on the ground of the hard and fast doctrines of atheism accepted by the latter as part of the official creed and virtually enforced upon members. It is not, however, a confessional union, for it does not profess nor insist upon any particular form of creed, and tends on the whole to work with the Democratic Union locally whenever the latter succeeds in divorcing itself locally from its general political propaganda. The Hirsch-Duncker Union, organised roughly on the lines of the English unions, but holding more strictly aloof from political propaganda, has a membership of about 110,000, and its numbers, according to the latest available figures, appear to be upon the decrease. The Hirsch-Duncker Union, however, appears to include the highest class of workmen, and it also possesses a system of insurance against unemployment, at present a nut the imperial government confesses itself unable to crack. The figures on the following page show the material prosperity of the unions.

In addition to the three chief centralised unions there is a group of "Independent Unions" with approximately 750,000 members, another group of "Economically peaceful Unions" (Wirtschaftsfriedliche Vereine) with 150,000 members, and some small local organisations with about 7,000 members. Finally, there are a large number of "Confessional

Name of Unions.	Socialist.	Hirsch. D.	Christian.
Membership, 1911	2,339,785	107,743	340,957
Funds at end of 1911	£3,000,000	£200,000	£350,000
Income	£3,600,000	£130,000	£310,000
Expenditure Sick pay, etc. ..	£600,000	£40,000	£50,000
Unemployment ..	£300,000	£10,000	£9,000
Strikes	£850,000 (abroad £30,000)	£17,000	£60,000
Propaganda ..	£120,000	£10,000	—
Management, Central and Local	£500,000	£20,000	£12,000

Unions," registering altogether 700,000 members.

The total number of organized workmen in 1911 (excluding the confessional unions, which apparently sometimes overlap with the others) was 3,791,665 and their total income £4,000,000. The total number of adults of both sexes employed in businesses subject to inspection was 5,639,258. In addition there were employed 489,000 girls under 21, 476,000

girls and boys between 14 and 16, and 12,000 children under 14.

For the sake of completeness it may be added that there were in 1911 2,566 strikes, affecting 10,000 firms and 600,000 workmen. Combinations of employers for mutual assistance against strikes, and so forth, are less closely knit in Germany than in some other countries, and they have not yet centralised their affairs or reached the stage of appointing a central committee. In 1912 employers' combinations numbered rather more than 3,000, embracing about 180,000 members. In the spring of 1913 the two principal combinations, the "Haupstelle Deutscher Arbeitgeberverbände," representing the leading union of large concerns, and the "Verein Deutscher Arbeitgeberverbände," representing the middle-sized concerns, were combined for defensive purposes, the event being considered one of great significance

CHAPTER VIII

AGRICULTURAL GERMANY

ALTHOUGH Germany has developed into an industrial instead of a mainly agricultural nation, industry occupying at the present time about 42 per cent. of the whole population, there is still a large population occupied with agriculture. The change, however, is sufficiently striking, for at the beginning of the nineteenth century over 80 per cent. of the population was agricultural; to-day less than thirty per cent. is so occupied. Even in 1895 the proportion was still 36 per cent., and ten years earlier 42 per cent. Of the 17,000,000 now reckoned to the agricultural population rather more than 2,000,000 are landed proprietors, great or small, whilst less than 150,000 are farmers of leasehold land. There are roughly 100,000 agricultural officials, over 3,000,000 agricultural labourers, and 10,000,000 members of families doing occasional work on the land or simply belonging to labouring or occupiers' families. Counting labourers' allotments there are nearly 6,000,000 separate agricultural properties.

"The German Empire will collapse without firing a shot when German agriculture collapses." This assertion of the German military hero, Moltke, may be taken as the keynote of the German official attitude towards agriculture. It is true that less than a third of the population is concerned in agriculture, and that scarcely one-eighth of this third, or about four in every hundred of the population, personally owns a share of the soil great or large, yet to all appearances Germany's financial and customs policy as well as the political arrangements of many of the States are based on the assumption that the agricultural population is overwhelmingly the most important to the welfare of the individual States and of the whole Empire, and that the protection of agriculture even by measures bearing hardly upon the commercial and industrial population is the acme of political wisdom. "The farmers govern Prussia and Prussia governs Germany" is the trite but not very inaccurate summary of the situation as it appears to the workers in the big towns.

In part no doubt it is an honest belief that the agricultural population is the real backbone of Germany, which accounts for the political power of organised agriculture in Prussia and some other States, and this although the actual decrease in the population engaged in or supported by agriculture amounts to

about 50,000 per annum. In part also it is due to the fact that the old feudal habit or instinct which attributed chief weight to the man with "a stake in the country," the landowner and big farmer, is still alive. In part, finally, it may be due, as is claimed, to the fact that the German Emperor, the visible impersonification of the German unity, is identical with the more nearly absolute King of Prussia, whose throne in turn is based upon a feudal system and the props of whose throne are thought to be the great landlords.

Politically, too, it is clear that a bureaucratic Government, whereof neither the administrative nor the executive is in any true sense responsible to an elected and representative Parliament, must base itself upon some reliable support in the money-voting chamber, and must strive to make this support permanent in numbers and voting power as well as to keep it steadily representative of the desires and wishes of the permanent Government. An inelastic system of Government must be represented by an equally inelastic and certainly not progressive, therefore conservative majority in the money-voting house. This appears to be the essential feature not only of the Prussian constitution, but also of the whole of German policy so far as Prussia can control it. Now this inelastic, non-progressive, conservative support for the permanent

Government is to be found almost alone in the organised agricultural system, which has replaced the organisation of feudalism. It seems clear that the system must necessarily be opposed practically and theoretically to the industrial development, and therefore that actual damage done administratively to industrial development is not necessarily regarded by agriculture as an evil; so that even where shortsightedness obviously prevails it may actually come to be regarded as patriotic.

There is a further point of view from which it is possible to regard the part played by agriculture in the German system. Germany's essential theory of the most favourable position for herself in the world is that of complete self-sufficiency and independence, not that of international interdependence. Her customs-tariff was not conceived as a weapon for the opening of foreign markets, but as a wall to defend her home market against foreign aggression. So too, as has been seen, the essential feature of her army organisation is defence against aggression, and so too her support of agriculture is intended to maintain or create independence of foreign countries and foreign products. The German ideal is that Germany should feed and support her own people, and the colonial demand is in reality a part of this general design, namely for the possession of overflow departments,

whither she can send her surplus population, that part which her theory of independence makes it impossible for her to support.

It is clear therefore that German agriculture, according to this general scheme, must be maintained at a pitch where it is capable in time of urgent need of supplying with agricultural products all the population of the Empire. And it is further natural that this fixed scheme should be exploited by agricultural magnates for their own advantage. The landowners have accordingly made this theory of national independence their own, and they are always prepared to defend it. At the time of the initiation of the new German naval policy the Agrarians, that is the party of the landlords, opposed the naval budget chiefly because they thought that the development of an extensive naval policy implied the increase of obligations abroad and a breach with the policy of concentration upon Germany or, as one may perhaps term it, of German self-containment. For a time the "props of the Prussian Throne" were at variance with the Emperor himself regarding the naval policy, and the reconciliation did not follow until certain of the Emperor's friends had succeeded in convincing the leaders of the Agrarian party that no breach with the self-containment policy was intended.

Similarly the Agrarians of East Prussia

have steadily opposed the canal scheme, which was intended to cheapen and facilitate the exchange of products between the agricultural east and the industrial west. The Agrarians thought that the canal would affect their monopoly of agricultural supply as against foreign countries and that the eastern provinces would be flooded with cheap foreign produce brought by canal. In consequence of their opposition to the project, which was warmly supported by the Emperor, representatives of Agrarian interests at court and in the civil service fell into disgrace.

These two instances may serve to show the extent to which the Agrarian party is prepared to go in its opposition to international interdependence. It must not be forgotten that the Agrarians are led by the East Prussian aristocracy and that the civil service and the posts at court, honorary and salaried, are largely occupied by members of Agrarian families. It must not, however, be supposed that this influence of the agricultural magnates can be exercised solely by a few large landowners in Eastern Prussia, aided by relatives in court or civil service posts. There is a political organisation behind the influence wielded by Agrarianism, and though its methods may be and frequently are challenged it is hardly less effective an organization than that of the Social Democracy.

Apart from the general tendency to provide appointments as officers for sons of landed gentry, or to find them billets in the civil service, and otherwise to show for the families with landed property fostering care, going sometimes to violent extremes, there is also a still more pronounced tendency to protect the interests of agriculture in every branch of legislation. The general tendency of the German customs system (a tendency which is not entirely carried into effect) is to prohibit the import of foreign agricultural produce. The duties appear at least to be raised more with a view to their prohibitive effect than as a means of raising revenue. In the case of certain products, such as fodder for cattle, the result of the prohibition is of no benefit whatever to the small farmer but rather the reverse: he is not as a rule in a position to store fodder, and since he cannot obtain it cheaply, a bad season for fodder in Germany compels him to sell off his cattle in the autumn to avoid the expense of keeping them over the winter. For a time meat may thus be cheapened, but the result in a few months becomes apparent in a rapid rise in the prices, especially of veal, beef and pork, the staple articles of German consumption.

The small farmer is not in the least profited by the high prices, which go into the pockets of the big cattle farmers and the middlemen.

It is plain that all increase of expense in food must react unfavourably upon industry unless the whole of the agricultural population of Germany is profiting so far by the rise of price that their demand for industrial products is increased. It is also evident that, on the widest view of them, not all the measures taken in Germany nominally for the protection of agriculture have this general effect. Hence arises the complaint that the agricultural tariff in general benefits the large estates, and not the peasants or small farmers. The case of fodder is only quoted as one illustration of developments which appear to recur at intervals of a few years in Germany, and which hardly admit of argument as between Free Trade and Protection regarded as general economic principles. The importation of live cattle is subjected to restrictions which are not far from constituting prohibition ; the importation of frozen meat was prevented until recently by veterinary precautions, and is still subjected to high duties ; cornstuffs are heavily taxed upon introduction, and so also are mill by-products.

But even in matters of taxation precautions are always taken that the pressure shall not fall too heavily upon agricultural land or upon the landed families. The long fight against the introduction of inheritance duties has so far always resulted in a victory for the

opposing Agrarians: capital invested in agriculture and income derived therefrom has a way of escaping the vigilance of the tax-commissioners, and even the police are wont to appear somewhat blind to lack of papers of identification or other omissions of a similar character if the offenders happen to be able-bodied employees of big estates. In general it may fairly be said that agriculture occupies a privileged position in Germany, but more particularly in North Germany: it has, however, to be added that this privileged position is not entirely due to remnants of feudalism or solely to the influence of the big country families. It is also based, as has been stated, upon the theory that the agricultural population is the backbone of the modern Empire, and that "German agriculture must and can feed the whole of the population of Germany" (Emperor at Agricultural Yearly Assembly in Berlin, 1913).

The main influence, however, as we have seen, must be attributed to the large estates in East Prussia and Mecklenburg. Here are the big estates, whilst Baden, Bavaria and the Rhineland have for the most part small estates, in the case of Baden so small as actually to be a disadvantage. There is, however, a certain reason for this distribution. East Prussia is not very fertile, and to make agriculture profitable it has to be "extensive,"

just as is much of the cultivation of the sugar-beet, which is characteristic of the central portion of northern Germany. In the countries with very small estates it will usually be found, as in Baden and the Rhineland, that the produce is largely of grapes, or that the soil is rich and nature lavish, as in a great part of Bavaria. This distribution of the agriculture of Germany may be easiest shown from the figures of the Statistical Department.

The actual surface under agriculture (including viti-culture) is about 80,000,000 acres, excluding forest land and waste land not supporting cattle. Five per cent., or about 4,000,000 acres, is divided into small holdings of less than five acres each. Of these small holdings one-third is vine-growing land, and another third is garden land. Of the next largest holdings, up to ten acres, rather more than one-third is vineyard and ten per cent. is in corn land. The middle-sized holdings up to fifty acres show still one-third vineyard, and one-third corn land. Of the big estates up to 250 acres one quarter is in sugar beet, a third corn land, five per cent. vineyard, and the rest roots, and so forth. The biggest estates of all, 300 acres and beyond, are 58 per cent. sugar beet, and only 20 per cent. corn land. These are the huge North German properties of the "sugar-barons," as the Socialist press usually describes them. The

biggest estates include nearly one quarter of all the agricultural land in Germany, the 250 acre estates make up one-third, and the medium estates (up to 50 acres) also about one-third.

The majority of the big estates are in East and West Prussia, Silesia, Saxony, Mecklenburg, and Pomerania. In Mecklenburg-Schwerin, for example, sixty per cent. of all agricultural land is in the hands of proprietors with the largest estates (over 250 acres), whilst only fourteen per cent. is in the hands of farmers with less than 50 acres. In East Prussia 38 per cent. is held by farmers of over 250 acres, in Pomerania 53 per cent., and in Posen 46 per cent. In general in the South-German and Rhenish Provinces and States from forty to fifty per cent. of the land is in holdings of between twelve and fifty acres. By way of contrast it may be noted that in Württemberg, Baden and Bavaria, only from one to two per cent. of the land is held in the big estates. The smallest "parcel" estates other than vineyard are usually producers of tobacco or fruit.

From the above figures it will be clear first that the greater part of German agricultural land is not contained in the large estates of the north and east; secondly, that the customs and other privileges which advantage the big estates, are not therefore advantages

necessarily to the great bulk of German agriculture; and that where certain features of German agriculture can be shown to be disadvantageous to the small holdings or medium farms, the greater portion of German agriculture is thereby disadvantageously affected. In the south and west the political organization controlling the agricultural vote is very largely Catholic: in the north and east it is Prussian-Conservative.

We have hitherto considered the distribution of the population owning land (in Germany the renting of land is of comparatively little importance: there are only 130,000 rented farms as against over 2,000,000 proprietors): the condition of the hired labourers is another matter. Of these there are approximately 3,000,000, and the majority are employed, of course, on the "extensive" northern estates. If it be remembered that little more than a century ago feudal serfdom was still not only actually but legally the condition of the agricultural population of Prussia (serfdom was abolished by the edict of October 9, 1807), it will be understood that the uses and abuses connected with serfdom have not all entirely disappeared within a century. The maltreatment of agricultural labourers, chicanerie in connection with the payment of wages in money and kind, and particularly monstrous abuses in connection with the electoral laws,

are still subjects of complaint, though it must be added that the actual physical maltreatment of labourers is less frequently reported. But it probably required the industrial development of the Empire, with the threatening depopulation of the country, and the rush to the industrial centres to put an end to the period of *de facto* serfdom. It was and is the drainage of labour to the towns which produced, or is producing tolerable conditions of life for the labourers on the big estates, since the landowners in their own interests must do something to stop the drainage.

Labour organization has made but little progress in the country, and the Social Democracy admits its lack of success. Naturally every kind of obstacle is put in its way. Innkeepers who permit the use of their establishments for Socialist meetings suffer from the marked displeasure of the local magnates, and are thereby commended to the especial vigilance of the local police ; labourers who join the organization are subjected to innumerable petty tyrannies. Moreover, the " secret ballot " for the Reichstag is made a farce by the employment of utterly illegal receptacles as ballot-boxes : old cigar-boxes, worn-out chimneypot hats, soup-tureens and biscuit-boxes have been employed by the " proper authority " to hold the voting papers, not because the proper authority (that is the

local squire) is too lazy to obtain a proper box, but because these quaint receptacles enable the committee controlling the voters to place the votes nicely one upon another, and thus to keep an exact check of the way in which each vote is cast. The Government has now introduced a measure under public pressure compelling the use of uniform ballot-boxes throughout the Empire, but the above is only one of innumerable abuses each of which has to be revealed, denounced, and often made the subject of public demonstrations before it is removed. Such abuses show, however, clearly enough the real condition of the dependent agricultural population.

It is claimed that the influence of the Catholic clergy in South Germany is little less reactionary than that of the Junkers in the north, except that the former utilise mental pressure and the force of unenlightened superstition to control the voters. Hence, it is asserted, the Catholic or Centrist party has an almost impregnable position, whereas even the next most impregnable, that of the Conservatives, is sometimes shaken by general elections.

At the end of the last century the daily wage of an agricultural labourer, taking the average for all Germany, was about twenty pence : to-day it is about two shillings. It is lowest in East Prussia, where the daily

wage is probably still not more than about eighteenpence, and it is highest in Schleswig-Holstein, where it reaches nearly half-a-crown. According to recent calculations a labourer whose wife also does field-work can make an income of from £40 to £45 per annum. A family with three full workers may make as much as £75. To this, however, has to be added some small payment in kind or the produce from a chicken-run and goose-breeding, and a certain amount of garden produce. On the big estates, particularly those devoted to the sugar-beet, work is more seasonal than elsewhere, and the result is that whilst at times the employers are glad of all the labour they can get, at other times there is no work available, even for the small village populations. This results in the employment very largely of foreign seasonal labour. More than 700,000 foreign labourers come to Germany at certain seasons every year, and about sixty per cent. of these are employed in agriculture. The average wage of a foreign seasonal labourer is for a male from 2s. 2d. in East Prussia to 3s. 6d. in Schleswig-Holstein, and for a female from 1s. 2d. in Silesia to 1s. 10d. in Schleswig-Holstein. The annual influx of low-grade, often wholly illiterate, and sometimes semi-savage seasonal labour from abroad is always pointed to as one of the most disastrous

features of the development of German agricultural conditions.

It appears to be agreed that whilst in Baden and in certain other parts of South and West Germany, the "parcelling process" has been carried too far for the general advantage of the country, the driving of the peasant from the land is an equally great evil in much of the north and east. The remedy, it is thought, may be found in the south by an increase of the principle of the right of primogeniture, as a compulsory legal institution, and in the north by the diminution of the privilege of converting large properties into entailed estates (*Fidei Kommisse*). The entailment of *small* properties upon the eldest son instead of its division amongst several children or sale for the purpose of dividing the proceeds, and still more the maintenance of peasant properties intact and undivided (co-heirs being bought out or otherwise compensated), have been adopted in some districts as compulsory legal principles; they are also wide-spread as peasant custom not based upon codified laws. The subdivision of properties in France as a consequence of the "extremely equal inheritance laws" of that country are not infrequently pointed to by German writers as one cause of her falling birth-rate. They quote an observation attributed to Lord Castlereagh at a political dinner,

"Gentlemen, we will leave to their own laws of inheritance the task of finally dealing with the French."

On the other hand, the Reichstag has frequently attempted to secure an imperial regulation of the entailment system, which is particularly extensive in Silesia and in the provinces of Brandenburg, Pomerania, and Posen. In the last nine years the number of such entailed estates has increased by 116 and the extent by nearly half a million acres. There are over 1,200 such estates in Prussia with total acreage of approximately 5,000,000. (It should be added, however, that entailment is less in proportionate extent than in England.) In April, 1913, the Reichstag passed a resolution brought forward on behalf of the Radicals inviting the Chancellor to lay before the House a bill "to forbid absolutely the creation of further entailments or the increase of those already existing, and to provide for the breaking up of estates already entailed." It is thought that the consequence of this resolution may be the acceptance of responsibility for some preventive legislation by the Prussian Diet; and it appears to be admitted even by the Conservatives that further tying-up of land is far from being in the interests of the Agrarians themselves, chiefly because in the last fifty years the creation of these entailed estates has been

largely effected with capital made by business men in industry and has therefore no longer any connection with the maintenance of the old landed nobility and gentry. It is pointed out, too, by the economists that about half of the land entailed in Prussia is forest-land, not corn or sugar-beet.

The gospel of German Agrarianism is stated by von Rümker ("Die Ernährung unsres Volkes aus eigner Produktion," pub. 1912), as follows: "Germany's armaments by land and sea and her industrial and commercial development are pointless and hopeless from the national standpoint except upon the basis of Germany's national ability to feed her own population." The task thus set before the nation (which the Emperor said could and must be performed) is stated to be the increase of corn-production by about fifteen per cent., and of meat by about five per cent. These figures are, however, a little misleading, because they assume that the increase of consumption will not be continued at the same rate or at even nearly the same rate as in recent years. The consumption of wheat and spelt has risen, for instance, since 1885 from about 140 lbs. per head of population to about 200 lbs. The consumption of rye has not increased so considerably, chiefly, no doubt, owing to the manifest increase in the use of wheaten-bread. The consumption

of barley has increased from 120 lbs. to 168 lbs., and that of oats from 200 lbs. to 250 lbs. It is stated that the amount of rye, wheat, and spelt, the breadstuffs which Germany is obliged to import for her own consumption annually, is from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 tons. Count Schwerin-Löwitz stated in the Reichstag (May 17th, 1912) that, deducting the amount of rye now *exported* from Germany, the total deficit was not more than 1,500,000 tons. "This deficit could be completely covered if on the 20,000,000 acres of land where we now grow wheat, rye, and spelt, we were to grow as little as one hundredweight more per morgen. People may say that it is impossible to grow an additional hundredweight per morgen, but as a matter of fact we have increased the production in the last twenty-five years by half a ton to every two and a half acres. In the last ten years the increase has been a hundredweight and a half to every morgen." (The figures in the above are approximate. The German text reads in hektars and morgen. A hektar is a little less than two and a half acres and a morgen is about five-eighths of an acre.)

That is the economic gospel of German Agrarianism stated epigrammatically. The speaker also declared that by intensive cultivation peasant properties produce nearly six hundredweight more to the acre than the average (rye, 8 cwt. per morgen) for the

whole Empire. Dr. Frost, however, points out that climatic and soil conditions make it highly improbable that German agriculture can replace the imported bread-corn by growing more wheat. "It would, however, be a gigantic success if the German rye production could make up the deficit in question. We should then at least have the possibility of falling back upon an increased rye consumption in case of need." However economically mistaken such calculations may be they, at any rate, show sufficiently clearly what is the problem which agriculture sets itself in Germany, and it must be supposed, judging from appearances to which reference has already been made, that it is the problem also set itself by the Government. The increased production of meat is quoted as about 300,000 tons between 1904 and 1910, the importation of foreign meat in 1910 being about 140,000 tons. It is thus made to appear a simple matter to provide in Germany the additional quantity of meat required by the population *as it stands at present;* but the admitted failure of the German meat-supply in 1912, and the necessity under which the Government found itself of facilitating the importation of meat from abroad by decreasing the railway rates and lessening the frontier restrictions, would not appear to confirm the agricultural view

The effect of divorcing Germany from the "fluctuations" of the world-market for food-stuffs is apparently admitted to have been an increase of prices, particularly in districts at a distance from the centres of production, that is, industrial districts. Hence the prices of food-stuffs produced in Germany vary greatly in different towns. Rye, for example, shows a difference of £2 per ton between Silesia and Bavaria; wheat shows a difference of about 38s. between the same districts; barley, between East Prussia and Bavaria, £3 3s., and so forth. To combat this effect the Government are constantly engaged in efforts to cheapen the cost of inland transport, and to this may be attributed in part the rapid development of canalisation of rivers and construction of artificial waterways and light railways. Mannheim, thanks to its natural and artificial waterway provision, is one of the chief centres of the European corn trade, and that which Mannheim has naturally the Government desires to give to other German towns in some degree artificially, it being clear that Mannheim owes its corn trade very largely to its water access. In addition, various schemes are devised for reducing "middlemen's profits." that is of bringing the food-stuffs as directly as possible from farmer to consumer.

The main question, however, is not that of

cheapening existing prices, but of increasing or cheapening production, and especially of replacing the annual drain from the land. The use of machinery, and particularly the development of electric-driven agricultural machinery, is one, and, of course, one of the most important forms of this process. Recent statistics of the employment of electricity in agriculture were not available at the time of writing, but the increase in the use of steam machinery in the last ten years is an interesting illustration of technical development. The number of steam threshing machines, for instance, was doubled (250,000 to 500,000), and of steam ploughs nearly doubled (1,700 to 3,100). The use of artificial manure, which is greatest, proportionately to surface, in Prussia, also shows an astonishing development. Prussia used in 1908 nearly 1000 lbs. of potash manure per acre, as against about 100 lbs. eighteen years previously, whilst the Bavarian use rose in the same period from about 20 lbs. to nearly 300 lbs.

Another institution benefiting those engaged in agriculture is that of the co-operative society, which flourishes greatly in Germany. In 1911 there were some 25,000 societies connected with agriculture and articles of consumption, with about 4,000,000 members. There were, to take one example, 3,193

co-operative dairies with 288,699 members. These societies are for the most part affiliated in central unions, of which the most important are the Imperial Union (Darmstadt), the Schultze-Delitzsch Union, and the Raiffeisen Union (Neuwied).

The German customs tariff is chiefly determined to-day by the Agrarian Gospel epitomised above. The tariff on the chief agricultural products is as follows: Wheat, 5s. 6d. per 100 kilos; rye, 5s.; oats, 5s.; malt barley, 4s.; fodder barley, 1s. 4d.; maize, 3s.; meal, 10s. 2d. Live cattle pay 8s. to 9s. per double hundredweight, slaughtered cattle (meat), 27s. 6d. per double hundredweight; butter, 20s., cheese 15s., eggs 2s. There are a number of regulations regarding the production and import of saccharine, margarine, wine, etc., intended to assist the home producer, though they are given and in most cases actually bear the additional character of hygienic measures. One of the commonest complaints in connection with the agricultural customs tariff is that exporters of cereals are given certificates entitling them to import similar or other cereals free of duty. The farmers, it is claimed, export cereals carrying a high duty, and import cereals or fodder carrying a low duty. Thus by exporting oats at 5s., and importing fodder-barley at 1s. 4d., the farmer can make

a big profit when fodder is at a high price after a dry season, and this profit is not properly an agricultural profit at all, but a profit wholly unintended by the customs law, and also a direct encouragement to the export of bread cereals, a result certainly not intended even by the Agrarian Gospel.

In conclusion it may be added that the value of the agricultural products of Germany is reckoned roughly at the following figures: Dairy produce, £142,000,000; sugar, £31,000,000; cattle and by-products thereof, £200,000,000; other products about £200,000,000. It follows that the total value of German agricultural produce of all kinds would be placed according to this calculation at between £500,000,000 and £600,000,000. In 1902 it was estimated (Müller, "Industriestaat oder Agrarstaat," 1902), at seven and a half milliards of marks, that is £375,000,000, so that the value to-day is perhaps rather less than the amount suggested above.

CHAPTER IX

CASTES AND CLASSES

THE change which has come over Germany, with her sudden development from an agricultural to an industrial country, could not remain without its effect on the character of the inhabitants and their occupations in leisure hours. Thirty years ago the country, even in the immediate neighbourhood of Berlin, was a treasure-house of quaint and delightful customs, relics of heathendom and of early Christianity; to-day it may still be possible to find here and there a rare "manner" or a quaint "custom." In the open country near the Vistula corn is still ground with a stone hand-mill, and the bread baked in an open-air "parish bakehouse," and the fishermen still ply upon the river in canoes hollowed out of tree-trunks. In Southern Germany there are districts to which the railway has not yet penetrated, and where the yellow post chaise still runs on its huge wheels. In the valleys running up from the Rhine and Moselle into the hills

one may still see the burning wheel hurtle down into the stream from a hill top at the turning of the year, and it is but a few weeks since there was a veritable witch-burning in Silesia.

But now the old customs must be searched for diligently, and happy he that can still find them. The old cities of the Rhineland lose their beautiful timbered houses and their Gothic gables before the devastating horde of flat-builders, and the old country-dances under the trees or in the "Spiel-huise" make way for the Tango and Turkey-trot of the local *palais de danse*. In Germany, to put the matter succinctly, we are watching the loss of an old civilisation and the transfer to a new, not only in a shorter period of time than has happened elsewhere, but also with a violence of wrench which sets us gasping. German society in town and country is adopting extreme modernism and international ways of life and thought after having retained the ancient ways longer than the rest of the world. The development of Germany strikes us as resembling a syllogism with all the middle clauses suppressed. Thus one finds in German society not only all the stages we are accustomed to associate with centuries of development, but also a large number of imitative excrescences which seem out of keeping with the German character as a whole. Side by

side with expensive efforts to raise the capital of the Empire to an "international cosmopolis" like Paris, and with tendencies to introduce French titles for German products, there is also a violent protestantism which objects to biscuits being called "cakes" in Germany, because "cakes" is not a German word, and which therefore adopts the Germanised "keks"! Town-planning is developed along lines which would be almost beautiful if it were not for the survival of the worst horrors of the stucco period; and the country costumes of the Spreewald jostle in the Berlin parks with the latest absurdities of the Paris mode worn by ladies whom the mode does not suit.

But the most prominent feature of German society of the present day is a corollary of the paternal system of Government, namely the supremacy of the official caste. In town and country the uniform is supreme and chiefly the military uniform, because in Germany the army is the "senior service." Austria, which suffers from the same obsession, has invented a phrase "the witchcraft of the uniform" (*Zauber der Montur*) to describe the obsession, but the phrase is equally applicable to Germany. We have already seen that failure to pass school-examinations is penalized chiefly by inability to obtain the patent as officer of the reserve, and this penalization is

a social one, for it affects in equal degree the youth who will later have to struggle with his equals for his livelihood, and the youth who is "born with a silver spoon in his mouth." In the social hierarchy, then, it may be taken for granted that the officer comes first: he is followed by the civil official in his degree, and even the civil officialdom is given a measure of military prestige: the peaked cap of officialdom greets the visitor to Germany at the first customs-house, and follows him then throughout his visit.

Social caste is determined by the position of the man or woman within the official hierarchy, and inasmuch as the State has taken for its own proper sphere so many departments of public life and activity it is plain that the grades of officialdom are infinite, and the ceremonial observances connected with them are as puzzling to the stranger within the gates as they are oft-times absurd, even in the eyes of Germans themselves. There is no need to insist here upon the well-worn, perhaps almost threadbare, jokes about the respective social positions of the wife of the upper postal assistant, and her humbler sister, the wife of a mere postal assistant without predicate, for the German press itself is sarcastic enough about these absurdities, though the conditions which could alone destroy the hierarchy

are not present. It is true that the biting sarcasm of a Thackeray has been wanting to Germany, but it may be doubted whether the time has yet come when it would have its due effect.

Next to the official castes and classes may be ranged the variety of honorary or semi-official designations, the long range of "handles" which represent much-coveted distinctions without any corresponding functions in the machinery of the State, or any actual power other than that of prestige. The Councillors of Commerce, Medicine, Architecture, and so forth, are in their degree one stage less distinguished than those who, to their councillorship add the predicate "Privy," but Councillors and Privy Councillors alike are apt to be individuals of no very remarkable distinction socially. However, the prestige of a title goes so far that there is quite a competition for the honorary consular representation of small and undistinguished countries or principalities, the representative receiving in return for his services simply the predicate "Consul," which appears to be sufficient reward for not very onerous duties. Woe be to him or her who forgets the title in addressing the new dignitary! After the titles come the medals and various decorations in their degrees, to be worn upon all occasions when there is the least excuse for

their production. In their way medals and decorations also are regarded as lifting the lucky wearer out of the ruck of common folk, and as establishing a measure of social prestige. They appear to be looked upon as an honour conferred by the State for distinguished public service, and thus as establishing the public character of the wearer or rather his right to be included vaguely in the machinery of government.

It will be observed that positions representative of the public, memberships of the various elected representative bodies, holderships of positions actually representing electoral confidence are neither so eagerly sought, nor do they carry the same prestige as much less important, and much less actively influential appointments or positions granted by the State. The conclusion to which the foreign observer is necessarily forced is that, socially as well as administratively, the State, and not the people comprising the State, is vested with the real attributes of sovereignty. It is characteristic that in some of the comments made in the German press at the time when members of the English House of Commons first became salaried functionaries this payment of members, already existent in Germany, was described as a sign of the approaching decay of the idea of the sovereignty of the people in England.

The effort to maintain the hierarchical supremacy of the landed gentry in Germany shows signs at last of weakening. It is still true that the sons and cousins and nephews of German squires, particularly in Prussia, occupy the administrative, diplomatic, and court posts; it is still true that titled candidates are preferred as officers of the premier regiments in the army, and that in general the nobility of Prussia forms the governing caste. But it is no longer true that this nobility is exclusively the old nobility of the feudal days. It can be shown that the German diplomatic service tends to be opened to men whose fathers were ennobled for services in commercial or industrial spheres, and that commerce and industry are gradually forcing their way into the administrative machinery, and thus to the top of the social scale. It is also true that to some extent the original feudal nobility is losing its supremacy. An interesting illustration might perhaps be found in the old nobility of Westphalia, which more and more appears to divorce itself from the court circle, and to establish a kind of court of its own, centring round the old noble "Höfe" of Münster.

The Emperor himself is frequently blamed for the importance he attaches to the advice of men prominent in commercial or industrial life, and it is said that of all those who are

called his private advisers the director of a great shipping line is the only one who deserves the title. It may, therefore, not be too much to say that the Agrarian and noble supremacy in society, as in the functions of State, is rather more than merely threatened. But the system of castes and classes on which German society is obviously based, is rooted in the nature of the State-system, and though it may change in detail the system appears likely to withstand all the democratic shocks to which it is subjected as easily as it withstands the shafts of satire and criticism.

The German people, as individuals, are characterized by a great degree, not only of sociability, but also of apparently psychological necessity for concerted or combined action in all phases of their social life. Possibly the army-training, whose effects we have already observed in industrial and political life, makes itself felt here also: there appears to be a certain distaste for the impromptu, and Germans are apt to circumscribe the simplest functions with a fence of rules, regulations, and restrictions, which may appear galling to foreigners, but appear to excite very little vexation amongst the Germans themselves. The taste for combination and the dislike for impromptu and individual action is best seen in the curious development of the verein, association, or club.

It was, I think, a German writer who declared that if two Frenchmen, two Englishmen and two Germans were cast away on three different points of a deserted island, the two Frenchmen would, within five minutes, be discussing their respective amours, the Englishmen would have climbed two hills and be waiting for some one to introduce them across the intervening valley, whilst the Germans would have founded a verein for the exploration of the island. The discussion of the affairs of the verein is one of the first topics which Germans have in common everywhere and anywhere, and they have invented a wholly untranslateable phrase for this club "shop"—vereinsmeierei. Certain it is that very few German males count less than three or four vereins to which they belong, and vereins are founded with very little provocation or none. In reality this is merely the working out of the inclination for concerted action. For the Singleton the Germans have also a charmingly characteristic word, derived from political life. They say that the isolated individual is "unbekleidet" or unclothed!

It is not, however, true to assert, as has been done, that one German will take another upon credit: it is true that he is rather inclined to take a title of any kind as a guarantee of respectability, but this is really a compliment to German officialdom, which does stand on

the whole for incorruptibility and honesty. On the other hand Germans do seek and find companionship, and they do not demand that the companion or friend of an excursion shall "grapple them to his soul with hoops of steel." Casual acquaintance is a recognized institution, involving no necessary subsequent obligations on either side. But it is not true that Germans, speaking generally, obtrude themselves. They are accustomed to sociability, and are apt to express surprise when they do not find it, but they do not force themselves upon those who for one reason or another prefer to "keep themselves to themselves." It is, for example, the custom that newcomers to a town or village shall call first upon older residents, not *vice versa*, and it would appear that this custom depends upon the assumption that the visitors should first express a wish to make the acquaintance of the residents, without which an attempt at *rapprochement* might be regarded as a social solecism.

The position of women in Germany is a question often discussed and usually, by foreigners at least, somewhat contemptuously. There is, perhaps, a pronounced survival of the "goods and chattels" treatment of German womenfolk, which strikes visitors as sometimes silly and sometimes merely barbarian. An American writer (Mr. Price Collier) says: "One observes everywhere and among practi-

cally all classes an attitude of condescension toward women among the polite and polished, an attitude of carelessness bordering on contempt among the rude." But he also observes that "these gross manners" are at least partially explained by the fact that the German people are only just emerging from poverty, not only the poverty of possessions, but the poverty of experience. "They are as awkward in this new world of theirs of greater wealth and opportunity, as unyoked oxen that have strayed into city streets." At the bottom of this criticism therefore remains the fact which we have already seen in so many spheres, namely that socially, except in certain broad outlines, Germany has not yet developed her new imperial machinery of society: uniformity of education is producing a certain uniformity of character and of action, but it is neither true to say that the German is essentially discourteous in his *feelings* towards women because he is apt to be discourteous (judged by other standards) in his attitude towards them in trams and trains and public resorts; nor is it prudent to draw the conclusion that except in the event of a huge social upheaval woman will never take the prominent place in the life of the nation which she has made for herself elsewhere.

That the German male does on the whole regard his women folk as having missed their one

true function if they are not "broad-bosomed mothers of stout sons," it would be absurd to deny, and it is no less true that the beauty of motherhood is apt to be almost officially subordinated to the mechanical "duty" of women to provide males for the service of the State, its defence or its economic prosperity. Hence it is also true that the whole State system of protection for mothers by factory legislation, regulation of midwifery and so forth is much less dictated by humane sentiment than by economic considerations, and it is not impossible that this attitude may partly account for the appalling statistics of German illegitimacy. Germany has inherited a certain excessive materialism in this matter from the days of Frederick the Great, and it appears unlikely that she will soon shake off an attitude to this subject which, it must be supposed, is hardly really in the interests, qualitatively, of the nation. None the less the mere surplus of women over men in Germany (at present about 800,000), although it appears to be decreasing, must act as a compulsory agent in the expansion of women's sphere of activity in the Empire.

Women's education has not yet received the same degree of Government attention as that of men. Doubtless this has been mainly due to the conception prevailing from highest to lowest that in a well-ordered State there

ought not to be any necessity for the same development of special education of women as of men. But as already stated the majority of German universities are now open to women students, and the schools graded parallel to the gymnasial and modern schools for boys are increasing in number, though the effort is still mainly left to private or at most municipal enterprise. In industrial life there are regular vereins, including some well-known people, who desire to restrict women's professional wage-earning activities to "typically feminine employments," and to diminish the "female competition by confining the competitors to unmarried women." In reply to a ridiculous pamphlet to this effect it was pointed out that there are approximately 10,000,000 women in Germany earning wages "haupt-beruflich," that is, as their life's work, and not merely as a more or less unnecessary additional occupation. Of these one-third, or over 3,000,000, are married women.

It is unnecessary to add to these convincing figures in order to show that the admittedly widespread German conception of woman's place in the German State is confounded by the mere facts. Except in charitable concerns, and to some extent in municipal inspectorates and in the care of children thrown upon the State for protection, women do not take a

pronounced public position in Germany, but it must be remembered that even the modest amount of legal emancipation which German women possess dates only from the beginning of the century. Up to 1900 in most of the German States women had no legal right over their own children : they could in many cases neither act as witnesses to contracts of any kind nor commence proceedings in a law-court without special permission. It is not necessary to review the nineteenth century disabilities, especially of married women, in detail, and it may be enough to add that in the intervening decade they have assumed a much more prominent position, not only actually, but also in the eyes of the public. Women are now practising as doctors, jurists, professors, architects, and engineers in Germany, and there is a gradual though slow growth in the political organisation of women, not only by Liberal and Socialist groups, but also by Conservatives. In fine it may be said that Germans are being obliged, even if it be a little against their will and convictions, to recognize the competition and the competitive ability of women in all classes of life. There is therefore no very long step to the disappearance of the old German Hausfrau ideal, and also to the end of the system under which the German woman was " a doll before marriage, and a drudge afterwards."

In the pre-imperial days German ladies were accustomed to doing the greater part of their own housework and practically all their own cooking. With the increase of wealth and the consequent increase of a more elaborate kind of social entertainment the old personal attention to the affairs of the household has become less and less possible in many cases, but at the same time there did not and does not exist in Germany what an Englishman has called "a dynasty of domestic servants," that is a regular caste of often highly-trained servants of the better class. The domestic drudge exists equally in both countries, whether she be called a cook-general as in England, or as in Germany simply, and even less pretentiously a "Mädchen für alles." In Germany she usually does a little simple cooking, and she possesses an amazing capacity for very hard and very ill-paid labour. It is not surprising that the "Mädchen für alles" also tends to disappear and to give way to a simple drudge lacking the "Mädchen's" fidelity, cleanliness, and willingness. The German lady no longer finds time to do the work herself and there is no one upon whom she can fall back to do it for her, for there has not yet been produced a new class of domestic servant which can and does take a pride in the work.

The attractions of the factory and still more of the big warehouse or stores with

" freedom " after 7 p.m., even with a miserable shake-down called a " Schlafstelle " into the bargain, are as great, apparently, in Germany as elsewhere, and the efforts of various municipalities to correct the tendency educationally are not sufficient to stem the general tide. It is perhaps because there is no tradition of domestic service in Germany that in all except the newest houses or flats arrangements for servants' rooms are so primitive as to be a national scandal. The police do now forbid putting maidservants in narrow rooms, without any window except one opening into another room, usually the kitchen, and so low that the occupier of the room cannot stand upright, but they do not forbid house-owners to continue to advertise six-room flats " with servants' room " where the latter is the old swindle fresh painted and with a hole cut in the outer wall.

One result of the departure of the old *régime* and of the increase of prosperity and social duties without a corresponding increase in the number of people willing to undertake for a fair wage the duties that the housewife used to perform for herself, has undoubtedly been the extraordinary development of the restaurant habit. German families in towns habitually resort to restaurants for the family meal on Sunday and holidays, and in the big cities it is often impossible for the casual

stranger to find a seat until late in the afternoon. There would naturally be a certain decay of what Englishmen understand by home life arising from this development, and this decay is furthered, of course, by the lack of single-family houses. Nor does it seem to be true that the Germans themselves are particularly enthusiastic about this development, for their press frequently contains admiring and admirably written descriptions of English homes, to which the writers have had access.

It is frequently asserted that the "German is very easily amused," whereby no aspersion on his risible faculties is intended, but simply reference to the fact that he takes his recreations and his pleasures easily, finds them easily, and enjoys them in general not too critically. Criticism he is apt to leave to professional critics, perhaps too much so, especially in matters of art. At any of the German seaside resorts on the Baltic the visitor may see the whole strand covered with little bamboo masts and strings of coloured flags erected upon or within great sand-redoubts, tricked out with seaweed, pebbles, and other flotsam of the shore, such as children are wont to collect in England. These little redoubts, which are treated as inviolable territory by neighbouring squatters, have been constructed chiefly by the hands of the elderly Germans who have

brought their children to the seashore. They are by no means ashamed of being seen digging with a child's spade, and in fact are rather proud of their competitive exertions.

But the most striking feature in the development of the Germans at play is the place they have taken as a travelling people. Not many years ago Germans could still be considered stay-at-homes; that is to say, when they travelled it was almost always within the Empire, and usually within their own State or its neighbourhood. Now there is as big an annual exodus from Germany to the various "playgrounds of Europe" as from England, and perhaps now the Germans head the list of summer travellers. It is true that holiday travellers from England do not notice the extent of the German invasion of Italy, Switzerland, Norway, and so forth, because the German travelling season begins a month earlier than the English, since it corresponds to the German school holidays, which begin in the first week of July and end about the tenth of August; but many well-known holiday resorts, especially in Northern Italy, which were once completely Anglicized, are now equally completely Germanized. Moreover, the Germans now flood the Italian and French Riviera as the English used to do; they are found in Egypt, Algiers, Spain, Greece, and all the other tourist resorts as frequently or more

frequently than the travellers of any other nation.

That this is a development caused by increase of national wealth is obvious, but the development and cheapness of the special summer seaside trains run by the imperial railways in the summer has also produced an exodus from Berlin, which is actually much more noticeable than the summer exodus from London. One result is certainly a widening of the mental horizon of the bulk of the middle-class population, and its ultimate effect is perhaps in the direction of tolerance. The Germans of pre-imperial days knew also the "Wanderlust," a word which happily translates itself, but the character of their wanderings is shown, not as in England by remnants of old travelling coaches and memories of the Grand Tour, but by stout-knobbed sticks, sometimes provided with an old-fashioned measure, and sometimes with a kind of pocket for a knife, which may be discovered by the fortunate in second-hand shops.

The remarkable strides made by Germans in the way of sport need no emphasis. On the road and the river, on the cinder-track and the field they are rapidly becoming, or are even now competitors of the nations that once had the domain of sport almost to themselves. Football, to take one example, is by now

almost a national sport of Germany since the Crown Prince and others in authority encouraged the formation of regimental football teams. On Easter Monday, which is the great day for big football matches in Germany, there is scarcely an open ground in the periphery of Berlin which has not its game in progress, although a few years ago it would have been hard to find more than one or two games. Cricket has never flourished, chiefly perhaps because it is difficult to maintain good grass pitches. Golf is rapidly growing in popularity in the neighbourhood of the big towns, but it is still not the game of the middle-class German. There are workmen's rowing clubs, skating clubs, athletic clubs, football clubs, and so forth, and they are steadily increasing, so that by degrees the old type of German who was said "to take all the exercise he would ever get during his military service," and thereafter to walk a mile or two at most, and then subside into a chair with a beermug is vanishing. That the sporting movement receives the warm support of the authorities is natural, if only because it keeps the reservist in some measure of training.

There are, of course, less pleasant aspects of the increase of general prosperity. Berlin, Hanover, and other cities have to complain of a steady increase of gambling, which appears to be especially a military vice, if one may

judge from the frequency with which officers are found mixed up in gambling scandals. Nor are the crowds which throng the German race-courses any less "mixed" in character than those to be found in other countries where the popularity of the race-course is, on the whole, of older date. It can hardly be necessary to insist upon such features, because they appear inevitably to accompany national prosperity, and it could not be expected that Germany should remain exempt. The virtue of frugality does, however, remain to a large extent with the Germans. German housewives are, on the whole, as thrifty as ever, though the whole standard of living in all classes has risen greatly in the last thirty years.

There is still no more remarkable sight than a great German open-air beer garden on a summer evening. Its neatly decked tables are thronged with neatly dressed men and women of the working class, there is usually an excellent band, and these throngs of Germans are content to sit quietly listening and drinking slowly a big pot of light beer to the accompaniment of a very mild cigar. Or if a still more striking example of German orderliness and cleanliness be required, it might be found in one of the great annual Socialist meetings under cover. Some huge covered restaurant is usually chosen, and

there a thousand or two men and women will assemble in their Sunday clothes, will sit at the little tables and sip their beer whilst the speeches are thundered at them from the platform. These characteristics appear not to be greatly affected by the increase of prosperity, and they may perhaps therefore be taken as virtues which are not very likely to be " civilized " out of the country.

It would seem, however, that if the solidity remains, the excess of that virtue, stolidity, is gradually diminishing. Possibly the growth of city life and the change of Germany from an agricultural to a mainly industrial people may account in part for the fact that the Germans in general appear to be growing more excitable (perhaps more " neurasthenic " would be a more acceptable term). It is certain that the German public no longer maintains that philosophic tranquillity which was so convenient to the State machinery. Events both at home and abroad produce demonstrations of public opinion not always in accord with their intrinsic importance, and there have been noticeable instances of an inclination on the part of the public to " take the bit between its teeth." What is true of the nation generally is almost equally true of individuals, though in the one case as in the other the nervous strain of modern competitive life may be chiefly to blame.

In Germany not less than in other countries, the changes are necessarily most apparent in the towns. Village life, especially in districts lying off the main lines of railway, still retains its picturesque characteristics and many of its ancient customs. From the foregoing observations on German agriculture it will readily be gathered that Northern Germany in particular retains many of the aspects of decaying feudalism, whilst in southern Germany, particularly in Baden, there will be found a communal independence of spirit reminding one almost of Swiss conditions. A great kindliness of character, especially towards foreigners, is characteristic, however, of north and south alike. It is a pity that the stream of foreign visitors is steadily directed into a few main channels, and that the beautiful Mecklenburg country, the fascinating Baltic coast villages, and the forest-girt lakes of Brandenburg, for example, are for the most part wholly neglected. The conception of discourtesy, jealousy, and barbarism, which appears to prevail regarding Prussia in general would be modified if there were a wider knowledge of these Prussian villages, which so far have escaped the regrettable barbarization of that most un-German town, Berlin.

CHAPTER X

INTELLECTUAL LIFE

It is perhaps questionable whether any one not a native of a country has adequate qualifications to review, much less to criticize, that country's intellectual life. Germany's intellectual attainments are the common property of the world (he may run that reads), but the process of German intellectual development at the present day is another matter. It might be hard, for instance, to say what share religion, faith beyond the forms of faith, plays in the life of the nation. A foreigner attempting to form some judgment thereof might be tempted by the constant and increasing complaints of desertions from the Lutheran Church to express doubt whether Lutheranism has any longer a deep hold on the religious feelings of northern Germany. Equally constant complaints regarding the obscurantism of the South might tempt him into problematic discussions of the effects of Roman Catholicism. He would find certain pronounced incidents of recent years,

the expulsion from the Lutheran ministry of latitudinarian pastors, the ban of the synods placed upon men like Pfarrer Jatho, who died whilst this chapter was being written, and the support of these intellectual nonconformists by a large portion of the best edited press, and he might be tempted perhaps to over-estimate the importance of such incidents.

Broadly speaking, a German student of the religious life of his own time would perhaps admit that in Germany as elsewhere, in the nation as in the individual, deep-seated religious feeling is apt to find open expression rather in moments of stress than in moments of prosperity, and that one prominent and undeniable feature of the religious life of Germany is indifferentism. He would perhaps question whether this or indeed any feature is peculiarly German, and not rather a general feature of intellectual development throughout Europe. He would note that the problem of religious education is as little solved in Germany as elsewhere, and that the struggle of the creeds for the control of education and the demands of the Free-thinkers that there should be no religious education of any kind in the schools maintained at the public expense, are as keen as elsewhere. The foreigner, again, moving through town and country, would find many

country churches in a state of neglect or at least of apparent neglect; he would perhaps not be greatly impressed by the numbers or the reverence of northern congregations and still less impressed by the respect paid to the ministry. And so noting, he might arrive at the false conclusion that religion plays very little part in the life of the community.

Outwardly, since it is only the outward aspects we have any right to comment upon, there are many points worthy of note. Despite the "secularization of Sunday," great care is taken that the charge of the churches shall not be made the burden of a few. A church-tax is raised based upon the State income-tax, and it must be paid by all who do not declare themselves "diffident," in plain English, atheists or unbelievers. Each taxpayer's mite is transferred by the synodal collectors to the religious community to which he belongs, that is to the local authority for that community, but members of the non-recognized religious communities are relieved of payment on showing that they subscribe regularly to the funds of some such community. Certain excrescences, if one may employ the word, such as Mormonism, are, of course, not recognised at all, but seat-holders of English churches, for example, are exempt from the tax. Socially the Lutheran ministry ranks probably next to

the Juristic profession; in practically all States the Pfarrer has a guaranteed minimum income of £90 per annum, rising at the end of twenty years' service to some three times that amount. Superintendents-General and Ecclesiastical Councillors receive from £500 to £700 per annum. Pastors of the Lutheran Church must be university graduates, and must also have spent some months in study of pedagogy of the elementary sort, the reason being that the local Pfarrer, at any rate in Prussia, is as a rule deputed by Government to exercise the overseership of the local elementary school.

Lutheran pastors almost unanimously refused the exemption from military service which was offered them in 1891, but instead of being called upon to serve with the reserve they may be summoned as field-chaplains. The Roman Catholic clergy, though nominally subject to military service, are actually exempt. In general, the north and east of Germany are Lutheran districts, the south and west Catholic.

If it is difficult to judge of the religious side of German intellectual development, it is perhaps no less difficult to form an estimate of the general tendency of German secular thought and therefore also of German secular literature. The "nation of Thinkers and Poets" has become a great industrial

nation, and it does not appear that industrial and commercial competition is as fruitful of literary results as was the long period of physical struggle against foreign enemies. It might be fair to question whether modern German literature, that is, belles lettres, can show at present any pronounced direction. Nietzsche, Zola, and Tolstoi have their followers, if not actually their schools. Ibsen, Maeterlinck, and Pierre Loti, French, Italian, and Russian writers, have also their pronounced disciples. From which it would appear that German intellectual taste is as catholic as any other. It has already been pointed out that the growth of industrialism has enabled German thinkers to harness themselves to the car of progress, and indeed the part taken by German professors in the public life of the nation, particularly in its political life, has given rise to the sarcastic German commentary, "Germany will one day be destroyed by her professors."

Realism is perhaps the prevailing feature at the present of German narrative-literature, but German novels, despite their realism, can scarcely be said to stand on a very high level of merit. There are, of course, brilliant exceptions, and amongst the exceptions the apostles of confidence and quietness hold an honoured place. Amongst brilliantly imaginative writers Michael Conrad might perhaps

be called the H. G. Wells of southern Germany, and Detlev von Liliencron, who died recently, was termed Germany's Kipling, owing to the military character of his romances. Gerhart Hauptmann is, of course, better known as playwright than as novelist, and his later novels, "The Fool in Christ," and "Atlantis," have not added greatly to his reputation.

Like other countries Germany has become impressed with the dangerous character of much of the cheap literature, and the "Association for fighting Filth in Word and Picture," though it frequently overshoots the mark, does good work in its efforts to remove obnoxiously suggestive literature from the book-market. Unfortunately sex problems are still the happy hunting ground (here as elsewhere) for many writers who are not or do not appear properly equipped for the very delicate task they have undertaken. Gustav Frenssen, the writer of Jörn Uhl, who is a Lutheran pastor, is deservedly one of the most popular of modern German novelists, but his reputation is already international. There is as great a flood of sometimes rather rubbishy military and naval novelists of "Wars of 19—," "Wars in the clouds, the seas, and the stars," as in any other European country. They are scarcely literature, though at times they appear to enjoy a large sale.

Possibly the amazing knowledge possessed by very many Germans of the classical literature of other countries should rather find due notice under the head of education, but it should be noted that the liking for foreign classics and the ability to read them in the original is a striking feature of German culture generally, and not merely of German study. Cheap editions of classics and of foreign classics in good translations were a feature of the German book market long before cheap editions of good books were a pronounced feature of the English market. Probably the most remarkable of these series is the Reclam edition, with its several thousand volumes of the best literature of all countries at prices from twopence upwards to about a shilling. Germany at present lacks an institution quite taking the place of the library of the British Museum, though the Royal Library of Berlin and the big libraries of other towns hold high rank amongst the libraries of the world. The facilities for consulting the former are, however, by no means to be compared to those offered in London. Here, as elsewhere, officialdom imposes absurd restrictions, which render study at the Berlin Library a trial of patience to the most equable temperament. It is now proposed to commence an Imperial Library at Leipzig, which is the "Booksellers' town" *par excellence*

From literature it is natural that one should turn to the drama, and here one reaches ground that has already been touched in foregoing chapters. We have already seen that opera and the drama, as a part of the intellectual development of the nation, are cared for in part by the municipalities. The encouragement of the drama and opera by the German sovereigns is another not less important feature of modern German intellectual life. The veteran Duke George of Saxe-Meiningen developed in the court theatre of Meiningen a uniformly realistic presentment of the world's greatest dramatic masterpieces which has become internationally famous under the title of the "Meiningen Tradition." The "Meininger," as the travelling company was called, may properly be regarded as the forerunner of modern German theatrical tradition, which finds its best expression perhaps in the Berlin Deutsches Theater, for which Max Reinhard, the well-known international régisseur, is responsible. Amongst modern German playwrights Sudermann and Hauptmann are probably the best known outside, and even in Germany; Wedekind, the author of the brilliant but all too realistic Frühlings Erwachen, has become a name for somewhat eccentric defence of himself against the censorship; Hugo von Hoffmannsthal and Ernst von Wildenbruch

appear also in the front rank with Ludwig Thoma, the South-German satirist; Ernst Hardt, who sprang into fame with his prize drama "Tantris der Narr," and Karl Schönherr, the now well-known author of "Glaube und Heimat."

These are only a few amongst the names of Germany's foremost dramatists. If, however, we turn to the problem of German dramatic development, we are faced by the fact that either the German public is turning from the drama, even from light comedy of manners, to very blatant Germanized versions of not always irreproachable French farce, or to musical comedy, such as is not comedy at all and only masquerades under the ridiculously misapplied title of light opera, or that German theatrical managers are hopelessly incompetent. One theatre after another in Berlin has closed its doors within the last six months, and given way to operetta or the cinematograph: others struggle on with an increasing load of mortgage and debt. Eight Berlin theatres closed their doors in the year 1912-1913. Manifestly to attempt a review or a criticism of the German drama within the narrow limits here necessarily prescribed would be an impertinence. There are, however, one or two outward features commonly enumerated in this connection whereto reference may be justified.