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.
Pittsburgh, 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 2019S
San Francisco, California

ALASKA CANNERY WORKERS, Ladies Auxiliary
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 WORKERS OF AMERICA
Local No. 258
1420 North Broad St.

UNITED BROTHERHOOD
CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA
Local Union No. 1050
1532 McKean Street

UNITED BROTHERHOOD
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 Vignotio, Pres.
Mariana 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

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 SCOTTSDORO BOYS
and all Labor Prisoners

INTERNATIONAL HOD CARRIERS' BUILDING AND COMMON 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 LONGSHOREMEN'S ASSOCIATION
Auxiliary No. 3
44 Page Street
San Francisco, Calif.

INTERNATIONAL LONGSHOREMEN'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.
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, Sec. Sec.

PROGRESSIVE MINERS OF AMERICA
Local Union No. 1
Gillespie, Illinois

MISCELLANEOUS EMPLOYEES UNION
Local No. 140
491 Jessie Street
San Francisco, Cal.

NATIONAL LEATHER WORKERS ASSOCIATION
Local No. 21
Kenneth McKinnon, Pres.
Raymond Finnegain, 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
Everett, Washington

SUIT CASE, BAG & PORTOFOLIO MAKERS UNION
304 Fourth Avenue
New York City

UNITED SHOE WORKERS OF AMERICA
Philadelphia District
Broadwood Hotel

ILLINOIS WORKERS ALLIANCE
777 W. Adams Street
Chicago, Illinois
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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 as 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 is 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 burned 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 their 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 Americanism of the oncoming depression. The sentiment of the times, manifesting itself in the wave of pre-1929 prosperity, determined to ride roughshod 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 most 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 international 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 greater 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 1896, 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 and might with which the brush of 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 Angello 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. C. A. 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 or against 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.
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 croup 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, and 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 4th, the now historic Haymarket meeting was held. The Haymarket meeting is referred to historically as the "Haymarket Riot." This Haymarket meeting was absolutely peaceful 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 notified the inspector, 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 unloading 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 $3,000 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 not tried, 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 soundly 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 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 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 for days...

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.
LEAFLETS THAT CALLED the HAYMARKET MEETING

Revenge!

"Revenge—working men—to arms—your masters sent out their bloodhounds—the police—they killed six of your brothers at the McCormick this afternoon. They killed the poor wretches because they, like you, had courage to disobey the supreme will of your bosses. They killed because they dared to ask for the shortening of the hours of toil. They killed them to show you—free American citizens that you must be satisfied and contented with whatever your bosses condescend to allow you, or you will get killed.

"You have for years endured the most abject humiliations; you have worked yourselves to death, you have endured the pangs of want and hunger; your children have been sacrificed to the factory lords—in short you have been miserable and obedient slaves all these years.

"Why? To satisfy the insatiable greed and fill the coffers of your lazy thieving masters. When you ask them to lessen your burden, they send the bloodhounds out to shoot you, kill you.

"If you are men, if you are the sons of your grandfathers who have shed their blood to free you—then you will rise in your might, Hercules, and destroy the hideous monster that seeks to destroy you.

"To arms. We call you to arms. Your brothers."

The Opening Speech

Gentlemen and fellow workmen: Mr. Parsons and Mr. Fielden will be here in a very short time to address you. I will say, however, first this meeting was called for the purpose of discussing the general situation of the eight hour strike, and the events which have taken place in the last forty-eight hours. It seems to have been the opinion of the authorities that this meeting was called for the purpose of raising a little row and disturbance. This, however, was not the intention of the committee that called the meeting. The committee that called the meeting wanted to tell you certain facts. (Speech by Spies.)

The Press Screamed:

Now It Is Blood

The anarchists of Chicago inaugurated in earnest last night the reign of lawlessness which they have threatened and endeavored to incite for years. They threw a bomb into the midst of a line of 200 police officers, and it exploded with fearful effect, mowing down men like cattle. Almost before the issue of death had exploded the anarchists directed a murderous fire from revolvers upon the police as if their action were prearranged, and as the latter were hemmed in on every side—amazed—the effect of the fire upon the ranks of the officers was fearful. . . . The collision between the police and the anarchists was brought about by the leaders of the latter, August Spies, Sam Fielden, and A. R. Parsons, endeavoring to incite a large mass meeting to riot and bloodshed.

Chicago Inter Ocean, May 5, 1886

Venomous Reptiles

The promptest and sternest way of dealing with such outbreaks as that among the Chicago Anarchists is the wisest and most merciful. The demand for higher wages and fewer hours has nothing or very little to do with their demonstrations and the sympathy and consideration which are due honest working men striving by lawful means to better their condition would be worse than wasted on these dogs. Their grievance is against society, order, government and all the 10 Commandments. These cutthroats are to a man of foreign birth and of foreign ideas American soil does not grow such venomous reptiles and they must be made to understand without the possibility of a mistake that the American people, who listen with indifference to their wild talk, will show a very different temper when they try to put their theories in practice as they attempted to do in Chicago last night.

New York Times, May 5, 1886
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.

A. R. PARSONS' APPEAL
TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA.

"... I saw no weapons at all on any person."
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.
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 representative 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 Fageri, 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 pretext to convict us; to convict us by a jury picked out to convict before hand. For the public is supposed more by 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 disheartened and disfranchised millions, my agitation in this direction, the popularization of economic teachings—shortly, the education of the wage worker, 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 prejudices 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 murder and murder, is doomed to die, and make way 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 I can crush out these ideas that I have and do not act upon them more and more every day; if you think I can crush them out by sending them 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. You honor me, 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 colleague 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-thousand members in the United States. These organizations publish a great many newspapers in America and every single one of them believes that the birth of the Knights of Labor was inspired 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 the 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 mankind 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 death remains in store, I shall combat it. . . . I depose you. I depose your order, your laws, your force-propelled 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, 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 8

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 hadn’t 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 Scream Bleed Hard, Strug-
gling Violently.

Convicts Executed.
INCEST, NY.
Adolphus Parson, Fischer, Engel
and Spies, the convicted Haymarket
perpetrators, were hanged by the
law of the land, meaning they had
been found guilty. Their scaffold
was set at 11:54 among these.

Convicts Executed.
INCEST, NY.
All 300,000 people and
locals, politicians and others, among them
the 14 parents who were in the
view the bodies after the execu-
tion, were present in the
park and began seeing themselves.

The last few minutes before the scaffold was
lowered were filled with
choking noises, yelling and
screaming sounds, several times,
but the last few seconds were
filled with the sounds of
conversation and the sound of
either a whoop or a howl.

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 Ling (who commit-
ted 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. Alt-
geld convinced of their innocence, responded
to the demands of the ever growing protest
movement and pardoned them.

John Altgeld, governor of Illinois, who par-
doned the three remaining Haymarket victims
in 1893.
LABOR IS COMING INTO ITS OWN

Never in the history of this country has labor made the tremendous strides that it has made in the past year. Never have the hosts of labor been so numerous as they are now. 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 product of labor, but in the entire world, is the fairest reflection of the toil, 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 only temporary setbacks. The first act was the determination of labor to go ahead. The galloway stopped to toil in the march of labor. Neither the firing squads... the prisons... the soldiers sent by the federal and state authorities... 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 penalties 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 riot, 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 the United States, but in the whole world. He has never asked for mercy, only 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, is it 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 1896 when members of the shoemakers' union, the I.W.W., 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. All of the men convicted were sentenced to go 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 convict these men it would have gone as far back to 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 nothing was done to check the trusts and monopolies, public utilities, public works, the banks and the railroads might become too big to control. But the Sherman anti-trust act became a weapon against labor. In the case of the Danbury Hatmakers, the courts applied this act against the union, holding that labor is a commodity and the union a monopoly in restraint of trade. In 1914 the Clayton act was passed to pass the Clayton act intended to nullify the Sherman anti-trust act to labor.

But laws mean nothing, unless those who administer the laws intend that they be honestly and justly enforced. The Clayton act became a weapon against labor. You recall the injunctions against the Georgia labor movement in 1912. This injunction went so far as to forbid the strikers to refer to the scabs as strikebreakers. Daugherty's explanation, "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 preventing violence. These U.S. deputy marshals were paid by the railroads and they did their work—well—from the standpoint of the railroads. The railroad prevailing on the 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's fight for the eight hour day. That is how we have been fighting this last year, 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 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 weak 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 cannot 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 take? He 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.
Portrait of the protest movement in behalf of the "good shoe-maker and the poor fish-peddler" which encircled the globe.
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...
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 unforgivable 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 just for justice. And in the city where we sleep, amnest gardener walks 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 Post 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 satisfaction 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 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 clutch 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 sure 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 flax of terror leaps to it, and is lost in the reflection. . . . It is impossible for you to conceive that men could weep in public and women permit themselves to be thrown in ball because (as we 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 tragic case of Sacco and Vanzetti, the farce 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 has been produced, no 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 prosecution 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 knew, 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, you 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 persecuting 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 sent 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.

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 has 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 spoken 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 were my principle—so 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 that there was no idea of reforms and hate against the people of our principles, against the foreigners, against slavers, and it seems to me—rather, I am positive of it, that both you and Mr. Katzenmehl has done all it were in your power to undermine me 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 now more 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, that they all that they have promised, 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 split 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 born two other times I would live again to do what I have done already. I have finished; thank you.

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. And 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 split 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.
Another of November's labor martyrs—
Joe Hill
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, of possessing socialist 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 disbelieve 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 surrounded the American people protesting for Sacco and Vanzetti. Right: Police on guard outside the death house on August 22, 1927.
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 where 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 undeceived 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 Blor 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 plotters!

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 Californian 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 condition. 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 great 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—Pazaremos.”

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 no hing but glory in a death like his.” She is a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Henry’s grandfather, Henry Sloan, reenlisted each year of the Civil War. He saw it through and 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 selected 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 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 groves 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 lived 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 we shall never 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 sulphuric explosive choking us. Closer, closer, shaking the earth so our bodies could not hold to its soothing protective. Then crash, and a weight is bearing me into the soil, a faint moan. I knew then the comrades 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 galeacious fog, which is almost impenetrable. Then I look at the body of my comrade. The 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 threw nitroglycerin into the window. 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. Everyone 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.
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 watch our artillery and tanks sending over a terrific gale of fire. But yet the Fascist 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 two and threes they came running toward us. There was a little fire, probably from their officers behind them. Then we came slowly toward them. More of them appeared on the skyline. Soon both of us were running, hundreds on both sides, running, meeting to 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. It possible call in person.

Mr. & Mrs. R. Amrick, Jr.
Frank Aries, N. Y.
Mr. Andrews, N. Y.
E. Ambo, N. Y.
Henry Albert, N. Y.
Anna Alexander, N. Y.
Daniel Auth, Ill.
J. Alessio, N. Y.
Nuzza Altadonna

B
D. Braga, N. Y.
Makis Bascalis, Wisc.
A. Bittner, Ill.
Peter Batninick, Cal.
Z. B. Brown, Cal.
Mr. Bookman, N. Y.

The following will have live flowers placed on the Haymarket Monument in their names. All names not in this issue will appear in the December LABOR DEFENDER.

D. Bell, Cal.
W. Bells, Cal.
George Bradleys, Cal.
S. Boyle, Cal.
Gus Bravo, Cal.
Mr. Broder, Cal.
Mr. Bolden, Cal.
Ed. Berman, Honolulu.
Wm. Book, Cal.
G. Betz, Cal.
Henry Brent, Cal.
Elaine Black, Cal.
S. O. Bryant, Cal.

Van Bilderbeck, Cal.
J. A. Burke, Cal.
Jack Berolia, Cal.
S. Barnstein, Cal.
Kvins Bothers
C
L. Chavers, Cal.
Peter Callah, Cal.
George Carlos, Cal.
G. Crisos, Cal.
G. Catrell, Cal.
Reveles Cayton, Cal.

B. Carsick, Cal.
W. Clavey, Cal.
Bessie Chalfen, Cal.
L. Century, Cal.
Christ Chelenges, Cal.
Dr. Benjamin Chopman.
J. Colloer, Cal.
S. Clebek, Cal.
W. W. Churka, Cal.
Lodislow Ciger, Cal.
Milka Choven, Cal.
Clarence Crooks, Cal.
Carl Chalbanhop, Cal.
Mr. Conales, N. Y.
Charee Crueder, Cal.
Mr. Coflan, N. Y.
John Craig, Cal.
LABOR'S PRISONERS
and their
FAMILIES 
NEED

To help make prison days less dreary;
To show a militant trade-unionist that he is
not forgotten;
To assure him that his wife and children will
not be destitute.

PRISON COMFORTS
SMOKES
SCHOOL SUPPLIES
SHOES

Help us provide them with food shelter clothes medicine

FOOD
SHELTER
CLOTHES
MILK
MEDICAL CARE

$2 will pay for fuel and light for one week; $5
will supply smokes and shaving materials for one
month; $10 will provide school books and supplies;
$30 will provide shoes for 10 children; $50 will pro-
vide clothing for 6 months for one family.

The quota for our 1937 CHRIST-
MAS DRIVE is $25,000, because that is the sum required to meet
the needs of those who depend on us for aid.

YOU CAN HELP US MEET
these needs by contributing to the

$25,000 XMAS [Winter Aid] Drive
of the
INTERNATIONAL LABOR DEFENSE
PRISONERS RELIEF FUND

80 East 11th Street
New York City
LABOR'S PRISONERS
and their
FAMILIES

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To help make prison days less dreary;
To show a militant trade-unionist that he is
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To assure him that his wife and children will
not be destitute.

18,000 labor
prisoner's and
their families
depend on us
for support

Help us
provide
them
with
food
shelter
clothes
medicine

PRISON COMFORTS
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MEDICAL CARE

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