once dangerous and strange to one man alone must become habitual and common to a nation of men. What was once a passion in the mind must become a violence in the streets. What was once the unbearable excitement of an almost wordless discovery must become the staleness of a political cliché. Dead and sterile terms like "proletariat," "class consciousness," must take the place of the delicate and living symbols in which the revolutionary idea was first conceived. The whole vivid turmoil of vision must undergo the Lot's wife change into academic rock, into textbook bitterness, into literary fashion, into authoritarian death.

With this long and earnest and laborious gestation it is all too obvious that literature, that poetry, has nothing whatever to do. But with the seed force of this laborious process, with the revolution of the spirit from which, and from which alone, action can be born, it is equally obvious that poetry has everything to do. True poetry is always destructive and recreative. But it is destructive and recreative in the womb-not on the operating table. And its attack on the existing order

takes place not in the minds of a people but in the minds of a few men and not at the time of the bomb-throwings but generations before. By the time society has ripened the revolutionary inventions of one century, poetry is already inventing the revolutionary purposes of the next.

In the present world, for example, The Revolution rests upon a concept, in its essence poetic to the highest degree - the concept of mass destiny-of inevitable social overthrow-of the fatal preferment of an oppressed and exploited class. That concept has undergone its long period of worldly gestation: it now exists fully equipped with the intellectual and political paraphernalia

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Neither publishers nor critics

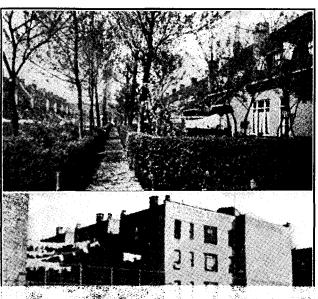
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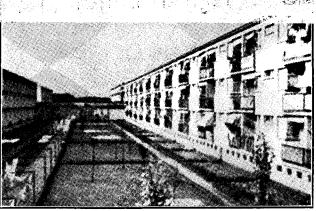
The Exploitation of Land and People

MODERN HOUSING. By Catherine Bauer. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1934. \$5.

Reviewed by Langdon W. Post

ISS BAUER'S book contains as complete an analysis of the trend of housing as has been written to my knowledge. It is particularly valuable in its historical background, which traces the growth of the city from the period when its occupants lived within high walls down to the present day when population spreads out without rhyme or reason. Miss Bauer has been able to show with a real clarity of thought and expression that planning for most cities in both Europe and America ceased after the inhabitants broke through the walled barriers and spread out into the surrounding country. She points out that only in the last few years has Europe again begun to plan its large municipalities. America has not even started to do so. We hardly need





REAR YARDS: A SIMPLE PLANNING TEST Top, Rotterdam; middle, the Bronx; bottom, Frankfurt. From "Modern Housing."

Miss Bauer's capable pen to tell us of the

unplanned and unsightly growth of our

American cities. No person who has seen

them from the railroad train, the automo-

bile, or the airplane can possibly deny

that it exists. Her explanation, however,

of how it has happened and why is both

interesting and accurate. She emphasizes

wished to. But publishers and critics can and do,-by beating drums, by puffing the contemporary fashion to a tent-top size,obscure, drown out, and cover up the actual, the living, work. I have no offer of a cure for that. No cure should be desired. Like all beginnings in this world, the new beginnings of the mind take place in darkness and obscurity. But this perhaps I may with diffidence remark: that nothing

comes to fashion till its newness has been traded in for novelty and its nature classified and fixed. I do not undertake to tell the publisher what his self-interest is. I do not know my own. But it occurs to me to wonder whether publishers might not perhaps discover better guides to their own interest in the obscure volume of some young and obscure poet than in all the catalogues and book reviews and competitors. I merely wonder.

Archibald MacLeish, contributing editor to Fortune magazine, is the author of "Conquistador," which won the Pulitzer Prize for Poetry in 1932.

In the hope of encouraging writers of promise and of helping them to secure the financial independence essential to their development, Houghton Mifflin Company are offering two Literary Fellowships for 1935. These Fellowships, which may be given for any type of literature, are intended for men and women of creative ability and of high intellectual and personal qualifications. Each Fellowship will carry an award of \$1,000, in addition to subsequent royalties. Application blanks with further particulars may be secured from the publishers.

with tragic truth the exploitation not only of the individuals who flocked to the cities during the period of the Industrial Revolution and since, but also of the land within those cities' limits. Most convincingly Miss Bauer argues that unless the problem arising from the results of this unscrupulous exploitation is attacked in a large, comprehensive, and imaginative manner it will never be solved. This, I think, is quite obvious. But she adds, and again with convincing ar-

gument, the solution will not be found unless the attitude of capital is changed or our actual political system entirely revamped.

It is obvious that to wait for the latter course would mean that our populations would have to stew in the juices of past exploitation for some years to come, and in spite of her hopes I think even Miss Bauer would admit this fact. That the problem can be attacked within our existing system she seems to have grave doubts. I feel that she is too pessimistic in her attitude. I do not believe that private capital will make it possible to solve

this problem as Miss Bauer would have it solved, but Government capital can and seems to be on the point of doing so, if the President's message to Congress is any

Miss Bauer in the beginning of her book condemns the general public for assuming that well-planned slum clearance and low-rental housing can never be attained because private capital will not permit it. However, she seems to fall somewhat into the same category herself when she assumes this same theory in the last chapter of her book. Slum clearance and lowrental housing can be attained under our present capitalistic system by the waiving of demands for high interest and shortterm debt retirement; by a systematic attack on fictitious land values over a period of time; by the acceptance of the theory that good housing is as important as education and recreational facilities; by a crystallized public opinion that would undoubtedly fit a program of well-planned housing into any of our cities over a period of years.

The importance of housing to the future of our cities, from the material, eco-

nomic, and social points of view has been excellently outlined by Miss Bauer. She has the ability to write about what would ordinarily be perhaps a rather dull economic and social subject in an interesting and exciting way. She has appended to her book some two hundred pictures, which dramatize what she has written more effectively than anything that I have seen published. Her "before and after" photographs, that is to say photographs of areas before rehabilitation and the same areas after rehabilitation, speak volumes in behalf of the greatest social need in our urban life to-

Although it is obvious that Miss Bauer is somewhat embittered

on the whole impartial analysis of the housing problem and how it is being attacked in this rather depressed world.

e for a commence of the lower field in The formation of the policy field for the

There is no need for my recommending this book to those who have a real interest in housing. They will already have read it and will immediately appreciate its value. I only wish that the layman would pick it up so that he might learn something about how the evils about which Jacob Riis wrote thirty-five years ago may be cured. He, perhaps more than anybody else, called the slums to the attention of our ruling classes.

characteristically have done little about the condition. Miss Bauer's contribution is a valuable part of the next act in this drama of the slums-their eradi-**36 36**

Langdon W. Post is New York City Tenement House Commissioner.

On the Eve of War

By Louis Untermeyer

AN, Do not despair; Y You can surpass, with but a little care, Nature's malevolent plan.

True.

The lion wreaks

His lust upon the lamb; talons and beaks Sharpen on doves. But you, Lord

Of earth and air,

Can flourish nonchalantly everywhere Bomb, bayonet, gas, and sword.

Only you can find A formula for killing your own kind With a fine phrase or two.

A great path abroad!

Strike down your brother for the love of God.

Prove you are master here.

Indicting the Corpse

AUTOPSY OF THE MONROE DOC-TRINE. By Gaston Nerval. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1934. \$3.50.

Reviewed by HIRAM BINGHAM

XCESSIVELY annoyed because of a public address made by President State, Raúl Diez de Medina, writing under the nom de plume of Gaston Nerval, has given us a vivid picture of our most famous foreign policy as it appears to many of our Southern neighbors. He calls his book an "Autopsy." Yet instead of analyzing the causes of the "death" of his bête noire, he has feverishly attempted to "indict" the corpse. It must be a pretty lively "corpse" because the indictment requires more than three hundred pages. True, Señor Diez keeps assuring us that the Monroe Doctrine is dead. "Of course it is dead," he says, "it has been dead for years." Unfortunately, however, Mr. William R. Castle, Jr., then Acting Secretary of State, Mr. Stimson being in London, "asserted" "that the Monroe Doctrine is the only explanation of the difference between independent Latin America and Colonial Africa." His failure to appreciate or at least to emphasize the difference between the "illiterate peoples of Africa" and the "degree of civilization" reached by South America "in the last century" infuriated supersensitive Latin Americans, particularly since he "spoke in the name of the Government of the United States." "Gaston Nerval" does not say so, but his scattered references to "near-sighted statesmen," "the ugly fate of Colonial Africa," and "African colonies so naively mentioned," lead one to suspect that the urge to produce the "Autopsy" came primarily from Mr. Hoover's lieutenant's unfortunate speech.

As might be expected from the title of the book if not from its sub-title, Señor Diez is not a historian, nor is his work a calm analysis. Actually it is a polemic, శంగు ఖామాల్లు గా దేశ్వర్ హీడ్స్ కో చేశా ఇద

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tect our citizens, and who wish to enjoy unrestrained the right and practice of revolution because "in Latin America, more than anywhere else, revolution is the only safeguard against permanent despotism . . . the only guarantee of freedom."

Were its tone more calm, its criticism more fair, its attitude more judicial, it would be more likely to promote those friendly feelings of "Bolivarian Pan-Americanism" so earnestly desired by the author. Unfortunately his resentment is too deep seated to permit of temperate utterance. "Pan-Americanism of today" is "feeble, ill reputed, and hypocritical." It consists of "after-dinner toasts and xylophone solos"! The United States is the "self-appointed interpreter of the Monroe Doctrine." We "take seriously" our "self-appointed privileges of ascendency and dictum in the Western Hemisphere."

The fact that the Treaty of Versailles, in the Covenant of the League of Nations, refers to the Monroe Doctrine as a "regional understanding" makes the author fairly froth at the mouth. "Latin American countries denounce this policy." "Governments and public opinion throughout Latin America unanimously object to the classification of the Doctrine as a regional understanding."

The author charges that "the original Monroe Doctrine was not intended for the benefit of the Latin American republics." Was it intended for their hurt? Surely it was a brave gesture for a weak little country to make, even if done largely for self-protection. However, it galls his pride to admit any "debt of gratitude," hence "its results and merits have been grossly exaggerated" even by South

"It is worn out and useless"; but if need arose, "the United States could not afford to remain indifferent." Even though we are repeatedly assured the Doctrine is "worn out" and "dead," the author with most amazing volte-face asserts calmly that "the United States would hasten today to the help of a neighboring Latin American nation whose autonomy were in real danger." In other words, as Mark Twain would say, the account of its death has been "greatly exaggerated."

It is "unilateral," "egoistic." Granted. But that does not prove it is dead—only annoying to others.

It "stood in the way" of the path of real Pan-Americanism. Only in so far as it was the synonym of our national foreign policy: "no entangling alliances." And no more so than did the indifference of Chile and Argentina who paid no attention to Bolivar's Congress of Panama. We are unduly blamed for the weakness and partial failure of Pan-Americanism although the author casually admits that "only when the governments of most of the Latin American nations have become more truly representative of their people will the unity of their political and economic interests have any quality of permanency and effectiveness." This shows a keen grasp of the actual situation.

Another charge in his indictment of the Monroe Doctrine is that it has been "violated and disregarded" by the United States. This is true, but it is only another way of saying it is not a covenant, not a compact, only a convenient name for what our government has deemed to be a wise or expedient policy.

Again "it has been distorted to serve as an instrument of our hegemony," and "abused to serve as a cloak" for our intervention in the affairs of our neighbors, and "misconstrued" to "serve as the tool" of our "imperialism in the Caribbean area." A third of the "Autopsy" is devoted to proving these charges. It is perhaps unfortunate that so many of the most serious and damaging statements are mere quotes from Scott Nearing, whose animus was well known. It is significant that the story of our relations with Santo Domingo is based on unfriendly sources and that Sumner Welles's scholarly work is not even mentioned in the Bibliography.

As regards the Monroe Doctrine, it has for years been a source of unnecessary annoyance to the larger republics of the Temperate Zone in South America. But as long as the Panama Canal is considered to be a vital part of our national defense system, we must have a constant interest in the status of the Caribbean countries. Our Caribbean policy will probably always be feared and hated by our neighbors.

While this book is probably too violently partisan and anti-American to please the general reader or to become a standard authority on inter-American relations, nevertheless it is a very valuable book and should be in every library. It will be of real practical value in school and college debates. It will open the eyes of self-satisfied Americans, if there are any left! It does help fulfil Burns's wish to "see oursel's as ithers see us."

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Hiram Bingham, ex-Senator from Connecticut, is the author of "The Monroe Doctrine—an Obsolete Shibboleth." He has conducted successful archeological and exploring expeditions in Peru and Venezuela.

The Origin of the Indians

THE CONQUEST OF THE MAYA. By J. Leslie Mitchell. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. 1935. \$3.75.

Reviewed by PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS

ECAUSE most of us are more worried about our immediate future than we are about the distant past only a microscopic portion of the reading public is aware that, for more than four hundred years, a terrific battle has been carried on between two schools of thought each of which has sought to explain the origin of the natives of this hemisphere. Briefly defined the two schools are: the Diffusionists, who maintain that man was created only once and that all his culture is to be traced back to one source wherever it may be found; and the Special Evolutionists (to use but one of many designations), who believe that human culture has had many commencements in many lands and that in each it has evolved from the given start to greater or less advancement according to the effect upon it of such factors as environment, raw materials, and opportunity.

Practically all American anthropologists and archeologico-historians of good standing are Special Evolutionists, and they interpret similarities between widely separated cultures in terms of formative factors such as those indicated. In Europe and England, on the other hand, more than half of our colleagues are Diffusionists, and, with varying degrees of violence, lucidity, and eloquence, they interpret similarities, no matter how remote from one another in space and in time, in terms of direct contact between the older and the newer cultures involved.

In the book under review Mr. Mitchell

is shooting on the Diffusionist side of the battle which has been going on ever since Columbus's curiosity got the better of his discretion in 1492. Most Americans, whether laymen or professional students. who take up this book will shy violently when they perceive that the Foreword is by G. Elliot Smith, one of the most entertainingly violent and absurdly erroneous of British Diffusionists; and they will feel a trifle sick when they notice how Mr. Mitchell's pages are measled o'er with that unspeakably barbaric word "Amerindian." Nevertheless, the book is thoroughly well worth reading with care. Taking it for what it is, namely, the latest and strongest plea for the Diffusionist interpretation of native American history, it is highly important. Nor does the fact that most American readers of Mr. Mitchell's pages will disagree with nearly every paragraph in the least lessen the value of the book as a statement of doctrine-or perhaps one should say, of dogma. That it will change any one's opinion on the controversial subjects of which it treats is highly improbable; that it will increase the already existing odium archeologicum-at least as virulent as the better known odium theologicum—is almost a certainty. This last is not due to any intemperance on Mr. Mitchell's part, for he writes as a scholar and a gentleman should even when querying his foes' ideas; rather, it is due to the fact that he revives many formerly moot points which most of us had long supposed to be defunct, and he makes them moot once more in a lively fashion.

So much space is devoted to the pre-Spanish history of the Maya and of their civilization, eight out of nine chapters, that very little space is left for the conquest of the Maya by the Spaniards. Judging from the title of the book this should have been the principal subject treated. As things stand, however, the intricate, heroic, and amazingly picturesque struggle between the might of Spain and the power of the Maya is skimped in most deplorable fashion. Beginning with the visit of F. Hernández de Córdoba to Yucatan in 1517 that struggle lasted until the conquest of the city of the Itzas on an island in Lake Peten in 1697, in which year Don Martín de Ursua y Arizmendi reduced the last representatives of the once imposing Maya civilization to obedience to the King of Castile. This long and absorbing story of a conflict which was in part military and political and in part spiritual is here poorly set forth in less than forty pages, much to the regret of this reviewer who had hoped that Mr. Mitchell would give it very different treatment.

Yet, in spite of the defects noted, the book has its very definite importance as an exponent of the all-civilizations-which-look-alike - are - directly - related school of history. It will make those who are already members of that school happy by giving them new interpretative phrases, and it will strengthen the rest of us in our belief that that school is self-deluded.

The Golden Age of Queen Victoria

(Continued from first page)

clothes that it is all but inconceivable that it could have accomplished anything worth while. He may be as grieved at the picture of the destruction of Nash's Regent Street colonnade in 1848 as a later generation has been grieved at the changes in that thoroughfare in the past decade.

Yet if he has the patience to read on and on, or even to select such parts as touch his interests, it is almost inconceivable that he will find it dull. On the contrary, somehow the spirit of the age gradually appears through accumulation of details, somehow, as they say now, it "gets across" to him. He may not be greatly concerned with the illuminating fact that during the Great Exhibition of 1851 its visitors consumed two million buns and more than a million bottles of mineral waters. He may not be thrilled by the peculiar circumstance that Mr. Childe of Kinlet Hall in Shropshire was the first who set the example of "hard riding" to



YOUNG GENTLEMEN, 1834 From "Early Victorian England."

hounds, or that Victorian bedrooms were furnished with "wash-hand-stands," foot baths, a "Sitz or hip bath" for the ladies, and a "flat saucer bath" for gentlemen, with other toilet facilities. He may, perhaps, be more interested in that Edward Lloyd who began to furnish the reading public with what it wanted—the People's Police Gazette, and novels like "Ada the Betrayed," and "Alice Horne, or the Revenge of the Blighted One"-and so kept abreast of the spread of education and made a fortune out of it. He may not care for the Keepsake, or the Forget-me-not which pleased our ancestresses. He may prefer

The broken ring—the cumbered fight Heenanus' sudden blinded flight—Sayerius pausing, as he might, Just when ten minutes used aright Had made the fight his own.

Yet whatever his interest, he is sure to find something of it here—unless it be the law, or literature, or science, or invention! If one may venture a suggestion, it is that such a survey as this, characteristic as it is of many such surveys of social history, looks at life, as it were, too much from the bottom, not enough from the It stresses too much "the necessary litnesses of necessary life," too little "eternities and immensities." That scie should have four brief references in a thousand pages, and philosophy not one, that Darwin is commemorated by the statements that "In Memoriam" was nine years older than the "Origin of Species," that the latter appeared in 1859, that its author reported favorably on the South Sea Islanders in 1835, that he made an "assault on the Victorian creed," and that his wife was Emma Wedgwood, seems somehow hardly adequate as a measure of a really great Victorian.

That is but one instance of a point of view which, as yet, vitiates so much "social" history. If one needs another in a different field, one may find it in William Morris, who is here immortalized by the statements that he gave up the church for art, that he financed the P. R. B., or Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, joint stock company, and that he was influenced by Ruskin. It would be easy, if unprofitable, to multiply instances. But surely a work like this, which professes to give us a widesweeping view of a great period, might have spared some of the space given to the descriptions of the working-class disabilities to explaining how and why the Victorian period was great by telling us something more of the great men who nade it great, and not so much of the little men who contributed, let us say, not so much to that greatness. It needs another volume on law, philosophy, religion, literature, science, and invention, even, if you like, commerce, to make us understand, in full and ample chapters, the Golden Age of Queen Victoria.

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Wilbur Cortez Abbott is professor of history at Harvard University.

According to the London Observer, a play by Eberhard Wolfgang Möller, "Rothschild Won at Waterloo," has been received with high praise by the critics, who see in Herr Möller, still a young dramatist, one of the white hopes of the German drama. He has had several plays produced during the past few years, two of them dealing with the subject of money-power.



THE HUB OF THE CITY, 1851. Reproduced in "Early Victorian England" from "The Face of London" by Harold P. Clunn.