

President A. L. Lowell of Harvard
President S. W. Stratton of M. I. T.
Judge Robert Grant
and
Governor Fuller of Massachusetts

IN THE PRESENCE
of

VANZETTI

Historic analysis of their murderous
unreason made by Vanzetti just before
they strapped him in the electric chair
and threw the switch.



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THIS letter of Vanzetti to his friends in France speaks eloquently for itself. It was written in the midst of the perusal of the case undertaken by Governor Fuller and his advisory committee, headed by President A. Lawrence Lowell of Harvard, to quiet the questions being asked by a distressingly large number of "respectable and substantial" citizens.

Vanzetti is perhaps more clearly revealed in this letter than in any other he wrote. A man of genuine intellect, with unusually penetrating powers of analysis and wit, he here displays the qualities that made him develop greatly under a seven-year torture that would have broken most men—qualities of courage and faith that made him take his seat in the electric chair in a calmly heroic manner rarely equaled in history.

Guided by reason, Vanzetti at the time he wrote this letter, could see no other outcome than that which he and Sacco finally suffered. Yet in his words as here set down one detects that pervading quality of human warmth which made him unwilling to distrust all the characters in the tragedy even though his reason insisted that none of them deserved trust.

Vanzetti loved people, and in this letter one finds him seeking to hold fast to the surface attributes of President Lowell, President Stratton and Governor Fuller that seemed to promise human decency in them. That these attributes fooled Vanzetti and others of his intellectual calibre is a sign not of Vanzetti's too-great belief in appearances but rather a sign of the terrifying cleverness with which hypocrisy and prejudice in modern America work their ends.

This letter is a document revealing the disgraceful means of a Massachusetts governor, posing as political idealist, and the president of one of the country's greatest universities were willing to adopt to carry out their designs. Assuming an attitude of sympathetic friendliness in Vanzetti's presence, they repaired to their secret chambers and waited to give orders to the executioner to kill him.

TO THE INTERNATIONAL ANARCHIST
DEFENSE COMMITTEE

72 Rue des Prairies, Paris (France)

Dedham Jail, July 10, 1927

DEAR COMRADES:

Your good letter of June 12th reached me in due time and toward the end of the same month I had ready a long, circumstantiated reply, dealing with the subjects of your letter and answering to its questions.

Then lo! at midnight of June 30th, we were suddenly awakened, told to dress quickly, well manacled, taken to an automobile, escorted by several others, filled with armed guards, and thus hurriedly transferred from the Dedham jail to the State Prison in Charlestown, Mass., where we are now confined in two separate cells of Cherry Hill Wing, waiting for August 10th, fixed by the Governor for our execution. And in the surprise, confusion, and terror of that midnight transference my letter to you was lost, together with our little hope of one month of more respirable fresh, country air, and of vital sunlight.

So I am now re-beginning my writing on this 10th of July, 1927—settled by Thayer's death sentence, as the beginning of the week in which we should have been executed. Instead, we still have before us the grand prospect of 30 days of solitary confinement before to be burnt alive to death on the electric chair. A great prospect indeed!

You asked me if I knew that you have interested in our behalf The League of Rights of Man and other elements; if I approve it or if I prefer that you should appeal to workers and revolutionary circles; and how I like your attitude too, and language on the case. (I trust in my memory, in saying the preceding, for your letter remained in Dedham jail.)

I am glad and have nothing to object to your interesting the League of the Rights of Man and other associations or persons in our case.

Convicted of two crimes of which I am entirely innocent, ruined by our seven years of an imprisonment that is a law's terrible execution; facing now the extreme punishment of death after having proved my innocence and the criminal iniquity of my trialers and of my trials; I do not have to appeal to any class-justice and still less to a superior conception of justice such as the socialistic libertarian justice is, in order to claim my rights to liberty and freedom and be granted a tardy reparation. The capitalist law and justice are more than sufficient for my need and claim—if their masters and dealers would recognize the evidence.

In my person are denied, offended, violated, insulted, and mocked the most elementary and inalienable rights of Man as likewise the most fundamental principles of justice—to the point that the Supreme Judges of Massachusetts used the law to outlaw us, that being their only possible way to hand us to the executioner. I submit to mankind their two "decisions" on the case. For the proved facts and undisputable reasons, above mentioned, I believe that all those who believe that no person shall be punished for a crime of which he is innocent; all those who do not wish to see the constitutional system turned into imperialistic and plutocratic feudalism; all of them have good grounds and reasons to array in our defence. And I respect also the humanitarian principles and sentiments which prompt many a person in our behalf. All considered, it seems to me that the ideal way to meet our tragic contingency is to let each one, honest and in good faith, be coherent to his own plans and do what he deems better to be done, as he best can and likes. This

suggestion is indeed an old abused generality to which all agree as long as no one tries to find out how it shall be applied,—for then all agree to disagree with each other. This does not exclude supervision, rectification, denials, etc. from those more near to us of whatever seems wrong, detrimental, or unexact which might be said or done in good faith by whomsoever.

I know of the universal solidarity in our behalf, regarding which I repeat that the best part of mankind is doing for us what once would and could only have been done for kings and saints, and that the people of France, and of Paris in particular, stand among the bravest and most generous in this precedentless, greatest solidarity of history. But we do not know the particular details of this; we know it only summarily and generally. Consequently, I cannot give an opinion of the particularities of your brave efforts or of your way of treating the case though I studied all of your spoken and written words in your letter to me, and in your communications.

But, I believe, you base your defence of us on facts, evidence, proceedings of the trials, appeals, motions, and decisions on the case which expose the nature of the times and social environment as a field of battle between evolution and revolution, reaction and progress, tyranny and liberty: rather than the inevitable mistakes of particularities or of interpretation, so you are doing what I deem is the right thing. In fact, I cannot see how you could do otherwise, for the nature of all things in the case reveals so self-imposingly this truth, that even the most conservative and moderate of our American defenders base their claims on it, confessing they act to safeguard the good reputation and honor of this Commonwealth in asking that Sacco and Vanzetti shall have a new trial—for it would be a great disgrace to execute them on their unfair original trial, so marked by hatred and bias, (it must be specified that this is the language of the most *conservative*). Our case is not a judiciary mistake; but a consciously and criminally deliberated frame-up by Thayer, to become judge of the Supreme Court; by Katzmann, for a professional career; by police Stewart, for greed of money. Later on I will prove this by reasons and facts. But the chief cause of our framers' conduct was their hatred and revenge upon us as Italians, anti-militarists, and anarchists.

Verily, the best of America (and of the earth) for vigor of blood and arm, goodness of heart, and greatness of intellect, are with us. But we were, and are, tried and persecuted by the worst of America; a Thayer and a Katzmann; a Williams and a Wilbur; twenty-four narrow minded, fanatic provincials in the dress of jurors, turned into lynchers by the criminal misleading of the judge and of Katzmann, a dozen perjurers, professional criminals such as Goodridge; three harlots; moral deficient as Pelzer; and the black-gowned valets of Massachusetts' plutocracy, called the supreme justices, and the drags of rural, state, and federal police; lo! our murderers. But they have the power in their hands and, abusing it in the most evident and criminal way, they defeated us time after time, so that now, after seven years and two months of hopeless struggle and an imprisonment that was the slowest and cruellest execution imaginable, they have us in a cell of death, with the grand prospect before us of 28 other days of solitary confinement before being burnt alive to death.

Time urges then; and I, leaving aside many things of the past, will only try to give you my opinion of the actually essential phases of the case.

Because hope and confidence are inherent to normal psychology—because the Governor began his inquiry, named a commission, and postponed for a month the date of our execution under history's greatest protest against a death sentence—and because the evidence of an unfair trial and of our innocence is self-imposing as the noon clearness, you and all our friends and comrades, far from the scene, re-open your hearts to hope, and cheer us with words of confidence and optimism in the final outcome of the case.

Not so our local comrades who have learnt by an unspeakable experience of seven years of disillusion, deceptions,

and defeats; who and what our enemies are and what they did. To those who know our enemies, the thought of August 19th arises in their mind a vision too horrible to be bearable; that's all. Because we have undergone something that (aside the irreparable) is far worse and more painful than to be quickly killed, many friends believe that we will not be executed. I say to you that in journals and in private and public talks, these cobra-hearted Puritan worshippers of Mammon are talking of our execution after seven years of imprisonment, as if it were the most ordinary, logical, and humane action of life; an every day trifle. And this is done even by the capitalist dailies of Boston, which, between the "yes" and the "no" seem and seem not to be in our favor. If the Boston press would tell what it knows of the case positively, we would be free before August 19th. As for our enemies, they would kill us after another 50 years of imprisonment, if it would be impossible before. I have understood this from the day I was found guilty at the Plymouth trial. Just try to imagine what these seven years have been to me. My only hope has been in a shifting of history's course, which did not happen.

Henceforth, I have exclusively referred to my known proven enemies—not to the Governor or to the members of his commission. Because the day of our sentence approached and arrived through a comparative calm and silence, our enemies thought that you had forgotten us and given up our defence and that they could at last have us dead in their hands without further effort and struggle; and therefore, the universal storm of protest and execration that pointed to Boston, from the 32 winds of the earth, against the sentence, beastialized them beyond words. They now also want us to pay for the discredit and shame that their persecution brought upon the name of this place, they say it explicitly. Turning frantically to the counter-offensive, they dropped pretences, tact, and mask, appearing at last, just what they are, and saying just how they feel, how they think and what they want. Probably you read their counter-petition to the Governor; their letters and talks on the case. But to the edification of the less informed, I give here some samples, and not the worst of it.

A blood-thirsty counter-petitioner wrote from New York to the Governor: "A nice hanging every little while is a mighty good thing for the people".

A born hanger who knows not the least thing of us or the case, warned the Governor: "If there is no one in Massachusetts who has the nerve to despatch Sacco and Vanzetti, let me know it, and I will come".

A lawyer from Vermont State, writes: "I am so disgusted with the propaganda for Sacco and Vanzetti, that I think it the duty of all good American citizens to let the Governor know that they are all with him. If their execution is stayed, so that it will never be carried out, it will be the greatest victory for the 'reds' all over the world".

A minister from Philadelphia, who is a professional red baiter, and who knows us and the case, as I the Sanskrit, placed himself against the most eminent clericals of this country and the quasi-totality of those of Massachusetts who petitioned for us and said: "By their own confession, Sacco and Vanzetti are communists of the rankest type. They claim innocence. If so, they have done and said enough crooked things to destroy completely their credibility. The menaces of revenge, in case of their execution, made by their friends, prove that they are murderers at heart".

A Mr. Greybill, publisher of the Commonwealth Acts and Supreme Court decisions, who had already published a pamphlet against us, after the sentence, happened to read the above quoted words of Rev. Hanger, and he found nothing better to do against us than to hurriedly copy those words and send them in a commentary letter to the Governor, as a mighty argument for our execution. By this we may guess what his former pamphlet was. But we know that Mr. Greybill is a defendant of the legislature and of the judicial Supreme Court of Massachusetts (both deadly enemies to us), and we would like to know if Mr. Greybill's rascality and hostility are due to his moral perversion, or

if he acts so because Thayer or some of the Supreme justices or someone else pulls the strings.

Mr. Moorfield Storey, a Bostonian, an old and distinguished lawyer with good acts to his account, just happened to fear and hate the "reds" to the point that he would exterminate their seed, and was consequently crazy to hang Sacco and Vanzetti. And since the nature of our case rendered impossible to any person to honestly oppose us, Mr. Moorfield Storey was led by his hostility to acts and words that stain and disgrace his venerable white hair. He is the author of the preface of Louis Post's book, "Deportation Delirium", which is an historical document of the constitutional violations and the abuses, violence, brutality, and cruelty committed by the Federal agents upon the raided--supposed or real reds, during the terror of the Palmer administration. It is known that Palmer spent millions of dollars from the Federal treasury, in persecuting supposed and real radicals "to save America from revolution and bolshevism," with the secret aim of gaining by this the candidacy of president of the United States.

Well, Mr. Storey was vehement in his preface and wrote that "*American citizens must blush with shame at the thought of what has been done by the Federal Department of Justice and Federal agents.*" But when our defense proved by the undisputed testimony of three ex-Federal agents, what the Department of Justice and its agents have done against us, lo! Mr. Storey came forward with a public letter to state that "*it is unbelievable that the candid Federal agents could have committed such things.*" Someone answered him, by submitting to him his own former words. But he did not stop.

When the Defense, the Defense Committee, thousands of petitioners and finally, I myself, asked with unmistakable clearness of language the governor to conduct a public and thorough investigation of all the facts of the case and to appoint a commission of honest and competent men to help him in the inquiry, lo! Mr. Storey, writing again a public letter, signed by six other lawyers, to the effect that the Governor could not appoint such a commission, because "*the law of our Commonwealth invests the Governor with supreme executive discretion but forbids him to transfer upon other persons the said supreme discretion.*" In writing so, Mr. Storey and his co-partners knew perfectly well that none had asked such a thing; but it was the only possible way to oppose in the name of the law, by a conscious falsification of our demand, the appointment of the asked commission of investigation and Mr. Storey did it. His bad faith witnesses itself.

Then came the Dean Wigmore controversy with Prof. Frankfurter. All who read it knew the vituperations of Wigmore against his opponent; his misstatement of facts; his atrocious insult to the anarchist movement, which he affirmed the most criminal of all the criminal associations of the world. He asked our execution because of what our friends and comrades have done abroad in our defense and he attempted to prove the fairness of Thayer by quoting one of our defense counsel, Jeremiah McAnarney, who said, during the trial, to Judge Thayer himself, that he was learned and fair. We all know that mutual inconsistency is a universal practice in forensics and a common trick of strategy to obtain some wished-for thing. To produce a similar smallness in defense of one thesis is a symptom of self-conscious weakness. But he said also that if the Supreme Justices would have been willing to give us a new trial, they could have found a way (which is positively true), and that, therefore, the denial was due to their conviction of our guilt (which is positively false). He was gradually silenced by Prof. Frankfurter's factuality.

Mr. Goodwin, the Boston registrar of motor vehicles, let loose a venomous attack on all those who do not ravage after our blood. "They are all sob-sisters, soft hearted and soft brained, or dangerous radicals. No investigation commission shall be appointed." Challenged by the State congressman, Rev. Mr. Sawyer, to a public discussion, the red-eater, Mr. Goodwin, declined with ridiculous excuses.

Ex-Mayor Curley, in a speech pronounced on June 15th, at Charlestown, helped his friend Mr. Goodwin in vituperating our defenders and comrades and making our executioner, Poffis Frankfurter and Dean Pound be called reds and internationalists who preach and practice the doctrines which mean destruction to all those ideals for which the men of Barker Hill fought!!!

The kernel of his talk is that those who believe that the radicals are not strong and progressing in this country are wrong! "See how they imposed their will in the Sacco-Vanzetti case"; that there is a real "red peril", and therefore, Sacco and Vanzetti must be executed.

Politician Curley, characterized Charles Lindbergh as "a fine typical American boy", who has not been "poisoned with the character of the doctrines preached in some universities and in some magazines to this country, ignoring that Lindbergh's father was quite a radical and extremely opposed to war, for which he was beastially slandered until his premature last day.

Our enemies assumed the same logic as Judge Thayer in the Madeiros confession. Since Madeiros has begun to rob from his adolescence, was hounded in a road-house of bad reputation, in jail several times, and killed to rob the cashier of the Wrentham bank, it cannot be believed that he participated passively in the Braintree crime, as he confessed. He says so to be helped by the friends of Sacco and Vanzetti and so delay or avoid his execution.

So that if Madeiros had an immaculate record, was known as a model citizen, a saint in goodness and behavior, then our enemies would believe that he knows the underworld, is broken to every crime, and participated in the South Braintree crime; otherwise "never". Some logic, eh?

Only a few days ago the Boston Herald wondered that I did not begin to act as a clown and a buffoon since I was confined in this cell of death and it acknowledged that Madeiros had prolonged already his life a year by his confession. Oh! these God fearing, law abiding Americans! It is time to explain this thing.

There is not a single moron in all the states who does not understand that all the Massachusetts authorities and great interests are deadly against us and our friends because all the public utterances and writings of the authorities and politicians as well as all their proceedings in our case make it most evident. The people believe that Governor Fuller has not commuted the death sentence of the three men convicted of the Waltham car barn murder and executed them last Winter, in order to provide no precedent and no reasons for our friends to ask for our commutation. Indeed, the Boston press, in reporting the interview between Fuller and a journalist, which was published in "The Success Magazine" on November, 1926, under the title "Why I believe in Capital Punishment" said that the Governor's words regarding all the cases of death sentences, including Sacco and Vanzetti, gave evidence that Fuller confessed his intention to send all of them to their doom. Jerry Godzium, condemned to die and confined in the space next to mine, thinks and feels in his heart that he was denied a new trial, and will be denied a commutation, because the State authorities want to execute us and will not, therefore, commute his sentence in order to do the same with us. Of the 500 prisoners in this place, most of them have sympathy and respect for me in their hearts, but almost all fear to speak with me and to stay with me and appear friendly, because they believe that if the State authorities and the Parole Board learn that they are my friends, they will deny them the release on parole and even their minimum sentence, if possible.

It is said that Madeiros is somehow intelligent and he has certainly more than sufficient experience of Courts and prisons to plainly understand that his confession would have lost all opportunity of an acquittal, a new trial, or a commutation of death sentence to life imprisonment by the Governor. He was in Dedham Jail when he confessed and knew full well how beastially Sheriff Capen is against us. If I remember well, Madeiros, was willing and ready to confess before his first trial; he was certainly so before his second trial, in spite of how much it could have hurt him.

No one knew better than Madeiros himself that his confession would doom him; and what help or profit could he have expected for it, from our side, when he was to be executed? The truth is that Madeiros is fully convinced that he will be executed; that he is sick, buried alive and craves for death—that will deliver him from misery. That this is the truth is proved by what follows: the three convicted of the car-bara case, were confined in this place, after they had been brought from the County Jail into the deathhouse and their execution was delayed by a last, desperate legal effort of their brave counsel. Well, when they were transferred again to the death-house, Madeiros, from his *in-pace* next to theirs, heard the noise of it and understood what was going on and he broke in atrocious invectives against the officers: "You sons of ---, you kill people who have not killed". (The homicide had been committed by one of the three, after the robbery and when all the co-associates were out of the place of the crime). "You kill innocent men. Why don't you kill me instead? I have committed all sorts of crimes."

Recently when Governor Fuller waited until the last minute to announce the later postponement of Madeiros' execution, Madeiros urged repeatedly: "For Christ's sake, don't delay any longer—let this be the end."

But in vain did Rev. Murphy, prison-chaplain, and Mr. Brooks of the Parole Board, question Madeiros again and again on his confession: they only obtained its repetition. But in face of all this, our enemies cling desperately to their logic as the only way to triumph upon Madeiros' confession, to arrive at our execution. And, oh! they call it "life", the agony of a sick, hopeless man, entorbed in an *in-pace* and waiting for his final torture. Oh! the civilized people!

I close this fragmentary exposition of our enemies' infamy, by calling your attention to the fact that among the counter-petitioners there is one big stockholder of the Plymouth Cordage Company, who was its manager at the time of its workers' strike, 1915, in which I participated actively and honestly.

I would be able to collect in a single document the counter petitions and the worst letters and talks against us which have been published in the Boston Herald or in other local journals: A documented material of bias, prejudice, hatred, fear, sophisms, cruelty, ignorance, of voluntary mis-statements, alterations, inversion, and falsification of facts, evidence and points of law; of conscious and unconscious perversion of logical feelings, a criterion of insincerities, mendacities, and obscene bigotry, fanaticisms, and mental, psychological and moral degeneration of its authors: the whole animated by a madness of bloody sadism.

I would present it to all the nations of the earth to prove that by their own clear and unmistakable words, they rave for our blood because: "Sacco and Vanzetti are foreigners, slackers against war, bolsheviks, radicals, communists, anarchists, enemies of our institutions, unbelievers in our gods, Mammon and Moloch, and, therefore, they are murderers at heart; because the reputation of our courts must be upheld; because there is a 'red peril', the radicals are progressing in our country; Sacco and Vanzetti must pay for what their friends have done in their defense; if they escape execution, it would be the greatest victory for the reds all over the world so they must be killed to save our reputation, institutions, and country."

Some time ago a prominent and reputed citizen confessed in a public letter to be "unable to forget the shock I received when I heard for the first time people saying that on the whole it is better that Sacco and Vanzetti be executed rather than the faith of the people in our institutions be shaken by a new trial for them." (That is but what a new trial could reveal). In short: A legal murder for State reasons, confessed by their authors.

Since our sentencing our enemies have made theirs the motto: Let the law have its course. They oppose desperately an investigation of the case by the Governor; the appointment of a commission and a reprieve of our execution. They persecuted our friends; remunerated our slanderers,

denied permissions for meetings on public grounds and parades in our behalf, denied all the public or private halls in Boston; affirmed that our case is a domestic affair of the State (in order to depreciate the world-wide protest) and valorized at the same time, all the lullie against us, coming from throughout the State. Then, when their efforts apparently failed: Lo! they brought us here. I am told that the Governor granted us a reprieve before June 1st, believing and intending that it would have postponed our transference, and that the dirty deal of it is solely due to Sheriff Capen, backed by the Attorney General Reading; two of our mortal enemies. I wish I knew the truth, for if the Governor participated in this, then we would know positively what to expect from him. However, just think of it: Those two men have persecuted us to death for our seven long years; now they feel positive that we will be executed on August 10th, after midnight, and yet they transferred us here, just to deprive us for a month, of a little fresh air and of sunlight, of some visits; just to inflict upon us 30 days more of solitary confinement, in the hottest of summer, in a low, smoky, dreadful place, before burning us to death! And they did it; they pretend for no other motive than because of their honest conviction of our guilt.

Here follows the Defense Committee's statement on their mean cruelty:

"The hatred of the Norfolk County prosecution against Sacco and Vanzetti at midnight June 31 found expression in an cruel, heartless act. As the clock struck twelve, ushering in July 1st, Sheriff Capen and his assistants entered the cells of Sacco and Vanzetti in the Dedham jail, awakened them, ordered them to dress, shackled them, put them in waiting automobiles and whisked them to the Cherry Hill Section of the State Prison, the ante-chamber of the death house.

"The general understanding was that the respite granted our two friends by Governor Fuller would act as an automatic check against the transfer of the two prisoners. It was said that was why Governor Fuller granted it before July first, when the law required that Sacco and Vanzetti be removed to Charlestown.

"Sacco and Vanzetti were not forewarned of the move. They were not told why they were being taken. They were not given enough time to gather up their letters and books in their cells. Their counsel was not notified of the move beforehand so that he might argue the interpretation of the statute under which the Norfolk County officials say they acted despite the respite.

"The action was taken with the vindictive slyness and stealth of bitter prejudice in the face of a general assurance that the men would not be moved to the hell-hole, Cherry Hill section, in Charlestown. Only one interpretation can be put upon the action--the Norfolk County prosecution lusts for the blood of our two friends and is determined to have it.

"The Cherry Hill section of the State Prison is a symbol against which even strong minds falter. In solitary confinement, surrounded by the most depressing environment, without the chance of conversing together, or of seeing their friends, our two comrades must now await the Governor's decision. A few steps away is the death house. The Norfolk County prosecution has made up its mind to push them to that chamber of death. Its hatred is fierce and inhuman. It knows neither the reasoning of the brain nor the reasoning of the heart.

"We ask you as fellow members of the human family to join our protest of this act that disgraces our common heritage."

THE SACCO-VANZETTI DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Boston, Mass., July 1st, 1927

Actually our enemies are working frantically, day and night, exploiting all their means, setting in motion all their agencies, all machinery of the State to persuade the Governor to reconfirm the Thayer sentence and execute us as quickly as possible, for many reasons. They have no need to be fussy and noisy; they are familiar with him and of his own class and circle. So for what do you think they will stop?

Comrades, remember the experience of the centuries, so happily voiced by the great Jefferson: "The reach of fear is the only motive that holds the hands of our tyrants".

All that we have asked, all that we are asking for, was, and is, a new trial. I did not write my petition because I have hope in Governor Fuller. I knew full well that he cannot have any understanding of, and sympathy for us. He is a new rich; not a scholar; a super-patriot, religious and conservative; hating and fearing and despising our ideas and persons (that he does not know); encircled quasi-totally by our enemies; and he had out-spoken his Torquemadesque feelings and criterions, publicly; a man that could not be impartial with us, not even if he wanted to be.

I wrote my petition out of respect for Messrs. Thompson and Ehrmann who had confidence in it and out of solidarity and gratitude to the thousands of petitioners who had asked for "a complete and public investigation of the case"; asking the same thing; and because I was told that if it be granted, I would have an opportunity to talk again in my defense. Would not it, had it been granted, be equivalent to a new trial? And I asked it because I am positive that "a complete public investigation and hearing of all the facts of the case", would have compelled the Governor to release us even against his own will and brought (if wanted) our persecutors into the cage of the indicted. None knows this truth better than our enemies and our persecutors themselves. It was denied.

The State of Massachusetts claims it has been and is ready to do everything, to give us every chance, except what we ask for, a new trial--*et pour cause*. Maybe our request to the Governor has few precedents in this State or in this country, but the universality of the request itself, proves that also our case has few or no precedents and its nature requires such a step.

The Governor is conducting a thoroughly private investigation of the whole case; they say reading all the documents and he is interviewing *privately*, all the witnesses including the newly discovered by the defense. The first three men he invited to form the commission, are of good reputation. When two of them declined he asked President Stratton and Judge Grant to join President Lowell as members of the commission. Because Judge Grant was (and still is) suspected by many of partiality and even hostility toward us, the Governor questioned him before appointing him. Then he decided that the advisory commission should investigate, advise, and report *privately* and separately from his own inquiry. He then decided upon respite of 30 days for our execution and did so before July 1st, intentionally, we are told, to let us remain in Dedham jail for another 30 days. Finally, he conceded to us, and to the other two, sentenced to death, Madeiros and Gedzium, to have a morning walk on the balcony of our cells in Wing O, never before allowed. All this seems to prove what? That he is human, goodly inclined toward us, and, that he, the Governor, had been sincere in assuring our friends that if our case reached his participancy, he would give it due consideration, and that he had no preconcepts or defined predecision on our case? We will see. A scholarly and highly reputed American of old Massachusetts family, wrote to me:

"I have always liked Governor Fuller. He is narrow minded in some respects, but I believe he is an honest and courageous man, and would be brave enough to pardon you and Sacco, if he were convinced of your innocence. I do not see how he could fail to be convinced on a fair presentation of the evidence; but nobody knows what perjured testimony may be introduced at this private inquiry. Of course the reason for the privacy was the mistaken idea that anyone who gave evidence against you would expose

himself to assassination, although none of the perjured witnesses at the original trial have been assassinated in seven years since. It ought to have been public. This is causing me great anxiety".

In fact the Governor himself declared that what matters is not if Sacco and Vanzetti have had a fair or unfair trial but, "if they are innocent or not". By his own words he seems to prove that he does not realize that to all who had not been ocular witnesses of a crime and reported the sincere conviction of having positively picture-memorized the author or authors, there is but one way to reach a conviction of guilt or innocence of men convicted of the said crime—and this only way is to study their case and see if they were rightly or wrongly tried—and none else. When the journalist John J. Leary came to Massachusetts to study and write a review of the case for the New York World, he interviewed all the principal participants in the case, including District Attorney Wilbur, worthy successor of Katzmann and as he is thirsty after our blood, Wilbur told Leary: "I don't think that Judge Thayer will grant a new trial, for there is absolutely no reason for it; but if he does, I am sure I can get a new conviction of the defendants, for I have new witnesses who will prove their guilt absolutely. The time is gone when people were afraid to come forward and tell what they know of Sacco and Vanzetti".

When I read Wilbur's words in the New York World, I realized that he is as Katzmann, morally rotten. See his logic? When we were almost alone and no real or unreal protests, menaces or retaliations against our would be murderers, then the people were afraid to testify against us. Now, after 7 years, according to Wilbur himself, the friends of Sacco and Vanzetti have rocked down half the world and terrorized mankind, and to his disgrace, the protest is universal. Now Wilbur wants you to believe that "the time is gone, when people were afraid to come forward and tell what they know".

As for his boasted new witnesses, I thought that since not all the harlots, venals and crooks of Massachusetts had perjured against us at the original trials, possibly Wilbur and his Stewart might have bribed or compelled again, some of the rabble to be ready to perjure against us. And knowing my persecutors but too well, I also suspected that Wilbur, being at that time positive that Thayer would deny us a new trial and be upheld by the Supreme Court, he felt sure that he would never be compelled to prove, by producing them, the veracity of his affirmations of having new witnesses. He was simply lying for the holy purpose of convincing with his lies the readers of the New York World—and thus make them hostile to us. This seems to be the fact.

When the Governor began to interview privately the witnesses, the Defense requested to be at least permitted to assist at his interrogations of the State witnesses, not necessarily from distrust in the Governor's honesty, but because of what such kind of persons can say against us, when they know that there is no one present who can question their falsehoods and that what they say will remain secret. The Governor refused the Defense request, upon which Mr. Thompson asked the Governor to, at least have him present if new State witnesses were to be heard, and the Governor promised it. But we find he did not do so. Now almost all the witnesses have been interviewed, the State ones first, and Mr. Thompson assured me that "no new witnesses were produced by Wilbur, except a ridiculous would-be fire-arms expert from New York" Then Wilbur was lying? Or was Mr. Thompson misinformed on this matter? Or is Wilbur keeping his possible new perjurers for the last of the inquiry—to be used as fireworks on the Governor's impressionability?

I only know that all who have testified or will testify against me on these two crimes are or will be murderous perjurers. Yet my Boston friend who wrote me of the Governor's motives for a private instead of public inquiry, is not a person to state such serious matter without due knowledge. Was the Governor, then, told by the prosecu-

tion that there are new witnesses who do not dare to testify, except secretly, for fear of assassination? My opinion is that the prosecution, fearing a public inquiry and hearing of the case, which would have brought disgrace and ruin to them, harped insistently to the Governor on this supposed danger. And if he believes so, it is a proof that he believes all the friends of Sacco and Vanzetti dangerous murderers; and such a belief cannot help to influence him to disbelieve all those defense witnesses who are our friends. I would like to know if the Governor has the same opinion of Thayer, Katzmann, Williams, the perjurers against us, Sheriff Capen and all our other persecutors and murderers. Because if he is inclined to believe that our friends are dangerous murderers and our witnesses liars, and he thought of our perjurers, persecutors and murderers as 100 per cent. ideal American citizens and truthful persons—then he is evidently arch-biased and arch-prejudiced and in an unfit state of mind and emotions to discover the truth and give an impartial opinion.

All in all I believe that his motive, named by my friend, for the private inquiry is only partial, and that another motive for the privacy is that the Governor is convinced that our trials were most unfair and their exposition will disgrace the State's reputation, and complete our release or a new trial—while he only considers if we are innocent or guilty.

Yet, I know myself and the case a little and these secondary, big or small things do not scare me. What I fear is that the Governor, cannot or will not understand our case and give us, not justice, for it is no longer possible, but a late stopping of our seven years, slow murdering. I will tell why I fear so, later on.

On July 8th, the advisory commission came here and interviewed us in a conversational form, out of politeness I guess—but one had little chance to express what he wished to, because any one of the three present might interrupt with a new question on other matters, thus swerving and mixing topics. Then they interviewed Madeiros.

President Lowell and President Stratton are said to be two great scholars and gave me the impression of men possibly impartial and well intentioned, who will not decide against us for any other motive than their honest conviction that the courts must be upheld. But the retired Judge of the Probate Court, gave me the impression of a type of man whose feelings are offended by the things and reasons which we are forced to say of the case in our defense. The Commission is contrary to our ideals and favorable to Thayer and company, being of the same class and ideas.

In fact more than the others Judge Grant gave me the impression of being of a mentality so contrary and hostile to us and our principles that he could not, if he would, be fair with us and see the facts with unbiased vision. He insisted on the contrary when I stated that the radicalism was introduced by Katzmann and not by the defense in the trial. So that I had to tell him of the hand-bill for a meeting, found on Nick on our arrest and written by me—which Katzmann had translated in English and read to the jury. Since it was very radical and had no relation whatever with the crime or the trial; Katzmann must have produced it solely to prove to the jury our radicalism. Then, Judge Grant said that the jury of Dedham did not know that I had been tried and convicted in Plymouth "because it was not told to them". I answered "that the criminally hostile publicity of the press upon our arrests and of the Plymouth trial had informed all of it, so that it would have been impossible, at the Dedham trial, to form a jury of men who did not know it". The truth of it is even worse. Katzmann broke an agreement of counsel and asked three witnesses of the defense if they had testified at the Plymouth trial.

When I said that the matter of radicalism had not been introduced at the Dedham trial by the Defense, as Thayer publicly insists, but by Katzmann, Judge Grant shook his head and answered that it was introduced by the Defense. Judge Grant, as well as the others, claimed he had already

read the Dedham trial Record, which contains the following hand-bill:

"Comrades and Workers:—

"You have fought and won all the wars, migrated through all the fatherlands, worked for all the masters. Have you harvested the result of your victories, the fruits of your work? What is the past to you? Are you satisfied with the present? Does the future smile and promise well to you? Have you found a limbo of land upon which to live and die humanly?

"Sunday, May ——— Bartolomeo Vanzetti will speak on those and other questions, in a conference on 'The Struggle for Life', to be held in the Hall ——— No. ——— Street ———, Brockton, Mass., at ——— p. m.

"Bring your women with you. Free admission and free speech for all."

I wrote it going to West Bridgewater on May 5th, 1920. It was found on Sacco on our arrest, for I had given it to him as he was to have arranged everything for the meeting. It is in the trial record because Katzmann had it translated and read to the jury long before we took the stand. I challenge though evidently radical, it has no relation whatsoever to the crime of Bridgewater or of South Braintree—except to show that we would not expose ourselves as speakers in a town very near to the scenes of both the crimes if we had been the bandits. In introducing it, Katzmann could not have had any other purpose than to show our radicalism to the jury in order to excite chauvinism, hurt their false pride and so make them hostile to us. Judge Thayer understood it and therefore let it be produced without uttering a word of his afterward feigned doubts, as to our radical bona-fidness.

Judge Grant claimed he had studied the trial record containing that hand-bill when he denied my statement on this aspect of the case and insisted that the Defense, not Katzmann, had introduced it. After my explanation he asked again, so that either he intends to deny all that is favorable to us or does not understand the plainest facts of the record. What is still worse than this is, that from the attitude of the other two members, whom I believe very much more intelligent than Judge Grant, they gave me the certainty that not even they had grasped this self-imposing matter in their study of the trial record—if as they said, they had studied them.

(July 17th, yesterday, I had reached this point when Mr. Thompson and a comrade came to see me and what I heard and understood from them made whatsoever hope or confidence heretofore expressed of men and things related to the case, simply ridiculous, and compelled me to a different language, attitude and conduct. Yet, I keep on with this report to you of my impression of the commission just as I had in mind before.)

What makes worse the mental blindness of the commission and Judge Grant's insistence is, that when we took the stand we did not introduce radicalism or say anything which could have compelled or justified Katzmann's introduction of it, but the commission did not perceive this.

On the stand, we admitted to having been at the Johnson garage on the 5th of May, 1920, in West Bridgewater, to take Boda's automobile with the intention of using it to collect from our friends, radical literature, because we had recently been informed that the Federal agents were about to make other raids on the "reds" and we knew their finding of radical literature meant anything from arrest to death for its possessors. And we told how and where and when we had met together and decided it; also how we went to and left from the Johnson house; admitting we feared arrest as radicals, having been informed of the intention of the authorities.

Every normal person understands that this is not an introduction of radicalism—as Thayer and Katzmann like to believe—but a statement of facts related to the case. Hence, all that Katzmann could have honestly done was to have cross-examined us as much as he pleased on everything he could have deemed capable of proving that what we had testified to was untrue. Our statements were entirely clear, had no

relation to radicalism in itself—but related to what we did, why and how we did it, and where we had been before being arrested. The Katzmann cross-examination on evading registration, our trip to Mexico; “cheating this country”, measuring our love of America in dollars and pennies; in a word, cross-examination on this matter was as abusive and unfair as it was fatal to us. It had no relation to our testimony, and was Katzmann’s second introduction of radicalism in the trial, with no other purpose or need, except to get a conviction on our radicalism. As for Katzmann’s reason to do it and Thayer’s reason to allow it; namely, that they doubted our bonafide radicalism and wanted to cross-examine us on the topic to ascertain the truth, it only proves the moral objection and mental dishonesty of both of them—because it is now proved that they knew of our radicalism since our arrest. How could they have not known of it? *

All this matter is written in the trial records, affidavits, memorials, etc., of the case, and yet, lo! we have here little Judge Grant who denied it and two scholars like Prof. Lowell and Prof. Stratton seemingly unaware of it, instead of being disgusted and indignant by its iniquity.

Since the year 1923, when Mr. Thompson showed the extreme detrimentality of this most unfair deed of Katzmann, Thayer kept repeating what Grant is now insisting on: “The Defense introduced radicalism”. Yet Thayer told in a private conversation with Mr. Thompson and others that: “Katzmann introduced radicalism”. But Thayer’s hypocrisy leads him to affirm publicly, “I myself warned the defense not to introduce radicalism in the case”; and I feel sure that, to say nothing of little Judge Grant, the other two members of the commission are inclined to believe this blazing lie. The truth is that Thayer knew before we took the stand that we intended to admit having been at the Johnson garage the night of our arrest and since he and Katzmann feared it, it was the introduction of this, and not radicalism, that Thayer himself warned the defense against doing. To name this by its name would have betrayed Thayer’s aim to doom us; so he called it radicalism. This fact would require a lengthy explanation for those who know nothing of the case, but with you I will be brief. At that time Katzmann and Thayer knew they had utterly failed to prove their case against us. Their few criminals, degenerates and harlots perjuring against us had been outnumbered, discredited and destroyed by truthful witnesses for the Defense, most of them working people. Our alibi was unrefutable. There was no material evidence against us except the framing-up of our revolvers. Please, pay attention now: The only circumstantial evidence was that we knew Boda and Orciani, had been with them at the Johnson garage 20 days after the crime date to take an automobile which had been in that garage continuously since 1919, which means that it could not have been used in the South Braintree crime. As for Orciani, he was freed, having proved that he was working at the hour of the crime. Boda is in Italy and nobody bothered him. It is then clear that our having been at the Johnson garage could not be used as evidence against us. But, it was the only thing the prosecution had demonstrated. The prosecution was then speculating on two things against us: the hatred, fear and prejudices of the jurors as buttressed by its theory of our claimed “consciousness of guilt”, drawn or claimed to be drawn from “our suspicious behavior at the Johnson house”, and from “our lies told to the police on our arrest”. (We have already explained that we misinformed the police to avoid arrest or death for some of our comrades.) And to get our conviction on such theory, the prosecution would have had to make the jury believe that we acted so, solely and exclusively, because we were afraid of being arrested for the South Braintree crime, for, if it

* Vanzetti’s memory of the handbill he wrote for the radical meeting does not coincide with the court record. The handbill was introduced after he and Sacco were on the witness stand according to the record. His memory is apparently confused with its use in pre-trial grilling he and Sacco suffered at the hands of Katzmann and the police as to their radical views before they were even charged with the South Braintree crime.

had been for any one of a million of possible other things, then their gelatinous "theory" would have gone to the rocks. Clear!

Hence, when Thayer and Katzmann knew that we were going to admit that we were at the Johnson house to take the automobile, they understood that we would also tell why and how we went there and why we wanted the automobile, and that this would have smashed the "theory" of their claimed "consciousness of guilt of the Braintree crime". But beside this reason, they had another one, they hoped we would deny being there. Our presence at the Johnson house had been, of all the prosecution's claims, the only one proven sufficiently to be believed by a normal person in the function of a juror, and if we had denied it, the jury would have thought that our being there must be related to the Braintree crime or to some other one, and our denial of such evident fact would have destroyed entirely our credibility in the eyes of the jury. To discredit us by every means and ways had been the steadfast effort of Thayer and Katzmann, from the beginning of the case to this very day, to discredit us and our witnesses.

These are the real things Judge Thayer tried to avoid by "warning and advising our lawyers not to introduce radicalism into the case". So that the truth was and remains that we never introduced the discussion of radicalism into the case, but claimed to be radicals and to have been at the Johnson house and told the reason why. All this cannot have required, nor even justified Katzmann's diversions into radicalism in his cross-examination. All he was entitled to do was to grill us in everything he deemed fit to show that our radicalism and the other facts we stated on the stand were untrue, so as to show that we "feared because of consciousness of guilt of the Braintree crime." This being evident, his cross-examination was his second, entirely arbitrary, utterly unjust, introduction of radicalism into the case, made with the sole aim of exciting the jury's fanaticism against us. This truth shines in the record pages as the sun in the sky; but here we have Judge Grant insisting that "the Defense introduced radicalism", and the other two members seem to me innocently unaware of this most evident and fatal fact.

I would not wonder if this commission believes that Katzmann conducted and Thayer permitted, the cross-examination (let us call it so), on this matter because, as the two rascals said "we want to find out if Sacco and Vanzetti are really radicals or only claim to be". They knew it since our arrest. When I told the commission that my previous conviction at Plymouth for a similar crime has been very prejudicial to us, Judge Grant shook his head and replied, "It cannot have hurt you because it was not told at the Dedham trial, so the jury did not know it". I had to tell him that his way of looking at things is to look at their superficialities instead of their substance, and that the tremendous publicity against us made by the Capitalist press since our arrest had informed all, of my former conviction at Plymouth, so that even if Katzmann would have been willing to form a jury of persons who did not know it, it would have been impossible, because everyone knew it in Massachusetts.

But I forgot to tell Judge Grant that Katzmann himself informed the jury of my former conviction, by asking in the jury's presence three defense witnesses if they "had testified for Vanzetti in another trial", to which they answered positively "yes". In so doing, Katzmann violated an agreement of counsel which was that: The Defense should not have produced moral witnesses of our good character and the prosecution should not have mentioned my former trial—a silly agreement, to be sure. Yet, Judge Grant insists that the jury did not know of it.

When we said that Thayer had always been against us, Judge Grant shook his head more than ever, and asked, "Why should Judge Thayer have been against you?" Well, I told him in detail the reasons why Thayer was and is against us, and that the whole world knows and understands. Thayer was very anxious to be appointed Judge of the Massachusetts Supreme Court. He deemed that in accord with the conditions and feelings of that time, to con-

vict and bury us quickly and quietly would have brought him to his goal. Therefore, he personally asked the proper authority to appoint him Judge in our case and since then he began working toward our conviction. Another reason why he is against us, is that he would destroy all the "reds", their seed and their ideals, if he could; but neither he nor anyone else can do it, he sure comrades. Judge Grant was not effected by my explanations.

When the conversation turned to my former defender at Plymouth, Judge Grant again shook his head and asked: "Why should Mr. Vahey have been against you?" So, I was again compelled to explain—

The Plymouth Cordage Company is the feudal lord of Plymouth and its institutions, so that when the company is against anyone there its will is done. The company knew of my innocence of these two crimes, but it wanted to eliminate me because it feared me as an incorruptable anarchist and for my capital crime of not having betrayed its workers during their strike in 1915, when they worked 54 hours weekly for a pay of \$9.00—this in 1915, just think of it! My Judas Iscariot, John Vahey, in the vestment of defense counsel, is a stockholder in the Cordage Company and a great friend of Thayer, even more of Katzmann, both deadly against me; now Katzmann and Vahey are partners. Are not these explanations enough of why Mr. Vahey should have been against me? But not for Judge Grant who shook his head at it and answered, afterwards, by referring to Vahey as "a well known, distinguished criminal lawyer", which is a shameless lie. So I said, "I beg your pardon, Judge, I referred to Vahey of Plymouth, not his brother in Boston (who has a certain declining reputation)". "I understand", replied Judge Grant, "and I know very well both of them". Yes, and he is their great friend, and he will hang us to uphold Iscariot Vahey's reputation. Then I informed him how Vahey dealt with me at that trial. No competent person can read the Plymouth trial record without perceiving how miserably Vahey failed to defend me. We have here Judge Grant who studied that record, shaking his head and denying it. Hell!

In regard to Orciani, Judge Grant repeated several times that "Orciani disappeared", evidently intentioned to beat on a tender spot in the case. I got tired and told him that Orciani had shown his innocence of the Braintree crime, proving that he was working in a foundry when the crime was committed, and that thereupon he was released; that Orciani was around the Dedham Court house until the very end of the trial; that then, with his wife and their three or four children, he went to Italy on a regular passport. This cannot be called "disappearing". Judge Grant chewed bitterly at this.

The above given illustrations are but few of all the topics of the interview on which Judge Grant was openly against us in every way.

One of the two reputed scholars, members of the commission, said that he read Thayer's speech to the jurors and veniremen on "doing their duty like the American soldier boy, who fought and died for America on the battle-fields of France". And that from reading it he got the opinion that Thayer did not talk so, to excite the jurors' patriotism against us, but because all the veniremen were trying to escape from the service of juror and Thayer wanted them to accept it and form a jury. Well, I would like to know why did Thayer, after the jury was formed, keep on steadily in the same chauvinistic language up to his very last words in the case. The last sentence of his charge to the jury is the most calculated and exciting incitement to the jurors against us, that could ever have been made.

Altogether, from the commission's interview, I felt certain that Judge Grant is premeditatedly deadly against us and the other two will fail to grasp the most evident viciousness of the case which should command our release. And I thought: *e'il fato di cadere dalla padelle nelle bragie* (from the frying pan into the fire).

This is the relation I had in mind to make to you before seeing Mr. Thompson and one of my comrades.

July 21, 1927.

Before their visit, I was already pessimistic as to the outcome of this double inquiry of the case, because of the impression received from the commission's interview, and information from Rosa Sacco and others, so that I had already begun the hunger strike on July 15th. From what I heard and understood of the words of these two visitors, I realize that we are lost. The infamy of our enemies has no limits.

On the 11th of July, the Governor interviewed Rosa Sacco. Afterward, she came to visit us, and informed us that the Governor had told her, "Vanzetti's lawyers at Plymouth wanted him to take the stand. It was Vanzetti who refused to do so, and he sent a 12 year old boy, Beltrando Brini, to speak for him by reciting a lesson learnt by heart". There are four falsehoods in the Governor's words and part of them are the actual ones used by Katzman to the jury at the Plymouth trial: "Beltrando Brini is a bright boy, whom his parents have a right to be proud of, but here he recited to you a lesson learnt by heart".

Then in a subsequent visit, Rosa told us that the Governor had interviewed Beltrando again, grilled him strictly, but at the end, his testimony remained intact and fortified. This fact proved to me that the Governor had not told this to Rosa merely to grill her, but that he was believing it. This knowledge induced me to begin the hunger strike—as I did.

Yesterday, July 20th, the same two visitors came again, and I was informed that the Governor, after his second interview with Beltrando, told some one that: "As Beltrando Brini says that he stayed with Vanzetti about five hours on the day of the Bridgewater crime, and left him at about 1:30 P. M., it means that Beltrando went to Vanzetti's house at 9 A. M."

(Since the crime was committed at about a quarter to eight, and from Bridgewater to Plymouth are some 30 miles, one could have had time to return to Plymouth at 9 A. M. This is what Iscariot Vahey tried so hard, and in vain, to obtain by presenting only those alibi witnesses who had seen me later on that morning.)

When Beltrando Brini learnt that the Governor had said so, he went to the State House, asked and obtained an interview with the Governor and said to him:

"I am told that you have said that I must have gone to Vanzetti's house at 9 A. M. on the day of the crime. I said at the trial, on that day I saw Vanzetti at about 7:30 A. M., and went to his house at about 8 A. M., and I have said so both times to you."

I am informed that the Governor showed little interest in the matter of the hours, but a great interest to learn from Beltrando who it was that had told him, that he, the Governor, had said it.

We realize that you and the French people know the case better than the reactionary puritan rabble of Mass.; so madly thirsty for our blood, therefore, I will only pray you to consider that if the Governor does not want to believe Beltrando Brini, he does not want to believe any of the other 18 defense witnesses, who have seen, talked and dealt with me in Plymouth, at the very hour and minute of the Bridgewater crime. All of them are working men and women who knew me for years, simple folks, rightly fearing "the men of justice", inexpert in courts; people who not only could not give false testimony, but who fear even to go to testify to the truth, at least, the women.

This also means that the Governor wants to believe the five perjurers for the state who, the records show, testified one way at the preliminary hearing, and another way at the trial, and also, who (the Governor was well informed of it) on the day of the crime, told a wholly different story and gave a very different description of the "shot-gun bandit", the bandit's automobile, etc., then the descriptions they gave at the preliminary hearing and at the trial.

One of the State perjurers, Harding, who at the trial described me better than the others, after the crime, told the police and detective that "he could not describe the bandits'

faces because he had seen none of their faces". Yet, I repeat at the trial he described my face better than anyone else.

Continuation, July 25, 1927.

What Governor Fuller told Mrs. Sacco and how he dealt with Beltrando, might have been said and done by him to grill them; but we have reasons to believe that he does not want to believe or to understand what is most self-imposingly true in our defense, and wants to believe unbelievable things against us. This is the only way to justify and uphold the Thayer death sentence.

A few weeks before Beltrando had testified, his mother and sister had testified to the Governor. He is said to have received a very good impression from them and he took Beltrando to dine with him at a Boston hotel. Why then this sudden change of attitude? It could not be caused by his further study of the Plymouth trial record or by later interrogations of someone else of the few state perjurers at the trial—for the trial was such an obscene frame-up, that the more one learns of it, the more one detests it.

Then the Governor's change of attitude can only be attributed to the possibility that, since Beltrando's first testimony, he has been worked upon, influenced and changed by our powerful, all reaching, ever-intriguing enemies who have succeeded in persuading him to doom us. Useless to say that it was Iscariot Vabey who prevented me from testifying at Plymouth, ignominiously abusing my ignorance of Court procedure and laws.

He later testified to the Governor, the testimony was secret—the Defense not present—we do not know what he said. But to the advisory commission, where the Defense was present, he said he did not oppose my wish to testify, he explained to me what it meant and let me do what I pleased and that I refused to testify. Miserable partner of Katzmann and Thayer!

All this bad news and these impressions plus the fact that everyone at the State House is saying that the Governor is set to burn us, and that our witnesses are openly disbelieved by the commission and the Governor—while they trust all the State perjurers, convinces us that we are actually dealt with in the same way and spirit as we have been from the very beginning and that they are going to assassinate us. Therefore, I decided to protest and react against it and the only possible way remaining for us was a hunger strike, and I began it on the morning of July 15th. Nick followed me on July 17th.

A little while afterward we learnt that the commission had abused two Italian witnesses. The fact deserves to be explained. Messrs. Dentamaro and Bosco, with Prof. Guadagni had been Sacco's alibi witnesses at the Dedham trial, relating that they had dined with Sacco in a Boston Italian restaurant on the afternoon of the 15th of April, 1920, and went together afterwards into a cafe. Asked how they remembered the date, they said it was because that day a banquet was given in honor of Mr. Williams, who had been nominated Commendatore by the Italian King, which banquet some of them had attended.

Now, recently, the commission sent for Bosco and Guadagni who related the same thing. Pres. Lowell of the commission looked over the Boston Transcript of April 15, 1920, to see if there was a report of the said banquet to Mr. Williams who, at that time, was editor of the Transcript. There was no such report. The member got suspicious; he looked in another Boston daily for it; there was nothing there. Then the commission communicated with Commendatore Williams, now in Washington, D. C., who replied that his first banquet in Boston had been toward the end of April, 1920. *Ipsa facto*, the commission thought they had the proof that the whole Sacco defense was false. Yet, after further search, they inquired again of Commendatore Williams, who this time replied that he had only one banquet in Boston, and it was in May, 1920.

Commendatore Williams having lied thus twice, to send us to the chair, the commission believed him and sent for Bosco and Guadagni and abused them as perjurers.

It was proved afterward that the banquet had been on the 15th of April, 1920, and an apology was extended to the wrongly insulted. (The restoration of Bosco's and Guadagni's alibi testimony, President Lowell's apology to them and Mr. Thompson's argument to the commission on the matter were completely omitted by the official stenographer from the record of the proceedings--at Mr. Lowell's order, according to the stenographer.) But that shows the commission's tendency, which we had so well-detected when we were interviewed by its members. We know also that it is--or has been very hostile to the Defense. This fact reconfirmed our belief that they are going to murder us and it re-enforces our reason to react and protest by fasting.

Well, I believe that you know, or will know the subsequent facts of our case before you receive this letter, and, therefore, I will not state them here. Only this that we have now the proof that Judge Grant, a member of the commission, has always been against us, and wished our execution. In assuring the Governor that he was unbiased, impartial and open minded, he lied to be appointed to the commission and thus to become able to influence the other members to give a decision of death against us.

From all that we hear and can understand of what is going on, we are lost. Mr. Thompson argued today before the commission; later in the week he will argue before the Governor. There will be no public hearing.

The Defense requested the commission and the Governor to give their decision before August 1st, at which time, unless there is a favorable antecedent decision, we shall by law be brought to the death-house. If the decision is death, it does not make any difference when it is given.

I think, that we will be executed one after the other, immediately after midnight on August 10. Persisting in our hunger strike, we will on that date be in our agony even if they want to inflict on us the humiliation and torture of forcible feeding and our miserable enemies will kill nothing but two dead men.

Excuse my poor writing, I am already very weak and can do no better. Soon I shall be unable to write at all.

Lift your foreheads and lift them high as symbols of our beautiful and sublime anarchy. This letter is perhaps the last letter I will ever send you and with it I send you my brotherly greetings and my best wishes.

Yours,

BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI