

question, when the Drifts were closed against our trade, and you know that if such a thing were allowed the trade of the Colony would be cut off. You know the story, and I would say this, that there was no one stronger in the Cabinet than the present Prime Minister. The Cape government, having demanded intervention, were asked were they prepared to give a passage for troops and pay half the expenses of the undertaking, the argument being that it was the affair of the Cape and not of Great Britain.

After considerable discussion the Cabinet decided unanimously that they were prepared to pay half the expense of introducing British troops, to use violence if necessary. I felt that Mr. Kruger would then give in, and so he did, and I am equally sure that the President is going to give her Majesty the terms which her Majesty now demands.

Some of you may remember the trouble in years past with Bechuanaland, when Kruger desired to cut off the Colony and to have the centre for himself. Well, with the help of your present member [Mr. F. R. Thompson], who threw his ability and determination into the work, the British authorities were successful. I remember one morning, after one of those horrid night journeys in a Cape cart, I arrived at the camp of the head of the Boer commando on the Hartz River. There I was told there was a good deal of "blood-and-thunder" talk, and I was asked by the commandant.

"Who are you?"

I replied, "My name is Cecil Rhodes," and the leader retorted, "Oh, you're the Administrator," and thereafter there were some more threats and the statement "bloed zal vloeiën"—blood will flow.

I said to him, "Don't talk nonsense; I'm very hungry; come and give me some breakfast."

I stopped there a week, and on my departure there was a little function; I became the godfather of the Boer commandant's grandchild. The same sort of thing is going to happen just now.

Before I leave the subject I will say that there is not the slightest chance of war, but her Majesty's government are going to get the terms which are demanded as being fair and right to the Uitlanders. I will leave that question now, because, as I have said, it is only a temporary trouble in Africa.

But there is a much more serious question. You have been congratulating me upon my work in the North, and have supported me most admirably during my time of trouble, when I had to suffer for certain conduct of my own. I have steadily gone on with the work in the North on the basis of equal rights for every class of citizen, and have been trying to obtain as much money for development as I can secure. I have been most fortunate in that, but still I have to look at the future.

You will recognize the enormous changes here, and the prosperity of the country, especially in this place, because the railways of Africa have been made like the palm of my hand, and we propose to continue that policy of extension. But you have to remember that there are ports on the East and West, and that the only certain security for keeping the position in the South is a union of the States of South Africa.

I was a little alarmed when some measures were submitted to the new Council in Rhodesia, at the feeling shown about that fact that Cape products were being treated on a different footing. It was demanded that rates should be imposed against the Cape, just the same as against other countries. I know, without desiring in the least to threaten, that there is

a tendency in the North, as there always is with new States, to be independent.

And I may say, in this connection, that in the Transvaal there is no love for Jan Hofmeyr; they will use him, but they do not care about him. You have never got one sixpence from the Transvaal. You have indulged in a good deal of sentiment, but got nothing in return. Well, the whole solution for the Cape is a simple one. We are getting far into the interior of Africa, but there is a time coming in the ordinary course of nature for my disappearance, and you must not let this North drift away from you. On the North depends the Transvaal, because it is surrounded. You need not think about this temporary difficulty in the Transvaal; but I believe that with the great community which has arisen in that State, amounting to about 80,000; knowing the extent of the deep-levels and the distance to which the gold-belts stretch, I may say there will be half a million of people there in course of time.

If we are to realize our dream of a South African Union (I can speak frankly now, because the question of the value of the North is settled, and if some of you really believed that it would only produce whip-sticks, we know now that it is rich in gold), one has to consider that the time has arrived for you to work for a solution.

I know Natal is ready for it, and I think the people in the North would consider it; although, when they had a large output, goodness knew what they would do, people got so uplifted. As to the Transvaal, I believe the new population, if they had their rights, would work for union in Africa. There is a practical point in it. They know that whatever Rhodesia possesses it will possess the whole labor factor; that north and south of the Zambesi we have native laborers in

millions, and labor is the question. We have thus an asset for bargaining with.

I am aware that in thinking out this question of Union a charge will be made in relation to the flag question in the neighboring States. To that I reply, Go and read Mr. Bryce's book on South Africa, and you will find it shown that there have been federations in Europe with different flags. We can federate without bringing up that awful question of the flag. One knows in the end what flag will fly.

What does that confederation mean? It means a great future for your children. It means a distribution of thought in your families, between mining, commercial, and political work—all those classes of work which are given to human beings to accomplish. It means that in a great area of territory which compares very favorably with any other portion of the world, you have gold, diamonds, copper, coal, wine, sheep, everything almost you can think of; and you only want a united people for the proper development of that huge extent of country.

How is that idea to be brought about? Are the majority of the people south of the Zambesi in favor of it? Most distinctly they are.

I wonder if any one has gone into figures. I would not make the charge for one moment that the Dutch are against you. I do not believe that. There is a bold section, like my friend, Mr. Louw, and a few others. These have spoken out their thoughts and have suffered for it. But even if I were to take it that the whole of the Dutch race was against us, let us count up the States of Africa and their population, taking it on a basis of males.

We have already 12,000 with us in Matabeleland. It is only a commencement of the mining industry, and it is a

simple arithmetical question. If we have 12,000 with a few mines, when we have, say, 200 mines, we know how many more supporters we shall have for federation. It is fair to state that in the neighboring State, the Transvaal, the new population represents 80,000, who are deprived of their franchise rights, although most interesting little lads are made burghers; and those Transvaal students, when they come to Stellenbosch, are enabled to vote as British subjects, while at the same time they are burghers of the Transvaal. I may say that the new population are the Progressives of the Transvaal, and I distinctly claim that a large section of the Dutch are also supporters of reform. That gives you 92,000 on your side. Then in Natal, a plucky little colony—there are 40,000 white inhabitants, of which number you are entitled to claim at least 10,000 as Progressives. Coming to the old Cape Colony, we can deal with absolute statistics. The number of voters is 108,000, but a certain number do not vote. After a careful examination of the lists, however, you will find that the Bond received 33,000, while the Progressives received 46,000 votes. That is a fair representation, but I will allow the Dutch one half. If, therefore, you add 54,000 in the Cape to the 102,000 already estimated in the North, Natal, and the Transvaal, you arrive at the number of Progressives who would probably support union, namely, about 150,000, making allowance for those who do not vote, exclusive of the Free State. It is safe to say that there is an enormous majority in South Africa absolutely in favor of federation.

Then why does not federation come about in the usual way? Why are not delegates from Natal, the Cape Colony, the Transvaal, and Rhodesia called together to agree to a federal constitution, which, as you know, means that the big ques-

tions would be left for settlement to the federal government, full liberty being given to the local governments to dispose of all local questions?

Rhodesia is just coming on the scene, but without trespassing on the position of the High Commissioner I have noticed that the 80,000 in the Transvaal are described in a despatch as helots, who were Spartan slaves. These 80,000 are slaves, to use a John Bull term, and they are our fellow countrymen, and friends from other countries. They cannot vote at all. I repeat that plucky little Natal, with her great ideas of expansion and a mind large in proportion to her size, would fall in with federation. The elections in the Cape have shown that if there was fair representation this colony also would join in a South African Union.

As the oldest State, and the parent of all, its duty is to take the lead. It can be maintained without dispute, even from our most extreme opponents, that if the Progressives had proper representation they would have a majority of members. By an accident they are three or four behind; in one case, that of Aliwal North, Tengo Jabavu's brother making the difference.

What, then, is it that stops federation? Both sides of the House are quite clear on the black question. I have had some doubts about the Bond, but was delighted when Mr. Vander Walt said that one thing he was hoping for was to see Jabavu sitting side by side with him in the House. The pure natives in Tembuland voted with the Bond, although the Progressives had declared their programme of equality of rights for every civilized man south of the Zambesi.

By that we mean that any men, provided they can write their names, place of residence, and occupation, and that they are workers or possessed of some property, quite irrespective

of color, would be entitled to these rights. But the Bond has gone one better still. They are hungering for Tengo Jabavu in the House, and the Bond gained its present position in the House by the support of the pure native voters.

As for the colored people, I owe them a deep debt of obligation for the work they have done for me in Rhodesia. It was they who, with their corps, stormed the fastnesses of Matabeleland. They did so not once, but repeatedly, and I regard them as one of the great sources of prosperity in this country.

Changing from the Matoppo to my fruit farms, I have ascertained from Californians, with whom I have discussed the question of labor, that they have nothing in California to equal the colored man as a laborer. That is my contribution to the position of the colored men in this country, and I am thankful to take the opportunity of making such a statement. I will add that I do not make that remark to get the colored voters, because the Progressives have them already.

I will also say openly that where Dutch people have a position and a stake in this country, I have noticed in each district I have visited, while they fairly remonstrated with me in connection with my conduct in the raid, yet broadly, on the point of equality of rights in South Africa, they were with me.

They simply said they would no longer be under the domination of the Bond. I have been under the domination of the Bond myself, and other Ministries will also be under that domination until we carry out that thought of equality. Well, it may be asked, with such a thought, with such an idea, and with such a majority, why it is not carried out? Well, there is one thing that stops the whole question, and that is that the old population has got it into their heads that equality of rights and union means the loss of their political

position, and that the—well, I will not say ignorant, but simple, farmer in the country is imbued with the Bond view that to have the Progressives in power means that the old population would become a kind of serfs—helots, as I just now used the word in another connection.

My reply is: How can that be where, under the British constitution, there are equal rights for all, and he who wins is the best man, of whatever race he may be? Take the great city of Cape Town, which chose Mr. Wiener, a German, for years to represent it. There was no thought of race. They never left him, but he left them when his Progressive ideas were changed into those of the Bond. It was not a question of race. It was because he left that equality principle that he lost his seat. Probably Mr. Wiener thought that the other party would be successful. Well, temporarily yes, but not permanently. The question is whether we could not educate these people to the true state of affairs.

Well, first we must get them to abandon that stupid idea that because somebody came to this country a hundred years ago, his children are in a special position. It is the prevalence of that idea that has disturbed everything. Besides, if you take the case of the Transvaal, the people there who have that idea have only been in the country some fifty years, and surely in that time, not quite a lifetime, they cannot fairly claim special privileges. Still they do, and speak of "ons volk" and "ons land." Well, I take "ons land" to be our land, and I say I am a partner in that, although I am told I am not a partner and that I am here on sufferance. Well, it will be your duty to change that position. It should also be remembered that this was not the thought of the old people who took this country. It is the thought of some men who have made an oligarchy, and who have prevailed upon

their own simple people to think that. It is they who delay this thought of equality, and I will tell you why.

It is because two or three men in Pretoria, and one or two in Cape Town, govern the whole country, and they need never appear. I have been told that a gentleman who was before the Mikado in Japan maintained his position by never being seen. I think the system of the Bond party is to govern through an individual who was never heard, at any rate, in their House, where he should have been.

And this government by the unseen must pass away as many other things must pass away. You are here and your party, and you are in a position to do that, but still you are willing that all should have equal rights, and you welcome even your most extreme opponents of the Bond to share in the development of South Africa. You must hold out for equal rights, and let the best men come to the front independent of race or the accident of birth. Although I was born at home, it does not stop me from being faithful to this country, and I am doing the best I can for the country which I have adopted as my dwelling-place. Through the whole of our difficulties there is just this one thought that comes out perfectly clear.

We must fight for equal rights, and the practical result will be the federal union of South Africa. With regard to myself, you must not think I am neglecting my duties because you do not see me in the House. I am doing my best, and I carry with me everywhere that thought for the union of South Africa, and I hope that when you have realized that thought it will not be too late.

I have tried hard to secure from the Colony privileges in the North. Now the people there are looking to the ports on the East and the West Coast, and I greatly fear that

before this country wakes up to the situation that great inheritance may have passed away from you in the South, and that is what you must work to prevent.

The Present Ministry, if they could only see it, have an enormous chance before them. I know that I myself, owing to various reasons, am not particularly pleasing to the Bond party, but I see no reason why others should not take up my work, and that is the union of South Africa. I do not care a jot who wears the peacock's feathers so long as the work is done. Let us get to the practical result—union. Natal is ready, Rhodesia is ready, and even the Republics could federate, as Professor Bryce has pointed out, without loss of dignity so far as the flag is concerned. That is the position I wish to be able to carry out, and that is what must come.