

almost entirely upon fear of communism.

When that cardinal principle is understood, much of the maneuvering loses its mysterious aspect. The policy of the Vatican suffers not only from the need of a spiritual organization to be more brutal than the minor Machiavellians of the foreign offices, but it is also infused with the personal confusions of the Pope. As a consequence, the Vatican wobbles from one untenable position to another. Communism is the one enemy, and to fight communism alliances must be made with anybody who will bow and kiss the ring, no matter how viciously hypocritical the gesture may be. The Vatican will order its troops to fight side by side with its ancient enemies, the Moors; it will precipitate a holy war in Yugoslavia with the Greek Orthodox Church for the sake of making an alliance which will be even more needful in the greater blood-making to follow.

Nothing has more tragically revealed the effects of Vatican policy than a scene on the station platform at Geneva, Switzerland, as reported in the press during the first week of August. A train had arrived with a coach full of refugee children from the Basque country, the staunchest Catholic section of all Spain. On the platform to greet them were two Catholic priests. When the children saw them, they were thrown into terror. They

## General Franco Conducts a Mass

Ring bayonets against the bells,  
Round up the peasants for their prayers.  
Oh, fruitful are the fields of Spain—  
Sing *Gloria in Excelsis Deo!*

Bar the church doors until their souls  
Are purified of earthly greed.  
Oh, heavy are the golden coffers—  
Sing *Gloria in Excelsis Deo!*

Light the torches. Let every spire  
Pierce the heavens with holy light.  
Oh, jubilant the rise of voices—  
Sing *Gloria in Excelsis Deo!*

JANE WILSON.

★

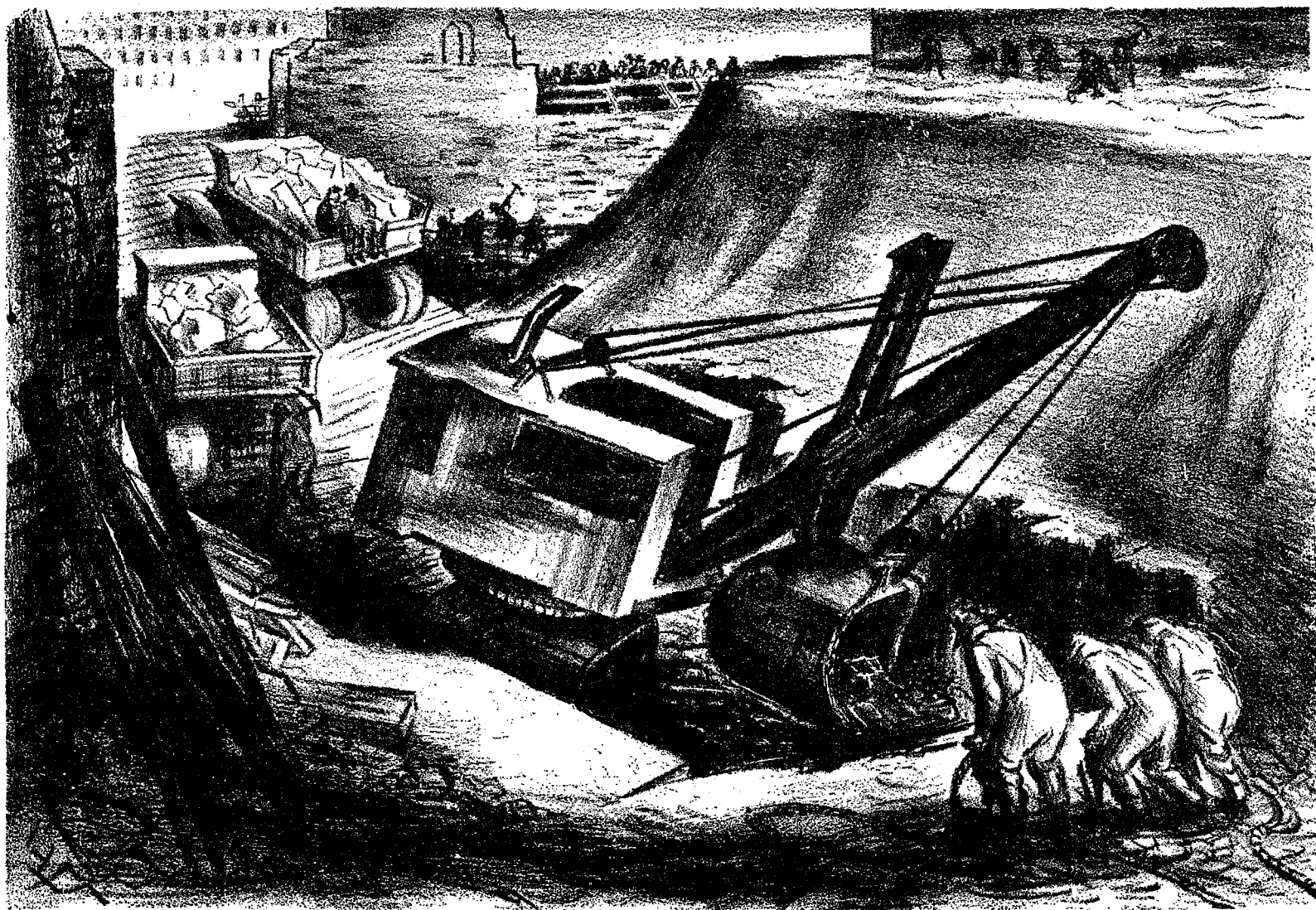
screamed and huddled together in the car and would not disembark. In another mood they held their fists high in the Red salute and cried: "Down with fascism! Down with Hitler! Down with Mussolini! Down with fascist Switzerland!"

What a pity, said the Geneva papers. Look what effect the dastardly Red propaganda has had upon these innocent children! But per-

haps the propaganda had come from the other side . . . from the heavens. Even from the kindly Catholic God himself. There had been a sound as of the rustling of thousands of angel wings, and then the message from God as transmitted through the Good Father in Rome and delivered by the swift carriers of Mussolini had begun to fall on Guernica and Bilbao.

I urge you in the name of Our Father in Heaven to return to the church which loves you so devotedly. I urge it in the name of this beautiful high explosive bomb made with such loving care by the Christians who, as God's representatives on earth, are receiving my blessing for doing this service for the great cause. We may have had slight differences, but I know you will be glad to come back to the church if I turn this machine gun on you and assure you of the affection which awaits you upon your return.

Thus speaks Pope Pius and is answered by the screams of little Basque children, turned frantic by horror at the sight of a priest's garb on the platform of the station in Geneva, Switzerland. Cardinal Pacelli, for his part, has no time for such manifestations of the spirit, being busily occupied in making another alliance which will protect the material interests of his great organization on this earth. He is confident that heaven will understand.



Lithograph by J. Markow (Courtesy W.P.A.)



# A Century of Writers' Progress

*Their organized struggles on the economic plane in America reaped victories in the past and are taking a new turn today*

By Bob Stuart

**A**N important tradition marks its centennial this year. One hundred years ago in February, when American writers organized their first action in defense of their economic interests, the economic struggles of writers centered on the winning of a basic protection for their literary labor: an international copyright. In this they were heartily assisted by the splendid international solidarity of the English writers. Later in the same year the first trade union of writers was organized in France. Leading and fighting valiantly in the very forefront of these battles, which went on for generations, were practically all of the great writers of the time, including, to name only a few: Washington Irving, Emerson, Cooper, Hawthorne, Melville, Lowell, Poe, Bryant, Mark Twain, Howells, and Bellamy in the United States; Dickens, Robert Southey, Carlyle, Bulwer-Lytton, Roget, Thomas Moore, Wilkie Collins, Darwin, and Huxley in Great Britain; and Balzac, Victor Hugo, Dumas, Beaumarchais, and George Sand in France.

Preceding the action of 1837 by English and American writers were years of chaos and rampant piracy in the American publishing industry. The usual procedure among American publishers was to have an agent rush a sure-fire best seller—a new novel by Scott or Dickens—hot off the London press to New York by the fast Liverpool clipper. On board ship, the booty was set up in type. Then the forms were sped through the printshop in New York, and an edition sometimes placed on sale here within a fortnight after publication in England. To protect their spoil from being hijacked, publishers here evolved the notorious "courtesy of trade" whereby a mere notice to all the other American publishers of intention to pirate a book was sufficient to leave the field clear. Of course, it mattered little to the compatriots of the wooden-nutmeg makers if a chapter here and there or entire sets of illustrations were omitted in the rush, or the volume otherwise garbled and mutilated almost beyond recognition. Indeed, publishers' hearts throbbed with true American efficiency as, later on, the pinnacle of organized piracy was reached when *Sarah Barnum*, by Marie Colombier, by some sleight-of-hand, was published here within twenty-four hours of its publication in Paris!

Definite license was given to these literary larcenies by the copyright act of 1790, written, no doubt, by the publishers themselves. It expressly stated that "Nothing herein shall be construed to prohibit the importation, sale, reprinting, or republishing within the United

States of any book printed or published abroad by any person not a citizen."

Thus legalized, piracy for decades strangled nascent American writers as ruthlessly as it robbed the English. After all, why should publishers trouble themselves to *buy* from native writers works of doubtful success, i.e., dubious profit, when they could pick and choose among the successful works of British authors for which they were not compelled to pay a single cent? Indeed, it is apparent that the cupidity of American publishers was a greater factor in retarding the flowering of an American literature than the usually alleged "pre-occupation with hewing a nation out of a wilderness."

Fighting stubbornly against these wanton practices and stifling laws were the literary men of America. Together, they sent a stream of memorials and petitions to Congress demanding the liquidation of oppressive piracy by the enactment of international copyright legislation. During February 1837 they sent three different petitions to the Senate, with the result that Henry Clay wrote and introduced the first bill incorporating this principle into four successive sessions of Congress. Memorials from a group of professors emphasized the demands made in the petition sent by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Samuel F. B. Morse, Robert Morris, and others that

such changes may be had in the present law of copyright, as while they insure to authors a safer interest in their property, to our own writers encouragement, and to foreign writers a reasonable protection, the public may be secured against a discouraging monopoly, the commonwealth of literature open to a fair and liberal competition, and the groundwork laid for a future international law of copyright between the Old World and the New.

The leading literary men of Great Britain stood side by side with their fellow-writers. Over fifty of them, including Poet Laureate Robert Southey, Thomas Carlyle, the two Disraelis, Henry Hallam, Harriet Martineau, P. M. Roget, Campbell, Lyell, Keightley, Thomas Moore, and Bulwer-Lytton sent a brilliant memorial to the Senate during the same month. The pirates had already hung one noted author, Sir Walter Scott, to a yardarm. His case was "proof of the evil complained of," his colleagues wrote. "Dear alike to your country and to ours . . . read from Maine to Georgia, from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, he received no remuneration from the American public for his labors." Throwing down the gauntlet, they declared that "An equitable remuneration might have saved his life, and would, at least, have re-

lieved its closing years from the burden of debts and destructive toils." They appealed to Congress to maintain a "strict regard for simple justice," to consider "the interests of science and literature, which ought to constitute a bond of union and friendship between the United States and Great Britain"; to realize "that the American authors are injured by the non-existence of the desired law . . . [having] no redress but in sending over their works to England to be published . . . an established practice with some, of whom their country has most reason to be proud"; in addition to recognizing the injuries in "reputation and property" to the English writer "from the want of a law by which the exclusive right to their respective writings may be secured to them in the United States of America."

But the publishers were not napping. Their opposing stream of memorials flooded Congress and succeeded in forestalling action for years although Clay, in reporting his bill out of the select committee he headed, had declared: "The evidences in favor of the measure of granting copyrights were so strong as not to leave a doubt on any mind of its favorable reception by the country." Typical of these publishers' missives was one sent by a law-book publishing firm which wept crocodile tears for the "moral light" of the nation. "All the riches of English literature are ours," it said. "English authorship comes free as the vital air, untaxed, unhindered, even by the necessity of translation, into our country. The question is, shall we tax it, and thus interpose a barrier to the circulation of intellectual and moral light? . . . Shall we refuse to gather the share of this harvest, which Providence, and our own position, makes our own?" At the time they were issuing a 104-volume law library which did not include a single work by a native author.

Soon perceiving that sporadic passing of petitions to one another was ineffective and fruitless, American writers realized they must band together to pursue their common aims systematically. Galvanized into definite action by the speeches of alien agitator Charles Dickens on his first American tour, they readily organized.

Dickens spoke out forcefully against the "monstrous injustice." He was viciously slandered as a mercenary scoundrel, and even asked not to refer to the subject in his speeches at dinners given to honor him. As an alien agitator, he was treated hardly less cavalierly than his countryman, John Strachey, during the latter's recent trip here. Undaunted, Dickens personally presented ninety-five years