

Queen's suzerainty. This latter condition was regarded as so distasteful to the Boers that agitations against it speedily began to take the practical form of pin-pricks. On the Western Frontier, the Goshen freebooters arose; on the East, the young Boer party entered Zululand, took part thereof, and formed a New Republic, afterwards incorporated with the Transvaal. The end was the celebrated Convention of London in 1884, which settled the Western boundary question, and gave the right to the Transvaal to designate itself the South African Republic. The Boers naturally argue that this, together with the absence of any reference to the suzerainty and their avowed object to get rid of the suzerainty, support their contention that the Transvaal is a Sovereign State. The British contention is that the 1884 Convention merely supplements the 1881 Convention by defining certain undefined points, and that it in no measure abrogates the suzerainty. This question of suzerainty has now become quite a small matter besides the larger one of the Paramount Power of South Africa.

The Convention of 1884 was no sooner signed than its violation began in the matter of the encroachments on the Western border. Sir Charles Warren was sent out and marched to the Transvaal border with 4000 men. The Boers were unprepared for war and gave way. As yet the Boer exchequer was none too full, the goldfields had not disclosed their wealth, there was no Johannesburg, no forts, no ammunition, no millions spent in making South Africa a disaffected country, no latest equipments of warfare. Sir C. Warren returned home. Then the Swazis were singled out by the Boers as a people to be swallowed up; again in defiance of old arrangements. The closing of the drifts again violated the Convention. The Jamieson Raid, ill-timed and badly managed, met the fate it therefore deserved, but only to confirm the Boer in his belief in the inferiority of the British and his own superiority. But this raid only brought more prominently forward the seething mass of corruption in the internal management of the Transvaal. We have there a President enriched by monopolies, a Volks-

raad which neither represents the majority of the population and the taxed, nor desires to legislate equitably for the majority, a magistracy without any sense of justice, and always ready to side with Beer against Briton, a police force that acts brutally, even to murder, a soldiery which may insult and maltreat any Uitlander without fear of consequences, a judiciary that is subservient to any resolution of the Volksraad, a patois without words to express ideas forced into compulsory use, an illiterate and ignorant body of electors, with 17th century ideas, misgoverning 19th century progressivists—in short, Uitlanders are in a worse position than the helots of Ancient Greece. And, withal, the Transvaal is hemmed in on every side by British territory (or territory concerning which Britain has the right of pre-emption), and, thus, no nation can intervene to set right the Uitlanders wrongs save ourselves. We cannot allow, say, America to avenge American wrongs (*e.g.*, the case which led to the dismissal of Chief Justice Kotze, who would not act unjustly in the matter of an American citizen); or, say, France, who has a grievance in the seizure of gold, and may have another grievance at any time. As we have been the Paramount Power in South Africa, we must act as International Police, and protect all from Transvaal wrongs, or forfeit our Paramountcy, and allow some other power to protect Uitlanders. This latter we cannot do for many Imperial and International reasons. And, as we are not prepared to surrender South Africa, we must compel the Boers to govern on just lines. This matter concerns our (New Zealand) existence. If South Africa ceases to be British, then the highway to India, Australia, and New Zealand, passes to a Foreign Power, and we become a prey of that, or some other Power. The dismemberment of our Empire follows any loss of Paramountcy in South Africa. It is maintenance of the integrity of the Empire that is a stake, and we and the rest of the Empire, by sending contingents, have recognised it.