

and in allowing Natal to extend its boundaries to incorporate Zululand, is not freed from its Imperial responsibility. On the contrary, its Imperial responsibility is greater, because of the trust which it reposes in us who are the colonists. And if the Empire were, in fact, to trust us to bear a burden too great to be borne, then clearly the Empire would be responsible for over-taxing our powers. . . . The answer would immediately be: 'You threw on Natal the responsibility, or allowed Natal to accept the responsibility, and did not stand by her with sufficient strength to enable her to do well that which had to be done.'

Short of a reassumption by the Imperial Government of direct authority in Zululand, the only course which promises a permanent solution of Natal's difficulty is the assumption of joint responsibility on the part of all the South African States. That is the conviction of Lord Selborne, the supreme representative of the Imperial authority in South Africa, and it is the conviction of every thinking inhabitant of this country. I do not suggest any ready-made, cut-and-dried native policy to be applied to all South Africa. Local conditions vary; the stage of development among the natives themselves varies. But there must be a federal native policy, however adaptable to local conditions, and there must be joint South African responsibility. Otherwise we are on the high road to making as tragic a muddle of our destiny as Colonial history can record. Pending the establishment of special machinery of administration, an understanding should be arrived at between the various South African Governments at the coming Conference. Such understanding should make it impossible for isolated action to be taken by any one State without the full cognisance of the others, and without their full recognition of joint responsibility, financial and otherwise.

There remain the Imperial "spheres of influence," such as Basutoland and Swaziland. When the time is ripe for federation—at least, in respect of the native question—some arrangement will have to be arrived at under which the Imperial Government will delegate its administrative functions in Basutoland and Swaziland, retaining an ultimate right of veto. Accepting this forecast of an eventual South African settlement, I can see no serious objection to the temporary reinstatement of the Imperial authority in Zululand until such time as the federal scheme matures, and the Imperial authority agrees to withdraw as an active governing agency from Basutoland and Swaziland. There are, of course, objections to this plan; but is there any plan not open to objection? The only thing tolerably certain is that Natal unaided cannot long continue to bear the white man's burden so confidently assumed, first in 1893, and subsequently in 1897. This Colony is not desirous of shirking responsibility, nor is it lacking in courage and self-confidence, but there is an obvious limit to its strength.—I am, Sir, &c.,

CHARLES DON,
Editor Times of Natal.

Victoria Club, Maritzburg.

THE TRIAL OF DINUZULU.

[TO THE EDITOR OF THE "SPECTATOR."]

SIR,—I am disappointed that so little attention has been aroused by a short dialogue in the House of Commons on March 4th between Mr. Winston Churchill and one or two Members of Parliament, from which it appears that the Zulu chief, Dinuzulu, is now in prison on a charge of murder, rebellion, and conspiracy, and that, according to the Colonial Secretary, "these general charges have not been amplified by any specific facts as to whom he is accused of inciting to murder, or who was the person murdered, or when the incitement was given, or in what the acts of treason, sedition, rebellion, &c., consist." This vague indictment, we are told, will become definite if the examining Magistrate decides that a *prima-facie* case exists for committal; but surely a prisoner thus charged will enter on his trial at an enormous disadvantage. A preliminary investigation ending in an adverse decision will act on many minds as a verdict, on all as a strong address from the Bench against acquittal; and what lawyer will undertake defence against such an indictment, or what will be the chance of an accused person permitted to begin his defence only at this stage? The law which authorises such procedure is not what Englishmen should call a law; it is merely the result of a proclamation by the Governor in Council. England cannot abdicate the responsibility for such conditions; it remains a moral when it has ceased to be a legal claim. We may strive in vain to preserve our

delegates and their victims from the injustice that is born of panic, but not to strive at all is to render ourselves their accomplices.—I am, Sir, &c.,
JULIA WEDGWOOD.

OLD-AGE PENSIONS.

[TO THE EDITOR OF THE "SPECTATOR."]

SIR,—The following extracts may be of interest. They are from the *Barnsley Chronicle* dated December 8th, 1906, and September 28th, 1907:—

(1) "At a miners' meeting held to consider the question of Old Age Pensions, a delegate, Mr. James Walsh, appealed to miners to legislate for themselves. They had the matter in their own hands. In Yorkshire alone there were 315 pits, employing 80,000 men and boys, of whom 63,000 belonged to their Union. He looked to the very near future for these to grow to 70,000. If they had 70,000, they would have an income of £1,450 a week. Suppose that out of the 70,000 members there were 1,000 over 65 years of age, they would be able to give 5s. a week to them. This would only cost £250 a week, and they would have £1,200 left for the work of the Union. This could very easily be done if the men would not be so foolish and stop pits illegally, &c."

(2) "At a meeting of the Council of the Notts Miners' Association, held in July, it was decided to give all miners over 60, who are unable to work and who have been members for 10 years, a pension of 5s. per week until the termination of the present wages agreement in December, 1909. There are now 96 Notts miners in receipt of this pension."

(3) "At the International Miners' Congress at Salzburg the Franco-Belgian proposal that the worker, as well as the State and the employer, should contribute to a Pension Fund, was withdrawn after the British and United States delegates had pronounced against it."

Now, if miners could legislate for themselves, there are many other pretty well paid classes of workmen who could do so as well. And even in the case of poorly paid workers earning 23s. or 24s., it is stated that the price of two glasses of beer per week would pay the necessary premiums of insurance. And when we consider the large funds in the possession of Trade-Unions and Friendly Societies, it does seem that the workers could "legislate for themselves." Why, then, is there a cry for a State system, and above all for a non-contributory system? The answer is easy. Naturally, men will not want to save their own money if they can get it from somebody else. To this pass we are brought by the foolish, nay, wicked, speeches of certain political leaders. Nothing is more despicable than the system of offering bribes to large classes to obtain their votes. It is worse than the bribery which is now made a penal offence. For the old system of bribery cost the politician money out of his own pocket, but the new system is to promise voters benefits at the expense of others.

If in spite of reason and justice the Government, for the sake of currying favour with the masses, insist on a non-contributory State scheme, and attempt to place the burden upon the already overweighted middle class, I feel sure this long-suffering class will make its resentment felt.—I am, Sir, &c.,
W. MAUDSLAY.

Sackville House, Barnsley.

EMIGRATION TO CANADA.

[TO THE EDITOR OF THE "SPECTATOR."]

SIR,—In a few weeks' time work will be reviving in Canada, and an early selection of suitable emigrants should be made so that they may arrive with the summer in front of them. The Joint Committee of the East End Emigration Fund and the Charity Organisation Society has for many years been selecting with great care, and placing in work in Canada, a large number of London families, sober, steady people, capable and willing for work, yet in danger of demoralisation if left hopelessly without work in London. The number sent in any year reached its maximum last season, when eight hundred and twenty-five families, comprising four thousand two hundred and sixty-eight persons, were emigrated. Only those who conducted the selection can adequately realise the conditions to which a very large number of these unfortunate people had been reduced owing to lack of employment in this country, and what the new opportunity meant to them. In spite of the recent financial depression in Canada, complaints of or from those sent out have been, comparatively speaking, insignificant; but the large amount of successful work done last year has brought with it serious pecuniary anxiety for the work of the present year. Although the Central Unemployed Body for London and the West