

# THE CENTURY MAGAZINE.

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## THE CHICAGO ANARCHISTS OF 1886: THE CRIME, THE TRIAL, AND THE PUNISHMENT.

BY THE JUDGE WHO PRESIDED AT THE TRIAL.

*"And the law is common sense."*



DRAWN BY A. CASTAIGNE.

The Monument to the Martyred Police.

ON the morning of Friday, the twentieth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-six, twelve men, ranging in age from fifty-three years downward to early manhood, walked two by two from the Revere House, a hotel in

the city of Chicago, to the building in which the criminal court of Cook County held its sessions. The hotel is on the southeast corner of Clark and Michigan streets, and the courthouse was (it has been torn down to be replaced by a better) on the north side of Michigan street, a little east of the hotel. The men were guarded from all communication with any person by a bailiff of that court at each end of the short procession which their ranks composed.

The case of the anarchists was on trial, and these — Frank S. Osborne, James H. Cole, Charles B. Todd, Alanson H. Reed, James H. Brayton, Theodore E. Denker, George W. Adams, Charles H. Ludwig, John B. Greiner, Andrew Hamilton, Harry S. Sandford, and Scott G. Randall — were the jurors selected and sworn to try the issue between the people of the State of Illinois and August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg, and Oscar W. Neebe, indicted for the murder of Mathias J. Degan, on the fourth day of May, 1886, in Chicago. Upon that trial the State was represented by Julius S. Grinnell, State's Attorney, Francis W. Walker and Edmund Furthman, Assistant State's Attorneys, and George C. Ingham of counsel; the accused were attended by William P. Black, William A. Foster, Sigmund Zeisler, and Moses Salomon as counsel; and I, as judge, presided.

The short journey that these jurors were then

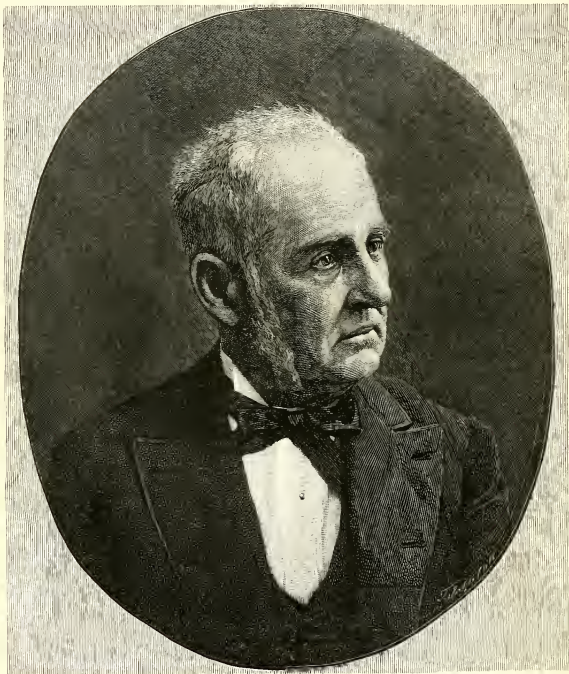
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making was the last one of the many they made over the same route; every day, except Sundays, from the fourteenth day of July preceding, they had, several times each day, under like restraint by the watchfulness of bailiffs, paced to and fro between the hotel and the court-house; and some of them had done so from the twenty-first day of the month before, on which day the trial began. Twenty-one days passed away in selecting the jury; 981 men were called to the chairs where the jury sat, and were sworn and questioned, before the dozen who tried the case were accepted. At

left, he avoided all recognition of any acquaintance who might be in the multitude that filled the street. The time for the court to convene was nearly an hour off; yet Michigan street was thronged, so that vehicles went around another way, and the people pressed upon one another to make a path for the jury.

Upon those jurors, and the case pending before them, the attention of the civilized world had been fixed for weeks, and now that world awaited their verdict with painful anxiety.

We who participated in the trial did not know until it was ended with what interest we were



HON. JOSEPH E. GARY.

ENGRAVED BY T. JOHNSON.

all times the dozen chairs were kept full, and when a man went into one of them he became a close prisoner, not to be released until he was rejected as unfit to serve on the jury; or, if he became one of the chosen twelve, not until he and his fellows gave the final verdict.

On all former occasions when the jurors were on the street, they had conversed with one another, had looked about them, at the people, at the buildings, at the trifling incidents of street life. On this morning each man walked in silence; turning his eyes neither to the right nor

watched by all Christendom. The jurors had no access, either by newspapers or conversation, to any source of information, being at all times either in court, in a room set apart for them in the court-house, in a suite of rooms at the hotel, or in a body taking exercise on the streets; and always, when not in court, guarded by bailiffs. The counsel engaged in the case were fully occupied, when out of court, preparing for the work of the next session. I read the papers very little, and declined all conversation upon the subject that occupied my busi-

ness hours. But we did know that the immense court-room—much too large for the easy and orderly conduct of an exciting trial—was constantly crowded. The room was a hundred feet long, and the width and height were proportioned to the length. Across each end extended a gallery. These galleries, with the exception of one afternoon when the expediency of the usual rule was shown by the disorder that broke out in one of them, were kept closed and empty. At the beginning of each session of the court I announced that no person would be permitted to stand in the court-room, except in the way of duty; that no one could lounge on railings, or on the arms of seats, but that every spectator must be down in a seat, or leave the room; and this rule was strictly enforced. Also, that there must be no talking, whispering, or laughing, and that any token of approval or censure of any of the proceedings would cause the immediate expulsion of the offender from the room. I had been informed that upon one noted trial in that room there had been great disorder, and I determined to prevent a repetition of that disgrace.

With one considerable and one very slight exception, there was no audible expression of feeling by any of the audience throughout the trial. Reluctantly, when Mr. Grinnell was about to begin his closing argument to the jury, at the solicitation, without his knowledge, of many of the bailiffs in attendance, and upon their assurances that they could prevent all disorder, I permitted the galleries to be opened. As soon as people began to enter them, I received a note from Mrs. Black, wife of the leading counsel for the defense,—she being constantly in attendance,—stating that many persons had desired to hear his speech, and had been prevented, as they could not get into the court-room, and asking if I thought it was fair to open the galleries for an audience that had been excluded when her husband spoke. I recognized the justness of her complaint, and, calling Mr. Black to the bench, showed him the note of his wife, and offered to clear the galleries and to shut them up again, if he preferred that it should be done. He thought it not worth while, but the event showed how unwise it was to open them. During his speech Mr. Grinnell made some impassioned exclamation (I do not recall the words) to the effect that nobody feared anarchists, at which a



ENGRAVED BY R. G. TIETZE.

JULIUS S. GRINNELL.

storm of applause broke out in the east gallery. A futile attempt was made to discover who began it, and after some delay Mr. Grinnell proceeded without further interruption. The other exception, earlier, was in this wise. Doing what Lord Coleridge has since been severely criticized by the English papers for doing in the famous Baccarat trial, I permitted the bench to be filled with spectators, mostly ladies. My own wife was usually there. It was the best place for hearing the speeches to the jury, who sat in a double row immediately below the bench. I use the word "bench" technically for the space occupied by a large desk with many chairs behind it. When Mr. Foster addressed the jury for the defense, his wife was there. The lady forgot herself, in her admiration for the really splendid effort her husband was making, and very slightly, by a little touch of her palms, showed her pardonable pride in her husband; a quick gesture and a warning look from me recalled her to the necessities of the place.

But I must go back to the morning of that Friday with which I began.

The evidence closed on Tuesday, the tenth day of August. The argument to the jury began the next morning, and continued until





Frank S. Osborne



James H. Cole



Charles B. Todd



Alanson H. Reed



James H. Broxton



Theodore E. Deuker



George W. Alant



Charles H. Ludwig



John B. Greiner



Andrew Hamilton



Harry S. Sanford



Scott G. Randall

ENGRAVED BY T. A. BUTLER.

THE JURY.

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BELONGING TO INSPECTOR SCHAACK.

Thursday of the following week, the jury being addressed by Messrs. Grinnell, Walker, and Ingham for the State, and Messrs. Black, Foster, and Zeisler for the defense. Immediately after the midday recess of the court on Thursday, the charge of the court to the jurors (or, as called in Illinois, the "instructions") was read, and about four o'clock the jurors retired to the room in the court-house set apart for their deliberations. It was generally known that they would not be allowed to leave that room until they had agreed upon a verdict, or should, for some cause which would make a verdict impossible, be discharged by the court.

When, therefore, the morning papers of Friday announced that the jury had returned to the hotel at half-past seven o'clock of the evening before, the reading public jumped to the conclusion that a verdict had been agreed upon, and thousands flocked toward the court-house. But they could only see the jury pass. Very few persons, other than representatives of the press, and the relatives or especial friends of the defendants, were admitted to the court-room, or even into the court-house, by the officers on guard. Mingled with these relatives and friends were numerous policemen, who watched their every motion. This was probably an unnecessary precaution, but everybody felt that there was a possibility of some desperate deed being attempted. The court convened at the usual hour, ten o'clock. The defendants filled the chairs which they had occupied for nearly nine weeks. The jurors, led and followed as ever by bailiffs, filed into the court-room, and each took his accustomed seat. The roll was called, and each juror answered to his name. In Illinois the measure of punishment on a verdict of guilty of murder, whether it shall be death, or imprisonment in the penitentiary for life, or some term not less than fourteen years, is fixed by the jury. The awe upon each juror's face, the almost colorless solemnity, unlike the gravity betokening wisdom in which judicial dignity masks itself, had already told to each observer that the verdict was guilty. But what was the penalty? The State's Attorney had said, in closing his speech to the jury, that he did not think that Neebe ought to die. It could hardly be expected that the jury would award a heavier punishment than the representative of the State thought adequate. But if the jury were lenient to Neebe, would they be severe to the others? I asked the jury if they had agreed upon a verdict. Their foreman, Mr. Osborne, replied, "We have," and handed to the clerk two papers, from which he read:

"We, the jury, find the defendants August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, and Louis Lingg guilty of murder in

manner and form as charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at death. We find the defendant Oscar W. Neebe guilty of murder in manner and form as charged in the indictment, and fix the penalty at imprisonment in the penitentiary for fifteen years."

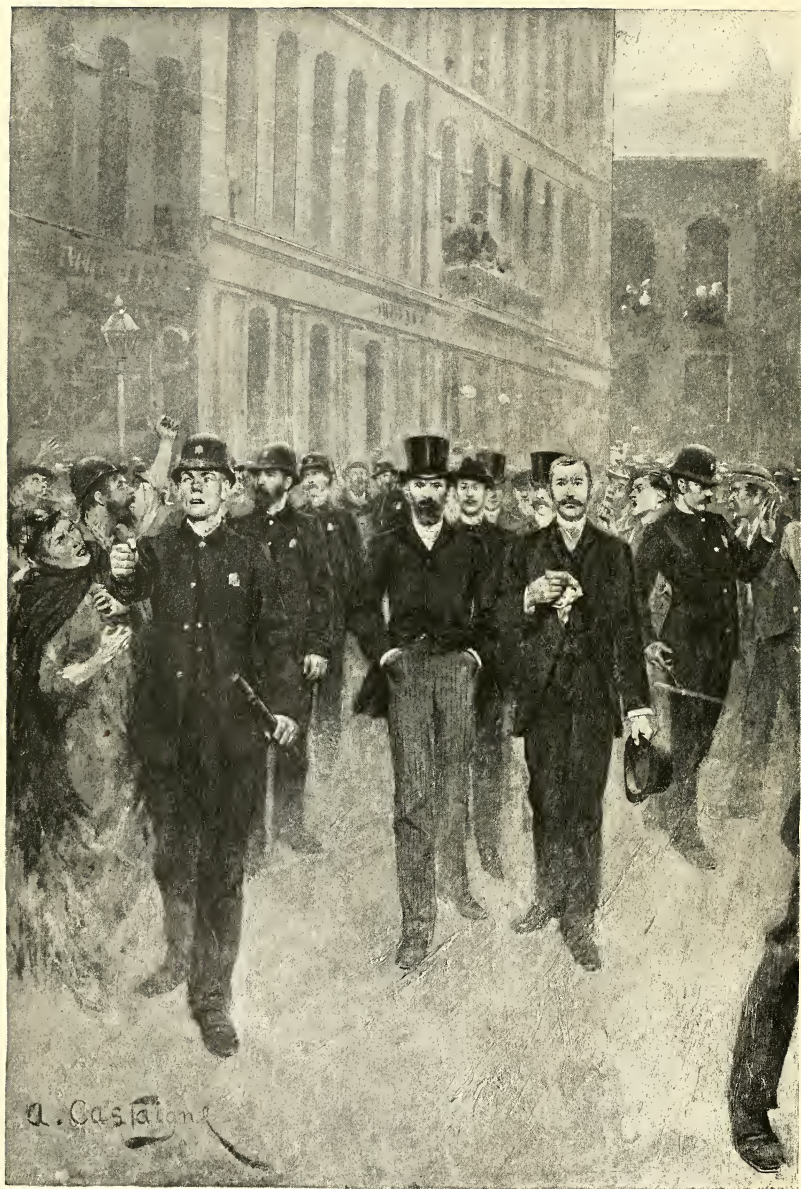
As the sound of the voice of the clerk died away in the court-room, a tall and graceful woman of a pure pink-and-white complexion, the young wife of Schwab and sister of Rudolph Schnaubelt (of whom more will be said hereafter), fell screaming into the arms of the women around her.

The counsel for the defendants demanded that the jury be polled. The clerk called them separately by name; as called, each stood up, and to the question, "Was this, and is this now, your verdict?" each replied in the affirmative.

That verdict was received by the friends of social order, wherever lightning could carry it, with a roar of almost universal approval. And yet there is ground for the charge made by those who deny that justice was done to Spies and his companions,—and who claim them as martyrs for free speech,—that that approval was based upon no intelligent understanding of the conduct of the convicted anarchists,—no definite knowledge of what acts, if any, they had done worthy of death,—but was the outcome of fear that anarchy and anarchists threatened the foundations of society; and that from this fear sprung approval of anything which tended to the extirpation of anarchists.

The immense volume of the evidence; the demands which business and industry made upon the time of those who might have followed it through the papers that attempted to report the trial; the omission from even those reports of the most conclusive kind of evidence as to the plans and purposes of the anarchists, being their own publications, voluminous and reiterated; the impossibility of spreading the evidence at large before the world—all make that approval of the conviction of the anarchists of the specific crime of the murder of Mathias J. Degan of no more value as a sanction of the verdict than is the acquiescence of the public in any verdict of guilty a sanction of it. The names of the indicted were not known to the great mass; they might remember Spies or Parsons, but very few persons could go farther in the roll. Poor Degan nobody thought of. At large it was only known that there had been a terrible slaughter at night, in Chicago, by a bomb thrown into the ranks of policemen on duty under command, and that the throwing of that bomb was the result, or believed to be the result, of the ravings of the anarchists. For this the friends of order everywhere cried out for





DRAWN BY A. CASTAGNE.

THE LAST DAY OF THE TRIAL. (THE JURY GOING TO THE COURT-HOUSE.)

vengeance,—punishment for the past as security for the future.

Mixed with all of the approval of my own part in the conviction of the anarchists that has come to my eyes and ears, the amount of which is beyond my summing up, there has been an undertone, like a minor strain in music, that the anarchists deserved their fate; that society has the right to enforce the first law of nature—self-preservation; and therefore if I had a little strained the law, or administered it with great rigor against them, I was to be commended for my courage in so doing. I protest against any such commendation, and deny utterly that I have done anything that should subject me to it. No man, no body of men, has or have any right to inflict punishment only because it is deserved. My neighbor maltreats his wife; I may not horsewhip him for that, though public opinion might approve the act if done by her father or brother. A man flees to Illinois to escape the consequences of crime committed elsewhere; unless extradited under some law, he has the right to dwell in Illinois in peace, if he break no law there.

I do agree that society has the right to preserve itself—the right of self-defense. I will not deny, I will readily admit, that there may be exigencies which will justify the exercise of that right by communities, by neighborhoods, even by individuals, in cases and under circumstances for which the law has made no provision. Suppose a man about to bring into a village infected clothing for sale, the mere unpacking of which may spread disease. If he breaks no law in so doing, no court has the right to sit in judgment upon him; but that the villagers might drive him away with such force as might be necessary, and stand justified morally, if not legally, hardly any one will deny. But no judicial act can be justified unless performed in pursuance of some preëxisting law. The justification of the State, or of the people of the State, for such laws as define, and prescribe the punishment of, crime, is self-defense; to preserve order in the State. The justification of the court, the jury, and the sheriff who administer and execute the law, is that they are obeying the law. If, therefore, I have strained the law,—gone beyond its intent and meaning,—I am not to be commended, but blamed for so doing. The end, however desirable its attainment, excuses no irregular means in the administration of justice.

The motive, then, or at least the principal motive, of this paper is *to demonstrate to my own profession, and to make plain to all fair-minded, intelligent people, that the verdict of the jury in the case of the anarchists was right; that the anarchists were guilty of murder; that they were not the victims of prejudice, nor mar-*

*tyrs for free speech, but in morals, as well as in law, were guilty of murder.*

I concede that there was prejudice against them; under the circumstances that was inevitable. If any class of evil-doers, by newspapers, pamphlets, speeches, processions, flags and banners, and whatever other means ingenuity can suggest, may make public and inform everybody what they intend to do, and then, when they have done it, screen themselves from punishment on the plea that there is prejudice against them, then the only hindrance to their success—leaving out of view a possible prosecution for conspiracy before the criminal act is done—would be the danger to themselves while engaged in the commission of the crime. Then anarchists might kill and go free. But that injustice was done to them, because of that prejudice, is not true. I shall affect no judicial indifference, but shall write as a citizen of the State of Illinois, repelling the imputation that injustice was done in the administration and execution of her laws.

Another motive of this paper is *to show to the laboring people, of whom the anarchists claimed to be the especial friends, that that claim was a sham and pretense, adopted only as a means to bring manual laborers into their own ranks; and that the counsel and advice of the anarchists, if followed by the working-men, would expose them to the danger of becoming, in law, murderers.* I shall show that the real passions at the bottom of the hearts of the anarchists were envy and hatred of all people whose condition in life was better than their own, who were more prosperous than themselves.

There seems to be prevailing, hardly a theory, but a vague, unexpressed feeling or sentiment which no demagogue dares run counter to, that in all disputes between employers and employees, regardless of the “why and wherefore,”—especially if the latter class are very numerous,—they, if not justifiable, are excusable in taking control of the property of the employers, so far at least as may be necessary to prevent the aid of other employees in making such property of use or profit; that to that end force may be used, and that if, in the exercise of force (if it be only such as the moment may show to be necessary to make the prevention effectual), the employees kill anybody,—much more if the slain had been called in by the employers to keep the control of their property from the employees, and to resist their anticipated attacks,—such killing is, on the whole, rather a useful lesson to somebody, and should be a warning for the future. It was this feeling or sentiment which the anarchists formulated into a principle, and urged all wage-workers to adopt and enforce in practice, calculating, as they declared (as will be shown later), that the disturbances to



follow tended to the destruction of all government, the dissolution of all bonds by which society is held together, and the introduction of that condition, or chaos and absence of all condition, which they called anarchy.

It may be that showing this sham and pretense of the anarchists will have no practical effect. I have before, as will be seen toward the close of this paper, expressed the faintness of my hope of producing any effect by any warning that I could utter; I have as little hope now of any that I can write.

Brought up myself to manual labor, it never ceases to seem strange to me that there are not virtue and strength enough vested anywhere to protect from mob violence and assault a humble, peaceable citizen, obedient to all law and blameless in his life, in his efforts to earn for himself and those dependent upon him a livelihood by honest industry; or if he be wronged through a loophole in that protection, to avenge his wrongs. I spent the summer of 1840 at a carpenter's bench by day and singing campaign songs by night, though not yet a voter, and I think now that I would as readily have fought for the right to do the one as the other. Hopeless as it may be to write the warning, yet it should be made so clear that nobody could be ignorant that the law is, that if men enter into a combination which contemplates, for the success of its purpose, the exercise of unlawful force against the property or the persons of other men, and killing is done by any of the men in the combination, in pursuance of the plan upon which, and in effecting the purpose for which, the combination was formed, then murder by the hand of one is murder by all. This is the law, though the combination was entered into not with the intention of killing anybody, but only to assault and beat, or mob, or destroy property.

In discussing the question of the guilt of the convicted anarchists, I shall take the most pains as to Spies and Parsons. They were the two most noted. Their fate has been most loudly bewailed. If any are to be canonized, they are the "slaughtered saints whose bones" are the bones of martyrs. To go through the list of the convicted anarchists, and to show in detail how each was proved guilty, would require more space than could be given to a magazine article.<sup>1</sup>

I can only say, in short, that they were all members of a revolutionary organization called the "International," the object of which was to introduce anarchy. To this end they proposed to subdue by terror, or to exterminate

by violent deaths, all who favored law and order.

For more than a year—how much more does not appear in the evidence presented on the trial—before a general strike for eight hours as a day's work was in contemplation, they had endeavored to bring the class they called "proletariat" into their ranks, and had urged that class to arm themselves, especially with dynamite bombs.

In the fall of 1885 it became probable that such a strike could be brought about on the first day of the following May.

They encouraged it to the utmost of their abilities; not for the purpose, as they were frank enough to say, of obtaining for laborers fewer hours of toil, but with the hope that in the disorder to follow all working for wages would be stopped, and that anarchy would be the next step. Armed strikers beating workers would bring the police and militia, and if they could be overcome in battles, no force being left to give vigor to the law, anarchy must follow.

Had the anarchists not miscalculated in comparing their utmost possible strength with the actual strength of society, they might reasonably have anticipated a temporary success.

The first day of May came, and great excitement prevailed. Many struck. New men were to some extent taken on in their places. On the third day of May a very serious riot, in which Spies, by his own account, participated, took place at the McCormick Harvesting Machine Works, where the police protected men at work. Some of the rioters were hurt, but probably none killed.

The anarchists called a meeting to denounce the police. It was held near a police station at which they knew a large force was concentrated. The situation was critical. The scent of danger was in the air. They so conducted the meeting as to make it the duty of the police to disperse it. The language of the speakers was of a very violent character, and was loudly applauded.

The police marched to the meeting, halted, and a captain commanded the people to disperse. It was then half-past ten o'clock at night. A dynamite bomb was thrown into the ranks of the policemen, killing Degan, mortally wounding six others, and wounding threescore more not mortally.

The indictment was for the murder of Degan, the first victim. For this murder law and reason charge the whole body of conspiring members of the International, but want of space, and their prominence, limit me mainly to Spies and Parsons.

Before going into the evidence of the conduct of the anarchists, I must quote a little law. I cannot rely upon the verdict of the jury, or the

<sup>1</sup> The case as to the whole eight is reported in the 122d Illinois Reports, 1, and 12 Northeastern Reports, 865.



pot force is justifiable, because it is the only means, but they themselves have set the immortal example.

By force our ancestors liberated themselves from political oppression, by force their children will have to liberate themselves from economic bondage. "It is, therefore, your right, it is your duty," says Jefferson—"to arise."

What we would achieve is, therefore, plainly and simply

First.—Destruction of the existing class rule, by all means, i. e. by energetic, relentless, revolutionary and international action.

Second.—Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.

Third.—Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit-motives.

Fourth.—Organization of education on a secular, scientific and equal basis for both sexes.

Fifth.—Equal rights for all without distinction to sex or race.

Sixth.—Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) communes and associations, resting on a federalist basis.

Whoever agrees with this ideal let him grasp our outstretched brother hands!

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

Fellow-workmen, all we need for the achievement of this great end is ORGANIZATION and UNITY!

There exists now no great obstacle to that unity. The work of peaceful education and revolutionary conspiracy well can and ought to run in parallel lines.

The day has come for solidarity. Join our ranks! Let the drum beat defiantly the roll of battle. "Workmen of all countries unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains, you have a world to win!"

Tumble, oppressors of the world! Not far beyond your perished sight there dawns the scarlet and sable lights of the JUDGMENT DAY!

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PART OF AN ANARCHIST HANDBILL ISSUED FROM "THE ALARM" OFFICE.

judgment of the Supreme Court; for the tribunal which I am addressing is to be convinced by facts and reason, not borne down by authority. But I am entitled to rely upon the statutes of the State, and upon earlier decisions of the Supreme Court, for they constituted the preëxisting law of the State. In charging members of a conspiracy with a crime committed in furtherance of the object and in carrying out the design of the conspiracy, and for which all the members are therefore responsible, "it is not necessary to prove that the defendants came together and actually agreed in terms to have that design, and to pursue it by common means. If it be proved that the defendants pursued by their acts the same object, often by the same means, one performing one part and another another part of the same, so as to complete it with a view to the attainment of that same object, the jury will be justified in the conclusion that they were engaged in a conspiracy to effect that object," and "by the act of conspiring together, the conspirators have jointly assumed to themselves, as a body, the attribute of individuality, so far as regards the prosecution of the common design; thus rendering whatever is done or said by any one in furtherance of that design a part of the *res gestæ*, and therefore the act of all" (3d Greenleaf, Evidence, Secs. 93, 94); and "when, therefore, persons combine to do an unlawful thing, if the act of one, proceeding according to the common plan, terminates in a criminal result,

# TO THE Workingmen of America.

FELLOW-WORKMEN:—THE DECLARATION OF  
INDEPENDENCE SAYS:

But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them, (the people) under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government and provide new guards for their future security."

This thought of Thomas Jefferson was the justification for armed resistance by our forefathers, which gave birth to our Republic, and do not the necessities of our present time compel us to re-assert their declaration?

Fellow-Workmen, we ask you to give us your attention for a few moments. We ask you to candidly read the following manifesto issued in your behalf, in the behalf of your wives and children—in behalf of humanity and progress.

Our present society is founded on the exploitation of the propertyless class by the propertied. This exploitation is such that the propertied (capitalists) buy the working force body and soul of the propertyless, for the price of the mere cost of existence (wages) and take for themselves, i. e. steal the amount of new values (products) which exceeds the price, whereby wages are made to represent the necessities instead of the earnings of the wage-laborer.

As the non-possessing classes are forced by their poverty to offer for sale to the propertied their working forces, and as our present production that by the application of an always decreasing number of human working force, an always increasing amount of products is created; so does the force of working force increase constantly, while the demand therefor decreases. This is the reason why the workers compete more and more intensely in selling themselves, causing their wages to sink or at least on

though not the particular result meant, all are liable" (1 Bishop, Criminal Law, Sec. 636).

In the case of Brennan vs. The People (15 Illinois Reports, 511), the Supreme Court of Illinois, in deciding the case, said: "There is a fatal objection to the eighteenth, twenty-first, and twenty-second instructions asked by the prisoners. These instructions required the jury to acquit the prisoners, unless they actually participated in the killing of Story, or unless the killing happened in pursuance of a common design on the part of the prisoners to take his life. Such is not the law. The prisoners may be guilty of murder, although they neither took part in the killing, nor assented to any arrangement having for its object the death of Story. It is sufficient that they combined with those committing the deed to do an unlawful act, such as to beat or rob Story; and that he was killed in the attempt to execute the common purpose. If several persons conspire to do an unlawful act, and death happens in the prosecution of the common object, all are alike guilty of the homicide. The act of one of them, done in furtherance of the original design, is, in consideration of law, the act of all, and he who advises or encourages another to do an illegal act is responsible for all the natural and probable consequences that may arise from its perpetration."

These quotations show what is the common law upon the subject to which they relate; and what Spies and Parsons published in newspa-

pers and shouted in speeches is enough for their condemnation and for the condemnation of all their co-conspirators, being published and spoken for the purpose of carrying out the design of the conspiracy, and followed by the murder instigated by such publications and speeches. They incited, advised, encouraged, the throwing of the bomb that killed the policemen, not by addressing the bomb-thrower specially, and telling him to throw a bomb at that or any specified time or occasion, but by general addresses to readers and hearers; by every argument which they could frame; by every appeal to passion which they could make; advising, encouraging, urging, and instructing how to perform acts *within which* the act of throwing the bomb was embraced.

The common law, said Lord Coke, "is the perfection of reason." In less stilted phrase, and, as I think, in words more significant to plain people, I have said, "and the law is common sense."

That all of the defendants belonged to "groups" of the International; that the design and purpose of the organization of the International was to bring about a destruction of the existing order of society by rebellion and revolution; that the newspapers edited by Spies and Parsons were the organs of the International—all this was conclusively proved on the trial, and no denial attempted. And if by the law of the State of Illinois, preëxisting and known, the anarchists residing in Illinois were guilty of murder by engaging in a conspiracy the natural and probable result of which could be anticipated, and that result murder, it is childish whimpering for their adherents to complain that the law defied by the anarchists was upon their defeat enforced against them. No argument can convince those who are determined not to be convinced, and words are thrown away upon such as, though unable to deny that thus runs the law, yet let their sympathy either for doctrines approaching those preached by the anarchists, or for the unhappy fate of the anarchists, control their judgments. The sincerity of the anarchists in their belief of the benefits to accrue from anarchy (if they were sincere) is not to be considered when the question is whether they were murderers. The East Indian thugs were religious and sincere.

It will come within my task to show that if the anarchists could have carried out their plans, the horrors of the French revolution in the last century were the pattern which they proposed, not to copy, but to exceed, in atrocity. People who are not anarchists, and yet who sentimentally pity and sigh over their fate, do not appreciate their plans and purposes; such people either have not read the anarchists' addresses, or else the wildness and

idiotic absurdity of their plans—the utter nonsense of supposing that a very small percentage of the total population of the United States, and they mostly foreigners to whom the English language was a strange tongue, could coerce or terrorize the great nation—present those addresses in such a ridiculous light that their malignity is lost sight of by the reader.

In all the United States that were colonized by the English, or from the original thirteen States, the common law of England is at the foundation of all law. In Illinois it has long been a part of the statutes "that the common law of England, so far as the same is applicable and of a general nature, . . . shall be the rule of decision, and shall be considered as of full force until repealed by legislative authority" (Chap. 28, Revised Statutes). "All trials for criminal offenses shall be conducted according to the course of the common law, except when this act points out a different mode, and the rules of evidence of the common law shall also be binding upon all courts and juries in criminal cases except as otherwise provided by law" (Sec. 428, Chap. 38). "Murder is the unlawful killing of a human being, in the peace of the people, with malice aforethought, express or implied" (Sec. 140, Chap. 38). "An accessory is he who stands by, and aids, abets, assists, or who, not being present, aiding, abetting or assisting, hath advised, encouraged, aided or abetted the perpetration of the crime. He who thus aids, abets, assists, advises or encourages, shall be considered as principal, and punished accordingly" (Sec. 274, Chap. 38).

Construing this last section, the Supreme Court of the State held, forty years before the anarchists' trial, that "the acts of the principal are made the acts of the accessory, he thereby becomes the principal, and may be charged as having done the act himself" (Baxter's case, 3 Gilman's Reports, 368). In Brennan's case, already cited, in 1854 that court held that "the advice or encouragement that may make one an accessory to crime need not be by words, but by any word or act, sign or motion, done or made for the purpose of encouraging the commission of a crime."

I have been very slow in reaching the facts. In order that the pertinency of what Spies and Parsons published and said may be apparent, a brief description of the situation in Chicago is necessary. For some time—how long is uncertain—there had been in various cities in the United States "groups," as they were called, of the "International Association of Workmen," or "International Arbeiter Association," generally called the "International" or, for brevity, "I. A. A." For some time—months, if not years—before May 1, 1886, there had been

eight of these groups in Chicago. Schwab, Neebe, and Lingg belonged to one of these groups, Engel and Fischer to another, and Spies, Parsons, and Fielden to another. At one time Spies had belonged to the same group of which Engel and Fischer were members. To some of these groups were attached "armed sections."

The International had in Chicago two organs, the "Arbeiter Zeitung," a newspaper in German, issuing every afternoon an edition of about thirty-six hundred; and "The Alarm," in English, issuing twice a month an edition of about two thousand. Spies and Schwab were editors of the "Arbeiter," and Parsons was editor of "The Alarm." Each of these papers published "The Platform of the International," "The Alarm" on the first day of November, 1884, and the "Arbeiter" in all its issues during February, March, and April, 1886. From this platform I make extracts. It will be understood that in all quotations that I shall make from the "Arbeiter," they are translations from the German, and I shall make none from either paper that was not read in evidence on the trial in the words here presented.

The following are extracts from the platform:

"The Declaration of Independence declares when a long train of abuses and usurpation, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them (the people) under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to

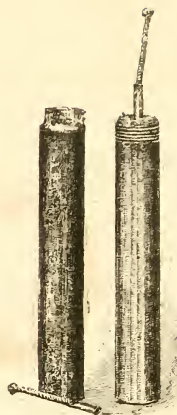
provide new guards for their future security. Are we not too much governed, and is it not time to practice this thought of Jefferson? Is our government anything but a conspiracy of the privileged classes against the people? Fellow-laborers, read the following declaration, which we issue in your interest, for humanity and progress. The present order of society is based upon the spoliation of the non-property by the property owners, the capitalists buy the labor of the poor for wages, at the mere cost of living, taking all the surplus of labor. . . . Thus while the poor are increasingly deprived the opportunities of advancement, the rich grow richer through increasing robbery. . . . This system is

unjust, insane, and murderous. Therefore those who suffer under it, and do not wish to be responsible for its continuance, ought to strive for its destruction by all means and with their utmost energy. . . . The laborers can look for aid from no outside source in their fight against the existing system, but must achieve deliverance through their own exertions. Hitherto, no privileged class have relinquished tyranny, nor will the capitalists of to-day forego their privilege and

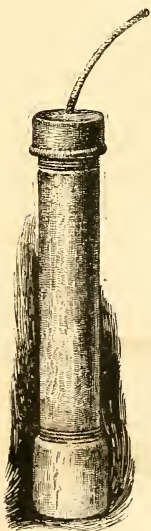
authority without compulsion. . . . It is therefore self-evident that the fight of proletarianism against the bourgeoisie must have a violent revolutionary character; that wage conflicts cannot lead to the goal. . . . Under all these circumstances, there is only one remedy left—force. Our ancestors of 1776 have taught us that resistance to tyrants is justifiable, and have left us an immortal example. By force, they freed themselves from foreign oppression, and through force their descendants must free themselves from domestic oppression. . . . Agitation to organize, organizations for the purpose of rebellion, this is the course if the workingmen would rid themselves of their chains."

Note the words, "it is therefore self-evident that the fight . . . must have a violent revolutionary character; that wage conflicts cannot lead to the goal," and then look for the meaning that Spies and Parsons intended that their readers should understand by them.

From the "Arbeiter," March 16, 1885: "ABOUT REVOLUTIONARY DEEDS. . . . In all revolutionary action three different epochs of time are to be distinguished: first, the portion of preparation for an action, then the moment of the action itself, and finally that portion of time which follows the deed. . . . In the first place a revolutionary action should succeed. Then as little as possible ought to be sacrificed,—that is, in other words, the danger of discovery ought to be weakened as much as possible, and, if it can be, reduced to naught. . . . Mention was made of the danger of discovery. . . . It is easily comprehensible for

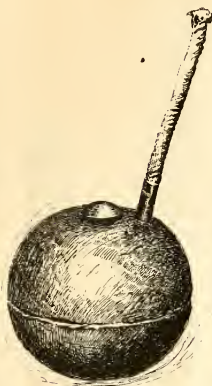


SMALL GAS-PIPE BOMBS.



LARGE GAS-PIPE BOMB.





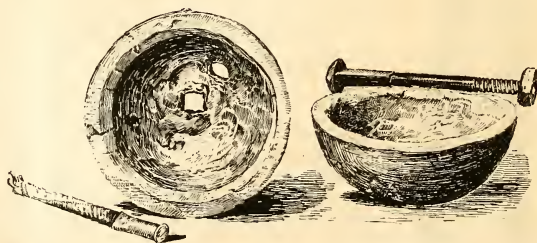
LINGG'S BOMB. (CLOSED.)

everybody, that the danger of discovery is the greater the more numerous the mass of people or the group which contemplates a deed, and *vice versa*. On the other hand, the threatening danger approaches the closer the better the acting persons are known to the authorities of the place of action, and *vice versa*. . . . Whoever is willing to execute a deed, has, in the first place, to put the question to himself, whether he is able or not to carry out the action by himself. If the former is the case, let him absolutely initiate no one into the matter, and let him act alone. But if that is not the case, then let him look, with the greatest care, for just as many fellows as he must have absolutely. Not one more nor less; with these let him unite himself to a fighting group. . . . Has the deed been completed? Then the group of action dissolves at once, without further parley, according to an understanding which must be had beforehand, leaves the place of action, and scatters to all directions."

From "The Alarm," December 26, 1885: "(A free translation from the German.) 'BAKUNIN'S GROUNDWORK FOR THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION. A REVOLUTIONIST'S DUTY TO HIMSELF.' The revolutionist is a self-offered man. . . . Everything in him is consumed by one single interest, by one single thought, one single passion: the Revolution.

. . . He lives in this world for the purpose to more surely destroy it. He leaves the re-organization of society to the future generations. He knows only one science: the science of destruction. . . . The revolutionist is a consecrated being (who does not belong to himself); he would not spare the State in general and the entire class society, and at the same time does not expect mercy for himself. Between him and society reigns the war of death or life, publicly and secretly, but always steady and unpardoning. . . . Day and night dare he have only one thought, one aim: the unmerciful destruction. While he, cold-blooded, and without rest, follows that aim, he himself must be ready to die at any time, and ready to kill with his own hands any one who seeks to thwart his aim. . . . In executing a resolved-upon case, everybody must as much as possible depend upon himself. In case where a lot of destructive deeds is to be done, everybody must be self-operating, and request help and counsel of his comrades only in cases where it is absolutely necessary for success. . . . Equally must he hate everything that is anti-revolutionary. So much the worse for him if he has in the present world ties of relation, friendship, or love. He is no revolutionist if these ties are able to arrest his arm. . . . The entire filthy society of our times should be divided into different categories. The first consists of those who are immediately sentenced to death. . . . In the first place those persons are to be destroyed who are most harmful to the revolutionary organization, and whose violent and sudden death is able to terrify the governments and shake their might the most, in so far as it will rob the powers that be of their most energetic and intelligent agents."

A book called "Science of Revolutionary Warfare. Manual for instruction in the use and preparation of nitro-glycerine and dynamite, gun cotton, fulminating mercury, bombs,



LINGG'S BOMB. (OPEN.)

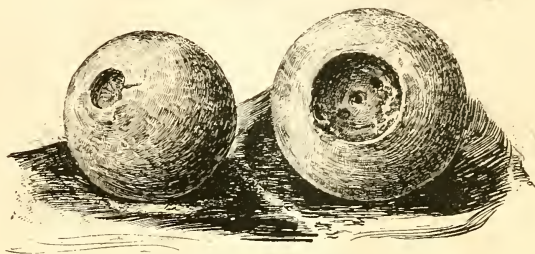
fuse, poisons, etc., etc. By Johann Most," was sold at picnics and mass-meetings of the Internationals. It contains about sixteen thousand words of minute instructions, but I will not repeat any of them. The knowledge is of a kind not useful. I extract only two sentences. "What tears solid rocks into splinters may not have a bad effect in a court or monopolists' ball-room." "If somebody wants to execute a revolutionary deed, he should not speak about it with others, but should go to work silently." Of this book the "Arbeiter" of March 2, 15, 18, and 25, 1886, published, not as an advertisement, but gratuitously, this notice: "'Revolutionary Warfare' has arrived, and is to be had through the librarian at 107 5th Avenue, at the price of ten cents." Both the "Arbeiter" and "The Alarm" were published at that place, and the library room was in the rear of the newspaper office. November 27, 1885, the "Arbeiter" published: "Steel and iron are not on hand, but tin, two or three inches in diameter; the price is cheap. It does not amount to fifty cents apiece." There is no possible explanation of this to mean anything else than bombs, to be found by applying at the office of the "Arbeiter."

"The Alarm," October 18, 1884: "THE ANARCHIST. The 'Daily Inter-Ocean' closes a lengthy article thus: [quoting]. The 'Inter-Ocean' man has overlooked the fact that one man with a dynamite bomb is equal to a regiment of militia."

"The Alarm," October 25, 1884: "The Socialists are accused of being bloodthirsty. This is not true. They, like all other thinking people, know that a revolution must come. . . . Whether the stopping and uprooting of a bad principle will require bloodshed depends, first, on how old it is, and how much the people are receiving it as a second nature, and how much its supporters are interested in keeping it a-going. And, secondly, how strong, clear, and determined the opposition is when it begins to oppose. This is why the communist and anarchist urges the people to study their school-books on chemistry, and read the dictionaries and cyclopedias on the composition of all kinds of explosives, and make themselves too strong to be opposed with deadly weapons. This alone can insure against bloodshed. Every person can get that knowledge inside of a week, and a majority now have one or more books

containing all this information right in their own homes. And every man who is master of these explosives cannot be even approached by an army of men. Therefore, bloodshed being useless, and injustice being defenseless, people will be forced to deal justly and generously with each other."

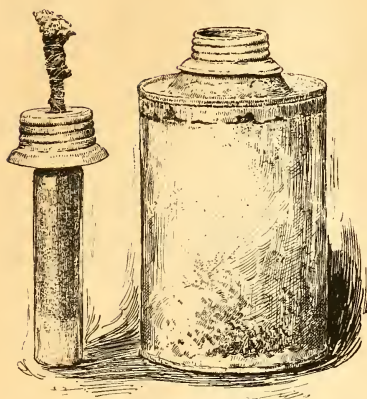
"The Alarm," November 1, 1884: "THE USELESS CLASSES. . . . How can all this be done? Simply by making ourselves masters of the use of dynamite, then declaring we will make no further claim to ownership in anything, and deny every other person's right to be the owner of anything, and administer instant death, by any and all means, to any and every person who attempts to continue to claim personal ownership in anything. This method,



POISONED BOMBS.

and this alone, can relieve the world of this infernal monster called the 'right of property.' Let us try and not strike too soon, when our numbers are too small, or before more of us understand the use and manufacture of the weapons. To avoid unnecessary bloodshed, confusion, and discouragement, we must be prepared, know why we strike, and for just what we strike, and then strike in unison and with all our might. Our war is not against men, but against systems; yet we must prepare to kill men who try to defeat our cause, or we will strive in vain. The rich are only worse than the poor because they have more power to wield this infernal 'property right,' and because they have more power to reform, and take less interest in doing so. Therefore it is easy to see where the bloodiest blows must be dealt."

This last extract indicates that Parsons thought that his previous instructions might have made some of his deluded disciples too impatient, and that they might be too hasty, and therefore he says, "Let us try and not strike too soon, when our numbers are too small, or



EXPLOSIVE CAN FILLED WITH COMBUSTIBLES.

before more of us understand the use and manufacture of the weapons."

"The Alarm," November 22, 1884: "THIS PAPER. This paper is owned by the International Working People's Association. . . . It is published by the public spirit of working people for public good."

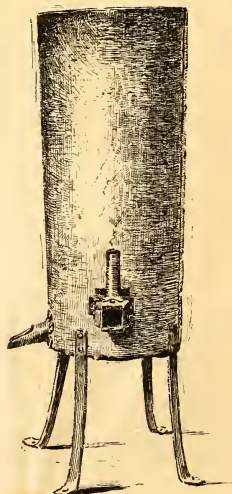
"The Alarm," March 7, 1885: "OUR AGITATORS. The agitation trips of comrades Gorsuch, Fielden, and Griffin, during the past two weeks, were prolific of good results. Twelve American groups were organized in different cities, and those united with the International are working to bring into the ranks of the revolutionary army the proletariats of the contiguous districts. The Working People's International Association now embraces eighty groups, scattered all over the United States, mainly in centers of industry, from which the propaganda radiates everywhere, the membership being many thousands. In Chicago, with thousands of members, five newspapers, with increasing circulation, are published. The good work goes bravely on; and exertions should be redoubled. Agitation for the purpose of organization, organization for the purpose of rebellion against wage slavery, is the duty of the hour."

In "The Alarm" of November 29, 1884, the reward of rebellion is thus indicated: "Nothing but an uprising of the people, and bursting open of all stores and warehouses to the free access of the public, and a free application of dynamite to every one who opposes, will relieve the world of this infernal nightmare of property and wages. Down with such wretched

nonsense! No rascality or stupidity is sacred because it is old. Down with it!"

"The Alarm," January 13, 1885: "FORCE THE ONLY DEFENSE AGAINST INJUSTICE AND OPPRESSION. . . . We are told that force is cruel. But this is only true when opposition is less cruel. If the opposition is a relentless power, that is starving, freezing, exposing, and depriving tens of thousands, and the application of force would require less suffering while removing the old cause, then the force is humane. Seeing the amount of needless suffering all about us, we say a vigorous use of dynamite is both humane and economical. It will at the expense of less suffering prevent more. It is not humane to compel ten persons to starve to death when the execution of five persons would prevent it. It is upon this theory that we advocate the use of dynamite. It is clearly more humane to blow ten men into eternity than to make ten men starve to death."

"The Alarm," February 21, 1885: "DYNAMITE! Of all the good stuff, this is the stuff. Stuff several pounds of this sublime stuff into an inch pipe (gas or water pipe), plug up both ends, insert a cap with a fuse attached, place this in the immediate neighborhood of a lot of rich loafers who live by the sweat of other people's brows, and light the fuse. A most cheerful and gratifying result will follow. In giving dynamite to the downtrodden millions of the globe, science has done its best work.



ENGEL'S FURNACE.



The dear stuff can be carried around in the pocket without danger, while it is a formidable weapon against any force of militia, police, or detectives that may want to stifle the cry for justice that goes forth from the plundered slaves. It is something not very ornamental, but exceedingly useful. It can be used against persons and things. It is better to use it against the former than against bricks and masonry. It is a genuine boon for the disinherited, while it brings terror and fear to the robbers. . . .

Dynamite is like Banquo's ghost, it keeps on fooling around, somewhere or other, in spite of his satanic majesty. A pound of this good stuff beats a bushel of ballots all hollow, and don't you forget it. . . . If workingmen would be truly free, they must learn to know why they are slaves. They must rise above petty prejudice and learn to think. From thought to action is not far, and when the worker has seen the chain, he need but look a little closer to find near at hand the sledge with which to shatter every link. The sledge is dynamite."

"The Alarm," April 18, 1885: "ASSASSINATION. . . . The moment the abolition of a government is suggested, the mind pictures the uprising of a hundred little despotic governments on every hand, quarreling among themselves, and domineering over the unorganized people. This fact suggests the idea that the present governments must be destroyed, only in a manner that will prevent the organization or rise of any and all other governments, whether it be a government of three men or three hundred million. No government can exist without a head, and by assassinating the head just as fast as a government head appears, the government can be destroyed, and by this same process all other governments can be kept out of existence. This is the policy of the nihilist in Russia, and the moment it gets any popular support throughout civilization all governments will disappear forever. Those governments least offensive to the people should be destroyed last. All governments exist by the abridgment of human liberty, and the more government the less liberty. He alone is free who submits to no government. All governments are domineering powers, and any domineering power is a natural enemy to all mankind, and ought to be treated as such. Assassination will remove the evil from the face of the earth. Man will always have and always need advisers, teachers, and leaders in all departments of life, but bosses, jailers, and drivers are unnecessary. Man's leader is his friend. His driver is his enemy. This distinction should be understood, and the parties should be dealt with accordingly. Assassination properly applied is wise, just, humane, and brave. For freedom, all things are just."

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From August 17, 1885, to its last issue "The Alarm" kept standing this notice: "The armed section of the American group meets every Monday night, at 54 West Lake Street."

In his address to me before sentence was pronounced, Parsons said: "These articles that appear in 'The Alarm,' for some of them I am not responsible any more than is the editor of any other paper. And I did not write everything in 'The Alarm,' and it might be possible



ENGRAVED BY R. G. TIETZE.

INSPECTOR JOHN BONFIELD.

that there were some things in that paper which I am not ready to indorse. I am frank to admit that such is the case."

The statute of Illinois permits defendants in criminal cases to be witnesses on their own behalf. He had availed himself of that permission, but as a witness had not expressed any disapproval of the sentiment of any of the extracts from "The Alarm," all of which (much more than are here reproduced) were read before he testified. Read now, from the paper that he edited, the report of a speech that he made, and then select from the foregoing extracts any which he would not have been "ready to indorse" before the tragedy of May 4, 1886.

On April 28, 1885, the Board of Trade of Chicago dedicated a magnificent new building which they had erected as a place for their business. The dedication was at night. The same night a large gathering of people was addressed by Parsons and others on Market Square, some six squares distant from the

Board of Trade building. Then a procession was formed, which marched toward the building, but cordons of police met the people at different streets, and prevented them from getting nearer than a block to the building. They halted at one place and sang the "Marseillaise,"



ENGRAVED BY R. G. TIETZE.

INSPECTOR MICHAEL J. SCHAACK.<sup>1</sup>

and then marched to the "Arbeiter" building, where more speeches were made.

"The Alarm" of May 2, 1885, reported Parsons as follows: ". . . The present social system makes private property of the means of labor, and the resources of life—capital—and thereby creates classes and inequalities, conferring upon the holders of property the power to live upon the labor product of the propertyless. Whoever owns our bread owns our ballots, for a man who must sell his labor or starve must sell his vote when the same alternative is presented. The inequalities of our social system, its classes, its privileges, its enforced poverty and misery, arises out of the institution of private property, and so long as this system prevails our wives and children will be driven to toil, while their fathers and brothers are thrown into enforced idleness, and the men of the Board of Trade and all other profit-mongers and legalized gamblers who live by fleecing the people will continue to accumulate millions at the expense of their helpless victims. This grand

conspiracy against our liberty and lives is maintained and upheld by statute law and the constitution, and enforced by the military arms of the State. If we would achieve our liberation from economic bondage, and acquire our natural right to life and liberty, every man must lay by a part of his wages, buy a Colt's navy revolver [cheers, and 'that's what we want'], a Winchester rifle [a voice: 'and ten pounds of dynamite; we will make it ourselves'], and learn how to make and use dynamite [cheers]. Then raise the flag of rebellion [cries of 'Bravo' and cheers], the scarlet banner of liberty, fraternity, equality, and strike down to the earth every tyrant that lives upon this globe. [Cheers, and cries of 'Vive la Commune!'] Tyrants have no right which we should respect. Until this is done you will continue to be robbed, to be plundered, to be at the mercy of the privileged few; therefore agitate for the purpose of organization, organize for the purpose of rebellion, for wage-slaves have nothing to lose but their chains; they have a world of freedom and happiness to win. [Cheers.]"

I fear these quotations will prove very tiresome to readers, but to accomplish my task of showing the guilt of the anarchists, I must make a great many more.

The "Arbeiter," February 23, 1885: "Thicker and thicker the clouds gather around the political and social horizon of the world, more and more the darkness increases. Without laying claim to the reputation of a prophet, one can say with certainty that this cannot end without a mighty storm, bringing terror and blessing, destruction and freedom. Discontent and hatred of all that is corrupt and rotten that is existing grows and prospers everywhere. The struggle between the parties is tapering, the diplomatic machinations of the so-called statesmen have reached their culminating point. The already approaching revolution promises to be much grander and more terrible than that at the close of the last century, which only broke out in one country. The coming revolution will be general, for it makes itself already felt everywhere and generally. It will demand more sacrifices, for the number of those over whom we have to sit in judgment is now much greater than that of the last century."

Referring to Philadelphia labor troubles, the "Arbeiter" of March 2, 1885, says: "That much is sure, that thing could not have happened in Chicago without placing for exhibition on the telegraph-wires and cornices of houses a dozen cadavers of policemen in pieces for each broken skull of a workingman. And this is due solely

<sup>1</sup> The originals (photographs) of the bombs, circulars, and portraits of the members of the jury are from the collection of Inspector Michael J. Schaack of the Chicago police, who collected them in the course of

his investigations in the capacity of chief detective employed on the case, and who used them later in his book, "Anarchy and Anarchists: a History of the Red Terror and the Social Revolution."

and purely to the revolutionary propaganda carried on here. We wonder whether the workmen in other cities will take a lesson from this occurrence and will at last supply themselves with weapons, dynamite, and prussic acid as far as that has not been done yet."

The "Arbeiter," March 11, 1885: "The community will soon have to decide whether to be or not to be; either the police must be and then the community cannot be, or the community must be and then the police cannot be; one only of the two is possible."

The "Arbeiter," March 23, 1885: "Yet one thing more. Although every day brings the news of collisions between armed murder-serfs of the bourgeoisie with unarmed crowds of people (strikers and the like), we must ever and again read in the so-called workingmen's papers: Discussions of the question of arming ought to be avoided in the associations of the proletarian. We characterize such pacifying efforts as criminal. Each workman ought to have been armed long ago. We leave it an open question whether whole corporations are able to completely fit themselves out in a military point of view with all their numbers; but we say that each single one, if he has the necessary seriousness and the good will, can arm himself little by little very easily. Daggers and revolvers are easily to be gotten. Hand-grenades are cheaply to be produced; explosives, too, can be obtained, and finally possibilities are also given to buy arms on instalments. To give an impulse in that direction one should never tire of. For not only the revolution proper, approaching with gigantic steps, commands to prepare for it, but also the wage contests of to-day demand of us not to enter into it with empty hands. Let us understand the signs of the times. Let us have a care for the present, that we will not be surprised by the future unprepared."

The "Arbeiter," May 5, 1885: "When anywhere a small party of workmen dare to speak of rights and privileges, then the 'order' draw together all the murdering scoundrels of the whole city, and if necessary from the whole country, to put their sovereignty the more clearly before the sovereigns. In short, the whole power of the capital—that is, the entire government—is ever ready to suppress the petty demonstrations of the workmen by force of arms one after another, now here, then there. This would be quite different if the workmen of the entire country could only see that their class is in this wise subjected part by part without condition and without reprieve. The workmen ought to take aim at every member of the militia, and do with him as one would do with some one of whom it is known that he is after taking one's life.

It might then sooner be difficult to obtain murdering tools."

The "Arbeiter," January 5, 1885, reporting a speech by Spies on the previous afternoon at 54 West Lake street: "When we resort to murdering we only follow the law of necessity, the force of self-preservation, we murder to put an end to general murder, we put murderers out of the way."

I must stop somewhere in these quotations from articles published in the papers of which Spies and Parsons were the editors. The contents of newspapers through months and years are not to be reproduced in a magazine article; but if I made statements on my own authority only, or on that of witnesses testifying at the trial, the truth of such statements would be denied by anarchists, and doubted by the sentimental humanitarians who think all punishment is too much, and that criminals should be coddled into reform by love.

As showing the extent to which the instructions of the two papers had been followed, long before the murder of Degan, by the class of people to whom they were addressed, "The Alarm's" account of Thanksgiving Day, 1884, and the "Arbeiter's" account of the Board of



CAPTAIN WILLIAM WARD.

Trade demonstration of April 28, 1885, should be given.

"The Alarm," November 29, 1884: On "The day designated, Thursday, the 27th day of November, opened with sleet and rain. . . . The severity of the weather showed something of the spirit that must be in the people who





DEAWN BY A. CASTAIGNE.

ENGRAVED BY C. STATE.

TURNING BACK THE ANARCHISTS. (THE BOARD OF TRADE DEMONSTRATION.)

were not deterred by it. . . . Mr. Parsons then called for the resolutions, which were then read as follows:

"*Whereas*, . . . as this system cannot be introduced against existing ignorance, selfishness, and distrust without the force of arms and strong explosives, therefore be it

"*Resolved*, that when all stores, storehouses, vacant tenements, and transporting property are thrown open and held open to the free access of the general public, the good of mankind and the saving of blood requires that all forcible opposition should be dealt with summarily as fast as it may present itself. . . . Therefore our policy is wise, humane, and practical, and ought to be enforced at the earliest possible moment, with a just regard for numbers and implements.' . . . The audience fell into line by fours, forming a procession of over three thousand men, and then moved off, headed by the band, which woke the echoes of the lofty buildings around to the strains of the Marseillaise. Two large flags, one black and the other red, headed the procession."

The "Arbeiter," April 29, 1885: . . . "Now, the march formed, headed by a company of the Bohemian groups, the metal-workers, the North side groups and the Lehr und Wehr Verein. 'These fellows would do all credit to the guard grenadier regiment,' remarked a German on Madison street, pointing to the advance guard of the procession. Next followed three female comrades, who carried two red flags and one black one. . . . Then followed the procession, which could not be kept in good order, which is to be regretted. Behind these marched a strong company of well-armed comrades of the various groups. Let us remark here that with perhaps few exceptions they were all well armed, and that also the nitro-glycerine pills were not missing. They were prepared for a probable attack, and if it had come to a collision, there would have been pieces. The cordons of the police could have been quite excellently adapted for experiments with explosives. About twenty detectives were loitering about the Market Square at the beginning and then disappeared. That explains the keeping back of our otherwise impertinent order-scoundrels. The procession, which was a few blocks long although the participants marched in close order, moved down Madison street to Clark, and from there south to Jackson, where about one hundred policemen had blocked the street. The procession, which was about one hundred paces distant from the brightly lighted palace, sang the Marseillaise, with the accompaniment of the orchestration, and marched on La Salle street, then down La Salle street to Van Buren street and up Clark street.

About five hundred policemen were stationed around the Board of Trade. They suffered everything. 'Ye miserable hounds. Ye are the smaller thieves, and therefore must protect the greater ones. Servile executioners; gang of murderers,' and other beautiful flatteries, the bandits accepted as quietly as if it did not concern them at all. Here and there some were pushed back, but not a one moved. After a few jeers had been given to the thieves and cutthroats, the procession returned to Fifth Avenue, where Parsons, Spies, and Fielden spoke from a window of the 'Arbeiter Zeitung.'"

Now I undertake to say that the mere advice to great masses of working people (of whom Spies, in his testimony as a witness, said that they were "stupid and ignorant," among whom there would of necessity be some vicious, and to whom, being the least prosperous of the community, envy of those in better condition than themselves would be no unnatural passion), and especially advice to arm themselves with pistols, daggers, and bombs,—weapons to be concealed about the person,—was advice to use such weapons at such times and places, and against such persons,—at least such persons as were of the classes so vehemently denounced by the advisers,—as the whim or caprice of the armed might dictate. But when added to that advice was the instruction, in both the "Arbeiter" and "The Alarm," that each revolutionist should, when possible, perform a revolutionary act without assistance, and without communicating his design to anybody, then every reader following the advice to arm himself would—must—understand that he must exercise his own discretion in using his weapons.

On the trial it was urged by the defense that the advice to arm was that working-men might resist unlawful attacks of police and militia. It is enough in reply to such an excuse to say that no instance has ever occurred of calling upon the police or militia, during labor troubles, to compel anybody to work; always they have been called to protect men who wanted to work, or property which was endangered by those who had quitted work. Nor was there any disguise about this among the anarchists.

I quote from "The Alarm," September 5, 1885: "EIGHT HOURS, OUR REPLY. Will the rich help to bring it about; or oppose it with starvation, prisons, and cold steel? . . . Shortening the hours of labor is no real remedy. It still leaves people in the condition of masters and servants. . . . Private property makes competition necessary, and monopoly must result. We can get no real relief without striking at the root of the evil; namely, cutting off man's right to convert anything into private property. . . . 'The Alarm' does not antagonize the eight-

hour movement; viewing it from the standpoint that it is an economic struggle, it simply points out that it is a lost battle, and further proves that though the eight-hour system should be established, the wage-workers would gain nothing. They would still remain slaves to their capitalistic masters. . . . If the strike should turn out successful, the eight-hour system would result in the extermination of every small manufacturer and small shop man. . . . Now, in regard to the proposed strike next spring, a few practical words to our comrades. The number of organized wage-workers in the country may be about 800,000; the number of the unemployed about 2,000,000. Will the manufacturing Kings grant the modest request under such circumstances? No, sir. The small ones can not, and the big ones will not. They will then draw from the army of the unemployed; the strikers will attempt to stop them. Then comes the police and the militia. Say, workingmen, are you prepared to meet the latter; are you armed?"

"The Alarm," Oct. 17, 1885: "EIGHT HOURS. . . . Mr. August Spies was introduced at this point, and offered the following resolution:

"*Whereas*, a general movement has been started among the organized wage-workers of this country for the establishment of an eight-hour work day to begin on May 1, 1886; and

"*Whereas*, it is to be expected that the class of professional idlers, the governing class, who prey upon the bones and marrow of useful members of society, will resist this attempt by calling to their assistance the Pinkertons, the Police, and the Militia; therefore be it

"*Resolved*, that we urge upon all wage-workers the necessity of procuring arms before this inauguration of the proposed eight-hour strike, in order to be in a position of meeting our foe with his own argument, force.

"*Resolved*, that while we are skeptical in regard to the benefits that will accrue to the wage-workers from the introduction of an eight-hour work day, we nevertheless pledge ourselves to aid and assist our brethren in this class struggle with all that lies in our power as long as they show an open and defiant front to our common enemy, the labor-devouring class of aristocratic vagabonds, the brutal murderers of our comrades in St. Louis, Lemont, Chicago, Philadelphia, and other places. Our war-cry may be "death to the enemy of the human race, our despoilers."

"August Spies supposed that Mr. Magie did not like the terms in which the members of the government were referred to. The reason of this was that Mr. Magie was one of the political vagabonds himself. There were 9,000,000 of the people engaged in industrial trades in this country. There were but 1,000,000 of them

as yet organized, while there were 2,000,000 of men unemployed. To make the movement in which they were engaged a successful one, it must be a revolutionary one. Don't let us, he exclaimed, forget the most forcible argument of all—the gun and dynamite."

"The Alarm," April 3, 1886: "AMERICAN GROUP. Mr. Parsons thought the organization of the vast body of unskilled and unorganized laboring men and women a necessity in order that they might formulate their demands and make an effective defense of their rights. He thought the attempt to inaugurate the eight-hour system would break down the capitalistic system, and bring about such disorder and hardship that the social revolution would become a necessity. As all roads in ancient times led to Rome, so now all labor movements of whatever character lead to socialism."

The "Arbeiter," January 22, 1886: "The eight-hour question is not, or at least should not be, the final end of the present organization, but, in comparison to the present state of things, a progress not to be underrated. But now let us consider the question in itself. How is the eight-hour day to be brought about? Why, the thinking workingman must see himself, under the present power of capital in comparison to labor, it is impossible to enforce the eight-hour day in all branches of business otherwise than with armed force. With empty hands the workingman will hardly be able to cope with the representatives of the club in case after the first of May of this year there should be a general strike. Then the bosses will simply employ other men, so-called 'scabs'; such will always be found. The whole movement then would be nothing but filling the places with new men; but if the workingmen are prepared to eventually stop the working of the factories, to defend himself with the aid of dynamite and bombs against the militia, which will of course be employed, then and only then you can expect a thorough success of the eight-hour movement. Therefore, workingmen, I call upon you, arm yourselves."

The "Arbeiter," April 26, 1886, reporting a speech of Spies on Easter Sunday: ". . . Be men now. Break down the doors of your extortioners instead of timidly knocking on them. Conquer the lost manhood. After you have introduced the eight-hour day now, then let there be no halt. Onward is the motto in the march of triumph, until the last stone of the robber bastille is removed and enslaved humanity is free."

It must be clear to every reader that *the anarchists contemplated no benefit to the laboring poor, except through anarchy*, and knew that anarchy could be brought about only through the subjugation or extirpation of the majority



by the minority through violence. How could that violence be exerted but at the discretion of individuals? Revolutionary acts by single men, or by the fewest possible assassination; escape from discovery by the authorities—for these they published elaborate instructions in their papers, and at their meetings distributed Most's book, containing instructions still more elaborate.

From the columns of the "Arbeiter" I can present the condition of Chicago as that fatal fourth day of May approached better and more conclusively than in words of my own.

"Die Fackel" (Sunday edition of the "Arbeiter"), May 2, 1886: "NOW OR NEVER. The mortal enemies cross swords. . . . The first twenty-four hours of the battle are passed. . . . Everything depends upon quick and immediate action. The tactics of the bosses are to gain time; the tactics of the strikers must be to grant them no time. By Monday or Tuesday the conflict must have reached its highest intensity, else the success will be doubtful. Within a week the fire, the enthusiasm, will be gone, and then the bosses will celebrate victories. It is treacherous, moreover, when here and there shop organizations and others enter into compromises. . . . They are worse than 'scabs'. . . . The feeling among the radical labor organizations is an encouraging one, and the situation is generally hopeful."

The "Arbeiter," May 3, 1886: "A HOT CONFLICT. THE DETERMINATION OF THE RADICAL ELEMENTS BRINGS THE EXTORTIONERS IN NUMEROUS INSTANCES TO TERMS. THE CAPITALISTIC PRESS HAS GOOD GROUNDS FOR ABUSING THE REDS. WITHOUT THEM NO AGITATION. NUMEROUS MEETINGS."

"The general situation at noon to-day was encouraging. A considerable number of extortioners had capitulated this morning, and further capitulations are looked for in the course of the day. The freight-handlers were marching in full force from depot to depot at noon to-day. It was rumored that 'scabs' had been imported from Milwaukee. The railroad depots are occupied by special policemen, while the municipal minions of order, under the command of five lieutenants, have intrenched themselves in the armory. The arch-rascals have made provisions for good victuals and drink. The laborers in the stone-yards have formed a union, and demand nine hours' pay for eight hours' work, and as this was not granted (H. First, Walters, and the 12th Street Company are the only ones that have granted the demands) they went on a strike. The stone-cutters and masons are compelled to join in the strike. A strike will probably take place in the lumber districts. The brewers plan a strike if their bosses do not fully accede to their de-

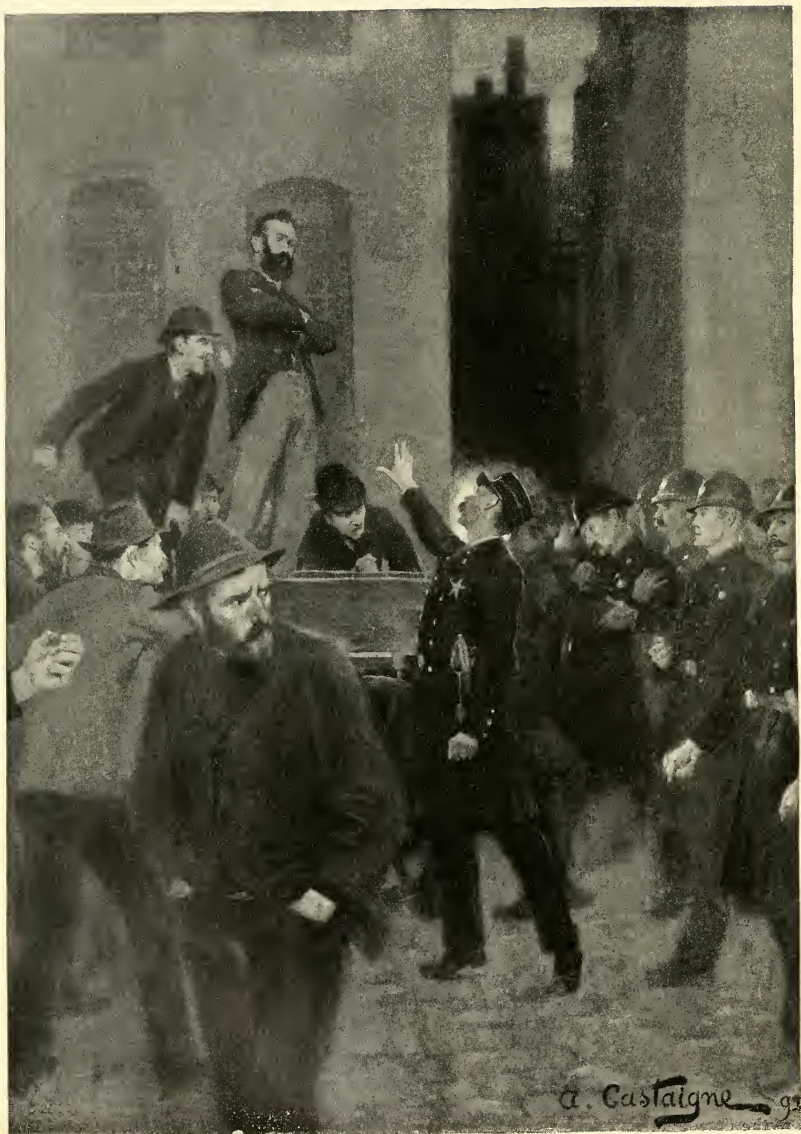
mand to-day. In the furniture business strike and lockout respectively still continue. Many manufacturers have already indicated a readiness to grant ten per cent. increase of wages. The Cabinet-makers' Union will make no compromise. The metal-workers are confident of victory. The number of strikers to-day cannot be determined, but will probably amount to forty thousand. Courage! Courage, is our cry."

Readers would tire if I were to copy from the "Arbeiter" for several days previous to the publication of the last article, and show how just was the boast: "The capitalistic press has good grounds for abusing the Reds. Without them no agitation."

On the afternoon of May 4, 1886,—the afternoon preceding the night of slaughter,—the "Arbeiter" published, with all the display of head-lines, capital letters, and exclamation-points known to the printers' art, this article from a manuscript written by Spies:

"BLOOD! LEAD AND POWDER AS A CURE FOR DISSATISFIED WORKMEN! ABOUT SIX LABORERS MORTALLY, AND FOUR TIMES THAT NUMBER SLIGHTLY, WOUNDED! THUS ARE THE EIGHT-HOUR MEN TO BE INTIMIDATED. THIS IS LAW AND ORDER. BRAVE GIRLS PARADING THE CITY. THE LAW-AND-ORDER BEAST FRIGHTENS THE HUNGRY CHILDREN AWAY WITH CLUBS. GENERAL NEWS."

"Six months ago, when the eight-hour movement began, there were speakers and journals of the I. A. A. who proclaimed and wrote: 'Workmen, if you want to see the eight-hour system introduced, arm yourselves. If you do not do this, you will be sent home with bloody heads, and birds will sing May songs upon your graves.' 'This is nonsense,' was the reply. 'If the workmen are organized, they will gain the eight hours in their Sunday clothes.' Well, what do you say now? Were we right or wrong? Would the occurrence of yesterday have been possible if our advice had been taken. Wage-workers, yesterday the police of this city murdered at the McCormick factory, so far as it can now be ascertained, four of your brothers, and wounded, more or less seriously, some twenty-five more. If brothers who defended themselves with stones (a few of them had little snappers in the shape of revolvers) had been provided with good weapons, and one single dynamite bomb, not one of the murderers would have escaped his well-merited fate. As it was, only four of them were disfigured. That is too bad. The massacre of yesterday took place in order to fill the forty thousand workmen of this city with fear and terror—took place in order to force back into the yoke of slavery the laborers who had become dissatisfied and mutinous. Will they succeed in this? The



DRAWN BY A. CASTAIGNE.

CAPTAIN WARD COMMANDS THE CROWD TO DISPERSE, "IN THE NAME OF THE  
PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS."

near future will answer this question. We will not anticipate the course of events with surmises.

"The employees in the lumber-yards on the South Side held a meeting yesterday afternoon at the Black Road, about one quarter mile north of McCormick's factory, for the purpose of adopting resolutions in regard to their demands, and to appoint a committee to wait upon a committee of lumber-yard owners, and present the demands which had been agreed upon. It was a gigantic mass that had gathered. Several members of the Lumber-Yard Union made short addresses in English, Bohemian, German, and Polish. Mr. Fehling attempted to speak, but when the crowd learned that he was a socialist, he was stoned, and compelled to leave the improvised speakers' stand on a freight-car. Then, after a few more addresses were made, the president introduced Mr. August Spies, who had been invited as a speaker. A Pole or Bohemian cried out: 'That is a socialist,' and again there arose a storm of disapprobation, and a roaring noise, which proved sufficiently that these ignorant people had been incited against the socialists by their priests. But the speaker did not lose his presence of mind. He continued speaking, and very soon the utmost quiet prevailed. He told them that they must realize their strength over against a little handful of lumber-yard owners: that they must not recede from the demands once made by them. The issue lay in their hands. All they needed was resolution, and the 'bosses' would be compelled to, and would give in.

"At this moment some persons in the background cried out (either in Polish or Bohemian), 'On to McCormick's. Let us drive off the scabs.' About two hundred men left the crowd, and ran toward McCormick's. The speaker did not know what was the matter, and continued his speech. When he had finished, he was appointed a member of a committee to notify the 'bosses' that the strikers had no concessions to make. Then a Pole spoke. While he spoke, a patrol-wagon rushed up toward McCormick's. The crowd began to break up. In about three minutes several shots were heard near McCormick's factory, and these were followed by others. At the same time, about seventy-five well-fed, large, and strong murderers, under the command of a fat police lieutenant, were marching toward the factory, and on their heels followed three patrol-wagons besides, full of law-and-order beasts. Two hundred policemen were on the spot in less than ten or fifteen minutes, and the firing on fleeing workmen and women resembled a promiscuous bush-hunt. The writer of this hastened to the factory as soon as the first shots were fired, and a comrade urged the assembly to hasten to the rescue of

their brothers who were being murdered, but no one stirred. 'What do we care for that?' was the stupid answer of poltroons brought up in cowardice. The writer fell in with a young Irishman who knew him. 'What miserable——are those?' he shouted to him, 'who will not turn a hand while their brothers are being shot down in cold blood? We have dragged away two; I think they are dead. If you have any influence with the people, for Heaven's sake, run back and urge them to follow you.' The writer ran back. He implored the people to come along,—those who had revolvers in their pockets,—but it was in vain. With an exasperating indifference, they put their hands in their pockets and marched home, babbling as if the whole affair did not concern them in the least. The revolvers were still cracking, and fresh detachments of police, here and there bombarded with stones, were hastening to the battle-ground. The battle was lost.

"It was in the neighborhood of half-past three o'clock when the little crowd of between two and three hundred men reached McCormick's factory. Policeman West tried to hold them back with his revolver. A shower of stones for an answer put him to flight. He was so roughly handled that he was afterward found about one hundred paces from the place, half dead, and groaning fearfully. The small crowd shouted, 'Get out, you d——scabs, you miserable traitors,' and bombarded the factory with stones. The little guard-house was demolished. The 'scabs' were in mortal terror, when at this moment the Hinman street patrol-wagon, summoned by telephone, came rattling along with thirteen murderers. When they were about to make an immediate attack with their clubs, they were received with a shower of stones. 'Back! disperse!' cried the lieutenant, and the next minute there was a report. The gang had fired on the strikers. They pretend, subsequently, that they shot over their heads. But be that as it may, a few of the strikers had little snappers of revolvers, and with these returned the fire. In the mean time other detachments had arrived, and the whole band of murderers now opened fire on the little company,—20,000 as estimated by the police organ, the 'Herald,'—while the whole assembly scarcely numbered 8000! Such lies are told. With their weapons, mainly stones, the people fought with admirable bravery. They laid out half a dozen blue-coats; and their round bellies—developed to extreme fatness in idleness and luxury—tumbled about, groaning on the ground. Four of the fellows are said to be very dangerously wounded; many others, alas! escaped with lighter injuries (the gang, of course, conceals this, just as in '77 they carefully concealed the number of those who were made to bite the



dust). But it looked worse on the side of the defenseless workmen. Dozens who had received slight shot-wounds hastened away, amid the bullets which were sent after them. The gang, as always, fired upon the fleeing, while women and men carried away the severely wounded. How many were really injured, and how many were mortally wounded, could not be determined with certainty, but we think we are not mistaken when we place the number of mortally wounded at about six, and those slightly injured at two dozen. We know of four; one of whom was shot in the spleen, another in the forehead, another in the breast, and another in the thigh. A dying boy, Joseph Doedick, was brought home on an express-wagon by two policemen. The people did not see the dying boy. They only saw the two murderers. 'Lynch the rascals,' clamored the crowd. The fellows wanted to break and hide themselves, but in vain. They had already thrown a rope around the neck of one of them, when a patrol-wagon rattled into the midst of the crowd, and prevented the praiseworthy deed. Joseph Hess, who had put the rope around his neck, was arrested. The 'scabs' were afterward conducted, under the protection of a strong escort, down Blue Island Avenue. Women and children gave vent to their indignation in angry shouts; rotten eggs whizzed through the air. The men about took things coolly, and smoked their pipes as on Kirmes Day. McCormick's assistant, Superintendent C. J. Benly, was also wounded, and, indeed, quite severely.

"The following strikers were arrested: Ignatz Erban, Frank Kohling, Joseph Schuky, Thomas Klafski, John Patolski, Anton Sevi-eski, Albert Supitar, Hugh McWhiffer, Anton Sternack, Nick Wolna, and Thomas O'Connell. The 'pimp' McCormick, when asked what he thought of it, said: 'August Spies made a speech to a few thousand anarchists.

# Attention Workingmen!

## MASS-MEETING

TO-NIGHT, at 7.30 o'clock,

HAYMARKET, Randolph St., Bet. Desplaines and Halsted.

Good Speakers will be present to denounce the latest atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.

Workingmen Arm Yourselves and Appear in Full Force!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

# Achtung, Arbeiter!

Große

## Massen-Versammlung

Heute Abend, 7½ Uhr, auf dem  
Heumarkt, Randolph-Strasse, zwischen  
Desplaines- u. Halsted-Str.

Gute Redner werden den neuesten Schurkenstreich der Polizei, indem sie gestern Nachmittag unsere Brüder erschöf, gefesseln,

Arbeiter, bewaffnet Euch und erscheint massenhaft!

Das Executiv-Comitee.

AN ANARCHIST HANDBILL.

It occurred to one of these brilliant heads to frighten our men away. He put himself at the head of a crowd, which then made an attack upon our works. Our workmen fled, and in the mean time the police came, and sent a lot of anarchists away with bleeding heads.

"Last night thousands of copies of the following circular were distributed in all parts of the city: 'REVENGE! REVENGE! WORKMEN, TO ARMS! Men of labor, this afternoon the bloodhounds of your oppressors murdered six of your brothers at McCormick's! Why did they murder them? Because they dared to be dissatisfied with the lot which your oppressors have assigned to them. They demanded bread, and they gave them lead for an answer, mindful of the fact that thus people are most effectually silenced. You have for many, many years endured every humiliation

without protest; have drudged from early in the morning till late at night; have suffered all sorts of privations; have even sacrificed your children. You have done everything to fill the coffers of your masters — everything for them; and now when you approach them, and implore them to make your burden a little lighter, as a reward for your sacrifices, they send their bloodhounds, the police, at you, in order to cure you with bullets of your dissatisfaction. Slaves, we ask and conjure you, by all that is sacred and dear to you, avenge the atrocious murder which has been committed upon your brothers to-day, and which will likely be committed upon you tomorrow. Laboring men, Hercules, you have arrived at the crossway. Which way will you decide? For slavery and hunger, or for freedom and bread? If you decide upon the latter, then do not delay a moment; then people to arms! Annihilation to the beasts in human form who call themselves rulers; uncompromising annihilation to them! This must be your motto. Think of the heroes whose blood has fertilized the road to progress, liberty and humanity, and strive to become worthy of them.

‘YOUR BROTHERS.’

The circular contained upon the same sheet an English version, written (except the word “revenge”) by Spies, as follows:

“REVENGE! WORKINGMEN TO ARMS! The masters sent out their bloodhounds, the police. They killed six of your brothers at McCormick’s this afternoon. They killed the poor wretches because they, like you, had the courage to disobey the supreme will of your bosses. They killed them because they dared ask for the shortening of the hours of toil. They killed them to show you, ‘free’ American citizens, that you must be satisfied and contented with whatever your bosses allow you, or you will get killed. You have for years endured the most abject humiliation; you have for years suffered unmeasurable iniquities; you have worked yourself to death; you have borne the pangs of want and hunger; your children you have sacrificed to the factory lord; in short, you have been miserable and obedient servants all these years. Why? To satisfy the insatiable greed, to fill the coffers of your lazy, thieving masters. When you ask them now to lessen your burdens, he sends his bloodhounds out to shoot you — to kill you! If you are men, if you are the sons of your grandsires, who have shed their blood to free you, then you will rise in your might, Hercules, and destroy the hideous monster that seeks to destroy you. To arms! We call you to arms!

“YOUR BROTHERS.”

I must interrupt my narrative to call attention to the fact that, even as Spies related the events

at McCormick’s, the disturbances began by rioters attacking peaceable laborers; that a single policeman who endeavored to protect them was overpowered, disabled, and seriously injured, before any force came to his assistance or rescue; and that this resistance to rioters, and protection of laborers, was the great wrong to be avenged immediately. But it was no new doctrine with him that “strikers” must not be stopped in assaults upon any who took the places they had left.

In the “Arbeiter” of March 2, 1886, was the following: “The order scoundrels beamed yesterday morning in their full glory. With the help of pickpockets, the natural allies of professional cutthroats, who otherwise call themselves also detectives, they succeeded yesterday in taking seventy scabs to the factory, accompanied also by scoundrels of the secret service, to give a better appearance. This morning the number of scabs which went back to work was materially increased. At this opportunity it was once again seen for what purpose the police existed — to protect the workingman if he works for starvation wages, and is an obedient serf; to club him down when he rebels against the capitalistic herd of robbers. Force only gives way to force. Who wants to attack capitalism in earnest must overthrow the bodyguards of it, the well-drilled and well-armed ‘men of order,’ and kill them if he does not want to be murdered himself.”

If ever a time could come at which the revolution could be started in Chicago, it would seem that it was that fourth day of May. Forty thousand men, as the “Arbeiter” estimated the day before, were on strike. Fourteen months before that time, as “The Alarm” stated, there were eighty groups of Internationals in the United States, and the efforts to increase the number had been unrelenting. If Spies’s indignation was real, — and I do not doubt the fanaticism of the man, nor that he had really persuaded himself that the cause of which he and his companions had so long been partisans, and which had probably much increased since the Thanksgiving Day and the Board of Trade demonstrations, might succeed, — then certainly the great body of equally fanatical and much less intelligent anarchists could not be expected ever to be more ready than then to inaugurate the revolution. “Now or never” was Spies’s cry two days before, and the riot at McCormick’s had heated all their blood.

On that fourth day of May Fischer caused to be distributed a circular, in both English and German, as follows:

“ATTENTION WORKINGMEN! *Great Mass-Meeting to-night at 7.30 o’clock, at the Haymarket, Randolph St., bet. Desplaines and*

Halsted. Good speakers will be present to denounce the latest atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon. Workingmen arm yourselves and appear in full force!

"THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE."

After some of them (how many did not appear) had been printed, Spies caused the words, "Workingmen arm yourselves and appear in full force" to be stricken out, and the larger number, some twenty thousand, of the circulars actually distributed did not contain those words. As a witness on the trial, Spies said in relation to those words: "I objected to that principally because I thought it was ridiculous to put a phrase in which would prevent people from attending the meeting: another reason was that there was some excitement at that time, and a call for arms like that might have caused trouble between the police and the attendants of that meeting."

I am not concerned with the truth of that explanation. While there is abundant evidence to warrant the conclusion—the irresistible conclusion, beyond all reasonable doubt—that the act of throwing that bomb was the act of some one of the many conspirators against society and social order, done, in the language of the Supreme Court in the Brennan case before cited, "in the prosecution of the common object," and therefore all the conspirators "are alike guilty of the homicide," yet I shall endeavor to show the guilt of the anarchists on a still narrower ground.

That narrower ground is that the publications in the "Arbeiter" and "Alarm," and the speeches of Spies, Parsons, Schwab, Fielden, and Engel (whose speeches were proved at great length on the trial, all of them advising their hearers to arm themselves, among other things, with dynamite), *were acts in furtherance of the design and purpose of the conspiracy, by conspirators, and therefore upon legal principles acts of the whole body and each individual of the co-conspirators; that the general advice given to all readers and hearers was advice to each and every individual of those readers and hearers; that advice to pursue a course of conduct embracing or including a particular act is advice to do that act; that it is inconceivable that the man who threw a bomb made by Lingg, one of the conspirators, was not by some of those publications or speeches encouraged so to do, and therefore the whole body of the conspirators were accessories to the act of throwing it, and responsible for it, whether it was thrown by one who was himself a member of the conspiracy, or who was some harebrained fool, or some criminal who wished to avenge himself for some grievance, real or fancied, that he had suffered at the hands of the police. When I come to*

what the counsel for the defense urged at the trial, I shall recur to this point, and endeavor to illustrate it.

The meeting came. It was held not in the Haymarket proper, but in Desplaines street, between Randolph street and Lake street, next north of Randolph. Between three hundred and four hundred feet south of a wagon that was used as a stand for the speakers was a police station, on Desplaines street, at which a large force was concentrated. Spies spoke first. In a shorthand report of part of his speech, proved at the trial, is this: "It is said that I inspired the attack on McCormick's. That is a lie. The fight is going on; now is the chance to strike for the existence of the oppressed classes. The oppressors want us to be content; they will kill us. The thought of liberty which inspired your sires to fight for their freedom ought to animate you to-day. The day is not far distant when we will resort to hanging these men. [Applause, and cries of 'Hang them now!'] McCormick is the man who created the row Monday, and he must be held responsible for the murder of our brothers. [Cries of 'Hang him!'] Don't make any threats; they are of no avail; when you get ready to do something, do it and don't make any threats beforehand."

Parsons spoke next. The following is from the shorthand report of part of his speech: "It behooves you, as you love your wife and children—if you don't want to see them perish with hunger, killed or cut down like dogs on the street,—Americans, in the interest of your liberty and your independence, to arm, arm yourselves."

With some other context (but what it was the witnesses could not tell), one witness for the State and one for the defense testified that Parsons in the same speech also said, "To arms! To arms! To arms!"

The latter part of the speech of Fielden, who spoke after Parsons, was reported in shorthand as follows: "There are premonitions of danger. All knew. The press say the anarchists will sneak away; we are not going to. If we continue to be robbed, it will not be long before we will be murdered. There is no security for the working-classes under the present social system. A few individuals control the means of living, and holding the workingmen in a vise. Everybody does not know. Those who know it are tired of it, and know the others will get tired of it, too. They are determined to end it, and will end it, and there is no power in the land that will prevent them. Congressman Foran said: 'The laborer can get nothing from legislation.' He also said that the laborers can get some relief from their present condition when the rich man knew it was unsafe for him to live in a com-



munity where there were dissatisfied working-men, for they would solve the labor problem. I don't know whether you are Democrats or Republicans, but whichever you are, you worship at the shrine of rebels. John Brown, Jefferson, Washington, Patrick Henry, and Hopkins said to the people: 'The law is your enemy. We are rebels against it.' The law is only framed for those that are your enslavers. [A voice: 'That is true.'] Men in their blind rage attacked McCormick's factory, and were shot down by the law in cold blood in the city of Chicago, in the protection of property. These men were going to do some damage to a certain person's interest, who was a large property-owner; therefore the law came to his defense. And when McCormick undertook to do some injury to the interest of those who had no property, the law also came to his defense, and not to the workingman's defense, when he, Mr. McCormick, attacked him and his living. [Cries of 'No.'] There is the difference. The law makes no distinction. A million men own all the property in this country. The law has no use for the other fifty-four million. [A voice, 'Right enough.'] You have nothing more to do with the law except to lay hands on it, and throttle it until it makes its last kick. It turns your brothers out on the wayside, and has degraded them until they have lost the last vestige of humanity, and they are mere things and animals. Keep your eye upon it. Throttle it. Kill it. Stab it. Do everything you can to wound it, to impede its progress. Remember, before trusting them to do anything for yourself, prepare to do it for yourself. Don't turn over your business to anybody else. No man deserves anything unless he is man enough to make an effort to lift himself from oppression. Is it not a fact that we have no choice as to our existence, for we can't dictate what our labor is worth? He that has to obey the will of any is a slave. Can we do anything except by the strong arm of resistance? Socialists are not going to declare war; but I tell you, war has been declared upon us, and I ask you to get hold of anything that will help to resist the onslaught of the enemy and the usurper. The skirmish-lines have met. People have been shot. Men, women, and children have not been spared by the capitalists and minions of private capital. It had no mercy, so ought you. You are called upon to defend yourselves, your lives, your future. What matters it whether you kill yourselves with work to get a little relief, or die on the battle-field resisting the enemy? What is the difference? Any animal, however loathsome, will resist when stepped upon. Are men less than snails and worms? I have some resistance in me; I know that you have, too. You have been

robbed, and you will be starved into a worse condition."

At this point a hundred and eighty policemen, from the station before mentioned, marching in platoons, led by Inspector John Bonfield and Captain William Ward, halted a few feet from the wagon from which the speeches were made, and Captain Ward in a loud voice said: "I command you, in the name of the People of the State of Illinois, to immediately and peaceably disperse."

This action of the police was in strict accordance with the law of the State. Section 253, Chapter 38, Revised Statutes, provides that "when twelve or more persons, any of them armed with clubs or dangerous weapons, or thirty or more, armed or unarmed, are unlawfully, riotously, or tumultuously assembled in any city, . . . it shall be the duty of each of the municipal officers . . . to go among the persons so assembled . . . and in the name of the State command them immediately to disperse." A crowd of people, variously estimated by different witnesses at from eight hundred to two thousand, filled a public street of the city after ten o'clock at night. They were listening to, and shouting their approval of, speeches urging them, in language the most exciting, and with arguments the most persuasive that the speakers knew how to use, to violence and bloodshed. It is utterly without foundation for anarchists or their sympathizers to urge that the throwing of that bomb was an act of self-defense. No attack was made by the police. The same section last cited makes the refusal to obey the command to disperse punishable by fine and imprisonment.

Fielden replied to Captain Ward, "We are peaceable," and at once the bomb thrown from a point on the east sidewalk near to, and a little south of, the wagon, with the lighted fuse making a shining trail in the night air, fell and exploded among the policemen, and wounded sixty-six of them, of whom seven died of their wounds. Degan was the first who died. No soldiers ever carried to a battle-field greater courage or better discipline than that band of policemen then displayed. The sound of the explosion was deafening. One third of their number was down. That other bombs were to follow was to be expected. But to the command, "Fall in; close up," every man of them not disabled gave prompt obedience.

Pieces of the bomb were extracted from some of the victims, and chemically analyzed. A nut entered the person of a bystander. That nut, and the shape of the pieces of the bomb, as well as the analysis, so strictly conformed to "globular" bombs found in Lingg's room, and which it was proved he made, that there is no reasonable doubt that the exploded bomb was his produc-

tion. All that afternoon, with several assistants, all Internationals, he had been filling bombs, most of which early in the evening were taken to a beer-saloon, from which place they were distributed. All the regular meeting-places of the Internationals, except the office of the "Arbeiter," were beer-saloons or halls adjoining them.

A few words only as to the defendants other than Spies and Parsons. Schwab, as has been said, was one of the editors of the "Arbeiter," and made numerous speeches in the same spirit, and to the same effect, as the extracts from the paper which I have copied. Fielden was a small stockholder in "The Alarm," and one of its committee of management; he traveled to organize "groups," and made numerous speeches in Chicago calling upon the working-men to arm, to learn the use of dynamite. Fischer and Engel first planned the Haymarket meeting, with some loose talk of a committee to observe what might happen there, and if a conflict came, to report; but nothing very definite was arranged. Fischer was a stockholder in the "Arbeiter," and foreman of its press-room, and Engel assisted in starting another paper called the "Anarchist," the reason for starting it, as he said, being that the "Arbeiter" was not radical enough. He also made speeches advocating arming, and instructing how to make bombs. Neebe was a stockholder in the "Arbeiter," and took charge of the property on May 5, 1886, after Spies and Schwab were arrested. He distributed some of the "Revenge" circulars. All of the defendants were members of groups of the Internationals, as has already been stated, and took part in meetings of the groups, and in general meetings of the Internationals.

The mere fact that the defendants were members of the Internationals, more or less active in the organization, even though their action was confined to meetings of the groups, of itself made them co-conspirators with the more active members who worked publicly. The International was a combination (the technical legal term for which is conspiracy) to overturn all government by force. Whoever took part in that combination was a conspirator.

In selecting from the great bulk of printed matter issued or circulated by the anarchists, and proved at the trial, I have been embarrassed in determining where to stop. If any reader wishes to see more of it, he may turn to the report of the case in the Supreme Court in the volumes to which I have referred; and if not then content, the history of the trial, prepared by the counsel for the defendants, in order to have the case reviewed by the Supreme Court, is on file in the Criminal Court of Cook County, and a copy thereof is among the records of the Supreme Court of the State of Illinois, and he

can there read ten, twenty, fifty times as much as I present, of the same sort.

I protest that in copying these fierce denunciations, these recitals of alleged tyranny and oppression, these seemingly pitying descriptions of the hardships and wrongs of the humble and the poor, written with apparent sincerity and real intellectual ability, I have occasionally almost lost sight of the atrocity of the advice given by the anarchists, and felt a sort of sympathy with the writers who would have praised my assassination as a virtuous act. And the active leaders were men who fascinated, apparently, those with whom they came in contact. To some extent they imbued their counsel with the notion that they had been engaged in a worthy cause. To show this, I shall quote from speeches on the trial and at their graves. Men and women of a high order of intelligence, of pure lives, amiable in their own dispositions, seemed under a spell to them. And these denunciations, these recitals, these descriptions, as well as almost countless speeches of the same character, burning from the lips of no mean orators, were addressed to the people whose sufferings they professed to depict; people who, in fact, did not share in the luxuries, and were not able to participate in many of the comforts, of life which they saw around them; people of whom Spies testified that they were "stupid and ignorant"; all prepared to believe that anarchy offered a heroic remedy for the inequalities of life, the evils of which, real or fancied, fell upon them. Who can estimate the effect? The wonder is that a tragedy was so long delayed.

All lawyers, courts, text-writers, even the counsel of the anarchists, as I will show later, agree that the act of one conspirator is the act of each of his co-conspirators, even when the particular act has not been agreed upon by them, but is done in the exercise of the actor's own discretion, for the accomplishment of the common purpose. When a conspiracy is mentioned, the popular idea is of a midnight gathering, masked faces, low voices, passwords, and the utmost secrecy. To this idea Mr. Zeisler, in his argument to the jury, referred: "What is a conspiracy? What were you used to understand by the word conspiracy? Is n't, in the first place, secrecy the test of a conspiracy? Was there anything secret about the doings of these men, or about their teachings and writings?"

Secrecy is not essential to a conspiracy, which is simply "a combination of two or more persons, by some concerted action, to accomplish some criminal or unlawful purpose; or to accomplish some purpose, not in itself criminal or unlawful, by criminal or unlawful means" (3 Greenleaf, Evidence, Sec. 89).

It is probably true that Rudolph Schnau-

belt threw the bomb. He was twice arrested, but, having shaved off a full beard immediately after that fatal night, was discharged. After the second arrest he disappeared, and has gone to parts unknown. But whether Schnaubelt or some other person threw the bomb, is not an important question. The great effort of the defendants' counsel on the trial—and it began on the first day of the putting in of the evidence—was to establish their position, that each separate meeting of any of the defendants was, if there was any conspiracy in the case, a separate conspiracy, for which only those who participated knowingly in any illegal act at such meeting, or had advised that particular act, were responsible. For example, Mr. Grinnell, in his opening statement to the jury of what the State expected to prove, had referred to the contents of the "Arbeiter" and "The Alarm." A witness named Waller, who had received a bomb from Fischer, was on the stand. I now quote from the Chicago "Tribune" of July 17, 1886, reporting the proceedings of the trial on the day before: "Mr. Waller," asked Mr. Ingham, 'did you ever receive any bombs from anybody?' This question was objected to by Mr. Foster, who arose and made a speech in which he claimed that this line of evidence was entirely immaterial. He said that testimony could have no possible bearing on the case unless the prosecution intended to trace the deadly bomb that was used on Haymarket Square into the hands of the man who threw it. The existence of a general conspiracy to kill the police and destroy property had no connection with the case, unless it was shown that there was a conspiracy to do the deed that was done on Haymarket Square. The conspiracy might have existed. Then let the grand jury indict the defendants for conspiracy. But there was no murder unless it was shown that the defendants killed Officer Deagan. The commission of a crime by somebody unknown to them, and without their knowledge or sanction, could not be laid to them. The connection of the defendants with the specific act must be shown.

"Mr. Ingham replied: 'It is true that eight lives are at stake, but organized government is also at stake. We propose to show that for one, two, or three years, right in this city, a gigantic conspiracy has been in force and operation; a conspiracy of which these eight men were the leaders. We expect to show that these men have for months and years preached a doctrine of open revolution and recourse to arms. They intended to be guilty of revolution May 1. For weeks and months previously they were preparing for this revolution. We expect to bring into court

dynamite bombs by the dozen, and until the dozens run up into barrels. No bomb which we shall trace to these defendants could have any possible legitimate purpose. We shall show by men of science that dynamite bombs cannot be used for anything else but for cowardly and atrocious murder. If we can show that this bomb-throwing was the result of this general conspiracy, one of the most powerful links in that chain of evidence is the fact that these men at all times had in their possession, and were distributing to others, these bombs. We expect to show that this man had in possession a number of bombs, filled with dynamite, which he obtained from the defendant Fischer, and that Fischer was months ago arming himself for the purpose of destroying property and for murder.'

"Mr. Foster: 'Suppose that somebody, without their knowledge, consent, or approval, threw the bomb; are these men guilty of murder?'

"Mr. Ingham: 'We can show that each one of these men was part of the general conspiracy to overthrow public authority, to annihilate the police force, the banks and the public offices. As a result of this general conspiracy this bomb was thrown. They cannot look the law in the face, and smile and sneer at what their leader, Herr Most, called the farce of the law. The law of the State of Illinois is strong enough to hang every man of them.'

"Mr. Foster: 'I have always failed to see why editorials in the "Arbeiter Zeitung," speeches at meetings, and newspaper reports can be involved in this case. I object to a conviction upon a general conspiracy, which would be a conviction on general principles. If I and the other counsel in this case conspire to rob Brother Ingham of his purse when he goes home to-night, and the one who was to grab him by the throat clutches him too tightly and strangles him, then we are guilty of murder. But if we embark in this conspiracy, and somebody else, at another place, murders somebody, are we to be held responsible?'

"Judge Gary's decision was as follows: 'If it is agreed to use violence for the destruction of human lives upon an occasion which is not yet foreseen, but upon some general principle on which the conspirators substantially agree; for example, if a large number of men agreed to kill the police if they were found in conflict with the strikers, leaving the date to the agencies of time to determine; whenever the time and occasion do come for the use of that violence, and when that violence is used, are not the parties who have agreed beforehand to use the means of



destruction equally guilty? Suppose that there was a general agreement that weapons of death should be used if the police got into a conflict with the strikers; that is, if the police undertook to enforce the laws of the State and prevent a breach of the peace and destruction of property—if the police undertook to do so, that then they would attack and kill the police, but the time and occasion of the attack itself were not foreseen; the time and occasion being to be determined by the parties who were to use the force when in their judgment the time and occasion were to come; and then, when the police were found attempting to preserve the peace, some persons who have been parties to this agreement do kill them, are not all of these persons equally guilty? If there was a general combination and agreement among a great number of individuals to kill policemen if they came into conflict with parties with whom they were friendly—meetings of workmen, and bodies of strikers; if it was the combination and agreement to kill the police in their attempts to preserve the peace; if there was such a combination and agreement among a great number of men, the object of which was something beyond mere local disturbance, whether it was the object to offer a new form of civil society or not; if there was such an agreement to kill the police upon some occasion that might occur in the future, whether the proper time had arrived being left to their judgment, then if that violence was used and resulted in the death of the police, then those who were party to the agreement are guilty of the death. It is entirely competent for the State to show that these several defendants have had such missiles in their possession to be used on occasions that they might anticipate. There need not be an agreement that they should be used on this specific occasion, but on some occasion that might arise in the future. Any one case where such violence was used may involve the showing of the entire conspiracy from beginning to end.”

I shall make no apology for my disjointed language and repetitions, as above quoted, but take refuge in the reflection that the opinions of Lord Eldon, a great, if not the greatest, English chancellor, have been characterized as exhibiting great lucidity of thought in great turgidity of expression. I have quoted the debate and my decision from the paper of the day, that nobody may question the truth of my statement as to the theory, or doctrine of law, on which the case was tried. *The anarchists were not tried for being anarchists, but for procuring murder to be done, and being therefore themselves guilty of murder.*

When the evidence on the side of the prose-

cution closed, Mr. Salomon addressed the jury upon the evidence already in, and upon what the defense expected to prove. I quote a few of his sentences: “The law says, no matter whether these defendants advised generally the use of dynamite in the purpose which they claimed to carry out, and sought to carry out, yet if none of these defendants advised the throwing of that bomb at the Haymarket, they cannot be held responsible for the action of others at other times and other places. What does the evidence introduced here tend to show? It may occur to some of you, gentlemen, to ask: ‘What, then, can these defendants preach the use of dynamite? May they be allowed to go on and urge people to overturn the present government and the present condition of society without being held responsible for it, and without punishment?’ . . . Now, what is the statute on conspiracy, of which these defendants may be guilty, if they are guilty of anything? . . . Now these defendants are not criminals, they are not robbers, they are not burglars, they are not common thieves; they descend to no small criminal act. On the contrary, this evidence shows conclusively that they are men of broad feelings of humanity; that their only desire has been, and their lives have been consecrated to, the betterment of their fellow-men. . . . It is true that they have adopted means, or wanted to adopt means, that were not approved of by all mankind. It is true that their methods were dangerous, perhaps; but then they should have been stopped at their inception.”

It probably will occur to the reader that the “Arbeiter” said “there would have been pieces” if they had been stopped at the Board of Trade demonstration, and that in fact the police were murdered at the first real attempt made to stop them; but probably Mr. Salomon meant “stopped” by an arrest on a warrant for conspiracy.

That puts him in this dilemma. If they were engaged in anything criminal, it was a conspiracy to induce people to resort to violence; then if they succeeded, and that violence ended in murder, who is guilty? There is nothing criminal in a combination of few or many to induce and persuade the people of the United States to change our form of government to a monarchy, or to abandon all government for anarchy; the criminality of the anarchists was not in the ultimate end they proposed, but in the means by which they proposed to attain it. Those means—by violence and slaughter—changed what otherwise might have been merely a faction in politics into a band of criminals. They became conspirators, and for the consequences of their acts as such responsible.

I remember, in greater detail than follows, a part of Mr. Foster's speech to the jury, but shall take from the Chicago "Tribune" of Sunday, August 15, this report of what Mr. Foster said the day before. It does not purport to be verbatim, but I am content to leave the fairness of it to Mr. Foster. "If Mr. Foster should advise a man who was hard up to go down to the corner of Clark and Lake streets, to knock down and rob the first likely looking man that came along, Mr. Foster would not be guilty of robbery; but if he advised a man to select Mr. Grinnell as the victim, and Mr. Grinnell should be killed in the scuffle, then Mr. Foster would be guilty; and that was the position of the defendants." The moral of *Æsop's* fable of the "Trumpeter," "He that provokes and incites mischief is the doer of it" had not been before questioned for nearly a hundred generations.

The same proposition was insisted upon in the brief of the anarchists before the Supreme Court, when Mr. Foster was no longer connected with the case. I copy extracts: "The instructions given for the people were erroneous in assuming that there is in law such a thing as advice to commit murder, without designating the victim, time, place, or occasion; in other words, that mere general advice to the public at large to commit deeds of violence as contained in speeches or publications, without reference to the particular crime charged, and without specifying object, manner, time, or place, works responsibility as for murder. . . . A man might cry out in the public streets: 'Kill, kill; murder, murder,' by the day and by the hour, and would not advise murder in contemplation of law. Unless he designated the victim, the means, the manner, time, or place, he has not done sufficient by his outcries alone to become amenable to the law as an accessory before the fact to the crime of murder."

Mr. Black, speaking of the approach of the police, said to the jury: "In disregard of our constitutional rights as citizens, it was proposed to order the dispersal of a peaceable meeting. Has it come to pass that under the Constitution of the United States and of this State, our meetings for the discussion of grievances are subject to be scattered to the winds at the breath of a petty police officer? Can they take into their hands the law? If so, that is anarchy; the chaos of constitutional right and legally guaranteed liberty. I ask you again, charging no legal responsibility here, but looking at the man who is morally at fault for the death-harvest of that night, who brought it on? Would it have been but for the act of Bonfield?"

The duty of the police to disperse a meeting at which Fielden was telling the crowd to

throttle, kill, stab the law, I have shown. It was the report, brought by a detective to the police station, of this part of Fielden's speech that started Bonfield, with the police under his command.

Free speech! Martyrs for free speech, whose "constitutional right and legally guaranteed liberty" to hold in the public streets of a great city, after ten o'clock at night, meetings at which they might cry "Kill, kill; murder, murder" (and be guiltless of natural and probable consequences of their advice and persuasions), were ruthlessly invaded by "the law-and-order beast"!

After the verdict the defendants moved for a new trial. By consent of counsel on both sides, all nearly exhausted by their labors, the discussion of that motion was postponed to the October term.

I have said that "the active leaders were men who fascinated, apparently, those with whom they came in contact." For two reasons I must copy part of a letter from Mrs. Black, dated September 22, 1886, to the editor of the Chicago "Daily News," and printed in that paper the next day,—first as an instance of that fascination, and second, because a part of what I said to the defendants, all of which later I shall copy, would lose its force to a reader ignorant of her letter. I should like to copy the whole letter, but can quote only extracts, as the whole is more than two thousand words: "I had never known an anarchist, did not know what the term meant, until my husband became counsel for the defense of the men accused of the murder of Matt J. Degan, the policeman killed at the Haymarket on the night of May 4. . . . Like every one I knew, I felt a horror for the tragic events of that eventful night. . . . As for pitying the men accused of these deaths, my mind only revolted in horror; and though, by Christian sentiment and principle opposed to capital punishment, I almost wondered that lynch-law did not, with its barbaric and disgraceful savagery, bring a blush to our civic cheeks. . . . But one day one came to speak for that side which so long had been unheard,—the accused,—and I found out that, as to everything, there are two sides to this. When I learned the facts I became assured in my own mind that the wrong men had been arrested, and thrown into cells, and subjected to the most horrible treatment. . . . I came to know so many terrible secrets that I often questioned whether I still trod this humanized earth, or whether Satan's cohorts had, by some evil chance, taken possession of man's habitation and heart. . . . During all that long trial a kind of soul crucifixion was imposed upon me. Often, as I took up one or the other of the daily papers, I would recall reverently those

words of my divine Master: 'For which of my good works do you stone me?' . . . The labor party is about to appear simultaneously all over the earth. These anarchists are the advance-guard. Call them, if you choose, the forlorn hope; but whatever you do, citizen of to-day, cease your attacks upon these men. You cannot afford to revenge yourselves upon them at the price it will cost. . . . I know that capital says, 'We have the army, the militia, artillery, and the most improved weapons for disciplined men'; but oh, my God! what is that before even ten thousand men with dynamite bombs? your army would sigh no more after but one volley of bombs, and there are worse things in the knowledge of all the labor party now. Let us then deal justly. . . . Anarchy is simply a human effort to bring about the millennium. Why do we want to hang men for that, when every pulpit has thundered that the time is near at hand? . . . I tell you that if you hang these men it will precipitate a civil war which, because of scientific discovery, will soon depopulate the earth. . . . Recollect, I am not an anarchist. But I am an ardent advocate of the rights of the workingmen, in common with every other citizen, to meet and make speeches,—ay, and to defend themselves against interference or interruption, as guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States, that grand old instrument now being infringed upon and insulted."

It will be remembered that the motion for a new trial was, at the time that letter appeared, soon to come on before me. It did come on, took a week, and was then denied. A part of what I then said is as follows: "In passing upon this motion for a new trial, the case is so voluminous, and there is such a mass of evidence, that it is impossible within any reasonable limit to give a synopsis or epitome of it. I do not understand that, either upon the trial before the jury, or upon the argument of the motion before me, there has been any argument tending, or intended, to deny that all of the defendants, except Neebe, were parties to whatever purpose or object there was in view; that the other seven were combined for some purpose. . . . What it is, is a matter which the counsel have debated and argued before the jury, and before me. Now it is important to know what that object was; whether it was, as counsel for the defendants have stated here, merely to encourage workingmen to resist if unlawful attacks were made upon them, or whether it was something else. There is no way of ascertaining so clearly what the object was, as to read what the defendants themselves have spoken and printed as to their objects while the events were transpiring. Now, from the files of the newspapers, which go back a

good ways, a great deal can be taken, which must of necessity be taken as the truth of what their object was."

Then I read from the "Arbeiter" and "The Alarm" at considerable length, and proceeded: "Now, in addition to all these papers, there is the testimony of witnesses as to the various speeches which were made, and the conclusion is irresistible that the combination which, so far as we see here, began in 1884, was a combination which had for its purpose the changing of the existing order of society, the overthrow of the government, and the abolition of all law. There can be no question in the mind of any man who reads these articles, and hears what speeches were made, that that was the object long before any eight-hour movement was talked about, and then that the eight-hour movement which they advocated was but a means in their estimation toward the end which they sought, and that the eight-hour movement was not the primary consideration with them at all. The papers and the speeches furnish the answer to the argument of counsel that what they proposed was simply that they should arm themselves so as to resist any unlawful attacks which the police or militia might make upon them, because these articles, as well as Spies's own account of the McCormick affair, all show that what they claimed with reference to the eight-hour movement, or in reference to strikes, was, that if employers chose to employ other men in the place of those who had struck for any cause—wages or hours—that the employment of other men must be prevented by force; and if the police then undertook to resist the force that was used to prevent the employment of other men, that was the ground upon which the police or militia, or whoever exercised that force, might be destroyed. Now, there can be no claim that that is a lawful object. There can be no claim but that force used to the extent of taking human life in carrying out that object is murder. It is impossible for any man to argue that any set of men have the right to dictate to other men whether they shall work or not for a particular individual, and if they choose to work in defiance of that dictation, to drive them off by force, and if the police undertake to prevent the use of that force, then they have the right to kill the police. It is impossible to contend for any such principle as that. They say constantly that the majority must be overcome by force; that they have no hope of overcoming the majority by winning them over to their side, but they must annihilate them by force. Now, there is no doubt that is murder, and there is no room for any argument that as to seven of these defendants they were not in that combination, whatever the object of it was."



After reviewing the evidence as to Neebe, I continued: "Now, on the question of the instructions, whether these defendants, any of them, did anticipate or expect the throwing of the bomb on the night of the fourth of May, is not a question which I need to consider, because the conviction cannot be sustained, if that is necessary to a conviction, however much evidence of it there may be, because the instructions do not go upon that ground. The jury were not instructed to find the defendants guilty if they believed that they participated in the throwing of that bomb, or encouraged or advised the throwing of that bomb, or had knowledge that it was to be thrown, or anything of that sort. The conviction has not gone upon the ground that they did have actually any personal participation in the particular act which caused the death of Degan; but the conviction proceeds upon the ground, under the instructions, that they had generally by speech and print advised large classes of the people, not particular individuals, but large classes, to commit murder, and have left the commission, the time, and place, and when, to the individual will and whim or caprice, or whatever it may be, of each individual man who listened to their advice, and that in consequence of that advice, in pursuance of that advice, and influenced by that advice, somebody not known did throw the bomb that caused Degan's death. Now, if that is not a correct principle of law, then the defendants, of course, are entitled to a new trial. This case is without precedent. There is no example in the law-books of a case of this sort. No such occurrence has ever happened before in the history of the world. I suppose that in the Lord George Gordon riots we may, perhaps, find something like this, but Lord George Gordon was indicted for treason, and the government failed in its proofs upon the trial as to what he had done. Very likely they did not want to prove it very strongly against him. I do not know; it is none of my business."

I then read the section of the statute as to accessories, and proceeded: "Now, if it can be ascertained that, in fact, the throwing of the bomb was in pursuance of their advice, and influenced by their advice,—when I say their advice, of course the advice of one is the advice of all, because if the conspiracy is established, then whatever either did is the act of each one,—if, in fact, it could be established that the throwing of the bomb was the act of the person who did it, in pursuance of their advice, and under the influence of their advice, why, it seems to me that there would be no room for question that whoever gave the advice would be guilty of the consequences which followed the giving of that advice. So

that if I am correct as to that, then the question comes back,—whether it can be proved; whether the thing itself is susceptible of such proof, when the man himself who threw the bomb cannot be identified; whether in point of law there is such an impossibility of proof that that individual threw it in pursuance of their advice, that the instruction cannot be right."

I have already stated that the meetings of the anarchists were mostly held in beer-saloons or halls adjacent. No. 54 West Lake street was such a place. This fact suggested my illustration as follows: "Perhaps I can make my view upon that subject clearer by an illustration. Suppose that the radical temperance men should, for a long period of time, by speeches and publications, declare that there was no hope of stopping the evils of the liquor traffic, except by blowing up saloons and killing saloon-keepers; that it was useless to expect any reform by legislation; that no prohibition laws, nor high-license laws, nor any other laws would have any effect in their estimation, and that therefore they must blow up the saloons and kill the saloon-keepers,—and justify that course; suppose that, in addition to that, they taught means by which saloons could be blown up and saloon-keepers killed, and then called a meeting in West Lake street, in front of No. 54 West Lake, and while some speakers were denouncing the liquor traffic, and saying to an audience, 'If you are ready to do anything, do it without making any idle threat,' and another speaker says, 'Throttle, kill, stab the saloon business, or it will kill, throttle, and stab you,' and then, while that speaking is going on, some unknown man out of the crowd, with a bomb of the manufacture of the temperance men, explodes No. 54 Lake street, and kills the occupants of the house,—I apprehend that none of the parties who are objecting to the insufficiency of this proof in this case would have any hesitation in saying that the men who had advised that conduct were guilty of it."

After reviewing at considerable length the evidence, I continued: "If a thing can be proved by circumstantial evidence, that is true; that the act of throwing that bomb was in consequence of, in pursuance of, influenced by, this teaching, this advice, by speech and print for a course of two years, that a man should throw a bomb; the disposition in him to throw it, produced by the teachings of these defendants, cannot be questioned. . . . It is the frequent boast of people who profess to admire the common law that it adapts itself; that its principles are so adapted to human nature that as new events, new circumstances, new combinations arise; new inventions, new

forms of industry; the common law, that the common law has principles which may be applied to new events and circumstances; and the principle here applies, that if it is proved, so that a jury must, if they draw a reasonable conclusion, believe that the man who threw that bomb was acting under the influence of this advice, then the defendants are all guilty; and if so, if that is the law, then the instructions are all right."

I expect, if my article receives any attention from anarchists or their sympathizers, that it will be garbled, and that I shall be misrepresented. It is for that reason that I quote, and do not undertake to condense or polish, what I said. There shall be no ground to say that this paper contains, not the theories applied at the trial, but afterthoughts.

On the trial Spies, Schwab, Fielden, and Parsons had taken the stand as witnesses. Engel, Fischer, Lingg, and Neebe kept off; no doubt their counsel acted wisely in not putting them on.

After the motion for a new trial was denied, I said: "Prisoners at the bar: For the first time during this painful and protracted proceeding it is my duty to speak to you, and call upon you, individually and separately, now to say, whether you have anything to say why sentence should not be passed upon you, according to the verdict of the jury." And then each of the defendants addressed me, occupying three days.

As Parsons, the last who spoke, sat down, I said: "I am quite well aware that what you have said, although addressed to me, has been said to the world; yet nothing has been said which weakens the force of the proof, or the conclusions therefrom upon which the verdict is based. You are all men of intelligence, and know that, if the verdict stands, it must be executed. The reasons why it shall stand, I have already sufficiently stated in deciding the motion for a new trial. I am sorry, beyond any power of expression, for your unhappy condition, and for the terrible events that have brought you to it. I shall address to you neither reproaches nor exhortations. What I shall say will be said in the faint hope that a few words from a place where the people of the State of Illinois have delegated the authority to declare the penalty of a violation of their laws, and spoken upon an occasion so solemn and awful as this, may come to the knowledge of, and be heeded by, the ignorant, deluded, and misguided men who have listened to your counsels and followed your advice. I say in the faint hope; for if men are persuaded that because of business differences, whether about labor or anything else, they may destroy property, and assault and beat other

men, and kill the police, if they, in the discharge of their duty, interfere to preserve the peace, there is little ground to hope that they will listen to any warning.

"Not the least among the hardships of the peaceable, frugal, and laborious poor, it is to endure the tyranny of mobs, who with lawless force dictate to them, under penalty of peril to limb and life, where, when, and upon what terms they may earn a livelihood for themselves and their families. Any government that is worthy of the name will strenuously endeavor to secure to all within its jurisdiction freedom to follow their lawful avocations in safety for their property and their persons while obeying the law.

"AND THE LAW IS COMMON SENSE.

"It holds each man responsible for the natural and probable consequences of his own acts. It holds that whoever advises murder, is himself guilty of the murder that is committed pursuant to his advice; and if men band together for forcible resistance to the execution of the law, and advise murder as a means of making such resistance effectual, whether such advice be to one man to murder another, or to a numerous class to murder men of another class, all who are so banded together are guilty of any murder that is committed in pursuance of such advice.

"The people of this country love their institutions. They love their homes. They love their property. They will never consent that by violence and murder those institutions shall be broken down, their homes despoiled, and their property destroyed. And the people are strong enough to protect and sustain their institutions, and to punish all offenders against their laws; and those who threaten danger to civil society, if the law is enforced, are leading to destruction whoever may attempt to execute such threats.

"The existing order of society can be changed only by the will of the majority.

"Each man has the full right to entertain, and advocate by speech and print, such opinions as suit himself; and the great body of the people will usually care little what he says; but if he proposes murder as a means of enforcing them, he puts his own life at stake; and no clamor about free speech, or evils to be cured, or wrongs to be redressed, will shield him from the consequences of his crime. His liberty is not a license to destroy. The toleration that he enjoys he must extend to others, and not arrogantly assume that the great majority are wrong, and may rightly be coerced by terror or removed by dynamite.

"It only remains that for the crime you have committed, and of which you have been convicted after a trial unexampled in the patience

with which an outraged people have extended to you every protection and privilege of the law which you derided and defied, the sentence of that law be now pronounced. In form and detail that sentence will appear upon the records of the court. In substance and effect it is that the defendant Neebe be imprisoned in the State Penitentiary at Joliet at hard labor for the term of fifteen years; and that each of the other defendants, between the hours of ten o'clock in the forenoon and two o'clock in the afternoon of the third day of December next, in the manner provided by the statute, be hung by the neck until he is dead."

Then to the bailiffs: "Remove the prisoners."

Thus ended, on the ninth day of October, 1886, the trial of the anarchists.

The case went to the Supreme Court, where the judgment of the Criminal Court was affirmed, and the opinion of the Supreme Court, prepared by Mr. Justice Benjamin D. Magruder, was filed September 14, 1887.

Prophecy was fulfilled. Just a hundred years before some one of the days on which Judge Magruder was engaged in the preparation of that opinion, the citizens of Philadelphia, rejoicing over the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, by which a loose confederacy was welded into a great nation, carried in procession a banner on which were these lines:

The crimes and frauds of Anarchy shall fail;  
Returning Justice lifts aloft her scale.

To state, without going into particulars, that the sentences of Schwab and Fielden were commuted to imprisonment for life, that Lingg by suicide, one day before, escaped hanging, is enough.

The Supreme Court had, in pursuance of the statute, fixed another day for the execution, the one first fixed having passed. On the eleventh day of November, 1887, the other defendants who had been sentenced to death were executed; on the 13th, Mr. Black, who had been called to speak over their graves, and

the grave of Lingg, said: "... I loved these men. I knew them not until I came to know them in the time of their sore travail and anguish. As months went by and I found in the lives of those with whom I talked the witness of their love for the people, of their patience, gentleness, and courage, my heart was taken captive in their cause. . . . I say that whatever of fault may have been in them, these, the people whom they loved and in whose cause they died, may well close the volume, and seal up the record, and give our lips to the praise of their heroic deeds, and their sublime self-sacrifice."

If these words have any meaning, they refer to the acts of the anarchists which I have, in part, told; "the people whom they loved" they deceived, deluded, and endeavored to convert into murderers; the "cause they died in" was rebellion, to prosecute which they taught and instigated murder; their "heroic deeds" were causeless, wanton murders done; and the "sublime self-sacrifice" of the only one to whom the words can apply was suicide, to escape the impending penalty of the law incurred by murder.

For nearly seven years the clamor, uncontradicted, has gone round the world that the anarchists were heroes and martyrs, victims of prejudice and fear. Not a dozen persons alive were prepared by familiarity with the details of their crime and trial, and present knowledge of the materials from which those details could be shown, to present a succinct account of them to the public. It so happened that my position was such that from me that account would probably attract as much attention as it would from any other source. Right-minded, thoughtful people, who recognize the necessity to civilization of the existence and enforcement of laws for the protection of human life, and who yet may have had misgivings as to the fate of the anarchists, will, I trust, read what I have written, and dismiss those misgivings, convinced that in law and in morals the anarchists were rightly punished, not for opinions, but for horrible deeds.

*Joseph E. Gary.*

