

Are They Doomed?



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The Sacco-Vanzetti Case and the Grim Forces Behind It

By ART SHIELDS

In the cold dawn of May 3, 1920, an Italian printer named Andrea Salsedo plunged from a fourteenth-story window of the Park Row Building in New York City, and his life was crushed out on the pavement below. He had been held captive there in the lofty offices of the Department of Justice for two months without hearing or trial. He had been beaten and tortured by attaches of that department.

Immediately a cry of public indignation arose. Demands for an investigation of Attorney General Palmer's secret police and their unlawful conduct were loudly voiced. Newspapers and individuals of note scathingly condemned Palmer and his regime. How and why did Salsedo die? This question was hurled at those who head the national Secret Service.

They said he jumped.

Secret Service Chief William J. Flynn tried to parry the attacks by asserting that Salsedo had confessed to complicity in the bomb explosions of June 2, 1919, and had implicated others. But Salsedo was dead and could not reply. Roberto Elia, another printer who had been held prisoner with Salsedo and who was broken with terror, was promptly deported. No one was ever prosecuted on the strength of the alleged confession.

Two days after Salsedo's death, two other Italians were arrested on a street car in Brockton, Massachusetts. They were Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, labor organizers and friends of the dead printer, and they were at that time arranging a mass meeting to protest against what they openly called the murder of Salsedo. Some days before he died, Salsedo had managed to smuggle a letter out of his prison, and word of his plight had sped to the big colony of Italian workers in and around Boston.

Vanzetti had journeyed from his

home in Plymouth to New York City to get a competent lawyer for Salsedo and to take legal steps for the rescue of him and Elia. Before those steps could be taken, Salsedo had left his torture chamber in terrible and violent fashion.

While Vanzetti was in New York, his friend Sacco was busy in the shoe towns of Eastern Massachusetts raising money in Salsedo's behalf. The protest meeting was scheduled for May 9 in Brockton. It was choked off by the sudden arrest of the two on May 5. They were practically the last of the Italian radicals in New England who had not been jailed or deported in the big anti-alien drive there.

Highway robbery and murder is the charge against Sacco and Vanzetti, but that is obviously a mere device to get them out of the way. When they were arrested, the initial questions asked by the state and municipal authorities indicated that the two were wanted as "reds." But Salsedo's death carried so much nausea with it into the headlines of the press that



ANDREA SALSEDO

anti-red prosecutions took on a bad odor.

So overnight the questions of the police changed in form. They had been inquiring about the whereabouts of the prisoners on the evening of their arrest, May 5. Now, however, they began to demand information about where Sacco and Vanzetti were on December 24, 1919, and April 15, 1920. These were dates of payroll holdups at Bridgewater and South Braintree, in which the bandits got away.

The story of what has been done to these two workers since their arrest is a vivid narrative of persecution, intrigue, race prejudice, and third-degree police methods. There are times when the details approach the incredible, as in the Mooney and Billings case. Almost a parallel to the California conspiracy, this deliberate attempt to take the lives of two good men in Massachusetts is reaching its height at a time when the Mooney and Billings frame-up is

collapsing under the weight of the confession of Detective Draper Hand.

Three factors weigh heavily against Sacco and Vanzetti. 1. They are Italians. 2. They were thinking workers, active in the New England labor movement for years. 3. They opposed the vicious and brutal methods of the Department of Justice against their comrades. . . . Sacco was an edge-trimmer in a shoe factory, and Vanzetti a seller of fish.

Trial Full of Discrepancies

On flimsy "identifications," full of holes, the two prisoners were held in jail. Vanzetti was rushed to trial at Plymouth on the Bridgewater charge. One who reads the record of that trial will find many incongruities; will have frequent cause to wonder how the prosecution succeeded with such crude fabrication in building its case; why the attorneys for the defense did not manage better; why Vanzetti was never put on the stand to tell his own story. But the prosecution did succeed—quite as the prosecution in the Mooney and Billings case did—and put Vanzetti away for fifteen years.

Testimony of accusing witnesses was strange and inconsistent. One who identified Vanzetti as the shotgun bandit at Bridgewater declared that he "ran like a foreigner—like either an Italian or a Russian," and insisted that men of these nationalities ran differently from a Swede or a Norwegian. Descriptions of the bandits, given by certain witnesses at the preliminary hearing, were changed in vital details by those witnesses at the trial. Farther on in this narrative these contradictions are shown up in glaring detail.

Vanzetti 28 Miles Away

At least nine creditable witnesses testified that Vanzetti was selling eels to them in Plymouth, 28 miles from Bridgewater, at the time of the crime. But Vanzetti was convicted



NICOLA SACCO, HIS WIFE, AND THEIR SON DANTE.
This photograph was taken shortly before Sacco's arrest.



BARTOLOMEO VANZETTI

He looks much older than this in prison. Struggle and the hurt of false accusation have aged his face.

and sentenced to 15 years in Charlestown penitentiary.

That conviction was obtained on evidence never introduced in open court.

Three shotgun shells, found in Vanzetti's pockets when he was arrested, were introduced as exhibits by District Attorney Frederick G. Katzmann. These shells were ordinary 12-gauge shotgun shells, according to testimony by the commonwealth's gun expert, Captain William H. Proctor, head of the Massachusetts state police.

Page 290 of the trial transcript shows the following questions and answers during the examination of Proctor:

Q. Is the 12-gauge ordinary hunting gun used more than any other gun?

A. Yes.

Q. In hunting birds and that sort of thing?

A. Yes.

It is to be noted that Captain Proctor claims to be an expert on firearms. On the metal base of each shotgun shell the manufacturer makes a practice of stamping the gauge of the gun in which it is to be used. There is nothing on the base to indicate the contents of the shell.

These contents, however, are stamped on the pasteboard wad that is forced into the other end of the shell. No shell leaves the factory without bearing such a stamp—showing whether the contents are birdshot, buckshot, or any of the size-variations. It is notable that Proctor was not examined concerning the stamp on this pasteboard wad.

Why?

After the jury had retired to deliberate, some of the jurors became curious about the contents of the shells—"because Proctor didn't show us what was inside"—and one man suggested that they be opened. By common consent that suggestion was carried out. **And the shells were found to contain not birdshot, but buckshot!**

There is large doubt as to the killing properties of birdshot, when fired at human beings. It is a question that involves distance, point of contact, physical condition of the person shot, and other elements. But buckshot almost invariably kills.

Were Shells Tampered With?

So the jury found Vanzetti guilty. It did not occur to the deliberators then that the shells might have been tampered with; they did not consider that the buckshot had never been introduced in open court and that the defense had never had a chance to meet that evidence, a right which the law rigidly provides. They found Vanzetti guilty on two counts—assault with intent to rob and assault with intent to murder.

When they handed in their verdict they said nothing about the buckshot. But next day one of the jurors hap-

pened to meet Trial Judge Webster Thayer, who was in Brockton trying some cases, and showed him one of the buckshot which he had kept as a souvenir. Judge Thayer asked where he got it. This conversation was exchanged in a restaurant. Before the juror left the place District Attorney Frederick Katzmann approached the juror and asked him for the leaden pellet.

Katzmann telephoned to other jurors who had like souvenirs and said: "You've got something in your pocket I want." He cautioned these men not to disclose their finding outside. One juror, troubled, asked Katzmann if he thought it was a just verdict. Katzmann said it was commendable.

Judge Ignores Murder Count

Judge Thayer had not yet sentenced the defendant; and evidently he tried to cure the error—for when he sentenced Vanzetti he ignored the conviction on the murder charge and sentenced only on the robbery count.

These statements about the shotgun shells are backed up by transcripts of the examination of various jurors by the attorneys for the defense, which will be part of the representations in their demand for a new trial for Vanzetti on the Bridge-water indictment.

Another piece of "evidence"—the so-called bandit-car—was never offered in the trial as an exhibit, although the prosecution took pains to let the jury see it through a doorway.

Palmer Sued for \$100,000

Until a few weeks ago the Sacco-Vanzetti case had scarcely been heard of outside of the Eastern Massachusetts industrial section. But by the force of its associations and the incongruities of the "identification" of the defendants, shown up in several independent inquiries, it has commanded the attention of leading journals of opinion, and has pushed its



A. MITCHELL PALMER

United States Attorney General who is accused with four others of causing the death of Andrea Salsedo.

way across the continent on the press wires.

Sacco and Vanzetti became figures of national interest when the wires carried the news that Attorney General Palmer and Chief Flynn had been sued for \$100,000 by the widow of Salsedo, who charged that they and three associates caused her husband's death.

Since Vanzetti's conviction new attorneys have been retained by the defense; attorneys who have been closer to the class-conflict than their predecessors. And the case has assumed international significance; for the Italian government, following a discussion of the affair in the Chamber of Deputies, has ordered its consulate at Boston to make an exhaustive investigation. Sacco and Vanzetti are both Italian nationals.

The labor press, in America, Italy, Spain, Cuba and other countries, is giving extensive space to the story as it develops. And lately that story has reached the front pages of the big Boston dailies. In the Sunday Post of January 16, this paragraph appears:

"Many well known local people have always doubted the guilt of Vanzetti and Sacco, while labor unions here and in the mill cities of Lawrence, Lowell and Fall River have declared that the two men are being 'railroaded' by the Department of Justice."

Thousands of Italian workers in America and Europe have come to the aid of Sacco and Vanzetti and are enlisting the support of other nationalities. These Italians have been giving to their utmost; many of the money contributions have meant extreme sacrifice, for they have come from men and women in the big industrial centers who are jobless.

Numerous obstacles have been placed in the path of the defense. Two vital witnesses were permitted to disappear without effort by the state officials to detain them. One of the investigators for the defense was arrested without cause at the instance of Police Chief Stewart of Bridgewater. And the court had to be seen by the defense before a copy of the Vanzetti trial transcript could be obtained; the court stenographer had delayed two months in furnishing this record.

District Attorney Katzmann refuses to permit the defense to examine the exhibits used in the Vanzetti trial. Once he agreed to let the present attorneys see these properties, but on the stipulated day he changed his mind. So it is necessary for the defense to go into court to force Katzmann's hand.

Defense Evades Bribery Trap

Recently a new element has en-

tered into the situation—an apparent attempt to lure the defense committee into a bribery trap. Mrs. Angelina DeFalco, a court interpreter at Dedham, has been arrested in connection with this attempt.

Specifically she is charged with unlawfully soliciting law business while not being a lawyer herself. But behind that formal charge is the accusation that she offered to throw the murder case to the side of the defense when it comes to trial.

Aldino Felicani, treasurer of the defense committee, swore out the warrant against Mrs. DeFalco.

This woman approached Felicani and other members of the committee and represented that, by reason of her connections in Dedham, she was in a position to guarantee an acquittal for both Sacco and Vanzetti. To insure this acquittal, it would be necessary, she explained, to do two things—to pay a large sum of money, and to push the present defense counsel into the background. In their stead, she stipulated, the defense committee must employ two prominent Dedham attorneys to act as leading counsel.

There is reason to believe that Mrs. DeFalco was the instrument of some person or persons who wanted to compromise the defense committee in such a way that it would be liable for prosecution on a bribery charge.

Vanzetti Aged By Struggle

Vanzetti is in the tailor shop at Charlestown penitentiary. Letters and telegrams are sent by friends outside, but the prison officials will not deliver them to him—will only read the text of the messages through the bars of his cell. He looks back sadly to young days in the beautiful Piedmont country in Northern Italy, before his mother died; days when he was happy. He is only 32 now, but his face has grown old in twelve years of struggle in America.

He was born in Villa Falletto, and was a prize scholar in the Catholic school there. In those young days he had dreams of entering one of the professions in Italy and rising high. But the dreams were all shattered when his mother died. That was in 1908.

"After she died," he said not long ago in prison, "there was nothing for me to do but come away. I had to put the seas between me and my grief. . . . That first day in America I was in a melancholy mood. I was alone and a stranger, not able to understand and not understood. At the Battery, the officials pay very little attention to the third-class immigrant—a sad surprise for him who lands confidently on this soil.

"After a long search, I found a townsman. He was a chef in a club at Eighty-sixth street and the Hudson. Three days later he got me a job there as dishwasher and helper. The hours were long. We slept in the attic, where the heat was suffocating, and all night long we were kept awake by swarms of insects. Then I decided to sleep in the open—under the trees.

Nauseating Work in Restaurant

"I left that place and got night-work in a restaurant on Sixth avenue near Twenty-eighth street. Here the 'pantry' was horrible. There were no windows from which one could hope for a breath of air. Steam rising from boiling dishwater changed back into large drops when it reached the ceiling and these fell one by one, like the footsteps of fate, upon our heads already wet with sweat.

"During working hours, the heat was terrible. Table refuse, massed in nearby barrels, emitted sickening odors. There were no conduct-pipes to the sinks, and the waste-water would run to a hole in the centre of the room. Almost every night this



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WILLIAM J. FLYNN

Chief of the National Secret Police.
He is one of five accused of the death of Andrea Salsedo in the widow's suit for \$100,000.

hole became stopped and the water would wash over the wooden platforms on which we stood.

"We worked twelve hours one night and fourteen the next, seven days a week, and on every second Sunday we had five hours off. The food was very bad—fit only for the lowest scum of the earth. Our weekly recompense was from five to six dollars. After eight months I left the place for fear I should contract tuberculosis.

"That was a hard year. The poor slept out of doors, and for food fumbled in the waste-barrels for a cabbage leaf or a half-rotten apple. For three months I walked New York its whole length and width in search of work. My countrymen, too, were badly off. I got very discouraged. . ."

Finally, young Vanzetti got work again. Knowing "pantry work" best, he stuck to that. But none of the jobs lasted long; he did not know then

that this constant hiring and firing was a mean game in which chefs and employment agencies collaborated, going fifty-fifty on the fees. Many a night he slept in doorways, lining his clothes with newspapers to lessen the cold.

Vanzetti Grows Sick and Afraid

His vitality suffered a steady down-pull. In the hotels and restaurants where he worked he was compelled to eat leavings and come-backs. Every element of the situation caused him to rebel inwardly; made him feel that he was regarded not as an upstanding man, but as a slave, as a thing of the gutter. There is poison in such feeling. He loved life and he hated it—and he grew weak and shaky until he became afraid he would fall down in the street and never get up again.

One day he got out of New York. He felt that he was escaping something. The city had drained him, tortured him, given him nothing. Work in Connecticut pulled him away; some men from his home were there; the work was in a stone quarry, and it was hard, but it was out of doors and better than the dish-water world in New York.

Subsequently he labored as a section-hand in Massachusetts; did railroad construction; had a hand in building an aqueduct; ladled molten metal in an iron foundry; helped in various construction jobs in and around Plymouth; was man-of-all-work on a rich man's estate there; and finally, car-loader at the cordage factory.

Sacco Watched in Jail

Sacco is but 27. He is in the vast gray jail at Dedham, where he wishes they would let him work, but they will not. So he reads much—books by D'Annunzio, Barbusse, Voynich, and works on astronomy and other sciences. And in South Stoughton, his young wife nurses a baby born since Nicola went to jail, and sends

their eight-year-old boy Dante to school.

They keep Sacco locked in his cell mostly, with little exercise. They will let him shave but once a week, and on the seventh unshaven day people are brought in to try to identify him for crimes. Jail discipline requires that Sacco attend chapel each Sunday. During this compulsory church service, the authorities bring their witnesses in to scrutinize the face of Sacco so they may be able to identify him later.

And lately another man was put in the next cell; a man who sought to make friends with Sacco, but who over-reached himself. He was put in there without authority of law, but with the indorsement and assistance, it is authoritatively said, of representatives of the Department of Justice. Records at Dedham jail show his name as Dominick Carbonari, and he was booked as having been committed from Brookline police court for robbery. But the Brookline police court books show no such commitment.

The stool-pigeon was allowed to walk freely outside his cell. Engaging Sacco in conversation through the bars, he tried to steer the talk into a discussion of radicalism.

"I did some good robbery jobs, but they won't get me," he boasted to Sacco. "I'm too smart for them. I don't leave no evidence behind. I am an anarchist. Have you got some anarchist books in your cell? I would like to read. Do you know where I could get some dynamite when I leave this goddam jail? I want to blow up some people."

What hurts Sacco most is that he is to be tried not for an idea—not for the Big Idea for which he has labored for years, the right of the producer to a full share of what he produces—but for "a dirty gun-man job."

In the Spring of 1921, both Sacco and Vanzetti must go to trial at Dedham courthouse charged with high-



NICOLA SACCO'S FATHER AND MOTHER IN HIS BOYHOOD HOME AT TORREMAGGIORE, ITALY; AND HIS NEPHEWS AND NIECES.

His brother has lately been elected mayor of that town. Until his arrest Sacco sent remittances regularly to his parents.

way robbery and murder. They are accused of killing a guard and paymaster and escaping with an \$18,000 payroll belonging to the Slater and Morrill Shoe Company at South Braintree on April 15, 1920. Men found guilty of murder in Massachusetts are sent through a little green door to the electric chair.

Many Bandits Escape Police

The evidence on which the two were indicted for this crime is no more tangible than that which convicted Vanzetti. Both men were miles from South Braintree when the murders were committed, as the defense will conclusively prove. Since their arrest numerous similar hold-ups have been committed throughout New England, obviously the work of professional criminals; and invariably the robbers get away.

Sacco and Vanzetti are high-minded men, known intimately by

hundreds of people. Looking at them, talking with them, it would be hard for an intelligent person to conceive of their robbing or murdering any one. And their records are clean. Their real sin is that they resisted exploitation when other backs were bowed. Forms of law are being used against them, as forms of law were used against Ettore, Giovannitti and Caruso during the bitter Lawrence strike of nine years ago—and for the same reason.

Vanzetti Active in Big Strike

Vanzetti's activity in the big cordage strike at Plymouth in 1916 was the first biographical fact noted by the newspapers after his arrest, but this was just one incident in years of initiative in solidifying the working class. Sacco and Vanzetti were practically the last of the well-known Italian radicals in New England to be silenced; all the others had been

jailed and deported, in the name of patriotism, hundred-per-cent Americanism, and kindred pretexts.

Before analyzing the "evidence" offered against these two defendants, let us look briefly at the industrial background of New England.

Aliens Exploited in New England

Foreign-born workers have made New England one of the greatest industrial regions of the world. Without this labor, what would New England industry be? Textile hives in Lawrence, Lowell, Fall River; shoe factories clustering around Brockton, Lynn and Haverhill; chemical, rubber and canning factories scattered through the Northeast; and the great cordage plant at Plymouth—all produce commodities for world consumption with the aid of strange-speaking men and women who tend the machinery for a low wage.

This foreign labor was brought to America because it was cheap and easily managed—at first. But the literacy test to keep out undesirables was a device which actually assured their coming in; it meant that a considerable percentage of the in-comers would be thinkers, actual or potential, and to those who most wanted the immigrants to settle in New England, the thinking worker was the most undesirable, and the most dangerous to prevailing American institutions. Sacco and Vanzetti were of this type; and one day they found their voices and began to use them.

Lawrence the Turning Point

It was at Lawrence that the first emphatic expression of the new spirit of the foreign-born worker came. That city is the largest woolen-cloth center in the United States. Nine years ago 30,000 workers of 40 nationalities left the mills idle for nine weeks until a 15 per cent. wage increase had been wrested from the American Woolen Company and lesser employers.

Gun-men and agents-provocateur failed to crush the new solidarity. Ettor, Giovannitti and Caruso had led the strike. They were framed up for the electric chair, tried in a cage at Salem; but the frame-up failed, largely because of publicity generated through the support of great numbers of outside workers who had been inspired by the courage behind the strike. Sacco and Vanzetti were tireless workers for the defense.

Struggles followed throughout New England which won material betterment and increased self-respect among the workers. Strike succeeded strike, fusing racial differences of alien-born people into the beginning of the new brotherhood which knows no bars of race nor color.

The Dream Comes Closer

Through the long three months' strike of the foundry workers at Hopedale, Sacco was constantly active, organizing meetings and raising money, though he himself was in another industry. No chance to help the labor movement was lost by him nor Vanzetti. They were constant supporters of the Italian papers which mirrored the industrial struggle.

Sacco was arrested at Milford in 1916 for a speech at a mass-meeting protesting against the imprisonment of Carlo Tresca for his part in the Masaba range iron-miners' strike. It is not surprising that as soon as Sacco was connected with the present charge a policeman came from Milford to volunteer the information that he was the "red" he had arrested on that occasion.

Sacco as a Shoe-Worker

All these years Sacco worked steadily at the trade of edge-trimming, which he learned shortly after coming to America in 1908. He worked in the shoe factories in and around Brockton, being employed for seven years in one plant at Milford. Sacco was one of the best craftsmen

in the trade, one employer calling him the fastest edge-trimmer of some 3,000 who had passed through his factory doors.

His wages were higher than most of his Italian fellow-workers, and he was able to send regular remittances to his parents at Torremaggiore, Italy, where his brother has recently been elected mayor; and to support a wife and child as well. He aided effectively in the seven weeks' strike of insurgent cutters in 1918, which forced wage increases from various shoe manufacturers.

Vanzetti a Power in Plymouth

Bartolomeo Vanzetti's voice counted for much among the workers in Plymouth. This town, widely advertised as the landing place of the Puritan Pilgrims, is the cordage production center of the United States. Here the modern pilgrim from Southern Europe tends the spinning machines of the Cordage Trust, transforming the sisal hemp of the Yucatan Peninsula into rope and binder twine for sale around the earth.

When Vanzetti got a job at Plymouth in 1914 loading rope-coils on freight cars with the outside gang, Italians, Portugese and other Europeans working in the cordage plant were living under conditions worse than those prevailing at Lawrence in ante-strike days. Husbands and wives worked side by side in the mill or met each other going to and from the day and night shifts. Women were paid six dollars a week and men a maximum of nine dollars. Vanzetti began an energetic campaign for economic action.

On January 17, 1916, the big walk-out came, the first and only strike the Cordage Trust ever faced. Four thousand employes swarmed out from all parts of the mills, completely shutting down the plant. It was in the midst of the busy season, when orders for binder twine for the next

summer's harvest were pouring in. For a month the factory was silent.

Threats Against Strikers Fail

Police and private detectives and threats that families would be turned out of company-owned houses failed in their purposes because of the ceaseless endeavors of Vanzetti and co-leaders. Vanzetti worked night and day making speeches and doing his turn on the picket-line. He was responsible for gathering in much money for the strike fund.

Victory was with the strikers. The Cordage Trust settled. Wages were immediately raised. Inter-racial distrust was wiped out by the new solidarity, and this gave the workers power which forced successive wage increases until an average close to \$25 a week was reached. Vanzetti does not know whether or not he was blacklisted, but he does know that the cordage company didn't need his services any longer. He found it convenient to become a fish-seller, and thus be his own boss, but he continued to inspire the Italians and Portugese at the cordage plant. And accordingly he was marked as a "dangerous alien."

With Force and Violence

Vanzetti was exactly the type of man the Department of Justice was picking for deportation, but no excuse for arresting him was found until May 5, 1920, when the last relentless drive against aliens had been going on for a year. That drive was used by politicians and industrial magnates to serve important purposes. The victims were largely men who encouraged their fellows to resist open-shop campaigns and wage-cuts. Thus the industrial captains would be able, they believed, to cow the remaining multitudes into accepting anew the miseries of ten years ago.

Hundreds of halls and homes were raided by agents of the Department of Justice and the plug-uglies of

municipal police departments, and decent industrious workingmen were beaten like dogs. Wholesale jailings and deportations followed.

Salsedo is Terror Victim

In May and June, 1919, there were bomb explosions in various cities, unexplained to this day. Nine months later Andrea Salsedo was arrested by the police at his home in Brooklyn as a "suspect." The convenient loaded gun was found in his room, and upon this a formal charge of violating the Sullivan act was laid against the prisoner.

But when arraigned upon this charge, Salsedo was dismissed by the court. Then he was re-arrested by agents of the Department of Justice. Through the long two months of unlawful imprisonment which followed, Salsedo and his fellow-worker and fellow-prisoner Roberto Elia were brutally and terribly treated in an effort to make them reveal who printed a leaflet entitled "Plain Words," alleged to have been found near Attorney General Palmer's house in Washington after the explosion there.

Protest Meeting Choked Off

After weeks, Salsedo succeeded in smuggling out the letter which carried word of his sufferings to friends, including Sacco and Vanzetti. . . .

Salsedo died.

The Secret Service heads said he jumped.

Then Sacco and Vanzetti were arrested at night on a street car in Brockton, after they had made arrangements for the Salsedo protest meeting to be held the following Sunday. At the Brockton police station they were questioned closely about their official beliefs, and their movements on the evening of their arrest. The prisoners did what all wise workers do when placed under arrest. They refused to give any definite information about where they had been or whom they had seen, fearing that

if they do so it would only reveal the names of their comrades who would then be subject to persecution.

Chief Asks About Government

Police Chief Michael Stewart of Bridgewater came over to Brockton to join in the inquisition. Later as a principal witness in the Vanzetti trial he testified, in that stereotyped patten so common in labor court cases, that Vanzetti told him he was in favor of changing the government by force if necessary.

Stewart admitted under oath that he had asked Vanzetti questions along that line, thereby conflicting with a statement by District Attorney Katzmann, who is quoted in the Boston Sunday Advertiser of December 26, 1920, as follows:

"This is a plain charge of murder, and no other issue will be tried. The case has never had any other form in the minds of those connected with the district attorney's office nor of the commonwealth."

Katzmann, however, is on record in the official transcript of the Vanzetti trial as asking witnesses about the defendant's political ideas and his labor activities among the cordage workers.

Murder Frame-up is Crude Job

None of the bandits who terrorized the citizens of Bridgewater and who killed and robbed at South Braintree had been caught; the police had fallen down in that quest. That failure was a sore spot with Mike Stewart. He and the other inquisitors remembered that those crimes had been committed by "dark men." So after a day they set out to fasten those holdups on Sacco and Vanzetti and a third Italian named Riccardo Ociani.

Their work was not a neat job. It was like a house built by a botch carpenter. It mattered little that Vanzetti had a long moustache and that Captain Proctor had told the Boston

Globe that the four bandits wanted were smooth-shaven. One "wop" would pass for another anyway.

Identifications were obtained by the police in this case much as they were engineered in the Mooney and Billings case. Quite as a sleight-of-hand artist makes the right card come out of the pack, so does the police juggler mislead witnesses into identifying persons they have never seen before. It is a matter of suggestion. And always a certain percentage of people accept the doctrine of police infallibility.

"Identifications" Are a Farce

Fifty men and women and a boy who had seen the crimes were gathered in a large room in the Brockton station. The prisoners had not been permitted to shave. They were brought in as unkempt as possible, and were paraded around the room closely flanked by stern-faced policemen in uniform. These policemen had the aspect of men guarding wild beasts.

"Look at those Italian yeggs!" it was whispered.

But this first suggestion didn't work. Most of the witnesses uttered a positive "No!" Others were confused and uncertain. None could give a positive identification. Something more effective had to be devised. So some rough and ready theatrical make-up work was performed.

If a witness said that a bandit he had seen had tousled hair, then the hair of the prisoners was promptly tousled by the police. If a bandit's cap had been pulled over his eyes, then caps were pulled over their eyes. If a bandit had been crouching with revolver extended, the prisoners were compelled to pose in like manner, with right arm extended and fist closed.

Knowing their innocence and thinking that compliance would result in



BELTRANDO BRENI

Thirteen-year old boy who helped Vanzetti deliver eels in Plymouth on the morning of the Bridgewater crime.

swift vindication, Sacco, Vanzetti, and Ociani consented to participate in this trickery. All this of course was in violation of their rights. They had no legal counsel.

Four or five witnesses began to feel their uncertainty changing to a probability that these must be the men they had seen. But more criminal coloring must be given the prisoners, the police realized, in order to get identifications that would stand up at least half-way in court. So two of the captives were given the murder tour. Vanzetti for some reason was not taken along.

Chief Stewart stepped aside at this point and let Captain Proctor, the "gun expert," take charge. Obtaining an automobile supposed to be roughly similar to the bandit-cars Proctor drove Sacco and Ociani plus a state police guard, melodramatically through the shoe-towns. The prisoners were stoutly manacled. Word of their coming sped to the several towns—Bridgewater, South Braintree, Dedham, Needham, Milford. In each town they were set up on exhibition in police headquarters as they had been at Brockton.

At South Braintree the whole murder scene of April 15 was re-staged. The tragedy occurred on Pearl street, a short distance east of a wide railroad crossing, and immediately in front of the Rice and Hutchins shoe factory. Some rods farther east is the plant of the Slater and Morrill Shoe Company, whose payroll was taken.

Frederick A. Parmenter, the paymaster, and Alexander Berardelli, the guard, were walking eastward towards the Slater and Morrill plant with the \$18,000. They were suddenly fired upon from an automobile approaching from ahead. Two men then jumped out of the car and ran toward them, continuing to fire. Grabbing the money as Parmenter and Berardelli fell, the bandits jumped back into the car, and it sped westward across the railroad tracks and away.

Workers See Crime Re-enacted

On the west side of the tracks stands a two-story frame building housing the offices of the Slater and Morrill Company. Two women bookkeepers, standing in second-story windows of that building, had a fleeting view of the escaping bandits, that view being cut off quickly by a cobbler shop which stands between the offices and Pearl street.

Workers in the two factories were

called outside or to the windows to see the re-enactment of the bandit-car ride. By this means a couple more witnesses were obtained, making a total of three witnesses against Sacco for the South Braintree crime, and four against Vanzetti for the Bridgewater attack. No testimony had been procured to connect Vanzetti with the South Braintree murder.

Ociani, meanwhile, had been headlined by various newspapers as one of the actual bandits. But after six days, his employers came forward and produced records that he had been at work on the days of both holdups, so he was released.

Each of the three witnesses who was led by artifice into identifying Sacco as a South Braintree bandit lost assurance two weeks later in the undramatic atmosphere of the East Norfolk justice court, where Sacco was brought before Judge Avery, the committing magistrate, on May 18.

Witnesses Are Uncertain

These three witnesses were Louis L. Wade, a shoe worker at Slater and Morrill's; and Miss Frances Devlin and Miss Mary Splaine of the same firm's office staff. Seeing Sacco in normal position, without ruffled hair or crouch, they admitted in rapid succession:

"I might be mistaken."—Wade. (Page 26, preliminary record.)

"I do not say positively."—Miss Devlin. (Page 47.)

"I do not think my opportunity afforded me the right to say he is the man."—Miss Splaine. (Page 56.)

There were no other witnesses against Sacco at this time. Each of the three was far from the scene of the shooting. None of the two score persons whose heads popped out of the Rice and Hutchins factory windows directly over the crime-scene could identify the prisoner. Most of

them were positive they had not seen him among the bandits.

Wade had been standing eighty paces away when the shooting began, according to his testimony. This is a full two hundred feet, and his original "identification" was astonishing under the circumstances. He was the only actual witness of the shooting the prosecution attempted to use.

Miss Splaine and Miss Devlin had seen only the aftermath of the tragedy from their post in the second-story windows of the Slater and Morrill office building across the railroad tracks. They had seen the bandit-car escaping, 100 or more more feet away. They said it was a covered car, but that they saw a man leaning out of the car. This man, they said, never turned his face towards them and they caught only an oblique view of his features as he leaned out with face turned down. His eyes were on a level with the first floor.

Onlookers' Statements Conflict

The vagueness of their recollection was brought out in their testimony when Miss Devlin stated that the man moved from side to side of the car, while Miss Splaine said that he stood in one place. Miss Devlin described that bandit as a "tall, well built man." (Page 47, preliminary record.) Sacco is decidedly short.

Despite this failure of the police to produce any tangible evidence against Sacco, Judge Avery bound him over for the grand jury on a charge of murder. Weeks later, Vanzetti was indicted secretly for the South Braintree crime. He was never accorded a preliminary hearing on this charge.

Gunmen Attack Pay Truck

The Bridgewater holdup occurred at 7.35 A. M. on the morning of December 24, 1919. It was an armed attack on three occupants of the L. Q. White Shoe Company's pay-truck.

This truck had obtained the weekly allotment of money for White's, said to be \$33,000, at a bank in the public square, and was on its way to the shoe factory.

Its route lay northward on Broad street, along which a trolley track runs. One block north of the public square, Hale street, a narrow lane, cuts into Broad street from the east, and ends there. One block farther north there are railroad tracks and a depot, the latter being set back considerably from Broad street to the east, so that it cannot be seen from the crime-zone.

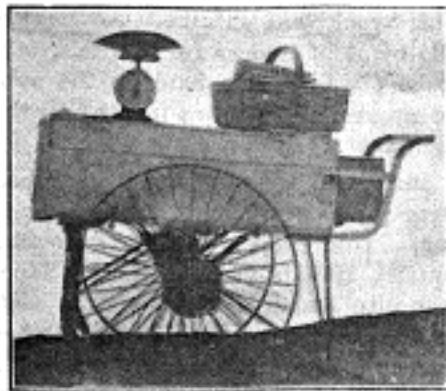
No One Injured in Gun Battle

As the pay-truck approached Hale street, two men on foot began firing at the three on board—a paymaster, a special officer, and a chauffeur. The fire was returned. One bandit had a revolver, and the other a shot-gun. Later Vanzetti was declared to be the shot-gun man. More detail of the shooting is given further on in this narrative. The truck escaped around a trolley car.

No one was injured, nor were any bullet marks afterward found. The bandits jumped into an automobile which waited with engine running in Hale street, and fled.

But at that hour Vanzetti was actually 28 miles away—in Plymouth, where he was well known as a fish-seller. December 24th stands out always on the Italian calendar. Among the Catholics it is a fast day, and fish is the logical food. But the feasting spirit of the Christmas-tide is in the air, and the fish of ordinary days is not rich enough, so the Italians turn to eels. And those who are not Catholic eat eels also, because they are fine food. Eels and chestnuts are twin-traditions associated with that particular day.

Vanzetti had taken orders in advance from numerous families for eels. On the evening of Decem-



VANZETTI'S FISH CART

In which he delivered eels to numerous people on the morning of December 24, 1919.

ber 23rd, he arranged with thirteen-year-old Beltrando Breni to have him help in the delivery of the eels. Next morning the two went through the streets together making those deliveries. They were observed by many persons. That day stood out in Beltrando's memory because it was then he earned his Christmas money.

Eighteen reputable witnesses vouched for Vanzetti's whereabouts on that day. Nine of those had been at home when he brought the eels, and talked with him. John Di Carlo, proprietor of a shoe store, testified that Vanzetti came to his establishment while he was cleaning up that morning—between 7:15 and 7:40 A. M. Every hour of Vanzetti's time on the day before Christmas was accounted for.

Those who swore that they purchased eels from him included: Mrs. Mary Fortini, Mrs. Rosa Forni, Rosa Balboni, Teresa Malaguice, Adelaide Bongiovanni, Marquetta Fiocchi, Emma Bosari, Enrico Bastoni, a baker, and Vincent J. Longhi.

All these are persons of good repute. Their testimony was straightforward and certain. The prosecution made no serious attempt to disprove it.

Prosecutor Katzmann, who says

this is solely a criminal case, asked Di Carlo during cross-examination:

"Have you ever discussed government theories over there between you?" and "Have you discussed the question of the poor man and the rich man between you?" (Trial record, Page 47).

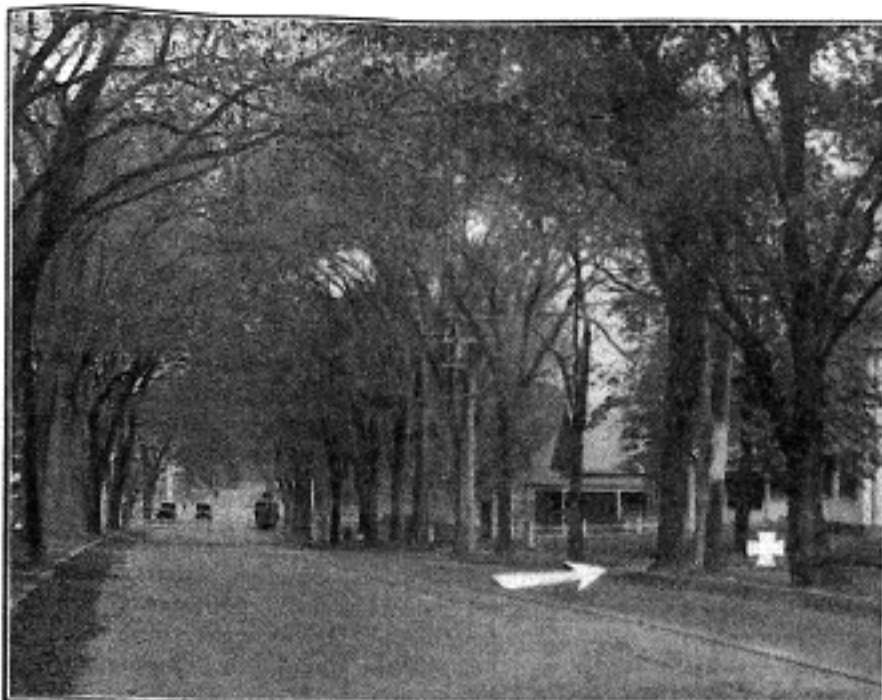
And when Michael Sassi, cordage worker, was testifying for Vanzetti, the prosecutor asked: "Have you heard anything of his political beliefs?" and "Have you ever heard him make any political speeches to fellow workers at the Cordage?"

Witnesses Alter Testimony

Witnesses for the prosecution were few and inconsistent; several altered their testimony, consciously or unconsciously, to fit the prosecution's needs.

Frank W. Harding, better known as "Slip," originally described the shotgun bandit as "smooth-shaven," according to the Boston Globe of December 24, 1919. But in the official transcript of the preliminary hearing of Vanzetti on May 10, he uses five lines to describe the "overgrown Charlie Chaplin" moustache of the same man. This description was given after he had seen Vanzetti.

Similar alteration of testimony was made by Benjamin J. Bowles, one of the men on the pay-truck. Bowles is a special officer for the White Shoe Company and member of Chief Stewart's police force in Bridgewater. At the preliminary hearing Bowles swore the shotgun man's moustache was "short and croppy." But presently it became known that Policemen Schilling and Gault, of Plymouth, together with the Chief of Police there and various prominent persons, would testify for the defense that Vanzetti's moustache had been full and flowing for years. So in the trial Bowles declared that the shotgun man's moustache was "bushy."



SCENE OF BRIDGEWATER HOLDUP

Looking north on Broad street toward railroad tracks. Arrow points into Hale street. Cross shows where bandits' automobile stood waiting in Hale street. From this point it is impossible to see the depot from which Mrs. Brooks says she saw gun-fire.

Bowles' "pretty positive" identification, thrice repeated at the preliminary hearing (Page 32, preliminary record), became "positive" in the trial. (Page 25, trial record.)

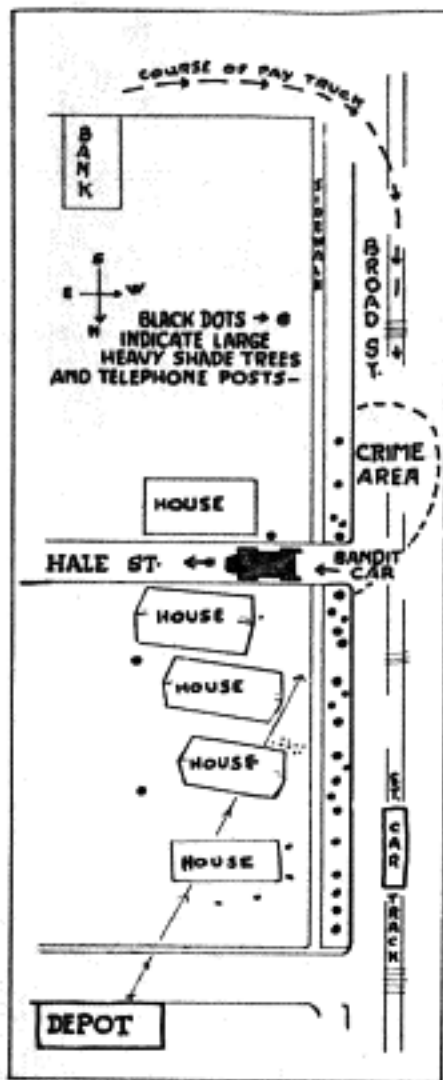
Although refusing to make a positive identification for the commonwealth, Paymaster Alfred E. Cox reversed his general testimony at the trial and gave a description which would fit the defendant. In the Brockton police court on May 10, Cox declared several times that the shotgun man, in contrast to the other bandit, was "short and of slight build" (Page 11, preliminary record), the "short" fellow of the attacking party.

This was bad for the commonwealth's case. But it didn't stand. Bowles followed Cox with a "five feet eight inches" description which fitted Vanzetti better, and said that

the shotgun man was the taller of the two. Then, when the case went to trial, Bowles was called first and Cox carefully patterned his description after him and let the bandit grow in stature. When Bowles again said "five feet eight inches" Cox repeated "five feet eight inches."

Looking Three Ways at Once

Bowles gave a description of the shotgun man's hair, eyes, face and clothes of minute completeness. Such fullness of detail six months after he had seen a man for only a few chaotic seconds seems incredible. Bowles described graphically how he helped operate the motor truck after Earl Graves, the driver, collapsed from fright with the first bullet, and how they steered around a trolley car directly ahead of them.



**DIAGRAM OF BRIDEWATER
HOLDUP SCENE**

X indicates window from which Mrs. Brooks declared she saw gun-fire. Arrow points toward crime-area, showing how houses cut off view.

And most marvelous of all—at the very time when he was doing this, he was engaged in a pistol duel with another bandit from the one he was describing. This other bandit, he said, was fully eight feet away from the shotgun man. All this is in the preliminary trial record.

At the trial, however, the defense attorneys challenged Bowles on the latter point and he promptly changed his testimony, saying now that his second shot was fired at the shotgun man. But he had just said that he was from 25 to 50 yards away when he fired the second shot.

Woman Sees Through House

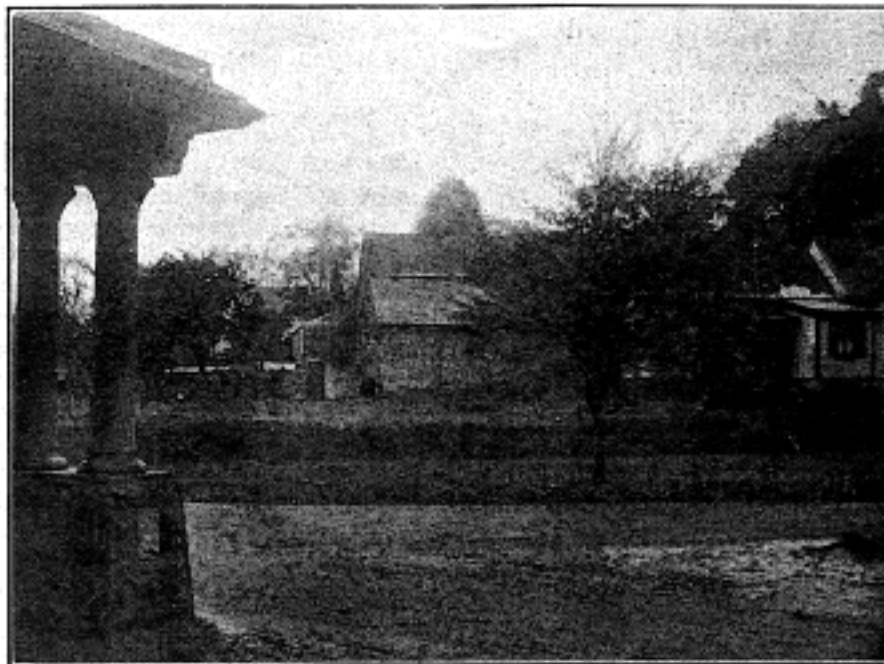
Mrs. Georgina Brooks is an elderly woman who appears to have supernatural powers. Buildings become transparent when they stand in her way. She declared she saw "fire and smoke from a gun" while she stood in a window of the railway station, 75 feet back from Broad street and 300 feet from Hale street where the crime-action took place.

But there is a two-story frame house half-way along Broad street which completely shuts off an observer in that window from any view of the crime-area!

Mrs. Brooks makes no secret of being able to see only the vague silhouette of objects before her with one of her eyes, and she has been taking treatment for the other. But on the way to the railroad station with a small child before the shooting, she took observations afterwards useful to the prosecution. She was walking north on the west side of Broad street, she said, when she noticed an automobile drawn up in Hale street, east of the eastern sidewalk line on Broad street. The rear of the car was toward her.

Why Was Mrs. Brooks So Curious?

For some unexplained reason she became interested in that car, although its appearance was not unusual. She led the child across Broad street and into Hale street, and went out of her way to pass around the front end of the automobile. In it, she said, were four men. Three of these she took no notice of; but she scrutinized the



SCENE FROM RAILWAY DEPOT IN BRIDGEWATER, LOOKING DIRECTLY TOWARD CRIME-AREA.

This photograph was taken from the point where Mrs. Georgina Brooks stood, and from which she asserted she saw gun-fire. But the crime-area is on the other side of the two-story house shown here. Did Mrs. Brooks see through the house?

fourth—a man with a dark face, moustache and dark soft hat, who “seemed like some kind of a foreigner.”

She looked twice at this man, who in return looked at her “severely”; and she continued to turn and look at him as she and the child proceeded to the railroad station. That man, she declared, to quote from the trial record, “That man, I should judge, was the defendant.”

Why should Mrs. Brooks have taken pains to cross the street and go out of her way to pass around this car? And why should she have displayed such extraordinary interest in an ordinary individual who said nothing and sat quietly? Her story is on a par with the tale told by Oxman, “the honest cattleman” in

the Mooney and Billings trial, of his taking down the number of a Ford automobile during a parade “because the people in it looked like they might be thieves.”

Paymaster Cox testified at the preliminary hearing, as did Mrs. Brooks, that Vanzetti had worn a hat. But this detail given by Cox was carefully suppressed by the prosecution during the trial. Chief Stewart exhibited in court a cap, which he claimed to have taken from Vanzetti’s home; then he produced a witness, Richard Grant Casey, who said he thought he saw this cap on the shotgun man’s head on December 24.

“He Ran Like a Foreigner”

Maynard Freeman Shaw, 14-year-

old high school prodigy, stood behind a tree and saw the shotgun man running 145 feet away. He was one of those who "identified" Vanzetti. He admitted he never had more than a fleeting glimpse of the bandit's face.

"I could tell he was a foreigner by the way he ran," young Shaw testified at the trial.

"What sort of a foreigner?" asked the defense.

"Either Italian or Russian."

"Does an Italian or a Russian run differently from a Swede or a Norwegian?"

"Yes."

"What is the difference?"

"Unsteady."

Courtroom spectators were impressed by the heroic recital of "Slip" Harding. He described modestly his own coolness under fire; how he stood in the open during the gun-play in the Bridgewater attack. Some onlookers assert that Harding was behind a tree, but he insists that he wasn't. Anyway, he testified that he took down the number of the bandits' automobile as it sped away. Then he gave the memorandum to Police Chief Stewart, he said, and failed to keep a copy of it.

When Stewart went on the witness stand he stated that he had mislaid that important memorandum. After spending a whole day searching for the automobile number, he had to confess that he had lost it. Later, however, he gave "from memory" a number which he asserted was that of the bandit car. That was six months after the crime. The number Stewart gave was that of a car stolen from Francis Murphy, a Natick shoe manufacturer, in November, 1919.

Two days after the South Braintree holdup, an abandoned Buick automobile, identified as Murphy's,

was found in a woods several miles away. The prosecution contended that it was used in both crimes.

Where is the Rifle Shell?

Vanzetti was connected with that car by the thinnest of threads. Remember the three shotgun shells found in his pocket many days after the second holdup. The prosecutors tried to introduce as evidence a fourth shotgun shell, alleged to have been found alongside the automobile. Judge Thayer would not admit its introduction.

Whether that shell actually was found beside the car may be questioned. In the light of a news story in the Boston Globe of April 19. That story told of State Detective Scott and Police Chief Jeremiah Galivan, of Braintree, beating the bush for the missing \$18,000 payroll.

"Their search was fruitless," according to the Globe, "except for the finding of an empty RIFLE shell."

Failing to get the fourth shotgun shell into evidence, the commonwealth tried another way to link Vanzetti with the Buick car.

It proceeded to build its case upon the shoulders of two missing men—a shaky scaffolding, but one which served the prosecution's purposes.

It put on the stand Mrs. Simon Johnson, wife of a garage keeper, who at the request of the police, telephoned them when Michael Boda called on the night of May 5 for his own automobile—an Overland—which was stored in the Johnson garage.

She asserted that Vanzetti and Sacco and another Italian were with Boda that night, and was quite certain about it, although her husband testified that Mrs. Johnson was in the light when she observed the four men, and that the visitors were in the shadow. Johnson knew Boda

well, and he took oath that Boda had owned and driven an Overland car, but never to his knowledge had driven a Buick.

Milkman Sees Boda "Wave Head"

Finally, however, the prosecution summoned Napoleon Ensher, a milkman, who said he didn't know Boda by name, but that he knew who was meant, and that he had once seen Boda driving a Buick—maybe four weeks ago, maybe eight weeks ago. There was no showing that Ensher had any knowledge of different makes of automobiles, nor any explanation of how he happened to notice what kind of a car was being driven by a man whose name he didn't know—a man who simply passed one day a long time ago, passed "waving his head." Other makes of automobiles might easily be confused with a Buick by a person unfamiliar with their differences.

Vanzetti denies he was with Boda on the night of May 5, and declares he never knew him. Boda has vanished. Chief Stewart had him in his hands on April 20, five days after the South Braintree murders, and let him go. On the same day, the man with whom Boda lived, Ferruccio Coacci, was deported by the federal authorities without any protest from state officials.

Subsequently, District Attorney Katzmann expressed the belief that Coacci took to Italy the \$18,000 loot from the second holdup. But Coacci's ship did not reach Italy until after May 5, and Coacci's detention in port could have been accomplished by wireless had the authorities wanted to halt him.

By inference the state tried to make the jury believe that the bandit car escaped to the Coacci home on December 24. Assistant Prosecutor William F. Kane promised in his opening statement that he would



BENJAMIN J. BOWLES

Policeman who described Vanzetti in one way at preliminary hearing and altered his description at trial.

prove this, but he never got closer to proof than the use of suggestion. That inference was based solely on a statement by one John King, who said he looked out of his window on Grove street, Bridgewater, at 7:30 that morning and saw a Buick car speeding in the direction of Prospect street.

It is more than two miles from this point to the Boda-Coacci house by the winding roads which must be traveled. Those roads follow a detour around the Great Hockamock Meadows. A dozen other routes were just as likely for the bandits' getaway.

Mrs. Johnson's powers of observation may be gauged by the fact that she later identified an Irish policeman as one of the Italians who had visited her home. She has already received a two hundred dollar reward and will be rewarded further if the murder trial results in convictions.



WITNESSES FOR THE DEFENSE

From left to right: John DiCarlo, in whose shoe store Vanzetti was delivering eels at the very minute of the Bridgewater holdup 28 miles away; Miss Esteno Christophori, who purchased eels from him that day; and Andrew Christophori, who saw Vanzetti in Plymouth during the hours in question.

But was the bandit car in the Bridgewater holdup actually a Buick? Benjamin Bowles testified glibly that it was a large dark Buick; but under cross-examination he admitted that he had not paid particular attention to the car, and in fact did not know of what make it was. (Page 39, trial record.)

True, Richard Grant Casey said it was a Buick; but Casey testified that Vanzetti wore a cap, while Cox and Mrs. Brooks swore it was a hat. Harding, too, called the car a Buick; but his qualifications for identifying automobiles were never illustrated in court.

* * *

Case Stirs Italian Chamber

This case has caused a notable stir in the Italian Chamber of Deputies. It has been the subject of extensive debate there, and demands for fair play for the two defendants in America were made in speeches by Ella Musetti and Leon Mucci, members of the Chamber.

When these two made their demands they had in hand a detailed report on the whole case from Morris Gebelow, a New York newspaperman who journeyed to Rome in November after spending many days in Massachusetts investigating the facts.

Deputy Mucci's activity in behalf of the two accused men was something more than an abstract appeal for justice for two of his countrymen. Mucci was formerly a member of the Boston bar, and knew what had been done in other times to innocent aliens in New England. In 1912 he was a law-partner of George E. Roewer, Jr., and was one of the attorneys who defended Ettore, Giovannitti and Caruso at Salem.

As a result of the activities of these two Deputies and others, the Italian government cabled instructions to its ambassador at Washington and its consulate at Boston to make an exhaustive scrutiny of all the contributing factors. Added to the governmental record in this inquiry will be the report of the Italian consulate at



JOHN DICARLO'S SHOE STORE IN PLYMOUTH

Where Vanzetti was delivering eels at the moment of the Bridgewater hold-up 28 miles away.

New York City of its investigation of Andrea Salsedo's death, which always must be dealt with in any consideration of the Sacco-Vanzetti case.

Widespread Search for Boda

But there is another phase of activity in this situation which of its own weight has enlisted the co-operation of Italians all over America—the necessity of finding Michael Boda, the missing witness. Italians in many cities across the country are searching for him in every spot where he might likely be. That search has begun in Detroit, Chicago, New York, Pittsburg, Gary, St. Louis, and Duluth, and in various other centers which attract men of that nationality.

There is reason to believe that Boda remained in the United States, and that he went West. No photographs of him are existent, so far as can be learned. But his description has been spread far and wide among his countrymen. That description follows:

Weight, approximately 140 to 150 pounds; height, 5 feet; complexion, very dark; hair, brown, not much of

it; nose, long and of Roman type; age from 30 to 34 years; face, thin and usually smooth shaven, though he has been seen with a Charlie Chaplin moustache; color of eyes unknown; teeth regular; occupation, supposedly that of salesman.

Witness Saved from Exile

Late in January, the Sacco-Vanzetti defense forces had a narrow escape from losing a third vital witness in addition to the missing Boda and Coacci. On the eve of the trial of Mrs. Angelina DeFalco, accused of offering to guarantee acquittals for the two defendants for \$50,000, the Department of Labor suddenly ordered a long-standing deportation order against Frank R. Lopez carried into effect.

Lopez is secretary of the Sacco-Vanzetti committee, and was needed not only to testify in the DeFalco trial, but to appear in behalf of the two Italian labor organizers when they are tried in March. By hurrying a representative to Washington, and explaining the urgent necessity for



ENRICO BASTONI

Baker who bought eels from Vanzetti on morning of December 24, 1919.

Lopez remaining in Massachusetts for the two trials, counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti succeeded in obtaining a sixty-day suspension of the order of exile.

Spain was the birth-land of Lopez. He is 35 years old, is an expert cabinet maker and interior finisher, and has been a worker in this country for 17 years. In February, 1918, he was arrested at his home in Dedham without any warrant, and ever since has been the subject of attentions by the federal authorities.

Lopez Also Falsely Accused

He had mailed packages of Spanish papers to friends in New York and Chicago, and these were intercepted; his accusers declared that the papers contained criticisms of the war. Translations proved this untrue, Lopez declares, and he was never tried on that charge.

Released on bond, he was later re-arrested as an undesirable alien; was imprisoned for 30 days at Long Wharf immigration station, in buildings since condemned as unsanitary;

was held at Ellis Island three months; was in a military hospital with influenza for six weeks because of improper treatment while a prisoner; and when he wasn't locked up he was kept going to court so often that he had a difficult time doing enough work to support his wife and young son.

These days he is out on bail again, and is working aggressively to free Sacco and Vanzetti; that is his big purpose in life now. Lopez, as a dark foreigner, has undergone much of the travail which his two comrades experienced during their struggles for a foothold in America. Remembering that, he must give every fibre of his strength and intelligence to get them out of prison.

Three prominent attorneys have been appointed as a committee to do a survey of the Sacco-Vanzetti case for the New England Civil Liberties Committee, which is a unit of the American Civil Liberties Union. They are: William P. Everts, former president of the Harvard Liberal Club; Judd Dewey, former assistant United States District Attorney in Boston; and George E. Roewer, Jr., member of the national executive committee of the Socialist party.

Story Spreads to Ireland

Even in Ireland, the story of the effort to send Sacco and Vanzetti to the electric chair is spreading. Despite all the woe that is upon that island, some of its people have time and inclination to dwell upon tragedies elsewhere. Recently the Drapers' Assistant, a periodical for dry goods clerks published in Dublin, contained an extensive article by Mary Heaton Vorse telling of her talks with Sacco and Vanzetti in their prisons.

"We drove through the sweet New England towns," wrote Mrs. Vorse in beginning that article, and then she followed the contemplation of that



**SIX WITNESSES WHO BOUGHT EELS FROM VANZETTI IN PLYMOUTH,
28 MILES FROM BRIDGEWATER, ON THE DAY OF THE
HOLD-UP AT THE LATTER PLACE**

From left to right, they are: Mrs. Mary Fortini, Rosa Balboni, Teresa Malaguice, Adelaide Bongiovanni, Marquetta Fiochi, and Emma Bosari.

hallowed sweetness with the biting contrast of the granite walls which hold the defendants within their grasp, and the weird circumstances which put them inside those walls.

Here in the United States, in late days, organized labor is steadily swinging to the support of the Sacco-Vanzetti cause. Mass-meetings are being held in cities near and far, letters are being written about the case to magazines and newspapers and to individuals whose voices are harkened to; and local Sacco-Vanzetti defense committees are being organized in the great industrial zones.

Newspapers Watch Closely

With this solidarity being demonstrated in so many localities, it is to be believed that the trial of these two men will be watched with the tense interest which was inspired by the cases associated with the names of Ettore, Giovannitti and Caruso; Mooney and Billings; the Everett

massacre; and the Centralia tragedy.

There is assurance of such interest in the close attention of the Boston newspapers to the trial of Mrs. De Falco, which is in session before Municipal Judge Murray there as this pamphlet goes to press.

When Vanzetti was tried for the Bridgewater hold-up, the story got little space in the Boston dailies—much less than during the days of the melodramatic “identifications.” But at that time, the story apparently was simply one of crime; and the trial was held in one of the outlying towns. It was covered by the papers in more or less of a routine fashion; and doubtless the average Boston editor would say that it got all the space it deserved, in the light of comparative news values of the period.

But since that trial, all these new developments have entered to give the case important value as news—the \$100,000 damage suit against Attorney General Palmer and his asso-

ciates for Salsedo's death; the active interest of the Italian government; the arrest and prosecution of Mrs. DeFalco; the search for Boda; the appointment of the investigating committee by the New England Civil Liberties Committee; and the new attempt to deport Lopez.

New Arrest in DeFalco Case

When Mrs. DeFalco was put on trial before Judge Murray, there was a new surprise. The attorneys for Sacco and Vanzetti promptly had a warrant served on Benami Cicchetti, a tailor of Providence, who was in court to testify as chief witness for Mrs. DeFalco. This man was charged with being a party to the proposal made by the woman to throw the case to the side of the accused labor organizers in return for \$50,000.

It was revealed by Aldino Felicani and other witnesses who substantiated Felicani's testimony, that Mrs. De Falco had offered, when the defense committee pleaded poverty, to reduce the price for the two acquittals to \$40,000.

This money, she stipulated, was to be paid to Francis J. Squires, clerk of the police court at Dedham, in which

town the two men are to be tried; and to Percy Katzmann, brother and law-partner of District Attorney Frederick Katzmann, who is to prosecute Sacco and Vanzetti.

Wanted Evidence Surrendered

Mrs. DeFalco demanded that \$5,000 be paid on a certain day as a preliminary fee; and on the same day, the defense committee and its counsel must agree to surrender to Percy Katzmann all evidence in their possession.

Cicchetti, when put on the witness stand in Mrs. DeFalco's behalf, admitted under cross-examination that he and the woman visited the committee headquarters early in January and proposed the employment of new lawyers. He admitted, too, that he had discussed the matter with Attorney Squires.

When Mrs. DeFalco made the offer to Felicani and others, she explained that by reason of her connections in court circles at Dedham, she was able to sway verdicts in criminal cases—and as evidence of her ability along this line, she cited the case of a woman who was cleared of a murder charge through her efforts.

THIS THING MAY HAPPEN TO YOU!

You who read this narrative must realize that something more than sympathy and moral support are needed for Sacco and Vanzetti. Their lives are at stake; and the attack upon them is obviously an attack upon all workers who dare to think aloud.

Money is keenly needed for the aid of the defense. Investigation work necessarily covers a wide field; intrenchments must be built against the intrigues of the enemy; Mrs. Sacco and her children must be provided for; and publicity concerning every phase of the situation must be spread broadcast.

Attorneys William J. Callahan and Fred H. Moore have entered the case since the Vanzetti conviction. They have a herculean fight before them, but they are working tirelessly, systematically, tearing down the structure of falsity set up by the prosecution. Callahan and Moore believe that law cases are invariably won or lost before they go into the courtroom.

Give quickly all you can spare. Every contribution will be acknowledged.

This money must come from those who believe in fair play for working people. What has happened to Sacco and Vanzetti may happen to any worker, Italian or American. It happened to Mooney and Billings. It may be your turn next.

And after you have given money, there are other ways in which you can help. Assist in distributing this pamphlet far and wide. Make sure that it is read by labor unions, civic organizations, educators, public speakers, clergymen, church societies, and every kind of people who ought to know this story.

Write to Governor Channing Cox of Massachusetts and to the senators and representatives from your districts, asking them to investigate all facts in the case. If your newspaper fails to publish the developments of this life-and-death battle, write the managing editor asking why. And send him a copy of this pamphlet.

Above all, organize immediately a Sacco-Vanzetti defense committee in

your locality. Have it composed of delegates from all liberal and progressive organizations, and particularly from all the various labor groups. Then have your committee arrange for mass-meetings and especially obtain the indorsement of your local labor council; and then systematically canvass the individual unions.

If you desire outside speakers, write either to the Boston defense committee or the Workers Defense Union, addresses of which are given below, and they will be supplied.

Send all contributions of money to

THE SACCO-VANZETTI DEFENSE COMMITTEE

ALDINO FELICANI, Treasurer

32-34 Battery Street

Boston, Mass.

Send all orders for copies of this pamphlet to the Workers Defense Union, 7 East 15th Street, New York City, by which it is published. Price per single copy, 10 cents; for 100 copies, \$7.50; for 500 copies, \$35.00; for 1,000 copies, \$60.00.



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"MANY well-known local people have always doubted the guilt of Vanzetti and Sacco, while labor unions here and in the mill cities of Lawrence, Lowell and Fall River have declared that the two men are being 'railroaded' by the Department of Justice."

—Boston Post, January 16, 1920