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devoted to the interests of
Estonia and to general
progressive topics of the day.*

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NARVA AFTER THE BOLSHEVIST PEACE.

The Esthonian Review.

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Editorial.

The Editor has received from the Esthonian Consul, an appeal from the Esthonian Red Cross, which we print below. The Editor hopes that the readers and supporters of this Review will not refuse any help they can give to relieve the misery of this small and heroic nation.

In their struggle for freedom, the Esthonian army of 50,000 men, sustained casualties amounting to 10,462 men—more than one-fifth of their entire force. In addition, this unfortunate country is now suffering from a most serious epidemic of typhus. The *MORNING POST* of the 3rd February, writes :—" The situation of Esthonia, owing to the epidemic of spotted typhus, is appalling. Ninety per cent. of the men of the Russian North-Western Army who are quartered at Narva, are attacked, and large numbers are lying in the open air on the snow, waiting for death to relieve their sufferings. At one collecting station there are 18,000 cases, and only one surgeon to every 2,000. The Reval Town Council has voted 1,000,000 marks to combat the disease."

Although under the Peace Treaty with Bolsheviks the Esthonian Government received 15,000,000 roubles, the National War Debt is 200,000,000 marks. Before the war the exchange was about 26 marks to the pound ; it is now nearly 400. This will suffice to show how very urgently help is required if Bolshevism is to be prevented from spreading, on the wings of famine and disaster, through Esthonia to the West.

The Editor will be glad to acknowledge all cheques or contributions, which will be forwarded to the Red Cross.

Misprint concerning Admiral Pitka, K.C.M.G., Commander-in-chief of the Esthonian forces. The Editor begs to draw the attention of his readers to a misprint which occurred in last month's issue. It was stated that Admiral Pitka had been created Knight Commander of St. Michael and *St. John*, which should read : St. Michael and St. George.

We have the pleasure of publishing this month another article by J. D. Davis, the eminent composer and professor. Mr. Davis, as will be seen here, is not, like so many of our young musicians, the advocate of only one school. Loving all great art, he refuses to turn his back upon those masters who have made music what it is, and to deny the noble traditions of the past. His work, both as a teacher and former professor at the Guild Hall School of Music, and as the writer of much charming music, entitles him to speak with authority on these subjects. It will be interesting to our readers, in these days when opinions fluctuate and ideas seem to change from hour to hour, to see that a musician of deep knowledge and experience can, without prejudice of nationality or clique, give his views so unwaveringly.

Mr. Davies is no pedant, his sympathies are, we repeat, with all good work, and he recognises genius as much in the modern as in the classic schools. But what he has chiefly at heart is the wish to form a truly British School of Music. To reach this object it is necessary that all the members, both of the musical and of the critical fraternities should co-operate. The present want of cohesion among the various parties in musical England is, in Mr. Davis' opinion, the principal hindrance to the foundation of this school. One party will have no music but French, another English, another German, another Russian, etc. If this spirit, one may say of " clique-ism," could be got over, we could indeed hope for a true British school, whose music would be as healthy as it is beautiful.

Appeal of the Esthonian Red Cross Society.

ESTHONIAN CONSULATE,
167, QUEEN'S GATE,
LONDON, S.W. 7,
30th January, 1920.

DEAR SIR,

I have received a request from the Headquarters of the Esthonian Red Cross Society to make a collection in aid of the said Society.

The aim of the Red Cross Society is taking care of persons wounded in the war.

The work of this Society is carried on mostly by voluntary subscriptions.

The Red Cross Society has received, besides voluntary workers, also money and other donations, such as foodstuffs, etc., in Esthonia, and from abroad they have received binding materials, medical stores, under-clothing, etc. Many thanks are especially due to the British and American Red Cross Societies, who have helped much the work of the Esthonian Red Cross Society.

At present the Esthonian Red Cross has 14 committees and hospitals, in every town in Esthonia, except in the Capital, with about 700-800 beds. Feeding centres are working at Tapa, Johvi, Narva, Turi and at Reval. Besides those, by the Headquarters is the Rannamoisa Home for Children, where are about 50 soldiers' children, and then the Imastu Sanatorium for 50 consumptive soldiers, and in the summer months the Sanatoriums in Hapsal and Kuresaar (Arensburg) for 30 consumptive soldiers. Artificial limbs have been given to soldiers who lost their limbs in the war. There are 11 sanitary cars on the large gauge railway for transporting the wounded and sick, one disinfection car, one car for stores, and on the narrow gauge railway one sanitary car.

The Society has at present large orders abroad (for medical stores, instruments), and so the need for foreign currency is great.

I should be very glad if you would kindly help with the collection.

Cheques should be made payable to: Johan Sapas, Esq., Esthonian Consulate, 167, Queen's Gate, London, S.W. 7.

I remain,
Yours faithfully,
J. SAPAS.

Treaty between Esthonia and Russia.

By SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

REVAL,
5th February, 1920.

In the firm will to finish the War and to conclude as soon as possible a stable and sincere peace, the plenipotentiaries of Esthonia and Russia have agreed as follows:—

- (1). From the day the Treaty comes into force the state of war ends.
- (2). Russia recognises Esthonian independence as expressed in special Article.
- (3). The boundaries are as marked on the enclosed map and as explained in special Article, but Esthonian territory outside Narva and the Isborski district shall be neutralised until 1922, and Russia must not place troops against the Isborski district.

(Note.—In the Peipus and Pskoff Lakes armed vessels must not be held. Within 28 days after the ratification of the Treaty troops must be removed to the State boundaries, and within 42 days troops and stores must be removed from the Neutral Zones. For the guarding of the boundary 30 men for every verst will be allowed to stay.)

(4). Non-Esthonians in Esthonia and Esthonians in Russia can choose for one year the citizenship of the opposite State with obligation to leave the State during one year. The respective Governments can reject any person so choosing citizenship.

(5). In case Esthonia's neutrality shall be internationally recognised, Russia also guarantees this neutrality.

(6). In case of the international neutralisation of the Gulf of Finland, the contracting parties will agree to this.

(7). Guarantees are explained in a special paragraph according to which control of the demobilisation of foreign troops by a mixed commission will be set up. Each party will have four members on that Commission. The Commission will reside in Wesenberg and Pskoff, and will be in communication with their respective Capitals, by means of Hughes apparatus, concerning the fulfilment of the Guarantees.

(8). The contracting parties reciprocally renounce their respective claims for War damages and debts.

(9). War prisoners must be repatriated after the ratification of the Treaty in a manner agreed.

(10). At the same time an amnesty will be granted to War prisoners and interned persons for crimes committed in favour of the opposing parties.

(11). All Russian Government property in Esthonia, real and otherwise, becomes the property of Esthonia without indemnity. This refers also to Russian ships in Esthonian territorial waters at the present time, or which were in Esthonian territorial waters at the time of the occupation of the country by Germany. Also all claims against the Russian Government originating on Esthonian territory, will pass to the Esthonian Government and the Russian Government will deliver all documents relating to the properties in question.

(12). Russia hands to Esthonia 15,000,000 gold roubles, 8,000,000 to be delivered within one month from ratification. Esthonia not to be responsible for Russian debts and other obligations concerning the payment of the Russian and Russian Government Guaranteed Bonds. Every satisfaction of the claims of Esthonian citizens against Russia must be given by Russia, and in this case Russia gives to Esthonia the same facilities, rights and privileges which have been or shall be given by Russia to other nations, directly or indirectly. Russia returns to Esthonia all properties which have been removed from Esthonian territory into Russia.

(13). Russia declares that the rights, privileges and advantages given by the present Peace Treaty to Esthonia and her citizens, can in no case and under no conditions, serve as a precedent in the event of the conclusion by Russia of peace treaties with other States. On the other hand if in the conclusion of such treaties any States receive special rights, privileges, or advantages, these immediately, without special agreement, shall be extended in full to Esthonia and her citizens.

(14). There shall be established Commissions for the elaboration of a Commercial Treaty, for the return and sorting out of the archives and acts, for handing over to citizens of properties, and for settling questions in connection with the Bordering communities.

(15). The diplomatic and consular relations will be arranged at a date to be determined later.

(16). Both parties agree as soon as possible after the ratification, to begin discussion of the commercial treaty. Before the commercial treaty comes into force, preferential treatment will be granted to Esthonian citizens and firms. Import and Transit Customs will not be levied. Transit tariffs will not exceed local tariffs for identical commodities. Any preferential treatment given to third parties will not be demanded by the agreeing parties from each other. The property of dead citizens will be given over to the representatives of the State to which the deceased belonged. Esthonia gives to Russia the preferential right to obtain electrical power from the Narva Waterfalls. Russia gives to Esthonia the preference to build and exploit a railway between Esthonia and Moscow, and a timber

concession for 1,000,000 dessiatines of forests in the Governments of Petrograd, Pskoff, Twer, Novgorod, Olonetz, Vologda and Arhangelsk.

(17). Special agreement for securing safety of the Merchant Marine and Mine Sweeping will be concluded.

(18). The rights given to Esthonian citizens under this treaty refer also to all legal (juridical) persons.

(19). Both texts of this agreement are authentic.

(20). The exchange of the ratifications will take place as soon as possible at Moscow.

A New Peace and Certain New Reflections.

By ALEXANDER PORTERFIELD.

In the wireless message emanating from Moscow which contains some details of the ceremony at which the treaty of peace between Esthonia and Soviet Russia was signed, there is a remark of a Japanese journalist quoted, which will of a good deal of interest to those exceptional and gifted students of international affairs who can read as well as write. The treaty was signed at midnight ; and M. Piip, a member of the Esthonian Peace Delegation, commented upon that fact cheerfully, stating that as "midnight is the boundary, the precursor of a new day, so this peace is the boundary lying between the old and new periods of history." But the true significance of the event was crystallized by the Japanese journalist, who wired to his paper that it was "an important event. The time will come when all Europe will conclude peace with Soviet Russia." Mr. Asquith's remarks at the recent by-election at Paisley were also of great significance.

The ruth of the matter is that the time has already come and there is not one of the remaining Baltic States—Finland, Fivland, Latvia, Lithuania and Poland—which has any real desire whatever except to make peace, and the best peace it can with Soviet Russia ; the rest of Europe is in exactly the same position. The decisive defeat of Deniken and the utter collapse of Koltchak, the weak and vacillating policy of the British Government, and the absence of vigorous and sensible assistance, combine to make the desire for peace more immediate and a great deal more reasonable. Indeed, the Helsingfors Congress of Baltic States have passed a resolution that "the participants of the Congress must strive so that their relations with Soviet Russia harmonize with the real relation towards her of the *Entente*, insofar as this coincides with the vital interests of their peoples."

Now it may occur to those of the *intelligentsia* who can see without going to the length of wearing blinkers for that performance, that exactly such a policy is essential if the hope of peace is to be realized in the age in which it is our present privilege to live ; essential too that it should be adopted by the *Entente*, and that all subsidiary policies should be made to conform to it. The blockade of Russia was admittedly a blunder ; as a consequence, the Germans might have secured the monopoly of Russian trade, and the Note to Germany requesting her co-operation in the enforcement of the blockade was a grave mistake, in that there was not the least possibility that the German Government would comply with such a request, and that all policies involving the use of external force obviously imply some form at least of precisely such co-operation on the part of the German Government. Indeed, the present position of the Baltic States is a precarious one. They occupy a vague and indefinite situation somewhere between the Scylla of Bolshevism on the one hand, and the Charybdis of Germany on the other, and the need for a harmonious and co-coherent Allied policy in common with that of the Baltic States, themselves must present itself to the *Entente* time and again.

But instead of a common and coherent policy there is merely a chaos of conflicting opinions and principles laid down variously by certain diplomats and statesmen, who direct the Allied policies. The Letts and the Poles appear to be conducting an offensive of their own, half-heartedly and without any particular cause ; Esthonia has just signed a treaty of peace with Soviet Russia ; the other new-born political entities remain, technically, in a state of war. The British Government lately announced the intention of re-opening trade with Russia, but there have been no further developments since ; the public, having been left in the dark, are coming to the opinion that this scheme, like so many schemes proposed by the Government, is a gesture and nothing more. Exactly what is hoped to be gained by such a course of masterly inactivity and indecision is obscure for even our inmost *intelligentsia* ; trade without recognition is, of course, ridiculous, and it is felt in many quarters that the only reasonable step to be taken would be for the Allies to make peace with the *de facto* Russian Government as soon as possible, and to remove not some, but all trade restrictions in force at the moment.

The peace treaty between Esthonia and Soviet Russia foreshadow the adoption of such a policy eventually. While it is not possibly understood here that all the Baltic States really desire peace, such, as a matter of fact, is the case. Internal difficulties of the greatest and most vital importance demand the entire attention of the governments of all these new countries, and it is not too much to say that the peace of Europe depends a good deal upon the way in which these problems are solved. As long as the Eastern frontiers of Europe resemble an armed camp, then so long will the whole world be unsettled and uncertain.

Certainly, a change of attitude on the part of the Allied statesmen could result in nothing more disastrous than the present chaos. Many a sound doctrine has failed ignominiously to find acceptance, because the author did not possess even that amount of resolute courage necessary for a boy who is about to pull a neighbour's door-bell and run ; and in the Baltic situation of this day there is a notable instance of the truth of this. The Allied Governments exhibit a want of courage that is fatal for any constructive policy to be carried out with any hope of success. It is to be hoped that they will be able to achieve this before it is too late ; at the existing rate Germany will have secured the bulk, if not all, Russian trade within the next five years, and Soviet Russia and the Baltic States will have entered into a pact with the German Government which will not augur well for the future peace of Europe.

The position to-day is one thing. Exactly what it will be to-morrow is another. Just now the Baltic States represent political entities acting as buffer states between the civilization and democracy of the world as we understand it, and the menace of Red Terrorism. It is the duty of the Allied Governments to reach some common and coherent understanding with these states—Esthonia, Finland, Fivland, Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland—and to give them all the assistance in their power, and it is something of a privilege as well as a duty to be in a position to assist at the birth of a new State. Self-interest alone would seem enough to induce the Allies to protect and help the new and struggling Baltic States in maintaining their rights of independence and integrity ; having laid down self-determination as a right, the Allied Powers must recognize Esthonia as a *de jure* and not a *de facto* Government, for without the credit and international authority of a *de jure* government, Esthonia, which, with the other Baltic States, is to-day the sole bulwark against the menace of Bolshevism, will soon be compelled to seek an alliance with Soviet Russia. Such an alliance would be disastrous ; with the collapse of all internal and organized opposition to the Soviet system Esthonia occupies a hazardous and important position in Europe ; having concluded peace with the Red Government at Moscow, and hemmed in between Germany and Soviet Russia, it will be impossible for her to maintain that position without (1) allying herself to either one or the other ; (2) or to both Germany and Soviet Russia ; or (3) having obtained formal Allied recognition, to enter into a treaty with the *Entente*.

At the moment the fate of Europe is still uncertain. Peace like a will o' the wisp, evades us, and unrest and revolution threatens what calm there is. By courage and constructive statesmanship further riot and revolution can be averted ; and in the application of the principle laid down at the Peace Conference at Paris last year, the principle of self-determination, for Esthonia an effective and endurable wedge is driven into militaristic projects, German and Bolshevik, which at present disturb and prevent the peace of Europe.

The Peace with the Bolsheviks and the Bolshevik Menace.

By E. KRAAV.

In those circles where great alarm has been felt regarding the Bolshevik menace, it has been held as an axiom, that as soon as the fighting with the Red soldiery ceased, the Bolshevik infection would spread across the frontier to the Western countries. The armistice has lasted already for a month on the Esthonian Front, and peace negotiations have been in progress ; to the surprise of nervous people, nothing extraordinary has occurred, and the panic has gradually subsided, even among the Russian refugees. I will quote here what the Reval correspondent of the MANCHESTER GUARDIAN writes in his article of the 27th of January :—

“ The local White newspaper—“*SVOBODA ROSSII*”—until recently an organ of Yudenitch, reflecting the rapidly changing views of the *emigres*, writes : ‘ When Esthonia decides to open negotiations and is prepared to conclude an armistice, careful people (not worth speaking of those who love fighting for the sake of their pockets) were horrified. It seemed that to-day or to-morrow the Bolsheviks would burst into Reval, destroy the government, cut to pieces half the population, and set up a Commune. But already, after a month and a half, negotiations continue satisfactorily. Everyone is accustomed to them and nothing special has happened except that the valuable blood of Esthonian and Russian soldiers no longer flows out in a river, the public wealth is no longer wasted in flames and powder and smoke, and the heads and houses of peaceful citizens are no longer broken by shells. ’ ”

On the subject of the blockade, “*SVOBODA ROSSII*” says :—‘ The lifting of the blockade frightens by its novelty. All have forgotten how the blockade was established, how, gradually and almost unnoticed, it entered into our life and consciousness, how it caused scarcely any harm to the Bolsheviks. It lay heavily merely on the Russian people, depriving it of absolute necessities, not only for life, but even for death. It forced down the life of the Russian to primitive form, deprived of all imported goods, agricultural machinery, stuffs, instruments. ’ The Russian paper expresses the view that the lifting of the blockade will create new conditions in Russia, which will make the fall of the Bolsheviks possible.”

These allusions to the Bolshevik menace, sometimes take on a somewhat suspicious character. The MORNING POST of the 28th of January, quotes an interview (in Stockholm) with a “ German deserter from the Russian North-Western Army.” Besides many fables concerning the handing over, by the Esthonian Government, of all foreigners to the Bolsheviks, in accordance with the peace terms the German deserter declares that : “ After the ratification of the treaty it is believed that the whole of Esthonia will be Bolshevik within a very short space, and that, realising this, the Baltic Barons have all gone abroad, taking with them most of their portable property.”

Be it said in passing, that on the contrary, far from the above being true, now that the possibility of peaceful commercial communications with Russia has become an established fact, the Esthonian Ministry for Foreign Affairs has been more than ever besieged by the German Baltic Barons and business men, and their requests to be allowed to return to Esthonia. And as the time for a resumption of "business enterprise" is approaching, it might be well for the not too perfectly informed British man of business to realise to what lengths the Barons will go to avoid undersirable British competition.

To everyone who has been lately to the Baltic States, it is clear that the existing state of unrest, caused by a lingering warfare, was the sole, real basis for Bolshevik propaganda. But the Bolshevik heaven, Russia, with its cold and famine, is too close to Esthonia to exercise on the latter the attraction which it has exercised on the more naive mind of Western peoples. On the contrary, the steadily increased corruption of the Russian Komissars, and the growing spirit of the "new Bourgeoisie," too easily injected the Bolshevik secret agents themselves. For this reason it did not surprise the inhabitants of Reval when, not long ago, the following proclamations were distributed, signed by the chief Bolshevik agitators, Kingissepp and Wakman: "The comrades who have been entrusted with the work of Bolshevik propaganda in the workshops, have abandoned their duties. They have pocketed the money collected for the party, the agitators having only received kopecks instead of foubles. Being sent to Russia for money, they returned stating that the funds had been taken from them when crossing the front, but these comrades were seen later buying shops, houses, and even factories. Therefore the Bolshevik Central Committee in Esthonia decided on the 15th January to liquidate their affairs and abandon their activities. The communist leaders shake from their shoes the dust of the bourgeois brigand Esthonia, stigmatised by the blood of their brothers shed by the silent consent of the Esthonian workers, and go back to their only true comrades in Red Russia."

From this slip of paper we cannot, however, conclude that the Bolsheviks have definitely washed their hands of Esthonian affairs. All that is clear is their desire to free themselves at all costs of those of their comrades who have so successfully discredited their organisation. But it is also evident that in the state of demoralisation which the above seems to portray, it will be difficult for them to break merely by their words, the spirits of a people like the Esthonians, who have only so recently and so heroically resisted the force of their arms.

The A.B.C. of Bolshevik Propaganda.

By ALEX SEVEROFF.

In Western countries, Bolshevik propaganda is looked upon as something very mysterious and extraordinary. This idea, no doubt, arises, to a great extent, from the fact that the real spirit of Bolshevism is almost unknown, and for this reason I think it might be of interest to the readers of this Review to become acquainted with one of the more important documents of Bolshevik propagandist literature; a document, which, as far as I know, have not yet been explained or even recorded in the English press. What I refer to is a book published by two prominent leaders of the Bolshevik movement, H. Bucharin and E. Preobrajensky—"The A.B.C. of Communism" (Moscow, October, 1919). This book is used in the school of propaganda of the Soviet Government, and in its 340 pages, the whole theory and practise of Bolshevism is revealed.

From the first glance it is easy to see that the practise is not in strict accordance with the theory. Take this fragment of the latter: "Communism does not provide permanent managerial boards for factories or other enterprises; nor does it produce men who expect to work all their lives at one definite occupation. Every man receives a varied education and becomes acquainted with several professions. To-day, for instance,

I am a manager and spend my time calculating the number of pairs of boots that will be required for the next month or how many handkerchiefs. . . . To-morrow I shall work in a soap refinery, in a week may be I will serve in a national hot-house, and again later in an electrical power station!" In short, no specialisation in any one kind of work.

This plan is certainly very tempting to the ignorant Russian workman who has no notion of skilled labour. But surely it would not carry us very far, and in practice we would soon have to have recourse to the more professional bourgeois. On this point we are given some further explanations: "The party will, however, combat any such absurd, exaggerated and primitive notion as the one which suggests that skilled labour can altogether be done away with. This would, of course, be ridiculous! Only conceited and ignorant people could propose it, people who have not seriously studied the difficult problems which are now being put before the proletariat."

Having paid these compliments to his comrades, the theorists, the practical Bolshevik returns immediately to the point of view of the old-fashioned bourgeoisie: "All encouragement must be given to those who work whole-heartedly. No stinginess must be observed regarding their remuneration. This is a principle which all employers know to be true. Communism aims at equality of wage. But if we placed the skilled workman on the same plane as the unskilled, we should evolve such anomalies as a civil engineer would prefer to be a simple servant or worker."

Further in the book it is pointed out that the specialists are the captains of the Soviet industrial host. "There are many branches of government where the workmen have not yet secured the leadership. This is specially the case in the Chief Committees of Industry and some few others, where the bourgeois specialists rule supreme without proletarian supervision. The bourgeois tries, to the best of his ability, to organise the industry according to his own ideas, hoping that when the good old times will return these communities will be reconstructed into capitalistic trusts. . . . In this sad predicament there remains but one consolation to the workman; 'The days of fine phrases are over, the days of serious work have come. Our duty does not lie in winning our rights in Petrograd or Moscow, it consists in increasing the output of nails, locks, horse-shoes, ploughs, etc.'"

The first half of the book is devoted to the "fine phrases," wherein is disclosed how greatly does the Communistic system increase production, and to proving how great also was the failure of Capitalist doctrines in this respect. The second half, concerning the "serious work" to be done, gives us modes of increasing output, which are far from being Communistic, such as: "piece-work, premium, over-time work; submission of the labourer to the discipline of the bourgeois specialists, prohibition of strike, etc." It appears from this that a regime is being introduced which amounts to nothing more than a regime of "State Socialism" which is stigmatised in this book as follows: "The proletariat is being transformed into slaves over whom, in place of slave-drivers, are a class of powerful capitalists; in fact the old regime under a new name! There is not the slightest trace of real socialism, there is only the system of capitalist-ridden convicts!"

The relations existing between the Bolsheviks and the peasants are curious. Although the Soviet Government is nominally composed of peasants and labourers, the peasants in reality count for nothing. "According to our laws, the proletariat possess certain privileges (which the peasants have not); as for instance at the Congress of the Soviets, where things are so arranged that the workmen of the towns are assured a much larger number of delegates to those representing the villages."

The peasants are filled with petty, bourgeois ideals and the Bolsheviks are annoyed to find that these ideals are spreading also to the proletariat. The Bolsheviks established Committees of Poverty, made up of all the beggars and bad spirits of the villages, in order to foster their "proletarian dictatorship" and to combat the leaders of the peasantry, the

koolakis, or "iron-fists," as they are called. The Committees of poverty, thanks to the rascality of their members, only succeeded in making the breach between the towns and the villages, deeper than before; the peasants declaring that these committees were composed of scoundrels and parasites. That the committees could not overthrow the authority of the *koolakis* was natural enough; the *koolakis* were strong for the simple reason that they were good farmers.

The *koolakis* political ideals tend, not towards communism, but towards those forms of agricultural organisation which are to be found in Denmark and America. And though the Bolsheviks recognised the individual merit of these disciples of rural culture, they did their best to undermine their good influence. Like true Right-Marxists, the Bolsheviks are convinced that the small holdings are doomed to failure, but as the peasants do not believe this, the Soviet Government has created the "communes" in which have been retained much of the original "Committee of Poverty" element, although the latter have been officially dismissed.

Thus the Bolsheviks are continually at cross purposes with the peasantry. The more diligent and thrifty of the farmers are perpetually hampered and exploited by the *lazy* ones, who have the support of the government. "It is possible," says our A.B.C., "that the Soviet Government will have to enforce the expropriation of the *koolakis*, and send them to do forced labour."

The Bolsheviks have conceived a very special notion of democracy, a notion which does not at all coincide with that of Western nations. At every step we find them trying to persuade us that the power of the Bolshevik is given by weight of numbers, that they represent in fact the bulk of the Russian population. But if we look more carefully into the matter, we can but understand that this is not the case, and that only so-called "conscientious" labourers (the Communists themselves, who naturally know their own business best) are taken into account.

Before closing, I will quote a few more characteristic Bolshevik ideas: "There are some soft-headed communists who say that their religion does not prevent them from being communists. They say that 'they believe both in God and in Communism.' Such a view is fundamentally wrong; religion and communism do not go together either in theory or in practice." "Between the precepts of communism and those of the Christian religion, there is an impassable barrier."

"Regarding free will and education: 'Freedom of conscience in parents has merely been used by them to poison the minds of their children in the same way as they themselves were poisoned in old days by the Church. . . . The salvation of the young mind and the freeing of it from noxious, reactionary beliefs of their parents is one of the highest aims of the proletarian government.'"

Regarding the freedom of science: "In their present form and with their present professors, our universities are dead institutions. They continue to instruct youth in the old manner of the bourgeois public schools. These universities can only be reformed by including in their teaching staff, men who perhaps will not satisfy the bourgeois doctors' standard, but who will successfully perform a revolution in the teaching of social sciences (by following the spirit of Marxism and Bolshevism). In this way we will deprive bourgeois science of its last stronghold."

The Builders of a "United and Indivisible Russia."

By M. PUNGAS.

It is not so long ago that the Bolsheviks rivalised with Deniken and Koltchak, in the policy of forming a "United and Indivisible Russia." Only the Bolshevik could build up a United Russia, and the answer of Deniken and Koltchak was "that they *alone*, with the help of the Allies, would, in a few months, most certainly be able to re-establish that same "united and indivisible Russia."

Both did, as a matter of fact, endeavour to realise their promises. Both also, and very naturally, declared that the principle of self-determination among small nations had no sincerer supporters than themselves. The Bolsheviks mode of "self-determining" the fate of the populations of non-Russian territories, was to over-run them in true Prussian fashion and to impose their own Red Soviets!

The adherents of Koltchak treated the non-Russians who had the misfortune to fall under their rule, as traitors, and to those others who had not been conquered they had no scruple in saying that, as soon as they reached Moscow, they would send out an ultimatum, demanding unconditional submission.

And again, both of these "liberators of the Russian soil" put so much sincere energy into their efforts that the officers of the old Czarist regime found it quite puzzling to decide which side to choose; united Red Russia or united Black. Some served Blacks and some—no less true Czarist patriots!—served Reds.

Now, apparently, the strength of the two parties which were thus engaged, has failed before Russia was re-united! Soviet Russia, to the deep regret of its General Staff, has had to offer peace and full recognition to the Border States. The supporters of Koltchak have had to liquidate their affairs and "by the waters of Babylon" to reproach Heaven and Earth for their failure.

The moment seemed propitious for a third competitor, who had, up till now, remained in the background, to appear. The representatives of the Russian Democrats adopted the old war-cry, which had been discarded by the other opponents, and started to protest against "the new Brest-Litovsh peace" and the dividing up of Russia. A. F. Kerensky made a statement to the Advisory Committee of the British Labour Party, and also put before us, by means of the press, a plan of campaign to found a "federative, democratic and powerful Russia."

Mr. Kerensky sees no difference between the present English policy regarding the various nationalities in Russia, and the late, unsuccessful policy of Germany. Yet, surely, the difference is patent to everyone? The one (the German) a regime of military occupation and coercion, and the other (the British) a friendly commercial relation. He bitterly complains that the Allies will not permit Russia to recuperate and to become strong and federative. He forgets, however, to disclose where exactly the "real Democratic Russia" is to be found.

The organ of the Social Revolutionaries, "Pour la Russie" (published in Paris) goes still further. Pointing out the precarious position of the Caucasian Republics, which are being threatened by Soviet Russia, it insists that non-Russian nations are incapable of maintaining their independence. It omits to add *what* it is that prevents these peoples from maintaining their independence, Russian aggression! . . .

"Pour la Russie" is shocked to the bottom of its socialistic heart to find that in reply to the avalanche of Russian Bolsheviks, the representatives of Georgia should have begun to arm themselves and to insist on the independence of their State. Like the followers of Koltchak, "Pour la Russie" is surprised that the Georgian socialists who were against

intervention in Russia, now ask for intervention on their behalf. It will not recognise the distinction between intervening in a civil war where only one small party can reap any benefit, and intervening for the defence of a whole nation when it is being made the object of an outside attack. According to this Social-Revolutionary logic, it would appear that England had no right to interfere when Germany attacked Belgium.

"Pour la Russie" is still more horrified at Georgia's wishing to have her independence recognised. To fight against Bolshevism in the name of Democratic Russia is perhaps not wholly right, but how much more justifiable, after all, than to fight against it for the sake of one's own freedom! That is unpardonable! How can civic life or even warfare be carried on in an unrecognised country? Into what economical or political obligations or relations can a government enter which is not a recognised government? It must waste away, die of starvation before it has begun to live! In this, "Pour la Russie" is at one with the supporters of Denikin, who, when some of the Allies organised a loan to the Border States, cried out that they were being betrayed. To both of them the problem is of easy solution: the Border States should either fight for Re-united Russia or be compelled by famine and lack of arms to surrender to the Bolsheviks. . . .

The Situation in Soviet Russia.

By "IGOR."

It is difficult to realise full what is taking place in Soviet Russia at present, and what policy the Soviet has decided to adopt in view of its victories over Koltchak, Denikin and Yudenitch. Information coming from Russia is too scanty, and often too one-sided, to be dogmatic. There is, however, a namount of news leaking through which helps one with a knowledge of the workings of the Soviet Government to come to certain more or less correct conclusions. One thing is clear. The disappearance of Yudenitch and Koltchak's armies, and the series of defeats inflicted upon Denikin's, have materially strengthened the hands of the Bolshevik. Although the "White" armies have been so severely defeated, only a very rash or biased man would declare that his is due either to insufficient Allied support, or to the Russian people's love for the Soviet system and the Bolsheviks. That very sane observer, Mr. Austin Harrison, in February's "ENGLISH REVIEW," ascribes the "White" defeat to the fact that while the Allies were assisting Deniken and Co., who were striving for the territorial integrity of the old Russia Empire, they were also helping to cut up Russia by their recognition of the Border States' independence. These two issues inevitably clashed, and defeat and chaos were the results.

While there is a great deal of truth in this statement, if I may be permitted to say so, it is at the best only half the truth. Mr. Harrison leaves the two issues as if apparently they could not be reconciled. It would seem that not only were these two issues not irreconcilable, but that it was the duty of the Allies to reconcile them. It is more correct to say that defeat was due to this having been left undone. The "Whites" were deprived of the Border States' assistance at absolutely vital times, and there were never any signs of a combined sustained attack on the Bolsheviks, but merely spasmodic efforts, which in reality hardly produced a tremor in Russia's vast body.

What would have happened, for instance, if the Finns had struck with all their might in the rear of Petrograd during Yudenitch's advance? The Bolsheviks would inevitably have been compelled to abandon the "Red" capital, and the loss of the works and factories, not to mention the moral effect, would have been almost overwhelming. What force Denikin's advance would then have gained. Moscow assaulted from two sides, and cut off from the corn lands would have been practically certain of falling. The Bolsheviks would have either had to surrender, or, at the best, flee to Turkestan, a merely postponed version of the first alternative.



ESTHONIAN NATIONAL COSTUMES.

Again, if Georgia, Armenia and Azerbeidjan had attacked on the flank of the Bolshevik Eastern Army, Koltchak would have been given every opportunity of recuperating, instead of undergoing debacle after debacle, which ended in the Admiral's arrest in Nizhne-Udinsk.* I suppose, considering "what might have been" is very unprofitable occupation, but one can hardly avoid giving way to it some times. More than likely these White Generals have thought the same thing many times since their defeat. Probably they see now that while the restoration of Russia is a mighty idea, and from their point of view, a most desirable one, it might have paid better to have had a more modest program, and to have trusted to the future for the Border States to seek re-entrance into the New Russia. They had neither the power nor the right to resist just aspirations, and their own downfall and that of Russia has been the net result.

Yet all this might have been averted. Had the Allies insisted on the recognition of the Border States, without which no assistance would be afforded, the "White" Generals would have either had to give way, or we should have saved over one hundred millions. Likewise the Bolsheviks would not be liberally supplied with the best Allied munitions and equipment as they are at present. That was the cardinal error of the Allies, due to the idea that Denikin and Co. *might* win, and what about the Border States then? The Allies would, of course, have regarded their fate as a private Russia matter, and would have washed their hands. And the Border States were quite aware of this. So Fate intervened on behalf of the latter, as she often has a trick of intervening, and their salvation seems clear, that is if "General" Economics permits.

The effects of the Bolshevik successes were soon evident. The Allies decided, after the "flight of Generals to Paris," that trade with the Russian Co-operative Societies should be started. Articles appeared in the Daily Press, pointing out the heroic defence these co-operatives had always put up against the Bolsheviks and giving some wonderful and fantastic figures as to the number of members they represented. I should like to know where they got them from, because on the face of the attitude adopted by the Soviet, it would seem that either these wonderful co-operatives did not exist, or that else they were wholly under the control, and management, of the Soviet. Indeed, the latter is the case. In Siberia, under Koltchak, the Siberian Co-operatives did exist, and had a certain amount of independence, but in Soviet Russia—?

The Bolshevik leaders and official press immediately hailed the Allies' decision to trade as the first great external victory of the Soviet. If the Allies liked to delude themselves and their peoples with terms such as "renewal of trade relations with the Russian Co-operatives," it was all one to the Soviet. The Bolsheviks knew that the blockade had been broken, and that they could acquire the materials they wanted. They recognised also that, co-operatives or Soviet, the Allies would demand value for their goods, and they began preparations to supply that value.

The fall of production in the works and factories was one of the things most deplored by the leading Bolsheviks. This was due to a variety of reasons: lack of fuel and materials, disorganisation of transport from the long years of war, and greatly due to the workers themselves. Under the old regime, production could not compare favourably with that of other European States. Still, a certain amount had to be produced, otherwise the workers were dismissed. When the Revolution came, together with insidious Bolshevik agitation, the workers felt they were free for the first time. They therefore allowed themselves to produce as little as they pleased. True, Bolshevik propaganda was intended to hinder, for the time being, the progress of the war as much as possible, but directly the Bolshevik leaders felt that they had to fight for the Soviet and their own lives, they realised that production had to be increased.

They had tremendous difficulty in effecting this. The workers had become so enamoured of easy working it was difficult for them to increase their pace. So the Bolsheviks adopted

* Since the above was written, news has been received of Admiral Koltchak's execution.

the old Tzarist method. Those who worked badly were sent to the front. This certainly assisted. The Bolsheviks also realised that Committees of the Factory Workers hindered, so they were abolished, and great powers were granted to the Commissars of the Works, and also to the engineers and overseers. The only thing demanded was production. Money in salaries they could obtain as much as they pleased, but they had to show results.

The fuel question, and that of materials, were, however, more difficult. The peasants were only preparing enough fuel for themselves, while materials were mostly in the territories held by the "Whites." Accordingly, a war was declared against "Cold." Special agitators were sent to the villages to point out to the peasants that unless the factories received fuel, they could not produce shells and munitions. The Tzarist generals and landowners would consequently return; the peasants would lose their land, and all sorts of vengeance would be meted out to them.

It is the fear of losing their land, and the dread of punishment that makes the peasants back the Bolsheviks. They believe, at least sufficient do, that their sufferings and deprivations are due to civil war. So they hastened to cut wood, and transport it to the railway stations and landing stages. This undoubtedly helped the Soviet, as at least the railways and steamers were supplied. Too often had the trains and steamers to stop while fuel was being cut in the nearest forest, and too often had the passengers to assist in this operation.

The obtaining of raw materials was more a matter for the "Red" army, and so the Bolshevik press were full of articles pointing out what this and that district, held by the "Whites," could supply. The agitation system was also used, and, judging from the map of the fronts with great success. This, however, was still insufficient. Other measures had to be taken. Disciplined forces had to be raised to coerce the workers if necessary, and these forces were not far to seek.

The Third Soviet Army standing on the Eastern front, with its headquarters in Ekaterinburg, contained an usually large number of skilled workmen and Bolsheviks. Owing to the great successes of the "Red" armies, it was possible to withdraw it from the front, which was done. Only last month this Third Army received the loud-sounding title of "The First Revolutionary Army of Labour." The Bolshevik press modestly announced that it was intended merely to show a good example, and to work in detachments in the various factories. There was very much lying behind this however. It really was intended to coerce the workers, when, and if, necessary. If a factory therefore does not produce sufficient, or if the workers are lazy, this army will be employed to convince them of the error of their ways. This I am sure will be very unpleasant for the workers, but very salutary.

To show the importance attached by the Bolsheviks leaders to this army, I may state that Trotsky has been made Chairman of its Council. Even those who have never been in Russia will appreciate the fact that a man like Trotsky is not given unimportant posts. At the Bolshevik Revolution, when the question of peace with Germany was paramount, Trotsky was appointed Foreign Commissar. When Brest-Litovsk was finished, and the Bolsheviks wanted an army and fleet, the creation was entrusted to Trotsky. The results of his work are evident. Now, in turn Trotsky will devote his attention to the organisation of transport and the increase of production. Trotsky may know little about armies, and less about factories, but he has the energy of fanaticism, and I think it is safe to prophesy that what he has done before he will accomplish again. Mass production is what the Bolsheviks have in view, and unless I am very mistaken, and I do not think I am, mass production they will have. The Bolshevik newspapers state that "Revolutionary discipline" will be maintained, and the old Tzarist discipline is nothing compared to the revolutionary brand. This Army of Labour will not be unique in Russia. Already steps have been taken to raise a similar one in Petrograd. Others will probably be employed in all the manufacturing and industrial centres.

A highly-important congress is taking place in Moscow as I write, viz., that of the All-Russian Soviet of People's Economics. This is the Soviet which regulates the trade policy of Soviet Russia. At the opening meeting, Bukharin spoke of the important victory gained by the Soviet in the Allies' decision to trade with Soviet Russia, and also of the effect of peace with Esthonia, but there was never a word of "Co-operatives." Bukharin pointed out what Soviet Russia could obtain, but he indicated that a return would have to be given. Professor Lomonosoff reported on the state of railway transport, on which the "life of Soviet Russia depends." There were no high and abstract Bolshevik principles talked of at this congress. Serious questions were discussed and plans were marked out to save Soviet Russia.

The importance the Bolsheviks attach to transport and production is clear. Their papers lately have been full of nothing else. The victories of the "Red" armies are now discussed in very few words, but column after column is devoted to questions of fuel, transport and production. Before the recent Denikin debacle, the Soviet had arranged a wonderful week, called "The Week of the Front." During this week, collections were to be made of clothes, food, tobacco, money, etc., for the "Red" armies. There were to have been concerts, plays, spectacles, and entertainments for the "Red" armymen. Suddenly the news came of Denikin's collapse. Immediately the news went forth from Moscow that the week was to be renamed that of "Transport" as well. So the honest Bolshevik agitators are now agitating for all they are worth concerning the necessity of improving transport. Truly the Bolsheviks miss very few opportunities.

A regular campaign has been waged lately in our press concerning the Bolshevik danger in the Far East. Although this was inspired, and probably with more in view than a mere exposition of the danger, there is doubtless a real measure of truth in it. We should not, however, blind ourselves to the fact that the Bolsheviks are merely flesh and blood after all, and not evil spirits as some would have us believe. The Bolsheviks, from a purely idealistic point of view, would doubtless like to see the peoples of the East, what they call, "free." It hardly seems likely however, that they would endanger their own position by attempting a serious campaign at the present time. They have much more to lose than gain by it. The time of the East will come, but Lenin may be safely guaranteed to select the proper time.

Further, when the Bolsheviks were battling for their existence, they were naturally ready to do anything to hinder their opponents. England and Japan were the most serious, and England and Japan had both vulnerable points. Hence the Bolshevik agitation in the East. I do not mean to say that the Soviet have abandoned their Eastern campaign. I do not believe that they have, but they are quite shrewd enough to see that with disordered transport they could not possibly use troops against India. With the Caspian under British control, Persia is safe from military incursions. I think, therefore one need not consider the danger to the Far East as one of to-morrow. It may come some day, but it seems fairly safe to say that once the Soviet settles down to constructive work, as opposed to mere spreading of revolutionary propaganda, it will considerably blunt its strongest weapon.

As regards Soviet Russia's foreign policy, it may be defined very shortly. The Soviet has realised that it must have peace. The efforts made against Denikin have worn out the "Red" armies to an undreamed-of extent, and even the old bogeys of "Tzarist generals and landowners" begin to lose force sooner or later. Hence, Soviet Russia has been earnestly striving to obtain peace. As I said before, peace has been concluded with Esthonia. The Soviet has likewise addressed notes to Poland, and the Ukrainian Governments offering them peace, and stating that under no circumstances would the Soviet armies advance beyond the lines they are holding at present on these respective fronts. A similar note has been addressed to Georgia, pointing out to M. Gegetchkori's Government that if Georgia really desires peace she can obtain it.

The note also declares that the Soviet is unable to understand Georgia's contention that the struggle against Denikin has nothing to do with her. The Bolsheviks state that Denikin's success would mean the disappearance of an independent Georgia, while Soviet Russia has always stood for the principle (sic) of national self-determination. There is, however, a certain strain in the note to Georgia which is absent from the others. It is more peremptory in that it practically demands that Georgia should declare war against Denikin, and should refuse to permit British troops to disembark in Georgian territory.

I am afraid that in this case Soviet Russia is not very anxious to conclude peace. The attractions for war are doubtless the ports of Baku and Batum, and the oil of that region. Whatever Soviet Russia may do with regard to other Border States, it seems that the policy towards Georgia is one of aggression. Of course the Allies may dispatch sufficient forces to defend the Caucasian States. On the other hand they may not, as has happened before. So the Soviet may be merely trying to forestall events.

If Lenin ever allows himself the luxury of personal feeling, he may have something of the kind against Georgia. The latter may be called a rival Socialistic State, run chiefly by Menshevik Social-Democrats, such as Tseretelli and Cheidze. Lenin at one time, and not so long ago had claims to be a Social-Democrat likewise, and there is no hatred like that of a Bolshevik for a Menshevik Social-Democrat. However that may be, Georgia has received her warning.

The Soviet policy of the near future would therefore seem to be on the whole one of peace, organisation of transport, increase of production, and, though I have not had time to allude to it, the spread of education. Whatever else they may have in view after that, only one man knows. Until Lenin speaks I am afraid one must confine oneself to surmises.

Turkey and Europe.

By HELEN DE VERE BEAUCLERK.

"The clean-fighting Turk" is a phrase which one has so frequently heard that in the face of present circumstances it seems to require some little interpretation. The opinion it expresses is as emphatically denied as it is affirmed, and one might wonder to what extent the phrase can still be applied; to what extent the reverse is true; one might wonder also how it is that two such diametrically opposing views can be held as regards one object.

To say that both opinions are correct is an obvious explanation, but hardly sufficient. English people, indeed most people in the world, like to have one solid affirmative and not to be confused by vague, half-and-half negatives. In England, ideas die hard, and few ideas have been so well preserved as the belief in the inherent decency and loyalty of the Turk. In spite of much talk about the "sick man of Europe," "bag and baggage" etc., we clung to our first faith and were content to think the Turk merely—a clean fighter.—He had his faults of course, but they were fine, manly faults. He was a child; rough, excitable, cruel through excess of vitality, but good at bottom. The murdering of Armenians was less the result of vice than a rather childish manifestation of animal spirits.

This was in the eighties. Then came the revolution of 1908 of which we knew little—I speak of the general public—and understood nothing; then came the war. Only lately have we suddenly become aware that our view of the Turk as a delightful, unsophisticated savage is perhaps mistaken, and now the vast majority of public opinion has swung over to the other extreme, seeing Turkey as treacherous, malignant enemy, the very dirtiest of dirty dogs. . . .

To avoid falling into either extremes of feeling, there are one or two points in the history of Turkey which it would be well to recall. From the first to the last the Turk in Europe is an interloper. He came, a nomad from Central Asia, "his hand against every man's,

every man's hand against his." In his heart of hearts the Turk knows this and his gradual decline can be traced back to the moment of his advent in Europe. He took Constantinople, he was the conqueror, the master, but the master in another man's house ; and the knowledge that his slaves were intellectually his superiors made him ape all those weaknesses which to him were inseparable with the qualities he envied. Being only physically strong, he took nothing of those finer qualities of learning and civilization which Byzance still possessed. Childlike, he copied his betters, but childlike, without discrimination, and so it is that from a healthy, vigorous baby he became little by little, not a vigorous man, but a weak octogenarian, passing straight from infancy to a second childhood of tyrannical perversity.

Again his sense of, one might say burglary, made him mistrustful of those about him. He was afraid of the slaves he had conquered and who still lived between him and the home he had left, cutting off his retreat. And this is perhaps a more fundamental reason for the repeated massacres of the Armenians, the persistent oppression of the Kurds, than any religious or economical reason, such as produced similar results in Russia in the Jewish pogroms. Turkey has been, virtually, as repressive to the Kurd as to the Armenian (any member of the Kurdish club at Constantinople can give convincing proofs of this), yet the Kurd is, for the most part, a Mahomedan.

But the idea that the Turk, in oppressing the peoples he has conquered, is merely acting out of a dimly apprehended instinct of self defence, to say, in other words, that one of the results of his settlement in Constantinople was to weaken his self-confidence, is not sufficient to explain the immense differences which so flagrantly exist between the Turk of the fifteenth century and the Turk of to-day. The modifications wrought by Europe on the humours of our "delightful unsophisticated savage" were more insidious and more far-reaching. When one reads the history of the revolution of 1908, one is struck by its resemblance to the present Bolshevik revolution. Indeed the sympathy between Bolshevism and the Committee of Union and Progress is now manifest, inasmuch as both are working together against the Allies, Soviet propaganda going hand in hand with pan-Islamism. The two upheavals appear to have run on parallel lines and it was in '08 that the type of Turk that Englishmen believed in, and, in a manner, idealised, would seem to have been eliminated. As in the case of the ex-Czar, Abdul Hamid stood for the old order, a corrupt rotting order, no doubt, but an order that had the power of tradition, a crust which still contained something in it of blood and fibre, even if the blood were poisoned and the fibre perished. And again, as is inevitable in the case of a half civilized people, the death of this tradition brought evils at least as great as those which it had been destined to cure. The Young Turk type which in '08 came into power under Enver Pasha, had all the vices of the old type without its virtues. The Young Turk had been to Paris, London, Berlin, and had swallowed them whole. He knew all there was to know of advanced civilization. He was rational, atheistic, commercial, in a word progressive, and his theories were based on the most approved models ! The revolutionary party which overthrew Abdul Hamid

Unfortunately, these theories which the West had time and opportunity to assimilate healthily, were, as I have said, swallowed whole, and proved so much poison to the Turk. What he took for intellectual development was merely ill-digested rhetoric and worked right yeastily in his system. Religion, honour, should go by the board ; for were they not part of the absurd and retrograde notions of the dead past ? And when it is said that he thus began by condemning religion, anyone who realizes how strong was the grip of faith on the True Believer, will understand the moral decline which followed such a measure. To fight for Allah had been a sacred duty and death in a holy cause ensured the entry to Paradise. Without his faith the Turk became a derelict ; all his worst passions of cruelty and perfidy were aroused and for the time being the new system had nothing with which to keep these passions in check but a novel manner, made in Germany, of twirling the moustache and stepping on the parade ground.

To what extent the bulk of the people supported the revolution is a difficult question. Abdul Hamid was particularly and personally hated. His tyranny, his ruthlessness, the corruption of his court, and the evils of his administration, had gone deep in to the minds of his subjects. The Turkish people were undoubtedly whole-hearted in their desire to rid themselves of their Sultan. But apart from this they knew and cared little for what might replace him; they allowed themselves to be led by the new Committee with its high-sounding name and mouth-filling maxims, on the principle, it is to be supposed, than nothing could be worse than the old Sublime Porte. Words and promises gave hope of better things; the peasants were too ignorant, perhaps too innocent, to fear the Young Turk kindness after a diet of old Turk brutality.

The development of the C.U.P. movement resulted in Turkey's alliance with Germany; it could result, given the circumstance of a European war, in nothing else. The Government was composed of everything that was least Turkish in Turkey; of Jews, Levantine hybrids, vagrant European financiers. All that these people desired, under their cloak of reform, was comfort, position, money. They thought less of Turkey and its interests than even Abdul Hamid had done, and the older, tougher elements being crushed out of sight, this international clique was only too glad to accept German support. Germany had encouraged and helped the new regime, had lent money, provided drill sergeants and professors; Germany was their friend.

And now, the war being over and Turkey being beaten, we imagine that we have killed this influence; that on the signing of the Armistice the C.U.P. was wiped out. This is not so. Its eclipse is merely temporary and in point of fact, outside Constantinople itself and a few other towns garrisoned by allied troops, the revolutionary party still flourishes. It may not be openly supported by the whole Turkish empire, but its hold on the bureaucracy and the general machinery of State is still vital. Again as in the Bolshevik movement in Russia, this small volcanic group seems to have absorbed—perhaps by its very lack of scruple—all the more virile spirit of the country. It has been clever enough for instance to make good use of its propaganda and by raising the cry of pan-Islam, in some measure to fire popular enthusiasm. This last can be seen in the rising of Mustapha Kemal, a very palpable evidence of the resuscitated C.U.P. Ask any inhabitant of any town in the interior of Turkey "who is running the country," and he will answer, "The Ittihadchi," the C.U.P. again.

The question which now faces the Allies and especially England, is how this revolutionary tendency can be combatted. I have tried to show that the old Turk who was our friend has been practically eliminated and it is now visible that such essential good he possessed, and which may still be lying dormant in his nature, is being turned against us by the cleverness of those who direct this same revolutionary tendency. What effect will his banishment from Constantinople have on the Turk? What effect will it have on the evil as well as the good in him? The war has shown him to be still the "clean fighter;" the war has also shown him to be still Gladstone's "impossible Turk." Which of these factors will predominate if his capital is taken from him?

The obvious objections to turning the Turks out of Constantinople are well-known; the unfavourable influence it will have on all Mahomedan peoples in the British Empire and the consequent loss of prestige to us; the possibility that it might drive the Turks to an armed resistance; the practical difficulty as to whom Constantinople is to be given to in default of its present occupants. On the other hand, the dangers of leaving the Turks where they are, have been summarised by Mr. Lloyd George in his phrase on "no longer being able to trust the porter at the door." But there is another less commonplace objection which does not seem to have been insisted upon. It will appear flippant, cynical, but it is nevertheless not beneath consideration. And it is, that by throwing Turkey out of Europe, we cut him off from the chief source of his present weakness; that Europe has been his curse—the disease that has been slowly wasting him. What if, by extracting

in this drastic fashion the cancer from his side, we may be curing the infection of his soul ? With a return to the East, to the healthy environment which made his fathers strong five hundred years ago, may not all that is fine in the Turk revive and turn once more, and most ominously, against the West ?

A French View of Esthonia.

By N.G.

The question of recognising the independence of Esthonia and the other Baltic States, has been open so long that one begins to wonder whether the Allies really understand how important the solution of this problem may be to the peace of Europe. A French monthly, *L'ACTION NATIONALE* (under the date of 25th of January), publishes an article by M. Emile Terquem, which explains the matter very clearly and concisely : "The further the settlement of the great, dramatic problem of Russia seems to be from us," he begins ; "the more Esthonia shows herself as one of the essential factors in the freeing of Northern Russia from the double scourge of Bolshevism and Germany. The caprice of fate has awakened this little nation from its obscurity and has called upon it to play a decisive part in the future of the world."

No one who reflects for a moment can fail to see the importance, both geographically and commercially, of Esthonia. Its value to Germany would be immense, for, as M. Terquem points out : "In the hands of a powerful nation, Esthonia could hold and isolate the Gulf of Finland, that is to say blockade Petrograd and the Gulf of Riga and cut off Riga and all its hinterland from the sea."

In the past, German influence in Esthonia has been very strong ; the famous Baltic Barons have indeed been the presiding (and evil !) genius of the entire region. But the Esthonians loath their German neighbours. "Esthonia," says M. Terquem, "has only one enemy whom she hates with her whole heart, and that enemy is also our own, has always been our own ; the Baltic Barons, the belated survivors of German feudalism."

"Germany loves the Baltic Baron with a tender affection ; he represents to Germany the predatory ancestor, the historic pioneer of teutonism who conquered the barbaric soil and who dominated and exploited its contemptible inhabitants. At the Imperial Court of Russia, in the army, the Baron had taken possession of all the high posts. He it was who, before and during the war, mounted guard over the Czar and gave him the secret and saintly protection of Germany ; he it was who remained the soul of black reaction."

. . . . He was the creator, the defender of bureaucracy and the man to profit by it the weak or treacherous general. . . .

"When the Germans occupied the Baltic Provinces, the Baltic Barons who owned two thirds of Esthonian land, received them with open arms. . . . While some of them, chiefly those of Courland, Esthonia's neighbour, encouraged the escapade of Von der Goltz, others in Esthonia were preparing the return of the German armies, acting as their spies and giving news to Von der Goltz of the weakness of the Esthonian and Lettish forces."

"Will Von der Goltz's adventure," continues M. Terquem, "open the eyes of the Entente, and force it to see that the triumph of reactionary Russia is the return of Russia to the hands of Germany " ? And the Baltic Provinces are on Germany's high road. . . .

M. Terquem gives us a very interesting sketch of Esthonia and the life there : "The Esthonians, having been excluded from all positions of importance under the Russian regime, possessed neither statesmen nor great generals, nor big manufacturers. They were for the most part peasants—and nearly always simple peasants at that, not land-owners—and small shop-keepers. Some were lawyers, a very few magistrates. As they

had been obliged to leave their province to earn their livings, there were as many Esthonians in the other parts of Russia as in Esthonia itself."

"Two things contributed to keeping their national conscience alive; a very widely spread public education and the fact that their religion, protestantism, cut them off from the mass of orthodox Russia."

"Esthonia for all the apparent paucity of her governing staff, has had, after a short crisis of Bolshevism, and at the very time of the German invasion, the courage to proclaim her independence. She has succeeded in evolving all the complicated machinery of a modern state, with only her own children as material."

"In every action of the government and the administrations of Esthonia, one can observe a love of justice, of law, a respect for the basic principles of republicanism, which one might well cite as an example to older republics. Without being drugged by a sense of power, without posing as High Excellencies, without solemn flunkies waiting at the doors of their offices, very modestly in fact, the Esthonian Ministers—simple bourgeois of yesterday—look upon their duties merely as work, and not as a source of unexpected glory."

"In the passages of the government offices, there are no loungers; only a few boys run hither and thither, bare-footed and busy. Here one cannot meet the crowd of parasites, —dvorniks, schwetzares, mallchiks—which encumbered the halls of all public and private offices in Russia, and spent the day smoking cigarettes and drinking tea. Every one works under the Esthonian management, and all its members, big and small, male or female, devote every atom of their energy to creating the modern forms of these entirely new establishments. They supply the lack of tradition with their own inexhaustible activity and their deep sense of reality."

M. Terquem goes to tell us of some of the results of this new government system. "A militia has replaced the old professional police. Men in plain civilian clothes, wearing a white armlet and carrying a rifle—secured by string, for leather is too rare and too expensive—carry out their duties conscientiously, without undue weakness or brutality. On the same watch is a well-to-do-bourgeois and a labourer who is out of work, poorly dressed and barefoot. And the streets and long boulevards of Reval are so safe that you can walk in them without incurring greater risk than the chance of being stopped by a patrol, and requested to show your permit. If you do not possess one you are taken to the police-station—whoever you are! The citizen police take their duties very seriously."

Esthonia's manner of dealing with refractory Bolsheviks is amusingly described, and many instances are given of their decision, the vigour of their plans, and the determination they evince in carrying these out. "A socialist Minister does not hesitate to take the most rigorous measures against any member of his own party who might appear inclined to apply his views with too much violence or too little scruple. Following a socialistic congress held at Reval in September, the Ministry seized 70 of the more exuberant disciples of Bolshevism, and, without giving them a moment's grace, packed them off to the Russian frontier. There they were released with the words: "If that is Paradise, go!"

"The Esthonians . . . have well-balanced minds and a great faculty for seeking out the logical, rational solution to any difficulty. In this they present a very marked trait, which is direct opposition to the irresolution and subjectivity of the Russian character. They form a distinct national unity, and this is the more surprising when one reflects that this people has preserved a consciousness of its personality through two centuries of Russian rule, and how many more centuries of subjection to the Teutonic knights, to the Danes, to the Swedes, not to mention the Polish conquests. Under the spur of circumstances, this country has awakened with all its personal characteristics. And over and above these, it possesses the most charming qualities of the Russian; Esthonians are good companions, simple, hospitable . . . and especially simple in their mode of life, profoundly, sincerely democratic, as were, and are, the great mass of the Russian people."

M. Terquem shows us how, in spite of the fact that the country was ruined by the war, and has been both invaded by Germany and occupied for a space by Bolshevism, Esthonia has revived, and is now ready to face the gravest difficulties. Speaking of the Russian attitude towards Esthonia and its reconstruction, he says : " The Russians who lived in Esthonia before the war watched this unexpected national revival with some astonishment, but they quite frankly recognise the merits of the Esthonians and give them their full sympathy. A few refugees from Soviet Russia are less well disposed, but one has observed everywhere that refugees are embittered by their sufferings, and are seldom just in their appreciation of the countries that receive them. These refugees show themselves unnecessarily indignant at certain manifestations of Esthonian nationalism.

One should not pay much heed to this unkind temper ; it is caused by regret and spite. I have heard some Russians go so far as to reproach the Esthonians for having flown their national flag on the Russian warships which had been saved from the Bolsheviks or taken from the latter in battle ! One would imagine that Esthonia was not using those same ships to guard—with the aid of the British Fleet—the coast of the Gulf of Finland against the sailors of Cronstadt ! "

" In the same way, some over-impulsive Russians are chagrined at seeing Esthonia put the few engines and only too scarce carriages of the Russian rail-roads which still remain in the country, to their own use. A little more and they would term this legitimate action robbery ! All this is a little childish."

Regarding the Esthonians' treatment of Russia, we read that : " The Esthonian bears no grudge against the Russian ; he never speaks badly to him ; he wishes merely to remain an Esthonian, and his patriotism is not born of a hatred for the Russian people with whom he is so intimately bound by links of taste, interest and relationship. There is nothing in them of the fierce national spirit of Finland and its bitter feelings towards Russia ; nor yet of the patriotism of the old Austrian-Hungary monarchies, whose first article of faith—and, indeed, frequently the only evidence of its existence !—was its hatred of its neighbours and its desire for vengeance."

" As a matter of fact Esthonia has received the Russian victims of Bolshevism extremely well. No doubt she has, like other countries, taken steps to protect herself from being swamped by the refugees, but nevertheless Reval, though poor in house-room and lacking all the necessities of life, is filled to overflowing with Russian women and children, whose menfolk have remained behind in Soviet Russia. The newly-built schools of Reval have been turned into Russian hospitals. General Yudenitch's North-Western force was formed on Esthonian soil, with the help and under the protection of the Esthonian Army. It was through the port of Reval—already so painfully overcrowded—that the food supply of this army was maintained. The whole of the Russian transport was done on the Esthonian railways, although these were not even sufficient to provide for the most urgent needs of the country."

Esthonia and Soviet Russia had not yet signed peace when M. Terquem's article went to press, but he speaks of the possibility in moderate and reasonable terms. " The government could not refuse to enter into these (peace) negotiations. Public opinion would not have understood a refusal nor would the soldiers, who had fought on so long, notwithstanding the state of destitution in which the Entente had left them. These negotiations had been opened by the Bolsheviks themselves at the tragic moment when the Russian Army, under Balakhovitch, had abandoned Pskov without a fight and for a very disquieting cause ; a serious dispute among its generals. If at that time the Bolsheviks had not been too busy on their other fronts, Esthonia would have succumbed perforce to the Red hordes. It was more prudent to consider the Bolshevik's proposals and to make an attempt to save the country from another invasion, especially in face of the North-Western Army's disaffection, and the complete military apathy of the Allies. Has any one blamed Finland, whose independence is now officially recognised by all the

parties of the Entente, for having come to a more or less explicit understanding with the Bolsheviks concerning the comparative neutrality of her frontiers ? ”

Esthonia's position in respect of a future Russia can hardly be discussed till the form which that future is to take, is determined. But we know, as M. Terquem says, “ by Von der Goltz's adventure, what Europe would have to suffer in the event of a triumph of the reactionaries in Russia. Russia made strong by a return of absolutism, is a German Russia. It would mean Germany's encircling Poland and raising 20,000,000 disciplined soldiers against us. What we ought most jealously to safe-guard is the friendship of all liberal Russians, of those Russians who know that the strong Russia, the future Russia, is a free Russia, wherein all the local, homogeneous elements will be allowed to develop freely, and on their own lines, so as to combine together to defend themselves against Imperialism.”

The danger to Russia of Esthonian independence is so small as to be negligible. As we have noted at the beginning of this article, Esthonia's geographical position makes her of paramount importance to any great power ; but “ what,” Mr. Terquem goes on to say, “ could a little nation of 1,700,000 souls, do against huge Russia if the latter wished seriously to crush it ? Would it be difficult to forbid Esthonia's building a fleet large enough to blockade the Gulf of Finland and Riga ? The mere suggestion is absurd.”

To return to the position of Esthonia as regards Russia, M. Terquem points out how the laxity of the Petrograd bureaucrats and their weakness in yielding to the demands of the Baltic Barons, was the sole cause of Esthonia's being set aside and kept from fulfilling her part in the Russian economical system. “ Free Esthonia,” he says, “ has a very fine economical programme, and wishes to develop it without hindrance and to the greater benefit of Russia. I have here very important documents which have not been produced merely to give point to an argument, but which come from the investigation committees of the Municipal Council, and which prove that for years past the Esthonians have understood that Reval could take on an immense value if it were converted into a free port, a stepping-stone as it were, to Petrograd, a byway to the whole of Muscovy, and whose action could be carried right through to Siberia.”

“ As for the Esthonian industries, paper, textiles, alcohol, they were all directed towards Russia, that country being Esthonia's chief customer. Esthonia received from Russia her oil, a part of her cotton, her leather, her wheat ; and inversely Esthonian farms provided the main portion of Petrograd's dairy-supply.”

“ The Esthonians are too rational, too sensible of economic values, to wish to raise a fiscal barrier between themselves and Russia. It would be madness on their parts, and to imagine them capable of such a thing is to show oneself ignorant of the facts and of the repeated, formal, official declarations made by the Government in this respect.”

“ The Esthonians wish for their political independence, that is all. They know well enough that they would carry no weight if they attempted to keep a great, liberated Russia from the sea. To blockade Petrograd would be the surest and the quickest means of losing the national freedom for the defence of which they have paid so high a price. On the contrary, by being prepared to help in the construction of Russian economic life, they rob the champions of Imperialism of the only honourable argument which the latter could raise to justify the crushing of this young Republic.”

And M. Terquem adds : “ The healthy example of Esthonia and its close contact with its other Russian neighbours, could be extremely fruitful, and might spread, little by little, to all the cells which make up Greater Russia. And it is to be hoped that once Bolshevism is wiped out or has died, in consequence of its own internal evolution, Russia will re-organise on these lines and will create homogeneous centres in different regions, joined one to the other by mutual needs and (more indeed than they themselves realise) by a community of tastes and manners, by all, in fact, that goes to form the soul of a great nation.”

In conclusion, M. Terquem talks of the future of Esthonia and its right to be recognised as an independent state. "To achieve national unity and to repel Bolshevism, Esthonia has made, and is making, the most colossal sacrifices. Labour is scarce by reason of the mobilisation and of the exodus of purely Russian workmen at the time of the German advance. Most of the factories are closed, and it has become impossible to cultivate the native resources of the country, which otherwise would have allowed an export trade more than sufficient to the needs of credit. As the want of manufactured goods is enormous and imports are not covered by exports, the value of the Esthonian mark has fallen rapidly. At one time it was a question where and when this fall would stop; now it seems to have been settled. But in one month the English pound went from 125 to 250 Esthonian marks, and did not stop there. Some people say that this drop was caused by the action of the Baltic Barons, who, seeing that the hour of their exile have irrevocably come, sold out the whole of their available fortunes, and bought foreign stock at any price they could find."

"But," M. Terquem adds, "Esthonia has reorganised her affairs with stupefying rapidity, and under the worst possible conditions. The heads of the government intend to justify their country's right to exist by their firmness and the consistency of their views, and one can hardly conceive that so much wisdom and energy should go unrewarded."

The conclusion drawn by M. Terquem is that France should take the initiative and recognise the independence of Esthonia. He astutely remarks that the interest of a great nation must lie in protecting a country placed as is Esthonia, in the fairway to Petrograd, the very key of the Baltic.

The Russian Republic.

By COLONEL MALONE, M.P.

(George Allen and Unwin, Ltd).

By E. H. C. LOUDON.

I suppose one is justified in believing that books are written with an object. Some are written for fame, some for the purpose of doing good, and others doubtless like the "hawkers razors," for the purpose of being sold. After a careful study of the above book I find myself quite at a loss to know why it has been written, except maybe for the purpose of doing Bolshevik propaganda. I hardly think, however, that it was written with the latter purpose. It is much too clumsy and tendencious to do any good in that way, and moreover, it displays such a mixture of ignorance, ridiculous errors, faulty logic, painful naivety and credulity that no well-informed person could consider anything it may say seriously.

Some may doubtlessly object to the use of the above phrases. I do myself. But if I could find any others which would express the book adequately, I should not hesitate to use them. I have been unable to find them, however.

Does Colonel Malone really wish to be taken seriously when he talks about the "struggle between the Duma and the Soviet," which lasted according to him up to the time of the Bolshevik Revolution? At least Colonel Malone should know that the Duma as such, never sat after the Revolution of March, 1917. He further proceeds to talk of "Prince" Vladimir Ulianoff. Since when has the noble Lenin been a prince, or is this to impress a few wavering readers of the *Morning Post*? Chitcherin, the Commissar for Foreign Affairs, "a man of aristocratic descent married to an aristocratic wife,"

was once Naval *attache* in Paris? Who dares to speak of Bolshevik atrocities? There are many other curiosities quite as thrilling, and mistakes quite as glaring. Thus, the British Embassy is at the Nicholas Bridge, St. Isaac's Cathedral is on the Nevsky Prospect, and the "horses in Moscow receive oats, while those in Petrograd only receive hay." Can such injustice be in the "Socialistic Fatherland?"

I do not think I am mistaken in saying that Colonel Malone has not made a single assertion which is corroborated either by his own independent investigation, or by unbiassed witnesses. He has taken in everything told him by Bolshevik Commissars as gospel, and as such he gives it to us. Certainly he does his best to disabuse us of some of our illusions regarding Soviet Russia. For example, he explains that the curtailment of freedom of the press is due, not to Bolshevik restrictions, God forbid, but to shortage of paper. Moreover he was given a copy of "an excellent monthly issued by the Central Committee of Factory Committees." A very clear proof.

Colonel Malone's explanation of the abolition of the right to strike is "it would be illogical, as one does not strike against oneself." He bases this notable argument on the fact that the Trade Unions participate directly in the Government, somewhat weakening it, however, by adding that the Soviet is superior to the Alliance of Trade Unions, and must sanction the conclusions of the Unions before they become law.

His description of the way in which the Soviet raised a fund to insure sick workers and against unemployment, is beautiful. First of all the employers, "who had done sufficiently well out of the war," had to contribute a sum equal to four per cent. of the total wages paid by them. Then a further sum of ten per cent. of the wages they had paid. All this together formed the fund. Colonel Malone fails to add that the great majority of enterprises were nationalised early in 1918, and the bank accounts of the employers were sequestered. So where did the 14 per cent. come from. These little details do not matter, however. Perhaps we shall receive them when he has assimilated the mass of material he has brought home with him from Russia.

Another choice tit-bit of Colonel Malone's is the way in which the Soviets collect corn. Lest it should be thought I am romancing, I shall give it fully in his own words.

Colonel Malone states that between August 1918 and August 1919, the Department of Food collected about 108 million poods of corn. He adds:—"None of these 108 million poods of corn was purchased under duress. The *presence of a detachment of the requisitioning army was always sufficient to cause sales to proceed smoothly, though when these detachments were not present the quantities of corn sold by the peasants would be smaller than their legal due.*" "Waal," as the Americans somewhat vulgarly but aptly remark, "what d'ye think of that?"

I hope readers of this criticism will not think that the rest of the book is on the same level. There is one good thing in it, a remark made by Trotsky (somewhat to my surprise, Colonel Malone did not allude to him as a "Hebrew of noble extraction, better known as the Rabbi Ben Bronstein).

Trotsky in his address to the "Red" army in Tula, after receiving the troops in the correct manner used under the Tzars, stated "he was glad to see so many dressed in American uniforms obtained from Koltchak, and that he hoped to see them again soon, clothed the next time in British uniforms from Denikin's army." Quite the right touch, and a spare suit of clothes as well.

I do not think I have missed anything else worth while. If I have I apologise, but I feel rather like the dramatic critic of the "Daily Herald," who recently reviewed a production of Hamlet. After writing a short paragraph, he excused himself for stopping by stating that as he had fallen asleep he could give no account of what had taken place during the rest of the performance.

Raymond Duncan.

By MARCELLE HEAD (Paris).

Raymond Duncan has not made many friends in Paris or received much sympathy. In the twenty years that he has spent preaching, both by word and example, the doctrine of a renewed life, he has only succeeded in converting a very small circle of faithful and studious disciples.

Our town is apt to be ironical and is also, too frequently, superficial. She smiles mockingly at Duncan who wears Greek dress and shivers bare-footed in the damp and mist; whose harmony of attitude is disturbed by the jostling of our streets and the clatter of motorbuses. Nevertheless she ceases to mock when, dressed in the same peplos, Raymond Duncan and his pupils dance. The public is ready to accept in art, that which it rejects as absurd in life.

This point of view is, in Duncan's case, mistaken. He has not divided his life into two parts, the one consecrated to Art, the other to business. He essays, on the contrary, to make of everything he does, a faithful representation of the simple, essential life which is in him. Cannot all his efforts be summed up in the one word—creation? Watch his dancing, seek out its true motives. No mere musical emotion, reproduced to satisfy the eye; no gesture studied for the sake of its beauty alone; but an attempt to make the body conscious of itself in all its movements—no longer as a machine—and conscious at the same time of the special emotion, both physical and psychical, which is the very measure of its life's rhythm at each particular moment, an emotion which is at once creator of the gesture and born of it.

It is for this reason that the dance (if one can call it so), is so charged with thought and meaning, and can attain, as it does, to such heights of dramatic power. The movements of the girls as they throw the ball to one another, makes us feel with our whole bodies and our whole souls, the especial emotion of the young vitality, wherein every muscle is creative, wherein the heart itself flies out beyond the barriers of the flesh. And again the young woman who stands beseeching. By the mere pose of her raised arms, ever so slightly bent at the elbows, by her shoulders and back that are imperceptibly sunken, she recreates in us the picture, the sensation, of all human weariness, praying to an unknown and too far-distant force.

One is reminded of Greek Sculpture, of those statues which alone can attain, by the same sobriety of technique, an equal intensity of expression.

I do not say that this dance defies the body. Far from seeking to surpass life, it wishes only to give life its full strength, its value and true significance, all of which are so great. Man has lost his appreciation of this, for he is blinded by the falsity of centuries of civilisation that have turned him away from his real self and made him look elsewhere than in conscious creative effort, for a real aim in life.

And he must return to it. This is, at bottom, the spirit of Duncan's philosophy, the spirit which makes the whole of his life harmonious, the spirit which he wishes to impart to others, because he believes it to be the true one. Having in himself more creative instincts than most of us, Duncan can become alternately printer, weaver of stuffs and carpets, painter, engraver, builder; a man of culture and a thinker too, for he has reproduced in pamphlets and lectures the fruits of his reading and thought.

He is laughed at, and even among his audience, people refuse to listen when he says, "Leave your life, which is a false one; leave your clothes, which are lies; recreate your body which has become merely a machine. Come and live with me . . . like me." But one is wrong, and Duncan himself is wrong, if he thinks that his exhortation means "Dress yourself in a tunic made by your hands; walk bare-foot; become as I am, a bill-sticker or a great artist." This is not the real interpretation of Duncan's doctrines. To

follow him with comprehension—he who lives bereft of all riches, who has so deep an understanding of human brotherhood, and who is, in truth, kind to every man—one should begin by being really individualistic, by seeking, finding oneself, and then living in accordance with the real spirit of one's own genius. One can realise then, that the truth of brotherhood is not in a barren similarity of lives, but in a harmony which is born of variety; one can be veritably a diplomat or a butcher, just as Raymond Duncan is Raymond Duncan in the existence of multiple creative effort which he has chosen.

One should not be too surprised if Duncan, in common with all men who have discovered a deep truth and have struggled without much success to make those about them realise it, is sometimes a little embittered and narrow, and allows himself to speak unjustly of the people who differ with him, thus losing for a time his own clear conception of the beauty and value of his thought. What a joy it is at other times, to see him rise superior to these things, saying simply, "We are all well placed, each in our own degrees."

Yes, truly, we all *should* be well placed if we assumed our various duties with the conscious personal energy which is the finest example given by Duncan, and recreated it always in our manner.

To be the man who gives to others the impulse to rid themselves of that artificiality and falsity which long years of prejudice, family and social life, have formed about them, the weight of which we bear from birth—so that they may find themselves in the full truth of their own original, creative power, is not that a magnificent aim in life? And I do not think that this man is less fine than his ideal; this man who so valiantly accepts to live, while people speak of him as of a rich esthete or a maniac, in a world of incomprehending bourgeois and half-witted snobs.

Brahms—and a Critic.

But a few short days ago, a musical critic in one of our greatest daily papers informed his readers that "the music of Brahms has fallen into disfavour." Naturally, since when, and with which section of the musical public, this most eminent person kept to himself. I suspect that it would be beyond him to enlighten us upon those points, for surely no greater libel has ever been printed. A glance at the concert announcements and the contents of the programmes of those concerts shows us that more than ever is the music of "the last of the great classics" being not only played, but appreciated by those who flock to those same concerts. Inasmuch as the aim of all concert givers is to make the entertainment a paying concern, surely consideration must be used in drawing up a programme. If the works of Johannes Brahms do not attract or please the public, is it likely that violinists, pianists, chamber music performers and orchestral conductors would include such works in their programmes? From the purely business point of view, I think not.

But let us endeavour to discover the reason (1) of the pleasure that the works of Brahms give to the musical public, (2) why this most eminent critic has fallen foul of a composer who is to-day generally acknowledged to have enriched the world with many masterpieces. Brahms, like Bach and Beethoven, was a great architect. No matter in what branch of music, he always gives us the impression as to having produced a well-proportioned and a logically-developed edifice.

A building, no matter how beautiful be the materials used, how deftly constructed, if badly designed, if faulty in its architectural scheme, will fail as an art-work. Even more care must be bestowed upon the architecture in abstract music. There is no programme to guide the listener. It is music *per se*, and it relies on a perfection of form, a clarity of technique to enable the themes employed to make their effect. Without such an exposition it were impossible to show a logical development of the thematic

material. Moreover, Brahms had the faculty (alas, now nearly extinct), of writing broad and healthily beautiful tunes.

I would beg my readers to examine, for such tunes, the Violin concerto, the A Major Sonata for piano and violin, the 1st Piano Rhapsody, the Ballads (Op. 10). I could quote countless other examples, especially in his songs. And he knew what to do with such beautiful tunes. He had not absorbed the work of Beethoven for nothing, and Richard Wagner was no closed book for him. One can leave a concert with his melody ringing in one's ears. One can sing it to-morrow, to-morrow week, maybe for ever. Why? Because it is beautiful and it is *natural*. It is moreover, presented to the listener in so skilful a manner that none of its beauty is lost. How often is a worthy theme tortured by its clothing of vague harmonies, the absolute antithesis to its natural characteristics. Do not let us forget that we are a northern race, robust, hardy, with a love of open country and the exercise of health-giving games and sports. The music lovers of this country expect native works which reflect the characteristics of our race: a fresh air atmosphere, breadth of line, dignity of form and subject matter, melody and sanity. I believe that British people will soon rebel against the wholesale importation and *imitation* of foreign hot-house products. Such creations cannot be absorbed by a people of the north: men and women, who are real, healthy in mind and in body, reared in the arms of the north-east-wind. British people, they who stood "with their backs to the wall" and conquered. Such people may leave a concert hall amazed at what they have heard called the latest thing in music, like a Bond Street habituée tries the latest creation in this or that article. But to amaze, to astound, to stun, is not the true function of any art, and that of music should be to enoble, to upraise, to comfort, to charm.

Brahm's message to us is a musical offering of all that is best, not only in musical art, but what was best in his spiritual self. What was best in his country, in his people. Just exactly similar is the musical offering to us English people by Sir Edward Elgar, who happily is still with us. There we have no imitating a school and a style which are totally anti-English. In the creative art of various countries, the proverb of "What is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander" does not hold good. The savage "critique" upon the 1st Symphony by Sir Edward Elgar (when given a few weeks ago in Paris) by a French composer and critic, is about as worthless as the remarks which I have made the subject of this article.

(2) I can only surmise that the critic who stated that "Brahms' music had fallen into disfavour" is one of those eminent gentlemen suffering either from having been musically educated in a hot house of foreign origin, thereby forced, as is the rule with hothouse products, or that he belongs to that section of the professional critics who, during the war demanded that no German music should be allowed to be played or sung in Britain, with a lack of discrimination truly appalling. Let us pity J. S. Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Schumann and Brahms. Their mothers were born, and gave them birth in a part of the globe, called by politicians and rulers, Germany or Austria. Out upon them, those to whom we are indebted for everything most precious in modern music; without whom we should not have arrived at our present technical proficiency.

Critics should be compelled to produce their credentials; to show that they can as excellently practice what they so eloquently preach. I know of several critics who are most excellent and practical musicians. The trouble arises from the fact that professional criticism is divided into cliques very much akin to the party system in politics. Mr. A. is the champion of one set of composers, Mr. B. the champion of another faction. Mr. C. cannot tolerate either set, but waxes enthusiastic apropos of a third party. The result collectively will be chaotic as regards a critical statement of value upon say, a new work, be it by a celebrated world artist, or a comparatively obscure creator.

Happily I believe that the music loving public in this country to-day are so intelligent, and know so exactly what is good and what appeals to them, that they are attaching less

and less importance to the utterances of Mr. A, or Mr. B, or Mr. C. They discount, and heavily, the value of such praise or condemnation, and will go and judge for themselves. It is the public, with the co-operation of performers who give concerts, who will tell us what is good or bad. They are the judges who have no axe to grind, who are without prejudice.

J. D. DAVIES.

A Fragment.

By ROBERT LUTYENS, 1920.

—But yesterday
I walked in thought along the crowded street,
With head bent down, where people came and went,
Intent upon each duty, hurrying past
In noisy tumult, and yet purposeless,
For all their care knew not a single thought
Beyond the moment, and no larger life
Was visible upon one callous face,
Neither desire nor hope nor one thing there
But dull content. And in my own sick breast
Tormenting chaos raged unceasingly,
And added poison to a feverish mind
Rent by conflicting passion and contempt,
And broken truth and wounding solitude.
Now all at once it is another place ;
The morning broke a wonder to behold,
Fresh with soft breezes scented of the spring,
Of burgeoning and promise and new life,
And all the air was pregnant with delight.
I might be in some open country now,
Tasting the fragrant wind upon a hill,
With rich fresh meadow-grasses at my feet,
And all things noisy in their blossoming ;
While in the thicket and on every bough
The birds are busy for their mating time.
And I am filled with a great quietness,
Where every tumult, every struggle ceases
In joy of a new time, an old forgetting,
Fresh longing, deep repose. In the soft air.
The hills are blue like the eternal hope
That peak ambition. There is wonder yet
In every new beginning and rebirth ;
The joy which is the power to forget,
And happy smiles through tears of yesterday.

Commercial Section.

GREAT FIELD OF SHALES DISCOVERED.

The YORKSHIRE OBSERVER writes :—

At the moment when a world shortage of petrol is causing universal concern comes the welcome news of the discovery of enormous fields of shales in Esthonia.

The potentialities of the area, both for fuel and various oils, are said to be enormous, and likely to exercise a transforming effect on the future of the country.

The discovery of the shale fields was made, as a matter of fact, years before the war, but it is only recently that its full significance has been realised.

The fields extend right across the north of Esthonia, starting on the coast near Baltic Port, on the west, and curving inland to a distance of about fifteen or twenty miles from the coast in Eastern Esthonia, not far from Narva.

The deposits end at Peipus Lake, the north-eastern extremity of the country, thus having an uninterrupted run of about 100 miles. The width and depth of the shale beds are not as yet ascertained with any accuracy.

But from the trial borings it is calculated that they are sufficient to supply the home needs of Esthonia, as regards fuel and oil, for several hundred years.

Before the war only laboratory experiments had been made with the shale, and these showed that it contained as much oil as the shales of Scotland, and in some parts of the area probably more.

Naphtha, Benzine, and Turpentine.

In addition to the naphtha, from which petrol is made, the shale contains benzine, turpentine, and several other oils, the percentage of which is sufficiently high to make their extraction a commercial proposition.

At Yews, about fifteen miles from Peipus Lake, the shale beds crop out on the surface or at a very shallow depth, and this portion of the seam was worked during the war in order to supply the inhabitants of Reval, on the west of Esthonia, with fuel, owing to the shortage of wood.

The shale was also used in small quantities for the locomotives. Experiments have been made with the pulverised shale for the latter purpose, by forcing it through pipes into the combustion chamber, and they have given highly satisfactory results.

As Esthonia is financially unequal to the task of developing her own resources, the Government has recently decided to grant concessions for the exploitation of the oil shales to private individuals or companies, both in their own country and abroad, and Esthonia is looking to Great Britain to take the lead.

With a view to creating an interest in the coming great developments in Esthonia, its Government has sent over Mr. Edouard Wirgo to act as its diplomatic representative. He has supplied many interesting details of his Government's plans for the future.

The Esthonian Forest-Land.

The former "gouvernement" of Esthonia does not possess much state forest-land. The islands of Nargö, Vulf and Yorms are wooded and the state possesses wooded territories as well as small sections on the shores of Lake Peipus and along the banks of the Narova River, totalling about 3,300 acres. We must add to this the forest-land which belonged formerly to the Peasants Land Bank on the island of Dagö, totalling some 22,000 acres. On Kolga Könn and other estates about 10,860 acres. The Northern part of the former Russian Government of Livonia is much richer in forest-land. We find there ten different sections of state forest-land, with an area of about 280,000 acres, from which we must subtract 81,000 acres of swamp-land. The greater part of this forest-land is in the district

of Pernau and the remainder in the other frontier districts and on the island of Dagö. We may calculate on obtaining yearly about 75,000 standards of timber and fire-wood. It must be obvious to anybody that those figures have no relationship to the total output of the country. If we had to depend on state forests alone, the position would be bad indeed, for the population of Reval alone burns as much as this as fire-wood. Private forests play a most important role in the economic life of our country, supplying timber and fire-wood for home consumption and exporting large quantities to England, Holland, and other countries. Private forests belonging to manorial estates or being the property of municipalities, have an extent of 1,660,500 acres, of which 850,500 acres are situated in the former "gouvernement" of Esthonia and 810,000 acres in the former gouvernement of Livonia, now within our borders. This forest-land, together with the state forest-land, is distributed in the different districts in the following proportions:—

In the Harju (Reval) district the forest lands amount to 13% of the total area.

„ Viru (Wesenburg)	„	„	12%	„	„
„ Pärnu (Pernau)	„	„	23%	„	„
„ Viljandi (Fellin)	„	„	16%	„	„
„ Tartu (Dorpat)	„	„	21%	„	„
„ Voru (Vierland)	„	„	21%	„	„

We are in possession of no reliable statistics as to the timber lands on the island of Osel.

These figures disclose the fact that the districts of Lääne and Reval are the poorest in forest-lands, having only $\frac{1}{4}$ and $\frac{1}{8}$ of their area wooded. The districts richest in forest-land are those of Viru (Wesenburg) and Pärnu (Pernau). The state forests are managed in an exemplary manner and there is no fear of de-forestation settling in. The condition, however, is different in the privately-owned forest-lands, on which hewing has been carried out in an exaggerated manner in the last few years, as on only a few of them has a proper system in this regard being introduced. Such a procedure amounts to a destruction of capital, and will be put a stop to as soon as the forest-lands are taken over by the State.

STOP PRESS NEWS.

Esthonia Recognised by Italy.

PARIS, 19th February, 1920.

During the morning of 19th February, the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, Scialoja received M. Pusta, the Esthonian Delegate, in audience. M. Pusta left with the Minister the credentials of the Esthonian Republic, according to which he, in the capacity of the Esthonian Delegate by the French Government, is at the time to be Charge d'Affaires of the Esthonian Government by the Italian Government. The Reception took place in the presence of the Chief of the Cabinet, Commander Garbato, and the Councillor of the Ministry, Count Valutelli. M. Pusta expressed the consideration and gratitude of the Esthonian Government towards the Italian Government, which was the first of the Allied Governments to take the initiative for the formal recognition of the Esthonian Government, and to enter into formal relations with them.

The Esthonian people fully appreciate the generous step, their sentiments of friendship and respect towards Italy will only be strengthened by the act of to-day.

Minister Scialoja replied that he was glad to receive in the name of the Italian Government, the Esthonian Delegate, who expressed such consideration and sympathy towards Italy. He hoped that not only the friendly political relations and reciprocal understanding, but also economical relations between the two States will increase.

The Italian Government for their part have appointed a representative to the Esthonian Government: Commander de Prettis, the son of the former Prime Minister, and they think that by his political education and family traditions, Commander de Prettis is fully capable of representing Italy in Esthonia and of earning the respect of the Esthonian Government. The representative, who has been called from Rome, leaves immediately for Reval.

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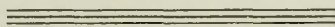
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