exchange: they were afterwards convened in the Town Hall. The migration was typical of a change of principle;—what had begun as an Anti-Convict Association had been transmuted into an Anti-Government cabal.

By approaching the Governor with requests with which they knew that he could not legally comply, the party referred to made it appear that the views of the Government were opposed to the interest of the people. The Governor was prepared to maintain the convicts in the Amsterdam Battery till he could receive instructions as to their final destination: to prevent the ground of the Colony from being “tainted” and “polluted,” in

the ridiculous jargon of the party, he was willing to send them to Robben Island: but neither would this suffice,—the Robben Island soil was sacred also. Finally, to meet the views of the people as far as possible, he agreed to detain the convicts afloat in Simon's Bay: but the people were told that their safety depended upon the *Neptune* being sent away:—precisely because the party knew that this could not legally be done, and that though the Governor would disobey his instructions he would not violate the law.

While the *Neptune* remained in Simon's Bay, the violent section of the anti-convict party were *de facto* rulers of the Colony. They dissolved the Legislative Council; they dismembered the Supreme Court; they made laws and repealed them; they decided judicially on questions affecting the rights and property of individuals: they issued passports, without which it was unsafe to travel: they closed and opened all places of business at their pleasure: they placed such of their fellow-citizens as displeased them "*in vacuo*." They abrogated Government contracts: they ruined respectable tradesmen: they denied supplies to the servants of the Crown: they openly defied and set at nought the British Government: and, as a crowning insult, one of their body,—the chosen lieutenant of their leader,—the acknowledged second in command—declined an invitation to Government house, which he never ought to have received, on the ground that he could not conscientiously drink the health of the Queen.

At length the wished-for news arrived: the *Neptune* was ordered to Van Diemen's Land: Cape Town was

illuminated ; business was resumed : the members of the Association dined together : various weary souls were released from “*vacuo*.” and it was announced that the Anti-Convict Association was dissolved. *Credat Judæus*. Just so did the Anti-Corn-Law League dissolve when Sir R. Peel’s bill was carried, and in the course of a year or two up rose the Phoenix from its ashes in the form of a Financial Reform Association. At one period of the Anti-Convict movement, when the business was dull, and a considerable period had elapsed since the last news from England had come in, or the last insult to the Governor had been officially answered in *the Gazette*, some novice in the art of agitation proposed that the Association should add to its original functions those of a Representative Government Society. The leader knew better : “No, no,” said he, “let us do one thing at a time : we will get rid of the convicts first, and talk of Representative Government afterwards.” But it was not in human nature to lay down calmly such power as that party had so long wielded : and accordingly when they *had* got rid of the convicts, the *Advertiser* oracularly announced that the recent proceedings of the Colonists had proved that they were ripe for self-government. The organization of the defunct Association was ready for the work. It was the same which, in O’Connell’s time, had made the Repeal Association all-powerful in Ireland. There was the Central Association in Cape Town, and a Branch Association in every village of the Colony. Thus the leaders of the party knew who would be ready to act as provincial leaders in any Anti-Government movement ; and our country readers

can tell whether the principal supporters of "The People's Constitution," in all parts of the Colony, were not last year the principal leaders of the violent Anti-Convict party.

It is needless to travel again over the history of the last six months, to show how this party have uniformly worked to frustrate the views of the Government: how, until the arrival of the Privy Council report, they prevented all legislation, by threatening with their displeasure all who should accept seats in Council: how, when the Council was re-assembled, they contrived, by means of the organization above referred to, to have their own leaders appointed to four of the vacant seats: how, because their own ultra-democratic views were not adopted by the Government, they have again rendered the legislature incomplete.

But if the above account of the manner in which they have obtained and exercised the influence they now possess be correct, it is not needless for the colonists to inquire whether that influence is likely hereafter to be employed for beneficial or mischievous purposes. Practically, the people of this colony have, for the last two years, been governed by a few ambitious individuals in Cape Town, in conjunction with the Cape Town Municipality. Are they prepared to continue so? If they are, they can adopt no better method than petitioning for a form of Legislature which will enable that party to nominate, with few exceptions, all the members of both Houses of the new Parliament!—and through their nominees, who will be no holders of property themselves, to tax the property

of the colony. We have not enjoyed much self-government or freedom of action under their rule hitherto, nor is it now likely to begin.

If the Colonists believe that in a great struggle in defence of high moral principles which in themselves commanded the respect of all the world, they derived advantage from the exertions of these men, and so believing, have followed them into excesses not originally contemplated by the mass of the people, it is not too late to pause. The anti-convict victory has been gained—not, in our judgment, owing to the outrageous proceedings of the violent party;—but let that pass. There is no battle to be fought now. The Home Government are prepared to grant all reasonable constitutional demands. If we now place ourselves under a democratic despotism, the act and the suffering will be our own.

On reference to an article in another part of this day's paper taken over from the *Observer* of Tuesday last,* it will be found that Sir A. Stockenstrom has, at length, condescended, through his own organ, to reply to our questions propounded last Friday.

The few remarks which we have to offer on this reply shall be confined to the question of fact. All other points we can afford to leave untouched. Whether the anonymous conductors of this paper are personally respectable or otherwise is of little consequence. Public journalists, whether, as in the case of the *Cape of Good Hope Observer*, their names are

* See p. 81.

known, or, as in the case of the *London Times*, &c. unknown, are respectable while they report the truth, and no longer.

The public shall judge whether in the case before us there has or has not been an attempt to conceal or distort the truth. It is now said that "Sir A. Stockenstrom will proceed to England in January or February,"—last week it was "in January,"—the week before, "as soon as the requisite papers shall have been received from the country."

With regard to Sir A. Stockenstrom's Life Insurance, it is stated "that the office concerned has no medical referee or agent at the Cape of Good Hope." If, as is generally believed, the "Alliance" be the company alluded to, they advertise "MEDICAL officer at the Cape, John Laing, Esq."

We wish the public to know the truth. Does any reader believe that when it was advertised that Sir A. Stockenstrom was waiting for documents from the country, he was not really kept back by the state of his health? And if he lent himself to this deception, why not to a thousand others?

Which of the three statements his friends have published is true? And when his intentions are questioned in future, which are we to believe? If the necessary documents arrive from the country this month, will he go?—or will he wait till January? or will it be February? or will it be the first of April?

And will some member of the party condescend to state how Mr. Fairbairn's letters to his colleague in Cape Town are to be addressed? And whether when the Baronet is at sea or in England, the other member

of the deputation will be reporting progress to him by letters to the Cape ?

The only thing that is clear in the whole matter is that there has been a palpable deception practised as to the time of the Baronet's intended departure. Mr. Jarvis has said one thing, the *Mail* has said another, the *Advertiser* has implied a third, and the *Observer* now asserts a fourth. The only thing certain is that they are not *all* true.

It is said that when "Sir A. Stockenstrom is charged with being a party to an attempt at public swindling, it is not difficult to judge that the men who make the charge are sacrificing better knowledge for the attainment of party objects."

The hard words are not ours : but Sir A. Stockenstrom is a public man, and must be judged by his acts. If his advocate believes that this appeal to character is sufficient, he greatly over-estimates the gullibility of the public. If there is no danger in letting the truth be known, it can be done by public statement from Sir A. Stockenstrom himself, and by the publication of the FIRST medical certificates of the five gentlemen referred to by the *Advertiser*.

Those who remember his successive aspersions on almost every Governor who has administered the affairs of this Colony for many years past, will allow that Andries Stockenstrom is the last man who ought to complain of criticisms on his public acts : nay the very paper which now defends him, contains, in the very next article, an insinuation, founded on no evidence whatever, that the Governor has charged him with tampering with Kaffirs.

It is not long since Sir A. Stockenstrom was the most unpopular man in the Cape Colony; and though he has been recently taken up by the Democratic party for purposes of their own, his evidence before the House of Commons, the circumstances under which he obtained and forfeited the office of Lieutenant-Governor, and his constant attempt to establish a system of Frontier Policy which the Frontier Colonists will not endure, are not yet forgotten. It is not by his character that he will be relieved from a suspicion which not we, but his own friends, have brought upon him.

There are other questions still unanswered. We have yet to learn from Sir A. Stockenstrom whether he did not, over and over again, declare that he would bring before the Council the cases of the Dutch Reformed Church at Glen Lynden, and of Zacharias Pretorius and the Farmers of the Klaas Smit's River, together with the several other subjects wholly unconnected with the Constitution question. When all this has been explained, we shall be glad to learn further how the two following statements are to be reconciled. The first is taken from Sir A. Stockenstrom's letter to the Municipality of Graaff-Reinet, when it was first proposed to elect him: the second from his speech in Council on the 18th September; and the subject is the interpretation of the Government Notice of the 6th May.

(From the *Advertiser*, June 15.) (From the *Observer*, Oct. 1.)

The Government Notice of the 6th instant, does not explicitly pledge the Governor to the ap- He (Sir A. S.) had been led to understand by the Government Advertisement that his Excel-

pointment of the five elected who shall have the greatest number of votes.—*Letter of Sir A. S., May 23.*

lency would take the five at the top of the poll; he thought it his bounden duty to do so,—he had not done so; and that was his reason for voting against the motion.—*Speech of Sir A. S., 18th Sept.*

(*From the Cape of Good Hope Observer, Nov. 5.*)

THE anonymous conductors and correspondents of the newspaper which has recently been added to the Colonial press, are sacrificing their better knowledge and better judgment to the gratification of tastes of no very elevated character.

It may be difficult to judge of the “better knowledge” or “better judgment” of anonymous writers, but when in a public newspaper at the Cape of Good Hope, Sir Andries Stockenstrom is charged with being a party to an attempt at public swindling, it is not difficult to judge that the men who make the charge are sacrificing better knowledge for the attainment of party objects.

Who these men may be, is a question of otherwise little importance, than that public report connects with the *Monitor* the names of some who bear a respectable position in private, or in public life. If report speaks truth in this respect, we shall regret it much. This is all that can be at present said on the subject.

With respect to Sir Andries Stockenstrom’s intended departure to England, it is as well to place his assailants at once in a position to correct the state-

ments they have made. This we have now to do in few words.

Sir Andries Stockenstrom will proceed to England in January or in February. Of this he has given notice to the Insurance Office from which he holds a policy, and to his agents in England, whom he has desired to pay the additional premium demanded for the sea voyage.

Any other communication that is represented to have been made to England on the subject of his Life Insurance is imaginary; and it may be as well to add that the office concerned has no medical referee or agent at the Cape of Good Hope.

It is proper to say, also, that the medical men, to whom allusion has been made in the public prints, gave it as their opinion that Sir A. Stockenstrom's health would not be injuriously affected by a voyage undertaken at the time now contemplated.

(From the same.)

Intelligence has been received in Cape Town, that the Honourable Mr. Cock, one of the Members of the Legislative Council, stated at a preliminary meeting to that recently held at Graham's Town on the state of the Frontier, that his Excellency the Governor had information of some tampering that had been going on between certain persons in the Colony and the Kaffirs. Upon this a person present asked, whether Mr. Cock referred to the frequent intercourse between the Kaga and Kaffirland. Another individual then rose and said, that he could not believe that such a traitor existed in the Colony, but if there were, he

would readily be his executioner. The consequence of these allusions was, that the persons present understood, that Sir Andries Stockenstrom had tampered with the Kaffirs, and that the Governor had information to this effect. The possibility that Sir A. Stockenstrom could be concerned in such proceedings need not be discussed; but inquiry remains to be instituted into the nature of the Governor's alleged information as to the *tampering* process, and the *use his Excellency has made of it*.

We copy the following paragraph from the last number of the *Observer*, one of the organs of the Democratic party. From its tone of exultation, it can only be reviewed as an announcement to the Dutch Reformed, English, and Roman Catholic Churches, and other religious bodies in this Colony now receiving "protection" from Government,—what will be their fate when that Party commence operations in our shortly expected Parliament:—

"An article below, published from an English Paper, contains the particulars of a vote recently adopted by the Canadian Houses of Parliament, withdrawing the support which religious sects have heretofore received from the Government. The churches of the country will thus be freed, henceforth, from the worse than useless 'protection,' which so many Governments are accustomed to inflict upon the Christian Religion."

THE GEORGE MEETING!

To the Editor of the Cape Monitor.

SIR,—The *Commercial Advertiser* and other Cape Town Papers having given an account of a *so-called* “*Meeting*” at George, to *back up* the four Councillors who lately resigned their seats, I wish to let you know that this “*Meeting*” was a very small one, *and a packed one*; for one or two gentlemen, who wished to move amendments, were not allowed to speak, and therefore left the meeting.

A meeting of the Commissioners of the Municipality was held shortly afterwards, and it was resolved with only one dissentient voice, that *no minutes* of the previous meeting should be entered on the books of the Municipality, because it was considered that the resolutions then passed did *not represent the sentiments of the people*, and the Municipality declined to father them!

This information may be relied on; and it affords another proof of the dirty manoeuvres of the Cape Town radicals,—because all these ridiculous village “*Meetings*” have sprung from *their* solicitations, and in the hopes of bolstering up Mr. Fairbairn in England with *fictitious* documents.

Yours truly, F. H.

 THE CAPE MONITOR.

Cape Town, Friday, November 15, 1850.

IN close alliance with the four gentlemen who have lately been engaged in an attempt to revolutionise the

Cape by establishing a democratic Government, in which they were to act as demagogues, the more active of the Commissioners of the Cape Town Municipality have constantly been found. These gentlemen will doubtless expect to pick up some crumbs when the People's Constitution becomes the law of the land ; and as the characters and ever-varying principles of the leaders of the movement are now tolerably understood, it may not be out of place to enquire what are the characteristic peculiarities of these their principal coadjutors.

The Municipality of Cape Town was established by an ordinance enacted in 1839, and amended in 1840. The objects contemplated by this ordinance were the supervision of the water supply of the town ; the making, repairing, cleaning, and lighting of the streets ; the regulation of weights and measures ; the prevention and abatement of public nuisances ; the maintenance (in conjunction with the Colonial Government), of an efficient police force ; the establishment and provision of markets, lamps, fire-engines, pounds, and so forth ; and security for the wholesomeness of provisions sold in the public markets.

Although attention to these matters does not require or imply a very vast amount of political wisdom,—although a man may be very fit to attend to such matters as those specified above, and yet essentially unfit to construct a constitution or compose a code of laws,—still the duties imposed upon the Municipal Commissioners by the Municipal Ordinance are such as all good citizens are generally glad to undertake for the common good ; and accordingly among the

names of the first Commissioners we find those of four members of the Legislative Council, of many considerable proprietors and men of wealth and influence in the community, and the heads of the principal mercantile firms.

But in course of time, some members of the municipal body began to be dissatisfied with the simple though important functions with which they were invested, and to yearn after greater things. They began to think that they who governed Cape Town so well, might be of material assistance in the government of the Cape Colony. From being ever reminded by their admirers that it was for them to prove the fitness of the Cape community for the introduction of the representative system, they soon evinced a desire to prove it, not by the judicious discharge of their own duties, but by the assumption of those of others. They began to advise and interfere in all political questions; and thus it came to pass that they were deserted by the more influential and respected members of their body, and that as they busied themselves in matters not properly belonging to their jurisdiction, their influence and the confidence reposed in them gradually dwindled away; less inclination was felt by the better class of citizens to take office among them; less interest was felt by the public in their proceedings;—so that it is not now uncommon for two or three meetings of householders to be called before a sufficient number can be got together to fill up vacancies of office-bearers by new elections.

What is the state of the Cape Town Municipality now? We mean no disrespect to the individuals

composing that body: but it would be folly to deny that, as a class, they have fallen, and that the Commissioners now are not men of the same stamp and standing as those referred to at the commencement of this article. For example, we find amongst the present Commissioners an auctioneer, a builder and carpenter, a general agent, a butcher, an attorney, a retail dealer, &c.—all very decent and respectable men in their way, no doubt, but not such as would have been chosen to act as Commissioners when the Municipality was content to attend to its own business, and to leave the administration of the Government in the hands of the Executive.

In justice to the Wardmasters, it should be stated that these remarks are not intended to be applied to them. In several instances they have shewn a laudable desire to steer clear of politics; as, for instance, when they lately refused to join in the meeting convened by the Commissioners for the purpose of breaking up the Council, and forced them to the expedient of a hole-and-corner petition, praying the Council to neglect general business, and confine itself to the Constitution question.

But as the Commissioners have lost caste by interfering in matters wholly apart from those for which the Municipality was established,—so, with the loss of caste, this meddling disposition may be observed to increase. They now distinctly assume the powers of Government; they think it necessary to debate and decide upon every political measure; and this disposition to usurp the powers of Government has been especially observable since the Municipality was em-

ployed as an instrument by the leaders of the extreme Anti-convict party; and again since they were appointed by the Governor to act as Returning-officers in the late elections.

It is only in the natural order of things that as the individual members are now chosen from a lower class than formerly, and as they attend less to their proper duties and more to matters beyond their sphere and experience, the character of the body should decline, and their acts become less worthy of approval. Many instances might be mentioned, if it were a grateful task to reproduce the annals of their administration. The impediments which they threw in the way of Government when required to furnish a contingent during the last Kaffir war; the arrogance with which they disputed with the then Governor and Commander-in-Chief as to the number of men he ought to require from Cape Town; their selfish opposition to the Market Relief and Road Bills; and, more lately, their shameful neglect of the drainage of the city, and their mean attempt to shuffle the responsibility on the shoulders of the Government which they and their abettors were striving to cripple and impede; the attempt to raise the price of meat, and thus serve the interests of some of their body, by the juggle about the trek-paths; the late scheme for monopolizing the breakwater and erecting it in the proximity of the property of some of themselves; the proposal to transfer the payment of rates from owners to occupiers; their unpaid contribution of £150, promised first to the Kloof-road and then to the Botanical Garden; their promised subscription of £200 to the new library, retracted because the

Government had granted as a site a piece of its own land, erroneously alleged to belong to the Municipality :—these and many other such acts will readily suggest themselves to the minds of our readers, as illustrations of the present character and conduct of the Municipal body, as directed by its leading members.

If they were actuated by a laudable economy, in such measures as those which we have last noticed, we might be less severe in our condemnation of such palpable breaches of faith ; but while, as pointed out in a paragraph below from the *Observer*, with a truly penny-wise and pound-foolish policy, they darken our streets at midnight, as if for the special convenience of such “minions of the moon” as broke into Mr. Strath’s shop, a few nights ago,—they complacently authorize the illegal expenditure of the town rates, in presents to Mr. Adderley, royal salutes and boat processions to Mr. Fairbairn, and demonstrations of disloyalty on all convenient occasions.

We regret, that such important duties as those contemplated by the Municipal Ordinance, should be left in such hands, and we would earnestly impress upon our fellow townsmen the expediency of selecting their municipal representatives from the higher class, which would properly represent their sentiments, and would command their confidence and respect. But we much more deeply regret that such a body as the present Cape Town Municipality should be allowed to exercise a large political influence in the Colony. As their powers have increased, their scruples have diminished ; and we may guess what will be the character of the Government they are building for us,

from the fact pointed out in an extract from the *Port Elizabeth Telegraph*, that at one of these late meetings, a proposal, involving a direct violation of the public faith, was made by one of the Commissioners, and calmly listened to by the rest, without a word of objection, and without its having occurred to any one that they were being asked to sanction a dishonest act. Such things in our City Corporation are bad enough, but in our Colonial Legislature they would be utter ruin. If such men are to be its guardians, the character of the Colony must decline: the confidence of the public must be shaken: the value of property must be diminished: all the elements of the wealth and character of the community must gradually disappear. Yet to such hands are the Colonists blindly committing their future Government, cajoled by soft speeches into the hope of increased quiet and prosperity under their rule. When men gather grapes of thorns and figs of thistles, such hopes may be realised,—but not till then.

THE GAS LAMPS.

A letter just received contains the following passage, to which it is of pressing importance that the Commissioners of the Municipality give their attention:—

“A burglary was committed on Saturday night, at a spot which *would have been under the immediate protection of a gas lamp*, HAD THE LAMP BEEN LIGHTED.”

The fact is that the lamps of the town are lighted until *midnight*, and all that thieves need to do, is to

wait until five minutes after that time, to transact their business, without let or hindrance.—*Observer.*

EXTRACTS FROM LOCAL PAPERS.

THE CIVIL LIST.

(*From the Port Elizabeth Telegraph, Oct. 31.*)

IN the proceedings of the Cape Town Municipality, reported in the "*Mail*" of the 19th October, we find a certain sapient Commissioner "holding forth" on the subject of the Civil List. He objects to the Report of the Government Commissioners, because those gentlemen state "that any portion of the public now harbours the design of subjecting all EXISTING salaries to the pleasure of the future Assembly or Legislative Council, with a view of removing from office, or reducing the income of such public officers as may not chance to be popular with these bodies, we shall be sorry to believe." This worthy Commissioner is pleased to be facetious at the expense of public faith, and opines that the control of the *entire* revenue and expenditure of the Colony should immediately be at the disposal of the Colonists,—counting, apparently, as nothing the absolute claims of the *present* officials. We are sorry to be compelled to inform this sapient speaker of the municipal rostrum that there is such a thing as public faith, and that lightly as *he* may value *the claims* of the existing officials, they are yet looked on by his fellow-colonists as a sacred lien on Colonial Reform. We will suppose this erudite and very independent Cape Commissioner in the position of the

Honourable J. Montagu or Wm. Porter. We will suppose him to have laboured all his life in the public service, to have rejected any possible means of advancement in private life, and to be burthened with a large family. What would this erudite and humane Commissioner do? Would he reduce the emoluments of office, sacrifice the faith of a tacit and yet no less binding agreement,—and turn the unfortunate object of his misplaced wrath on the world,—homeless, houseless, and a wanderer? We know not; but this we feel, that some of our municipal friends in Cape Town, and especially Mr. Commissioner Maynard, would do well to repress the promptings of a too ardent patriotism,—or, in other words, to refrain from talking nonsense.

The Cape Municipality certainly does not rule the Colony, and although it may be an amazingly active little body in cleansing streets, repairing water-courses, and laying down foot-pavements, we cannot see how that style of occupation fits it for legislation; or what right it has to foist its opinions on the world on matters not connected with Cape gutters and other local affairs of equal importance. When it is called on as a public body for its opinion, that of course may be given; but it has a certain meddling, and certainly not discreet or sage, way of dealing with Colonial affairs, which makes it sometimes an annoyance and sometimes a laughing-stock to the public, however useful it may be in attending to the municipal affairs of the Western metropolis. We believe that every true and upright man in this town considers that no change in the government of this Colony will

release him from religiously observing the claims of the *present officials*. After their resignation or departure, alterations in salaries, &c. may be made; but no men in this province are yet so destitute of the finer feelings which grace and adorn humanity, as to wish to give an example of *Punic* faith, unworthy even of a less enlightened age than this. We recommend our sapient friend, the Commissioner, to attend to municipal affairs in future, and to abstain from giving to the world his individual views of public matters as those of the public, who repudiate and deny them.

UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE.

(From the same.)

WE cannot so far pander to the feelings of the ignorant as to express our concurrence in the views of those who advocate a species of Universal Suffrage for an uneducated and mixed community. We would not gain notoriety at the expense of a falsehood, which if disseminated and believed might work the ruin of thousands, by scattering the seeds of political agitation in the rank and desert soil of ignorance. Liberty in this Colony must be accepted with peculiarly restrictive limits, or conditions, attached to it. Our community is one divided into too many elements to be dealt with unreservedly as one people. Hitherto there has been little in the shape of actual antagonism of race or colour, but even of that there has been *quite enough* to prove of what society is composed, and that the rival forces do exist. That the leaders of the people are educated men now, only proves the fact that talent

and reason yet maintain their natural ascendancy. But let the representative system with Universal Suffrage once come into operation, let the vote of the ignorant be made equal to the vote of the well-informed, and those who are leaders now, like their great prototypes of the French Revolution, may sink into insignificance, to give place to some brawling demagogue or froward patriot. Youth and inexperience are but too prone to overleap the barriers of discretion, and plunge into the vortex of chance. Education corrects the errors of youth, and compensates for the want of experience. It points to the page of history as an index of what *has been*, and deduces from the contemplation of certain known facts what *may be* the fate of the present race of men. Believing this to be the case, we publish to-day extracts from Alison's History of the French Revolution, which the advocates of Universal Suffrage will do well to read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest.

DEMOCRACY AT THE CAPE.

(*From the Eastern Province News, Nov. 2.*)

To THE EDITOR: Sir,—The great problem in politics is to adjust the counteracting forces of control in the Government, and spontaneous action in the individual. Too much control paralyzes and renders imbecile the national mind; too much spontaneous action in the individual generates anarchy. The time seems approaching in the United States which will decide whether the doubts entertained by Washington, Hamilton, and Adams of the adequacy of the Demo-

cratic Constitution, carried through by the energy of Jefferson, were not well founded. The experiment still in progress in the Union is not merely as to the possibility of a Republican Government, using the phrase in the wide acceptation in which it is applied to the ancient Constitution of Rome, Venice, and Holland, but as to the possibility of a Government based on the theory of *human perfectibility* and the growing ascendancy of reason. The founders of the United States were under the necessity of adopting a Republican Government because no materials existed for any other. But they went further, and adopted institutions to the working of which it is indispensable that an immense majority of the population must be well educated, orderly characters, and in easy circumstances. Hence the great exertions made, by the support of schools, to educate the people. In Prussia and other parts of Germany similar exertions are used, but the arbitrary character of the Government renders the Germans but great schoolboys, full of knowledge, but debarred from applying it to political advancement.

So long as the population of the United States continued what it was at the time of the revolution, such a Government was sufficient—the general competence, the general education, the traditionary respect for law acquired under the stronger government of the mother country, kept the mass orderly, and unruly spirits betook themselves to the back woods. But in the great emporiums, such as New York, a suffering, a degraded class akin to that which we find in the old cities of Europe is growing up. The inhabitants of the new Southern States are a very different race from

the men of New England, or even those of the "Old Dominion," Virginia. Will a constitution framed for a nation of philosophers prove adequate to the government of the people of the present day?

Let us now carry our views nearer home, and ask if the four *ex-members* are not pursuing a course similar, on a minor scale, to the philosophers of the French Revolution—the Girondists who reasoned for their principles on the perfectibility of human nature—who used the Municipality of Paris to serve their objects of political regeneration, which ended in their own destruction, and the Municipality overawing the National Assembly and becoming the instrument of the most atrocious and bloody tyranny that mankind ever witnessed. Before our *ex-members* run rampant about the capacity of the Colonists for self-legislation in a democratical manner, drawing their deductions from the results obtained by anti-convict machinery—let them pause and remember the heterogeneous nature of our population: a single generation of which has not yet run its race accustomed to free institutions, excepting those of English birth. The Colony has scarcely received common liberty above twenty years, a great proportion of the people were in degrading bondage a less number of years ago—many are heathens and Mahomedans, certainly not the best worshippers of freedom. Let them ask themselves if these men are not exposed to the duplicity of the demagogue? If a conservative check is not essential to control and modify the *furor* into which the Lower House will no doubt occasionally be led by design or unavoidable events? It would be a false appreciation of ourselves

as a community to suppose that we are as fit as the people of England, or their descendants in America, for free institutions—we are no more so than many of the nations in Europe, nor the South Americans who have had from 200 to 300 revolutionary movements in the different States since they obtained emancipation from bigoted old Spain. We must suit our demands to our capacity to exercise them. In the war of Independence, to counteract the revolting Colonies, England granted to the Canadians free institutions similar to what had been granted to their neighbours; but it has proved a failure from the ignorance, apathy, and other peculiarities in the character of the HABITANS, who are a most amiable people, but easily misled, and for the present in the hands of an *Anti-English* faction, moulded by a Monsieur Papineau—a Colonial lawyer.

Q.

THE £25 FRANCHISE OF FIXED PROPERTY.

(From the *Port Elizabeth Mercury*, Nov. 2.)

TO THE EDITOR: SIR,—We have seen with alarm and disgust the opposition that is made on the frontier to the £25 Franchise of fixed property. The natives always had their forebodings about a South African Parliament, but their fears are now confirmed by the spirit which has been evinced by the Bay people, some of the Uitenhage people, the people of Graham's Town and Fort Beaufort. Mr. Porter has drawn a line between the Dutch and English, but the Colonists are drawing a still wider line, between the whites and the

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natives. What hope, what chance is there for the coloured people if the £25 Franchise is thrown out? It would be far better, more honourable, more manly for the Colonists at once to tell the natives, because you are black you cannot vote, you have no rights, no liberties, you cannot, and ought not to think for yourselves, we will think and act for you. You are the foremost during war, you protect our property and persons, you stood nobly by us, but we can now dispense with you, we cannot allow you to enjoy with us the same privileges; because you are coloured men there must be separate laws for you,—class laws, partial laws.

This is colonial spirit, colonial prejudice. The natives are now called upon to arise, and rally around the £25 franchise. Here let them take up a position, for here is their only hope, their only refuge; for if such a spirit is now manifested at so early a stage of the proceedings, what must there not be yet in store for the natives?

The natives have their forebodings about a South African Parliament, but they will petition, memorialize, and protest against a Frontier Parliament; they scruple not to say they have no confidence in the Frontier people: their sympathies are more with the Dutch than with the English settlers, and we would rather throw in our lot with the Cape Town people and the Western districts, for among them you find liberal, independent, and impartial men.

But the best thing the natives can do is to petition the Queen that the Colonists have no Parliament at all, or if they are to have one, that the Queen appoint a

High Commissioner to govern the natives, independent of the whites.

The Colonists must know that the natives are wide-awake, they watch every act, every movement of the whites. The Colonists take no interest in the welfare of their coloured brethren, they would wish them to be kept down, to make stepping stones of them ; for what reason ?—just because they are black, as if the man of colour had a voice or choice in his creation ; if there is blame,—if it is a sin or misfortune to be black, blame a higher framer, but leave us alone ; we are quite satisfied with our skin, though not with our treatment ; the loss of our country, from Cape Town to Natal,—the loss of all that we would call our own, have not destroyed that love and sympathy which we feel to one another. “Skin may differ, but affection dwells in white and black the same.” The same love that the white man has for his friends and family, his rights and liberties, we have too ;—and just as much as they ; and we, too, know the difference between oppression and liberty,—might and right. We are surprised that Port Elizabeth is also against us, and joins the Graham’s Town party. This, however, will not be the only instance where known enemies have sunk their own differences and joined to carry a point ;—and what is that point ? To exclude the man of colour, to shut his mouth, to tie him down. We certainly expected better things of Port Elizabeth. It would be better that all the natives be at once sunk in the ocean, than to kill them by slow poison.

Let the Hottentots and active natives in the towns, villages, and Missionary institutions come forward, and