

25th OCT., 1919.

Vol. 1. No. 4.

PRICE
Monthly 1/-

The Esthonian Review



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

Editorial Offices: **THE ESTHONIAN REVIEW OFFICE**
129^a, King's Road, Chelsea.
LONDON, S.W. 3.

THE ESTHONIAN REVIEW is published on the 25th of each month.

Subscription Rate : 13/6 per annum, post free in the British Isles and abroad, and 15/- per annum, post free, to Canada.

Subscriptions, which should be sent direct to this Office, are prepayable. Single Copies, 1/1½, post free.

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Interviews by appointment only.

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AN ESTHONIAN PEASANT WOMAN AT WORK IN THE FIELDS.



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A. STANLEY and R. STANLEY EDWARDS-SCOTT.

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INDEX TO OCTOBER NUMBER, 1919.

Inside Cover : Information to Contributors and Advertisers.

Pages 122-5.—*Editors in Council.* Letter from the Esthonian Legation on "Agrarian Reform."

" Outsider's " Reply to D. Mobb Raff.

POLITICAL TOPICS OF THE DAY.

Pages 125-9.—Article : " Esthonia's Part in the World War." By ANTON PIIP (Esthonian Diplomatic Representative in Great Britain).

Pages 129-30.—Article : " The End of the Petrograd Operations." By E. KRAAV.

Pages 130-31.—Political Review of the Months August-September.

Pages 131-3.—" The Government and Parliament." By GEORGE TURNBULL.

Pages 133-4.—The League of Nations Union. Report of the Esthonian Sub-Committee.

Pages 134-7.—Peace Discussions with Soviet Russia. Full Report of the Pskoff meeting ; with Editorial discussion.

Page 135.—The Bolshevik. Cartoon by M. SEVIER.

Pages 138-9.—Peace Proposals before the Esthonian Constituent Assembly.

Page 140.—Books received by the Esthonian Review. By GLADYS DAVIES.

CAUSERIE.

Topics for the Leisure Hour, of interest to thinking men and women.

Pages 141-3.—The Soul of Esthonia. Article by I. NARODNY.

Page 143.—Fin D'Eté. Poem by JOHN BALFOUR.

Pages 144-6.—Heathen Religions of the Ancient Esthonians. Article by J. SAPAS.

Page 146.—Shakespeare in Esthonian version.

Page 147.—The Maiden at the Vaskjala Bridge. Legend by W. F. KIRBY.

Pages 147-8.—The Soldier—and Death. An Impression, By VIOLET KING.

Pages 148-50.—Pastiche. By HELEN DE VERE BEAUCLERK.

Pages 150-53.—Death. Article by M. S. PRICHARD.

Pages 153-7.—British Policy and the Baltic Peoples. Article by " IGOR."

Page 157.—*Special Commercial Supplement.*

Editors in Council.

Publishing.

The Editors are pleased to inform their readers that they have secured the services of Messrs. Farrington, Ltd., to whom enquiries as to yearly subscriptions and Advertising Space may be addressed.

Esthonian Commander-in-Chief Knighted.

On October 4th, in the King's name, Colonel Herapath, representative of the British Military Mission in Esthonia, conferred the insignia of the Order of St. Michael and St. George upon the Commander-in-Chief of the Esthonian Forces, General Laidoner, with the rank of Knight Commander. The Knighthood was conferred upon General Laidoner for having freed Esthonia from the Bolsheviks, for having repulsed the German invasion of Esthonia, for having aided the national movement in Latvia and for having organised and helped the North Western Russian Army.

The New War.

The situation recently arisen around Riga and the existing Military activities will be fully discussed next month.

Agrarian Reform in Esthonia.

ESTHONIAN PROVISIONAL LEGATION,
167, QUEEN'S GATE, S.W. 7.,
LONDON, 1st October, 1919.

To the Editor, THE ESTHONIAN REVIEW, 129a, Kings Road, S.W.

Sir,—On the 17th of September, an article appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*, entitled "Esthonia's Future," and written by Count Hermann Kaiserling. As several misrepresentations were made in this article, we considered it our duty to reply, and to place before the British public our point of view. Up to date, however, this reply has not been published, and we should therefore esteem it a favour if you would kindly allot space for it in your valued paper.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

ED. LAAMAN.

Sir,—In his article, "Esthonia's Future," published in *The Daily Telegraph* of the 17th of September, Count Hermann Kaiserling makes various statements with regard to agrarian reform in Esthonia, which need correction and amplification.

Speaking about the taking over by the State of "badly managed estates," Count Kaiserling bewails the fact that the Esthonian Authorities do not take into consideration "to what cause the unsatisfactory state of things on the estates was due, the cause in almost all cases being the war." This remark is correct when viewed from the point of the landowner. In Esthonia, however, where at the present time the production of foodstuffs is of the utmost importance, the matter must be considered from the point of view of the State.

In the interests of the State, it is necessary that all arable-land and resources should be utilized, and even if the landowner could show any just cause or reason as to why he should not comply with these requirements, the State would still be obliged to take measures for the disposal of these resources, and to lease the land to persons capable of working it,

and possessing the necessary machinery and live-stock. Thanks to the energetic measures taken by the Esthonian Government, practically all the arable land is now being cultivated, and notwithstanding the damage done by the war, the country will in future be able to subsist on its own grain supplies.

Count Kaiserling also laments that the agrarian reforms are being passed "in the spirit of Socialist reform," this, however, being in direct contradiction to his own assertion that "the Esthonians are by no means real or convinced Socialists in their enormous majority."

As a matter of fact, in Esthonia, as well as in Czecho Slovakia, Poland, and the other countries of Eastern Europe, agrarian reform has, as its first aim, the cutting up of the "Latifundi" and the creating of a number of new small landowners, which is in itself diametrically opposed to Socialism.

Agrarian reform in Esthonia, according to Count Kaiserling, is being pushed through too hurriedly, and in too radical a manner. He prefers the moderate and gradual projects of the Baltic Germans. It is, however, a well-known historical truth, that when moderate and gradual reforms have been neglected during times of peace, reforms under stormy conditions, must of necessity become much more radical. Now the Baltic German nobility in quieter times, heedless of all warnings, not only refused to pass any agrarian reforms, but tried on the contrary to pass reforms in direct contravention to the needs and desires of the population. In 1918, during the German occupation, they began to colonise the country with German immigrants, and this at a time when three-fourths of the local Esthonian peasants were suffering from lack of land.

It should be known to Count Kaiserling that the Baltic Barons who always considered themselves as the vanguard of militant German Imperialism, have not even now given up the idea of populating the Baltic country with Germans. It is with this object in view that the soldiers of Von der Goltz, whom the Allies appear to be unable to send out of Courland, are staying in the country.

Count Kaiserling is apprehensive of the economic, political, and moral ruin in the country, if the agrarian reforms go through. As to the economic side, even the local German Press from time to time admits that the only way to lead the country to prosperity would be to cut up the half-deserted "Latifundi" and divide among the peasantry.

From the political standpoint, agrarian reform is the most radical expedient against Bolshevism, and the best means for the pacification and stabilisation of Eastern Europe. This was also admitted by the Peace Conference, when requiring Koltchak to pass agrarian reforms. The fact that the border states, while passing agrarian reforms, succeeded in ridding the country of Bolshevism is another proof, whereas the Russian Volunteers, in common with Count Kaiserling, are endeavouring to put off these reforms, and are consequently unable to free their country.

As I have already said, the German nobility have their own reasons for retarding agrarian reform in the Baltic Provinces. They know very well that not agrarian reform, but its retardation will cause Bolshevik upheavals in the country. The hour for action by Von der Goltz's army will then have struck. The Baltic Provinces will once more be occupied by the Germans for the purpose of introducing order, and the German colonisation of the country will be complete.

Count Kaiserling threatens civil war by the dissatisfied Barons. This threat was carried out by the Barons before, when they invited the armies of William II into the country in 1918, and those of Von der Goltz in 1919, but they were defeated by the Esthonians in June and July last, and thrown across the Dvina.

Despite these treacherous acts, the Baltic Germans are able to continue to live peacefully in Esthonia. It must be admitted that this is a proof not of the moral degradation of the Esthonian nation, but, on the contrary, of a highly developed self-restraint and self-discipline.—I am, Sir, yours faithfully.

ED. LAAMAN.

"*Outsider's Reply to D. Mobb. Raff.*" (See September Issue.)

To the Editor of THE ESTHONIAN REVIEW.

Dear Sir,—I hesitate to a certain extent to reply to "D. Mobb Raff," on the ground that there is so very little in his criticism of my remarks requiring answer. However, leaving to him the invective in which he appears tolerably proficient, I should like to traverse his points to a reasonable degree. I am entirely in agreement with him as regards the Government policy in respect of aeronautics; nobody can deny that there was—and apparently still is—an enormous amount of waste in organisation and conduct of Government air matters, but, as a mere outsider, I do not feel competent to allocate blame for this, nor do I feel that any word, either from me or from the Demobbed Raff, is likely to alter matters there. Either the Government side of aeronautics must be placed under control of an efficient and reliable Minister for War, with the Admiralty controlling such part of the service as naturally belongs to it, or else the full service must be placed in charge of a separate department that is strictly responsible to an economical Treasury for every penny spent, if there is to be a stoppage of waste. Possibly the Demobbed Raff has a better plan, and, if so, I shall be pleased to see its outlines, as will many more.

I do not think, in view of recent events, that it is necessary to look far in order to see that the attitude of Labour is not only retarding the development of aeronautics, but of everything else as well. I am sufficiently in touch with the industry to see that the way in which Labour forces up prices in every department of life has had its effect on the aircraft industry, and, with the normal things of life becoming more and more difficult to obtain at reasonable figures, there is an inevitable reaction on the aircraft industry, as on many others. However, if Demobbed Raff prefers to blame the Government, he is only going one step farther; an efficient Government would have controlled Labour, if such a thing had been possible, instead of pandering to it. So once again we come to an agreement.

In the matter of aeroplane *versus* airship, each side has its own enthusiasts. In putting forward the airship as a rival to the aeroplane for commercial purposes, I was perhaps taking too long a view. That in the end it will come to its own, in spite of the disadvantage cited in the Demobbed Raff's letter, I have not the slightest doubt, though, since the war has given the aeroplane such an enormous start in development (owing to its far greater fitness for war purposes) the airship has a long way to travel before it can give equal efficiency per pound spent on it. But when the Demobbed Raff says that "aeroplanes will be developed far quicker than airships, and the heavier-than-air craft will thereby be enabled to carry a greater number of passengers aloft at a time than will their cumbersome rivals the gas-bags," he is talking against mathematical certainties. I have not figures by me to state the case exactly, but, roughly: double the area of the planes of an aeroplane, and you double its lifting capacity; double the size of a gas-bag, and you increase its gas-holding capacity, consequently its lifting power, not to twice but to four times the original power. There is a limit to the size of the planes, both theoretically and practically, but he would be a bold man who would predict a limit to the size of a gas-bag craft for commercial uses. In making this statement, I have in mind all the time the disadvantages attaching to the gas-bag, and have in mind, too, that disadvantages exist for man to overcome. In common with Demobbed Raff, I will back the aeroplane *for the present*, and let the future prove itself.

As to the requisite margin of safety, if the Demobbed Raff is certain that it has been attained then I apologise for referring to it as in process of being attained. It appears that he knows. But when he is made to refer to "one casualty to every 69,000 square miles flown," surely there must be a printer's error, as he suggests in referring to my lack of qualifications for writing on this subject at all. Otherwise, how does one fly a square mile, and are all the turns correct right angles?

There seems little more to answer. I would prefer more statement and less invective, but that, of course, is a matter of taste. The Demobbed Raff and myself are so nearly in

agreement on certain points, that I regret his very evident contempt for the " Outsider " who butted in, knowing nothing at all. In view of the obviously microscopic value of my original contribution, from which all the trouble arose, I apologise for trespassing with it on your valuable space, and apologise still more for occupying so much more space in answering one who knows as much as the Demobbed Raff, and states his knowledge with such perfect courtesy and consideration for " An Outsider's " feelings. I congratulate him, too, on his brilliantly informative article, which surely might have been given greater prominence in the list of contents. I am, yours faithfully,

" OUTSIDER."

Political Copies of the Day.

Esthonia's Part in the World War.

By ANTON PIIP

(Diplomatic Representative of Esthonia in Great Britain).

Until the 28th of November, 1917, Esthonia formed part of the old Russian Empire. Not being of the Slavonic race, she was treated in the most arbitrary manner by the Tzarists, and the treatment extended to her, as to all other non-Slavonic peoples under the Russian yoke, was especially harsh as far as compulsory military service was concerned. To illustrate this, it should be sufficient to mention a few facts from recent history. According to the law of conscription, passed by the third Duma, after the completion of the necessary units all men left over were to be released by order of the Minister of War. During the whole time this law was in force no soldier conscripted in Esthonia was released in due time. Soukhomblinow, Minister of War, and others, quite conscientiously released every year some hundred thousand conscripted men from Riasan and other Great Russian provinces. This policy was intended to weaken the economic strength of the non-Russian-race regions.

It generally happened that the already severe Russian laws of conscription were especially harsh in the Baltic provinces. The policy of mistrust of the border Peoples, particularly in the Baltic, had the most absurd consequences. Thus it was ordered by the central Russian authorities that men from the Baltic Provinces should be sent to serve in Siberia, trans-Caucasus or Poland. Even the professional Esthonian sailors, with many years experience of trans-Atlantic navigation, were enrolled in infantry regiments in spite of their desire to serve in the navy. Instead of letting these men follow their calling as would seem natural, peasants from Tula and Kursk, who had never seen the ocean and who feared it, in order to have an all-Russian navy, were drawn into service at sea. This is the reason why the Russian navy did hardly any work in the World War, and it formed a most anarchial basis of revolution.

Such treatment of the Esthonian and other Border-Peoples was caused by the unwarranted belief that these peoples were not worthy of trust, and that, during the war they were likely to associate with Germany. At the same time the Baltic German Barons obtained the most responsible positions in Russian Military and Naval circles, more especially in the Navy, the Marine Corps for naval officers being thrown open to them and not to the Esthonians or Letts. Tales of a possible compact between the native Baltic peoples and Germany were circulated by these Barons themselves, so as to prove that Balts should not be allowed to hold responsible positions in Russian State circles. The Barons thought thereby to hide their own pan-German sympathies, by accusing the masses which were most enmical to Germany of the sentiments they themselves secretly professed.

Unfortunately the great influence of the Barons in camarilla and the ignorance of the Russian statesmen regarding home affairs, made it possible that Russia was in some respects quite unprepared for War.

Mobilisation.—In consequence of a total distrust of the Western border peoples, the Russian bureaucracy had placed upon these Peoples the most arbitrary administration ever known in the world's history; and on this same basis the Russian General Staff elaborated its plan of mobilisation. It was decided after the proclamation of mobilisation that the men of the Petrograd, Baltic and Wilna military districts, exclusively composed of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians and White Russians were to be sent to the Siberian district and that the men from Siberia were to be transported to the German frontiers. Owing to this double transport, the Russian mobilisation could only be completed in 25 days. Those who understood the situation fought against so stupid a plan, but the Russian supreme Command, in a large measure directed from Berlin, took no notice of any protest.

As the details of the Russian mobilisation plan, owing to the treachery of Soukhomlinow, Minister of War, Miassoiédoff and others, were known to the Germans, the German plan of campaign was organised accordingly. The taking of Paris was arranged for 21 days after mobilisation, so that the German Command might have the required 4 days to transport forces to the Eastern Front before the Russian mobilisation was completed.

The beginning of the war against Prussian militarism was greeted with real enthusiasm by all the Russian people and, for a short time the German influence was diminished, if not totally removed. Enthusiasm was especially great in Esthonia and Lettonia, for the people hoped that the Russian Central Authority would now see that it had been quite wrong in fearing a union between the Baltic peoples and Germany. It was hoped that, when the old mistrust had vanished, the necessary political and social reform and the essential agrarian reform would take place, and that the period of compulsory russification involving arbitrary rule, would be substituted by self-government for a trusted people, guardians of the world's door into the Sarmatian plain.

At last even the Great Russians began to realise the true state of affairs in the Baltic. "Novoie Vremia" the Pro-barons' great nationalistic paper, sent its special correspondent to the Baltic provinces, who discovered that these provinces were "lands of miracles," where the Baltic pan-Germanic barons had had all political and economic power, but where the pro-Russian natives were mistrusted by the Russians as being pan-Germanic elements.

Even the Russian General Staff, now free of German influence, saw its error and made the necessary amends. It was borne in upon them that there was no better fighting enthusiasm against Germany than among the Esthonians, Letts and Lithuanians, and that, therefore, there was no necessity for replacing these by contingents of mobilised forces from Siberia. It was then decided that the previous plan of mobilisation must be changed, the mobilised men from Esthonia, Lettonia and Lithuania being sent direct to the Eastern Prussian Front.

All orders to proceed to Siberia were cancelled, and the mistrusted foreign citizens were sent to invade the land of the Order of Teutonic Knights, who had caused such suffering to these peoples in the past. So it happened that the Russian mobilisation was, to the surprise of the Germans, carried out in 14 days. Thus it happened that even the unfortunate nomination of General Rennenkampf (that heartless persecutor of the Esthonians and Letts in the 1905-1906 revolution), to the rank of chief of this Esthonian-Lettish-Lithuanian army had no influence, so great was the fighting enthusiasm of this corps of foreign-race people. It did not matter that General Rennenkampf had no qualifications as a strategist, being only a brave cavalry general, prepared to sacrifice human life without any strict necessity, for the people realised that there was not room for censure. This great enthusiasm of the Russian foreign-race army, despite the enormous

loss of men, produced the necessary fruits. The foreign invasion, although not as cruel as the Germans depicted, had tremendous influence on the German morale. The General Staff saw a break in its plans and the Supreme Army Command became nervous when the people asked that the East of Germany should be protected against the invading forces.

It must here be emphatically stated that this invasion was chiefly due to the merit of the foreign race people of the Old Russian Empire, and notably to the Esthonians, Letts and Lithuanians ; to them must be rendered due praise.

German-Russian War.

During the war, thanks to continuous mobilisation, 15 per cent. of the man power or about 200,000 men were taken from Esthonia. In 1917, at the first Military Congress of Esthonia in Reval, 171,000 bayonets were represented.

Many Esthonian merchants were made officers in the navy. The number of Esthonian inferior officers, such as ensigns, lieutenants and captains, was especially great. It must be remarked that the standard of education in Esthonia is much better than that of Great Russia generally. The percentage of men having received the secondary education requisite for examinations for commissions, is much higher in Esthonia, and so, naturally, from the mobilised men, the greatest relative number of officers were promoted among the Esthonians. It must also be observed that our loss of life among officers was enormous ; indeed, it was so great that an ensign's life was only averaged at two weeks. From the Fellows of an Esthonian Students' Association in Petrograd, all the students who joined up voluntarily, either as privates or officers, were killed during the first year of the war. Many of the Esthonian students, beginning as ordinary ensigns, attained to the highest grades of the Russian army. One of these students, having made a speech against the Barons' arbitrary power, was imprisoned after the revolution of 1905-1906, and later conscripted, made ensign and during the war took part in the invasion of Hungary over the Carpaths, won the officers' orders of St. George and Weadimir, etc., was gazetted lieutenant, captain and finally colonel, being given the command of a regiment during the Revolution. This career is by no means unique.

It must here be stated that the Esthonians have followed, with the greatest sympathy, the developments of the World struggle, and have done their utmost to help the victory of justice and freedom, which would abolish the reign of Russian Imperialism. The sincere Russian patriotism and pro-ally feelings of the Esthonians were the natural outcome of their future interests, which demanded the abolition of the Great Russian arbitrary rule and compulsory russification, and a similar abolition of the Baltic barons' medieval privileged position in political as also in social life, which reforms were opposed by Russian "junktread" and pan-Germans.

Re-organisation of the Russian Army.

The Russian Revolution, proclaiming political liberty in March, at the same time ruined the old Russian army. The famous 1st Order was an act performed with a complete realisation of the necessity of destroying the old army conception, for fear of a general counter-revolution.

For the Esthonians, the safety of the Russian front in Esthonia was a vital necessity ; and it was clear to them that the old system of organisation of the Russian army had disappeared for ever with the abolition of the officers' power. Another element had to be found to replace this power, and the Esthonians thought that the best remedy would be the formation of national armies. The Lettish and Armenian troops have fully proved the courage of these national units. A general principle was adopted to prevent the scattering of men into places totally unknown to them. Such leaders as Korniloff and Alekseja recognised the necessity of the speedy transformation of the Russian army, and as there were 20,000 Esthonians not yet distributed from the February mobilisation in

the Baltic-Petrograd district, General Korniloff, then Commander-in-Chief of Petrograd, demanded that the question of the formation of Esthonian units should be organised. The answer, despite some Bolshevik resistance, was in the affirmative, and in April, Korniloff ratified the formation of the first Esthonian regiment and created a central Organization Committee of the Esthonian Forces.

Unfortunately, after the resignation of Mr. Gutchkow, the new War Minister, Kerensky, prohibited the formation of further national regiments under pressure of the Soviets' intervention. All protests on the part of the Esthonians were fruitless. However, a kind of spontaneous formation continued. From all parts of the Russian army, Esthonians flocked to the headquarters of the Esthonian regiments, first in Peterof and later in Rakwere, and no force was strong enough to prevent this method of reorganizing the army on a new basis. It was clearly understood by the Esthonians that the reorganization of an army in war time was an immense evil, but it was a choice between reorganising or letting the army disappear altogether. It has always been Esthonia's greatest desire to maintain an army to resist a possible invasion by the Germans, but the blind following of the Soviet theories by the Provisional Government under Kerensky's leadership made this impossible.

After the resignation of Kerensky, the new minister, General Werkhovsky, gave the necessary permission in October, 1917, and a new effort was made to organise our own army to defend the country as all the Russian soldiers had turned robbers and murderers.

In a short time about 20,000 men had returned to Esthonia and the formation of three new regiments, cavalry, artillery and engineering divisions was in full activity; but this activity chiefly consisted of collecting man-power, as there was no technical or food supply. The regiments were supported with arms and munitions bought at suitable prices from the disintegrated Russian soldiers. Then came the Bolshevik Revolution. Posern, a young emigrant, Commander-in-Chief of the Northern Army, prohibited the further formation of the Esthonian divisions, ordering that all technical supply and the small exsistant financial support should be confiscated. The Esthonian army, as all national armies, being anti-Bolshevik, was called anti-revolutionary.

Consequently all attempts on the part of Esthonians to reorganise the Russian army on a local and national basis, failed, owing to the constant resistance of the Soviet powers and the Provisional Government under their influence. The only result was that some thousand Esthonians in the Russian army returned to the country and that in absolutely hopeless fighting, two out of the three regiments were entirely demolished. Owing to this, General Egoroff, who had sent these men to their death, committed suicide. Although the military capacity of the men was almost nil, they rendered great service to their country by acting as police agents and preventing robbery committed by Russian soldiers. These soldiers even protected the estates of the Barons, although these latter were their bitter social enemies, and it is thanks to them that there was no anarchical terror in the country during the Bolshevik revolution of January, 1917. There was no terror as in Russia, and even the deportation of the Barons and other bourgeoisie was merely a measure to save the lives of political prisoners.

German Invasion.

After Trotsky's famous utterance "No peace! No war!" it was quite evident that the German invasion was inevitable. There was no Russian army to defend the country, and our army was not properly organised, having no technical war material.

The whole population nevertheless stood against the German occupation. The Germans made a semi-official proposition to the Esthonian National Council through the Barons, which the whole nation unanimously rejected. The National Council, backed by the Esthonian troops, passed a resolution that Esthonia was radically opposed to a German occupation, and that should the country be invaded, in spite of protest, it would be considered a most flagrant violation of Esthonian rights.

The same opposition was made to the suggested uniting of the islands of Moonsound to Germany, Esthonia pleading the right of Self-determination.

Nevertheless, the Germans upon the appeal of the German-Baltic elements, began to invade the country, under pretext of destroying the power of the Bolsheviks. The Esthonian National Council, the Provisional Government and the existing troops did all they could to resist this invasion. The Bolshevik power had been overthrown by the Esthonian soldiers who refused a separate peace.

Resistance was, however, impossible. The armed force of the Esthonian division only consisted of 1,000 men. The regiments in the process of formation were without arms or munitions. The Russian troops had received orders to cease hostilities, and on 23rd February, receiving a fresh order not to resist the Germans, they began to evacuate the country. Consequently all Esthonia could do was to prevent German annexation or a union with Prussia, and this they did.

The Germans invaded the country, dismissed the existing local authorities, and even prohibited the Esthonian Government to carry out their duties. But as soon as the German military power was broken by the Allies, the Esthonian Army revived, and entered into a new war, this time against the Russian Bolsheviks and the German Landwehr.

The End of the Petrograd Operations.

By E. KRAAV.

The operations before Petrograd extinguished, like a meteor, in a mystical silence, for all the distant observers.

At the beginning, overpowering and dazzling victories. On 13th May, the Russian Northern Volunteer Corps advanced on Jamburg. A few days later, the Esthonian Army marched on Pskoff from the South. The Bolshevik front was wound up. The attack of the Russian Corps (as a *Times* correspondent described it), was "like that of the famous avalanche of Garibaldi." After a few days of fighting, their corps increased twice or thrice in numbers. Whole Bolshevik regiments, such as Semenoff's, led by their bands, surrendered and joined the White Guards.

By the middle of June, the fort Krassnaja Gorka, was taken—Cronstadt's outpost on shore. At the time that the Esthonians took Pskoff, the soldiers of Podsianka marched on Gatchina. But alas! First a forced halt, then retreat, and again desertion, back to the Bolshevik lines. Loss of Jamburg on 4th August, Pskoff on 26th August, disintegration and demoralization.

How is this to be explained?

It is quite true that there were outside causes, such as shortage of ammunition and material in general, which became more noticeable the further the retreat went.

With goodwill on the part of the Allies, these defects could have been rectified. But there were quite different and more important reasons of an interior nature, which undermined these operations disastrously; among these, the attitude the Russians adopted towards the other nations and toward the native peasantry of the districts.

The Ingermanland Corps, composed of local Finns and Esthonians, were all acquainted with the country, and, after they had taken Krassnoja Gorka, were dismissed at a few days' notice. From this moment, luck changed for the Russians.

Their attitude towards the Representatives of Esthonia was not much better. The Russians did not conceal their intention of, after their occupation of Petrograd, turning their bayonets towards Esthonia. Cases of insult to the Esthonian Representatives, and even arrests, occurred, though apologies from the Russian Headquarters were forthcoming. Such an attitude naturally created mistrust among the Esthonians, especially since it was well known that the leading posts among them were occupied by Germans. From the

Heads of the General Staff, down to the Military Intelligence sections, everywhere the names of the Barons Seidlitz, Krusenstierns, Heinrichsens, von Stryck, and Baron Fittingshoff-Schul, Baron Wolff, Baron Fersen, etc., were prominent.

When the German Landeswehr attacked the Esthonians from the South, von der Goltz tried to persuade the Russians to fall upon Esthonia from the East. Failing to achieve this purpose, von der Goltz now endeavoured in Mitau to change his Teutons into Russians, this being accomplished by the simple means of slightly altering the uniforms of the late German soldiers.

It is expected that von der Goltz, whose uncle was "Von der Goltz Pasha, of Constantinople," will soon officially call himself, "Koltzeff," or, more probably, lead his newly formed Russian warriors as "Attaman Koltzoff."

To form an idea of the utterly futile Russian interior policy, it suffices to listen to a few leading Russian Anti-Bolsheviks:

"Is it possible that the Russians have not learned anything?" exclaims Prince Mansireff, ex-Member of the Fourth Duma, in the paper *Novaja Rossija*.

The Russian High Command began to take inventories of the various liberated estates, intimating to the peasantry that their land would be retaken from them. Thus they created new enemies out of their former Anti-Bolshevik friends. If one adds to this the discord existing among the Russian volunteers, the cause of the catastrophe is apparent to everybody.

In determined opposition to Rodsianko was Bulak-Balanovitch, the leader of the partisans of Pskoff. His intention was to take the local population into greater account. When, on 23rd August, the Russian issued a warrant to arrest Balanovitch, the discontent reached such threatening limits that order was only upheld by directing the guns of the Esthonian Peipuss fleet on the town of Pskoff. However, the town was taken by the Bolsheviks without a struggle.

For the time being, the Russian papers indulge in mutual accusations: "Svobodnaja Rossija," the organ of the North-West Government of Russia, attacks Balanovitch in the following terms:

"As is well known, Pskoff was originally taken wholly by the Esthonians; the Russians arrived a few days later. After the Esthonians, who succeeded in establishing order, Balanovitch began his regime of terror. People were hanged on mere secret insinuations. The fall of Pskoff was due to bad policy on the part of the Russians, fighting for which policy appeared, in the eyes of the cultured Esthonian soldiers, to be senseless."

On the other hand, the paper "Novaja Possoja," reproaches the Government as follows:

"The Government permitted the most reactionary intrigues to take place in the Russian army, which led to civil war just on the advent of the approaching enemy, and to arrests among the more democratic section of the Russian army, which constituted a link between the Russians and the Esthonians."

These are the psychical reason which led this struggle to such an upheaval as has often been seen on various other Russian frontiers. Trotzky was right, after all, when he said: "We are dead; we only want burying." However, the Russian society is so disorganised that one cannot even find grave-diggers.

Political Review.

AUGUST—SEPTEMBER.

August 4—The Russian Northern Army evacuates Jamburg.

" 6—The Bolsheviks demand that our army should retreat behind our own frontiers. This would terminate all fighting.

" 11—In the direction of Porhov one Bolshevik regimental staff annihilated, 500 men taken prisoners and 8 machine guns captured.

- Aug. 11—The Russian North-Western Government recognises Esthonian Independence.
 „ 15—The Constituent Assembly agrees to the conclusion of the 50 million dollar loan in America.
 „ 18—Restrictions on free trade in grain removed.
 „ English vessels sink the following Russian ships in Kronstadt harbour :
 „ “ Andrei Pervosvannoi,” “ Petropavlovsk,” “ Pamjat Asova,” and others.
 „ 21—Second reading of the Land Reform Bill in the Constituent Assembly.
 „ 23—Balachovitch arrested at Pskoff in accordance with the instructions of General Judenitch.
 „ 25—After leaving Pskoff, the Esthonians take up their position on the fortified line at Isborsk.
 „ 26—The White Russian forces evacuate Pskoff.
 „ 29—In the Constituent Assembly: Declaration of the recognition of Esthonian Independence by the German Empire.
 „ 31—Tchitcherin's wireless Peace Offer.
 „ 102 Bolshevist members of the Trade Union Congress arrested and sent to Russia.
- Sept. 12-10—The Prime Minister and Foreign Ministers of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania meet at Riga.
 „ 12—The Constituent Assembly agrees to the opening of Peace negotiations.
 „ 14-15—Esthonian, Lettish, Lithuanian and Finnish Representatives confer at Reval.
 „ 16-18—The Esthonian and Bolshevist Peace Delegations meet at Pskoff.
 „ 20—Violent Bolshevik attacks launched in the direction of Pskoff.
 „ 22—Two Bolshevik regiments annihilated during our counter-attack.
 „ 28—Esthonian, Lettish and Lithuanian representatives meet in Dorpat.

The Government and Parliament.

By GEORGE TURNBULL.

Writing immediately after the great Railway Strike on the position of the Government, the temptation is irresistible to take an incident in that remarkable struggle as a preface or text for these remarks. I refer to the much-quoted declaration made three months before by Mr. Concemore Thomas Cramp, the passenger guard on the Midland, in whom, as president of the National Union of Railwaymen, more than half the nation during the Nine Days' War identified a remorseless enemy of the public weal.

Speaking to his union at Plymouth in June, this leader said : “ We find that the centre of gravity is passing from the House of Commons to the headquarters of the great trade unions, and it behoves us to make ourselves worthy of the responsibility.” I make no apology for ignoring a more revolutionary utterance of Mr. Cramp's, which filled an even larger space in the recent controversy. Mr. Cramp himself studiously avoided the hopeless task of explaining *it* away. But he did expatiate, during the strike, on this other, to the extent of making it clear that he was referring not to the suppression of Parliament by the trade unions, but rather to the gradual acquisition of economic power by the trade unions, and to their widening authority on all matters affecting industry.

Mr. Cramp being ambitious to quit the humdrum routine of railway service in order to become, by the grace of the electorate, Labour member for Middlesborough, we may absolve him of designs upon the supreme authority of Parliament, and be content to watch his behaviour should he be relegated to the ranks of disappointed politicians. Mr. Robert Smillie himself has strong reason, from personal experience, to be dissatisfied with the

Parliamentary system, because he has been rejected at the polls by the free and unfettered British worker, in secret ballot, no fewer than seven times, his place in these three-cornered contests never being higher than third. But the habit of depreciating Parliament has been growing so steadily during the past decade, and not among direct actionists alone, that we have now reached a point when some effort to restore Parliament to its proper place in national credit and esteem may be said to be vital to the power of the Government.

I have spoken of the past decade. But the doom of Parliament was pronounced at a much earlier period and by a very different prophet. It was a rather favourite theory of the greatest of Tories. Seven years after he had taken his seat in the House of Commons, Disraeli, in 1844, published his finest story, "Coningsby." Here is an extract: "'You will observe one curious trait,' said Sidonia to Coningsby, 'in the history of this country, the depository of power is always unpopular; all combine against it; it always falls. . . . As we see that the Barons, the Church, and the King have in turn devoured each other, and that the Parliament, the last devourer, remains, it is impossible to resist the impression that this body is also doomed to be destroyed; and he is a sagacious statesman who may detect in what form and in what quarter the great consumer will arise!'" It is a coincidence, by the way, that another novelist of alien upbringing, if not race, should have rushed into print during the late strike to anticipate the doom of Parliament, by inviting trade unions to rehearse the taking-over of the machinery of Government. May the shade of Disraeli forgive the mention of Mr. W. L. George in the same breath, but it is worthy of note that, like other revolutionaries who might have been ready to take success by the hand, the modern novelist showed signs of retreat as soon as the railway strike assumed the complexion of failure. They are really shy, the advocates of Sovietism in this country. They value their skins.

The doom of Parliament to-day means nothing short of the doom of representative institutions; and he would be a foolish interpreter of events who believed anything so completely subversive of the British scheme of things to be at hand. Yet the Government must be awakened to see the paramount need of the present situation. The supremacy of Parliament can only be re-established by bringing the Cabinet into greater submission to the chosen representatives of the people. If Disraeli were alive to-day it is conceivable he might tell us that the despotism of the Cabinet is a fulfilment of all he had in mind when he developed his theory of the doom of Parliament in the early Victorian era. And the railway strike affords a capital instance of this despotism. Had the Prime Minister and his colleagues paid greater attention to the source of their authority at the critical moment, they could have raised Parliament in general esteem. Of course, no one can deny that the country was inexpressibly relieved when it heard the firm accents with which the Government spoke in refusing the outrageous demand of the Executive of the National Union of Railwaymen for its surrender; but this announcement ought clearly to have been accompanied by the necessary steps for the re-assembly of Parliament. Not a thought of Parliament seems to have crossed the mind of the Ministers. They went their way, putting all sorts of plans into operation, with the air of men who were secretly glad to be free of interference; and, in the end, this dangerous dispute was settled by the Prime Minister as representing the nation, and Mr. Thomas as representing the Union which had endeavoured to stampede the nation.

The process of bringing the Cabinet into closer correspondence with the will of the people involves regular attendance of the Prime Minister in the House of Commons. It was all very well to govern from outside when we were at war; but the war is over. Dictatorship has played its part. We cannot look for an increase in public respect for Parliament so long as the Prime Minister, Dictator, shows no respect for it himself. This is a first step in the restoration of the supremacy of Parliament; a second may be essential. The present House was elected at a time when domestic politics were less in the mind of

the people than the overwhelming importance of showing to the external world that British opinion was solidly behind a strong Peace Treaty. The vision is entirely changed since December, 1918, and a re-adjustment of political values and re-establishment of public confidence by an appeal to the people, would seem to be as nearly certain as anything in the present outlook can be.

The League of Nations Union.

Esthonians are watching with the keenest possible interest the progress of the League of Nations Union, that British Organisation which has for object :

" The establishment, as soon as possible, of a League of Free Peoples desirous of ending war for ever, willing to agree,

1. To submit all disputes arising between themselves to methods of peaceful settlement.
2. To suppress jointly, by the use of all means at their disposal, any attempt by any State to disturb the peace of the world by acts of war.
3. To create a Supreme Court and to respect and enforce its decisions.
4. To establish a permanent Council which shall provide for the development of International Law, for the settlement of differences not suitable for submission to the Supreme Court, for the supervision and control of armament, and for joint action in matters of common concern.
5. To admit to the League all peoples able and willing to give effective guarantees of their loyal intention to observe its covenants,

and thus bring about such a World Organisation as will guarantee the freedom of nations ; act as trustee and guardian of uncivilised races and undeveloped territories ; maintain international order, and thus finally liberate mankind from the curse of war."

Such an organisation as this will prove of immense value, not only to Esthonia, but to all nations which, like herself, are fighting to maintain that independence which they have had to buy with their life-blood. It is interesting to note that the independence of small nations has been recognised by the League. This is shown by the fact that a special Esthonian Sub-committee has been formed, the report of which will prove of personal interest to each of our readers. The League of Nations Union has our fullest support and sympathy, and as this organization has more power than any other to further Esthonia's Cause, we hope that our readers will show their sympathy in a practical manner by furthering the objects of the League, becoming members thereof and spreading its objects in whatever country they may be situated.

Report of the Esthonian Sub-Committee.

The Inaugural Meeting of the Esthonian Sub-Committee of the League of Nations Union, was held on 30th June, 1919, at 22, Buckingham Gate, S.W. Present : Prof. A. Piip (in the Chair), J. Kopwillem, Esq., A. Puchk, Esq., W. Reinwald, Esq., J. Pugert, Esq., J. Palmer, Esq., O. A. Tomberry, Esq., Capt. A. Kuldner, Capt. J. Laredei, Capt. A. Altenbrun, J. Kutt, Esq., and G. E. Belmont, Esq. (Assistant Overseas Secretary).

Mr. Belmont, in addressing the meeting afforded those present a most hearty welcome, after which he fully explained the functions for which the Sub-committee had been formed.

Prof. Piip, in replying, said how grateful they all were to the Assistant Overseas Secretary for his help in forming the Esthonian Sub-Committee, and said he was sure that the Sub-Committee would do all they possibly could for the League of Nations Movement, and especially the formation of a League of Nations Society in Esthonia. The following officers were unanimously elected :—Chairman, Prof. A. Piip ; Vice-Chairman, J. Kopwillem, Esq. ; Secretary, W. Reinwald, Esq. ; Treasurer, A. Puchk, Esq.

On the motion of Prof. Piip, and with the unanimous approval of the Sub-Committee, the following resolution was passed :—

"That the Esthonian Sub-Committee express their gratitude for the formation of the Sub-Committee, and present their compliments to the President of the League of Nations Union.

"The Sub-Committee hopes that now Victory is assured the League of Nations, together with the dreams of the best brains of humanity, will be realised as soon as possible, and that international quarrels will now be settled in a peaceful manner. Esthonia, for her part, will do all in her power to facilitate this task of a League of Nations, and the Sub-Committee will do their best to bring to the knowledge of the Esthonian people the aims and objects of the British League of Nations Union."

Peace Discussions with Soviet Russia.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—*The Report of the Peace discussions with Soviet Russia is reprinted here in full, as it will undoubtedly prove of interest to our readers as an example of Bolshevik intrigue. We feel sure that the Esthonian People have a point of view far different to that which is unfortunately to be found among certain sections of our community.*

We print hereafter some Press interviews which throw another light on the matter, and will help in the acquisition of a grasp of the position.

The Meeting at Pskoff on 17th and 19th September, 1919.

THE DELEGATES OF THE BOLSHEVIKS consisted of :—

Leonid Krasin, Commissary for Trade, Industry and Means of Communication.
Maxim Litvinoff, Member of the Council of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs.
Prof. D. Bogoliepoff, Member of the Council of Commissariat for Finance.

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE ESTHONIAN DELEGATION was :—

A Birk, Member of the Constituent Assembly.

The First Meeting.

COMRADE KRASIN MAKES AN EXTENSIVE OPENING SPEECH, in which he points out that at the Peace of Versailles, the heads of the League of Nations intended to divide amongst themselves even non-combatant nations. Russia defends herself and believes that the remedy to the present catastrophe lies solely in the means adopted by the Bolshevik Government.

Russia does not intend to impress, by force, her views on other nations, Soviet Russia is prepared to live in peace with everybody who gives actual proof that she herself will be unmolested.

Russia attacks no one, but acts only in self-defence.

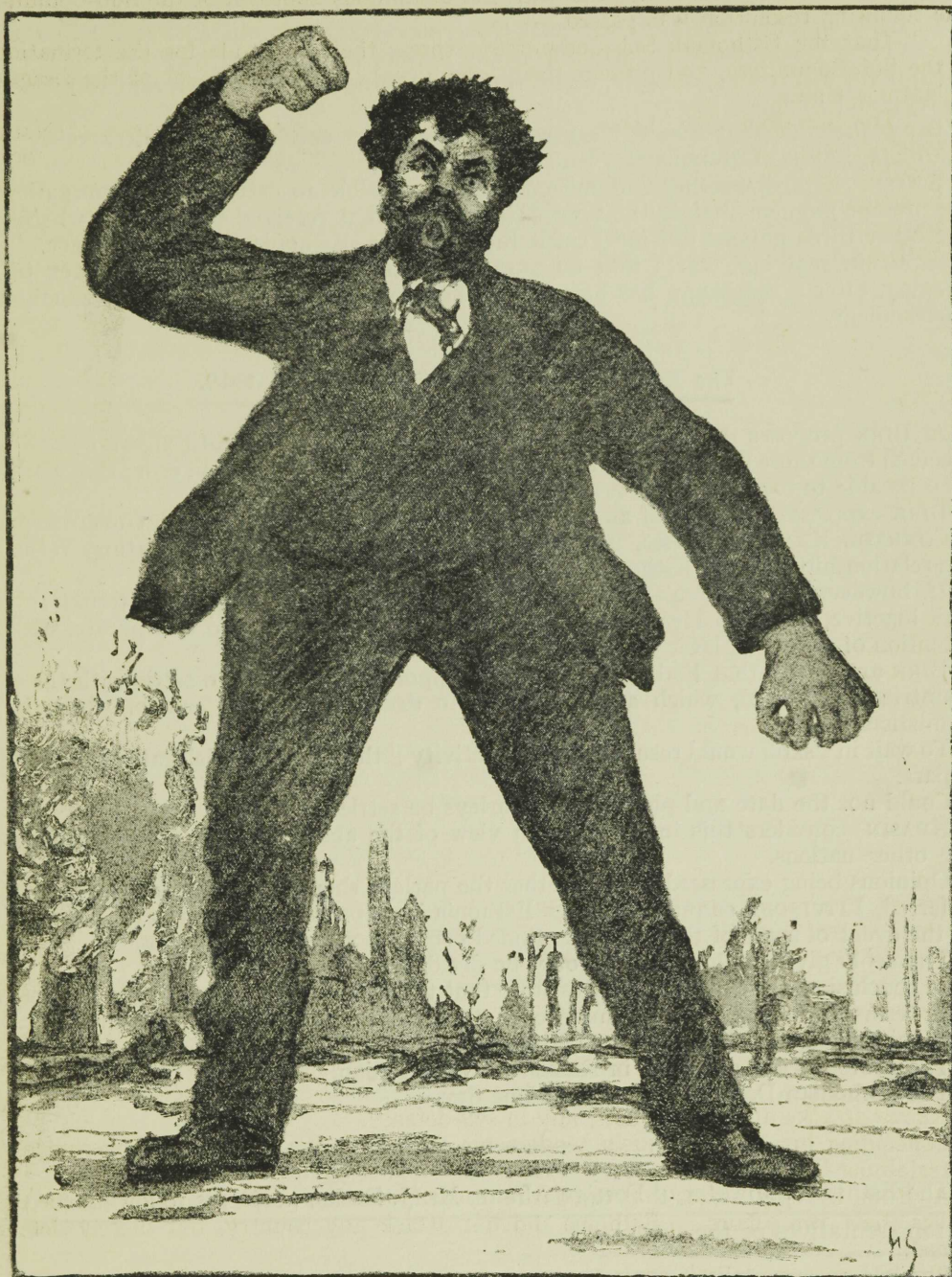
Concluding his speech, Krasin tenders his thanks to the Esthonian Government for entertaining Peace Proposals.

A. BIRK, in reply, states that the desire of the Esthonian people, is to govern for themselves their own affairs. Esthonia did not attack any country, but merely defended herself.

She has no imperialistic aspirations.

She is prepared to conclude peace, if the terms are acceptable and if she is left undisturbed.

After the exchange of the documents, COMRADE KRASIN suggests the immediate creation of a sub-committee for the preliminary work of establishing armistice conditions.



THE BOLSHEVIK : " When all will have been destroyed, we'll establish paradise on earth."

A. BIRK suggests the discussion of various preparatory measures, this motion being carried.

A. BIRK enquires whether the Soviet Government has also offered Peace Negotiations to the other border countries arisen from the Former Russian Territory.

COMRADE LITVINOFF, in reply, states that Peace Proposals have been sent to Lithuania, Latvia, and Finland.

BIRK suggests that Peace Negotiations should be carried on simultaneously with Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland.

KRASIN enquires whether Esthonia considers it possible to carry on the pourparlers at the present moment, before the Soviet Government has received replies, and whether, if the other three nations did not accept the proposals, Esthonia would sign peace.

A. BIRK, replying, states that an answer to this question can only be given in the evening, after a messenger has been dispatched to obtain the opinion of the Esthonian Government.

The Evening Meeting on 17th September, 1919.

A. BIRK proposes the postponement of the Peace pourparlers until answers have been received from those Governments to which proposals have been sent, in order that Esthonia may be able to carry on these negotiations in conjunction with them.

BIRK expresses the hope of an early and satisfactory reply from these Governments.

COMRADE KRASIN suggests, meanwhile, the commencement of negotiations regarding the relationship between Esthonia and Soviet Russia in particular.

If, however, the Esthonian Delegates cannot agree to this, the only alternative is to wait inactive, or to consider the parley closed for the time being and to separate, with the intention of arranging later the time and place of another meeting.

BIRK announces that Esthonia has several important questions to settle with the three countries mentioned, which are impossible to decide separately, one of which is the Armistice.

To wait in Pskoff would result in futile inactivity ; the Esthonian delegates will therefore depart.

Could not the date and place of new parleys be settled at once ?

KRASIN considers this inadvisable, in view of the absence of the Representatives of the other nations.

Opinions being expressed as to whether the parleys should be considered as finished or deferred, LITVINOFF enquires whether Esthonia is prepared to enter Peace Negotiations in the event of some of the three mentioned countries refusing the proposals.

The reply given is that this can only be decided by the Government.

In conclusion, the Soviet Delegates state that the Esthonian Delegation has put forward new terms regarding the continuance of the parley ; namely, the participation with Esthonia, of Latvia, Lithuania and Finland.

The protocols are compiled in Russian and Esthonian.

The Esthonian Delegates leave the same day.

The Esthonian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. J. Poska, made the following statement to representatives of the Press :—

“ Esthonia entered the war firstly to free the Country from the Bolshevists, secondly to secure the independence of the State. The first object has been accomplished, the fulfilment of the second object, however, depends more on the Allies, than on the Bolsheviks.

The Bolsheviks are no longer opposed to the independence of Esthonia, therefore there is no reason for the continuation of hostilities against them. Moreover, the Esthonians have the right to end this war which they did not promote. In addition to this, the Esthonians believe that the Allies are no longer sufficiently unanimous regarding the warlike policy adopted towards the Soviet Government.

It cannot be expected that a comprehensive Peace will result from the purparlers. The Bolsheviks would be able only to furnish guarantees that hostilities against Esthonia should cease. Diplomatic and commercial agreements could in no wise be concluded. We could never countenance a man like Joffre being stationed in Reval."

The Diplomatic Representative in London, Prof. A. Piip, in his interview with Reuter, gives a more specific explanation of the situation. Asked whether the Peace negotiations opened with the Bolsheviks meant that the Esthonian Government was prepared to recognise and condone Bolshevik methods, Professor Piip replied: "By no means. We are anti-Bolshevists and our Government and people are resolute in their opposition to Bolshevism, which had never taken root in our country, and never will. At the same time the circumstances in which we, and other small Baltic nations find ourselves, are becoming increasingly difficult, owing to the lack of support and to the scarcity of arms and ammunition, which makes it impossible for us to continue an indefinite and limitless fight against the Bolsheviks. There is every reason to believe that Lithuania and Latvia will act in co-operation with ourselves. The fact that the Allies have failed to recognise the *de jure* independence of Esthonia has much bearing on the prevailing sentiment amongst Esthonians, and the weakening of their will to fight the Bolsheviks in Russia.

It has also made our Economic situation very precarious, for nobody will render financial assistance to an unrecognised state."

This is the Esthonian point of view, which, having been put forward in the Press, has met with an unanimous reception.

The English and French Press expressed the fear that the cessation of hostilities might give Bolshevism its best opportunity to spread over Western Europe.

The experience of the Baltic States disproves this view.

What is the object of Bolshevik propaganda in Esthonia? The continuance of warfare by futile demagogical comparisons between the "Bourgeoisie muddle" with the "Socialists' Heaven," such fascinating fantasies lose their strength in the daylight of realities such as the agony of starvation and the deluge of corruption involved in the "Bolshevik Heaven."

The cessation of hostilities breaks the back of Bolshevik propaganda.

It is obvious that the Esthonians are not so naive as to trust to the florid promises of the Bolshevik commissaries, by accepting the fact that Soviet Russia does not intend to forcibly satiate other nations with its propoundings, and is only committing its atrocities in self-defence.

It would be too much to expect naivete from the Baltic States after the sufferings they have endured under the Bolshevik-German regime.

A crook is only a benefactor so long as compelled by circumstances, or so long as to do so is in his own interests.

A living example is present-day Finland. While the nations south of the Finnish Bay exhaust themselves in warfare, she (Finland) compelling the Bolsheviks to respect her military strength and preparedness for warfare, was able to begin in peace her work of reconstruction, in laying foundations for national welfare. The end of military operations considerably decreased Bolshevik propaganda activities, while whenever Finland was on the point of being dragged in to intervene in Russia, the result was opposite: the hydra of Bolshevik propaganda lifted its head.

The Baltic States now follow the example of Finland.

EDITORS.

The Peace Proposals before the Esthonian Constituent Assembly.

On the 12th September, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, J. Poska, made the following declaration before the Constituent Assembly :

The Foreign Minister received the following wireless from Moscow on 1st September :

" Reval, Foreign Office, 31st August.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Reval Government is under the influence of the Allies, submitting itself entirely to their judgment against the wishes of the Esthonian people, and that in common with bands of White Guards it is fighting against the Social Federative Soviet Republic in the Petrograd and Pskoff provinces, the Russian Soviet Government, after the recapture of first Jamburg and then Pskoff, approaches the Reval Government for the arranging of peace negotiations with a view to

Fixing the Esthonian frontier.

To arrange for a neutral zone between the Russian and Esthonian Armies and for the control of this zone.

To discuss the questions relating to the immediate recognition of the Independence of the Esthonian Republic by the Russian Social Federative Soviet Republic.

The latter hopes to receive without delay the proposals of the Reval Government as to place and time for the opening of the Peace negotiations. It should be clear to the Government at Reval that if, after the receipt of the Peace Offer from the Social Federative Soviet Republic, the Government at Reval resorts to fighting under the direction of the Allies who are preparing for an attack on the Soviet Government, the Reval Government will be responsible for the result of this attack, and if the Soviet Armies, owing to Military exigency shall be compelled to advance further, this will be due solely to the action of the Esthonian Government.

I request an early reply with directions for the facilitating of the immediate opening of negotiations."

(Signed) TSCHITSCHERIN,

People's Commissary for Foreign Affairs.

We replied the same day by wireless that the proposals of the Soviet Government would be put before the Government of the Esthonian Republic.

On 2nd September, the following telegram was sent to Moscow :

" I beg to inform you that in view of the fact that hostilities between Esthonia and the Russian Soviet Republic were caused by the intrusion of armed Soviet forces into the territory of Esthonia, the fighting arena became transferred into the territory of Soviet Russia in the ordinary course of Military operations, and not on account of any design of conquest on the part of the Esthonian people, but solely for defensive purposes.

If, therefore, the Russian Soviet Government is now prepared to cease hostilities, the Esthonian Government sees no obstacle in the way of entering into negotiations on this subject, as well as adjusting mutual relations between the two Republics for the future.

The Esthonian Government suggests that the negotiations may take place at Pskoff on 10th September.

I await your reply, as well as information regarding your arrangement for the passage of the Esthonian Delegates through the front."

(Signed) J. POSKA,

Minister of Foreign Affairs.

After the appointment of the Delegates as follows :

Chairman : Birk, Member of Constituent Assembly.

Delegates : Selyamaa and Puumann, Members of Constituent Assembly ; Maim and Schipai, Officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs ; Colonel Rink, Lieut.-Colonel Parts and Captain Parn, Military Representatives. Pskoff was chosen as the place of meeting instead of Petsery, and the date was fixed for 15th September.

Now that the Government has succeeded in arranging these parleys, trusting that the discussions will lead to a secure peace between us and the Soviet Government, the Government will do all in its power to reach a successful agreement.

This will only be possible, if through this peace our peoples' honour and strength remain untouched. This Government is of the definite opinion that it would not be right for these peace discussions to be exclusively between us and the Bolsheviks, but that they should be participated in by the other small nations living within the borders of the former Russian Empire. Thus a peace might be concluded which would bring security also to the people with whom we have been working hand in hand.

The other nations have already congratulated us through our Foreign Minister on taking this step, and whilst designating us as their elder brother, have expressed the hope that we shall not neglect their interests.

This Government understands very well that the Constituent Assembly wishes to receive detailed information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on these matters, but unfortunately there are important reasons which make it impossible for the Government at present to accede to these wishes, and I trust that the Constituent will agree with me in this. The Government will supply all information in connection with this Foreign Policy.

After the discussion, the following resolution of the Democratic, Labour and Social Democratic parties was unanimously carried against the votes of Maaliit (Peasant's Party).

Having heard the declaration of the Government of the Republic in connection with the opening of peace negotiations with the Russian Soviet Government, the Constituent Assembly declares :

The Esthonian Republic was compelled to defend its independence and safety against the aggression of the Russian Soviet Republic's forces. The valiant Esthonian peoples' army has nobly accomplished this task, and is now forming a steel wall in defence of the frontiers of the State.

§ The Constituent Assembly sends its warmest greeting to the people's army in the firm hope that the army will also in the future oppose the attacks of the Bolsheviks unflinchingly.

Now that the Russian Soviet Government has made peace proposals, the Constituent Assembly finds that the Esthonian State has no reasons for refusing to take notice of these proposals, as from the very beginning our people have conducted this war in self-defence.

The future peace should guarantee Esthonia's safety and independence, realize our peoples requirements and requite their sufferings and sacrifices, and also be in agreement with the just wishes and desires of the nations and states friendly to us.

The Constituent Assembly confirms the steps taken by the Government in connection with the Peace Proposals and passes on to the order of the day.

Books received by the Esthonian Review.

By GLADYS DAVIES.

THE RUSSIAN ALMANAC, compiled and edited by N. Peacock (Editor of the Russian Year Book), published for the Anglo-Russian Trust by Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode, Ltd., Price, 5/-."

This is a most interesting reference book, dealing with the political and economic situation in Russia, and those states formerly included in old Russia, their finance, agriculture, minerals, ways and communications, etc., and giving many details valuable to all having political or commercial relations with these countries.

There is, however, one very misleading statement:—

"..... the question of the autonomy of the Baltic and other peoples. This work..... must be completed."

It would be interesting to know what foundation the author has for this statement in the face of the recognition by Great Britain, France, and Italy of the de facto Independence of Esthonia and Latvia, an independence bought by a long and gallant struggle against overwhelming despotism and oppression. Surely, also, to say that "New Russia will pursue the objects of destroying, in their inception, the artificial causes of an unhealthy separatism," is as foolish as it is untrue. Had the author but avoided this topic, on which her lack of information is apparent, we should have nothing but praise for the Russian Year Book.

LA GUERRE ET LA VERITE (*Illustrated*), by Arthur Toupine. Translated from the original Russian by the Poet, O. W. DE LUBICZ MOŁOSZ. Published by La Revue Baltique, 201, Boulevard Pereire, Paris 17. Price: 1 Franc 75 cents.

This book, translated by the Editor of our contemporary, "La Revue Baltique," is remarkable for the fact that it combines sound, well-balanced political matter, and fine descriptions, with a literary style at once fluent and impressive.

Mr. Toupine manages to bring the scenes he depicts, whether they be harrowing or poetic, vividly before his reader. The book deals with life in the Russian lines near Riga, during wartime, and is a profound psychological study told in delightfully simple and delicately written French.

Causerie.

Pages devoted to Topics for the Leisure Hour of interest to thinking men and women.

The Soul of Esthonia.

By I. NARODNY.

(Editor of our American contemporary, "Esthonia.")

There is a saying in Esthonia : *Hada opetab* (danger teaches us), which means that danger and deprivation are more beneficial in the long run than peace and joy. The whole psychology of the Esthonian race is crystallized in these two impressionistic words. Though a race of ancient culture and rich traditions, the Esthonians are a new young people in the present family of nations. In the imagination of an average Anglo-Saxon, Esthonia has remained a country beyond the horizon, something outside the pale of civilization. Yet there is hardly another civilized nation with such lofty folklore, so exotic epic and such inborn feeling for poetry as the Esthonians.

What John Ruskin said in his famous historic essay applies to Esthonia : " I found that all the great nations learned their truth of word and strength of thought in war." It is only through the past war and revolution that has united Esthonia into one unconquerable political and racial unit ; and the present resistance to the Bolshevik and bureaucratic pressures are opening the soul of Esthonia to the world by showing what a dynamic power lies in the spirit and determination of a small united nation in the present turmoil. The further developments of Esthonian independence will reveal that Esthonia the Known has been the opposite extreme of Esthonia the Unknown.

The big outside world still ignores this tiny nation and pays but occasional attention to its titanic struggle against a nightmare of the mob, Bolshevism. They cannot reconcile the Esthonia, a province of Russia, with the Esthonia of great spirit and still greater dreams. The Esthonian spiritual chords have sounded in so far only small chords without any great headline, without any stirring symphony. The world has looked at Esthonia as a land of peaceful farmers and provincial back-yard families, and forgets that in actuality this is the extreme surface of Esthonia of the past, and next to it is an Esthonia of great civilization and the highest aspirations, unknown yet to the West generally.

One of the strangest peculiarities of Esthonian life is that you will find the deepest feeling for symbolism and introspection everywhere. Some kind of symbol and exotic idea occupies the mind of the simplest Esthonian " mats "—*moujik*. A primitive Esthonian is a born poet and philosopher, a mental anarchist, like Kreutzwald, Koidula, Weizenberg or Lurich. They all brood about the dimension beyond, the idea in the exotic spheres. They all live a dual life, a life of conventional and another of Bohemian order. The fairy tale, the adventurous daring and the impossible ideas always fascinate an Esthonian, be he an academic scholar or a carefree sailor. You will find that all Esthonian life is full of such mental and physical contrasts.

This is the dualism that confronts the foreigners like a sphinx. I have met old Esthonian women, some of them illiterate, who could improvise me poetry and stories for days without repeating a single line or event. As a boy of eighteen I was gathering folksongs and tales for Dr. Hurt, and to my great astonishment, I found such unexpected spiritual treasures among the most primitive country people that I could hardly believe the evidence of my ears. I was as one going through an undiscovered land of a new " Thousand and One Nights." A certain Metsa Tiu at Kahkwa told me stories of such vivid impressionistic symbolism as to rival with the best story tellers of the Orient. The Esthonian national

colours, black, blue and white, is an ancient Oriental sacred symbol, signifying the black soil, the blue sky, and the white light of the sun. The same colors repeat themselves in manifold variations in Esthonian home life, and in national designs and costumes. The Esthonian poetry contains alliteration and interwoven images of Central Asiatic style, whence the nation originally sprang. Esthonian folk melodies and dances manifest that same weird minor note which one hears so often in the Arabian melodies.

Yet with all the weirdness and minor mood, the Esthonians are not like the Russians, a race of pessimists and romantic desperadoes, but they are fatalists with an outspoken optimistic note. You will find that in the Esthonian folklore, in the "Kalewipoeg," and in their mythology. An average Esthonian never loves to die and enjoy the death, but to accomplish something and live, even if his body dies. Thus we see that the hero of the famous national epic, the Kalew's Son, dies physically, but the spirit assumes a new body and goes on living a new life, thus depicting the idea of reincarnation in a dramatic form.

The realistic tendency in Esthonian literature and art is not the aboriginal note of the Esthonians themselves, but an acquired attribute from the Germans and the Russians. The realistic novels and poems of the young educated Esthonians sound strange and out of place in the real Esthonian sense. The real Esthonian tale is as unrealistic as possible, because in it the inanimate objects (rocks, trees, clouds, waters, stars) are animated by the same spirit and soul as the man. In Esthonian fairy tales a dead object does not become animated through witchcraft or magic, but is animated in the most natural way. Thus the stones and stars speak, think and feel, like the man. Man dying or being born, represents some concrete end of a mental process to Western nations, but not so to the Esthonians. Death is only a transformation period from one phase of life into another. For that reason the dead, according to the Esthonians visit the places in which they used to live, either with or without the physical body. Man can become a stone or an angel if he only wishes it. The will is the fundamental thing by itself in the Esthonian folklore, and this will can manifest itself in a thousand phenomena. The will itself is eternal and goes from one phase into another. Dreamy, adventurous, imaginary, simple and childlike as an average "mats," is the soul of the people. Nowhere is there a hint of those inferior qualities which were drawn up as dark shadows on the canvas of his horizon by the Baltic Germans. While with one hand Esthonia has been building castles for the German nobility and the Russian chinovniks, with the other she has been reconstructing her ancient racial masterpieces, and maintaining the national unity. In the same generation she produces a Kreutzwald and a Koidula, both in a way true to national type.

In the popular Anglo-American imagination, which invariably seizes upon a single point, two things stand out as representative of Esthonia; world forsaken fishermen and farmers. The vast spaces between these have been filled in with the dark colours of poverty and barons, so that Esthonia is looked upon as an insignificant corner of civilized life!

The Esthonia of feudal ideas is past; thus soon will pass the Esthonian provincialism, and the Esthonian realism and gloom which have cast a shadow over the ambitious race. From now on, the other civilized nations will hear something of the young nationalistic Esthonia, and see rich aesthetic novelties in her united and free republic. Ancient Esthonians were dreaded pirates, and that pirate spirit is still alive in the present generation, only in a different form. It is the spiritual and not the physical piracy which concerns democratic and independent Esthonia. Not only has Esthonia her peculiar racial civilization, her unique folklore and national traditions, she has riches of which the outside world knows little, riches that are still buried in the deep soul of the people. No epics or mythology of another country is such a true symbol of a nation's racial character, life, passion, struggle, despair and agony, as the Esthonian. One can almost see in its languorous or reckless chords the fantastic outlines of the ancient Turanian civilization, the halt Oriental atmosphere that surrounds everything with an exotic halo.

The fundamental purpose of the pathfinders of Esthonian poetry, art and music was to create beauties that emanated not from a certain class or school, but directly from the soul of the people. Their ideal was to create life from life. Though profound melancholy seems to be the dominant note in Esthonian music, poetry and architecture, yet along with the dramatic gloom go also reckless hilarity and boisterous satire, which often whirl one off one's feet, as in the "Kuljak." "Petja Ants ja Wana Pagan," etc. This is easily explained by the fact that the average Esthonian is extremely emotional and consequently dramatic in his artistic expressions.

Thus the Esthonian folklore and soul in their very foundations are already democratic, simple, direct and true to the ethnographic traits of the people. In the same way you will find the Esthonian home life, the peasant communities, the folk festivals, offsprings of an extremely democratic tendency, perhaps far more than any such institutions of the West. Instead of the rich absorbing the land of the peasants, we find in Esthonia the peasant succeeding to the property of the baron. An average Esthonian peasant is a democratic and hospitable poet of nature. Extremely industrious, persistent and curious, he is a pantheist in his subconscious life. He has the culture of ages in his traditions, religion and national folk arts.

Nearly each village has its local dramatic or musical society and modern operas, symphony concerts and ballets are performed even in towns of less than ten thousand inhabitants. Esthonia has a well organized system of co-operative banks and stores and the integrity of a public institution is looked upon like a temple.

I have always preached, and shall continue to do so in the future, that Esthonia, England and the United States should join hands, know and love each other; the sooner the better. It is not the commercial element that will play the dominant role in free Esthonia, but the ideal, the lofty and mystic tendency. Money will never have that meaning in Esthonia which it has in the West. It will be the individual, the great symbol of the mystic beyond that will speak from future democratic Esthonia to the outside world. As Shakespeare and Poe are the living voices of England and America, thus Koidula and Kreutzwald remain the glorified Esthonian peasants, uttering their hearts to the world.

Fin D'Ete.

By JOHN BALFOUR.

This wise old house ignores the dusty town
By falling fast asleep—the crowds who press
And jostle on the pavement never guess
The dreams old houses dream, with blinds drawn down
When days grow sultry and the leaves turn brown.

Upstairs and downstairs softly come and go,
The light fantastic dreams, their fairy feet
Trip round the shuttered room above the street,
Chasing the shadows, where, two months ago,
We mortals glided to the music's beat.

Surely the wise old houses are aware
How beauty too must doff her dancing gown
Like summer foliage, and unclasp her crown
Of brown September leaves and maidenhair.

Heathen Religions of Ancient Esthonia.

By J. SAPAS.

Superstitions, myths and legends were the principal features of Esthonian religion before the advent of Christianity. Nature worship and Anthropomorphism formed the presiding means of religions expression. Stones, trees, various forests, and also certain animals were held sacred, and were worshipped, as were the manifestations of the elements. The following stones connected with mythological beliefs are noteworthy :

1. In the centre of the University town of Tartu (Dorpat) there is a hill called Toome-magi (Domberg), which is now covered by park-land. In this park is a stone slab on which, according to legend, sacrifices were performed. The hill was covered by a forest of oaks, called the Taara Tammik, which is sacred to Taara, God of War.

2. By the Seto-ests on the boundary of the Pskoff principality in Livonia, there is, in a dense forest, another stone, on which presents to Peko, the God of the Seto-ests were laid, generally on 24th June (St. John's Day). This points to the fact that in the person of Peko were united the characteristics of the heathen and of the Christian.

3. Near Reval are two stones of mythological interest, one of which is near shore in the lake of Ulemiste on the hill of Lasna-Laxberg, known as the stone of Linda (Linda-Kivi). This stone is reputed to have been built by Linda, wife of the Esthonian hero, Kalev. On the death of her husband, she carried stone after stone to form his tomb, and created thus a steep hill in the centre of Reval, which afterwards formed the foundation for that part of the town known as Toompea. Kalev's tomb is known as Kalevi-Kalr. Legend has it that the lake of Ulemiste is formed of the tears shed by the mourning Linda. This lake is the source of fresh-water supplies for Reval.

The second stone is situated seven verst from Reval and is called Iru-Amm (Grandmother of Iru). Linda was transformed into this stone whilst saving herself, after the death of Kalev, from the wizard Tuuslar (the sorcerer of the winds).

The following plants and forests are prominent in connection with religious beliefs.

1. Oaks were consecrated to Taara, the God of War ; they were called Taara-Tammiks. A notable specimen of the sacred oaks was to be found in Tartu on the hill Toomemagi, to which reference has already been made.

Names of towns are sometimes derived from the names of trees, for instance, the town of Haapsalu-Hapsal, which faces the island Hiiu-Daago. Haapsalu means " Grove of Aspen."

The ancient Esthonians had no temples ; religious ceremonies were conducted in sacred oak forests and woods.

Amongst birds and animals, the cuckoo was endowed with magic powers. His appearance in a garden indicated the death of one if the inhabitants of the adjoining house, and by counting the numbers of a cuckoo's cries in spring, it was thought possible to ascertain the years one had to live.

The wolf is an agent of the devil. There is a story that snakes were fed in the houses. This custom was probably connected with a superstition which requires special investigation.

Nature-worship included anthropomorphism, and was predominant at the time when heathen belief inclined towards creating spirit gods for itself, in the image of man, believing these to be under supernatural control. Among Nature-Spirits the following were noteworthy :

- | | | |
|-------------------|---------|---|
| 1. KOU AND PIKKER | | Thunder and Lightening. |
| 2. METZ-HALDJAD | | Guardian spirits of forests. |
| 3. MURUEIT | .. The | " Grandmother of the meadows and her daughters." |
| 4. NAKINEITSI | | " Maid of Naeki " the spirit of water and of the lakes. |
| 5. HALLAVANA | | The Ancient responsible for swamp-fever. |

This enumeration is by no means comprehensive, and many other spirits come under this category. The distinctive characteristics of these deities is obvious from their names; on the one hand their anthropomorphous nature, on the other hand their influence over certain supernatural manifestations. Primitive philosophy explains certain supernatural demonstrations by the actions of human-like spirits. As instances of animism in the heathen religion of the ancient Ests, we see the worship of the souls of the deceased comrades.

1. The dark November nights before the snowfall had begun, but when the days were drawing in—these were the nights for ghosts. It was believed that the spirits of recently deceased friends and relatives left their graves on November nights and returned to their earthly haunts. The resting places of these spirits were called *Manala*, from *Maan-ala-Mont*, which means subterranean passages.

2. To ameliorate the conditions of these spirits and to protect them from ill treatment by evil spooks, it was considered essential to provide nourishment for any spirit-visitor which might put in an appearance. To this end refreshment was placed each night for their delectation, in lofts, huts and granaries.

3. It was further believed that the spirits of the living were able to leave their earthly bodies during sleep, the spirit returning to the body in the form of a fly. Should the body turn over during sleep, the spirit was unable to return and the person died.

The temporary liberation of the spirit was attributed to sorcerers who wished to employ the spirit to further their own ends, to annoy their enemies, to commit robberies. Magical rites were considered necessary to dispel these ghosts, and on this subject there exist many explanatory legends.

Religious rites connected with the return of spirits to their earthly haunts once a year in November, and with the temporary absence of living spirits from the sleeping body took an important part in the Esthonian heathen belief.

Hero worship took a middle position between animism and anthropomorphism. These heroes were not gods, and had no special cult, but there are some circles of myths and legends connected with them.

1. *Kalev* was prominent among heroes. His sphere of activities was round *Reval*, the name of which was derived from his own. In 1912, the Danes built the town of *Reval* on the site of *Kalev's* headquarters. The Esthonian name for the town is *Tallinn*, derived from *Duanilinn-Tuanlinr-Tallinn*, but the old Russian name for *Reval* has been retained (*Kolyvan* from *Kalev*).

2. *Kalevipoeg*, son of *Kalev* was predominant among heroes. He was active throughout Esthonia, and his war-like advances in company with his friends have been immortalised by the famous Esthonian national poem, "*Kalevipoeg*." In this poem an idea of the relations of ancient Esthonians with the Finns and with Russia is given and the maritime enterprises of the Esthonians as far afield as Iceland are described. In this poem Iceland is called *Sademite Saar*, "*The Island of Sparks*."

Other heroes are:

3. *Toell*, mystic hero of the island *Oesel*.

4. *Leiger*, mystical hero of the island *Dago*, was related to the above-mentioned.

The development of the heathen religion of the ancient Ests is completed by anthropomorphous polytheism. The chief god was named *Uku* (from the word "*Ancient*"). He was probably also called *Jumal* (pronounced *Umal*) which is now used to designate God, and was used particularly by Missionaries.

Uku was the creator of the world. At his disposal were thunder and lightening, and he embodied the spirits of *Kou* and *Pikker* in his own being. He was depicted as an "*Ancient*." ("*Uku*" in ancient Esthonian and in modern Finnish means "*old man*.")

Apart from Uku there are three other gods :

1. Taara, God of War. It is established in ancient Livonian chronicles that when the Esthonians fought against the German knights their war cry was " Tarabita," meaning " Taara abita " (" Taara help us ! ")

2. Wanemuine. This name is supposedly in relations with the words " old " and " Bay." He was the God of music, poetry and valour, and has been represented as an old man with a lyre. All creatures hearing his music were endowed with the gifts of speech and sound—only the fish in the waters were unable to hear him, so remained dumb.

3. Ilmarine (from the word " Ilm," meaning " world.")— God of applied art, originally a master iron-worker, was depicted as a powerful youth. Uku was supposedly the creator of the earth only, but the organisation of the world was supposed to be the handiwork of Vanemuine and Ilmarine. On this supposition was based the Esthonian heathen religion.

It is questionable to what the ultimate development of the Esthonian heathen religion would have reached, had not Christianity intervened. Three equally powerful gods would probably have remained omnipotent, each in his own sphere of activities. Taara, Wannemuine and Ilmarine were these three deities, and they would probably have become merged into Uku, who derived from each his own specific powers. Thus the evolution of ancient Esthonian religion was leading to the creation of a supreme God.

That the conception of evil spirits existed was proved by the existence of Hallavana, above-mentioned. He was the spirit of swamp-fever. The existence of witches was also accepted ; they were endowed by the Devil with supernatural powers. The Esthonian religion has, however, evolved no spirits of evil such as exist in modern religions, since early days. It is interesting to note that the Esthonian word " Devil " is derived from " Kura-tee," meaning " The left way." Kura—"left," came from Kuri-Kurja, meaning " evil " The Esthonian word " Hell "—"Porgu " (in Finnish " Perkele "—Devil), came, apparently, from Perkunas, the name of the Lettish Lithuanian supreme god. A designation which was evolved during the hostile relations and wars between the Ests and Finns and Letts and Lithuanians—

Shakespeare in Esthonian Version.

The adaptation of Shakespeare's " Midsummer Night's Dream " for the Esthonian stage once more bears evidence of the universal genius of Britain's greatest dramatist. Thanks to the melodiousness of the Esthonian language, Shakespeare's verses were rendered at the first night's performance in the Esthonian Theatre with remarkable sweetness of diction and rhythmical effect. The Terpsichorean display of the ballet which was executed with grace of movement, and enhanced in effect by the candour of the attire, helped considerably to heighten the beauty of the play. In the sylvan scene the grotesque agility of Puck as interpreted by Hilda Gleser, an actress of unmistakable talent, was a delight to the audience. Athenian urbanity being less congenial to Esthonian actors, it is necessary for some of them to practice the noble attitudes and distinctness of speech that we are accustomed to associate with classical characters. Vastly superior in its effect was the acting of the group of Athenian artisans, who bore out to the full Shakespeare's banter on private theatricals by its comical interpretation of this chorus. Notwithstanding the limited number of musicians in the orchestra, the conductor, Mr. Kull succeeded in giving full effect to the melodies and facetious fancies of Mendelssohn's music with which the immortal comedy was accompanied. The play bids fair to become the attraction of the season for Esthonian playgoers. The house was packed and all seats are booked for some nights to come.

The Maiden at the Vaskjala Bridge.

By W. F. KIRBY.

*Reprinted from "The Hero of Esthonia," by kind permission of the Publishers,
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On a beautiful and quiet summer evening many years ago, a pious maiden went to the Vaskjala Bridge to bathe and refresh herself after the heat of the day. The sky was clear, and the song of the nightingale re-echoed from the neighbouring alder thicket. The moon ascended to his heavenly pavilion and gazed down with friendly eyes on the wreath of the maiden with the golden hair and rosy cheeks. The maiden's heart was pure and innocent, and modest and clear as the waters of the spring to its very depths.

Suddenly she felt her heart beat faster, and a strange longing seized her, and she could no longer turn her eyes away from the face of the moon. For, because she was so good and pure and innocent, she had won the love of the moon, who desired to fulfil her secret longings and the wish of her heart. But the pious maiden cherished but one wish in her heart, which she could not venture to express or to ask the moon to fulfil, for she longed to depart from this world and to dwell for ever beneath the sky with the moon, but the Moon knew the unexpressed thoughts of her heart.

It was again a lovely evening. The air was calm and peaceful, and again the song of the nightingale resounded through the night. The moon gazed down once more into the depths at the bottom of the river near the Vaskjala Bridge, but no longer alone as before. The fair face of the maiden gazed down with him into the depths, and has ever since been visible in the moon.

Above in the far sky she lives in joy and contentment, and only desires that other maidens might share her happiness. So on moonlight nights her friendly eyes gaze down on her mortal sisters, and she seeks to invite them as her guests. But none among them is as pure and modest and innocent as herself, and therefore none is worthy to ascend to her in the moon. Sometimes this troubles the maiden in the moon, and she hides her face sorrowfully in the black veil. Yet she does not abandon all hope, but trusts that on some future day one of her earthly sisters may be found sufficiently pious and pure and innocent for the moon to call her to share this blessed life. So from time to time the moon-maiden gazes down on the earth with increasing hope and laughing eyes, with her face unveiled, as on the happy evening when she first looked down from heaven on the Vaskjala Bridge. But the best and most intelligent of the daughters of earth fall into error and wander into by-paths, and none among them is pious and innocent enough to become the moon's companion. This makes the heart of the pious moon-maiden sorrowful again, and she turns her face from us once more, and hides it under her black veil.

A Soldier—and Death.

By VIOLET KING.

The big guns boomed in the distance, but the soldier lying amongst the poppies and corn heeded them not, for he knew they had no further hurt for him, because he saw a Shadow approaching.

The corn stirred in the wind, and the poppies swayed towards him. He moved restlessly as the Shadow drew nearer. It appeared to take the form of a man, and was beckoning him.

"No, no," cried the soldier, "I have no wish to follow you; I have not yet lived."

The Shadow came nearer, and, bending over him spoke in a far-away voice. "But why wish to live, when there is so little in life?"

"If I live I *might* accomplish something. It seems such a waste of years to die now," answered the soldier.

"The foolish living think they accomplish things, but they more often waste the years that are given them. Besides, nothing in life lasts, for they lose all with death," said the Shadow.

The soldier was silent. His mind was travelling back twenty years, and for the moment he had forgotten the presence of the Shadow.

The scent of the corn had reminded him of the time when he was a boy of five, and had been lost in the hay-field. How frightened he had been then, and how dark it had seemed. The owls had screeched in the woods near the field where he had lain in his childish terror. His sister had found him fast asleep in the long grass with his battered straw hat grasped firmly in his grubby hand, and her kisses had awakened him. A mist of tears clouded the soldier's eyes as he thought of those days now so far away, and he realised the loneliness of life; for his had been a lonely one, and a series of disasters. He had lived long enough to know that there is more in the anticipation than realisation of the things of life. And it had been with realisation that the knowledge had dawned. He was weary with the struggle of life. Comfort came to him as his thoughts ran on, and he saw life would always be, for him, full of elusive joys and many shadows. There would always be that striving for the unattainable. He knew his own nature, and was weary. He wanted peace.

Rubbing his eyes he looked up for the Shadow—death. There it was, before him, only now it was closer and larger, but it gave him a sense of protection. A feeling of satisfaction and peace stole over him, and with a smile he said, "I am ready."

The corn grew very still, and the poppies drooped their heads, for the soul of the soldier had passed them.

Pastiche.

By HELEN DE VERE BEAUCLERK.

He realised it was the same familiar landscape—the complacency of heather, congratulating itself on being, notwithstanding all the Devil's efforts to the contrary, purple; three umbrella-pines posing in self-conscious elegance against the sky-line; the whole country-side uttering the usual platitudes (so beautiful and so, so true!); and above, the Absolute of a blue sky, inexhaustibly Absolute and for that reason remote and quite incomprehensible. He sighed. He wanted to give it up. After all, why not give it up? It, the Question and the various incoherent answers, and settle down to the comfortable lethargy of the purely physical? You ate, you slept, you kissed your wife. You kissed your wife—only to find the Question leaping out at you from her dam' silly face. The Absolute in the home! Some long, sweet look intended to make you admire the fineness of her eye-lashes, but which thrills you—poor fool—with all the confounded old problems, just as a chord of music thrills you, though you know it's only a vibration of the air affecting the sensory nerves.

Love! That soaring out of yourself into the blue (pale blue too, so unaesthetic a colour), and the waves of golden heat and the ripples of translucent water and all the absurd birds and colours of the sentimental landscape. To result in what? A revolting bump as you hit the hard, cold ground again, a sickly, boring thud which you can hear echoed in every semi-detached villa in Putney if you have any knowledge of human nature. "Do you love me darling?" And men talk of a divine fulfilment!

"The world has come to a pretty pass," he reflected, "if a man can't kiss his wife without splitting his head against the infinite." No! The purely physical was not

enough. Kisses led to yearnings after a solution, and yearning after a solution led to kisses ; a vicious circle if ever there was one. He must get out of it. He must write a book or paint a picture or do something desperate of that sort. It wasn't fair on himself anyway, and it wasn't fair on the world, that a He so monstrous, so quite too deliciously esoterical, should remain unexplained. He would have preferred to act, to live, but the time had passed for that sort of thing. When one thought of Heliogabalus and the Borgias and Gille de Rais as described by Mr. Huysmans, one was out of conceit with mere modern living. Where could he find the frame nowadays in which He could stand out in incontrovertible purple ? And there was that rotten business of the Absolute that made one feel so small. In any case one gesture would never express the transcendental complications of his soul. He had committed a few marvellously subtle actions and each time some fool had come along and said, " Oh ! yes, I went through that phase too—once." Actions were open to misapprehension. If he created a work of art that was a real expression of himself, no one would understand it at all and perfect ignorance would join hands with perfect knowledge. " Perfect ignorance, perfect knowledge," he repeated. " Twin circles without let or break, and therefore co-equal one to the other." By Jove ! that was an idea. And he walked hastily home.

His wife was kneading flour in the kitchen : he stood and watched her. How astonishingly did the curves of her femininity reveal their clayey origin. Soft clay, putty : not enough of the bone which lasts longer and is therefore of less muddy substance : and of the Spirit ? Not even the amount necessary to fill the soul's hands of one honest man. And yet evocative, evocative ! So perhaps the way was through the flesh to the spirit, and Heaven is to be reached by digging into the thick, hard earth ; down through the crust to the molten core (which is usually associated with Hell, by the way). " Set free the spirit imprisoned in matter " He was always running up against other people's thoughts like this. It wasn't his fault that the other fellow lived before him. He would have had the same unique, precious personality if he had been the first and the last man on earth would he not ? Besides, his thought was not really the same as that other, so obviously ritualistic thought. But he would go into it later.

Meanwhile his wife kneaded flour, " one pound, and a half-pound of butter. Not a drop of water, Harry, and I must get it quite smooth." Thus she would knead his sublimated soul into his body (clay too, alas), if only she got the chance. Pooh ! She was like all the rest of 'em, with her hot skin that smelt of raspberries and exertion and her mind that was equally compounded of stuffy cunning and illogical freshness. He to his soul and she to her body. He to his thoughts and she to her ovens. And the world buzzed on its silly way through space like a drunken bee in a room where there is no window.

A book, a picture. Ha ! Hum ! Perfect ignorance and the absolute circle—matter—spirit. Had the Creator sat down and scratched his head while he was evolving the platitudes outside ? But no doubt at the time they had appeared the most perfect epigrams. Man and woman in the garden before Thought put the fear of God into them (with a vengeance). He had taken himself in, had Jehovah : had started a good job, so he probably imagined, and then given it up as a bad one. " Like you, Harry, old chap." Well, he could always follow the Divine example and he had the pull of God anyway, for he could go to sleep and forget about it. Disillusion was what he feared so ; the subsequent return to earth, the after-thud. Did Jehovah experience an unpleasant contact with the Elysian fields after the first transfusion of light ? (It was a mistake to have watched his wife making pastry : the smell of raspberries got between him and his abstractions. Jehovah was One, not one and a quarter ; a great advantage. Better to free the spirit a bit perhaps, and go for that famous merry-go-round in the Empyrean which is called love.)

" Susan ! "

" Yes, dear ? "

"Don't say 'yes, dear,' as if I was your baby. Come here." Who was the fool who started the idea that man is child as well as lover to the true woman? He felt like father, brother and husband rolled into one himself.

She wore long gloves of paste that went half up her arms and there was flour on her cheeks instead of face-powder.

"Wash yourself and come here for a moment."

"But the tart, Harry! It won't bind if I leave it."

"I'm going to write a book, Susan. Books and tarts are not compatible. Sit down and talk to me."

She sat down, but without doing more than wring the stuff off her hands; her fingers left ten white smears on her blue apron.

"You love me, Susan."

Now he would squeeze out the ultimate meaning of this clay sausage called woman. She loved him. She had sat besides him and sighed while the sea thumped out symphonies on a key-board of white sand and black rock. The sea was rather crude in its execution but brutality appealed to "the sex," and he knew that the most harrowing of Paderewski's arpeggios would not reach her as did the trite monotony of waves. She loved him. Oh! he'd get to the bottom of her for once and not be bothered any more with this side of the question. *She'd* never be able to call herself a misunderstood woman.

"Of course, Harry darling!" (Exasperating creature.)

"There's no of course about it. I want you to tell me exactly what it feels like to you to be in love with me."

Good God! She had gone a little red and was twiddling her fingers in her lap like a confused school-child.

"What thoughts does it give you? There's nothing to make you embarrassed in such a question. Don't you know your own mind?"

"Of course I do. I married you, isn't that enough? I wanted to make you happy."

That was it! She wanted to take strength out of him for herself and stuff happiness down his gullet like a cook fattening a fowl.

"And how do you suppose you'll make me happy?"

She twiddled her fingers again and looked up at him sideways.

Oh! that maddening look, with its sticky intensity of suggestion. And what did it suggest? More stickiness and mere empty intensity; a useless force, going nowhere, except from the naturalist's point of view to the concrete creation of more clay sausages. And he wanted the Abstract, the Essential, the Inhuman Truth. She was no good to him; there was nothing in her save that blind materialism that killed him. Yes, love would kill him. He could not bear to soar and be struck down like that. Every time he kissed her he would lose something of the Sublime that was his. To satisfy her and love, he must die for her.

But he would not die. He would live and create without her and without love, coldly sexlessly, like God.

"Go and make pies, Susan. Go and make pies."

Death.

By M. S. PRICHARD.

Modern spiritual thought emphasises more and more strongly the empire of our unconscious life, the indestructible life of the spirit. On the other hand, conscious life, the life of our attention, of our intelligence, of our activity on matter and in space, the life of our body, this temporal experience, while of the utmost moment, is not all life,

either in length or depth. Our conscious life hides behind itself the truer current of life which it allows us to know only partially and at times. Our true life continues when our wordly life has ceased and we have shed our body. Our present life is but a measurable play on the scene of an endless drama. Let us but once feel that it is in this eternity that we live and move and have our being, and death loses itself in a brilliance of life, joy, and love.

If it is hard to understand life, death seems to present even greater difficulties, for it brings us face to face with the unseen. In truth, however, a philosophy of life cannot be complete which does not seek an understanding of the changes brought about when we forego our body. Every school of thought has occupied itself with the question, and the sombre colours in which death has been painted by Christian dogma and the dread and uncertainty in which the picture has been framed do not present the final solution of the riddle which continues to exercise thinkers. Were we less the servants of our habits and could we adapt ourselves more readily to a new point of view, we might derive consolation from modern reflexion on the subject the tendency of which is to suggest that in the past, the importance of the phenomenon of death has been exaggerated.

For death has no meaning in a special sense in which we are familiar with the term, as an end, as a destruction. Nothingness can only correspond to nothing. It is a mere word, a hollow idea. Modern philosophy has disposed of the *neant* by showing that it is no more than a convenient term. Nothingness being unthinkable, life which is not nothingness must be indestructible. We know therefore of a certainty that a life is not ended by death, which, at the limit can only mark a transition, the opening of prison gates, the issue of the butterfly from the chrysalis, or indeed less than a metamorphosis, if we remember that the butterfly was in its chrysalis long before it left it. But life defies compression into metaphors, all of which in the event, derive their validity from it, and the question remains : if death operates a change, what is its nature ?

What does Death alter ?

I die. You say, you will see my body no more. Very true, but you do not see it when I have left the room, and I continue to live for all that, even though the whole globe lie between you and me.

You reply : Yes, but in that case I may see you later.

I rejoin : You are now confounding me with my body ; you may see another body of another me, later, but not this body of this me, for I am ever developing, am ever another person, while my body is never my body of yesterday. Strictly speaking, you never see my reality which is not to be identified with my body, nor is it an object of vision ; my body you perceive. It is quantitative, my reality you cannot perceive, it is not quantitative ; you can only feel my reality which lives in your memory, my reality is qualitative. Now, even when we are together, and you see my body, your memory plays a large part in your vision, the material element, the " pure perception " in our relations is very little, and the presence or loss of my body, however great the part it has played in our commerce together up to now is not a condition necessary to sustain our relationship.

You may proceed to object that after my death I shall not continue my action upon matter.

That may well be—an inconsiderable loss, it must be confessed—but doubtless my activity will go on, and whether it be upon matter or otherwise may concern me but must be a small consideration for another.

You regret further that we cannot continue together, to develop one another after my death ; but take courage, other opportunities will be afforded to you for your cultivation. Life carries out its work in its own way, better than our way, if different from it.

Death's case, at length, dwindles to this, that death has the power of severing communication between our bodies, but what is that when put in the balance against the

endless oneness which is ours as inseparable parts of life itself ? Death concerns our bodies only. It is your body which regrets my death ; it is my body which shrinks from dying. We live, the creatures of physical habits, our bodies love not to change themselves and less still to have variance thrust upon them. Our tears and our fears are among the many abatements imposed upon us by the tyranny of matter.

Mortal experience is of high import, but that its value can be measured in terms of years alone is an illusion. Think but for a moment that terrestrial existence was the invention of life, which sustains it, and you see that if its length had to one-tenth part the importance our body attaches to it, life would have prolonged mortality eternally. It is but an episode in the tale of reality, this experience of ours on earth. Scarcely a prelude, rather the striking of a chord—too often a discord—which invites to an endless symphony.

Death alters nothing in reality.

Just as we know that the life of the rose continues after the disappearance of the flower we know also of the continuation of life following on death. But far more vividly. We do not need the witness of poets to this truth, nor have we to fall back on traditional belief in a future state in order to satisfy ourselves of it, for we have it established by inner assurance. It is a matter of personal experience that those whom we speak of as dead, live still for us as really, as actively as those we meet every day in the flesh ; there is no distinction in our mind between them. We are nearer too, to those who are away from us than to those who are close at hand, for these we perceive in their human particularities only while the absent we know in their reality. Death must mean therefore, for survivors, and does actually mean for them, a closer companionship than any before with those who have abandoned the body ; there is no loss, no separation brought about through death ; on the contrary, death is a solemn pledge of communion and inviolability.

We have been taught to distinguish this life from the future life with death as a bridge between them. The future life has been presented to us in terms of advertisement, catch-penny and equivocal, material in its clothing, material in its substance, the outlook by someone well contented with this existence and hesitating to leave it unless clearly for another its duplicate, only silted a little, or gilt, maybe, or raised to a higher power, a picture which has awakened our scepticism and our scorn. That was a mirage. But if we grasp life as a spiritual movement the image is another. If we realize life as spiritual in its nature or gaze on human life from within, its attractions become but the setting of our labour. here, we learn that the body is but the instrument of the spirit, the tool with which the soul fulfils its temporary work on matter, and death has the importance exactly of the abandonment by the workman of a chisel amid the shavings and the sawdust. He has foregone his weapons, his work and its materials, while we keep ours still. If the weapon could regret, there were ground for regret, but for souls, death is a mere incident in their connexions or their career. Death makes no interruption. Death marks no passage. Death means no change. There is no future life, or rather, there is but future life. We have not lost him we love, for we are in the future life already beside him ; it is in immortality that we have ever ranged together.

Death is unconsciousness.

We have been taught to say : yes, unconsciousness of the testimony of outer life ; but are we to think of spiritual reality as a state of nescience, seeing that our consciousness which is but a rill of its stream suffices to guide us in our work on matter ? It is from the spirit that our life is directed, thence issued the orders for the tiger's stripes and the adjustments of the human brain. Does that suggest ignorance ? We do not know all the modes of reality or the relation of the personality to after experience, but that the spirit's knowledge transcends our human fumbling is not speculation but certainty.

The spirit's knowledge is the essence of its love. We love those who have died, and with the crescendo of a deeper and freer knowledge their love for us maintains its work of inspiration. If we live in the spirit or grasp reality but for a moment, we find that we

are strands with those we love of the same rope, which is life itself, and learn that on earth, too, human love is but the sign of this union. Can that be lost to us by death? Shall their death alter our reality? Belief and experience alike crush such a doubt.

Death is but the relinquishment by us of a servitude to matter, from the thrall of whose contingencies we are thereby enfranchised. We should greet death with paeans, hallelujahs and Te Deums. Death raises us from the ranks to the staff, it introduces us to our heritage of the full life of the spirit. Earlier or later. It cannot summon us too soon.

There is a brightness that irradiates an eye, a smile that transfigures a face, a gesture that conquers a heart, which tell of favoured souls whose grace is the light of another sphere. Like some poignant sweetness which o'ercomes all matter's efforts to restrain it, whose purity fills the air, sealed though the vessel may be which holds it, their divinity bursts the bonds of the body and brightens our world with the witness it bears. Many such gifted ones like fruit falling early ripened by a hidden warmth, go hence before ourselves; let us not envy them their precedence. Let us not think that Jeanne d'Arc, Mozart, Keats, Shelley, won their titles too young. Their work is there to show us how princely their hearts, how noble their minds, how high they ever soared above us. We bow before their genius and climb faithfully upward ourselves to merit our own call at last.

His gentle actions too were the rays of an inner sun, which at last shines in the full blast of its majesty upon us to kindle the passion of our hearts, to be the beacon of our endeavours; they spoke to us of allegiance to another state where now his service, being freed, is wholly given.

Is his force confirmed to us for ever? I answer: Yes.

British Policy and the Baltic Peoples.

By IGOR.

British policy, as applied to the Baltic peoples, has had a very severe set back during the past month, and the Baltic Governments have taken a step forward along the path, which, in the case of Finland has proved to be the one most likely to satisfy their aspirations towards absolute independence.

The Peace negotiations with the Soviet Government in Pskoff, although they led to no definite result, prove that the Baltic Governments are no longer content to lie passive in the hands of the Allied diplomats, who are either unable, or unwilling, to adopt a definite policy.

It is clear that the impression has been created that there is no longer any reason why these peoples should not conclude peace with Russia, and no Allied assertions as to the danger of Bolshevik propaganda will serve to remove it. The Baltic peoples are tired of fighting for a cause, which if successful might be turned against their independence. They consider their populations sufficiently developed mentally to resist the most insidious propaganda. Consequently if the Allies desire the Baltic peoples, and especially Esthonia, to continue fighting, they must be prepared to alter their policy entirely.

The day is past when it is sufficient to treat these peoples as mere appanages of a non-existent Russian Empire, whose fate has to be decided by some future all-Russian Constituent Assembly. Such a view might be successful as long as these peoples had something to expect from the Allies, but experience has proved to them that offers of assistance have been too often mere words. The following example may serve to prove my assertion. Over and over again, the British representatives in Reval and elsewhere

have promised constant supplies of arms and munitions against the Bolsheviks. According to an official statement, which has already appeared in print, the last consignment was received in June, and it is now October.

It would hardly be fair to blame General Gough and the members of the other British Missions on the spot. They are well acquainted with the true state of affairs, and the requirements of these countries. Doubtlessly they have not failed to acquaint the British Government with them. But the settlement of things is too rarely entrusted to the men on the spot. They are there to see and report, and that is about as much as they can accomplish. It is evident that whatever they may advise is likely to be subordinated to the particular idea current in Whitehall, at the time their advice is received.

Furthermore, these missions are hampered by the fact that they have practically no right of initiative. Before any decision can be taken, it must receive the sanction of the Home Government. Knowing what may be expected from that quarter, they naturally hesitate to give an opinion on the most unimportant point. If they do so, believing that they are acting in accordance with declared policy, they find, in the majority of cases, that that policy has been altered for some mysterious reason or other. Even the advice which they have tentatively offered, based though it may be on the soundest grounds, is disregarded, unless by some happy accident it coincides with the policy of the moment.

Let us examine some of the difficulties with which the Esthonian Government has been hedged in during their negotiations with Soviet Russia. Naturally, it did not contemplate such a step without obtaining the opinion of the Allied representatives. It applied to them, only to find that they had got the very vaguest ideas on the subject. Some days the Esthonians were told to begin negotiations, other days, they were informed that it would be better not to. And the Esthonian Government was left to steer as best it could between the Scylla of the Allies, and the Charybdis of the Bolsheviks.

Moreover, it was obvious that no fixed opinion on the subject of negotiations existed among the Allied representatives themselves. Thus the British representative was much more prone to advise the Esthonian Government to begin negotiations, when he was by himself, than in consultation with the other Allied diplomats.

This, naturally enough, tended to create an atmosphere of uneasiness and distrust on the part of the Baltic Governments. It must be placed to their credit that even at the eleventh hour, in the face of all the inducements and guarantees offered by the Bolshevik Peace delegates, Messrs. Krasin and Litvinoff, the Esthonian Government refused to conclude peace, not desiring even to appear disloyal to their Allies. Negotiations were therefore broken off, and a state of war was once more resumed between Esthonia and Soviet Russia.

It is very possible that this result may be hailed by the conductors of our foreign policy as a distinct victory. It may be so. Whether it is a victory for the policy, or for the Esthonian Government's sense of loyalty is a matter for discussion. One fact, however, should be borne in mind. Esthonia and the other Baltic peoples are democratic countries and have democratic forms of government.

Now, a democratic form of government may often be a hindrance to adepts of higher diplomacy. It can sometimes be very convenient, however, as witness recent events in North Russia. There, an expedition had been sent without the British people being consulted in the slightest. Events later changed. Koltchak's expected success, on which reliance had been placed, failed to materialise, and the expedition was costing a great deal of money difficult to acquire. Incidentally a few labour extremists, in Hyde Park and elsewhere, were demanding the recall of this expedition, so cruelly dispatched against their "brothers" of the Soviet.

The great thing in higher diplomacy is the opportunity. Here it was at hand. "The people demand the recall of the expedition; we are a democratic country," and a variety of other pleasant-sounding phrases. And the expedition was recalled.

Unfortunately for our expounders of *real politik*, Esthonia and her neighbours are also democratic countries, and much more in the way of Scotland than of England. Would one blame them, if one day they, too, made use of the same plea, and concluded peace with Russia on the ground that their peoples demanded it. They could add, moreover, that while the Archangel Expedition was a mere trifle for the British Empire to support, a war against Russia, involving the greater part of the male population of the Baltic countries, was becoming more and more beyond their strength to wage. Further, even the material assistance which the Allies had promised had not come to hand. It seems to me that the Baltic peoples would make out a very fair case in this way.

Now one may ask why is it that Allied policy towards Russia and the border peoples has been so consistently unsuccessful. One answer might be that Russia and the border peoples are only a part of an entire scheme, and can not be treated separately from the whole. This might be very true in war time, but it can hardly be advanced now.

The policy may have failed because the Allied Governments were not prepared to listen to the voice of the men on the spot, and still refuse to do so. No one acquainted with Russia doubts for a moment that Sir George Buchanan, or even Mr. Henderson, would have done a great deal more in Russia if they had been a little further removed from the telegraph wire, and if they had been listened to.

It is true that a country must run its foreign policy according to its own interests, and that that policy must be decided upon by the responsible government on behalf of its people. Still, even that does not account for the total disregard paid to advice and recommendations made by those in a position to know. However, even that does not fully elucidate the why and the wherefore. I think it is due to quite another cause, and, paradoxical as it may seem, due to the fact that the Allies, or the British Government at least, have had a policy all the time.

Now it may well be asked if the British Government have had a policy all the time, why it has not come boldly into the open, and declared it. It would appear to be a splendid opportunity to remove doubts and sweep away difficulties. It would further produce helpful criticism which would serve to modify and improve the policy if necessary. The reply of the British Government to such a question would doubtless be expediency. And it is just this idea of expediency that had created distrust everywhere. This, however, could not prove the policy to be definitely bad; "only an exposition of it could do that," or otherwise.

It has been clear to the British Government, and to a great many others, that the present regime in Russia is only transitory. The French Revolution has taught us that the days of extreme governments are limited, and that the worst terror wears itself out in time. True, the Bolshevik Government has lasted for two years, which gives a certain suggestion of stability, but it has maintained its position only by terror of the foulest kind.

One day the Bolsheviks are bound to disappear—this is certain—and their place must be taken by some other party, or government. Such a change may take place a great deal sooner than many people imagine, and what then? The British Government must endeavour to be in good relations with the new, and to-be-hoped-representative, Russian Government. It would never do for the new Russian Government to feel that they had been betrayed by their former Allies. In that case they would be disposed to seek an alliance with Germany with results very prejudicial to the peace of the world. Hence the objection to definite decisions. The parties which are likely to hold government in Russia must be given just sufficient support to keep them in a proper frame of mind, and no more.

Therefore British policy is based on the fact that some day a stable Russian Government will be set up. This Government would theoretically hold sway over what was the former Russian Empire, with the exceptions of Poland and Finland, where the die has been

definitely cast. Had the British Government recognised the border peoples absolutely, it might well find itself in the position of having to defend the independence it had recognised. The crucial question is whether it would be in a position to do so, and nothing need be expected from the still-born League of Nations. As long as Great Britain was prepared to fight in a just cause for the benefit of the League, she might do so, but no material assistance could be expected from the other members.

This may seem a very sweeping assertion. It has occurred to many, however, that it ever there was a case in which the League should have moved, it was with regard to the destruction of the abominable Bolshevik Regime. The League has failed to do so, in spite of huge armies already assembled. He would be a bold man who would assert that it will be possible to raise huge armies in the future for the purpose of enforcing the League's demands. More especially when America has already jibbed at the thought of having to do so.

The British Government has, therefore, naturally hesitated to create possible causes for fresh wars. It has done so, acting presumably on the mistaken idea, that matters could not be arranged diplomatically between Russia and the Baltic peoples. This idea is, I believe, thoroughly unsound. Besides, even if it were correct, the Allies possess all the weapons necessary to compel the Russians to listen to their desires.

No greater blow could be struck to the anti-Bolshevik elements than the recognition of the Soviet Government, and the re-establishment of trade relation with it. In a short time the Bolsheviks would be supplied with everything they require, and any hope of their overthrow would be further away than ever.

It may be remembered that the Allied Governments made certain tentative efforts in this direction when the question of recognising Admiral Koltchak's Government was mooted. A special clause in the Allies' demands specifically referred to the border peoples. The Siberian Government was quite willing then to listen to reason, and would have gone a great deal farther in its concessions had more pressure been applied.

Of course, greater pressure would have demanded greater assistance, and apparently the Allies were not prepared to assist to the full. The result was the severe defeat of Koltchak's troops, the failure to link up with the Archangel Front, and the subsequent withdrawal of the British troops.

However, the Esthonian Government likewise possesses a certain weapon for enforcing its demands. The North-West Russian Army was only saved from annihilation, thanks to the Esthonian Army. It was given a breathing time, and an opportunity to fit out. It was afforded the possibility of enjoying shelter in Esthonia, and is now re-advancing against Soviet Russia, using Esthonia as its base. But suppose it is again defeated, and has to retire. The only place of retreat left is Esthonia. Who will guarantee that the Bolshevik army will stop at the Esthonian frontier? Certainly not the Allies. So Esthonia is again to face the prospect of invasion with all its horrors, in spite of its sufferings, during the last five years; its occupation by the Germans, and its partial, though far more brutal, occupation by the Bolsheviks.

What must be the natural action of the Esthonian Government under the circumstances? One and only one. They will simply have to refuse, and resist if necessary, the re-entrance of the North-West Russian Army into Esthonia in case of defeat. Otherwise, Esthonia must receive such support from the Allies as will definitely free its borders from further Bolshevik assaults. The latter contingency is very remote.

The easiest solution for all parties, however, is as follows. The Allies should obtain from the recognised anti-Bolshevik Russian elements a full recognition of the Baltic peoples' just claims to absolute independence. This, quite irrespective of the decision of any future Russian Constituent Assembly. This action would convince the Baltic peoples of Allied sympathy, and would cement friendly relations between them and the

loyal Russians. The Baltic peoples, not content with maintaining the Bolshevik blockade, would then gladly sally out with all their forces, and help to free Russia, and the world from the foul curse of Bolshevism.

One word more. Why were the Bolsheviks so eager to conclude peace with the Baltic peoples? For a very simple reason. They were afraid that the Allies would see the natural advantages of recognising the Baltic peoples' independence. They hastened to offer them peace in the hope of forestalling the Allies, and averting the natural consequences of such Allied recognition.

Unfortunately, in questions of high diplomacy, the Bolsheviks have proved themselves to be the masters, and only loyalty to an ideal, in this case to the Allied cause, has frustrated their designs. But the Bolsheviks may be trusted to try again.

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Commercial Agent of the Esthonian Government in Great Britain: MR. ALEXANDER PUCHK, 167, Queen's Gate, London, S.W. 7.

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For Hull: MR. GEORGE LITTLE (Manager of the Baltic Department, Ellerman's Wilson Line, Ltd.), Hull.

For Leith: MR. N. A. ELLINGSEN (Partner in Messrs. H. J. Ellingsen & Co.), 2, Commercial Street, Leith.

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For South Shields: CAPTAIN A. KULDNER, 8, Winchester Street, South Shields.

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New accommodation having been purchased for the Esthonian Legation at 167, Queen's Gate, South Kensington, S.W. 7, the Legation has now removed to this address. Telephone No. Western, 1058. Telegrams: "SAATKOND SOUTHKENS," London. The Secretary of the Legation is MR. J. KOPWILLEN.

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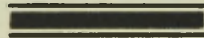
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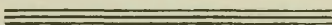
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