

following address was presented to me by the Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute resident there:—

TO SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.,
A Vice-President of the Royal Colonial Institute.

“ SIR,

“ We, the undersigned Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute, take advantage of your presence amongst us to join in the expression of hearty welcome to South Africa, which has greeted you in the several towns where you have met the Members of the Institute, with which you have been so long and honourably connected.

“ We are mindful of the valuable services which you have so long rendered to our Institute, as Honorary Secretary, the indefatigable zeal ever displayed by you in forwarding the interests of the Colonies of Great Britain; and that the success of the Institution,

over which you now preside, as one of the Vice-Presidents, is in no small degree due to your exertions. We venture to hope that your visit to South Africa has been an agreeable one, and that with renewed health you will return home to resume and continue the valuable services you have heretofore rendered, and that the Royal Colonial Institute may continue to flourish under the auspices of the distinguished men who so ably guard its interests."





GRAHAMSTOWN.

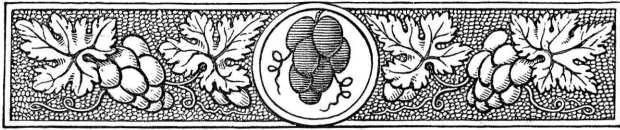
WHILE I was at Port Elizabeth I paid a flying visit to Grahamstown. A railway journey of rather over one hundred miles carried me there. The railway runs through the veldt, where wild elephants are still strictly preserved. There are said to be more than one hundred of these animals in the district. They occasionally do great damage to the line. During my stay I was hospitably entertained by the Bishop. I had already heard that Grahamstown was noted for its natural charms, and its appearance certainly did not disappoint me. Beautiful in situation, it merits the high praises which have been

bestowed upon it. It has also acquired a reputation for being the seat of learning, and the centre of the principal educational establishments of the Colony. The Bishop having kindly provided me with a carriage, I drove to see the various objects of interest in the neighbourhood. I first went to the Botanical Gardens, which are very striking. They contain a large collection of rare and valuable specimens of both arboriculture and horticulture. They are admirably kept, and are very ornamental. I next drove round the Mountain road. This is a beautiful drive of seven miles back into the town. The views of the surrounding country are superb. It is a priceless boon to the inhabitants of Grahams-town to possess such an attractive and health-giving spot, for their recreation and enjoyment. I afterwards visited the Museum, where there is a most interesting and valuable collection

of animal, vegetable, and mineral curiosities, both ancient and modern. I also went over the Prison, and recorded in the visitors' book my favourable opinion of the arrangements made for the health and comfort of the prisoners. They appeared to me to be all that could reasonably be expected, or desired. I also went to see the Kafir school, carried on under the careful management of the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. M——.

I regretted that time did not permit of my visiting the celebrated Ostrich Farm of Mr. Arthur Douglass, at Heatherton Towers, about fifteen miles from Grahamstown. Mr. Douglass has the largest and most successful Ostrich Farm in the Colony, in addition to which he is the patentee of an egg hatching machine, or incubator, which is very much used in various parts of South Africa. The export of feathers has increased rapidly, and

has become one of the chief exports of the Colony, as whilst in 1868 the quantity exported was valued at £70,000, in 1887 it had reached the value of £365,587. This is by no means the largest amount appearing under the head of exports during recent years, as in 1882 the value of feathers exported was £1,093,989. It is estimated that during the past half-century the total weight of the feathers exported has been more than one thousand tons. The Cape Colony has, in fact, had a monopoly of the ostrich industry, but in 1884 several shipments of ostriches took place to South Australia, the Argentine Republic, and to California, and the Government of the Cape Colony, being alarmed, that the Colony was in danger of losing its lucrative monopoly, imposed an export tax of £100 on each ostrich, and £5 on each ostrich egg exported.



PORT ELIZABETH TO CAPE TOWN.

ON my return to Port Elizabeth, I spent another day or two there, and left on the evening of Monday, the 26th of August, by railway for Cape Town. This long journey of between eight hundred and nine hundred miles occupies nearly two days and two nights. It was the last I took in South Africa. The country, generally speaking, is very much of the same kind as that northward, over the Karoo, and in the southern part of the Transvaal. High land,—in the neighbourhood of Nieupoort 5,050 feet above the sea level,—flat, bare, and treeless. It is certainly a very desolate-looking country to



HEX RIVER PASS.

travel over in winter. Nearing Cape Town, however, I ought not to omit to mention the Hex River Pass. The scenery here is certainly very grand, and is some of the best of its kind I have seen in South Africa. The railway, which winds through it by a succession of zigzags from a great height, is another of the many triumphs of engineering skill which are to be found in all parts of the world. The fine views of the Pass, when I traversed it, were heightened by the tops of the mountains being tinged with a wreath of snow. From Hex River the route to Cape Town lay through a rich and fertile valley, conveying ample proofs of the agricultural value and resources of this part of the Cape Colony. I arrived at Cape Town in the afternoon of the following Wednesday. Here I spent another pleasant week, seeing various friends.

One of the last duties which devolved upon

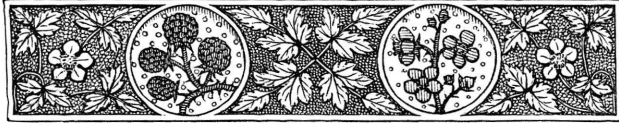
me before leaving South Africa—at the urgent invitation of some of my friends—was to deliver an address at Cape Town on Imperial Federation. This I did at the hall of the Young Men's Christian Society, to a large and attentive audience.*

On the 4th of September I left Cape Town in the s.s. *Athenian*; and, after a pleasant and rapid voyage of eighteen days, touching only at Madeira on the way, I landed safely at Southampton on Sunday the 22nd.

I have now given an account of the prominent features of my tour, during which, in the course of five months, I travelled about twelve thousand miles by sea, and four thousand by land.

I proceed to touch as briefly as I can, on a few of the public questions, and other matters of interest which have arrested my attention while I was in South Africa.

* See Appendix.



CLIMATE.

THE climate of South Africa has already been so well, and exhaustively described, in the admirable and interesting paper, read at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute, on the 13th November, 1888, by Dr. Symes Thompson, that it seems superfluous for anyone to attempt to add anything to what such an eminent professional authority has said on the subject. But I cannot help remarking that, from my own personal experience, I can fully corroborate all he has said in its favour. The winter climate seems perfect. The atmosphere is so bright and clear, the air is so dry, and the

sun is so agreeably warm in the day, although it is cold and frosty at night, that I think it must be as salubrious, as it has been to me most enjoyable. I found this the case everywhere, especially in the higher altitudes, and on the elevated veldt of the Transvaal. For myself, I never had an hour's illness during the whole winter I passed in South Africa; and this I attribute entirely to the purity of the air, and the dryness of the climate. One thing it is necessary to be cautious about, and I have an impression that it is not sufficiently attended to, and is consequently frequently the cause of illness, and injury. There is always a sudden great variation of the temperature immediately the sun goes down. To a sensitive person this is instantly perceptible. In the afternoon everyone ought to be very careful in guarding against this change; and should be provided

with an extra garment to put on at sunset, in order to avoid a dangerous chill. I strongly advise, also, temperance in the use of alcoholic beverages, which, in my opinion, are far too freely consumed. I have noticed too much drinking among all classes. This cannot be necessary, or very conducive to the preservation of health, and the prolongation of life, in a climate like that of South Africa.

It is to be earnestly hoped, that a good, and thoroughly efficient system of sanitary organisation may be speedily established in all the rapidly-growing towns throughout the country, especially in the Transvaal. Terrible neglect in this respect has been the cause of exceptional sickness, and great mortality in the past, for which the climate is not responsible. In order, too, to render the undoubted excellencies of the South African climate more attractive to invalids, who ought more largely

to avail themselves of its advantages, it would be an excellent thing, as well as undoubtedly a paying speculation, if better hotels, fitted up in all respects with all modern European improvements, were established both at Cape Town, and at all the other principal towns up country, as well.





THE NATIVE QUESTION.

THE native question is one of the most prominent and difficult ones to deal with in South Africa. The great preponderance of the native over the white races, and the different theories of treating them prevalent between the English and Dutch, render it one of the most perplexing problems to solve. The wisest and most experienced people, with whom I have communicated on the subject are of opinion that the natives are so far behind us in civilisation that they must be regarded as mere children. This means, however, that they are not to be treated harshly, but, on the

contrary, with the utmost fairness and justice, and that they must be under the guidance of a controlling and firmly governing hand. They respect authority, when they have confidence in its being exercised with impartiality. They have a great deal of natural shrewdness, and they must never be deceived. Alas! I heard of frequent instances of this having been done, in times past, by those who have represented the British Government. Promises have been made to them which have been carelessly broken, and this means ruin to the prestige in their minds of the British name.

From the wonderful and ever-increasing development which has taken place in the northern part of South Africa since the discovery of diamonds and gold, causing the employment of thousands upon thousands of native Kafirs at high wages, their social position is being materially changed. They are really

becoming "masters of the situation." Their constant contact with white people is having the effect of introducing among them the germs of an incipient civilisation. The mode of treating them by the British and the Dutch is, undoubtedly, very different. A far harsher and more cruel method has been in vogue by the Dutch towards them, than would be tolerated by the British. But, from the cause to which I have alluded, the day has arrived when all this old system is sensibly changing; and the Draconian code of the Boers, from the force of circumstances, is becoming modified every day. I have made it my business to observe carefully all the signs of the times, on this native question during my tour. I have seen the Kafirs in thousands working in the mines at Kimberley, and Klerksdorp, and Johannesburg; I have observed them in multitudes employed in extensive building

operations at Pretoria, and as labourers on the public works at Maritzburg and Durban, and at the other great shipping centres of Port Elizabeth and Cape Town; I have noticed them in their capacity of servants in private houses, and I frankly confess that no evidence has been brought before me to indicate, that they are harshly or unkindly treated. On the contrary, it appeared to me that they are receiving good wages, and are everywhere well cared for and comfortable. They are naturally a lively and a happy race, and I have seen them as cheerful and light-hearted in the town, as in their kraals on the wild and open veldt.





RAILWAYS.

I HAVE already mentioned that, in my interview with the President, Paul Kruger, I told him that I was never in a country, which, in my opinion, required railways more than the Transvaal, and that I hoped to see the day when it would be penetrated by them in every direction. It is much to be regretted that there is so much jealous rivalry, inducing fierce contention, as to the precise direction, from the east, or south, or west, railroads should enter the Transvaal. I contend, that there is such a prospect of future enormous development in this wonderful centre of South Africa, that there is no need for all this rivalry, but that there is room for many lines in

which all may participate and prosper, in the future. Political considerations have undoubtedly complicated a question, which I should wish to regard solely from its commercial aspect.

Personally, I am anxious to see the line over the ground which I have myself treked, pushed on as speedily as possible, from Kimberley to Vryburg, and thence through British Bechuanaland to Mafeking, and so on, northwards, into the Matabele country, with branches eastward into the Transvaal. But I should like, also, to see the contemplated line constructed from Kimberley, through the Orange Free State, to Bloemfontein; and the Delagoa Bay Railway carried on to Pretoria, as well as the Natal line to Johannesburg; and, in fact, any other, whether through Swaziland, or elsewhere, which commercial enterprise may hereafter project. They will all have the effect of opening up the Transvaal—the El Dorado of

South Africa—and meeting the demand for the transit of the enormous traffic, with which the old system of bullock wagons is utterly unable to grapple, and which, consequently, is so fearfully congested. The transport riders will have ample compensation, under the new system, in their increased employment in the conveyance of goods from the various stations to their actual destination. It was in this way the coach proprietors, without loss, and with great advantage to themselves, became the great and successful railway carriers, when stage coaches were superseded by railways in England.

Since I arrived in England, Sir Gordon Sprigg, in an important speech delivered at Kimberley, referred to the question of railway extension from that town in the following words:—"With the South Atlantic Ocean for our base, we started with our railway, and then we came up to Kimberley.

From this place we have only fifty or sixty miles to go over, and then we come to the border of this province, and of British Bechuanaland. Farther north, we get to that ill-defined sphere, called the sphere of influence, that extended the power of Britain in South Africa, as far as the Zambesi. . . . Now that we have our railway up to Kimberley, we have the British South African Company to take it in hand, and the object of the Government is to see that we have an extension line into these territories which will, in time to come, be recognised as portions of the Cape Colony. Gentlemen, I and my colleagues have come to the conclusion that we cannot better advance the best interests of South Africa than by joining hand-in-hand to advance British interests westward of the Transvaal State, and right up to the Zambesi. Well, then, that being so, I may say, that the first

object of the Company, in order to carry on their operations to the best purpose, is to construct a railway from Kimberley to Vryburg. The section from Kimberley to Warrenton has, of course, first to be undertaken, and from there on to Vryburg, as the second section. The Company are in possession of the requisite funds to carry out this great work; and there is no reason why it should not be accomplished before many months are over. The Government of this country (Cape Colony) have come to the conclusion that it is desirable that this work should be carried out, and an arrangement has been made between the Government of this country and Mr. Rhodes as representing the British South African Company, whereby a railway starting from Kimberley up to Vryburg will be constructed by the British South African Company. Certain conditions have been entered into between the Company

and the Government of this Colony, under which the Government of the Colony will have the right to take over the railway at any time they think proper, on certain conditions to be entered into by one side or the other. This railway extension is to be immediately proceeded with. You may take it as a moral certainty that you will be able to travel by railway up to Warrenton, some time in the course of next year. The Government have come to the conclusion that it is in the interests of South Africa that this work shall be carried on; that, in short, it would be highly injudicious to place any obstacles in the way of an undertaking which is calculated to have so beneficial an effect on the prospects of this part of Her Majesty's Empire." This Speech, coming from the Premier of the Cape Colony, requires no comment from me, beyond the expression of my satisfaction at its having been made.



COLONISATION.

COLONISATION is a subject on which I wish to say a few words. The definition given by Adam Smith of the three elements of national wealth, "Land, Labour, and Capital," cannot be too often repeated. How to blend them in proper proportions, is a problem, which has puzzled generations of statesmen, philosophers, and philanthropists. I have always been a warm advocate for colonisation. It appears to me to be a question of such supreme national importance, that I think it ought to be undertaken by the State. This, of course, means, that it is possible, as it is undoubtedly

indispensable, to get a Government to act wisely and well. In order to have a chance of its being successful, colonisation must be conducted on sound principles and practice.

In South Africa I have seen millions of acres of fertile land—in Bechuanaland, in Natal, in the Eastern and Western provinces of the Cape Colony, to say nothing of the Transvaal—capable of supporting many thousands of our surplus population. But I have also satisfied myself, that it is no use whatever to transplant those, who are unfitted for it. Instead of a success, certain failure will be the result of an attempt so unwise. Colonial life is alone suitable for the enterprising, energetic, steady, and industrious men, and women, who are determined, with patience and courage, to overcome the difficulties and trials, which they must certainly encounter on the road to ultimate success. South Africa is a land of

promise for them. It is by no means so for the feeble, the self-indulgent, the helplessly dependent class, of whom, unfortunately, we have so large a number in the over-populated Old Country. Cordial co-operation with the self-governing colonies is also absolutely indispensable to ensure success in any national system of colonisation. It is equally essential that a strict selection of the right sort of people should be made. According, too, to their positions in life, they must be provided with sufficient means to support them on their first arrival, while they are settling themselves, and their crops are growing, and they are acquiring knowledge, of the natural conditions of the new land, to which they have been transplanted.

These are the principles necessary to be observed in any national system of colonisation. They apply to all the other British Colonies,

equally with South Africa, in order to prevent failure, and command success.

While speaking of this subject, I should like to mention a suggestion for a system of special colonisation, which may well attract the serious attention of the Home Government, with the view of encouraging and promoting it.

In the military garrisons, comprising the British troops, quartered in South Africa, there are a considerable number of steady, and well-conducted married men, non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who, having been stationed for some time in the midst of its genial climate, and pleasant surroundings, would, I feel satisfied, like, if sufficient inducement were offered them, to make South Africa their permanent home. If, therefore, a military colony were established at the expense of the Home Government in a well and wisely-selected spot and under proper and judicious arrangement,

it would probably be, not only a great boon to a number of deserving British subjects, but would be attended with success, and be a politic, and interesting factor in the art of colonisation.

I earnestly commend the idea to those, who would have to deal with it, as an experiment, eminently worthy of their attention and support.





THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

THE political situation of South Africa is the last subject to which I shall refer. I am quite aware that this is a very difficult and delicate question to touch upon, but it would be impossible for anyone like myself, to whom it has presented itself so prominently during my tour, to avoid some allusion to it. I shall endeavour to state my impressions impartially and fairly.

Before I went to South Africa I had formed a general opinion on this vitally important and very critical subject. My previous views have been most thoroughly confirmed, and painfully

accentuated by all I have seen, and heard, and gathered, on the spot. The mournful mismanagement of South African affairs during the last twenty-five years, and most especially during the last decade, has been truly lamentable, and cannot fail to awaken the saddest feelings on the part of every loyal Briton, and true-hearted patriot.

The absence of continuous, wise, and statesmanlike policy, which has for the most part marked the tone of those, who have had the Imperial guidance and control of South African affairs in the past, has had the effect of sowing the seeds of enmity to the Government of the Mother Country, which it will require all the wisdom, and tact, and conciliatory sympathy possible to be displayed in the future, in dealing with this magnificent part of the Empire, to allay. It will demand the greatest skill to prevent the permanent alienation, and

estrangement of South Africa from Great Britain.

This has all been brought about by our unaccountably careless and culpable want of accurate knowledge at home, of the actual situation. We lost a splendid chance of consolidating South Africa in a homogeneous union under the British crown. Our insular in difference, our ignorance, the fierce animosity of our party political prejudices, made us neglect the opportunity. It has had the effect of creating the sorest feelings against us, on the part of the large English population, spread over the land, which is uncontaminated and uninfluenced by the party spirit of local colonial politicians. It is melancholy, and most deplorable to observe the indications of this feeling, which are constantly apparent. The old love for the British flag is still widely cherished; but it was impossible for me to

shut my eyes to the evidence so continually brought before me, that the British Government is neither loved nor respected. No confidence whatever is felt in it—and no wonder! Everywhere there are proofs of how all have been allowed to suffer and smart under it.

Either from ignorance, or carelessness, or indifference—probably from all combined—and perhaps even unconsciously, but at the same time as surely, we have deceived the Natives, the Boers, and the Colonists. This is only the natural consequence of the feeble, vacillating, uncertain course, which is followed, when the State machine is guided without compass, and where there is no firmness, nor courage at the national helm. What we have to do, however, now, is to advocate union and co-operation between the two dominant races—the British and the Dutch—and to do all we can to promote harmony and goodwill between them. True,

their mental character, and natural instincts are different. Our own race is essentially energetic and progressive; while theirs is slow, unemotional, and phlegmatic. But if sympathy, and tact, and cordial good temper, are invariably practised in our intercourse with them, I am persuaded it will ultimately have the effect of promoting co-operation in securing their mutual interests. This, I trust, will ultimately neutralise the effect of the fatal course of past political action, which unnecessarily developed race jealousies, and stimulated national friction and animosity; and will bring about in the future, a blending of the Dutch in friendly union and fellowship with the British, such as has been undreamed of in the past.

Among many expressions of opinion on the subject of the political situation made to me while I was in South Africa, I received the following communication from a gentleman of

prominent position in one of the principal towns of the Cape Colony. It appears to me of such importance that I avail myself of this opportunity of giving publicity to it.

“The fact of your arrival at very short notice, combined with the fact that there are only a few Fellows of the Royal Colonial Institute resident here, will probably prevent the presentation of any formal address of welcome to you.

“Nevertheless, to a section of the community which is animated by patriotic jealousy for the rights and dignity of the Crown throughout South Africa, your visit is regarded with feelings of genuine satisfaction, and our hopes are encouraged, that your visit may result in some good to the cause, which we have at heart.

“You are doubtless acquainted well enough with the principal events of great national

moment of recent years in South Africa. From whatever point of view politicians may like to regard the end of the Transvaal war, any resident in this country can be only too well aware of the fact that one result of that terrible experience has been, a material weakening of respect for English people, and for the rights of the Crown throughout the Cape Colony.

“Since the period referred to, a very powerful Dutch-Africander combination has come into existence, and there can be no doubt but that one object of such a body, is the severance of all but nominal ties between the Cape, and Great Britain.

“However visionary such hopes as these must for a long series of years remain, the fact of their existence, and of their being in a variety of ways advanced from time to time, has a very marked influence upon all classes of people in this country.

“For instance, the youth of the country are influenced to hope for a time, when they shall be members of an independent State; and while on the one hand they may not see any immediate prospect of a change in such a direction being effected, nevertheless they lessen their interest in, and their respect for, the Crown of England and its attributes, and thus grow up comparatively devoid of any sound patriotism, even to their native country; and, above all, without any touch of that enthusiasm, which is ever engendered by high national traditions.

“That some momentous changes are likely to occur in South Africa, and that possibly, before very long, all are agreed. The question only remains in what direction will these changes tend?—towards some Foreign Continental Power, towards a Confederation with the existing Dutch Republics, or in the direction

of a strengthening of the union with England?

“It is sometimes surmised, and this not merely by extreme men, but by quiet and experienced observers of events in this country, that the large population, mainly British, which has been attracted to the Gold Fields of the Transvaal, is unlikely to endure much longer the systematic misgovernment and suppression, to which they are subjected by men of avowedly anti-English sympathies, and pledged to a policy directed to check British progress by all means.

“What form the suggested revolt in the Transvaal may take is not likely to be revealed, until some overt step towards its execution has been taken. We would all desire that the end in view should be secured by peaceful means, and that the Transvaal should become a part and parcel of British territory.

“To effect a revival of loyalty to England in the Cape Colony, and to influence the destinies of other States in the direction of union with England, should surely be the hope and endeavour of all true Englishmen, whether in this Colony, or elsewhere.

“And the end in view is not an easy one to attain in a country, where the majority of Europeans consider that they, or their compatriots, inflicted disgrace, and a permanent loss of influence upon the Imperial Troops on the one hand, and the Imperial British Government on the other.

“The application of any remedy seems to lie more with the Sovereign personally, or Her Majesty’s immediate advisers in England, than with any Governor, and High Commissioner, or Cabinet of Cape Ministers.

“For *quâ* Governor, the Queen’s Representative at the Cape, is necessarily checked, or

controlled by the Ministry of the day, his Constitutional advisers, and the presence in the Cape Parliament of a dominant force of the essentially non-English, or Afriander party, must necessarily also have a very material influence upon Ministers, who depend upon a majority of votes for the retention of their office.

“ In short, the problem in the Cape Colony is one, which happily does not exist in either of the other great dependencies of the Crown; it is altogether peculiar to South Africa, of which, after all, England acquired possession by conquest, and, having acquired it, has never completely won the adhesion of the Dutch inhabitants, who resent such acts of Government as the abolition of slavery, the introduction of the English principle of equality before the law, and, above all, an unsettled vacillating policy, which last has the worst

possible effect upon all the nationalities, European, as well as native, throughout South Africa.

“The present attitude of even British South Africa, is one, not of expectancy, but of slight hope, mingled with distrust, and after such conspicuous events as the dismemberment of Zululand, the retrocession of the Transvaal, in addition to the ineffective efforts towards confederation, he would be a bold man who, as an Englishman, would dare assert either that his country protected her children, or her dependent races, or that there is any settled British policy in the very Continent, where vigour, firmness, and consistency, combined with mere justice, seem to be absolutely essential.

“South Africa has yet to be won over to England, or, in other words, confidence has to be restored. The effort is surely worth making, and anything like a determined effort on the

part of the Sovereign, and Her Majesty's immediate advisers would find a most vigorous and cordial response.

“The idea of confederation seems to be quite dependent upon such preliminaries, as mutual confidence, and a measure of common necessity, in order to such a question being seriously entertained.

“The Colonial Conference of two years ago, seems however to have paved the way for effective development in the direction of confederation.

“For it must be remembered, that the somewhat complex British constitution is not the creation of any one Monarch, or Parliament. It has grown to its present dimensions little by little, influenced always by the necessities of particular cases. The House of Peers has ever been summoned by writ, and early precedents indicate, that the Sovereign was not always

limited to a particular class of Barons, who alone could be invited to the deliberations of the nation.

“Although it is not admitted, it is nevertheless the fact, that, at the present time, all who are most anxiously desirous of seeing a way to establish a means of drawing together, in Council, the Colonies and the Mother Country, are quite disagreed, as to what is the best means to this end.

“A formal confederation is desired, but all are agreed upon the difficulties which, for the present, at any rate, stand in the way of completing an exactly defined treaty, or definition, to confederate as between the Mother Country, and the Colonies.

“Perhaps a means to this much-desired end may be discovered, by way of less formal, but almost equally effective, courses of policy as regards Colonial possessions.

“Every one feels the difficulty in the way of summoning Colonial Representatives to either the House of Lords or the House of Commons, for, while special provision would be required to increase the numbers of the House of Commons, there are apparent and real obstacles in the way of inviting Colonial Representatives to sit in the House of Lords, either as ordinary, or as *Life Peers*.

“It does not seem too much to hope that, before long, the Crown, may desire to see assembled in London, during some period of the annual session of the Imperial Parliament a Council of Colonial Delegates, meeting in a place to be assigned to them, who will have no voice in other than Colonial Policy, just as now, the House of Lords has no voice in the originating of Money Bills, who will be free to discuss any measure affecting Colonial Policy in general, or the affairs of any Colony, in particular, who

will be entitled to forward their conclusions, requests, or opinions to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, and who will constitute a most effective means for ascertaining the current of opinion in any particular Colony for the time being.

“The Houses of Convocation might be referred to as an example of an extra Parliamentary Body of recognised position in the deliberations of the State.

“And, to revert to South Africa, the sympathies, and probably loyal adhesion of all the intelligent classes of every nationality, would be elicited by nothing more than by the express personal interest of the Sovereign, and Her family in the Cape Colony. The occasion of the visit of Prince Alfred, when a mere child, elicited unbounded demonstrations of enthusiastic loyalty to the Crown, and those from Dutch and English alike. The name “Alfred,” in

honour of His Royal Highness, is to be everywhere met with in connection with all sorts of public bodies, Volunteer Corps, and other Institutions.

“Personal influence goes for more than all the defined policies of successive administrations, or excellent theories of Government. A Prince is of more weight than the best of official Governors, and it is not likely that in medieval ages, or even at later periods, such an appanage of the Crown, as we desire South Africa to become, would be unvisited by either the Sovereign, or someone of the Sovereign’s family. The visit of their Royal Highnesses Prince Albert Victor, and Prince George of Wales was limited to a brief sojourn at Cape Town, and did not extend to the Colony in general.

“The necessity for the employment, in the interests of the Empire, to use the phrase most

practical,—uncouth, however, it may seem,—of our Royal Princes appears to be a very decided and certain means to the end we have in view, namely, the binding together, by means of sympathetic enthusiasm, the Colonies to the Mother Country, but most particularly the creating of a healthy common accord between South Africa and Great Britain.

“Let any Colony or Dependency feel assured that it is regarded as worthy of attention by those nearest to the Crown, and any sense of isolation, any suspicion that the people, or their country are regarded with any measure of contemptuous indifference must forthwith vanish. Sympathy, encouragement, personal contact, seem to be essential elements to the solution of what is admittedly a problem.”

I regard this letter of my well informed correspondent as a most interesting and truthful expression of wide-spread opinion,

among the intelligent classes of Her Majesty's loyal subjects in South Africa.

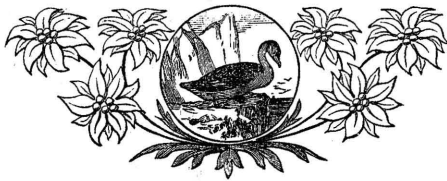
I do not believe the South African political problem to be insoluble. Two things are required to solve it satisfactorily. For the present,—I quote the eloquent words of a distinguished politician with whose wise and noble sentiments I cordially agree—"what we ought to do in a case of this kind is to send out a statesman of the first order of talent, patience, and truthfulness, irrespective of politics or prejudice. For it is an Imperial problem of the highest importance; and the powers of true patriotism and ambition should be amply gratified in dealing with it."

And for the future, let me add my own earnest conviction, that what is wanted is Imperial Federation, as the goal to be ultimately reached, to render South Africa politically satisfied and content.

Imperial Federation means a constitutional system, under which she would be no longer misruled and misunderstood, by a Government, in which she has no share, in which she places no confidence, and by whom her wants and wishes are often ignored. It is not, as is frequently untruly asserted by writers, and speakers, who have neither studied, comprehended, nor understood its theory and intention, its end and aim, that it means the subjugation of the independence of the Colonies to the control of the Mother Country.

As one of its most earnest advocates, I emphatically protest against all such erroneous interpretations, as a libel on the principle put forward, as a plan for the National Government. On the contrary, the project of Imperial Federation, without any *arrière pensée*, clearly and distinctly involves the condition, that the Colonies themselves are to take their adequate

part, and share with the Mother Country in its future concrete constitution. In the brief, but expressive phrase, I have already publicly adopted, Imperial Federation means, "the Government of the Empire by the Empire." In Imperial Federation, therefore, South Africa would be fairly and influentially represented, along with the other Colonies of Great Britain. In union with them she would take her part in guiding the policy, and directing the destinies of the whole British Empire.





APPENDIX I.

THE following discussion took place on the paper read by Sir Frederick Young, on South Africa, at the opening meeting of the Session of the Royal Colonial Institute, on November 12th, at which the Marquis of Lorne presided:—

PROFESSOR H. G. SEELEY : In common with you all, I have listened with great pleasure to this interesting and wide-reaching address. I have not myself been so far afield. My observations were limited to Cape Colony; and the things which I saw in that Colony were necessarily, to a large extent, different from those recorded by Sir Frederick Young. On landing at Cape Town I naturally turned to what the people of South Africa were doing for themselves, and confess I was amazed when I saw the great docks, by means of which the commerce of South Africa is being encouraged, and by which it will hereafter be developed. I was impressed, too, with the educational institutions, the great Public Library, worthy of any town, the South African Museum, the