THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

Socialism, Internationalism, Votes for All.

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CAPITAL AND LABOUR: SHALL MOONEY DIE?

[The following is published after considerable investigation on the part of the Editor of this paper, as well as by the Printer, the latter having extended long after the usual hour for going to press. If the matter were not one in which to delay a step (which once taken will be irrevocable) is vitally urgent, we should have waited with a view to learning, if possible, more of the prosecution side. In the course we take we are supported by well-known leaders who are more credited with over-cautiousness than hot-headedness. We are willing however, to publish any material evidence which may be sent to us on the other side.]

There is to-day in this country a man named Mooney, who has come to plead for the life of his brother now lying under sentence of death in a San Francisco prison. Thomas J. Mooney, the condemned man, was convicted of murder by bomb explosion so long ago as July 22nd, 1916, in the course of one of those long and complicated American disputes between Capital and Labour, which, in their more acute phases, can only be compared with civil war. The story, as it is given in a report of the case submitted by Mr. Bourke Cockran, Mooney's counsel, to the Commissioners appointed by President Wilson to investigate the case, reads like a picture palace melodrama, yet it is unfortunately not unprecedented in the United States. We will now summarise Mr. Cockran's account of the affair.

Shortly before the San Francisco earthquake of 1906 the United Railways Company, which owned the tramway system of the city, was acquired by a group of financiers who desired to change the underground cable system to that of overhead trolleys which could be more cheaply worked and would therefore increase the profits of the Company, unless fares were reduced or the road rent charged by the city increased. The public and city authorities were opposed to the overhead trolley project, but after the earthquake the Company insisted that the cables had been wrecked, and the partial erection of the trolley system was agreed to as a temporary expedient and the speediest means of setting the trams going again. Afterwards an ordinance was passed authorising the permanent installation of the trolley system throughout the city. A later investigation disclosed the fact that £40,000 had been used in bribery and a man named Ruef was convicted and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment for disbursing the money. During the trial Mr. Francis J. Heney, Special Assistant District Attorney, who was conducting the prosecution, was shot through the head. His assailant was arrested but was found dead in his cell next day, the prison officials stating that he had shot himself.

The £40,000 bribery fund was traced to a member of the United Railways Company, Mr. Patrick Calhoun, and to a lawyer, Mr. Tirey L. Ford. During their trial the house of James Gallagher, a witness against them, was wrecked by a dynamite explosion. The jury empanelled to try Calhoun disagreed and a new trial was ordered, but here an election intervened. In U.S.A. the judges and magistrates are elected as M.P.s and town councillors are here. Mr. Heney, the Assistant District Attorney, became candidate for the Attorneyship. He was opposed by Mr. Fickert, a nominee of the United Railways and other such companies. Mr. Fickert was elected and immediately afterwards successfully moved that all the bribery prosecutions be dismissed.

The drivers and conductors of the United Railways Company at this point struck work and after months of bitter conflict were defeated. Blacklegs took their places. The Workers' Union endeavoured to organise the blacklegs; the Company resisted their organisation. The tramway strike over, another strike broke out in a partner company, the Pacific Gas and Electric Company. Property was destroyed by dynamite; the companies declared this to be the work of "labour agitators," the union leaders replied that it had been done by the employers' agents. Mooney was arrested in Martinez County, charged with having explosives and firearms in his possession contrary to a statute of California. The private detective employed by the employers said that he found these in a boat owned by Mooney after Mooney's arrest. The policeman who arrested Mooney said that he examined the boat at the time of Mooney's arrest and found no explosives or weapons. Mooney was acquitted.

In 1914, in the course of a strike at Stockton, Emerson, an agent of the employers, was arrested with a suit case of dynamite. He confessed that it was intended to be placed in the room occupied by Johannsen, a member of the workmen's union, and that another suit case of dynamite was to be placed in the railway cloakroom at Stockton, the cloakroom ticket to be surreptitiously placed in the coat pocket of Olaf Tveitmoe, treasurer of the workmen's union. The members of the Employers' Association Executive were indicted as a result of this confession, but, says Mr. Bourke :—

'Needless to say, the prosecution was ineffective. Men of such wealth and commercial importance have indeed been indicted where evidence against them was so overwhelming that it could not be completely ignored, but not one of them has ever been actually sent to jail in any part of the United States."

Even Emerson went unpunished. He was defended by the lawyers employed by the Merchants', Manufactures', and Employers' Association and acquitted.

Mooney, as his brother tells us, was a moulder by trade, but was employed as temporary organiser of the Street Carmen's Union of America in December, 1915, and he arranged a meeting for the employees of the San Francisco United Railway Company's employees to take place on the night of June 10th, 1916.

That day the United Railway Companies posted notices in their car stations and distributed in handbill form to their employees the following notice, the wording of which is supplied to us by Tom Mooney's brother :—

"United Railroads of San Francisco, 58 Sutter Street, San Francisco, Cal., June 10, 1916.—This is to inform you that one T. J. Mooney, a moulder by trade, but at present unemployed, who was arrested and confined in jail at Martinez as a dynamiter for his activities during the Pacific Gas and Electric Company strike in 1913, is at present endeavouring to enroll some of our employees in the Carmen's Union. It is needless to advise you that the Company is thoroughly familiar with his every move, and takes this occasion to notify you that any man found to be affiliated with Mooney, or any union, will be promptly discharged.—United Roilroads of San Francisco."

The phrase "or any union" should have opened the eyes of anyone; but as the majority of the workers are as keen in upholding law and order as their employers no doubt such charges proved, to some who believed them, a serious deterrent from association with Mooney, quite apart from the threat of dismissal. Mr. Cockran reports that Mooney drove to the meeting in a "jitney bus" owned by Israel Weinberg. In the small hours of the next morning two steel towers situated seven miles from San Francisco, owned by the Sierra Light and Power Company, which conveyed electric power to San Francisco, were blown up by dynamite. How and why? A few days later a short and unsuccessful tramway strike took place. Mooney and his wife according to his brothers' statement, were arrested for distributing strike handbills on July 13th, and on July 14th Mooney was again arrested for pinning union buttons on unorganised men.

On July 17th Martin Swanson, an ex-Pinkerton detective (Pinkerton's is a secret service agency maintained by American employers' associations),

(Continued on page 1005.)

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

IRELAND.

Sir Edward Carson has penned a letter urging Unionists "to compel a re-consideration" of the offer of a very limited form of self-government to Ireland. What is the Government going to do about it. We are glad to learn that the British Labour Party has protested against the attempt to enforce conscription and has urged the immediate grant of self-government. But will the Labour Party come out of the Coalition if its advice be disregarded? Will the Labour Party stand by whilst coercion is imposed?

LORD COURTNEY.

This country is poorer for the death of Lord Courtney, one of the few old school politicians who have stood out against the hustling politics of the Northcliffe school. He was a "stop the war man" in the South African war, and though less vigorously, perhaps, he has worked for a negotiated peace in this war. He was one of the old friends of women's enfranchisement and a strong advocate of proportional representation. We tender our sympathy to Lady Courtney who has been the close comrade of his labours.

MISS MACARTHUR, M.P.?

We congratulate the Sourbridge Labour Party on having adopted a woman—Miss Mary MacArthur—as its Parliamentary candidate. Miss Mary MacArthur's policy is no doubt less to the left than our own. It would have been impossible to us to accept responsibility for the Queen Mary Committee on Women's Employment with its week's 10*s.* dole. But Miss MacArthur has been the foremost pioneer in the industrial organisation of women and that is a worthy achievement indeed! Whatever our differences in policy may be we wish her success. If elected she will undoubtedly be a distinct improvement on most of the members at Westminster. Miss MacArthur, until its latest stages, held aloof from the women's suffrage movement, holding it to be of secondary importance. Nevertheless, she may be the first woman member of Parliament. The old legal decision that women are not entitled to any constitutional privilege unless it is expressly conferred upon them by Act of Parliament may probably be used to checkmate Miss MacArthur and other women Parliamentary candidates. But though the expedient may serve for a space it must eventually be swept away.

GERMAN PRISONERS ACCLAIM RUSSIAN FREEDOM.

Telegram from Moscow, dated April 21st, received from the Russian People's Embassy and Consulate General in Britain:—

On April 19th a Congress of prisoners of war was opened in Moscow, attended by German, Czech, Slovak, and Hungarian delegates, representing 500,000 prisoners, the following resolution being adopted unanimously:—

"We, the workers and peasants of foreign lands, finding ourselves on the free territory of the Russian Socialist Republic of Soviets, declare that we are making use of the freedom of Russia for carrying on revolutionary Socialist propaganda among our fellow-workers with the purpose of enlightening the proletariat in the spirit of revolutionary teachings and of preparing it for an armed revolt of Socialist revolution against oppressors and exploiters of all countries. We greet the proletarians of all countries adopting our platform, especially the proletariat of the Central Powers following the heroic fighters, Liebknecht and Friedrich Adler. We call upon them to carry on their struggle to its victorious finish. Our guiding principle is the Communist Manifesto proclaiming that the proletariat has no fatherland, that nothing can be taken away from it, for it has nothing, and that in the fight it has to lose nothing but its chains, and to gain, the whole world. In this propaganda work we foreign proletarians are under no outside influence. We feel certain that the opposition on the part of the Imperialists and Capitalists of all countries will result in our carrying on the class-struggle with redoubled energy and in accomplishing the revolution which will crush the existing class domination and on its ruins create a new Socialist society."

According to reports by fugitives from Volmar grave disorders took place at the German garrison. Eighteen German soldiers were shot for refusing to proceed to the front!

According to the latest news, Kameneff, Special Envoy of the Council of People's Commissioners arrested at the end of March by the White Guard in the Alland Islands, was recently released by the German authorities, but will be kept by the White Guard as hostage until the Russian Government delivers to the present Finnish Government the representatives of the Finnish Revolutionary Government, and more especially Manner.

SEND US WASTE PAPER.

Friends are asked to collect all waste paper—newspapers, magazines, letters, envelopes, exercise books, &c.—and to send a postcard to THE DREADNOUGHT office when they have accumulated about half a hundred weight. This is the way to keep THE DREADNOUGHT afloat!

* * *

Sheffield reports that activities are progressing, and new members enrolled. It suggests that W.S.F. branches should organise a Committee to work for the freedom of Comrade John McLean.

THE WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT

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THE EVIL THAT MEN DO.

The evil that men do lives after them ;
The good is oft interrèd with their bones.

The evil that men do is to-day everywhere in evidence, and in face of its monstrous proportions the good seems to have shrunk and dwindled like a withered leaf.

How feeble is the Parliamentary effort against the war-tide ! The combined forces of all who, from any motive, desire to see the fall of the present Government only mustered 100 votes on May 9th, when Mr. Asquith challenged the Government in the debate on General Maurice's charges. The bankruptcy of Mr. Asquith's policy was well displayed in his choice of this question as the one on which to make his first direct attack upon the Government, by means of a motion to refer the charges to a Select Committee of the House of Commons. He ignored the Austrian effort to secure peace, the rebuff with which it was met, and the manner in which it was held from the knowledge of the Allied peoples and the majority in the Allied Governments. He also passes by the present German "peace offensive" and its reception by the Government, though these are subjects of infinitely greater importance, than the minor issues raised by General Maurice. Mr. Asquith avoids the greater issues either he has not the will or the courage to take a decisive line upon them. This is entirely in keeping with his past. He supported the Boer War, but when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, who had endured unpopularity and misrepresentation for opposing the war, came into power *because he had opposed it*, Mr. Asquith got a place in the Cabinet, and finally inherited the Premiership when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman died. It is absolutely useless to look to Mr. Asquith for aid or for action in the present crisis !

General Maurice, having been retired, and having received but little support in the House of Commons, may now probably feel that he cannot afford to challenge the Prime Minister's statements further.* But although Mr. Lloyd George is supposed to have carried all before him, and although he was backed by a large Parliamentary majority, we incline to think that General Maurice, if free to argue on equal terms, could make a forceful rejoinder. With Brigadier General Croft we are, as a rule, in total disagreement, but undoubtedly he knows something of army procedure. In a speech which has been largely ignored by the press he gave what we consider to be a very conclusive answer to Mr. Lloyd George on every point.

Further revelations from France concerning the peace negotiations attempted by Austria last year are given in *The Manchester Guardian* of May 8th, in his second letter the Emperor Charles declared his conviction that he could induce Germany to make peace provided the territorial demands of the Allies were restricted to Alsace Lorraine. *The Guardian* explains that the Emperor was no doubt justified in asserting this, as last August German negotiators had offered M. Briand the cession of Alsace-Lorraine to France and the Trentino to Italy, but Germany demanded certain compensations at the expense of Russia. M. Ribot, who was then French Premier and Minister of Foreign Affairs, has replied that he rejected the Austrian proposals because he had to choose between them and breaking with Italy.

In this connection, let us examine the secret treaties which the Bolsheviks have brought to light. The Italian Treaty, signed by British, French, Italian, and Russian Ministers, promises to Italy not merely the Trentino, but the entire Southern Tyrol up to the Brenner Pass, the city and district of Trieste, Gorizia, Gradesca, Istria up to Quarnero, Volosca, and a number of islands, the province of Dalmatia, and other concessions too numerous to mention here. In the event of the partition of Turkey, Italy is promised a share equal to that of Britain, France, and Russia ; and if the other Allies extend their territory in Africa, Italy is to benefit also. The Emperor Karl's suggestions concerning Austria not going so far as Italy had demanded, M. Poincaré proposed to cede to Italy Trieste and Trentino (which now belong to Austria) in return for Silesia (which now belongs to Germany) ! Of course, the baffled Emperor replied that whilst Austria could carry out her part of the bargain, because the Trentino and Trieste are occupied by her, France was not in a position to give away Silesia which she does not occupy !

The Manchester Guardian says : "M. Ribot admitted that Mr. Lloyd George agreed only after considerable hesitation to the negative reply on which Baron Sonnino (the Italian Minister) insisted." M. Poincaré objected on principle to all peace negotiations, holding that the war could be ended only by a complete military victory for the Allies. The evil that men have done in this war will live after them for many and many a generation. Only the international awakening of the peoples can begin to wipe it out.

The newspapers tell of starvation in Germany and Austria ; the workers in those countries are caught up in the war whirlpool, just as we are ! Lenin announces that Petrograd urgently needs food and warns us that "counter-revolution is raising its head and turning the discontent of the starving masses against the Soviet authority." Unless the war end soon, the great light of the Russian Revolution, which means so much to world progress, may be extinguished. Only the people can make a people's world or a people's peace. Russia has realised that ; why not we ?

RAISE THE RED FLAG !

We have protested against the many attempts which are being made in this country to lower the Red Flag—to submerge the Socialist Movement in a Lib.-Lab.-pseudo-pacifist-Conservative-Radical-coalition, in which Henderson and Lansdowne would be uppermost, and Socialism, the hope of the world, forgotten. The struggle against this tendency which we and other Socialists are making in this country, is being made also in France. In *Le Populaire*, the new French minority Socialist paper, for March 16th, Frossard wrote :—

"A gulf separates us (Minoritaires) from the best-intentioned of our Radicals. Why disguise it ?.... With what object is it attempted to weld to bankrupt Radicalism the Labour-Socialist *bloc* ? Unquestionably, in the thoughts of a certain number of its promoters, the League is to be a machine to make war on the Clemenceau Cabinet....Let us take heed ! If we attack Clemenceau, it is not in order to substitute for him Briand, Viviani, or Thomas."

Just so ; if we here attack Mr. Lloyd George, Lord Milner, and Lord Curzon, our object is not to substitute Mr. Henderson, Mr. Hodge, and Lord Lansdowne ! For though that combination would be different in personel from that of the present Government, in the long run its actions would not differ very much.

Lefèbre replied to Frossard in a subsequent issue of *Le Populaire* urging that if the Internationalist Minority Socialists persisted in maintaining their "splendid isolation" "dangerous strength" would be their "weakness." He drove his point home by citing the example of this country :—

"Our English comrades understood that when they accepted Henderson's conversion—what am I saying ? When they accepted the collaboration of the old Marquis of Lansdowne, the worst of aristocrats. Personally, I must say, I prefer an aristocrat who thinks about peace, to a Socialist who makes war by means of his militant followers....One grows tired of everything, even of eating Boche at every meal. Tristan Bernard said last year—guns, munitions, hate—the stores are beginning to run out ? It is so true that now the war only seems to go on by a kind of loathsome habit....Let all who wish what we wish be our friends. The times are too serious for us to play at fastidiousness, and waste time putting on our gloves."

Specious arguments these, but false in their very essence. Never, never can a Socialist Movement be built up on these lines. If Socialists perpetually abandon their work for Socialism in order to follow every will-o'-the-whisp which arises, how can the Socialist Movement ever dominate the situation ? If the workers, in whom lies all power, will perpetually run to lords and reactionaries to solve their difficulties for them, how can the workers ever assume control ? Klara Zetkin in the *Leipziger Volkszeitung* (Women's Supplement) of April 5th also voices our own complaint. She condemns the Majority Socialists for continuing to support the German Government and deplores the fact that the great mass of the workers is still in mental and political dependence upon the privileged classes, having no independent political life of its own. "Majority Socialism," she protests, "is....simply degenerating into a middle-class Nationalist Labour Party." Socialists, Socialists, these are the days when more than ever it is necessary to raise the Red Flag for Socialism and a people's peace !

E. SYLVIA PANKHURST.

IMPORTANT

Those of our Readers who buy the "Dreadnought" from Newsagents, are asked to place their order in advance to avoid disappointment.

* General Maurice, in *The Daily Chronicle*, has replied to Mr. Lloyd George's statement that he ought to have spoken out earlier, but has stated that he does not intend to reopen the controversy unless authoritatively asked to do so.

WORKSHOP NOTES.

LONDON WORKERS COMMITTEE.

Chandos Hall was well attended on Sunday, May 12th when Mr. W. F. Watson delivered a lecture on 'The Workers' Committee Movement.' The lecturer said it was not a new movement but an old movement with new ideas. It is the latest phase of the workers' struggle for freedom. Comrade Watson went on to explain the forces that are operating and that are mainly responsible for its rapid growth, the structure of the Workers' Committee Movement, its relation to the official Trade Union Movement, its potentialities as an International Movement and its aims and objects. Several pertinent questions were asked, and an interesting and intelligent discussion ensued. Comrade Bradley was late in arriving and our old Comrade Dan Roll ably officiated as chairman. Watch the advertisement columns of THE DREADNOUGHT for next lecture. Next monthly meeting, Chandos Hall, June 2nd, 11 A.M.—T. KNIGHT, *Hon. Secretary.*

FORTH AREA.

Nothing of importance to report this week except it be the trial of John Maclean, and this, the local screechers have magnified into a great "Sedition Trial," much being made of the fact that a handful of sympathisers marched through from Glasgow to Edinburgh to hear the trial, and of the few that were outside the Court, the local scribes saw fit to describe them as "a considerable gathering." Now it is only necessary for me to say here, that the various Centres had already agreed unanimously, "that no demonstration should take place" as this might jeopardise the "Future" movement, so you see, in the case of the local scribblers, it is merely a case of, Where ignorance is bliss, &c.

Curiously enough, in reading through the following day's issue of *Scotsman*, I came across an almost parallel case to Maclean's, in Germany, so much so, that I have coupled the two for comparison.

BRITAIN.	GERMANY.
At Edinburgh High Court of Justice, on May 9th, John Maclean, *Socialist* and Lecturer on Working - Class Economics, being charged with a number of offences under D.O.R.A. (handy thing D.O.R.A.) was sentenced to five years penal servitude. (In this case, the offence was called Sedition).	The Imperial Court at Leipzig has sentenced 12 Independent *Socialists* from Dresden and the vicinity to terms of imprisonment, varying from three months to eight years, on a charge of high treason. (Presumably under a measure similar to our amiable D.O.R.A.)— *The Scotsman*, 10-5-18.

Something similar about the two, is there not ? But what desperate characters these *Socialists* must be ! Henry Dubb and Company, unlimited, will soon be suspecting that the respective "powers that be" have a strong reason for putting these socialists behind prison bars. Hoping DREADNOUGHT sales will soon be on the upward grade again.

E. A. BARTLETT.

THE DUTY OF THE CAPITALIST.

"Like most other engineering firms the Company during the past three years has introduced female labour on a large scale into its shops.

"It is evident from the permanent provisions being made in the direction indicated, the Company expects to retain many of its girl workers long after the war is over.

"While on the subject we may mention that the management is keenly interested in the welfare of its boy workers and particularly in their education, and affords them every help and encouragement to attend the engineering classes at the local Technical Institute.

"As regards the general welfare of the girl workers we gathered that the management while expecting never again entirely to dispense with female labour, is inclined to favour a view that the average individual girl worker has no desire to remain a mechanic or machinist all her life, and therefore that the firm's duty towards her is to encourage her domestic rather than her technical education."

The above is an extract from an article in *The Engineer* of April 12th, 1918, which deals with the Skefko Ball Bearing Company, Ltd., Luton, Beds, which has recently erected what is, externally at any rate, a beautiful new factory.

We gather from the above that the firm is suffering from a lapse of memory regarding the undertaking to restore trade union conditions after the war.

We are often told that the numerous agreements are to be used for bargaining purposes, but are we prepared to barter with the employers to secure something tangible for the remnants of craft unionism ? Let us make our course clear, realising that we are all workers, human beings, and victims of the same system. Notice how many times the article emphasises the fact that we are workers, the only distinction being male or female.

They are interested in their boy workers' education, but that may only mean that they will become more efficient wage-slaves.

The general welfare of the women workers is another point worthy of notice. What do they mean by encouraging her domestic qualities ? The possessing class has done so little hitherto to encourage these qualities from a human standpoint. Is it afraid the gifts and beauties of motherhood will be destroyed under this new process ? and a consequent slump in the production of wage-slaves ?

GIVE THIS PAPER TO A FRIEND.

CAPITAL AND LABOUR: SHALL MOONEY DIE?

(Continued from front page).

who had been for years the head of a secret service maintained by the tramways and other public utility companies, hired Weinberg's bus and during his drive offered Weinberg £1,000 to swear that during the street railwaymen's meeting on June 10th he had driven Mooney to the district where the towers were wrecked. Weinberg refused this offer, whereupon Martin threatened him, saying : "I'll get you and that before long !" Swanson also approached Billings, a past president of the Boot and Shoe Workers' Union, with an offer of £1,000 if he would supply evidence implicating Mooney in the destruction of the towers.

On July 22nd the climax to these extraordinary events was ushered in by a "preparedness parade" which marched through the streets of San Francisco on that day. At six minutes past two, whilst some units of the procession were marching out of Steuart Street into Market Street, a bomb exploded on the pavement beside a one-story building on the corner Ten people were killed and many others injured. Dr Mora Moss, a well-known surgeon of San Francisco, who was marching with the Spanish war veterans, saw a cylindrical object fall from above immediately before the explosion. As soon as he could do so he telephoned to the police, telling them what he had seen. A lady in the Terminal Hotel opposite saw a man on the roof of the one story building lean over as though to drop something. Then she heard the explosion. She told two police officers what she had seen. Mrs. Masterson, whose face was bleeding from wounds received in the explosion, also saw a missile drop from above. Immediately afterwards she met the District Attorney, Mr. Fickert, the Railway Company's nominee of whom we have heard before. Mrs. Masterson reported to him what she had seen. The police did not call these people to give evidence in the trial which afterwards took place, but they came forward to give evidence to the defence ; similar testimony was then given by other witnesses.

Strange to relate the conduct of the inquiry into the explosion was handed over by the authorities to Swanson, the head of a secret service maintained by the public service corporations who who at once proceeded upon the assumption that the crime had been committed by Mooney, Mrs. Mooney, Weinberg, Billings, and Edward Nolan, against whom the only evidence suggested appears to have been the finding in his room of a cardboard box containing Epsom salts, which it was at first thought might be one of the ingredients of an explosive.

When the explosion took place and for some time before and after Mooney and his wife were watching the procession from the roof of the Eiler's Building, where they lived and which is a mile and a quarter away from where the bomb exploded. This was proved by the testimony of several disinterested witnesses and also by photographs taken during the procession, which showed the hands of a clock close by pointing to one minute to two, two minutes past two, and four minutes past two in three separate photographs. Billings had an allibi provided by twenty reliable witnesses but this was ignored. Press photographs taken immediately after the explosion showed that it had caused a small dent in the pavement and displaced a single brick in the wall. But the story put forward by the prosecution was that the explosion was caused by a suit case of dynamite placed on the pavement by Mooney and the other defendants. And Mr. Cockran tells the amazing story how Mr. Fickert (District Attorney and nominee of the Railway Company) gave orders to have the pavement torn up with a pickaxe, and to have the slight displacement in the wall changed with a crowbar into a great rectangular hole. The pavement and wall were then photographed by the police, in order presumably to fit the suit case theory !

The first witness for the prosecution was a man named McDonald, who described himself as an ex-waiter and admitted that he had long been out of work. He said that at ten minutes to two he saw Billings walk along Steuart Street with a suit case, place it on the pavement near the one-storey building on the corner, which was a saloon, walk on to the Market Street door of the saloon, out of which Mooney came. He said that Billings talked there for some moments with Mooney, who several times compared his watch with the clock of the ferry house one block away. Mooney then disappeared in the crowd, and Billings, followed by McDonald, had walked as far as the Alameda Café, some eighty feet away, when the explosion occurred.

This evidence McDonald gave in the trial of Billings which took place in September, 1916. When Mooney was tried in January, 1917, McDonald's evidence had to be fitted in with the photographs showing that Mooney was at home at six minutes past two, when the explosion occurred. The negatives had been held by the prosecution during Billings's trial and his counsel had unsuccessfully applied for them several times. But after Billings had been sentenced to imprisonment for life, the Court allowed counsel for the defence to have access to them, and photographs printed from the engatives were magnified till the time on the clock face was exposed. McDonald therefore swore that he had seen Mooney and Billings talking together, not between ten minutes to two and six minutes past, but at twenty minutes to two. He tried to account for his story that it took him twenty-six minutes to walk eighty yards to the Alameda Café by saying that he had recently come out of hospital and could only walk at a snail's pace. To make his story fit in, Billings, whom he was supposed to be following, must have been similarly afflicted !

The case for the prosecution thus appeared to have collapsed, but a new witness was now produced with a new story. Oxman, calling himself an Oregon cattle dealer, said that he saw Weinberg and his "jitney bus" drive up to the one-story building at the corner of Steuart Street with Billings holding a suit case, Mooney, Mrs. Mooney, and a man with "a bristly mustache." Billings and the man with the bristly moustache placed the suit case on the pavement. Oxman's cross-examination by the defence was not completed, the Court having given him permission to leave because he said his wife was seriously ill. His story was undermined by the evidence of several police officers that after half-past one all vehicles had been excluded from Steuart Street and Market Street on account of the procession. On Oxman's evidence Mooney was sentenced to be hanged. Afterwards it transpired that Oxman had written to a man named Rigall in Illinois asking him to come to California as expert witness in an important case. On his arrival Rigall was asked to give evidence in support of Oxman's story. Mr. Cockran sets forth the facts in his statement. Mr. Mooney's brother has supplied us with copies of the actual letters :—

Mr. Ed. Riggall, Grayville, Ill. 12–25, 1916.

DEAR ED, has ben a Long time sence a hurd from you I have a chance for you to cum to San Frico as a Expurt Wittness in a very improtant case you will only hafto anseur 3 and 4 questiones and I will Post you on them you will get milegage and all that a witness can draw Proply 100 in the clearr so if you will come ans me quick in care of this Hotel and I will mange the Balance it is all ok but I need a wittness. Let mi no if you can come Jan. 3 is the dait set for trile. Pleas keep this confidential Answer hear.

Yours truly,
F. C. OXMAN.

Mr. E. E. Rigall, Grayville, Il. *Dec.* 18, 1916.

DEAR ED.

Your Telegram Recived I will wire you Transportation in Plenty of time allso Expce money will Route you by Chicago Omaha U. P. Ogden S.P. to San Frico I thought you can make the Trip and see California and save a letle money As you will Be alowed to collect 10c. Per mile from the state which will Be about 200 besids I can get your Expences and you will only hafto Say you seen me on July 22 in San Frisco and that will Be Easey dun. I will try and meet you on the wa out and Tolk it over the state of California will Pay you but I will attend to the Expces. The case wont come up untill Jan. 3 or 4 1917 so start about 29 off this month.

you know that the silent Road is the one and say nuthing to any Body the fewer People no it the Better when you ariv Regisiture as Evansville Ind little more milege.

Yours truly,
F. C. OXMAN.

Mrs. J. D. Rigall, Grayville. 12/25/1916

DEAR MRS. RIGAL,

As I am sending Ed. Transpertation to morrow 26 it might be that I can use you also about the 10, if so I can obtain you a ticket that you can see California if you would like the Trip Adrees me care this Hotell tell Ed. to see nuthing untill he see me can probly use a Extry witness Been a long time I dont see you.

Yours truly,
F. C. OXMAN.

Such letters appear almost incredible !

To continue Mr. Cochran's statement—

Estelle Smith, a woman of sordid life who as witness for the prosecution had testified to having seen Billings with the suit case on the afternoon of the explosion, now came forward and said that Oxman had offered her a bribe in five figures to give that evidence. Nevertheless, the prosecution afterwards called Estelle Smith as a witness against Mrs. Mooney, who was acquitted. The remainder of our statement is taken from matter—newspaper cuttings, etc., furnished to us by Mr. Mooney's brother. Weinberg was also acquitted, but both he and Mrs. Mooney are still to be tried upon nine other counts arising out of the explosion and were kept in prison for twenty months before bail was granted Edward Nolan has not yet been tried and is also out on bail.

The American Labour world was deeply stirred by the case and a great agitation arose against the sentences. Mooney's union adopted him as their delegate to their national convention as a mark of confidence. Meetings were held throughout the States ; £25,000 was collected for the defence fund ; and a million copies of a pamphlet on the case were circulated. Russians returning to Russia carried the news to Petrograd, and a great meeting of sympathy with Mooney was held at the American Embassy there.

In response to a demand for a United States investigation from all the unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labour, President Wilson appointed a Commission which reported in January, 1918. The Commission obviously accepted as correct the history of the case presented by Mr. Cockran, from which we have taken the outstanding facts. The following striking sentences are taken from the Report :—

"The utilities....undoubtedly sought 'to get' Mooney. Their activities against him were directed by Swanson, private detective....It was Swanson who was active in the attempts to implicate Mooney in the dynamiting of electric towers in 1916, attempts which failed, it appears, because Billings and Weinberg refused offers of a 'reward' by Swanson to implicate Mooney. Shortly thereafter, the preparedness parade explosion occurs. Immediately, Swanson takes a leading party, acting for the district attorney and the police in the investigation of the crime. Within four days, under Swanson's leadership the arrest of Mooney and others is made. 'The Mooney case' soon resolved itself into a new aspect of the old industrial feud, instead of a subject demanding a calm search for the truth.

"Billings was tried first, undoubtedly in the hope that the pressure of his conviction would lead him to implicate Mooney....He has been sentenced to life imprisonment. He has not implicated Mooney, and he protests his innocence.

"Following the trials of Billings and Mooney there was a change in the evidence, which not only resulted in the acquittal of Mrs. Mooney and Weinberg, but also cast doubt upon the prior convictions of Billings and Mooney.

"We find in the atmosphere surrounding the prosecution and trial of the case, ground for disquietude. This feeling has been re-enforced by one factor of controlling importance. The most damaging testimony produced against Mooney came from a witness named Oxman....After Mooney's conviction, there came to light letters confessedly written by Oxman prior to his having been called to testify. The plain import of these letters is an attempt by Oxman to suborn perjury in corroboration of vital testimony which he was to give and did give against Mooney. The fact is he did write letters which tend completely to discredit any testimony he might give and no testimony from Oxman, in the light of the letters, would receive credence necessary to lead to conviction. In fact, after the exposure of Oxman, the district attorney did not call him, though available, as a witness in the trial of Mrs. Mooney. When Oxman was discredited, the verdict against Mooney was discredited...."

In February the Supreme Court of California, in spite of the Report of this Commission, reaffirmed the decision of the Lower Court and refused a new trial for technical reasons. Judge Griffin, who tried the case in the first instance, was therefore obliged to re-sentence Mooney to death. He said :—

"I am loath to pass sentence of death again, on account of the developments since the trial. But under the law no other course is open to me."

Unless a reprieve comes the death sentence will be carried out in July. Mr Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, has telegraphed to the Governor of California, urging that :—

"conviction was had largely on manufactured and perjured evidence. If the Courts cannot or do not take cognisance of these facts, certainly you, as Governor of California, have the right, the jurisdiction and the power and I trust you will exercise it."

Mr Henderson has cabled President Wilson pleading for Mooney's life in the name of the British Labour Party ; the London Trades' Council and other British organisations have also cabled.

The San Francisco explains that the case is considered political and may become an election issue. The Governor, in order to evade the opposition which will meet him from one side or the other, whichever way he decides, may refer the matter to the Advisory Board of Pardons. Two members of the Board are about to stand for re-election :—

"So if fists are to fly over the pardon matter those candidates will not relish having the burden slipped on to their shoulders."

But a man's life hangs in the balance Is Mooney to be hung ?

MR. HORATIO BOTTOMLEY ON PEACE SUNDAY IN 1908.

"What has come to be called 'Peace Sunday' was celebrated in several London churches. Everywhere throughout the world the Christian nations are in arms, each one of them being prepared to shoot down or blow up any other Christian nation for any reason which it can justify to its own ends. After nearly two thousand years of Christianity we are still killed each other with all the weapons of that refined savagery which we call civilisation. As we can no longer find reasons for war, we invent pretexts and seek opportunities for it. The Palace of Peace at the Hague is a house of cards ; a breath will blow is to the four winds. Disarmament is a chimera, a fantasm, the baseless fabric of a vision. Look where you will you find the nations increasing armaments instead of reducing them—ship against ship, gun against gun. We are even feverishly anxious to fulfil Tennyson's vision of the nations grappling in the blue. Our 'Nulli Secunduses' and 'La Patries' are omens of the day when the bloody work of human slaughter will go forward in sky as well as earth. *The only practical way to avoid war between nation and nation is to hang every statesman who proposes it, or newspaper editor who aids and abets it. All war is a crime ! There never was and never can be such a thing as a 'just war.'*"

We take the above from an issue of *Commonsense*.

WHATS' ON?

W.S.F. FIXTURES

OUT DOOR

FRIDAY, MAY 17th.
Rathbone Street, Canning Town—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
Pretoria Road, Walthamstow.—Mrs. Cressall.
WEDNESDAY, MAY 22nd.
Chrisp Street, Poplar.—6 P.M., Mrs. Cressall.
FRIDAY, MAY 24th.
St. Stephen's Road, Bow.—11.30 A.M., Miss Price.
SATURDAY, MAY 25th.
Great Push for Peace, Socialism and Votes for All in the St. Pancras District.—Meet at 44, Malden Road (nearest Tube Station Chalk Farm), at 2.45 and at 5 P.M. Meetings at 3 and 6 P.M. Speakers: Miss Price, Mrs. Walker and Mr. L. Hogben.

INDOOR

SUNDAY, MAY 19th.
400, Old Ford Road.—3 P.M., W.S.F. Annual Conference.
MONDAY, MAY 20th.
400, Old Ford Road.—3 P.M., Annual Conference.
400, Old Ford Road.—7.30 P.M., At Home for delegates, members and friends. Admission 8*d.*
TUESDAY MAY 21st.
85 Camberwell Grove.—7 p.m., Social.
THURSDAY, MAY 23rd.
29B, Lincoln's Inn Fields.—7.30 P.M., Mr. Miles Malleson will read his latest play, 'Maurice's Own Idea"; Miss N. Smyth, 'The Present Outlook.'

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

KINGSLEY HALL, Bow.—Sunday, May 19th, 8.15 P.M., Lesley Griffith, 'The Kingdom of Self-respect.'

LECTURE-CONCERTS:
TRUTH ABOUT RUSSIA.

Sylvia Pankhurst and Edward Soermus invite Socialist, Labour, and other Progressive Organisations to co-operate in the organising of Lecture-Concerts to help in elucidating the situation in Russia and to re-establish normal relations between England and Russia. For particulars write to the W.S.F. Meetings Secretary, 400 Old Ford Road, E.3.

OUR FUNDS

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.3

All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road Bow, E.3

Gratefully Acknowledged

GENERAL FUND.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly), £1; Miss Schaub, 5*s.* COLLECTIONS: Miss Price, 15*s.* 8*d.*; Manchester Branch W.S.F., 12*s.*; Bow Social Evening, 7*s.* 10½*d.*; Mrs. Bouvier, 5*s.* 0½*d.*

'DREADNOUGHT' FUND.—Mr. Hugh Herford, £2 10*s.*; Merthyr I.L.P., per Mr. Harrey Morris, £2; Mrs. Moor (card), £1 11*s.*; L. Blundell (card), £1 10*s.*; Mrs. Payne, £1; W. P. (card), 18*s.*; Mr. Plant, 12*s.* 6*d.*; Mr. J. E. Phillips, 10*s.*; Mrs. and Miss Chappelow, 10*s.*; Miss Ethel Lowy, 8*s.* 6*d.*; per Miss Pankhurst, 5*s.*; Miss M. E. Marsh, 5*s.*; Mrs. Sizer, 5*s.*; Mrs. Beavis, 5*s.*; per Mr. Batham, 5*s.*; Mr. Harrison, 3*s.*; Mrs. Brimley (weekly), 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mr. Toop (monthly), 2*s.* 6*d.*; Mrs. Baillie-Weaver (monthly), 2*s.* 6*d.*; Miss Balchin, 2*s.*; Miss M. A. Barker (monthly 1*s.*; Miss L. Bent, 1*s.*; Mr. Jones (monthly), 1*s.*

NURSERY AND SOCIAL WORK.—Miss Florence Patterson, £3 3*s.*; Mrs. Baillie-Weaver (monthly), £2; per Miss Udney, £1 18*s.* 10*d.*; Miss Ethel M. Morgan (5*s.* monthly), £1; Mrs. Hahn, £1; Contessa Tomasi Isolani (monthly), £1; Miss J. M. Morgan, 10*s.*, Mrs. A. M. Burton, 10*s.*; Mrs. M. C. Pearce-Serocold 10*s.*; Misses Barrowman (monthly), 5*s.*; D. Wilkie Esq. (monthly), 2*s.* 6*d.*; Anon. per Nurse Clarke, 2*s.* 6*d.* COLLECTIONS: L.S.A. Tool-room, £1 4*s.* 3*d* Bow, 14*s.* 2½*d.*; Misses E. Lagsding and J. Watts (Green's Yard), 8*s.* 6*d.*; Miss K. Lagsding and Mrs. Bertram (Cubitt Town), 5*s.* 1½*d.*; Mr. Cohen, 4*s.* 9*d.*; Pauley Crabb, 2*s.* 7¼*d.*

CLOTHES, &c.—Miss M. Schaub.

BOOKS.—Mr. Hawkins.

WILL YOU HELP?

WANTS FOR MOTHERS' ARMS.—Clean white rag for toddlers' handkerchiefs; blue material for overalls; children's clothes; Perambulator; stretcher beds; funds; anything suitable for a Jumble Sale.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

May 6th.—Mr. Charles Duncan (Lab.) asked the Minister of Munitions whether he was aware that Messrs. Elliotts, a firm of moulders and joiners at Newbury, Berks, dismissed several girls because of their membership of a trade union. That prior to reinstating these girls the firm made them sign a paper stating that they were not, and would not become, members of a trade union, and whether he was aware that the firm in question is a controlled firm. Mr. Kellaway stated that he was making inquiries. We hope that he will also take action should the facts turn out to be as Mr. Duncan alleges.

N.L.P.

Mr. Snowden (Lab.) asked the Home Secretary whether the National Labour Press at Manchester was visited by the police and copies of 'An Open Letter to Lloyd George' and 'The Mesopotamia Scandal' were seized. These publications have already had more than one edition; but Sir George Cave explained the present action by the wide-meaning phrase: "They contained passages which contravened the Defence of the Realm Regulations"!!

BEANS, PEAS, AND PULSE ORDERS.

Mr. Clynes introduced a new Defence of the Realm regulation to enable him "to stop much of the gambling which was then going on in the country in foodstuffs." The Bill was given a second reading.

POST OFFICE BILL.

A concession which the Postmaster-General saw his way to make in the proposed increase in postage was to exclude from it letters to the troops in France or in other parts of the war area.

LUNATIC SOLDIERS.

May 7th.—Sir A. Griffith-Boscawen stated that about 1,900 men have received treatment as Service patients, and that about fifty of these had been discharged as recovered. These figures, it seems, do not include officers!

FOOD PROFITS.

Mr. Butcher (U.) pointed out that the Maypole Dairy Company in 1917, after placing £10,000 to reserve, paid 225 per cent on the preferred shares. Mr. Parker said the figures supplied to him said that it was 112½ per cent and not 225. But even that percentage is inexcusable in war-time or peace either.

FREEDOM (?).

Mr. Kellaway admitted the truth of the statement that a woman worker, at the No. 7 National Filling Factory, Hayes, Middlesex, refused to be revaccinated to order, and was therefore dismissed with a week's pay. He said that steps were being taken to offer re-employment to the worker.

WOMEN WORKERS.

May 8th.—Mr. Jowett (Lab.) drew attention to the alleged treatment of some of the women munition workers. Those who did not work as requested during the last holiday period are said to have had a reduction made in their pay. Is is also said in some cases those who increased their output, in answer to the call to do so, are being penalised by having to turn out increased production without extra payment. Mr. Kellaway said no cases of the kind had been brought to his notice but promised to make inquiries. We hope he will see that these injustices if they exist are rectified!

EDUCATION.

The debates on May 7th and 8th were devoted to the Committee stages of the Education Bill. The chief points which were debated at length were "vocational" education and "military instruction."

Commander Wedgwood denounced the scheme proposed in the Bill as "not a national scheme, because it does not include the children of the rich. It is rather a scheme for training children to become useful producers of wealth than a scheme for producing a national improvement in the real education of the people of the country." And anyone who has perused the Bill must thoroughly agree with this criticism. Mr. King made an effort to get a clause into the Bill which would give parents the power to demand secondary education. Mr. Fisher thought the increase in grants would meet the point just as well. Though, of course, secondary education ought to be as easily obtainable as elementary is now.

The Continuation School Clause, which leaves such a wide scope to those who wish to train children for a certain trade, was condemned by Commander Wedgwood, who pointed out that the local Educational Authorities are mostly of the employing classes. That they therefore would be biassed towards the local trade in recommending what classes should be specialised in at the continuation schools. Mr. Wedgwood laid stress on the arguments that might be brought forward in favour of training in local trades and thus being better able to compete with Germany. Mr. Whitehouse moved to insert words banning military instruction, and Mr. Peto moved to insert a guarantee that military instruction would be given. Both motions were defeated; but though the argument may be used that the militarists were no better treated than the anti-militarists on this occasion, the possibility still remains that the drill advocated in the Bill may be military. All the Labour members asked for a guarantee against this procedure. The Bill, it was pointed out, will not come into force until the end of this war. If we remember aright the argument of the militarists for this war is that it is "a war to end war." In the face of this Mr. Peto tries to ensure military education for lads between 14 and 18! Are we to be fooled on all sides? Do the militarists imagine that peace-lovers are such fools as to think that military training will be given for no tangible reason?

SUBSTITUTES FOR C.O. PRISONERS.

PETITION.

We the undersigned being in entire accord with the attitude of the men imprisoned for their conscientious refusal to take part in war, and realising that it is merely the accident of age, sex, or other cause of exemption which prevents us from being now in the same position, herewith offer ourselves as substitutes, person for person, to take the place of men who are suffering in prison for doing what we also think right, and whose imprisonment we consider to be a crime.

We venture to remind you of the historic precedent of 1659, when 164 members of the Society of Friends offered themselves as substitutes for prisoners for conscience sake. We therefore in all sincerity place our offer in your hands.

On behalf of the substitutes: Eva Gore Booth, B. C. M. Brown, Esther Roper, Emily D. Smith, Evelyn Wood.

May 11th, 1918.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

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SHORTHAND TYPIST WANTED. Apply 10 Workers Dreadnought Office.

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INTERNATIONAL YOUNG AGE PENSIONS

Dear Friends of Humanity,—In order to relieve the terrible poverty and suffering that is devastating Europe, let us endeavour to place the children and all those who are helpless in comparative safety by securing SEVEN SHILLINGS A WEEK each for them from the state, that we may be free to work for other reforms. At present, whilst they are exposed to cold, poverty and hunger, we can think of nothing else. 7s. a week would ENABLE FAMILIES TO MOVE AT ONCE INTO BETTER HOUSES, and to obtain better milk and food. This would stimulate local trade and reduce expenses of WORKHOUSES, HOSPITALS, PRISONS and LUNATIC ASYLUMS, and do away with all poor rates to such an extent as to be A GREAT SAVING to the taxpayers, and would enable sensible girls to marry where they would otherwise not dare to do so, and to bring up healthy happy children to become stalwart citizens and parents in their turn, besides relieving untold pain and suffering, and being an estimable benefit to the State.

The fact of a married man becoming automatically POORER at the birth of each child constitutes a cruel wrong to all children, and until each child has 7s. a week in its own individual right, as an infant citizen, suffering, war, disease, and poverty can never be abolished. Let us all demand this from our different Governments now, before it may be too late.

S. MACKENZIE KENNEDY.
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On SATURDAY, MAY 18th, 6.30 p.m., at
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Short Speeches by Contributors to the paper.
Songs: Madame Florence Clarans. Miss Nevine.
Piano: Mr. Williams-Vicary. Violin: Mr. Edward Soermus.
Dancing: Miss Lily Ainsworth.
Tickets 1s. each (including coffee) from 400 Old Ford Road, E3, or at the door.

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