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more advanced countries. However, he did not justify either the British or the Boer policy towards the Kafirs. The native question would have to be legislated on in South Africa before long, and if these people were only "able-bodied children" it was no good saying that a grave injustice was being done them even if it were necessary to limit their franchise rights. Sir George Grey was on very friendly terms with the Boers. They almost loved him, certainly trusted him, and were willing to enter upon his scheme of federation.

-Federation-

Sir George Grey was determined to work for the unity of South Africa. A modern writer had said that he had dreamed of federation over half a century ago. It was certainly a very wide-awake dream. One of the finest despatches Grey ever wrote was one covering 19 pages embodying his scheme of unity. The Boers in the Orange Free State had actually sent a deputation to ask the Imperial authority to favourably consider their coming into this federal union, but Sir George Grey was instructed not to make any move in that direction without appealing to the home Government. He disobeyed, and then came the despatch announcing his recall, which put an end to his magnificent ideas. It was a fearful blow to Grey, and one from which he never recovered. Nobody would now deny that, in view of the difficulties since encountered, Grey's idea was a right one; but justice must be done to the other side. England had adopted a policy of "buffer" States in Africa, probably for similar good reasons that made for the preservation of Afghanistan as a buffer State to India to-day. The Orange River State had been a British possession under the name of the Orange River Sovereignty; but just before Grey arrived in Africa the Imperial Government had abandoned it and set up an independent Boer State. Why? Because of that very important matter, finance. England had engaged in so many native wars that the strain upon her resources was becoming too heavy. That much abused but very patient individual, the British taxpayer, had to be considered. He had gone through the Crimea, and then followed the Indian Mutiny, and it was said that if England only put the Boers between her own colony and the natives the British taxpayer would be saved a further drain in that direction. Was it mean? No; the Boers wanted it; they liked the frontier life. And so the independent Orange River Boer State was set up. Grey wanted the British Government to reverse this step; but the Duke of Newcastle emphatically told him that the dignity of the Empire had to be considered, and that continuity of policy was essential to such dignity. He had to admit that Sir George Grey never in his life fairly faced the question of finance in all of his magnificent schemes. The British Ministers could not impoverish the nation for the sake of extending the boundaries of the Empire, but the latter policy was the glory of Grey's schemes.

-Disobedience-

He did not agree with all the outcry that had since been raised against the treatment that Sir George received at the hands of the Imperial Ministers. Not only did he neglect his instructions, but he defied his Ministerial heads, and told them that with due respect to their authority he was going to obey the Queen. How could good government possibly be carried on in such circumstances? He defied the home Government in various ways, and he (Professor Henderson) candidly believed that he deserved all he got from them.

-The Prevention of Bloodshed-

However, everybody was now agreed that unity was the right policy for South Africa. With the greatest respect for Gladstone he had come to the conclusion from his own researches that that statesman's South African policy was a bad mistake, and that unity under the British flag was the only means to secure the welfare of the country, and to prevent bloodshed in the future. The Boers had had their chance to develop South Africa, and how much had they really done in that direction? Behind all the clamour about capital and labour, natives and Europeans, there was this big question—"What use is to be made of this enormous extent of country?" There was no comparison between its development under British rule and that under any other rule, and he repeated that unity under the British flag was the one true scheme. If they believed in the policy of Sir Bartle Frere, Cecil Rhodes, and Lord Milner then he would remind them that the founder of that policy was one who preceded them—Sir George Grey. (Cheers.)

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BRITISH RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

For a long time to come Australians, in common with Britons in other parts of the Empire, must take a lively interest in the political and social development of South Africa. After spending treasure estimated at £250,000,000, and sacrificing 20,000 valuable lives in a protracted war for the defence of Imperial rights, and the overthrow of a powerful and persistent enemy, Great Britain would be guilty of the gravest criminal folly if she again permitted any doubt to exist concerning the supremacy of her flag, and allowed affairs to drift into a state of chaos. Destiny has marked her out as the chief protector and civilizer of the dark-skinned races of Africa, and while, in accordance with her traditional policy, the British and Dutch should exercise autonomous powers and enjoy every legitimate liberty, it is clearly the duty of the Crown to firmly act as a co-ordinating, moderating, and conciliatory influence, so that the various States may gradually be united into a prosperous nation. Like a great storm, the war cleared the darkened

atmosphere, and what men now see they discern more clearly than is usually the case in political life. Although the land is full of antagonisms, the issues are defined, and parties know exactly what they are working for. Ignored and neglected for generations as a field for settlement, the country is now recognised as containing wonderful and varied resources, which promise for it a brilliant future. The climate is healthy and genial, and, although the western half of the territories and the south, away from the coast, have a scanty rainfall, and the natural vegetable products are poor, these disadvantages are compensated for by seemingly inexhaustible mineral wealth. In the extensive regions known as Rhodesia, in the north, the high table lands are proved to be suitable as a home for the white man, and the low-lying districts to the east and in the Zambesi basin can be cultivated by coolies. The outlets for trade and manufactures are of immense value, and in the future commercial exchange with Australia will become increasingly important to the welfare of both countries. The annexation of Mashonaland and Matabeleland, and the establishment of a settled government replacing a cruel and despotic barbarism, involved Great Britain in responsibilities which she could not repudiate. Thereafter the rise of Krugerism, with its ambition to cut South Africa entirely adrift from Britain, necessitated the struggle which terminated in the permanent acquisition of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State as component parts of the Empire.

The excellent services rendered to South Africa by the late Sir George Grey and the statesmanlike and far-seeing policy which he sought to inaugurate should be a fascinating study for South Australians, the early history of whose State was redeemed from bankruptcy through the masterly ability of that eminent Imperialist. The story of Sir George's achievements on behalf of this province has been eloquently and faithfully narrated by Professor G. C. Henderson, and the lecture to-night dealing with his remarkable experiences and aggressive schemes of administration in South Africa should prove highly instructive as indicating the almost insuperable difficulties which beset the path of great-souled patriots in striving to realize the ideals of civilization. Long before the names of Cecil Rhodes and Lord Milner were heard-of, Sir George Grey strove for a united South Africa under the British Crown, and he was characterized in an address from a representative gathering of the people of Cape Colony as "a Governor who by his high character as a Christian, a statesman, and a gentleman, has endeared himself to all classes of the community, and who by his zealous devotion to the best interests of South Africa, and his able and just administration has secured the approbation and gratitude of all Her Majesty's subjects in this part of her dominions." The relationship which Britain has at last determined shall exist between her and South Africa really represents a return to the principles enunciated by Sir George Grey, principles for which he received scurvy treatment at the hands of unimaginative and narrow-minded Imperial Ministers. In 1856-7 Sir George in official protests deplored the British retirement from the Orange River country, and predicted that misfortune would ensue. In a letter written in 1882, Mr. F. W. Reitz, who was the Transvaal Secretary of State when the war broke out in 1899, said he was convinced that had the British Government adopted Sir George's recommendations, and retained him at the Cape, there would have been no Transvaal Republic and no Orange Free State; but, in all probability, a confederated and united people under the British flag.

Owing to the wavering and zigzag policy which had been pursued, Sir George Grey recognised half a century ago, as did Mr. Cecil Rhodes many years later, that South Africa would be in a continual turmoil unless a firm, consistent, and progressive Administration, carefully adapted to local wants, was established. The country had become the "grave of reputations." At the end of a Kaffir war in 1819, the boundary of Cape Colony was fixed at the Keiskamwaa River. Another native rising, which occurred in 1835, was successfully suppressed, and the frontier was extended to the Kei River. The Imperial authorities, how-

ever, not only disallowed this forward movement, but insisted on a retrogression to the Fish River—a fatal blunder, which gave the natives "swollen head," and conceded to them a belt of wooded country whence they could conduct predatory raids. This disastrous retrogression was the last grievance, accumulating on others, which led the Boers to trek beyond the Orange River. Subsequently a forward policy was again enforced, and the new Boer territories were proclaimed a British colony; but in 1854 they were abandoned for financial reasons. This was a cruel blow to British interests, and it jeopardized the welfare of many enthusiastically loyal residents, and eventually embittered them against the motherland. Sir George Grey, after a careful study of the circumstances in which both the whites and the native races were living, prepared a scheme of federation, and pressed, it upon the Home Government, and the Orange Free State having made overtures for federation with the Cape Colony, he brought the matter before the Cape Parliament. For this "premature" action he was censured and recalled by Sir Bulwer Lytton, and only reappointed to the Governorship by the Duke of Newcastle on condition that he would drop his federal plans. Thus the policy of a United South Africa was initiated by Sir George Grey, whose strength of character, tact, and benevolence won the esteem alike of British and Boers, and might have been utilized for noble Imperial ends, if unsympathetic and ignorant British Ministers had not blundered so sadly. The changefulness of England's rule—alternating between advances and retreats, displays of firmness and pusillanimity—chiefly accounted for the contempt with which the Boers at last ventured to treat all demands from London. Then John Bull awoke, and uttered imprecations on his own folly. There was no avoiding the struggle which ensued. The great fight was fought; the British won; Boer and Briton must henceforth learn to live side by side; and no opportunity should be lost in allaying past bitterness and reconciling opposing interests. But henceforth the facts that the land has been conquered by the British, and in the last resort they are masters, must never be questioned. To allow any doubt to arise upon this point would be cruel, for it could only lead to the revival of aspirations that would end in fresh bloodshed.

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EMPIRE BUILDING IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Professor Henderson's lecture at the University this evening will treat, for the most part, of Sir George Grey's Imperial work in South Africa and the service which he rendered to the maintenance of Empire at the time of the Indian Mutiny, for which he received directly the thanks of Her Majesty the Queen. His native policy, his relations with the Boers of the Orange River Colony, in the Transvaal, and especially his struggle for federation, entitle him to rank as the founder of that policy which aims at the union of South Africa under the British flag. That was, however, against the settled policy of British Ministers in the middle of last century, and he was recalled for encouraging federation in defiance of instructions from home. Time has, however, justified him. His policy is substantially the same as that pursued by the late Cecil Rhodes and Lord Milner. It is now accepted by the Imperial authorities, and considered a necessary step in the direction of Imperial federation, which is the problem of modern times.