

ers who take no special pleasure in nursing their blind prejudices will find the New Unionism very illuminating.

The volume tells the story of a sweat-shop industry transformed by the resolute devotion of hosts of foreign-born workers to their high conception of American standards; of the persistent forging of a structure of democratic government by men and women who are radical only in that they take basic American ideals seriously. The distinguishing characteristic of the new unionism is its application to industrial government of precisely the same spirit and purpose which the founders of the Republic applied to the feudal state when rulers held the right to govern as a vested right.

It is this devotion to the ideals of self-government, whether in politics or industry, which, according to Budish and Soule, "has moulded the structure, and still more the strategy of the organizations." It is their cloud by day and their pillar of fire by night. It makes them regard their industry with something of the solicitous pride with which the old skilled artisan regarded his craft,—their means of livelihood, freedom, power and service. The vision of the time when they shall operate the industry by which they live and through which they serve, determines their attitude toward themselves as self-governing citizens of a great industrial state. It has made them the first of the unions to advocate the adoption of scientific standards of production and to develop a type of education which, because it is usually inaccessible to manual workers, they have undertaken to provide for themselves. Their conception of labor education is another manifestation of the same spirit which upwards of a hundred years ago created the public school.

"The new unionism," say Budish and Soule, "thinks of educational work in the light of its vision of a coming commonwealth with a new culture. The business unionism would burden itself with this work only in case the public school system [like the old private and parochial school system] is so reactionary and so entirely uninfluenced by the labor movement that it refuses to supply the necessary classes in English, public speaking, economics, etc. The new unionism regards the creation of a labor culture, towards which educational work is a mere initial step, as its foremost aspiration, and as much a task to be undertaken by the workers themselves as the struggle for political and industrial democracy."

Americans who have come to doubt the vitality of the American spirit,—especially those who have been lured by specious propaganda into the habit of accepting "foreigner" as the antonym of "American,"—will find the New Unionism stimulatingly reassuring.

R. W. B.

The Monster

The Monster, by Horace Bleackley. New York: George H. Doran Co.

IN its opening chapters this novel presents with considerable force the inhuman conditions of English factory workers over a century ago, and revives for us the significance of England's change from an agricultural to a manufacturing nation. The horrible abuse of children in the early cotton mills is described in lurid detail, and Robert Willoughby's transformation from a bright, sensitive boy to a stolid, relentless man seems a logical result of the cruelty he endures as a mill apprentice slaving for

fourteen or sixteen hours a day from the age of seven to twenty-one.

As an overseer he is less cruel than Black Jack, by whom he was beaten and tortured. But his leniency is due only to the belief that children can turn out more work if they are not too badly mistreated. He finally becomes a rich factory owner, grinding his employees with heartless zeal and opposing all labor reform.

There is a good deal of the trite and melodramatic in this account, and when the author proceeds to depict in detail the careers of the second and third Robert Willoughby, each an only child and identified heart and soul with the cotton mills, crudities are tediously multiplied. Characters are puppets, in the main, laboriously created to illustrate the menace and to attempt the overthrow of the "Monster," the brutalizing factory system. The book is filled with futile reiteration.

Matty, the mother of the second Robert is quite convincingly drawn and her survival to a ripe old age serves to relate in a measure the disconcerting gaps of time, followed always by dull chronicles of consequent change. The third Robert Willoughby realizes the unfairness of his father's methods and introduces shorter hours, a profit-sharing regime and other modern reforms. But he remembers on the last page that "there was the Monster still to subdue" and he looks into the smiling face of his betrothed and is "inspired with a great courage."

The promise of the earlier chapters, the author's evident earnestness and the vital significance of the theme make one regret that the treatment could not have been more adequate.

R. H.

Jewish Pogroms

The Slaughter of the Jews in the Ukraine in 1919, by Elias Heifetz. New York: Thomas Seltzer.

THE Ukrainian pogroms of 1919 constitute a striking exhibition of mass savagery. Approximately 120,000 men, women and children were killed; whole villages were wiped out; the entire Jewish population of southern Russia was reduced to the brink of complete destruction. Imagine our own yearly crop of lynchings, with large communities substituted for individual victims; and you gain a fairly adequate conception of what happened to the Ukrainian Jews in 1919.

Dr. Heifetz is not content merely to set down a tale of horrors. He seeks to analyze the social and psychological factors which lie behind this explosion of wholesale murder. He discovers three separate sets of motives, which hold good for the three classes of pogroms, those committed by Denikin, those committed by Petlura, and those committed by the Ukrainian guerilla leaders.

The political viewpoint of General Denikin, widely hailed in western Europe and America as a champion of democracy against Bolshevik tyranny, was very simple. He believed that all the troubles of Russia should be ascribed to the overthrow of the Tsar, which, in his opinion, was brought about by the intrigues of Jews and professional revolutionists. His remedy was correspondingly simple. Kill off as many Jews and revolutionists as possible. Then the peasants would gladly surrender their land; the workers would hasten to give up their factories; all classes would welcome the restoration of monarchy; and all would

again be well with Holy Russia. Something miscarried in Denikin's calculations: for the Red Army routed his Cossacks near Orel; and his defeat was completed by tumultuary uprisings of the Ukrainian peasants in his rear. But, before he was obliged to seek a hospitable refuge in England, he enjoyed the satisfaction of killing about 50,000 Jews. Dr. Heifetz adduces many eye witness reports of pogroms committed by Denikin's troops, together with specimens of the violently anti-Semitic literature distributed by order of his propaganda department.

The case of the Ukrainian nationalist leader, Petlura, is somewhat different. Petlura claimed to be a Socialist; and he can scarcely have regarded pogroms as a necessary part of his political and economic policy. But he was unable to resist the temptation to make political capital by denouncing "the Jews at Moscow" and to attract the ruffianly elements to his side by offering prospects of unlimited looting. The protestations of Petlura's apologists that he actively opposed anti-Jewish outrages are effectively invalidated by the number of massacres unquestionably committed by his troops, by his appointment of a notorious organizer of pogroms, Colonel Petrov, to the post of Minister of War, and by the fact that he was present at a pogrom in Zhitomir without making any effort to stop it.

Such bandit leaders as Makhno and Grigoriev may be considered, in a very crude and direct sense, representatives of the economic desires and interests of the Ukrainian peasants. These peasants were very good Bolsheviks, so far as driving out the landlords was concerned. But, having gained possession of the land, they resented and opposed the existence of any strong central government, whether communist or monarchist. What they wanted was complete freedom of their manufactured goods, and incidentally, to murder the Jews.

Of all the contending factions the Soviet government alone consistently and vigorously repressed every anti-Jewish manifestation in the territory under its control. Dr. Heifetz gives many instances of the humanity and discipline of the Red troops. Whenever the Soviet forces were compelled to retreat even the Jewish bourgeoisie fled with them for protection.

Dr. Heifetz's book brings out very forcibly a point that is sometimes overlooked by philosophic critics of Bolshevism. The alternative to the Soviet regime is not a perfect state, based upon the principles of political and industrial freedom. It is not even an advanced capitalistic democracy, such as exists in England, France and the United States. If the Bolshevik government were overthrown today it could only give way to black reaction or to bloody, anarchistic banditry. The account of the Ukrainian pogroms reinforces and confirms the conclusion of Mr. Brailsford and Mr. Wells that the Soviet government alone possesses both the power and the will to prevent Russia from relapsing into sheer barbarism.

W. H. C.

Selected Current Books

Growth of the Soil, by Knut Hamsun. Two volumes. Knopf.

One of the most famous novels by the recent winner of the Nobel award. Translated from the Norwegian by W. W. Worster.

Original Sinners, by H. W. Nevins. Huebsch.

Eight short stories by a man who has given to public affairs most of his brilliant gifts as an artist.

Essays, by A. J. Balfour. Doran.

Speculative and political essays written during the last twelve years. From Decadence to Zionism.

The History of Social Development, by F. Müller-Lyer. Knopf.

Sympathetically introduced by L. T. Hobhouse as an attempt at an inductive sociology which must be taken into account.

The Philosophy of Fine Art, by Hegel. Four volumes. Harcourt.

The first complete translation into English of the great German work. Done, with notes, by F. P. B. Osmaston.

How the Mind Cures, by G. F. Butler, M. D. Knopf.

"A consideration of the relationship between your outside and your inside individualities and the influence they exercise upon each other for your physical and mental welfare", by the director of the North Shore Health Resort, Winnetka, Illinois.

Agamemnon, by Aeschylus, translated by Locke Ellis. Harcourt.

A paper edition.

The Evolution of Revolution, by H. M. Hyndman. Boni.

A leading English Socialist surveys the growth of human society and sketches the economic influences. Reviews the Russian experiment from the Right.

War-Time Strikes and Their Adjustment, by A. M. Bing. Dutton.

The labor difficulties which occurred during the war and the machinery created to adjust them.

Must We Fight Japan, by Walter B. Pitkin. Century.

The Japanese "crisis" and how to deal with it.

A Correction

In our issue of February 23rd, page 371, in the article, Austria, Hungary and the Habsburgs, the invasion of the Hungarian plains by the Huns is incorrectly given as 896. The Huns came from Asia to the Hungarian plains about 375 and the main body of them went back to Asia in 455.

The Index for Volume XXV which was completed with our issue No. 325, has been printed separately. It will be mailed on request, post free, to any subscriber who will send his name and address on a post card directed to the New Republic, 421 West 21st Street, New York City.

Contributors

VISCOUNT HALDANE was formerly Lord High Chancellor of England and later Secretary of State for War. He is the author of Education and Empire and The Pathway to Reality.

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE is editor of the Emporia Gazette. He is the author of The Old Order Changeth, In the Heart of a Fool, and The Martial Adventures of Henry and Me. In 1917 he was sent to France as an observer by the American Red Cross.

SIDNEY HOWARD is a graduate of the University of California, where he was a student under Carleton H. Parker. He served with the American Ambulance in France and the Balkans a year before the United States entered the war. He afterwards held the rank of Captain in the U. S. Air Service, and was Flight Commander of the 20th Aero Squadron. He brought down three German planes and was decorated with the Croix de Guerre and the D. S. C.

C. R. JOHNSON is a pseudonym.