

bad, is it not possible that they had better sometimes be all these things? There is a sort of broad and genial way of viewing a nation and a country by which it might be said that we should not be so pleasant a people nor so agreeable a land were the niggers not among us. All these things should be thought of—both the devil and the black man should get their due. As has been said—and it is hoped said strongly—no one nowadays is asked to indulge in the old sentimentality about the black man being his brother. But it may be pointed out that it is often possible to like someone who is not a relative. The old sentimentality is a relic of the

days when we honestly believed that all men were born free and equal. Now in these troubled days of the twentieth century, with clouded horizons and the social revolution like a mirage before us, we may still love humanity while we deny its freedom and only hope for its equality in some future day. Is it not possible, in the interests both of black man and of white, to leave unsettled the question of the black's equality and his destiny, and meanwhile to appreciate his suave good-natured contribution to our national tone? And not to become too enthusiastic about not giving him his chance?

HARRISON RHODES.

The New Poland

ONE of the most significant events this year in European politics is the resurrection of the kingdom of Poland by the Central Empires. To be sure nothing has eventuated beyond the solemn pledge on the part of the German and Austrian governments to maintain and support against all outside interference an autonomous monarchical state in Poland. The boundaries are not yet fixed and nothing very definite has been said in regard to the relationship between the new kingdom and its sponsors. The truly significant fact is that the step should have been taken at this time. Obviously the Central Empires are anxious to enlist on their behalf the serious coöperation of the Polish nation. Nothing short of the actual publication of their intentions would suffice. The Poles have had too many unfortunate experiences with pledges and promises to be willing to risk any action based upon them. But clearly the two empires believe that this public pledge to support the Poles in the organization of a government for Poland will mean a definite willingness of the Poles to sustain the Central Powers in their struggle for victory against the Allies. Clearly the new kingdom will depend for its continued existence upon the victory of its sponsors.

In all probability, too, there is in this new act a very decided desire to confront the Allies at the peace conference when the war comes to a close, with an accomplished fact, with a kingdom not *in posse* but *in esse*. If the Central Powers are the victors, as they expect to be, the creation of a kingdom of Poland, of a strategic unit in the path of Russia, of a buffer state between the Central Powers and Russia across whose unfortunate body the Russians must tramp to obtain access to the Central Powers—this will not be a subject for bargaining, the result for which the Central Powers must pay a price. It will be a part of the status

quo at the end of the war, which the Central Powers will of course expect to be paid for altering. On the other hand, it will give the Central Powers an immensely valuable pawn to exchange for something even more essential to them than the removal of Warsaw and strategic approaches to Berlin and Vienna from the grasp of the Russian military and administrative system. So valuable will it be to the Central Powers to keep that strategic control out of Russian hands and so imperative do the Russians regard the retention of that control that the Allies would be expected to pay liberally for that concession.

In addition, if the Allies win, and if they insist in the interests of Russia upon the dissolution of the new kingdom, they will then incur the blame of liberals throughout the world for destroying a nation and for robbing a people of freedom who have from any theoretical point of view as definitely a right to it as the Belgians, the Serbians, or any other of the small nations of Europe. Indeed, it would not be difficult to argue that the past history of the Polish nation, its many services to Germany, Austria, and Russia, its past treaty relations with France, make more incumbent upon the Allies the recognition of its freedom than that of any other state desirous of attaining it. Thus to do violence to the Allies' own protestations about nationality and freedom, to that principle upon which the reorganization of Europe is to be based, would be difficult in the extreme, and would make apparent the fact which the Central Powers are very anxious the world should see, that the practical expedients of the Allies for the rearrangement of the European situation in their favor do not precisely coincide with their protestations about the principle of nationality and democracy.

No doubt also the Central Powers are expecting by the creation of this kingdom of Poland to sow



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discord in the ranks of the Allies at the end of the war. France has long been morally pledged to the support of Polish freedom; the English ministers and people have always expressed enthusiasm for it during the various Polish revolutions of the nineteenth century; the very clear consonance of the Polish demands with the theoretical conceptions of popular government in both countries makes it extremely difficult for either to sustain in the popular chamber any policy which denies the validity of Polish independence. Above all, both nations are only less afraid of Russia than they are of Germany. Once the Central Empires are weakened to prevent a repetition of the present war, the power of Russia in central Europe will be immensely increased and will threaten not only the position of Germany and Austria, but also England's control of the Baltic and the general status of France in Europe. Neither of the latter countries have formerly been anxious to advance Russian interests. To do violence therefore to their own convictions, to decline publicly propositions favorably entertained by their own people for the purpose of strengthening a Russia already too strong, would be a policy hardly likely to meet approval. It seems probable that the Central Empires are counting therefore upon the interests France and England obviously possess to oppose the westward march of Russia, to uphold a new kingdom of Poland, which would also, in case the Central Empires are defeated, provide them with a very necessary element of safety against the new Russia.

But such a kingdom of Poland must be a reality and not a fiction, a real state and not a paper government. The plans announced by the Central Empires reveal the fact that they believe the end of the war to be as yet far off. They feel that there is time, ample time, for the organization by the Poles of a kingdom which would be a fact indeed. A constitution is to be made; an administration must be created; grave questions of law must be decided; the extent to which Russian law is to be superseded or Polish customs revived; the extent to which Roman law in its French or German form can be successfully introduced; the type of administrative tradition to be employed; the exact variant of the parliamentary system to be erected; the personality of the new sovereign to be determined. The wording of the decree assumes that these steps are on the whole to be taken by the Poles themselves, and there can be of course no doubt that the whole-hearted support of the vast majority of the Poles is absolutely essential and must at all costs be secured. It must moreover be so manifested to the public mind in England, France, and America, that the moral inhibitions

against the overthrow of the kingdom will become as powerful as the interests of the Central Empires demand.

The real difficulty in the path of the creation of such an entity is the question of boundaries. The Poles are more than likely to demand the inclusion in the new kingdom of all districts in the possession of the Central Empires in which the Polish population predominates. These include large districts which have been German and Austrian for many decades, and which control in addition exceedingly important strategic areas, in particular Cracow and a portion of Galicia, and the important districts around Posen and Thorn. Shall these be given over to the Poles and added to what has already been seized from Russia in order to create an entity with which the Poles themselves will be thoroughly enough satisfied to secure for the new kingdom their whole-hearted support and avoid the very grave difficulty of creating a party of irreconcilables at the outset? On the other hand, if this dilemma is avoided one almost equally insuperable is created. For the Germans to put Posen and Thorn, and for the Austrians to put Cracow into the hands of a Polish state of dubious efficiency and capacity, would be seriously to weaken the military frontiers, perhaps to offset the real military value of taking Warsaw from the Russians. The Polish state might be unable in any reasonable number of years to acquire enough military and administrative capacity to prevent its speedy collapse should the Russians attack it in earnest. Naturally such a war would be fought in eastern Poland and the collapse of the armies there would at once throw into Russian hands the strategic approaches to Berlin and Vienna. There are also strong German minorities in these districts which would of course object to being abandoned, and which would have the sympathy of their own countrymen.

There is the even more serious issue of the relationship between the new kingdom and its sponsors. If it becomes really independent and decides its own military issues, administrative problems, and international policy, Germany and Austria are then depending upon its ability and strength, and, should those qualities be lacking, will be perhaps as much exposed to Russian assault as they were before the war. On the other hand, if the military organization and the foreign policy of the new state are really to be handled from Berlin and Vienna in order that they may be sufficiently capable to protect both the state and its sponsors, the new Poland will not be an independent state, but practically a province of Germany and Austria with autonomy and local administration. This will hardly fulfill the glowing pictures of liberty which

the Poles have conceived. So much was practically offered by the Russians during the revolutions in the 'sixties and was repudiated with scorn and contumely. It is probable that the Poles will accept from the Central Empires to-day nothing short of complete independence, which it is no more expedient for the Central Empires to grant than it has seemed to the Russians. These are grave issues of the utmost significance, not only for the future of Europe at the end of the war, but for the coming months of its continuance.

ROLAND G. USHER.

CORRESPONDENCE

As to Bertrand Russell

SIR: In a recent number of *THE NEW REPUBLIC* reference was made to a rumor that the British government had refused passports for America to Mr. Bertrand Russell and myself. May I say that, while this rumor is well founded as regards my friend Bertrand Russell, it is not so as regards myself. The government have not refused me a passport, because, for reasons into which I need not now enter, I have not asked for one.

But if, when I do so, the government grant to me what they have refused Mr. Russell, it will be, I am afraid, because my opinions happen to be perhaps a little more in accord with those of the government than are Mr. Russell's; or because my views do not matter. The principle of the government's action, then, is this: "If your views happen to agree with ours—or do not matter—we will give you facilities for discussing them; otherwise we will use our powers to prevent your discussing them"—a line of conduct so derogatory to the traditions of English freedom that it makes an English Liberal ashamed to profit by his political orthodoxy.

This act of petty tyranny in making it impossible for a philosopher of international reputation to fulfil an engagement to lecture on Logic and Ethics in the premier American university is but a part, and by no means the most serious part, of the systematic persecution of which Mr. Russell and others have been the victims.

I should hesitate to write thus in a foreign paper did I not feel that it would be the very worst service to a cause which I happen to have very much at heart—that of closer Anglo-American understanding and coöperation—to attempt to slur over or minimize what is now happening in England in the way of the suppression of intellectual freedom.

For if that suppression continues there will be eliminated in the formation of English policy just those influences of Liberalism which alone can make possible an Anglo-American coöperation to international ends. If in public discussion the Russells and Dickinsons and Hobsons are suppressed while the Maxses and Bottomleys are encouraged; if, in other words, the public hear only one side and that the side of violence and reaction, inevitably there will grow up a temper which will finally compel the Greys and Bal-fours to give place to the Carsons and the Curzons.

It is important for Americans to realize both the extent to which this tyranny is growing in England and the extent to which it is being resented. (The resistance to it includes, by the way, if widespread rumor has any truth, ele-

MODERN DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

November 10, 1916.

To the bookstalls this A. M., where I discovered a book which I did peruse with great delight.

To my extraordinary content, I found that the *Memoirs of Samuel Pepys* have been deemed of sufficient excellence to receive attention in this time of unusual haste.

Moreover, I was heartily amused to find that the parts now singled out for attention are those for which Lord Braybrooke made apologies in that Preface with which he graced the first edition of my *Memoirs*. I now call to mind his words to the effect that he retained the theatrical notices at the risk of fatiguing those readers who have no taste for concerns of the drama.

It is now apparent that he might have spared that solicitude. Increasing years have gained them greater rather than less commendation, and no playhouse audiences since have been witnesses to progress comparable to that with which we were indulged.

Nor did I fully recall until this modern scholar had brought it to my attention, how regular was my attendance at the theatres of the day, how wide my acquaintance among the actors (and to my delight, I may add, among the actresses) of the time and how general my familiarity with the dramas.

Moreover, this scholar has executed a surprisingly good plan, and with originality. (To my greater astonishment, to be accounted for by the progress among women in these modern days, I find it to be the work of a lady.) Not only has she culled out all that relates to plays from my great *Memoirs*, but added to this she has made notations, footnoted to my work from like sayings of Downes, Langbaine and John Evelyn. (I may add they gain nothing from proximity to my more enlivening remarks.) But, be that as it may, this new work appeals to me. It is no task to read—in fact, it stimulates to further reading; yet no one can accuse it of any lack of scholarship.

I may add that the prints are excellently chosen, though methinks the portrait of Nell Gwyn does not do her justice.

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