

CHAPTER XXI.

The Great Trial Opens — Bonfield's History of the Massacre — How the Bomb Exploded — Dynamite in the Air — A Thrilling Story — Gottfried Waller's Testimony — An Anarchist's "Squeal" — The Murder Conspiracy Made Manifest by Many Witnesses.

ON Friday, July 16, the day following the delivery of the State's Attorney's argument, the first witness was called. The defendants appeared flushed with excitement, and the throng in the court-room was eager in expectancy of the State's evidence. Some of the officers disabled at the Haymarket were among the interested spectators. All were in a flutter of suppressed excitement.

"Felix D. Buschick," called the State's Attorney.

The sound re-echoed through the room and floated out through the open windows. Buschick advanced with trepidation and took the witness-stand. Every neck was craned to catch a glimpse of him as he arose. He was a draughtsman, and his testimony had reference simply to maps and plans showing the location of the Haymarket Square, the surrounding streets and alleys, the spot where the bomb was thrown, and the location of the Desplaines Street Station.

Inspector JOHN BONFIELD followed next. He stated that he was Inspector of Police, had been on the force ten years, and had been in command of the men ordered to rendezvous at Desplaines Station on the night of May 4. His testimony then proceeded as follows :

"I got there about six o'clock. There were present Capt. Ward, Lieuts. Bowler, Penzen, Stanton, Hubbard, Beard, Steele and Quinn, each in charge of a company. During that day our attention was called to a circular calling a meeting at the Haymarket that evening. I saw the Mayor that afternoon, then went to Desplaines Street Station and took command of the forces there, all told about one hundred and eighty men. We stayed in the station until between ten and half-past ten. The men then formed on Waldo Place. We marched down north on Desplaines Street. Capt. Ward and myself were at the head, Lieut. Steele with his company on the right, and Lieut. Quinn on the left; the next two companies that formed in division front, double line, were Lieut. Bowler on the right, Stanton on the left; next company in single line was Lieut. Hubbard. Lieuts. Beard and Penzen's orders were to stop at Randolph Street and face to the right and left. We marched until we came about to the mouth of Crane Brothers' alley. There was a truck wagon standing a little north of that alley and against the east sidewalk of Desplaines Street, from which they were speaking. There were orders issued in regard to the arms of the men and officers."

Being asked what those orders were, defendants' counsel objected, but the objection was overruled. Bonfield continued :

"The orders were, that no man should draw a weapon or fire or strike anybody until he received positive orders from his commanding officer. Each officer was dressed in full uniform, with his coat buttoned up to the throat and his club and belt on, and the club in the holder on the side. Capt. Ward and myself had our weapons in our hand; pistols in pockets. As we approached the truck, there was a person speaking from the truck. Capt. Ward turned slightly to the right and gave the statutory order to disperse: 'I command you, in the name of the people of the State of Illinois, to immediately and peaceably disperse.' As he repeated that, he said, 'I command you and you to assist.' Almost instantly, Mr. Fielden, who was speaking, turned so as to face the Captain and myself, stepped off from the end of the truck toward the sidewalk and said in a loud tone of voice, 'We are peaceable.' Almost instantly after that I heard from behind me a hissing sound, followed, in a second or two, by a terrific explosion. In coming up the street, part of the crowd ran on Desplaines toward Lake, but a great portion fell back to the sidewalks on the right and left, partly lapping back onto our flanks. Almost instantly after the explosion, firing from the front and both sides poured in on us. There were from seventy-five to a hundred pistol shots fired before a shot was fired by any officer. There was an interval of a few seconds between that and the return fire by the police. On hearing the explosion I turned around quickly, saw almost all the men of the second two lines shrink to the ground, and gave the order to close up. The men immediately re-formed. Lieuts. Steele and Quinn with their companies charged down the street; the others formed and took both sides. In a few moments the crowd was scattered in every direction. I gave the order to cease firing and went to pick up our wounded. Mathias J. Degan was almost instantly killed. The wounded, about sixty in number, were carried to the Desplaines Street Station. Seven died from the effects of wounds."

After identifying circulars calling the Haymarket meeting and demanding revenge, he continued:

"As we approached there were about five or six on the truck. Did not see the direction of the bomb; it came from my rear. I was about ten feet from the wagon. The rear rank of the first company and the second company suffered the most. During the evening or during the continuance of the meeting I received reports as to what was going on, from officers detailed for that purpose."

On cross-examination, his testimony was as follows:

"I was the highest officer on the ground that night. The whole force was under my special charge and direction. As we marched down, the divisions of police occupied the full width of the street from curb to curb. Around the corner of Desplaines and Randolph there were a few persons scattered, apparently paying no attention to the meeting; the crowd attending the speaking was apparently north of that alley. The speakers' wagon was not more than five or six feet north of that alley. Fielden, when speaking, was facing to the north and west, was facing us when my attention was especially called to him; there were about one thousand people there; don't remember whether it was moonlight; there were no street lamps lit; there was a clear sky. As we marched along, the crowd shifted its position; the speaking went right on. My experience is, if the police were marching

in parade, the crowd would get to the sidewalk to look on; if to disperse a crowd or mob, the natural thing would be for them to run away. I saw Fielden that night for the first time. As Capt. Ward turned to the wagon to give the order to disperse, I saw the men were still advancing, and I turned to the left, gave the command to halt, and then came up alongside of Capt. Ward. Capt. Ward stood within a few feet of the south end of that truck, which stood lengthwise of the sidewalk, the tongue end north. The front rank of the first division was near up to the north line of the alley, probably not more than ten or fifteen feet from the wagon. Before Capt. Ward had finished his command I was beside him. Capt. Ward spoke as loud as he could speak. Between my calling the halt and the explosion of the bomb, I don't think it was a minute. As the Captain finished, Fielden stepped from the truck and faced us, and, stepping on the street, he turned to the sidewalk or curb, which is perhaps ten inches above the street, and said: 'We are peaceable.' Within two or three seconds the explosion followed. I did not hear anything said by Fielden from the truck. When he stepped on the street I could have reached out and touched him. He did not say: 'This is a peaceable meeting.' When I heard the hissing sound Fielden was in the act of getting to the sidewalk."

GOTTFRIED WALLER, a former associate of the defendants, testified through an interpreter. He stated his occupation, residence, etc., and proceeded as follows:

"On the evening of the 3d of May I was at Greif's Hall, 54 West Lake Street; got there at eight o'clock; went there pursuant to an advertisement in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*: 'Y — Come Monday night.' Before that notice there is the word 'Briefkasten,' which means letter-box. This notice was a sign for a meeting of the armed section at Greif's Hall. I had been there once before, pursuant to a similar notice. There was no other reason for my going there. I had seen no printed document before. I spent no time in the saloon at Greif's place. I attended a meeting there in the basement which extends throughout the length of the building. The ceiling of basement is about seven or eight feet above the floor. I called the meeting to order at half-past eight. There were about seventy or eighty men. I was chairman. I don't know of any precautions taken about who should come into the meeting. Of the defendants there were present Engel and Fischer — none of the other defendants."

On a question as to what was said at that meeting after it had been called to order, objections were raised on behalf of six of the defendants other than Engel and Fischer, and overruled. Waller then resumed:

"First there was some talk about the six men who had been killed at McCormick's. There were circulars there headed 'Revenge,' speaking about that; then Mr. Engel stated a resolution of a prior meeting as to what should be done, to the effect that if, on account of the eight-hour strike, there should be an encounter with the police, we should aid the men against them. He stated that the Northwest Side group had resolved that in such case we should gather at certain meeting-places, and the word 'Ruhe' published in the Letter-box of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* should be the signal for us to meet. The Northwest Side group should then assemble in Wicker Park, armed. A committee should observe the movement in the city, and if a

conflict should occur the committee should report, and we should first storm the police stations by throwing a bomb and should shoot down everything that came out, and whatever came in our way we should strike down. The police station on North Avenue was referred to first. Nothing was said about the second station — just as it happened. I then proposed a meeting of workingmen for Tuesday morning on Market Square. Then Fischer said that was a mouse trap; the meeting should be on the Haymarket and in the evening, because there would be more workingmen. Then it was resolved the meeting should be held at 8 p.m. at the Haymarket; it was stated that the purpose of the meeting was to cheer up the workingmen so they should be prepared, in case a conflict would happen. Fischer was commissioned to call the meeting through handbills; he went away to order them, but came back after half an hour and said the printing establishment was closed. It was said that we ourselves should not participate in the meeting on the Haymarket; only a committee should be present at the Haymarket and report in case something happened, as stated before. Nothing was said as to what should be done in case the police interfered with the Haymarket meeting. We discussed about why the police stations should be attacked. Several persons said, 'We have seen how the capitalists and the police oppressed the workingmen, and we should commence to take the rights in our own hands; by attacking the stations we would prevent the police from coming to aid.' The plan stated by Engel was adopted by us with the understanding that every group ought to act independently, according to the general plan. The persons present were from all the groups, from the West, South and North sides."

A question being raised as to what was said about attacking the police in case they should attempt to disperse the Haymarket meeting, he replied:

"There was nothing said about the Haymarket. There was no one who expected that the police would get as far as the Haymarket; only, if strikers were attacked, we should strike down the police, however we best could, with bombs or whatever would be at our disposition. The committee which was to be sent to the Haymarket was to be composed of one or two from each group. They should observe the movement, not only on the Haymarket Square, but in the different parts of the city. If a conflict happened in the daytime they should cause the publication of the word 'Ruhe.' If at night, they should report to the members personally at their homes. On the 4th of May we did not understand ourselves why the word 'Ruhe' was published. It should be inserted in the paper only if a downright revolution had occurred. Fischer first mentioned the word 'Ruhe.' I only knew one of the members of the committee, Kraemer. Engel moved that the plan be adopted. The motion was seconded, and I put it to a vote.

"During the discussion was anything said about where dynamite or bombs or arms could be obtained, that you remember of?" "Not on that evening," answered the witness. "I left the meeting about half-past ten. I went home. I was present at the Haymarket meeting on Tuesday evening for some time. I did not go there on account of the meeting, but because I had to go to Zepf's Hall, to a meeting of the Furniture Workers' Union. I saw the word 'Ruhe' in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* about 6 p.m., on Tuesday, at Thalia Hall, a saloon on Milwaukee Avenue, where the second company of the Lehr und Wehr Verein and the Northwest Side group used to meet. I went to the Haymarket and stayed there about a quarter of an

hour, while Mr. Spies spoke. Mr. Spies spoke English; I didn't understand it, and I went to the meeting of the furniture workers. On my way to the Haymarket I had stopped at Engel's. There were some people of the Northwest Side group there. Engel was not at home. Breitenfeld was not there. I was at Zepf's Hall when the bomb exploded. There was some disturbance, and the door was closed. After the door was opened again we went home. I went alone. On my way home I stopped at Engel's and told him what had happened at the Haymarket. They had assembled in the back part of their dwelling-place around a jovial glass of beer, and I told them that a bomb was thrown at the Haymarket, and that about a hundred people had been killed there, and they had better go home. Engel said yes, they should go home, and nothing else."

"Mr. Waller," asked the State, "did you ever have any bombs?"

This was objected to by the defense, but after a full argument the objection was overruled. Waller resumed:

"Formerly, about half a year ago, I had one. It was made out of an eight-inch gas or water pipe. I did not investigate what it was filled with. Got it from Fischer, the defendant, on Thanksgiving day of last year, at Thalia Hall."

"What did he say to you, if anything, when he gave it to you?"

Another objection was raised, but it was overruled. Waller continued:

"I should use it. There were present members of the Northwest Side group and several men of the Lehr und Wehr Verein when he gave me that bomb."

Asked as to a public meeting on Thanksgiving day, Waller answered in the affirmative, stating that the meeting was held at Market Square. After explaining that the members of the Lehr und Wehr Verein were known not by names, but by numbers, he said:

"Everybody had to know his own number; my number was 19. The numbers of the different men were not exactly secret, but we did not pay particular attention to it. Of those who were present at the meeting at 54 West Lake Street, on Monday night, I knew Fischer, Engel, Breitenfeld, Reinhold Krueger and another Krueger, Gruenwald, Schrade, Weber, Huber, Lehman, Hermann."

"What became of the bomb which you had?"

"I gave it to a member of the Lehr und Wehr Verein; he had it exploded in a hollow tree. I had a revolver with me when I went to the Haymarket; had no bomb. Schnaubelt was present at the Lake Street meeting. (Witness identified photograph of Schnaubelt.) Schnaubelt at that meeting said we should inform our members in other places of the revolution so that it should commence in other places also. On Sunday, before that meeting at Lake Street, I was present at a meeting at Bohemian Hall, at No. 63 Emma Street. August Krueger invited me; he is also called the little Krueger, while Reinhold is known as the large Krueger. I got to the meeting at Emma Street at 10 A.M. There were present Engel and Fischer, the defendants, besides Gruenwald, the two Kruegers, Schrade, myself."

"What was said at the meeting?"

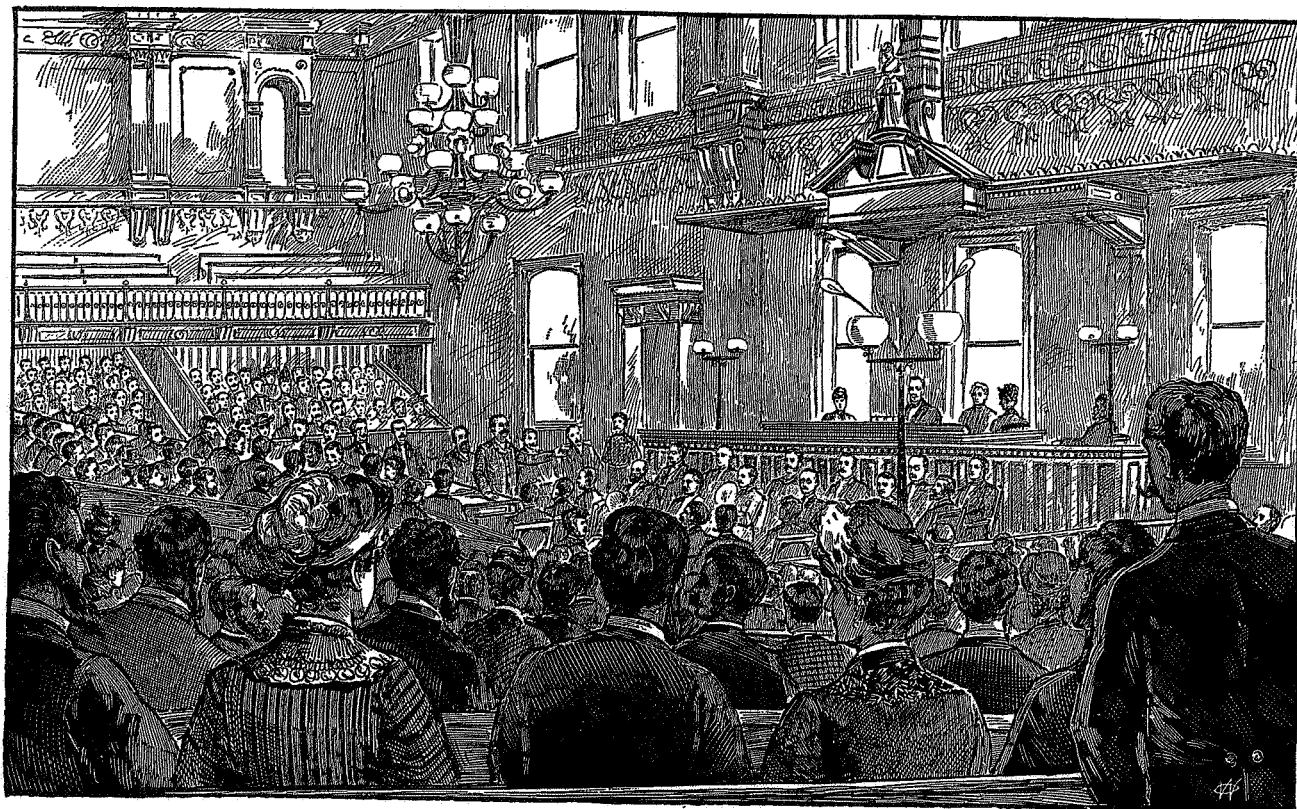
"The same that I stated — Engel's plan. Engel proposed the plan. Somebody opposed this plan, as there were too few of us, and it would be better if we would place ourselves among the people and fight right in the midst of them. There was some opposition to this suggestion to be in the midst of the crowd, as we could not know who would be our neighbors; there might be a detective right near us, or some one else. Engel's plan was finally accepted."

An effort was made to have Waller's testimony all stricken out, but the motion was overruled. He was subjected to a rigid cross-examination, but he did not waver in any of his statements. He proceeded as follows:

"Before I ceased to be a member of the Lehr und Wehr Verein, I belonged to it for four or five months. I learned that the objects of the Lehr und Wehr Verein are the physical and intellectual advancement of its members. None of the defendants were members of that society about the 4th of May. I had seen a call by the letter 'Y' in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* once before, one or one and a half months before. On the 3d of May a member of the Lehr und Wehr Verein, by the name of Clermont, called for me. I spoke with Engel before I went to Greif's Hall, but had no conversation with him about the purpose of the meeting. We did not know for what purpose it was called. When more people arrived, I requested Engel to lay his plan again before the meeting. Engel stated both at the meeting on Sunday and at the Monday night meeting that the plan proposed by him was to be followed only if the police should attack us. Any time when we should be attacked by the police, we should defend ourselves.

"Nothing was said with reference to any action to be taken by us at the Haymarket. We were not to do anything at the Haymarket Square. The plan was, we should not be present there at all. We did not think that the police would come to the Haymarket. For this reason no preparations were made for meeting any police attack there. When I saw the word 'Ruhe' in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* on Tuesday, May 4, about 6 p.m., I knew the meaning, but I didn't know why it was in the paper. On the Haymarket, on my way to the meeting of the Furniture Workers' Union, I met Fischer. We were walking about some time. I don't think he said anything to me about why I was not at Wicker Park. We once walked over to Desplaines Street Station. The police were mounting five or six patrol wagons, and I made the remark: 'I suppose they are getting ready to drive out to McCormick's, so that they might be out there early in the morning.' Fischer assented to my remark. That was all that was said about the police between us. At that time there were about three hundred and fifty or four hundred people assembled at the Haymarket. The principal purpose of the Haymarket meeting was to protest against the action of the police at the riot at McCormick's factory. While I was with Fischer at the Haymarket, nothing was said between us about preparations to meet an attack by the police. When I came to Engel's, at about half-past ten, there were in his house Breitenfeld, the little Krueger, Kraemer, and a few others. Kraemer, I think, lived in the rear of the house.

"I know that I am indicted for conspiracy. I was arrested about two weeks after the 4th of May by two detectives, Stift and Whalen, and taken to East Chicago Avenue Station. I saw there Capt. Schaack, and, in the evening, Mr. Furthmann. I was released about half-past eight of the same



THE GREAT TRIAL. SCENE IN THE CRIMINAL COURT.

day. No warrant was shown to me. I was never arrested since my indictment. I was ordered to come to the station four or five times. At every occasion I had conversations with Furthmann about the statements made here in court. I live now at 130 Sedgwick Street, since one month. Capt. Schaack gave me \$6.50 for the rent. Whenever I used my time sitting in the station, I was paid for it. Once we had to sit all day, and we were paid two dollars for that day. I was out on a strike, and Capt. Schaack gave my wife three times three dollars. He gave me, twice before, five dollars each time. I have been at work for the last two weeks for Peterson. When I went there to commence work I was told that I was on the black list, and could not work, and Capt. Schaack helped me to get the job. By the black list I mean that the bosses put all those upon a list who were in any way connected with the strike to obtain eight hours' work, and they were not to be employed any further.

"I know Spies by sight. I never had any conversation with him. I spoke to Mr. Neebe once a few words, at a meeting of the basket-makers. I have no acquaintance whatever with Schwab, Parsons, Fielden or Lingg. I saw Lingg once make a speech."

BERNHARD SCHRADE, another confidant of the Anarchists, stated that he had resided in this country nearly five years and had been a member of the Lehr und Wehr Verein. He was present at the meeting in the basement of Greif's Hall, on the evening of May 3, and found the meeting in order when he got there. His testimony was as follows:

"Waller was presiding. There were about thirty or thirty-five people—Waller, Engel, Fischer, Thielen, the Lehmanns, Donafeldt. Lingg was not there. When I entered, the chairman explained what had been spoken about until then. He stated the objects of the meeting; that so many men at the McCormick factory had been shot by the police; that a mass-meeting was to be held at Haymarket Square, and that we should be prepared, in case the police went beyond their bounds—attacked us. Afterwards we talked among ourselves, and the meeting adjourned. I heard nothing about assembling in other parts of the city. That same evening I had been to the carpenters' meeting, and it was said there that the members of the L. u. W. V. should go around to the meeting on Lake Street. I stayed there from eight until half-past nine. Circulars headed 'Revenge' were distributed there by one Balthasar Rau. That carpenters' meeting was held at Zepf's Hall. At the meeting at 54 West Lake Street I stayed from half-past nine until about a quarter after ten. On the preceding Sunday I was at a meeting at the Bohemian Hall, on Emma Street. We got there about half-past nine in the forenoon. The big Krueger called for me. There were, besides me, Waller, Krueger, Fischer, Engel and Grueneberg. I don't know the others.

"Those present belonged to the second company of the L. u. W. V., and the Northwestern group. We talked there about the condition of the workingmen after the 1st of May, and the remark was made that it might not go off so easy after the 1st of May, and if it should not, that they would help themselves and each other. It was said that if we were to get into a conflict with the police, we should mutually assist one another, and the members of the Northwestern group should meet at Wicker Park, in case it should get so far that the police would make an attack, and should defend

themselves as much as possible, as well as any one could. Nothing was said about dynamite; the word "stuff" was not used. Nothing was said about telegraph wires. The revolutionary movement was talked about; it was mentioned that the firemen could easily disperse large masses of the people standing upon the street, and in such a case it would be the best thing to cut through their hose, annihilate them. I was at the Haymarket on the night when the bomb was thrown. Went there with a man named Thielen. Got there about half-past eight. I walked up and down on Randolph Street, and at the corner of Desplaines I heard all the speakers. When the bomb was thrown I was at a saloon at 173 West Randolph Street. I had left the meeting because a rain and a shower came up. I know all the defendants. I saw Engel and Fischer, about an hour previous to the meeting, upon the corner of Desplaines and Randolph. After the bomb was thrown I went to my home, 581 Milwaukee Avenue. I met the little Krueger in the saloon. He was there; also the big Krueger. The L. u. W. V. used to meet at Thalia Hall, Milwaukee Avenue. We had our exercise, marched in the hall—drilled. We had Springfield rifles, which we kept at home.

"We had our military drills for pleasure. Most of the members had been soldiers in the old country, and we were drilling here for fun—pleasure. We drilled once a week, at times. The members knew each other, but on the list each one had his number. My number was 32. There were four companies of the L. u. W. V. in this city. I don't know the number of members.

"I saw 'Revenge' circulars at the meeting at 54 West Lake Street. I know Schnaubelt by sight. Don't remember whether he was at 54 West Lake. (Witness was shown the signal "Y," in *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.) I saw this in the paper when I read it at Thalia Hall. It is a sign for the armed section to meet at 54 West Lake Street. The armed section means certain members of certain societies—trades-unions who had bought weapons with which they practiced continually." (Witness is shown paper containing the word "Ruhe.") "I never saw that before. Did not hear anything said about 'Ruhe' in the meeting at 54 West Lake Street."

Schrade was shown a book of Most's and stated that he had seen it sold at meetings of workmen. On cross-examination he testified:

"I know Spies, Parsons, Fielden, Neebe and Schwab only by sight; never had any business or conversation with any of them. Lingg and I belonged to the same Carpenters' Union, but we were not on terms of friendship. None of the defendants are members of the L. u. W. V., to my knowledge. I paid attention to all that was done while I was at the 54 West Lake Street meeting. I was at the Sunday meeting from half-past nine until half-past eleven. The discussion was, that if the police made an attack upon workmen we would help the workmen to resist it, and if the firemen helped, we would cut the hose. Nothing was said about dynamite or bombs at any of the meetings. Nothing was said about a meeting at any particular night to throw bombs. It was not agreed to throw bombs at the Haymarket meeting. While at the Haymarket I had no bomb; I don't know dynamite. I knew of no one who was going to take a bomb to that meeting. When I left the Haymarket meeting everything was quiet; I did not anticipate any trouble. I had seen the signal 'Y' before. It was understood that the meetings were to be called by that kind of notice. I left the

Haymarket meeting only on account of the approach of the storm. There were about two hundred people there when I left."

EDWARD J. STEELE, Lieutenant of Police at the West Chicago Avenue Station on May 4th, gave some details as to marching to the Haymarket, and stated that he had been in command of a company of twenty-eight men. He further testified:

"Two or three seconds after that—Captain Ward's command to the meeting to disperse—the shell was thrown in the rear. It exploded on the left of my company. There was then also a smaller report in the rear of me, like a large pistol shot, and at that time the crowd in front of us and on the sidewalks fired into us immediately; by immediately I mean two or three seconds after. The crowd fired before the police did. Mine and Quinn's were the front companies. My men had their arms in their pockets and their clubs in their belts; their hands by their side. I was six or eight feet from the speakers' wagon when the command to halt was given. Prior to that I could hear speaking going on in front of us. I heard somebody say, 'Here come the bloodhounds. You do your duty and we will do ours.' I could not say who made the remark. The sound came from in front of us as we were marching. Ward spoke in a loud tone of voice to the speakers on the wagon when he commanded them to disperse. There were three or four men on the wagon. I saw Mr. Fielden there. I did not hear him make any response to Ward's declaration. After the pistol shots from the crowd we returned the fire. Fielden stepped off the wagon, turned to the sidewalk, and I lost sight of him. When we got some few feet north of Randolph Street, the crowd in front of us separated to the right and left. I heard nothing said by the crowd. The bomb lit in the rear of the left of my company, and the right of Lieut. Quinn's, between that and the next company behind us. When I heard the explosion I was facing north. The word 'fire' was not given by anybody, but we began firing when they fired on us. The explosion of the bomb affected about twenty-one of our men in the two companies, and the firing commenced at once."

On cross-examination, Lieut. Steele stated:

"My experience is that where the police make a descent upon a riotous gathering, a mob, the latter scatter to all sides, so as to get out of the way. But when we pass through a peaceful, quiet body of men, they separate to the sides instead of rushing down the alleys and out the other way. I do not mean to say that the remark about the bloodhounds coming was made by the speaker from the wagon. Mr. Fielden was on the sidewalk when the bomb exploded. Capt. Ward was just a step or two in front of me when he gave the order to disperse. Any loud exclamation made by Mr. Fielden, either in the wagon, or getting out of the wagon, or immediately after he got out, I would have heard. I did not hear him make any."

MARTIN QUINN, Lieutenant of Police, had a company of twenty-five men on the left of Lieut. Steele, and when they marched to the Haymarket they had their clubs in their belts and their pistols in their pockets. He heard the remark: "Here they come now, the bloodhounds. Do your duty, men,

and I'll do mine." The man who was speaking at the time they came up was Fielden. Quinn's testimony then runs as follows :

"Just as he was going down, he said : 'We are peaceable.' Some person had hold of his left leg. He reached back, and just as he was going down he fired right where the Inspector was, Capt. Ward and Lieut. Steele. After that I dropped my club, took my pistol and commenced firing in front. The crowd formed a line across the street in our front, and immediately when that bomb was fired, and almost instantaneously with it that shot from the wagon, they commenced firing into our front and from the side, and then from the alley. I fired myself. Fourteen men of my company were injured. I lost sight of Fielden as he got on the sidewalk. I could not distinguish which was first, the explosion of the bomb or the shot fired by Fielden. There was another very loud report immediately after this first explosion. I did not know what it was. The bomb exploded about the same instant that the remark, 'We are peaceable,' was made. And at the same time he fired that shot. Ward at that time had not quite finished his expression. The pistol was aimed in a downward direction, towards where Ward, Steele and Bonfield stood. After I was looking to the front, and had discharged my weapon, I looked back and saw the explosion of the bomb—it was just the same as you would take a bunch of fire-crackers and throw it around, just shooting up in all directions, in the rear. Some of the men were lying down, some of them lying dead, some crippled around. All along on Desplaines Street the lamps were dark. Where the speaker was there was a torch on the wagon, and also the lamp was lit there. I had emptied my pistol. Then I turned around to look at the result of the explosion. Then I went over in under the wagon, and where the speaker was, and I found a pistol there that was loaded. I picked it up and emptied it myself afterwards. It was a thirty-eight Smith & Wesson. I saw Fielden fire only that one shot. It was not aimed at the man who had hold of his leg. There were Ward, Bonfield and Steele there right in a bunch, close by together, and it should have hit some one of them."

The cross-examination did not change the testimony ; he only added to its force, and with reference to Fielden only modified it so far as to say :

"I would not swear that it was or was not Fielden who fired the pistol, but it was a speaker, that I know, that fired at the instant he finished saying, 'We are peaceable.' While standing in the wagon, in the presence of the police force and all the audience, he fired a revolver right where Lieut. Steele was and Capt. Ward, and the right of Lieut. Steele's company ; fired right into them. The torch was still on the wagon at that time, and the street lamp near by was lighted."

JAMES P. STANTON, Lieutenant of Police, had charge of eighteen men and saw the shell coming through the air. He shouted to his men : "Look out, there is a shell," and just then it exploded. It fell just four feet from where he stood, and his men were scattered upon the street. All but one or two of his command were wounded. He himself was injured, his body being hit in eleven different places with pieces of the shell, and he was confined to a bed at the hospital for two weeks and a half, after which he was taken home.

"After that I commenced to limp around. I had to suffer from a nervous shock. The holes in my clothing are larger than the holes in my limbs. My company was on the west side of the street, Bowler on the east. When I first saw the shell it was in the air, very near over my head. It came from the east, I think, a little north of the alley. It was about three inches in diameter. The fuse was about two inches long when I saw it. When we advanced I heard speaking from the north. I saw some parties standing on the wagon. Don't know anything about what transpired after the officers came to a halt. No shot was fired to my knowledge before the explosion of the bomb. Immediately after that shots were fired. I turned myself and drew my revolver and immediately commenced to fire. I cannot swear from whom the firing began first. My men were supposed to be armed; they had their clubs in their belts."

The cross-examination brought out no new points.

H. F. KRUEGER, a police officer, heard the cry, "Here they are now, the bloodhounds!" from the wagon at the Haymarket, and thought it was Fielden who uttered it. "I saw Fielden," said he, "pistol in hand, take cover behind the wagon and fire at the police. I returned his fire and was myself immediately shot in the knee-cap. I saw Fielden in the crowd and shot at him again. He staggered, but did not fall, and I lost him. There were no pistol-shots fired before the bomb exploded." This testimony was in every detail corroborated by John Wessler, another police officer, the next witness, and by Peter Foley, an officer.

LUTHER MOULTON, of Grand Rapids, Michigan, an officer of the Knights of Labor, testified to a conversation which he had had with August Spies when the latter went to Grand Rapids to deliver a lecture, on February 22, 1885. Spies told the witness that the only manner in which the laborers could get a fair division of the product of their labor was by force and arms. He said they had three thousand men organized in Chicago, with superior weapons of warfare. There might be bloodshed, Spies said to him, for that happened frequently in revolutions. If they failed, it would be a punishable crime. If they succeeded, it would be a revolution. George Washington would have been punished had he failed. "I am quite certain," Moulton said, "that the term 'explosives' was used in connection with arms." On cross-examination Moulton stated that the Grand Rapids police had furnished him the means to come to Chicago. All of Moulton's material statements were repeated on the stand by Geo. W. Shook, who had been present at the conversation referred to.

JAMES BOWLER, Lieutenant of Police, in command of twenty-seven men, testified that he did not recognize any one firing.

"After the explosion I said to my men: 'Fire and kill all you can.' I drew my own revolver; I had it in my breast coat side pocket. In marching, I heard the words: 'Here come the bloodhounds,' said by somebody close to the wagon. I fired nine shots myself. I reloaded. While march-

ing, the men had their arms in their pockets. I noticed the lamp at Crane's alley was out."

On cross-examination he stated that he heard the remark about bloodhounds, but did not know who uttered it. He continued:

"There was a kind of light on the wagon, a kind of a torch. I saw firing close by the wagon after the explosion, but not from in the wagon. I saw no one either in the wagon or getting out of the wagon do any firing. I saw Mr. Fielden coming off of the wagon very plainly."

Several officers testified to the scene about the wagon, and Thomas Greif, the occupant of the premises 54 West Lake Street, described the basement where the "Ypsilon" meeting was held. Following him was proffered more direct evidence that Fielden had fired the shot, and then JAMES BONFIELD took the stand, and described the search that was made in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* office. Said he:

"In Mr. Spies' office I found a small piece of fuse, a fulminating cap, and a large double-action revolver; about five inches of fuse. I found the revolver under a wash-stand in the office; that dirk file was along with them (indicating), with a paper doubled over them loosely. The fuse is an ordinary fuse; the fulminate is in the end of the cap. The fuse is inserted that way (indicating), and the cap is pinched, and that is inserted in dynamite and the hole closed. I never saw the cap used for anything except dynamite and nitro-glycerine. I have used it in mines for that purpose. The power of the cap itself don't amount to anything. I found that 'Revenge' circular, as it is called, in Spies' office, where I arrested him. This box (indicating) contains a great many empty shells, evidently for the Winchester improved rifle; there are also some empty and some loaded sporting cartridges. The pistol is a 44-caliber, I think. On the 5th, after the arrest of Spies, that night I took down some reporters. I had a conversation with Spies that night, and I think with Fielden. The reporter carried on the major part of the conversation. Mr. Spies stated there had been a meeting of the Central Labor Union that evening previous to the Haymarket meeting. He mentioned a man by the name of Brown, and a man by the name of Ducey that attended that meeting, and when they adjourned there they went down to the Haymarket. He spoke of the gathering of the crowd, how it threatened to rain, how they went on the side street, and about Fielden speaking at the time the police came. He said he was on the wagon at that time, and a young Turner was there who had told him the police were coming, told him to come down, took him by the hand and helped him down. He afterwards gave his name as Legner; he claimed the police had opened fire on them. He said when he got off the wagon he went in the east alley and came out on Randolph Street. He approved of the method, but thought it was a little premature; that the time had hardly arrived to start the revolution or warfare. After that I took the reporters around to Fielden.

"Fielden said he was there when the police came up; he got wounded in this alley. Then he got a car, and, I think, went around to the corner of Twelfth and Halsted, or Van Buren and Halsted, and then he got another car and went down to the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* office to see if any of his friends had got back there; that from there he went over to the Hay-

market again to see if any more of his comrades were hurt. I know Fischer. I was at his house. He was arrested at the same time, or a few minutes after Spies and Schwab were arrested. His house is 170 or 176 North Wood Street. I went there with Mr. Furthmann and, I think, Officer Doane. It was about nine or ten o'clock. I made a search of the house. In a closet, under the porch at the front door, I found a piece of gas-pipe about three and a half feet long. There was no gas connection in the house. The gas-pipe was an inch or an inch and a quarter in diameter. I laid it down again. I searched around and went back again, and couldn't find it in a day after. I remember a conversation with Fischer afterwards, in the office. He was asked to explain how he came by a fulminating cap which was found in his pocket at the time of the arrest. He said he got it from a Socialist who used to visit Spies' office about four months previous. He claimed he didn't know what it was, and had carried it in his pocket for four months. After some conversation he acknowledged that he knew what it was, and had read an account of it and the use of it in Herr Most's 'Science of War.' That conversation was at a detective's office. The fulminating cap looked to be perfectly new, and the fulminate was fresh and bright in the inside. There was no fuse attached to it. He told of being at the Haymarket meeting until a few minutes before the explosion of the bomb, and he went from there to Zepf's Hall, and was there at the time of the explosion. He acknowledged that he had gotten up the circular headed 'Attention, Workingmen,' and that it was printed at Wehrer & Klein's. I think their own office was closed, and he went over to Wehrer & Klein's and got it printed over there; I think 2,500 copies — 25,000 or 2,500."

On cross-examination witness testified as follows:

"I am in the detective branch of the police force. I arrested Spies and Schwab in the neighborhood of nine o'clock. I found Spies in the front office. He was to the left of the door as I entered. My recollection is, he was talking to somebody. Schwab was over to the right, and was sitting down. That was on the second floor. I think I went up two flights of stairs. There were three or four men in the office besides those two. There was no resistance by either of the gentlemen. Had no warrant for their arrest. I don't know of any complaint having been made against them before any magistrate. While I was talking to Spies and Schwab Spies' brother came in. I placed him under arrest too. I took them with me. I took them to police headquarters. We went on foot. It was in the back part of the room that I found that revolver. The main part of the room in which I arrested them was perhaps twelve feet deep, and then there was a wing that ran back further. The box I mentioned was on the floor, and against the south wall. One could see it readily on entering the room. I found that box on my third visit. I don't remember having seen it on my first visit. That third visit was some time in the afternoon, perhaps two or three o'clock. On my second visit I went over to the printer, to pick out the type similar to the one in the 'Revenge' circular. I went to the composing-room. The printer's name is John Conway. That was near twelve o'clock. On my fourth visit I took away a lot of red flags and such stuff as that. When I made the arrest of Spies and Schwab that morning Mrs. Schwab was present. I should think, by the looks of things, they were transacting business, or ready for it. When I was in the

composing-room there were several men there. I found the red flags principally in what they termed the library in that building. It was, I think, in the rear part, on the second floor. Twenty or twenty-one compositors of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* were arrested during that day. I was not present at the time. I found that copy of the 'Revenge' circular on one of the desks in the front room. I was there when the form and the type of the circular were found. We had no search warrant at the time any of them were taken. I do not know to whom that revolver belongs. I took Spies and Schwab into the front room of the Central Station. Lieutenant Shea sent out for the key. In the meantime we searched Spies and took the personal effects away from him. I took Mr. Spies' keys out of his pocket—everything I found, little slips of paper and the like. I literally went through him. I had no warrant for anything of that kind. I took those reporters to see Spies down to the cell-house in the basement of the Central Station. The cell-house is very near the center of the building, and fronts on the inside court between the county and city building. I went down with the reporters about eight or nine o'clock. Spies, Schwab and Fielden were in separate cells. Spies said the action taken at the Haymarket was premature. It was done by a hot-head that could not wait long enough. I cannot use the words. That is the sentiment, and perhaps the words. Fielden said the police came up there to disperse them, and they had no business to. He claimed that they had a right to talk and say what they pleased, under the Constitution, and they should not be interfered with. I don't think it was ever questioned whether the meeting was a peaceable and quiet meeting. I don't think that he ever claimed that it was either quiet or disorderly. The fulminating cap which I found in that box did not look fresh and bright. It looked as though it might have lain there a good while. When Chief Ebersold came into the office at Central Station he was quite excited, and talked to Spies and Schwab in German and made motions, and I got between them, and I told him this was not the time or place to act that way. I took the liberty to quiet him down a little. He used a word which I understood to compare a man to a dog or something lower."

The incendiary speeches that were made by some of the defendants at the riot at McCormick's were testified to by different newspaper men, and the scenes at the riot described by officers and others, the whole showing very distinctly the direct connection of Spies with the outrage, and the manner in which he incited the mob to violence.