

right of public meeting. As to this, however, I feel bound to admit that as far as the recent history of Johannesburg is concerned, these restrictions do not appear to have been very strictly interpreted.

38. The policy of granting State monopolies as regards mining requisites and other important articles of commerce has given rise to much resentment, and, as regards some of them, it is difficult to see how even a plausible justification can be put forward for them from the point of view of the interests of the general community.

39. As regards the grievances which have been put forward in connection with the labour question by the mining industry, I content myself, at this time, by expressing the hope that if by the abatement of formalities and needless restrictions, by promoting the well-being of the natives when going to, remaining at, and returning from, the mines, and by enforcing on them wise restrictions as regards drink and such matters, the labour supply can be enlarged and the condition of the labourers improved, the President and his Executive Council will not fail to give the question their most earnest attention.

40. Of railway matters also I need say but little. I cannot suppose that, looking to the large interest which the Government of the Republic has in the financial success of its railways, there can be any hesitation in redressing proved grievances or in adopting measures for the improvement of the personnel or the traffic and other arrangements of the lines.

41. The only other matter of grievance on which I propose to touch now, is the condition of the police force as to which I may remark that the difficulties of the reforming party in the Volksraad and the Executive appear to arise from the strong prejudice of the more conservative of the burghers against employing Uitlanders, which would not be unworthy of sympathy were it not for the patent fact that a population like that of the burghers cannot possibly be expected to furnish adequate material from which to select candidates for this department of the public service; and to make difficulties about appointing foreigners amounts, under the circumstances, to a denial to the Uitlander community of what are among the primary rights which the governed may demand of those who undertake to govern them.

42. In thus enumerating and commenting on the grievances of the Uitlanders, I am fully alive to the fact that their redress cannot be accomplished without extensive changes in the law, the necessity for which may not be apparent to the more conservative section of the burghers, who may not have mastered the facts of the situation created by the growth of the large Uitlander community within the Republic; but I hope that even this section of the burghers will have learnt enough from recent events to perceive that the true interests of their country lie in accepting proposals which will remove just causes of discontent, and disarm the agitation, which, however futile it may have seemed when appealing inconsiderately to the arbitrament of war, will always be a possible source of danger to the present régime.

43. In the preceding remarks I have suggested the natural and appropriate remedies for the principal grievances of which the Uitlanders complain, but it has not escaped my notice that these grievances arise in a limited area of the South African Republic—that is to say, in the part occupied by the gold-mining industry. I am aware that the conditions in the rest of the country are entirely different, and I can appreciate the difficulties of the President, who may

feel that, if he were to meet the wishes of the Uitlanders, he might indirectly be the cause of subordinating the interests of the burghers and of the pastoral population to the interests of the Rand. Having regard to this, Her Majesty's Government have carefully considered whether it might not be possible to meet the complaints of the Uitlanders without in any way endangering the stability of the institutions of the Republic, or interfering with the ordinary government of the country and the administration of its general affairs by the burghers.

44. Basing myself upon the expressed desire of President Krüger to grant municipal government to Johannesburg, I suggest, for his consideration, as one way of meeting the difficulty, that the whole of the Rand district, from end to end, should be erected into something more than a municipality as that word is ordinarily understood; that, in fact, it should have a modified local autonomy, with powers of legislation on purely local questions, and subject to the veto of the President and Executive Council; and that this power of legislation should include the power of assessing and levying its own taxation, subject to the payment to the Republican Government of an annual tribute of an amount to be fixed at once and revised at intervals, so as to meet the case of a diminution or increase in the mining industry.

45. As regards judicial matters in such a scheme, the Rand, like the Eastern Provinces and the Kimberley District of the Cape Colony, might have a superior court of its own. It would, of course, be a feature of this scheme that the autonomous body should have the control of its civil police, its public education, its mine management, and all other matters affecting its internal economy and well-being. The central Government would be entitled to maintain all reasonable safeguards against the fomenting of a revolutionary movement, or the storage of arms for treasonable purposes within the district.

46. Those living in, and there enjoying a share in the government of, the autonomous district, would not, in my view, be entitled to a voice in the general Legislature or the Central Executive, or the presidential election. The burghers would thus be relieved of what is evidently a haunting fear to many of them—although I believe an unfounded one—that the first use which the enfranchised new-comers would make of their privileges would be to upset the republican form of government. Relieved of this apprehension, I should suppose that there would not be many of them who would refuse to deal with the grievances of the comparatively few Uitlanders outside the Rand on those liberal principles which characterized the earlier legislation of the Republic.

47. The President may rest assured that in making the above suggestions I am only actuated by friendly feeling towards himself and the South African Republic. They are not offered in derogation of his authority, but as the sincere and friendly contribution of Her Majesty's Government towards the settlement of a question which continues to threaten the tranquility of the Republic and the welfare and progress of the whole of South Africa.

48. A proper settlement of the questions at issue involves so many matters of detail which could be more easily and satisfactorily settled by personal conference, that I should be glad to have the opportunity of discussing the subject with the President, if it suited his convenience, and were agreeable to him, to come to this country for the purpose. Should this be impracticable, I rely