

EVENTS

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Debate on the Autonomy Bill.

THE debate on the second reading of the bill granting autonomy to the Northwest Territories, which began in the Canadian House of Commons on the 22nd of March is still in progress. Mr. R. L. Borden, the leader of the Opposition, who claimed, however to speak only for himself moved an amendment to strike out the words that the bill be now read a second time, and to substitute the following:—

That upon the establishment of a Province in the Northwest Territories of Canada as proposed by Bill No. 69, the Legislature of such Province subject to and in accordance with the provisions of the British North America Act 1867 to 1886, is entitled to and shall enjoy full powers of Provincial self government including power to exclusively make laws in relation to education.

Mr. Monk, who is the leading Conservative from the Province of Quebec, refused to accept this amendment and made a speech whose argument was in direct contradiction to the argument presented by the Conservative leader and other Conservative members. He deplored that this question of schools had been discussed with so

much passion in Public. He thought that many of the mischievous utterances were made in ignorance as to the real state of affairs. He entered into a constitutional argument diametrically opposed to that of Mr. R. L. Borden and in justification to the view taken by Sir Wilfrid Laurier Mr. Monk took the position that section 93 of the B. N. A. Act did apply to the new Provinces immediately they were created, but if, as some contended, that section did not apply there was a moral obligation on the part of this parliament to themselves provide a protection. He declared that a clause drafted by Mr. Haultain, which he read, went even farther than the clause in the proposed bill. The Conservative leader from Quebec closed a remarkable speech as follows:—

"Mr. Speaker, I have finished. I do not wish to go one step farther, but you will allow me in closing to quote the last sentence of Mr. Balfour's speech upon the Education Bill:

No other scheme—be it what you like—will give to the educational evils of this country the complete, radical and final

cure which this Bill will give. I count upon the support of our countrymen to enable us to close forever these barren controversies which for too long have occupied our time and in the interests alike of parental liberty and of educational efficiency to terminate the present system of costly confusion.

"If I quote these sentences, it is because they express in far better, far loftier language than I can command my own view in regard to these questions in general. If I could have my wish in the forming of these two new provinces, it would be that in the conduct of public affairs, particularly in the treatment of the minority—which practically whatever we may enact is entirely confided to the generosity of the majority—they may have men to lead the destinies of these two great provinces according to the example of this great statesman of England."

Mr. Sifton's speech was looked forward to with keen interest, and those who expected that he would clearly vindicate his position were not disappointed. It was Mr. Sifton's resignation of the Interior portfolio that precipitated a crisis, and what he had to say was naturally considered important. He began with a reference to the irony of political fate that caused him to retire from the cabinet over a bill dealing with the Northwest country for which he had so much solicitude during his term of office. Referring to the criticism addressed to the Prime Minister based on the assertion that he had not been consulted in regard to this bill, so far from this being the case he had upon various occasions given his attention to the contents of such a Bill and he had even put his views in writing, and, also when absent had corresponded with the Prime Minister. Indeed, Mr. Sifton said, that, substantially, the bill he recommended to the government is the Bill that was introduced with the exception of the education clause. He was in favor of two provinces instead of one. He justified the policy of the Dominion retaining the public land chiefly on the ground that spreading it among three provinces would interfere seriously with the successful prosecution of a settlement policy. After criticizing some

of the details of the Bill Mr. Sifton came to the education clause. In dealing with this question the ex-minister of the Interior went into it thoroughly, as he always does with all large questions, and started from the day in 1875 when separate schools were authorized. He showed that when the Northwest School Ordinance of 1892 was passed these schools ceased to be denominational or sectarian schools. The clerical control of these separate schools was absolutely abolished, the existing system of so-called separate schools are, from 9 in the morning to 3.30 in the afternoon, secular schools and all that this Bill does is to continue that system. That system was the system which they found set up by the Northwest people. The effect of section 2 was simply to require that when the public schools comply with the provisions of the law they get the ordinary share of the provincial grant. It is only when a separate school absolutely and entirely comply with the law and then come before the educational authorities and say: Having complied with the law, being in every sense of the word a public school, but called a separate school only because we happened to be less in number than the people who organized the public schools, we ask to be paid this money in proportion to the efficiency we can show we possess under the educational enactments which you have seen fit to pass. When that is shown the money necessary to the efficiency of the school shall be given. That was a theoretical interference with the control of the public funds, but Mr. Sifton regarded it as poor statesmanship to authorize separate schools and not provide for their efficiency. The principal ground for abolishing these separate school system in Manitoba was its inefficiency. Mr. Sifton defended the abolition of separate schools in Manitoba.

Upon the constitutional question Mr. Sifton contended that the Dominion Parliament was the only body which could settle this question on its merits. The Imperial Parliament could not, be they would deal with it as recommended by the Dominion Parliament. If it is necessary, therefore, to vary the B. N. A. Act of 1871 the necessary authority could be obtained. Had he

his own way, he would leave the provinces absolutely free. But he recognized the strength of the argument on the other side. He was certain that those who did not agree with him would never be convinced to his way of thinking. Then what were they going to do? They could not exercise the force of a brute majority. There was a certain distance that he was prepared to go in the way of compromise, to the extent which is embodied in the amended clause now before the House. He was willing to do so because he believed that the essential principles of a first class, thorough national school system are not impaired, "and the taint of what I call ecclesiasticism in schools, and which in my judgment always produces inefficiency, will not be found in the school system of the Northwest under this legislation, unless the people of the Northwest choose to have it, in which case it is their business and not ours."

Mr. Sifton seems to think the new clause a form of honorable compromise and he concluded by announcing that he would support the Bill, "though not with any great enthusiasm."

Mr. Bourassa resumed the debate on Tuesday in a brilliant speech, dealing with the education clause which he claimed rested on section 93 of the Constitutional Act. He quoted Lord Carnarvon when moving the second reading of the B. N. A. Act as saying that the legislative powers distributed by the Act were four-fold:—

1. Subjects relegated to the central authority.
2. Those assigned to the exclusive jurisdiction of the Provinces.
3. Those that were subject to concurrent legislation.
4. A particular question dealt with exceptionally— education.

The then Secretary of State for the Colonies said that clause 93 had been framed after consultation with all parties and that "the object of the clause is to secure to the religious minority of one province the same rights and protection which the religious minority of another province may enjoy, placing the minority on a footing of entire equality."

Appealing to a sense of justice Mr. Bourassa eloquently set forth that this protection to the minority granted by Mr. Mackenzie, Sir John Macdonald, Mr. Blake, Alexander Campbell and the parliament of Canada should now be respected when after 30 years provincial autonomy is being granted. He relied more upon the honor of parliament and the good faith of our public men than upon any quibble of law. He was particularly severe on the lawyers who cheere-pared over nice points of law when national and religious feeling and good faith were concerned. Provincial rights were a sham if the constitution could be trampled on. With great warmth he defended the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Quebec as the bulwark of British sovereignty in Canada. He argued strongly that the Roman Catholics settled in the Northwest were entitled to as fair a treatment as the Protestants in the Province of Quebec. Dealing with the claim that we should trust the new provinces to accord justice, Mr. Bourassa said that Premier Haultain was one of the first to move the Northwest Assembly to petition parliament to grant them power to abolish separate schools. Again, they could not tell what might be the public policy of these new provinces 50 years hence. The majority then might not appreciate that British tolerance displayed by British statesmen.

He entered upon an exposition of what Catholic education had done for the world and dwelt upon the value of the influence of the Catholic Church upon the working classes, in view of the alarm felt by Protestant countries such as Germany and the United States over the plague of Socialism and the forces of unrest and disorder. He also pointed to the generous and fair treatment always accorded to Protestant education by the Catholic majority in Quebec. By reference to history and by felicity of language as well as by reason of force, eloquence, and wit, Mr. Bourassa lent dignity and interest to what may be termed a great speech. He spoke in English to crowded galleries.

British Politics.

THERE was a debate in the British House on Lord Selborne's appointment as Lord Milner's successor, raised by Mr. Swift MacNeill's motion for the adjournment of the House. Mr. MacNeill's motion was seconded by Mr. Keir Hardie and supported by Mr. Sydney Buxton and Ma-

the fact that he was Under-Secretary to the Colonies at the time of the Raid. One supporter of the Government, Mr. Purvis, gave his opinion that the Raid had been justified by subsequent events. Mr. Chamberlain did not go so far as that, but he argued that the Dutch had forgiven the



THE EARL OF SELBORNE

Who has been appointed to succeed Viscount Milner in South Africa.

for Seely, while both Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain spoke against it. Objection was taken to Lord Selborne's appointment on various grounds, the chief being that he was a politician appointed to an office which would be more appropriately filled by a non-party official; and, secondly, to

Raid, he praised Dr. Jameson and said he was the most popular Prime Minister there had ever been at the Cape. It seems obvious that the most certain way to deprive an administration in advance of the confidence of the people of the colony is to associate it with a politician who

was an official at the time of the treacherous invasion of the Transvaal and a member of the government who made the war and introduced Chinese labour. The leaders of the Opposition emphasized this view by supporting Mr. MacNeill's motion, and Lord Selborne must make up his mind that he will not be allowed to embarrass or prejudice the execution of the will and the policy of Britain, even though that people may be six thousand miles away. The Government's majority on the division fell to fifty-eight.

Two bye elections have occurred in March, and in both cases with results sat-



EARL CAULDOR

The new First Lord of the Admiralty in succession to the Earl of Selborne

is satisfactory to the Liberals. There was a good deal of doubt about the chances of their retaining the seat in North Westmorland as it was no secret that the capture of the seat in 1900 was due to the local influence of Mr. Rigg, and it was feared that after Mr. Rigg's secession the seat would return to its former unbroken loyalty to the Conservative party. When the result was announced it was found that Mr. Lief Jones had kept the seat by a majority of 229, a result which, though of course it

is not as good a result as in 1900 when Mr. Rigg won the seat with a majority of 579 is very much better than a result of any previous election. The Conservative majority fluctuated between 10 in 1885 and 873 in 1895. The poll last week was the highest on record, and Liberals have given a particularly warm welcome to Mr. Lief Jones—a close student of politics and an indefatigable Liberal—from memory of many brave fights he has made for the party. This success was followed by the capture of Buteshire. Mr. Lamont, an energetic young Liberal, who won the seat by a majority of 34 defeating the Solicitor-General for Scotland, is the first Liberal to represent Buteshire since 1880. The Free Church is unusually strong in Buteshire, and its influence was thrown on the side of the Government, a fact which makes the result all the more significant.

Lord Spencer and Lord Rosebery have both spoken recently. Lord Spencer pointed out that Mr. Wyndham's experience was a striking justification of the Liberal policy of extending self government in Ireland. Lord Rosebery denounced once again the French agreement, assured property that it had nothing to fear from the Liberals, borrowed for his Government the credit of the Japanese alliance, and said with regard to Ireland that no Liberal Government would ever set up the curse of a dual authority. Lord Rosebery added something about Administrative reform, but his language suggests that he is as hostile to any form of devolution as he is to Home Rule. He added that he hoped his son would be as loyal to principle as his friend Mr. Gladstone had always been.

The only satisfactory result from the increased taxation for armaments and war since 1899 has been the consecutively declining expenditure in the consumption of alcohol in every part of the United Kingdom since 1899. In that year as Dr. Dawson Burns pointed out in his letter to the Times, the national drinkbill was 185 millions. It fell a million in 1900, three millions in 1901, two millions in 1902, and five

millions in 1904. The last and largest decrease was £1,529,000 on spirits, £2,172,000 on beer, and £1,576,000 on wine. In 1904 the expenditure per head on alcoholic liquor was £4 3s. for England, £3 4s. for Scotland, and £3 2s. 10d. for Ireland. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who was interviewed by a deputation of "the National Trade Defence Association" said that the reduction in consumption was due to bad trade and unemployment, not to the increased taxation of alcohol. What the deputation

asked was that the taxes on spirits and beer added during the war should now be remitted. They also complained that the assessments of public-houses had been raised in many towns. They said nothing about the licence duties, for these deputations are controlled by the big men who keep the large drinking saloons and gin palaces. These large "houses" pay 5 per cent., or less in licence duties on their rateable value, while the small ones pay 50 to 60 per cent.

The Latest Ocean Marvel.

THE new turbine steamship Victorian of the Allan Line has arrived at Halifax with 1,500 passengers.

A London despatch dated upon the new turbine steamer Victorian begins:—

"Fine weather, turbines working smoothly, no vibration, now 50 miles out at sea."

This message sent by wireless telegraphy from the new Allan liner Victorian, was received at Malin on the Irish coast. The champions of the turbine found their expectations exceeded by the maiden voyage of the vessel, which is the first ocean going passenger steamship to be driven by turbines.

"When the ship arrived at Moville, en route for Canada," telegraphs a Derry correspondent, "it was stated that though on the previous night she had encountered a strong northeast gale and choppy sea, the passengers slumbered peacefully in their berths. So quiet was the Victorian that she might have been at her dock.

The absence of vibration fore and aft so astonished the old Atlantic travellers on board that many gazed persistently over the side to see if she was really moving through the water with a speed of either

17 or 7 knots. There was scarcely a perceptible tremor through the ship.

Looking down from the upper grating the engine room presented an unfamiliar appearance. The boilerhouse, the old fashioned noisy cranks and throbbing piston rod were missing. All the engineers had to do was to watch their indicators to see how much pressure there was on the high and low turbines. At each end of these is an instrument like a stethoscope, which the engineer on watch puts his ear to occasionally. The proper sound is a continuous roar. If it is intermittent there is something wrong somewhere. Men long accustomed to the old reciprocating engines looked round them in a hopeless way.

"They will have to put aside all theories and knowledge and adapt themselves to the new turbines," said Charles Allen, superintending engineer of the Belfast firm who built the Victorian.

Mr. Allen added "I expect that in less than ten years, we shall have our ocean steamships driven by gas generated on board. An experiment will shortly be made on a steamship fitted in this manner."

EVENTS.



The Tsar receives General Stoessel at Tsarskoe Selo.

EVENTS

Published Weekly.

ARNOTT J. MAGURN, Editor

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THE abolition of compulsory Greek in the Cambridge Previous Examination has been rejected by a considerable majority of votes. The voting strength of the residents in the University is about 600 and as the total number of votes was 2,611, 2,000 non-residents must have voted. It is obvious, therefore, that their opinions must have controlled the result. It is a curious fact that the chief opposition to important University reforms usually come from outvoters. Their opposition probably arises from the belief that when they were undergraduates their university was at its zenith and that any change from the perfection it then enjoyed must be degeneration. The Prime Minister, it may be remarked, is not a Conservative in these matters.

THE first member of the Canadian parliament for the city of Vancouver, constituting an electoral division by itself, is Mr. R. G. Macpherson, whose portrait we reproduce this week on the cover. He is a native of the province of Ontario, having been born in the county of Wellington some thirty-eight or nine years ago. Although not an old member of the House he was this session honored by being elected Whip for British Columbia. He has managed to secure for his district many important public improvements, and is known at Ottawa as indefatigable in the interests of his constituents. In the House he showed from the first the qualities of a forceful and lucid speaker, and only the other day his political friends were particularly pleased at a rise he took out of Col. Sam Hughes.

THE storm raised by the narrow unsophisticated press of Ontario over the school clause of the Autonomy Bill seems to be rapidly subsiding.

THEY say that the western members of parliament are making a move to try and get Mr. Sifton back into the cabinet and the Interior portfolio. This is undoubtedly a true compliment, yet Mr. Sifton's best friends will not ask him to resume a portfolio which he should have exchanged three years ago for something lighter. The department is really three departments and in an effort to make them all efficient Mr. Sifton has been constantly overworked, to the risk of his health. Fortunately he was a young and vigorous man when he took office at Ottawa, and still is, and he has been able to discharge these heavy duties for more than seven years but if he returns to office we fail to see why he should not have a light portfolio, and pass the heavy work on to someone else. Three years ago we advocated the division of the Department of the Interior, which includes the Department of Indian Affairs, the Department of the Geological Survey, the Immigration Branch (a department in itself) and the large mineral and timber interests of the west, and the Yukon. In addition to all this Mr. Sifton has had to advise the prime minister in all matters relating to the Mounted Police, and he has been the chief adviser of Council in regard to all Yukon matters. Now that he is out we do not believe that he will again take over the heavy burden of office, but that is no reason why those who know something of the time and thought which he has in the true vein of patriotism bestowed on his country should refrain from testifying to the great value of his services to Canada, especially in view of the fact that he has incurred innocently the vulgar abuse of a partisan press.

Co-Operative Savings and Credit Societies in Canada.

THE March number of the Labour Gazette, just issued, contains amongst other important features an interesting and instructive article on the subject of co-operative savings and credit societies in Canada. This article gives a detailed account of the origin and practical working of these societies, and in particular the co-operative savings and credit society of peoples' bank at Levis, Que., started by Mr. Alphonse Desjardins, a resident of that city in 1900.

As illustrating the practical working and importance of this form of co-operation, as well as its practical benefits, the article is most valuable. It is pointed out that the objects of the savings and credit societies are moral, economic and educational, in that supreme among their purposes are the encouragement of thrift and the promotion of honesty and honour, the furtherance of self-reliance and economic independence, and the fostering of the appreciation of business principles and business relations amongst persons whose financial means are limited, and who are thereby precluded from obtaining personal credit, notwithstanding that from several points of view it would be advantageous to themselves and the community for credit to be available.

The co-operative credit society encourages saving by the formation of capital made up of shares which are small in amount, payable in weekly or monthly instalments on the basis of which a division of profits is made. It receives from its member deposits in amounts of not less than five cents, on which interest is allowed, and grants loans, makes discounts and advances to members on their own signature and the personal security of other

members of the society. It is restricted in its operations to doing business with members only, and the membership is restricted to a certain area. All shareholders are entitled to a portion of the profits at the end of the year.

The following accounts of the benefits derived by the shareholders through the co-operative savings and credit society at Levis in the time in which that institution has been in existence illustrates clearly the advantages to be derived from such institutions:—

The great majority of the shareholders of "La Caisse Populaire de Levis" (the Levis Co-operative Savings and Credit Society) are workmen most of whom hold two or three shares each. Nearly 700 different loans have been made since the establishment of the society, to about 100 different borrowers, in sums varying in amounts from \$1 to \$500, the majority averaging from \$50 to \$100. Most of the loans have been made for a period of four months, and have been made to small traders, mechanics, farmers, and others to enable them to make advantageous purchases to tide over temporary difficulties and to meet pressing demands. Of all the loans made not a single borrower has failed to make payment of the amounts advanced.

In four years the total amount received on account of capital subscribed has amounted to \$29,934.10. Since the commencement of the Society in January, 1901, \$5,358.48 has been reimbursed to shareholders who for different reasons desired to withdraw their shares. The total amount paid on account of entrance fees (being 10 cents per share on shares subscribed) was \$693.90 which would indicate that in all \$0,939 shares have been

subscribed. The total amount received in profits on account of loans, &c., has been \$3,326.50. The total amount received on account of deposits, from the establishment of the society up to February 14 was \$12,257.27, out of which the sum of \$6,727.57 has been reimbursed to depositors. Since the inception of the society to February 14, 1905, a total of \$104,554.94 has been loaned. Taking a general survey of the entire business of the society from its establishment it appears that the society has handled funds amounting in all to \$125,144.33.

It is the general consensus of opinion of the shareholders that but for the establishment of this savings and credit society not \$2,000 out of the \$32,500 which has been deposited in the bank in the form of shares and deposits would have been saved. Among the shareholders are many young men who are apprentices or mechanics and who commenced with taking only one share, and have at the present time as much as \$200 laid aside in the form of paid up shares or deposits. These amounts have

been accumulated chiefly through the opportunity afforded of acquiring shares by the payment of small amounts in weekly or monthly instalments. Having commenced by making a weekly deposit of 10 cents, many have acquired the habit of depositing regularly with the bank and have shown a disposition to increase the amount of their deposits from month to month and year to year.

Not only have the members of the society received assistance by way of advances and acquired habits of thrift from making regular deposits, but not a few have been saved from serious embarrassment and from extortion at the hands of usurers.

Other co-operative and savings societies have been organized at St. Joseph de Levis, a parish adjoining that in which the Levis society operates, at Hull, Que., and at St. Malo in Quebec East. There are indications that under favorable circumstances other societies of a similar kind will be instituted in the near future.



A group of members of the House of Commons and of the Press Gallery

EVENTS.

FOR ANOTHER FIVE YEARS



Cartoon that appeared in the *Manitoba Free Press* the morning after the general elections, showing Hon Clifford Sifton, and Mr. Bole the member for Winnipeg rejoicing together with Leader Laurier.

A Timid Government.

THE British people do not admire a timid leader or government. They do admire pluck and courage. For this reason alone the latest trade incident in the House of Commons will do the Balfour Administration a great deal of damage. The cry raised throughout Great Britain that free trade was worn out, while creating a furore by reason of Mr. Chamberlain's high position and the expenditure of enormous sums on literature and on the press, failed to find an echo in the by-elections and the government refused to grant the Opposition's request for a test vote in the House of Commons. Some of the strong men in the cabinet left Mr. Balfour because of his vacillation and his coquetting with Mr. Chamberlain. At last the Opposition managed on March 23 to place a resolution in the hands of the Spesker, which reads as follows:— "That in the opinion of the House the imposition of a general duty on all manufactured goods imported from abroad, not exceeding ten per cent. on an average and varying according to the amount of labor, would be injurious to the commercial interests of the United Kingdom," was carried 254 to 2.

Mr. Airnsworth's resolution was seconded by Richard Frederick Cavendish (Unionist), who congratulated Mr. Balfour, the premier, on giving the House an opportunity to express unfettered its views on fiscal

propositions. Both Mr. Airnsworth and Mr. Cavendish maintained that the vote would show a complete discrediting of Joseph Chamberlain.

Premier Balfour explained that he did not consider the resolution as anything more than an abortive effort on the part of the opposition to embarrass the government over an issue which was not before parliament. He requested his followers not only to follow the policy he had adopted by not debating the resolution, but also to follow his example by not going into the division lobby.

Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman attacked the government for its attitude. He asked if the question was of no moment now, why it was considered a critical party question on March 8.

Lord Hugh Cecil said he believed that after tonight the country would not take the tariff reformers seriously. The electorate would not rally to those who failed to rally to their own cause. The protestation movement, he said, was dying; it had only been galvanized into life by the genius of one individual.

It is stated that Mr. Balfour secured Joseph Chamberlain's assent to his mode of dealing with the Airnsworth motion by representing that any other course would risk the government being defeated.

Maxim Gorky.

Three of Them. By Maxim Gorky. London: Fish & Unwin 1905.

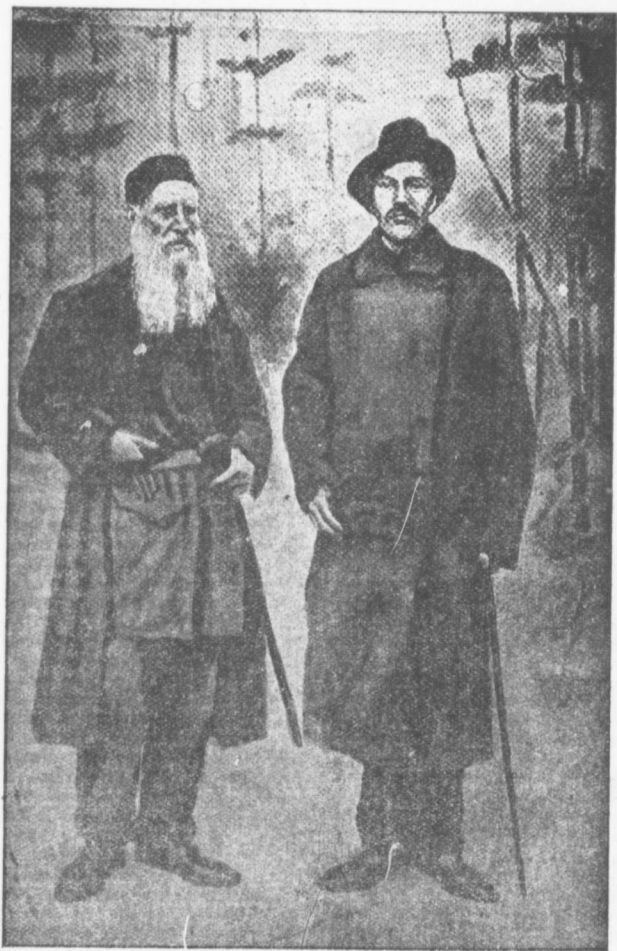
Creatures That Once Were Men. By Maxim Gorky. With an introduction by G. K. Chesterton. London. Alston Rivers.

IT is evident from the general tone of writers in the English press and periodical literature that the tone of the Russian mind and the Russian attitude to life are a profound mystery to the educated Englishman. While the Russians, without understanding the English character, have a sincere admiration for its moral force and conscientiousness, English people who have lived in Russia testify wholeheartedly that the Russians are "awfully good fellows", so warm and lovable in spite of their defects. A profound abyss divides, indeed, the two national characters, and the intelligent man who wishes to penetrate into the soul of the Russian people can find a short and easy way by studying attentively two of Gorky's tales recently translated, *Three of Them*, and *Creatures That Once Were Men*.

Gorky's art is very simple and direct, and in no respect is it remarkable for individual subtlety or temperamental richness. It is an excellent medium for the conveying of his vivid impressionistic scenes and sketches, but it cannot compare for a moment in penetrating depth, in poetic beauty or psychological insight with the art of the great Russian novelists. Gorky has a touch of the able journalist in him, and as an artistic craftsman he is, for example, inferior to Tchekhov, a writer of the third rank. But just because his pictures of life are so charged with an appeal to ordinary Russian nature, his work is a clear and simple guide to the instinctive feeling and outlook of the po-

pular mind. The main reason of Gorky's sudden rise to popularity a few years ago was that he was the first to introduce the fierce anarchistic types of the hunger-driven ranks of the exploited and submerged "outcasts" on the notice of the Russian public, that had grown tired of the orthodox literary pictures of the peasant's fatalism. Gorky's story, *Chelkosh*, which immediately made his reputation all over Russia, is simply a character sketch of a strong, reckless and daring dock thief, who defies constituted society with his creed. "Today you do for me, tomorrow I'll do for you." The Russian public, always keenly on the lookout for literature of a revolutionary tendency, at once caught at the defiant individualism of Gorky's "outcasts" as a protest against any slavish submission to Authority, whether moral, political or social. And Gorky in fact, was almost the first writer to indicate the existence of those explosive forces in the life of the sweated proletariat in Russian towns which have lately burst out uncontrollably in the astonished face of the Government. But politics apart, the Russian public welcomed Gorky's picturesque sketches of vagabond life for their atmosphere of broad, human sympathy, of unflinching mental honesty, of their bitter and defiant acceptance of life's evils. The Russian public is strong in its sense of brotherly love. And love and justice, despite what the moralists say, are like wife and husband who are each jealous of the other's dictation. Imagine the reception that would be given in England to an ex-journeyman baker, wandering artisan, and companion of outcasts and tramps who should present reading classes with realistic transcripts from the life of Eng-

EVENTS.



Maxim Gorky, with Count Tolstoy to his right.

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lish dozers, beggars, prostitutes, artisans, thieves, peasants, horse-coopers, convicts, pedlars, dock labourers, lodging-housekeepers, navvies, etc., sketches, moreover, surcharged with a bitter philosopher's invective against the life of smooth conventional respectability and worldly success. Imagine the ordinary Englishman and his wife welcoming eagerly these harsh, realistic sketches, grim in their revelation of life's brutalities and of human nature's weaknesses, and wrongdoing, for the sake of their inherent sympathy with the weak and the suffering, and for the precious feeling of the common humanity between the cheat and the cheated, the oppressor and the oppressed, the murderer and his victim. The spiritual difference between the English public which waxed so enthusiastic over Rudyard Kipling and the Russian which acclaims Gorky, is characteristic of the profound abyss which separates the national life and moral ideas of the Anglo-Saxon and the Slav. All the Englishman's admiration seems to be directed to the attainment of moral strength, to the growth of his will, to worldly success, personal force, and so on to the attainment of righteousness, of being in a state of being "right" within himself; and all his contempt is reserved for weakness, for moral failure, for lack of character, for lack of force in the conquering of circumstances. And from this spirited ideal triumphing too much in action arises all that is odious in the English mind, complacent patronage of "inferiors," lack of charity, hard superiority to the "sinner," open or secret self-complacency and also—what is perhaps even more insidiously narrowing—distrust of our human impulses, dislike of letting the emotions go, perpetual self-distrust, fear of being ourselves freely and boldly—in short, intellectual hypocrisy and dishonesty. But the Russian perpetually discontented with his own actions, morally conscious of his lack of grit and will power, fatalistically distrustful of his own power to change the human nature within him, finds his relief in genuine self-abasement, in true brotherly love, in saying perpetually "I am not better than other men; we are

all brothers." Hence to be deposed, to be lowly and suffering, to be resigned to the will of God is a craving of the Russian mind, and we find perpetually in Russian literature that the Russian soul is deepened, made tender, lovable and broadly human by recognizing unflinchingly all the darkest and saddest strands of human life. The Russian's charity, in short, is a palliative for his own vices; the Englishman's practical commonsense activity is a palliative for his mental blinking of all the unpleasant and disturbing facts of life that he meets on his way.

Himself the son of unsuccessful and struggling people Gorky passed through a hard and bitter apprenticeship to misfortune before he emerged as a writer of picturesque sketches in a Russian newspaper at Tiflis, in 1892. Having learnt no regular trade, he had knocked about as a manual labourer, tramp and itinerant hawker, wandering, as a casual labourer from city to city, through Central and Southern Russia. He emerged at the age of twenty-three with a budget of strange experiences drawn direct from the life of those social strata of the community which are bounded by the life of the criminal outcast at the bottom and the respectable artisan at the top. An unflinching analysis of man's ugly egoism, pity for the suffering protest against slavishness, a mystical and tender love for the weak, the "unworthy" and the "sinner"—these elements formed the spiritual atmosphere of Gorky's writings and touched the Russian heart in its most sensitive place. The story *Konovalev* is a very profound study of the Russian temperament, and the reader who masters it will, once and for all, have got to the very roots of Russian human nature, in all its rich depths of spiritual life, in all its broad humanity, and in all its self-abandonment to the bitter gloom of its own erring weakness and moral paralysis.

In the novel, *Three of Them*, the first half of which is one of the finest pieces of work he has done, Gorky traces the lives of three poor boys attaining manhood, Ilya, Jacob and Pashka, the sons of typical Russian folk, a peasant convict, a barman,

and a blacksmith. The three lads are brought up in an old tenement house, a human warren inhabited by a number of poor families, shoemakers, raggickers, cabmen, and various beggar women and "unfortunates" who use the eating-house kept by the crafty Petruha the barman. What strikes the English reader is that these characters, one and all, workmen, rogues, and prostitutes alike, are all striving after a deep inner humiliation of spirit, as the ideal for man. Ilia wants "to live decently, in honesty, cleanliness and joy," but some obscure mixture of impulse, moral as well as animal, leads him to place himself in the position of a sinner. He is not in the depths of his heart satisfied with leading an upright prosperous, and happy life, though he has in fact strength of character enough to do so; he is logically bound to give way to his temptations in order to feel the bitter strivings of his soul within him. "Just as a stone is necessary to sharpen the bluntness of a chisel, so is sin necessary to man to quicken his soul and humble it to the dust at our all merciful Lord's feet," is, in fact, the secret belief and fatalistic aspiration of the Russian soul, which, feeling itself surrounded with earthly sin, and beset by inner sin, finds it the easiest way out of accounting for its own weakness, and attaining its spiritual enrichment. Now, if we turn to the other side of the shield we find that the English soul's weakness is just the other way. If we are so spiritually strong and pure, why are we so afraid of coming into contact with sin? why are we so distrustful of knowing our own motives? why are we so hard, so uncharitable, so full of

contempt for the weak and erring? Because our ideal in the power of our will to conquer self means that consciousness of sin really degrades us, while it makes the Russian feel better, worthier, more full of love for his fellow-man. In *Creatures That Once Were Men* Gorky draws a most incisive sketch of the philosophy of life of a band of outcasts, broken men, tramps, drunkards, thieves, and reprobates, who inhabit a doss-house under the presidency of the cynical drunkard Kuvlada an ex-officer. These people commit brutal crimes, live in "wickedness" and in perpetual suffering, which "eats their hearts out," and, unable to rise out of their vicious life, are preoccupied with the great problem of how to get enough drink to deaden their senses. But when all is said and done Gorky brings home to us that these outcast scoundrels are in fact living a deeper spiritual life than are many of the clean, prosperous and successful townsmen on whom these wretched "creatures prey. Remorse and self despair torment them in the interval of their cynical orgies, and in the bitterness of their hearts they know what good is better than most of these complacent, and smug people who "work day and night, and gather money all the time. Mr. Chesterton, who has written a suggestive "Foreword" to the tale sums up its value well when he says: "Here in the very act of describing a fall from humanity Gorky expresses a sense of the strangeness and essential value of the human being, which is far too commonly absent altogether from such complex civilizations as our own."

