

hours being occupied in playing but one tune, and that a cross between a Polka and "jump Jim Crow;" but this is said to have been occasioned, not so much by bad selection, as a want of musical talent in the players—though there are *some* ill-natured people who say that no more suitable selection could have been made for such an occasion. As all things must, however, end, so did this tune, and the good folks were allowed a little repose, preparatory to the exertions of the following day, on the morning of which the leaders were seen hurrying about the streets, some on foot, and some on horseback, notifying to "the people" that a public meeting would be held at 3 P. M. to agree on, and present an address to Sir Andries. The meeting was to be in Mr. S. Meintjes' auction rooms. 3 P. M. arrived, with but a very limited gathering at the rooms, notwithstanding all the exertion made, and it was feared that the whole would be a failure, when, however, a new dodge was resorted to. It is customary here, when a public sale is to be held, to announce it by sending a boy through the streets ringing a bell, and this mode of collecting an audience was adopted. Shortly afterwards, persons who usually look out for bargains at public sales were seen wending their way towards the "auction rooms." Later in the afternoon, when some sixty persons of all sorts and sizes had been got together, Sir Andries was driven to the scene of action in a sort of caravan drawn by a pair of horses. On his arrival at "the rooms," the proceedings commenced, but as all was in Dutch, I, who do not understand it, was not much edified. Sir A. spoke for about an hour, and sold

many a better bargain than they had been in the habit of purchasing there—myself for one, in listening for upwards of an hour to a parcel of gibberish I scarcely understood a word of. At the close of the last act, Sir A. returned to his lodgings in the same vehicle, but drawn by a different species of animal for the sake of variation.

Sir Andries left on Saturday morning for Maastrom, to make arrangement for the grand *finale* to come off in February next.

As a full account of the doings here, with the usual embellishments, is to appear in the *Commercial Advertiser*, and some other of “the people’s periodicals,” you must be satisfied with this *short* narration, which even I should not have sent you, had I not felt that you would be anxious to hear of the progress of one in whom so much interest is taken by “the people;” and that you would be gratified to learn, that so large a number as sixty persons, in a district containing *only* about ten or twelve thousand inhabitants, had been got together to do homage to him, although not much more than a week’s notice had been received of his intention to visit this place, for the purpose of getting up a demonstration. I do verily believe, if we had had another week’s time, we should have got at least sixty-five or seventy people to have shewn themselves; for *entre nous*, Mr. Editor, several of “the leaders” are directors of the Bank and Municipal Commissioners, and it is astonishing how much influence that gives them in this small place, particularly the former; for when a poor devil wants a bill discounted, and can’t get it without signing the pledge, why he must

just sign it, and as it is pretty generally *understood* that you must "do as I do," or the bill won't pass, it is just show your face, and sign the address.

It was a grand mistake of the Cape Townites, first to notify that Sir Andries would go *via* Swellendam and George and then to send him off this way, without delaying a week or two to give us notice. They ought to have known beforehand that Swellendam and George way wouldn't do, there being a strong Conservative party at the former, and *all* Conservatives at the latter, and therefore *might* have given us timely notice.

Soon after Sir Andries left, we had a report that the Kaffirs had carried off all his cattle, and on the intelligence reaching the Baronet, it is said, he exclaimed, "Oh! save me from my friends!"

P. S.—I forgot to tell you, that out of the sixty who attended the meeting in the auction rooms, there were not more than six English, and only one or two of them thorough-bred.—*Communicated.*

THE CAPE MONITOR.

Cape Town, Friday, January 10, 1851.

THE fullest intelligence which has reached Cape Town relative to the state of the Frontier has been given in extra numbers, and in another part of this day's paper. The season for comment seems scarcely yet to have arrived.

There is one point, however, which cannot fail to strike every reader,—namely, how completely the local authorities in Kaffraria have been taken by sur-

prise. We do not make this remark by way of censure on officers who have on many occasions displayed great ability, but in illustration of the character of the enemy with whom we have to deal. It is a fact that our best officers have been completely outwitted by this horde of savages, who have been secretly preparing for war at the very time when it was believed that they were beginning to profit by the lessons of civilization which their former conquerors were striving to teach them.

The result of this has been that the opinion is rapidly gaining strength that peace is only to be purchased by the extermination of our treacherous neighbours. On this point we refrain, for the present, from pronouncing any judgment; but we trust that past events will convince the military authorities on the frontier that they have to deal with a subtle enemy, who possesses means greater and more complete than has been hitherto supposed of acquiring information as to our strength or weakness, and the progress of events within the Colony.

Of how long standing we are to consider the treachery of the Kaffir police is still uncertain. It is possible that they may have been giving information to their countrymen for a considerable period. The Kaffir servants would also report the alarm and panic which had seized the colonists along the Frontier. From one source or another, it is clear that the Kaffirs have the means of obtaining pretty accurate intelligence of the state of affairs in the Colony.

And it will be for the colonists to consider whether this circumstance does not in itself sufficiently account

for the outbreak of war at this period. The Kaffirs are aware that the force at Sir H. Smith's command is now much smaller than at the termination of the last war. They must have known also that the police, on whom great reliance was placed by the Government, would desert on the commencement of hostilities,—thereby bringing to them a great increase of strength and seriously reducing the colonial force; they knew, further, that the alarm from which the Frontier farmers were suffering would prevent their making any immediate and combined movement; and they did not know to what extent the Governor and the troops would receive assistance from the Colonial public.

For the last two years the Kaffirs, who cannot be supposed to understand the diplomatic character of our political contentions, and who believe that opposition means war, and that political contest is not easily distinguishable from physical strife, have beheld the Government and the people in declared opposition. The accounts of hostile demonstrations on the part of the Colonists which have doubtless reached Kaffraria may, not unnaturally, have led the Kaffirs to believe that men who threatened and attempted to starve the troops in 1848 and 1849 would not be very zealous to co-operate with them in 1850 and 1851; that those who had loaded the Governor and his immediate supporters with the most scurrilous abuse one day, would not be anxious to aid him against another enemy on the next.

Unfortunately, at the head of the anti-government movement, which has been progressing with sufficient

virulence for the last two years, are some whose names are familiar to the Kaffirs as men of influence and weight in the Colony, and what is of more importance, of influence and weight in Kaffraria. Seeing such men at open war, as they would deem it, with the Governor, and naturally concluding that he would receive little assistance from any one whom these men could influence, the Kaffirs sagaciously chose for their insurrection a time when they saw the colonists divided amongst themselves. Perhaps one of the lessons we may learn from the Kaffir war of 1851 may be to conduct our future political discussions with more of decency, and less of that kind of personal hostility and bitterness towards the highest in authority, which may raise in the minds of our savage neighbours a reasonable doubt of our displaying a true feeling of unity and brotherhood in time of danger.

THE CAPE MONITOR.

Cape Town, Friday, January 17, 1851.

OUR columns are still filled, and appear likely to continue so, with facts and rumours from the Frontier, and reports of the efforts made at this end of the Colony to send succour to the suffering colonists in the East. The contest will probably be long and severe, and whatever force, of whatever kind, the Colony can supply will need to be brought into the field. Under these circumstances, the tone of recent letters from Graham's Town and other places on the Eastern Frontier is painfully discouraging.

Our correspondents state that the Burghers are apathetic, and show no inclination to join in the war, in compliance with the Governor's emphatic invitations. Such of them as have not abandoned their homes will, if need be, defend them against invading Kaffirs, but they exhibit no disposition to march into Kaffirland and co-operate with the troops.

The same accounts confirm the reported spread of disaffection among the coloured colonists. While Major-General Somerset is offering a free pardon to such of the Kat River Hottentots as will return to allegiance, and declaring his belief that they have only been induced to join Hermanus by threats and intimidation, the Hottentots continue to join the Kaffir chief; the colonists on the spot are busily preparing for defence, and openly express their apprehensions that all the coloured colonists on the Frontier will go over to the enemy.

Finally, the distressing intelligence from Line Drift cannot fail, if followed by no worse consequences, to increase the prevailing alarm. If the desertion of the small party of the Cape Mounted Rifles at that post is to be taken as an indication of the general feeling of the men of the Corps, it is the most disastrous event that ever occurred in Kaffraria. This, however, we do not believe. Sir Harry Smith was faithfully guarded by the men of the Cape Corps, on his march from Fort Cox to King William's Town, when their desertion would have ensured an immediate triumph to the enemy; so that there is no reason to doubt the general fidelity of the men. Moreover the defection of the Kat River Hottentots, and the apathy of the Burghers, is sufficient for us to digest for one week.

That these unfavourable features in the present aspect of affairs, are, in a great measure, to be attributed to the political contests which have agitated the Colony for the last two years, we entertain no manner of doubt. No community—least of all a community in which much ignorance and lack of the means of acquiring accurate information prevails—can be systematically arrayed against its government for so long a period without hazard. In England, Chartists may rave, and Socialists blaspheme against the fundamental laws of society, without much danger of the infection of their pestilent doctrines spreading far among the masses of the people; for there truth also is universally diffused, and fictions are exposed as soon as uttered. But it has not been so here. When, week after week, the minds of the country Colonists were poisoned with venomous libels against the Government of the Colony and of the mother-country: when the Governor was denounced one day as a butcher, sneered at on another as a canting hypocrite, and lampooned on the third as a buffoon: when his principal advisers were branded as malignant liars and secret traitors to the Colony: when England was held up to scorn as the would-be oppressor of weak communities: there was no one here to raise a warning voice, or point out to the Colonists the precipice they were approaching. We have said—verily believing it—that the Kaffirs have been encouraged to their present outbreak by witnessing the disunion which prevailed within the Colony, promoted and fomented by men, the influence of whose names is very great among them. “We hear on good authority,” says the *Frontier Times* of the 7th, “that this man

(Hermanus) declares that *the white men are DIVIDED, and therefore can be OVERCOME.*" This sentiment is, no doubt, shared by the other chiefs in Kaffirland; and we are, with much reluctance, compelled to add, that they have not reckoned altogether unreasonably. Where there would once have been unanimity and cordiality, we now witness, to say the least of it, much hesitation. The Burghers are not hastening to the assistance of the Government they have been taught for two years to abuse. The Hottentots of the Kat River, or Stockenstrom Settlement—naturally more unreasoning than the colonists of European descent—are improving upon the lesson and joining the enemy. And for much of this we do believe the Colony has to thank the leaders of a party who, while striving by unscrupulous and factious means to raise themselves to political eminence and power, have unwittingly encouraged our enemies beyond the border, by displaying to them a scene of too real disunion within it.

SIR HARRY SMITH is in Kaffraria with a force of barely 3000 men, distributed among the military posts in that country and on the eastern frontier; and he has deliberately taken upon himself the task, by which alone he is now convinced that the safety of the Colony can be ensured, of eradicating the Gaika Kaffirs from their mountain fastness. For the purpose of aiding him in this difficult but necessary work, the authorities in Cape Town have been instructed to raise volunteer corps in the Western Districts, and have acted so promptly on these instruc-

tion that, in a very short time, an efficient force of 3000 volunteers from those districts will be placed at the Governor's disposal. Major-General Somerset is, in the mean time, using his best exertions to raise a similar force in the Eastern Division; and, notwithstanding some discouraging appearances, it may be hoped that he will succeed so far as to provide for the protection of the frontier, while the Commander-in-Chief acts upon the offensive. But, as the force at Sir Harry's command will be but small, considering the work he has to do, after due provision has been made for protecting the frontier and military posts, he has instructed the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal to send down a force of 3000 Zoolahs, to march upon the rear of the Gaikas while he attacks them in front.

This measure is attacked in an article of unusual earnestness by our contemporary, the *Commercial Advertiser*, who after denouncing it, in the words of Lord Chatham, as "unconstitutional, inhuman, and unchristian," proceeds further to question its policy as regards success in the conduct of the war.

A consideration of the danger by which the Colony is threatened, of the difficulty of the task which Sir Harry Smith has undertaken, and of the insufficiency of the force under his command for its accomplishment, might, we think, have weighed with our contemporary to prevent his writing intemperately (in a manner calculated to impede the increase of that force), on a subject with regard to which we are constrained to say and to prove that he has shewn himself extremely ignorant.

Perhaps our contemporary will condescend, at some future opportunity, to explain why it is unconstitutional, inhuman, unchristian, or even impolitic to raise Zoolah levies at Natal, and highly meritorious and politic to raise Hottentot levies for the same purpose at the Cape. The only reason at present vouchsafed is the quotation of a precedent in no way parallel to the present case.

If it be said we disparage the brave men who are being enrolled for the defence of the Colony, and to whom the gratitude of all Colonists is due, by classing the Zoolahs with them, we answer that we class all with the British soldier. The Hottentot is not perhaps so civilized as the soldier, or the Zoolah so well instructed as the Hottentot, but, for the time, we avail ourselves of the services of all alike for the common defence of the Colony.

But when the *Advertiser* speaks of “barbarians,” and “brute beasts,” and “savages,” and of “the barbarian who has not chosen to submit to the duties and to claim the rights of civilized life,” he exposes his utter ignorance of the whole merits of the question. Is this writer aware that the men concerning whom he thus mildly expresses himself are living in unrepinning subjection to British authority, in peaceful occupation of Colonial lands in Natal?—and that they last year cheerfully contributed, in the form of a hut tax, nearly £10,000 to the Natal revenue?—that in each location in which they dwell, a British magistrate resides securely among them?—that they readily submit themselves to this jurisdiction, and to the instruction of missionaries?—that they possess Colonial

property, and are fast acquiring a correct perception of its duties and its rights? If he do know these things, should he have written of them as he has done?—and if he do not, should he have written at all?

“Let all,” says the *Advertiser*, “who in South Africa enjoy British privileges, and in return for British privileges are bound to the duties of Englishmen, let these rise at the Governor’s demand, *en masse*, for that work of blood.” Well: the Natal Zoolahs are British subjects, enjoying British privileges. Why, then, is it unconstitutional to employ them as auxiliaries against the Kaffirs?

There is little doubt that 10,000 of these men could be brought into the field if required; and from the influence which Mr. Shepstone, the Diplomatic Agent at Natal, possesses over them, there is as little doubt that they would render good service. As to our not knowing what feuds exist between the natives located in Natal and the Gaikas, or what peculiar tie can bind them to us stronger than that which now exists between Sir Harry Smith and the T’Slambies, we are tempted to imagine that our contemporary must have been dreaming when he raised such questions. They have their Colonial lands to return to. They have fled from their chiefs, and placed themselves voluntarily under British protection as British subjects; and they are, moreover, of kindred race with the Fingoes,—the most bitter enemies of the Kaffirs. No principle whatsoever—whether of Christianity, humanity, or policy—has yet been shewn why the services of these men should not be made available

for the defence of the Colony. It is true that it is the Cape Colony and not Natal—their country—which is attacked; but one cannot suffer without danger to the other, and if Natal were attacked, the troops in the Colony would be sent to its defence. It is lamentable, no doubt, that the necessity should have arisen for calling them from their peaceful occupations to take part in the hostile operations in Kaffraria; but the present position of affairs does not admit of sentimentalities.

SINCE writing the above, our attention has been called to a correspondence republished from a Parliamentary Blue Book in the *Advertiser* of Wednesday last, the object of which appears to be to make use of the respected name of Sir P. Maitland, in order to arraign the policy of the present Governor's measures, in calling in the aid of the Zoolahs from Natal. The whole of the correspondence referred to is relative to "friendly or neutral tribes bordering on the scene of war," and therefore presents no parallel to the present case. Sir P. Maitland *did* employ Kaffirs who had been British subjects, and were living under British protection within the Colony, during the last war; and Sir H. Smith is doing no more in employing these Zoolahs, who are also British subjects. It is much to be regretted that at a moment like this, these continued attempts should be made to deceive the people, and thereby to weaken the Government.

The article in the *Advertiser* noticed above as having for its object to deprive the responsible defender of the Colony of the assistance which, after due consideration, he has thought it proper to require from Natal, has been followed up by articles in the *Observer* of Tuesday, and the *Advertiser* of Wednesday, having apparently for their object to induce the Burghers to deny their assistance also. It is hard to believe that at a moment like the present, any Colonist would wilfully raise difficulties in the Governor's way; it is hard to imagine that the spite of a defeated party can be so strong as to induce its members to advocate a course directly calculated to produce the utter ruin of their country; yet upon any other supposition the present series of papers is wholly unintelligible.

It has been shewn that the writer of these malignant attacks upon every successive measure originating with the Commander-in-Chief, while pretending to advocate the principle that all British subjects in South Africa should combine to repel the treacherous enemy on our borders, has endeavoured to raise a prejudice against the Governor on the ground that he has called in the aid of British subjects from Natal. Not content with this, he now endeavours to check what disposition there may be among the Burghers to forget artificial political differences in a moment of common peril: tomorrow we may expect equally cogent reasons why the Hottentots should not be called away from their labour or repose, to fight the battle of the Colony.

The regular military force which Sir Harry Smith can bring into the field is notoriously insufficient for

the work that must be accomplished. He has therefore called in the aid of the Burghers; and, mindful of the fact that this force, though always effective, is occasionally capricious, has done precisely what in every former war they have required their Governors to do. He has invited them to move upon such parts of the country beyond the border, as may be deemed most advantageously open to attack, under officers of their own selection, and to carry on the war in the manner which may seem to themselves most effectual. For this reason we are told that his acts "seem anything else than the work of a cool, deliberate and responsible mind, the Burghers are warned to reject the bribe now offered to enter Kaffirland," and are told that they will be "honoured for its rejection."

Honoured! At a moment when utter ruin is imminently threatening the Colony. When the energies of one of Britain's bravest Commanders are taxed, and that not lightly, for the Colony's defence,—shall any Colonist—shall any man owing allegiance to the British Crown be *honoured* who would hold back an arm from the common defence? Rather let eternal disgrace and dishonour be the lot of those who would give strength to our enemies at this crisis by withholding aid from our brave defenders!

It is in defence of their own property that the Burghers are asked to move: yet the Governor with a sensitive regard for their peculiar feelings has asked them to move free from all military restraint, subject to no regulations but their own, whether with regard to their mode of warfare, or with regard to the distribution of spoil.

We always understood that this was what was urged and impressed upon the military authorities in every previous war, as the only satisfactory way of employing the Burgher forces, and that such a system alone would render almost unnecessary any other steps for the defence of the Frontier. We were always told,—“ Ah! the Boers would soon settle it. You would have no more Kaffir wars if you would let the Burghers fight it out their own way !”

Well—all this has been done. In the most general terms, without restriction of any kind whatever, the Burghers have been invited to take part in the war, “ subject only to general instructions as to where their operations can be carried on in the most effectual manner ;”—and what is the result? One result we trust will be, that they will obey the call like loyal men. But one certainly is, that the officer on whose exertions the safety of the Colony mainly depends, is assailed with the most intemperate abuse by a press so hostile to everything bearing the hateful name of Government, that it would be discontented in the millennium: and that the Colonists are enjoined to sit idly by, encouraging their savage neighbours to war against British sovereignty, and fight for the recovery of their former independence, and of the lands annexed to the Colony, after last war.

And, as if fearing that this almost treasonable exhortation, the climax of a long career of seditious preaching, will not avail to deprive the Governor of all aid from the Colony, the writer proceeds to belabour the frontier Colonists,—whose all, whose very existence is at stake,—with hard names and abusive epithets.

“ They will be a parcel of banditti,” “ a gang of cattle plunderers,” “ an irregular army of banditti,” “ a body without restraint or discipline,” “ a body of ‘ letter-of-marque’ men,” and they will commit “ unchecked slaughter,” and “ unbridled ravage,” if they listen to the call of duty, and refuse to be deterred from acting in defence of their perilled country. What! “ The free citizens of this land,” the “ good men ” at whose table, forsooth, British officers would be unworthy guests in time of peace,—are they so little to be depended upon as this? We believe that, acting under the present proclamation, they will do good service, as they have done good service heretofore. But those who think otherwise—those few—very few it is hoped—who sympathise with the recent attempt to create disunion where all should be united, and to strengthen the enemies by weakening the defenders of the Colony, should at least tell us upon which horn of the dilemma into which their intemperate zeal in the cause of disloyalty has hurried them, they choose to be impaled. If, as we believe, the frontier farmers are the good, trusty, loyal men they are represented to be when it suits the purpose of a disloyal press to cajole them into inactivity,—where is the fear of unbridled ravage and unchecked slaughter now assigned as a reason why they should not obey the dictates of loyalty and duty? They are not bound to take cattle, under this proclamation, they may go into the enemy’s country and fight without a thought of booty; and this is what those who disapprove of the so-called bribe should urge them to do. If, on the other hand, they are the gang of banditti, which on another occasion it is convenient

to represent them, why trust them with the defence of the frontier, or promise them honour and esteem as the reward for supineness and treachery?

What amount of deleterious influence the mischievous productions we have noticed may be likely to exercise we cannot tell: we hope and anticipate that it will be but small: for in exact proportion to the loyal feeling of the people of this Colony will be their rejection of the organs which prostitute themselves for the propagation of incipient treason in this our hour of danger.

To the Editor of the Cape Monitor.

SIR,—On the third of this month an event took place in Swellendam, sufficient to make every man of feeling, who witnessed the scene, blush for its authors. I allude to the reception of, and the dinner given to, Sir A. Stockenstrom. A few days earlier, and it would have been simply ridiculous to have witnessed the proceedings of that day. Sir A. Stockenstrom was escorted into Swellendam by a party of men and boys, about sixty in number, consisting of mechanics' apprentices, and Mr. Barry's clerks, and a few Dutch farmers, collected together by that indefatigable little man in the cause of radicalism, the *soi-disant* Dr. White, and headed by Mr. Barry, who would, I believe, if the truth were known, have wished himself a better office. The escort safely conducted their representative into Swellendam, to the no small chagrin, I should imagine, of Mr. Reitz, who all this time was left completely in the back-ground—a mere satellite of the great luminary;

and after breaking through the municipal regulations (of which no notice, of course, was taken) by firing guns in the village, they proceeded to Dr. White's house, where a dinner was provided for the occasion, got up by subscription tickets, varying from 2s 6d to 10s each. Why there should be a difference in the entrance charge, I am at a loss to know, unless it be that the fare near the person of the honoured guest was of a more delicate description than was to be found elsewhere, and that those who wished to procure a place most near the honourable Baronet had to pay most. As the dinner progressed, merriment increased, which was kept up until a late hour.

These proceedings would, as I have said, at an earlier date have been simply ridiculous; but carried on at a time when our brethren on the Frontier were being cruelly and barbarously murdered by the inhuman savage of the woods,—their houses and lands devoted to the rapacity of those sons of rapine and plunder,—the post of that day bringing further intelligence of the fall of more of our best and bravest soldiers, together with our Governor's critical position,—at such a moment as this publicly to carry on feasting and revelling is sufficient to shock the minds of all feeling men,—is contrary to every precept of morality, every feeling of humanity, every sentiment of honour. Such acts, and the originators of them, demand the most decisive indignation.

A CULTIVATOR OF PROPRIETY.

To the Editor of the Cape Monitor.

Cape Town, Jan. 14, 1851.

SIR,—Is it not surprising to see the merchants and inhabitants of Cape Town and its vicinity,—the Cape Town Municipality,—the Committees of the Commercial Exchange and Chamber of Commerce,—all so slack and dilatory in coming forward to assist their fellow-countrymen now in peril on the Frontier? Had they come forward with £500 to raise a volunteer corps,—say 500 men,—and presented them to Government, free of all expense, it would have done them honour, and shewn to their fellow-countrymen that they are willing to assist them in their distress. But no; nothing is done, or doing. The merchants and inhabitants, to their disgrace, were liberal with their names and purses to starve the *army* and *navy* in the unfortunate Anti-Convict cause, but now to save the lives of their countrymen and their families, they are still and motionless. Merchants! come forward and assist your frontier friends. All of you are more or less interested in their cause.

I fear, Mr. Editor, that the leaders of the Anti-Convict party, and the late Members of the Legislative Council, have been indirectly the cause of this savage war, by breeding discontent throughout the Colony among the coloured classes. Time will shew, Mr. Editor, who are the leaders and encouragers of the Kat River Hottentots to revolt and rebel against the British Government. Englishmen! now is your time to come forward and assist your fellow-countrymen.

AN ENGLISHMAN.

THE CAPE MONITOR.

Cape Town, Friday, January 24th, 1851.

It is understood that Mr. Meintjes, of Graaff-Reinet, has made a communication to the Governor to the effect that a considerable body of Boers is ready to take the field, well-armed and mounted, provided they are allowed to carry on the war "in their own way," under the command of Sir Andries Stockenstrom, who is to be entirely independent of the Commander-in-Chief. This proposal will be rather startling to some writers in Cape Town, who are already scandalized at the amount of licence accorded to the Boers by the Governor's proclamation : but as it is scarcely possible that any sane man could seriously make such a proposition with any idea of its being accepted, we are inclined to think that this move is simply a "dodge" got up by Sir A. Stockenstrom's friends to furnish him with an excuse for remaining in the Colony. "The documents from the country" have at length arrived ; the Baronet's private affairs are believed to be settled : Maastrom has been abandoned ; Mr. Fairbairn's first letter may be expected in the *Bosphorus*. All excuse for further delay has been removed : when lo ! forth step the people of Port Elizabeth, followed closely by Mr. Meintjes' Graaff-Reinettters, and occupy the gap.

The people of Port Elizabeth are sure that Sir A. Stockenstrom "will feel at once that he has a mission of leadership to the Frontier at such a time ;" and Sir A. Stockenstrom, in reply, assures the people of Port Elizabeth as follows : "Already am I engaged in the service of the public, and preparing for the special

mission for which I have been retained ; but my destination can at any time be altered by that public," &c.

The people of Graaff-Reinet (if the statement above noticed is correct), have played rather a better card than the people of Port Elizabeth ; for, in supplying Sir A. Stockenstrom with a reason why he should not yet sail for England, they have also discovered a ground why they should not march to the Frontier. They will not move unless led by Sir A. Stockenstrom, with powers independent of the Commander-in-Chief.

The loyalty of these Graaff-Reinet burghers is, to say the least of it, of a very quiescent character. They do not refuse to serve, but they will only serve under impossible conditions. The *Observer* of Tuesday last contains a goodly list of their "demands." They must be "found in everything,"—"guaranteed rations for their wives and families where required,"—they "insist" upon being "guaranteed against the interference of military commanders,"—they "have a most weighty objection against going out at all." "From Somerset," adds the writer, "I learn that the Boers of Zwager's Hoek will not stir ; they say that they will only go if they are *paid* for their many and heavy sacrifices." "The Camdebo burghers are here to present themselves, but I am told they refuse to go out." Similar accounts are received from other parts of the country. And what wonder—when disaffection of two years' growth, cunningly grafted upon national antipathies which a community of interests for half a century has proved insufficient to remove, is fomented in the organs of rebellion which are still suffered to envenom the political atmosphere of the Colony ?

When the *Advertiser* endeavoured to throw difficulties in the Governor's way, by inventing reasons why the Natal Zoolahs should not be employed as auxiliaries, the writer was perhaps only guilty of the not uncommon fault of writing about what he did not understand; he either thought, or intended his readers to think, that some tribe of savages beyond the boundary, probably Panda's Zoolahs, was to be employed. But the articles which have since appeared in the same paper, and the *Observer*, do not admit even of this clumsy excuse. The *Observer* of the 14th, openly endeavoured to persuade the Boers to refuse their aid, threatening them with eternal disgrace, if they obeyed the Governor's Proclamation. The *Advertiser* of the 13th attempted to frighten the Burghers from leaving their homes; the same paper of the 18th, tries to make the farmers discontented with what they have always asked for, and now obtained,—permission to carry on the war “in their own way.” Finally, the *Observer* of the 21st, questions the power of the Governor to confiscate the property of rebels taken in arms against the Crown, and after carping in the usual style, at every successive sentence of the last Proclamation, attempts to throw upon Sir Harry Smith the responsibility of the disloyalty of the Kat River Hottentots, whose patrons have been for the last two years assiduously assailing the Governor and his advisers, and sowing the seeds of a goodly crop of treason among the coloured inhabitants of the Frontier.

No one denies the hardships under which the Boers will suffer if they should be induced to answer the call made upon their loyalty. In all ages men have been

found ready to undergo such hardships for the salvation of their country, and we trust it will be found so here. It is also true, that the commando system is attended with many evils ; but it must, in common candour, be admitted, that those evils are not chargeable upon the Governor. More than two years ago, in a time of profound peace, Sir Harry Smith proposed to the Legislative Council, a Bill which would have provided for such an exigency as the present an efficient force of militia, well equipped, armed, and officered, and entitled to pay, rations, &c.—thus ensuring to the Burghers compliance with all their reasonable demands. Petitions, however, poured in from all parts of the Colony, especially from the East ; and the feeling against the Bill was so strong, that the Governor was induced to withdraw it. That law was expressly proposed to obviate the evils of the commando system ; but the Burghers would not hear of it ; and when reminded, that if they refused the new law, they must be prepared to go out on commando, they acquiesced. A similar warning was repeated in Lord Grey's dispatch on the same subject, read openly in the Legislative Council. " It will be incumbent on the Colonists," says his Lordship, " to provide, in some way or other, for their own security against their barbarous neighbours : and they must consider themselves as warned, that if they should suffer the loss of lives or property, from the want of adequate precaution, the responsibility will rest with themselves alone."

The exigency has now arrived ; during three years of peace, the Colonists have neglected to make the needful provision, though perpetually urged by the

Governor to do so. This is to be lamented; but inactivity will not mend the matter, nor will the Colony be benefited, if the Boers should be persuaded to charge their Governor with the responsibility of their own supineness.

WHO is to be Commander-in-Chief—Sir Harry Smith, or Sir Andries Stockenström, or the Editor of the *Advertiser*? for each of the two latter seems to aspire to the office, and it is doubtful how the matter might go if it were to be decided by popular election. But, fortunately for the Colony, it is a fact, however distasteful to some parties, that Sir H. Smith is Commander-in-Chief, and that the prosecution of the present war must be entrusted to his military genius and experience.

Such being the case, would it not be wise, nay, is it not the duty of all good subjects to support him to the best of their ability, and of those whose military services are required to render ready obedience to his commands? Is not this the duty of all alike, however they may doubt the policy of some of the measures which Sir H. Smith as Governor may have adopted relative to the Frontier, and which measures they may suppose have brought about the present war?

Yet we find a party in Cape Town, possessing, it is feared, some influence in the country, anxiously endeavouring to obstruct the measures of the Commander-in-Chief, by bringing odium upon him when he invokes the aid of a native force,—by endeavouring to persuade the Burghers whom he has called out, to

remain in sullen disobedience at their homes,—and by hinting to the Hottentots that if they volunteer, their reward will be a stick of tobacco and forgetfulness.

It will not have escaped the notice of the public, that since the commencement of the present war certain Cape Town newspapers, known to be generally hostile to the Government, have almost confined their comments on current events to personal vituperation of Sir H. Smith. He would not yield to their dictation on the Convict and Constitution questions; and now their hour of vengeance has come: what matter if in striking upon the obnoxious Governor they inflict a blow on their perilled country!

Thus, if a Kaffir chief who has been living within the Colony for years turns rebel, “it yet remains to be examined what cause of discontent has been given him by the local authorities:” and we are told with a sneer, of the “treachery” of Hermanus, “*as it is now called.*” Again, “the other districts know, that since the last war the authorities have *succeeded* in quarrelling with not the Kaffirs alone, but numerous other people who before were friendly.” If the enemy receives a check, it is “*happily* through means altogether independent of either of His Excellency’s recent measures in respect of the aid which he *thought* that he needed.” The Governor’s Proclamations “are judged to have been issued when the extent of the danger first pressed itself on His Excellency’s mind, without that regard of consequences which is expected of the responsible administrator of the Government.” When the Kat Kiver Hottentots revolt, we are told “the cause of the defection is in the acts of the au-

thorities of this Colony." Then, again, "the rise of Hermanus, the discontent of the Tambookies, the feelings of the Farmers who border on Tambookieland, the nature of our late rule in Kaffraria, the change of sentiments on Moshesh's part, since, in 1846, he wished to be the ally and friend of Sir P. Maitland, all these will be proper causes of inquiry hereafter. And it is possible that men will then be permitted to consider, without charges of disloyalty, that if the influence of the British Government in South Africa is now utterly at stake, it has become so from causes for which the Colonists are not to blame, the natives not much to be condemned, or of which the Home Government scarcely had knowledge—but which are due almost exclusively to the local administrators of the Queen's authority in these regions."

If Sir Harry expels a tribe of rebel Kaffirs from the Colony, after their chief and about 100 of their number have been slain in open fight,—“His Excellency's legal power to do this by proclamation, however truly the parties may be afterwards proved to deserve the punishment, after investigation by a Court of Justice, depends upon the tenure of the land they used to occupy.” If “the Fingoes are loyal and devoted to us,” it is “because they think we shall not treat them so ill as the Kaffirs are likely to do.” “The successive stages of revulsion in the feelings of some of the coloured classes in the District of Fort Beaufort, must soon be matter of examination. These people were loyal three years since. They hate us now.—Why?” WHY! because during those three years, they have seen the men whom, since the foun-

dation of their settlement, they have unfortunately been taught to honour and respect, engaged day after day in bitter hostility to the Government, against which—improving on the lesson—they have now arrayed themselves in arms.

The reputation of Sir Harry Smith is not to be tarnished by such attacks as those which we have noticed; but meantime, they are doing serious injury to the Colony. It is within our own knowledge, that men have refused to volunteer, on the ground that “Sir Harry Smith had got into the mess, and might get out his own way.” How far such writing as has recently disgraced the columns of the *Advertiser* and the *Observer*, is likely to encourage such feelings, and how far the organs which afford that encouragement are deserving of support, are questions which the public must decide: and this decision involves the honour or the everlasting disgrace of that public.

This also should be remembered:—that as the mischief can only be continued by the public support accorded to its organs,—as the people of this Colony, taken as a body, will not refuse to perform their duty as loyal men and faithful subjects of the British Crown, unless their minds are poisoned by the treasonable *miasma* and moral pestilence which these messengers of discord are spreading among us—if when the battle has been fought and won,—as won it will be by British valour in the end, despite all the difficulties raised by factious Anti-English discontent, the voice of sorrow should be heard in many a desolated home, whence the flocks and herds and the ripe corn, once the subsistence of a prosperous family shall have been swept

away, when the widow shall bewail her husband, and the orphans their father, and the bereaved parents the sons whom they have lost, it is not upon Sir Harry Smith that the blame must rest, but upon those who, in all the bitterness of disappointed sedition, strove at the commencement of the contest to deprive him of the force with the aid of which he might have saved the Colony, and crushed our enemies at a blow.

To the Editor of the Cape Monitor.

Cape Town, Jan. 16, 1851.

SIR,—In common with every LOYAL Colonist, Dutch and English, who has heard of or read that atrocious article, published in the *Observer* of the 14th inst., I was thoroughly disgusted and indignant at the bare-faced impudence and inhuman attempt of the radical Anti-Government Editor to thwart and render nugatory the measures and efforts of Her Majesty's representative to save the Colony from destruction.

Every man has a perfect right to have and to hold what opinion he pleases on the policy of the Governor; but this I say, that *any* man who, in such fearful times, as the present, when the lives of thousands of our fellow-subjects are hanging by a thread—when the absolute ruin of the Colony must be the result of defeat,—I say, that any man who promulgates opinions tending to deter *one* single individual, be he black or white, from joining the forces which are about to take the field against our savage enemies, should be held up to the execration of mankind, as a *traitor* to his country.

If this be deserved in the case of an individual, how much more so is it in the Editor of a public journal, who vomits forth to the world opinions which in effect deter, if not prevent, our *notoriously* gallant countrymen from joining the British standard?

The Dutch Boers have ever proved themselves brave and gallant men, ever ready to respond to the call of Government, risking life and property freely, willingly, and cheerfully, in defence of the land of their *birth*,—men who are, of all others, best able to cope with and conquer “*irreclaimable*” savages.

If on the present melancholy occasion these fine fellows refuse to aid their fellow Colonists, it can only be attributed to that *Anti-Government party* who for the last two years have been disseminating disloyal principles and generating hostile feelings to Her Majesty’s rule and government throughout the length and breadth of the land. Has this Editor ever heard that 1600 Dutch Boers left 5000 Zoolahs dead on the field in their action with Dingaan at Natal? If he has not heard of that hard fought battle, let him enquire, and he will find it is a fact: and being a fact, where can the Governor find men so well calculated to bring the present war to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion; and yet *such* men are to be prevented from taking any part in the defence of the Colony by the namby-pamby effusions of a democratic young man, the would-be organ of a Red Republican party. I wish his Excellency would proclaim Martial Law in the Western Districts, and order all *bachelors* from the age of seventeen to fifty to be sent to the seat of war, no *substitute* to be allowed, and appoint me to

collect and organize those gentlemen. I would instantly lay hold of the Editor of the *Observer*, put a musket in his hand, and embark him in the first vessel; —I would give special orders to place the precocious young Editor in the front rank at every fight, to shew him the mangled bodies of his fellow Colonists, their houses burnt, their property swept away, their wives widows, their children fatherless, and, if he was fortunate enough to escape with his life, I would say to him—Now go, Sir, and resume your editorial occupation, and profit by your experience.

SALUS POPULI SUPREMA LEX.

THE SWELLENDAM DINNER.

To the Editor of the Cape Monitor.

Swellendam, 18th Jan. 1851.

SIR,—With all public dinners to public men that I have fallen in with, each party wishing to testify by that means his approval, pays a uniform rate; but such has not been the case in this instance. There appears to have been a sort of subscription list, some giving 10s and downwards to 1s 6d. This was supposed to pay for the dinner, except champagne: which, it is said, was given by Mr. Barry's young men, in addition to their subscription of 10s each. It was in fact a subscription dinner, got up by three or four individuals who *invited* parties to attend, and to subscribe to it according to their means and inclinations. I hear one Government schoolmaster was admitted *free*, but I don't know many more.

Having been favoured with a correct copy of the entirely new farce of "Raising the Wind," privately performed previous to the Dinner, I enclose it for your criticism, and to do what you like with.

Yours,
RABELAIS.

THE CAPE MONITOR.

Cape Town, Friday, January 31, 1851.

It is an unfortunate coincidence, if it is no more, that the leading organ of the democratic party in time of peace, should have become the leading organ of a disaffected party in the time of war. The contentions of the last two years have done their work in inciting the Kaffirs to an outbreak. There is no want of evidence to shew that our savage enemies have commenced the present war under the idea that the Colonists are divided amongst themselves; and the manner in which the English have been singled out for attack, shews which party they think most hostile to themselves, and more easily to be overcome.

The present inactivity of the Burghers cannot fail to strengthen this opinion. Even supposing the recent articles in the *Advertiser* to have been written with the best intentions,—which it requires more charity than we can boast of to believe,—their effect in inducing the Boers to "sit still," cannot but increase the confidence of the enemy, and encourage greater numbers of the coloured population to join them: and the war which might, perhaps, have been brought to a

termination at once, will thus be protracted, and the ruin of many families insured.

It will be easy, when this result has been brought about, to shift the blame to the shoulders of the Government. Already the *Advertiser* has hinted that the real cause of the war is to be found in land disputes between the Governor and the natives, and that it is, therefore, the Governor, and not the Colony that is at issue with the Kaffirs. The Colonists have been told how these amiable savages fight only for rights wrested from them by the injustice of an oppressive Government. The country agents of the democratic party, who are apt to allow their zeal to outrun their discretion, have spoken more plainly on this subject, and have not scrupled to tell the Burghers that the present dispute is between the Kaffirs and the *Government* about land, and is one in which *they* are no way concerned.

The Burghers are thus induced, even in those districts in which Martial Law has been proclaimed, to withhold their aid from the Governor: at the same time machinations are being employed, as will presently be shewn, to obstruct the enrolment of Hottentots; and Sir Harry Smith has been assailed, in language of most bitter abuse, for calling in the aid of native auxiliaries.

If a tree is to be judged by its fruits, it is fair to judge of the intention with which these things are written from their necessary effects. Sir Harry Smith cannot drive the Gaikas from the Amatolas without an overwhelming force. Such a force, if the manœuvres of the *Advertiser* and its supporters are

successful, he will not obtain. The war will be protracted : much of the expense will be thrown upon the Colony : fresh taxes will be required : and the taxpayers will be told that this burden has been caused by the mismanagement of the Government.

Something of the same kind has, in fact, occurred already. The *Cape Town Mail*, of last Saturday, after expressing its unbounded faith in Sir. H. Smith's military powers, thus concludes : " He will, it is believed, be able to subdue the enemy, and that speedily and thoroughly. But whether he will be afterwards able to establish a system of Frontier policy that will not lead, ultimately, to other outbreaks of the same kind, is a question which few persons in the Colony would venture to answer in the affirmative." Perhaps it will be impossible to establish such a system after the termination of the present war, which both parties have declared to be a war of extermination. But what is the fact? After the conclusion of the war of 1846, Sir H. Smith *did* establish a system of Frontier policy, which gave unbounded satisfaction to the Frontier Colonists, and which will be found, on examination, to have been admirably devised for the government and civilization of the native tribes. After three years of uninterrupted peace beyond the border, and uninterrupted contention within it, the Kaffirs rise in arms, openly declaring that " the white men are divided, and may, therefore, be overcome ;" they are joined by a number of coloured Colonists, whose patrons have, during these three years, taught them to resist the Government on every occasion : the Boers are encouraged, by the same

Anti-Government leaders, to refuse assistance, and the result is proclaimed as a failure of Sir H. Smith's policy.

Who can tell that the Kaffirs ever would have risen but for the disunion they have witnessed within the Colony? Who can tell that they would not be subdued in a month but for the inactivity of the Boers? Who cannot see how the prolongation of the war may be made to strengthen the hands of a party who do not scruple to charge upon the Governor the consequences of their own evil acts?

If the Colonists fall under the domination of that party it will not be without due warning. The events of the last two years have sufficiently illustrated their principles: to increase their ill-gotten influence they do not scruple now to adopt a course which will effect the ruin of hundreds of the Colonists. Their country is at stake, but the interests of their party are preferred. From this the Colonists may judge what is likely to be their course if they should obtain unlimited power, having already unlimited disposition for evil.

SIR A. STOCKENSTROM has published in the *Cape Town Mail*, a letter addressed to "the local corresponding Committee of the Colonial Reform Society," giving an account of his recent progress through the Colony. From this "report," which, of course, is not the least favourable that might have been written, it would appear that the Baronet has been singularly unfortunate. He left Cape Town on the 21st Novem-

ber, and "was obliged to postpone his visit to Stellenbosch and the Paarl," so that he can report no demonstrations at those places. He "reached Tulbagh late on the 22nd, and left it early on the 23rd," so that his "unexpected arrival and speedy departure afforded no time" for a demonstration there. At Worcester, it was projected to invite him to a public dinner, if the day of his arrival had not been Sunday, and if he had not been obliged to depart on the Monday. He "reached Beaufort unexpected on the 30th; few of the leading men of the place being at home." In the town of Somerset, resolutions had been passed condemnatory of the proceedings of the democratic party, but in the rural parts of the same district some inhabitants were found "signing addresses of a directly opposite character." At Uitenhage he attended a public dinner, and remarks, that *though contrary demonstrations have been made*, there can be no doubt of the majority in that district being in his favour. Being pressed for time, he was obliged to pass rapidly through Caledon in the middle of the day, on Sunday, the 5th, only resting his horses for a couple of hours. He reached Riversdale too late in the evening, and left too early next morning to see any one. "Such, then," adds the Baronet triumphantly, "has been the feeling exhibited towards me throughout the greatest part of the Colony, as the known deputy of the Committee, and one of the advocates of the cause which we are trying to promote !!!"

It would be unjust, however, to deny that at one or two places as, for instance, at Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam—demonstrations were made, with the

total failure of which, as expressions of public sentiment, though the most unscrupulous means were employed, the readers of the *Monitor* are tolerably well acquainted:—and though they were scarcely commensurate with the high expectations entertained for him,—for at Graaff-Reinet, we are told, his friends report that he is shortly to be appointed Governor, with Mr. Fairbairn as Secretary to Government,—the democratic press have not failed to make the most of them.

It is somewhat remarkable that the very places at which Sir A. Stockenstrom was most enthusiastically received, are those at which the worst spirit has been recently displayed. At Graaff-Reinet, the story that the present war is a land quarrel between the *Government* and the Kaffirs, appears to have originated with a relative or friend of the Baronet; and the result is, that about eighty men who had been enrolled expressly for service on the Frontier, if required, refused to move, on the ground that they never intended to go beyond the town of Graaff-Reinet. This useless body having been disbanded, the Civil Commissioner proceeded, under the Governor's Proclamation of martial law, to collect a Burgher contingent by ballot, and by this means enrolled about 200 men, white and coloured, who, however, the next day refused to move unless their unconscionable "demands," noticed in our last, were first satisfied; and the end is, that Graaff-Reinet, which received Sir A. Stockenstrom "with great enthusiasm," has furnished no aid to Sir Harry Smith.

At Swellendam, a number of Hottentots have been

raised for service on the frontier ; but we are informed that difficulties have lately been raised, with which the family of one of the democratic leaders is said to be connected, and by which several men belonging to the Zuurbrak missionary institution have been deterred from joining by threats of imprisonment !

Having left behind him such loyal dispositions at Graaff-Reinet and Swellendam, Sir A. Stockenstrom arrived at Cape Town on the evening of the 6th inst.,—and his influence was soon felt. The intelligence of the Kaffir outbreak had preceded him, and on its arrival the *Advertiser* had written as follows :—“ At the present time of peril and alarm, inquiry into causes, blame, or recommendation will be of no avail. The Colony is to unite for mutual protection against a declared enemy. The Governor’s position . . . must be an object of sympathy to all.” “ All classes of the colonists should, in this time of trial, support and encourage each other. The Governor and the Government are entitled to the active co-operation of all who acknowledge a duty to the society in which they live. The Governor personally is entitled to sympathy.”

The last extract is from the *Advertiser* of the 4th instant ; but on the 6th, Sir A. Stockenstrom returned, and the tone immediately changed. On the 8th appeared an apology for the Zwager’s Hoek farmers, who refused to turn out, and for the Kat River Hottentots ; on the 11th, the ignorant tirade about the Zoolah auxiliaries ; on the 14th, the *Observer*,—which is now to all intents and purposes supplementary to the *Advertiser*, published that disgraceful attempt to foment disaffection among the Burghers, which excited

the unanimous indignation of all loyal men. The same course has, our readers are aware, been since followed up by both papers in every successive issue.

The influence of Sir A. Stockenstrom over the responsible Editor of these two newspapers is well known to the public here, who are, therefore, in a position to judge how far that influence may explain the change of sentiment just noticed ; and it will be allowed to be a coincidence significant and worthy of remark at the present moment, that where disaffection has existed, Sir A. Stockenstrom has generally been popular ; and his name has been quoted—though, of course, without his authority—as a supporter of the disaffection.

When Pretorius incited the Orange River Boers to rebellion, it was to Sir A. Stockenstrom that he resorted for advice ; and it was by the use of Sir A. Stockenstrom's name that he collected his band of traitors.

When Zacharias Pretorius meditated an attack on the Tambookies of Klaas Smit's River, it was to Sir A. Stockenstrom that he went for aid. When the Griquas require advice how most effectually to evade their engagements with the Government, it is to Sir A. Stockenstrom they resort for counsel.

When such complainants come before Sir A. Stockenstrom, he commiserates their forlorn condition, but tells them they must go to the Secretary of State, as, in his present private position, *he* can do nothing for them. And while thus commanding, whether deservedly or otherwise, the implicit confidence of all opponents of the Government, he is receiving a pension of £700 per annum from the Colony in which his name is thus continually used to foment disaffection and discontent.

MEMORIALS ON THE CONSTITUTION.

WE have lately from time to time received copies of the additional petitions and memorials on the subject of the proposed new Constitution, which are given below, but to which, in consequence of the space necessarily occupied in our last few numbers by Frontier affairs, we have been unable to give earlier insertion.

We have to add that these petitions represent the sentiments of persons interested in a very large extent of landed property in the several districts from which they emanate, and are all numerous and respectably signed.

KNYSNA AND PLETTENBERG'S BAY.

To His Excellency Lieut.-General Sir HENRY GEORGE WAKELYN SMITH, K.G.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, Her Majesty's High Commissioner, &c. &c.

We, the undersigned, landed proprietors and road-rate payers in the wards of the Knysna and Plettenberg's Bay, feel ourselves called on to come forward to address your Excellency in the present political emergency.

We beg to assure your Excellency of our firm and unaltered attachment to the person of our most gracious Sovereign the Queen, and our faith in the wisdom of Parliament, and our belief in your Excellency's determination to do everything in your power towards the well-being and prosperity of the Colony.

We are attached to the glorious and free institutions of our mother-country, and wish to see the same institutions established in this portion of our gracious Queen's dominions, so far as our circumstances will allow.

We deeply regret that so much disunion should have existed in the Legislative Council, on the subject of carrying on the Government pending the formation and approval of a Constitution, and that any party in the State should desire to force your Excellency to appropriate and expend the Colonial money in a manner not according with the law and usage of a free state: and *that* at a time when we hoped for order, quiet and regularity, after a violent agitation and fermentation of the public mind.

We thank your Excellency for saving us from confusion, by having of late carried on the Civil government in such trying circumstances, though we regret the illegality of such a wise step.

In conclusion, we thank your Excellency for the measure you have adopted to obtain a report on the Constitution from the members of the Council assembled as Commissioners, and to express our cordial assent to that most reasonable, temperate and statesmanlike report; and to assure your Excellency of our approval of the principles thereof generally, which, we think, with a few slight modifications, will be found perfectly acceptable to the people here and to the Parliament in Great Britain.

GEORGE.

To His Excellency Lieut.-General Sir HENRY GEORGE WAKELYN SMITH, Bart., K.G.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c. &c.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

We, the undersigned, landowners and other inhabitants of George, deem it indispensably necessary at the present time to convey to your Excellency our admiration of the just and prudent course you have adopted under the difficulties and embarrassments which have attended you in the discharge of the duties of your high and important office, especially during the last eighteen months of your administration,—trials, indeed, which have never fallen to the lot of any of your Excellency's predecessors since the Colony first became a dependency of the British Crown.

We should fail in our duty if we omitted to express our approbation of the statesmanlike measures which have of late years emanated from the Government; and unimportant as our testimony may be, we feel bound to record our opinion of the ability, zeal, and faithfulness of your Excellency's principal advisers, whose untiring labours have tended in no small degree to advance the prosperity and to increase the convenience, comfort and happiness of all classes of the people confided by her most gracious Majesty to your paternal care.

Whatever difference of opinion there may be on some of the subjects which have recently agitated the public mind, we think that none can be found throughout the

length and breadth of the land who can with justice complain of unequitable taxation,—of extravagant or wasteful expenditure of public money,—of insufficient protection to trade and commerce,—of oppressive laws,—or of the slightest check or hindrance to civil or religious liberty ; and while we cheerfully and gratefully admit that advantages such as these are among the choicest that we can enjoy, we cannot refrain from adding—what must be fresh in the minds of all who bestow attention to public concerns—that a few years since a large debt pressed heavily upon the Colony, which has been discharged,—that roads have been made and improved, mountain passes, which were looked upon as obstructions to intercourse and trade, that the skill, the enterprise, and the resource of another century could alone remove, have been opened, by which the farmer is now enabled to convey his produce speedily to market at trifling cost,—that convicts, whose time was formerly wasted in idleness, have been by wholesome and salutary discipline reformed, and their labour made available for public works,—that commerce has been fostered and greatly extended by judicious regulations,—that education and religion have been promoted and have progressed,—that the inhabitants of the Orange River territory have been settled in peace and contentedness, and who are now prospering under a mild government, and enjoying all the advantages of British protection and good laws, and for whom faithful and zealous ministers of religion and teachers have been provided,—that a restless, formidable enemy on our Eastern Frontier has been subdued, and may now be found cultivating and improving the soil and learn-

ing the arts, and participating greatly in the blessings of civilized life,—that a large extent of territory which was formerly the scene of bloodshed and strife now enjoys peace and tranquillity, and where are to be found those institutions springing up which are the glory of a land, and the sure indications of an enterprising and thriving people, and where cities and towns have been planted, which will undoubtedly raise the country at no very remote period into an important and thriving settlement,—that it is a fact which, we presume, none will question, that within a brief period the Colony has made great advances in prosperity, which we ascribe, under Providence, to the success which has attended the various measures promoted by Government for the good of the Colony. For these and many other reasons which we could urge, we conceive that your Excellency's government is entitled to our confidence, and to the support of the community at large.

We hail as a boon, much to be valued, the liberal representative institutions which have been granted by her most gracious Majesty, under letters patent, dated 23rd May, 1850. Your Excellency's desire to give full effect to the intentions of our Queen, and your promptitude in completing the Legislative Council by popular election, to perfect and accelerate what had been so graciously bestowed, entitle your Excellency to our warmest thanks.

We cannot but view with deep concern and regret the sudden and unexpected termination of the sittings of the Legislative Council, occasioned by the withdrawal of four honourable members, who had been

elected under your Excellency's notice of the 6th May last, by which many excellent measures that your Government had prepared have been delayed, various public works of great importance to the future prosperity of the Colony suspended, and, as a natural result, labourers have been thrown out of employment, to the great injury of trade and to the disparagement of the Colonial reputation.

We have had under our consideration the report of the honourable the Commissioners appointed by your Excellency for the purpose of perfecting the Draft Constitution; and as your Excellency has been pleased to invite the opinions of the Colonists thereupon, the undersigned humbly submit to your notice their views of some of the leading topics.

We are of opinion that the Chief Justice of the Colony for the time being should not be appointed President of the Legislative Council, for the very proper reasons stated by the honourable the Commissioners in their report.

We are of opinion that the dissolution of the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council simultaneously would defeat the ends for which a second Chamber is established.

We are of opinion that the members of the Legislative Council should not be elected for a longer period than six years; that, of the members first chosen, seven should by lot vacate their seats at the end of three years, and the remaining eight at the end of six years.

We are of opinion that the qualification of the electors for both Houses should not be the same, but that the electors for the Legislative Council should be

persons who hold fixed property, above incumbrances, to the value of £500 ; that the electors for the House of Assembly should be persons who occupy fixed property to the value of £25.

We are of opinion that any person who shall be qualified to be registered as a voter for the Legislative Council should be eligible to be elected as a member of the same ; provided that the qualification of elector be fixed at £500, as above proposed.

We are of opinion that the Members of the Legislative Council should be increased, so as to enable each electoral division to choose its own member.

We are of opinion that persons holding offices of profit should not be disqualified from voting for Members of the Legislature.

We are of opinion that the heads of departments should be at liberty not only to sit in the Legislative Council, but also to vote upon whatever question they may think fit.

In conclusion, Sir, we would proffer to your Excellency, as the representative of her Majesty, and as a soldier who has often nobly fought our country's battles, the assurance of our highest respect, and of our unalterable attachment to our gracious and beloved Queen ; and we trust that your Excellency may be long spared among us to enjoy the happiness of diffusing the blessings of peace, prosperity and justice among all classes of her Majesty's faithful subjects in this important settlement of the British Crown.

And we humbly beg that your Excellency will be pleased to forward this address, or a copy thereof, to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

WYNBERG.

To His Excellency Lieut.-General Sir HARRY SMITH,
Bart. K.G.C.B., Governor and Commander-in-
Chief of the Cape of Good Hope, &c. &c.

The Memorial of the undersigned, inhabitants of the
district of Wynberg,

HUMBLY SHEWETH,

That Memorialists regret the suspension of all legis-
lative functions in the Council of this Colony, the con-
tinuance of which suspension for any length of time
they cannot but view as detrimental to the best interests
of the Colony.

That your Memorialists gladly avail themselves of
the opportunity afforded by your Excellency to the
Colonists for expressing their opinion on the form of
legislation proposed by the Commissioners appointed
by your Excellency.

That, with the exception hereinafter mentioned, your
Memorialists approve of the form of Constitution pro-
posed by that Commission.

That your Memorialists cannot, however, view the
proposed establishment of an Upper House, to be elected
by the Colonists, without considerable apprehension,
and that your Memorialists, having regard to the
danger to which the property of the Colony may be
exposed by sudden and violent change in the form of
the Government and Constitution, would suggest that
the Legislative Council should not be at first elected,
but that the members should be nominated by the
Crown.

That your Memorialists also believe that great in-

convenience and embarrassment will arise from the exclusion from the Legislature of the officers of the Executive Government; and your Memorialists therefore pray that some of the heads of the principal executive departments may be appointed to seats in the Upper House, and that they may also be eligible as members of the Lower House.

And your Memorialists will ever pray.

SWELLENDAM.

To His Excellency Lieut.-General Sir H. G. W. SMITH,
Bart., K.G.C.B., Governor, &c. &c. of the Cape
of Good Hope.

The Memorial of the undersigned, landowners and other inhabitants of the Division of Swellendam.

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

That your Memorialists regret the suspension of all legislative functions in the Councils of this Colony, the continuance of which suspension for any length of time they cannot but view as detrimental to the best interests of the country.

That your Memorialists gladly avail themselves of your Excellency's invitation to the Colonists to express their opinion on the proposition for a new form of Government, as submitted to your Excellency by the Board of Commissioners appointed for the purpose of completing what the late Council had begun; and in so doing beg leave to offer the following remarks:—

That, *although your Memorialists believe that the*

form of government best suited to the present state of this Colony would have been a Council composed of the members of the Executive Council, with a member from each district added to it, to be elected by the inhabitants of that district, being the renters or owners of fixed property to the value of not less than two hundred pounds (£200), yet Memorialists are of opinion that a Constitution based on the principles laid down in the Report of the Board of Trade Commissioners may be so framed as, after a little experience, to be carried on with success.

That your Memorialists, however, are of opinion, that the all but universal suffrage recommended by the Commissioners will, if carried out, prove very injurious to the Colony at large, by reason of the great number of persons admitted to the franchise, who, from ignorance, are totally unfit for exercising that privilege in a manner beneficial to themselves or to the public, and among whom the most corrupt practices might be resorted to in order to secure the return of a member.

That your Memorialists are of opinion that the Upper House should consist of fifteen (15) members, *viz.* the five members of the Executive Council, *ex officio*, and five from the Eastern and five from the Western Provinces, to be elected by a majority of votes in each Province.

That your Memorialists are of opinion that no one should be entitled to vote for a member of the Upper House unless he be the owner or renter of fixed property to the value of five hundred pounds (£500); and further, that the lowest qualification of a member of that House should be the possession of one thousand

pounds (£1000) of fixed property, *unencumbered*, or of double that amount of mixed property.

That Memorialists are of opinion that the Assembly should consist of as many members as there are districts, each district nominating a member by majority of votes obtained in that district,—Cape Town and Graham's Town each to send two members in addition to those chosen in the districts.

That your Memorialists are of opinion that the lowest qualification for an elector of the Assembly should be the possession or occupation of fixed property of the value of one hundred pounds (£100), and that the lowest qualification of a member should be the possession or occupation of fixed property of the value of five hundred pounds (£500); your Memorialists considering it much easier hereafter, should it be deemed expedient, to extend the franchise and qualification than to curtail them.

That your Memorialists are of opinion that the duration of Council should not exceed three years, *and that the members of the Executive Government* (exclusive of the Governor) *should be, ex officio, members of Council, as from their intimate acquaintance with the details and machinery of the local Government, their services in the Legislative Council would be of the highest importance*; whereas, your Memorialists further feel, that to give them seats in either House without the privilege of voting, would be placing them in a position derogatory to the dignity of their offices and inconsistent with the liberal spirit of the British Government.

Your Memorialists, in submitting these remarks for

your Excellency's consideration, beg to assure your Excellency of their respect for your person and character, and to subscribe themselves,

Your Excellency's obedient servants.

CALEDON.

To His Excellency Lieut.-General Sir HENRY G. W. SMITH, Bart. K.G.C.B., Governor, &c. &c.

The Memorial of the undersigned, landowners and others, residing in the district of Caledon,

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,

That your Memorialists have observed with much surprise and regret the apparent dissolution of the Legislative Council of this Colony, owing to the resignation of four members, for which your Memorialists can discover no sufficient cause.

Your Excellency having appointed the remaining members of Council as a board of Commissioners for completing the Colonial propositions for a new form of government, and having called upon the Colonists to express their opinions on that subject, your Memorialists are anxious to state, that they and (as they must conclude) *all* owners of fixed property in the Colony are most decidedly of opinion, that if the new Constitution *is* to consist of TWO ELECTIVE Chambers, (which appears to have been settled in England, without enquiry by Her Majesty's advisers), that the qualification for Members of the Upper House should be the possession of *unencumbered* landed property to the value of not less than £2000, or double that amount in moveable or mixed property; and that the electors

of the Upper Chamber should possess a higher qualification than those of the Assembly, and that they should be proprietors or renters to the value of £500.

The attention of your Memorialists has been carefully directed to that portion of the Commissioners' Report which bears reference to the principle of making the officers of Government non-political, and with respect thereto, your Memorialists, foreseeing the dangers and confusion likely to arise from hasty and crude legislation in the early stages of the new Parliament, cannot but express their earnest hope, that the present official members of the Legislative Council may be, *ex officio*, members of the future Upper House,—at least for some time to come.

Your Memorialists consider to oblige the Secretary to Government and the Attorney-General, or any other of the official members of the present Legislative Council, to speak at the call of any member of the future Parliament, and at the same time to debar them from the privilege of voting or of proposing any measures, would be placing these distinguished officers of Government in a very false and invidious position,—as it would be exposing them to the chances of political obloquy, without rendering their practical experience and their acknowledged abilities of any real service to the Colony.

With regard to the franchise generally, your Memorialists would suggest that no person, whether white or black, should have the privilege of an elector, who *cannot read and write in the English, or Dutch languages.*

Your Memorialists have been led to understand that,

when the new Constitution is established, all the expenses connected with Her Majesty's troops in this Colony, and with the political arrangements on the frontier, are to be defrayed by the Colonists. *In that case*, your Memorialists consider it their duty fairly to state at once, that the Colonists will have every right to expect *full and unqualified control over the whole of the Colonial revenues and expenditure*. They will consider themselves free, also, to regulate the frontier policy as they may think proper, and to make all such Colonial laws as may appear to them necessary, *without any interference or restriction whatever on the part of the Home Government*. No Constitution, however liberal it may otherwise seem, is likely to be considered liberal, or even worthy of regard, by the Colonists, unless these claims are recognized and allowed.

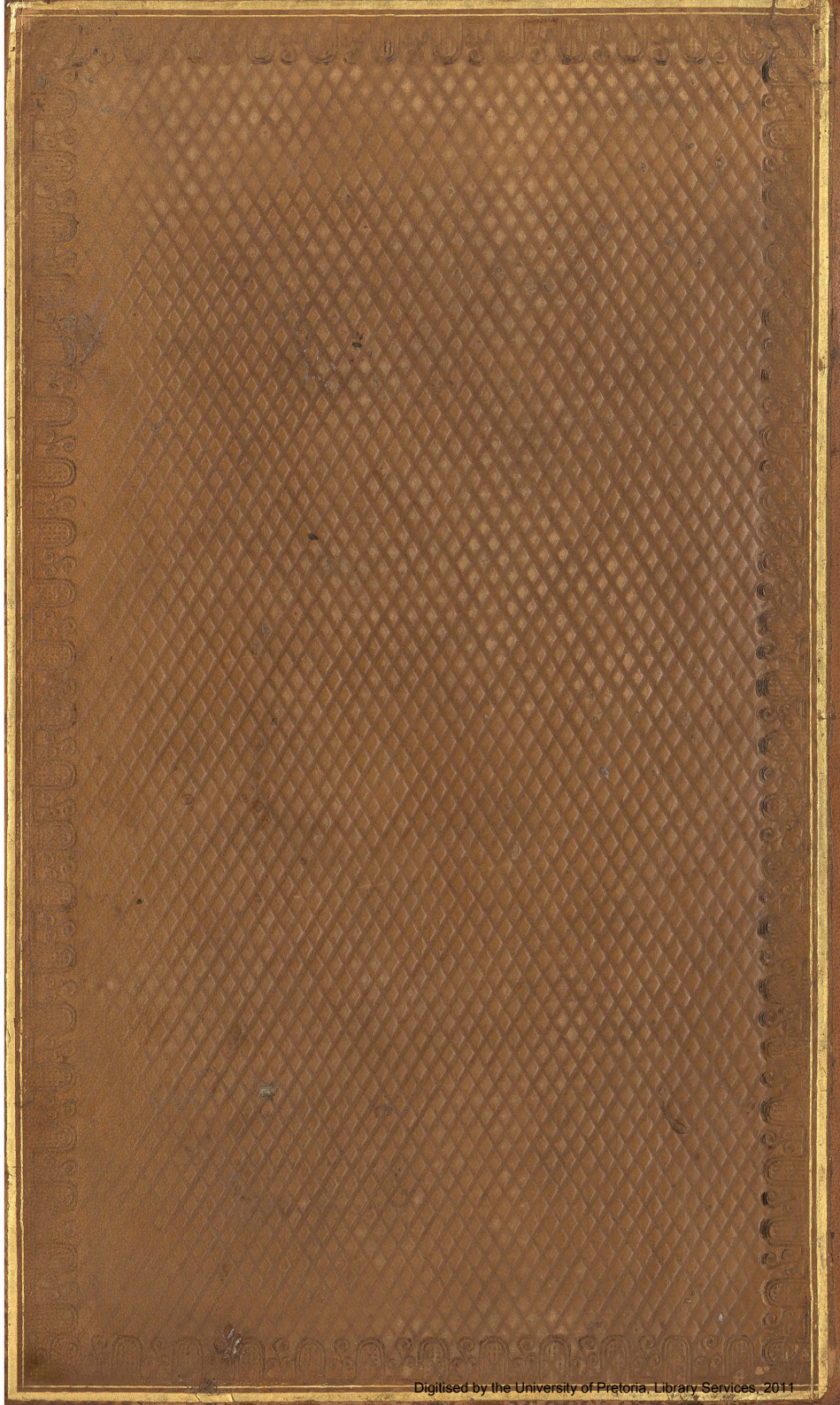
As the Legislative Council of the Colony has unfortunately ceased to work for a period of eighteen months, and as under present circumstances it is likely to continue inactive for a long time to come, and as the Colonists have already suffered, and are now suffering extreme inconvenience from this unprecedented state of things, which involves the suspension of all public works, and is creating much social disquietude and political irritation throughout the country, your Memorialists earnestly pray that the Legislative Council may be empowered to resume without delay its duties in all matters of public importance, and to fulfil them until the new Constitution shall have come into operation.

Having thus expressed their sentiments on some of the leading features of the proposed new Constitution,

your Memorialists respectfully pray that your Excellency will be pleased to forward their Memorial to the Right Honourable the Secretary of State, for His Lordship's consideration.

THE END.

NORMAN AND SKEEN, PRINTERS, MAIDEN LANE, COVENT GARDEN.



CAPE OF
GOOD HOPE
GOVERNMENT

1851