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# The Esthonian Review



*A monthly literary Periodical  
devoted to the interests of  
Esthonia and to general  
progressive topics of the day.*

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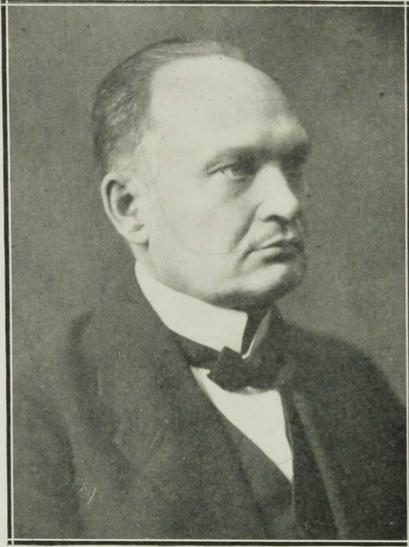
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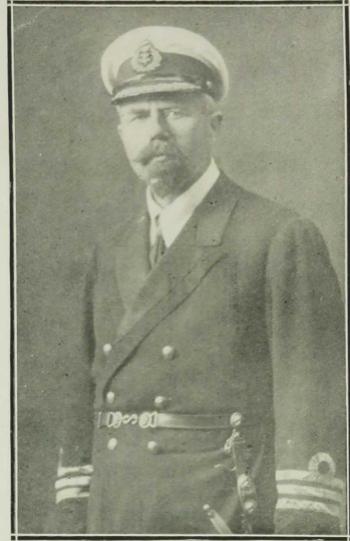
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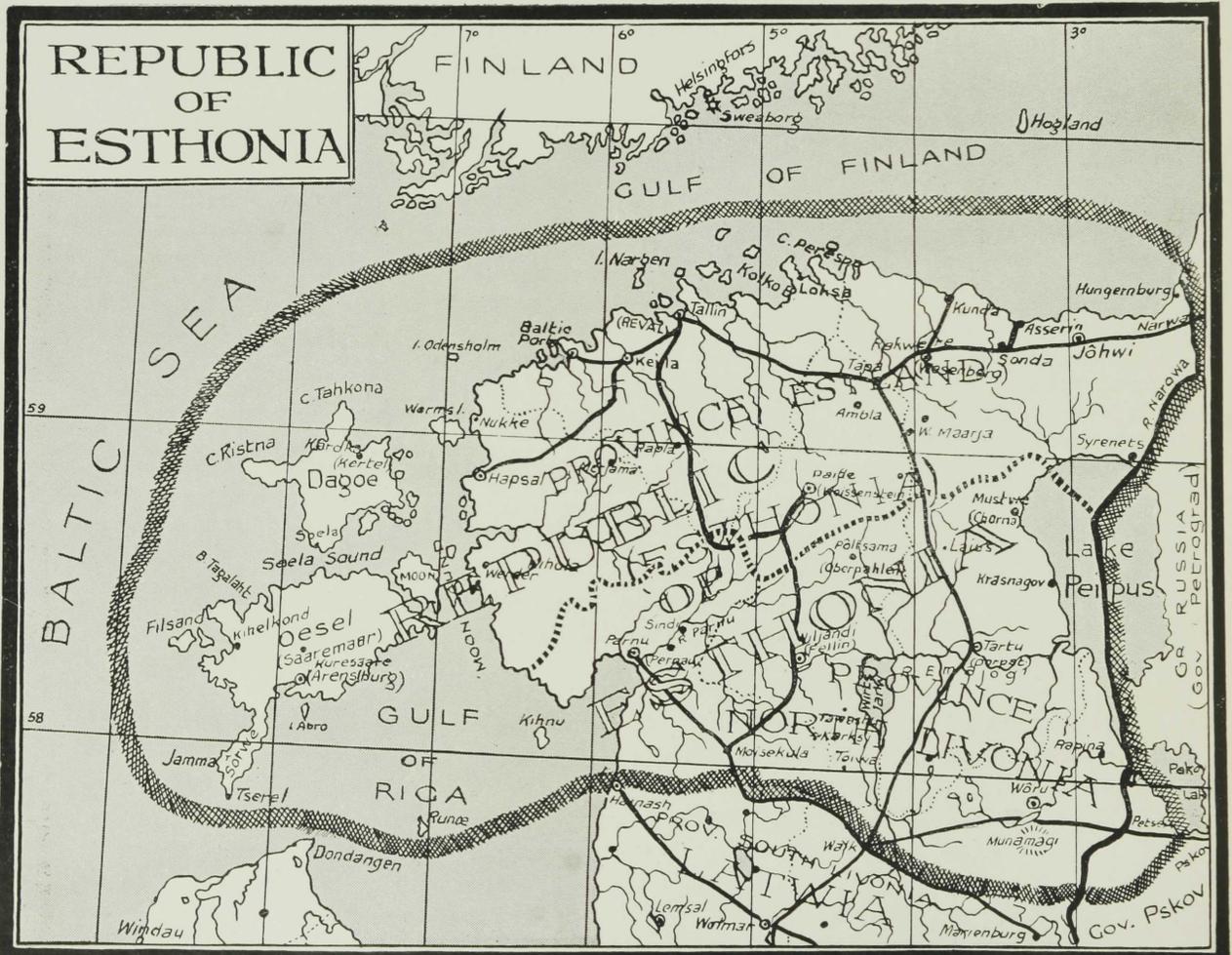
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M. CONSTANTIN PAETS,  
Late Prime Minister of Estonia.



Captain JOH. PITKA,  
Commander-in-Chief of the Estonian Navy,  
and of Naval Defences.



# The Esthonian Review.

*Founders and Joint Editors :*

*R. STANLEY EDWARDS-SCOTT and A. STANLEY.*

*Note.—The Editors do not hold themselves responsible for the views propounded by their contributors.*

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## INDEX TO AUGUST NUMBER, 1919.

Inside Cover : Information to Contributors and Advertisers.

Page 47.—Index.

Pages 48-9.—Editors in Council.

Pages 49-50.—Political Review of the Month.

Page 51.—Current Literary Review : By HELEN DE VERE BEAUCLERK.

Pages 52-6.—History of Esthonia (*continued*).

“Esthonia After the Armistice” : By EDWARD LAAMAN.

Pages 56-8.—“Plastic Surgery in Civilian Life” : Article by LIONEL CARRUTHERS.

Pages 58-9.—“Flying and the Baltic Ports” : Article by OUTSIDER.

Pages 59-61.—“Esthonia and Self-Determination” : Article by “IGOR.”

Pages 61-2.—“The Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movement” : Article by LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR ROBERT BADEN-POWELL.

Pages 63-5.—“Koltchak and The Russian Border Peoples” : Article by BERNHARD LINDE.

Pages 65-6.—British Prison Review.

Page 67.—“The Postage Stamps of Esthonia” : Article by DEREK INGRAM.

Pages 68-9.—“Utopia in Slumland” : Article by RICHARD STRANGE.

Pages 69-70.—“Britain’s Opportunity in Esthonia” : Article by JAMES CARO.

Page 70.—Review : By GLADYS DAVIES.

Pages 71-2.—“Post-War Education” : Article by CHARLES PITT.

Pages 72-3.—“The Theatre and Music in Esthonia” : Article by LUIGI CARNIO.

Pages 73-4.—“Peace and Reconstruction in Britain” : By RAIMOND WENTWORTH.

Page 75.—Poem, “People” : By DOUGLAS AINSLIE.

Page 75.—Poem, “My ‘Ero” : By IVAN ALAN SEYMOUR.

Pages 76-80.—*Special Commercial Section.*

Pages 80-4.—Letter to the Editors : From JOHN IMANT.

Page 84.—Poem, “Winter in Ruhleben” : By JOHN BALFOUR.

## Editors in Council.

### *Progress of The Review.*

The circulation of THE ESTHONIAN REVIEW is increasing rapidly—Esthonia, all parts of Britain, France, Italy, Siberia, America, China and India are now included on our lists for dispatch of copies. The advertising space is becoming rapidly filled, and advertisers who wish to secure space should book their orders at once.

### *Royal Patronage.*

Her Majesty Queen Alexandra, and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales have been graciously pleased to accept copies of the first issue of the REVIEW.

### *Acknowledgment.*

The Editors wish to extend their warm thanks to His Majesty's Prison Commissioners for their courtesy in assisting in gathering material for the article on Prison Life in Britain, published this month.

### *Mr. Bernhard Linde.*

The services of that distinguished Esthonian writer, Mr. Bernhard Linde, have been secured by the Editors, and it is with great pleasure that they are able this month to present their readers with the first of a series of articles from his pen. Mr. Linde has lived through many thrilling experiences during the war, and narrowly escaped being executed by the Bolsheviks, being delivered at the last moment by Czecho-Slovak troops.

## BRIEF INFORMATION REGARDING THE ESTHONIAN REPUBLIC.

### *For British Readers who missed the first issue of The Review.*

Esthonia is one of the Baltic States, which, up to a recent date, has been governed by Russia. The influx of Russian Settlers, combined with the tyranny of the Baltic German Barons, has taken the right of self-government, as also the control of trade, out of Esthonian hands for centuries past. An army, composed of students, peasants and townfolk, was formed early last year in Esthonia, and through the efforts of this army, the country has been rid of the Bolshevik invasion which threatened to swamp her; at the same time, the German army of occupation has been cleared out of Esthonia. This small country has shaken from her shoulders the oppression of a combined force which would have bound her to slavery and crushed her national life. In May of this year, Esthonia was officially declared a Republic at a meeting of the Constituent Assembly, and her case was placed before the Peace Conference, with a view to having her right to self-government universally recognised.

There is no small country in Europe which has suffered from the tyranny of so vast a majority; a handful of Esthonian citizens have, by their own efforts, stamped out Bolshevism in their land and, at the same time, overthrown the German domination. Reconstruction is in rapid progress and, under the self-government which has been so long denied her, Esthonia is endeavouring to establish lasting peace and welfare among her people.

M. CONSTANTIN PAETS, whose portrait appears in this month's issue, is the ex-president of the Esthonian Republic. Born in 1874, he is an eminent politician, lawyer and public man. It was he who organised the first Esthonian Municipal Victory in the Reval elections of 1904. This victory and its resulting revolution in 1905 secured for him the particular hatred of the Germans, and he was condemned to death, but after the February revolution,

he became President of the Esthonian Independent Government and President of the Supreme Committee of Esthonian Troops. He was pursued by Bolsheviki and by commanders of the German Army of occupation, and imprisoned. Directly following on his release, he was nominated Prime Minister and War Minister to the Esthonian Provisional Government, which posts he occupied until the formation of M. Strandmann's new Cabinet after the re-union of the Constitutional Assembly. He is now a member of the said Assembly, at which he represents the Agricultural Union. Through the organisation of a National Defence and by the creation of power under most difficult circumstances, he was successful in leading his people to victory against an enemy superior in numbers and resources.

The best compliment one can pay Mr. Paets is that he is worthy of his country.

CAPTAIN JOHANN PITKA, the Commander-in-Chief of the Esthonian Navy and Naval Defences, whose portrait appears in this issue, was born in 1872, and is the younger brother of the well-known Esthonian author, Colonel P. A. Pitka-Ansomardi. He is a sailor of the old school, having entered the service as a cabin-boy, and has commanded a variety of craft, ranging from coasting vessels to full-rigged ships, passenger liners and icebreakers and having also for a short while served on Russian warships. In 1904, he was appointed manager to a firm in Petrograd. Later, he settled down in England, establishing a firm in Liverpool. In 1911, he transferred his firm to Reval, where he also founded The Reval Shipping Company, Limited, and the Esthonian Society for the Promotion of Shipping and Seafaring "Laevandus." Since the beginning of the war with Germany, he has acted as member and expert to the Committee for the valuation of Steamships requisitioned by the Russian Admiralty. In 1917, he became director of the Baltic Salvage Association, Limited. He has been one of the chief organisers of the Esthonian Army on the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution, and was the founder and chairman of the Esthonian League of Self-Defence, a powerful Esthonian organ, which did much towards checking the Bolshevik invasion of Esthonia. Since the independancy of Esthonia, Captain Pitka has been actively engaged in organising the Esthonian Armoured Trains, Naval Defences, Navy, and the Shipping Department of the Esthonian Government. He is a member of the Esthonian Constitutional Assembly, and belongs to the Esthonian National Party.

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## Political Review of the Months June and July.

### *Direction of Petrograd.*

June 13-16.—The Ingermanlanders occupy Fort "*Krasnoje Gorka*."

June 18.—The Northern Russian Army disarm the Ingermanland Army, consisting of Finns and Esthonians from the Petrograd District.

Rodsianko orders the return of inventory previously taken from the landowners by the population.

Capture of three German aeroplanes with wireless installation near Narva.

June 20.—Successful progress of the North Russian Corps arrested.

July 1-10.—Having deprived themselves of the assistance of the Ingermanlanders' troops and having lost the sympathy of the native population, Russian troops compelled to retreat towards Narva.

July 12.—The Russian Command request General Laidoner to accept resumption of command of the North Russian Corps.

July 30.—The Northern Army is ten miles from Jamburg twenty-eight miles from Narva.

Aug. 4.—Russian Northern Army surrenders Jamburg to the Bolsheviki, latter are now eighteen miles off Narva.

The Esthonian Commander-in-Chief refuses supreme command of the Russian troops. This is transferred to General Judenitch.

*Direction of Pskoff.*

June 27.—Bridge leading to Pskoff is repaired.

June 28.—Northern Army Corps launch their offensive east of Pskoff.

June 29-July 2.—Fierce fighting.

July 3-7.—Counter attack by the Bolsheviks—retreat of the Russian Northern Corps. Pskoff in danger.

July 8-23.—Esthonian help arrives. Initiative goes over to the Esthonians after most sanguinary battles.

July 28.—Esthonians in front line, Russian Northern Corps placed in rear. Esthonian advancing on and re-taking previous positions in the direction of Porhova.

July 29.—Esthonian Press reproaches the Government for allowing the Bolsheviks to advance to within four verst of Pskoff, and demands that the direction of operations should be taken from the Russians.

*In the direction of South Werro, Marienburg, Kreutzburg, Jacobstadt, Walk and Riga.*

June 5.—Moving southwards from Alt Schwanenburg the Esthonians take Jacobstadt and Kreutzburg from the Bolsheviks. The southern part of Livonia is liberated from the Bolshevik forces.

June 2.—Esthonians meet German "Landeswehr" near Ramotzka, south of Wenden.

June 4.—The Germans destroy (in the rear of the Esthonians) bridges near Ramotzka, thus cutting off reinforcements for the Esthonian Army, which is engaged in fighting the Bolsheviks at Kreutzburg and Jacobstadt.

June 5.—The German attack commences.

June 6.—The Esthonians leave Wenden.

June 7.—Von der Goltz demands the withdrawal of Esthonian troops from Latvia.

June 10.—General Gough demands that Von der Goltz should take up the old anti-bolshevik front and depart from Wenden without interfering further with interior affairs of Latvia.

June 11.—The Germans sign the armistice.

June 13.—Fresh attack of the Germans near Roopa.

June 19.—Attack along the whole line.

June 21.—Esthonians surround the advancing Germans, who are heavily defeated near Muremoisa.

June 22.—Esthonians take Wenden.

June 24.—The Esthonians take Segewold.

July 1.—The Esthonians advance between Jegel and Stint.

July 2.—Esthonian men-of-war enter the river Dvina and reach Bolderaa, capturing five armed German vessels.

July 3.—Armistice in Riga.

July 4.—General Gough congratulates the Esthonian forces on their victory.

July 6.—Germans evacuate Riga.

July 7.—The Lettish Government at Ulmans is reinstated.

July 7.—Thanksgiving of eight Lettish parties of the Constitutional Assembly to Esthonia for liberation of Latvia from Germany.

July 20.—Agreement between Lettish and Esthonian Governments regarding alliance and mutual help.

## Current Literary Review.

By HELEN DE VERE BEAUCLERK.

To the literary adventurer the war has been an arid, sandy place, a desert where the oases were few and far between. Great writers have been paralysed by the monstrosity of it and have either avoided it, or remained altogether silent, or, like H. G. Wells, been sent spinning into a very whirlpool of production. The mental revolution caused by the war in the mind of Mr. Wells is obvious. He has been seized by an even greater fury of conjecture than usual in his desire to grasp and visualise the catastrophe and bring order out of chaos. That he has failed is but natural. Out of the fineness of "Mr. Brittling" comes only the vision of Mr. Wells turning from the attempt to understand man, to the possibility—less maddening because more remote—of understanding God. All through his war-books, from Brittling even unto Huss, we see Mr. Wells thus struggling to readjust his mind to his new relations with mankind and himself and God. And (be it said without irony, indeed in deep regret and sympathy) it is one of the minor miracles of the war that Mr. Wells finds God the more satisfactory of the three.

Shaw has been silent: the pamphlet form is not a pure literary form even from the pen of G.B.S. ! Thomas Hardy also silent. Henry James, that Michael Angelo of prose mosaicists, died, leaving us a legacy of two unfinished volumes and a half-biography. G. K. Chesterton writes a history of England, and his brother a History of America. The author of the "Napoleon of Notting Hill" thought it better, no doubt rightly, to stick to facts in a world where theories were so unstable; though no war could make a revolution in his robust soul.

Conrad stayed on his ships and his forests; and be the wind in whatsoever a quarter, and of whatsoever a strength, we follow him.

But Galsworthy . . . the England he so incisively portrayed is dead or moribund, and in his last two books we could almost weep, in regret, for the hypocrisy and hollowness of the past; so sad is the spectacle of its censor, wandering, whipless, in a new unreality. It is to be prayed that the world as it will become, may provide material for another "Man of property" to take the sweet taste of later novels out of our mouths.

As for Arnold Bennett, he too quitted his home in the Five Towns and came to Mayfair, leaving all but his cleverness behind him. And Gilbert Cannan, who is rather more than of the Bennett school, does not wear the master's mantle so well, in my opinion, as his admirers think. It needs a little more than the ingenuity of Gilbert Cannan to make his sordid characters genuine. "The hand is the hand of Esau, but—"

Though in something of the same tradition, Frank Swinnerton comes, after this close atmosphere, like a breath of fresh air. He is young, vivid; you feel that here is an artist that had no need to strain his imagination to appear sincere. He too has avoided the war, but in his pictures of suburban life he gives us a world that (alas?) no war will change. Sincerity is also the hallmark of Hugh Walpole's "Russian" trilogy. Did he carry a pocket-edition of Dostoevsky as well as a Russian primer, in his Red Cross outfit? Be that as it may, the contact of a foreign language has improved his English!

Last on the list of war tragedies are Compton Mackenzie's *debacles*, "Sylvia Scarlett" and "Michael." . . . Where are the flowers and fruits of yore? Where are the deftly chosen words that made "Carnaval's" shallow waters glint and sparkle and seem, if not deep, at least charming? In a forced gaiety like the strains of a cheap merry-go-round, go those absurd people, Sylvia and Michael, humourless, colourless, in a kaleidoscope of extraneous brightness, which only shows up the barren waste of their own characters. Compton-Mackenzie was never a real deity, only a little porcelain Buddha with a sleek smile, but it is painful to see even the least of our small idols come toppling off its pedestal, especially when the greater Gods seem to be rocking rather uncertainly on their feet.

However, we have crossed the desert, and there are mountains and fine forests ahead where we will find, no doubt, our old gods re-instated; and beautiful new gods for whom to build beautiful new chapels. . . .

## History of Esthonia.

A MONTHLY FEATURE.

(Continued.)

ESTHONIA AFTER THE ARMISTICE.

WAR WITH THE BOLSHEVIKS.

END OF THE GERMAN OCCUPATION.

By EDWARD LAAMAN.

The victory of the Allies in conjunction with the German Revolution, brought the German occupation of Esthonia to a sudden end. On their departure after unsuccessfully attempting to establish themselves in Esthonia, the Germans endeavoured to do as much harm as possible. They did not return the arms previously taken from the Esthonian soldiers, and pillaged and carried away everything they could lay their hands on. Stores of rifles and ammunition which they could not remove were destroyed so that they should not fall into the hands of the Esthonians. By every possible means they put obstacles in the way of the arming of Esthonian soldiers, opening negotiations with the Bolsheviks with the object of handing over to them the evacuated territory, the result being sanguinary battles between the Esthonians and Germans with heavy casualties. In a word, the design of the Germans was "Either us or the Bolsheviks. If Esthonia is not to be German then let it be Bolshevik."

### *The Bolshevik Invasion.*

In Esthonia itself, the Bolsheviks have never enjoyed popularity, or had any influence to speak of. They consisted chiefly of Russians or Letts, augmented by Chinese gangs of the Red Army. Without any reason whatsoever, and without any declaration of war, they had overrun undefended Esthonia by the end of November, 1918. Supported by the Bolshevik fleet from the Gulf of Finland, they advanced, pillaging and murdering the population on their way. This was neither a political manoeuvre nor civil war; it was, according to the German representative in Balticum, the Social Democrat Vinnig, "a politically organised crime." The local proletariat, in common with all other classes of the population, were deprived of their civil rights. The Soviets were not elected, but were installed on the authority of the Red Army, which encouraged the lowest instincts. Such barbarities had never been experienced by the Esthonians since the very old times of foreign invasions. Doctors and Red Cross Sisters were killed, while attending to their duties. Neither age, sex, nor social standing, protected victims from being inhumanly mutilated. The number of the murdered in villages and towns can be reckoned in hundreds, including many women, old people of over 70 years, and children under 10. The victims were tortured, flogged and starved. Executions were carried out without trial, and frequently where there was not the slightest suspicion of guilt, the fact of being taken as hostage being sufficient. In Tartu and Dorpat, victims were driven along the ice covered River Emayogi to open spaces, into which they were flung. In Narva, executions took place on the edge of a manure pit, into which the corpses fell. In Rakvere (Wesenberg) the unfortunates were made to dig their own graves, lined up in front of them and shot, amongst these being many women. Not only were peasant labourers murdered for "counter revolutionary motives," but even those completely destitute. It was the rule that wives were held responsible for secreted husbands. Churches were pillaged and clergymen shot. From amongst 22 hostages confined in a cellar in Tartu (Dorpat), just

before the final retreat, the Bolsheviks murdered the Apostolic Orthodox Bishop of Esthonia, Platon, for the sole reason that he had spoken in favour of Esthonia's Independence. This was one of the most incredible and mediæval acts committed in Esthonia under the regime of "The State of the Future."

#### *The Expulsion of the Bolsheviks.*

The desperate and helpless position of Esthonia, in the face of the coming blow, soon changed into a firm stand. The first rifles and ammunition were obtained from the neighbouring Finns, and then from Great Britain, and, after heavy fighting, the invasion was brought to a standstill thirty-five kilometres from Reval, under the supreme command of General Laidoner. The hurriedly manufactured armoured trains were a special help.

In the Gulf of Finland the British Navy captured a few Bolshevik mine sweepers, which were handed over to the Esthonians. With their help, the Esthonians landed forces in the rear of the Bolshevik front. The Finnish Volunteers also soon arrived on the scene. In their retreat, the Bolsheviks became panic stricken. In their despair, they killed their own commissaries, who, by means of machine guns, were endeavouring to resist the advancing Esthonians. They abandoned their guns and equipment and fled or surrendered in masses.

Within a fortnight from the commencement of the advance, the Bolsheviks had evacuated about 200 kilometers, had been thrown across the Eastern frontiers of Esthonia, the River Narova, and in a month's time, by the beginning of February, had been driven beyond the southern frontier, after the capture of Walk and Werro had been accomplished.

#### *The Active Defence of the Country.*

The Esthonians are compelled to defend their country on a semi-circular front covering 300 miles. After the first reverses, the Bolsheviks began to assemble their forces and artillery for the reconquering of this country, struggling so hard for its freedom. The number of the Bolshevik army was increased to 100,000 men. In artillery and technical resources they had always been more than twice superior to the Esthonians. In addition to this, they endeavoured to stir up the population in the districts which had not, up to then, "enjoyed" Bolshevik rule.

But, knowing with whom they had to deal, and with the assistance of 2,300 plucky Finnish Volunteers, the Esthonians beat off all attacks, though possessed of insufficient ammunition, with no reserves to fall back on.

The new attacks of the Bolsheviks were, as in November, carried out in co-operation with the treacherous actions of the Germans.

When the Germans, in April, 1919, by the coup d'état in Libau, overthrew the Lettish Government, the war activities on the Lettish frontiers almost entirely ceased, and the Bolsheviks were able to draw fresh reserves from there to the Esthonian front. In Narva, half the town was reduced to ruins by the heavy bombardment, and thousands of inhabitants were rendered homeless.

After sanguinary fighting—the Esthonians being one to five—the attack was definitely beaten back by the middle of May; furthermore, a counter attack was launched from the severely-ried town of Narva. With help rendered by the British Fleet, forces were again landed in the rear of the Bolsheviks, in the Estuary of the River Luga or Ingermanland, in the Government of Petrograd. By concerted action with the flotilla on the Peipus Lake, an encircling movement was carried out with the object of capturing Pskoff—the base of the Bolshevik operations on the southern front. Here, on foreign soil, great assistance was rendered by outside volunteers, such as the so-called Russian Northern Corps, the remnants of which escaped from Pskoff to Esthonia last November, and were established as a part of the Esthonian Army, under the supreme command of General Laidant, and by the inhabitants of Ingermanland, who were, for the most part, Finns and Esthonian colonists,

who had revolted against the Bolsheviks and who knew the country exceedingly well. The success was complete. Amongst the Bolshevik troops the January panic repeated itself. Again they abandoned their guns and ammunition, and fled as swiftly as they could or surrendered in thousands. After the taking of the town Jamburg and various railway stations, the Esthonian Army was, a fortnight later, only thirty miles from Petrograd, under Gatchena and Luga. On the southern front the Bolshevik resistance was equally broken, Esthonians advancing until Marienburg and Venden, where they joined with loyal Lettish troops and, on 27th May, resumed hostilities against the Germans, who attacked the Esthonian Army quite unexpectedly.

#### *The Creation of the Esthonian Constituent Assembly.*

Whilst fighting against German oligarchy, as well as the tyranny of the Bolsheviks, the Esthonians built up a State, founded on democratic principles. To carry on a war of life and death, and at the same time to lay the foundation of a State, is a gigantic task almost beyond human possibilities, and a rare occurrence in the history of the world. So great was the enthusiasm of the people after having been subjected for 700 years to serfdom or foreign subjugation, that the prospect of freedom stirred their hearts to the depths, and this work, although bristling with difficulties, was satisfactorily accomplished. Various administrations, lawcourts, economical arrangements and finance were organised. In the latter case, more obstacles had to be overcome than in the obtaining of ammunition. While ammunition was supplied by Great Britain, a foreign loan, and this only a small one, was obtained from Finland. Business connections were established as early as December, 1918, especially with Britain. By the first anniversary of the declaration of Esthonia's independence, the Government had sanctioned the statutes of the State Bank of Esthonia, instituted the Esthonian Red Cross, and the Order of the "Freedom of Esthonia," a decoration given for services rendered in connection with the independence of Esthonia.

At first, Esthonia was administered by a temporary Coalition Government, with M. Constantin Paets as Prime Minister. This government was an outcome of the Esthonian Diet or National Council, elected by universal suffrage in May and June, 1917. Having thus established its own political life, Esthonia, as early as the end of 1917, proclaiming her sovereignty, made preparations for calling up a constituent assembly. But only now, after the liberation of the country from the enemy, has this become feasible. The election took place on 5th to 7th April, 1919, by universal, equal, direct, secret and proportional voting. The results showed two tendencies: disassociation with Bolshevism, as well as reactionary Germanism; war against anarchism and the liquidation of the Latifundi. Out of 120 seats, 96 were secured by the three leading parties—Democrats, Labour Party (who stand between the bourgeoisie and social democrats) and the most moderate of the Socialist-Democrat Party. These three parties constituted the new Coalition Government and were members of the temporary Government. The new Premier, O. Strandmann, was Minister of Agriculture, under the temporary Government of Mr. Paets. During German occupation, he was, for a time, arrested until German defeat.

#### *Agrarian Reform.*

Agrarian Reform constituted the main task of the interior re-organisation of Esthonia. More than half the area of Esthonia represents Latifundi of the German Barons, who regarded themselves as the vanguard of Eastern Germanism and, during the occupation, formed extensive colonies of inpouring immigrants in the Baltic Land, while, during the last fifty years, one-fifth of the total population was obliged to emigrate because of the abnormal conditions prevailing there. In view of this, the introduction of Agricultural Reforms constitutes a problem for Esthonia, not only of a socialistic and progressive nature, but also for political self-protection.

In accordance with the will of the people expressed in the Constituent Assembly, Agrarian Reform is being effected on the following lines:—

The big estates are being taken over by the Government, whereas the lands of the crown, of the State Peasants' Bank, and of the associations of the nobility (which, strictly speaking, belong to the *Zemstvos*) are being taken by the State without remuneration. This land is to be divided and distributed among the landless and small land holders. Preference is being given to those assisting in the war and to their families.

*The Struggle for Independence.*

The fate of Esthonia entirely depends on its ultimate independence. Will it be nipped in the bud, or swept away by foreign waves?

As is known, Great Britain, France, and Italy had already recognised the independence of Esthonia as "de facto" in the first half of 1918. In 1919, Japan also followed their example. The most ardent desire of the Esthonians is now to obtain definite recognition of its independence. However, against this a most extensive campaign is being carried on from several quarters.

The Bolsheviks, who, from the very core are opposed to Esthonian Independence, carry on, not only the barbaric campaign of a Tartar-like invasion, but also a campaign of cynical lies. They pretend that they are not at war with Esthonia, but that the country is plunged in civil war. When the British and Finns came to the aid of the Esthonians, the Bolsheviks protested against the "breach of neutrality."

In reply to this cynical statement, it is sufficient to publish the declaration issued by the Esthonian General Staff, setting forth particulars of the action of the Bolshevik troops against the Esthonian Armies. In February, out of thirty-five regiments, twenty-five were entirely Russian, six Lettish, the other four consisting partially of Esthonians, who had been forcibly conscripted during the temporary occupation of the Bolsheviks. The falsehoods of the Bolsheviks are acknowledged also by the left parties, who are closely allied with the Bolshevik Socialists. The Swede, Eric Hedin, wrote in a Stockholm paper:—"At the time when the Allies refused armed intervention in foreign affairs, such intervention, accompanied by the most unspeakable attacks on the principle of Self-Determination, is being directed by Russian Bolsheviks towards the Baltic Democratic Republic of Esthonia."

While the Esthonians were designated by the Bolsheviks as serfs of the Barons, the latter accused the Esthonian Government of Bolshevism. It is obvious that the Barons are alluding to the Agrarian Reforms. Their agents sometimes succeed in entering the countries of the Allies and, in one of the English papers, an article appeared which stated that the Barons must rule as before in the Baltic Countries, that they were responsible for the creating of the Esthonian Army, and that the officers were drawn almost entirely from their ranks. Thereupon the Esthonian Generals were compelled afresh to make a statement as to the actual number of Baltic Germans in the Esthonian Army. There are only a few hundreds, these forming part of a battalion. The Esthonian Army has been created and is commanded solely by Esthonian officers. The staff and other officers are Esthonians.

The Barons are working zealously amongst the Russian Anti-Bolsheviks, hoping that with their help, after the liquidation of Bolshevism, they will be able to regain their old privileged position. Having failed in uniting Esthonia with Germany, they are now doing their utmost to unite Esthonia with reactionary Russia, and supporting Russian nationalist claims to Esthonia. After a cursory examination of these pretensions, one comes to the conclusion that they are beneath criticism.

They try to create the impression that Esthonia is too small and weak to be an independent country. Against a country which is bigger than Switzerland, Denmark or Belgium, and which is able to beat back the Bolshevik invasion, such an argument is futile. One objection put forward is that an independent Esthonia would block the road to the Baltic Sea, though the Esthonians have always declared that they are prepared to come to an agreement for Russia to have free access to the Baltic Ports (free ports and free transit, possibly free trade in general).

Russians in Europe are trying to impress upon the people that under a "reconstructed" Russia the Esthonians would live quite comfortably. The Russian political conference in Paris published several declarations regarding the democratic construction of future Russia, autonomy, and federation of the non-Russian nations. But how can the destiny of a nation be shaped on such uncertainties, when those in close touch with the political conference openly declare their doubts as to the possibility of establishing in Russia a democratic regime, and when the Russian Diplomatic representative in London, M. Nabokoff compares the self-determination of the Esthonians with the self-determination of negroes.

If the Russians were sincere in their promise of federation, they would have no reason for objecting to the establishment and recognition of the bordering countries, for it is common knowledge that federations are established between independent states and not according to the likes or dislikes of an all-Russian Constituent Assembly.

Esthonia must become a free and independent state; it is only this hope that enables her to carry on the barricade against superior forces of Bolsheviks. Relying on the fact that the great Allied Powers would support the national claim of self-determination, the Esthonian people were ready to make any sacrifice.

At the end of April, when the Bolshevik pressure on the fronts was at its worst, the Bolsheviks, through the mediation of Hungary, offered Esthonia peace. The Esthonian Government, however, replied that, in spite of the fact that the nation was worn out by the continual fighting of six months, and desired peace, they did not wish to conclude a separate peace from the Allies without receiving a guarantee of their independence.

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## Plastic Surgery in Civilian Life.

By LIONEL CARRUTHERS.

### NEW FACES.

A science which has made tremendous strides towards perfection during the War is that of plastic surgery. Experience has been gained by those surgeons who have had the handling of soldier patients facially-mutilated by shot, shell, and fire on the battlefield, which will enable them to deal with practically every facial malformation or deformity from which members of the civilian public can suffer.

The basic principle of plastic surgery is the replacement by tissues grafted from other parts of the patient's body, of facial tissues which have been lacerated. Except in the case of eyes, artificial features are rarely necessary, as it is now possible to replace, build up and remould existing features. It was Captain Aymart, late of Queen's Hospital, Sidcup, who discovered the circulation of the cartilage, two years ago. His discovery has made the grafting of cartilage on to the face possible, so that a nose may be remodelled, or an artificial eye so backed-up with grafted cartilage, that movement in the eye is possible, and the sunken appearance done away with. Plastic operations are among the most difficult in modern surgery, and the difficulties are added to by the fact that the anaesthetic has to be administered while the patient is in a perpendicular, instead of in a prone position, as otherwise the operating surgeon would himself be influenced by the anaesthetic fumes. It is sometimes necessary to perform as many as a dozen operations for the curing of one deformity, and the process of healing is very tedious. No rebuilding can take place until the wound is absolutely clean, which often takes weeks.

An account of some of the marvellous plastic operations now possible, cannot fail to be of interest to the uninitiated reader.

Patients have arrived in hospital with the entire jaw and mouth blown away, both eyes

gone and the nose razed flat to the face. After about six months they have been discharged with quite presentable faces built up without the addition of artificial features, and this is, roughly, how the transformation has been effected :—

First of all, the wounds were thoroughly cleansed and dried. A piece of bone was then taken from one of the patient's ribs and utilised as a jaw bone with or without artificial springs at the joint, according to the gravity of the case, to enable the mouth to open and shut. Tissues were then grafted to the ribs to cover this, and after a short time they took root and became live muscles just like those which had been lacerated. In cases where part of the mouth was still intact and only the lips had been shot away, red skin from inside the mouth was drawn down and over the grafted tissues, cut into the shape of lips, and left to grow where it had been stitched. The side of the head was then shaved, and a strip of skin grafted from there on to the upper lip, and where necessary, on to the chin. It was found that moustache and beard grew rapidly from this grafted skin and covered any unevenness which even plastic science was unable to cope with. Further, the hair was found to grow as before on the head as soon as the wound healed. When the whole new mouth had healed up the hospital dentist made sets of teeth as complete as necessary, and with such mechanical contrivances as were required to facilitate the free use of the jaw. After the hollows round the eye-sockets had been filled in with tissue and covered with grafted skin, the nose was built up in the same manner, and a strip of skin cut from the forehead to cover the nose, twisted between the eyes and sewn into place on the cheeks. Care had to be taken that in marking this strip, the roots of the hair were avoided, other wise hair would grow on the nose, which actually happened in one case !

Tissue was then grafted into the eye-sockets and artificial eyes inserted over it in such manner that it was possible to move them, which made them look quite natural and did away with that staring appearance usual to artificial eyes. Brows and lashes quite natural in appearance were then added, and the face was transformed from a terrifying atrocity to a quite presentable imitation of the original face, all work having been copied from a photo of the patient taken before his accident.

It is astonishing with what rapidity the stitch marks disappear, and all evidences of re-building are removed. The great advantage of modelled features and surfaces over artificial ones is that, after the first redness and strained appearance has died off, the operated part resumes the natural colour of the face, whereas artificial features have to be tinted almost daily according to the pallor, flush or liverish tint of the cheeks, which, to say the least of it, is inconvenient ! And in addition to this, there is always the danger of artificial features falling off at critical moments. It is for this reason that, except in cases where terrible burns or the inability to completely heal wounds, renders remodelling with tissues impossible, plastic operations are always performed in preference, though in these latter cases, there is a new method of attaching artificial noses and cheeks to pince-nez, which help to make them secure.

#### *THE USES OF PLASTIC SURGERY TO CIVILIANS.*

Since the war, it has been quite of common occurrence for ladies to have an unshapely nose remodelled, or for wrinkles to be removed and skin troubles remedied by plastic surgery. In the case of a deeply-lined forehead the skin is cut over the temples, drawn tightly to remove the wrinkles, stitched in place and massaged. When the stitches are removed, the forehead is quite smooth again.

A more wonderful operation, which has recently been performed with complete success, is the replacement of the entire defective skin of a lady's face by skin grafted from the chest.

The marvels of plastic surgery have to be seen to be believed. Two exhibitions of wax models, executed for the Sidcup Hospital by Mr. A. F. Scott, A.R.M.S., have been given in London recently, which were, unfortunately open to the medical profession only, but

the museum of war models by the same artist, kept as records of the work done for soldiers at Sidcup Hospital, contains a harrowing collection depicting of the condition of patients when brought in, supplemented by a second model of the same face just before the patient's discharge. Some of these are to be exhibited at the Royal College of Surgeons. These records convince one that there is practically no ravage too terrible to be remedied by the exponents of this marvellous new science of plaistic surgery.

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## Flying and the Baltic Ports.

By OUTSIDER.

[*The writer of this Article is an authority on Flying Matters, who for years past has been connected with one of the principal British Flying Papers.*—ED.]

At the present time commercial flying is under a cloud, mainly owing to labour troubles, but it is certain that the depression is only temporary: with the revival of commercial interest in the near future, one of the first considerations will be inter-communicating services between the various ports of the Baltic Sea.

Whether the gas-bag airship or the aeroplane will finally hold the commercial field is a problem yet unsolved, but indications point to the airship as the most useful means of transport for passengers and light merchandise; it would—and probably will—form an ideal means of winter communication between the centres of industry on the Baltic, for, ice-free or not, all ports served by such means could be certain of regular intercourse throughout the year. A service linking up Stockholm, Christiania, Reval and Danzig, even if limited to the transport of passengers and mails, would speedily pay its promoters if organised on sound commercial lines. The main expenses would lie in upkeep of the fleet, payment of staff, and maintenance of terminal stations: port-dues and maintenance of a permanent way, heavy items in the bills of steamship and railway companies, do not exist in the case of aircraft.

One objection often put forward with regard to a passenger service is the rate of fare charged in comparison with land or sea services, but such experience as is available goes to show that the objection is not valid. No matter where passenger services have been organised, and no matter what fares have been charged, it has been proved that—apart from those who travel by air for the sake of the experience—there are always men to whom the saving of time is worth the extra cost. Assuming a resumption of normal trade conditions, there will be many a man in Reval who would be glad of an air service to Amsterdam or the Hook to enable him to connect quickly with French or British trade centres, and, similarly, the British or French trade representatives would be glad to know that, if he can get to Stockholm, an inter-communicating air service can land him at Reval or Archangel without delay. There are many commercial undertakings of such nature that the saving in time effected by such a service would be well worth the extra cost.

Apart from passenger considerations, the value of a mail service by air cannot be over-estimated. In such parts of the world as air mail services have been tried, they have not only proved their utility, but have proved also that they can be reckoned commercially successful. Air posts have gone further toward full development than any other branch of air enterprise, and have done good work in the collection of meteorological data which will prove of value for all air work of the future. In all probability, the first half-dozen or so of Baltic air services to be established will be of a postal nature, but services of a more general character will surely follow.

There are virtues in the establishment of an air service apart from its main uses, for its attendant industries help to further the well-being and development of the people served. Material benefits accrue to the engineering and allied industries, meteorological research is stimulated, and employment is found for a number of people of all grades of society, while the very fact of such a service is a stimulus to the general intelligence of a people, by reason of their increased intercourse with the people of other countries.

The main requisite of aerial transport, a sufficient margin of safety, is rapidly being attained, more especially in connection with airship construction. To the average man, there is little difference between the airship of to-day and that of, say, 1913, but this is accounted for by the secrecy regarding constructional development imposed by war conditions. Now that this secrecy is no longer necessary, it is gradually and all too slowly being recognised that travel by airship presents hardly, if any, greater risks than travel by sea, while, in a sea which is only free of ice for a portion of the year, it must eventually provide a far more certain and speedy means of transport.

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## Esthonia and Self-Determination.

By IGOR.

During the surge and stress of a great world war, it is inevitable that a process of disintegration should take place, effecting both the conquerers and the conquered. A conquering nation, in the flush of victory, is often more prone to surrender voluntarily what it would not give up under other circumstances without a struggle. The conquered have little say in the matter. They are compelled either to disgorge what has been unfairly seized, or to satisfy the claims of smaller peoples who had formerly no court of appeal.

The same process of disintegration is evident to a still greater extent, while the border people's claim to self-determination is hard to deny.

What of Lettland, Lithuania, Armenia and Finland? What of the Ukraine and White Russia? What of Esthonia?

They have all made claims for self-determination; they have based them on historical evidence, on race, religion and language.

The position of Poland, Finland and Esthonia is very different. Here it is not merely a desire for self-preservation; it is a recognition of national aspirations. With the exception of Poland, which is Slavonic, there are racial, religious and linguistic differences. The fortunate peoples, of course, are the Poles and Finns. The injustice done to Poland, together with a certain romantic glamour from the past, secure her all she desires.

Finland did not wait for the Allies to help her. She went over to Germany. She fought for Germany and she freed her country from the Bolsheviks by means of German troops.

Her position is therefore good.

But what of the Baltic peoples? They have suffered as much, and more, at the hands of Russia, Germany and the Bolsheviks. They have the same racial, religious and linguistic claims as Finland, for example. But they were never untrue to the Allies!

People who do not sell themselves in the best market are too often regarded as harmless idealists, who may safely be disregarded. Surely this has been the treatment meted out to the Baltic peoples? But should it continue?

Esthonia was one of the countries which suffered most from Old Russian rule. It lay nearest to the capital. Its chief port, Reval, was one of the fortified regions defending the approach to the Gulf of Finland. It had more than its share of the all-powerful German Baltic Barons. The people were quiet, sober and industrious. From these causes, combined with the usual Russian policy towards her subject peoples, Esthonia was a sufferer.

In the course of seven hundred years, Esthonia had successively passed under the rule of Germany, Sweden and Russia, but without losing her national characteristics in the slightest degree. As she had been in the days of long-ago freedom, so she is to-day.

The differences between Russia and Esthonia were so evident. One got into the train in Petrograd at night, to wake up in another country in the morning. It was nearly the same as Russia and Scotland. The towns were built of stone. Farms were arranged in Scotch fashion, with the farm-houses situated on the farms, and not lumped together into untidy villages, as in Russia. The language spoken was either Esthonian or German. Russian was spoken only in the larger towns. Even the inevitable Russian soldier and gendarme looked out of place, and foreign. The people looked different. The men were bigger, better clad and fed. They were more developed mentally. There were few class distinctions. The upper classes were either Russian officials or Germans. The standard of education was higher, and this within a few hours' run of Petrograd.

Little information could be received from the Russian officials concerning the causes of this high standard. The Germans naturally ascribed it to intercourse with them. The real reasons were otherwise. It was due to what the Russians called "samo-soznanie," or self-knowledge.

The Esthonians felt that as a race they were in no way inferior to the Russians. They spoke two, if not three languages. They had their own literature which told them of the ancient glories of "the Heroes of Kaleva." In addition, they recognised that only the educated could be really free. So they went in strongly for education. It was considered a shame to be illiterate in Esthonia. So mothers took the same pride in their children's education as they do in Scotland.

The result was the high average of educated and a deepening of the national sense. Education prevented its dying out. It helped to save Esthonia from the curse of Bolshevism. The national sense enabled a people of one and a half millions, barely released from the German yoke, their country practically overrun by the Bolsheviks, to raise an army which freed their borders from a scourge worse than the Tartars of old. This scourge undoubtedly assisted in deepening their national sense. The death pits of Narva, Tartu and Rakvere and the blood-baths of Walk and Werro, enlightened the Esthonian people as to the nature of the scourge. In this, perhaps, its effects were salutary, but bought at a great price.

Now "self-determination" as a catchpenny is a very good term. Who would deny the rights of a nation of ten millions to independence? But when one works down to the smaller peoples of only a million or so, and who are unable to make themselves obnoxious, things seem to alter somewhat. Numerous objections are found. History is freely used. Seven hundred years is a long time! Strategic reasons, in spite of "the war to end all wars," become of paramount importance. Economics and questions of transport are vital. It is time to trim one's sails. The whole world knows Poland, but what of Esthonia?

What of her history? Well, history proves little or nothing, excepting maybe, how little people learn by the example of others. What of Roumania's history? What of Finland's? There are even evilly-disposed people who may ask, "what of Ireland's?"

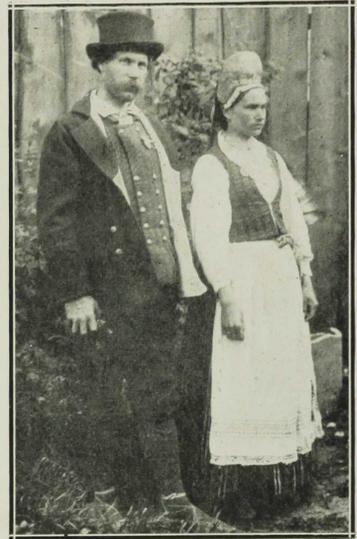
It is not, however, a question of past history. One has to deal with present-day facts. Is the Esthonian people racially, religiously and linguistically separate? Is Esthonia, moreover, de facto independent? Undoubtedly so, despite seven hundred years of foreign overlaying.

From the strategetic point of view, surely the League of Nations has been set up as a safeguard against future wars? Germany's hegemony in the Baltic has been destroyed; and the British Fleet could blockade the Gulf of Finland just as easily, even if Reval and ten other Esthonian ports were in the hands of Russia.

Economically, Russia would suffer only in case she had to pay duty on goods sent by rail through Esthonia. If she received her goods free of transit duty, she would be affected



Mrs. PATRICK CAMPBELL,  
The famous British Actress.



Esthonian Peasants in National  
Costume.



THE PORT OF REVAL.

merely by the dock revenues going to Esthonia instead of to Russia. This loss of revenue should cause so great a country as Russia was, and will be, little or no anxiety. Esthonia is prepared to meet Russia in every way economically, and the ports will be more efficiently run and developed. So Russia is likely to gain in the long run.

There may be other objections which the opponents of Esthonia's independence will advance, but satisfactory replies can always be given by supporters of her claims.

Moreover, there is one prospect which tends to alarm one. What would be the probable result if the border peoples, who are now acting as bulwarks against Bolshevism, considered it worth their while to join in an alliance with Soviet Russia and Germany? It is a very disagreeable prospect. It might be more difficult to raise huge armies than it was in the Great War. Besides Soviet Russia has proved one thing, if nothing else, that it is able to get its ill-trained, ill-fed and badly equipped soldiers to fight, and fight very well.

It is not pleasant to contemplate what might be effected by German efficiency and German organisation, especially after the recent cataclysm we have just passed through.

Surely, even the low motive of opportunism demands a favourable consideration of Esthonia and the other Baltic peoples' claims? It is not reasonable to ask Esthonia to shed her blood for the salvation of Russia and, as a reward, to offer her a fresh term of a rule which she ardently desires to be freed from.

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## The Aims and Methods of the Boy Scout and Girl Guide Movement.

By SIR ROBERT BADEN-POWELL.

Under the term "Scouting" the modern educationist understands a subsidiary form of education for both boys and girls towards successful citizenship.

The Movement was started in 1908.

The training is based on active effort and self expression on the part of the pupil from his own enthusiasm rather than on his passive reception of instruction from without. Its discipline similarly comes from the inward desire to "play the game" rather than from outward suppression through fear of punishment.

It is graded in progressive series according to the successive ages, viz. :—

	8-11.	11-15.	over 15.
For Boys :	Wolf Cubs.	Scouts.	Rovers.
For Girls :	Brownies.	Guides.	Senior Guides.

The principal lines on which the training is directed and developed are :—

1. Character and Intelligence.
2. Physical Health, developed by self care.
3. Handcraft and Technical Skill.
4. Service for others.

The details of these are instilled or developed through Scouting activities and games, mainly in the open air, and through tests for which badges are awarded.

Woodcraft and Camping is the most important as well as the most attractive among the activities of the Movement.

The Boy Scout organisation (and similarly the Girl Guide) is non-political, inter-denominational, and international. Service on the part of its officers is voluntary.

The spirit and principles of the training are contained in The Promise and Scout Law :—

*Promise.*

“ I promise on my honour,

1. To do my duty to God and the King.
2. To help other people at all times.
3. To obey the Scout Law.”

*Law.*

1. A Scout's Honour is to be Trusted.
2. A Scout is loyal.
3. A Scout's duty is to be useful and to Help Others.
4. A Scout is a Friend to All, and a Brother to every other Scout, no matter to what Social Class the other belongs.
5. A Scout is Courteous.
6. A Scout is a Friend to Animals.
7. A Scout obeys Orders.
8. A Scout smiles and whistles under all difficulties.
9. A Scout is thrifty.
10. A Scout is Clean in Thought, Word and Deed.

*Results.*

Scouting for both boys and girls has not only become widespread throughout the British Empire, but has been taken up in nearly all civilised countries. Thus it :—

1. Develops the individuality of the pupil.
2. Harnesses the individuality for the good of the community.
3. Promotes a personal spirit of brotherhood throughout the other nations.

*Handbooks.*

Scouting for Boys. Girl Guiding. Wolf Cub Handbook. Rovers Handbook.  
Imperial Headquarters :—

Boy Scout Association, 25, Buckingham Palace Road, S.W.1.  
Girl Guide Association, 76, Victoria Street, S.W.1.

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*Editorial Note.*

The Boy Scout movement is one which appeals to boys and girls all over the world. The Editors will be pleased to receive particulars of any troop or patrol already formed in Esthonia, or to give the requisite information for the formation of such a troop, in order that the spirit of brotherhood and friendship may be fostered among the juvenile as well as the adult population of Britain and Esthonia.

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*The Esthonian Legation has removed from 45, Markham Square, London, S.W., to 167, Queen's Gate, London, S.W.*

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## Koltchak and the Russian Border Peoples.

By BERNHARD LINDE.

Not long ago I had the opportunity of reading Admiral Koltchak's reply to the Allied Governments, in answer to the conditions under which they were prepared to recognise him.

I should like to place beside it some naked facts concerning the Koltchak Government, the activities of which I have had the opportunity of watching from the rise of that Government up to the spring of this year.

I shall then leave your readers to make their own inferences and draw their own conclusions.

Admiral Koltchak has recognised the independence of Poland. The Poles have organised a Polish Legion in Siberia, but the Russian Supreme Command are now endeavouring to disperse them—the latter being “republicans,” although they are defending the Siberian railway system. The Poles themselves consider their position so precarious that, in expectation of attacks from the Russians, they post sentries against the troops of Admiral Koltchak.

The Bashkir Army, which, while resisting the Bolsheviks, is responsible for wonderful acts of bravery, fought practically without equipment. The men were half starved, as General Dutoff, commanding on this front, distributed all food, equipment and ammunition amongst the Russians only. This, despite the fact that the Bashkir, both in number and fighting ability, was the only army able to resist Bolshevik attacks. However, they could not stand the unfairness of the Koltchak Government and, led by their own national government, they retreated into their own territory, after declaring their neutrality, vowing to resist both the Bolsheviks and Admiral Koltchak. This was followed by the Bolshevik occupation of the Cossacks lands, and the town of Orenburg.

The Kirghiz people, who number some 9,000,000, are in vain endeavouring to obtain even the most elementary national rights by way of a limited self-government, although their national legions are fighting bravely against the Bolsheviks on the Turkestan front.

The Buriats, numbering several millions, have failed to achieve the right to introduce their mother tongue into schools and lawcourts.

The Letts formed their national forces, but were not allowed in January of this year to convene an assembly of the Lettish Colony in Siberia.

Last December, the Esthonians were allowed to call a meeting of the Esthonian Colonies, on condition that the Esthonian National Committee would be fully responsible, and reports were to be in Russian, should the representative of the local governor not understand the Esthonian language. Political questions were also forbidden to be discussed. Although in the permission no other stipulations were made, no reference was made to the local governor; it was required that reports and protocols should be kept in Russian. At the instance of the assembly, a protest was made against this new clause of the local authorities, to which the local governor replied at an official interview with the president and secretary of the assembly: “Should my demand not be complied with in the course of five days, I shall arrest the presidium of the assembly, and shall close down all Esthonian organisations in my district.”

In answer to the protest of the Esthonian Committee, which was handed to the Assistant Minister of the Interior, we were informed that the governor had the right to demand that the reports should be in Russian. This was not the only thing which took place. In a week's time, the Assistant Minister (now Minister of Interior) Pepeliaeff of the Koltchak Government, sent for me as the President of the Esthonian National Committee and Chairman of the Second All-Siberian Congress of the Esthonian Colonies, to give explanations why I had allowed a resolution to be passed regarding the independence of Esthonia,

and the demand for a constitutional assembly in Siberia. Minister Pepeliaeff pointed out that the Congress had committed high treason, for which the penalty was capital punishment. In addition to this, the Esthonians who supported the independence of Esthonia interfered in affairs which did not concern them, in their demand for a constitutional assembly in Siberia. I explained that both those Esthonians who were returning home at the first opportunity, and also those who were permanently residing in Siberia, had participated in the Congress and had formulated their demands in the resolution. This resolution was passed on reports sanctioned by the Minister of Interior. In future conversation Pepeliaeff informed me that not for a single moment could the idea of a Siberian Constitutional Assembly be entertained, and that the Russian people needed a Czar and not a Republic.

I may add that Pepeliaeff is the leader of the Left Wing of Koltchak's Cabinet, the Right or Conservative Wing is represented by the Minister of Finance, A. Michailoff.

To give some characteristics of the ways and means by which affairs are being carried out by Admiral Koltchak's Government, I may state that when the military authorities asked the Esthonian Committee to form an Esthonian army, the Minister of the Interior expelled the said Committee from Omsk. But when the President of this Committee applied to the Commandant of Omsk for permission to celebrate the Centenary of the Liberation of the Serfs, he replied that if the Esthonians did not cease to talk about a freed Esthonia and other national aims, he, the commandant, would take measures to exterminate the whole race of Esthonians.

These are facts which occur daily. Punitive expeditions are everywhere in Siberia. Flagellation is wide-spread, and even railway clerks have been subjected to it, so that Admiral Koltchak recommended the more judicious use of the birch. Despite of that fact, flagellation is still being practised.

The officers, instead of joining the men at the front frequently amuse themselves in restaurants.

Hardly anyone in government circles regards a future Constitutional Assembly seriously. Even the name is nearly forgotten, and now one speaks of a Russian National Assembly.

Town administrations, which were elected on a democratic basis, were dissolved as being impracticable, and a new election law was introduced, which guaranteed a majority for the Conservatives. Even such Democrats as the co-operative workers, whom the Bolsheviks used to execute as counter-revolutionaries, are once again working sub rosa.

After Koltchak took over the administration in Omsk, several parties were formed supporting the new government. Among them were certain groups of the party "Yedinstvo" (Social-Democrats of the Right Wing of Plehanoff) and a small group of Right-Social-Revolutionaries. Very soon, however, they split up and not long ago the party "Yedinstvo" also broke away. The Left Wing of those now supporting Admiral Koltchak consists of cadets.

Among the Ministers of the Koltchak Government, speculation is prevalent. Recently the Minister of Food, Siefiroff, was tried for accepting a bribe of 7,000,000 roubles. Party intrigues are also flourishing. Lately the monarchist parties have been getting stronger, are issuing newspapers, and are making open propaganda. The Monarchists pin their faith to the Grand Duke Dmitri Pavlovitch, who, according to some reports, is supposedly in China.

This restoration tendency has prepared ground for effective Bolshevik propaganda all over Siberia, which resulted in a number of riots in the Marinsky District on the Amur river, and in the Primorskoy region, and several Soviet Republics sprang into existence. (Olginskaja, 100 verst of Vladivostock, etc.)

These facts of Siberian political life speak for themselves. The political orientation of a country is built upon facts and not on well-tuned words prepared for publication purposes, such as Admiral Koltchak's answer to the Allies.

All the above facts can be confirmed, both by the Representatives of the Nations mentioned, and also by politicians of Koltchak's Government. The words of Admiral Koltchak's answer, polite but non-committal, were specially arranged for the purpose of quieting the conscience of the Allied Democrats. The words are now becoming clear to us. The words are, "It goes without saying that the limits and conditions of autonomy will be defined separately for each of these peoples."

Even the ancient Romans knew this, and expressed it in their political wisdom by the dictum "Divide et impera." The same principle was applied at all times by the Russian Tzarist Government to the subject peoples, and undoubtedly with considerable success.

Koltchak's answer may have only one good effect, viz., that all those peoples who have now attained their freedom, with those who are still suffering under the yoke of Bolshevism from the Left (the Soviets), or the Bolshevism from the Right (Koltchak and Denikin), may obtain, by uniting, the realisation of their national aspirations.

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## British Prison Review.

### CRIME ON THE DECREASE.

[By the courtesy of H.M. Commissioners of Prisons, the Editors have been enabled to obtain an insight into existing prison conditions in London.]

There is no doubt that enormous strides towards a perfected system have been taken during the past few years, and that the lurid picture of filth, ill-treatment and starvation which still clings to the word "Imprisonment" is a shadow of the past, and not descriptive of conditions appertaining in the present-day places of detention.

Of how recent date are these reforms, it is difficult to reach a definite conclusion, as the official mind is naturally as prejudiced as is the mind of the released prisoner himself, and while the one claims that the improved conditions are of long standing, the other has been known to state that until quite recently the popular conception of prison horrors was correct. Without exception, the Metropolitan prison authorities comment upon the decrease of crime: Brixton, London's largest detention prison with accommodation for between 700 and 800 persons awaiting trial, averages but 400 inmates to-day; Holloway, the only large detention and convicted institution for women in London and the provinces, has accommodation for 1,000 prisoners and at present has almost two-thirds of its cells empty. The percentage of convicted prisoners is large as compared to that of persons under detention awaiting trial, due to the fact that more time for the payment of fines is now being allowed in the courts, in preference to throwing a man into prison when his inability to pay a fine straight into court is announced. Though murder and manslaughter convictions have increased considerably of late, the percentage of long sentences for capital crime is lower, the majority of convictions being short sentences for petty theft, social offences, and misrepresentation. Forgery and organised larceny are on the decline.

#### *Inside the Prisons.*

Judged from the standpoint of hygiene and comfort, the interior of the present day London prison compares favourably with that of the State schools or colleges, and more than favourably with that of the British workhouse. The majority of cells, were it not for their barred windows, are identical with those bedrooms allotted to students in County

Council educational establishments. The walls are distempered in colours, the cells have a large window, a bed with spring mattress and sheets, a proper toilet set, and are lighted by electricity. The time spent therein is small, as solitary confinement, except in the case of obstreperous prisoners, is rapidly dying out as a form of punishment, and the prisoners are kept busy. The cells are scrupulously clean, and the sanitary, washing and bathing arrangements appear to be adequate. Tubercular prisoners and those suffering from other diseases have special cells more comfortable than the general ones set aside for them, and the arrangements for treatment are up-to-date and efficient. Mental, tubercular and venereal troubles predominate among the prisoners and daily treatment is given in Holloway (where a lady doctor is attached to the staff) and in all the male prisons. At Holloway also, arrangements have been made by which a prisoner with a young baby, or one who is pregnant at the time of her arrest, can keep her baby at the prison until it is old enough to be parted from her. At the present time there are nearly a dozen babies under two years old at Holloway.

Hard labour is in force in Pentonville for men and in Holloway for women. In both cases the task set is varied according to the physical condition of the prisoner; in the women's prison the hardest form of labour is laundry work, and the ordinary tasks to which the prisoners are set, the manufacture of sailors' uniforms and of clothes for their own prison.

A question which is exercising the official mind is the establishment of a system by which "juvenile-adult" criminals (i.e. miscreants of both sexes between the ages of 16 and 20 years) can be dealt with without imprisonment at any recognised prison. The existing system has two strong disadvantages; firstly, the stigma of imprisonment taints the offenders at the very beginning of their careers; secondly, it has been found that, since prison conditions have been so much improved, the youngsters are apt to throw over the traces when they have once disproved the bogey of prison horrors, and, rather than fight against odds to re-establish themselves as citizens on their release, they take to crime again in order to be re-admitted. In scores of cases this theory has been proved by the open avowal of prisoners themselves that they are "glad to be back and rid of the troubles of citizenship." It is, therefore, felt that if the actual conditions in prison are veiled from the "juvenile-adult" eye, and he be sent to an institution run on the lines of Borstal as a warning after his first offence, he will still have the thought of worse things to come before him, and his first dose of confinement will be sufficient.

When one comes across prisoners with a record of 40 to 70 convictions behind them, the first usually effected during their teens, one recognises the need for a more scientific treatment of a first offender, by which he can be prepared for law-abiding citizenship after his first offence, instead of being made into an habitu  of prison-life. Had the educational possibilities of a prison received such careful consideration as has the betterment of actual physical conditions, had the stigma of the broad arrow been less wide-spread, were the prisoners treated as ordinary beings who have expiated their wrongs, and were the sense of citizenship instilled without cant to the first offender, there would be fewer discharged prisoners who, dispirited at the post-release struggle, return to the court for a deliberate offence, preferring prison to the workhouse.

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Mr. EDWARD HELMAN, Sutton Venny Camp, Warminster, England, is anxious for news of his parents, last heard of in Dorpat. Will anyone knowing their present whereabouts kindly communicate with him direct or to the Editors of this paper?

## The Postage Stamps of Esthonia.

By DEREK INGRAM.

(Editor of "Stamp Collecting.")

At the present moment the one section of the community which knows probably more than any other concerning the various existing republics in Russia is the fellowship of philatilists. Until the receipt of the important *communiqué* officially declaring the independence of Esthonia (published in No. 1 of THE ESTHONIAN REVIEW), it is safe to say that the man in the street had but a very hazy idea of the history and status of this anti-Bolshevik Republic of the Baltic.

As with trade, the postage stamp follows the flag, and soon after the independent Republic of the Esthonians was proclaimed at Reval, on 11th November, 1918, adhesive scraps of paper were issued to signalise the dawn of a new era in Esthonian history. Unfortunately they were anticipated by a bogus series of provisional stamps which, it now transpires, were the enterprise of a German. During the German military occupation of Courland and other Baltic provinces, a number of denominations of the contemporary Imperial postage stamps of the "Germania" type had been overprinted with the words "Postgebiet Ob. Ost.," the values being 2½, 3, 5, 7½, 10, 15, 20 and 25 pfennig. These were genuine enough, and when the Germans retired into their own confines the stamps naturally became obsolete, so far as Esthonia was concerned. However, quantities of them soon arrived in Western Europe with the word "EESTI" added to the existing overprint.

For some months these doubly overprinted labels were accepted without question as duly authenticated provisional postage stamps of the Republic of Esthonia, and, as they were scarce, an eager demand was created and they commanded high prices. In the meantime enquiries were being made as to the status of the "Eesti" labels, with the result that the Postmaster at Reval has declared them to be absolutely unauthorized and therefore spurious. They were, in fact, never sold in Esthonia at all, but were "made in Germany," and sold in that country by a former resident of Reval, who has consequently made a great deal of money by the sale of the bogus "provisionals," which he placed on the English market through the medium of dealers in neutral countries.

The unscrupulous Teuton who perpetrated this fraud has probably made a fortune out of the sale of his spurious scraps of paper, and doubtless he will receive an Iron Cross I. As for the dealers and collectors who have been victimized, it is an object lesson to them to be circumspect and not to accept everything as genuine that has the appearance of a postage stamp.

### *The First Genuine Stamps of Esthonia.*

The first authentic postage stamps of Esthonia, which are in current use, are plain in design, having merely the inscription "EESTI POST" in the centre, surrounded by a lozenge-shaped pattern, and with the figures of denomination on a square tablet at the foot.

They were lithographed at Reval, in four colours, viz. :—

5 kopecks, salmon.	15 kopecks, blue.
35 kopecks, brown.	70 kopecks, olive-green.

These four stamps were issued and placed on sale at the post offices in Esthonia on 25th November, 1918, and, as they are likely to be superseded in the near future by a more pretentious series, collectors, who have not yet secured copies, would do well to rectify the omission.

## Utopia in Slumland.

By RICHARD STRANGE.

### *Editorial Note.*

We are glad to note that, since this article was written, the first step has been taken by the Government towards a solution of the housing problem. It is a sound and practicable scheme which has been received with considerable acclaim and relief by those interested. The proposal is to surround London by a circle of garden cities of immense proportions which will eventually form a complete ring, some part of which will be accessible from each of the outlying slums and from which the heart of the city may be reached in 25 minutes by train.

Slums—horrible and loathesome. Diseased and verminous children—filth—more filth and putrid air—four people to a 10 by 15 room—18 people to a house—and what is the remedy? With an inflated bank balance to back you, you would buy the particular street which struck you by its sordidness—you would pull down to re-build—you would admit sunlight and pure air and surround your buildings with gardens—and in a year your slum would have been transformed into a Utopia in which children would thrive and their parents reform?

To commence operations: In the street you would buy live 300 to 400 persons. For the year required for your transformation act these must be removed and housed. Where?

Accommodation for 400 souls would take a regiment of agents months to find. Small houses, there are none. Rooms for families—none—and in the large unoccupied mansions you could rent, how long would their aristocratic neighbours tolerate your Homeless? Further, is it certain that, had you ample scattered accommodation at your disposal, your slum population would jump at an exile parted from their neighbours in an atmosphere strange and probably distasteful to them? You could put them in Army Huts for the time being, of course, but again—would they go?

A fact so frequently overlooked by world-reformers is the stubborn conservativeness of the subject concerned. When Mayfair drives down Pimlico, scattering grimy children from fetid street-sides into soot-laden hovels, the horror of it all appalls them—but to their inhabitants the said hovels represent Home—if other conditions have ever been known to them they are immuned to the existing ones and prefer them to drastic change, though were their houses instantaneously transformed into ideal Homes without effort or co-operation being demanded from the people themselves, they would be vaguely pleased, and curiosity over new toys in the form of labour-saving devices and improvements in cooking, cleaning and hygienic arrangements would stimulate them temporarily.

I do verily believe that were a representative body gathered to discuss the housing problem, your chief advocates of Reform would be found among the rich who have everything, the comfortably-off wage earners who have enough, and not among the slum-dwellers who have nothing. Sixty per cent. of these last were born and bred in slums—another thirty per cent. have known better times but in order to retain their sanity in their new sordid surroundings, have had to bury themselves in the slum atmosphere to the exclusion of all else. The remaining 10 per cent. have remained devotees to fresh air and cleanliness; to them your scheme would commend itself where to the majority it spells an upheaval—a change which all Britishers hate and which they in particular resent.

If this view is extreme, fanatical—why is it that each new garden suburb, no matter how low its rents, fills itself with people from tolerable surroundings, not from the slums—

and why is it that the call for agricultural labour throughout the country remains unanswered while the Exchange records of unemployed in the overcrowded districts of London are filled with the names of physically fit men and women living under conditions so appalling as to beggar description?

Even if you, as a philanthropic financier, successfully cleared your slum and accomplished your housebreaking, another problem faces you. For health you must have space—and the only space at your disposal is the actual site of the demolished houses. Behind and in front are other streets owned by other landlords who will not sell—and into the same space you have to crowd the same number of people. You can add an extra story per house, but for proper accommodation you need three or four stories and the foundation-space will not carry them. Then about your gardens. To abolish the gutter-play-ground you must have gardens—and houses in such streets as yours are practically back to back. Even if you could buy two parallel streets and run them into one, you are rendering half the inhabitants you wish to help homeless.

These are typical of the facts you are faced by:—

Within 100 yards of Edgware Road there are whole streets of houses with a single water tap per house, no gas and no dustbins in which the average number of inhabitants per room is three, and in which cases can be cited of families of 12 persons living in three small rooms.

In the centre of Chelsea there are houses in which the beds have to be kept away from the walls to avoid lice crawling over them.

In a recent Lambeth report, approximately 70 per cent. of inspected dwellings have been condemned as uninhabitable from one cause or another, but cannot be vacated for lack of other accommodation.

There is hardly a house in all the slums of London possessed of a bathroom with hot and cold water.

And yet these people will not move to less populous districts. No lasting improvement can be effected in the majority of cases without complete rebuilding of the houses in question and land for building in overpopulated districts is practically unobtainable.

You can bring the children up to better conditions if you can once get them away, and thus ensure a better future, but with the slum born, slum bred, slum-acclimatised is this Reform a possibility, I wonder, or just a great, heart-breaking mirage?

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## Britain's Opportunity in Esthonia.

By JAMES CARO.

(*Esthonian Vice-Consul in Manchester*).

Now that many of the difficulties that have recently prevailed in Esthonia have been largely subdued, it is very natural that the business community of that country should be making exhaustive preparations for the full tide of trade that is now made possible between Esthonia and Western Europe.

Those interested in Esthonian affairs fully recognise that in pre-war days, the trade of this powerful little nation was practically monopolised by Germany. Commerce with Great Britain was comparatively negligible. The present days call for a decision as to whether in the future Esthonian trade is to be allowed to pass through similar channels or whether a supreme effort shall be made to direct it to Great Britain.

There is existing at the present time a friendly sentiment between Esthonia and the British Isles, which, carefully fostered, would undoubtedly result in considerable business being done between the two countries.

It cannot be too frequently emphasised that Esthonia, although possessing territory of only 47,000 square kilometres, is in a most favoured position as an intermediary for trade with Russia. Reval, the Esthonian Capital, is the key port in the Baltic to Russia, and her admirable position as a pivot for commerce must be thoroughly grasped by British Merchants and Manufacturers.

Unfortunately, the political situation is not yet clear. Although provisional recognition has been given to Esthonia as an independent State, yet it is certain that much effort will be made from certain quarters to include Esthonia again in a Russian Federation. Esthonia's history of the last three years is enough, however, to convince the student of Baltic problems that her people will most stoutly refuse to be beguiled into any sort of arrangement that robs them of the independence that has been the goal of their ambition for centuries.

The Flax, Timber, Corn, Spirit, etc., that Esthonia produces are all needed in Great Britain, and the mishandling of the present situation by the British Commercial element will undoubtedly result in the Germans gripping more tightly than ever the Esthonian trade. Germany is not asleep. It is perfectly cognisant of the opportunities of the occasion, and may be relied upon to exercise every effort and offer every inducement for the Esthonian producers to pass their trade through Germanic channels.

At present, there seems to be a determination amongst English manufacturers—which can only be described as fatuously shortsighted—whereby, owing to the enormous demands for home consumption—all trade with new areas is pushed one side. The folly of such an attitude need not be commented upon. To-day is the golden opportunity and, if it is not seized, it will be gone for ever. Esthonia is friendly to England. She is anxious to trade with us, and it is up to Great Britain to grasp the hand that is extended, and to encourage trade with that small but fruitful country.

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## Review of "La Latvia et la Russie."

By ARVED BERG.

[Published by Payot et Cie., 106, Boulevard St. Germain, Paris. Prix, 2f. 50.]

Among the many long-winded dissertations on the Self-Determination of small countries, it is a great joy to come across such a concise statement of facts as is contained in "LA LATVIA ET LA RUSSIE," by ARVED BERG. To those whose personal interest lies in these matters, its sane, balanced views come as a welcome relief after the youthful ramblings of those enthusiasts whose patriotism is, unfortunately, in excess of their literary attainments. To the outsider, whose personal interest is necessarily non-existent, its clear grasp of the business situation is interesting.

How may a nation exist financially without national credit?

How may national credit exist in a country deprived of its nationality?

What a situation—surely comic, were it not so near akin to tragedy!

Mr. Berg places so vivid a picture before us as to arouse our very genuine sympathy—a picture of small countries which, despite their gallant struggles for a birthright, are still hampered by the indeterminate paw of "The Great White Bear," waiting wearily for the time that must elapse before that cumbrous animal is able to deal with exterior affairs.

It is likely that this book will have a wide circulation, for there are many whose interest in these questions outweighs their information, and, to "the seeker after knowledge," the publication will have the outstanding recommendation of containing all necessary facts untrammelled by unnecessary comment.

GLADYS DAVIES.

## Post-War Education: A Reply.

By CHARLES PITT.

In the July issue of this journal, a writer on this subject pointed out the need for reform in educational methods, which, as they are at present, permit that the child shall be "dragged unwillingly to school for certain set hours, during which rudiments of unessential subjects are ground into him in an uninteresting manner by inefficient teachers." One gathers that the writer of this does not condemn the teachers for personal inefficiency, but merely points them out as exponents of an inefficient system, a view with which every thinking man and woman will agree.

Some considerable advance has been made in educational methods during the past twenty years, but it is modification of methods previously existing rather than a breaking of fresh ground. Still, so far as the majority of children are concerned, the old subjects are taught, and the result is very much the same. Geography, to the child of to-day, is what it was to the child of yesterday, a mass of boring information which spoils the world so far as the child's imaginative faculty is concerned. As to the study of history, I would sooner put "Puck of Pook's Hill" into the hands of youngsters as a text book than any conscientious history ever written, and then, on second thought, would throw out both the subjects mentioned, and set the child to read—not to learn—some of the great stories of the world, believing that, if the imaginative faculty be developed on right lines, it will go farther toward training the mind of youth than will any amount of grinding at unessentials.

There remains, of course, the necessity for discipline, for habits of obedience, of ordered thinking, and the development of initiative. But learning—school learning as planned at present, is not conducive to the development of any of these qualities. More especially in the State and municipal schools, it is such a dull and uninspiring business that the child looks forward to its end, to the beginning of real life, as a coming release from interminably dull hours. To this, of course, there are exceptions; the brilliant scholar enjoys his school life through the consciousness of superiority over his fellows; he has the sense of leadership, consequently the sense of power—but then, no matter what educational method were pursued, he would be a brilliant scholar just the same. It is not for him that the present system needs sweeping away, to be replaced by another, but for the rank and file, who come out from their school period clothed with a little brief and useless information, rather than fitted by the training of childhood for the problems of adolescence.

That many teachers are inefficient personally, not even teachers themselves can deny, but that is inevitable. The majority of teachers are inefficient through no fault of their own; they are compelled to inculcate certain things, to follow certain formulæ in their work, and to produce certain results. If they were students of psychology—or rather, if, being students, they applied their study to work in connection with their pupils, they would not long be teachers, for in the present state of affairs the system governs the individual, and originality on the part of a teacher is just as great a drawback as that same quality apparent in a civil servant. There is a way that has been drawn out as THE way to be followed: no matter what may be the mentality or characteristics of the child, that way must be followed, and none other.

There was once a picture of a woman, great and gracious, around whom children gathered. She pointed them to a golden horizon lying beyond a fair land, and in the face and bearing of the woman herself were understanding and the promise of all gracious things. In that picture was the allegory of what education should be, but it would be a bold man who would suggest that the allegory shows what education is to-day. There is need for some such real figure to come to the mass of children—not the brilliant scholars whom no system can keep

down—and develop their initiative, their sense of personal responsibility and the meaning of life, by a system of teaching that shall be bred of sympathy and understanding of the child mind, these inherent through the love of children without which no system can avail. With such a one we might rear up a race fit to inhabit its land of great traditions; with the present system . . . well, the present state of the world is sufficient evidence of the utter failure of our present educational system.

[*Editorial Note.*—In the original article, “Post War Education,” by Quen, to which the above is a reply, an error crept in through which Council Schools were referred to as Board Schools. This correction is made by request of the Author.]

## The Theatre and Music in Esthonia.

By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT (LUIGI CARNIO).

Despite all difficulties, the Esthonians have fostered their love for the Theatre and Music. A hundred years ago this nation had neither physical nor mental freedom—the ancestor of the well-known Landeswehr under Russia's protection had *carte blanche* to do whatever it deemed fit. However, surmounting obstacles placed in her way, Esthonia has been able to build scores of theatres. Several are magnificent buildings which are the pride to the country, as, for instance, the “Estonia” in Tallinn (Reval), “Vanemuine” in Tartu (Dorpat), “Endla” in Pernau, and “Söde” in Walk. They all were built by voluntary subscriptions, as no government ever tried to help, but hindered where ever they could the development of the people, fearing that knowledge might create revolution.

Patriotism and a desire for emancipation gave them the energy to collect all those kopecks which, accumulated after years of patient work, formed the capital for erecting these temples of culture. The “Estonia” in Tallinn, Reval, cost about 700,000 roubles (£70,000), the “Vanemuine” in Tartu, £400,000 roubles (£40,000), and an approximately equal sum went to build the Endla in Pärnu (Pernau).

If we bear in mind the fact that the population consists of about two million souls and that, up to ten years ago, there were perhaps two or three capitalists (and these very modest capitalists) amongst them, and if we further recollect that the ruling class (which consisted of the German Barons, who, in conjunction with the Russian Government, tried to interfere everywhere with the progressive movements, fearing the development of people), was antagonistic to the scheme, we realize how wonderful is this achievement.

Esthonia to-day has good theatres and eminent playwrights such as Edward Wilde (Drama *Tabamata ime*, Pisuhänd), Ado Kitzberg (Drama *Tuulte pöörises*, Liba hunt), Oskar Luts (Drama *Avimehed*, Kevade, Kaveei kojutulek, Kapsa pää . . . . .), and F. Karlson (Drama, *Kalevipoeg ja Sarvik*). . . . . Plays by Victor Hugo, Shakespeare, Schiller, Hauptmann, Oscar Wilde, Hansen Knut, Bjornson, and Bernhard Shaw, are also produced at Esthonian theatres.

Regarding actors and actresses one can safely say that they are of a high standard. Let me quote the following, who are among the best known of them:—Nedda Pinna, Liina Pölde, Helmi Finer, Tetsow, Paul Pinna, the late Teodor Alterman, Alfred Sallik, Bernhard Hansen, Luk, Kurnim, Lauter, Simm, Jungholtz. . . . .

As I already pointed out, the Esthonian theatre and general tuition began only after the abolition of serfdom and, therefore, it is but fair not to expect from Esthonia musicians with international fame. But even here, they have remarkable achievements. The best known composers are:—The brothers Arthur and Theodor Lemba, Jaan Tamm (all three

were Professors at the Petrograd Consevatoire), Rudolf Tobias (died 1918), Professor of the Berlin Consevatoire; Arthur Kapp, Professor and Director of the "Philharmony" in Astrahan. Besides these, there are numerous musicians who remained in their motherland who had no desire to enjoy the pleasure of fame gained in foreign countries.

Out of these the following stand out:—Raymond Kull, conductor of the "Estonia" in Reval, who is the composer of symphonies and romances; Johan Simm, conductor of the "Vanemuine" in Tartu, and composer of an operette, "Koopu ruutel" and various romances; Johan Avik also conductor at the "Vanemuine" and composer of romances and pianoforte compositions; and the young composer Vedro, who wrote the symphony, "Life of a Man." There are also quite a number of excellent composers of romances, songs, etc., for instance, Mart Saar, Aleksander Latte, Topman, Turnpuu, and Peeter Sudda.

The reigning characteristic of Esthonian music is mysticism and melancholy; one is conscious of an ardent desire for freedom, contempt for the oppressor, and hope for a re-birth of Esthonia. Bursts of energy ignite the melancholy whole—that energy so necessary for the redemption of their country. Up till now, musical expression of these national characteristics has not been fully developed. The composers are yet too young to be able to give their music international value. Several attempts have been made, but have been more or less imitative. Esthonian national music awaits a maestro to take it from the interior and lead it to the European capitals.

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## Peace—and Reconstruction in Britain.

By RAIMOND WENTWORTH.

The Peace Celebrations in Britain on the 19th July will be remembered to the end of their lives by all who took part therein.

London was packed—one seething mass of people as closely crowded together as sardines in a tin—and the streets were gay with flags, and the bands played and the crowds shouted and danced and ate and drank and made merry from dawn till dawn. There was no village too small or insignificant to have its procession, its dinner to service men, or its bonfire and fireworks.

Now it is all over and Britain is faced with the problem of reconstruction.

Democratic Britain has awakened from a century-long sleep.

The war-cry caused him to stir in his slumbers,—victory opened his eyes, and the problem of Reconstruction has made him jump from his bed more alert and ambitious than he has been throughout the history of his nation. He has realised that there is much amiss in his country—further, he is slowly realising that if that wrong is to be righted it is up to him himself to take the matter in hand by abandoning the line of least resistance and taking his place in national affairs. International victory is incomplete without economic reorganisation.

War has been a tragedy in which he has played an active part, involving sacrifice of blood, leisure and finance, Peace has turned out to be a matter for collective rejoicing with disproportionate compensations affecting him individually. He thought Peace would have had a more personal side to it, and would have brought in its train concessions which would affect his own everyday life; this not being the case he has turned up his sleeves to demand what has not been offered him.

*To Popularise Peace.*

Diligent questioning among working men and women in various walks of life has elicited the following as the principal reasons why the British Democratic Public failed to regard 19th July as the full realisation of their ambitions :—

Prices must come down or wages go up when the £ equals 7/6.

Food is still disproportionately dear and poor in quality.

The price of clothing is rising steadily.

Fares are still increased by 50 per cent.

Incomes of £130, out of which, in quite 60 per cent. of the cases arising, some dependent other than a wife or child has to be maintained, are still taxed.

Demobilised men in thousands are out of work.

There are red-tape troubles about pensions for the disabled and bereaved.

The problem of the man returning unfit for his former calling is unsolved.

Educational re-organisation is not being hurried forward.

The Housing Problem could be temporarily solved by the commandeering of large empty houses to be let in separate rooms. This has been talked about, but has not been done—overcrowding and actual homelessness are rampant and there is no immediate prospect of building on a sufficiently large scale. The labour difficulty connected with such conversion could be overcome by enlisting the services of demobilised or about to be demobilised women.

Labour reconstruction and a rapprochement of the producer with the purchaser to the elimination of the profiteering middleman, is in urgent need of settlement.

The professional classes, which have suffered most during the war, should be suitably recompensed under the Peace settlement.

Commercial knowledge should be improved and kept up-to-date in an organised manner, so that British commerce may be kept in British hands and the foreigner eliminated without damage to that commercial position on which depends the future of the country.

He is not particularly unreasonable, the Democratic Briton. He realises that the war has entailed tremendous national expenditure, which he has to help meet—he raises no objection to paying reasonably increased prices for the necessities of life, nor to having his amusements taxed, nor his fares and clothing dear as compared to pre-war prices—he knows that educational and housing perfection cannot be reached in a day, neither does he expect the terrific organisation of pensioning and reinstatement to run without an occasional hitch, but what rankles is the fact that commodities, the production of which has hardly been affected by war conditions, and other necessities of which the rise in cost of production *is* directly attributable to the war, are sold to him at prices out of all proportion to their cost. Further, granted that educational reform and the settling of the housing problem are lengthy propositions, they are propositions which ought to have been tackled so long ago that people are clamouring to have them settled now.

Incidentally, it is being borne in upon the public mind that experienced business men are the people to grapple with the Reconstruction Problem.

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At the time of going to Press, the news that Finland has recognised Esthonia's independence has just come to hand through the medium of the daily papers. The Editors, recognising the importance of this recognition to Esthonia are delighted to spread the news among their readers.

## People.

By DOUGLAS AINSLIE.

The people of the path,  
 Gay some of them, gray most of them,  
 Elusive and accidental all :  
 They leave no aftermath,  
 They have no gem  
 Set in their caps to make look back on  
 them.

The few that are the friends,  
 The life they live, their perilous quest,  
 Creative or contemplative :  
 These make amends  
 To well for those, 'tis best  
 To dwell apart, a star has light to give  
 and to receive.

## My 'Cro.

By IVAN ALAN SEYMOUR.

Gawd knowes as how I loved yer, Sonney,  
 As only muvvers can—  
 Gawd knows I just adored yer, Honey,—  
 My boy wot turned a man—  
 Yer didn't want to goan' fight—  
 Yer said so—straight, yer did—  
 But when yer saw as it wus RIGHT  
 Yer l'ipped yer bloomin lid. . . . .  
 Yer train'd ; yer fought ; yer cared fer naught—  
 Yer did YORE bit orlright—  
 Then Fritz, 'e cut yer life off short—  
 (I ain't a blubbin' . . . . ., quite)  
 An' orl I gets is this 'ere crost  
 Instead o' Ted my son—  
 'E's gorn an' joined the Greatest Boss  
 For orl 'is fights is won. . . . .  
  
 They tell me you're an 'ero, Ted ;  
 I'm proud o' that, you bet !  
 But—Gawd ! I wish you wasn't—Dead. . . . .  
 —Strike me ! me eyes is wet. . . . .

[For our Esthonian Readers—An example of Cockney English.]

## Special Commercial Section

*A Monthly Feature.*

### *Esthonian Foreign Trade in Peace Time.*

The centre of foreign trade, the sea-port of Reval, in comparison with which the other Esthonian sea-ports, as for example Pernau, Narwa, Arensburg, etc., are of much less importance, is influential all over the Esthonian territory, as being the nearest port open for navigation to the centre of Russian trade, i.e. Moscow.

Owing to Russian trade politics, transport was artificially directed (especially the exportation of Russian wheat by low tariffs of transportation to the Southern ports of the Baltic Sea, to Riga, Libau, and Vindau). This did not permit of Reval being developed to its full capacity as an export port. Consequently importation usually exceeded exports in more than thrice, owing to which vessels were often obliged to make the return trip from Reval in ballast, thus causing freights to be high.

Foreign trade totals for the following years were :—

			1914.	1913.	1912.	
Reval	..	.. exports	18,600,000	21,900,000	21,600,000	roubles
		imports	69,000,000	78,300,000	71,500,000	„
Pernau	..	.. exports	500,000	2,500,000	..	„
		imports	900,000	2,300,000	1,900,000	„
Narwa	..	.. exports	500,000	2,300,000	..	„
		imports	2,900,000	2,300,000	4,300,000	„

The importations chiefly consist of :—Coal (1913, 26,400,000 poods), cotton (1913, 2,300,000 poods), artificial manures and fertilizers (1,200,000 poods), machinery and apparatus (700,000 poods), iron (400,000 poods), herrings (200,000 poods). According to the value, 80 per cent. of the imports were raw and half-produced materials for the local manufacturers and works.

The chief importers into Esthonia were England, Denmark, Holland, etc., following in order of importance.

The goods exported by Reval were :—Wheat (1913, 2,600,000 poods), barley (1913, 2,600,000 poods), rye (2,500,000 poods), flax (800,000 poods), linseed (300,000 poods).

Esthonia being an agricultural country was able to meet the local demands in peace time with regard to agricultural products, with the exception of the larger towns, which had food also imported from Russia.

Of the Esthonian products, flax, linseed and, in smaller quantities, dairy produce, timber, and, in exceptional cases spirits, found their way to foreign markets, while superfluous Esthonian products were mainly absorbed by Petrograd.

At the beginning of the war with Germany, the Baltic Sea was practically closed for Russian trade, and the local trade was consequently also paralysed, business being only transacted with Finland.

The Russian forces in Esthonia were practically maintained by local food supplies, demolishing large quantities of same.

It therefore transpired that the land had up to lately sent large quantities of eggs, butter, cheese and milk, potatoes and meat to Petrograd, receiving in return for its own use comparatively small quantities of wheat, but that it now encountered a shortage of supplies.

*German Occupation.*

During the German occupation, requisitions took the form of armed robberies, resulting often in armed fights between local people and the German troops. The food that the Germans took from Esthonia was sent by them to the Western front, while the local rations diminished daily, and food products disappeared from the markets. Meat was not allowed in Reval on the meat-coupons from May last. When the Germans left Esthonia they took all they had plundered with them. During the occupation, Germans imported salt to Esthonia, which was very badly needed, but they sold it in very small quantities to the local people at eleven roubles per pood, requesting in return linseed. This was arranged so as to prevent Esthonians from salting and preserving meat and fish for their own use. Owing to the scarcity of nets and other fishing tackle, fishing had practically ceased in the Esthonian waters, Germans only agreeing to lend the nets and tackle, and concentrating the storage of salt and barrels necessary for fish salting and preserving, in their Military Fishing Centres (Fischereistellen). In consequence, the local fishermen, being extremely discontented, discontinued fishing.

Owing to the scarcity of coal, Germans began to cut down the woods, using same as fuel. Works and railways use, even now, timber as fuel, owing to the absence of coal. The timber trade is, therefore, in danger. Paraffin and other mineral oils were taken from the country by the Germans, and in view of the fact that it is out of the question to instal electric lighting, owing to the fact that it is impossible to obtain the electrical plant and necessary material, the country is in darkness. Portion of the works are closed owing to the absence of naphtha, while automobiles and motors cannot be used because there is no benzine.

*Esthonian Trade in the Future.*

Realisation of Esthonian independence will considerably alter and enlarge Esthonian foreign trade. Imports will in the commencement, as before, be chiefly for the use of local manufacturers and works. Reval consumes annually 25,000,000 poods of coal, besides which iron and steel should be imported for use of the large Reval ship-building, waggon and machine constructing works. The former importation of metal was :—From abroad, about 2,500,000 poods ; from Russia in 1913, approximately 2,000,000 poods ; chemicals, in 1913, 700,000 poods to the value of about 15,000,000 roubles ; salt, 1913, by sea from abroad, 1,000,000 poods. Besides this, instruments, machinery, valuable agricultural implements, electrical plant and instruments, paraffin (1913, by sea, 217,000 poods), herrings, etc., should be imported.

Until Russia has been reconstructed, Esthonian exports will consist chiefly of Esthonia's own products, i.e. flax (approximately 1,000,000 poods per annum), linseed (up to 600,000 poods per annum), paper and cellulose (1,000,000 per annum), dairy products, chiefly butter (from 600-700,000 poods per annum), spirits (over 3,000,000 bails (vedre) pure spirit per annum), which will be approximately as much as exported formerly by the whole of Russia, cement, and to some extent also timber.

In view of the fact that Reval is the nearest harbour to Russian important trade centres, it can be stated safely that as soon as Russia is again in a position to resume commercial intercourse, immense quantities of Russian imports and exports will pass through Reval, particularly as the Russian interests in the Southern Baltic ports will no longer exist. It must, however, be pointed out, that the harbour extensions and improvements should be completed by that time, as Reval was scarcely able to combat with the quantities that previously passed through it, viz. :—In 1913, 63,000,000 poods passed through this port, while the calculated facilities for importation and exportation there then approximately for 55,000,000 poods.

Coming back to the present and urgent needs of Esthonia, it should be stated that Esthonia could export at the moment flax, linseed, paper (immediately from warehouse, 134,000

oods), and cement ; while Esthonia most urgently requires wheat, coal, paraffin, sugar, salt, benzine, machine oil, also agricultural implements, woollen and linengoods, chemicals, metals, cotton, motor tyres, rubber goods, fishing nets, etc.

Owing to the collapse of the Russian-German economical life, Esthonian finances are in a state of anarchy. In days gone by, the Russians simply flooded the land with Russian paper money, while the German occupation brought with it the Ober-Ost roubles, which, in time, were exchanged for Ober-Ost Marks. Owing to the extreme distrust, the people had towards the Ober-Ost money, its distribution was effected with considerable difficulty. German Ober-Ost money has absolutely no value abroad, while the Russian money retains about one sixth of its previous value. It is, therefore, obvious that to come into business relations with the Western nations, it is essential in the first instance to place the country's finance on a reliable foundation. The Esthonian delegation is at present discussing the matter of the financial support of the Bank of Esthonia with a financial concern. British capital could be most profitably invested in the works connected with the extensions and buildings of harbours, railways, canals, the centres of electric energy, the communal establishments (for example, Reval has prepared a plan of construction of a tramway of 70 kilometres) in the financing of commercial and industrial enterprises, such as cotton mills, shipbuilding yards, paper works, timber trade, shipping and flax works.

The country is rich with large supplies of oil shale, containing twice the burning qualities (oil and paraffin) of the oil shale found in Scotland. The working of this oil shale could found a flourishing department of industry.

At the same time it can safely be assured that British capital invested in Esthonia, will have the full support of the Esthonian people, as it will extinguish Germany's sole rights in the country.

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## Customs Regulations.

The Customs Regulations of the Esthonian Provisional Government dated 25th March, 1919, are of a temporary character, and are to remain in force until the Esthonian Parliament has worked out final regulations in accordance with the commercial policy of the country. At present the Customs Duties represent, in the main, a source of State income. The Provisional Government were obliged to introduce these duties to cover their great war expenses, as a full organization to collect the ordinary revenue could not suddenly be brought into being.

Some changes have been made later so that the regulations mentioned may now in some details disagree with those actually in force.

For details apply to the Commercial Agent of the Esthonian Legation, 167, Queen's Gate, London, S.W.

### Official Order (No. 53) of the Provisional Government regarding the Customs Regulations.

GIVEN 25th MARCH, 1919.

ARTICLE 1. The Customs Law of 24th June, 1918, promulgated by the German Military Authorities: "Customs Regulations" with "Tariff of Customs Duties" ("Customs Regulations for Livonia and Esthonia"); "Nomenclature" and "Conditions for application of the Tariff annexed to the Nomenclature," in the order sheet for Livonia and Esthonia dated 6th July, Page 29, No. 333, will be cancelled from 1st April, 1919.

**ARTICLE 2.** In place of the Customs Law passed by the German Military Authorities, pending the elaboration of a new law, the Customs Law of the Old Russian Empire will be applied from 1st April, 1919, inasmuch as it does not contradict the laws and regulations promulgated by the Provisional Government. (Record of the Laws of the Old Russian Empire, volume vi, edition 1910, dated 17th October, 1917.) The Tariff enforced by this law will be multiplied by ten and calculated in marks. The Director of the General Administration of Customs will be substituted for "Directors of Customs Circumscriptions" and for "Inspectors of Customs Subdivisions."

**ARTICLE 3.** The General Tariff of the Customs of the Old Russian Empire will come into force from 1st April, 1919, in place of the Customs Tariff of the German Military Authorities, which is abrogated, Ref. Record of the Laws of the Old Russian Empire, supplementary to volume vi., dated 19th July, 1914), making allowance for any modifications made later.

(1). The Goods designated in paragraphs 219 (copper and silver money), 223 (playing cards), 225 (by-products of margarine), 233 (American potatoes, leaves and waste, etc.), 234 (by-products of pork), and 236 (strong foreign drinks), have been struck off the list of forbidden imports. The Customs charges on these imports are raised as follows:—For those designated in Par. 223, according to No. 2 of Par. 215 of the Tariff, and for those designated in Pars. 225, 233 and 234 according to the taxes indicated in the Tariff for corresponding goods.

**NOTE.**—The decree of the Provisional Government of 29th January, 1919, concerning Paper Money (Imperial Order, No. 7, 1919, Decree No. 16) remains in force.

(2). Tools and Agricultural Machinery including spare parts (pars. 160 and 167, nos. 4, 5, 6, 11), are exempt from duty for the year 1919 (Decree of the Provisional Government dated 10th February, 1919).

(3). The Duties set forth in the General Customs Tariff of the Old Russian Empire will be payable in marks and will be calculated as follows:—

**For Goods mentioned in:**

Par. 2	No. 1.	Sifted Rice	..	..	..	20 Marks per Pood
„ 2	No. 2.	Unsifted Rice	..	..	..	12 „ „
„ 10		Annisseed, etc.	..	..	..	40 „ „
„ 11	No. 1.	Nuts, etc.	..	..	..	40 „ „
„ 11	No. 2.	Almonds, etc.	..	..	..	100 „ „
„ 12	No. 1.	Mustard in Casks	..	..	..	30 „ „
„ 12	No. 2.	Mustard in Boxes	..	..	..	40 „ „
„ 17		Cigars	..	..	..	40 „ „
„ 22		Sugar	..	..	..	20 & 30 „ „
„ 23		Honey	..	..	..	20 „ „
„ 30		Butter	..	..	..	40 „ „
„ 42		Soot	..	..	..	10 „ „
„ 43	No. 1.	Fish Glue	..	..	..	240 „ „
„ 43	No. 2.	Glue	..	..	..	40 „ „
„ 47		Feathers	..	..	..	40 „ „
„ 48		Cushions, etc.	..	..	..	90 „ „
„ 52	No. 1.	Unrefined Wax	..	..	..	16 „ „
„ 52	No. 2.	White Wax	..	..	..	80 „ „
„ 79	No. 1.	Charcoal	..	..	..	25 Pfen. „
„ 79	No. 2.	Coke	..	..	..	40 „ „
„ 86		Turpentine	..	..	..	24 Marks „
„ 118		Perfume	..	..	..	80 „ „

Par. 119	No. 1.	Paint	.. ..	..	500 Marks per Pood
" 119	No. 2.		.. ..	..	1000 " "
" 119	No. 3.	Odoriferous Oils	.. ..	..	600 " "
" 120	No. 1.	Cosmetics	.. ..	..	120 " "
" 120	No. 2.	Soaps, etc.	.. ..	..	40 " "
" 122		Lacquer	.. ..	..	50 " "
" 138-144		Metals and Minerals	.. ..	..	as before
" 145		Quicksilver	.. ..	..	12 Marks "
" 167		Machines and Apparatus	.. ..	..	triple duty
" 173		Cycles	.. ..	..	100 Marks "
" 175		Boats	.. ..	..	triple duty
" 178		Books, etc.	.. ..	..	as before
" 179		Textiles	.. ..	..	" "
" 181		Cloth, Linen, Cotton Fabrics, etc.	.. ..	..	triple duty
" 187			.. ..	..	" "
" 189			.. ..	..	" "
" 192			.. ..	..	" "
" 194			.. ..	..	" "
" 198			.. ..	..	" "
" 200			.. ..	..	" "
" 202			.. ..	..	" "
" 201		Material, Lingerie, and Clothing	.. ..	..	Duty quintuple
" 205			.. ..	..	" "
" 209			.. ..	..	" "

ON ALL OTHER GOODS DUTY IS INCREASED TENFOLD.

THE PRIME MINISTER, K. PEATS.

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE, JOH. KUKK.

AGENT OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT, TH. KAARIK.

## The Elements of a New War.

[*Editorial Note.*—The Editors do not hold themselves responsible for the opinions expressed by their correspondents.]

To the Editors of the "ESTHONIAN REVIEW."

Gentlemen,—In the "Russian Outlook," No. 12, of the 26th July, I find a strange article written by a "Russian." This article would not be worthy of the attention of your readers were it not for the fact that it characterises a certain powerful reactionary class of Russians who, under the Tzar's reign were known as "the Black Hundreds," and who, having mostly changed their colours, now dominate Russia under the black or red banner of Bolshevism and Anarchy.

The ideas brought forward by the writer (who wisely, perhaps, prefers to style himself "a Russian"), are reactionary in the extreme, and if such ideas are encouraged, will do much harm. Such propoganda is equally dangerous to the states in question and to the Allies, as it is liable to suggest to the working classes of the allied countries that Capitalistic interests and "wars of expansion" are prompting the Anti-Bolshevik, and not the considerations of Liberty and Humanity. Further, such propoganda would tend to promote

the idea that as far as their own interests are concerned, the small states will be better off keeping up a defensive fight against the Bolsheviks than helping the reactionary classes of Russia to conquer Bolshevism, as the latter course would probably only promote new wars "of expansion." To give the readers of your esteemed REVIEW an idea of the article in question, I will quote some of the characteristic portions.

The writer, after stating that peace has been signed, commences by lamenting that France, to insure herself against possible aggressions, has concluded a Treaty with Great Britain and the United States of North America. He speaks about the law of historical sequence, of "yellow-faced populations" of the East, and mutual distrust between kindred tribes of the same nationality and religion, of national and new born hatreds, and absolutely disapproves the Versailles Treaty, calling it a "precarious attempt to settle by compromises in as short a time as possible, a case which, under normal conditions, would—and will in the future—take centuries to go through the courts of law of historical sequence." He then gives some ready advice to all the statesmen concerned in the Versailles Treaty. Then he comes to the point:—

" . . . . . Setting aside all other newly-created causes of discord by the Treaty of Versailles—very numerous, unfortunately—such as frontier questions between new states, . . . and ineffective solutions of national problems, etc., I, as a Russian, will confine myself to the elements of new . . . warfare, which can be easily detected in the tendency to isolate Russia. The Russian State, which had gradually and steadily grown up in more than a thousand years out of the principality of Kieff, after a laborious history of continuous formation and organisation, after having been several times invaded by numerous tribes from the East, and even from the West, after countless defensive wars and wars of expansion, after having passed consecutively from the stage of a feudal principality to the stage of a union of princes and more or less free cities, after having existed for several centuries as the Muscovite Kingdom, and finally as an all-Russian Empire, happened to suffer so cruelly from the World's War waged for the common cause of her Allies, that at the moment of the final settlement it appeared disbanded and disorganised by internal troubles.

This moment precisely was selected to relegate Russia, who had sacrificed thirteen millions of men, killed and disabled for the common cause, as an outlaw beyond a safety-wall of newly-created Border-States, and to isolate her from the rest of Europe.

The world, of course, or the part of it that signed the Treaty of Versailles, can say in its own defence, that nobody is to blame, except the Russians themselves, who, at the critical moment of their existence, as a state, preferred to weaken and dis-member it by a revolution, instead of keeping their nerves in order, setting their teeth, and carrying on for better or worse as other nations, French and British for instance, have done.

There is some truth in that—as a Russian I have to admit it—but it is not the whole truth. The recognition of all the petty states, provisionally and temporarily created on the borders of Russia, by the Allies, the recognition of such newly-born and hastily proclaimed republics as Esthonia, Livonia, Ukraine, Georgia, etc., was not implied beforehand by the sole fact of a revolution having temporarily disabled the State organisation of Russia; time ought to have been allowed for the revolutionary crisis to settle down, and for the Russian Nation to re-assert itself.

There is no good in haste, especially in the solution of International problems. When hurrying, one is liable to slip, and false steps, especially in International policy, are usually followed by break-downs. Such break-downs, and quite a number of them, will be the inevitable result of the hasty erection of a safety-wall between Europe and Russia.

First of all, Russia, as a country inhabited by a population of which an enormous majority—about 120 millions—belong to the Great-Russian Slavonic tribe, and covering an immense area of territory from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean, cannot be stifled by such a paltry structure of the newly-erected wall to be defended by a population of not more than a score

of millions on a protracted strip of land and water about a couple of thousand miles in length, stretching from the Gulf of Finland to Odessa, and across the Black Sea to Tiflis and the Caspian.

Russia is too big to be stifled, and as her separation from the sea-ports of the Baltic would inevitably result in stifling her trade, she will evidently have to use the tremendous force of impact of which she is capable, to sweep away artificial barriers and to regain her right of ownership.

What is the use of contriving artificial combinations for the sake of trying to attain unattainable objects? Russia, as a State, Russia, as a Nation, has not only the right to live, but the power also, and the required strength to ascertain her right to existence. Why create artificial barriers that cannot stop the process of her life, but will certainly incite her to struggle for their overthrow?

Of all the newly-created States—invented should be the correct word—Georgia only, and for a short time Courland, have had an independent existence.

The Baltic Provinces have such a mixed population that they have never formed and never could form, distinct national unities. During the greatest part of their history they were dominated by Germans or Poles, sometimes by Scandinavians and ultimately came under the rule of Russia. They have very few natural resources of their own. They have always served as a highway for the exchange of goods between their enormous hinterland—Russia—and Western Europe. Their manufacturing industry has developed exclusively because of their geographical position, and the facility of importing raw materials from Russia. Their trade is totally dependent on the Russian market, and their sea-ports are indispensable for Russian export. In this latter fact, which is quite indisputable, lies the chief danger to peace in the future for the comprehensible reason that Russia will want her Baltic ports back and will be quite able to re-take them, if they should be ever separated from her.

#### *Finland and Poles.*

A certain independence for both of them was accepted and agreed to by Russia herself, but the ultimate issue depends entirely on the capacity for independent statesmanship that the politicians and leaders of both these countries will show. The geographical situations of both Poland and Finland especially of the former, are rich with promises of trouble, but efficient statesmanship and political fact may prevent dangerous complications. The Russian market will always be the principal market for Poland, and for Finland as well, and they will always depend on Russian trade for the greatest part of their export of manufactured goods, and for the whole of their import of raw materials.

The chief danger of future warfare is not, of course, the autonomy of the border states, but their independence. Local autonomy is indispensable in numerous cases, not only for frontier provinces, but for many of the provinces in the interior of Russia, and the more autonomy Russian provinces will get, the better for Russia. But independence is another thing. Independence suggests separation, and in most of the border cases, separation would be highly prejudicial to the metropolis, therefore the metropolis will be inevitably led on to re-conquer its border lands. The historical struggle for the expansion of Russia, stifling without her sea-ports, for the re-establishment of her natural limits, will inevitably re-commence, and therein lies the great danger which the builders of the League of Nations evidently have omitted to foresee.

The erection of artificial safety barriers is always a dangerous game, and in the case of Russia it is a hundred times more dangerous than anywhere else. Russia is an ocean of humanity, rolling from sea to sea on a stretch of land 10,000 miles in length. It has its *own*, as have all other nations, and when the time comes for the tide to run out, no artificial barrier will hold against it.

Russia has got her own natural limits to which the process of natural expansion has brought her.

It is a grave error to try and restrict those natural limits by creating artificial barriers. They will only incite Russia to expand further when the time of her new tide shall come.

No artificial barriers can stop her natural expansion, and the best way to prevent new wars, is not to create temptations to reconquer cut-off-territory."

It is all very well to talk about the "countless defensive wars and wars of expansion," but it should be borne in mind that those times are past, and in view of the fact that Russian history is none too illustrious and complimentary to the Russians, it should be allowed to remain in the obscurity of the past. With regard to the present fate of Russia, it is absolutely false to style this as a consequence of the World's War; it should be put down to the inefficiency of Russian Commanders, to the treachery of Russian Ministers, and to corruption and mismanagement, for which latter Russia is famous. These are the real causes of suffering and of the numbers of lives lost in the war and in the consequent Revolution. It should, however, be mentioned (and I think this will interest the Britishers who read this paper, and who are not aware of the pre-revolution conditions of life and administration in Russia) that the Mobilisations and conscriptions for the Army were first of all proclaimed in provinces and "border States" occupied by non-Russians, in consequence of which the percentage of the non-Russians in comparison with that of Russians in the Russian Army, was out of proportion. The Allies are not to blame for the existing deplorable state of Russia. Russians should have supported excellent men like General Kornilow, or should at all events have given that gallant officer their full support, instead of squabbling over theoretical problems, which were decades behind the times. Had even moderate measures been taken by the Government of Kerensky, the catastrophe would have been avoided, but the Russian intelligencia preferred comforting themselves with hopes of the intervention of the Allies, as they preferred having their work done for them, as is shown by the fact that most great soldiers and statesmen connected with Russia, including Generals Kornilow and Deniken are not Russian born, being Cossacks. "Speeding up" instead of "wait and see" should be Russia's policy.

The Baltic provinces are not composed of a mixed population, as stated by "a Russian," but are peopled by Letts and Esthonians. These peoples are not "a kindred race," but absolutely distinct from the Russians, having their own distinct language, religion, and culture, and although "a Russian" asserts that only Georgia and Courland had enjoyed independence, the Esthonians had full independence seven centuries ago, as had also Lithuanians, Poles and Finns. The Esthonians have only been under the domination of the Russians for two centuries, and that, owing to the intrigues of the German Baltic Barons. Having considered this point, and still being convinced that Russia "claims her own," the Russian should next consider whether she is "capable of sweeping away" these determined small states, before publishing such articles in periodicals printed in Great Britain. If Russians go into that question seriously and not in fits of enthusiasm, they will find that their country is weak and quite incapable of freeing itself at the moment even of its internal foes, viz., Bolsheviks, not to speak of the determined new states with their well-disciplined armies, organised and based on common-sense governments, which have proved under most trying circumstances their capabilities of fighting a good fight, clearing their own territories of Bolsheviks, and successfully establishing staple governments. These small nations are very patriotic, and although they have borne hardships, equal to or greater than those borne by Russia during the war, the Russians themselves are still prepared to undergo extreme hardships and to enter into further wars, to prevent their liberty and independence being wrested from them. Europe has always looked with good cause upon Russia as a country which is rich in its Nihilists, Anarchists and other disturbers of the peace. Even should Russia be freed of Bolsheviks in the near future, the small states with distinct languages, religion and ideas, have no guarantee of not being infected by some other wave of anarchy or oppression which are akin to the Russian.

I state that not the separation of countries like Esthonia from Russia, but the union of them to Russia is "artificial," and will cause incalculable bloodshed and disaster for the whole World Trade.

With regard to the sea-ports of the Baltic, I have been told by persons who are competent to judge such matters, that the Esthonian Government looks favourably upon letting Russia have the free and unhindered use of them as far as trade requirements demand, so that no serious dispute need take place on that point. Russians should do their utmost to smooth the relations between the small states and Russia, not to provoke "new hatreds to arise."

The small states are, as far as I can judge (and I may say I am in possession of first-hand information on these points) ready to come to any reasonable agreements with the Russians, and to support them in extinguishing Bolshevists, provided Russians discontinue intriguing and take their independence as granted. By reasonable and businesslike negotiations and not by threats and boasts, can things be satisfactorily settled. It is most imprudent to ignore the wishes of small nations by compelling them to obey Russia's orders regarding questions which, according to democratic principles now generally accepted, can be decided by the populations of small nations themselves. If the small nations are continually ignored, insulted and bullied, they may even make a League of Small Nations. . . . .

I am, gentlemen,

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) JOHN IMANT.

---

## Winter at Ruhleben.

By JOHN BALFOUR.

A dull grey sky,  
 No breeze  
 Stirs the leafless wood,  
 Ravens fly  
 Out of the trees,  
 And below  
 By a frozen pond  
 The sentries go to and fro  
 Through the wood  
 In the trodden snow.  
 Beyond  
 From the field behind the wire,  
 We see a tower,  
 Chimney stacks  
 Whose smoke uncurls,  
 A bleak church spire,  
 Barracks  
 Where a flag unfurls . . . . .  
 Moses! How long must we gaze on this  
 Sad land of promise!  
 Lost land of power!

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