

duties and its functions. It should be observed again here that there is no such thing as an imperial or a German police-system, though such a system is constantly advocated. The executive police are of three kinds: first, the gendarmerie or country-police, a practically military force organized on army lines and armed with carbines as well as with the usual revolver and sabre of the town police. The gendarmerie is recruited as far as possibly from time-expired army-men, and is controlled for the most part by the local Government officials, who in turn are organs of the central administration. The gendarmerie is employed for country districts and at certain points of the frontiers. The town police, armed with revolvers or pistols and sabres, are of two kinds, State-police, controlled eventually by the Ministry of Justice, and the communal police, controlled usually by the civic authorities, that is, in most cases, the Burgomaster. In any case the cost of maintenance falls not upon the State but upon the community. Almost all large towns in Prussia now have State-controlled police, Kiel, and the towns of the west-Prussian mining districts and of the Reichsland, having been added to the number comparatively recently. The tendency, therefore, is to remove police control from the municipalities on the frontiers and in mining

districts, where there is usually a large floating population of foreign labourers. The reason for this tendency is obvious, and probably the system is, on the whole, beneficial. It is distinctly not beneficial in some cases, because the police-force comes to be regarded as a sort of subordinate military force, and is divorced completely from any touch with or control by the municipalities, who nevertheless have to find the money for its support.

Hence arises the growing unpopularity of the police in towns like Berlin, and the increasing tendency of the general public to regard all police action as suspicious, and therefore to take sides in many cases against the police even when they are very far from exceeding their duties. The actual frontier police and the political police in great towns and in the western industrial districts are special groups divorced from the ordinary police work and trained for the special work of watching foreigners. German States have only just begun to establish special training-schools for the police. There are schools at Duesseldorf, Dortmund, Recklinghausen, and elsewhere, and there is or is shortly to be an academy for police at Hanover. The search authority of the police as inspectors is constantly being enlarged, so that the little manual regarding the police issued for the benefit of the public in Prussia declares that

“there are now very few branches of business exempt from police inspection.”

From the police system it is natural to turn to the administration of justice. Germany possesses a uniform code of civil and criminal law, a uniform commercial code, and a bankruptcy law. The administration of justice is regulated by federal laws which deal with the organization of the courts, arrange the rules of procedure, and regulate also the costs and the fees of witnesses, experts, lawyers, and so forth. It is impossible in the restricted space of a chapter to enumerate the objections to and points raised in favour of codified as against statute law. It is customary to complain that whereas English law is the slowly matured expression of human experience in dealing with disputes between the individual and the community, or between man and man, German law is “the hastily produced product of special commissions worked out in innumerable paragraphs and acting with an iron inflexibility which almost eliminates the very idea of equitable justice.” It is clear, however, that a codified law is better adapted for public comprehension and may, in many cases, eliminate a dangerous possibility of oversusceptible human sentiment.

German legal processes are not, on the whole, speedier than in England, but the

costs of litigation are very much smaller to the litigant. An essential difference, too, lies in the complete divorce of Bench and Bar. The same qualifications are required of the law student for both branches of the profession, but the two branches are divorced; the law student may select either the Bench or the Bar; he cannot attain the one *viâ* the other. Hence the Bench does not, as in England, represent the experience gained at the Bar; it comes to be regarded by the barrister not with respect, but with a feeling akin to animosity and at times contempt. The judge becomes a kind of glorified policeman or bureaucrat.

German courts are of four kinds, *Amtsgerichte*, *Landgerichte*, *Oberlandesgerichte*, and the *Reichsgericht*, or Imperial Court of Final Appeal. Only the judges of the Imperial Court are imperial officials appointed by the Kaiser upon the nomination of the *Bundesrath*. The judges of all other courts are State officials, appointed by the various States according to their own arrangements.

The elementary court is the *Amtsgericht*. It consists of a single judge with an assistant called a *Referendar*, who is really an unpaid probationer. It is a court of first instance, involving civil jurisdiction in property claims where the value of the claim does not exceed £15. It also determines suits between masters

and servants, tenants and subtenants, hotel bills, transportation charges, freightage, and so forth. Alimentation claims are also subject to its jurisdiction in some cases, as well as certain controversies in bankruptcy. Judges of the *Amtsgericht* are wont to endeavour to establish a compromise.

In criminal cases there is erected in connection with the *Amtsgericht* what is called a *Schöffengericht* or small jury, consisting of a judge of the *Amtsgericht*, with two laymen acting as jurors. During the trial itself the jurors possess all the rights and privileges of the judge, and have an equal voice in all decisions which do not relate to the fixing of the penalty ; the latter is left entirely to the judge. All Germans between thirty and sixty-five are liable to serve as *Schöffen* unless they have lived less than two years in the commune or are disqualified by loss of civil rights as the result of a judicial decision or by the receipt of public charity, etc. Members of Parliament, certain State officials, physicians, officers of army or navy, and others are relieved of the necessity to sit as jurors. A special committee, consisting of Government officials and persons elected locally, assembles annually to draw up the list of persons to serve as jurors, and service is determined by lot for the whole year. The days on which the small juries are to sit are

also determined in advance for the whole year. The fine for non-attendance may run from 5s. to £50. The competence of the Schöffengericht extends to all misdemeanours and petty offences, the penalty for which does not exceed three months' imprisonment or a fine of £30. Cases of theft or embezzlement also come before it when the value of the property in question does not amount to more than 25s.

The appeal from the Amtsgericht is to the Landgericht, a collegiate court consisting of a president and of associate judges not fewer than two in number. The actual number is determined by each State for itself. The Landgericht also functions as a criminal court, in which case it must consist of at least five members, except in cases of appeal against conviction in the lower court for misdemeanours, when the number may be three as in civil cases. Whereas litigants may appear before the Amtsgericht without legal assistance they must be represented before the Landgericht by an attorney; there is in Germany no distinction between the functions of solicitor and barrister.

Attached to the Landgericht is one of the most useful institutions in Germany, the chamber for commercial matters (Kammer für Handelsachen), consisting of one of the Landgericht judges as president, and two

Handelsrichter or commercial judges nominated for a space of three years by the Chambers of Commerce and Merchant Guilds and confirmed by the sovereign of the State in question. Any German is eligible as commercial judge, who has been registered as a merchant, and is thirty years old or more. The Commercial Chamber comes into action on the application of one or two parties to a suit brought in the ordinary course of procedure before the Landgericht in respect of transactions which are commercial transactions for both parties. Criminal matters are tried and decided by the criminal court of the Landgericht only when the penalty does not exceed five years' imprisonment, or the crime has been committed by persons under eighteen years of age. (It should be added that for juvenile persons Germany is adopting the system of children's courts in vogue elsewhere.)

In all other criminal cases the competent court is no longer the Landgericht, but the Grand Jury or Schwurgericht, which is composed of three judges and twelve jurors summoned from the same lists and in the same way as the Schöffen. Both the public prosecutor and the defendant have the right of appeal. There is, however, a preliminary stage before a case reaches the Schwurgericht. The public prosecutor may, and usually does,

request the Landgericht to appoint an Untersuchungsrichter or examining judge. The examining judge decides whether the circumstances warrant immediate arrest. During this preliminary examination the prisoner may be represented by counsel, but the latter has not the right to inspect the files prepared by the examining judge ; his office is confined to making application on behalf of his client for medical attendance, relief in the matter of special food and bedding, and if necessary, removal to a hospital. When the preliminary enquiry is completed the documents are sent to the public prosecutor, who then decides whether he will demand a trial before the Grand Jury or will request the jury to dismiss the case.

When the case comes for trial the prisoner is interrogated by the presiding judge. His attorney may not put questions to him ; he must ask the judge to do so. Similarly witnesses may only be interrogated by prosecutor or counsel for the defence after the judge has endeavoured to elicit the witness's story if he has one to tell. The jury passes a verdict of guilty or not guilty on the several counts of the indictment, and after this verdict the prosecution demands such and such a sentence, the defence endeavours to get it lessened, and the bench of judges decides. The only appeal from the decision of the

Schwurgericht is to the Criminal Senate of the Imperial Court at Leipzig, and can only be made on the ground of a technical error in the procedure before the Schwurgericht. The Oberlandesgericht is, roughly speaking, a court of appeal from the decisions of the Landesgericht when such appeal is based on technical faults of procedure. It is not a court of appeal from the Grand Jury.

The Imperial Court at Leipzig is, as already explained, entirely independent of State influence or control. It acts as final court of appeal in many civil and criminal cases, but it is also the court of first and last instance in cases of treason against a State and of high treason against the Emperor or the Empire, and especially in all cases of espionage. It is a collegiate court with a president, presidents of the various senates or divisions, and associate justices. All are imperial officials, appointed for life at a fixed salary by the Emperor. The bench for a trial by one senate of the Imperial Court consists of a president and six justices, but in trials for high treason and most cases of espionage, it is usual for two senates to sit together. At present there are ninety-two justices of Imperial Court, including the president and the presidents of senates.

CHAPTER IV

THE FUNCTIONS OF EMPIRE ; THE ARMED FORCES ; IMPERIAL FINANCE ; SOCIAL INSURANCE, AND THE COLONIES

THE new Empire was founded with the sword and the essential theory of its structure is that it must be so defended. Hence the military forces available for the purpose must be the first and most important field for the exercise of the imperial powers. The German Emperor, the Supreme War Lord, has, as we have seen, the right to mobilize and dislocate the troops of the Empire, the right to declare war and peace, the right to appoint the highest officers of the army, and to receive their oath of obedience (Fahneneid). Moreover, according to the constitution of the Empire, every able-bodied male is liable for service in the army for a period of one, two, or three years, one if he have passed the one-year volunteer service examination, two if he serve in the infantry, and three if with the mounted forces.

But on looking a little closer one finds

that there is not, as a matter of fact, an imperial Army Board or an imperial War Office, or even an imperial *Military Gazette*. It is impossible in the space at disposal to trace the origin of these apparent discrepancies, but in part they will be understood in the light of the development of the Empire out of the northern bund. Theoretically every State of the Empire contributes a contingent to the army, practically there are only four contingents, those of Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony and Prussia, the Prussian contingent including the minor contingents of the other States. Moreover, although the imperial constitution gave the legislative control of military affairs to the imperial bodies, a sub-clause provided that in Bills relating to military affairs where there is a difference of opinion in the Bundesrath, the vote of the Præsidium, that is of Prussia, shall always decide provided that vote is cast for the maintenance of the existing order of things.

The Prussian military system is the basis of the imperial system, and the clause mentioned above provides for its maintenance against any modifications proposed by the other States. The Prussian military code was made obligatory for all States, and the Prussian military "cut" and equipment was made equally obligatory, but the States retained the right of appointing officers other than the

chief officers. The latter are appointed by the Emperor, but even such appointments are "promulgated," that is gazetted, not in the name of the Empire, but by the princes or senates of the several States. Bavaria's special privilege in military matters consists really of a kind of veto against the introduction for Bavaria of military ordinances and legislation made for Prussia prior to 1870: she possesses therefore the honorary distinction of a kind of voluntary conformity point by point. But she is bound by all *subsequent imperial* legislation regarding the army.

The regiments of the German army are numbered continuously, and in all other ways uniformity is fully provided for, so that it is correct to say that the contingent system is formal and only in so far effective as it gives the regiments a territorial connection and character. The numerical strength of the contingents, according to Article 63 of the constitution, is to be determined by the Emperor, but the preceding article provides that the peace-footing of the army (one per cent. of the population of 1867) shall only be altered by imperial law. It has, of course, so been altered and very considerably. The new bill of April, 1913, raised the total peace strength of the army to 661,176 privates, 109,535 non-commissioned officers, and 37,553

officers and officials holding officers' rank. To these must further be added about 20,000 one-year volunteers.

Next to the regular peace army comes the reserve, into which are drafted the men who have served their term with the colours. The infantry and two-year men serve five years with the reserve, and the three-year men (cavalry and horse-artillery) four years. They are called up in large contingents each year for exercise with the regular troops, but the same men are not called more than once in two years, and for the most part their service amounts to two periods of about thirty days each. From the first-line reserve, men are passed into the Landwehr or second reserve, to which they belong for five or six years if infantry, and three years in the first division with eight in the second division, if cavalry. Infantry of the second line are called up for about a week or fourteen days at various periods. The last line is the Landsturm, for which there seems to be no adequate English rendering. Landsturm men are called for occasional roll-call, but they are not called upon for service in the field. At 45 military obligation ceases.

This is the outline of the compulsory enlistment scheme. Then there are also a number (about 50,000) of volunteers who "compound" after reaching non-commis-

sioned rank in their first enlistment. They enlist voluntarily at eighteen (instead of at 21) for three years in the infantry or four in the cavalry, and may then re-enlist. These non-commissioned men are entitled at the end of twelve years' service to a bounty of about £50 ; they are also eligible as candidates for the military vacancies in the civil services, that is for a certain number of appointments in the postal service, the police, etc., reserved for time-expired men.

It is clear, however, that the skeleton reserve must be supplied with officers both when called up for periodical short service, and in an emergency for active service. To provide these officers at least in part there exists the privileged class of one-year volunteers. These men, who naturally belong to the well-to-do classes, must have passed the second-class examination in a full-grade gymnasium (see chapter on Education) or modern school or an equivalent examination from other schools. Application for permission to serve as a one-year volunteer must be made in the eighteenth year, but service may be delayed with permission to the twenty-fourth year. After four months' service "Ein-jährige" are required to pass a theoretical and practical examination, and may then be recommended as aspirant-officers on leaving : they pay for their own rations, arms, quarters

and equipment, and may choose any branch or even any regiment of the army, or they may choose the navy. At the expiry of their year's service they are put up for election to the corps of officers of the regiment they have chosen; the officers' corps of the regiment has the absolute right of blackballing them, and this veto it is which gives rise to most of the popular complaints about the system.

Quite apart from the strain caused by the preparation for and anxiety regarding the first examination on leaving school, which is thought to be peculiarly disastrous to the health of many young students, there are certain injustices regarding the selection of aspirants by the officers' corps. Practically, the son of Jewish parents is certain to be black-balled, though it is notorious that such blackballing excludes many excellent officers, whilst the privilege of rank results in the inclusion of many who do no credit to the army or to the officers' corps.

Another source for the provision of officers are the cadet schools, where sons of officers and civil servants are specially educated from an early age for a military career. They usually enter the army at 18 as ensigns, become second lieutenants between 19 and 20, lieutenants six years later, captains about 33, and majors about 45. A lieutenant's pay rises from £60 to £85, up to the sixth year, thence up to

£120 in the twelfth year. A captain's pay rises from £170 to £255. These figures will serve to show why indebtedness in crack regiments is apt to become the rule rather than the exception, why the Emperor finds it necessary so frequently to insist upon simplicity and abstinence in the officers' corps, and lastly, why German officers have "become a name" for seeking rich brides. The following figures give approximately the cost to each officer of his career.

Outfit as ensign, £25.

Financial assistance (17 months at £5 per month), £85.

Outfit as officer, £50.

Financial assistance :

First three years, monthly, £3 15s.	£135
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Second three ,, ,, £3 ..	£108
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Subsequently (ten years), monthly

£2 to £2 10s. 	£257
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This would give a total of £700, but the actual amount (reckoned on the lowest possible terms) is really nearer £800.

According to a rescript of the Emperor not more than £2 5s. is to be required monthly by an infantry officer in addition to his pay ; but in point of fact it is clear that this sum will rarely suffice him. It is perhaps unnecessary to add more on this subject, but it may be mentioned in conclusion that about 65 per cent. of recruits accepted as fully fit for the

two or three years' service are provided by villages with populations not exceeding 2,000, whilst cities of over 100,000 inhabitants provide not more than 7 per cent. It is clear that this peculiar drain on the able-bodied population of the villages is a special handicap to German agriculture, and Dr. Heim, a leader of the "South-German Peasants' Union," shows that it is particularly a handicap to the small independent farmers. He even declares that many peasant families who have sent several sons to the army are ruined by the expense incurred, not only in providing substitutes for the able-bodied lads whilst with the colours but in supplying these sons with money, clothes, and additional supplies of various kinds. He estimates the expense of such supply at about £8 per annum for each son sent to join the colours.

The German army is not organised for expeditionary purposes: the whole scheme, the carefully regulated and periodically revised plans for employment of the railways upon mobilisation, the details of supply and the calculations of the quantity of fodder which German farmers are under obligations to provide upon the outbreak of war, the lists of available private motor-cars, and so forth, are based, as is the organisation of the army itself, upon the theory of the defence of Germany upon two frontiers. When it became

necessary to organize an expeditionary force at the time of the Herero campaign in South-West Africa, it was found that mistakes and miscalculations were at the least as frequent, and in some instances hardly less disastrous than those made in expeditionary campaigns of other nations. This is, of course, the very nature of a "nation in arms," which is what the newest bill has made Germany, and it is the basis also of the German claim that the army is not intended for offence but for defence.

Unlike the army, the German navy has been from the outset an imperial factor. It is administered by an imperial Admiralty, its officers are imperial, and the expense of creation and maintenance falls upon the imperial treasury. Hence article 53 of the constitution declares that "the navy is unitary (as opposed to contingent) under the supreme command of the Kaiser." Immediately subordinate to the Emperor is the Admiral's staff, with its seat in Berlin. This controls the naval appointments and similar matters. On the other hand the Admiralty (Reichsmarineamt) is not an independent office, but like the Foreign Office is a branch of the Chancellery, the Chancellor being responsible for its acts. That it has tended in recent years to develop an excessive degree of independence, especially in the way

of publicistic propaganda, is a charge which it would be impossible to disprove, but within recent months its political activities have been restrained, owing to the private representations of the Chancellor and the Foreign Secretary.

Nevertheless the Secretary for the Navy exercises an important, and at times an unfortunate political influence, but this seems to be a part of a general tendency amongst the departments of the Chancellery, those for the colonies, foreign affairs, and so forth, tending also to develop an independence of the Chancellery. The fact is that since Bismarck's time the affairs of the Empire have so enormously developed in many directions that no one man can hope to be master of all departments, and whilst the responsibility of the Chancellor for all departments is still maintained as a legal formula it is becoming in practice little more than a fiction. The danger lies in the fact that the Chancellor's subordinate officers are only responsible to him, and he only to the Emperor, so that there is no real public control, and the burden of decision always rests with the Emperor, who in turn is liable at times to be misinformed by his confidential advisers.

It would serve no purpose to repeat here at length the history of the rise of the German navy. At the time of the war with France

Prussia had but a few ships, and they of no great power, and yet they were sufficient to prevent an attack on Kiel, the war-harbour of Prussia, by the French admiral Bouet-Willaumez, who was otherwise able to sail unmolested along the German coastline. This itself was a lesson in the influence of sea-power, but the beginning of the German navy may be traced from the time when it became clear that some protection should be provided for the increasing overseas commerce of the new Empire. This was about 1889, when the first commander-in-chief of the navy was appointed. Nine years later, chiefly through the energetic efforts of the Emperor, the first navy bill passed the Reichstag. It provided for the construction of a fleet of nineteen battleships and forty-two cruisers.

Two years later the programme was again enlarged, and provision was now made for thirty-eight battleships, fourteen first-class cruisers, and thirty-eight smaller cruisers, with ninety-six torpedo boats and destroyers. The creation of the German torpedo fleet is peculiarly the work of Admiral von Tirpitz, who entered the navy in 1865 and became chief of the Baltic station in 1891. In 1908 the naval programme was again altered, in consequence of the decision to reduce the life of a battleship from twenty-five to twenty years, to add a submarine flotilla, and to

increase the torpedo fleet to 144. In the form which subsequent alterations have given the naval programme, it provides for the creation by 1917 of a battle fleet with one flagship and five squadrons of eight battleships each, ten Dreadnought cruisers, and thirty small cruisers. The foreign fleet would then consist of ten large and ten small cruisers. The "Material Reserve" provided for in the previous programmes was dropped out in 1912, when the battle fleet was increased. It was then arranged that the active battle fleet should consist of three instead of two squadrons, with two squadrons as before in reserve. All three squadrons of the active battle fleet are to be kept permanently in commission and half of the reserve.

The German naval centres are Kiel and Wilhelmshaven. The latter has been in the main a creation of the present century. It had indeed been long projected, but its great development was largely necessitated by the fact that the Kiel canal at the time could not accommodate modern battleships. In the main, however, it seems to be true that the chief German naval station must now be taken to include the whole Bight of Heligoland, that island having been gradually built up and developed into a sort of outer-base. The Kiel canal is also being increased, not merely to take present battleships of the

super-Dreadnought type, but also the conjectural giants of the future, up to 50,000 tons, a size which is at present only reached by the huge transatlantic liners. The chief construction docks are the Admiralty docks at Kiel and Wilhelmshaven, Krupp's docks at Kiel, the Vulcan, Bloehm and Voss at Hamburg, and others. The private yards employ nearly 60,000 artificers, or nearly treble the number employed in the Government yards. Of the twelve naval stations which have arisen since 1898 Sonderburg is mainly devoted to marine artillery, Eckernfôrde to torpedo-instruction, Cuxhaven to coastal artillery, Emden to mines, and Wangeroog to light artillery, whilst Murwik and Flensburg are the naval educational centres.

The navy is recruited like the army by conscription. The seafaring class is, of course, specially reserved, but landsmen may also enlist voluntarily, if medically fit, for four years or more. The usual period of service for ordinary recruits is three years in the active fleet, four years in the first reserve, and another five years in the second reserve. The age limit for the war call is 40. Petty officers are recruited largely from volunteer enlistments of lads between 15 and 18. A number of engineer officers of the reserve are obtained from the one-year volunteers, of whom some

700 annually enter the navy. The training of the officers of the navy proceeds very much on English lines, the base of the system being the naval cadet corps, though it appears that German cadets join the service rather later than in England.

There are not wanting, of course, patriotic Germans who hope and believe that in time Germany will possess the most powerful navy as well as the most powerful army. They base their calculation for the most part not on any supposition that England would not or could not build two ships for one or even more if necessary, but on the theory that conscription alone can ultimately enable any country to man the ships that the growth of navies all over the world will render necessary. Lack of petty officers as well as, or rather, more than lack of seamen, is the rock on which these enthusiasts hope to see the British navy go to pieces. On the other hand, it is true that the German conception of the object of her navy has been developed. The preamble to the first navy bill asserted that Germany required a navy not only to protect her commerce, but chiefly in order that her naval strength "might be such that even the greatest sea-power must hesitate to attack Germany unless she were willing to risk her whole position as a Great Power." Latterly the creed has been devel-

oped into a demand that the German navy shall be so powerful that "Germany may be able to compel respect for her wishes in any international complication or development in any part of the world." *Vires acquirit eundo.*

Between the army and the navy there has arisen in the last year a third arm whose importance has never yet been tested in any important war, and which it is thought may profoundly modify future European contests by sea and land. That arm is the aerial "force." The great surprise of the German military bill of 1913 was the large amount demanded for the creation of an aerial department of the army (£4,000,000), in addition to the demands already made for the navy. Germany had already made great strides in the provision of aeronautical sections for the army; during several precedent autumn manœuvres airships and aeroplanes had been tested, and it was now finally decided to equip both army and navy with a powerful aerial force. The bill proposed to provide for the navy that there should be two "Staffel" (squadrons with a base) of airships consisting of four vessels to each squadron, with one in reserve. Both squadrons were to be stationed at a common base, probably at the mouth of the Elbe, and the base was to be furnished with double revolving sheds and

all the necessary gas and other installations. There would also be a "mother-station" for naval aeroplanes and six coastal stations. There would be thirty-six planes (presumably hydro-aeroplanes) always in service and fourteen in reserve. The coastal stations would be maintained in condition for use immediately on an emergency, would doubtless be guarded at all times, but would not be occupied except at manœuvre times. From this it may be concluded that the chain of islands with Borkum as the centre would be the situation of at any rate some of these coastal stations. The staff and crews were to number 1,452.

For the army the following are approximate figures: Airships, 25 or 30; aeroplanes, 150 to 200. The principal airship stations were to be Berlin, Cologne, Mannheim, Metz, Königsberg, and Graudenz, with "company-stations" at Hanover, Dresden, Düsseldorf, Darmstadt, Lahr, Friedrichshafen and Schneidemühl. The five battalions of the airship arm are, it is understood, to have from six to eight vessels each, but some of these will, of course, be reserves, and Berlin will have only three, with one reserve. The distribution of the aeroplanes is uncertain, but they will certainly be placed wherever there is sufficient room to manœuvre them within existing fortified districts. The Government further

proposes to subsidize private craft, and to keep a register of privately owned aeroplanes available in an emergency (as is already done of motor cars that could be used for transport of troops and provisions).

It is not even claimed that the airship is as yet a reliable arm, but the object of the Government is to be adequately provided with the latest aeronautical appliances so that they may be used to the utmost if the conditions arise in which experiment has shown them to be of probable value. The Admiralty officials believe that given certain atmospheric conditions, rigid airships might be very useful for "attack," and that in any case during the course of a naval campaign in the North Sea they would do great service as scouts. At the time the bill was presented to the Reichstag there were existing or building three army airships of the Zeppelin type, two naval airships and three privately owned. Germany also possessed one rigid airship with wooden frame (Schutte-Lanz), and another was building. There were also four non-rigid vessels (Parsevals), belonging to the army, and two private vessels. The list was completed by three semi-rigid vessels ("Gross"), in which the car is carried by a framework. The Siemens-Schuckert and Clouth vessels have been dismantled and the companies concerned have ceased construction.

It has already been said that the imperial navy is constructed and maintained out of imperial funds. The great and increasing expense of this imperial factor was not provided for in the original federal financial arrangements, nor was provision made for many other items of expenditure now connected with the increasing number and extent of strictly imperial functions. A word of explanation is required here, though it will be clear from preceding chapters that the preservation of the individuality of the States within the Empire made a simultaneous preservation of their individual budgets necessary.

Since the individual States were not swallowed up by the Empire, but were left as to a great extent self-administrative, independent principalities, they had also to be left a fiscal independence, and the sphere whence the Empire could collect revenues for its own purposes was limited. The basis at first of the imperial fiscal theory was a system of annual contributions from the individual States calculated according to the actual number of inhabitants and called matricular contributions. The amount of this contribution per head of population was, and is, fixed annually, usually in November, with the fixing of the imperial budget for the coming year. It has to be fixed thus early in order

that the individual States may have time to arrange their own budgets according to the amount that they have to contribute to the imperial treasury.

But there were also certain duties upon articles of consumption earmarked for imperial purposes. These were the customs duties, less the cost of collection, which is repaid to the individual frontier States who collect them, and also the excise duties on tobacco, salt, sugar, beers, brandies and by-products of the beet-sugar industry. It was arranged, however, that the Empire should only receive the amounts proceeding from the tobacco and customs duties up to the annual value of £6,500,000. Any surplus was to be repaid to the individual States in proportion to their assessment for the matricular contributions. In some years the amount thus repaid exceeded the matricular contributions collected. Thus in 1889 the States received back nearly £7,000,000 more than they paid in contributions. There was a plus repayment in all years from 1883 to 1892, and again from 1895 to 1897. In 1901 the matricular contributions and the repayments exactly balanced.

This system, however, presented two evils, first, that the individual States had great difficulty in making up their budgets because they could never be sure whether the repayment would equal or exceed or fall below the

amount of the matricular contributions ; and secondly, that although the imperial treasury was making these repayments, they did not represent, as they were intended to do, the actual amount collected by the Empire above and beyond its own requirements. On the contrary, the Empire only succeeded in dispensing with loans, thanks to the millions paid by France as war-indemnity, up to 1875. In that year the Empire began to issue treasury-notes, which were bonded in 1877. From 1877 the imperial loans increased rapidly, partly owing to the requirements for the increase of army and navy, and partly owing to the demands for subventions to the contributory old-age, invalid, and other social insurance schemes. By 1891 the imperial debt had risen to £75,000,000 sterling, and in 1911 it was approximately £250,000,000. Most of the expenditure represented by this sum was unproductive, for the property of the Empire, as distinguished from the property of the individual States, in which money had been invested at profit, was represented principally by the improvements to the railways in Alsace-Lorraine (originally taken over from France), as well as some lines in the Duchy of Luxemburg. The State loans raised by individual States are not thus unproductive ; for instance, the Prussian State loans have been largely em-

ployed in extending canals and State railways, which are highly productive forms of investment, and as a matter of fact, constitute one of the most important sources of Prussian revenue. Moreover, Prussia and other States have fixed the gradual repayment of loans by law; since 1897 Prussian budgets must provide annually for the repayment of not less than three-fifths per cent. of the entire loan.

To remedy the hopeless condition of the imperial finances the law of May, 1904, repealed the constitutional arrangement for the return to the individual States of the part of the proceeds from customs and tobacco duties exceeding six and a half millions. The same law, however, provided that the proceeds of certain other taxes (mash-vat and brandy materials) should be handed over to the individual States; should these payments not cover the matricular contributions the contributions were to be repaid only in such additional measure as the imperial surplus would allow. What this law apparently did was to abandon the fiction that the Empire could meet its financial requirements without genuine instead of fictitious matricular contributions. Numberless writers then and since then have pointed out that the Empire suffers from the great disability of being unable to raise a direct tax based on income

for its own purposes, as is the case, for example, in England.

The opposition to a direct imperial tax, for which the Liberal press in Prussia continually clamours, is derived first from the particularist tendencies still noticeable in the individual States, and secondly from the fact that an imperial income-tax would tax incomes for the third time. It has to be explained that in Prussia and other States local municipal and communal bodies under the local self-government scheme also raise a large part of their requirements by direct taxation of income. In Prussia, for example, communities are entitled to raise one hundred per cent. of the State income-tax for their own purposes. Thus, if an income of £500 pays £15 State-tax, the municipality may raise an additional £15 for its own purposes. Latterly the State has raised a super-tax on incomes, but the municipalities have been denied the right to utilise this super-tax as a basis for their own taxation. In cases, however, where a municipality desires to raise more than 100 per cent. of the State tax for its own purposes it is compelled to obtain the sanction of the central government through the local authority, and also to submit its budget for Government inspection. This regulation is doubtless deliberately intended to check municipal extravagance and to keep the percentage

down to 100. Nevertheless there exist such violent differences of municipal taxation, as those between certain ill-situated towns in the north-west with a percentage of over 200 of the State income-tax, and Grunewald, a wealthy forest-suburb of Berlin, which does not require to raise more than about 60 per cent. of the tax. And there are also some lucky country communes which, thanks to the possession of communal mines or other valuable property, raise no local taxes whatever.

The above outline may serve to show the difficulties which the Empire is under in raising money for imperial purposes, since the kind of taxes that it can raise is limited by the previous ear-marking of the individual States. The glamour of a "patriotic sacrifice" had to be thrown over the "revolutionary" proposal to raise the fifty millions required for the Government's military programme in 1913 by means of what is in reality an imperial property-tax, and in order to cover the additional annual recurring expense of the increased army bill resort has been had once more to an increase of the matricular contributions, it being however provided that the additional sum to be produced each year by matricular contributions must be raised by each State, not in any way it pleases as heretofore, but by a tax on "incomes,

property, or capital." That is how the Government proposes to avoid the odium of breaking with the tradition of forty years by introducing annual imperial direct taxation. It is claimed that little more than the phantom of that tradition will any longer be left.

It is perhaps desirable to add one word concerning the famous war-reserve of £6,000,000 in gold, stored in the Julius Turm at Spandau near Berlin, which is now to be raised to £12,000,000 in gold and £6,000,000 in silver. This treasure (according to Geheimrath Riesser, *Finanzielle Kriegsbereitschaft*, Jena, 1909) will be employed on the outbreak of a war or when the order for mobilisation is given, not for payment in gold but to provide a basis for the issue of notes of the Imperial Bank, which may be issued under these circumstances up to three times the value of the gold coin handed over to it. Geheimrath Riesser calculates the demand on the outbreak of war at about £12,500,000, which must be paid in coin (this he calls the panic-demand for coin), £60,000,000 for the purposes of the army in the first six weeks, £50,000,000 for the demands of industry for payment of wages, etc., in the hurried preparation of war material. Thus the requirement in the first six weeks would be roughly £125,000,000. He calculates that under

present conditions the Imperial Bank could issue roughly £110,000,000 in additional bank-notes based on its gold reserve. The addition to the war treasure in 1913 was perhaps due to the conclusion of the authorities that the panic demand at the outset, and the other requirements mentioned would be very much heavier than that thus estimated, and that it is desirable to enable the Reichsbank to issue nearly another £50,000,000 in notes on the outbreak of war. It also became clear during the panic months of 1912-1913 that the so-called panic demand for gold will be greater than that estimated, and efforts, it is understood, are being made greatly to increase the permanent gold reserve of the Imperial Bank, which was estimated to reach approximately £50,000,000 in May, 1913.

Reference has been made above to the cost falling upon the Empire in consequence of its assumption of the business of insurance. It is no longer necessary to expound the German old-age and sickness insurance system, because it has been imitated in England, and its workings are in the main familiar. It is clear, however, that primarily the State control of insurance and the compulsory character given to it first in Germany was necessitated partly by the change from independent to factory labour, but largely also by the paternal system of Government

itself. Inasmuch as every male citizen of the Empire is compelled to serve the empire first, devoting to it at least one, and often three years of the best part of his life, and being liable at any time to be called upon to forsake his business or trade, and to fight for the Empire, it became incumbent upon the Empire to ensure the citizen against extreme want in old age, and still more against destitution resulting from sickness. The Empire might doubtless have introduced a non-contributory scheme, and it would appear that its citizens had a better claim to non-contributory pensions than those where the service demanded by the State is less onerous.

The arguments against a non-contributory system, financial and politico-economic, are, however, sufficiently familiar, and need not be repeated. Germany adopted a contributory-basis, and the scope of its compulsory insurance arrangements has gradually been extended, partly because the State can carry out insurance work more cheaply than private companies, but also because it thus gradually sweeps into its net precisely the classes of insured persons most desired by any sound insurance system. The old-age clause itself was and is no more than a time-limit at which a pension *must* be given in return for the premiums paid ; in practice the sickness or disability clause is the essential feature of the

scheme. Thus there were in 1910 only about 100,000 old-age pensions in force, whereas there were nearly 900,000 invalidity pensions. In the twenty years from 1891 to 1911 about £70,000,000 was paid out under the scheme, and only two-thirds of this amount was raised by the premiums. Of these two-thirds one-half had been paid by employers. The scheme, which is doubtless familiar now to most readers, is as follows:—

	Yearly Wage:	Weekly Payment (half paid by Employer).
Class	I.—Up to £17 10s.	1 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
„	II.—£17 10s. to £27 10s.	2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
„	III.—£27 10s. to £42 10s.	3d.
„	IV.—£42 10s. to £57 10s.	3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.
„	V.—Over £57 10s.	4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

An extension of the law raising the weekly premium by sums of $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in Class I. to 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in Class V. has been arranged to provide a fund for widows and orphans of pensioners.

Other branches of insurance which the Government now controls are workmen's accident insurance (premiums paid solely by the employer), domestic servants, employees', and clerks' hospital fund and compulsory sickness insurance (taken over from the private companies from January, 1914), insurance of working-women in the event of motherhood (mothers who do not go out

to work are not compulsorily insured), and so forth. It is further proposed that the Imperial Government should control other branches of insurance, such as fire, life, burglary, accident, agricultural insurance and so forth, and inasmuch as the Government is at present mostly burthened with the kinds of insurance which do not show a profit, it seems not improbable that it will even the odds by assuming control of the forms of insurance which in the hands of private companies have produced handsome profits. The one form of insurance which the Imperial Government resolutely refuses to touch is insurance against unemployment. The latest communiqué on the subject (1912) stated that in the opinion of the imperial authorities there had not yet been found any satisfactory basis for an unemployment insurance scheme of any kind.

Last of the spheres of strictly imperial activity which can be mentioned here are the protectorates (Schutzgebiete) or colonies. Bismarck foresaw the difficulties which colonial questions would involve for the Empire, and therefore was opposed from the outset to their formation at all. They had to be obviously possessions of the whole Empire, and thus had to be administered by the Empire, but there was no machinery in existence for such administration, and until

quite recently there was no Colonial Office or Colonial Secretary in Berlin. There was only a branch of the Foreign Office dealing with the protectorates (a sufficiently clear indication of the view taken of them!) and an Under-Secretary to deal with them. Recently the Colonial Office has become a separate institution, though, like all the other imperial offices, it is nominally a branch of the Chancellery. The complaint of Germans regarding the non-possession of colonies is so familiar through the columns of the daily press that there can be little need to repeat it here. Germany's foreign trade has enormously increased in all parts of the world, her passenger ships are second to none, and her foreign connections have, it must be admitted, in part justified the claim that her fleet is built largely for the protection of her overseas trade.

Moreover Germans are valued as colonists everywhere: in America, Canada, South Africa, Australia, India. But for the numbers that have left and still leave the Fatherland to seek wider spheres of profit or utility overseas, there were and are practically no districts under the German flag whither they could go. It is estimated that there are some 15,000,000 of Germans living out of Europe, and not under the protection of the German flag. In other words, Germany has an expansive

population with no direction for that expansion except to countries where the emigrants are lost to Germanism and the Empire.

The present possessions of the Empire overseas consist of Togo and Camerun on the west coast of Africa near the Equator; South-West Africa (developed from the earliest German colony), which lies between latitudes fifteen and thirty, and has recently increased in value owing to the discoveries of diamonds; German East Africa, wedged between British East Africa and the Portuguese territory; a part of New Guinea (Kaiser Wilhelm Land); the Carolines and Bismarck archipelago, Samoa, and the port of Kiautschou in China. Of the parts of the globe outside Europe where German organisation, German enterprise, and German money have been most successfully invested, none belongs to the Empire. "We came too late upon the scene; there is no place for us in the sun." That is the common complaint, and it is easily understandable. That the adoption of the German bureaucratic system for colonial administration has not proved altogether a success is a fact frequently overlooked, and it is perhaps not altogether certain that German emigrants and German capital would flow even to the "rich places of the earth" if they were administered on the German domestic plan. It is possible in fact that

German emigration is partly encouraged by the desire to find countries where bureaucratic organisation is less perfect, where the State is less all-important, and where the individual counts a little more.

CHAPTER V

BETWEEN THE STATE AND THE INDIVIDUAL. THE MUNICIPALITIES AND THEIR WORK

ACROSS the film which, one may suppose, represents for the intelligent newspaper reader the mind-picture of Berlin composed from scores of special descriptions, there will be doubtless a number of catch-words and perennial phrases doing duty for epigrammatic descriptions. Berlin is the "Gay City," Charlottenburg (the Kensington of Berlin) is the "Model City," Moabit is the "East End," with no slums, very few foreigners, and "streets you could eat your dinner from." Most of these phrases do little justice to Berlin, and less to the other cities of the Empire. For Berlin has not, and perhaps will never have, that light-heartedness, that *joie de vivre* which was once thought characteristic of Paris, and is occasionally with much injustice attributed to Munich.

It is by the accident which sooner or later overtakes all great cities that the temples of pleasure have collected in the neighbour-

hood of the Friedrichstrasse, in Berlin, just as, a little to the east of it, there is growing up a real "city," a business-man's city which is not or is only to a very small extent residential. And as for the "model city," Charlottenburg, it must be remembered that a few years ago her great boulevards were potato-fields, and in the place of her gorgeous balconied flat-fronts there were little two-storied country houses amongst the forest-trees and the open fields. Berlin, that is Greater Berlin, grew very fast, but at a time when municipal problems were no longer slowly struggling for expression and from expression to solution. It was possible to foresee many municipal dangers and difficulties, and to provide for them (not for all but for many). There was, or ought to have been, plenty of room for expansion in all directions, at any rate for the suburban municipalities on the periphery, and the conception of municipal town planning as opposed to haphazard development was not entirely new, nor was there any lack of warnings against the doctrine of haphazard. Hence if the term "model city" must be applied to Charlottenburg, it ought only to refer to Charlottenburg as a model for other cities built under similar circumstances; and then Charlottenburg itself would admit that the designation is false.

But the concentration of attention on Berlin and its suburbs is unjust not only to Berlin but also to the many other cities of the Empire which are of older development and yet have solved their municipal problems with no less success. For there has never been such a concentration of intellectual, social, and economic life in Berlin as there was from a very early period upon London. The division of the country into a number of States involved the slow development of the capitals of these States in the early period, gave them the kudos of royal or princely capitals, and brought to them the business and the intellect of each State to an extent which has never been the case with the great provincial towns of England. Then account must also be taken of the City-State development in the Hansa period and later. It must not be forgotten that Frankfurt was a free City-State until the middle of the last century, just as Hamburg and Bremen and Lübeck still are. It is as though Dan and Beersheba had existed as national centres before Jerusalem, so that the separatist movement needed only to insist upon their priority and greater reputation.

Moreover, scarcely any great city of Germany was at such disadvantage as Berlin in respect of drab surroundings and difficult approach. Set in a flat plain and surrounded

by a wilderness of pine-trees and sand relieved only by desert lakes, the capital of Prussia has not retained the incense-smell of venerable antiquity which attaches to Cologne or Frankfurt or Munich or Hanover : it is a new city, and the paint is not yet dry. Its growth was only rendered possible by the extension of the railway system and the development of the rapid trade-route eastwards to Russia. It is not, and perhaps it can never be, an international centre like Paris, and it will perhaps never attain a national importance or dignity such as London has possessed for ages. Dresden and Munich will perhaps always be its too successful rivals in the domain of art, Frankfurt and Hamburg in the domain of trade and business.

It follows that there is far less justification for treating Berlin as representative of German municipal methods than there is for a similar treatment of London. Berlin has no garden city that can compare at present with Dresden's Hellerau ; the two best newspapers in Germany are not published in Berlin at all ; and at present she has neither the best opera-house nor the finest galleries, and architecturally it would perhaps scarcely be too much to say that she is hardly even second-rate. But it cannot be denied to her that she stands in the front row as regards the growth of municipal science. It is true that she does

not own her own tramways or her own electric lighting service, she is not an administrative unity, nor are her rates uniform throughout her borders. But municipalism in Germany generally is gradually taking its place as the connecting link between the State and the individual: municipalities have developed a *Beamten-schaft*, which causes them to be ranged sometimes as bureaucratic organs, but they have remained democratic in their essence, as is sufficiently seen by the opposition to municipal developments on the part of the feudal Prussian Government and its administrative and executive officials. That opposition is summed up in the single phrase, "Berlin is too democratic for the Junkers."

The city of Berlin itself has been surrounded by a number of satellite towns, Charlottenburg, Wilmersdorf, Schöneberg, and so forth, which have swallowed the space which should have been available for Berlin development. They have become the residential quarters, and have left to Berlin the poor, who must live near factories and workshops, and the officials, who retain their official residences. Gradually Berlin is becoming a city of a few thousand permanent inhabitants, and vast hordes of daily visitors. Her municipal requirements are heavier than those of her suburban satellites, but she dare not make her municipal taxation heavier than theirs

because the result would be to drive capital out to the periphery, and that process is developing too fast already. Efforts to equalize taxation throughout the group of municipalities have hitherto failed. One suburb has recently raised the percentage of municipal taxation to 110 per cent. of the income-tax, a course which Berlin would like to adopt but dare not. Grunewald, which has few poor and many rich residents with private houses, raises only some 65 per cent. ; Charlottenburg, which was able to expand into the forest-land, has brighter houses and broader boulevards ; elsewhere one suburb after another possesses advantages which Berlin does not possess, and perhaps now never can obtain.

But Greater Berlin has not succeeded in developing a unity out of its plurality, nor in distributing the burdens and the advantages over the whole congeries of municipalities. In other words she has not succeeded in achieving, any more than has London, a true communal solidarity. The Zweckverband, an intermunicipal association for the discussion and protection of common interests, has had perhaps too little time as yet to develop its full efficacy, and it may prove the germ of later solidarity, but it does not receive its fair measure of Government support, and there are plenty of signs that governmental

jealousy of the more democratic municipalities is not on the wane. Perhaps it is hardly even a good sign that in the attempt to propitiate the State Government, one municipality after another is appointing as its chief magistrate an ex-official of the bureaucratic State system. The attempt of the Association to secure for the city in perpetuity the band of forest and lake which is one of its few charms, and perhaps one of the chief reasons for its healthy character, is met by the Treasury, to whom the forest belongs, in a spirit which can only be called unduly grudging; the price asked for the small portion of the forest which is to be bought and preserved by the city was at the outset prohibitive, and even as amended (it is said by the intervention of the Emperor), the price is absurd, if it be considered that the development of the Imperial capital on rational lines ought to be the first care of the Government.

It would almost appear that the growth of Berlin, perhaps of towns generally, is considered by the Prussian bureaucratic system as a dangerous democratic threat which must be checked as far as possible. But if the municipalities thus tend to represent a democratic tendency, especially in Prussia, where democracy is otherwise almost without representation of any kind, it does not follow that the municipal bodies are elected upon a

democratic basis. The origin of the local government system in Prussia has already been sketched above, but it should be added here that the mayors of German towns are not annually elected honorary officials, but paid officers, often very highly paid, chosen as a rule by the Town Council for a period of twelve years. Their appointment must, however, be ratified by the King of Prussia, and it may be remembered that there were great searchings of heart in Berlin not many years ago owing to the non-ratification for many months of the former chief Burgomaster Herr Kirschner. The reason was commonly believed to lie in the opposition of the city of Berlin to certain royal ideas concerning town-planning and architectural developments.

The Town Councils are not themselves purely democratic bodies, for they are elected, in Prussia at any rate, on a ballot which resembles the Prussian governmental electoral system and thus tend to be measurably oligarchical. They are, however, forced by the nature of the Government into a democratic attitude, which retains for them a great measure of public sympathy. Municipal executives are almost always highly trained and well paid officials, for amateurism is as little tolerated here as in other spheres of public life.

The actual growth of German cities has been chiefly fostered, of course, by the growth and concentration of industry. Thus Düsseldorf is purely an industrial town, and it has perhaps the most extensive development of municipal activities. Chemnitz, Plauen, Essen, Elberfeld, Duisburg, and others equally owe their development almost entirely to industry. Breslau and Berlin amongst others may be held to have developed partly through railway connections. In the case of the former the seat of Prussian and imperial government has naturally attracted population from the large agricultural districts eastwards, and to such an extent that it is stated that only about one-quarter of the population of Berlin are natives of the city.

Apart from the industrial and other causes which tend to increase the population of German towns at the expense of the country (at present nearly one-fifth of the population of Germany lives in towns with more than 100,000 inhabitants), there is little doubt that the concentration of troops in towns tends to withdraw the time-expired men permanently from the country. An estimate recently formed by an agricultural paper that the country loses nearly 100,000 able-bodied men annually to the towns as the result of the non-return of time-expired soldiery to the villages would appear to be too high,

and a reliable estimate is not available, but it is clearly true that the conscript system has an important effect in this direction ; hence efforts are now being made in the army to prevent this land-desertion after the two years' service, by giving agricultural lectures and other forms of suggestive education to the men.

Under a paternal form of Government such as exists in German States, it is natural that the undertaking of local public services by the municipalities, and, in consequence, also the development of municipal enterprise, should meet with less opposition than in countries where individual enterprise has at all times been the main factor in progress. Hence it is found natural that German cities should own their own electric supplies, their gasworks, tramways, waterworks, certain forms of educational institutions, should construct canals and canal-harbours (as in the case of Treptow and Berlin), and especially should undertake elaborate projects for the extension of buildings on carefully laid plans, themselves purchasing land for the purpose, and attending to its rational development. Berlin, however, does not own its own tramways, for the huge tramway company called the Grosser Berliner is a private concern with a virtual monopoly ; but its contract involves the payment to the municipality of eight per cent. of the gross

proceeds, and six per cent. of the net profit on any fresh capital invested. The municipality reserves to itself the right to regulate fares, which are fixed uniformly at ten pfennigs (about five farthings) for each trip, and for any distance within the radius. Similarly the Berlin electrical company pays to the town ten per cent. of its gross proceeds and fifty per cent. of all clear profit exceeding four per cent. of the capital. The municipality has an agreement for the supply of the town lamps with power at fixed rates, and has also a control over the general rates charged to the public by the company both for lighting and power purposes.

Amongst the strictly municipal enterprises should be mentioned the excellent public swimming and other baths, disinfecting establishments, rubbish destructors, the great establishment for destruction of bad meat in the open country near Bodelschwing's well-known labour colony, a canal-port and so forth. Between 1877 and 1881 the city of Berlin constructed its own slaughter-house, connecting it with the railway and fitting it with the latest appliances. The law which authorises communities to establish slaughter-houses provides that the fees charged for butchers' pay and inspection shall not be higher than is sufficient to amortize the original outlay at one per cent., pay the

interest at five per cent., and also cover the costs of maintenance. Meat passed through the Berlin slaughter-house is "*unbedingt tauglich*," that is, it is free of all possible taint and is so stamped. Meat that is partially fit for food or that can be made so without danger to health is sold to the poor at municipal establishments called the "*Frei-Bänke*." The meat sold at these establishments, which are now a feature of most of the great German cities, is specially treated under steam, and then sold at very low rates at certain hours on three or four days in each week. Purchasers have no choice of meat, for they must take what is offered to them, hence the last comers may receive little more than bones, though efforts are, of course, made to distribute the available meat in fair portions. The covered market-halls of Berlin have not proved very successful. Intended originally for country salesmen, they have gradually deteriorated and many of them have been closed owing to more than fifty per cent. of the stalls being unoccupied. The open-air markets, particularly the two on the confines of Charlottenburg, are extremely well patronized, especially for vegetables, eggs, live fish, and fruit, the difference between the prices on the open retail market and those of the small green-grocers' shops being often very marked. The result is, of course, a constant effort on

the part of the small shopkeepers to secure their abolition.

Many German municipalities have recently opened halls for the sale on certain days of fresh fish and, more recently still, of imported foreign meat. These ventures have proved eminently successful, and, on the whole, popular, though the sale of foreign meat is still only a temporary measure limited by the period set to the facilities offered for the purpose by the Government. Some South-German cities have also recently entered into contracts with German cattle-farmers for the direct supply of meat with the object of excluding the middlemen's profits, or perhaps of testing the truth of the assertion that these middle profits are the prime cause of the high price of meat throughout the Empire. It is natural, perhaps, that these measures of the communities for relieving the effects of the high prices of food-stuffs do not meet with the approval of local butchers and other purveyors, but the opposition is spasmodic and not very effective.

Both the gas and water supply of Berlin, as of several other German cities, are primarily due to the enterprise of English companies in the first half of the last century. German industry at the time lacked all experience in the provision of gas plants, so that from 1826 until 1847 there was no

municipal gas supply in Berlin. In the latter year two municipal gasworks were opened, with the result that the English company exactly halved its rates (from 35.3 to 17.7 pfennige per cubic metre). There are now several additional municipal works, providing altogether about four-fifths of the gas supply of the city at a price of rather more than three halfpence per cubic metre. The Berlin waterworks company established by Messrs. Fox and Crampton began to supply water in 1856, but the plant was purchased by the Government in 1873, and handed over to the city. Large new works were subsequently constructed to take water from the neighbouring lakes, and the two principal works yield now about 300,000 cubic metres per day. Some of the Berlin suburbs, however, are still supplied with water by a private company taking water from the Havel and from the lakes in the Grunewald. Owing to the drying up of these lakes the company has now been obliged to undertake to refill them by pumping water from the Havel into them, but it is manifest that the water-level in the Berlin area is rapidly sinking, and it would appear that at some time in the near future the growth of the city will involve the bringing of water from a much greater distance.

In Cologne, to take one contrasting instance, all the public services are now controlled by

the municipality, which paid, for example, over half a million to secure the cancelling of the tramway concession. The town also took over the gasworks from the English company, and has its own electricity and waterworks, the water being obtained from springs in the Rhine valley. Like other cities of Prussia, Cologne recently purchased from the Government the site of the old fortifications, and the extension of the city in this manner was controlled by the municipality itself. The slaughter-house, which cost nearly £500,000, is usually described as a "model," with some right to the term. The necessary funds appear to have been borrowed from the Government at a very low rate of interest. Like Berlin, Cologne pays particular attention to matters of education, and its Municipal High School of Commerce is a valuable foundation. Reference to municipal attention to education in general will be found in the chapter on education, which follows.

One feature of municipal enterprise which is perhaps as characteristic as any other in Germany, is the promotion of dramatic and particularly of operatic art. Probably the finest municipal opera-house in Germany is that which has just been opened in Charlottenburg. It is a very handsome building outwardly and inwardly, and it is fitted not

only with all the latest appliances, such as the Fortuny system of lighting, and the Fortuny permanent "sky," but it has also a stage system which is an improvement on the revolving stage, and appears destined to replace it in all new theatres. The stage is threefold, that is to say, there are three spaces of equal magnitude, in the centre (the actual stage) and at the two sides. A stage set is prepared at the right of the acting stage whilst the scene is in progress: the set just utilised is then rolled off to the left, and the new set appears from the right. The prices are low and the house always well filled. The municipal opera-house of Cologne, to take an earlier example, cost £180,000 with fittings and stage equipment. Municipal theatres throughout Germany maintain a high tone in their productions, and the best works of contemporary dramatists, as well as Shakespearean and other classical dramas, form a regular feature of their seasons.

In general, the municipalities control trading hours indirectly through the police. Some sixty towns now insist on an eight p.m. closing time for all shops except restaurants, cafés, and the like, but there is not as yet a uniform hour for the closing of shops. For instance, whilst some towns still permit certain kinds of trading on Sundays between twelve and two, others have confined such

trading to the hours from eight to ten. Charlottenburg has recently determined to introduce a final closing hour for restaurants, cafés, and places of entertainment at two a.m., and it is suggested that Berlin may follow suit. The proposal has been subjected to criticism on the ground that the chief attraction for foreigners to Berlin is the gay life of its cabarets, cafés, and bars, which really begins at about London's closing time. But the municipalities are gradually coming to insist upon the somewhat elementary fact that "all-night gaiety," especially to the extent to which it has been carried in Berlin, where whole boulevards once occupied by respectable residents are now stigmatized by rows of doubtful night bars and more than doubtful night sojourners, cannot ultimately be a recommendation to a town, and it is dawning upon Berliners themselves that the town must lose as a residential city in proportion as it increases through such dubious means its supposed attraction for foreigners.

It has already been suggested that German municipalities, no less than those of other countries, have recently turned their attention to an increasing extent to the question of their own development on sane lines and especially, of course, to the provision of healthy dwellings for the poorer classes of the population. Foreign visitors to large German

cities, especially to those of great recent growth, are apt to be struck first by the scrupulous cleanliness, the width and, as a rule, the airy appearance of the boulevards, the fine frontage of the houses with their tiers of richly beflowered balconies and big front windows facing upon streets lined with trees or upon squares bright with flower-beds and plots of carefully kept grass. They lavish encomiums upon the municipalities which clean the streets, pave the roads, maintain the gardens and parks, and in general provide this aspect and impression of health, wealth and cleanliness. Then, we will suppose, such a visitor seeks a permanent home in the city. Unless he can pay prices which may vary from £100 to £200 or more (without municipal taxes, which, as explained in the preceding chapter, are levied upon income-tax) he will find that he cannot obtain any of the flats in the fine buildings looking upon the boulevards, the light and airy rooms are not for him, but he will be obliged to content himself with small rooms looking upon a back courtyard, frequently dark, not always, or indeed often, any too well provided with fresh air, and subject to that chief infliction of the German "barrack-houses," as they are contemptuously called, the beating of innumerable carpets within that courtyard twice a week from eight to twelve or longer.

He will find that the new houses whose beflowered balconies he has so much admired are frequently jerry-built, so that a typewriter on the third floor is a daily infliction to the tenant of the ground-floor and of course all between. In a word he will arrive at the conclusion that he does not get for his fifty, sixty, or seventy pounds per annum anything like as much comfort as he could obtain for a similar sum in London. Now he will abandon any idea of living within reasonable distance of his work in the city, and will seek a less expensive home outside. He will find first that means of communication are infinitely less well developed than in the suburbs of any first-rate English town, because the Prussian railways have not the same interest as private companies in developing suburban property. Moreover he will find in his suburb exactly the same structural features that he has admired and later criticized in Berlin. He will find prices very little lower, and in some cases actually higher, and there will be the same choice of expensive front flats or less expensive, and very much less desirable flats upon the yards or courts euphoniously termed "gardens."

Let him now consider where, under such circumstances, must live those families which cannot afford the daily train journey and must confine themselves to districts within easy