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Mary Mooney:
A Story of Irish and African Diaspora Solidarity

Maurice J Casey

In September 1934, thousands gathered in San Francisco to pay their respects at the funeral of a working-class Irish woman, Mary Mooney, known to those who followed her cause as 'Mother Mooney.' Born in Ireland amidst a cataclysmic famine more than eight decades before, Mary Mooney's life had been fraught with difficulties. Yet it was also marked by extraordinary events, not least her elaborate funeral ceremony, held in the prestigious surroundings of the San Francisco Civic Auditorium. It was the kind of honour that few Irish immigrants of her generation could have ever expected to receive. Above Mary Mooney's open casket was a banner that spoke of her extraordinary life: "Mother Mooney, We Will Finish Your Fight."[1]

This is the story of Mary Mooney's "fight," the unlikely history of an Irish woman's journey from a childhood on Ireland's impoverished western seaboard to involvement in an international campaign on behalf of political prisoners. Her story moves through a pivotal and little-known moment in 1932, when Mary Mooney's campaign to have her son freed from a San Francisco prison became intertwined with the fate of the 'Scottsboro-Boys', a group of African Americans on Alabama's death row.

Less than two years before her death, Mary Mooney toured the US and Europe as the star attraction in a global campaign known as the Scottsboro-Mooney tour. Her tour itinerary included trade union halls, sports grounds and open squares, from the western coast United States to the crucible of the world revolution in Soviet Moscow. Mary Mooney, an octogenarian former paper-mill worker from rural Ireland without a formal education may seem an unlikely protagonist for a history of global anti-racist organising in the interwar world. Yet, by the time she stepped completed her tour of the US and Europe in 1932, Mary Mooney had come to symbolise a movement that could overcome the divides of racial prejudice.

A shared injustice?

The broader history of relations between Irish- and African American communities in the US is often perceived as a history of ambivalence or antipathy – usually with good reason. From the early 19th century onwards, intellectuals and campaigners discussed and denounced the anti-Black racism of Irish migrants in the US. It was precisely the Irish populations' suffering at the hands of imperialism and their often-impoverished conditions in emigration that baffled social reformers when it came to Irish attitudes towards the Black population in the US. Surely the Irish and Black working classes made for a natural coalition? Yet, from their moment of arrival in the US, the Irish were set apart from the Black population by merit of how they were racialised and legislated by the host state.[2] This division in law – and the decision made by many Irish Americans to benefit from the status quo rather than challenge it – shaped inter-community histories in profound ways.

Yet there were moments when the current of this story flowed in another direction. Histories of inter-communal romantic relations, shared cultures and mutual political inspiration provide examples of a remarkable number of common spaces and causes shared by the African and Irish diasporas.[3] The story of the Scottsboro-Mooney campaign, an ambitious and impactful alliance between African American and Irish American radicals, is rarely mentioned within Irish diaspora history or wider histories of Scottsboro.[4] As a depression-era tour organised by avowedly communist radicals that built a coalition of Irish and African American activists, the Scottsboro-Mooney tour does not slide easily into the usual historical grooves.

The Mooney Family

How did a working-class woman from rural Ireland, who never learned to read nor write, become a central figure in an Irish and African diaspora coalition? Although her final decades proved exceptional, Mary Mooney's early life was typical of her class, gender, nationality, and era. Born Mary Heffernan around 1848 in Belmullet, Co Mayo, young Mary's life would have almost certainly been one of deprivation and difficulty. Raised in an Irish speaking region on Ireland's western coast in the aftermath of a catastrophic famine, the Heffernan children were destined to seek opportunities far from home. Aged 17, Mary Heffernan emigrated to the United States, where she

eventually met and married Bernard Mooney, an Irish American mine worker from Indiana who became an organiser for the Knights of Labor, one of the first mass organisations of the white working class of the United States.[5] Three of the couple's five children survived beyond childhood; their eldest Tom, born in Chicago in 1882, along with Tom's siblings Anna and John. When the Mooney siblings were still children, their father Bernard was shot in the leg by a strike breaker. Although he survived this incident, Bernard succumbed to tuberculosis not long after Tom's tenth birthday.[6]

After her husband's death, Mary Mooney settled with her children in Holyoke, Massachusetts, where her sisters already resided.[7] Young Tom left school at 14 and found a job at the same paper mill where his mother worked. This was his first introduction to the world of labour and one that would ultimately set him on the road to becoming an international cause célèbre. In his late teens and early twenties, Tom Mooney became immersed within the socialist currents of the early 1900s US political scene. In 1908, aged 25, he joined Eugene V Debs' Socialist Party and travelled country-wide promoting Debs' bid for US President.[8] Tom met and married Rena Brink Hermann, a music teacher from Kansas, and together they settled in San Francisco.[9] The wider Mooney family – his mother Mary and his sibling John and Anna – eventually joined the young couple in the Californian city, living together in the Mission District.[10] After a life of toil and transience, this must have seemed like a form of retirement for Mary Mooney. But the Mooneys had relocated into the eye of a storm.

The Bomb

On 22 July 1916, a bomb exploded in San Francisco, killing 10 people and wounding 40 others. The bomb, contained within a suitcase, was placed alongside the marching route for the city's 'Preparedness Day' parade, a march advocating US involvement in the First World War. The city's militants – and particularly the militantly anti-war, such as anarchists and other labour radicals – came under suspicion. With much of the city still reeling from the attack, Martin Swanson, a private detective working for large companies in California, began zeroing in on his prime suspect: Thomas J. Mooney.

Before the July 1916 bombing, Tom Mooney had already been tried and acquitted on several occasions for alleged crimes involving dynamite. Specific charges included accusations of transporting explosives with the purpose of destroying

infrastructure belonging to the Pacific Gas and Electric Company.[11] Mooney's connections to people such as the anarchist Alexander Berkman only made him more suspicious to authorities. On 26 July, Tom and Rena's home was raided. They were arrested the next day. While Rena was eventually acquitted, Tom was sentenced to be hanged on the 24 February 1917. The execution was scheduled for the following May. The global fight to prove his innocence and save his life had begun. From the outset, Mary Mooney believed in her son's innocence and fought to prove it. Estolv Ward, a biographer of Tom, noted that Mary was so assured of her son's innocence that she purchased flowers for the family home before her son's sentence was announced to welcome him home.[12]

Was Tom Mooney responsible for the Preparedness Day bomb? Modern conclusions rest close to where popular opinion settled shortly after Mooney's conviction: he was not responsible for the bomb. One of the more remarkable pieces of evidence to emerge was an image captured by an amateur photographer, Wade Hamilton, which provided the Mooneys with a photographic alibi. One of Hamilton's photos captured Tom Mooney and his wife Rena around the time of the explosion, watching the parade from a rooftop more than a mile away from where they were alleged to have planted the bomb.[13] A 1918 pamphlet published by the Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee highlighted the image, drawing attention to the clockface in the photo's background with the precise timing of Hamilton's photograph.[14] By 1929, even Judge Franklin Griffin, the judge who originally sentenced Mooney, was publicly advocating for his release.[15] The real culprit behind the 1916 bombing has never been found.

For many with intimate knowledge of the US justice system's relationship with organised labour, Tom Mooney's innocence was axiomatic. A prominent early defender of Mooney was 'Mother Jones', the famous US labour leader born in Cork, Ireland, whose epithet 'Mother' would later be taken up by Mary Mooney herself. In the final chapter of her life, Mother Jones campaigned for a pardon for Tom Mooney, raising money for his defence and delivering petitions to California governors.[16]

Anarchist networks proved particularly rapid in responding to the Mooney case. In revolutionary Petrograd in April 1917 an anarchist group marched toward the US embassy demanding Tom Mooney's release. The protest appears to have been set in motion by the San Francisco-based Irish American anarchist Eleanor M Fitzgerald, who sent a message to a Russian anarchist comrade suggesting he should "raise a

clamor for Mooney's freedom."[17] Later retellings of this story in the US communist press and in Tom Mooney's own writings omitted to mention its anarchist organisers and even went so far as to count Lenin among the protestors.[18] By early 1918, an article in Max Eastman's paper *The Liberator* saw fit to claim that discussion of Mooney's case was "stock conversation in American working-class homes" and had "gone as far as the trenches of the European armies."[19] The author even asserted that there is "hardly a Russian village where the name of 'Tom Muni' has not been heard."[20] Although surely exaggerations, these statements reflected the real and immediate internationalisation of the Mooney case. Over the next decade, his case became emblematic of the struggle for justice under capitalism.

Following the sentencing, the Mooney family became part of a campaigning network and the heart of a movement that ebbed and flowed over the decades. By the onset of the Great Depression, Tom remained imprisoned. His campaign was already in the doldrums and the economic downturn brought with it financial difficulties for all. Mary Gallagher, an Irish American activist who became secretary of Tom Mooney's defence committee in 1928, remembered that by the time she started working for Mooney his case "had been dormant for about seven years."[21] It took an alliance with the International Labour Defence (ILD), a Communist Party-aligned legal defence organisation, to reinvigorate the Mooney movement. The renewed vibrancy of the campaign in the 1930s was rooted in an alliance with those intent on saving the Scottsboro Boys from execution.

The Scottsboro Boys

In March 1931, nine young African Americans were pulled from a Southern Railroad freight train 20 miles outside of Scottsboro, Alabama, and arrested. The nine – Haywood Patterson, Andy and Roy Wright, Eugene Williams, Charlie Weems, Clarence Norris, Olen Montgomery, Willie Roberson and Ozie Powell – were travelling in search of work amid the dismal economic prospects of the depression. All were brought to Scottsboro jail, where they were charged with the rape of two white women who had been travelling on the same train. As news of the accusation spread, a lynch mob gathered outside the jail and the National Guard was called in to defend the building. Injustice was soon served with four trials in four days in April 1931 resulting in all-white juries finding the defendants guilty of the rape accusations. Eight of the

accused – who would come to be known as the 'Scottsboro Boys' – were sentenced to death. The case of the youngest of the accused, thirteen-year-old Roy Wright, was deemed a mistrial.[22] Just as in Mooney's case, the sentence sparked a global movement.[23] It would take eight decades for the Alabama parole board to finally grant (posthumous) pardons to the final three Scottsboro boys, who did not live to see their exoneration.[24]

Soon after the arrests outside Scottsboro, an organisation that would prove pivotal to the campaign to free the Scottsboro Boys entered the fray. The Communist Party-aligned ILD was the American section of the Communist International's political prisoner defence organisation International Red Aid.[25] The May edition of *Labor Defender*, journal of the ILD, carried an article by leading Black communist and lawyer William Patterson on the Scottsboro case. Patterson wrote that the ILD "has already sent two lawyers to the South to represent the boys."[26] ILD support was profoundly impactful. As Clarence Norris, one of the 'Scottsboro boys', later remembered: "'Propaganda!' I didn't know the word. But I believe the spotlight the 'reds' put on Alabama saved all our lives. The ILD was working everywhere on all levels."[27]

The ILD became a vital conduit linking the Mooney and Scottsboro campaigns together. A shared struggle between Irish Americans, white political prisoners and Black Americans facing a racist justice system was not something that Tom Mooney himself imagined nor emphasised as part of his campaign prior to Scottsboro. The aforementioned radical lawyer William Patterson, who would later accompany Mary Mooney to the 1932 Scottsboro Supreme Court ruling, recalled in his autobiography that although "the attack on Mooney was an attack on the trade unions and on all oppressed people, [Tom Mooney] did not associate his persecution with the injustices perpetrated on Black people."[28] Ward notes that in accepting ILD support for his own campaign, Tom Mooney conceded his previously "ironclad position" that his case should not be "intermingled with any other cause."[29] The political imagination required to initiate the Scottsboro-Mooney coalition belonged to the radical legal minds guiding the ILD. Once the link was created, however, many of those prominent within the Mooney movement, and Mary Mooney in particular, became steadfast in their articulation of a common cause with the Scottsboro boys.

The Tour

In April 1932, Tom Mooney sent a letter from San Quentin prison to leading African American intellectual W.E.B. Du Bois. In the letter, Mooney recalled a 1918 article about a lynching which Mooney had read “in my condemned cell awaiting execution.”[30] Mooney wanted Du Bois to know that “all my adult life, I have been keenly, warmly and sympathetically interested in the problems that confront your race and that I hate the hundreds of wrongs they have suffered with all of my being.”[31] The reason for the timing of Mooney’s missive to Du Bois is easy to discern. As Tom Mooney wrote from his San Quentin cell, his mother Mary was already on a tour that would take her across the US and Europe calling for the release of her son and the Scottsboro boys. For several months in 1932, thousands of people gathered in squares and meeting halls across the US and Europe to hear a woman from rural Ireland talk about her son.

Mary Mooney’s journey began with an appearance at the New York Coliseum on 24 February 1932. Declared “International Scottsboro-Mooney Day” by the ILD, the date marked the 15th anniversary of Tom Mooney’s sentencing.[32] One reporter described an audience of 10,000 people, who started cheering loudly when “‘Mother’ Mooney” arrived on stage.[33] B. D. Amis, an African American labour organiser and secretary of the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, joined her on the platform to assist her in reading out her speech.[34] Mary Alice Montgomery, the six year old sister of Scottsboro defendant Olen Montgomery also stood on stage.[35] The Communist Party newspaper the *Daily Worker* described Mary Mooney as “deeply moved” by the meeting and quoted her as stating with “deep emotion”: “I know how the mothers of the Scottsboro boys feel… And I want the fight for my boy Tom, to be a fight for the Scottsboro boys, too.”[36] As the tour crossed the US, the accompanying speakers joining Mary Mooney sometimes changed, but the demand remained the same: freedom for Tom Mooney, the Scottsboro boys and all political prisoners.[37]

Articulating the aims of the tour, the International Red Aid, the ILD’s Comintern parent organisation, encouraged its world sections to explicitly link the Mooney and Scottsboro campaign. “The traditions and prestige of Mooney’s fight for liberty tied up with the Scottsboro case are of incalculable value in breaking the walls of racial prejudice,” the International Red Aid noted.[38] An anticommunist journal of the Ohio Left saw a more cynical rationale. Describing the “pathetic sight” of Mary Mooney, the paper argued that the communists were using the “tragedy of her son’s life to sell the membership of the Communist Party.”[39] The tour organisers knew, of course, that in foregrounding mothers they had struck on a “universal motif,” with one party leader

noting that mothers were “a weapon” to be utilized in building “this mass movement.”[40] Regardless of the motives at play, there is no evidence to suggest Mary Mooney felt compelled to undertake the tour against her will. Indeed, her dedication to the tour is evident. Despite her enthusiasm for taking to the stage in defence of her son, the tour took its toll on Mary Mooney. Several months into her tour, while visiting Chicago, Mary Mooney became severely weak and lost much of her eyesight. Nonetheless, she recovered and was ready to sail for the European leg of the tour in October 1932.

But before she set sail for Europe, Mary Mooney was scheduled to visit the US Supreme Court. The Afro-Caribbean radical Cyril Briggs reported from the Supreme Court where an audience awaited the court’s latest ruling on the sentences delivered to the Scottsboro Boys. “The solidarity of the white workers of the whole world with the persecuted Negro masses was dramatically demonstrated,” Briggs reported, when “Mother Mooney, victim of another notorious frame-up by the American ruling-class,” entered the court room.[41]

The journalist Dorothy Parker was among those on board the ship that carried Mary Mooney and her ILD entourage to Europe in late 1932. Parker witnessed Mooney delivering a short speech to ILD passengers who gathered regularly in a dining hall for political meetings. According to Parker’s account, Mary Mooney spoke in “pure Synge,” describing how “they’ve had my boy in the dungeon for something he didn’t do.”[42] The international tour took Mary Mooney through Germany, Russia, the Netherlands, France and England. Moscow, capital of the world revolution, was designated with a special place on the itinerary. Yet 84-year-old Mary Mooney, impacted by the Moscow winter, was seemingly too weak to undertake much public speaking. Mary Leder, daughter of US political migrants in Soviet Russia, recalled Mary Mooney’s visit in her memoir. “A tentative understanding existed Stalin would see Mother Mooney,” Leder noted. However, the arrangements did not come to fruition.[43] “She was a frail old woman,” Leder remembered, “rather bewildered, who seldom left her hotel.”[44]

As Mary Mooney struggled to see through the tour despite ill-health and a hectic itinerary, the symbolism of the tour itself fostered moments of solidarity. In May 1932 in Los Angeles, *Scottsboro, Limited,* an agit-prop play written by the radical Harlem Renaissance playwright Langston Hughes was performed.[45] It was accompanied by a participatory poem that was designed to fill the auditorium with chants calling for Tom Mooney’s release.[46] In Chicago in March 1932, a Free Mooney-Scottsboro cross-

city running match was organised. Reporting on the sporting events, organised by the Labor Sports Union, the *Chicago Defender* reported that there would be a national "counter Olympics" held in the city in 1933 to protest against "unfair treatment of Black and working class athletes."[47] Tom Mooney was the honorary chairman.[48] In August 1932, four men and two women invaded the track at the closing ceremony of the Los Angeles Olympics carrying "Free Tom Mooney" signs.[49] The spirit of cooperation across the US racial divide even made it to the dancefloor. In early 1933, an Irish American judge in Baltimore sought to have the city's "Tom Mooney Hall" condemned. An ILD spokesperson stated in response that it was 'not until the interracial dances were started this winter' that the police began interfering.[50]

The ties between Mary Mooney and the Scottsboro mothers are evident in a letter from Mary Mooney to Viola Montgomery that was printed in the June 1932 issue of the *Labor Defender.* "With millions of workers us behind us, black and white and all other kinds, ready to fight for my boy and all other victims of the bosses, we will win this fight yet," declared Mary Mooney in the letter's closing lines.[51] Of course, this is not an unmediated source: Mary Mooney was described as illiterate and so the letter was likely dictated. Yet there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of the message. Mary Mooney's belief in her son's innocence and the injustice of what had happened to the sons of the Scottsboro mothers is revealed through the energy she poured into the campaign, even as an older person suffering from health issues. Mary Mooney was a *symbol* of solidarity across the American racial divide rather than a central organiser or original theoretician, but her role was no less important for this fact.

After the tour that spanned across 1932, Mary Mooney continued to join Scottsboro mothers such as Ada Wright and Viola Montgomery on a shared platform. One of the final such occasions took place at the New York City May Day parade in 1934. The parade was led by five of the Scottsboro mothers. Mary Mooney walked with them.[52] It was one of her final public appearances before her death later that summer.

Mary Mooney did not live to see the event that she anticipated: her son's release. She died in September 1934, after a summer of widescale labour action in her adopted home of San Francisco. San Quentin authorities did not allow Tom Mooney to attend the ceremony. *Republican Congress*, a leftist periodical in Ireland, printed Tom Mooney's funeral tribute to his mother: "A wonderful place awaits you in working class history," he wrote, "and nothing can rob you of that."[53] Tom was finally

released in 1939. He planted a rose bush on his mother's grave on the morning following his release.[54] Tom Mooney died in early 1942, his health undermined by years of incarceration.

Exoneration for the crime he did not commit was delayed for Tom Mooney. Yet justice for the Scottsboro boys proved even more elusive. In 2013, the last three Scottsboro boys who had not lived to experience their exoneration were finally pardoned by the Alabama state parole board. The Scottsboro case remains alive in the popular imagination; the questions the story foregrounds about the white supremacist logic underpinning the workings of power in the US retain a burning urgency. Mooney's story, in contrast, is less well known. Perhaps his story is less relevant to our modern struggles than that of Scottsboro. The 1932 Scottsboro-Mooney campaign, however, deserves to be remembered for the unprecedented coalition it sought to bring into existence. The Mooney case died with Tom Mooney. Scottsboro lived on through its enduring political relevance.

One lasting conversation that emerged during the tour revolves around the sincerity of the ILD in championing the case. Was the Communist International genuinely interested in saving the lives of the condemned or was the case a useful stick with which to beat their political opposition? The politics of solidarity are always worth analysing critically. Yet, even if we were to accept that communist involvement was dictated by an attempt to undermine impressions of the US justice system and elevate the image of a progressive Soviet Union rather than a politics of racial justice with real integrity, we would still need to acknowledge the tangible anti-racist legacies of this moment.

The Scottsboro-Mooney movement was profoundly creative; a moment of political imagination and intercommunal solidarity, with mothers at the forefront of its campaign. In consciously aligning a white Irish American man's destiny with the fate of the Scottsboro accused, the movement sought to upend assumptions regarding innate divides within working-class USA. African Americans activists did not lack evidence to suggest that Irish communities regarded them with suspicion at best and violent hatred at worst. Yet such evidence did not prevent this coalition coming into being nor present an insurmountable obstacle to its many tangible successes. In following Mary Mooney's example, we can hold strong to a simple idea her life defiantly symbolised: a commonly experienced injustice can unite communities across the divisions constructed by the powerful to keep those same communities apart.

[1] *Daily Worker,* 12 September 1934.
[2] Peter D. O'Neill, *Famine Irish and the American Racial State* (New York: Routledge, 2017), esp. 5. O'Neill's analysis is among the best works exploring Irish US, race and 'whiteness' in historical context. Besides Noel Ignatiev's influential *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 2009 [1995]), other useful contributions to the discussion include: Lauren Onkey, *Blackness and Transatlantic Irish Identity: Celtic Soul Brothers* (London: Routledge, 2010) and Cian T McMahon, *The Global Dimensions of Irish Identity: Race, Nation and the Popular Press, 1840-1880* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015).
[3] The goal of the African American Irish Diaspora Network, founded in 2020, is to foster greater awareness of these histories. Examples of studies of shared histories include: Bruce Nelson, *Irish Nationalists and the Making of the Irish Race* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012); Virginia Ferris, "'Inside of the Family Circle': Irish and African American Interracial Marriage in New York City's Eighth Ward, 1870," *American Journal of Irish Studies* 9 (2012): 151-177; and, Brian Dooley, *Black and Green: The Fight for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland & Black America* (London: Pluto Press, 1998).
[4] As an exception, see Nadja Klopprogge's notes on Mary Mooney in an article on the Scottsboro mothers: Nadja Klopprogge, "'The South Had to Reap what She Sowed'—Scottsboro and the Critique of Motherhood," *Amerikastudien/American Studies* 66, no. 4 (2021): 597-8.
[5] Curt Gentry, *Frame-up: The Incredible Case of Tom Mooney and Warren Billings* (New York: Norton, 1967), 34. For Mary Mooney's age at emigration, see: *Irish Independent,* 9 December 1932.
[6] Gentry, *Frame-up*, 34.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid, 38.
[9] Gentry, *Frame-up*, 40.
[10] Estolv E. Ward, *The Gentle Dynamiter: A Biography of Tom Mooney* (Palo Alto: Ramparts Press, 1983), 170.
[11] Rebecca Roiphe, "Lawyering at the extremes: The Representation of Tom Mooney, 1916-1939," *Fordham Law Review* 77, no. 4 (2009): 1731.
[12] Ward, *Gentle Dynamiter*, 170.
[13] Gentry, *Frame-up*, 136.
[14] Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, *Justice Raped in California: Story of So-Called Bomb Trials in San Francisco* (San Francisco, 1918), 24-25.
[15] Tom Mooney Molders Defense Committee, *"Pardon Tom Mooney He is Innocent,"* (San Francisco, 1929).
[16] Edward M. Steel, ed., *The Correspondence of Mother Jones* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), xxxiv.
[17] Ward, *Gentle Dynamiter*, 29.
[18] 'A Letter to Tom Mooney', *Soviet Russia Today* 3, no. 12, 18.
[19] 'The Peril of Tom Mooney', *The Liberator* 1, no. 1, 29.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Interview with Mary Gallagher, oral history transcript, interviewer: Willa K Baum, Bancroft Library, University of California, BANC MSS C-D 4011, 87. Available online: https://digitalassets.lib.berkeley.edu/roho/ucb/text/gallagher_mary.pdf (accessed 17 August 2022).
[22] My summary of the events preceding the Scottsboro movement is indebted to James Acker's account, see: James R. Acker, *Scottsboro and Its Legacy: The Cases that Challenged American Legal and Social Justice* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2007), esp. 1-9.
[23] For a study of the movement, particularly in its British context, see Susan D. Pennybacker, *From Scottsboro to Munich: Race and Political Culture in 1930s Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).
[24] "Alabama Pardons 3 'Scottsboro Boys' After 80 Years," *New York Times*, 21 November 2013, https://www.nytimes.com/2013/11/22/us/with-last-3-pardons-alabama-hopes-to-put-infamous-scottsboro-boys-case-to-rest.html (accessed 24 August 2022).
[25] Sometimes referred to as MOPR, after its Russian title *Mezhdunarodnaia Organazatsia Pomoshi bortsam Revolutsii*.
[26] William L Patterson, "Judge Lynch Goes to Court," *Labor Defender*, May 1931, 99.
[27] Clarence Norris and Sybil D. Washington, *The Last of the Scottsboro Boys* (New York: Putnam, 1979), 60.

[28] William L. Patterson, *The Man who Cried Genocide: An Autobiography* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), 80.
[29] Ward, *Gentle Dynamiter*, 177.
[30] Tom Mooney to W.E.B. DuBois, 5 April 1932, University of Massachusetts Amherst Special Collections, W. E. B. Du Bois Papers, Box 191, Folder 19.
[31] Ibid.
[32] *Waterbury Evening Democrat*, 22 February 1932.
[33] *Liverpool Echo,* 27 April 1932.
[34] Ibid.
[35] *Atlanta World,* 4 March 1932.
[36] *Daily Worker,* 25 February 1932.
[37] For an account of the Scottsboro mothers touring journeys focusing on Ada Wright, see: James A Miller, Susan D Pennybacker and Eve Rosenhaft, "Mother Ada Wright and the International Campaign to Free the Scottsboro Boys, 1931-1934," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 2 (2001): 387-403.
[38] *Daily Worker,* 13 August 1932.
[39] Dorothy Parker, quoted in Ward, *Gentle Dynamiter,* 183.
[40] Miller, Pennybacker and Rosenhaft, "Mother Ada Wright and the International Campaign," 413.
[41] Cyril Briggs, "Whose Supreme Court?", *Labor Defender* 8 no. 11 (November 1932), 206.
[42] Ibid, 184.
[43] Mary M. Leder, *My Life in Stalinist Russia: An American Woman Looks Back,* ed. Laurie Bernstein (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 69.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Susan Duffy, *The Political Plays of Langston Hughes* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000), 31.
[46] Ibid.
[47] *Chicago Defender,* 6 March 1932.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Daily Worker, 22 April 1933; William J Baker, "Muscular Marxism and the Counter-Olympics," in S. W. Pope, ed., *The New American Sport History: Recent Approaches and Perspectives* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 293.
[50] *Afro-American* (Baltimore), 4 February 1933.
[51] "Voices from Prison," *Labor Defender,* June 1932, 116.
[52] *Chicago Defender,* 12 May 1934.
[53] *Republican Congress,* 17 November 1934.
[54] Gentry, *Frame-up*, 431.