



THE MYSTERY OF THE SOVIETS

THE BIRTH OF THE RUSSIAN DEMOCRACY. BY A. J. SACK. Russian Information Bureau, Woolworth-building; New York City.

ONE of the most remarkable phenomena of the Russian Revolution, and one which has been perhaps the most difficult for foreign observers to understand, is the progress of the Soviets from their first appearance at the outbreak of the Revolution to their capture by the Bolsheviks in the autumn and the establishment in the present year of a "Russian Socialist Federal Soviet Republic," in which all authority, central and local, is vested in the Soviets. The greatest obstacle hitherto to an understanding of this extra-ordinary evolution has been the absence of information from Russia bearing on it. Facts we have had in plenty about the course of events there, but they have not been the sort of facts which explained the progress of the Soviets. But at last in an authoritative and valuable volume by the Director of the Russian Information Bureau in the United States there is a great deal of material which helps to explain the mystery of the Soviets' rise to power.

By copious reprints of appeals, manifestoes, and speeches we are helped to understand how it came into the Revolution as a historical survival from the unsuccessful outbreak in 1905, have blossomed out at last as bodies with a Republic and a philosophy of their own. When the Revolution of March, 1917, took place as the result of the utter collapse, political, military, economic, and moral, of the old régime, its outbreak found that the country was unprepared. The only body at the capital which was at all representative was the Duma, and even this had been elected upon so narrow a suffrage that it could not claim to represent more than a small and wealthy minority of the nation.

It was natural that the "revolutionary democracy" should look round for some more satisfactory means of representation; the example of 1905 was followed, and the result was the immediate formation at Petrograd of a Soviet. But whereas in 1905 the Petrograd Soviet had represented only workmen, the 1917 Soviet, in view of the size of the Petrograd garrison and the part this had taken at the outbreak of the Revolution, was bound to admit its delegates also. Very soon after delegates arrived from sections of the troops at the front, and they also joined the Petrograd Soviet of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. With the spread of the Revolution Soviets arose also at Moscow and other towns, although there the Soldiers' Soviets and the Workmen's Soviet frequently acted independently of each other. We may regret the entry of the Army and the factories into politics, but it is only right to point out that this was a result not so much of the Revolution as of the events which had preceded it. For years the workmen had attached political demands to their private grievances, while the Army had become noticeably interested in politics during 1915, when the negligence and treachery of the autocratic Government had become evident to it. At the same time, there is a vast difference between the political attitude of the soldiers' and workers' Soviets at the outbreak of the Revolution and that which, at the urge of Bolsheviks, they finally adopted. The process was by no means continuous. At first it was never intended by even the most vigorous delegates that the Soviets should acquire a permanent political authority or claim to be more than vaguely representative of the popular will as a balance to the Duma. The Constituent Assembly was awaited by all parties as the democratically elected body which would represent the opinion of the nation as a whole. The Soviets, then, were created as a measure of convenience; it was left for the Bolshevik emigrants to return from the plain living and high thinking of political exile and to persuade the delegates that their innocent resurrection of the Soviet of 1905 was really an attempt to solve one of the most difficult problems of political theory—that of representation—according to the approved logic of the class war. The Bolshevik cry of "All power to the Soviets!" had, however, little success during the first months of the Revolution; even Lenin had to mask it with the suggestion that only by concentrating authority in their own hands could the Soviets ensure the convocation of the Constituent Assembly. As for the real founders and leaders of the Soviets, it will be seen from what follows that their endeavor was not to secure "all power" for the Soviets, but rather to use the power in their hands mainly as a means of strengthening the Provisional Government and ensuring its development on democratic lines. At one stage, indeed, as we shall see, the whole power of the Soviets, so laboriously built up, was offered unreservedly to the Government. The Bolshevik tendencies of the Soviets, with their philosophy of the "dictatorship of the proletariat," were wholly the creation of later events. The composition of the Soviets was

based at the beginning of the Revolution on the general rule of one delegate for each thousand workers or unit of less than a thousand, and one for about every 250 soldiers. In this way the large and disorderly garrison at Petrograd at once acquired a disproportionate influence in the Petrograd Soviet. In this, as in the other Soviets, which were being established all over Russia, the elected delegates were far too numerous to be able to be worked together, and they had to delegate their powers to a smaller body, and this in turn elected an Executive Committee. The result was that the sense of responsibility of the individual delegates was weakened; this, with the peculiar weaknesses of the Petrograd Soviet, which to the end took a leading position among its fellows, explains to a large extent the reason why the Bolsheviks were so successful later on in their propaganda. The Provisional Government endeavored to neutralize the influence of the Petrograd Soviet by alining it with the more patriotic and trustworthy Soviets that had been formed in Moscow and other parts of the country. If we trace the activities of the Soviets during 1917 we shall see how the policy of the Provisional Government was to centralize the political and military authority of the Soviets and to take it over, leaving the Soviets their economic influence among the workers, which alone was consistent with the central political authority of the Provisional Government.

The economic, or, rather, industrial authority of the Soviets was due to the spontaneous formation immediately after the outbreak of the Revolution of works, factory, and transport committees among the industrial workmen. The effect of these committees, which were elected by the votes of the workers concerned, was at first beneficial; they restored discipline and in many cases, such was the general improvement in moral effected by the Revolution, they actually increased production. But during the summer, when transport had become utterly disorganized, these committees began to be more political in nature. Instead of electing delegates to the committees on their industrial qualifications, the workers began to choose them according to political programmes; the reasons for this change were mainly the current fever for politics in the country, the enforced idleness of the workers, and, not least, the propaganda of the pacifist Bolsheviks, whose most sympathetic audiences were always found among the industrial proletariat of the towns—some 10 per cent only of the whole people. The workshop committees from the beginning worked in conjunction with the local Soviets, and acknowledged their authority. It was hoped by the more patriotic leaders of the country, that when the central Soviets merged their political power in the Provisional Government, they would be free to use their industrial authority to urge the workers to help restore production and transport, as far as this was possible in the condition of economic exhaustion which three years of war and blockade had brought about. Company and regimental committees had also been formed by the soldiers, both at the front and in the garrisons. These stood mainly for the regulation of the soldiers' "economic life"; but in many cases, like the workmen's committees, they overstepped their proper spheres and began to have a bad effect upon discipline and command.

(To be continued)

DR. THOMAS DUNN ENGLISH

AN INTERESTING LETTER

Logan, W. V., October 30, 1918
Editor BEACON

Sir:—
Seeing "Ben Bolt" on the first page of the last issue of the BEACON made me think that it would undoubtedly interest you to know that this poem was written at Logan, where I am now located.
Dr. English, who was a Philadelphian, came into the mountains for his health, and spent parts of several years at the Lawson's, who lived at a pretty home called Idlewild just at the junction of the Main Island Creek and the Guyandotte river, where Logan developed. There was no railroad up the river from Huntington (founded by Collis P. Huntington as a railway terminal on the Ohio), so Dr. English rode into the mountains. Lumber was the only industry beyond the gathering of ginseng, which grows wild in the mountains, and the natives spent a lot of time in "singing," as they called it, the herb having been exported principally to China. English wrote a few poems while here other than "Ben Bolt," one being called "Rafting on the Guyandotte," which is not half bad.

I note that St. Andrews has been suffering from the "flu." We have had a serious time here. None of our family suffered, but we had to open an emergency Red Cross hospital. We had 800 cases in a population of 5000 when the epidemic was at its height. There were so many cases which developed into pneumonia that the death rate was considerable, while all industry was severely crippled. The worst appears to be over now.
Yours,
M. A. MAXWELL

Freemen Buy Bonds.
Slaves Wear Them!

CAREER OF RUSSIA'S APOSTLE OF LIBERTY

"I CANNOT fear exile after so long and do you think I fear death?"

Catherine Breshkovsky, seventy-four years old, and known throughout Russia as the Grandmother of the Russian Revolution, "Babushka," said that in 1910 when she was sentenced after imprisonment for twenty-six years to spend the remainder of her life in Siberia. According to a Petrograd telegram, dated October 31, "the Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution was shot on October 27, on the charge of opposing the Bolshevik régime."

So ended the career of a woman who since her eighteenth year had sacrificed, fought, and toiled in the cause of Russian freedom; sparing neither herself nor her family, undergoing insult, imprisonment, escape and imprisonment again; never for a moment compromising in the high ideal she had chosen for herself to follow. Her fearlessness in the face of oppression by the Czar's Government, voiced at the time of her trial in 1910, when she refused to gain her liberty at the price of an appeal to that Government, is only surpassed by what must have been her contempt of danger in the face of the death sentence.

What were probably the feelings of the men who executed the sentence, provided they were not totally lost to human sensibilities, can readily be imagined. Catherine Breshkovsky, grown old in endless struggle, broken by the severe labor she had undergone for the greater part of her life in exile, half-blinded by cataracts grown over her eyes, so that she could no longer read, but "could sew a little," must have presented a spectacle, stationed before a firing squad. Not pitiful, because she never pitied herself, and because she is indeed beyond the small realm of pity. But something terrible, portentous—the champion of the peasant and the workingman, who had dedicated her life for their good, now being put to death by the representatives of that same party.

Ekaterina Konstantinova Breshkovskaya, to give her full name was born in 1844, the daughter of a nobleman, in one of the provinces of Little Russia. Her father was the owner of large estates and several hundred "souls" or serfs. During the early part of her life, Mme. Breshkovsky enjoyed all the luxury that attended the establishment of a nobleman of the old régime, which, in a small way, imitated the court of the Tsar. But there are signs that almost from her childhood the lot of these several hundred souls awakened her interest and sympathy.

"Often I escaped from home and went alone to the neighboring villages," she once wrote, "to visit the huts of our peasants, and there I could see old men living on straw, friendless and famished brought about. Company and regimental committees had also been formed by the peasants crowding into our church, pray with fervor, pouring out their tears and giving their last kopeck in the name of God that there might be a better life in the next world, as that was their only hope for happiness."

When she was eighteen Alexander II issued the order for the emancipation of the serfs. She was then occupied in popular instruction, philanthropic and educational work among the peasantry, but this work was soon brought to a close by an edict following closely on the emancipation forbidding the continuance of schools for the peasantry. Hitherto her work had been pacific in character, but the horrors unveiled by further investigation made Mme. Breshkovskaya and her associates, in defiance of the Government, determined to carry on their work. In 1874 she was arrested and thrown into prison, into the dungeons of the fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul, and was not allowed to leave her tiny cell for two years.

Upon her release she immediately began her activity as what she called "Socialist pdonagandist" again, suffered a second arrest, and in 1878 was exiled to Siberia, at hard labor in the Kara mines. Once, with the help of other exiles, she attempted escape, but after wandering 600 miles, almost to the Japanese frontier, she was betrayed, caught, and condemned to deportation and twenty-five blows with the knout. The twenty-five blows sentence was finally changed to twenty-five months added to her new term of exile, at the threats of her friends, but for all that twenty-three years passed by before Mme. Breshkovskaya was permitted to return to Russia again. It was 1896 before she did return, and return to find her friends, father, mother, husband, and child, whom she had deserted to serve the cause of the people, either dead or estranged. She was now more than fifty yet now she began the most active work of her career.

For three months she remained quietly among the few who were left, and then she plunged once more into her work. By her efforts and the help of her former colleagues, societies were formed throughout Russia, dedicated to the work of teaching and expounding Socialist ideas. Underground printing offices were set up, and by pamphlets and personal propaganda the seeds of the Socialist Revolutionary party were sown. After three years of this kind of preparation for revolution,

one of these printing offices was discovered.

The next year the Government issued a general order for the arrest of the three leaders of the Socialist Revolutionary party. Among whom was named Mme. Breshkovsky. With a forged passport, Mme. Breshkovsky escaped to Switzerland and in 1904 came to the United States to enlist support for her cause. Kellogg Durland, who saw her then, wrote: "To look upon the face of this silver-haired apostle is like receiving a benediction. Her outward and inward calm are superb. Only her eyes betray the suffering of years. In repose her face is strong like iron."

In 1905 she was again in Russia in the vanguard of the great attempt which was the premature outcome of the work of the long period of preparation on the part of the Social Revolutionists. She took part in the general strike and in all the insurrections and risings. She was finally arrested, with Nicholas V. Tschaikevsky, and chained hand and foot, was brought from Simbirsk, to be thrown once more into the dreaded fortress of St. Peter and St. Paul. Perpetual exile was the sentence passed upon her when she was finally brought to trial, a sentence which might have been softened had she not scorned to appeal to the Tsar for clemency. "At the age of sixty-six she took up the long road into exile again, and those who thought that in her they saw a broken woman, going out to her death in some desolate Siberian village, reckoned without understanding of Mme. Breshkovsky's indomitable will.

Twice again she set her face toward Russia to return—once in 1913, when disguised as a man and with a forged passport, she attempted to escape from Siberia and was caught by the constabulary, speeding in a closed conveyance by Yakutsk, and again when, at the invitation of Alexander F. Kerensky, then Minister of Justice, she was bidden to return to Russia and come into her own, as one of the foremost leaders of the revolution, which had just come to pass. This time her journey homeward was no fugitive's path. It was more like a Queen's triumphant progress. Her chair was borne through the streets of Petrograd on the shoulders of soldiers. Her return was characterized as the most beautiful and impressive picture of the Revolution. Nothing was considered too good for the woman who so nobly typified the spirit of the revolution, who had toiled, hoped, suffered, and conquered. She was lodged in the Winter Palace, the former stronghold of Tsardom.

With the fall of the Kerensky Government, news of Mme. Breshkovsky becomes fragmentary and uncertain, until the final brief bulletin, announcing her execution, by order of the Bolshevik Government, October 27. That she cared little about her own fate is plain from the record of her own life and her own testimony, when she wrote: "This habit of living in human life as a whole has made me so associate myself with the universal psychology that I lose myself in it and care little about my individual fate."

After having lived so fervently for her purpose, she found it, possibly, not difficult to die for it, especially as she always held to the assurance she once told George Kerensky: "We may die in exile, and our children may die in exile, but something will come of it at last." It is possible that Catherine Breshkovsky, at seventy-four years of age, facing a firing squad, half-blind with cataracts, saw farther than her executioners.—The New York Evening Post.

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FOUND, Adrift at the south, east of White Head, Grand Manan, a boat. Owner can have same by proving property and paying expenses. Apply to WEBSTER COSSABOOM.

MINIATURE ALMANAC

ATLANTIC STANDARD TIME

PHASES OF THE MOON

November
New Moon, 3rd 5h. 2m. p.m.
First Quarter, 11th 12h. 46m. p.m.
Full Moon, 18th 3h. 33m. a.m.
Last Quarter, 25th 6h. 25m. a.m.

Day of Month

Day of Week

Sun Rises

Sun Sets

H. Water a.m.

H. Water p.m.

L. Water a.m.

L. Water p.m.

Nov.
17 Sun 7:34 4:52 10:26 10:33 4:30 5:01
18 Mon 7:35 4:51 11:16 11:45 5:24 5:55
19 Tue 7:36 4:51 0:07 12:08 6:16 6:47
20 Wed 7:37 4:50 0:37 12:59 7:07 7:38
21 Thu 7:38 4:50 1:29 1:52 7:59 8:35
22 Fri 7:40 4:49 2:22 2:45 8:51 9:20
23 Sat 7:41 4:48 3:16 3:39 9:44 10:12

The Tide Tables given above are for the Port of St. Andrews. For the following places the time of tides can be found by applying the correction indicated, which is to be subtracted in each case:

| | H.W. | L.W. |
|---------------------|---------|---------|
| Grand Harbor, G. M. | 18 min. | 18 min. |
| Seal Cove | 30 min. | 30 min. |
| Fish Head | 11 min. | 11 min. |
| Welshpool, Campo. | 6 min. | 8 min. |
| Eastport, Me. | 8 min. | 10 min. |
| L'Etang Harbor | 7 min. | 13 min. |
| Lepreau Bay | 9 min. | 15 min. |

PORT OF ST. ANDREWS. CUSTOMS

Thos. R. Wren, Collector
D. C. Rollins, Prev. Officer
D. G. Hanson, Prev. Officer
Office hours, 9 a.m. to 4 p.m.
Saturdays, 9 to 1

OUTPORTS

INDIAN ISLAND

H. D. Chaffey, Sub. Collector

CAMPBELL

W. Hazen Carson, Sub. Collector

NORTH HEAD

Charles Dixon, Sub. Collector

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T. L. Trearthen, Sub. Collector

GRAND HARBOR

D. J. W. McLaughlin, Prev. Officer

WILSON'S BEACH

J. A. Newman, Prev. Officer

SHIPPING NEWS

PORT OF ST. ANDREWS

The publication of the usual shipping news in this column is suspended for the time being, in patriotic compliance with the request issued to all papers by the Admiralty.

CHARLOTTE COUNTY REGISTRY OF DEEDS.

ST. ANDREWS, N. B.
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Office hours 10 a. m. to 4 p. m., Daily.
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Fredericton, N. B.
on NOVEMBER 20, 1918.
We trust that all our old students will be able to return on that date.
Information regarding our courses of study will be furnished on request.

The Board of Health Permits

Schools to Re-open Monday, Nov. 18th.

St. John has escaped very lightly compared with most other places. We have had a good long rest and will welcome old and new students on the 18th, or as soon after that date as they can come.

S. Kerr, Principal

TO LET—House to let after Dec 1.

Apply to MRS. ROBERT SHAW

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FOR SALE—1 Driving Horse, 2 Work

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FOR SALE—Desirable property, known

as the Bradford property, situated on the harbour side of Water St., St. Andrews, consisting of house, ell, and barn. House contains store, seven rooms, and large attic. Easy terms of payment may be arranged. Apply to THOS. R. WREN, St. Andrews, N. B.

TRAVEL

Grand Manan S. S. Company

After June 1, and until further notice, boats of this line will leave Grand Manan, Mon. 7 a. m. for St. John, arriving about 2:30 p. m.; returning Wed., 10 a. m., arriving Grand Manan about 5 p. m. Both ways via Wilson's Beach, Campbell, and Eastport.

Leave Grand Manan Thursday, 7 a. m., for St. Stephen, returning Friday, 7 a. m. Both ways via Campbell, Eastport, Cummings' Cove, and St. Andrews.

Leave Grand Manan Saturday for St. Andrews, 7 a. m., returning 1:30 p. m. Both ways via Campbell, Eastport, and Cummings' Cove.

Atlantic Daylight Time.

SCOTT D. GUPTILL, Manager.

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TIME TABLE

On and after June 1st, 1918, a steamer of this company leaves St. John every Saturday, 7:30 a. m., for Black's Harbor, calling at Dipper Harbor and Beaver Harbor.

Leaves Black's Harbor Monday, two hours of high water, for St. Andrews, calling at Lord's Cove, Richardson, Lettice or Back Bay.

Leaves St. Andrews Monday evening or Tuesday morning, according to the tide, for St. George, Back Bay, and Black's Harbor.

Leaves Black's Harbor Wednesday on the tide for Dipper Harbor, calling at Beaver Harbor.

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CHURCH SERVICES

PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH—Rev. W. M. Fraser, B. Sc., Pastor. Services every

Sunday, 11 a. m. and 7 p. m. (7:30 p. m. during July and August.) Sunday School, 2:30 p. m. Prayer services Friday evening at 7:30.

METHODIST CHURCH—Rev. Thomas Hicks,

Pastor. Services on Sunday at 11 a. m. and 7 p. m. Sunday School, 12:00 p. m. Prayer service, Friday evening at 7:30.

ST. ANDREW CHURCH—Rev. Father O'Keefe, Pastor. Services Sunday

at 10:30 a. m. and 7:30 p. m.

ALL SAINTS CHURCH—Rev. Geo. H. Elliott, B. A., Rector. Services Holy

Communion Sundays 8:00 a. m. 1st Sunday at 11 a. m. Morning Prayer and Sermon on Sundays 11 a. m. Evenings—Prayer and Sermon on Sundays at 7:00 p. m. Fridays, Evening Prayer Service 7:30.

BAPTIST CHURCH—Rev. William Amos,

Pastor. Services on Sunday at 11 a. m. and 7 p. m. Sunday School after the morning service. Prayer Service, Wednesday evening at 7:30. Service at Bayside every Sunday afternoon at 3 o'clock except the last Sunday in the month when it is held at 7 in the evening.

The Parish Library in All Saints' Sunday school Room open every Wednesday and Saturday afternoon from 3 to 4. Subscription rates to residents—25 cents for two books for three months. Non-residents \$1.00 for four books for the summer season or 50 cents for four books for one month or a shorter period. Books may be changed weekly.

ST. ANDREWS POSTAL GUIDE.

ALBERT THOMPSON, Postmaster.

Office Hours from 8 a.m. to 8 p.m.

Money Orders and Savings Bank Business transacted during open hours.

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Newspapers and periodicals, to any address in Canada, United States and Mexico, one cent per four ounces.

Arrives: 1:30 p.m.
Closes: 4:50 p.m.

Mails for Deer Island, Indian Island, and Campbell—Daily

Arrives: 12 m.
Closes: 1:30 p.m.

All Matter for Registration must be Posted half hour previous to the Closing of Ordinary Mail.

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