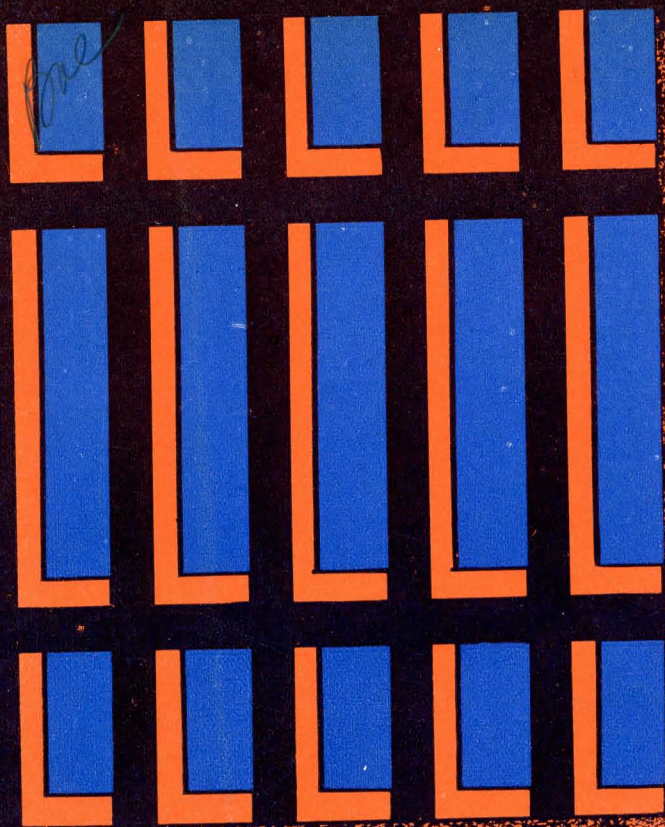


LABOR DEFENDER



1937

HAYMARKET

50th Anniversary

SACCO-VANZETTI

10th Anniversary



IN HONOR OF LABOR'S MARTYRS

The following will have laurel wreaths in the name of their organization at the foot of the Haymarket Monument in Chicago on November 14, 1937. More names appear on page 18.

**AMALGAMATED ASSOCIATION
OF IRON, STEEL, AND
TIN WORKERS
OF NORTH AMERICA**
Lodge No. 1440
C. I. O.

Pittsburg California

**AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF TEACHERS**
Local No. 5

New York New York

**AMERICAN RADIO
TELEGRAPHERS' ASSOCIATION**
New York Local No. 2
10 Bridge Street New York City

**ALASKA CANNERY WORKERS.
LOCAL 20195**

San Francisco, California
Antonio Gonzales - Gabriel Murciano - Frank Fraticelli - Antonio Pomares - Clemete Gaol - Felix Moran - Antonio Cedeno - Jesus Mendoza - Joseph Viorato - Raymond Aguirre - Modesto Fernandez - Arcadio R. Crillo - Joe Hernandez - Samuel Lopez - Frank Segovia - Manuel Santos - German Hernandez - Milton Torrez.

**ALASKA CANNERY WORKERS
Ladies Auxilliary**

San Francisco California

**UNITED AUTOMOBILE
WORKERS OF AMERICA**

Local No. 157, International Union
51 Sproat Street Detroit, Michigan

International Union
**UNITED AUTOMOBILE
WORKERS OF AMERICA**
Local No. 208

1343 East Ferry Detroit, Michigan

**UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORK-
ERS OF AMERICA**

Local No. 258
1420 North Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.

**UNITED BROTHERHOOD
CARPENTERS AND JOINERS
OF AMERICA**

Local Union No. 1050
1532 McKean Street Philadelphia, Pa.

**UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF
CARPENTERS AND JOINERS
OF AMERICA LOCAL 2090**

247 East 84th Street New York City

**UNITED BROTHERHOOD
CARPENTERS AND JOINERS
OF AMERICA**

Local No. 36
A. F. of L.
Oakland California

CHEMICAL WORKERS UNION

No. 20529
C. I. O.
Port Chicago California

CLEANERS AND DYERS UNION

1048 Venice Blvd Los Angeles, Calif.

COMMUNIST PARTY
of the United States
Wm. Z. Foster, *Chairman*
Earl Browder, *General Secretary*

Branch No. 1 of the Dyers' Federation

DYER'S LOCAL 1733, INC.

Member of the T. W. O. C.

of the C. I. O.

Charles Vigorito, *Pres.*

Marianna Fidone, *Sec'y & Treas.*

46 Ellison Street Paterson, N. J.

The International Fur Workers Union
of U. S. and Canada

**FURRIERS' JOINT COUNCIL OF
NEW YORK**

Locals 101, 105, 110 and 115

250 West 26th Street New York, N. Y.

**CHICAGO FUR WORKERS
UNION - LOCAL 45**

419 S. Deaborn St. Chicago, Ill.

**INTERNATIONAL FUR
WORKERS UNION**

Local No. 53

51 N. Ninth Street, Philadelphia, Pa.

FEDERAL LABOR UNION

No. 18524

257 Fifth Street Richmond, Cal.

**TOM MOONEY
No. 31921**

California State Prison
San Quentin, Cal.

also

**WARREN K. BILLINGS
J. B. McNAMARA**

The **SCOTTSBORO BOYS**
and all Labor Prisoners

**INTERNATIONAL HOD CAR-
RIERS' BUILDING AND COM-
MON LABORERS' UNION
OF AMERICA**

Local No. 73

1515 South Hunter St., Stockton, California

**INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION
OF MACHINISTS**

Lodge No. 68

A. F. of L.

San Francisco California

**INTERNATIONAL LONGSHORE-
MEN'S ASSOCIATION**

Auxiliary No. 3

44 Page Street San Francisco, Calif.

**INTERNATIONAL LONGSHORE-
MEN'S AND WAREHOUSEMEN'S
UNION**

District No. 1—Local No. 32

Everett Washington

WAREHOUSEMEN'S UNION

Local No. 1-6

I. L. and W. U.

C. I. O.

San Francisco California

**MARITIME FEDERATION OF
THE PACIFIC**

San Francisco Bay Area

District Council No. 2

10 Embarcadero, Room 17, San Francisco, Cal.

**UNITED MINE WORKERS OF
AMERICA**

Local 4426

Harmarville Pennsylvania

I. U. of M. M. and S. W.

BUTTE MINERS' UNION No. 1

Butte, Montana

James Leary, *Pres.*, Walter R. Smith, *Fin. Sec.*

**PROGRESSIVE MINERS
OF AMERICA**

Local Union No. 1

Gillespie Illinois

**MISCELLANEOUS EMPLOYEES'
UNION**

Local No. 110

491 Jessie Street San Francisco, Cal.

**NATIONAL LEATHER
WORKERS ASSOCIATION**

Local No. 21

Kenneth McKinnon, *Pres.*

Raymond Finnegan, *Sec.-Treas.*

7 Central Street, Peabody, Massachusetts

**OIL WORKERS
INTERNATIONAL UNION**

Coalinga - Avenal Local No. 2

Box 71 Coalinga, California

PAINTERS LOCAL UNION
No. 637

3257 Sheffield Chicago, Illinois

POST OFFICE EMPLOYEES

Chicago Illinois

International Brotherhood
**PULP, SULPHITE and PAPER
MILL WORKERS**

Local No. 183

Everett Washington

SAUSAGE MAKERS' UNION
Local No. 203

Of the A. M. C. B. W. of N. A.

Redmen's Hall, 3053—16th St.

San Francisco California

**SAWMILL AND TIMBER
WORKERS I. W. A.**

Local No. 2

P. O. Box 1040 Aberdeen, Washington

SHINGLE WEAVERS UNION

Labor Temple Everett, Washington

**SUIT CASE, BAG & PORTOFOLIO
MAKERS UNION**

303 Fourth Avenue New York City

**UNITED SHOE WORKERS
OF AMERICA**

Philadelphia District

Broadwood Hotel Philadelphia, Pa.

ILLINOIS WORKERS ALLIANCE

No. 31

777 W. Adams Street Chicago, Illinois

LLLLL
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LABOR DEFENDER

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Editor: SASHA SMALL
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TWO of the most vital anniversaries in the history of the American labor movement fall in the year 1937. Both are anniversaries of tragedies—but of tragedies which register the strength of the labor movement. For though both were staggering blows to the cause of justice and democracy, neither retarded the triumphant march forward of American labor, as is so ably pointed out in Governor Benson's article on page 10 of this issue.

1937 marks the 50th anniversary of the execution of the Haymarket martyrs—Albert Parsons, August Spies, Adolf Fischer, George Engel and Louis Lingg. They were hanged on November 11, 1887—almost a year and a half after they were tried by what they themselves characterized as a "vigilance committee" spurred on to do murder by a howling mob. The charges against them, were conspiracy to commit murder by throwing a bomb at the Chicago police who came to break up the Haymarket protest meeting held on May 4, 1886. These five victims were chosen for the slaughter from among scores of militant unionists, radicals and revolutionists, because they were the driving force behind the movement for the eight hour day, for the successful general strike on May 1, 1886, for the defense of the rights and liberties of the people. The pages of this issue tell the story of their frame-up, of the battle for their lives and freedom. Their own speeches, made when they were sentenced to death, give the most complete picture of the greatness of these men.

But they did not die in vain. American labor continued the fight in which they lost their lives. The shorter working day is a reality in many industries. The trade union movement has become one of the most important factors on the American scene. It is marching forward to unity, to greater power, to industrial democracy, to independent political action. It is fighting to put into life all the things that were still ideals and dreams to the Haymarket martyrs. That is why the observance of the 50th anniversary of their death is so significant today. That is why the mass tribute to their memory, organized by the I.L.D., has received the response of the trade union movement.

1937 also marks the tenth anniversary of the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti, executed August 22, 1927. The "good shoemaker and the poor fish peddler" were martyrs to the cause of freedom of political thought, tolerance, justice and democracy for all. Their lives were the lives of good, honest, selfless workers of whom there are millions in America. Their deaths, the heroic death of martyrs to a chosen cause. They were accused of committing murder and robbery! They were no more guilty of those crimes than you who read this page. All the evidence produced at the trials which lasted seven years proved

that. Evidence unearthed after their murder, definitely proved the guilt of a gang of bandits whose names, activities, identities were clearly exposed. Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested on May 5, 1920, brought to trial in the end of May 1921, and convicted on the testimony of people who "saw" through brick walls, around corners and "positively identified" Vanzetti because he ran "like a foreigner!" They were convicted by a jury which was stormed by all the propaganda of hatred and bigotry that the prosecution and the judge could muster. They were sentenced by a judge who boasted "Did you see what I did to those anarchistic bastards" and who repeatedly denied them new trials despite new evidence presented of their innocence.

The storm of protest raised in their behalf encircled the globe. The greatest minds of Europe and America appealed in their behalf—at the very end, when it was too late. But the defense was not one powerful united defense movement. It was a great mass of protest and indignation never crystallized into one solid front of action and it did not have the "million workers" Vanzetti called for, mobilized to act as a powerful unit.

The defense was also faced by the ugly arrogance of a reactionary government riding high on the wave of pre-1929 prosperity, determined to ride rough shod over the rights and liberties and desires of the people—an officialdom which refused to read the handwriting of the wall.

The International Labor Defense organized this memorial which will include memorial exercises at the Haymarket Monument in the Waldheim cemetery in Chicago, this special memorial issue of the Labor Defender and the widest possible observance of the date, November 11, 1937, all over the country. We undertook this responsibility because we feel that we, the organization which exists to mobilize solidarity for the living victims of the same terror and reaction which took the lives of the seven heroes of labor, are the logical initiator of a mass tribute to the martyred dead.

Long live their glorious memory—and may it serve to strengthen the bonds of unity in the American labor movement, the growing movement for an anti-fascist People's Front in this country, the further strengthening of the International Labor Defense and a broad defense and solidarity movement in the United States, the greatest bulwark against such atrocities in the future.

TO our Illinois State Committee of the I.L.D., falls the honor of carrying through the Haymarket-Sacco-Vanzetti memorial exercises on November 14, 1937.

Not only by virtue of its geographical location at the scene of the Haymarket frame-

up, nor because the martyrs lie buried in Waldheim Cemetery in Chicago, but also because of the militant traditions established by the labor movement of that city, is our Chicago I.L.D. the logical center for this mass tribute to labor's heroes.

Moreover, the Chicago police, too, have continued an unbroken tradition of terror against labor since 1886, culminating in the cold-blooded murder of steel strikers during the Memorial Day Massacre at the Republic Steel plant last spring. It is well that this city will be the scene of the central observance of this historic anniversary—the leader for the rest of the country.

HAYWOOD Patterson has been denied the right to appeal against the savage sentence of 75 years imprisonment, by the reactionary old men of the United States Supreme Court. Despite the callous brutality with which they brushed aside one of the last legal recourses left to this innocent boy, the fight for his freedom will continue with redoubled energy. If a last argument was needed to prove the vital necessity for complete reform of that stronghold of reaction, this is it.

THE officers, national committee, and all the members and affiliates of the I.L.D. bow their heads in tribute to the memory of Milton Herndon, brother of Angelo Herndon, who lost his life in defense of democracy in Spain last month.

OUR New York State Committee invites all New York readers of the LABOR DEFENDER to attend its State Conference, November 20 and 21, at Hotel Capitol, 51st St., N. Y. C. Among the prominent leaders who will address the conference are Paul Kern, Municipal Civil Service Commissioner, Vito Marcantonio, president of the I.L.D., Joseph Curran, fighting head of the National Maritime Union.

FIRST on the order of business for the special session of Congress which President Roosevelt has called for November 15, in the Anti-Lynch Bill. Passed by the House, the bill is facing organized attack from the Bourbon senators of the South and their Northern supporters.

Now is the time, while your Senators are preparing to go to Washington, to let them know what you, their constituents, expect them to do in regard to this bill: vote for it and fight for it on the floor of the Senate; leave no stone unturned in public and in private, to see that it is passed.

Cover design by NED HILTON

THEY WILL NEVER DIE

A summary of the facts in the Haymarket case as written 25 years ago for November 11, 1912.

By LUCY PARSONS

The Eleventh of November has become a day of international importance, cherished in the hearts of all true lovers of liberty as a day of martyrdom. On this day were offered upon the cruel gallows tree, martyrs as true to their high ideals as were ever sacrificed in any age.

The writer will assume that the present generation is but superficially informed regarding the details that led up to the Eleventh of November, for in this busy age, twenty-five year are a long time to remember the details of any event, however important. . . .

In 1886 the working class of America, for the first time, struck for the reduction of the hours of daily toil to eight per day. It was a great strike. Chicago was the storm center of that strike, because of the activities of the martyrs of the Eleventh of November.

The working class practically tied up the city of Chicago, Illinois, for three days. On the afternoon of May 3rd of that year, the police shot several strikers and clubbed many more brutally. The next evening, May 4, the now historic Haymarket meeting was held. The Haymarket meeting is referred to historically as the "Haymarket Riot." This Haymarket meeting was absolutely peaceable and quiet. The mayor of Chicago attended the meeting and subsequently, took the stand as the first witness for the defense at the Anarchist trial so-called.

Had the inspector of police Bonfield obeyed the mayor's orders and not rushed a company of police on the meeting there would have been no trouble. Instead, as soon as the mayor left, the inspector rushed a company of blue coats on the meeting; they began clubbing the men and women and scattered them in every direction. Upon this unrush of the police, some one threw a bomb. Who threw that bomb, no one to this day knows, except he who threw it.

Our comrades were not murdered by the state because they had any connection with the bomb throwing, but because they had been active in organizing the wage-slave of America thirty years ago. . . .

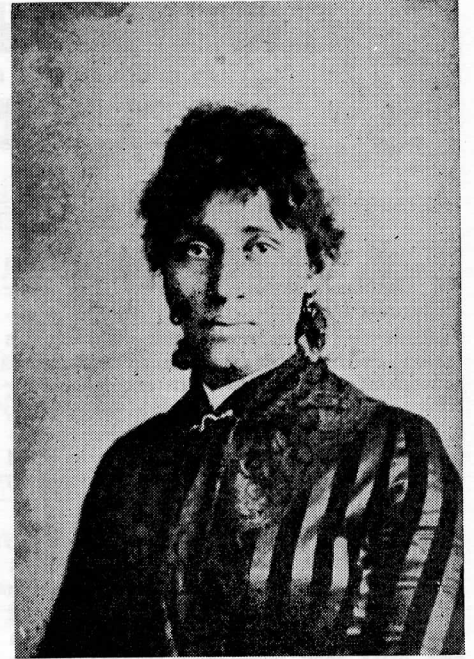
Albert Parsons, my husband, never was arrested. On May 5, the day after the Haymarket meeting, when he saw the men with whom he had been organizing labor for the last ten years of his life, being arrested and thrown into prison and treated generally as criminals, he left Chicago. On June 21, the day the trial began, he walked into the courtroom, unrecognized by the police and detectives and surrendered himself, he having been indicted during his absence and a reward of \$5,000 having been offered for his arrest. He asked the court to grant him a fair trial that he might prove his complete innocence. He was never granted the shadow of a fair and impartial trial. They were instead, railroaded to the gallows at the command of the money power.

The jury that tried the case, was out less than three hours. They left the court room after four o'clock on August 23 and before seven o'clock the self-same afternoon had

reached the astounding verdict, sending seven men to the gallows and the eighth man to the penitentiary for the term of fifteen years.

In the Illinois State Supreme Court on March 18, 1887 after a hypocritical examination, the honorable judges decided that no errors had been made of any gravity—when as a matter of fact they were there thick—and the decision of the lower court was sustained, the day of execution being set for November 11, 1887. . . .

So month after month dragged along for our comrades. The time wore away through the hot summer to autumn, when the attorneys for the defense took the case to the U. S. Supreme Court. These scoundrelly big-wigs in solemn conclave decided that no constitutional right had been violated, although two main points of the constitution had been grossly trodden under foot, namely the right



Lucy Parsons, the widow of Albert Parsons, Haymarket martyr, as she looked in 1887.

Chicago Public Warned!

There are two dangerous ruffians at large in this city; two sneaking cowards who are trying to create trouble. One of them is named Parsons the other is named Spies. Should trouble come they would be the first to skulk away from the scene of danger . . . the first the shirk responsibility.

These two fellows have been at work fomenting disorder for the past ten years. They should have been driven out of the city long ago. They should not have been tolerated in any other community on earth. Parsons and Spies have been engaged for the past six years for the precipitation of today. They have taken advantage of the excitement to bring about a series of strikes and to work injury to capital and honest labor in every possible way. They have no love for the eight hour movement, and are doing all they can to hamper it and prevent its success. These fellows do not want any reasonable concession. They are looking for riot and plunder. They haven't got one honest aim nor one honorable end in view.

Mark them for today. Keep them in view. Hold them personally responsible for any trouble that occurs. Make an example of them if trouble does occur.

Chicago Mail, May 1, 1886

of free speech and free assembly at the Haymarket meeting and the right to free and impartial trial at the hands of the law. . . .

The morning of the eleventh found our dear comrades composed, smiling, firm without bravado. I, who had been denied admission on the previous evening to say goodbye, went again in the morning accompanied by a woman friend and comrade and our two children to say a last farewell to my beloved husband and that the children might have their father's blessing and last remembrance. A cordon of police with Winchester rifles surrounded the jail. Pressing against this was a crowd of thousands of persons. To one policeman after another I appealed without effect, until some one told us to come around the corner and he would "let us in" which he proceeded to do by hustling us into a patrol wagon and taking us to the station house where we were stripped naked, searched and locked up all day. . . .

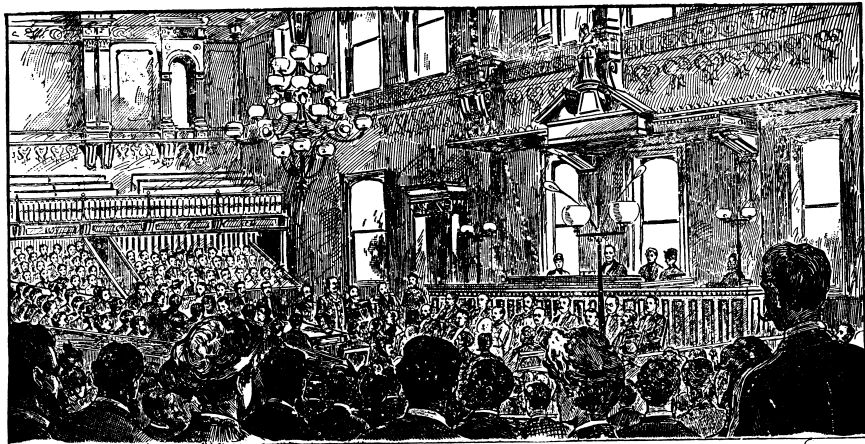
Their noble, true souls, animated by an undying faith in and love of humanity will never die and their last words will continue to echo in the hearts of people, down through the ages of men, who still believe in right and the brotherhood of man.



From Harper's Weekly, May 1886. A typical anti-labor cartoon.



From Harper's Weekly, May 1886. A typical anti-labor cartoon.



THE TRIAL

Excerpts from the trial records showing how the jury was chosen, how the judge helped assure the framed-up conviction, what the chief witness for the defense, Mayor Carter Harrison of Chicago testified.

NOBLE+ORDER*

KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS THE CONCERN OF ALL."

SANCTUARY SONS OF LIBERTY ASSEMBLY, No. 1307.

S. O. M. A.

Chicago, Ill., October 8th, 1887.

To All Lovers of Right and Justice:

GREETING—The following resolutions explain themselves. We ask you to pass resolutions of a similar tenor in the organizations to which you may belong, that our state and country may be saved from the shame and disgrace of such an inhuman and barbarous execution:

WHEREAS, The Supreme Court of this state has affirmed the verdict of the Lower Court in the Anarchists' case; and,

—WHEREAS, A. R. Parsons is a worthy member of this Assembly, and has been pledged our sympathy and moral support; and,

—WHEREAS, We believe the verdict is unjust, not sustained by the evidence, and therefore a dangerous precedent in the history of our judiciary; therefore,

RESOLVED, That Sons of Liberty Assembly, 1307, Knights of Labor, unanimously petition for justice for all the condemned men; and,

RESOLVED, To this end we ask the Governor to exercise clemency, assured that future generations will approve the wisdom of his act.

Please acquaint us with whatever action you may take, and see to it that the Governor of this state, Richard J. Oglesby, Springfield, Ill., is also communicated with regarding such action.

For Truth and Right, and the Pledge of Knighthood,

FRED. W. LONG, Master Workman.
217 West Adams Street.

Mrs. MARTHA A. FREEMAN, Recording Secretary.
177 South Halsted Street.

Resolution passed by the Sons of Liberty Assembly of the Knights of Labor, demanding justice and freedom for the men—part of the nation wide defense movement in their behalf in 1887.

NOBLE ORDER

KNIGHTS OF LABOR,

S. O. M. A.

"An Injury to One Is the Concern of All."

Sanctuary, WOMEN'S ASSEMBLY, No. 1789.

Chicago, Oct. 8th, 1887.

To All True Knights and Lovers of Liberty, Greeting:

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted at the last regular meeting of our Assembly:

WHEREAS, The verdict against the seven so-called "Anarchists" has been affirmed by the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois; and

WHEREAS, The members of Women's Assembly, No. 1789, are acquainted with the facts relative to the trial and conviction of the condemned, and acquainted also with the thoroughly unscrupulous and unchristian means employed to secure that verdict, its affirmation by the Supreme Court, and to keep a knowledge of the honest truth from the fair-minded American people; and

WHEREAS, We are thorough believers in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice over tyranny and injustice, and have an abiding faith in the righteous judgment of the people when they are in possession of the whole truth; and

WHEREAS, The facts in this lamentable affair have been either perverted, exaggerated or hidden, the truth outraged, and every means by which the people could have formed a righteous, intelligent judgment destroyed; and

WHEREAS, We recognize that this case involves the very foundation principles on which our republic rests, and a consideration of the natural rights of man and the constitutional rights of the American citizen; therefore,

Resolved, That we earnestly entreat every liberty-loving man and woman to use their influence to the end that the execution of this awful verdict may be stayed, and the facts placed in their proper light before the people.

Resolved, That we implore the Governor of this State, in the name of Liberty, Justice and Humanity, to spare these men's lives.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be given to the city press, the *Journal of United Labor*, and labor papers throughout the country.

Will you aid us in the spirit indicated in the above resolutions? If so, take such action as in your judgment will best conduce to the desired end, and please report to us.

Fraternally yours,

MRS. SARAH E. AMES, M. W.
No. 14 South Morgan St., Chicago.

MISS HELEN BISHOP, R. S.

P. S. As a slight indication of the influence that have been and are at work in the direction indicated in the above resolutions, the daily press of Chicago, with one exception, refused to publish this document even in a matter of news.

Resolution passed by Women's Assembly No. 1789, "believers in the ultimate triumph of truth and justice over tyranny," calling upon "every liberty loving man and woman to use their influence to the end that the execution of this awful verdict may be stayed."

The Accused Accuse

From the speeches of the Haymarket martyrs made just before they were sentenced to death on October 9, 1886.

August Spies

In addressing this court, I speak as the presentative of one class to the representative of another. I will begin with the words uttered five hundred years ago on a similar occasion, by the Venetian Doge Faheri, who addressing the court said: "*My defense is your accusation; the causes of my alleged crime, your history.*" I have been indicted on a charge of murder, as an accomplice or accessory. Upon this indictment I have been convicted. . . . There have been many judicial murders committed where the representatives of the state were acting in good faith, believing their victims guilty of the charge accused of. In this case the representatives of the State cannot shield themselves with a similar excuse. For they themselves have fabricated most of the testimony which was used as a pretense to convict us; to convict us by a jury picked out to convict before this court, and before the public, which is supposed to be the state, I charge the State's attorney and Bonfield (police captain—ed.) with the heinous conspiracy to commit murder.

My efforts in behalf of the disinherited and disenfranchised millions, my agitation in this direction, the popularization of economic teachings—in short, the education of the wage workers is declared a "*conspiracy against society.*" The word "*society*" is here wisely substituted for "*the State*" as represented by the Patricians of today. It has always been the opinion of the ruling classes that the people must be kept in ignorance, for they lose their servility, their modesty and their obedience to the powers that be, as their intelligence increases. The education of a black slave a quarter of a century ago was a criminal offense. Why? Because the intelligent slave would throw off his shackles at whatever cost. . . .

I believe with Buckle, with Paine, Jefferson, Emerson and Spencer, and many other great thinkers of the century, that the state of casts and classes—the state where one class dominates over and lives upon the labor of another class, this order—yes, I believe that this barbaric form of social organization with its legalized plunder and murder, is doomed to die, and make room for a free society, a voluntary association, or universal brotherhood, if you like. You may pronounce sentence upon me, honorable judge.

These are my ideas. They constitute a part of myself. I cannot divest myself of them, nor would I if I could. And if you think that one can crush out these ideas that are gaining ground more and more every day; if you think you can crush them out by sending us to the gallows; if you would once more have people suffer the penalty of death because they have dared to tell the truth—and I defy you to show that we have told a lie—if death is the penalty for proclaiming the truth, then I will proudly and defiantly pay the costly price. Call your hangman! Truth crucified in Socrates, in Christ, in Giordano Bruno, in Huss, in Galileo still lives—they and others whose number is legion have preceded us on this path. We are ready to follow!

Albert Parsons

For the past twenty years my life has been closely identified with, and I have actively participated in what is known as the labor movement in America. Your honor, I have, as a workingman espoused what I conceive to be the just claims of the working class; I have defended their right to liberty and insisted upon their right to control their own labor and the fruits thereof. . . .

I have violated no law of this country. Neither I nor my colleagues here have violated any legal right of American citizens. We stand upon the right of free speech, free press, of public assemblage, unmolested and undisturbed. We stand upon the constitutional right of self-defense and we defy the prosecution to rob the people of these dearly bought rights.

Do you think, gentlemen of the prosecution, that you will have settled this case when you carry my lifeless bones to the potter's field? I tell you there is yet a greater verdict to be heard from. The American people will have something to say about this attempt to destroy their rights, which they hold sacred. The American people will have something to say when they understand this case, as to whether or not the constitution of this country can be trampled under foot at the dictation of monopoly and corporations.

I am a member of the Knights of Labor, that is an organization of nearly a million American working men. I am a member of my union, the Printers Union, and have been for fourteen years in the city of Chicago. This is a national and international organization with some sixty-odd thousands of members in the United States. These organizations publish a great many newspapers in America and every single one of them believe that the bomb at the Haymarket was instigated by the monopolists to break down the eight hour movement. Hear our side! You have heard the Citizens' Association side of this question, you have heard the banker's side, you have heard the railroad magnates' side, you have heard the Board of Trade's side; I ask you now to listen to the side of the workers!

Adolph Fisher

I have never been a murderer. I have never yet committed a crime in my life, but I know a certain man who is on the way to becoming a murderer, an assassin, and that man is Grinnell—the State's Attorney Grinnell—because he brought men on the witness stand who he knew would swear falsely; and I publicly denounce Mr. Grinnell as a murderer and assassin if I should be executed. . . .

You will find it impossible to kill a principle, although you may take the life of men who confess these principles. The more the believers in just causes are persecuted, the quicker will their ideas be realized. For instance, in rendering such an unjust and barbarous verdict, the twelve honorable men in the jury box have done more for the furtherance of the cause of Anarchism than the convicted could have accomplished in a generation. This verdict is a death blow against free speech, free press, and free thought in this country and the people will be conscious of it too. That is all I care to say.

Louis Ling

With the same irony with which you have regarded my efforts to win, in this "free land of America" a livelihood such as human-kind is worthy to enjoy, do you now after condemning me to death, concede me the liberty of making a final speech.

I accept your concession; but it is only for the purpose of exposing the injustice, the calumnies, and the outrages that have been heaped upon me. I protest against the conviction, against the decision of the court. I do not recognize your law, jumbled together as it is by the nobodies of by-gone centuries, and I do not recognize the decision of this court. My own counsel has conclusively proven from the decisions of equally high courts that a new trial must be granted us. The State's attorney quotes three times as many decisions from perhaps still higher courts to prove the opposite. . . .

I repeat that I am the enemy of the order of today, and I repeat that with all my powers so long as breath remains in me, I shall combat it. . . . I despise you. I despise your order, your laws, your force-propped authority. Hang me for it!

George Engel

When in the year 1872 I left Germany, because it had become impossible for me to gain there, by the labor of my hands, a livelihood such as man is worthy to enjoy—the introduction of machinery having ruined the smaller craftsmen and made the outlook for the future appear very dark to them—I concluded to go with my family to the land of America, the land that had been praised to me by so many as the land of liberty.

On the occasion of my arrival at Philadelphia, on the 8th of January, 1873, my heart swelled with joy in the hope and in the belief that in the future, I would live among free men, and in a free country. I made up my mind to be a good citizen of this country, and congratulated myself upon having left Germany and landed in this glorious republic. And I believe my past history will bear witness that I have striven to be a good citizen of this country. This is the first occasion of my standing before an American court, and on this occasion it is murder of which I am accused. And for what reasons do I stand here? For what reasons am I accused of murder? The same that caused me to leave Germany—the poverty, the misery of the working classes. . . .

When hundreds of working men have been destroyed in mines in consequence of faulty preparations for the repairing of which the owners were too stingy, the capitalist papers have scarcely noticed it. See with what satisfaction and cruelty they make their

TROIT. - MICH. — APPEAL —
ENDORSED BY
The Central Labor Union and District 49, K. of L.
New York, September 16, 1887.
Fellow Workingmen:

You are aware of the decision rendered by the Supreme Court of Illinois confirming the verdict of the lower court in the so-called Anarchist cases, and fixing the day of execution of the prisoners for November 11th of this year.

As citizens who stand united on the broad platform of human rights and equal justice to all, irrespective of political or social opinions, we now appeal to you to do all in your power to secure a modification of the above-mentioned decision.

Liberty, free speech and justice impartially and fearlessly meted out to friend and foe, are the only safeguards and the primary conditions of a peace-able social development in this country.

Under the misguiding and corrupting influence of prejudice and class-hatred, those men have been condemned without any conclusive evidence as accessories to a crime the principle of which, as well as the motives which may have actuated the same, are unknown.

The execution of this sentence would be a disgrace to the honor of our nation, and would strengthen the very doctrines it is ostensibly directed against.

The undersigned appeal, therefore, to you as representatives of Organized Labor, the foremost champion of our rights and liberties, to immediately take such steps as may save our country from the disgrace of an act that can be considered in no other light than as a judicial murder, prompted by the basest and most un-American motives.

This is an issue on which all Patriotic Citizens ought to stand united. No national differences ought to divide us when the fundamental principles of American liberty are at stake.

Leaving to you to decide as to the most efficient method to be adopted, we would suggest that a call should be issued by all the representative labor organizations of this country for great public demonstrations to be held simultaneously in this and in all other cities of the Union on or about the 20th of October.

Hoping that you will consider this our communication in the spirit in which we address it to you, we remain,

Yours in the cause of Justice and Humanity:

| | |
|------------------|-------------------------|
| SAMUEL GOMPERTS. | TOM OREHLI. |
| JAS. E. QUINN. | JOHN D. DUNN, Syracuse. |
| MARTIN A. HANLY. | GEO. H. McVEY. |
| FRANK FERRELL. | A. G. JOHNSON, Jr. |
| EDWARD KING. | MATTHEW BARR. |
| EVERETT GLACKIN. | FRED. HALLER. |
| HENRY EMBICH. | MICHAEL J. KELLY. |

United front appeal from "citizens who stand united on the broad platform of human rights and equal justice" to the American labor movement.

report when here and there workingmen have been fired upon, while striking for a few cents increase in their wages, that they might earn only a scanty subsistence. Can anyone feel respect for a government that accords its protection only to the privileged classes and none to the workers? We have seen but recently how the coal barons combined in a conspiracy to raise the price of coal, while at the same time reducing the already low wages of their men. Are they accused of conspiracy on that account? But when workingmen dare ask an increase in their wages, the militia and the police are sent out to shoot them down.

For such a government as this I can feel no respect, and will combat it, despite its power, despite its police, despite its spies. I hate and combat, not the individual capitalist, but the system that gives him those privileges. My greatest wish is that workingmen may recognize who are their friends and who are their enemies.

As to my conviction, brought about as it was, through capitalist influence, I have not one word to say.

Oscar Neebe

They found a revolver in my house and a red flag there. I organized Trade Unions. I was for reduction of the hours of labor, and the education of the laboring man and the re-establishment of the workingmen's newspaper the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. There is no evidence to show that I was connected with the bomb-throwing, or that I was near it, or anything of the kind. So I am only sorry, your honor—that is, if you can stop it or help it—I will ask you to do it—that is to hang me too; for I think it is more honorable to die suddenly than to be killed by inches. I have a family and children; and if they know their father is dead they will bury him. They can go to the grave and kneel down by the side of it; but they can't go to the penitentiary and see their father, who was convicted of a crime that he hasn't had anything to do with. That is all I have to say. Your honor, I am sorry that I am not to be hung with the rest of the men.

HANGED

The Drop Fell at 11:54
This Forenoon.

Parsons, Fischer, Engel and
Spies Are Dead.

An Awful Scene at the
Hanging.

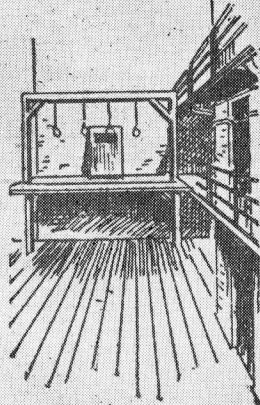
The Anarchists Died Hard, Strug-
gling Violently.

COOK COUNTY JAIL, CHICAGO, Nov. 11.—
Parsons, Fischer, Engel and Spies, the convicted Haymarket murderers have been throttled by the law—the bell same law that they had hoped to throttle. Their scaffold drop fell at 11:54 o'clock this forenoon.

COOK COUNTY JAIL, CHICAGO, Nov. 11.—
At 10:55 fully 250 newspaper men, local politicians and others, among them the 12 jurors who were to view the bodies after the execution, had passed through under the gallows and began seating themselves. The bailiff said a few words to the journalists begging them to make no rush when the drop fell, but to wait decently and in order.

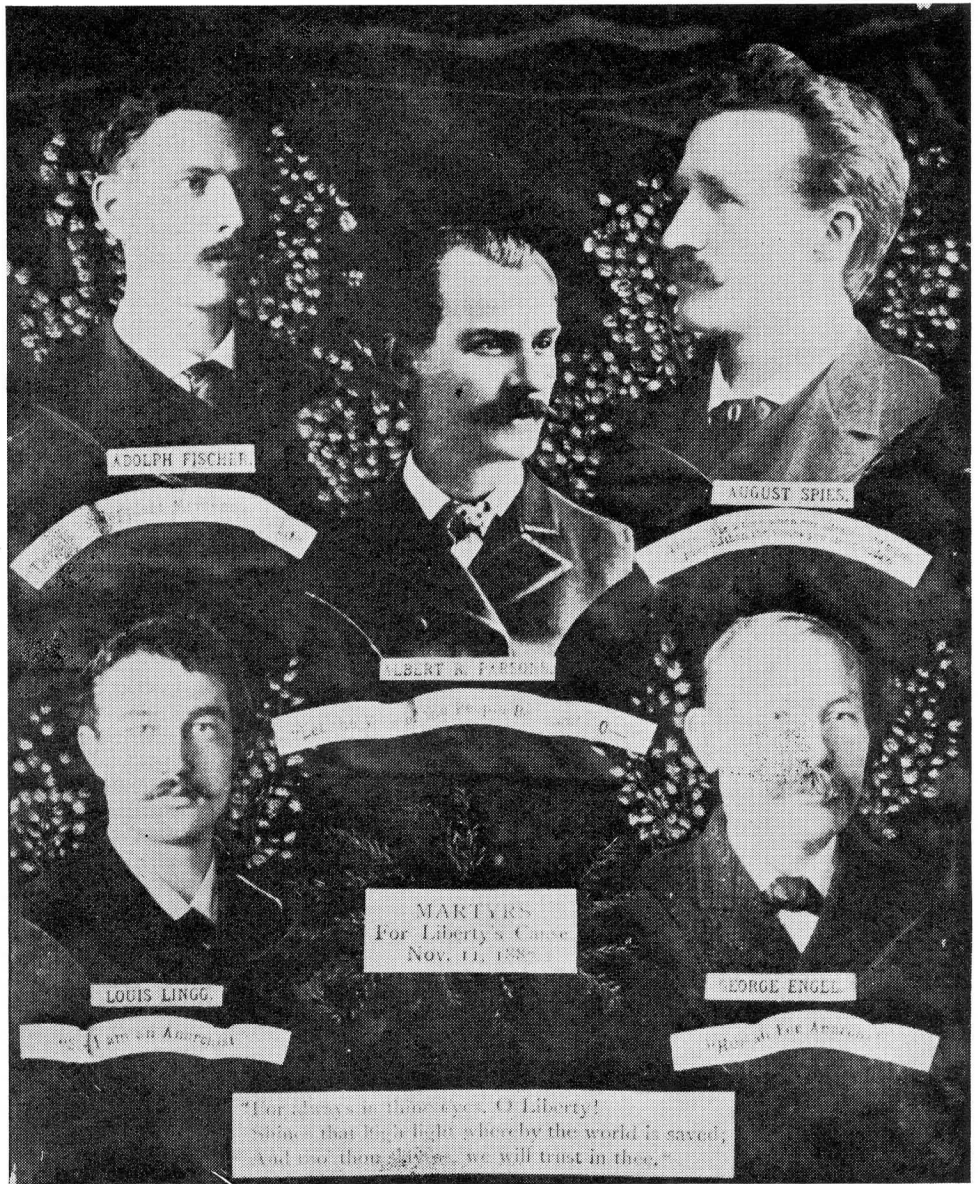
Parsons was given a cup of coffee a few minutes before the march to the scaffold was begun.

The rattling of chairs, tables and benches continued for several minutes, but by 11:55 there began to fall a hush and conversation among the crowd sank almost to a whisper. The bare, whitewashed walls made a painful contrast with the dark brown gallows with its



[WHERE THEY WERE HANGED.]
Four ropes dropping ominously to the floor. A gleam of sunshine shot in through the window at this instant, fell on a corner of the death machine, and in a slight degree relieved its sombre hue. 11:12 A. M.—The condemned are now eating their final lunch. The chief bailiff began at 11:10 calling out the names of the persons summoned and bringing them for-

forenoon and was ill, could lose spirit. He steady he— alliance many was has great port ward tank, all photo awks moving ing f ture. The with hidet ion war the oec not hav con Spis tho mea To the gan Spie He of a line the dit eni wh co nc he up the stat orac read anal rope this his stop Pars eyes him, ink! while their the a as co than d raphy. Any door while litat edited hisse! teath: "The silence voices! The words had a ralmu for ana Each anee an archy." These broken tonatio a white- sacrifice rather H sounded "May with as spe These Huffed broke "Let H A cry dored slend view front verthid seen that b notice Nin was E neek h marke throthl 11:55 is also Parsons ing fa 12:03 any of The ped by 12:11 plain screw coarfo: Who scaffold

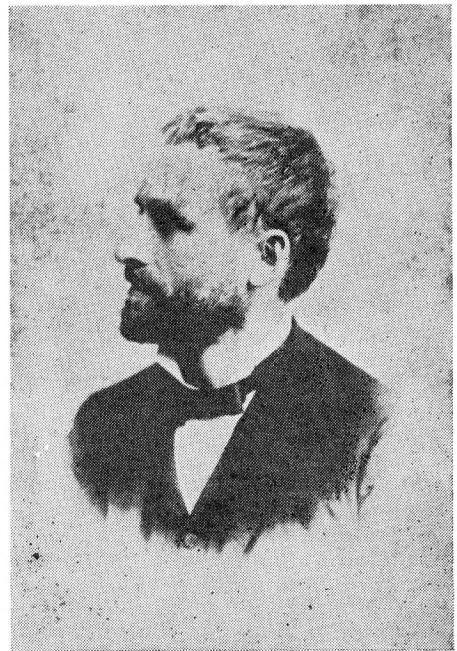


The photographs of the dead and their last words: Adolph Fischer, "This is the happiest moment of my life"; Albert Parsons, "Let the voice of the people be heard. O . . ."; August Spies, "The time will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are throttling today"; Louis Lingg (who committed suicide or was murdered in prison before the execution), "Still I am an anarchist"; George Engel, "Hurrah for Anarchy."

MARTYRS for Liberty's Cause Nov. 11, 1887

At the last moment on November 11, 1887, Gov. Oglesby commuted the sentences of Samuel Fielden and Michael Schwab to life imprisonment. They joined Oscar Neebe who had been sentenced to 15 years at the trial and remained in prison until 1893, when Gov. Altgeld convinced of their innocence, responded to the demands of the ever growing protest movement and pardoned them.

John Altgeld, governor of Illinois, who pardoned the three remaining Haymarket victims in 1893.



Above: From the Detroit Evening Journal of November 11, 1887. The newspapers from coast to coast carried the most grim and detailed accounts of the execution. Though most of them tried to counteract the belated wave of sympathy which swept the land just before the execution, they were forced to admit the great heroism of the men.

LABOR IS COMING INTO ITS OWN

Never in the history of this country has labor made the tremendous strides that it has made the past year. Never have the hosts of labor been as great and as numerous as they now are. Never has labor had the friends it now has. Labor is fast coming into its own.

The goal of labor is the goal of the common man for a fuller and freer life. This goal is the establishment of an order not only in which the producer of wealth receives the full value of his toil, but in which the happiness of the individual, no matter how humble, is the chief concern of society, the aim of all collective effort.

Read the history of the American labor movement and you will realize what a terrific price the workers of this country paid for every inch of ground gained. It is a history replete with suffering. Its pages are bathed in tears and in blood. There are many defeats, but defeats were only temporary—they merely whetted the determination of labor to go ahead. The gallows failed to stop the onward march of labor. Neither the firing squads . . . the prisons . . . the soldiers sent by strikebreaking federal and state governments . . . nor the Pinkerton thugs . . . not even the courts halted labor's progress.

On September 21, 1877, ten Irish anthracite miners, members of a labor organization known as the Molly Maguires, paid with their lives the penalty imposed by a court doing the bidding of the mine owners. On that day wrote Eugene V. Debs, "*history turned harlot and the fair name of truth was covered with the hideous mark of falsehood.*"

And a few years later, four labor leaders, convicted of murder in connection with the police-provoked Chicago Haymarket riots, marched to the gallows with heads erect. These men were too proud to ask pardon for a crime they did not commit. One of the men, Fischer, when the noose was placed around his neck, remarked, "This is the happiest moment of my life."

And Tom Mooney still languishes in a California prison, already exonerated in the minds of every decent man and woman not only in America but in the entire world. He has never asked for mercy, only justice, justice, justice from his persecutors. Mooney's martyrdom is a living example of the suffering of labor and of all those who seek to create a better society. It already has defeated the purposes of those responsible for this diabolical frame-up which was designed to discredit the labor movement.

The court was the first great agency of government employed to break strikes and to destroy unions. Whenever, and wherever possible, it is still being used in that capacity by enemies of labor.

In its first anti-labor assignment, the court made a very thorough job of it. This was back in 1806 when members of a shoemakers' union in Philadelphia were convicted of conspiracy to raise the wages of its members. In the eyes of the duly constituted authorities this was a conspiracy against the social order itself. In order to convict these men the court went back to the old English common law, to the days of Queen Elizabeth. I venture to say that if the court could not have found an old English common law under which to

A tribute to the greatness of American labor by America's only Farmer Labor governor.

By **GOV. ELMER A. BENSON**
of Minnesota

convict these men it would have gone as far back as ancient Rome to find a law to suit its purpose.

In 1890 Congress passed the Sherman anti-trust act to curb the dangerous growth of trusts and monopolies. It was feared that if the trusts and monopolies continued to grow they would not only stifle competition and kill off independent business, but destroy the liberties of our people. But this law was scarcely used against the trusts and monopolies, probably for the reason that the trusts and monopolies had a little too much to say about this government and how it should be run. Instead, the Sherman anti-trust act became a weapon against labor unions.

In the famous Danbury Hatters' case the court applied this act against the union, holding that labor is a commodity and the union a monopoly in restraint of trade. Indignation at this outrageous decision on the part of the workers and the liberals of this country was at fever pitch. So powerful was the protest that Congress was compelled to pass the Clayton act intended to nullify efforts to apply the Sherman anti-trust act to labor.

But laws mean nothing, unless those who administer the laws intend that they be honestly applied and enforced. The Clayton act had no effect in stemming the tide of court injunctions against labor.

You recall the injunction secured in federal court by Attorney General Daugherty during the administration of President Harding in the railroad shopmen's strike in 1922. This injunction went so far as to forbid the strikers to refer to the scabs as strikebreakers. Daugherty's exclamation, "*I will use the power of government within my control to prevent labor unions in this country from destroying the open shop*" should be a constant warning to labor in Minnesota and labor in America against the danger of the enemies of labor seizing the reins of government.

In the famous Pullman strike of 1894 three thousand six hundred thugs and criminals recruited from the lowest element in Chicago were sworn in as U. S. deputy marshals for the specific purpose of promoting violence. These U. S. deputy marshals were paid by the railroads and they did their work well—from the standpoint of the railroads. The railroads prevailed on President Cleveland to send federal troops to Chicago and General Miles, in charge of the troops, proudly proclaimed: "I have broken the backbone of this strike."

Instances where state governments have played the role of strikebreaker are too numerous for me to cite. It is a long, black and bloody record.

And this situation has not changed in recent years. You know how the troops have been used in Ohio and elsewhere to defeat labor, in strikes during the past year.

Do not make the fatal mistake of thinking that labor's battle is won or that final victory is within easy reach. To achieve that goal, labor will need not only unity in its own ranks but unity with all groups which have a common goal, on the economic and on the political field. I refer particularly to the farmer, the small business man, the professional man—all those who work for a living either by hand or brain. Labor must never again make the error of voting their executioners into public office, as it has so often done in the past.

The enemies of labor are not asleep, nor have they accepted defeat. Like the wild beasts in the jungle, they are biding their time, ready to pounce upon the back of labor at the first evidence of exhaustion.

With no faith in democracy they are openly promoting fascism, a form of government inimical to every principle and ideal of American life. They want fascism rather than democracy because under fascism they know they will be the masters and you the slaves. That is why you have Liberty Leagues, Citizens' Committees, and bands of vigilantes.

I know that you feel that fascism can never attain a foothold in this enlightened land. But this monster is already here and you are going to have to tackle it sooner or later. If you minimize the danger of fascism you may have a sad reawakening.

It can happen to America as it has happened to other countries. Labor in Europe refused to be alarmed and overnight fascism destroyed two of the finest labor movements in the world, those of Italy, and of Germany. These labor movements were far more advanced than is the labor movement of America, in organization as well as in social, political, and labor philosophy.

I know that the workers of Italy and of Germany will again take their place in labor's bright sun. I have faith in the genius of these great races and the important parts they are destined to play in the advance of human civilization.

The situation so far as the industrialists in America are concerned is somewhat similar to that in which the industrialists of Italy and Germany found themselves prior to the advent of fascism. They are menaced by the labor unions, the militant farmers, the co-operatives, the growth of liberalism in politics. They feel their existence threatened . . . the dark empire they seek to create and to rule over, a vanishing dream.

Who can doubt the course the American industrialist will choose. He already has chosen to follow in the path of the Italian and the German industrialists.

Yes, we who have been watching the labor and the political trend in America today see the rising sun, but the skies can darken here as elsewhere. And night can also come. I do not mean that it will come. It will not if we, the liberals and progressives of this country, look at what happened in Europe and resolve that it WILL not happen here.



Over 110,000 Appeals, 200 Cables and Over 50,000,000 People To Date Protest on Behalf of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti

Sacco & Vanzetti
ON A
Hunger Strike!

PREVENT THIS MONSTROUS CRIME
SACCO and VANZETTI
MUST NOT DIE!

WORLD PROTEST AGAINST MURDER

REPORTS continue to come in of the world-wide wave of protest, strikes and boycott of American goods in the struggle against the death sentences imposed on Sacco and Vanzetti. The demonstration in Paris was a success, transportation being injured and all the factories in the suburbs shut down while workers gathered in meetings before them to pass resolutions against the killing of Sacco and Vanzetti.

MAKE COUNSEL SEND CABLE
PLYMOUTH, England, Aug. 8.—Workers demonstrating out of sympathy for Sacco and Vanzetti, urged before the United States consulate today.

Leaders requested the U. S. consul to send their protest to Washington and escorted him to the post-office to see the cable dispatched.

Afterwards the police arrived as speakers were addressing the crowds and broke up the meeting.

STOCKHOLM, Aug. 8.—Swedish socialists and Communists conducted a demonstration on today protesting against the sentences of Sacco and Vanzetti's death sentences to Governor Fuller of Massachusetts.

BREKIN, Aug. 7.—The United States embassy today received a number of letters and telegrams protesting against the sentencing of Sacco and Vanzetti.

LONDON, Aug. 8.—The Vanzetti-Sacco-Vanzetti demonstration in America continued today to be widely featured in the London newspapers.

British authorities generally do not favor any anti-American violence in this city.

SAVARIAN WORKERS TRY TO STORM U. S. CONSULATE
MUNICH, Bavaria, Aug. 8.—Hundreds of Saverian workers and sympathizers gathered in front of the American consulate here and demanded to know the justice or grounds for Governor Fuller's decision in the Sacco and Vanzetti case. The police, who were hastily called for, dispersed the mob.

Protest through the Dutch is strong and the American consulate and embassy are under heavy guard. Floods of telegrams and letters demanding that Sacco and Vanzetti be liberated continue to pour in.

GREEK WORKERS DEMAND SACCO-VANZETTI LIBERATION
ATHENS, Greece, Aug. 8.—Thousands of Greek workers demonstrated here to protest against the slaying of Sacco and Vanzetti by the capitalist courts of Massachusetts. A telegram asserting the innocence of the two prisoners and demanding their immediate release was sent to Governor Fuller.

WINNIPEG WORKERS PROTEST AGAINST LEGAL MURDER
WINNIPEG, Canada, Aug. 8.—At two demonstrations here on Saturday and Sunday hundreds of workers protested the murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. Standing in the driving rain the crowds cheered the six speakers who outlined the history of the case and characterized the decision of Governor Fuller as "treason to class justice."

A resolution declaring the four convicts of the wrongers in the prosecution of Sacco and Vanzetti victims of a crime partnership and treasury of justice for the Massachusetts people and calling on the governor to release them, was sent to President Coolidge and the United States Supreme Court.

ARGENTINE WORKERS TRY TO STOP OIL FIELDS
BUENOS AIRES, Aug. 8.—The Argentine railroad workers have joined the strike movement which is organizing a protest strike for Sacco and Vanzetti, set for August 10. The strikers will quit work for fifteen minutes, the shop workers will go out for twenty-four hours.

All activities in the oil fields at Comodoro Rivadavia, have been paralyzed while the authorities are taking extraordinary measures to control a situation that is likely to get out of their hands at any moment.

GENERAL STRIKE IN BRUSSELS
MONTEVIDEO, Uruguay, Aug. 8.—A 24-hour general strike of Uruguayan workers went into effect here Monday night as a protest against the judicial murder of Sacco and Vanzetti. The strikers' march on the judicial building and United States building are being slowly guarded.

BRADFORD UNIONISTS CABLE CONGRESS
BRADFORD, England, Aug. 8.—After passing a resolution against

LABOR SPEAKS:
"Sacco and Vanzetti Must Not Die!"

Put your local union—your city and state organizations on record with strong resolutions. But, remember, that resolutions will not open the steel doors. Extensive investigations are now in progress; already there are indications that the frame-up in all its repulsive details will be exposed eventually. These investigations must not stop for lack of funds.

The appeal, too, is pending. Cash—more cash is required. Elect a committee from your local union (two members are sufficient) at once; other local unions will do the same. Let delegates from a city committee arrange transfer mass meetings. Speakers will be provided whenever possible. Call on us for literature. Distribute the literature—act—now—at once.

Fraternally yours,

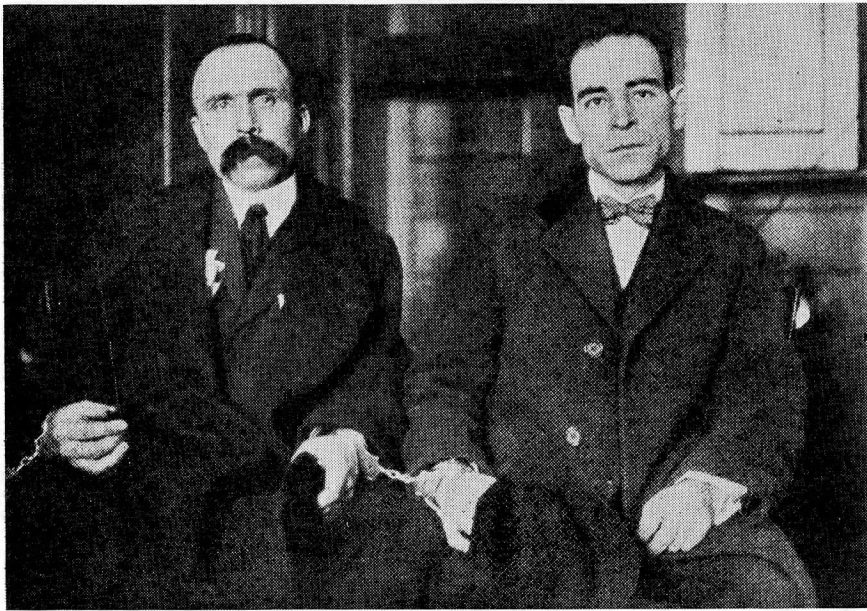
- CHICAGO FEDERATION OF LABOR (Seal)
- DETROIT FEDERATION OF LABOR (Seal; endorsed unanimously)
- EVANSVILLE (IND.) CENTRAL LABOR UNION (Seal; endorsed unanimously)
- MINNEAPOLIS TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY (Seal)
- ST. PAUL TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY (Seal; endorsed unanimously)
- CENTRAL LABOR UNION OF SALEM (MASS.) AND VICIN (Seal)
- CENTRAL LABOR COUNCIL OF SEATTLE AND VICIN (Seal; endorsed unanimously)
- SIOUX FALLS (S. D.) TRADES AND LABOR ASSEMBLY (Seal; endorsed unanimously)
- TAMMANY HALL CENTRAL TRADES AND LABOR ASSOCIATION (Seal)
- AMERICAN LABOR COUNCIL (Seal)
- UTAH FEDERATION OF LABOR (Seal)
- FEDERATION OF TRADES UNIONS (Seal)



Portrait of the protest movement in behalf of the "good shoe maker and the poor fish-peddler" which encircled the globe.

"Did you see what I did to those anarchistic bastards?"

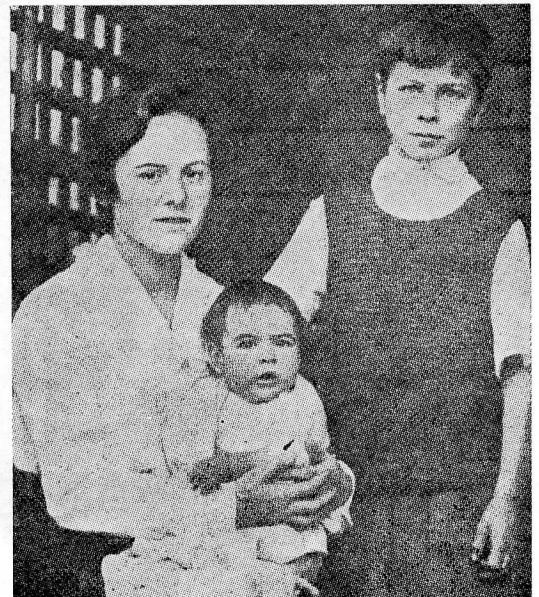
— Judge Webster Thayer



Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco, during the seven years of their torture by the State of Massachusetts. This photo was presented to the LABOR DEFENDER by Upton Sinclair, one of the outstanding figures in the defense campaign.

THE MEN THEMSELVES

Arrested on May 5, 1920 while on their way to organize a protest meeting for a murdered comrade . . . charged with murder and robbery, crimes committed by a well-known bandit gang . . . tried on May 21, 1921; their witnesses discredited as "foreigners who stick up for each other" . . . sentenced and refused new trials by the gnome-like Judge Thayer, the State Supreme Court of Massachusetts, four justices of the United States Supreme Court—Taft, Stone, Brandeis and Holmes . . .



Above: Rosa Sacco, who used to help her husband run plays for strike relief. Right: Rosa with Dante and Inez, Sacco's children. It was to Dante that he wrote on the eve of his death: "Remember we were for the poor, for justice—" Left: Excerpts from a bulletin that presents vital evidence proving the innocence of the condemned men. It's title was on the lips of all America.

The Social Service Bulletin

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EDITORS: HARRY F. WARD; WINIFRED L. CHAPPELL

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IS JUSTICE BREAKING DOWN IN THE UNITED STATES?

Recent Developments. The defense is now in the hands of William G. Thompson, an outstanding figure of the Massachusetts bar, not in sympathy with radical economic programs but with a rugged, old-fashioned sense of justice. At recent hearings on a motion for a new trial, he has introduced affidavits by a Portuguese, Celestino Medeiros, awaiting execution for a bank murder, confessing that he and others committed the crime of which Sacco and Vanzetti were convicted and that they had no part in it.

Enter the Federal Government. Mr. Thompson also introduced affidavits by Lawrence Letherman and Fred J. Weyand, formerly connected for many years with the Department of Justice. These were to the effect that the U. S. Department of Justice had had under-cover men on the Sacco-Vanzetti case as the files, if consulted, would show.

From Letherman's Affidavit. "The Department of Justice in Boston was anxious to get sufficient evidence against Sacco and Vanzetti to deport them, but never succeeded. . . . It was the opinion of the Department agents here that a conviction . . . for murder would be one way of disposing of these two men. . . . The letters and documents on file in the Boston office would throw a great deal of light upon the preparation of the Sacco-Vanzetti case for trial. . . ."

From Weyand's Affidavit. "Some time before the arrest . . . the names of both of them had got on the files of the Department of Justice as radicals to be watched. . . . The understanding in this case between the agents of the Department of Justice in Boston and the district attorney followed the usual custom, that the Department of Justice would help the district attorney to secure a conviction and that he in turn would help the agents of the Department of Justice to secure information that they might desire."

The Department of Justice Keeps Its Files Closed. Thompson himself made affidavit that he had requested United States Attorney-General Sargent to open the files on this matter, to which Sargent had replied only by instructing an agent in Boston to get in touch with Thompson, and the agent so doing had stated that it was beyond his instructions to show the records. Thompson said at the hearings: "You never in the world can convince the common sense of mankind that it is justifiable to send two men to the electric chair when it stands unanswered and uncontradicted in the case that there is documentary evidence in the possession of the national government having the greatest possible bearing on the innocence of these men and the methods by which they were entrapped, and they refused to produce it."

Massachusetts Answers and Is Answered. District Attorney Ranney, now representing the State in the case, replied in part: "Your Honor knows that in all police departments, in all detective departments, secrecy is a watchword, a byword—'Do not betray the secrets of your department.'" To which Thompson replied: "And I will say to your Honor that a government which has come to value its own secrets more than it does the lives of its citizens has become a tyranny, whether you call it a republic, a monarchy, or something else. Secrets! secrets! . . . There are then secrets to be admitted!"

What the World Said:

Four voices raised in protest above the chorus of millions . . . words wrung from bleeding hearts—a philosopher, a journalist, a poet and one of the greatest leaders of American labor.

Anatole France

(October 31, 1921)

People of the United States of America:

Listen to the appeal of an old man of the old world who is not a foreigner for he is the fellow citizen of all mankind. In one of your states two men, Sacco and Vanzetti, have been convicted for a crime of opinion.

It is horrible to think that human beings should pay with their lives for the exercise of that most sacred right, which, no matter what party we belong to, we must all defend.

Don't let this most iniquitous sentence be carried out.

The death of Sacco and Vanzetti will make martyrs of them and cover you with shame.

You are a great people. You ought to be a just people. There are crowds of intelligent men among you, men who think. I prefer to appeal to them. I say to them beware of making martyrs. That is the unforgiveable crime that nothing can wipe out and that weighs on generation after generation.

Save Sacco and Vanzetti.

Save them for your honor, for the honor of your children, and the generations yet unborn.

Heywood Broun

When at last Judge Thayer in a tiny voice passed sentence upon Sacco and Vanzetti, a woman in the court room said with terror: "It is death condemning life."

The men in Charlestown prison are shining spirits, and Vanzetti has spoken with an eloquence not known elsewhere within our time. They are too bright, we shield our eyes and kill them. We are the dead, and in us there is not feeling nor imagination nor the terrible torment for lust for justice. And in the city where we sleep, smug gardeners walk to keep the grass about our little houses sleek and cut whatever blade thrusts up a head above its fellows. . . .

Gov. Alvan T. Fuller never had any intention in all his investigations but to put a new and higher polish upon the proceedings. The justice of the business was not his concern. He hoped to make it respectable. He called for old men from high places to stand behind his chair so that he might seem to speak with all the authority of a high priest or a Pilate.

What more can these immigrants from Italy expect? It is not every prisoner who has a President of Harvard University throw the switch for him. And Robert Grant is not only a former judge but one of the most popular dinner guests in Boston. If this is a lynching, at least the fish peddler and his friend the factory hand may take unction to their souls, that they will die at the hands of men in dinner coats or academic gowns according to the conventionalities required by the hour of execution.

Edna Millay And 150 Pickets Jailed in Boston

Poet Arrested With Parade
at State House; She Pleads
With Fuller to Stay Dooms,
Recalling Maine Tragedy

By Hugh O'Connor

BOSTON, Aug. 22—At the hour of



Edna St. Vincent Millay

Edna St. Vincent Millay

There are two names you would not have me mention, for you are sick of the sound of them. All men must die, you say, and these men have died and would that their names might die with them; would that their names were as names written in the sand, you say, to be dissipated by the next incoming tide! For you long to return to your gracious world of a year ago, where people had pretty manners and did not raise their voices; where people whom you knew, whom you had entertained in your houses, did not shout and weep and walk the streets vulgarly carrying banners, because two quite inconsequential people, two men who could not even speak good English, were about to be put forever out of mischief's way. *Do* let us forget, you say: after all, what *does* it matter? . . .

I do not call these men by name, for I know how nervous and irritable you become at the sight of their names on the printed page; how your cheek flushes and you cluck with exasperation; how you turn to your family with words on your tongue which in former days you would not have used at all—"vipers, vermin, filth." This is because you were just dozing off nicely again after the shocking uproar of two months ago,—when these two men whom I do not name were efficiently despatched out of the sunlight into the darkness of the grave—and do not wish to be disturbed. You wish to lie peacefully

asleep for a few years yet, and then to lie peacefully dead. . . .

If you should rouse yourself for a moment and look about you at the world, you would be troubled, I think and feel less peaceful and secure seeing how it is possible for a man as innocent as yourself of any crime to be cast into prison and be killed. For whether or not these men whom I do not name were guilty of the crime of murder, it was not for murder that they died. The crime for which they died was the crime of breathing upon the frosty window and looking out . . .

These men were castaways upon our shore, and we, an ignorant and savage tribe, have put them to death because their speech and their manners were different from our own, and because to the untutored mind that which is strange is in its infancy ludicrous, but in its prime, evil, dangerous and to be done away with. . . .

These men were put to death because they made you nervous; and your children know it. The minds of your children are like clear pools reflecting faithfully whatever passes on the bank; whereas the pool of your own mind, whenever an alien image bends above, a fish of terror leaps to meet it, shattering the reflection. . . . It is impossible for you to conceive that men could weep in public and women permit themselves to be thrown in jail because (as it seemed to them) the blue hem of Justice was being dragged in the mire. In the world in which you live Justice is a woman of stone above a court house door. . . .

Eugene Victor Debs

The supreme court of Massachusetts has spoken at last and Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco, two of the bravest and best scouts that ever served the labor movement, must go to the electric chair.

The decision of this capitalist judicial tribunal is not surprising. It accords perfectly with the tragical farce and the farcical tragedy of the entire trial of these two absolutely innocent working men.

Sacco and Vanzetti were framed and doomed from the start. Not all the testimony that could have been piled up to establish their innocence beyond a question of doubt could have saved them in that court. The trial judge was set and immovable. There must be a conviction. It was so ordained by the capitalist powers that be, and it had to come. And there must be no new trial granted lest the satanic perjury of the testimony and the utter rottenness of the proceedings appear too notoriously rank and revolting in spite of the conspiracy of the press to keep the public in ignorance of the disgraceful and damning facts.

I appeal to the working men and women of America to think of these two loyal comrades, these two honest, clean hearted brothers of ours, in this fateful hour in which they stand face to face with their bitter and ignominious doom.

Arouse, ye toiling millions of the nation, and swear by all you hold sacred in the cause of labor and in the cause of truth and justice and all things of good report, that Sacco and Vanzetti your brothers and mine, innocent as we are, shall not be foully murdered to glut the vengeance of a gang of plutocratic slave drivers.

THE ACCUSED ACCUSE

Words spoken on April 10, 1927 by Sacco and Vanzetti just before Judge Thayer sentenced them to death in the electric chair.

Sacco

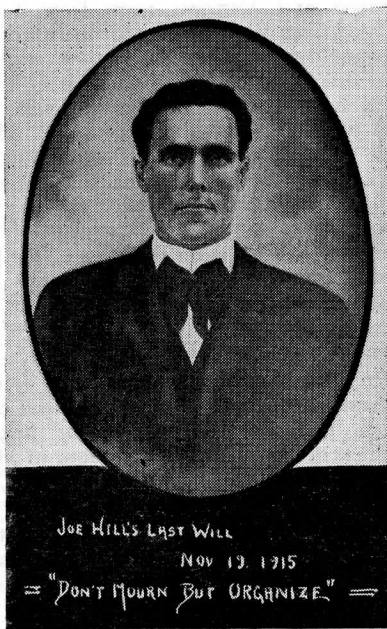
Yes, sir. I am not an orator. It is not very familiar with me, the English language, and as I know, as my friend has told me, my comrade Vanzetti will speak more long, so I thought to give him the chance.

I never know, never heard, even read in history anything so cruel as this court. After seven years prosecuting they still consider us guilty. And these gentle people here are arrayed with us in this court today.

I know the sentence will be between two classes, the oppressed class and the rich class, and there will be always collision between one and the other. We fraternize the people with the books, with the literature. You persecute the people, tyrannize over them and kill them. We try the education of people always. You try to put a path between us and some other nationality that hates each other. That is why I am here today on this bench, for having been the oppressed class. Well. You are the oppressor.

You know it, Judge Thayer. You know all my life. You know why I have been here, and after seven years, we that you have been prosecuting, me and my poor wife, and you still today sentence us to death. I would like to tell all my life, but what is the use? You know all about what I say before, and my friend—that is, my comrade—will be talking because he is more familiar with the language, and I will give him a chance.

My comrade, the kind man, the kind man to all the child, you sentence him two times, in the Bridgewater case and the Dedham case, connected with me, and you know he is innocent. You forget all this population that has been with us for seven years, to sympathize and give us all their energy and all their kindness.



Another of November's labor martyrs—
Joe Hill

Among that peoples and the comrades and the working class there is a big legion of intellectual people which have been with us for seven years, not to commit the iniquitous sentence, but still the Court goes ahead. And I think I thank you all, you peoples, my comrades who have been with me for seven years, with the Sacco-Vanzetti case, and I will give my friend a chance.

I forgot one thing which my comrade remember me. As I said before, Judge Thayer know all my life, and he know that I am never guilty, never—not yesterday nor today nor forever.

Vanzetti

What I say is that I am innocent, not only of the Braintree case, but also of the Bridgewater crime. That I am not only innocent of these two crimes, but in all my life I have never stole and I have never killed and I have never spilled blood. That is what I want to say. And it is not all. Not only am I innocent of these two crimes, not only in all my life I have never stole, never killed, never spilled blood, but I have struggled all my life, since I began to reason, to eliminate crime from the earth.

Everybody that knows these two arms knows very well that I did not need to go in between the street and kill a man to take the money. I can live with my two arms and live well.

Well, I want to reach a little point further, and it is this: That not only have I not been trying to steal in Bridgewater, not only have I not been in Braintree to steal and kill and have never steal or kill or spilt blood in all my life, not only have I struggled hard against crimes, but I have refused myself the commodity or glory of life, the pride of life of a good position, because in my consideration it is not right to exploit man.

I have refused to go in business because I understand that business is a speculation on profit upon certain people that must depend upon the business man, and I do not consider that is right and therefore I refuse to do that.

The scientists, the great scientists, the greatest statesmen of Europe have pleaded in our favor. The people of foreign nations have pleaded in our favor. Is it possible that only a few on the jury, only two or three men, who would condemn their mother for worldly honor and for earthly fortune—is it possible that they are right against what the world, the whole world, has say it is wrong, and that I know that it is wrong?

If there is one that should know it, if it is right or if it is wrong, it is this man. You see it is seven years that we are in jail. What we have suffered during these seven years no human tongue can say, and yet you see me before you, not trembling, you see me looking you in your eyes straight, not blossoming, not changing color, not ashamed or in fear.

Eugene Debs said that not even a dog—something like that—not even a dog that kill the chickens would have been found guilty by American jury with the evidence that the Commonwealth have produced against us. I say that not even a leprous dog would have his appeal refused two times by the Supreme Court of Massachusetts—not even a leprous dog. . . .

We know that you have spoke your hostility against us with friends of yours on the train, at the University Club of Boston, on the golf club of Worcester, Mass. I am sure that if the people who know all what you say against us would have the civil courage to take the stands, maybe your Honor—I am sorry to say this because you are an old man, and I have an old father—but may be you would be beside us in good justice at this time.

When you sentenced us at the Plymouth trial you say to the best of my memory, of my good faith, that crimes were in accordance with my principle—something of that sort, and you take off one charge, If I remember it exactly, from the jury.

We were tried during a time that has now passed into history. I mean by that, a time when there was a hysteria of resentment and hate against the people of our principles, against the foreigners, against slackers, and it seems to me—rather, I am positive of it, that both you and Mr. Katzmann has done all what it were in your power in order to work out, in order to agitate still more the passion of the juror, the prejudice of the juror, against us. . . .

We believe it that the war is wrong, and we believe this more now after ten years that we understand, day by day, the consequences and the result of the after war. We believe more now than ever that the war was wrong, and we are against war more now than ever, and I am glad to be on the doomed scaffold if I can say to mankind, "Look out, you are in a catacomb of the flower of mankind. For what? All that they say to you, all that they have promised to you—it was a lie, it was an illusion, it was a cheat, it was a fraud, it was a crime.

"They promised you liberty. Where is liberty? They promised you prosperity. Where is prosperity? They have promised you elevation. Where is the elevation?"

Well, I have already said that I not only am not guilty of these two crimes, but I never commit a crime in my life—I have never steal, and I have never kill, and I have never spilt blood, and I have fought against the crime, and I have fought and I have sacrificed myself, even to eliminate the crimes that the law and the Church legitimate and sanctify.

This is what I say: I would not wish to a dog or to a snake, to the most low and misfortune creature of the earth—I would not wish to any of them what I have had to suffer for things that I am not guilty of. But my conviction is that I have suffered for things that I am guilty of. I am suffering because I am a radical, and indeed I am a radical; I have suffered because I was an Italian, and indeed I am an Italian; I have suffered more for my family and for my beloved than for myself; but I am so convinced to be right that you could execute me two times, and if I could be reborn two other times I would live again to do what I have done already. I have finished; thank you.



JOE HILL'S LAST WILL

NOV 13, 1915

== "DON'T MOURN BUT ORGANIZE" ==

Another of November's labor martyrs—
Joe Hill



Governor Alvan T. Fuller and Mrs. Fuller. They were well pleased with themselves.

Three Respectable Gentlemen Commit Murder

Excerpts from the report of Gov. Fuller's special Commission headed by President Lowell of Harvard. The Governor said they were impartial and he would abide by their decision, rendered less than three weeks before the execution.

To summarize therefore, what has been said: The Committee have seen no evidence sufficient to make them believe that the trial was unfair. On the contrary, they are of the opinion that the Judge endeavored, and endeavored successfully, to secure for the defendants a fair trial; that the District Attorney was in no way guilty of unprofessional behavior; that he conducted the prosecution vigorously, but not improperly; and that the jury, a capable impartial and unprejudiced body, did, as they were instructed,

"well and truly try and true deliverance make." . . .

In the discussion of what should be done about Sacco and Vanzetti popular attention has been largely diverted by the belief that they hold unpopular views on political and social questions. Your Committee hold that this has nothing whatever to do with the question, except so far as it may account for conduct that would otherwise be taken as evidence of consciousness of guilt. The fact that persons accused are or are not socialists

or radicals of any type neither increases nor lessens the probability of their having committed a crime, and should be wholly left out of account except so far as in this instance it may explain their conduct at and shortly after their arrest. . . .

Furthermore, there is the fact that when examined after their arrest they told what they afterwards admitted on the stand to be a series of lies. This they attempted to explain by saying they were afraid of deportation or other punishment for themselves or their friends, because they were conscious of having dodged the draft, or possessing socialistic literature, and in general of being the type that the Federal government was then prosecuting. The difficulty with this excuse is that it by no means explains all of their falsehoods, some of which had no connection with the crime at South Braintree. Such for instance, was Sacco's statement that he worked at the factory all day on April 15th. If he were innocent of the crime and had been in Boston that day to get a passport, why should he not have said so when first questioned?

On these grounds the Committee are of the opinion that Sacco was guilty beyond reasonable doubt of the murder of South Braintree. In reaching this conclusion they are aware that it involves disbelief in the evidence of his alibi at Boston (this was the sworn testimony of an official at the Italian consulate in Boston—ed.) but in view of all the evidence they do not believe that he was there that day. . . .

Now there were four persons who testified that they had seen him (Vanzetti). The fourth man was Faulkner, who testified that he was asked a question by Vanzetti in the smoking car on the way from Plymouth to South Braintree on the forenoon of the day of the murder, and that he saw him alight at that station. Faulkner's testimony is impeached on two grounds: First, he said the car was a combination smoker and baggage car and there was no such car on that train, but his description is exactly that of a full smoking car; and second, that no ticket was sold that morning at any station near

Left: One platoon of the army of police that advanced against the American people protesting for Sacco and Vanzetti. Right: Police on guard outside the death house on August 22, 1927.



Plymouth, and that no such cash fare was paid or mileage book punched, but that does not exhaust the possibilities. Otherwise no one claims to have seen him, or any man resembling him who was not Vanzetti. But it must be remembered that his face is much more unusual, and more easily remembered than Sacco's. He was evidently not in the foreground. On the whole, we are of the opinion that Vanzetti also was guilty beyond reasonable doubt. . . .

It has been urged that a crime of this kind must have been committed by profes-

JUSTICE STONE DENIES SACCO STAY



sionals, and it is for well-known criminal gangs that one must look: but to the Committee both this crime and the one at Bridgewater do not seem to bear the marks of professionals, but of men inexperienced in such crimes.

A. Lawrence Lowell, *president of Harvard University*

Robert Grant, *former probate judge*

Samuel W. Stratton, *president Massachusetts Institute of Technology*
Delivered to Governor Fuller July 27, 1927. Reprinted in full in a pamphlet called *Walled in This Tomb*, signed by 27 leading alumni of Harvard University and distributed to the guests assembled at the Harvard Tercentenary Celebration in the summer of 1936.

Lessons in Tragedy

By
JESSICA
HENDERSON



For this number of the LABOR DEFENDER, a Memorial to Sacco and Vanzetti and the Haymarket victims, the Labor Martyrs, I would like to say a few things that should be broadcast to the whole labor movement; to draw some lessons from the great tragedy of the death of Sacco and Vanzetti, that must never be forgotten.

During the seven years of struggle to save their lives, we who were in that struggle came to know, respect and love these two brave men and during those terrible years became so well acquainted with them, that I, like so many others, bear their death as an unhealed wound in my heart.

I am taking this opportunity to say that there are facts and phases of this case that are yet to be told. There are numberless questions yet unanswered about the conduct of the men on the Governor's Commission: President Lowell of Harvard; President Stratton of Technology; Judge Grant. In the last days of the reprieve—from August 10 to August 22, 1927—we were told that Judge Grant was abroad. Presidents Lowell and Stratton were not to be found, although a word from any one of the three would have opened the Department of Justice files, and what was to be found there might have saved their lives. Why could they not be found? They were, so we were told on good authority, weeks late at their posts in their respective colleges; and the Department of

Justice files could not be opened without their OK. Why were they not to be found?

It would be interesting and informing to discover even at this late date who gave the order to tear up the pavements of Boston on August 23, 1927; putting men to work with shiny new tools and brand new working togs, in the early morning hours ripping up the pavements, and closing all approaches on Beacon Hill, to forestall, as we were forced to believe, a possible funeral march in front of the State House. The morning after the funeral the men were busily relaying the concrete and stones they had torn up the day before. Who gave these orders? Vainly attempts were made to provoke a riot, during the funeral march by means of mounted policemen galloping into the crowds of spectators. Who gave the order?

Who arranged to have dozens of empty taxicabs break into the funeral procession all along the line from Hanover Street to Forest Hills? Was it to make it seem that it was not a funeral procession after all, just a crowd of sight-seers? Three miles long? Who gave the order?

In this unwritten chapter the most important lesson to be learned, to be forever impressed on the minds and hearts of everybody in or interested in the labor movement and the Sacco Vanzetti tragedy, a lesson which throws a strong light on the reason of the failure to save them from their undeserved fate is this: Vanzetti was of the labor movement. He was in the famous strike of the Plymouth Cordage Company and others.

"Only by mobilizing a million workers can our lives be saved!" Vanzetti declared again and again. He referred to mass demonstration and direct action, such methods as have, thus far, saved Tom Mooney from the electric chair and Angelo Herndon from the Georgia chain-gang. But many in leadership of the defense at that time were not of the labor movement, and did not understand as Vanzetti did, or give credence to Vanzetti's knowledge of correct methods. The saddest part of the Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy is that Vanzetti's plea for the mobilization of a million workers, was not heeded, and could not have been carried out by the new and inexperienced members of the Defense Committee, in spite of all protest, all efforts by Mother Bloor and others, veterans of the labor movement, to enlighten them. At this year's meeting August 23rd, in Boston, Gardner Jackson confessed how completely he too had pinned his faith to the Governor and his Commission; those anti-labor plutocrats!

Vanzetti in State Prison and Sacco in Dedham jail, knew better than that. Vanzetti told us what would happen when he heard the make-up of the Commission. Sacco and Vanzetti were workers! They were of the labor movement.

Let us pledge ourselves anew, now, ten years later, to do all in our power to spread the knowledge of the correct tactics of Labor Defense, to prevent another Sacco-Vanzetti tragedy. Let us make sure that, in the future only such tactics of united labor defense as freed Angelo Herndon, four Scottsboro boys and hosts of other labor prisoners shall prevail.

HE DIED IN SPAIN

A short biography of one who gave his life in defense of democracy in Spain. . . . Killed at Belchite . . . and excerpts from his last letters.

—LA RUE McCORMICK
for the Los Angeles International Labor Defense.



HENRY GRIFFIN EATON, Field Organizer for the Southern California District of the International Labor Defense, was killed in action in Spain in the early part of September, 1937, fighting for the Loyalist cause.

Another California boy described his death: "In the special bombing parties at Quinto, we volunteered together with eight others. There was no fear in his eyes—he was always conscious of his convictions. Death meant nothing. Outside of Belchite, our American Company was given the duty of making an open attack on one point of the city. We didn't go 25 feet before a bullet ended Eaton's life instantly. The effectiveness of the enemy's fire was so obvious that we retired. That evening a few comrades went out and placed Henry on a stretcher and brought him in. A grave was dug, and during the day I inscribed appropriate words on a wooden slab. Ten minutes before a night attack on Belchite, we held services for Henry Eaton. The services were closed with these remarks, that we name our Company the HENRY EATON COMPANY and that we pledge to CARRY ON! With our heads unbowed, we raised our hands in an anti-fascist "Salud—Pasaremos."

Henry Eaton came from a long line of Americans truly interested in better conditions for the mass of the people. His mother is a high-principled, courageous woman. She listened to the long letter of tribute dry-eyed and said "He wanted to go. I am glad I did not oppose him. He believed in this cause and threw his whole self into it. There is nothing but glory in a death like his." She is a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Henry's grandfather, Henry Slosson, re-enlisted each year of the Civil War. He saw it through although it cost him his health. He died of tuberculosis. Mrs. Eaton says "I know he thought he was fighting to free the slaves."

Fred S. Eaton, the father of Henry Eaton, was Mayor of Los Angeles from 1889 to 1900. Before he became Mayor he was a City Engineer and as such did a real service to posterity in laying out all of the City parks.

In 1933 Henry went to study the conditions of the share-croppers. He toured the whole south, riding freight trains and walking. He attended Commonwealth College at Mena, Arkansas, and then returned to California hoping to write of his experiences. He and his mother were evicted from their home and since he could find no remunerative channels for his literary talents, he was forced to temporarily give up this ambition. He became active in the Epic movement, and then threw himself into the agricultural strikes. It was here that he was contacted by the International Labor Defense. He was arrested in El Monte during the strike of the strawberry pickers and acquitted after two trials.

Because of his great interest in the Mexican people and the fact that he knew some Spanish, he was sent into Orange County during the citrus strike. He organized several branches of the International Labor Defense and made contacts which enabled the families of the strikers to get on relief although the authorities had previously refused the aid on the ground that they were not citizens.

In the spring of 1937, he made several trips to Santa Monica during the Douglas Aircraft sit-down strike. On the day when the "400" were arrested he happened to be on the sidewalk and because he didn't move fast enough to suit a police officer was arrested on a charge of "Resisting Arrest." He defended himself when the case came up, and dwelt so much on his American ideals and rights that the jury would not convict. After a petition campaign for dismissal the prosecution did move to dismiss when the case came up a second time. About a week later Henry left us to volunteer to fight in the anti-fascist army of Spain.

Mrs. Alice Eaton has lost a loving and devoted son. The world proletariat has lost a courageous fighter. The International Labor Defense has lost a splendid organizer. The Communist Party has lost one who persistently maintained that "Communism is Twentieth Century Americanism."

We cannot and will not let this sacrifice be in vain.

WE PLEDGE TO CARRY ON THE FIGHT AGAINST REACTION AND FASCISM TO THE END!

Some time before we went into action, one of our Brigade commanders came to speak with us. He said there would be days when we would have no food, no water, days of blistering heat when we would advance under grilling machine gun fire hour after hour, days when we would fall asleep on the graves of our dead comrades, nights when we would

make rapid marches without rest. I did not laugh out loud, but it all sounded incredible. Yet it happened much more thoroughly than he described. We slept with our dead comrades. There were days when we had no time to throw an inch of soil over them, we had to save every ounce of strength for our job. We became numb automatons, unable

to feel because horror had surpassed our ability to meet it. But we could think, and our minds said "This is a grimy business. We are filthy with it, but we are not the ones who started it. The Fascists started it, the Fascists forced this role upon us. War must be ended forever. War must be torn up by the roots. War and Fascism are synonymous."

One experience that would seem to have moved a stone proved absolutely how numb my feelings had become. Our company was in a gully waiting to go up into the line when a fleet of Fascist planes appeared overhead. We dug our faces into the earth, our bodies prone. That swish that takes the pit out of one's stomach was heard as bombs began to drop. No thunder could be so deafening, coming closer, closer, the filthy stench of high sulphurous explosives choking in our mouths. Closer, closer, shaking the earth so our bodies could not hold to its soothing protectiveness. Then crash, and a weight is bearing me into the soil, a faint moan. I knew then the comrade lying next to me had been thrown on my back. A slight convulsion, and the moaning stops. The silence is more deafening than the bombardment. Shoving up, I am free of the weight upon me. The air is so thick, like a grey sulphurous fog, which is almost impenetrable. Then I look at the body of my comrade. The seven letters from his sweetheart in Detroit, which I had delivered to him the day before are around him. I pick up my diary. The top is blown off. . . .

I and ten others volunteered to go up to the walls of one building while artillery engaged the machine guns and throw nitroglycerine into the windows. This was the only way to stop the rain of death that poured from the tower and balconies. A tank of gasoline was rolled into the door then we threw our bombs and there was a tremendous explosion. Even to the last the Fascists kept firing. Between first and second dashes, we made to the church walls a man was



Little refugees from fascist terror in Spain at play in the Soviet Union.



Peace and safety at last. Reading story books in a Children's home in the Soviet Union.

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killed. They fight with an incredible intensity. The flames consumed the whole interior, though the outer structure still stands, a monument to great mediaeval architects and stone masons.

In the darkness later, as the flames softened, it seemed through the open door that thousands of candles were burning on the altar and around the sacred heart.

I was not with those who first entered the town which was why I volunteered on the bombing expedition. On the third day we took up a position on a high mountain above the town where the remaining Fascists were making their last stand. We waited behind our parapets, unable to advance over the flat stretch and watched our artillery and tanks sending over a terrific gale of fire. But yet the Fascists' machine guns were not silenced. Suddenly the sky was filled with Fascist planes, dropping bombs, then cries from the Fascist trenches: A VIVA ESPANA! Then our planes came dropping papers and the fire from the Fascists ceased. Two, three, four. men came out of the trenches. Some waved white flags. They went back, desultory fire ensued. We ordered all fire on our side to cease. We called. VENGA, CAMARADAS. Again a few appeared, then went back. Then by twos and threes they came running towards us. There was a little fire, probably from their officers behind them. Then we came slowly toward them. More of them appeared on the sky line. Soon both of us were running, hundreds on both sides, running to meet each other. I saw those ahead embracing. I said to myself, "I cannot embrace a Fascist." But when the young soldiers came toward us, their white exhausted faces looking so eager into ours, falling on our necks, what could we do? It was such a relief, so beautiful a victory, ending with so few wounded, so little a loss of life.

I have tried to give you a few of the pictures we see on every hand as we move across the battlefields of Spain, hoping always to see the dawn that is rising behind the mountains ahead. We are running as fast as we can, gathering momentum with every step, as the workers of the world push forward with us.

Salud!
HENRY

AN AMERICAN: Will you please communicate at once, giving more information and establishing a quicker method of communication. If possible call in person.

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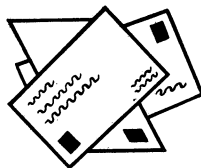
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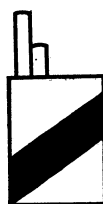


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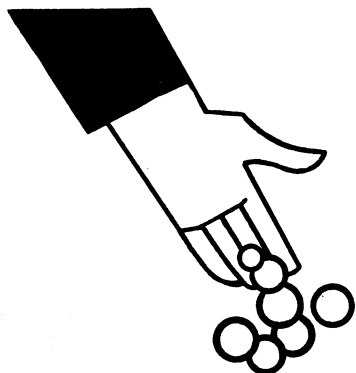
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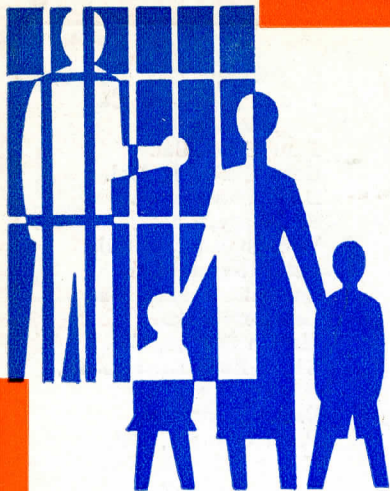
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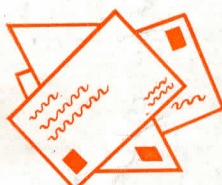
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