

CHAPTER XXIII.

A Pinkerton Operative's Adventures—How the Leading Anarchists Vouched for a Detective—An Interesting Scene—An Enemy in the Camp—Getting into the Armed Group—No. 16's Experience—Paul Hull and the Dynamite Bomb—A Safe Corner Where the Bullets were Thick—A Revolver Tattoo—"Shoot the Devils"—A Reformed Internationalist.

THE examination of witnesses continued from day to day before a crowded court-room. At times tilts between the attorneys and long arguments on knotty legal points varied the proceedings. Every coigne of vantage occupied by the State was stubbornly contested by counsel for the defendants. But the prosecution maintained its position and brought out all the material evidence it had accumulated. The theory of the State with reference to conspiracy, murder and "accessory before the fact" was gradually being developed with force and effect. Newspaper reporters proved important witnesses and rendered the State great service.

The greatest interest at this stage of the trial was taken in the testimony of ANDREW C. JOHNSON, a Pinkerton detective, who became a member of the International Workingmen's Association February 22, 1885, or rather on March 1, 1885, a few days later, for it was on that day that he got his red card of membership, bearing his number, and began his series of reports to the agency.

Among a number of minor particulars, Johnson told how the blowing up of the Board of Trade was proposed on March 29 by Fielden, and indorsed by others. The most interesting part of his story, however, is the description of his admission into the armed group. This took place on August 24, at Greif's Hall. Said Johnson:

"There were twenty or twenty-three men and two women present. It was Monday night. Among them Parsons, Fielden, besides Walters, Bodendick, Boyd and Larson, Parker, Franklin and Snyder. After having been there a short time, a man armed with a long cavalry sword, dressed in a blue blouse, wearing a slouch hat, came into the room. He ordered all those present to fall in. He then called off certain names, and all those present answered to their names. He then inquired whether there were any new members who wished to join the military company. Those who did should step to the front. Myself and two others did so. We were asked separately to give our names. My name was put down in a book, and I was told my number was 16. Previous to my name being put down the man asked whether any one present could vouch for me as a true man. Parsons and Bodendick vouched for me. The same process was gone through in regard to the other two. The man then inquired of two other men in the room, whether they were members of the American group, and asked to see their cards, and as they were unable to produce their cards he told them to leave the room. Two others were expelled. The doors were

closed and the remainder were asked to fall in line. For about half an hour or three-quarters we were put through the regular manual drill, marching, counter-marching, turning, forming fours, wheeling, etc. That man with a sword drilled us. He was evidently a German. After that he stated he would now introduce some of the members of the first company of the German organization. He went out and in a few minutes returned with ten other men dressed like himself, each one armed with a Springfield rifle. He placed them in line in front of us and introduced them as members of the first company of the L. u. W. V., and proceeded to drill them about ten minutes. After that a man whose name I do not know — he was employed by the proprietor of the saloon at 54 West Lake Street — came into the room with two tin boxes, which he placed on a table. The drill instructor asked us to examine them, as they were the latest improved dynamite bomb. They had the appearance of ordinary preserve fruit cans, the top part unscrewed. The inside of the cans was filled with a light brown mixture. There was also a small glass tube inserted in the center of the can. The tube was in connection with a screw, and it was explained that when the can was thrown against any hard substance it would explode. Inside of the glass tube was a liquid. Around the glass tube was a brownish mixture which looked like fine saw-dust. The drill instructor told us we ought to be very careful in the selection of new members of the company, otherwise there was no telling who might get into our midst. After that a man named Walters was chosen as captain, and defendant Parsons for lieutenant. We decided to call ourselves the International Rifles. The drill instructor then suggested that we ought to choose some other hall, as we were not quite safe there, and added, 'We have a fine place at 636 Milwaukee Avenue. We have a short range in the basement, where we practice shooting regularly.' Parsons inquired whether we couldn't rent the same place, and the drill instructor said he didn't know. Then the time for the next meeting of the armed section was fixed for the following Monday. Parsons and Fielden drilled with us that evening. They were present also with a number of others at the next meeting, on August 31, at 54 West Lake Street. Capt. Walters drilled us for about an hour and a half. Then we had a discussion as to the best way of procuring arms. Some one suggested that each member pay a weekly amount until he had enough to purchase a rifle for each member of the company. Parsons suggested: 'Look here, boys; why can't we make a raid some night on the militia armory? There are only two or three men on guard there, and it is easily done.' This suggestion was favored by some members, but after some more discussion the matter of the raid on the armory was put off until the nights got a little bit longer."

The witness, whose testimony was very lengthy, refreshed his memory from copies of reports which he had made at the time. On cross-examination he was asked why the reports were countersigned by L. J. Gage. He replied that he did not know why they were so countersigned, but he found that they were. The history he had to tell bore chiefly upon the facts leading up to the riot at the Haymarket.

JOSEPH GRUENHUT, a factory and tenement-house inspector of the Health Department of the city, had known Spies for six years, Parsons about ten years, Fielden and Schwab about two years, more or less.

"I have known Neebe perhaps fifteen or twenty years. I was in the habit of meeting some of them daily, at labor meetings or at the office of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. I am myself interested in labor movements, formerly the Labor Party of the United States. It changed its name into the Socialistic Labor Party. I am a Socialist. I don't consider myself an Anarchist. I am not a member of any group of the Internationals in the city, nor of the Lehr und Wehr Verein. I was present at interviews between the reporter Wilkinson and Mr. Spies. I introduced Mr. Wilkinson to Mr. Spies at the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* office in the forenoon, and on the evening of the same day, I believe, I was present at a conversation between them at a restaurant on Madison Street. We took supper there together."

"State the conversation which took place there between Spies and the reporter."

"Mr. Wilkinson asked him how many members belonged to the military societies of organized trade and labor unions. Spies said that there were many thousand; that these organizations were open to everybody, and at meetings people were asked to become members, but their names would not be known, because they would be numbered, and they didn't keep any record of names. Mr. Spies laid some toothpicks on the table so as to show the position of armed men on tops of houses, on street corners, and how they could keep a company of militia or police in check by the use of dynamite bombs. The conversation was carried on in a conversational tone, half joking, etc., and it lasted perhaps a quarter of an hour, while we were taking our supper."

On cross-examination Mr. Gruenhut stated that he had heard no reference to any attack to be made on the first of May, and in the re-direct examination he said, with reference to Spies' attitude on the eight-hour movement:

"At the start he said he did not believe they would get it, and then it would not amount to anything anyhow; it was only a palliative measure—not radical enough. As I recollect, I brought him a list of the different organizations in Chicago, and we were trying to pick out those which needed organization, and the packers and a great many others were directly organized by these men for the eight-hour movement. We were in constant consultation about organizing those trades which had not been organized before. I don't suppose he ever said that he was in favor of the eight-hour movement. I don't know that he was ever enthusiastically in favor of the eight-hour movement, but he was enthusiastically in favor of the eight-hour movement that we had talked about on Monday. There never had been a general eight-hour mass-meeting. There had been a mass-meeting representing the great assemblies, at the Armory, but not the Central Labor Union. It was a Socialistic organization; was not represented there. In October, 1885, there had been a mass-meeting of the Socialistic organizations in favor of the eight-hour movement at West Twelfth Street Turner Hall. I was not there. At the time I had that conversation with Mr. Spies and the others present about a mass-meeting to be held, we did not know where the meeting was to be held at all. We only considered the advisability of holding a mass-meeting on the question of the eight-hour movement in the open air. There are only three or four places where you can hold

such a meeting; either the lake front or Market Square or the Haymarket. At that time I am sure I saw Spies, Rau and Neebe almost every day, but I could not tell whether the meeting was agreed upon on Saturday or Monday, night or day; but there was a general agreement upon having one general mass-meeting in the open air. It was not sure whether the meeting was to be in the forenoon, afternoon or night, but at last we came to the conclusion it ought to be at night. My recollection is that Spies said to Wilkinson, at the time of that conversation, that the military associations were open and free to everybody; that they meet, advertise their meetings, have picnics and advertise them, and meet in halls, even in open ground, at Sheffield, or out on the prairie. That proposed mass-meeting was to be an eight-hour meeting and an indignation meeting over the killing of men at McCormick's at the same time. Parsons and Spies, during conversations within the twelve months before the bomb was thrown, said that arming meant the use of dynamite bombs by individuals; all men should individually self-help, as against a squad of policeman or company of militia, so that they need not be an army."

F. H. NEWMAN, a physician, attended some of the officers wounded at the Haymarket, and identified an iron nut extracted from Hahn. He had also examined some ten or twelve officers, and had found some bullets and fragments of a combination of metals much lighter than lead. "The fragments were also much lighter," he said, "than the bullets, varying very much in size, from perhaps what we would call 22-caliber up to 45-caliber. The bullets also varied in size. This piece of metal I took from the heel of Officer Barber. It made a ragged wound and was buried in the bone; crushed the bone considerably, fractured it in several places. I examined the wounds of one officer who had a large ragged wound in the liver. He died within a few hours. It could have been a wound produced by a bullet, if the bullet was very ragged, spread out considerably, as they do sometimes."

MAXWELL E. DICKSON, a newspaper reporter, had had several interviews with Parsons. He said:

"The last time I met Mr. Parsons, either the latter part of last year or the commencement of this year, he gave me two or three papers, and one of them contained one or two diagrams, a plan of warfare. Parsons stated that the social revolution would be brought about in the way that paper would describe. In November of last year, some time after that demonstration on the Market Square, I remarked to Parsons, in a sort of joking way, 'You are not going to blow up anybody, are you?' He said: 'I don't say that we won't, I don't know that we won't, but you will see the revolution brought about, and sooner than you think for.' I attended a number of meetings at which some of the defendants spoke.

"The Twelfth Street Turner Hall meeting was a meeting called for the purpose of discussing the Socialistic platform. A circular had been issued, in which public men, clergy, employers and others who were interested in the social question were invited to be present to discuss the question of the social movement. The hall was crowded. During the meeting Mr. Parsons made a speech, during which he said that the degradation of labor was

brought about by what was known as the rights of private property; he quoted a long line of statistics, showing that an average man with a capital of five thousand dollars was enabled to make four thousand dollars a year, and thus get rich, while his employé, who made the money for him, obtained but \$340, and there were upwards of two million heads of families who were in want, or bordering on want, making their living either by theft, robbery or any such occupation as they could get work in; and he said that, while they were the champions of free speech and social order, it would be hard for the man who stood in the way of liberty, fraternity and equality to all. Later on Fielden spoke and said that the majority of men were starving because of over-production, and went on to show that overcoats were being sent to Africa, to the Congo states, which were needed at home, and he could not understand how that was. As a Socialist, he believed in the equal rights of every man to live. The present condition of the laboring man was due to the domination of capital, and they could expect no remedy from legislatures, and there were enough present in the hall to take Chicago from the grasp of the capitalists; that capital must divide with labor; that the time was coming when a contest would arise between capital and labor. He was no alarmist, but the Socialist should be prepared for the victory when it did come. Several other persons spoke after that. Then Spies spoke in German, advising the workingmen to organize in order to obtain their rights, and that they might be prepared for the emergency. Then there were resolutions adopted denouncing the capitalists, the editors and clergymen, and those who had refused to come to hear the truth spoken and discuss the question, whereupon the meeting adjourned.

"At the meeting at Mueller's Hall Fielden presided and Mr. Griffin spoke first, advocating the use of force to right social wrongs. A young man named Lichtner said he was in favor of Socialistic ideas, but opposed to the use of force. Schwab, in German, said that the gap between the rich and the poor was growing wider; that, although despotism in Russia had endeavored to suppress Nihilism by executing some and sending others to Siberia, Nihilism was still growing. And he praised Reinsdorf, who had then been recently executed in Europe, but stated that his death had been avenged by the killing of Rumpf, the Chief of Police of Frankfort, who had been industrious in endeavoring to crush out Socialism; that murder was forced on many a man through the misery brought on him by capital; that freedom in the United States was a farce, and in Illinois was literally unknown; that both of the political parties were corrupt, and what was needed here was a bloody revolution which would right their wrongs.

"A young man named Gorsuch was against all government, which was made for slaves. The only way the workingmen could get their rights was



ADOLPH LIESKE.

BEHEADED Nov. 17, 1885. — From Photograph found in the possession of Anarchist Bodendick, on back of which was written: "Revenge is Sweet."

by the Gatling gun, by absolute brute force. Then Mr. Fielden called upon the capitalists to answer these arguments and to save their property, for when the Socialists decided to appropriate the property of the capitalists it would be too late for the capitalists to save anything.

"Then Spies said in German that the workingmen should revolt at once. He had been accused of giving this advice before, it was true, and he was proud of it. That wage slavery could only be abolished through powder and ball. The ballot was a sort of skin game. He compared it to a deck of cards in which there was a marked deck put in the place of the genuine, and in which the poor man got all of the skin cards, so that, when the dealer laid down the cards, his money was taken from him. Then Spies offered these resolutions, which were adopted :

"Whereas, our comrades in Germany have slain one of the dirtiest dogs of his Majesty Lehmann, the greatest disgrace of the present time — namely, the spy Rumpf.

"*Resolved*, That we rejoice over and applaud the noble and heroic act."

"Then Parsons offered some resolutions favoring the abolition of the present social system, and the formation of a new social coöperative system that would bring about an equality between capital and labor.

"The next meeting I attended was on the Market Square, on Thanksgiving day. Mr. Parsons asked what they had to be thankful for, whether it was for their poverty, their lack of sufficient food and clothing, etc., and argued that the capitalists on the avenue spent more money for wine at one meal than some of them received pay in a month. Fielden said they would be justified in going over to Marshall Field's and taking out from there that which belonged to them. A series of resolutions were adopted, offered, I believe, by Parsons, denouncing the President for having set apart Thanksgiving day — that it was a fallacy and a fraud ; that the workingmen had nothing to be thankful for ; that only a few obtained the riches that were produced, while the many had to starve."

On cross-examination Mr. Dickson said :

"Parsons said to me that when the social revolution came, it would be better for all men ; it would place every man on an equality. He pictured me personally as a wage slave, referring to my position as a newspaper reporter, and that all reforms had to be brought about through revolution, and bloodshed could not be avoided. I frequently heard him give expression to such ideas in friendly conversation, in which the social outlook of the country was talked over, and Parsons frequently insisted that any method would be justifiable to accomplish the object which he advocated as the intended result of a social revolution. Parsons once stated to me that if it became necessary they would use dynamite, and it might become necessary. Parsons never expressed any distinct proposal to inaugurate the revolution at any particular time, or by the use of any particular force. He simply spoke of the social revolution as the inevitable future. I am not certain as to whether the paper which Parsons gave me, which contained those diagrams, was a copy of the *Alarm* or of some other paper. This article here in the *Alarm* of July 25, 1885 (indicating), under the title, 'Street Fighting—How to Meet the Enemy,' is, to the best of my recollection, the article to which my attention was called by Mr. Parsons at the time. I am positive these diagrams here (indicating) are the same as in the article given me by Parsons.

"The position of these parties in meetings that I have attended, since January 18, 1885, when they spoke of the industrial condition, was that they predicted a social revolution, and they also advised the workingmen to bring about that revolution. It was Mr. Fielden on the lake front—I cannot fix the date—who used language of that import, advised the men to go forward and get that which did belong to them by force."

PAUL C. HULL, a reporter of the *Daily News*, attended the Haymarket meeting and heard Fielden speak. He testified as follows:

"When the bomb exploded I was on the iron stairway, about four steps from the top landing. After the bomb exploded the firing began from the crowd before the police fired. I saw the bomb in the air. My head was probably within twelve or fifteen feet above the crowd. It was quite dark. Directly opposite me was a pile of boxes on the sidewalk, and an area-way surrounded by an iron railing. My eyes were directed toward the speakers' wagon. As the words were in his mouth, I saw arching through the air the sparks of the burning fuse. According to my recollection it seemed to come from about fifteen or twenty feet south of Crane's alley, flying over the third division of police and falling between the second and third. It

*American Group meets
to-night (Tuesday) at 10⁰⁰
Fifth Ave. Important business.
Every member should attend.
7:30 O'clock - Sharp.
Agitation Committee*

PARSONS' HANDWRITING.

The Manuscript of an Advertisement calling a Meeting of the "American Group."

seemed to throw to the ground the second and third divisions of police. At almost the same instant there was a rattling of shots that came from both sides of the street and not from the police. The meeting was noisy and turbulent. When the speaking began there were about eight hundred to one thousand people in the crowd. At the time the police came it had dwindled away a third from what it was at its largest number. About a quarter of the crowd, that part which clustered about the wagon, were enthusiasts, loudly applauded the speakers and cheered them on by remarks. The outskirts of the crowd seemed to regard the speakers with indifference, often laughed at them and hooted them.

"Spies told his version of the McCormick riot. He had been charged with being responsible for the riot and the death of those men, by Mr. McCormick. He said Mr. McCormick was a liar and was himself responsible for the death of the six men which he claimed were killed at that time; that he had addressed a meeting on the prairie, and when the factory bell rang a body of the meeting which he was addressing detached themselves and went toward the factory, and that there the riot occurred. He then touched upon the dominating question of labor and capital and their relations very briefly, and asked what meant this array of Gatling

guns, infantry ready to arms, patrol wagons and policemen, and deduced from that that it was the Government or capitalists preparing to crush them, should they try to right their wrongs. I don't remember that he said anything in his speech about the means to be employed against that capitalistic force.

"Parsons dealt considerably in labor statistics. He drew the conclusion that the capitalists got eighty-five cents out of the dollar, and the laboring man fifteen cents, and that the eight-hour agitation and the agitation of the social question was a still hunt after the other eighty-five cents. He advised the using of violent means by the workingmen to right their wrongs. Said that law and government was the tool of the wealthy to oppress the poor; that the ballot was no way in which to right their wrongs. That could only be done by physical force.

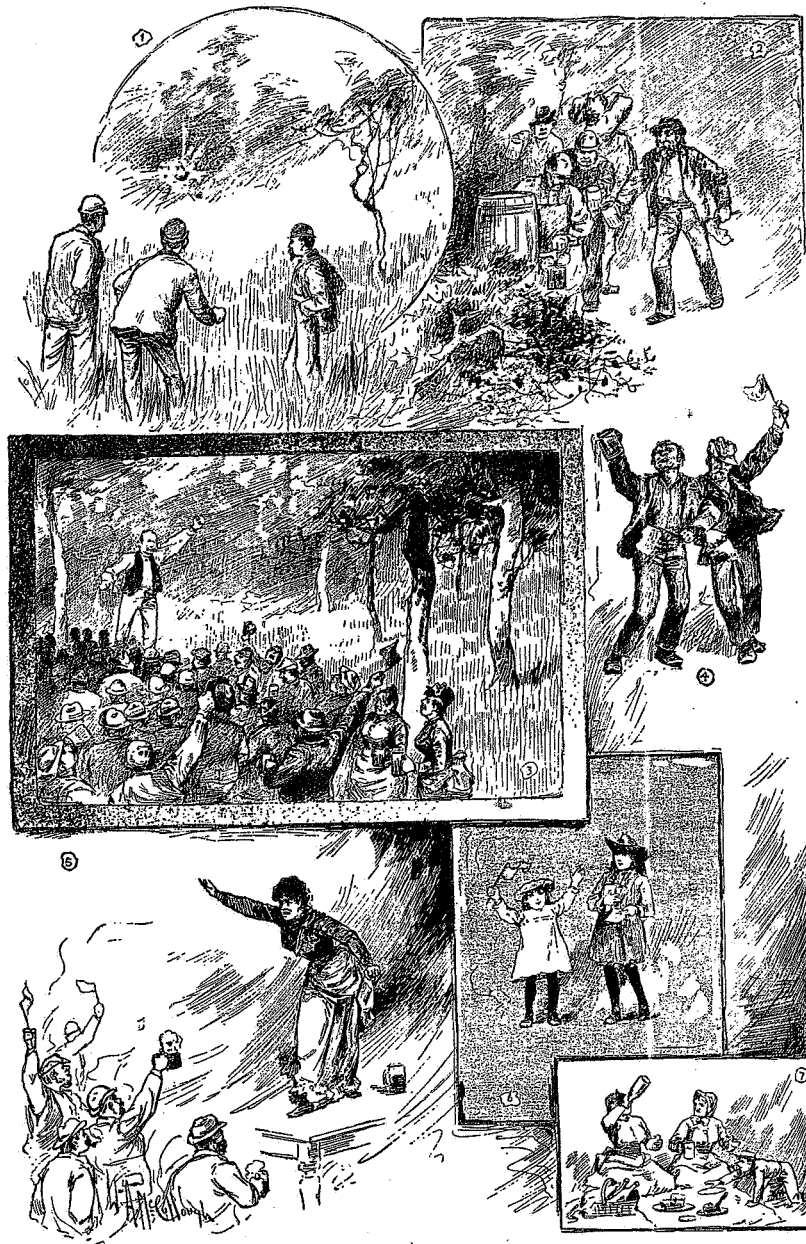
"I only heard a part of Fielden's speech. He said Martin Foran had been sent to Congress to represent the Labor Party, and he did not do it satisfactorily. When McCormick's name was mentioned during the speeches there were exclamations like 'Hang him,' or 'Throw him into the lake.' Some such a remark would be made when any prominent Chicago capitalist's name was used. When some one in the crowd cried 'Let's hang him now,' when some man's name was mentioned, one of the speakers, either Spies or Parsons, said, 'No, we are not ready yet.'"

On cross-examination Mr. Hull said :

"The firing of the revolvers startled me. I considered my position dangerous and tried to get around the corner. A few moments before the explosion of the bomb a threatening cloud came up, and Mr. Spies said the meeting would adjourn to 54 West Lake Street, I believe. At no time during the meeting was I as near as eight or ten feet from the speaker. I don't believe I heard Fielden say, in a loud voice, 'There come the blood-hounds! Now you do your duty and I'll do mine,' when the police were coming up. I remember that Mr. Fielden said 'in conclusion,' after I got my position on the stairs again, and when the police were forming and marching below. I was confused at the time I wrote my reports. (After examining his report in a copy of *Daily News* of May 5th, 1886 :) I have said nowhere in this report that the crowd fired upon the police. I did say that the police required no orders before firing upon the crowd. I wrote this up about an hour after the occurrence. After describing the explosion of the bomb, I used this language in my report: 'For an instant after the explosion the crowd seemed paralyzed, but, with the revolver shots crackling like a tattoo on a mighty drum, and the bullets flying in the air, the mob plunged away into the darkness with a yell of rage and fear.' My recollection is that the bomb struck the ground about on a line with the south line of the alley. The bomb apparently fell north from the point where I first saw it in the air. I judge it came from the south, going west-northwest."

WHITING ALLEN, another reporter, was present at the Haymarket meeting in company with Mr. Tuttle, another newspaper man, and heard some of the speeches. Said the witness :

"Parsons was speaking when we got there. About the only thing that I could quote from his speech is this: 'What good are these strikes going to do? Do you think that anything will be accomplished by them? Do



A PICNIC OF THE "REDS" AT SHEFFIELD.

1. Experimenting with Dynamite. 2. Getting Inspiration. 3. Engel on the Stump. 4. "Hoch die Anarchie!"
5. Mrs. Parsons addressing the Crowd. 6. Children peddling Most's Literature. 7. A Family Feast.

you think the workingmen are going to gain their point? No, no; they will not. The result of them will be that you will have to go back to work for less money than you are getting.' That is his language in effect. At one time he mentioned the name of Jay Gould. There were cries from the crowd, 'Hang Jay Gould!' 'Throw him into the lake!' and so on. He said, 'No, no; that would not do any good. If you would hang Jay Gould now, there would be another, and perhaps a hundred, up to-morrow. It don't do any good to hang one man; you have to kill them all, or get rid of them all.' Then he went on to say that it was not the individual, but the system; that the government should be destroyed. It was the wrong government, and these people who supported it had to be destroyed. I heard him cry, 'To arms!' I cannot tell in what connection. The crowd was extremely turbulent. It seemed to be thoroughly in sympathy with the speakers; was extremely excited, and applauded almost every utterance. I staid there some ten or fifteen minutes. I then left and went to Zepf's Hall. Later I came back again, when Fielden was speaking. When the bomb was thrown I was in the saloon of Zepf's Hall, standing about the middle of the room at the time. I did not see any of the defendants there. They were not there to my knowledge. When I was down at the meeting, I pointed out to Mr. Tuttle Mr. Parsons, Fielden, Spies, and a man that I presume was Mr. Schwab, but was not certain. The general outline was that of Mr. Schwab. I could not get a full view of his face. That must have been half past nine."

CHARLES R. TUTTLE said he did not remember much of what Parsons spoke:

"Parsons made a series of references to existing strikes—one was the Southwestern strike—and to Jay Gould, the head of that system of railways, and the winding up of the peroration in connection with that created a great deal of excitement and many responses from the audience. He then spoke of the strike at McCormick's, and detailed the suffering of the people who had wives and children, and who were being robbed by one whom I took to be Mr. McCormick, although I cannot say that was the idea; who were being robbed, anyway, by capitalists. And he said it was no wonder that these persons were struggling for their rights, and then said that the police had been called on by the capitalists to suppress the first indications of any movement on the part of the working people to stand up for rights, and he asked what they are going to do. One man—I believe the same one who had spoken when he referred to Gould—stuck up his hand with a revolver in it, and said, 'We will shoot the devils,' or some such expression, and I saw two others sticking up their hands, near to him, who made similar expressions, and had what I took to be at the time revolvers."

EDWARD COSGROVE, a detective connected with the Central Station, was on duty at the Haymarket. He gave the substance of some of the speeches, and, referring to Spies, said:

"Then he talked about the police, the bloodhounds of the law, shooting down six of their brothers, and he said: 'When you are ready to do something, do it, and don't tell anybody you are going to.' A great number of the crowd cheered him loudly. The enthusiastic part of the crowd

was close to the wagon. Sometimes there would be some on the outskirts. I did not hear all of Spies' speech and only part of Parsons'. Parsons talked of statistics—about the price laboring men received. He said they got fifteen cents out of a dollar, and they were on the still hunt for the other eighty-five. He talked of the police and capitalists and Pinkertons. He said he was down in the Hocking Valley region, and they were only getting twenty-four cents a day, and that was less than Chinamen got. And he said his hearers would be worse than Chinamen if they didn't arm themselves, and they would be held responsible for blood that would flow in the near future. There was a great deal of cheering close to the wagon during his speech. I was in Capt. Ward's office when the police were called out. I came down the street at the time the police did. When the police came to a halt, I was on the northwest corner of Randolph and Desplaines. I heard no firing of any kind before the explosion of the bomb, but immediately after that. I can't tell from what source the pistol shots came, whether the police fired first or the other side. I reported at the station from time to time what was going on at the meeting."

On cross-examination Cosgrove said:

"I was twice at the station reporting. My second report was that Mr. Parsons said they would be held responsible for the blood that would flow in the streets of America in the near future. The police remained at the station after this report. I didn't hear any part of Fielden's speech. When I came out before the police quite a number of the crowd had gone away. When I saw Schwab he was about forty feet south of the south sidewalk of Randolph Street, on Desplaines. I saw Schwab about half past eight, or a little later, at the wagon. My impression is that I saw Mr. Schwab near the close of Parsons' speech, but I am not sure. When I saw him at the wagon it was about the time Mr. Spies came back the second time to speak."

TIMOTHY MCKEOUGH, a detective, was present when the meeting opened.

"Spies got on the wagon and called out twice: 'Is Mr. Parsons here?' He received no answer, and said: 'Never mind, I will go and find him myself.' Somebody said: 'Let us pull the wagon around on Randolph Street and hold the meeting there.' Mr. Spies said: 'No, that might stop the street-cars.' He started away then, and Officer Myers and myself followed him as far as the corner. There was a man with him who, I think, was Schwab, but I am not very sure about that, and in about fifteen minutes he returned, and when I got back he was addressing the meeting, talking about what happened to their brethren the day before at McCormick's. He had been down to McCormick's and addressed a meeting, and they wanted to stop him; tried to pull him off the car because he was a Socialist; that while he was talking a portion of the crowd started toward McCormick's and commenced to throw stones, the most harmless amusement they could have; how wagons loaded with police came down the Black Road and commenced firing into the crowd. Somebody halloed out: 'Let us hang him,' and he said: 'My friends, when you get ready to do anything, go and do it, and say nothing about it.' About that time Parsons arrived and Spies introduced him, saying Parsons could talk better English than he, and would probably entertain them better. The crowd in the neighborhood of the wagon appeared very much excited when Spies spoke

about the shooting down of workingmen at McCormick's. Parsons quoted from some book on labor statistics, which he thought his hearers probably had not read, because they didn't have the money to buy it or leisure to read it, as they had to work too much. He said out of every dollar the laboring man makes for capitalists he only gets fifteen cents, and they are on a still hunt for the other eighty-five. He had been down to the coal mines, and, according to labor statistics, they received $24\frac{1}{2}$ cents for their daily labor on the average during a year. That was just half as much as the Chinaman would get, and he said: 'If we keep on we will be a great deal worse than Chinamen. I am a tenant and I pay rent to a landlord.' Somebody asked, 'What does the landlord do with it?' Parsons said the landlord pays taxes, the taxes pay the sheriff, the police, the Pinkertonites and the militia, who are ready to shoot them down when they are looking for their rights. He said: 'I am a Socialist from the top of my head to the soles of my feet, and I will express my sentiments if I die before morning.' The crowd near the wagon loudly cheered him. Later I heard Mr. Parsons say, taking off his hat in one hand: 'To arms! to arms! to arms!' Then I went over to Desplaines Street Station and reported to Inspector Bonfield. When I came back Fielden was speaking. He criticised Martin Foran, the Congressman that was elected by the working people. Speaking about the law, he said the law was for the capitalists. 'Yesterday, when their brothers demanded their rights at McCormick's, the law came out and shot them down. When Mr. McCormick closed his door against them for demanding their rights, the law did not protect them.' If they loved their wives, their children, they should take the law, kill it, stab it, throttle it, or it would throttle them. That appeared to make the crowd near the wagon more excited, and I made another report to Inspector Bonfield. I saw Spies, Parsons and Fielden on the wagon. I saw Schwab on the wagon in the early part of the evening, and a man named Schnaubelt."

HENRY E. O. HEINEMAN, a reporter of the *Chicago Tribune*, testified:

"I saw the bomb, that is the burning fuse, rise out of the crowd and fall among the police. It rose from very nearly the southeast corner of the alley. I didn't hear any shots before the bomb exploded. Almost instantly after it shots were heard. I could not say whether the first shots came from the police or the crowd. It seems to me as if I heard some bullets close to myself, whizzing from the north as I was going south.

"Spies started out by saying that the meeting was intended to be a peaceable one—it was not called to raise a disturbance—and then gave his version of the affair at McCormick's, the day before. The crowd near the speaker's wagon was in sympathy with the speakers. There was occasionally applause. I heard a few Germans talk with one another. I heard Parsons call out toward the close of his speech, 'To arms! to arms! to arms!' Fielden, towards the end of his speech, told the crowd to kill the law, to stab it, to throttle it, or else it would throttle them. I was formerly an Internationalist. I ceased my connection with them about two years ago. At that time the defendant Neebe belonged to the same group I belonged to. It is not in existence now. I met Spies and Schwab occasionally in the groups. I ceased my connection with the Internationale immediately after, and on account of the lectures Herr Most delivered in this city. I saw on the wagon at the Haymarket meeting Spies, Parsons, Fielden, and at one time Rudolph Schnaubelt."