

drafted the first constitution of New York State, they would have known of a closely analogous controversy that took place at that time.

On page 844 of the *Journal of the Provincial Convention*, is the account of the solemn proceedings of the afternoon of March 20, 1777. The proposed thirty-second paragraph was being read, which declared that the free toleration of religious profession and worship shall forever hereafter be allowed to all mankind. But at that point, Mr. John Jay, an eminent public figure, member of the Episcopal Church, and delegate from New York County, arose. He did not disapprove of the sentiment. Indeed, he himself was a descendant of the persecuted Huguenots. Yet he proposed, in language as noble as that of Senator Nunan's measure, the following proviso:

Provided, nevertheless, that nothing in this clause contained shall be construed to extend the toleration of any sect or denomination of Christians, or others, by whatever name distinguished, who inculcate and hold for true doctrines, principles inconsistent with the safety of civil society, of and concerning which the legislature of this state shall from time to time determine.

The *Journal* goes on to say that "many debates arose thereon. . . . After much time spent therein, Mr. Jay moved and had leave to withdraw the said amendment, and then moved for and was seconded to substitute the following addition to the thirty-second paragraph." The proposal read:

Religious freedom granted, "except the professors of the religion of the Church of Rome, who ought not to hold lands in, or be admitted to a participation of the civil rights enjoyed by the members of this state, until such time as the said professors shall appear in the Supreme Court of this state, and there most solemnly swear that they verily believe in their consciences, that no Pope, priest, or foreign authority on earth hath power to absolve the subjects of this state from their allegiance to the same. And further, that they renounce and believe to be false and wicked the dangerous and damnable doctrine that the Pope, or any other earthly authority, hath power to absolve men from their sins, described in and prohibited by the Holy Gospel of Jesus Christ; and particularly that no Pope, priest, or foreign authority on earth, hath power to absolve them from the obligation of this oath.

The motion was then put to a vote and was defeated.—ARTHUR COWLEY.

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## MONEY MINDED

**S**URPLUS (*sic*) said later the committee might ask for a \$50,000 appropriation. Richard J. Barry, counsel to the committee, issued a statement indicating that he planned to follow up the evidence presented before the McNaboe Legislative Committee that the Bankers (*sic*) Alliance dominated the city relief payments—NEW YORK *Daily News*, July 6, 1938, reporting on Councilman Abner Surplus' plans to investigate politics in New York City relief.

# TO MY READERS

## An Appeal for Collective Action Against Fascism

UPTON SINCLAIR

**E**VER since 1906, when *The Jungle* was published in seventeen languages, there have been millions of humble people who have counted me as a friend. Today, when there are over ten million copies of my books in existence in more than forty languages, I am making an effort to reach these many readers, in what I believe is a grave crisis. To that end I ask the help of radio stations, and of editors of publications of liberal and democratic tendency, regardless of party or faction.

Being at work upon a play dealing with the French Revolution, I have been reading the documents of that time, and in a thousand details am struck by resemblances with events now being reported. History is repeating itself, and mankind has not learned enough from the sufferings of a whole continent over a century and a half.

The people of France attempted in 1789 to break the chains of feudalism, and the monarchies of Europe went to war to put those chains back upon their wrists. The result was the ravaging of a continent by twenty-two years of mass slaughter; the so-called Holy Alliance was riveted upon Europe, and the people of France were forced to wage several wars, both foreign and civil, before they won their elementary political rights.

One continent was involved in that struggle; but today we see the same course of events upon three continents. The peoples of Abyssinia, Spain, and China are fighting heroically for the rights of self-government; four autocracies are banded together against them, several more are lending secret aid, and the whole world is involved in a campaign of official lying. Conditions today are in many ways more sinister and deadly than those which prevailed in revolutionary France. In those days there were few newspapers, and the war of ideas was carried on by leaflets and pamphlets which were easy to print; but today the giant press is in the hands of special privilege, and in the radio the ruling classes have made themselves a master weapon for controlling the mass-mind. In 1789 military weapons were crude; the people of Paris could forge themselves fifty thousand pikes in thirty-six hours, and with these overthrow a nine hundred year old despotism. But today a people cannot get free without rifles and machine-guns, and in the last few years it has been demonstrated to the world that they cannot stay free unless they can manage to persuade the masters of munition factories to make

them bombing and pursuit planes, giant cannon hauled by tractors—all the equipment of mechanized militarism, costing hundreds of millions of dollars.

The system of production for private profit, dying of the poisons engendered in its own body, is today dragging to its doom the civilization which it has helped to spread and develop. Five years ago I defined fascism as "capitalism plus murder." That was the truth then. Class privilege, terrified by the spread of revolt against mass suffering, created a new force for its defense. But now we see a further development; the new force turning out to be stronger and more deadly than its creator. Gangsterism has seized the world, and the capitalists, too, have a master.

At the outbreak of the World War Prussian militarism was called by this writer "the beast with the brains of an engineer." In the twenty-four years that have passed, that beast has been to school and perfected his technique. He no longer permits opposition, intellectual or moral; he wipes it out by methods which have not been known in Europe since the days of the Inquisition and the St. Bartholomew massacre. He burns books upon a scale forgotten since the destruction of the library of Alexandria deprived us of most of the intellectual treasures of ancient Greece and Rome. He is not content with making slaves of the workers; he takes their children and twists their minds, turning them into little demons strutting with toy guns. He has made antimoralism and anti-humanism into a religion, and conducts on its behalf a crusade upon the five continents of the earth.

How can such things happen? How can this evil thing go on from triumph to triumph? The answer is that privileged classes would rather see civilization perish than sacrifice their own power to exploit. In every nation where the profit system prevails, the masters of munitions, of steel and oil and money, speculators in the means of human life, gamblers in misery, death, and destruction, are openly or secretly the friends of fascism-Nazism; still clinging to the hope that they can master it or buy it, and use it for the holding down of the workers, the preventing of a new birth of democracy in the world, this time in industry as well as in government.

The result is that patriotism today is a deception in our society; class has become more than country, and in every government the rulers are intriguing with other governments

to keep the people down, betraying them, betraying civilization itself. That is why in France the money-lords are willing to see Germany fortifying the Pyrenees, and Italy plotting to cut them from Africa, and counter-revolution preparing to destroy the democracy of France. That is why the British Tories have been willing to risk the cutting of the life-line of their empire, and to see Germany win the World War twenty years after—rather than take the risk of that Socialism which must surely follow a Hitler or a Mussolini defeated in war.

Events are moving so fast that what is written today may be out of date tomorrow. One can only guess at the future; but on June 1, 1938, we see the brave and truly democratic people of Czechoslovakia about to be thrown to the wolves, to keep the pack sated a few weeks longer; the people of Hungary, Roumania, and the Balkan states, of Denmark, Holland, and the Baltic states, all trembling

beneath a rumbling avalanche. Throughout far-off Asia the poison is being spread; there is not a country in South America free from it; and even in my own "sweet land of liberty" we have in our State Department men who are open sympathizers with reaction, and who, with the consent of our President, are using a hypocritical "Neutrality Act" as a means of strangling the democratically chosen people's government of Spain, and denying it the right to purchase arms for its own defense. This action is putting an iron band of fascism about Spain; it is subjecting France to British Tory intrigue, and in the end it may break democracy in Europe.

Against such array of military and money power there is no defense save in the awakening people. To all workers and producers, whether of hand or brain, wherever these words of mine may be able to penetrate, I plead: Do not permit this conspiracy against justice and human right to take another step

toward triumph. People of France, do not permit the Spanish border to be sealed. People of Britain, stop the deal with Hitler which will permit the sacrifice of the little peoples of Central Europe. People of Soviet Russia, help the world to understand more clearly the difference between producers and exploiters, and why all the hopes of the future lie in the producers. People of Asia, lift your voices against the military lords of Japan. People of South America, cherish your revolutionary traditions, and do not permit money to become more than liberty and truth.

To the people of my own country, sons and daughters of the American Revolution, I plead that they will prepare for that new birth of freedom which our great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, promised us, and see to it that government of the people, by the people and for the people does not perish from the earth. To enlightened and truth-loving people of the whole earth I plead that they will make their voices heard in this crisis, and let it be known that moral values still count for something in the affairs of men; that government by gangsters is not and shall not be the final destiny of our civilization.

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## IN DUE TIME

THE following self-explanatory form letter was recently received by Modern Age Books from Mitsukoshi Limited, of Tokyo, which describes itself as "The leading department store in the Orient."

### RE ACCOUNT SETTLEMENT

Dear Sirs:

Referring to our outstanding account due to you, we have to inform you that our payment for same has regretfully not yet been released by our Ministry of Finance notwithstanding we have done our best to gain permission and also while the manner of the ministry has very often shown us gestures as if they should grant us it without undue delay.

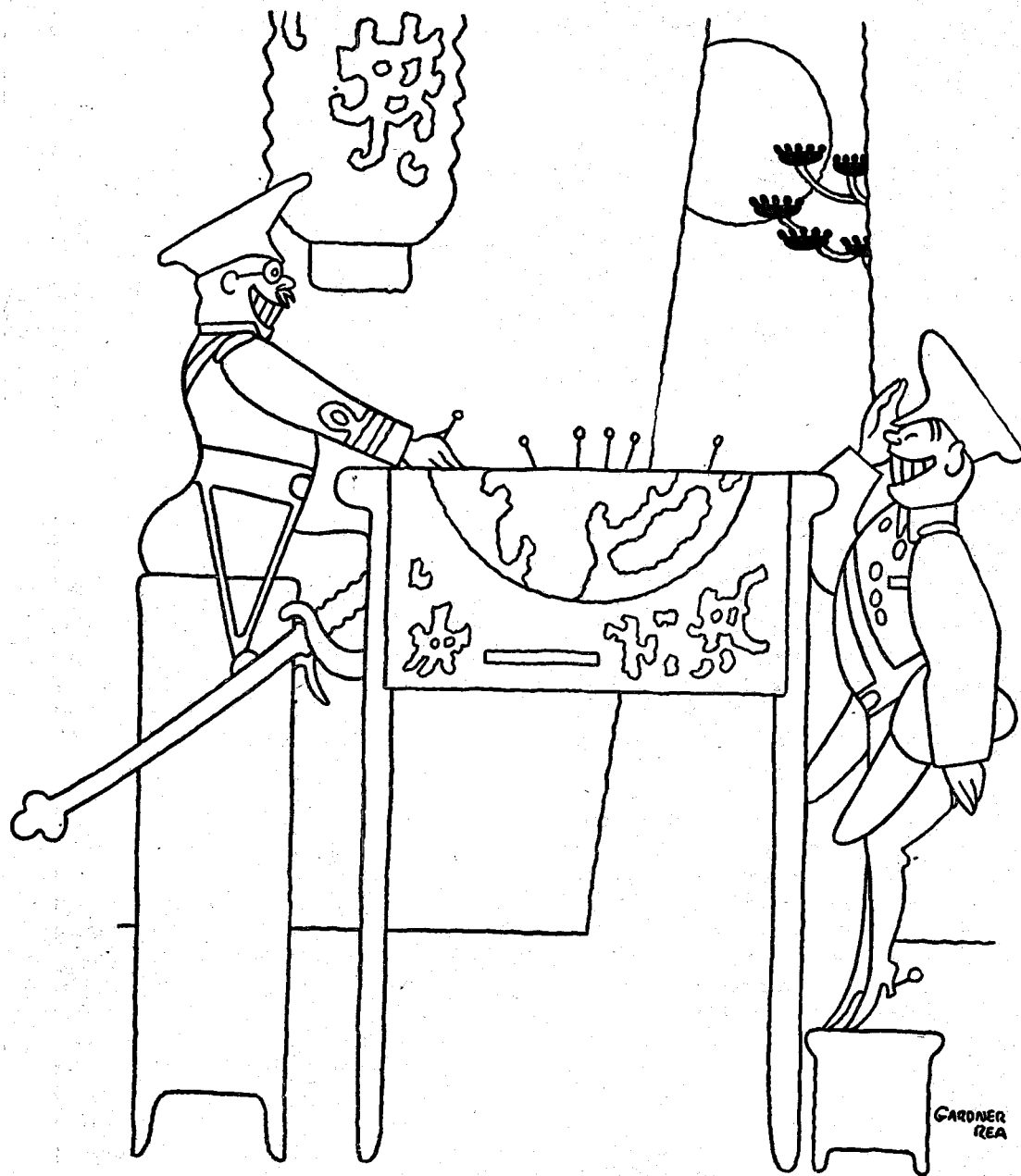
We, of course, are having every painstaking endeavor and continuing our possible effort to secure permission for payments on abroad as soon as possible. And we would like to repeat that our government neither until now restricted nor prohibited imports of books, which imports, according to the government's information, will not be ceased unless otherwise contained non-useful books, so that our payments can not have been suspended by the government, yet our payments shall be released in due time.

From the above view, please, in better understanding of our present position, accept our adjournment for settlement of the account, although it might be quite painful experience for you, for we are giving our utmost effort to aim at sooner success on payments. Our own financial condition is excellent and always ready to make payment for you, so kindly await a little while in believing our power for squaring up the account somewhat long due against our will.

Thanking you in advance for your kind attention to the matter and assuring you of our constant effort, we are,

Yours faithfully,

Mitsukoshi Limited  
Book Department



Gardner Rea

"Marvelous news, my General. Private Fuui has personally surrounded a million of the enemy."