

and to discover the extent to which it realized its goal of national unity under the bourgeoisie and completed the job of establishing democracy in America.

James S. Allen is such a historian. His book is an example of scholarship and analysis which not only lays bare and clear the events of the Reconstruction period, withering misconception, but also arms the reader with an understanding of present-day problems which are a legacy of the Civil War.

That war began badly for the North. What Marx discerned at the outset, writing to Engels in the first year, namely that the northern bourgeoisie was doomed to failure unless it acted in a manner befitting a class which was seeking to revolutionize America, the bourgeoisie did not realize till the war had gone on for two years. But by 1862, the Homestead Act, which nationalized the land, and the Emancipation Proclamation, which promulgated the end of chattel slavery in the seceding states, testified to the forging of a leadership that was ready to take any steps necessary to gain the support of the workers and farmers and of the Negro people and win the war. Sherman's march to the sea, with its ruthless destruction, was to be the military counterpart of revolutionary politics aimed at smashing the economic base of the planters.

This much is understood by most contemporary historians; but from this point all cease being liberal and remain merely bourgeois. At best, they gloss over the second phase of the revolution in which the bourgeoisie consolidated its victory against the struggle for democracy on the part of the Negroes and the attempt by the Radical Republicans to continue their policies into the post-war period. At worst, they consider the Reconstruction as a time of corruption and chaos in which the newly freed Negro people are ignorant dupes of scoundrelly carpet-baggers and grafting scalawags. In history and fiction the bourbons have portrayed Reconstruction as a "tragic era"; have sought to prove the myth of white superiority and to hide the historical lessons of the Civil War. Such history is perverted and such fiction remains fiction, as Allen's book, with unimpeachable evidence drawn from the documents of the time, shows.

For Allen, Reconstruction was a battle for democracy. The period saw the end of chattel slavery and the consolidation of the power of the industrial bourgeoisie. It saw also the brief emergence of the Negro people as freed men carrying on a fight for democracy and for the land. It was finally turned into counter-revolution when the old plantation aristocracy became reconciled to northern domination, ending the brief period of Negro liberation, restoring the former rulers of the South to their accustomed ways, and transferring the seat of power to Wall Street.

The differing direction of the class forces united in carrying on the war led to various schemes for Reconstruction, but the plans of the Radical Republicans, representatives of



John Heliker

the petty bourgeoisie which had successfully carried through the war, were to be first hamstrung and finally defeated in the counter-revolutionary alliance of the bourgeoisie and its erstwhile enemy. Most important of Allen's contributions, however, is the description of the steps taken by the Negroes in their attempt to guarantee the promises of freedom.

Allen's insistence on the democratic character of the freed men's movements is borne out in the description of the state conventions, people's assemblies, and Negro militias. One use of the book is soon apparent: it refutes those who declare that complete liberation for the Negro people in the South would mean an end to what rights the southern whites possess today. This refutation is accomplished with the examples of the actual steps toward democracy for both white and Negro taken by the Black Parliaments of the late sixties. And beneath this political action is the seizure of the land by the Negroes as their attempt to smash the old system.

Special mention must be made of the chapter in which Allen deals with a little-treated subject, the relation between the freed Negroes and the rising trade union movement. Here is material which not only foreshadows present problems in trade unionism but also explains one peculiarity of the Negro question in this country. This is illustrated by Frederick Douglass's fear that an alliance of the Negroes with the trade-union and Labor Party-Populist movement, ending their support of the Republican Party, would prove harmful to the interests of the Negroes. A shortcoming, excused perhaps by lack of space, is the failure to discuss in detail the reasons as well as the fact of Douglass's position.

The battle for democracy was to be only partly successful. The victorious industrial bourgeoisie were not to permit completion of the tasks assigned by the second revolution. Had those tasks been completed, had the Negroes retained the land they had seized, let alone received the land promised, had the democracy which was the slogan of the revolution been granted, the history of the whole country as well as of the South might well have been different. At least we would not today see a South with a semi-feudal social system ruled by monopoly capitalism.

Closing mention must be made of the foreword by Richard Enmale, editor of the series

of which this book is the second. His critical remarks apropos the bourgeois historians of the period are valuable as an overture to Allen's approach. Included also are excellent appendices containing important documents such as the manifestos of the people's assemblies. The book will be of value not only to the student of history but to the worker and intellectual who wishes to understand the significance of the Civil War and the bearing of this dramatic period upon America today.

DAVID LURIE.

A Doctor's Dilemma

THE CITADEL, by A. J. Cronin, Little, Brown & Co. \$2.50.

"EVERY doctor I've met swears that practice is a dog's life. . . . Why is that? It's because there's no attempt at organization in our profession." In such a manner A. J. Cronin states what seems to be for him the problem, and its solution, of the medical profession. Paradoxical as it may seem, however, the theme of *The Citadel* is not social organization at all, but a representation of one man's road to happiness.

Dr. Andrew Manson begins by working as an assistant to a "company doctor"—the medical neglect of the miners becomes obvious to him, but at no time does he relate this to the social and economic system responsible for it.

In the course of time, Manson rises from obscurity to a position of wealth and renown as a doctor to the idiotic and rich in the West End of London—his work becomes a racket and he an unconscious quack and parasite feeding upon those parasites who feed, if remotely, upon those miners to whom he first brought his surgical aid and medical knowledge.

By a series of fortuitous accidents, the surgical murder of a man and the accidental death of his wife, Dr. Andrew Manson comes to a realization of his moral and spiritual bankruptcy. Seeking again for an ideal—rehabilitation into a functional role in society, a road to life—he returns to his earlier interest in "organization"—but organization of what a kind!

With certain of his medical friends, he organizes a clinic in a semi-agricultural town. Here is the solution, A. J. Cronin would seem to say, to the doctor's problem in a capitalist world—a "solution" which, needless to say, has been tried in the United States.

NORMAN MACLEOD.

Brief Reviews

LENA, by Roger Verel. Translated from the French by W. B. Wells. Random House. \$2.50.

This Goncourt prize novel for 1934, which has just appeared in America, has as its central theme the degeneration of human personality under the impact of national hatred during the World War. De Quesnay, a French officer, is captured by the Bulgarians after he has been transferred from the air service because he can no longer bring himself to bombard defenseless Bulgarian towns. During the

CHESTERS' ZUNBARG
OPEN ALL YEAR

A Delightful Hideaway in the Mountains. If you like uncrowded vacationing, now's the time to come. Quiet excitement, abundant diversion, good company, swell food! Athletics include Bicycling, Roller Skating, Tennis, etc. Musicals, modern library, open fireplaces. Low October Rates for week-long or week-end stays. WOODBOURNE, N. Y. Tel.: FALLSBURG 53

CAMP NITGEDAIGET
BEACON, N. Y. Beacon 731
ALL SPORTS—GOOD PROGRAMS—DANCING
Hotel and Bungalow Accommodations

\$16 per week
City Office: ESTabrook 8-1400

New Books
of Particular Interest
to NEW MASSES readers

Volunteer in Spain

BY JOHN SOMMERFIELD

"One of the most vital, terrible and heroic books I ever read."—*John Gunther*.
\$1.50

When China Unites

AN INTERPRETIVE HISTORY
OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION
BY HARRY GANNES

Essential to an understanding of the forces, men and events since 1911 that have brought about the present crisis in the Far East. Detailed, factual, highly readable.
\$2.50

New Writing

EDITED BY JOHN LEHMANN

"Tells us something of the literary temper among the younger writers, and the internal shaping and criticism of the Marxist influence on literary work and literary thinking."—*Alfred Kazin*.
\$2.75

Young Henry of Navarre

BY HEINRICH MANN

"A novel so sharply and tensely alive, so dramatic, so profound and beautiful, as to touch every chord of interest and significance and appreciation in the reader's mind."—*N. Y. Times Book Review*. 585 pages.
\$3.00

ALFRED A. KNOPF NEW YORK

army's difficult retreat through the mountains, he meets Lena, a nurse who gives him medical care and protection from reprisal. Lena is a violent partisan of Bulgarian independence. She can never quite forget the early horrors perpetrated upon her family by the Turks. But the persistence of her attention belies its cold official surface, and de Quesnay on his side finds his suspicion as a prisoner violently alternating with a personal interest in this heroic representative of an oppressed nationality. He is confused as to the degree to which love outweighs passion in his own motives. He is uncertain whether in Lena the love she certainly felt would overcome her fanaticism for national honor.

Though he is free of all Marxist intention, Vercel, with the honesty of a first-rate writer, has had to depict the lives of Lena and de Quesnay as symbolic of their dance to death. Passion for them cannot be held in check by love, because love itself must be stultified by time-worn notions of honor and patriotism. They cannot pass beyond national hatreds and attain a genuine human relationship. With unusual skill Vercel has delineated the self-torture of this cultivated French officer who finds that war demoralizes his sense of honor and permits it only too late to break the gordian knot, perversely to avenge its own impotence by imposing the chance for death at another's hands. But Lena has been caught in the same trap, and though, of course, de Quesnay cannot see it so, she has been similarly freed by her murder from the insufficiency of these same moves as a guide to conduct. Only annihilation has been able to solve the conflict between the code of chauvinism and the normal human need for affection and comradeship.

E. B. B.

FREE LANCE, by E. Alexander Powell. Harcourt, Brace & Co. \$3.00.

Colonel E. Alexander Powell, one of the most shallow and superficial of our foreign correspondents, has published another newspaperman's memoirs that veer not the slightest from the tradition of his numerous other books. It gains effect by cheap language in its descriptions of faraway places, "exotic" language calculated to make the stay-at-home hicks mad with envy. He does nothing to repudiate the charges of Nazism made by Raymond Moley and Samuel Dickstein after the publication of Powell's *Long Roll on the Rhine*. He lauds Hitler for his grace, wisdom, and kindness to children, then takes a few unconvincing exceptions to the Nazi *Weltanschauung*. His treatment of the Soviet Union is shabby and stupid; and his consummate bad taste is summed up, I feel, in his choice of a gift to Haile Selassie some ten or twelve years before the Italian invasion. Hearing that it was customary to present the Lion of Judah with some token of esteem, Powell chose as his present one of the new Tommy guns (Thompson machine guns), because he felt that it would be "a handy thing to have around the palace in case of a revolution."

R. H. R.

COLLECTED POEMS, by James Joyce. Viking Press.
\$2.50.

It is interesting to read the early, minor work of a great artist and observe the incipient mannerisms and influences that mature in his major work. Music exercises an important influence in the writings of James Joyce. In his *Collected Poems* the musical strain is dominant. This volume includes *Chamber Music*, published in 1918, *Pomes Penyeach* published in 1927 in a limited edition, and "Ecce Puer," a short poem of filial love. Most of the poems in the book are songs of romantic love, written to be sung—a fact that should prove particularly interesting to our modern poets, since most of them seem to have lost their hearing.

Chamber Music, patterned after the Elizabethan love lyric, strikes its own original musical metrics although, with one or two exceptions, it lacks the vigor and fulsomeness of the Elizabethan songsters. In *Pomes Penyeach* the musical motif is inter-

A BOOK ABOUT A
GREAT MAN THAT
YOU WILL WANT!

JOHN REED

By

GRANVILLE HICKS

The greatness of John Reed is a legend that has been handed down never to be forgotten. It is a true legend of the making of a revolutionary.

He was born in Portland, Oregon, the grandson of one of the city's founders and leading businessmen; he died from typhus in Moscow and was buried under the Kremlin. Here is the story of his boyhood, his Harvard days, his experiences with the *American Magazine* and the *MASSES*; with Villa's men in Mexico as a reporter of the revolution against Huerta; as correspondent in the World War; as one of the founders of the Provincetown Players; in 1917-1918 as correspondent for the *MASSES* and the *Call* in Russia (where his observations resulted not only in his masterpiece, *Ten Days That Shook the World*, but in his complete acceptance of the Bolshevik position); in the Socialist Party; in the founding of the Communist Labor Party, and finally in Russia again in the fall of 1919 in the service of the Bolsheviks up to the time of his death.

To perpetuate the memory and legend of John Reed we are offering you this opportunity to get *John Reed* by Granville Hicks together with a year's subscription to the *NEW MASSES* for \$5.50, a saving of \$2.50.

JOHN REED
By GRANVILLE HICKS

(\$3.50)

NEW MASSES
ONE YEAR SUBSCRIPTION

(\$4.50)

BOTH FOR \$5.50

NEW MASSES, 31 E. 27th St., N. Y. C.

Enclosed please find \$5.50 for which send me a one year's subscription to the *NEW MASSES* and a copy of *John Reed* by Granville Hicks.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

State..... N.M. 10-19

No agent's commission on this special offer

woven with a dramatic image. "Nightpiece," "On the Beach at Fontana," and "A Memory of the Players," reveal the simple unit of musical ideographic speech which is fundamental to the prose style of *Ulysses*. This unit of speech has become much more complex in Joyce's unfinished *Work in Progress* where, specifically, in a poem like "Anna Livia Plurabelle," at one and the same time the dramatic story of a river and the heroine of Everyman, the language has become transformed into magical conundrums filled with musical and imagistic subtleties.

S. F.

A HISTORY OF THE MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY FAR EAST, by Paul Hibbert Clyde. Prentice-Hall. \$6.

This large book was presumably written as a study guide for college students. As such, it covers a vast amount of ground with a thin layer of information and analysis. The bulk of the book is devoted to China and Japan, though there are chapters on the Philippines and on American, British, and Soviet policy. Most of the book is concerned with political events and issues, but there is a fair amount of economic, social, and cultural background thrown in. No other book has yet integrated Far Eastern problems quite as well or on as large a scale, though it is a pity that the one under review does not do the job with greater depth.

Some caution is necessary in reading the book because the author frequently leans over backward in favor of Japan. For example, he balks at the idea that Japan is fully responsible for the establishment of "Manchukuo," the three provinces that once were called Manchuria, and chooses to stress at some length the traditional differences between the Manchus and the Chinese. It is well known, however, that the overwhelming majority of the people of Manchuria are Chinese. To overcome this objection in advance, the author alleges that the "Chinese, when they moved northward, became Manchurian, at least in politics." Students of the Far East will have some difficulty in accepting or even interpreting this sentence; for many centuries the Manchus were alien conquerors whose rule was as a plague over China. For the Chinese to become Manchus "in politics" is simply a political anomaly. It is further admitted, in explanation of the Manchurian conquest, that Manchuria would never have become "independent" were it not for the "September incident," namely, the occupation of Mukden by the Japanese army. This is a very mild and inadequate way of portraying a situation which, in reality, consisted of nothing less than deliberate Japanese aggression against the people of Manchuria. It is characteristic of the book that the status of Manchuria today should be described as "independent" without quotes.

T. D.



Recently Recommended Books

The Goncourt Journals: 1851-1870, by Edmond and Jules de Goncourt. Edited and translated by Lewis Galantière. Doubleday, Doran. \$3.50.

Lament for the Death of a Bullfighter and Other Poems, by Frederico Garcia Lorca. In the original Spanish with the English translation by A. L. Lloyd. Oxford University Press. \$2.50.

Race: A Study in Modern Superstition, by Jacques Barzun. Harcourt, Brace. \$2.50.

When China Unites: An Interpretative History of the Chinese Revolution, by Harry Gannes. Knopf. \$2.50.

... *And Spain Sings. Fifty Loyalist Ballads*. Edited by M. J. Bernadete and Rolfe Humphries. Vanguard. \$1.

Men Who Lead Labor, by Bruce Minton and John Stuart. Modern Age Books. 35c. Book Union selection.

We offer this bargain to New Masses readers because we want you to see for yourselves why the circulation of *The Nation* surpasses that of all other progressive weeklies—and is now at an all-time *Nation* high.

We want you to see how effectively we accept the challenge of the intelligent minority to publish the facts behind the news. We want you to see how authoritatively we interpret these facts from the progressive point of view—how our correspondents, feature writers, and editors clarify the headlines of today and prepare you for those of tomorrow—how carefully we scrutinize every public issue and show you whether it is a stride forward or a step backward.

During the next 17 tempestuous weeks you will read in *The Nation* 170 lively editorial paragraphs—51 full-length editorials—136 candid reviews of the new books, plays, films and recorded music—119 courageous articles including:

Harland Allen on the stock market slump—Philip Bernstein on the plight of the Jews in Germany today—Max Lerner on Douglas of the S.E.C. and on *La Guardia*—I. F. Stone on the differences between the threat of kaiserism and that of fascism—John De Wilde on *Von Schacht* and the internal battle of financial policy in Germany—Oliver Carlson on Los Angeles, the story of its indus-

trial growth and of the corresponding rise of its militant labor movement—Claude McKay on *Harlem's trend toward unionism*—Louis Fischer on *Spain*—Sidney Hertzberg on the *American Federation of Labor convention*—Louis Adamic on recent labor developments.

The regular price of *The Nation* is 15c a copy, \$5 a year. But if you act at once you may have the next 17 weeks for only \$1.00.

Mail the order form below today!

N.M. 10-19

THE NATION

20 Vesey Street, New York City

I enclose \$1 for which you will please send me the next 17 weeks of *The Nation*.

Name.....

Address.....

(Extra Postage: Canadian, 17c; Foreign, 34c)