An Interview With
MARY GALLAGHER

On the I.W.W., Tom Mooney
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INTRODUCTION

Mary E. Gallagher, born in Indiana in 1883, has been active much of her life in the Industrial Workers of the World movement and in other movements directed toward improving the lots of the less fortunate members of American society. Her activities brought her into contact with many of the people and events which were making history in this country during the first half of the twentieth century. She knew the leaders of the I.W.W. movement and many of the Socialist leaders. She toured in behalf of the I.W.W. men arrested and jailed in the Leavenworth Case during World War I. In 1923 Miss Gallagher came to California as a witness for the defense of the numerous I.W.W. men jailed under the California Criminal Syndicalism law. From 1928-1930 she was in charge of Tom Mooney's defense committee and in 1938, after Mooney's release, she took over the same task for Warren K. Billings.

Through her husband, Douglas Robson, an actor, she was in contact with the Federal Theater Project in California in the early 1930's. In the early 1940's she became West Coast representative for the Workers Defense League and worked on aid to the Southern sharecroppers, the Odell Waller case and a pardon for Jan Valtin. Her latest project has been working with the California Council for the Blind.

Mary Gallagher's story of her own life was told to Willa Baum, and tape recorded, on May 10, 11 and 12, 1955,
at the University of California in Berkeley under the auspices of the Oral History Project, directed by Corinne L. Gilb. Miss Gallagher, who lives with her daughter in Los Angeles, was spending some time in Berkeley working with Mr. Francis Gates on the Mooney papers and she very kindly agreed to give us any information which might be of use to historical scholars. She also deposited in Bancroft Library her collection of documents, clippings, photographs and other materials relating to the events described in this manuscript.

(This collection includes material on Eugene V. Debs, Arthur Morrow Lewis, Honoré Jaxon, Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, William Haywood and other I.W.W. leaders, Odell Waller, the Workers' Defense League, the California Criminal Syndicalism Law, Raymond Henderson, George Vanderveer, Tom Connors, Warren K. Billings, Jan Valtin, Douglas Robson and Rudolf von Liebich. Catalogued in Bancroft Library as C-1564, Mary E. Gallagher collection.)
The interviewer found Mary Gallagher, for all her 72 years, to be active physically and mentally and keenly interested in everything going on about her. Although quite unassuming in manner and dress, she was self-confident, definite in her opinions and statements and certainly not a person to be pushed around. She described herself as being basically a conservative, but also a bit of an "Irish rebel" and her speech still betrayed a hint of her Irish ancestry. She was friendly, cooperative and conversed readily and easily with people she had just met. Her conversation showed a broad knowledge and interest in subjects both social and cultural. Miss Gallagher seemed eager to tell her story as she saw it completely and truthfully, her only reticence appearing in areas where she hesitated to say anything derogatory about persons she was discussing.

The interview, transcribed and edited by the interviewer, was returned to Miss Gallagher for any corrections or additions and was given her approval before being typed in final form.

Willa Baum

26 July 1955

University of California Library
Los Angeles, Calif.
June 15, 1953.

I have read the typescript of the tape recording of an interview given to the History department of the University of California, Berkeley, by Mary E. Gallagher, of her introduction into the radical movement and her varied activities in the events that followed.

The interview makes no claim to being a complete history of any organization. It is a personal story of one who did live in a dramatic era and who knew many of the personalities produced by that era.

Since it is apparent that the interview was given from memory with probably few notes, it must be judged from that viewpoint and any criticism must take into consideration the feelings and emotions of the person who experienced the events recorded. Whatever disagreement on specific facts should be noted as perhaps a fault of memory and not a fault of intent to distort.

On the above basis, one can only say that the interview is a warm personal story and certainly in no way attacks or harms the IWW or any other organization or person with whom Mary E. Gallagher worked or associated. In fact, it seems that she refrained from some criticism where it perhaps was due, particularly in reference to her association with the Tom Mooney defense.

In reading this typescript one must keep in mind that varied people living and acting in a dramatic and exciting, not to say a dangerous period, as covered by the story, will react according to the varied emotions of the actors. Some will recall the human warmth of the outstanding characters, while others will remember only their implacable hardness and raw courage in the battles for their class and their organizations. One had to be truly a Zombie not to have been affected by the men and events of those times.

It is with these thoughts that I commend this Narrative by one who WAS THERE.

(Signed) C. E. Sätzer.
A long time member of the IWW
Card X13—
We'd like to know something about your early life and background.

I was born in what is now Muncie, Indiana, on June 11, 1883.

My father was a railroad man and moved about from place to place quite frequently and my mother's people had come to this country from Ireland in 1848 and settled in a small town on the Wabash River, Covington, Indiana. My great-grandmother with four sons and one daughter left Ireland on account of the famine. Passage at that time was only about ten dollars per person and as soon as one family would get settled in this country, they would save up and send over money to get some more people from their own county or town. My mother's people all came from Tipperary, which was one of the fightingest counties in Ireland.

My father had come from Leitrim, Ireland. He left Ireland on account of political troubles and much later than my mother's family.

My mother died when I was only seven and my father was so disturbed by her death that when I was seventeen he walked out and left us and I had my younger brother and sister to look after. It was pretty hard sledding for some years.

What kind of work did your father do on the railroad?
Gallagher: Construction work. He met my mother while the Wabash railroad was being built through Indiana.

Baum: Then his work was quite temporary?

Gallagher: Yes. Laborers, in those days, had no protection and no unions. The rugged individualist was the one who succeeded.

Baum: Were your parents interested in politics?

Gallagher: Yes, especially in Irish politics, and then my father became more interested in American politics as he lived here longer. He always voted the Democratic ticket in this country. But he was still such an Irish patriot that he threatened to go to war during the Boer War, and enlist in the Boer army.

Baum: Did your family discuss politics much in your home?

Gallagher: Oh yes. My father used to sing all the old Irish songs that were full of rebellious thoughts and tell stories about the great heroes of Ireland. Parnell was the hero in our house. We had pictures of him. My father had met him, and lamented very much when Parnell died.

Baum: Did your family do much reading?

Gallagher: Yes, we had quite a few books in our house for the type of family we were. They were mostly books related to the Catholic religion, but they were classics. John Boyle O'Reilly was one whose works we had in the house. Then, we had the weekly newspapers from Covington, Indiana, and my father also
Baum: What was your education?

Gallagher: I went to public school for my first couple of years and then we moved to Hammond, Indiana, and we were sent to the Catholic school, the Sisters' school, which proved to be a very good school in comparison with the public school in Hammond. We seemed to get a much wider list of subjects to study than they had in the public schools then. I always felt I got a pretty good foundation in that Sisters' school.

I finished high school and I took courses later in various places, Hull House and Chicago University Extension and tried to gain a little more knowledge.

Baum: What did you do after your father left the family?

Gallagher: I had been working before that. My sister and I both went to work in the printing business in Hammond. We made very small wages, but expenses were very small. We started to work when I was about sixteen and my sister was fourteen when she started to work. My little brother, who was only ten, earned a little money selling newspapers and worked for a milkman who provided us with milk and for a baker who provided us with bread, so we were all helping in the family budget.

Baum: When did you get married?

Gallagher: In 1905.
Gallagher: How did you meet your husband?

The printing plant we worked in was a very modern factory; it's still quite a modern looking factory. It was built there to get away from the unions in Chicago. The union sent representatives out to this plant in Indiana to get jobs in the plant and then organize the union from within. My husband was one of those organizers. When I met him he had been beaten up by the police. He appeared to be quite a hero to me because he was doing that kind of work. We became friends and eventually were married.

Baum: Then you were already interested in labor ideas at a very early age?

Gallagher: Yes. Well, it was partly the Irish rebellious spirit and we knew we were in a very poverty-stricken condition and we all felt something had to be done about it. It seemed that it couldn't be done by individual action so I just naturally fell into the idea of unionization.

Baum: Did you have any ideas that might be called Socialistic at this time?

Gallagher: I didn't know anything about Socialism as early as that. After I began to be interested in Socialism, it resulted in a breakup with my husband because he was strictly an A.F. of L. man and didn't believe in any other philosophy.
Baum: How did you first become interested in Socialism?

Gallagher: I was walking alone through the street on a Sunday just before election day in 1908. I was not very happy. I heard music in the distance and I saw quite a big band. I was completely fascinated by the music they were playing, which I didn't know, but it proved afterward to be the Marseillaise. There was quite a parade with the band and I followed to the South Side Armory in Chicago. I found out there was a Socialist meeting and that Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist candidate for President, was going to address the meeting, so I listened to the preliminary speakers and to him. I accepted some of the literature they passed out. After I heard Deb's speech, I was a confirmed Socialist right on the spot and went to all the meetings they advertised during that winter.

Baum: Were you working at this time?

Gallagher: Yes, I was working in an office. I went to meetings in the evenings and Saturdays and Sundays. I bought books and read everything that they offered and listened to so many speeches that I finally got a pretty good knowledge of Socialism and economics.

There were some excellent speakers in those days, and some excellent classes. From 1908 on I attended three different meetings every Sunday.
At ten in the morning, a lecture by Arthur Morrow Lewis on some aspect of science and Socialism. He usually combined those subjects. For instance, he would discuss the science of astronomy and then relate it to the science of Socialism. About 20 of these lectures were published by the Charles H. Kerr Co. in separate bound books which were sold at the lectures also. At two o'clock there would be another meeting, either an indoor meeting by an invited speaker from somewhere else, or an outdoor meeting, usually by the I.W.W.

The outdoor meeting was held at what was known as "Bughouse Square," because it was a small square at the corner of Dearborn and Newberry Avenues, right opposite Newberry Park, and there was a plaque on the grass in this square that free speech must be respected. So every type of speaker would come there and give his views, on Sunday afternoon especially, and many evenings during the week.

The religious people came with a portable organ and talked about their religion and played hymns on the organ. That is how many of the songs that the I.W.W. has made famous originated. They parodied these religious hymns and sang them at the same time as the religious people were playing the organ.
Baum: Like "Pie in the Sky"?

Gallagher: Yes.

Baum: Were two speakers able to speak at the same time in this square?

Gallagher: It was large enough for the different groups to be separated, but there was a little rivalry. Each one wanted to drown the other out.

Baum: What did your husband think of your interest in these meetings?

Gallagher: At that time I had left him completely. We separated over my interest in Socialism.

_Honoré Jaxon_

Baum: Who do you think had the greatest influence on you at this period?

Gallagher: Even before that time, I met a very remarkable man in an office where I worked. He was part Indian and came from Saskatchewan, Canada, where he had escaped death by hanging in 1882. He was a lieutenant of Louis Riel, who led a rebellion against the English occupation of Saskatchewan early in the '80's. This man's name was Honoré Jaxon and he was about one-quarter Indian and three-quarters French. He had a wonderful education, was a graduate of Toronto University, and he read Greek, Latin and French and was an expert in English. He got an idea that he ought to start
my education along the right channels. That was even previous to my sudden acceptance of Socialism.

Baum: You were very young then.

Gallagher: Yes, about sixteen or seventeen.

Honoré Jaxon lived in Chicago. He took me to his home. He had a very lovely wife. My friendship with him continued without interruption all of the years I lived in Chicago and I corresponded with him up until his death last year, at the age of 92. He very definitely affected my life.

He helped me to get over the last remnants of religious doubts that I had, religious fears.

Baum: Did you give up Catholicism?

Gallagher: Yes, completely, before I was twenty. It did not coincide with the newer theories I was learning. I have no feeling of prejudice against the Catholic Church or any other church; I simply cannot accept them in my own mind.

Baum: Were you much influenced by Debs?

Gallagher: Only remotely. Debs was a traveler in Chicago; he would be there for three or four days only.

Arthur Morrow Lewis & Lena Morrow

Baum: Did Arthur Morrow Lewis influence you?

Gallagher: Oh yes, he was a fine teacher. Most of the young people who went to his lectures on Sundays received
a liberal education in science and art. I knew his wife for many, many years too.

She was a speaker for the Socialist Party also, and they separated some years later. I knew her until she died at the age of 88 about three years ago.

Arthur Morrow Lewis came to this country from England and settled in San Francisco, where he used to speak on street corners. He met Lena Morrow. His name was Arthur Lewis; when they married they exchanged middle names. She really had a great deal to do with awakening his mind to the ideal of Socialism and giving him some training in public speaking.

Emma Goldman

Baum: Did you know Emma Goldman? And Ben Reitman?

Gallagher: I knew her just from listening to her speak in various places in Chicago at first. In New York I got a little better acquainted with her. I stayed at her house once, but she was traveling in Europe at the time.

I met Ben Reitman but I never had any voluntary association with him. I didn't like him.

Baum: What did you think of Emma Goldman personally?

Gallagher: She was a very powerful woman, a very fine speaker and a very sincere person. I didn't agree entirely
with her philosophy. I thought her philosophy of complete anarchism was impracticable, but she believed in it and advocated it and I respected her for it. But I did not respect Ben Reitman.
EARLY ACTIVITIES IN THE I.W.W.

Baum: How did you become interested in the I.W.W.?

Gallagher: On account of having these three separate meetings every Sunday, we young people became acquainted with many different groups that were expounding their ideas. One group would invite a member or speaker of another group to appear and we were always glad to hear these different ideas. That was when I first began to learn the difference between Socialism and industrial unionism. Then I started going to the I.W.W. meetings exclusively because it seemed much more reasonable at that time to try to cure the evils of the world by industrial unionism than by political action.

Baum: Didn't the I.W.W. split up about that time over direct action or political action?

Gallagher: Yes, I was with the direct action group. I thought political action was rather wasteful; delegating the power of your destiny to somebody in Washington or Sacramento is much less effective than to settle the matter on the job where the complaint originates.

Many people misunderstood the meaning of direct action, especially in those early days. It never meant violence in any sense of the word. It only meant to take action yourself, not delegate it.
Baum: You meant on-the-job action, but not sabotage?

Gallagher: I know that some members of the I.W.W. did advocate sabotage, but it was not a theory advocated by the organization. Usually when we found anyone advocating it as an individual member, we learned later that he was a spy or a stool pigeon.

Baum: Did you take part in that break-up of the I.W.W.?

Gallagher: No, I was not a member, because I was not working in an industry that would accept my membership, and that proved to be very valuable later on in the criminal syndicalism cases.

Baum: Did the slogan that people said I.W.W. stood for, "I won't work," bear any resemblance to the truth?

Gallagher: Only in this way, that if they could not get conditions that they wanted on the jobs they were hired for, they would not work. But as a slogan that would put them in the category of hobos or tramps, that wasn't true at all. They always took that slogan of "I won't work" as a sort of joke.

There is some doubt too as to the origin of that word "Wobblies" which is used often to describe the I.W.W. Nobody seems to know the origin of it exactly, but they always looked on
it as a mere joke to be called Wobblies instead of Industrial Workers of the World, which is quite a mouthful.

Baum: What were your activities for the I.W.W.?

Gallagher: I did some volunteer work, especially if there was a strike. I would attempt to help collect funds and to publicize the strike and the I.W.W.'s attitude.

Baum: Did you speak, or write?

Gallagher: No, I was too shy for that. I only passed out literature and asked for funds, perhaps in a small union meeting, or passed the hat at a street meeting.

Baum: Did you meet Daniel DeLeon?

Gallagher: No, he was in New York.

William Haywood

Baum: Did you meet William Haywood?

Gallagher: Yes, he was in and out of Chicago. He was General Secretary of the I.W.W. for some periods and out in Denver, Butte, New York, working in the field. He was out organizing or speaking for the organization wherever they were having a fight. That was true of most of the good speakers; they were in and out of Chicago a good deal. Eventually I became acquainted with all of them.

Baum: What did you think of Bill Haywood?
Gallagher: I thought, and still think, that he was one of the most remarkable men that ever lived. He was brought up with very little education and he became one of the great leaders of our time. It was something inborn in his personality that made him such a great leader. He had a personal and physical magnetism that nobody could resist. That was what made it possible for him to stand on a hillside and lead thousands of men out on strike. It was that personal magnetism that drew them, whether they were capable of understanding all that he was speaking or not. He had a most commanding voice. He could actually make the walls of an auditorium reverberate.

He was an outstanding human being. No matter what he engaged in, he would have made a success of it. I liked him very much personally too.

William Trautman

Baum: Did you know William Trautman?

Gallagher: Very well. Trautman was an entirely different type. He was a German; he still retained a German accent. He was a brewery worker. He didn't get out and get acquainted in any other industry. He had quite a bit of influence on foreign workers because he could speak several languages.
Baum: Did you come in contact with George Speed?

Gallagher: Yes, but not nearly as soon as I knew these other men.

The men I've mentioned already I met in Chicago when I was first interested in the I.W.W. When the war hysteria began and the authorities arrested I.W.W's from all over the United States and brought them to Chicago for trial, I got acquainted with such people as George Speed and those I had never had an opportunity to meet before.

Baum: Did you know Vincent St. John?

Gallagher: Yes, he lived in Chicago for long periods and held the office of General Secretary for some periods.
Can you tell me about the Lawrence Strike in Massachusetts in 1912?

That was about the most spectacular strike the I.W.W. ever had. It started in the woolen mills in Lawrence, Massachusetts, and spread all over the state. The I.W.W. sent all of their best organizers and speakers to Lawrence because there was such a conglomerate group of workers there. There were twenty-seven different nationalities, speaking twenty-seven languages. That is where Trautman came into public notice for the first time, because of his ability to bring all of these foreign-speaking workers together and to educate and provide speakers for them in their own language.

That is one thing the I.W.W. always advocated. During the process of a strike to educate the strikers to carry on the strike themselves instead of having it carried on by leaders who came from someplace else.

Joseph Ettor & Arturo Giovannitti

Wasn't Joseph Ettor in on that strike?

Yes, both Joseph Ettor and Arturo Giovannitti were Italian speakers. They influenced the Italian workers.
There was a street meeting which was addressed by Giovannitti and Ettor; the police, in breaking it up, killed a woman, but no policeman was arrested. Giovannitti and Ettor and another Italian named Caruso were arrested and accused of shooting this woman although they had not been armed and no weapons were found on them. They were tried and that trial is commemorated by Giovannitti in a book, called Arrows in the Gale, in poetry. They were acquitted after a long and tedious trial.

Giovannitti is still alive, but Ettor died about four years ago. Ettor became a wealthy man in the wine industry here in California, but he never lost contact with the I.W.W. and would go to their meetings and keep in touch with their work.

Baum: Did you know Ettor personally?

Gallagher: Yes. He was not an excellent speaker in English. He was short and rather phlegmatic but the Italians loved him.

Baum: He was in a large number of strikes.

Gallagher: Oh yes, even long before that strike in Lawrence. I think he first got acquainted with the I.W.W. in the Far West.

Giovannitti was a poet and an idealist, a very handsome man. In fact, one of the jurors for the trial was asked if he believed in capital
punishment. He looked at the prisoners and said, "Not for that man," pointing to Giovannitti.

Baum: Was the Lawrence strike a success for the I.W.W.?

Gallagher: Yes, in many different ways. It was an experiment in handling so many different nationalities and in a field which had never been organized before, the textile industry, because the workers were mostly foreigners and the A.F. of L. had not attempted it. That's another point of difference that should be emphasized between the I.W.W. and the A.F. of L. When the I.W.W. started, it made no attempt to steal an organization from any other existing organization. It merely went into the completely unorganized fields such as migratory workers.

Baum: They were interested in industrial unionism. They didn't follow anything like craft unionism?

Gallagher: No, that was the chief difference between the I.W.W. and any other group. They did not believe that in a factory men at one machine should belong to one union and men at another machine to another union. Their theory was based upon the organization of industry at that period, that the only kind of organization that could deal with the industrial situation was one big union embracing all the branches of the industry they happened to be working in. That is very clearly explained in their preamble.
JOE HILL'S FUNERAL

Baum: You mentioned that you attended Joe Hill's funeral, in 1915.

Gallagher: That was about the first time I took any interest in doing any public work for the I.W.W. It was a great emergency. Joe Hill was under sentence of death and we were making appeals in every direction. The King of Sweden made an appeal to President Wilson and Wilson made an appeal to the Governor of Utah to spare Joe Hill's life, but it was unsuccessful. Hill was finally executed on November 19, 1915.

His body was brought to Chicago to the general I.W.W. headquarters for funeral services. It was an immense funeral. Bill Haywood spoke, Vincent St. John and everybody who happened to be in Chicago spoke and followed the funeral cortège to the crematorium. It was a cold winter day but there was a very long funeral procession. One thing which struck me, the Irish policemen on the streets who were directing the procession always took off their hats as the hearse passed. The Irish have a great respect for death, even if the man in the hearse happens to be a convicted criminal.
LEAVENWORTH CASES, 1918

Baum: I understand that in 1918 the Federal government brought many of the I.W.W. officers and leaders to be tried and that many of them were convicted and sentenced to Leavenworth prison. Can you tell me about that case?

Gallagher: The I.W.W. cases were handled as criminal cases. They were accused of five different crimes against the government, five different counts in the indictment against them, and each individual man was tried on four counts, one count having been dismissed before they went to trial. They were charged with espionage, sabotage, treason, and sedition.

This bringing of all the I.W.W. leaders to Chicago was a big thing. There were about one hundred and fifty to begin with and they were all lodged in the Cook County jail in Chicago. They were brought in in groups; sometimes they'd bring ten or twelve from one city and twenty-five from another. They were lodged without bail in the jail.

The few minor characters left in the organization had to struggle very hard to build up some sort of defense committee and get attorneys. The headquarters of every I.W.W. organization in every city had been raided and all their literature
and books were taken over by the government to use as evidence in their trials, so the offices were depleted of anything of value. It was almost impossible to start a defense committee because of lack of membership lists, lack of mailing lists, everything that was necessary to start a committee.

That was when I began really to get into the work of the I.W.W. It was such a desperate time and I happened to be able to give some hours a day to the work and I was beginning to get a little more confidence in my own ability and the possibility that I might be able to influence other people.

So I started visiting churches and organizations that had nothing to do with labor but might be considered to be impartial in order to present the story to them of how these men had been railroaded into jail and that we had no method of defending them. We got a pretty good response from church federations, and attorneys offered their services for nothing and gave us advice even if they did not want to enter into the case personally.

Eventually some of the men were let out on bail and they could get out into the field and raise some funds. The response was wonderful when these men, out on bail, went to Seattle or
Denver or other big Western cities, and New York also. They could raise thousands of dollars at a meeting to be used for defense. They were released one by one as bail money came in from friends.

Judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis was the judge assigned to the trial. Some of the men who were not very well known were dismissed, but each man was tried individually upon the basis of evidence presented by former members of the I.W.W. who turned out to be stool pigeons. There was never any accusation made against any of these men who were on trial of having committed an overt act of any kind.

The I.W.W. defendants were innocent of what they were accused of. They were innocent of giving aid and comfort to the enemy and they were innocent of receiving money from Germany for the stand that they took, but they did print papers and make speeches advocating that the workers should take no part in the war. That was an overt act which was not mentioned in the indictment. It was used to try to prove something else, to try to prove that they were getting money for publishing their paper and publishing such articles.

They did refuse to man ships that were carrying munitions and they refused in other
industries too. Of course, the I.W.W. was organized in industries not so much affected by the war because their organization had always been done in basic industries such as mining, agriculture, transportation and so they were not so directly connected with munitions. They were accused of nothing except making speeches and writing articles. None of them were accused of having set fire to a railway car or of burning a wheat stack. The stool pigeons confessed that they had committed such acts while they were members of the I.W.W. It was upon evidence like that that the final outcome of this trial rested.

Judge Landis was a man who had some humanity and he saw that these men during the trial were so lethargic that he made an investigation and found that they were fed so poorly at the County Jail that they couldn't remain awake at the trial. So he made arrangements to set aside one room in the federal building and have a decent lunch served to the men at the noon recess. Their friends were admitted to visit with them after lunch and they had a two-hour period between sessions of the court. That was when I had an opportunity to get acquainted with men I had never met before from different parts of the country.
Whatever men or women were interested in the work circulated among the men at this lunch hour and offered to write to their families for them or send to their homes for things they needed or wanted. That resulted in the formation of what we called a Prison Comfort Club which continued while these men were in prison.

Baum: Did the prisoners advise you on how to go out and raise funds and get support?

Gallagher: Yes. Every one of these men had quite a bit of experience and had gone through quite a number of strikes and crises and could offer advice on how to proceed to make the trial a success.

Baum: Was this poor diet especially for the I.W.W. prisoners?

Gallagher: No, for all prisoners at Cook County Jail. But the judge wanted these men to be wide awake and not to be depleted in energy. Also, he put spittoons in the courtroom for those who were used to chewing tobacco.

People thought Judge Landis was going to be rather a liberal judge and they were astonished when the trial was over at the sentences he gave, twenty years, ten years, five years and one year. They thought, because of his humanitarian actions at some periods of the trial—the mother of one of the defendants died during the trial and he
adjourned court in honor of this man's mother—and everyone thought Landis was a nice guy. But he didn't prove to be.

Baum: What did you think of the I.W.W. attorneys?

Gallagher: They were marvelous, especially George Vanderveer, the attorney in charge. There has been a book written about him, Counsel for the Damned. It was written by one of his associate lawyers in Seattle, Ralph B. Potts, and a school teacher, Lowell S. Hawley.
Baum: Did you know Clarence Darrow?

Gallagher: Yes, I knew Clarence Darrow from my early interest in Socialism, because he was one of these speakers who was invited very often to the various groups that met on Sundays and sometimes during the week.

He was quite a cynical person; he was different. He would speak on any side of any subject, just for the fun of it. He just wanted to amuse the audience or keep them interested.

Baum: Did you feel you could always count on his support, or his sympathy?

Gallagher: No, he was a very honest man, but he was not entirely in sympathy with the ideas of the I.W.W. When it came to the war hysteria, he did not feel that he could conscientiously defend anybody who was opposed to the war. Of course, the I.W.W. was openly opposed to the war, not because they sympathized with any of our enemies, but because they considered that the interests of the working class were the same in any country and the workers should not oppose each other.

We couldn't count on his support then, but later when the campaign for amnesty for the I.W.W. was in operation he appeared at a big mass meeting and spoke in favor of amnesty.
Baum: Do any of these men stand out in your mind as especially outstanding in this Leavenworth Case trial?

Gallagher: Oh, certainly. I didn't attend every session of the trial. I was out doing other work, visiting unions and church organizations and liberal associations. But I read a good many of the proceedings afterwards. Some of the speeches made by the defendants were brilliant, James P. Thompson's above all.

**Jim Thompson**

Next to Haywood, or side by side with Haywood, Jim Thompson was the most outstanding man they had. Haywood was a very big man and so was Jim Thompson, about six feet. Big Jim and Big Bill. Thompson was a very magnetic person, but in a much more quiet way than Haywood was. He had a lot of humor and he could have an audience laughing one minute and crying the next. He always seemed to be able to influence his opponents very easily by resorting to pathos as much as possible and dramatizing the issues he was presenting. He created a sympathy during a strike for the strikers.
Do you think these trials and the conviction of the experienced I.W.W. leaders seriously damaged the organization, or did a new leadership emerge? (The case tried in Chicago resulted in the conviction of 93 men; the Sacramento case, 39 men; the Wichita, Kansas, case, 16 men.)

It did damage the organization greatly to have its leading men subjected to such lengthy imprisonment.

Naturally, everyone outside of the organization thought it would kill the I.W.W. immediately, but it didn't. It did weaken it. The new men had come from such varied walks of life and they were not prepared to take over the work of men who had prepared themselves for a longer period. Haywood, from his very youth at 16 years of age, had learned to be a speaker and a writer and how to win friends and influence people. These other men, who had only worked on ships or in mines had not had that experience.

One author I read felt that this was really the end of the I.W.W. as an effective organizing agency because the new leaders were rather unrealistic.

There may be some truth in that. But it was six years later before the organization really began to deteriorate. It was engineered from inside
and outside. There were so many stool pigeons placed in the organization. With the more experienced men in prison, the others were not so able to detect the stool pigeons and they got inroads into the organization.

Besides that, the publicity doled out to the public made a man afraid to join the organization. He would stand a chance of being thrown into jail at any time if he were active in the organization.

*Baum:* You say stool pigeons. Do you mean persons who were placed in the organization by detective agencies or some organ of the government?

*Gallagher:* No, I don't think the government had anything to do with that. I think that they were put in by the Chambers of Commerce in different parts of the country and by certain detective agencies who make a business of procuring and hiring stool pigeons for various industries.

*Baum:* Were some of the stool pigeons I.W.W. men who for personal interests turned against the organization later?

*Gallagher:* No, I don't think there were ever any of that type. The organization had men who joined just on the enthusiasm of the minute and they might be later approached by some of the active stool pigeons, but no man who ever went into the organization understanding it from the beginning
would ever have been tempted to be a stool pigeon; they would cut off their right hand before they would do that. These men, you must remember, were of a superior quality, even the poorest of them. They had an unconquerable feeling of right and nothing could disturb them.

Baum: They seemed to have had an amazing amount of integrity and they never went back on their word.

Gallagher: Not only that, but they never sought any protection in the Fifth Amendment. They never denied their membership in the organization.
Gallagher: I want to tell you a very strange and unusual incident that has never been printed anywhere. After the trial was completed and the men were sentenced, there were 93 left to go to Leavenworth prison. The Department of Justice representatives called the representatives of the I.W.W. to meet them and brought them over from the County Jail for a conference in the Federal Building in the same rooms where the trial had been held to arrange about transportation to prison. They were there for several hours, Haywood and the lawyers and several others.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the Post Office was bombed and the whole wall on the Adams Street side was blown off. Six people were killed, two sailors, I think, a couple of horses, and it was really a very serious situation.

Immediately the I.W.W. was accused of setting those explosives out there to destroy the Federal Building. It seemed unreasonable when some of their best regarded men were in the building at the time and they knew it, but in those days, whenever anything happened, first they arrested the I.W.W. members.
So there were two men, both named Wilson, arrested. One was Harry Wilson who had been a speaker on street corners, not particularly for the I.W.W. but because he just liked to speak on street corners. The other man, J. Wilfred Wilson, had been hired as bookkeeper in the I.W.W. office.

The strange thing about it was that from the very beginning when this J. Wilfred Wilson began to work in the office, I distrusted him. I told him so. He resented that very much.

Ten minutes after the Post Office was blown up, he asked somebody to call me and tell me that it had happened. I was at home and would not have known it ten minutes after it happened, but he went to particular effort to inform me that he had succeeded in spite of my opposition to him from the very beginning.

Baum: What do you mean, he succeeded?

Gallagher: I can say, from my own heart, that he blew up that post office; was responsible for it, and that he had been planning some sort of reprisal against the I.W.W. from the time that he went into this office; that he was a stool pigeon from the very beginning. It was discovered afterwards that he was an employee of the Theil Detective Agency.

The strange thing about the explosion is that it has never been investigated to the point of
deciding who actually did it. The two Wilson men were released in a few days. Nobody shared my suspicions of J. Wilfred Wilson. I couldn't convince anybody else, not even Haywood, because Wilson had a winning personality and was full of fun and everybody liked him. He did his work well and was a capable bookkeeper. So he was released and nobody else was ever arrested.

A few weeks later Wilson, who was still working at the I.W.W. headquarters, went out with the bank deposit one afternoon and has never been seen or heard from since. He took $1,800. Then people began to realize that I might have been right about my suspicions.

I had spoken very freely to many people of my conviction that he was responsible for the explosion and finally, after about a year, a new man took charge of the Department of Justice in Chicago, and he sent for me and interviewed me about a dozen times from 1921 until 1923, always in a very friendly way. He acted like a psychiatric examiner, as though he would finally break down my defenses and I would come across and tell the truth. He knew that I knew that he was not interested in finding Wilson, that he was only interested in establishing the fact that the I.W.W.,
through some of its members, was responsible for
the blowing up of the Post Office. I told him
that I was convinced from the beginning that this
Wilson was in the employ of some detective agency
and he finally admitted that he was.

Baum:
So you think that possibly the Federal agents
knew that Wilson was responsible?

Gallagher: I think so. I think that is why the whole thing
was dropped, otherwise why would they not have
gone on investigating one suspect after another?
To have an incident as important as that completely
forgotten, I cannot understand, and I think it
should be investigated by some other agency if
the F.B.I. doesn't intend to do it. It's pretty
late now but it's still a mystery.
I.W.W. Men in Prison

Baum: I want to ask you about the disagreement between the I.W.W. prisoners in Leavenworth concerning whether they should accept a conditional pardon or not. I believe some did and some refused it.

Gallagher: Yes, well, that is a natural thing that would happen in any large group of men. The I.W.W. members were dedicated men and they went in there with their flags flying. Nothing was going to defeat them. They could take twenty years in prison if necessary. But among them were some who could not maintain that high spirit of courage, whose families were pleading with them to get out in any way they could.

They raised bail for some of them and got them out on bail. The bail was allowable because appeals were made to have new trials. Whenever any bail was available, they voted on the inside as to who would accept it; it wasn't for any particular man. They would vote on which man they thought would do the most good on the outside and send him out under bail.

Some of them would accept parole. They weakened after they found out that the organization had been so depleted of energy and funds. They didn't have the personal courage to go on that some of the others did.
But they did vote on every question that came up and they were highly respected by the prison officials. Jim Thompson was called in for consultation whenever any episode occurred. When any subject of discipline within the prison came up, the I.W.W. leaders were consulted and it was referred back to the entire group and they voted on any decision they wanted to make.

They were respected because they were not neglected in prison. Their organization still lived within the walls and had contact with the organization on the outside and that made a very good impression. Most criminals cut off contacts with their outside organizations.

Baum: Do you mean that the prison officials knew there were people on the outside interested in these men and that made a difference in the way they treated them?

Gallagher: Oh yes, of course. Although there were some cases... one man, I believe, was killed while he was in there, another was pretty badly mistreated... I think that was largely due to the personality of the victims. The men who had years of experience in organizational work were able to meet any situation and solve it. Their judgment was good, but some of the less experienced men might fly off and get themselves into trouble.
Baum: Did this disagreement between the men who accepted a conditional pardon and those who didn't have any effect on the I.W.W. after they were all out?

Gallagher: Yes, I think it did. It created differences that remained. Loss of friendship between some of them.

Baum: Did they all remain within the I.W.W.?

Gallagher: There was a split in the I.W.W. in 1924, but it was not a split on that issue. It was over tactics. They felt that the organization was dwindling down in membership and they ought to change some forms of the organization to fit this new development. Some of them split on the issue of what they called "an emergency program." They wanted to have the headquarters moved out of Chicago. They had some violent altercations in Chicago and then the "emergency program" established headquarters in Los Angeles.

My personal opinion has been that that whole split was engineered to break up the I.W.W. as completely as possible.

Baum: Some books state that this 1924 disagreement came as the result of the conditional pardon issue. You don't feel that this is true?

Gallagher: No, because a man willing to accept conditional pardon might have been on either side. One of the most violent opponents of a conditional pardon was Mortimer Downing, the leader of the
"emergency program." Some of the men who would not have accepted a conditional pardon did go over to the side of the men who wanted to establish this "emergency program" so it was not on that issue that they disagreed after they got out.

Bau: Do you know the circumstances of this offer of a conditional pardon?

Gallagher: That, of course, was handled by lawyers on the outside. They were trying every way to get the men out. They consulted with the authorities in Washington and the authorities were willing to cooperate to the extent of giving them a conditional pardon. Some of them accepted it.

Bau: What was the condition?

Gallagher: That they would swear that they would never engage in any subversive activities. It was a simple enough thing, but they would not compromise even to that extent, the die-hards. I have the exact wording of this conditional pardon here:

"The President of the United States commutes the said (Walsh) to the term already served, on condition that he will be law-abiding in the future and will not encourage, advocate or be willfully connected with lawlessness in any form: and on further condition that if he violates any of the foregoing condition--of which fact the President shall be the sole judge--he, the President, may
revoke the commutation and it shall therefore become null and void and of no effect, and he may by direction to any officer of the penitentiary where the prisoner is confined, or to any United States marshal or deputy marshal, cause the said prisoner to be apprehended and returned to the penitentiary, there to complete the service of his sentence."

It is easy to understand why no man who ever expected to function in the labor movement again could agree to accept such a pardon. Any of his activities might be interpreted as a legal violation of the pardon.
HAYWOOD GOES TO RUSSIA

Baum: Wasn't it about this time that Haywood came out on bail and then jumped bail?

Gallagher: Yes, he went to Russia.

Baum: What was your reaction to that?

Gallagher: My reaction was a terrible disappointment. That was the reaction of most people around Chicago who had been intimate with him for years. One woman who had some money in his bail committed suicide; Mary Marcy, a prominent writer for the Socialist movement and for all of the different groups that had ideas on Socialism.

Baum: From disappointment?

Gallagher: Yes, and from hurt that he didn't even tell her that he was going to do that. They had been very good friends for years and years.

Some of us were tolerant enough to feel that there must have been great pressure brought to bear upon him by the newly organized Communist Party. We found that was true later on, that he was practically railroaded into accepting this offer to leave the country.

People who met him afterwards in Russia reported back that he was a broken-hearted man in Russia, that he felt that he had made this terrible mistake and it hadn't brought forth the fruit that
it might. He had thought he would be able to establish his kind of organization, similar to the I.W.W., in a new country. That was his understanding when they offered him this opportunity to go to Russia; that he would be allowed over there to promote the ideas of industrial organization and teach the Russians how to organize along industrial lines. But he was just gagged when he got over there.

**Baum:** Do you think that Haywood's jumping bail affected the I.W.W.?

**Gallagher:** Yes, it did to some extent, because it gave them that same feeling that they always had: that you can't trust your leaders, you can only trust the rank and file. To that extent it weakened their confidence in their own organization.

**Baum:** It encouraged the rank and file movement even more?

**Gallagher:** Yes, I think so.
TOUR TO RAISE FUNDS FOR LEAVENWORTH PRISONERS

Baum: After the I.W.W. leaders went to prison, what did you do? Did you continue to work with the I.W.W.?

Gallagher: Yes, principally with the Prison Comfort Club, through which we provided articles for the men in prison, which was allowed at Leavenworth Prison. We could send them warm socks, warm underwear and gloves, and food of certain restricted kinds such as dried fruits, fruit cakes, and canned food, also tobacco, cigarettes and money. The organization established a fund immediately for the purpose of providing these things for the men in prison and for providing a certain amount of money each month for their families, if they needed it.

Baum: Where did you get these funds?

Gallagher: I started out on a tour through Indiana, Ohio and Michigan and back to Chicago visiting any kind of organization that would listen to me and asking for funds and support and publicity. Publicity was very important at that time. The war was over then and it was very important to change people's minds about all of this hysteria that they had accepted before as part of the war. I would go to newspapers in every city I visited and attempt to get an editorial or to have an interview and tell something about the outstanding personalities
who were still in prison. Besides the I.W.W. men, there were 5,000 conscientious objectors in prison.

Baum: Did you speak for them too?

Gallagher: In a general way, yes, but not as far as funds were concerned. Funds were strictly for the I.W.W., but I had letters from some of these conscientious objectors as well as men in the I.W.W. telling of the conditions they were living under and of their hopes. I used to read those letters at meetings whenever I had the time.

I met with some opposition in some cities. One of the best successes I had was in Cincinnati. There was a man who had a church there. His name was Homer Bigelow. He had a rather liberal church, and he had been dragged out and tarred and feathered because of his opposition to the war. I had a chance to speak at his church, and he would support me on any statements I would make about the men that were in prison and their opposition to the war.

In Cleveland, Ohio, I was followed everywhere I went by two men with revolvers. I didn't know it until later on. They were members of another organization that was soliciting funds from the unions in Columbus, Cleveland and Cincinnati, for a strike in West Virginia which was called the "Civil War of West Virginia"...and these two men
were told by Jeff Davis, self-styled "King of the Hoboes," that I was a stool pigeon for the
West Virginia Mining Association. Why he took
such a dislike to me I have never found out.

Baum: Had you met Jeff Davis before?

Gallagher: I had met him in Cincinnati. The Brotherhood
Welfare Organization, which was the James Eadest
Howe organization of hobos, had been very helpful
to me. They sent out young men with me and a
car to take me around from one union meeting to
another. I usually tried to cover about four
meetings every night and just speak for five
minutes. I had to get to more than one meeting
because the donations were not very large.

In fact, I don't think I ever collected as
many dollars as some people have been able to do
in the same kind of work. I just didn't have the
know-how. But I thought the publicity was very
important, as well as the funds.

Baum: Do you think you were effective in influencing
public opinion?

Gallagher: Yes, to a certain extent. I got articles in
newspapers which were tolerant, if not favorable,
in cities that had been very much opposed to the
I.W.W. before. I think that was very effective.
And getting before a state federation of labor
convention of the A.F. of L. and having them use
my appeal as part of the agenda of the convention I thought was very effective because there had always been a clash between the A.F. of L. and the I.W.W. Things like that don't seem to have too much significance but they really are important at the moment.

Baum: It sounds like you had become quite a public speaker by this time.

Gallagher: Never like Haywood or Jim Thompson. No, I had always the capability of catching the spirit of the moment. I could see if I was going to be able to influence that crowd. That was the quick-thinking Irish in me.

Baum: Did the I.W.W. pay you on this tour?

Gallagher: Yes, I was paid my expenses and a salary on the tour. I finished the tour in 1921.

Baum: What was the final outcome of the Leavenworth case?

Gallagher: They were all eventually released, those who had not died. A few of them died. Some served their one-year sentence in eight months with time off for good behavior. The men who were sentenced to five years served three and a half years. Most of them had left the prison when Calvin Coolidge finally released by commutation of sentence all those who remained inside just before
Christmas of 1923. That included those who had made every opposition to any kind of release except unconditional pardon. At Christmas in 1933, President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued a blanket pardon for all wartime prisoners, although there were practically none remaining confined. Such a pardon restored all rights of citizenship to former prisoners. A good many of those men are dead now but some of them are still active in labor work of some kind, and some still in the I.W.W.

Baum: Do you recall any other interesting incidents?

Gallagher: While working on a job like this, one naturally develops new techniques; one learns by doing. I learned in the course of my work that catching the eye of the public was important. Early in 1922, with the approval of the General Defense Committee, I started to arrange for nationwide celebration of Lincoln's birthday that year by appealing for general amnesty for all remaining wartime prisoners.

Petitions were circulated all over the country and meetings were arranged with prominent local speakers in most of the large cities for February 12th. The I.W.W. newspapers devoted a good deal of space to a comparison of Lincoln's idea of justice with that of the current Dept. of Justice.
We issued appeals to all the churches in all cities, and one of the Chicago clergymen submitted our appeal to Atty. Gen. Daugherty. I succeeded in memorizing the reply he received when he allowed me to read it. It was so full of mis-statements that we submitted it with analysis to the New York headquarters of the Federal Council of Churches. This office immediately sent a special agent to Washington to interview Daugherty. At the conclusion of the interview the Council issued a special bulletin criticising Daugherty severely and giving wholehearted support to our drive for amnesty. Harding was President but he did not grant our appeal.

The following year, 1923, when Harding made a nationwide tour, I was in California, and we used the same techniques. We arranged to meet Harding's train at every stop with a committee of local citizens asking for pardon for the remaining prisoners. In Los Angeles, where I was stationed, I prepared a reception for Harding by hiring a young aviator and his plane to drop leaflets and carry a banner demanding release of the prisoners. This plane was to hover over the boat bearing Harding from Los Angles to Catalina Island, a trip of three hours. But poor Harding never arrived. He died in San Francisco and I was very angry with him for upsetting our plans.
MARRIAGE & PUBLICATION OF SONGS

Baum: How did you meet your second husband?

Gallagher: In 1917, just before the United States declared war, a young man and his partner were just concluding a vaudeville engagement; they arrived in Chicago and the young man, Douglas Robson, went to I.W.W. headquarters because he had been acquainted with the organization in Spokane and Seattle, and asked if they would like to have some volunteer entertainment. Of course, they were accepted. I was on the committee which accepted his offer.

There were entertainments practically every Saturday night at that time to raise funds for the men who had recently been sent to prison. He and his partner put on the same act as they used in vaudeville for us. The audience was not exactly satisfied because they wanted more and more and they kept Douglas Robson singing all evening. It was discovered he had written some labor songs of his own composition and they demanded them, so a wonderful evening was had by everybody.

In the meantime, I had established an art center and boarding house combined where people who had been kicked out of other art centers could come and have a studio. It was all on a
very small scale.

We invited Douglas Robson to come over to this studio, which he did, and we became very well acquainted and immediately began production of labor songs on a wholesale scale. The other people in the studios had long been interested in the songs of the Russians but we never could find a copy. They were merely traditional, not printed.

A pianist-composer, Rudolf Von Liebich, took the time and effort to get every group of Russians to sing their songs so that he could take them down in musical notation. Then Douglas Robson got them to give him a rough English translation of the words and he composed the words into English poetry to fit the music. We handled about twenty-five songs that had never been printed before, as well as some original songs by Rudolf Von Liebich and Douglas Robson.

Baum: Did you print any songs by Joe Hill?

Gallagher: Those were already printed. The Joe Hill songs and the songs used by the I.W.W. were always based on well-known melodies.

I was very lucky in having the sheet music set up by a very skillful printer who did it cheaply because he was interested in the publication of these songs.
I succeeded in publishing only four issues of this projected subscription. Then my daughter came along and made it very difficult. The persecution we were subjected to made it very difficult too because I had detectives coming and going through my home and everything I had on hand about twice a month. It became very discouraging then.

Baum: How were you making your living then?

Gallagher: My husband was working. I was not.

The first song, we published 4,000 copies and I sold most of them. There are a few extant yet. I sold about 2,000 of the second and third song. The fourth song was a translation from the German and was handled by another man on account of my illness. I don't know how many he sold.

The songs have always been very popular, although they are not of the typical parody style generally used by the I.W.W. that can be sung by almost anybody. These are really art songs.

We were very happy to have permission to send our songs to the prisoners in Leavenworth and also to the Women's Prison in Missouri, where Emma Goldman and Kate Richards O'Hare were confined. At Leavenworth, the band studied the music and surprised our prisoners by playing the songs on Christmas Day.
Baum: What was your purpose in publishing this sheet music?

Gallagher: There were so many songs from other countries that had never been translated into English and had never been printed, even at their point of origin. The only way we became familiar with these songs was by hearing the people singing them.

Since I was associated with a musical composer and a poet and singer, I decided it would be a very good idea to combine our efforts to get those songs into a shape where they would be of use to everybody in the labor movement. They were very stirring and beautiful folk songs.

After Von Liebich and Douglas Robson had put the songs into good musical form and harmonized them, Douglas Robson sang them at many musical entertainments.

Baum: Did you make any money publishing these songs?

Gallagher: After we had about fifteen or so songs, I had the idea of issuing them in a subscription series. I would publish one song a month in sheet music form and people could take a yearly subscription for $1 and get twelve songs. So naturally there wasn't much profit in that, but it was enough to make it worthwhile for me to do that work in my spare time.
Baum: What was the effect of your daughter's birth on your activities with the I.W.W.?

Gallagher: It curtailed my activities for about a year, at least. My health was very poor. I had to stay at home and even had to have help with the baby. There wasn't much opportunity for me to do anything for about a year and a half. But when she was a year and a half old I started out on a tour and took her with me. That is when I made that tour through Indiana and Ohio and Michigan, raising money for the Leavenworth case.
Baum: Wasn't it shortly after your tour of raising money for the Leavenworth defense that you became involved in the California Criminal Syndicalism cases?

Gallagher: Yes, when I returned to Chicago after this tour, I learned by reading the Chicago Tribune that my name was being used in California in the criminal syndicalism cases and that a witness, W.E. Townsend, had stated that I had instructed him in various methods of sabotage in Chicago, which he followed out as a member of the I.W.W. When I read that in the newspaper I was astonished. The people in the I.W.W. headquarters in Chicago knew nothing about Townsend. They had never heard of him, because the men who had heard of him were already in prison in Leavenworth.

I went to the office and told them I knew this Townsend very well and that he had been at my house many times and had been present there when members of the I.W.W. had been present.

Baum: Was this when you were running a sort of boarding house and art center?

Gallagher: Yes.
MARY GALLAGHER AS WITNESS FOR THE DEFENSE

Gallagher: Townsend had met many I.W.W. members at my house and he was using their names and my name in trying to convict men in California who had never known any of us.

I offered to go to California and combat his testimony, and they were very glad to send me out there.

Baum: How were you going to combat his testimony?

Gallagher: I went on as a witness through the Defense Office in San Francisco which authorized me to appear as a witness for the I.W.W. and that is the point where it became evident that it was a fortunate circumstance that I had never been an actual member of the I.W.W. I was an outsider and so I could speak much more impartially than as a member, so my testimony was recognized as more impartial than if I had been a member.

I came to California and the First case I appeared in was in Eureka, California. Townsend had spent two days testifying as to the various acts of sabotage that he had committed as a member of the I.W.W.

Baum: Was he ever a member of the I.W.W.?

Gallagher: Yes, I think he had a card for awhile.

William F. Herron was the defense attorney in that case. Herron, knowing that I would be
in town the next day, encouraged Townsend to become as wild in his imagination as possible and got everything in there that was damning.

When I arrived and was brought on as a witness the morning after Townsend's two days of testimony, Townsend met me coming into the courtroom. He looked at me and said, "Well, Mary Gallagher, you win." He must have never imagined that this would get into a Chicago newspaper or that I would ever see it or that anybody would ever connect him with his past in Chicago.

I went on the witness stand and testified that I had known Townsend, that he had been at my house as he said, that he had met several members of the I.W.W. at different times there, but that it was not true that he had been instructed to do any type of violence to property or persons by the I.W.W.

In fact, he asked for advice on that subject in the presence of six members of the I.W.W. and had been strongly advised against it. He suggested that he could get a job in the railroad yards of Chicago and he would have the opportunity of distributing I.W.W. literature. These I.W.W. members told him that the literature could be distributed in the railroad yards to the railroad
workers anyhow without anyone having to get a job there. He said, "Well, I thought I could act as a spy for the organization." They told him the I.W.W. didn't need any spies, that they were not in the habit of advocating the spy system. So he was a little chagrined at not having the consent or encouragement of the I.W.W. men, but he went and got the job in the railroad yards anyhow, as a special detective agent.

His testimony from that point on was what I had to overthrow, if possible, because he had a job as a special agent in the railroad yards and he claimed that I authorized him to put poison in the corned beef that was being sent to the soldiers in Europe; that I also authorized him to destroy, wherever possible, the woolen clothing that was being sent to the soldiers in Europe. Of course, that was absolutely untrue. I didn't even know he had a job in the railroad yard. I would probably see him only when he came to my house to ask my advice about something. All the testimony he gave of having been advised by the I.W.W. to pursue any of these notions of his were absolutely false.
Further than that, and each time I tried to get this into the case...it was the second day I appeared on the stand and he had had a consultation with the prosecuting attorneys and had had to tell them how much I really did know about him, because he had been very confidential with me about his past life...for six different trials I tried to get this testimony in, that he had deserted from the Army and Navy nine different times and had also been in the insane asylum in Elizabethtown outside Washington, D.C. I could never get that onto the record because his attorneys would object. That never went into the record until I had made about six attempts at different trials.

But we got an acquittal in that Eureka case. There were six men in the case. It was very seldom that we had an acquittal in a case so that was quite a pleasant surprise to us.

Then I went into every case where Townsend appeared as a witness and the method was the same each time. Of course, he was a little more wary, knowing that I would be following him in every case.

I knew nothing about Dymond and Coutts, the other prosecution witnesses, because I had never met them. Dymond had testified in the Chicago case but I had not heard his testimony.
After about six cases, there was a trial in Quincy, California, and I succeeded at last in getting into the record that Townsend had deserted from the Army and the Navy and had been in an insane asylum. He was called back to the stand for rebuttal and he admitted everything. Still they did not dismiss him as a witness; they used him in several trials after that where I had to appear and fight him. In those later trials my accusations were accepted each time. He got up on the stand and said, "Why yes, I was as crazy as a coot. She's right." And still they used him. It was most astonishing.

When the cases dwindled out and there were no more prosecutions under the Criminal Syndicalism Act against the I.W.W., after June of 1924, Jack Dymond was made a member of the police force in Los Angeles and Elmer Coutts was given a job on the police or the sheriffs department in some county of California, but Mr. Townsend was not accepted. He was not appointed to any office or given any reward for his services. He was very disgruntled.

I might say that as a witness I and any other witnesses for the I.W.W. who testified were entitled to witness fees and transportation and hotel and meal expenses, We had to turn in
a bill and have it certified by the judge at the end of each trial so that we could collect our expense money. One of the I.W.W. men discovered that while we were getting probably an average of four to five dollars a day for our expenses, Coutts, Dymond and Townsend were getting $250 a day while they were in court testifying.

The judge in each case always went over our expense accounts very carefully to see that we were not eating two-dollar meals when we should have been eating fifty-cent meals. So Judge Pullen of Sacramento, really a very pleasant judge --he died shortly after that--questioned an item on my expense account and I said, "Well, Judge, surely you can't make any objection to a small item like that when you pay Coutts and Dymond and Townsend $250 a day." And he was astonished that we had found that out. It was true. Somebody had seen the vouchers for their checks in the Auditors Office in Sacramento.

Baum: Were Coutts and Dymond as unreliable a type of men as Townsend was?

Gallagher: I am sure they were or they would not have been used. They had each been members of the I.W.W. at some time or another, in the harvest fields or somewhere and they had a lot of wild, imaginary tales to tell about the damage they did to crops
and the violence they used against non-members of the organization. But because of my lack of acquaintance with them, I would not be able to testify definitely that they were lying, but there were many other witnesses who knew they were lying, witnesses who had known them when they were members. Neither of them was a member for any length of time.

These witnesses, and it was a habit all over the country, would get into the organization just long enough to show that they had carried a red card that identified them as members of the organization. They could use that identification in traveling from one place to another without anybody being suspicious that they were stool pigeons.

For instance, a man who had finished work in the harvests of North Dakota could come out to Washington and enter the lumber industry. Carrying a red card, he would be received with open arms and he'd get another opportunity to get into the lumber industry and do some damage there.

Baum: Anybody could join the I.W.W., couldn't they, if they paid their dues?

Gallagher: Oh yes. They believed in mass organization, in taking every working man in, especially one who
had never belonged to a labor organization before. The never wanted to raid the membership ranks of any of the established organizations. They were organizing the unorganized.

**Buron Fitts & Asa Keys, Prosecuting Attorneys**

- **Baum:** Who were the leading prosecuting attorneys?
- **Gallagher:** Of course, each county had its own prosecuting attorney and some of them were pretty bitter.

  But the most vicious ones were Asa Keyes and Buron Fitts in Southern California, Los Angeles County. William Townsend, in his confession to me which he made after the Criminal Syndicalism cases were closed and after he didn't get the job he expected, said that Asa Keyes had coached him steadily for some weeks before he ever went on the stand in order to make an efficient perjurer of him. Keyes knew all the time that the stories Townsend was going to present were not true.

  Asa Keyes later served time in prison himself for bribery and I always regretted that I hadn't gone to call on him when I went to call on Mooney so that I could congratulate him on having reached the place where he belonged.

  Of course, Buron Fitts was well known as a corruptible person. Whenever things began to
catch up with him, he went to bed on account of
an injury he got in the first World War, which
would remind people of his heroism and they
would forget about his skullduggery.

Raymond Henderson, Defense Attorney

Baum: Did you know Raymond Henderson very well?

Gallagher: Yes. He was our leading attorney in California.
He not only defended cases in the court room and
in some cases got acquittals and often got
convictions, but he was an expert in carrying cases
to appeal. In the appellate court he won many
victories on the cases that had already been
convicted in the lower courts. He was a blind
man. He prepared his briefs in Braille. He
did all of his work in the courtroom from Braille
notes. He was a very quick thinker and very
capable.

I had been with him as a witness in about
six or seven cases and he was very effective in
getting my testimony on the record. I had some
very unique things that I wanted to bring into
the testimony and it was very difficult to get
them accepted. He and I had to work as a team in
order to get my testimony on the record.

For instance, there was one case where I
repeated a whole speech that had been made at
San Pedro and I was allowed to finish it without interruption. In most cases the prosecuting attorney would object immediately when I started, but in this case I managed to get in a ten-minute speech. In another case, I succeeded in getting read a letter which I received in 1921 on the subjects of the I.W.W. from a Catholic Doctor of Divinity who himself had been arrested with the I.W.W. in Butte, Montana, in 1916. He had attended a meeting in civilian clothes and had been thrown in jail with the I.W.W.'s when they raided the hall. He had made a study of the I.W.W. and he declared that the I.W.W. was the only organization to which a working man, a Catholic, could belong conscientiously because it had nothing to do with politics and it did not interfere with the temporal power of the Catholic Church. I finally succeeded in getting that letter read in its entirety in one of the trials.

Another amusing thing about the Criminal Syndicalism trials was this. When the I.W.W. was first organized, it took some items of organizational tactics and slogans from the French syndicalists. The French syndicalists used a wooden shoe, a sabot, as a symbol of sabotage, because when the workers went on strike, they
would throw one of their sabots into the machinery to prevent it from running so that strike-breakers couldn't carry on the work after they went out on strike. So the sabot was a symbol of the French syndicalists, and also the black cat because that indicated the stealthiness of the workers in approaching their factories when they were on strike. I have also been told that men wearing sabots are obliged to walk slowly and therefore the SABOT is an indication of SLOW DOWN on the job.

Townsend had testified in several cases that I was the custodian of the black cat. They always thought, in listening to that testimony, that the black cat was a seal or an emblem of some kind that was used in signing documents of a very sinister type. I had not succeeded for a long time in bringing out the truth about the black cat, until Mr. Henderson managed to get it in by very devious methods in one of the cases, the Sacramento case, I think.

He asked me, after Townsend's testimony that I was the custodian of the black cat, which had already gone into the record..."Well, what was the black cat?"

I said that it was a cat, just a cat. "How did you get the cat?"
I said, "Somebody sent Bill Haywood a large black cat from the East, shipped it by express, and it was kept in the I.W.W. office as a sort of joke."

And they began objecting and finally the judge asked me, "Do you mean to say this cat was a live cat?"

I said, "Why yes, it was a live cat and it said 'Meow.' It had to be fed, and the reason that I was custodian of the cat was that after the I.W.W. headquarters were raided, they sent the cat to my house so that I would feed it and take care of it until such time as the office would be opened again."

William Herron & Austin Lewis, Defense Attorneys

Baum: It seems rather unusual to hear you mention William Herron as an attorney for the I.W.W.

Gallagher: Why he took that case, I don't know, because he was not in sympathy with the I.W.W. He was a very good lawyer, very clever and he did a fine job in that one trial. I don't think he ever acted as defense attorney in any other case. Why he was chosen for that particular case, I'm not sure.

Baum: Who were your other attorneys?

Gallagher: The principal attorneys were Austin Lewis, Raymond
Henderson and Henderson's partner, William Allen.

Baum: Were they in sympathy with the I.W.W.?

Gallagher: Oh yes. Austin Lewis was a member of the Socialist Party from England who came over here and established himself. He was a member of the Socialist Party and wrote some of the Socialist literature. He was a very brilliant man and had a fine mind and was an excellent lawyer, besides being a scholar in economics and history. He went into the defense of the I.W.W. with great sincerity and sympathy.

Baum: And without much success?

Gallagher: Yes, he suffered the same fate as we all did.

The war hysteria was still being felt out here and when the Criminal Syndicalism law was inaugurated, it was for the purpose of inflaming people, the general public, and from the general public we got our jurors. Of course, the jurors were already tinged with some of that war hysteria and I don't think they had what would be called an open mind.

San Pedro Incident, 1924

There's an incident that I think should be mentioned in connection with the criminal syndicalism cases that I think has skipped many people's minds. Of course, whenever the I.W.W. had men in prison, they held meetings on the outside and had speakers in the field attempting to raise funds and they put
on entertainments for the purpose of raising funds. In June of 1924 there was such an entertainment given in San Pedro, California, and there were three little children who danced and sang, from eight to ten years old, who were contributing their services to provide entertainment for that evening. A group of hostile citizens, disguised as U.S. Navy members, raided the I.W.W. hall, threw the piano out the window, wrecked all the furniture and then attacked the people. They set these three little children down in a boiling urn of coffee just long enough to scald them, and they had to be taken to the hospital. Then they captured four members of the I.W.W. and took them out to the barren fields around San Pedro and tarred and feathered them, releasing them at daybreak, miles from the city, naked. So that's the kind of depredations the I.W.W. had to stand right here in California, from our best citizens. I am leaving Bancroft Library some photos of these children in the hospital and of the men who were tarred and feathered. In my eastern tour I gave a lot of publicity to this instance.
ACTIVITIES IN BEHALF OF THE CRIMINAL SYNDICALISM PRISONERS

Baum: Besides testifying, what other activities did you engage in while you were in California for the Criminal Syndicalism cases?

Gallagher: When I was not being used as a witness in any trial, I worked out of the Defense Office in San Francisco raising money and creating publicity, writing letters and getting people acquainted with the situation and contributing in every way that I could. I was on a weekly salary as an authorized representative for the defense.

Baum: What type of groups did you appeal to at that time?

Gallagher: The League of Women Voters, the newspapers, church groups, anybody who would listen to me.

Baum: Do you think you were effective in influencing them?

Gallagher: Yes. I'm sure that they really learned the truth about this operation of the Criminal Syndicalism law.

In fact, during that period I interviewed the man who formulated the Criminal Syndicalism law and told him what the general effect of this law had been which he had sponsored. He was quite disappointed in learning the far-reaching effects that it had which were injurious to people he had
not expected to have included among the victims. He had been sincere in writing this law and thought there was a great need for it, but he didn't realize the great injustices which were being done by it. He would have been willing to use some influence in its repeal at that time, but he died shortly after that.

Baum: What was his name?

Gallagher: Senator Kehoe. I had quite a lengthy interview with him after a friend introduced me to him.

Baum: Did you do any work like you did in the Leavenworth case to bring aid and comfort to the prisoners?

Gallagher: Only in a very general way because the rules at San Quentin were quite different. You cannot take any food or cigarettes or clothing into the prison. You can give them only money which they can spend for their own purposes at the commissary.

Baum: Were you permitted to visit them?

Gallagher: Yes, the I.W.W. prisoners were visited practically every day by somebody, including members of their families who happened to be in this part of the country and sympathizers with the I.W.W.

Baum: What kind of men were these I.W.W. prisoners? Were they hobos? Were they men with families?

Gallagher: Many of them were men with families. Some of them had five and six children. They were none of them very well educated. They had worked as migratory
workers mostly, in different fields as agriculture and lumber. They had seen no hope for bettering their conditions until the I.W.W. came along and when they saw what vast strides the I.W.W. made in organizing them and producing results, they accepted it wholeheartedly and were willing to go to prison to save their organization. They were willing to sacrifice themselves as martyrs because the organization had done so much for them.

And that was in itself a method of educating these men.
LOS ANGELES TRIAL, 1923

Baum: Were you present at the famous trial of twenty-seven men for Criminal Syndicalism in Los Angeles in 1923?

Gallagher: No, that was one trial in which I was too busy in Northern California to be sent down there. Besides, those twenty-seven men decided to have no defense. They simply ignored the entire affair in the courtroom. They made a very dramatic effect by doing that, because as each man was called before the judge and identified by name, he was asked by the judge if he would renounce his membership in the I.W.W. and tear up his red card. And each of them gave a very firm, vehement "No." So the trial proceeded without their cooperation.

The same witnesses appeared against them--Dymond, Coutts and Townsend--and they made no reply to these charges. Finally, they were all convicted. When they were transported to San Quentin by bus, handcuffed in pairs, they created quite a lot of newspaper publicity because they went into the buses singing and sang all the way up to Richmond where they were taken across on the ferry boat. They sang their I.W.W. songs on the ferry and went into prison singing. That was the type of men they were.
While these men were in prison in California they maintained their organization the same as the Leavenworth prisoners had done. All questions were put to a vote and their attitudes to each other were on an organizational basis. When these men wanted to protest against a condition which seemed unbearable to them, they put on a hunger strike. Several such strikes took place in San Quentin; one lasted 21 days and to it is attributed many of the reforms later instituted in that prison, especially the improvement of the food program.

They got joy out of life although they were being persecuted in the most cruel way. They were like the early Christian martyrs. Their organization to them was their whole life. While very few of them had any religious convictions in the orthodox sense, their organization was the main thing in their life.

(The trial referred to was McClennigan et all, Los Angeles, Calif., Case 186, Trial 77 on June 4, 1923, before Judge Paul J. McCormak. Convicted July 11. Second District Court of Appeals reversed decision. Supreme Court reversed Appellate Court, upholding conviction, Feb. 24, 1925. All entered San Quentin July 12, 1923. The men involved were G. J. Terrill, Charles Andrews, Hugo Cederholm, J. B. Childs,

Baum: Did most of these men remain I.W.W. members after they got out of prison?

Gallaghe: Most of them did for quite awhile, but there was so much ill favor created against the I.W.W. and fear of it that these same members who had previously been so devoted just sort of fell away. They can always be reached emotionally, even to this day, by an appeal in connection with the I.W.W.

For instance, something happened in Los Angeles just last November, 1954. The newspapers carried the story of a man whose will had been filed for probate and his entire fortune, with the exception of $100, was left as a memorial to Frank Little to establish a fund for needy scholars at the Montana School of Mines, where this man had been educated. This came as a surprise to everybody because there was no one of the present members of the I.W.W. who recognized his name, Charles William Grupe.
We read the copy of his will in the Hall of Records and found that he had left an estate in excess of $25,000 to establish this fund in memory of Frank Little.

In the body of the will he states that Frank Little was cruelly lynched by a mob in Butte, Montana on August 1, 1917. From 1917 to 1954 he had remembered that, and left his entire fortune in memory of the man lynched years before.

The exact wording of the will is:

"I hereby request that the bequest, hereinabove made in paragraph 5, of this my last will and testament and the Frank Little Memorial fund hereby initiated and established is named for Frank Little who was an Industrial Workers of the World organizer and who was lynched in 1917 in Butte, Montana, and hanged under a railroad bridge; I further state the Montana State Council of Defense had to reluctantly accept the fact that there was no evidence of sedition on the part of the said Frank Little..."

The last paragraph provides that the President of the Miners' Union address the student body once each year, at a reasonable fee to be paid out of the fund, to give the miners' point of view.

(Charles William Grupe committed suicide by shooting in L.A. on September 23, 1954.)
Tom Connors

Baum: Did you know Tom Connors at this time?

Gallagher: Yes, he was my chief. I was sent out here to work under him. He was in charge of everything on the Pacific Coast in the defense of the Criminal Syndicalism prisoners. He was a very capable person. He was so devoted to his work that he scarcely ate or slept. Twenty-Four hours a day he was on call. He was dedicated to his work in a priestly way. He had no time for anything but work in the office and to prepare the cases for trial, secure attorneys and funds, and keep the publicity rolling.

He was very clever in preparing for the cases. He had men who investigated the jury panels that were prepared before a jury was selected from them. Because he did that, he was arrested and convicted for tampering with the jury, which was not what he had done. He had investigated the possible jurors who might be called for cases. He spent about ten months in prison, then was brought out of prison and retried and convicted again. He thought that he might be acquitted on the second trial.

He still continued to work for the defense in California as long as there were any I.W.W. men being sent to prison, and he did an excellent job.
Baum: What was his background?

Gallagher: He was quite reticent about his early life. He came from a well-established family in New York State. He was one of the men who was eventually pardoned by Governor Olson in 1939. He has never picked up his official pardon. Nobody knows where Tom Connors is. He returned to New York State and he came to see me when I was there in 1940; nobody has heard of him since.

Anita Whitney

Baum: Did you know Anita Whitney?

Gallagher: The Anita Whitney case was on appeal when I arrived in California, and I met Anita Whitney quite frequently in the first few months when I was here. She was very willing to help in any way that she could with other Criminal Syndicalism cases besides her own. She even furnished bail money in some cases and was always present at any big meeting or gathering where funds were being raised and made her contribution there too.

I found her a very charming and very well balanced woman. She fully expected to be sent to San Quentin and was preparing herself psychologically to meet the situation, but fortunately she didn't have to go. She was pardoned by the Governor on the insistence of her attorneys.
Baum: At this time, did you meet Fremont Older?

Gallagher: Yes, I went to Fremont Older to enlist his help with regard to the Criminal Syndicalism cases. As usual, he was sympathetic to the underdog and gave us very favorable publicity and expressed his sympathy. It was understood that the columns of his paper would always be open to favorable publicity for the case.

Baum: What did you think of Fremont Older?

Gallagher: I was very much impressed by him the first time I met him, by his friendliness and his willingness to cooperate. Of course, I didn't get as well acquainted with him in 1923 as I did in 1930, when I was working on the Mooney case.

Baum: How long did these criminal syndicalism trials continue?

Gallagher: The criminal syndicalism cases began in 1919 and they accumulated, gained impetus, and went on, as far as the I.W.W. was concerned, until 1924. After that the Criminal Syndicalism law was put into effect in cases against the Communist Party.

Baum: Then 1924 was about the last case affecting I.W.W. members, and after that the Criminal Syndicalism law was directed against Communists?

Gallagher: Yes, and about those Communist cases I know nothing.

Baum: Would you say the criminal syndicalism cases were largely the result of this was hysteria, or could
it have been more the result of employers trying to educate the public against the possibility of having their agricultural workers organized into a labor union.

Gallagher: Perhaps that was the case here in California.

In the Middle West there was not much organization of the farmers but in California we have an organization known as the Associated Farmers. That organization is comprised of almost everybody but farmers: railroad magnates, bankers, producers and large-scale shippers, not what we would call farm owners. Of course, they were opposed to any sort of organization among agricultural workers, and still are.

But the CS law did not affect agricultural workers alone; it was directed against mine workers, marine workers of all kinds, lumber workers and even mechanics. And, remember, this law is still in effect and can be invoked at any time against any type of workers.

(Miss Gallagher has permitted the Bancroft Library at the University of California to microfilm a series of newspaper clippings relating to the Criminal Syndicalism cases involving I.W.W. members, and a compilation of all of the Criminal Syndicalism cases with the names and sentences of each prisoner. There were 147 convictions.
Included in this material is a copy of a pardon from Governor Olson to one of these I.W.W. prisoners which contains the letter the prisoner wrote to Governor Olson and Olson's statement on the reasons for issuing the pardon. These materials are catalogued as

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ADVANCE AGENT FOR JIM THOMPSON, 1924

Baum: After the Criminal Syndicalism cases were over, did you remain in California?

Gallagher: No, I went to Chicago to make another tour. I stopped in several places on the way back, in order to raise some money for the general organization. The funds were being depleted on account of so many court cases. It was necessary to have more money in order to keep the general headquarters going, and the publication of two newspapers that were being issued in English. There were several newspapers in other languages.

So I went back on St. Patrick's day, 1924, to Chicago after being in California for ten months. And I took my daughter with me. We spent the summer of 1924 in Chicago.

Jim Thompson had gotten out of Leavenworth and was slated for a speaking tour. He got out at Christmas, 1923, and was home for only six weeks when his wife died. She had been so devoted to him during all of his imprisonment and it almost broke his heart that he had only six weeks with her after spending pretty nearly six years in prison. But he was so devoted to the organization that when they asked him to make a tour, he buried his own feelings and started from Seattle to Chicago. I made the
arrangements for his tour.

In Chicago we arranged a mass meeting in a public park where there was over a thousand dollars collected. Then I went to various other places surrounding Chicago, such as Rockford, Illinois, and other Illinois cities and then up into Wisconsin and Michigan and arranged speaking dates for him ahead. Finally I went to Duluth, Minnesota.

In each of these cities I arranged a speaking date for Thompson and then he would follow within a month. I had support of whatever I.W.W. branches there were and if none, the Socialist Party would generally sponsor a meeting for a man who had so recently been in Leavenworth penitentiary.

From Duluth I went to Fargo, North Dakota, Where I found a most unfriendly reception. In Fargo they refused to rent us a hall for a speech and the businessmen began to object in the newspapers to having an ex-convict come and address them on any subject. Finally we succeeded, with the help of the I.W.W. secretary there, in contacting a family who owned a vacant lot right in the business district which they allowed us to use for Jim Thompson's speech. We were able to hold quite an interesting meeting there. We didn't use the sidewalk or the street, just that vacant lot.
I didn't go ahead of Thompson for his Eastern trip. He went on from there to New York and stopped in Cleveland and some places along the way. I only arranged those meetings, with the cooperation of the local offices, by mail. I remained in Fargo, North Dakota, for a couple of weeks because the I.W.W. suddenly had a severe crisis in the late fall of 1924 when the "emergency program" attempted to take over the headquarters in Chicago and oust the incumbent officials. It created quite a difficult time for all of us. They had to recall me because there was no money to pay my expenses and I was left stranded in Fargo, about the worst place in the world to be stranded.

Baum: Where was your daughter? And your husband?

Gallagher: My daughter was with me, and my husband was in Chicago all this time, even when I was in California for ten months. We never knew whether or not I would be able to rejoin him in Chicago shortly or whether the work would keep me three or four years in California, it was so uncertain. He finally joined me in California in 1925 when I came back the second time.

But while I was stranded in Fargo, one of the earliest members of the I.W.W. who had been in Leavenworth prison, Francis Miller, from the
textile industry in Rhode Island, realized that upon the salary and expense money I had been getting that I was in pretty bad shape in Fargo. I had kept up quite an extensive correspondence with him. He wrote to me and told me to write back and just tell him about this advance tour that I had made for Thompson and what I had been doing in the last few months. I wrote about a four-page letter to him and he presented that letter to the Civil Liberties Union in New York City and asked them, without my speaking of it or expecting it, for some money to send me back to California.

Baum: Why back to California?

Gallagher: I wanted to go back to California. I didn't want to stay in Chicago.

So they sent me $200, which enabled me to get back to California and get re-established there. I loved California as I never loved anyplace before.

I went to Butte, Montana, first, where I had a few contacts, and I collected some money for the I.W.W. there and then to Salt Lake City and Los Angeles. I arrived in Los Angeles on Thanksgiving Day of 1924.

I rested a little while and then I looked for a job and got one as a dietician which I
held until my husband came out from Chicago and joined me. My daughter was old enough to put in school by that time and I could work in the daytime. When she was smaller my work had been mostly in the evenings, at union meetings, so I could be with her during the day.

Baum: What did you do from 1925 to 1928?

Gallagher: In 1927 a strike broke out in the coal mines of Colorado and my previous chief, Tom Connors, was in charge. There were many arrests of I.W.W. members and again I volunteered my services. From L.A. we sent clothing, funds for food for the strikers, and money for bail for prisoners. Among those released on bail was Byron Kitto, who came to L.A. to speak for the strike but whose health had been broken by jail conditions and who subsequently died of tuberculosis as a result.

Later I resumed care of my house, my daughter, and my husband and worked some more with my husband on songs and plays and things he was interested in.

Baum: Was your husband able to continue his work as an entertainer?

Gallagher: He never did after he came to Chicago in 1917. He never went on vaudeville tour again, but he became interested in little theaters and did quite a lot of work in Chicago at Hull House
Baum: and places where they had little theaters. That was purely a non-profit artistic endeavor.

Gallagher: You mentioned George Holmes as an I.W.W. member who had a great effect on your personal life.

Gallagher: He was a very picturesque character. He was a retired sea captain when I met him, but he had been one of the first members of the I.W.W. in California. His father had been a sea captain and his family was well established in San Francisco. He ran away from home and went to sea at the age of twelve. He loved the sea. He took a great interest in my daughter and furnished her with many old English classics to read. He considered San Francisco the greatest city in the world. He had read so much and had a fine knowledge of the entire world. He met notables in Australia and the Islands and he said he "was married to a princess in the South Sea Islands." He died at the age of 86 and was buried at sea with all the honors belonging to a retired sea captain.

Baum: What part did he play in the I.W.W.?

Gallagher: He was active in speaking and strikes and helped to establish new branches in different parts of California and was always ready for street speaking. He was a "man's man" and could attract the attention of newcomers. He was a valuable man.
Baum: When did you first meet Tom Mooney?

Gallagher: I met him in 1908 during the campaign of Debs for President. Mooney had stopped in Chicago, with Debs, at the close of the campaign in the beginning of November. Mooney stayed in Chicago that winter and I met him at various affairs given by the Socialist Party and we both attended dances and meetings and speeches of all kinds during that winter. After he left Chicago and returned to California, he would send me post cards occasionally and I would reply. We carried on a very casual correspondence.

Then, when he was arrested in 1916 for the Preparedness Day Parade explosion, my name was found among his effects and the defense committee for him communicated with me. I helped in Chicago on a voluntary basis by distributing the literature that they sent out and by helping take up collections at meetings. In a rather timid way I attempted to help raise funds for him.

Baum: You were not very active in his behalf at that time?

Gallagher: I hadn't really started to be very active in 1916 in anything. I was just feeling my way.

Baum: What were the circumstances leading up to your taking charge of his defense in 1928?
Gallagher: When I first came to California to work for the I.W.W. in the Criminal Syndicalism cases, I visited Mooney just because I remembered him from the old days. He was glad that I was in California, although at that time there was no mention of my doing anything for him because I was going to be extremely busy with the C.S. cases.

After I returned to California, I retired from most of my previous work and devoted myself to my household. On a vacation trip to Northern California I again dropped in on Tom Mooney. At that time he broached the subject of my attempting to do something for his case, which had been dormant for about seven years.

Baum: Did he have anybody working for him at the time?

Gallagher: No, the case had been absolutely neglected for seven years.

So when I went back to Los Angeles, I talked it over with my husband and friends. They encouraged me to start and see if I could do something to awaken the case.

I got up at a Civil Liberties meeting and told the audience there that Mooney was still in prison and that there hadn't been anything done by anybody to secure his release for about seven years and he was there quite disheartened and
discouraged. I said that when I visited him, he hadn't had a letter from anybody for quite a while except his own family. I said that I thought we people here in the audience ought to subscribe to a little fund and at least send him enough money to buy postage stamps and stationery so he could attempt to get into communication with people again. A collection of twenty-five dollars was taken up and I sent it to him. He was so impressed that he practically demanded that I should come up and start working on reorganizing a committee for him.

Baum: At this time he had no funds, no people working for his cause, and you started it all?

Gallagher: Yes. He had had disagreements with his previous committees and with his wife; that's why he decided just to stay in prison and nothing about getting out until I came along.

Baum: What sort of agreement with him did you make when you took over his defense work?

Gallagher: When I started, the understanding was that I was to follow his directions only and pay no attention to suggestions from anybody else. I agreed to that, and things went along very nicely for a year or so.

He was a fine campaigner. He had in mind very clearly what he wanted to do and the effectiveness of the work he would do. His main idea at
this time was to work to the end that the next Governor of California—C.C. Young, who was up for election at that time—might pardon him. All of our efforts were to be devoted to securing Young's attention to his case.

Mooney's petition at that time, September, 1928, already in the hands of Governor Friend W. Richardson, but upon inquiries, Governor Richardson had admitted several times that he hadn't had time to look at it. He never had an opportunity to read the pardon petition until almost the day of the election. C.C. Young was elected in 1928 and the Mooney petition for pardon passed into his hands.

Baum: Was Mooney able to pay you for your work?

Gallagher: In this way. I immediately started a campaign to secure funds; the first contributor, besides that twenty-five dollars I got in Los Angeles, was Clarence Darrow. When he learned that I was going to start a campaign for the Mooney case, he sent $500, which gave us an opportunity to buy some stationery and stamps, rent a typewriter, and really get started. I worked for the first few weeks in a room in a rooming house. I worked for a salary of $10 a week to start with. Mooney was not able to send money from the prison outside,
although he had a small fund. I collected a little money, and the understanding was that I could draw on this money.

With the $500 from Darrow we started the publication of a pamphlet which also asked for further funds. When that pamphlet was sent out, funds began to come in pretty generously. Then I raised my salary to $15, and as funds increased I gradually raised my salary until at the end I was getting $40 a week.

Baum: Did you have an office staff?

Gallagher: Yes, later as we got more funds, we rented a room in the Grant Building on Market Street and operated from there. I had at one time a staff of seven: three stenographers, some typists, and a man to carry the heavy mail. Some of our pamphlets were sent out in thousand lots so it required a man to get those things into the express.

But I did most of my work in my own room, alone, because I had to concentrate on publicity and letters to and from important people. I couldn't be surrounded by the noise of other people working.

Baum: Did you do any speaking in Mooney's behalf?

Gallagher: Yes, some, but I preferred to arrange for other
people to speak. I would arrange the dates of the meetings and have people of more prominence make the speeches.

For instance, in February, 1929, which was the anniversary of Mooney's sentence to death, I conducted a meeting at which the judge who sentenced him to death was the principal speaker. Judge Griffin said that he was as much framed upon as Mooney was because his court was used for this dastardly attempt to subvert justice.

Baum: Did this statement of Judge Griffin receive any publicity in the newspapers?

Gallagher: Oh yes, the newspapers printed it in San Francisco. I don't know if it received publicity, except through our pamphlets, outside of San Francisco.

Also present at that same meeting was Ignatius McCarty, who was on the investigating board which President Wilson established while Mooney was still under sentence of death.

He told of his experiences in his speech. He said that the police ignored any clue that did not point to Mooney and Billings in their investigation before the trials.

Baum: What sort of meetings did these prominent speakers address?

Gallagher: We published the day and time of meeting in the newspapers. The Mooney case was always news and we could get the meeting publicized. Then, we
advertised in the labor papers and attended union meetings and passed out notices of the time and place of the meeting. The crowds were informed of the meeting and who the speakers were. They arrived at the meeting and seemed to get some satisfaction out of it and contributed to the collections that were taken up which went into the general fund.

Baum: Did you have any especially interesting meetings in Mooney's behalf?

Gallagher: The most outstanding meeting was one held on August 29, 1929, in Los Angeles. I spent about two months preparing for that meeting and I had the financial support of Aline Barstall, who was a multi-millionairess living in Los Angeles. She had learned about the case early in 1917 because of her interest in Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, and our current publicity renewed her interest. She guaranteed all expenses connected with the meeting. We took, at her expense, Judge Griffin, Ignatius McCarty, Fremont Older, Mother Mooney and Rena Mooney from San Francisco to Los Angeles for that meeting. Besides that, there were prominent citizens from Los Angeles on the platform. There were about a hundred people on the platform.

The chairman of the meeting was Joe Ford, a prominent Los Angeles attorney, who had been
connected with the prosecution of the McNamara brothers, but he was convinced of Mooney's innocence and of the unfair trial. He was perfectly willing to contribute his name to this meeting.

The principal speaker was Judge Griffin. It was such an astonishing thing to the people of Los Angeles to find that the judge who sentenced Tom Mooney to death would go to the trouble to travel many miles to stand on a platform and declare his belief in Mooney's innocence and in the fact that Mooney had been deliberately framed and that he himself was a victim of the same frame-up. He spoke with such emotion that he had everyone there weeping, as he himself was in tears.

Ignatius McCarthy, the investigator for the Wilson-Densmore Committee, also spoke. He had with him the little dictaphone which he had installed in ninety-six different places during the progress of this Wilson investigation; it had recorded the conversations in the office of Fickert, the prosecuting attorney, which proved definitely that he had framed Tom Mooney and was attempting to frame Mrs. Mooney. That created quite a sensation at that meeting.
Fremont Older also spoke, showing that he had devoted many years of his life to Mooney's freedom after he was convinced that Mooney had been framed. He was not sure of it from the beginning until the letters written by Frank C. Oxman to his friend in Illinois were revealed.

The meeting succeeded in attracting so much attention that William Randolph Hearst sent a telegram to Judge Griffin that he wanted to print the text of his speech on the front page of every Hearst paper in the country the next morning. Judge Griffin had spoken extemporaneously; he had no script for his speech. So he and I had to get together and get a stenographer; he repeated the speech from memory in order to have it for Mr. Hearst the next morning.

Baum: And it was printed?

Gallagher: Oh yes.

Baum: Did you try to get the support of various organizations?

Gallagher: Oh yes. In fact, some unions that were solicited contributed, in the name of their membership, checks amounting from $15 to $1,000. It depended largely on the officials of the union.

Baum: Did you get support from non-labor organizations?
Gallagher: Some. The Socialist Party. Sometimes a church
group and sometimes civic groups of other types.

Baum: Do you think the response to your meetings and
speakers was sympathetic?

Gallagher: We seldom had any criticism from the floor. Once
in a while there were people who took exception
and tried to contest Mooney's innocence, but
very seldom. People don't go to meetings for a
cause they are not interested in or that they
are opposed to.

Baum: Were you able to get any newspaper support?

Gallagher: Always in San Francisco. Mooney was always
news in San Francisco. Even the fact that he
went on a fast in San Quentin to improve his
health was played up in the newspapers.

And quite accidently I met Lawrence Cox.
I went to a party one evening in Berkeley at
the house of a professor. The professor intro-
duced me to the oldest man present and I thought
to myself, "well, this isn't fair, that I should
be foisted on this old, defenseless man." But I
always had literature with me regarding the
Mooney case and naturally that is what we dis-
cussed. I showed this elderly gentleman the
pamphlets we were issuing and talked over the
case with him.

About two days later I received a letter at
the office with two dollars in it to pay for a larger book written by Henry T. Hunt of Cincinnati which was a legal analysis of the case to date. This man sent the two dollars and I shipped the book to him.

Two or three days later I began getting clippings from all over the state of an editorial that this man had written. He was the owner of about eighteen small country newspapers throughout the state.

His name was Lawrence Cox; I believe he had previously been an Army colonel. The editorial started, "I Confess." "I confess that I had previously taken it for granted that Tom Mooney and Billings were guilty and my eyes have just been opened." He wanted to make reparation for the fact that he had been deceived for so long. So the result of that chance acquaintance with Mr. Cox at that party really amounted to something.

Baum: Were you allowed to confer with Mooney as much as you felt was necessary?

Gallagher: As much as he felt was necessary. Every night I got a special delivery letter from him telling me what orders to take for the following day and when to come to see him. I could go to see him as often as three times a week, whenever he wanted me to come. I would arrive there at the opening
of the visitors' room at 8:30 in the morning; sometimes I didn't leave my chair, even for a drink of water, until 3:30 in the afternoon. My time was spent in taking dictation from Mooney for his pamphlets, for programs he had in mind or plans for a new campaign. He himself was indefatigable but I was not always. Sometimes I left the prison in such a state of exhaustion that I had to have a massage to restore my aching muscles.

Baum: Wasn't this a rather unusual privilege that Mooney had?

Gallagher: Yes, he had a good many unusual privileges because he was very careful never to break any of the rules and he was considered a model prisoner. I think there was a tendency for some of the wardens to feel that Mooney really was innocent and they gave him a little more in the way of privileges.

Baum: I understand that while Mooney was in prison, he refused to associate with I.W.W. prisoners. Do you know why that was?

Gallagher: I think he was afraid that they would prejudice his case. They were rather disturbed about his attitude toward them because the organization, the I.W.W., had supported his case from the very beginning. I think it was a misunderstanding of tactics between the two groups. Mooney was a member of the A.F. of L. and loyal to that type
of union. He erroneously considered the I.W.W. a dual organization.

Baum: Why did you cease your work as head of his defense?

Gallagher: It was mutual dissatisfaction. He was dissatisfied with me because, after having promised to carry out all his orders without question, I found myself in disagreement with some of his plans and could not follow his instructions. I had to object and it finally resulted in our breaking our association by resignation in December, 1930.

Baum: What was the issue over which you disagreed with Mooney?

Gallagher: It was a matter of tactics.

Baum: What tactics, in particular, did you disagree with?

Gallagher: A good many. My contention had always been that the pamphlets which were issued by the Mooney Committee and for which we paid, printing, paper, postage, clerical help and such, were not as valuable as newspaper publicity which cost us nothing and which could not be bought. During the period I worked for Mooney, I had so much newspaper publicity...I think twelve scrapbooks of clippings which are now deposited in the University of California library, about 1,200 pages...I made those scrapbooks myself as the daily papers arrived which almost daily had something about the Mooney case. Mooney was always news in
San Francisco, and when anything new developed in his case, he was news all over the world. I kept the newspapers pretty well filled with stories about every move that Mooney made, including the time he went on a thirty-day fast in San Quentin to improve his health.

Baum: Did you remain friends with Mooney after you left his employ?

Gallagher: No, it was impossible.

Baum: Did you see him after he was out of prison?

Gallagher: No, he called me and tried to see me, but I refused.

Baum: What was your opinion of Mooney?

Gallagher: I think he was a very remarkable man. He had courage that nothing could conquer. He could carry on one campaign and be defeated and the next morning start another one. Year after year, for twenty-three years, that went on. It doesn't seem possible that any human being could have endured what he did in that length of time.

Baum: Did you know Mooney's wife?

Gallagher: Yes, I met her after I started to work on his case. Mooney's wife had gone through a great deal of torture on account of her association with Mooney. From the beginning, she was not the dedicated person he was to the cause of labor. She was dedicated to Tom Mooney and whatever he
asked her to do, she would do without question while he was at liberty.

Then, when she herself was accused of murder in connection with the Preparedness Day explosion, tried for murder in two separate trials and finally acquitted, it embittered her life, but she went on the road for Mooney immediately after her release from prison. She spent five or six years devoted to trying to secure his release, or a new trial.

Mooney's contention was that the thing he wanted was a new trial. He didn't want any other method of release because he was confident that at a new trial, all of these previous witnesses having been proven perjurers, it would be very simple to acquit him. But that was the one thing the authorities would never permit.

Gallagher: The authorities permitted several rehearsings and rehashings of the case and offers of parole, but never a retrial.

In fact, when President Wilson intervened in the Mooney case in 1918 when Mooney was still under sentence of death, he appealed to Governor Stephens for a new trial, but what President Wilson got was a commutation to life imprisonment for Mooney.

Baum: Did you know Mooney's mother?
Gallagher: Very well. Mooney's mother was a sweet little old lady; she was very fond of me and depended on me a great deal to do things for her, such as helping her buy a new dress or new shoes. I was sort of a daughter to her during the period I worked for Mooney.

Baum: She went out in Mooney's behalf too, didn't she?

Gallagher: Yes, she was always present at any meeting which was held in behalf of her son. She took her position on the stage and would take a bow, but she never attempted to make a speech. She was quite inarticulate and timid.

Baum: Did you confer with Billings while you were working for Mooney?

Gallagher: On a few occasions. Mooney sent me to ask Billings' cooperation with certain tactics that he had in mind, but Billings refused. Billings didn't have much confidence in me at this time because he felt that I was following Mooney's orders too closely and not using any judgment of my own. Therefore, he thought that I was not very bright.

Later, of course, after Mooney was released and Billings was not released, Billings sent for me to come and organize a committee for his release. That was eight years after I resigned from the Mooney case.
WARREN K. BILLINGS DEFENSE COMMITTEE, 1939

Baum: What were the circumstances under which you took over Billings' defense after Mooney was pardoned in January, 1939?

Gallagher: Mooney had promised that his first effort after he was pardoned, and all of his time, would be devoted to securing Billings' release. But from January to April not one thing had been done to help Billings. The efforts for Billings were not put into effect.

Baum: Hadn't Billings and Mooney had some disagreements?

Gallagher: Many times, and then they would make up. Billings was a much more broadminded man than Mooney, and while they had differences of opinion, Billings would always be the one to yield, sometimes against his better judgment.

Billings was terribly disappointed when Mooney did not devote his attention to getting him out of prison. My personal opinion is that Mooney was not a free agent after he got out. He was a captive of the Communists, who took entire charge of his tour across the country and promised to pay all of his debts. He owed quite a sum of money to printers and people who handled his publicity before his pardon. None of those promises were kept.
Mooney was in a state of desperation all the time because he was doing everything he could to keep the interest in his case, and that of Billings, alive, but he was not completely in command of the things he was obliged to do.

Baum: Wasn't he a sick man then?

Gallagher: He was sick, but that is what made him sick. He was in pretty good health when he left prison, but it was this pressure on him, I think, which reduced his health until he finally succumbed completely.

Baum: How did you begin work for Billings?

Gallagher: Since nothing was being done for Billings by anybody, Billings wrote to me and I agreed to come to San Francisco and see what we could do about organizing a committee.

We had several conferences in Folsom Prison, and I started to get out literature and to call upon members of the A.F. of L. to form a committee to get Billings out. Within a few weeks that committee was in operation and consisted of nine members from the A.F. of L.

We issued a pamphlet which was widely distributed by mail and personal contact, and secured funds. Then, with the help of George T. Davis, we approached Governor Olson and asked him what he was going to do about the Billings case. He promised he would
give it his attention, but advised us that he expected to have two new members of the California State Supreme Court appointed because two members were going to resign. After these two new members were appointed, he would have a better opportunity to get a favorable reception from them to the idea of a pardon for Billings. So our committee agreed to wait.

This waiting period went on until an A.F. of L. convention was held in Oakland in the middle of September and Governor Olson addressed the convention on its opening day. The understanding with our committee was that he would bring up the matter of the Billings case at that convention. He made about a twenty-minute speech and never said one word about Billings. As he was attempting to sit down, the Secretary of the State Federation of Labor took hold of his coat tail and reminded him that he hadn't said a word about Billings, so he had to get up again and he made a five-minute speech about Billings, saying that he had every intention of bringing the case to a happy conclusion.

It was a month later before Olson was able to appoint these new justices of the Supreme Court and consult them on the Billings case. Late in October he announced, very suddenly, that he would
Have a decision to make on the Billings case the next day.

We all went to Sacramento to be present on October 17, 1939. He sent for Billings to be sent to his office in the Capitol and he handed him a paper which Billings smilingly accepted.

It proved to be not a pardon but a commutation of sentence to the time served. In other words, he had not kept his promise. He had merely opened the doors of the prison and let Billings walk out. At the present time Billings has no citizenship rights because of that lack of a pardon. He does conduct his business and manages to make a living, but he cannot vote and there are many restrictions he has to live under.

Baum:

What was your impression of Billings?

Gallagher:

My first impression when I was working for Mooney was that he was a little bit antagonistic towards me. I found out afterwards that that was perfectly true. He didn't think that I had the ability to handle a case of that magnitude.

But as time went on the disputes between Mooney and Billings had to be settled by my intervention and he began to realize I was not quite as incapable as he thought in the beginning. We came to the point where he had a lot of confidence in me.
Baum: Are you and Billings still friends?

Gallagher: Oh yes, I expect to see him this week. He has invited me down to his home in San Mateo.
WORK WITH THE FEDERAL THEATER PROJECT

Baum: After you finished your work for Mooney, early in 1931, what did you do until you took over the Billings' defense?

Gallagher: I went down to Los Angeles and rejoined my husband and daughter and started keeping house. I became interested in doing something for the plight of the artists who were thrown out of work in all departments on account of the depression. We organized a theater group with the help of William E. Trautman, who was one of the founders of the I.W.W....an old and sickly man, he was living in Los Angeles; he took a great interest in the Roosevelt Administration and was in constant communication with the officials of the W.P.A. himself and communicating his findings of an attempt to establish some employment for people who were thrown out of work. When he found that my husband and I were willing to do some work along those lines too, he advised us to organize a theater group which would afterwards be picked up and supported by the W.P.A.

We did that. We got together about fifty members of various departments of the theater and organized the California Theater Guild which afterwards was submerged in the Federal Theater Project.
Baum: Did you participate in these theater activities with your husband?

Gallagher: Only as secretary, and I took charge of collecting some funds to get us started. There was a membership fee of one dollar a year for each person who joined the Theater Guild, and any voluntary contributions they wanted to give were welcome. Then, they combined their talents and put on some shows at high schools and collected rather meager funds.

This went on for just a few months before the Federal Theater Project was thoroughly reorganized and ready to go.

Baum: Did you retire then and let your husband carry on?

Gallagher: Yes, I had no right in the theater project. I had never been on the stage.

I became a housewife for my own family and for all the members of the Federal Theater Project.

Baum: Did you enjoy your role as a housewife and mother?

Gallagher: I certainly did. Sometimes I wish that I had never done anything else. I would have saved myself a lot of heartaches and physical discomfort, but it had its compensations too. I enjoyed the type of people I met, the associations I had in doing this public work and the satisfaction, in most cases, of accomplishing what I set out to accomplish, the freedom of some individual or
group of individuals.

Baum: Then you feel that you had no desire to be in public life, but you had to meet the call of the various causes.

Gallagher: Yes, it entered my life stream and I couldn't resist it.
Baum: What did you do after you completed your work for Billings in 1940?

Gallagher: After Billings was released from prison, we had a big victory ball here on November 10, 1939, and the funds from that victory ball were given to Billings for his own personal use since he had no funds.

Then I was approached by an organization from New York City. They sent out two representatives, Morris Milgram and Gerry Rubin, to visit Billings in prison, and they arrived the very day Billings was being escorted from prison to the Governor's office. The two young men felt that they had arrived at a very auspicious time.

They invited me to arrange a tour to the East coast for Billings under the auspices of their organization, The Workers' Defense League, which, with Billings' consent, I did. That tour began in May of the following year. In the meantime Billings had married and had established himself in a home in San Mateo. I made all the arrangements for his tour by mail, ending in New York City in June. I remained in Chicago and New York for awhile and he continued his tour under my arrangements back to San Francisco, where he had remained ever since.
SHARECROPPERS' CAMPAIGN

Gallagher: Then the Workers' Defense League asked me to continue as their West Coast representative, which I did for about three years.

I tried to organize the Workers' Defense League on the West Coast, without much success, although I was able to put on a couple of campaigns which were pretty widespread. For two different years I handled the Sharecroppers' Campaign. Each year we had a week called Sharecroppers' Week. We asked Mayor Bowron to declare Sharecroppers' Week, which he didn't do, but the first year it had been declared Sharecroppers' Week in New York City and Mrs. Roosevelt was on the committee there and several other prominent people. Their prominence was reflected in the committee I established in Los Angeles, a rather good committee of about fifty people. We held entertainments and had speeches and publicity and raised funds.

Baum: What was going to be done with these funds?

Gallagher: The sharecroppers of the South, who lived under the most miserable conditions, had attempted to organize a union called the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, and it was to provide that union with funds that we carried on Sharecroppers' Week each year. Finally I secured a thousand dollars a year pledge from another wealthy woman,
Mrs. Jessie Overholt, to support an organizer in the Southern states.

The sharecroppers' conditions improved somewhat, and when the war began and all the young men were inducted into the Army, the sharecroppers of the South, having such large families, had a good many sons in the war and that improved their conditions by getting these allotments and having employment for their grown children. Plus the fact that their products were needed. It created a new industrial stimulation in the South and there was no need to continue Sharecroppers' Week.

During that period I got acquainted with some prominent Negroes who were conducting organizational campaigns for their different unions, such as the Pullman Porters and the Dining Car Waiters and various organizations which were mostly composed of Negro workers.

The Workers Defense League would send projects for me to work on out here that they became familiar with in New York. I also assisted, from Los Angeles, with any case they were handling in the East.

**Odell Waller Case**

One of the most important cases that was finally turned over to me as a West Coast sub-project
was the Odel Waller Case, in which a Negro sharecropper in Virginia had been accused of shooting and killing his landlord. I put on a campaign to raise funds for a new trial for this young man, or in some way to mitigate the sentence of death he was under. I brought out a young Negro lady, Pauli Murray, who was studying law, and the prisoner's mother for a nationwide campaign. They campaigned all the way across the country to California and then went back the Southern route through all the cities where I had arranged meetings for them. But that case was lost, the young man was executed, although even Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt appealed to the Governor to commute the sentence. The night before he died, he wrote a letter to his lawyer which is a masterpiece.
How did you become interested in Jan Valtin?

The Workers Defense League advised me to take up the case of Jan Valtin, author of Out of the Night, when he was applying for pardon while Governor Olson was still in office. When his book was published giving his experiences with the Nazis and the Communists, he received nationwide publicity. He wished to become an American citizen but he could not do that without a pardon from the Governor of California because he had served a prison sentence in San Quentin on a charge of armed robbery in 1921, told in his book.

The Workers Defense League told his attorney, who was also on their board, that they had a representative out here and they advised me to handle the publicity and appeals to Governor Olson for his pardon. I did that, under Valtin's personal direction and the direction of his attorney, Hugo Pollock of New York.

That gave me some difficulty because I was immediately attacked from every side by the Communists for helping a man to get a pardon who should have been shot. I received anonymous letters and threats but I succeeded in getting a committee together to approach Governor Olson.
Governor Olson said he would like to see this man, Valtin, before he decided if he would issue the pardon or not. So after I had worked for about three or four months on the case, we notified Valtin that the Governor wanted to see him, and he came out here anonymously and visited Governor Olson for a weekend. That was the first and last time I met Valtin.

I found him quite a remarkable and striking personality. He made a very good impression on Governor Olson, who issued his pardon on December 1, 1941, just a week before Pearl Harbor Day, which was lucky. If it had been a week later, I'm afraid the war would have overshadowed it and there would have been no pardon for Valtin.
WORK FOR THE BLIND

Baum: I understand you have done work for the blind people of California.

Gallagher: Yes. In connection with the work I took up for Billings, and for Valtin and for the Odel Waller case, I always had the support of Raymond Henderson. He was a prominent attorney and anything I ever suggested to him, he was willing to do and willing to use his influence in promoting these ideas I was working on. So when he came to me and asked me if I would undertake some work for the blind in 1941, I couldn't very well refuse him.

Baum: He was blind himself?

Gallagher: Yes, he was blind. So I undertook to solicit some funds to help the blind with their organization, which was quite new at the time. They had decided, I think it was Henderson's idea, to found an organization based on the principles of the A.F. of L., for their own protection. That was started about 1923 but hadn't advanced very rapidly.

Henderson and his brother, who was also blind, worked very hard to build up this organization, which has since become very important. It has advanced the interests of the blind and secured benefits for them from the State through legislation
which is in advance of any other State in the union.

Baum: Did you do publicity for them?

Gallagher: No, except in some campaigns they had.

But I knew another blind man, a man who had recently gone blind, and he was quite desperate. He didn't know what he could do. I got him acquainted with Raymond Henderson, and when he found out how much could be done by a blind person, he joined their organization and became president of the Los Angeles branch of the California Council for the Blind. His name is James B. Garfield. He was also in the Federal Theater Project as an actor before he became blind.

These things all interlock with each other. The various people I had worked with in one case came back years later and helped me with another case, or vice versa.

So Jim Garfield got me to act as secretary for the Los Angeles County Club because they always have to have one sighted person to read minutes, take down minutes, keep books and such. But they do not accept membership for anybody who is not blind, except as an associate member.

The Blind Clubs are very interesting. They have done a great deal of work for their own people and always enter into political elections. They have their candidates that they endorse.
Douglas Robson

Baum: I believe you said that you live with your daughter in Los Angeles now. Is your husband dead?

Gallagher: Yes, my husband, Douglas Robson, died on September 3, 1948. The Bohemians, a club of artists to which he belonged, conducted his funeral services according to their ritual.

Baum: Can you tell me something about your husband?

Gallagher: My husband was born in Coatbridge, Scotland, near Glasgow, on March 13, 1888. He had very little formal education but he had fluency in language and in his adult years took every opportunity to improve his use of English. He had a wonderful memory and could recite reams of poetry or sing numerous songs at a moment's notice.

In 1919 he began a study of the life and times of the old Greek gladiator, Spartacus, and after years of research, wrote a play in blank verse called Spartacus. He made several revisions of the play and sent it to many producers. It received very favorable comment by several of the contemporary Shakespearean actors, but it has never been presented in its entirety on the stage. Separate acts have been shown, but the play is
stupendous and of greater magnitude than many of
the plays of Shakespeare.

Douglas was a companion to the rich or the
poor, the successful or the derelict, the gay or
the sad. He had a universal love which did not
include material things. He had the unselfishness
to give of his labors day or night to help someone
in trouble. He was unselfish to the degree that
he made no provision for himself.

Douglas was the poet laureate of labor. His
songs have been sung across the country and around
the world.

Baum:  You have certainly led an active public life.
Would you do it over again if you had a choice and
were starting again?

Gallagher:  I think I would. I don't think I could have
possibly escaped my destiny. It doesn't seem
like I would have deliberately prepared myself
for work like that, but I have no regrets.

I'd rather have done the work I did, with the
satisfactions I did receive, than to have made
fifty thousand dollars in money and put it in the
bank. In fact, it was a very broadening experience
to know people who were under the shadow of life
imprisonment or hanging when you knew yourself that
they were innocent. It gives one a feeling of
knowing something rather God-like, because you have met with something primeval, something that you must do something about because you just can't stand aside and let it go on. And you plunge in and try to do something to prevent that terrible disaster. And if enough people do that, the disaster is prevented. That's why I say that the only failure I feel I've had was in that Odell Waller case; all the others have eventually turned out with the proper kind of results, although it took a great deal of time in some of them.

* * * * * * * * *

typist: KW
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Willa Klug Baum

Grew up in Middle West and Southern California.

B.A., Whittier College, in American history and philosophy; teaching assistant in American history and constitution. Newspaper reporter.
M.A., Mills College, in American history and political science; teaching fellow in humanities. Graduate work, University of California at Berkeley, 1949-1954, in American and California history; teaching assistant in American history and recent United States history.

Adult school teacher, Oakland, in English and Americanization, 1948-1967; author of teaching materials for English, and summer session instructor in English for foreign students, Speech Department, University of California, Berkeley.

Interviewer and then department head of Regional Oral History Office, The Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, 1954 to present. Instructor, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley, seminar in oral history.

Active in developing the techniques of oral history through practice, participation in professional association meetings and training workshops, and writing and speaking on oral history. Author of Oral History for the Local Historical Society, American Association for State and Local History, fifth printing, 1977; Transcribing and Editing Oral History, American Association for State and Local History, 1977. Member, Oral History Association (council member, 1967-1969, 1977-1978; co-chairman, Colloquium, 1970); Western History Association; Conference of California Historical Societies; Society of American Archivists (committee on oral history); Society of California Archivists; International Association of Sound Archives, Oral History Society (United Kingdom).