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IN THE  
SUPREME COURT OF ILLINOIS,  
NORTHERN GRAND DIVISION.

MARCH TERM, A. D. 1887.

AUGUST SPIES ET AL.,  
us. PLAINTIFFS,  
THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS,  
DEFENDANT.

Error to the  
Criminal Court of  
Cook County.

ABSTRACT OF RECORD.

W. P. BLACK and  
SALOMON & ZEISLER,  
ATTORNEYS FOR PLAINTIFFS IN ERROR.  
LEONARD SWETT,  
OF COUNSEL.

Vol. II.

CONTAINING ABSTRACT OF TESTIMONY: VOLS. I TO N.

CHICAGO  
HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY

CHICAGO:  
BARNARD & GUNTHORP, LAW PRINTERS, 44 & 46 LASALLE STREET.  
1887.

DEACCESSIONED BY  
CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
PRINTED COLLECTIONS

16188

PEOPLE'S TESTIMONY.

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1-17

Felix V. Bushick testifies with reference to maps and plans shown in volume of exhibits as People's Exhibits 1, 2, 3 and 4; same were admitted in evidence.

18

JOHN BONFIELD :

19

I am at present inspector of police; was the second in command on May 4th last, in charge of companies of police ordered to rendezvous at Desplaines street station that night. I got there about 6 o'clock. There were present Capt. Ward, Lieuts. Bowler, Benson, Stanton, Hubbard, Beard, Steele and Quinn, each in charge of a company.

20

During that day our attention was called to circular calling a meeting at Haymarket that evening. I saw the mayor in the 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 10 and half-past 10. The men then formed on Waldo place.

21

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, was Lieut. Bowler on the right, Stanton on the left; next company in single line was Lieut. Hubbard.

22

Lieuts. Beard and Benson'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 Bros.' 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.

23

Q. I want to know what the order was?

(Objected to by defendants; objection overruled; exception.)

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



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24 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 towards 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 before a shot 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; gave the order to close up. The men immediately reformed; 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. Matthias 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.

28 Circular calling Haymarket meeting identified by witness, admitted in evidence, marked "People's Ex. No. 5."

29 (Another circular headed "Revenge" handed to witness.) I saw one like that on Monday evening, May 3, 1886. As we approached there were about five or six on the truck. Did not see the direction of 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.

Copy of circular headed "Revenge" introduced in evidence, marked "People's Ex. 6."

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

34 Have been connected with the Chicago police not quite ten years; was a patrolman, a detective and acting detective a year or so; was pro-





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36 moted to the rank of lieutenant, captain and inspector. I was the highest officer upon 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. 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.

52 **GODFRIED WALLER:** (Testifying through interpreter from German to English.)

• Am a cabinet-maker, since two years in Chicago; was born in Switzerland; have lived in this country three years; was a member of a socialistic society called the "Lehr und Wehr Verein;" in that society



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53 we exercised in arms, etc. I was in the second company; ceased to be  
 a member about four months ago; in the evening of the 3d of May I  
 was at Greif's hall, 54 West Lake street; got there at 8 o'clock; went  
 there pursuant to an advertisement in the Arbeiter Zeitung: "Y—  
 54 Come Monday Night."

(Copy of paper containing said notice offered in evidence, marked  
 "People's Ex. 7.") 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  
 55 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 through-  
 56 out 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;  
 57 of the defendants there were present Engel and Fischer, none of the  
 other defendants.

Q. What was said after the meeting was called to order?

(Objection in behalf of the six defendants other than Engel and  
 Fischer as to what occurred at that meeting; objection overruled  
 and exception.)

(It is agreed that this objection and exception is preserved as to  
 all the testimony in regard to that meeting.)

The WITNESS: First there was some talk about the six men who had  
 58 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 north-west  
 side group had resolved that in such case we should gather at certain  
 59 meeting places, and the word "Ruhe" (translated as quiet or rest) pub-  
 lished in the letter box of the Arbeiter Zeitung should be the signal for  
 us to meet; the north-west 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 would come out and whatever would come in our  
 way we should strike down; the police station on North avenue was



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60 referred to first; nothing was said about the second station—just as it happened.

61 I then proposed a meeting of workmen 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 workmen; 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 workmen so they should be prepared, in case a conflict would happen; Fischer was commissioned to call the meeting  
62 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  
64 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 workmen, and we should commence to take the rights in our own hands; by attacking the stations we would prevent  
65 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.

Q. What was said, if anything, as to what should be done in case the police should attempt to disperse the Haymarket meeting? A. There  
66 was nothing said about the Haymarket. There was nothing expected that the police would get to 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  
67 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  
68 mentioned the word 'Ruhe;' I only knew one of the members of the



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69 committee, Kraemer. Engel moved that the plan be adopted; the motion was seconded and I put it to vote.

Q. During the discussion was anything said about where dynamite or bombs or arms could be obtained, that you remember of? A. Not  
70 on that evening. I left the meeting about half-past 10; 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  
71 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.

(The Arbeiter Zeitung of May 4, 1886, introduced in evidence, marked "People's Ex. 8.")

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  
72 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  
73 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.

74 Q. Mr. Waller, did you ever have any bombs?

75-94 (Objected to by defendants. After full argument, objection overruled, and exception.)

A. Formerly, about half a year ago, I had one. It was made  
96 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  
96 last year, at Thalia Hall.

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

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

A. I should use it. There were present members of the north-west  
97 side group and several men of the Lehr and Wehr Verein when he gave me that bomb.





Q. Was there any public meeting to take place on Thanksgiving day?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

98 A. Yes; on Market square. The members of the Lehr and Wehr Verein were not known by names, but by numbers.

(All this testimony is objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

The WITNESS: 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.

99 (Motion to strike out the testimony of this witness, since the question whether he ever had any bomb was overruled and exception.)

The WITNESS: 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, Schrader, Weber, Huber, Lehmann, Herman.

101 Q. What became of the bomb which you had?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

A. I gave it to a member of the Lehr and Wehr Verein; he had it  
102 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, marked marked "People's Exhibit 9.") Schnaubelt at that meeting said, we should inform our members in other places of the resolutions, so that it  
103 should commence in other places also.

On Sunday, before that meeting at Lake street, I was present at a meeting at the Bohemian hall, on Emma street; August Krueger invited me; he is also called the little Krueger, while Reinhold is known  
104 as the large Krueger; I got to the meeting at Emma street at ten A. M.; there were present Engel and Fischer, the defendants, besides Gruenwald, the two Kruegers, Schrader, myself.

Q. What was said at the meeting?

(Objected to on behalf of all defendants other than Fischer and Engel; objection overruled, and exception.)

A. The same that I stated, Engel's plan; Engel proposed the plan.  
105 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



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neighbors; there might be a detective right near us, or some one else; Engel's plan was finally accepted.

106 (Motion to strike out the entire testimony of this witness, and particularly all the testimony which came in under objection. Motion overruled, and exception.)

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

107 Before I ceased to be a member of the Lehr and Wehr Verein, I be-  
 108 longed to it for four or five months. I learned that the objects of the  
 109 Lehr and 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 Ar-  
 beiter Zeitung once before, one or one and a half months before; on the  
 3d of May a member of the Lehr and Wehr Verein, by the name of  
 Clermond, 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 meet-  
 ing. We did not know for what purpose it was called. When more  
 people arrived, I requested Engel to lay his plan again before the meet-  
 ing. 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.

112 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 prepa-  
 113 rations were made for meeting any police attack there. When I saw the  
 word "Ruhe" in the Arbeiter Zeitung on Tuesday, May 4th, about 6  
 P. M., I knew the meaning, but I didn't know why it was in the paper.  
 114 On the Haymarket, on my way to the meeting of the Furniture Workers'  
 116 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 get-  
 ting 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  
 117 three hundred and fifty or four hundred people assembled at the Hay-  
 market. The principal purpose of the Haymarket meeting was to pro-



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test 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  
 118 us about preparations to meet an attack by the police. When I came to Engel's, at about half-past 10, there were in his house Breitenfeld, the little Krueger, Kraemer, and a few others. Kraemer, I think, lived in the rear of the house.

120 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  
 121 taken to East Chicago avenue station; I saw there Capt. Schaack, and, in the evening, Mr. Furthman; I was released about half-past 8 of  
 122 the same 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 had conversations with Furthman about the  
 123 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  
 124 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  
 125 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.

130 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 Linng. I saw Linng once make a speech.

140 BERNARD SCHRADE:

I live at 581 Milwaukee avenue; I am a carpenter by trade; I was  
 141 born in western Prussia; have lived in this country nearly five years; since about six months I have been a member of the Lehr and Wehr Verein; I know Gotfried Waller; was present at a meeting in the basement of Greif's Hall, on the evening of May 3d; I went there with several others about half-past 9; we went down to the basement: nothing kept us back; when I got down the meeting was in order. Waller was presiding; there were about thirty or thirty-five people; Waller, Engel, Fischer, Thielen, the Lehmanns, Donafeldt. Linng was not



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there. When I entered, the chairman explained what had been spoken about until then.

143 (Objected to on behalf of all the defendants other than Engel and Fischer.)

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  
 144 the police go beyond their bounds—attack 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  
 145 the carpenters' meeting, and it was said there that the members of the L. u. W. V. should go round to the meeting on Lake street. I stayed there from 8 until half past 9; circulars headed "Revenge" were distributed there, one Balthazar Rau; that carpenters' meeting was held at Zepf's hall. At the meeting at 54 West Lake street I stayed  
 146 from half-past 9 until about a quarter after 10. On the preceding Sunday I was at a meeting at the Bohemian hall, on Emma street; we got there about half-past 9 in the forenoon; the big Krueger called for me; there were, besides me, Waller, Krueger, Fischer, Engel and Greeneberg; I don't know the others.

147 (Testimony in regard to that Sunday meeting objected to in behalf of the defendants other than Fischer and Engel; objection overruled, and exception.)

Those present belonged to the second company of the L. u. W. V., and  
 148 the north-western 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  
 149 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 ourselves, and the members of the north-western 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  
 150 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  
 151 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-





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past 8. 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 bigger 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.

(Testimony as to conduct and action of witness as a member of the L. u. W. V. objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

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 is shown the signal "Y," in a paper marked "Ex. 3.") 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.

(Witness is shown a book marked "People's" Ex. 6.) I saw books similar to this sold in meetings.

Q. Where have you seen that book offered for sale?

(Objected to because book is not offered in evidence, and not connected with any of the defendants; objection overruled, and exception.)

I saw it sold in meetings of workingmen.

(Motion to strike out testimony of witness, particularly so much of it as has been objected to; motion overruled, and exception.)



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## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I know Spies, Parsons, Fielden, Neebe and Schwab only by sight; never had any business or conversation with any of them. Linng 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 workingmen we would help the workingmen 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:

Am a police officer; was lieutenant of police on May 4th last; have been on the police force nearly fourteen years; my station is and was on the 4th of May at West Chicago avenue. I was in charge of a company at the Haymarket on the 4th of May; there were twenty-five in my company. We formed on Waldo Place, ten or fifteen minutes after ten. Lieut. Quinn and myself marched, two companies abreast, straight on across Randolph street until we reached the speakers' stand, where we halted. Capt. Ward stepped up and commanded the meeting to disperse in the statutory form. Two or three seconds after that 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 almost 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



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from the speakers' wagon when the command "halt," was given. Prior to that I could hear speaking going on in front of us. I heard somebody say, "Here comes the blood-hounds. You do your duty and we will do ours." I could not say who made the remark. The sound  
 172 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 declar-  
 173 ation. After the pistol shots from the crowd we returned the fire. Fielden stepped off of the wagon, turned to the sidewalk, and I lost sight  
 174 of him. Seven men of my company were injured. Their names are Ruel, Dombrowski, Gruel, Ganor, Wendt, McNulty and Barrett. None of them are dead. When we got some few feet north of Randolph street, the crowd in front of us separated to the right and left. I heard  
 175 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  
 176 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, or that and the firing at once.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

177 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  
 178 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  
 180 other way. I do not mean to say that the remark about the blood-hounds coming was made by the speaker from the wagon. Mr. Fielden was on the sidewalk when the bomb exploded. Capt. Ward  
 181 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  
 182 getting out of the wagon, or immediately after he got out, I would have heard. I did not hear him make any.

## MARTIN QUINN:

183 I am a lieutenant on the police force; was in command of a company on the night of May 4th last; situated on the left of Lieut. Steele. My men had their clubs in their belts, their pistols in  
 184 their pockets. I had twenty-four men in the company. As we were



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within about fifty feet of where the speaker was the man speaking on the wagon made the remark: "Here they come now, the blood-hounds. Do your duty, men, and I'll do mine." I heard Capt. Ward give the  
185 statutory order to disperse. At that moment there was a bomb or shell fired into the rear, and when Ward had not quite finished his sentence there was a shot fired from the wagon by the man who was speaking at the time. It was Mr. Fielden. 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  
186 the alley. I fired myself. Fourteen men of my company were injured. I lost sight of Fielden as he got on the sidewalk. Two men of my  
187 company died, Nels Hanson and Timothy Flavin. 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  
188 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  
189 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  
190 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  
192 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.





## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I was as far away from Lieut. Steele as the space that twelve ordi-  
 194 nary men would cover. I was pretty near the right of my company. I  
 195 was about twenty or twenty-five feet farther away from the wagon than  
 196 Steele or Ward. When the halt was ordered I turned around to see  
 197 whether my men dressed up in line. While Ward spoke the order to  
 disperse we were still marching; then, about that time I heard the com-  
 mand, "halt!" Then I turn around and repeated it to my company,  
 199 facing my men, with my back to the crowd, and my back and side to-  
 ward the wagon. At the time I called to my company and dressed up  
 the lines Capt. Ward had finished his command. He made only one  
 200 declaration, did not repeat it. At the time I heard the command  
 "halt!" Fielden had not started to leave the wagon. He did so imme-  
 201 diately, before Ward had finished. When the order of "halt" was  
 given Ward had got this far, "In the name of the people of the State  
 of Illinois, I command, etc., to disperse, and I command you, and you"  
 202 —but I am not positive whether it was Ward or Bonfield who spoke  
 203 that. I have known Ward about fourteen years; Bonfield about eight  
 204 or ten years. I had no time to dress up my lines before the bomb ex-  
 ploded, but had repeated the order of "halt" to my company. Just at  
 that moment, as I turned back and heard the words "you, and you," the  
 bomb and the pistol exploded, as I had turned around to the north, be-  
 206 fore I dressed the company. The bomb exploded about two or three  
 seconds after I had repeated the order to halt. I did not see the bomb  
 explode—that is, I did not see the bomb when it was thrown, but I saw,  
 as I said, just the same as there would be a bunch of fire-crackers. I  
 209 would not swear that it was or was not Fielden who fired the pistol, but  
 210 it was a speaker, that I know, that fired at the instant he finished, "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.  
 211 Fired right into them. The torch was still on the wagon at that time,  
 212 and the street lamp near by was lighted. I have done detective duty as  
 213 an officer. Am liable to be sent on that business at any moment.

215 JAMES P. STANTON:

As lieutenant of the police force. Have been connected with the force  
 on and off since 1869. Have lived in the city of Chicago since 1856.  
 Was in the navy during the war. Was with my company at the Hay-



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216 market on the night of May 4th last. The captain ordered me to fall in  
 on the left of Lieut. Bowler; that would be drawing a line across the  
 street; they stepped off pretty lively and it took my company some time to  
 catch up with them. There were eighteen men in my company. I came  
 to a halt about five seconds when I saw the shell come over, and fall  
 about four feet from where I stood, on the left of Bowler, and about the  
 center of my company. I turned to the left. I hollered to my men  
 217 "Look out, there is a shell." Just then the bomb exploded. My men  
 were sprawled around on the street. There were but one or two out of  
 my eighteen men that were not wounded. Degan and Redden were  
 killed. I was wounded myself; my body was hit in eleven different  
 218 places, with a shell, I believe. I was two weeks and a half at the hospital;  
 then I went to my home in a buggy. After that commenced to limp  
 219 around. I had to suffer from a nervous shock. The holes in my cloth-  
 ing are larger than the holes in my limbs. My company was on the  
 220 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  
 221 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  
 222 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, the police or the crowd.  
 My men were supposed to be armed; they had their clubs in their belts.

223

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

224

Mine and Bowler's company formed the second division. When we  
 formed I ran to my captain and asked him where to fall in. Says he:  
 "Fall in on the left of Bowler." They were marching on at that time,  
 and it took me some time to catch up to Bowler, and consequently I  
 ordered my company "left oblique" and trotted along, and then as  
 the forward company came to a halt I reached Bowler; I proceeded a  
 good part of the distance by double quick. We walked pretty fast.  
 225 My whole company was about two feet in the rear of Bowler's when  
 226 we came to a halt. When I first noticed the shell it was overhead in the  
 air, about seven to nine feet above my head. From the time I observed  
 it until it struck the street it was coming down pretty lively, upon a pretty



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sharp slant, making a descent of somewhere about twelve feet in a west-  
 227 ward passage about six. When I first saw it it was probably a foot or  
 228 two north of me. It struck the street about two feet in front of my front  
 230 rank. I believe there was a light on the wagon. I am certain when we  
 came to a halt I was east of the center of the street.

231 H. F. KRUEGER:

Am a police officer; was at the Haymarket on the 4th of May last in  
 232 Lieut. Steele's company, No. 1, front rank, on the right. I was next to  
 the curb; when we halted I was within about eight feet of the speakers'  
 stand. I passed beyond the alley; I heard some speaking on the wagon;  
 could not hear distinctly, only when we got up within twenty-five or  
 233 thirty feet I hear something like this, "Here they are now, the blood-  
 hounds." I should judge it was the speaker on the wagon; would not  
 be positive, though. To the command by Ward, I heard the man on  
 the wagon respond, "We are peaceable." It was this man that spoke  
 (pointing out Fielden). He stood at the south end of the wagon; some-  
 234 body in the crowd told him to get down, and he said "All right." And  
 he stepped down from the wagon and passed right to my right behind  
 the wagon, and in a moment the bomb fell behind me. Then I saw a  
 pistol in his hand, and he fired two shots directly at the column of police,  
 taking cover behind the wagon. I returned his fire and at the same  
 instant received a bullet in my right knee cap. The bullet went in  
 235 from the side and stuck in the knee cap; it was a thirty-eight cali-  
 bre. Then I saw Fielden in the crowd and I shot at him again, and he  
 kind of staggered, but did not fall, and he mixed up with the crowd. I  
 should judge he went diagonally across the sidewalk towards Crane's  
 alley. I did not see him after that.

238

## CROSS EXAMINATION.

At the time Fielden was down on the ground off the wagon, the bomb  
 240 had not exploded. It was two or three seconds after. I did not hear  
 241 any pistol fired before the bomb exploded. I don't know that Fielden  
 fired from the wagon. I did not see the blaze of a pistol from the wagon  
 before he got off. There was another man in front of me. Fielden  
 242 was standing on the wagon, which was three feet above the ground.  
 245 Fielden in taking cover behind the wagon just stepped one step north of  
 246 the south end of the wagon. The bullet, which entered my leg, passed  
 to the front on to the knee cap. Fielden at that time was a little to the



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right, but mostly to the north of me, about seven or eight feet. I was facing it. (Bullet referred to, introduced in evidence.) I emptied my  
 247 revolver. My position was about eight or ten feet north of the north line  
 248 of the alley. I saw Fielden mix with the crowd and go diagonally  
 249 towards the alley.

250 JOHN WESSLER:

Am a police officer; was at the Haymarket on the 4th of May last, in  
 Lieut. Bowler's company on the right. I saw officer Krueger that  
 night. He was right ahead of me. When we got about as far as the  
 Randolph street car track I heard the remark "Here comes the blood-  
 251 hounds." Our company landed at the south edge of Crane's alley.  
 Captain Ward gave the order to disperse, and Mr. Fielden said, "We  
 are peaceable." Immediately I saw something thrown from south of  
 where he got off of the wagon. It struck on the left of our company  
 and on the right of Stanton's; within two or three seconds it exploded;  
 just then there was a volley of shots fired into us by the crowd around.  
 Lieut. Bowler then said, "Shoot and kill." I drew my revolver and I  
 ran north on the sidewalk next to Crane's building, probably twenty or  
 thirty feet north of the alley. There I shot twice. I heard the order  
 252 "Fall in" in the rear of me; I ran back and saw Mr. Fielden stand at  
 the middle of the south end of the wagon, and I noticed before I got  
 there a man who would not stand up, and who would shoot into the  
 police and get down behind the wheel. I went up and saw that Mr.  
 Fielden was there, and he got up a second time and shot into the police,  
 and he got down by the wheel of the wagon, and as he did I shot him  
 and he fell under the wagon. I may have been three feet from him.  
 Then I ran and left him. I saw him fire twice.

253

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I am at present on detective service; have been detailed in citizens'  
 clothes for about a year; have lived in Chicago seven or eight years; I  
 occupied the extreme right in the front rank. My company was about  
 ten feet in the rear of Lieut. Steele's company; I stood right on the south  
 east corner of the alley; right at the lamp-post; the lamp was lighted.  
 255 When the order to fire was given I started north on the sidewalk; there  
 were not many people there; they got pretty well cleared out. We had  
 a comparatively clear race track. I fired when I was about three or four  
 feet north of the steps that go up into Crane Brothers' factory; when





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256 Fielden fired, his back was towards me; when I testified at the Des-  
 257 plaines street station I described the man who fired, but did not know  
 258 him by name. I fired at him and he fell under the wagon. I ran back  
 to Lieut. Bowler, and when I came back and looked under the wagon for  
 my man he was gone. It was about three weeks after the occurrence,  
 on the occasion of the preliminary examination of a number of men, that  
 I testified at the Desplaines street station. When I fired north up Des-  
 259 plaines street I fired into the crowd; they were running, getting away  
 260 from there just as fast as they could, and I fired at them. It might have  
 been two minutes after the explosion of the bomb that I started on my  
 charge to the north. Officer Foley was with me; he got a prisoner  
 crouched down behind the steps, and going by where I was, just after  
 shooting Fielden, he picked up a revolver. I did not know at the time  
 261 who this man was, that I shot at at the wagon. I am positive now it was  
 Fielden; when testifying at the Desplaines street station I did not know  
 262 his name. I might have seen pictures of Fielden in the paper up to the  
 time of testifying at Desplaines street station. I first made up my mind  
 that it was Fielden when I saw him in the corridor here, during the im-  
 paneling of the jury.

264

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

The lamp at the corner of the alley was afterwards put out; none of  
 the defendants were on the examination at the Desplaines street station;  
 265 when I saw the bomb first it was in the air. It came right from behind  
 the wagon, between the wagon and Crane Brothers' building.

265

## RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

When I first saw the bomb it was right over my head; I think it was  
 ten feet up in the air.

266 PETER FOLEY:

267 Am a police officer; have been on the force nearly four years; was in  
 the company of Lieut. Bowler on the east side of the street, within two  
 or three feet of the sidewalk; I saw the bomb in the air; it was coming  
 from the north-east where I stood; it was going up; I saw the fuse. The  
 268 report of the explosion had not died away when the shots were fired  
 from the crowd; got command from the lieutenant to draw revolvers and  
 I shot two or three shots. After a few seconds I went north on the  
 sidewalk, and there were three fellows crouched down by the wall of  
 269 Crane Bros'. factory, right north of the steps. I searched those fellows;



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none of them had any weapons; while standing there I saw Officer Wessler shoot at a man under the wagon. I took the biggest of the three to the station, and going by the wagon I picked up a revolver that was lying on the sidewalk. It is a Herrington, not a Smith & Wesson, with five chambers; three were empty, two cartridges remaining.

270

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

271

I am on detective duty at present. I have been in citizens' clothes a good deal of the time the last ten months; on the night in question I was in the rear rank of my company behind Officer Wessler next to the curb and the lamp-post. The lamp was burning at the time. I did not notice that it was extinguished; I did not see any light on the wagon. I saw Wessler fire a shot at the man laying under the wagon; the man was under the wagon at the time the shot was fired.

272

273

274

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

275

The man at whom Wessler fired was lying under the body of the wagon, between the fore and hind wheels.

275

## LUTHER MOULTON:

276

I live at Grand Rapids, Michigan; have lived there about eleven years; I am patent solicitor and mechanical expert; am connected with the Knights of Labor; an officer in the organization; I have seen August Spies in Grand Rapids on February 22, 1885, at my house, about the middle of the day. He came with Mr. Tandler, of Grand Rapids. Mr. Shook, who lives in the house with me, was also present. Spies came there to lecture.

Q. Begin with the conversation as they came in—the introduction—and state what occurred between you and Spies?

(Objected to by all defendants, particularly by the seven other than Spies; objection overruled and exception.)

277

Spies was introduced to me as a prominent leader of the socialists of Chicago, by Mr. Tandler. Tandler requested me to introduce Spies at the meeting that was to follow that day. Spies stated that the organization which he represented was for the purpose of reorganizing society upon a more equitable basis, that the laboring men might have a better and a fairer division of the products of his labor. I remarked that the ballot box and the legislation of the country was the proper means to resort to. He expressed no confidence in such methods, and that force



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and arms was the only way in which the result could be accomplished directly; that they were prepared for such a demonstration in Chicago and all the commercial centers of the country; that they had about 3,000 men organized in Chicago; they had superior means of warfare; they would rapidly gain accession to their ranks, if they were successful, from the laboring men to whom they would hold out inducements; demonstration would be made, and laboring men were idle in large numbers; they thought the country would fall in line, because they would be able to propagate their ideas rapidly among the country people, and satisfy them that they were improving the condition of society. He thought there might be bloodshed, for that happened frequently in the case of revolution; that might be a punishable crime, if it failed; but if a success, it would be revolution. George Washington would have been punished had he failed. No details were given in regard to the means or mode of warfare. I am quite certain the term "explosives" was used in connection with arms, but nothing very definite. The conversation lasted about half an hour. The eight-hour movement was mentioned in connection with the subject of the great number of men likely to be idle; nothing was said about the police or militia except in general terms, that they were prepared to successfully resist and destroy such forces.

I presided at the meeting at which Spies spoke, and introduced him.

(Motion to exclude this testimony by all defendants, particularly by the seven other than Spies; overruled, and exception.)

281

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I first communicated this narrative to Mr. James H. Bonfield a few days ago, at Grand Rapids; I was furnished with the means to come here by the Grand Rapids police.

282 GEORGE W. SHOOK:

I live at Grand Rapids, Mich.; am a machine hand employed in a furniture factory; have lived there for six years; I know Mr. Moulton. Had an introduction to Mr. Spies on February 22, 1885, at Mr. Moulton's house; heard a conversation between Moulton and Spies.

Q. State what you heard, as near as you can.

(Objected to by all the defendants, particularly by the seven other than Spies; objection overruled, and exception.)

284 This witness now substantially relates the same conversation. He did not hear the eight-hour movement mentioned.

285 (Motion to exclude testimony of this witness; overruled, and exception.)



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287 JAMES BOWLER:

Am lieutenant of the police force; located at Desplaines street station; 288 had charge of a company on the night of May 4th; the bomb exploded in 289 about the center of my company; eighteen of my men were wounded, three of them died, namely, Mueller, Sheehan and Barrett, from the effects of wounds received that night. There were twenty-six or twenty-seven in my company. A couple of seconds after the explosion the firing commenced from all sides. I did not recognize anybody firing. I 290 says 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: 291 "Here come the blood-hounds," said by somebody close to the wagon. I fired nine shots myself. I reloaded. While marching the men had their arms in their pockets. I noticed the lamp at Crane's alley was out.

292

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I was just north of the track when I heard that remark about the blood-hounds, about 100 feet from the speaker's stand; I don't know who spoke the words. There was a kind of a light on the wagon, a kind of 293 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 294 wagon, do any firing. I saw Mr. Fielden coming off of the wagon very plainly.

295 L. C. BAUMANN:

Am a police officer; was at the Haymarket in Lieut. Steele's company at the time the bomb was thrown. I had place No. 7. Six men between me and the east.

296

I was standing north of the alley, about three or four feet from the wagon. I saw Mr. Fielden; he was standing between the hind wheels of the wagon, had a revolver in his hand and fired off a shot. I saw Fielden standing on the wagon and in the act of getting off of the wagon. When he had a revolver in his hand he was standing on the sidewalk right behind the hind wheel, and shot from east to west; saw him fire 297 only once. There elapsed about half a minute between the explosion of the bomb and the firing of that shot.





## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

298 . Saw Fielden that night for the first time. When I came up Fielden was  
facing south-east, the crowd was mainly between the wagon and Crane  
299 Bros. There were a couple of hundred people there; when the com-  
mand, " Fall in " was given, I was standing back of the wagon; the men  
in my company had broken ranks after that bomb-shell had exploded.  
I was on the south end of the wagon, had hold of the south-west wheel.  
302 I had hold of the wheel at the time I saw Fielden fire. I didn't see  
Fielden after that until now. Saw him first here in court this morning.  
303 I have never seen him before.

Q. How did you know it was Fielden then? A. Well, I simply  
asked who that man was that fired the shot, and so they told me it was  
Fielden.

Q. Who told you that it was Fielden that fired the shot? A. Some  
304 of the officers. I have seen Fielden's picture in the paper.

305 EDWARD JOHN HANLEY:

Am a police officer; was at the Haymarket in Steele's company, No,  
306 4, in the first rank, about five or six feet west of the curbstone. I did  
307 not see the bomb before it exploded. Immediately after the bomb ex-  
ploded I turned my face from where the explosion was and noticed that  
man (indicating Fielden) by the wheel of the wagon, with a revolver  
right behind, firing. I saw one shot go, and just as I got my revolver  
they rushed for the alley that was a little south of the wagon. He and  
about twenty more ran; they kept firing about fifteen or twenty shots  
308 after they started to run in the alley. He run with the crowd.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I recognize Mr. Fielden here as the man whom I saw fire and run  
toward the alley.

309 JAMES K. MAGIE:

I attended a public meeting at the 12th street Turner Hall on October  
310 11th, last. Spies and Fielden were there; some resolutions were offered  
and read at that meeting. I think they were introduced by Spies; I  
think he read them from the platform; I think they were published in  
the newspapers of the city the next day.

311 (Testimony as to those resolutions objected to in behalf of the  
seven defendants other than Spies.)



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315 I do not remember now what the resolutions stated. (After having re-  
 refreshed his recollection by looking at the copy of an issue of "The  
 Alarm.") The resolutions advised workingmen to arm themselves to en-  
 force the eight-hour movement after the first of May. The resolutions  
 316 expressed a distrust that the eight-hour law could be enforced without  
 arms, and advised workingmen to arm themselves for the 1st of May,  
 1886; after that I spoke and Spies spoke after me. He spoke of me as  
 317 a political vagabond. I remember that the word dynamite was used; I  
 remember there was a general proposition to arm. Fielden spoke after  
 that. He spoke in defense of the general sentiment of the resolutions,  
 319 and it is all summed up in the words, force, arms and dynamite. As to  
 my remarks on that occasion—

(Objected to by defendants; objection overruled, and exception.)

I said that all reforms could be brought about by the ballot; I was op-  
 posed to force; I was in favor of even less than eight hours; I believed  
 this was the best government that I knew anything about.

The resolutions were adopted by a very strong vote; I voted no;  
 320 there were very few noes; there were about 500 people present. Mr.  
 Simpson spoke there too, but I think before the resolution.

321 CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I think Mr. Fielden spoke before the resolutions were introduced; I  
 do not remember that Mr. Fielden used the word "dynamite." I do not  
 322 want to swear positively that Spies used the word "dynamite."

323 (Motion to exclude testimony of Mr. Magie overruled, and excep-  
 tion.)

325 THOMAS GREIF:

I live at 54 W. Lake street, since about two years and a half; it is a  
 four story building; there is a platform in front of the building, made of  
 326 iron rails; the rails are about two inches apart. I used to have a saloon  
 there in the store part; my family lives in the second story. The two  
 stories above that I used for halls. The basement I sometimes used as  
 a hall when there were many meetings; I made some benches in that  
 basement which are movable; the rear of the basement was a kitchen;  
 I kept my beer in the ice-box, also in the rear; I can get downstairs in  
 327 front or inside the saloon in the back. There were a good many meet-  
 ings on Monday, May 3d. The halls upstairs were full; in the evening  
 one man came and said he wanted to rent a hall; he is a brush-maker.



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I told him the only place I got is the basement. He said: "When the  
 328 Ypsilon folks come, tell them to come downstairs." That was about  
 quarter-past eight. Afterwards three men came and asked: "Were  
 the Ypsilon folks here?" I said: "If they are here, they must be down  
 in the basement." I had to go downstairs once and tap the beer. There  
 329 were two men standing on the stairs talking together. There was one  
 patent lamp hung in the middle; some kerosene lamps stood around;  
 the meeting broke up about eleven o'clock; don't know anybody that  
 went down to that meeting; when I went down I saw about twenty-five  
 or thirty; that was about nine o'clock; I am not an anarchist; I am a  
 socialist.

330

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

That stairway leading from the saloon down to the basement is open;  
 no door to shut it off. There were about five or six lamps down there.  
 The length of the basement in front of the kitchen is about fifty feet.  
 The front of the basement is glazed; the front is all window and doors;  
 331 there is a door in front opening into the basement from the stairs you  
 come down from the sidewalk; there were no curtains before the win-  
 dows; the lower part of the windows are painted; not the upper part;  
 there was nothing to obstruct the view from the street to the sidewalk  
 through that grating and the upper part of those windows, down into  
 332 that basement; the area in front of the basement is an open way to the  
 closets under the sidewalks; persons in the saloon going into these closets  
 would have to go out the front way past this space into the area, and  
 333 from there into the closets; the club room back of the saloon was occu-  
 pied; in the hall on the third floor was the freight handlers' union; the  
 wagon-makers' union occupied the hall on the fourth floor; there were  
 about 100 or 150 people right along in my saloon, all that day; I think a  
 good many must have gone down these front steps to the closets.

334 JOHN E. DOYLE:

Am a police officer; was on the Haymarket on May 4th, in Lieut.  
 Bowler's company; about the eleventh man from the right; I was in-  
 335 jured with the bombshell; six times in my right leg, twice in my left leg  
 and twice in the body; I did not see the bomb at all; as we got about  
 fifty feet north of Randolph street there was a lamp there lighted and it  
 went out; Capt. Ward ordered the men to disperse; a man on the  
 wagon jumped off, and as he did, he said: "Now is your time, now is



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your time." In a second or two I heard a buzzing sound; I was knocked on the ground and it was black all around from smoke; I did not see anybody; there were some men standing north of Eagle street, or near there; one man in particular I had noticed in gray clothes, and he was  
 336 shooting right at us; I saw one man with whiskers and a soft hat looking like him (pointing to Fielden.) I heard him say, "Now is your time,  
 337 now is your time." After I was knocked down I gave my revolver to Bowler,

338

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

339

When I handed the policeman my revolver I had it in my hand; I saw one man from the edge of the sidewalk, and I think I shot him; we both dropped together; I fell into Bowler's arms; I was on a line with the alley; after I was knocked down I got up and stood long enough to fire one shot in a westerly direction; then I fell into Bowler's arms; the man who said, "Now is your time," did not shoot in the wagon or going off; I was looking at him.

341

## CHARLES SPIERLING:

I was in Lieut. Quinn's company at the Haymarket; in the front rank; there were about twelve men east of me; did not see the bomb before it exploded; after the bomb exploded I saw Mr. Fielden get off of the  
 342 wagon and fire one shot. He was standing behind the wagon, on the sidewalk; he shot west; I think it was a little before the explosion of the bomb that he shot; I pulled out my pistol and fired two shots at the wagon, at the crowd; then I turned west and fired three shots at the crowd. After he shot I paid no attention to him.

343

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I saw Fielden on the wagon when I came up. There were about three or four on the wagon. I saw Fielden get off of the wagon, I think, about the center of the wagon, between the two wheels, at the side of the wagon.

344½

## JAMES BONFIELD:

Am a police officer of the city since five or six years; am a brother of Capt. Bonfield. I was bailiff in this court for two years, and assistant jailer four years. I was deputy assessor for a couple of terms in the South division. I arrested Spies and Schwab, at 107 Fifth avenue, the





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345 Arbeiter Zeitung office. Afterwards I went back to the building three  
different times; at one time 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  
346 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) con-  
tains a great many empty shells evidently for the Winchester improved  
rifle; there is also some empty and some loaded sporting cartridges; the  
347 pistol is a 44 calibre, 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.

Q. State what occurred; what Mr. Spies said down there.

(Objected to on behalf of all defendants except Spies; objection over-  
ruled, and exception.)

348 The "Revenge" circular introduced in evidence marked "Peoples'  
Ex. 6."

(Objected to on behalf of defendants; objection overruled, and ex-  
ception.)

349 English portion of the circular read to the jury by Mr. Grinnell.

(To the reading of which defendants objected; objection overruled,  
and exception.)

The WITNESS: 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  
350 and helped him down. He afterwards gave his name as Lechner; he  
claimed the police had opened fire on them. He said when he got off of  
the wagon he went in the east alley and came out on Randolph street.



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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.

(Conversation with Fielden objected to on behalf of the other seven defendants; objection overruled, and exception.)

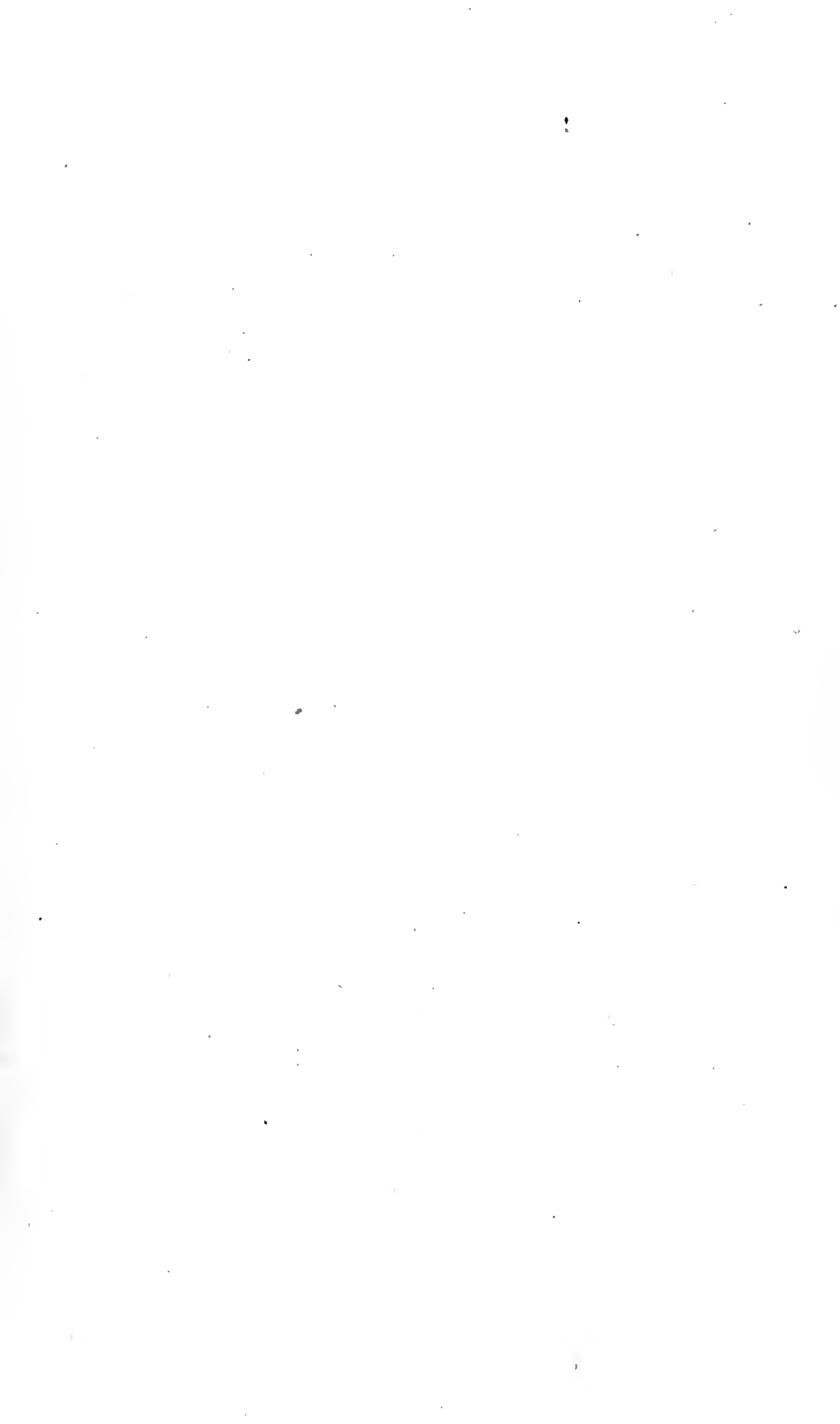
351 Fielden said he was there when the police came up; he got wounded in this alley; then he got a car, and I think, went around to the corner of 12th and Halsted, or VanBuren and Halsted, that then he got another car and went down to the Arbeiter Zeitung office to see if any of his friends had got back there; that from there went over to the Haymarket again, to see if any more of his comrades were hurt.

352 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. Furthman, 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  
353 about three or three and a half feet long; there was no gas connection in the house.

(All this testimony objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

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  
354 pocket for four months; after some conversation he acknowledged that he knew what it was, and 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 Wehr & Kline's; I think their own office was closed, and he went over to Wehr & Kline's and got it printed over there, I think 2,500 copies—25,000 or 2,500.

(Motion to exclude this testimony, and particularly that portion objected to; motion overruled, and exception.)



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## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

356 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  
357 stairs; there were three or four men in the office besides those two;  
358 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,  
361 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  
362 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  
363 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  
364 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;  
365 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 was several  
366 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  
367 the second floor. Twenty or twenty-one compositors of the Arbeiter Zeitung were arrested during that day. I was not present at the time.  
368 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 these were taken;  
369 I do not know to whom that revolver belongs. I took Spies and Schwab into the front room of the central station; Lieut. 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 everything I found; I literally went through him; I had no warrant for anything of that kind. I took those



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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  
 373 Fielden were in separate cells; Spies said the action taken at the Hay-market was premature; it was done by a hot-head that could not wait  
 374 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  
 374 say what they please, under the constitution, and they should not be interfered with. I don't think it was ever questioned that the meeting was a peaceable and quiet meeting. I don't think that he ever claimed that  
 376 it was 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  
 377 laid there for 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.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I saw a man at the Arbeiter Zeitung office, and I afterwards saw a photograph that I was satisfied was the same person. I don't know personally that that photograph is a photograph of Schnaubelt.

380 HENRY E. O. HEINEMAN:

I am a newspaper reporter; am now employed upon the Tribune since ten months. I was at the meeting at the West 12th street Turner Hall on October last; I took a report of that meeting in short-hand. I remember resolutions offered and adopted there; I took a copy along;  
 381 Spies offered the resolution; a man by the name of Belz presided at the  
 382 meeting. Fielden was present and made an address.

(Contents of resolution objected to, and especially in behalf of the six defendants other than Spies and Fielden. Objection overruled, and exception.)

The subject, I think, was the intended eight-hour movement that was to be inaugurated on May 1st, this year; the resolutions stated that the working men could not hope for success unless they were prepared to





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383 enforce their demands, and it concluded with the sentence: "Death to  
the enemies of the human race—our despoilers"; something of that sort;  
I don't remember anything in that resolution about the militia, police or  
384 capitalist. The resolutions stated that the probabilities were that the  
property-owning class would resist any attempt of the laborers to enforce  
the eight hours by calling to their aid the police and militia, and if the  
workingmen were determined on carrying their point they would have  
to arm themselves and be ready to enforce their demands by the same  
385 means that the property-owning class would use; I think that is the sub-  
stance. I would not be certain whether the resolutions stated the time  
when this should culminate; the 1st of May was designated in so far as  
a commencement of the eight-hour movement was fixed at that date.  
The resolution was adopted by the meeting, unanimously, as far as I  
remember.

(Motion to exclude testimony by all defendants, and particularly by  
the six other than Spies or Fielden. Overruled and exception.)

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

386 There is nothing in these resolutions which says that the time for ar-  
gument has passed, that the time for force had begun. Fielden spoke  
before the resolutions were presented.

J. A. WEST:

Am a police officer; on the afternoon of May 3d I was at the gates of  
McCormick's reaper factory; Officer Condon was with me; no other  
police officer; about three blocks east of McCormick's there was a  
meeting; I could see the speaker's stand; some people on top of the car;  
389 I was too far to hear what was said.

(Testimony of this witness in regard to occurrences at McCormick's  
objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

As the bell rung at half-past 3 the men came from work out of the  
big gate; some went east, some west; the crowd came from the east  
and pitched on to the men going home from work and clubbed them;  
there was three or four thousand in that crowd coming across the  
390 prairie; the crowd came from the direction of where the speakers were.  
The mob attacked the men going home; they threw bricks, stones and  
sticks, and drove them back; I tried to tell the mob that McCormick  
had given the demand of their wages that they wanted, and that they  
should go back, but they would not; they fell right in and followed



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391 them right up, and got me surrounded and hit me; and I went and got  
 into the mob, went toward the patrol box and turned in the alarm for  
 the police, for themob were shooting at that time; I and the other police-  
 man had not shot; neither the people that came out of McCormick's.  
 392 They ran back; some of them over across the river; back as far as they  
 could get out of the way, and they threw stones through the windows.  
 It was five—seven or eight minutes before the police arrived; the police  
 drove right in through the crowd towards the gate; tried to get back;  
 the crowd wouldn't let me, so I went toward the river and got over the  
 fence into McCormick's yard, where the police were at that time; I re-  
 ceived injuries; I was laid up for three days; I was not shot.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness overruled and excep-  
 tion.)

393 JAMES L. FRAZER:

I live at 292 Marshfield avenue; am working for S. B. Barker & Co.,  
 lumber dealers, at Wood street and Blue Island avenue, about three or  
 four blocks from McCormick's. I remember a meeting held right on the  
 other side of Lincoln street on the afternoon of May 3d; I saw the  
 speakers; don't know their names; I recognize this man (indicating  
 Spies).

394 (Testimony in regard to occurrences at McCormick's on May 3d,  
 objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

I saw Spies on the top of a Chicago, Burlington and Quincy box-car;  
 there must have been between three and five thousand people in attend-  
 ance; when the bell rung Spies was speaking; I do not understand  
 German; he was very excited; he made several gestures. He jumped  
 395 up three or four feet high. While he was speaking some one stepped  
 forward on top of the car and motioned with his hand up towards  
 McCormick's reaper works. He said, "Go up and kill the damn scabs  
 that are coming from work." Spies was making a speech on the same  
 car; the greatest part of the crowd ran to McCormick's. Spies did not  
 396 go with the crowd; he came over towards Blue Island avenue; the  
 communication from that locality with down-town is a street car on Blue  
 Island avenue; Spies went towards it.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness; overruled, and ex-  
 ception.)



## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I was within fifty or seventy-five feet of where the speaking was going on; the party that motioned up towards McCormick's spoke in  
 397 broken English; I don't who it was; Spies was talking for ten or fifteen  
 minutes in German; the crowd gathered there was composed of  
 Bohemians, Poles, Germans, and I guess pretty near every nationality  
 mixed together; the biggest portion was Bohemians. The party that  
 motioned towards the reaper works spoke from the west end of the car;  
 398 Spies was speaking from the other end of the car; Spies kept on speaking,  
 and part of the crowd stayed there until he finished speaking.

400 E. T. BAKER:

I live 470 Ashland avenue; am engaged with S. B. Barker & Co.,  
 401 lumber dealers; I was present at the McCormick meeting on May 3d, in  
 the afternoon; when the bell rung I was probably fifty feet in front of  
 the car on which the speakers were stationed; there was probably a  
 dozen on the car; I don't know them; I think I saw this gentleman on  
 the car (indicating Spies), I think he was one of the speakers, speaking  
 at the time of the ringing of the bell; there must have been several  
 402 thousand in the crowd; I could catch a few words of his speech; under-  
 stand some German; I heard him speak of wives and children and  
 homes, and appealing for their protection; I understood words now and  
 then; his manner was rather excited and very earnest; the crowd patiently  
 listened until the bell rung at McCormick's factory, and all of a sudden  
 a gentleman standing to the left of the speaker on the end of the car  
 403 rushed forward and shouted, "Now boys, let us go for them damn scabs."  
 Those are the exact words; at that moment a portion of the crowd,  
 which was near McCormick's factory, commenced to move away and I  
 began to back in the opposite direction; that man who made that utter-  
 ance I had never seen before; I was backing away; I did not see Spies  
 any more; there were speakers for quite a while on the car after that.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness overruled and ex-  
 ception.)

404

## CROSS EXAMINATION.

It was a good while before all the crowd dispersed on the grounds;  
 they were standing around there for probably half an hour after the in-  
 terruption; I don't think more than a quarter or a third of the crowd  
 moved away towards the reaper works; the residue of the crowd re-  
 mained or dispersed in different directions.



406 ARCHIBALD LECKIE:

I am a reporter for the Daily News, and was on May 3d, last; I reported a meeting near McCormick's; got there about 1 o'clock; preparations for speaking were going on; the crowd was just assembling; I saw a crowd gradually increasing from three to four thousand, a number of speakers on a box-car, among whom I recognized Mr. Spies, and a man  
407 by the name of Fielding, not the defendant Fielden.

(All this testimony objected to by defendants.)

There seemed to be some discussion on the car as to who should speak; by the time I arrived there a man was speaking; I think in German or Bohemian; speeches followed in English, German and Bohemian; I paid little attention to them until I heard Mr. Fielding speak; the words "Bomben" and "Revolvers" and "Messer" are the words that caught my ear; I am not conversant with German; those words I understood;  
408 and the word "Freiheit," which means freedom; I left the meeting for some time; when I returned I climbed upon the car where the speakers  
409 were. After a minute some man told me to get off of there; I got down and this little speaker, Fielding, pointed at me, and the crowd  
410 assaulted me and I got out. I saw Spies on the car with the speaker.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness; overruled, and exception.)

411 FRANK HARASTER:

I am a Bohemian; live at 35 Zion place; am a lumber yard working-man; have lived in Chicago eleven years; I am president of the lumber-shovers' union; we had a meeting at McCormick's or in the vicinity of McCormick's on May 3d last.

(Testimony as to McCormick's objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

412 The object of the meeting was to receive the report of a committee that had been sent to the bosses of the lumber yards to get the eight-hour concession; when I got there, there were a great many people gathered; the meeting was called for 3 P. M.; when I got there one speech had already been made. I told the speaker that it was not his  
413 business to make a speech there, as the meeting had been called for 3 P. M. I kept him from speaking; I told the people to keep quiet and not to listen to the speakers; so the thing should not culminate as in 1877; the people attempted to throw me off the car; the speaker kept on





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speaking; I stayed there about fifteen or twenty minutes; when some people ran towards McCormick's to drive out the scabs, I tried to keep  
 414 them back and get them to go home; I am not a socialist; I told the people not to listen to those speakers, for the speeches were probably poisonous.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness; overruled, and exception.)

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

The lumber shovers' union is composed of over 6,000 men, nearly 3,000 Bohemians and over 3,000 Germans; I am president of the Bohemian  
 415 branch, the Bohemian section.

416 JOHN ENRIGHT:

Am a police officer, police sergeant at Hinman street station, since a year and a half; have been on the police for thirteen years; on May 3d last, I responded to a call for the patrol wagon; there were ten men with me; we went to McCormick's reaper works about half past three.

(Testimony as to occurrence at McCormick's factory objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

When I got down there I saw a large crowd of people, some of them throwing stones at the windows of McCormick reaper works, some  
 417 breaking the furniture of the outer office on the sidewalk. We drove through the crowd, got into the yard, drove them out of the yard, drove those that were stoning the people out of the yard; we used our clubs; after their rallies turned back on us we heard shots coming from different parts of the crowd, and we scattered about twenty or thirty feet apart, in order to keep the crowd back and keep them from the building; they  
 418 threw a shower of stones at us; I could not state exactly whether the police had fired before I heard those shots; we fired as soon as we heard those shots. I tried to speak to the crowd and keep them back, but they would throw the more stones at me, at us, and then I would fire at the crowd. I was in that tumult about twenty or twenty-five minutes; after it was over we went to look around to see if there was any dead or wounded there, and we did not find anybody.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness; overruled, and exception.)

420 I personally fired five shots. The firing was pretty general from the men under my command; some of my men were hit with rocks but not one of them shot.



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RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

421 Immediately after we had arrived a couple of hundred other policemen came on the ground.

RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

422 Those additional policemen came after the firing was over. The crowd scattered as soon as they saw the policemen coming to our assistance.

L. F. SHANE:

423 Am police officer at Hinman street station; I was at McCormick's  
riot. I had been at McCormick's before that day; I got back there  
424 about half-past three; I marched up in a company of twenty; Mc-  
Cormick's is about five or six blocks from Hinman street station; when  
we got there Enright was opposite the gate, scattered about there.  
After the thing was all over we found two wounded ones; one was sent  
to the hospital, the other was taken home; one person died from the  
effects of wounds received there after an operation performed by Dr.  
425 Hobbs. I searched the entire neighborhood for two weeks to inquire  
about persons wounded and killed at McCormick's on May 3d. The  
result of my investigation was that one died and two or three others  
were injured. When we advanced to help our brother officers, several  
in the crowd were shooting at the officers in front of us; I saw one  
man myself shooting at my partner officer. Our lieutenant arrested  
426 him and he threw the pistol away. There were other pistols there.

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I was detailed to look for the wounded. It was about a week or ten days afterwards when I started. I don't know how many had been wounded then that I did not find, or how many concealed the fact for fear they would be arrested.

428 WILLIAM WARD:

I am captain of the police force since six or eight months; have been on the police force of Chicago since 1870; have lived here thirty-six years; I was in the army of the rebellion; I am stationed at Desplaines street station; am the captain of the Desplaines street station; I remember the night of May 4th last; there were between 175 and 180 men



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429 marching down that night. Lieut. Steele and Lieut. Quinn commanded  
the two first companies; Lieut. Bowler and Lieut. Stanton the second  
line; Lieut. Hubbard the third line; Lieut. Penzen and Lieut. Beard  
430 were in the rear to close up Randolph street. When we got to Crane's  
alley there was a large crowd of people there, and a man upon a truck  
wagon making a speech; I walked towards him and commanded them  
to disperse in the name of the people of the State of Illinois, immedi-  
ately and peaceably, and I called upon several people in the crowd to  
assist me; as he was getting from the wagon he says: "We are  
peaceable." That was this gentleman (indicating Fielden). I heard  
some utterances of the speaker before I addressed him, but could not  
understand them—quite a noise there; our men had their clubs in their  
belts, pistols in their pockets; a few seconds after Fielden said, "we are  
431 peaceable," I heard the explosion in my rear. I turned to look and see,  
and pistol firing began from the front and both sides of the street by the  
crowd. I did not recognize anybody firing; then the police began  
firing and we charged into the alley, Crane's alley, and north on Des-  
plaines street; seven policemen died from the effects of wounds; one  
432 was brought dead into the station; Mathias J. Degan. There was in all  
killed and wounded sixty-six or sixty-seven, about twenty-one or twenty-  
two out of Desplaines street station; forty-two in all out of my precinct.  
433 It was only several seconds from the time that Fielden said "we are  
peaceable" and the time the police charged down the alley and up Des-  
plaines street.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I had a detail there that night from the Central police station under  
434 command of Lieut. Hubbard. At the time I gave the command to  
disperse I was right close to the rear part of the wagon, close to the  
outside wheel, south-west of the wheel; I could almost touch it; could  
have touched it with my club; some of the men carried their pistols in  
the breast pocket of the coat, some the hip pocket. At the time I gave  
435 the command, Inspector Bonfield stood at my left; Lieut. Steele was in  
the rear of me, might have been a little to the right. There were four  
436 to six persons on the wagon. Fielden was standing on the south end of  
the truck, facing south-west, facing me, when I commenced to speak,  
until I was through; then he got off the truck, on the south-east end of  
of it, on the corner toward the sidewalk; all I could understand of what  
Mr. Fielden said was: "We are peaceable." I did not see Fielden  
437 after that. There was no pistol firing of any kind by anybody before



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the explosion of the bomb. I was always several feet in advance of the front rank of the police in marching down, sometimes eight or ten feet in advance; sometimes not so far; the only utterance from any source that I can recall that was heard by me before the bomb exploded, was that of Fielden, "we are peaceable"; that he spoke to me, or looking  
 439 right at me when he spoke. It was a little louder than ordinary, than if he was addressing me; I think the accent was on the last word, "We are *peaceable*." I don't remember whether I related this utterance of Fielden on the occasion of the coroner's inquest when I testified there. I  
 441 think Steele's line was about on a line with the center of the alley; Quinn's line had swung a little further forward. A block and a half  
 442 south of there, there were eight or ten electric lights on the front of the Lyceum theatre, and they lit up the street considerably. I don't remem-  
 444 ber whether there was a torch light or any other light on the truck.

446 MICHAEL HAHN:

I live at 157 Eagle street, since seven or eight months; I am a tailor; work on Halsted street; I was at the Haymarket on the night of May 4th; standing near the north-west corner of Desplaines and Randolph; I received one injury in my back, in my seat, and one in the leg; I went  
 447 to the hospital that same night; Dr. Newman removed something from my person that night; that is what he said; he showed it to me; it was some kind of a nut (witness is handed an ordinary iron-threaded nut). I guess that was about the size; I left the hospital two weeks after; I think that is the same nut.

448

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I did not hear the bomb burst; I fell down and that is all I know about it; some friend of mine took me to the street car and to the hospital; the police were in the street when I got that; I did not see the bomb fall; did not hear the noise; I heard pistol shooting; I heard the little shots;  
 450 there were lots of people at the corner besides myself; I stood on the street near the gutter, on Desplaines near Randolph; at the time I received this injury I looked north-east towards where he was speaking; that thing struck me on the right and came in on the left; I was not  
 452 injured in any other part of my body, not in front of my person.





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453 REUBEN SLAYTON:

I am a policeman; have been on the force fourteen years; I made the arrest of Fischer at 107 5th avenue in the forenoon; searched him and found that gun (producing and exhibiting a revolver); it is a forty-four calibre; was loaded when I found it; self-acting; I found this file ground sharp on three edges (producing it), and that belt and sheath (producing same); the belt and sheath was buckled on him; the file in the sheath, revolver stuck into the slit in the belt and he had ten cartridges in his pocket.

(All this testimony objected to in behalf of all defendants other than Fischer; objection overruled, and exception.)

He also had this fulminating cap (producing) in his pocket. It was brighter when I found it. He said he carried that revolver because he carried money, and going home nights to protect himself; I took him to the Central station; he said he had worked at the Arbeiter Zeitung as a compositor for two years; when I arrested him he was coming down the stairs; I was going up into the building; I felt this revolver and took him back up, and searched him and took these things from him. The belt was under his coat; you could not see the pistol and this stuff. I also arrested Fielden at his house the same day, May 5th, in the morning, at 110 West Polk street. When I locked him up at Central station he took the bandage off his knee and put it on; I asked him where he got it dressed; he told me when he got shot he come down the alley and took a car and went to, I think he said, 12th and Canal, had his knee dressed there that night.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I am detailed to the detective department of the police; have been connected with that branch of the service about six or seven years. I arrested Fielden between 9 and 10 in the morning; I arrested Fischer about 11. I met with no resistance from Fielden in making the arrest, neither from Fischer when I arrested him. I had no warrant for the arrest of Fielden or Fischer at the time of arresting them, neither a search warrant for either of them (counsel for people offer in evidence the revolver, belt and sharpened file produced by witness); the handle of the file is of wood; there were officers Costello, Ryan and Linner with me when I arrested Fielden. Neither of them had a warrant for his arrest, to my knowledge. Fielden's house was searched while we were there, before we took him down-town; that took probably fifteen



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minutes. I found Fielden right just inside of the door. He opened the  
 463 door for me. We found no munitions of war in Fielden's house of any  
 kind or description, nor any weapons or anything of that kind upon his  
 person.

464

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

The file here is an old-fashioned, three-cornered file, ground to a sharp  
 edge, sharp enough to cut any one very easily. This brass buckle on  
 the belt has the letters "L. & W. V."

465 THEODORE FRICKE:

I am business superintendent of the Arbeiter Zeitung since May 5th; be-  
 fore that I was book-keeper of the same paper. I have lived in this  
 country nearly three years. Was book-keeper of the Arbeiter Zeitung  
 nearly two years. I know August Spies; he was superintendent and  
 466 editor of the paper; Schwab was one of the editors too, under Spies;  
 Parsons had nothing to do with the Arbeiter Zeitung; he was the editor  
 of the Alarm, which was published at 107 Fifth avenue, the Arbeiter  
 Zeitung building. I know the handwriting of Spies and Schwab. This  
 467 paper here (manuscript of the word "Ruhe") is in Spies' handwriting.  
 (Said paper offered in evidence.) Copy of same, marked ("Peoples'  
 Ex. 10.") "Ruhe" is a German word. The word above that means  
 letter-box.

(Introduction of said manuscript objected to on behalf of all de-  
 fendants other than Spies; objection overruled, and exception.)

This paper here (manuscript, copy of which marked ("Peoples' Ex.  
 10-B.") in the handwriting of Balthazar Rau. He was advertising agent  
 for our paper. He was in the habit of being at the office every morning.  
 (Said manuscript and translation thereof introduced in evidence.)

468

This here (large bundle of manuscript, copy of which marked  
 "Peoples' Ex. 10-a") is in the handwriting of August Spies, both the  
 English and the German.

(English part of last manuscript offered in evidence; objected to by  
 all defendants, and particularly the defendants other than Spies.)

469

This here (some manuscript) is in the handwriting of August Spies.  
 470 This here (another large package of manuscript) is in the handwriting of  
 Schwab, except a few pages. This here (another manuscript) is in  
 Schwab's handwriting.

Fischer was a type-setter in the Arbeiter Zeitung office. The Arbeiter



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471 Zeitung is the property of a corporation. Fischer was a stockholder, so  
am I, so is Spies and Schwab. I was employed by the corporation.  
Parsons is not a stockholder. Neebe belongs to this corporation. I  
have known Neebe about two years; I saw him at picnics and in our  
office. There was a library in the building belonging to the Inter-  
472 national working people's association—a socialistic association composed  
of groups, known by names. I belonged to the group "Karl Marx,"  
which met at 63 Emma street; before that I belonged to the north-west  
side group, which met at Thalia Hall, 633 Milwaukee avenue. Hirsch-  
berger was the librarian. I know Fischer; he belonged to the north-  
west side group; Engel belonged to the same; Spies formerly belonged  
to the north-west side group, later to the American group; Parsons be-  
473 longed to the American group; Schwab, I guess, to the north side group,  
I don't know for sure; I don't know about Lingg; I guess Neebe be-  
longed to the north side group. These groups, except the north-west  
side group, had a central committee, which met at 107 Fifth avenue.  
The north-west side group was not represented. They had strong an-  
474 archistic principles. Fielden, I guess, belonged to the American group.  
This book here (Johann Most's book) I saw at the library in the Arbei-  
ter Zeitung building.

(Contents of said library objected to by all defendants, particularly  
by Lingg; objection overruled, and exceptions.)

476 I have seen that book sold at picnics by Hirschberger, socialistic pic-  
nics and mass meetings; at some of those meetings Spies, Parsons,  
Fielden, were present; sometimes Neebe, sometimes Schwab, may be  
Fischer.

477 (Counsel for defendants object to this line of inquiry, because it is  
not shown that any of the defendants knew or participated in the  
selling, or that they had anything to do with, or that they saw the  
selling.)

The COURT: If men are teaching the public how to commit murder,  
it is admissible to prove it if it can be proved by items.

Mr. BLACK: Well, does your Honor know what this teaches?

The COURT: I do not know what the contents of the book are; I  
asked what the book was and I was told that it was Herr Most's  
Science of Revolutionary Warfare, and taught the preparing of deadly  
weapons and missiles, and that was accepted by the other side.

Mr. BLACK: Does that justify your Honor in the construction that it



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teaches how to commit murder, or of stating that in the presence of the jury. \* \* \*

478 (Defendants except to the language of the court.)

The COURT: \* \* \* I inquired what sort of book it was and it was stated by the other side what sort of book it was, and you said nothing about it, so that in ruling upon the question whether it may be shown, 479 where it was to be found, where it had been seen, must take the character of the book into consideration in determining whether it is admissible; whether it is of that character or not we will see when it is translated, I suppose; I suppose the book is not in the English language.

Q. Where were the picnics at which you have seen this book sold?

(Objected to by defendants; objection overruled, and exception.)

480 I saw this book sold at a picnic at Ogden's Grove on Willow street, on the north side, in July of last year. There were present Spies, Neebe, 481 Parsons and Fielden, also at a picnic at Sheffield, Indiana, last September, there were present, Spies, Neebe, Parsons and, I guess, Fischer.

(Motion to strike out testimony in regard to these picnics; overruled, and exception.)

Parsons was editor of the Alarm from the first number; the office was at 107 Fifth avenue; it was a semi-monthly paper; these files here (holding copies of the Alarm) are numbers of the Alarm. This paper here 482 (marked "Exhibit 3") is a copy of the "Fackel," the Sunday edition of the Arbeiter Zeitung; Spies and Schwab were editors of the paper at the time of this issue; the paper (marked "Peoples' Ex. 4") is a copy of the Arbeiter Zeitung of the 4th of May. Spies and Schwab were editors at the time of this issue.

This paper here (holding another paper) is the "Vorbote," the weekly 483 edition of the Arbeiter Zeitung of the 5th of May. That was printed the day before (paper marked "Ex. 9.")

This paper (holding paper) is the Arbeiter Zeitung of May 1st 484 (marked "Peoples Ex. 10"); Spies and Schwab were editors on the day of its issue. The circulation of the Arbeiter Zeitung on May 4th was about 3,600; of the Alarm about 2,000.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness and especially the portions particularly objected to; overruled, and exception.)

485

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

None of the defendants had anything to do with the selling of Herr Most's book at the picnic at Sheffield, Indiana. There were about 2,000





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486 people at that picnic. I never saw any of the defendants anywhere sell  
 487 any of these books; neither did any of the defendants have anything to  
 do with the selling of these books at the picnic at Ogden's Grove; they  
 might have seen the books sold, but I don't know whether they did or  
 not. The Arbeiter Zeitung was the principal paper published in the in-  
 terest of the workingmen of Chicago; about the 1st of May there was  
 sometimes almost a whole column in the Arbeiter Zeitung occupied by  
 notices of meetings of workingmen at different places and halls. They  
 488 would bring such notice to the Arbeiter Zeitung and say to Mr. Spies,  
 "Put so and so under the column of meetings." It was a common  
 thing for postal cards to be received at the office of the Arbeiter Zeitung,  
 and that Spies or Schwab would take it and read it over, and then revise  
 or alter it, and send it up for publication in the letter-box or in this col-  
 umn where notices were published.

489 The Alarm is not being published now, but the Arbeiter Zeitung, Ver-  
 bote and Fackel are published regularly.

490 Those notices of meetings were inserted free of charge. The first  
 column of the last page was set apart for that business, so if a com-  
 munication was sent in for the letter-box or for that column there was  
 no charge made. These communications always went through the  
 hands of the editor.

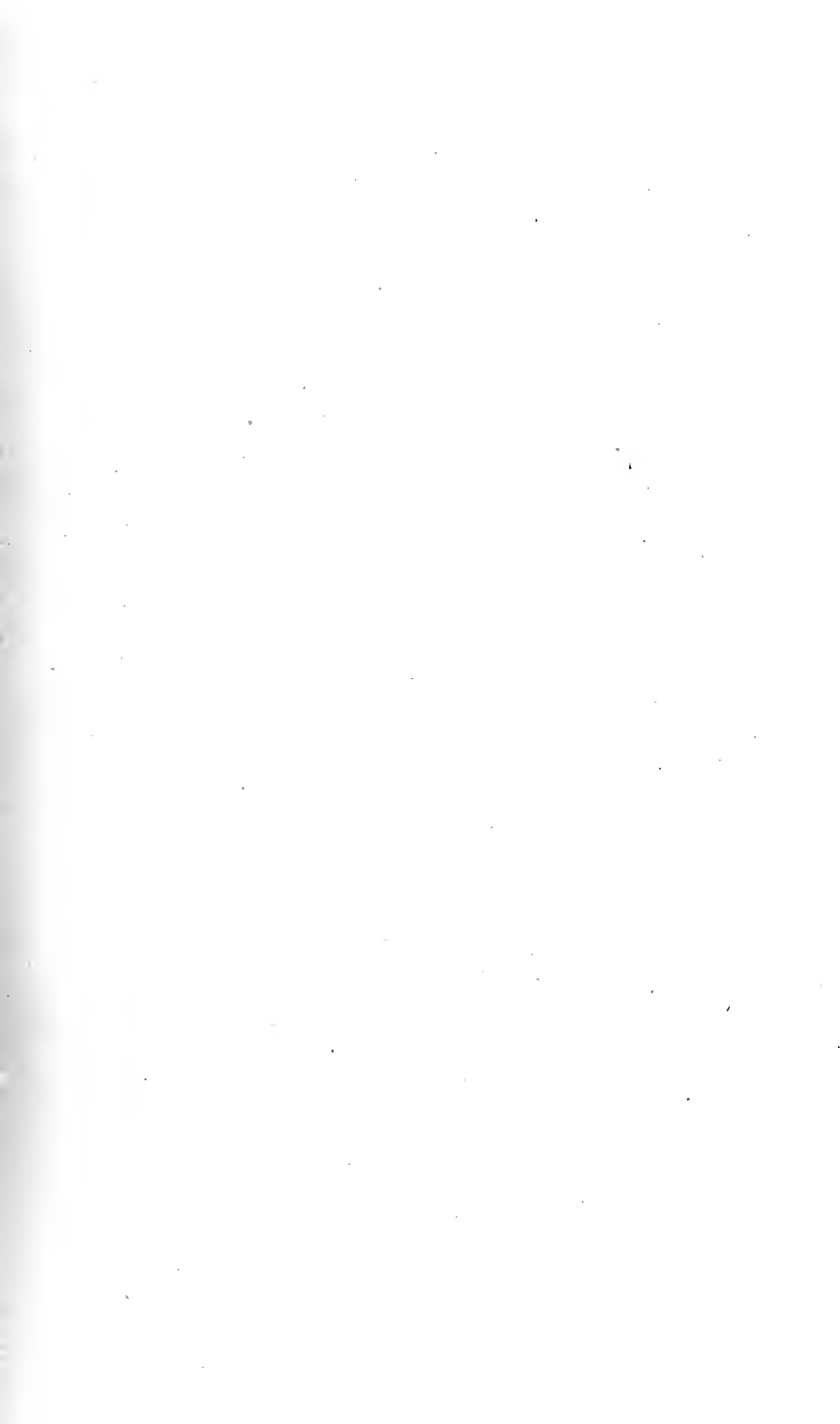
492 EDWARD FURTHMAN:

I am assistant in the state's attorney's office; I was in the Arbeiter  
 Zeitung office between 11 and 12 o'clock on the 5th of May; all the  
 matter shown to Mr. Frickie was obtained by me in the typesetting  
 room of the Arbeiter Zeitung, and has been in my possession since then.  
 The type-setting room was full of desks and cases of type, and there  
 493 were several tables covered with stone, and at every case there was a  
 hook containing a lot of manuscript, which I took away. I found the doors  
 locked. I found some twenty or twenty-five of the Revenge circulars  
 there.

494

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

495 A locksmith opened the door; we had no search warrant; we also car-  
 ried away two mail-bags from there; placed all this manuscript into  
 them. Mr. Grinnell, the state's attorney, Officer Haas, Lieut. Kipley  
 and myself were in the party.



## EUGENE SEEGER:

I am a German; understand the German language; I have translated this copy of the Arbeiter Zeitung of the 15th of March; this paragraph here (marked "A. M. G.") translated in English reads:

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

"Revolutionary Warfare" has arrived, and is to be had through the librarian, 107 Fifth avenue, at the price of 10 cents."

This appears among what I would call, as a newspaper man, editorial notices in the local column. These translations here (holding type-writer copy, purporting to be the translation of certain articles), are correct translations. There is an editorial here in the Arbeiter Zeitung of May 4th headed "Editorial." "Blood has flowed" is the first phrase of it. There is another article on the fourth page of May 3d, headed "A Hot Conflict." In the local column of May 4th a report headed, "Lead and Powder Is a Cure for Dissatisfied Workingmen."

(These and other translations of articles introduced in evidence, marked "People's" Ex. 63-A, 60-A, 61-A, 64-A, contained in volume of exhibits, to the introduction of which defendants objected; objections overruled, and defendants excepted.)

All these articles were also translated by Professor Olson, of the Chicago University. We compared notes and found the translations correct.

(Mr. Furthman here read to the jury the translations found in volume of exhibits as People's Exhibits 78, 68 and 63. Defendants moved to exclude all such translations, which motion was overruled, and exception.)

## 503 WILLIAM SELIGER:

I am a carpenter; have lived in Chicago three years and a half; before that I lived at Charlottenberg, Germany; I was born at Eilau, near Reichenbach, in Silesia. On May 4th last I lived at 442 Sedgwick street, in the rear of the lot; I occupied the second floor; Louis Lingg, the defendant, boarded with me. On Monday, May 3d, I worked for Mr. Meyer; quit work at half-past 4 P. M. In the evening of that day I was at Zepf's Hall, at a meeting of the Carpenters' union; I was recording secretary of the union; I stayed there until half-past 11; I was not at the meeting at 54 West Lake street that night. I heard somebody call upon us, that all that knew should come to 54 West Lake street; this here (holding paper) "Y, Komme Montag Abend," means



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that all the armed men should come to the meeting at 54 West Lake street; the armed men were divers ones, all the socialistic organizations; there were several organizations in existence which were drilled in the use of arms; after I left Zepf's Hall I took a glass of beer in the saloon and then went to 71 West Lake street and took another glass of beer; 506 then I went home, with several other parties; I saw a copy of Revenge circular, at Zepf's Hall; Balthazar Rau brought it to the meeting about 9 o'clock.

On Tuesday I did not work at my trade; I got up at half-past 7, and after I got up Linng came; I had previously told him that I wanted those things removed from my dwelling. He told me to work diligently at these bombs, and they would be taken away that day; I took 507 some coffee and after a time I worked at some shells, at some loaded shells. I drilled holes through which the bolt went; a shell like this (indicating shell introduced in evidence). I worked on the shells half an hour; Linng went to the west side to a meeting; got back probably after 1 o'clock; he said, I didn't do much; I ought to have worked more diligently; I said I hadn't any pleasure at the work.

Q. What did Linng reply?

(Objected to on behalf of all defendants except Linng.)

508 Q. Linng said, "Well, we will have to work very diligently this afternoon." During the afternoon I did different work at the shells; in the morning I had a conversation about the bolts; he told me he had not enough of them; he gave me one and told me to go to Clybourn avenue and get some that he had already spoken to the man about; I got about fifty; I worked at the bombs during the whole of the afternoon, at different times. Huebner, Munsenberg, Heuman, were helping; I worked 509 in the front room, also in Linng's room and the rear room; Linng first worked at gas or water pipes, such as these (indicating). There were probably thirty or forty or fifty bombs made that afternoon; the round bombs had been cast once before by Linng, in the rear room, on my 510 stove, probably six weeks previous to the 4th of May. The first bomb I ever saw was in Linng's room; that was still before that; at that time he told me he was going to make bombs; I saw dynamite for the first time in Linng's room, about five or six weeks previous to the 4th of May; Linng said every workingman should get some dynamite; that there should be considerable agitation; that every workingman would learn to handle these things; during that Tuesday afternoon Linng said, those bombs were going to be good fodder for the capitalists and the



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511 police, when they came to protect the capitalists; nothing was said about  
 when they wanted the bombs completed or ready; I only told him that I  
 wanted those things out of my room; there was only a remark that they  
 were to be used that evening, but nothing positive as to time; I left the  
 house at half-past 8 that evening. Huebner was at the house probably  
 from 4 to 6 o'clock; I did not see what he did; he worked in the front  
 room with Linng; I was in Linng's room; Munsenberg was there as long  
 512 as Huebner; Thielen was there half an hour—quite that; I did not see  
 what he was doing.

The Lehmanns were at the house for a little while. I did not see  
 what they were doing. They were in the front room. Heuman also  
 worked at the bombs. I left the house in the evening with Linng. We  
 had a little trunk with bombs in. The trunk was probably two feet long,  
 one foot high and one foot wide. It was covered with coarse linen.  
 There were round and pipe bombs in it. They were loaded with dynamite  
 and caps fixed to them. I don't know how many there were. The  
 513 trunk might have weighed from thirty to fifty pounds. We pulled a  
 stick, which Linng had broken, through the handle. That is the way  
 we carried the trunk which was taken to Neff's Hall, 58 Clybourn ave-  
 nue. On the way to Neff's Hall, Meunsenberg met us. He took the  
 514 package into the building through the saloon on the side into the hall-  
 way, that led to the rear. After the bombs were put down in that pas-  
 sageway, there were different ones there, three or four, who took bombs  
 515 out for themselves. I took two pipe bombs myself. Carried them in my  
 pocket. We went away from Neff's Hall and left the package in that  
 passage. The hall back of Neff's Hall is known under the name of the  
 Champion Communists. Different socialistic and anarchistic organiza-  
 tions met there. The north side group met there. I heard that the  
 516 Saxon Bund met there. I don't know any others that met there. When  
 I left Neff's Hall, Thielen and Gustav Lehmann were with me. Later  
 two large men of the L. u. W. V. came to us; I believe they all had bombs.  
 We went on Clybourn avenue north towards Lincoln avenue, to the  
 517 Larrabee street station, where we halted. Linng and myself halted  
 there. I don't know what had become of the others. Some went ahead  
 of us. Linng and I had a conversation, that there should be made a dis-  
 turbance everywhere on the north side to keep the police from going  
 over to the west side. In front of the Larrabee street station Linng said  
 it might be a beautiful thing if we would walk over and throw one or  
 518 two bombs into the station. There were two policemen sitting in front





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of the station, and Linng said if the others came out these two couldn't do much. We would shoot these two down. Then we went further north to Lincoln avenue and Larrabee street, where we took a glass of beer. Webster avenue station is near there. After we left the saloon we went a few blocks north, then turned about and came back to North avenue and Larrabee street. While we stood there a patrol wagon

519 passed. We were standing south of North avenue and Larrabee street. Linng said that he was going to throw a bomb; that was the best opportunity to throw the bomb, and I said, "It wouldn't have any purpose." The he became quite wild, excited; said I should give him a light. I was smoking a cigar, and I jumped into the front opening before a store and lighted a match, as if I intended to light a

520 cigar, so I could not give him a light. When I had lighted my cigar the patrol wagon was just passing. Linng said he was going to go after the wagon to see what had happened, saying that something had certainly happened on the west side, some trouble; the patrol wagon was completely manned, going south on Larrabee street; we were four or five houses distant from the station; then I went into a boarding-house between Mohawk and Larrabee streets and lighted a cigar; then we went towards home. First Linng wanted to wait until the patrol wagon would come back, but I importuned him to go home

521 with me. We got home probably shortly before eleven, I cannot tell exactly. On the way home Linng asked me whether I had seen a notice that a meeting of the armed men should be held on the west side; I said I had seen nothing; Linng wanted to go out; I took the Arbeiter Zeitung, tore it in two parts, he took one and I one, thereupon he said, "Here it is" and called my attention to the word "Ruhe." This here (paper marked "Peoples' Ex. 4,") is the same that I saw in my house.

522 I did not know the meaning of the word "Ruhe" until the time I saw it. Linng said there was to have been a meeting on the west side that night, and he was going to go at once to it. "Ruhe" meant that everything was to go topsy-turvy, that there was to be trouble; he said that a meeting had been held at which it was determined that the word "Ruhe" should go into the paper, when all the armed men should appear at 54 West Lake street, that there should be trouble. After that talk we went away; Linng wanted to go to the west side, and I

523 talked with him to go with me to 58 Clybourn avenue. Linng and I went there; there were several persons present at Neff's Hall. I did not speak with Linng at Neff's Hall; a certain Hermann said to him in an



energetic tone of voice, "You are the fault of all of it." I did not hear what Linng said to that; they spoke in a subdued tone; somebody said a bomb had fallen, which had killed many and wounded many; I did not hear what Linng said to that. On the way home Linng said that he was even now scolded, chided for the work he had done; he got home shortly after twelve. We laid the bombs off on our way on Siegel street between Sedgwick and Hurlbut, under an elevated sidewalk; I laid two pipe bombs there. I saw Linng put some bombs there; I don't know what kind. The next morning I got up about six o'clock; I don't know when Linng got up. On Wednesday evening when Linng got home we spoke about the Haymarket meeting; he said: "If the working men had the advantage of it." Then we went together to a meeting on Fifth avenue at Seeman's Hall.

On Friday, I believe, before that Tuesday, the 4th of May, Linng brought some dynamite to the house in a wooden box about three feet in length, about sixteen to eighteen inches in height, and about the same width. Inside this box there was another box. The dynamite with which we filled the bombs on Tuesday was in that large wooden box; we handled the dynamite with our hands and with a flat piece of wood which Linng had made for more convenience. This here (indicating) is the pan to cast those shells in. (Same offered in evidence.) Linng used to cast shells in them. Linng once told me he had made eighty to one hundred bombs in all; the bolts which I got on that Tuesday were something like this (referring to bolt about two and one-half inches long).

I am a member of the north side group of the International Workingmen's Association; during the last year I was financial secretary; my number was, at last, 72. Two years ago the members began to be given numbers. I heard Engel make a speech to the north side group last winter at Neff's Hall; he said that every one could manufacture those bombs for themselves; that these pipes could be found everywhere without cost; that they were to be closed up with wooden blocks fore and aft, and that in one of the blocks was to be drilled a hole for the fuse and cap; he said they were the best means against the police and capitalist; I never heard him make any other speech.

I saw two bombs at the Arbeiter Zeitung last year at the time of the car drivers' strike. Rau showed them to some one; I don't know precisely who were present; Spies was there; it was in the evening; there was one round bomb and one long one—not very long. I was at the



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Arbeiter Zeitung as a delegate from the north side group to the meeting of the general committee of all the groups of Chicago.

I know Schwab and Neebe; they were members of the north side group of the Internationals. I know Fischer; he is a member of some group, but I don't know positively; Linng belonged to the north side group; Engel belonged to a group, I cannot tell to which one; the north side group met every Monday evening; there were speeches made, or a review of what had happened during the week; on Sundays some members exercised with rifles. I don't know how many members had rifles; every one took his own rifle home with him; I had a rifle; I  
 532 kept it at my dwelling. This book here (Herr Most's book) I saw at public meetings of the north side group; Huebner had charge of them latterly; the north side group bought them and sold them; Huebner was the librarian; this here (photograph marked "Peoples' Ex. 9," in Vol. of Ex.) is Rudolph Schnaubelt.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness on behalf of all defendants, and especially the defendants other than Linng; overruled, and excepted.)

533

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I was arrested after the 4th of May. I was kept at the Chicago Avenue station; the first time fully a week; then I was away on the west side three weeks and one day, then I went back to the station on my own accord and stayed there voluntarily; was locked up there ever since.  
 534 When first arrested I made a statement, but not of all that I have testified to-day. I made a full statement of all that I testified to here, at the  
 535 Chicago Avenue station; Capt. Schaack, Mr. Furthman and some detectives were present; that was after I had been in prison seven days;  
 536 the day after and the second day after; I have made statements in writing, signed by me three times; in the first statement I had not said much; I have done no work, earned no money, during the time I have been in  
 537 jail. I received money from Capt. Schaack, once a dollar and a half, at another time five dollars; while I was at liberty I read in the paper that  
 538 I was indicted for the murder of Degan. I did not know before this case was begun that I was not to be tried. I did not know whether I was going to be tried for the murder of Degan along with Mr. Spies and the other defendants. When the trial was commenced I did not inquire of any of the officers why I was not brought out for trial; I did not know I was to be used as a witness instead of being a defendant at  
 539 this trial. Capt. Schaack did not tell me anything about my trial; if I



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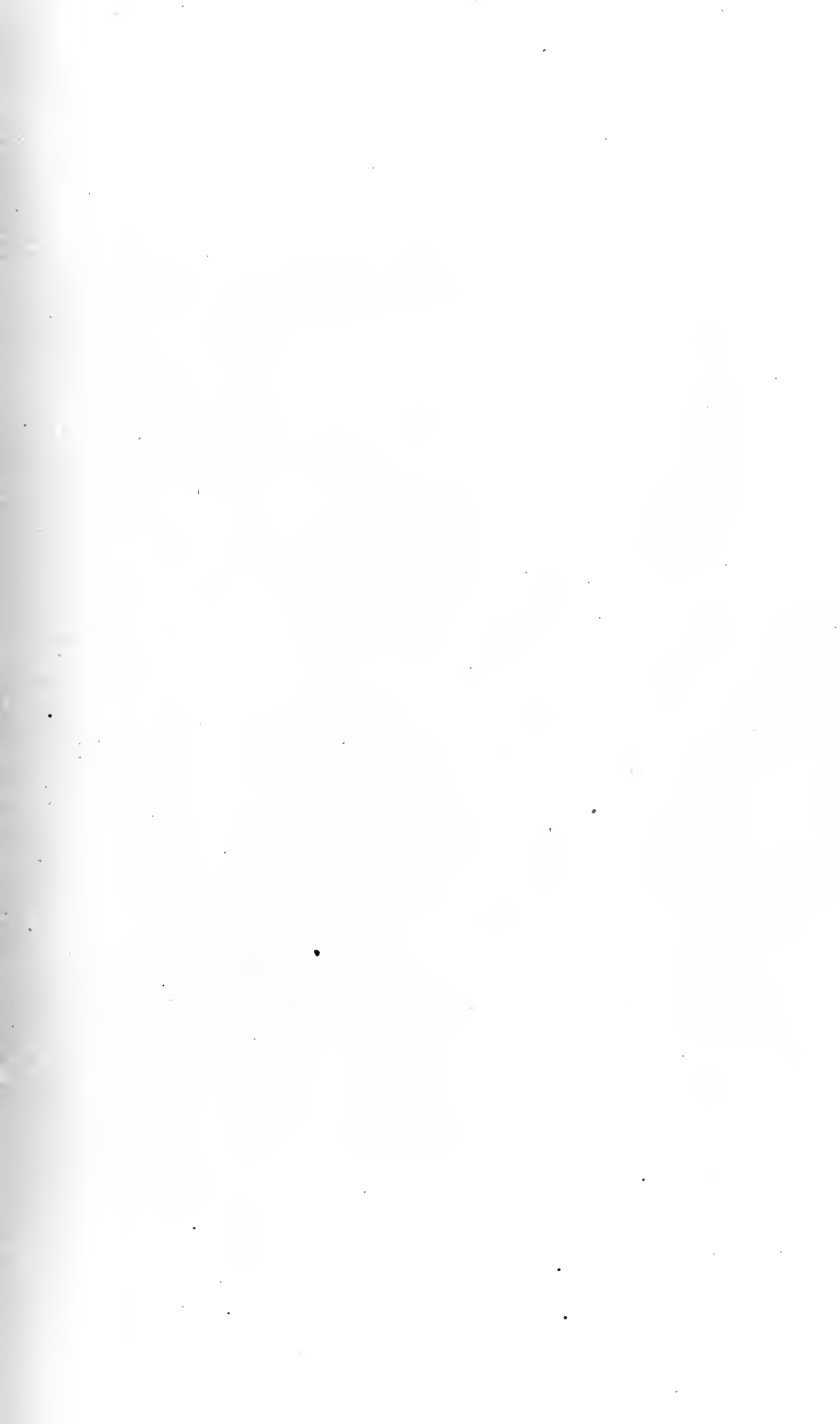
would come in and tell the story which was in the written statement that I have signed; he only told me that it would be the best if I would tell the truth, and asked me whether I would tell the truth before the court, and I said yes.

540 F. V. BUSCHICK (re-called):

Testifies in regard to map of the rear building of 442 Sedgwick street, copy of which is marked " People's Ex. 12," in vol. of exhibits.

543 WILLIAM SELIGER (*Further cross-examined*):

I am thirty-one years old; Lingg, I think, is twenty-one or twenty-two years old; he is not a man of family; he had boarded with me since  
 544 Christmas last; my house where I lived on May 4th is about three-  
 550 quarters of a mile distant from the Haymarket. When Lingg and I, on  
 Tuesday night, at 11 o'clock, after we had seen the word " Ruhe " in  
 the paper, spoke about going over to the west side, we meant Zepf's  
 Hall, or Greif's Hall, or Floris' Hall; one of those halls was certainly  
 553 meant, for there is no other place. It was not understood or agreed be-  
 tween me and any other men who had the bombs that night at Clybourn  
 avenue, that any one of us was to go to the Haymarket meeting. I  
 know that Capt. Schaack paid my wife money at different times since  
 554 my arrest; I don't know how much; I think \$20 or \$25. Lingg had  
 557 made the same remark about bombs being the best food for capitalists  
 and police before that Tuesday afternoon. When he brought the first  
 558 bomb into the house he said they were applied on occasions of strikes,  
 and where there were meetings of workingmen and were disturbed by  
 the police; on that Tuesday afternoon we agreed to go to Clybourn av-  
 enue that night, before the bombs were done; it was said that the bombs  
 were to be taken to Clybourn avenue that evening; I don't believe it  
 559 was agreed that the bombs were to be taken anywhere else than Cly-  
 bourn avenue; when they were taken to Clybourn avenue,  
 I don't know whether they were to remain there, or were to be  
 taken to further places; there was no agreement as to where the  
 bombs should be taken after they got to Clybourn avenue; I did not hear  
 anything about an agreement that any of the bombs manufactured on  
 the afternoon of May 4th were to be taken by anybody to the Hay-  
 market; we were not making bombs to take to the Haymarket and de-  
 stroy the police; they were to be taken to Clybourn avenue for use on  
 560 that evening; I can not say that one single bomb was made for use at





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the Haymarket meeting; they were made everywhere, to be used against capitalists and the police; I cannot say who had the bomb at the Haymarket on the night of May 4th; I don't know anybody who was expected to be at the Haymarket.

561 I became acquainted with Lingg in August of last year; I saw Engel once last year in the office of the Arbeiter Zeitung, and again at the meeting of the north side group.

562 I did not see whether the bombs which I saw last summer at the Ar-  
563 beiter Zeitung building were loaded. The room where I saw them was the library room that belonged to the International Workingmen's Association; the bombs were below the counter; I never saw any bombs in the office of the Arbeiter Zeitung, neither in the editorial room nor the printing room, or in the office of the Arbeiter Zeitung. The office is

564 the front room; this library room is in the rear; I saw those bombs in the rear room; I don't know precisely whether that library room is a part of the office, or whether it is rented as a library room; I believe that  
565 it belonged to the Arbeiter Zeitung. Those drills on Sunday, of which I spoke, were in the daytime; we kept our guns at home, in broad day-

light, and in the presence of our neighbors, or any one who might be on the streets; walked to the hall on Sunday and drilled; we had a shooting society; we went to the Sharp Shooters park, or to the prairie to exercise; we used to meet and march publicly on the streets with our guns  
566 exposed. We didn't try to keep it away from the police force that we  
567 had arms and drilled and marched. I knew that I was indicted for conspiracy and for murder; I did not employ the services of any lawyer; the only lawyers that I talked with were Mr. Grinnell and Mr. Furthman.

569

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

During the time I was at liberty I went to the west side to the house of Mr. Gloom, on 22d street; I stayed with him two weeks and one day;  
570 he is not a socialist. I went there from fear of revenge by the socialists.

Mrs. BERTHA SELIGER:

I have lived in this country two years. Am the wife of William Seliger; we lived at 442 Sedgwick street from the 12th of October to  
571 the 19th of May. I have known Louis Linng since two weeks before Christmas; he came to us to board with us; he boarded with us until May; he took his meals with us and slept in the house. We occupied



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the middle floor of that house; his room was next to the front room, and there was a door opening into a clothes closet. Shortly before May 1st, I saw some bombs as Linng was about to hide them—about half a dozen  
 572 lying on the bed; they were round bombs and long ones. After Linng had left the house I did not see any more of them, they were all gone. On the Tuesday on which the bomb was thrown at the Haymarket, there were several men at our house, about six or eight, perhaps more; those  
 573 I knew were Huebner, Huemann, Thielen, Linng and my husband. I think they were there until past seven o'clock; they were going and coming during most of the afternoon; they were in the front room and in Linng's room, working at bombs; I saw Heuman working and filing  
 574 at them, what the others were doing I don't know. I was in the kitchen and when supper was ready I went into the bedroom. I was so mad I could have thrown them all out. I frequently saw Linng make bombs; I always saw him cast; I did not pay particular attention; I simply saw him melt lead on the cooking-stove in my house; twice with Heumann, once with my husband and Thielen, and frequently he worked by himself. He said to us: "Don't act so foolishly; you might do something too." On Monday, the day before the bomb was thrown, Linng was away. In the morning some young fellows had come and had their names entered from the list of the Union, and then he was writing pretty much all day.

On Wednesday, the day after the bomb was thrown, Linng was at  
 575 home in the forenoon; that was the day on which he wanted to hide those bombs in the clothes-closet, and Lehmann was with him; I heard some knocking and I went in, and I said to him: "Mr. Linng what are you doing there? I will not suffer that"—and he was tearing everything loose below, and he sent that man, Lehmann, after wall-paper—and he wanted to cover up everything afterwards—nail up everything afterwards; he had the wall-paper already there, and he said to me: "I suppose you are crazy; you ought to have said before you wouldn't suffer that; that I would have looked for a place where I am allowed to do  
 576 that." He was tearing up things all around about in the closet, and he had loosened the base boards and taken out the mortar; he said that if he needed something he couldn't first go to the west side to get it; on the Friday following, on the 7th of May, he left my house. Linng had a trunk which he kept in his bedroom. This instrument (referring to ladle identified by William Seliger), Linng was always casting with.



## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have been locked up on account of this bomb business, on account of Linng, by Capt. Schaack; the first time I was there from Saturday to Tuesday; of course it was Linng's fault that I got locked up; I talked with Capt. Schaack about this matter several times; I was locked up  
 578 twice; Capt. Schaack paid my rent; I made no memoranda of the money I received from Capt. Schaack; he gave me money at different times, from the time I made my statement down to the present time; he paid my rent and gave me so much money with which to live; when I said to Linng that I wouldn't allow that wall paper to be put into the closet, and what will the landlord say when he comes, Linng said, "Well, then, I  
 579 will say to him that I will not dirty my clothes"; those boards were about a foot high from the floor; the closet did not reach up as far as the ceiling; he intended to put those things in the wall; I didn't see him put anything in the wall; there was nothing in at that time; I stopped him at that juncture; I don't like Mr. Linng very well, because he always had wrong things in his head; I blame him for me and my husband having been locked up; my husband and myself talked this thing over together; I said to my husband, "I will tell the truth and you tell it also."  
 580 Capt. Schaack told us we had better tell it. I am forty years old.

I was locked up in the Larrabee street station, and my husband was  
 582 in the Chicago avenue station. I never occupied the same cell with my husband while under arrest; I only heard after I came out again that my husband was arrested in another station; while I was arrested I didn't see my husband; no one came to see me; I told that story and then they  
 583 turned me out; when arrested the second time they kept me from Monday until Friday; I made the same statement as at first and signed it, and then they turned me out again; the second time I was arrested they brought a statement which they said my husband had made and asked me to sign it, and I put my name below that of my husband's, and then  
 584 they turned me out. My husband was a socialist before he got acquainted with Linng.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

My husband had ran away and a detective came and asked me where  
 585 my husband was, and I told him that I did not know. I signed my name under that of my husband's only on one paper; I don't know whether that paper was directed to Salomon & Zeisler, I cannot say.



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MARSHALL H. WILLIAMSON:

1 I am a newspaper reporter at present for the Peoria Transcript, since  
 2 three weeks; last year I was on the Chicago Daily News; I have seen  
 before Mr. Parsons, Spies and Fielden, the defendants; on the night of  
 the opening of the new board of trade last year I was with the proces-  
 sion of the socialists part of the time, and part of the time at 107 Fifth  
 avenue.

(All testimony as to this occurrence objected to; objection over-  
 ruled, and exception.)

I met the procession marching on the street somewhere; they were  
 carrying red flags, banners of their order. I was with them last at 107  
 Fifth avenue. I think that is where the procession broke up. At that  
 place I heard speaking from Parsons and Fielden from the windows of  
 the Arbeiter Zeitung office.

3 Q. Tell me what they said respectively?

(Objected to by defendants, particularly the six others than Fielden  
 and Parsons; objection overruled, and exception.)

Mr. Parsons spoke of the police interfering with them in marching on  
 the board of trade that night. He called the police blood-hounds and  
 called on the mob to follow him in an assault on Marshall Field's dry  
 4 goods house and various clothing houses, and take from there what he  
 called the necessities of life; they spoke from the second floor; there  
 were about 1,000 people in front of the building. Fielden in his speech  
 also called upon the mob to follow them, and he agreed to lead them to rob  
 5 these places or to go into them and take from them what they needed in  
 the way of clothing and dry goods; they both said that the new board  
 of trade was built out of money of which they had been robbed; that all  
 the men who transacted business there were robbers and thieves and  
 that they ought to be killed; nothing was said in the speeches as to the  
 means or mode of killing; later I went upstairs; I saw Fielden and Par-  
 sons and some others whose names I didn't know; I didn't know Spies  
 at that time, but remember of seeing him there; I asked Parsons why  
 6 they didn't march upon the board of trade and blow it up; he said  
 because the police had interfered, and they had not expected that and  
 were not prepared for them. I told him I had seen revolvers exhibited  
 by some in the procession; he told me when they met the police they  
 would be prepared with bombs and dynamite; Mr. Fielden was standing  
 at his elbow at the time; he said, "The next time the police attempt to  
 interfere with them they would be prepared for them. That would be





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7 in the course of a year or so." Spies was in the room; it was the front  
room of the Arbeiter Zeitung office; Spies was not standing immediately  
with the party; I was shown what they told me was a dynamite cart-  
ridge; the package was about six or seven inches long, and an inch and  
a half or two inches in diameter; it was wrapped in a piece of paper, the  
paper was broken; after I had conversed with Mr. Parsons a while, he  
took out of the broken place a small portion of the contents; it was of a  
slightly reddish color and he again said it was dynamite, and that was  
8 what they would use when they went against the police; he also said he  
had enough of that where he could put his hands on to blow up the  
business center of the city; I was shown a coil of fuse about fifteen or  
twenty feet; also a fulminating cap by which they said dynamite bombs  
were exploded; the cap was exploded in the room while I was there; it  
made quite a noise and filled the room with smoke; it was copper and  
about an inch long and perhaps one-eighth of an inch in diameter; about  
the size of No. 22 cartridge cap; Mr. Parsons called for these articles;  
they were in a drawer in a desk and Mr. Spies handed them to him to  
be shown to me. Parsons told me they were preparing for a fight for  
their rights; that they believed they were being robbed every day  
by capitalists, and the thieving board of trade men; he said it must stop;  
9 he told me that they had bombs, dynamite and plenty of rifles and  
revolvers, and he said their manner of warfare would be to throw their  
bombs from the tops of houses and stores, and in that way they could  
annihilate any force of militia or police brought against them without any  
harm to themselves; after this conversation I went downstairs, where I  
10 met Detectives Trehorn and Sullivan; I was acquainted with them; I took  
them upstairs and renewed the conversation with Mr. Parsons and left  
him talking with the police officers; the conversation I had had with Mr.  
Parsons was in effect repeated with the police officers in my presence;  
the officers were in citizens' clothes.

The red flags in that procession were carried by some women.

11 I was at 54 West Lake street in some of the halls there, on several  
occasions, within a year before the opening of the board of trade; that is  
12 where I got acquainted with Parsons and Fielden; I heard them speak  
there.

14 That was during the winter months of 1884 and '85. Mr. Fielden,  
on one occasion, wanted them to follow him to those clothing stores and  
grocery stores and some other places and get what they needed to sup-  
15 port their families. He told them to purchase dynamite; he said that



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five cents worth of dynamite carried around in the vest pocket would do more good than all the revolvers and pistols in the world. Mr. Parsons also told them they were being robbed, and offered to lead them to the grocery stores and other places to get what they wanted. That is all I remember of those speeches; I heard them some eight or ten times; there were never over between ten and twenty-five people present.

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## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

The first of these meetings I attended was about two years ago. I wrote reports of these meetings, which I think were published in the Daily News in each instance the day following, in the morning edition. The circulation of the Daily News, about a year and a half and two years ago, was, I think, 121,000 per day, as claimed by the paper.

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When I went to the meetings at 54 West Lake street I had no trouble to get in. The meetings were held in the front rooms on the top floor. There were no guards at the door. I simply went in and sat down and took my notes publicly. Fielden and Parsons learned very soon that I was a reporter on the Daily News. Those speeches of Parsons and Fielden which I related were made at the first meeting I attended. When Fielden suggested the five cents worth of dynamite carried in the vest pocket, he gave no instructions whatever on the subject of how to carry or use it. The proposal to go out to Marshall Field's and some clothing store was a proposal for immediate action. He did not start, however. After he got through with his talk and proposal he sat down until the meeting was over. The meeting quietly dispersed and went home. I did not see that army of less than twenty-five men start for Field's that night, or upon any subsequent occasion. I heard that same proposal at every single meeting I attended at 54 West Lake street and 700 and something West Indiana street, and various other places. I do not think there was ever over twenty-five present at their meetings in halls. I have seen larger numbers of people at open air meetings. Sometimes the attendance did not exceed about ten men. The same proposition was made when there were only ten persons present.

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In that procession on the night of the opening of the board of trade I marched at the head. After Mr. Parsons had finished his speech from the window of the Arbeiter Zeitung office that night, in which he proposed to lead the multitude against those stores, he quietly went back into the room, and I entered into a conversation with him. Mr. Fielden, after he had got through proposing, joined in the conversation with Mr.



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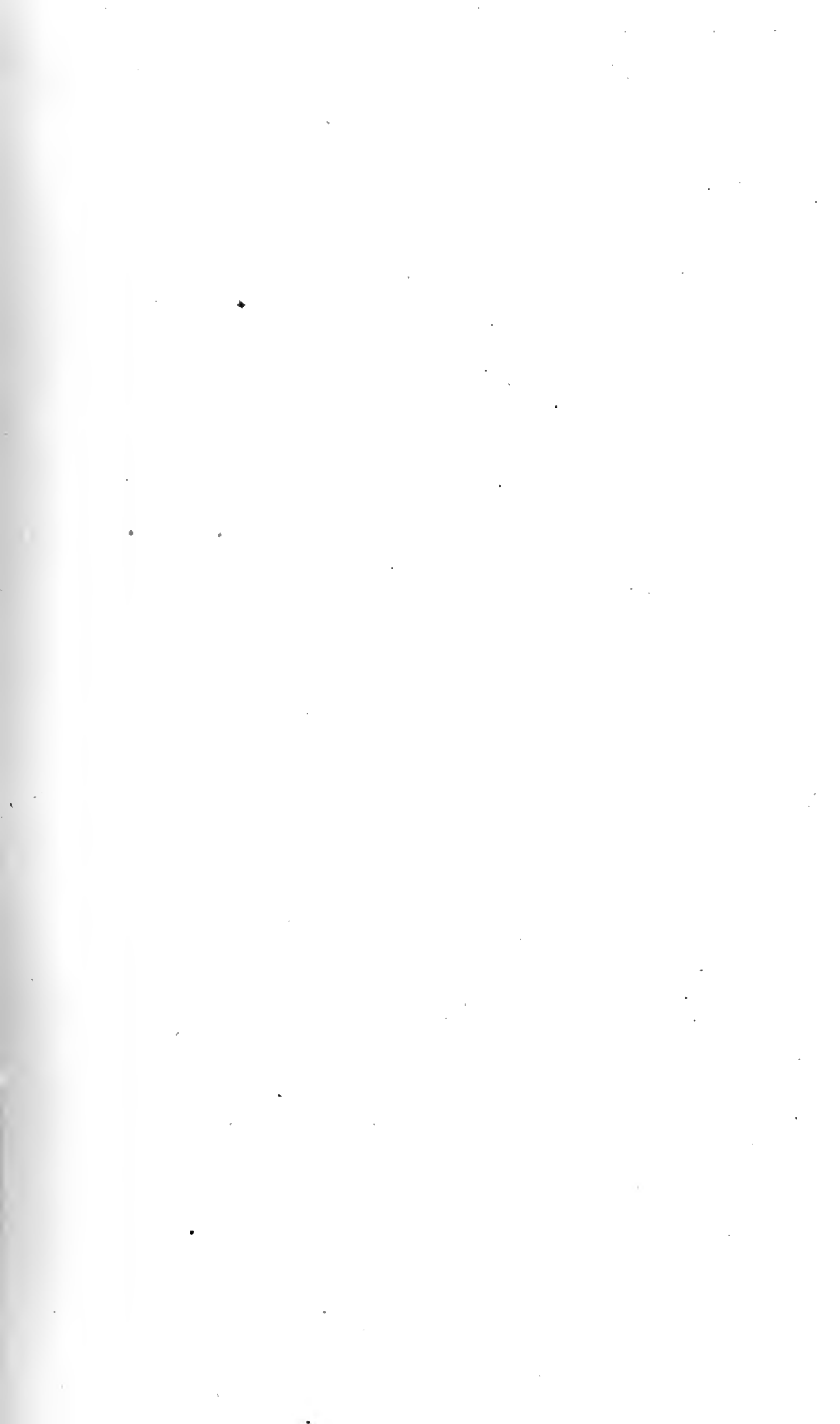
Parsons and myself. He didn't go down to the street and lead anybody anywhere, either. The proposals that night, both by Fielden and Parsons, were proposals for immediate action, but they simply proposed to, and then gracefully retired from the window. There were about twenty people in the room, among them, I think, was Mr. Spies. There were two reporters besides myself there. I think both Fielden and Parsons knew me as a reporter at the time; I presume they knew I was connected with the Daily News. Parsons never manifested any reluctance in detailing to me what he did; but in one conversation he refused to reveal the remainder of their plans. I saw some three or four revolvers, in that procession. I don't know who had them. There was not to exceed five hundred people in the procession. I saw two revolvers in the right-hand side coat pocket, and two more in the hip pocket, carried by four persons. I have informed various police officers of what I have seen and heard regarding these people. I had frequent conversations with police officers of Chicago. I think there were about four women in that procession carrying banners. There were about half a dozen women in the room while they spoke from the windows. I think some women spoke from the same windows to the same mob. I think the meetings which I attended were regularly advertised in the Daily News.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

Q. You were about to say something about some interview that you had with Parsons in regard to the plans, also in regard to leaders and privates in their army; will you please state what that was?

(Objected to as improper re-direct examination, as incompetent, immaterial and irrelevant, particularly by the seven defendants other than Parsons; objection overruled, and exceptions.)

Parsons told me there were some 3,000 armed socialists in the city of Chicago, well armed with rifles and revolvers, and would have dynamite and bombs when they got ready to use them. That they were meeting and drilling at various halls in the city; he refused to give me a list of those halls; he refused to tell me where they bought rifles; he said the society was divided into groups, and that they knew each other by twos and threes. He showed me an article in the Alarm, I think about street warfare. In that connection I think he told me it was their intention to occupy the market place and the Washington street tunnel, and in that position they could successfully encounter any force that could be brought against them.



48 There was nobody present when I had that conversation with Mr. Parsons; I think it was after New Year's day of 1885, in the winter; I did not ask him how they managed to drill, if they only knew each other by twos and threes. He said that in that organization of 3,000 no man knew more than two or three others.

50 JOHN SHAY:

I am lieutenant of the police force; head of the detective department; I was at the Arbeiter Zeitung office about 11 o'clock A. M. on May 5, with some officers; we made a search of the place and took some of the inmates to police headquarters; I was making a search in the type-setting rooms; the other officers in the lower rooms and offices; I found some manuscript and some type set up. Officer Duffey showed me  
51 some stuff that he found there. I said: "be careful about that. It is dynamite." That stuff was taken to police headquarters and turned over to a gentleman who understands all about that to take good care  
52 of it. That was a few days after we had put it in our vault at police headquarters. This here (indicating type galley about one-fourth full of type) I found there in the same condition that it is now in; a portion  
53 of it is the same as this (indicating written manuscript). I marked all the leaves of this manuscript "J. D. S."

I know a man that is called Rudolph Schnaubelt; he was in the station a couple of days after the arrest of those other gentlemen; this here (indicating photograph), I recognize as Schnaubelt's picture. When I  
54 saw him he had a mustache. I had a conversation with Mr. Spies at police headquarters, in my office, after he was arrested. We had a conversation about that manuscript referred to by me. I asked Spies if he  
56 was at the meeting at the Haymarket; he said he was; that he opened the meeting; that Schwab was there but that he understood he went to  
57 Deering; he said Parsons was there, and Fielden; that both spoke there; Fielden at the time the police came; he said he spoke at a meeting on May 3d, near McCormick's factory, and some of the parties there in the rear had commenced to halloa, and said, "Let's go to McCormick's," and they had started, and most of the crowd had started with them; Spies said he had heard later what had happened at McCormick's, that  
58 he had got on a street car and come down-town. I asked him if he knew anything about that circular that was circulated on the street; I don't remember that I had present with me the circular which I referred





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59 to during that conversation; he said he did not know anything about the circular, but heard that it had been circulated; I asked him if he wrote this manuscript (indicating manuscript previously produced); Mr. Grinnell was sitting in the office at the time; Spies said, "I refuse to answer." Then Mr. Spies said he was the editor there; I says, "Now, would not anything of that kind be likely to go through your hands before it would go to print." He said, "I refuse to answer."

61 I had a conversation with Fischer the next day. He said on the night of May 4th, he and several others, Schwab, Fielden, were at a meeting in the Arbeiter Zeitung office; that Rau brought word to the meeting that there was a large crowd at the Haymarket, that Spies was there and very few speakers, and they immediately started to the Haymarket; he said he didn't hear Spies, but heard Fielden and Parsons. That pistol and dagger he had had to protect himself; he had not had it with him that night; it was in the Arbeiter Zeitung office; on Wednesday morning he had put it on because he didn't intend to stay; he  
62 was going away. That fulminating cap he had got from a man in front of the Arbeiter Zeitung office some three months before that; he had never paid any attention to it; he had made the sharpened dagger himself for his own protection.

In the conversation with Spies, my recollection is that he said he got on the wagon, and said something to Parsons or Fielden about its going  
63 to rain, and left the wagon. I don't recollect where he said he went to.  
65 Fischer said he was at Zepf's Hall at the time of the explosion.

#### CROSS-EXAMINATION.

When I asked Spies if he knew anything about that circular I did not put any circular before his face, nor did I define what the circular contained. I simply asked if he knew anything about that circular that had  
66 been strewn around the street. There was a circular calling the Haymarket meeting, and a Revenge circular; I did not designate to Mr. Spies which I meant.

69

#### RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

The conversation I had with Spies was in regard to a circular, of which this is the manuscript (indicating same manuscript before mentioned).



72 I did not designate whether I meant the Revenge circular or the circular that Fischer got printed.

When Fischer told me he was at Zepf's Hall at the time of the explosion, he told me also that he was in company with a man by the name of Waundrie, and that Mr. Parsons was also there, and Mrs. Parsons, too. I think Mr. Waundrie was sent for and we examined him, and Mr. Waundrie said that Fischer was in the hall at the time of the explosion.

74 FRED. L. BUCK:

75 I am working at present at Cheltenham Beach; after the 4th of May I made some experiments with dynamite which I received from the detective's office, which looked more like sawdust than anything else, mixed with sand; I took a piece, may be as large as a man's fist; it was loose; I went down to the lake front with Officer McKeough and another officer and a newspaper reporter; it was may be eleven, half past eleven or twelve, May 5th, when I picked up off from the floor a paper and took the dynamite and went to the lake front. In the first place I took a piece of oak tie, about three feet long, put some dynamite on the tie, put a brick on each side of it to hold it in place, and put a fulminating cap with a fuse in it and fired it off; a hole about the size of a man's two fists in a piece of the tie was the effect. I tried it again by placing it inside of an iron car-link, about eight and one-half inches long and about two inches wide. I placed down the board and this pressed brick on top of that; and this car-link, and a pressed brick on top of that; left may be an inch open at each end. Inside I placed, not quite as large as an egg, in there bundled up together, this dynamite; put a fulminating cap and a small piece of fuse and fired it off; there is a part of the brick (indicating a package of powdered brick); and here is the car-link (indicating fragment of car-link). The balance of the car-link went out into the lake. We were may be twenty-five or thirty feet from the lake; that piece was picked up about thirty-five or forty feet from where it was in the first place.

78 GEORGE W. HUBBARD:

I am a lieutenant of the police force; marched to the meeting on May 4th; we were the third division; I was the rear company that went out to the crowd. Being a large company I divided it in two; I had one



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wing and Sergt. Fitzpatrick, who was drill master, had the other wing; I was about four feet behind Stanton's and Bowler's companies; my company was about six feet behind me; I could hear the sound of the voices at the wagon, but couldn't hear exactly what was said; I saw the bomb when it was about six feet from the ground—a little tail of fire quivering as it fell not more than six feet in front of me. The bomb immediately exploded, and as far as I could see the entire division in front of me disappeared, except the two ends, but a great many of them got up again in a kind of disorder, and then I flanked the left of the division; there was no firing before the explosion of that bomb; the firing began almost immediately on both sides of the street and north of me. I, being on the left, rushed my division of the company right around towards the sidewalk, and commenced answering the charge from that quarter, and Fitzpatrick went the other way, to the east, and he commenced shooting right into the crowd on the sidewalk, faced them right and left. In our company we had our regular revolvers in our pockets, and we had a larger revolver in the sockets attached to our belts, on the outside; the club in the socket and the revolver in the socket were both hanging to the left side of each officer; pistols and clubs were all in the pockets until the explosion of the bomb; there were twenty-eight men in my company, including Fitzpatrick; seven were injured by the explosion and two by bullets; none of them died; two of them are still laid up.

85 HENRY WIENIKE:

I am a police officer at West Chicago avenue station; have been such since April 20th, last; before that I saw once the defendant, Engel, at 703 Milwaukee avenue, Timmerhoff's place; heard him make a speech there, in February, 1886, before an audience.

(Testimony in regard to Engel's speech objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

86

I was standing in the door leading from the saloon into the hall; he said he advised every man to join them; to save up three or four dollars to buy a revolver that was good enough to shoot these policemen down. I was at the Haymarket in Lieut. Steele's company; got hit with a bullet in the head.

(Motion to exclude the testimony of this witness overruled, and exception.)

Engel spoke in German; I understand German.



## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

88 It was a public meeting on a Sunday afternoon; every chair in the hall  
 was occupied; anybody could go in there that wanted to. Every po-  
 liceman he wanted to kill, whether they wanted to interfere or not. Soon  
 89 after I went and joined the police; I didn't hear Engel say anything  
 about the police interfering with working people; I was standing at that  
 90 door about ten minutes. Engel said nothing more that I remember.

91 WILLIAM JONES:

I am a police officer, located at the central station; I belong to the de-  
 tective department, under Lieut. Shea; I was at the Arbeiter Zeitung  
 office on May 5th, about 8:30 A. M. I assisted in making a search of  
 the building. I found two different descriptions of circulars; I was pres-  
 ent when Officer Myers found this form (referring to type) that was on  
 the table in one end of the type-setters' room. Later in the forenoon I  
 92 was present when a locksmith opened different drawers in different  
 offices. The locksmith opened the desk in the corner of the office on  
 the second floor of the building; it was the south-west corner of the  
 room; in the desk found this fuse (indicating) and these two bars of dy-  
 namite (indicating); also a box which contained these fulminating caps  
 93 (indicating), about ten in number; Officer Flynn was with me search-  
 ing the desk. They were wrapped up in that same piece of paper. On  
 the desk I found a number of letters directed to Mr. Spies.

I found quite a bundle of the Revenge circulars, and also of the other  
 circulars; took them to the central station. This bunch of keys (indi-  
 94 cating) I got from James Bonfield; I tried them into the drawer of the  
 desk where I found the dynamite and fuse; it unlocked that one; it  
 wouldn't unlock any of the other locks that I tried all around.

I searched Fischer's house; I was down there with Bonfield and  
 Furthman; in a kind of a shed in front of the house we found a piece of  
 gas-pipe about three feet in length; there was no gas in the house. In a  
 94 drawer we found a box of 44-caliber cartridges; we found a blouse the  
 same as I have seen L. u. W. V. wear when they used to march; it is a  
 light blue.

(Bunch of keys, dynamite, etc., introduced in evidence.)





## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have been connected with the police department for thirteen years; 99 for two years and a half with the detective branch. There were six or eight short of fifty cartridges in that box; I think they were made by the Winchester Arm Company. I took Fischer's gun there and they fitted his gun. That gas pipe was found outside of the main door of the house; it was a piece of ordinary iron gas pipe and rusty; there was 101 nothing inside. I don't know anything about other people living in the same house with Fischer, except some family in the rear. I found at the Arbeiter Zeitung building a pile of Revenge circulars about four or five inches high; the pile of the other circular was probably three or four 103 inches. This circular here, which is marked "Peoples' Ex. 1," is an exact duplicate of the circulars calling the meeting, which I found 105 there. I took the circulars to the central station. I don't know personally whether those keys which unlocked the desk was Spies' keys; Mr. Bonfield gave them to me, that is all I know. The two bars of 106 dynamite were on the top of the cylinder of the desk; the caps were close to the dynamite; the fuse was wrapped up in newspaper, and the caps were laying close by them, all in the same drawer; there were a number of letters directed to Mr. Spies in the same drawer.

107 JAMES W. DUFFY:

I am a police officer; have been connected with the force since over two years. I was at the Arbeiter Zeitung on May 5th last, about 9 o'clock, and made a search. I took some circulars, about 2,000 in number, calling the men to arms. Officer Meyers, myself, Slayton and Beard went to the compositors' room; Meyers found some type there 108 and called my attention to it, also a manuscript of the Revenge circular. Before we found that manuscript, Officer Jones and I had seen on the first floor a package up on the shelf. While we were in the compositors' room Officer Marks came up; he and I went downstairs and took a package of what we supposed was dynamite, off a shelf in a closet off the office, on the first floor of the Arbeiter Zeitung office, the second 109 floor of the building. There is a shelf up on the left-hand side as you go in the closet, and up on there there was a large package; it looked like a coffee sack saturated with oil, and paper and stuff. We took it down and opened it and examined it; it looked something like sawdust and ground stuff, kind of an oily substance; there was probably four or five pounds; we took it to the central station, it was put in a vault there; it



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was given over to C. C. Vehmeyer to keep until called for; it was brought back yesterday morning to me; is now right here (indicating);  
110 the package is the same as when delivered to Vehmeyer. The room in which I found the stuff was two floors below the top floor, two floors below the type-setting room.

111 (Package in question opened, contains a quantity of oily brown paper and a bag of sandy-looking substance.)

112 I saw Officer Bonfield place Spies under arrest; that was on the third floor of the building. The closet where I found this stuff was in the floor below.

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

113 The last line of the circular, a pile of which I found, contains the words " Workingmen, arm yourselves and appear in full force." I would  
114 estimate there was a couple of thousand of these circulars in the pile.

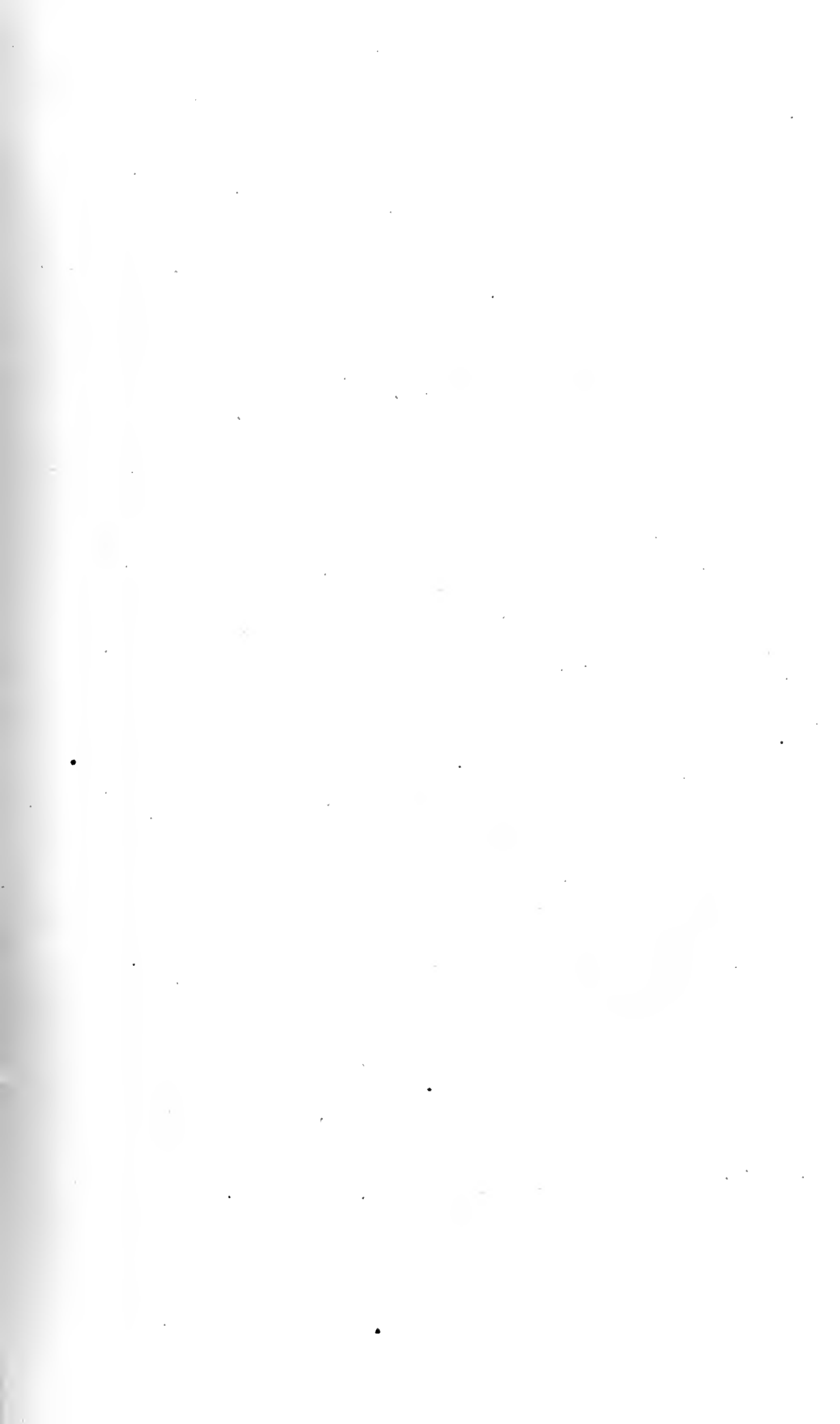
On the top of the building of the Arbeiter Zeitung there is a composing room; one story below that is the editorial room where Mr. Spies was on  
115 that morning; then we had to go down one story more before we came to the room where this package of dynamite was found; I heard Mr. Spies say he did not know that the package had been there; the package  
116 was found in a room in which I never saw Mr. Spies. Spies said he thought he knew where it came from, he insinuated that the police officers had placed it there. I found this bundle at the time Spies was arrested, about 9 o'clock in the morning.

117 TIMOTHY McKEOUGH:

I am a police officer; have been on the force nearly four years; I was at the Arbeiter Zeitung office on the morning of May 5th, about an hour after Spies was arrested; I saw a package there with Duffy; it was this  
118 here (indicating package identified by Duffy); I saw Mr. Buck experiment at the lake front with dynamite, which he got from the central station from this package. I took it from it myself.

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

Spies had been arrested and was in the central station before I went to the Arbeiter Zeitung that morning. I have been in the detective service for three months.



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120 BARTHOLOMEW FLYNN:

I am a police officer; have been on the police force about fourteen years, at the central station nearly a year; I was at the Arbeiter Zeitung in company with Johnson on May 5th last, at the time he searched the desk of Mr. Spies; we found a lot of fuse, some caps, some dynamite sticks and this box of letters (indicating); they were all found in Mr. Spies' drawer. I took the letters, put them into this box, carried them to the station and delivered them to Mr. Furthman; he delivered them into my hands again; from the appearance they are in the same condition as they were then.

122

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I am acquainted with the Arbeiter Zeitung building, 107 Fifth avenue. On the first floor there is a saloon; on the second floor is a room with some desks in which I found these articles; on the third floor there is a room with desks and writing material, and everything looked as though it might be used as an editorial room; the compositors' room is still upstairs over that. Of my own personal knowledge I could not swear which was Spies' desk. The desk in which I found these articles and the letters was standing against the wall on the south side of the building and more to the west; I remember seeing a safe there which stood between the two windows on the west side of the room.

129 JOHN J. RYAN:

I am a retired officer of the United States navy; live at 274 N. Clark street; lived in Chicago for three years; have seen the defendants Spies, Neebe, Parsons, Fielden and Schwab on the occasion of their Sunday afternoon meetings during the summer of last year and the year previous; I heard some of them speak there; namely, Spies, Parsons and Fielden, in the English language; I can only designate particularly two meetings, one previous to their picnic they had last year, and once on the Sunday directly after it; that was in July of last year, I think; I cannot say that I saw Mr. Spies at either of those meetings; Mr. Parsons I remember at one of them.

130 Q. State what he said?

(Objected to in behalf of all the defendants except Parsons.)

131 He was speaking in a general way about trouble with the workingmen and the people, what he called the proletariat class, and spoke about their enemies, the police and the constituted authorities; that the



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132 authorities would use the police and militia and they would have to use force against them; he advised them to purchase rifles; if they had not money enough for that, then to buy pistols, and if they couldn't buy pistols they could buy sufficient dynamite for twenty-five cents to blow up a building the size of the Pullman building?

Q. What, if anything, did you hear Fielden say at that meeting?

(Objected to by defendants other than Fielden.)

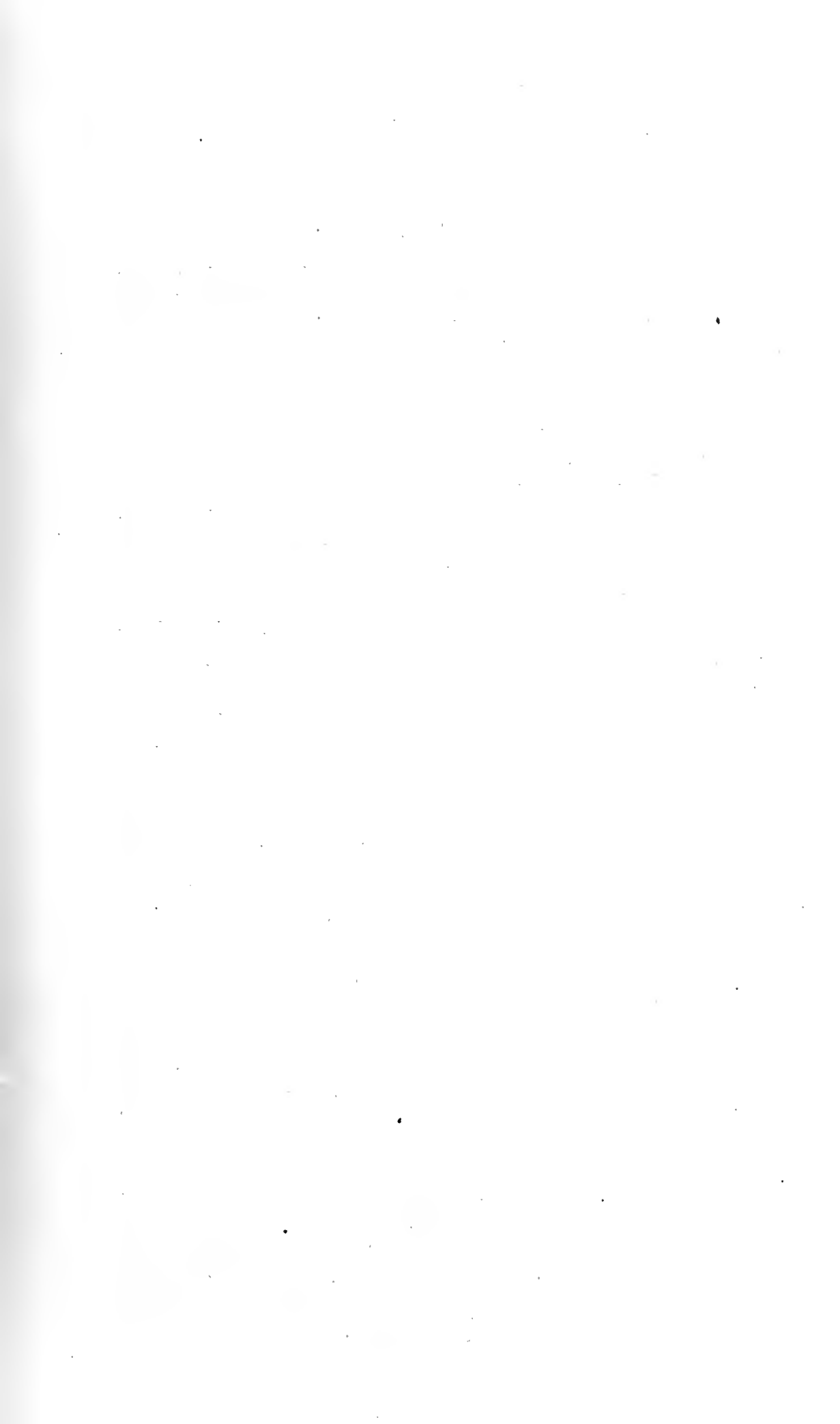
133 The speeches were very nearly alike; they spoke about dynamite and fire arms to be used against the police, and any one who opposed them in their designs; they wanted things their way and to regulate society; the speeches were alike Sunday after Sunday; I heard Spies speak on the lake front before and after the meetings I mention; he represented, as he said, the oppressed class; the workingmen, as opposed to the capitalists and property owners; the latter were the enemy of the workingmen; if they couldn't get their rights in a peaceable manner they must get them in a forcible way; I heard that talk about ten or fifteen times; the meetings were held there every Sunday until late in the fall. After the picnic, Mr. Parsons, I think—I won't be sure of that—spoke about the young German experimenting with dynamite at this picnic; that this young German had a small quantity of dynamite in a tomato can; it was thrown into a pond or lake and he spoke of the force this amount of dynamite exerted, and what could be done with it in destroying buildings and property in the city.

135

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

Those lake front meetings were held publicly in plain view to everybody in every instance; the largest number of persons I ever saw attend one of these meetings was not more than 150; the meetings that I attended usually lasted two or three hours. I heard two or three other persons speak on the lake front at those meetings, Mr. Henry, Mrs. Parsons, Mrs. Holmes, and, one Sunday, a young Englishman whose name I did not hear; also an Irishman whose name I never heard; the meetings were held about half past two.

137 The speeches were made in a loud, clear tone, sometimes very loud when they would get excited. A policeman who evidently had charge of the park was usually around there. It was a general propagation of ideas and doctrines, down there on the lake front; once I heard Mr. Parsons say that now was the time to do it. I heard the opinion expressed there that the workingmen would have to secure their rights by force, and therefore should be prepared for it.





## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I saw Mr. Neebe about there at some of the meetings; I never heard him speak.

142 HARRY WILKINSON:

I am a reporter on the Chicago Daily News, since September last year; I have seen four of the defendants, Spies, Schwab, Parsons and Fielden; I saw them for the first time in the North Side Turner Hall at a meeting of the International Workingmen's Association; I heard Fielden and Spies speak at that meeting.

(Testimony in regard to their speeches objected to by defendants other than Spies and Fielden; objection overruled and exception.)

143 I could not quote either one of them at that time.

144 On Thanksgiving day, last year, I heard Mr. Parsons speak on the Market square. He advised the workingmen who were present (there were several hundred there), to stand together, and to use force in procuring their rights; he told them that they were slaves; that out of a certain sum of money the per cent. they got was too small; it ought to be more evenly divided with the man who employed them; I don't recollect that he said at that time anything as to the means or manner of force to be used, or against whom.

145 Last January I had several conversations with Mr. Spies, probably  
146 half a dozen. I first saw Mr. Spies a few days after the 1st of January of this year in regard to the matter published in this paper (indicating copy of Chicago Daily News of January 13, 1886). I wrote up the result of my talk with Mr. Spies for that paper; it was not all published. I inquired of Spies about an explosive which had been placed on Judge Lambert Tree's steps, and one that was placed in the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroad offices, and he emphatically denied that those machines were either made or placed by socialists or anarchists, and proved it by showing me that they were entirely different in character to those used by the socialists. He showed me this bomb (indicating), which he described as the Czar; I took it with me; he spoke of the wonderful destructive power of the Czar bomb; said it was the same kind that had been used by nihilists in destroying the Czar; I told him that I thought it was a pretty tall story, and he became somewhat excited and produced this, and said that there were others, larger than that,  
147 run by mechanical power—clock-work bombs—and he gave me that in a small room adjoining the counting-room office of the Arbeiter Zeitung;

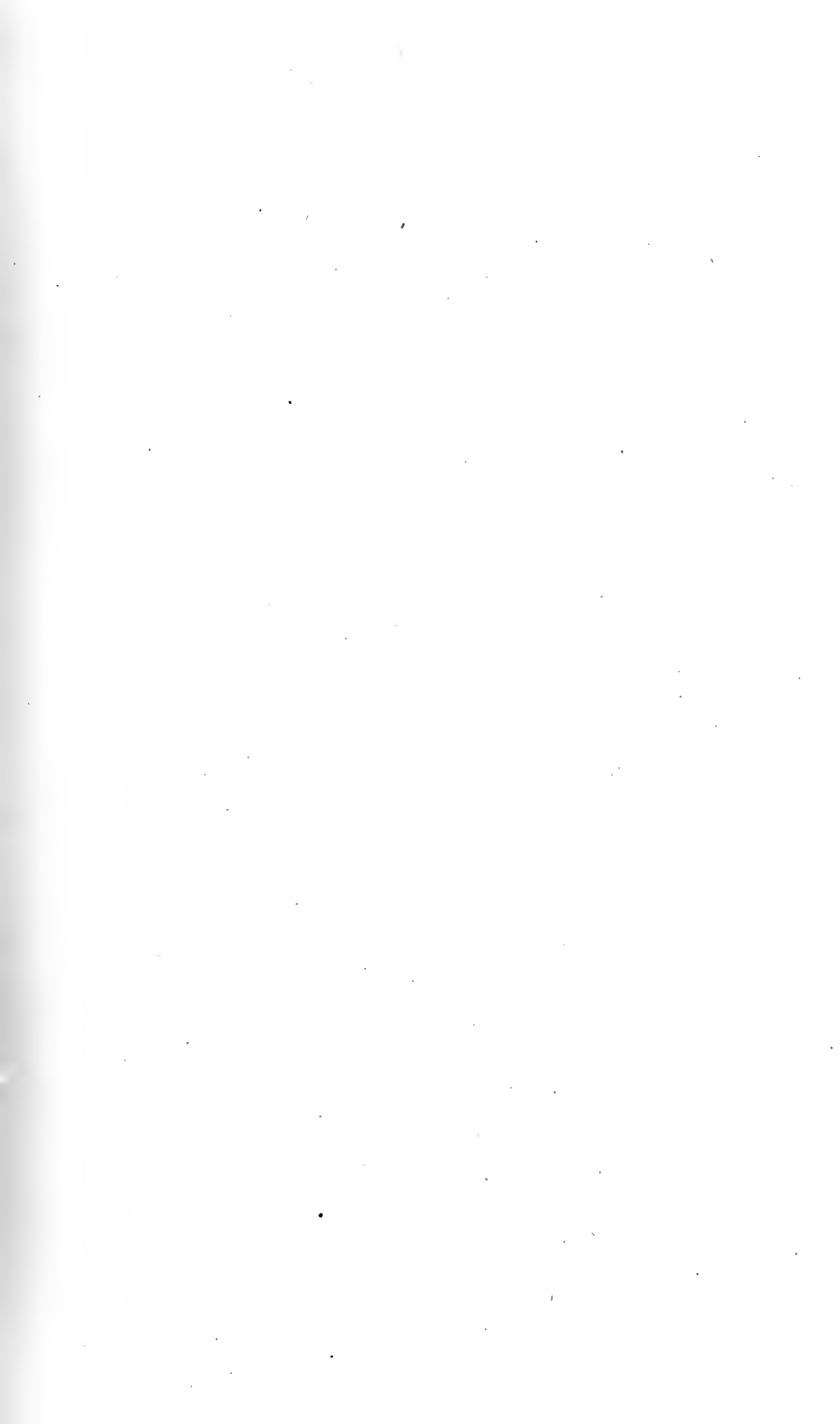


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he denied that those things were made at the Arbeiter Zeitung office; he said they were made by other persons, and that there was several thousand of them in Chicago distributed, and that at some times they were distributed through the Arbeiter Zeitung office; that those who could make bombs made more than they could use, and those that could not make them gave them to those that could; that that one was one of the samples. I asked Mr. Spies if I could take that (the bomb) and show it to Mr. Stone, and I took it over there and didn't bring it back. On another occasion, Mr. Spies and Mr. Gruenhut and myself went to dinner together, and he told us there about the organization of their people in a rather boastful manner, how they had gone out on excursions on nice summer mornings, some miles out of the city, and practiced throwing these bombs; the manner of exploding them, that they had demonstrated that bombs made of compound metal were much better than the other kind, and that a fuse bomb with a detonating cap inside was by far the best; and how at one attempt made in his presence one of their machines had been exploded in the midst of a little grove, and that it had entirely demolished the scenery; blown down four or five trees. He further described to me some very tall and very strong men, who could throw a large size bomb weighing five pounds 150 paces; and stated how, in case of a conflict with the police or militia, when the latter would come marching up a street, they would be received by the throwers formed in the shape of the letter V in the mouth of the street just crossing the intersection, illustrating this by taking some little toothpicks out of a vase on the table, laying them down and making a street intersection. He stated the militia would probably not stay to see a second or third bomb go off. If the conflict should occur at any of the principal street intersections in the city, some of those organized men would be on the tops of houses ready to throw bombs overboard among the advancing troops or police. All these matters had been investigated; the men were all thoroughly trained and organized. The means of access to the house-tops of street intersections was a matter of common information among their adherents. He said they had no leaders; one was instructed as well as another, and when the great day came each one would know his duty and do it. I tried to find out when this would probably occur, and he did not fix the date precisely or approximately at that time. At another of those interviews he said it would probably occur in the first conflict between the police and militia; that if there would be a universal strike for this eight-hour system there

148

150



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151 would probably be a conflict of some sort brought about in some way between the First and Second regiment of the Illinois National Guards and the police, and the dynamite upon the other hand. In trying to get at the probable number of them, I understood him that there were probably eight or ten thousand.

He spoke of other larger bombs, as large as a cigar box, to be exploded by electricity, which would be placed under a street in case they decided to barricade any section of the city, that they had experimented with; that certain members of the organization had in their possession a complete detail, maps and plans of the underground system of the city; that these machines would either destroy everybody that was above them when they went off, or so tear up the street as to make it impassable.

152 He told me that the ordinary dynamite of commerce was about a 60 or 66 per cent. dynamite; that they made a finer quality by importing infusorial earth and mixing it themselves; that was about a 90 per cent. quality. He showed me no dynamite. I don't think he gave me any information about Herr Most's Science of Revolutionary Warfare.

153 I understood that the object of all this was the bettering of the working men's condition by the demolition of their oppressors; he vaguely spoke of a list of prominent citizens who might suddenly be blown up one at a time or all at once. I frequently said that I didn't believe much in the story he told me. He simply uttered the renewed declarations.

I had this conversation with Spies in the Arbeiter Zeitung at his own desk, on the left-hand side as you entered the door in the editorial room. Mr. Schwab was there one or twice when I was in; I was not acquainted with him personally.

154 The conversation that I have chiefly detailed here  
155 took place in the Chicago Oyster House and in a little room detached from the counting room downstairs where he kept those specimen bombs. He got this bomb from one of those little pigeon-holes in that room.

156 He particularly mentioned the Market square, and that it would take a very few men to fortify that street against all the police and militia in Chicago, and that they would have the tunnel at their back for a convenient place of retreat for those who were not engaged in throwing the shells, or for women and children whom they might care to take there. They were to receive the police or militia with their line formed in the shape of a letter V, the open end of the letter V facing towards the street in-



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157. tersection. Then there were to be others to reinforce them, as it were, on the tops of houses, at those corners. The plan here in this copy of the Daily News of January 14, I drew from one that he made right on the table cloth as we sat at dinner together, except that he did not put in these little squares, but explained where these would be, to me, and laid toothpicks to make these lines. Those dotted lines and the other dotted lines are to represent the dynamiters on top of houses.

(Plan from Daily News of January 14 offered in evidence, marked "Peoples' Ex. 13." Objected to; objection overruled and exception. Bomb identified by this witness offered in evidence. Objected to; objection overruled and exception. Photograph of said bomb marked "Peoples' Ex. 120.")

158

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness as irrelevant and immaterial; overruled, and exception.)

159

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I got leave of Mr. Spies to carry the bomb off and show it to Mr. Stone. I am now twenty-six years old; have been in the newspaper business about four years; I came to Chicago in September of last year. I was assigned to this work with Mr. Spies by Mr. Stone personally. I advised Mr. Spies of that fact. The circulation of the Daily News, according to its official statistics, was about 165,000. After that conversation in the presence of Joe Gruenhut, I had also an interview with Gruenhut. Mr. Gruenhut said that the conflict to which our conversation referred at the table, would occur probably on the 1st of May, or within a few days thereafter, and that it might extend all over the country. He spoke of the conflict between the workingmen who were to strike for eight hours, and their natural enemies, the police and militia; I don't remember that anything was said about the capitalists; the Haymarket was not mentioned.

167

I did not take any notes while the conversation with Mr. Spies was going on; I wrote them up the first opportunity I would have. Spies said as near as I could calculate, that they had about 9,000 bombs; as to those tall men who could throw a five pound bomb fifty paces, my recollection is that it was a company referred to without number; there were four or five only of that company as I understood, who could throw a five pound bomb—that is a large sized shell—and fifty yards is a long distance to throw a shell. He described the character of the organiza-

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tions, that if there were three the first would know the second and the second the third, but not the third the first; that it was nihilistic in its character, and that they were known by other means than names. I don't think I asked Spies about how many men were interested in this project that were drilling and getting ready; I don't recollect his saying anything about that, but I concluded that there were as many men as there was bombs, or more.

172 There was some delay of about three or four days in the publication of my article after it was prepared.

177 I did not believe all Spies said; I believed about half of it. The  
178 article written by me is wound up by the suggestion that when dressed to cold facts it was like a scare-crow flapping in the corn field; I did not write that; that was edited by some one who told me he didn't believe as  
179 much of the matter as I did. I remember a communication from Mr. Spies in the Daily News, after this article; I think I helped "fix it up," put a head line on it. The original was then used as copy, I never saw  
180 it afterwards. Joe Gruenhut is a socialist.

183 FELIX V. BUSCHICK:

Testifies with reference to map representing the building, 107 Fifth avenue, which was introduced in evidence and marked "Peoples' Ex. 14," in Vol. of Ex.

185 FRANZ HEIN:

I live on Division and Franklin streets; I am a saloon-keeper and was on May 3d and 4th last; I know the defendant, Neebe; I saw him at my saloon on Monday evening, May 3, 1886. Mr. Neebe showed me that (indicating Revenge circular); it must have been between nine and ten  
186 in the evening of May 3d; he laid some on the counter there and some on the table; there were about seven or eight people in the saloon.

(This testimony is objected to by defendants other than Neebe; objection overruled and exception.)

Neebe came in and showed me that thing and asked if I heard something about the McCormick riot, and I said: "yes, I read it"; and he said: "it is a shame the police act that way, but may be the time comes that it goes the other way—that they get the chance, too." He was mad at the  
187 policemen on the west side. He didn't say anything about the circular, he only showed it to me. He said: "That is just printed now," when he came in. Mr. Neebe was in about five or ten minutes, he drank a



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couple of beers and went out; he was in with another gentleman and they made some remarks, and they went from the counter to the table again. I was there, and attended to business. I did not hear all that he said. He made some remarks about the riot on the west side. I think he said six or seven people had been killed. He made some remarks about blood having flowed. He said he had been in the brewers' meeting at Turner Hall, and that the society was a success, and they got the help from the brewers that they wanted, and he came there and got a circular, and he brought it there and left some there for me.

(Motion to strike out this witness' testimony on behalf of all defendants, other than said Neebe; overruled, and exception.)

189 192a EDWARD OLSEN:

Testifies to the correctness of certain translations of articles and books from the German into the English language.

(A translation of the platform of the International Workingmen's Association, as published in the Arbeiter Zeitung of February 26, 1886, and a translation of the book called Herr Most's Science of Warfare offered in evidence, to which the defendants object.)

192b-192h After full argument the following ruling is announced, by the court: "I have no doubt but what it is competent. The circumstances may be significant or not, depending on the surroundings; whether it is significant or not it is for the jury to determine from the surroundings which come before them. Whether the defendants or any of them were intending to have a mob kill people, and were teaching them how to kill people is a question which this jury is to find out from the evidence. And these two translations are admissible upon the investigation of that question."

Mr. BLACK: We desire to except to the ruling of the court and to the suggestion of the court in the announcement of the ruling.

192i Translation of Herr Most's book and platform of the International Workingmen's Association admitted in evidence, marked "People's Ex. 15 and 16," in Vol. of Ex.

192j C. C. VEHMEYER:

I am connected with the Laffin & Rand Powder Co., whose magazine is on Archer avenue, between Johnson avenue and 47th street; after the 4th of May a package was placed in my charge by the detectives of the city, which I delivered to Mr. Duffy the day before yesterday, unopened and untouched, in the same condition it was when I received it.



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192k EUGENE SEEGER (recalled):

Testifies to the correctness of the translation of Herr Most's Science of Revolutionary Warfare.

193 GUSTAV LEHMANN:

194 I am a carpenter. On May 4th I lived at 41 Freeman street; I lived there six months; have been in this country and in this city four years. I was born in Prussia. I attended a meeting at 54 West Lake street on the evening of May 3d; got there a quarter of nine.

(Testimony in regard to that meeting objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

195 I went there from my home, by myself; I was about to go to a carpenters' meeting at Zepf's Hall, and I met several persons who were going to 54 West Lake street. I saw a copy of the Arbeiter Zeitung containing the notice "Y, Nomme Montag Abend"; it meant that the armed ones should attend the meeting at 54 West Lake street; when I got there the meeting was in session. Somebody made a motion to post somebody at the door, and then I went out to the sidewalk, by the door, that no one who was going to the water-closet could remain there and listen; I was stationed on the sidewalk, where the steps were leading down, may be a good half hour; I went into the meeting twice. I heard that  
196 large man, with the blonde moustache, say he was going to have handbills printed and distributed; there were present at the meeting Seliger, Theilen, myself, my brother, Fischer, Breightenfeld and the Hermanns, that is about all I remember; I don't know how Engel looks.

197 I cannot tell whether Lingg was in the basement, but he went home with me; we had a little quarrel.

(Testimony as to conversation with Lingg objected to by defendants, other than Lingg; objection overruled, and exception.)

198 Lingg came up to us from behind, on the sidewalk, and said to us, "You are all oxen, fools." I asked what had taken place at the meeting, where we were just coming from. Lingg told me that if I wanted to know something I should come to 58 Clybourn avenue the next evening; there were present, Seliger, my brother, and one other man. The next day I worked on Sedgwick street; after I quit work, at 3 o'clock, I met a gentleman, Schneibeke, and we went to Lingg's. Got there about 5 o'clock. I saw there Lingg, Seliger and a blacksmith, whose name I didn't know, and Huebner. I stayed there about ten minutes. They did some work in the bedroom. I couldn't understand what they were



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199 doing. I did not work at anything. Lingg and Huebner had a cloth tied around their faces. I had gone there because my countryman wanted to buy a revolver. After I left I went home with my countryman. At about 7 o'clock I went back to Lingg's, and stayed there, perhaps, ten minutes. They were still busy in the bedroom. Huebner was cutting a fuse, or a coil of fuse, into pieces. I saw something like that fuse (indicating coil of fuse) in caps. I didn't do anything there. They  
200 were making these fuse and caps in the front room. That afternoon Lingg gave me a small hand satchel, with a tin box in it, and three round bombs, and two coils of fuse and some caps. This here (indicating) is the box which he gave me; it was said that dynamite was in it. It was nearly full. This box of caps (indicating) I found afterwards in the  
201 satchel. Lingg said to me he wanted me to keep these things so that no one could find them. I took them home with me, to the woodshed, got up at 3 o'clock that night and carried them away to the prairie, about Clybourn avenue, behind Ogden's Grove.

After supper on that Tuesday evening I was about to go to Uhlich's hall, but there was no carpenters' meeting there; then I was about to go home, but we went to 58 Clybourn avenue, Neff's hall, because of what  
202 Linng had told us Monday night. Schneideke was with me. We stayed at Neff's hall about ten minutes; we got there about half past nine. I did not see anybody there whom I knew but the barkeeper. After leaving Neff's hall we went up Clybourn avenue to Larrabee street; we had no special place in view. I got home about 11 o'clock.  
203 We met Seliger and Linng standing together on the sidewalk on Larrabee street, near Clybourn avenue. We stood there with them, but one—I don't know whether it was Seliger or Linng—remarked: "We four should not keep together"; then we went towards North avenue, along Larrabee street. Near North avenue we met Thielen. I afterwards  
204 went to the prairie with a detective about May 19th or 20th to find the things that Linng had given me; the bombs and the dynamite, the fuse and the caps were still there.

Q. Have you ever been a member of any socialistic organization?

(Objected to as irrelevant; objection overruled, and exception.)

205 I have been a member of the north side group of the International Workingmen's Association. I belonged to the group about three months prior to the 4th of May; the group met at 58 Clybourn avenue, regularly every Monday evening. We talked together there, advised together and reviewed what had happened among the workingmen during the week.





We had hunting guns and shot-guns with which we drilled. I kept my gun at my house.

Q. • Did you ever attend a dance at Floris' hall on Lake street?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

Yes, about March of this year; it was a ball of the carpenters' union; Linng was present there. There was about ten or ten and a half dollars profit on the beer. The money, according to a resolution passed at the next meeting of the carpenters' union at 71 West Lake street, was handed over to Linng with the instruction to buy dynamite with it, and experiment with it to find out how it was used.

I heard Engel make a speech at 58 Clybourn avenue, about January or February of this year, before the assembled workingmen of the north side.

Q. What did he say?

(Objected to by defendants, particularly those other than Engel; objection overruled, and exception.)

He said those who could not buy revolvers should buy dynamite; it was cheap and easily handled. A gas pipe was to be taken and a wooden block put into the ends, and it was to be filled with dynamite, then the other end is also closed up with a wooden block and old nails are tied around the pipe by means of wire; then a hole is bored into one end of it and a fuse with a cap is put into that hole. I was chairman at that meeting. Engel said some gas pipe was to be found on the west side, near the river, near the bridge.

#### CROSS-EXAMINATION.

The meeting at which Engel spoke was a public, open door, meeting. A notice under the signal "Y," which was understood to be the call for a meeting at 54 West Lake street I have seen once before. I belonged to the armed section for about three or four months. The meetings of the armed section at 54 West Lake street were irregular, governed by such a notice in the Arbeiter Zeitung.

I did not see Linng at 54 West Lake street that Monday night. I don't know that he was there. As we went home he came up to us from behind on the sidewalk. Whether he was there or not I cannot say. When I went to Clybourn avenue Tuesday night Linng was not there. Seliger went down in the basement at the meeting at 54 Lake street Monday night. He was there some time, but I cannot tell how long. I am sure about that. We went there together from where the carpenter's



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meeting was to have taken place. I, my brother, he and several others  
 213 went down together. I am as sure of Seliger's having been down there  
 in the basement that night as of any fact that I have testified to.

## CLARENCE E. DRESSER:

I live at the Southern Hotel. I am a reporter for several newspapers.  
 Last summer I was connected with the Chicago Inter Ocean. I was  
 connected with the Inter Ocean as a reporter at the time of the opening  
 of the new board of trade. I was in front of the Arbeiter Zeitung office  
 about 7 o'clock that night. I saw there Spies, Fielden and Parsons. I  
 heard them talk, but not addressing a crowd.

Q. What did Spies say?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

They asked all present to get ready to go to some meeting that night  
 and march to the board of trade, and there make a demonstration that  
 215 would, in their language, carry terror to the capitalistic heart. I asked  
 Spies what was the object of the demonstration. He said, "We ought  
 to blow the institution up," and made some reference to the character of  
 the people that did business there. I didn't hear Parsons or Fielden say  
 anything on that occasion. I saw the remnants of a procession scattered  
 along Madison and LaSalle streets that night.

I have attended probably a dozen meetings on Sunday afternoons on  
 216 the lake front, where Fielden, Parsons, Spies and Mrs. Parsons were  
 present. I heard them all speak at different times.

Q. Tell me what you heard Spies say, and when, if you can?

(Objected to on behalf of defendants other than Spies; objection  
 overruled, and exception.)

I cannot give the date. I heard Spies advocate the principle that prop-  
 erty was a crime, and that he would like to head a crowd and carry the  
 black flag down Michigan avenue. I have seen Mr. Fielden point to  
 the carriages on Michigan avenue and say those people ought to be  
 217 blown up to hell; that he would be glad also to march down Michigan  
 avenue and carry terror to the hearts of Pullman, Marshall Field  
 and such men. Such people and others deserved to be killed. At one  
 of the meetings he asked who would be willing to follow him, and a  
 great many called out, "We all," and he said, would they be provided  
 with weapons and be properly equipped to take such an excursion? I  
 have heard Parsons say that the workingmen must rouse up and arm  
 themselves and meet their oppressors, as he termed them, with weapons



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218 —meet them face to face, and consider that they were to be treated in the same manner. He especially denounced the militia and the police. He said they should arm themselves with guns and pistols and dynamite, and anything that they could obtain.

(Motion to exclude all the testimony of this witness; overruled, and exception.)

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

219 On the night of the opening of the board of trade, when I heard that talk of Spies before they marched down in the procession, another man was standing by and said: "We will blow the whole building to hell;" and Spies said: "Yes, that is the thing."

221 The first speech that I heard these men make on Sunday afternoon  
225 was, I presume, a year and a half ago. The first meeting that I attended expressed in general sentiment the same as the last meeting, only they  
227 grew a little more violent. I never saw the stars and stripes at those meetings. I never saw the black flag or the red flag there, either.

228 ERNST NIENDORFF:

On Monday night, May 3d, I attended a meeting of the carpenters' union at Zepf's hall. I was chairman of that meeting. William Seliger acted as secretary. The meeting opened at 8 o'clock and closed at 11 o'clock. I think Seliger was there all the time. I remember of the Revenge circular being distributed in the meeting between 9 and 10  
229 o'clock. I saw Balthazar Rau there that night. There were about 800 to 1,000 members present. During the meeting somebody announced that the members of the armed section should go to their meeting place.

230 THOMAS L. TREHORN:

I am a police officer, and was on the day of the opening of the board of trade. I attended a meeting at Market square with officer Sullivan. There was a large crowd of people assembled around some salt barrels. Fielden and Parsons were present.

Q. What were they doing?

(Objected to; objection overruled and exception.)

231 Q. Tell as near as you can now recollect the speech that Parsons made there.

(Objected to, and particularly by defendants other than Fielden and Parsons; objection overruled, and exception.)



Parsons characterized the board of trade as a robbers' roost and den; that they were reveling in the proceeds of the workingmen; that every dollar that was put into that building belonged to the workingmen. He said: "How many of my hearers could give \$20 for a supper to-night?" The invitations there were \$20, I believe. He says: "We will never  
 232 gain anything by argument and words. The only way to convince these capitalists and robbers is to use the gun and dynamite." Fielden said the board of trade was the largest gambling house in the world; that they were dabbling in money, the proceeds of the workingmen; that they raised the price of food to such an exorbitant price that they cannot live. He wanted them all to form in line and march to the board of trade. He would head them. He says: "We will march there and have some of the \$20 supper, and we will march to the grand old tune of the Marseilles." And they all formed in line. Parsons was in line,  
 233 and Fielden. I followed them. There was a cordon of police placed at each street crossing so that they could not get in the immediate block of the board of trade. Near the Grand Pacific hotel a brick was thrown into a carriage that drove out from the board of trade. I tried to catch the man that threw it, and I lost track of their movements for a few  
 234 minutes. They kept on marching, until finally the procession stopped at 107 Fifth avenue. Parsons made a speech through an open window. He said the capitalists had had their blood-hounds there to prevent them. The next time they should go they should be prepared, and break through; and he said that that supper was the proceeds of the workingmen, and it was only a matter of time before the workingmen would have to assert their rights by dynamite and the pistol; they should sack these wholesale clothing and grocery stores for the provisions and stuff they would need. He mentioned Marshall Field, and said it was not  
 235 proper that one man should own so much property, and so many people be suffering. On the Market square Parsons had said that a company of militia were in the habit of drilling on Market square; that the capitalists had the militia ready to annihilate them on the spot, if occasion required.

Fielden spoke from the window after Parsons. He said the few rich men had everything, workingmen had to work and get nothing. Many of them had no proper clothing for their families at home. "While these robbers were enjoying themselves at the board of trade with a \$20 supper we have not that much to sustain us for a month." There was nothing to be gained unless they used dynamite and guns; that argu-





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236 ments had failed. I met the reporter Williamson that night in front of the Arbeiter Zeitung. We went with him upstairs. Officer Sullivan was with me too. Spies was standing by the desk. Williamson asked him to show him that cartridge again, and Spies handed it to Parsons. I asked Parsons, "Why didn't you go to the board of trade as you first intended, and have some of that supper?" he said, "Oh, the blood-hounds were there to prevent us, as usual." They had not been prepared to-night to break through, and he says—(holding in his hand) "Here is a thing I could knock a hundred of them down with, like ten pins." He alluded to a long package about as large as that newspaper, and looked like a very large fire cracker; he said it was a dynamite cartridge. Spies, Schwab, Mr. and Mrs. Parsons and Lizzie Moore and about a dozen other people were in the room; Parsons showed me a coil of fuse.

238 Spies reached down under the desk, and handed it to Parsons. Parsons said about the dynamite, "There is enough there to blow up that building." He said, "We have plenty of fuse; a man could be a block off and blow it up." He referred to the board of trade; I was up there about three-quarters of an hour.

239

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

That board of trade procession did not stop anywhere—kept moving right along. For the last two years I have been detailed in citizen's clothes, doing detective duty. I reported all I had seen, both on the street and in the office after the speaking from the window was done to Lieut. Bedell of the Cottage Grove station. That was in the month of April, 1885, either the 28th or the 29th. The procession moved from Market square down Madison to 5th avenue, south to VanBuren, then east to Clark, then north to Adams, then west to 5th avenue, and north to the Arbeiter Zeitung building. After Fielden had got through talking from the window, nobody came upstairs to inquire why he did not come on and lead them to any of the stores mentioned. The streets next to the board of trade building are, on the south VanBuren, on the east Pacific avenue, on the north Jackson street, and on the west Sherman. There is a short block from Pacific avenue to Clark street; there is a block between Jackson and Adams; there is a short block between Sherman and 5th avenue. There is a half block from the board of trade building to VanBuren street; there was a vacant lot there at that time.

246 They did not go on Pacific avenue.



## JEREMIAH SULLIVAN:

247 I am a police officer. I was on Market square on the night of the inauguration of the board of trade with Officer Trehorn. When we got down there there was quite a large crowd. One or two people were talking in German and trying to hold the crowd until the speakers came. Mr. Schwab came there first, and Parsons and Fielden came, and I believe this man (indicating Lingg). Parsons spoke about the board of trade, and showed some figures how the poor man was robbed; then he denounced the police as blood-hounds, the militia as servants of the capitalists, robbing the laboring classes, and invited them all in a body to go there and partake of some of those twenty dollar dishes that they had up at the board of trade building; they were to get there by force. Mr. Fielden spoke after him. He denounced the police and militia as blood-

248 hounds, and at that time there was a company of militia on Market square for the purpose of drilling. Mr. Schwab was there at the time, and called the attention of the crowd to the militia, and they all started off towards the militia. Schwab spoke in German. Officer Trehorn and I went over there and asked the militia to disperse, and they marched up Water street. Then I came back and listened to Mr. Fielden, who urged the crowd to force themselves in in a body and partake of those

249 dishes. Then they all marched in a body, some carrying red flags. I saw in the procession Schwab, Parsons, Fielden, and I am not positive as to that young fellow (Lingg). There was no United States flag in the procession. There was a platoon of police at every crossing. The procession stopped at 107 Fifth avenue. Parsons went in and spoke from the window. He denounced the policemen as blood-hounds, and the militia also, and stated how they stopped them from going in there and partaking of the food; that a good many of his audience did not have clothes and could not afford to pay twenty cents for a meal, let alone twenty dollars, and wanted them to go and follow him, and he would make a raid on those different places, mentioning Marshall Field's and one or two other places. After him Fielden spoke, and wanted them all to go down with him in a body and he would lead them. I met William-

250 sion, the reporter, just as he was coming downstairs, that evening. We went upstairs with him. I shook hands with Mr. Fielden and spoke to him. They did not know me as a policeman. Fielden, Parsons and Schwab were there. Spies was at the desk. Parsons asked Spies for this dynamite. He brought it over, and Parsons told how it could be used; that if it was thrown into a line of police or militia it



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would take the whole platoon. He also exhibited a coil of fuse. I says, "You can get that in any quarry; they use that in blasting powder." He says: "It comes in good to load these with—to touch these off  
 252 with," referring to dynamite shells. I saw some caps there about the size of a 22-calibre cartridge. The substance which he showed was dynamite; it looked like red sand. It was shaped about a foot long, and about an inch and a half in diameter. I asked one of them why they didn't go into the board of trade building. They said that they were not prepared that night; that there were too many of the blood-hounds before them on the street, but the next time they would turn out they would meet them with their own weapons and worse.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness; overruled, and exception.)

253

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have been on the detective force for two years. I have known Fielden, off and on, for four years. Fielden might have known that I was on the police force; I don't know. The militia was in the habit of coming down to drill on Market square at night, during that summer. There was  
 254 no halt in the procession until they tried to turn into the front end of the board of trade, had turned on to Jackson street, and they were stopped by  
 256 a squad of policemen. When I came up into the office, after the speaking from the window, Parsons and Fielden were quietly talking. There was no discussion as to leading that procession to any large store. As soon as we called for the dynamite it was exhibited. In their line of march in the procession they passed right by Marshall Field's wholesale establishment. I did not hear anything about dynamite or clothes on that occa-  
 257 sion of their going by. When we went down from the room after having talked with Parsons, the crowd had principally dispersed and gone.

## LOUIS HAAS:

I am a police officer; have been on the force six or seven years; I am  
 258 on the detective force; I was at the Arbeiter Zeitung office on May 5th last about half past 10 in the morning. I went there with Lient. Shea and Chief Ebersold. We first went to the office on the floor above the saloon. I found the defendant Neebe there in charge of the office, and Mayor Harrison in conversation with him at the time. The mayor asked, "Who is in charge here?" Neebe, standing at the railing at the time, said, "I am in charge, or will take charge in the absence of Spies and Schwab." Then I went on the third floor. In front there is a large



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room with some desks in, in the back of the room there is one closet.  
 260 On the second floor of the building there was a desk standing up in  
 the corner, there was a wash-stand in that room, and back of this room  
 there was a cigar factory. After going into the room on the third floor  
 of the building I found Officer Marks coming out of there, and there was  
 a chair standing right in the center of that room, and he placed on that  
 chair a gunny bag, a package in brown paper. It appeared greasy. I  
 261 took some substance out of that package; it was a greasy substance;  
 looked as though it was sawdust and a mixture of some other substance.  
 Afterwards I went into the back room, and went into the closet, and on  
 a shelf—I had to get up on a chair—I found it was all grease; the grease  
 had soaked through the shelves at that time.

## MORIZ NEFF:

I live at 58 Clybourn avenue, known as Thoeringer Hall, also as Neff's  
 Hall, since seven years. I keep a saloon there; back of the saloon is a  
 hall. The north side group used to meet there. I know all the defend-  
 ants. On the night when the bomb was thrown I was at my saloon.  
 Louis Linng came in in company with Seliger and another man whom I  
 had not seen before; this stranger carried the satchel. It was a common  
 bag, probably about a foot and a half long and six inches wide. He put  
 264 it on the counter, after that on the floor. Linng and Seliger were stand-  
 ing by, and Linng asked me if some one had asked for him; that  
 stranger, whose name I afterwards found out to be Muensenberger, car-  
 ried the satchel on his shoulder; that was about ten or fifteen minutes  
 after 8. I told Linng that nobody had inquired for him. Then Muensen-  
 berger picked up the bag and went out of the side door, in the rear of  
 the room, followed by Linng and Seliger. I have not seen the bag since;  
 265 there was a large meeting of painters, probably 200, in the hall that  
 evening; for this reason I opened this door in the rear of the saloon, so  
 that people going to that meeting would not be compelled to go through  
 the saloon; I saw Linng and Seliger again that night about 11 o'clock.  
 Nobody had inquired in the meantime for Linng. I saw Huebner there  
 266 before Linng came. I saw Thielen on the sidewalk in front of the saloon,  
 but not inside; the two Lehmanns were there after Linng had left; they  
 were out on the sidewalk, not inside. The first time Linng stayed about  
 five or ten minutes; he went out through the saloon; I did not see Seliger  
 and Muensenberger go out through the saloon. Before Linng and Se-  
 267 liger came back at about 11 o'clock, several individuals had come into





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the saloon, among them the Hermanns, the two Lehmanns, the two Hagemanns, and Hirshberger. Linng and Seliger dropped in a little later; they all were talking together; I didn't pay much attention to it; I heard one of them holloa out very loud, "That is all your fault." I  
 268 heard them also say that the bomb had been thrown among the police,  
 269 and some of them had been killed; they came from the meeting.

Engel addressed the north side group in my hall in February last winter; it was a public agitation meeting of the north side group, advertised in the Arbeiter Zeitung.

Q. What did Engel say?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

He wanted money for a new paper, "The Anarchist," started by the north west side group and two of the south side groups. He said the Arbeiter Zeitung was not outspoken enough in those anarchistic principles, therefore they started this paper. They distributed some  
 270 of these papers. Later on he gave a kind of history of revolutions in the old country, stated that the nobility of France were only forced to give up their privileges by brute force; that the slaveholders in the South were compelled by force to liberate their slaves; and the present wage slavery would be done away with only by force, also; and he advised them to arm themselves, and if guns were too dear for them they should use cheaper weapons, dynamite, or anything they could get hold of to fight the enemy. To make bombs, anything that was hollow—in the shape of gas pipes, would do. That is all  
 271 I heard him say. I wasn't present all the time. I bought a copy of "The Anarchist" that night, for five cents; this here (indicating) is one of the copies, dated January 1, 1886. This is one of the copies distributed there that night. Engel didn't distribute it himself, two other gentlemen who were there did that.

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## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

The painters met precisely at eight o'clock. Linng and Seliger came  
 273 in five minutes later. Those persons who talked about the Haymarket and the bombs that night, at about 11 o'clock, I don't know whether they had been at the Haymarket. They spoke about it, and I understood from their talk—that is my impression, that they had been at the  
 274 Haymarket, but I don't pretend to say whether they had been there or whether they had heard it on the street.



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275 WILLIAM BURGESS:

I have a printing establishment in the Times building at 58 Fifth avenue. Have been in business in Chicago for thirty years. Prior to 276 the 4th of May I was printing the Arbeiter Zeitung, the Fackel, the Vorbote and the Alarm. The type was delivered to me in form from the Arbeiter Zeitung office. I have done that for five or six years. I printed 4,500 to 5,000 of the daily Arbeiter Zeitung; between 3,000 and 4,000 of the Fackel, the Sunday paper; about 3,000 of the Alarm, 277 which was printed every two weeks. August Spies paid for the printing of those papers; I printed the Alarm since about a year ago.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I made out the bills for the printing of all these papers to the Arbeiter Zeitung.

278

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

Most of the time the bills were paid in currency, occasionally by checks which were signed "A. Spies."

279 GEORGE SCHULER:

I am a printer for Mr. Burgess since four years and a half. On May 3d last a form was brought over from the Arbeiter Zeitung by a boy about twenty years old. A short, heavy set man came over to lock the 280 form. He was a printer on the Arbeiter Zeitung. The circular was printed in German and English; we ran out about 2,500 that night. When the boy came over with the order he wanted us to do all we 281 could that night. About a dozen different parties came in after that to call for the circulars, two at a time and one at a time.

282 FRED E. ROSBACK:

I am a machinist at 224 E. Washington street; I know Rudolph Schnaubelt, he worked for me. He did not work on the day on which the bomb was thrown; on Monday before that day he said nothing about coming back Tuesday or wanting to leave business. On Tuesday I saw him; he said he wouldn't work that day, he had other business; 283 at that time he had a beard on. I next saw him on Wednesday morning; he came to work at seven o'clock. He had a beard on Wednesday. I saw him Thursday.

Q. Did he have a beard on then?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)



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284 Thursday morning he had his beard off; his moustache was clipped off. I saw him Friday at the shop; he came to work Friday morning; he worked until he was arrested by a detective and taken away, about ten o'clock in the morning. He came back in about an hour and went to work again, and stayed until night.

This here (indicating photograph) is a photograph of Rudolph Schraubelt.

285 OFFICER DUFFY (recalled):

Since I testified here yesterday about the location of the room from which I took that package of dynamite, I went down to the Arbeiter Zeitung at the request of the state's attorney. I made a mistake in the floor that I said I found the dynamite on. I thought the closet was on the first floor over the saloon, but I find it is on the second.

(At this point counsel for the people proposed to read to the jury the translation of Herr Most's book and of the platform of the International Workingmen's Association heretofore introduced; defendants object to the reading of the same; objection overruled, and exception. Same read to the jury.)

287 GEORGE B. MILLER:

I am lieutenant in the fire department of the city of Chicago; have been connected with that department over nine years; my engine house is at 437 North Wells street. After the 4th of May I found two gas pipe bombs; one was about a two-inch pipe and about six inches long, the other was about an inch and a half pipe, and about eight inches long; and one round bomb with a bolt through it.

(This testimony objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

289 The round bomb was of lead, made of two pieces with a bolt through it. I gave all of them to Captain Schaack of the Chicago avenue station; besides those bombs I found one fuse about five inches long, with a cap on the end, the other about the same length, without any cap. I gave them also to Capt. Schaack. The two gas pipes I did not pick up myself; my wife picked them up and brought them in as I was at breakfast, and I took them down to the station. About an hour afterwards the children saw something under the sidewalk where they were playing; they called me; I went out, got down on my knees and saw this round bomb under the sidewalk and got it out. That was on the next



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290 lot, next to our house. My house number 39 Siegel street; those bombs were under the sidewalk of number 37. The sidewalk there is a little lower than in front of my house; those bombs were about the middle of the sidewalk, underneath; there is an opening in the outside; there is no curb wall.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness; overruled, and exception.)

291

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

My house is about a mile and a half from the Haymarket; about a block and a half from Clybourn avenue; the bombs appeared to have been placed there for the purpose of concealment.

292 JAMES G. MILLER:

I am a lawyer; I saw the defendant, Fielden, on the lake front sometime last fall, and heard him speak; he was addressing a crowd.

Q. State what he said, if anything.

(Objected to as before; objection overruled, and exception.)

293

It was either during the latter part of August or during the month of September, 1885. He stated that the laborers were justified in using force to obtain what was theirs and was withheld from them by the rich; that our present social system was not proper; that an equality of possession should exist, and if the rich men kept on withholding from the poor what the poor had earned, they should use violence and force. The kind of force, as far as I remember, he did not state, but it was to be used against the rich and the wealthy and the men who had means; the existing order of society was to be destroyed. There were probably from two to three hundred persons attending the meeting.

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296 W. M. KNOX:

I am a reporter on the Daily News since three years. I saw Spies, Fielden and Schwab on the night on May 5th last; had a conversation with them in the presence of Mr. Graham, a Times reporter, and part of the time, Detective Bonfield. Spies asked us what the coroner's jury had done; we told him they had held him to the grand jury, without bail, on the charge of murder. He said he didn't understand how they could do that; he had nothing to do with throwing the bomb; he did not want to go to the Haymarket meeting, and when he got there he didn't want to make a speech, he said he told Schwab so; he made a quieting

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speech; told the people that the time had not come for action; they should keep thoroughly organized, and be prepared for the time when action should be necessary; he said he didn't know where the Revenge circular was printed, neither where the circular, calling the Haymarket meeting, had been printed; that some one had come to the office and showed him one of the latter circulars in the afternoon. He saw the sentence in the handbill, calling upon workmen to come armed to the meeting; he insisted that that should be taken out, and he had the man go and take it out. He said he was standing on the wagon shortly before the bomb exploded; a little before that some one told him to get down, a person by the name of William Legner or Lechner, and he got off. When the bomb exploded he went to Zepf's hall; the explosion of the bomb was a surprise to him; he thought the police had opened upon the crowd with artillery, and he ran to Zepf's hall; there he found Mrs. Parsons waiting for her husband. Some one there told him that a bomb had exploded. He stayed at the hall for a short time and then went home. He said he had a couple of giant powder cartridges and some dynamite in the office for the purpose of showing them to the reporters; that was all the dynamite in the office that he knew about. He said he didn't know anything about the package of dynamite found by the police, but he said: "Of course our office is more warlike than some." He said he was familiar with the way bombs were manufactured, but most of his information about that he had acquired from reading. He said he hadn't written any editorials for several weeks. Spies was not present when Schwab said that.

300 Q. What was your conversation with Schwab?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

He said he had first been a reporter on the Arbeiter Zeitung, and afterwards became sub-editor. He had written of late the greater part of the editorials; Spies had written some, quite a number, within the last two weeks.

(Motion to strike out testimony in regard to Spies; overruled, and exception).

301 Schwab said in what he had written for the paper, he had urged workmen to arm, but never urged them to use dynamite.

Q. What conversation did you have with Fielden?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

Fielden said he belonged to the American group, and that it met at the Arbeiter Zeitung office on the night of May 4th, for the purpose of



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302 organizing the sewing girls into a union. There he heard of the Hay-  
market meeting and went over there. He was speaking at the time the  
police appeared at the meeting, and he said to the captain, "We are  
peaceable," or "We are a peaceable meeting." He told us of the route  
he took after the bomb exploded, went in various directions of street  
cars—came down by the Arbeiter Zeitung office to see if any of his  
friends were there; found it all dark, and went back again. I think he  
said he heard firing and changed his course again. Finally went down  
to the corner of 12th street and had his wound dressed, and from there  
went home.

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## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

307 I wrote up the interview with Mr. Spies; it was published in the Daily  
News of the next morning; may be it was cut down some. I don't  
308 think anything was added to it. My memory was clearer about the in-  
terview at the time I wrote it up than it is now, I presume. Spies said  
309 he could prove by a number of persons that he did not want to go to  
the meeting. This here (holding Daily News of May 6, 1886,) is the  
310 report of the interview written by me. I find it reads that Mr. Spies  
said, "I could show by over a dozen I disapproved of holding the meet-  
ing." I think Spies said, "If I had known how the meeting would have  
resulted, I would have prevented its being held at all hazards." During  
311 his speech at the Haymarket when some one called out "Hang McCor-  
mick," Spies had said that the time had not come to do that. I think  
Spies said during the interview, "I thought, in the present excitement,  
there might be trouble, and that it would not be beneficial either to me or to  
the cause," and he followed that up by stating, "I went to the meeting and  
made a quieting speech." He said that he did not think the time for action  
had come. He said that in his speech he told the people that the meeting  
313 was not called to incite a riot. He said that the meeting was a peace-  
able, quiet meeting. He had left the wagon a moment before the explo-  
sion of the bomb. I think Mr. Spies used this language: "There was  
318 no bombs or any other dynamite in the Arbeiter Zeitung office that I  
knew of." The published interview contains this language. He said  
320 that the Arbeiter Zeitung was published by the socialistic publishing  
society, which was chartered. There was a large number of stockhold-  
ers, I think seventy-five or one hundred, who met twice a month and in-  
structed him how to run the paper, and that he was employed on a sal-  
321 ary; I did not ask Spies who wrote the Revenge circular. He said that  
one circular, either the Revenge circular or the call for the meeting—I

The first part of the report is devoted to a description of the... (faint text) ...

The second part of the report describes the... (faint text) ...

The third part of the report describes the... (faint text) ...

The fourth part of the report describes the... (faint text) ...

The fifth part of the report describes the... (faint text) ...

The sixth part of the report describes the... (faint text) ...

The seventh part of the report describes the... (faint text) ...

The eighth part of the report describes the... (faint text) ...

The ninth part of the report describes the... (faint text) ...

The tenth part of the report describes the... (faint text) ...

The eleventh part of the report describes the... (faint text) ...

The twelfth part of the report describes the... (faint text) ...

The thirteenth part of the report describes the... (faint text) ...

The fourteenth part of the report describes the... (faint text) ...

The fifteenth part of the report describes the... (faint text) ...

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don't remember which—he thought had been printed at a printing office, the last name of which was Kline, I have forgotten the first name.

325 Schwab said he had written the principal portion of the editorials of late; he said he wrote the "To Arms" editorial, as it was called.

330 Fielden said as soon as the bomb exploded he got down behind some boxes or barrels, or something of that kind, and if I remember right he said there were a number of others there with him, and the bullets were there pretty quick, and he got up and ran off. I think he said he went  
331 around the corner, but I don't know whether into an alley or a street. I don't remember that he said he went around Randolph street, but very  
333 likely he did; he might have said that. I don't think anything was asked of Mr. Fielden in regard to firing any shots at the Haymarket. I did not know anything of it at the time myself; the interview was immediately after the coroner's inquest; up to that time I had not heard it  
334 claimed. Fielden said he didn't know anything about who threw the bomb; they all said that. I don't remember that Mr. Spies said  
335 that some hot-head had thrown the bomb on his own responsibility; my report of the interview don't contain anything of that kind; I think I  
336 would have remembered it if Spies had made use of that expression. I don't think Spies said anything to Detective Bonfield during this interview which Graham and I had but what I heard.

339 JOHN ASCHENBRENNER:

I am a printer for the Arbeiter Zeitung; was such on May 3d last; I was then the assistant foreman; was in the office about 5 o'clock that day; we usually quit work at 5 o'clock; that evening we did not;  
340 some of the printers stayed there; set up a circular; I believe this one (Revenge circular). This (indicating) is the English part of the form. Between six and seven, as I was just going off, a boy came up—it was between 6 and 7—and said that I had to go up and make up a form of this circular; I went to Burgess'; the two type, the German and the English, were on two separate galleys, and I put it together on the stone, placed material on both sides, so that the type would not fall, and went off; I placed the English above the German, and placed a rule  
342 in between, just as it is, ready for printing. I don't know how many men were working at the circular. I have been working at the Arbeiter Zeitung since 1879; I know the defendant Fischer; he was first foreman on May 3d. On the morning of May 5th Fischer was to work on



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the forms, and then after a little while asked me to help him. About 8 or 9 o'clock he said he had to go somewhere.

343 (Objected to by defendants other than Fisher; objection overruled, and exception.)

Fischer said, I believe, his wife was sick, or something, and he went home. After coming back I found, while I looked for a "shooting-stick" and mallet in the drawer underneath the stone that I was working at, a revolver and a belt of the L. u. W. V. I asked him to take that away, so as not to get anybody into trouble who does not use any arms, as I was working at the place; and Mr. Fischer took the revolver and the belt and went off, and while going down he was arrested and taken back; that drawer with a revolver in was in the compositors' room.

344

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

Fischer did not work at the Revenge circular; he was not present.

346

GEORGE MANN:

I am a type-setter for the Arbeiter Zeitung since five years. I know Spies, Schwab, Neebe, Parsons and, slightly, Fielden. I know Fischer, slightly Engel. I don't know Ling. I was printer in the Arbeiter Zeitung on May 3d, last. We generally stopped at five o'clock. On that Monday, May 3d, I might have worked until six o'clock. A few men were required to remain there to set up something. I set up part of that (indicating circular), part of the English. About eight lines of it. There were about half a dozen working on it. Some one called up that a few of the type-setters should remain, I don't know exactly who. I saw Spies frequently there that day.

347

348

349

HERMANN PODEVA:

I am a compositor of the Arbeiter Zeitung since seven years; I was there on May 3d last. Our stopping time was five o'clock. I was about to go home when we received the order to set up this circular (indicating revenge circular). I set up the first part of the English, six lines of it. This here (indicating manuscript) is likely the manuscript from which I set it up. I think I worked about an hour at it. It began with the words, "Your masters." About five or six might have worked on the circular. It took me about half an hour to set up my part.

350

351





## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

352 I did not see the word "Revenge" or any heading in writing. When I had set up my six lines and was about to put them in the galley I saw the title or heading standing upon the galley already set up. It was different from what is here now. If I remember right it was "To Arms! Workingmen, to Arms!" There were a few others that looked at the heading in passing by, and one expressed the opinion that the heading did not look well; that the short word "To" and the longer word "Arms" didn't look well; that another longer word should be used which would give it a better appearance, and the other word should express about the same idea, and of course the writer of the circular would read the proof, and he would take out the word "Revenge" or leave it there, and then I set up the word "Revenge." I don't know who read the proof. I saw the corrections afterwards and made some of them in a few lines.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

355 As I found the heading on the galley it was "To Arms!" in the first line, and on the second line "Workingmen, to Arms!"

356 LAWRENCE HARDY:

I am a newspaper reporter since 1874; I know by sight Parsons, Fielden, Schwab and Spies. I have seen Mr. Neebe and know who he is. I was present at a meeting at Zepf's hall on March 12th last, as a reporter for the Chicago Times. I saw there Spies, Fielden and Parsons and heard them make speeches.

Q. Tell what took place after they entered the meeting and what was said by them.

(Objected to by defendants and particularly the five other than Parsons, Spies and Fielden; objection overruled and exception.)

358 I think it was called a meeting of McCormick's ex-employees. I think the first speaker when I entered, about half-past seven, was one of the strikers of McCormick's. Shortly after that, Mr. Fielden made his way to the platform and talked for about twenty or twenty-five minutes. Among other things, he said the time had come for the workingmen to assert themselves; he says, "We are told that we must attain our ends or aims by obeying the law and order. Damn law and order. We have obeyed law and order long enough. The time has come for you men to strangle the law or the law will strangle you. What you should do is



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to organize, and march up the Black road and take possession of McCormick's factory; it belongs to you not to him. You made it."

Spies spoke in German, which I do not understand.

359

Parsons got on a chair first, in the audience, near the stage, and tried to make a speech, but there was so much noise in the hall that he did not succeed. Finally he made his way to the stage. There was some opposition to his speaking. Somebody said, "This is a meeting of McCormick's men, as I understand it"; upon which there was some disorder or noise in the rear of the hall, and Parsons, within a moment or two, jumped down from the chair and made his way to the stage and began his speech. He referred to the capitalists as having ground the workingmen under their heel, and had robbed them for years past. That the time had come for them to assert their rights, to get them if they could, even by force, if necessary; that McCormick was not the real owner of the property; it belonged to the workingmen who had created it; that the strike the year previous had failed, through the interference of the police, who had driven the men away; he abused the Pinkerton men, and he advised them to get their rights, by force, in some way.

362

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

There was a general dissertation upon the wrongs of the workingmen, and all that kind; no time was fixed was going down the Black road.

364

MRS. JOHANNA SULLIVAN:

I live at 37 Sigel street. I found, near my house, after the 4th of May, two pipes, iron pipes, about six inches long, under the sidewalk. I don't know what they contained; the ends were sticking out towards the street. I gave them to Mrs. Miller, wife of the fireman.

366

H. C. SMYTHE:

I am a Tribune reporter; on the first few days in May I was assigned for duty, and was in the portion of the city on Lake street, in the vicinity of the Chicago and Milwaukee railroad shops. I spent a great deal of time during those days at Greif's Hall, 54 West Lake street. During the three days preceding the 4th of May, I saw at that place the defendants Engel, Lingg and Fischer. I don't remember having seen them together at any time. Monday, May 3d, I spent the entire day in the vicinity of 54 West Lake street. This circular (indicating Revenge circular) I saw a few minutes after 6 o'clock, on Monday afternoon,

368



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while standing in the entrance door of West Lake street, talking with Greif, I think. My attention was first attracted by seeing a few of the circulars flying through the air, and remember distinctly picking up one and reading it at the time. Just at the moment I saw a horseman, and the distribution of the circular was coincident with that. My impression was the horse was ridden west on Lake street. At about half-past nine nearly every one there had a copy of the circular. They were handed around there.

I remember going down into the basement of Greif's, and upon reaching the basement floor some one ran down behind me and ordered me out. I tried to get down on a stairway leading down from the rear portion of the hall. The basement was lighted.

371

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I did not see the man on horseback distributing bills. I saw a man ride west on Lake street on a horse and stop in front of 54 West Lake street, and the distribution of the circular was coincident with his appearance there; within a few seconds after his appearance there I saw the circular; I am not positive that the man who rode the horse brought the circulars.

374

(Motion to exclude all testimony of this witness overruled, and exception.)

376

R. S. BARNUM:

I am connected with the Daily News, taking ads. at the front counter in the counting room. This here (slip of paper identified heretofore as in Parsons' handwriting) has my stamp, and there is my mark on it. The stamp says "4th of May." This was presented after 10 A. M. It appears in the advertising column of the Daily News of May 4th. This was delivered to me by another clerk.

377

(Manuscript referred to offered in evidence and read as follows:  
 "American group meets to-night, Tuesday, 107 Fifth ave. Important business. Every member should attend. 7:30 o'clock sharp. Agitation Committee.")

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

The announcement was published in the evening issue. It first appeared in the five o'clock edition. There is no special display about the advertisement, simply an ordinary insertion of the notice of a meeting, appearing about a third of the way down the column.



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## AUGUST GOEKE:

I am a printer at the Arbeiter Zeitung; worked there on May 3d, last. At five o'clock, when I was ready to quit work, the order came that something was to be set up yet. I set up a few lines of the German part of  
 380 the circular. I finished my part in about half an hour. I left the office about half 'past five or a quarter to six.

## 381 RICHARD RIECHEL:

I worked for the Arbeiter Zeitung since about nine months. On May 3d, last, at seven o'clock, I fetched over the form of the German part of this circular (revenge circular). I had it in the galley locked up and carried it to Burgess. Spies told me to carry it over. After about five  
 380 o'clock I took some copy off up stairs for the printers and they set it up. I got the copy in the editorial room. Spies was there. It was lying on his desk. He was there all alone.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

384 I am sure it was between seven and eight o'clock when I took the galley of the Revenge circular over to Burgess, because we fetched over the Vorbote form, and as we were by Burgess, I looked at the watch and I saw it was seven o'clock.

## 385 ANDREW C. JOHNSON:

I am a detective for Pinkerton's National Agency, this city, since about three years; I was born in Copenhagen, Denmark. Have been in this country six years; I know the defendants, Parsons, Fielden, Spies, Schwab, and Neebe; I was a member of the American group of the the International Workingmen's Association and of the armed section of that group. The first meeting of the American Group that I attended was on February 22, 1885; the last on January 24th, this year. I be-  
 386 came a member of that association and attended their meetings at the instance of the detective agency, and made a report of what I heard and saw, in writing; left the reports with the superintendent of the agency. At the meeting on February 22, 1885, the defendant, Parsons, was present.

(Testimony as to speech of Parsons on that occasion objected to, particularly by defendants other than Parsons; objection overruled, and exception.)





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388 Parsons stated that the reason the meeting had been called in that  
 locality was to give the many merchant princes that resided there  
 an opportunity to attend and hear what the Communists had to say  
 389 about the distribution of wealth. "I want you all to unite together and  
 throw off the yolk; we need no president, no congressmen, no police  
 and no militia, and no judges. They are all leeches, sucking the blood  
 of the poor, who have to support them all by their labor. I say to you  
 rise one and all, and let us exterminate them all; woe to the police or  
 the militia who they send against us." This meeting was at Baum's  
 Pavilion, corner of Cottage Grove avenue and 22d street. The next  
 390 meeting was on the 1st of March. On that occasion I became a mem-  
 ber of the International Workingmen's Association. I went to the  
 defendant Fielden, who at that time acted as treasurer and secretary of  
 the association; I gave him my name and signified my willingness to  
 join the association. He handed me a red card, with my name and num-  
 ber on. That was after the meeting on March 1, 1885, at Greif's  
 hall, 54 West Lake street. At that meeting Parsons, Fielden and Spies  
 spoke.

391 Q. You may state what Fielden said and then what Parsons said.  
 (Objected to, and especially by the six defendants other than Parsons  
 and Fielden.)

The COURT: I suppose one general objection and exception to his  
 stating anything at all these different meetings would be quite  
 sufficient, but if it is not, there will be no objection to a special  
 objection and exception being repeated in the record as to each  
 meeting.

392 A lecture was given by a man named Bailey on Socialism and Christ-  
 ianity; a general discussion arose as to whether Christianity ought to be  
 introduced into their meetings. Some were for and some against it.  
 Fielden said he thought Christianity ought not to be introduced into  
 their meetings. Parsons and Spies were of the same opinion.

393 At the next meeting, on March 4, at the same place, there were  
 present Parsons, Fielden and Spies. Parsons stated, "We are sorely in  
 need of funds wherewith to publish the Alarm, and I think as many of  
 you as are able ought to give as much as you can, as our paper is a  
 most powerful weapon, and it is only through the paper that we can  
 hope to reach the masses." A stranger present gave a lecture; he in-  
 troduced Christianity. Spies said, "We don't want Christianity in our  
 meetings at all. We have told you so before."



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394 At the meeting on March 22d, Spies spoke. Previously a man named Bishop introduced a resolution of sympathy for a girl named Sorrel, stating the girl had been assaulted by a master; she had applied for a warrant, which had been refused her on account of the high social standing of her master. Spies said what was the use of passing resolutions. "We must act and revenge the girl. Here was a fine opportunity for some of our young men to go and shoot Wight." That was the man whom this young girl was said to have been assaulted by.

396 At the next meeting, on March 29, at 54 West Lake street, held on the third floor of the building where all the meetings were held, the defendant Fielden said a few explosions in the city of Chicago would help the work considerably; there is the new board of trade, a roost of thieves and robbers, we ought to commence by blowing that up. At the meeting of April 1, Spies, Fielden and Parsons were present. Spies made a speech about acts of cruelty which were committed in the city of Chicago. He spoke of the number of arrests that were made and the number of convictions reported. He referred to a case of Martha Siedel, a girl who had preferred a charge of assault against the police sergeant Patten, of the West Chicago avenue station. Spies said he had advised the girl to get a pistol and go and shoot the policeman. Fielden said that is what she ought to do.

397 At the next meeting, on April 8th, Parsons spoke. He referred frequently to the strike at the McCormick harvester works. He said, "There is but one out of two things for the men to do, they must either go to work at the wages offered to them, or else starve." Referring to a strike at LaSalle, Illinois, he said: "To-morrow morning, or the next day, the authorities here in the city will probably send a train loaded with police and militia to the south to shoot down the workingmen there. Now, there is a way to prevent this; all you have got to do is to get some soap and place it on the rails and the train will be unable to move." He spoke of the crimes committed by the capitalists and said it was absolutely necessary to unite and organize, as that was the only way they could fight capitalists. Fielden said, "It is a blessing that something had been discovered wherewith the workingman can fight the police and militia."

400 At the meeting on April 19th, held at 106 Randolph street, Fielden and Parsons were present. Parsons offered a resolution of sympathy for Louis Riel and the half-breeds in the north-west, who were in rebellion against the Canadian government.



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At the meeting on April 22d, at 54 West Lake street, Parsons said, referring to the opening of the new board of trade building, "What a splendid opportunity there will be next Tuesday night for some bold fellow to make the capitalists tremble by blowing up the building and all the thieves and robbers there." He stated the workmen of Chicago would form in procession on Market square on Tuesday evening next, and he invited all present to get as many friends as they could to join the procession. Fielden said he wanted also to invite as many as can come, and told those present to go around to the lodging houses and get as many friends as they can find to join the procession. "The more we are, the merrier."

461

At the next meeting, April 26, at 54 West Lake street, Parsons, Fielden and Spies were present. Parsons said, "I wish you all to consider the condition of the working classes, the cause of which are these institutions and government. I lived on snowballs all last winter, but, by God, I will not do it this winter."

402

At the next meeting, on April 30th, Parsons and Fielden were present. Parsons said they had assembled to determine in which way best to celebrate the dedication of the new board of trade building. Fielden said, "I want all the workmen in Chicago to arm themselves and sweep the capitalists off the face of the earth." Parsons then said, "Every workman in Chicago must save a little of his wages each week until he can buy a Colt revolver and a Winchester rifle, for the only way that workmen can get their rights is at the point of the bayonet. We want you to form a procession now, and we will march to the board of trade; we will halt there, and while the band is playing we will sing the Marsellaise." I was myself in the procession. Fielden, Spies, Parsons and Neebe were in the procession, too.

403

On May 30th, Decoration day, 1885. I was standing at the corner of Washington and 5th avenue. Spies stood there in conversation with two other men when the police passed by. I stood close behind him. Spies said a half a dozen dynamite bombs would soon scatter them all. When the Illinois National Guards were passing in the procession Spies said: "They are only boys, and would be no use in case of a riot. Fifty determined men would soon disarm them all."

At the next meeting, on May 31st, on the lake front, Parsons and Fielden were present. Fielden said, "It is only by strength or force that we can overthrow the government."



404 The next meeting was on June 7, 1885, at Ogden's Grove. It was a picnic. Fielden, Parsons, Spies and Schwab were present. Fielden said all the workmen of Chicago ought to belong to their organization. "It is of no use to go and beg of our masters to give us more wages. When I say organize, I mean for you to use force. It is of no use for the working people to hope to gain anything by means of the ordinary weapon. Every one of you must learn the use of dynamite, for that is the power with which we hope to gain our rights." Schwab spoke at that meeting in German.

At the next meeting, August 19th, at 54 West Lake street, Parsons and Fielden were present. Parsons said, referring to the late strike of the street car employes: "If but one shot had been fired, and Bonfield had happened to be shot, the whole city would have been deluged in blood, and the social revolution could have been inaugurated."

405 At the next meeting, on August 24th, at Greif's Hall, there was from  
406 twenty or twenty-three men and two women present. It was Monday night. Among them Parsons, Fielden, besides Walters, Bodendecker, 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 the 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 Bodendecker vouched for me. The same process was gone through in regard to the other two. The man then  
407 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





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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 L. u. W. V., and proceeded to drill them about ten minutes.

408 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 were about in size and had the appearance of ordinary preserve fruit cans, the top part unscrewed; the inside of the cans were 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, when the can was thrown against any hard substance it would explode. The inside of the glass tube was a liquid.

409 Around the glass tube was a brownish mixture which looked like fine sawdust. 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

410 time for the next meeting of the armed section was fixed for the following Monday. Parsons and Fielden drilled with us that evening. They

411 were present also with a number of others at the next meeting on August 31st, 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 should 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.

At the next meeting, September 2, 1885, Fielden said: “It is useless for you to suppose that you can ever gain anything except by force.

412 You must arm yourselves and prepare for the coming revolution.”



At the next meeting, October 11th, at 12th street Turner Hall, Spies and Fielden were present, and Fielden said: "The eight-hour law will be of no benefit to the workingmen. You must all arm yourselves and use force, you must press out the present government, and by force only you can better your present condition."

The next meeting was on December 20th, at 12th street Turner Hall. Fielden said: "All the crowned heads of Europe are trembling at the very name of socialism, and I hope soon to see a few Liskas in the United States, to put out of the way a few of the tools of capital; the execution of the halfbreeds in the north-west was downright murder." This was an open meeting. I saw no one refused admission. Aside from the meetings of the armed section, all other meetings were public. A member of the group was generally stationed at the door, and as each person entered the hall he was closely scrutinized by such member.

414 At the next meeting, on December 30th, at 106 Randolph street, a stranger asked whether the destruction of private property would insure universal co-operation. Fielden replied: "I nor nobody else can tell what is going to happen a hundred years from now, but this everybody knows: If private property was done away with, it would insure a better state of things, and we are trying all we can to teach people the best way in which to bring about this change." Fielden only of the defendants was present at that meeting.

At the next meeting, on January 3, 1886, at 12th street Turner Hall, Fielden and Schwab were present. Fielden, in referring to the trouble in Ireland, said: "If every Irishman would become a socialist he would have a better opportunity to secure home rule for Ireland. I want all Irishmen to destroy all the property they can lay their hands on." He 415 then said Pinkerton's detectives were a lot of cold-blooded murderers and the worst enemies the workingman had, and that they were all in the pay of capitalists. Schwab also addressed the meeting in German. He was frequently applauded.

The next meeting was on January 14, at 106 Randolph street. Before the meeting commenced I overheard a conversation between 416 Fielden and Spies. Spies said, "Don't say very much about that article in the Daily News. You simply need to state that a reporter of the Daily News had an interview with me some days ago, but that most of the statements in the papers are lies." This was said quietly, in whispers. Spies further said, "You must be careful in your remarks. You don't know who might be amongst us to-night." Spies then went



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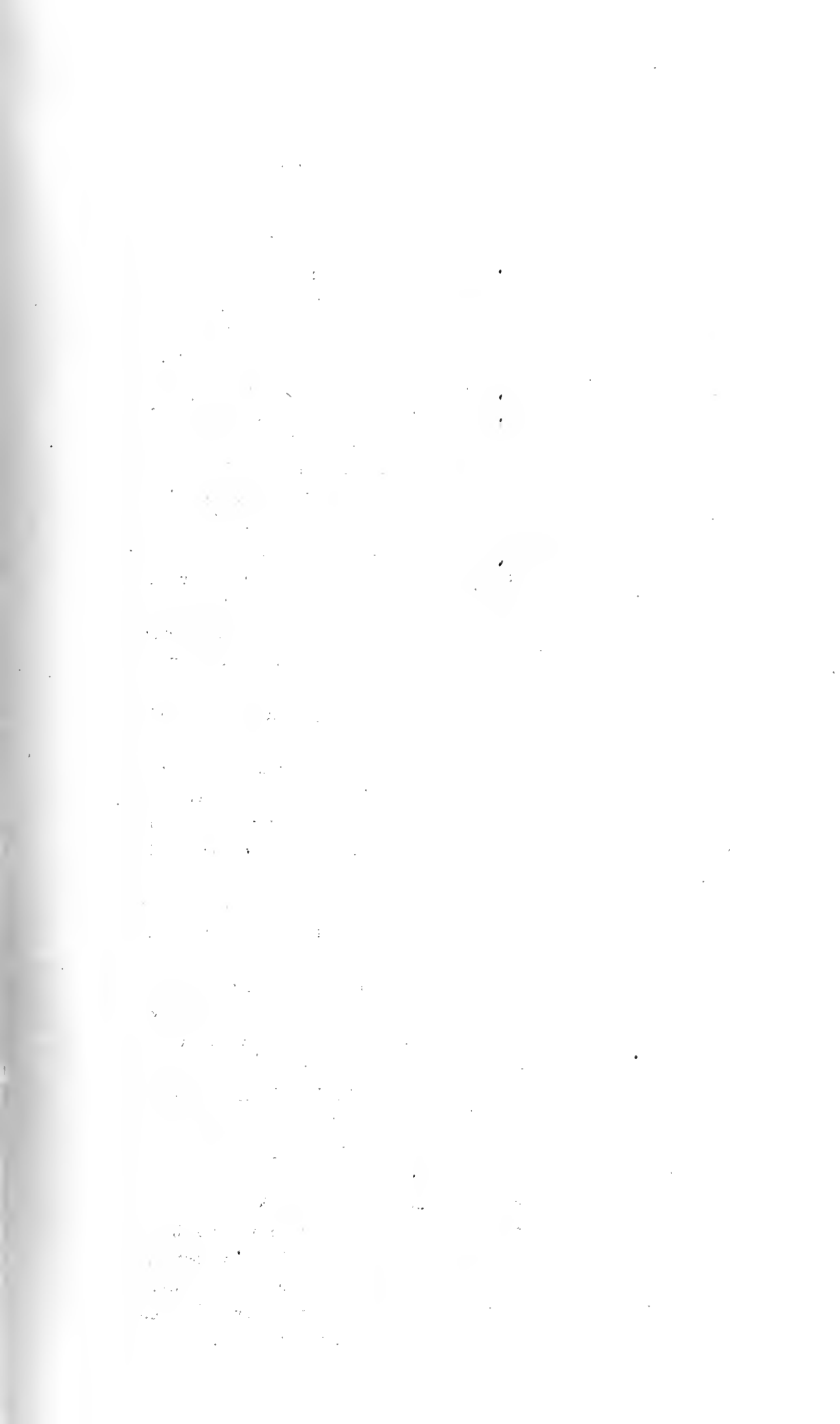
away and the meeting was called to order. Fielden commented at length on the articles in the Daily News. He said, "Most of the statements in the Daily News are lies, although it is true that Spies had an interview with the reporters. As in regard to the dynamite bombs, it is quite true we have lots of explosives and dynamite in our possession, and we will not hesitate to use it when the proper time comes. We care nothing for the military or the police. All of those are in the pay of the capitalists. Even the regular army, most of the soldiers, are all in sympathy with us, and most of them were driven to enlistment. I have even had a letter from a friend out west who told me that he had seen a soldier on the frontier reading a copy of the Alarm." In reply to a question as to what was the socialists' idea about the eight-hour movement, Fielden said, "We do not object to it, but we do not believe in it. Whether a man works eight hours or ten hours a day, he is still a slave. We propose to abolish slavery altogether." Good results are sure to follow the abolishment of accumulation of private property.

This is the last meeting I attended. I discovered recently that other Pinkerton's men attended those meetings. I did not know it at the time.

The armed section I only drilled with twice. They met once a week. At that first meeting of the armed section it was said that in case of a conflict with the authorities the International Rifles were to act in concert with the L. u. W. V., and obey the orders of the officers of that organization.

As to the time when this revolution was to take place, there was going to be a culmination of the difficulties; the 1st of May, 1886, was frequently mentioned as a good opportunity. As far as I recollect this was at a meeting at Twelfth street Turner Hall in December last. Fielden said, "The 1st of May will be our time to strike the blow. There are so many strikes, and there will be 50,000 men out of work—that is to say, if the eight-hour movement is a failure."

I have met Spies, Fielden and Parsons at the Arbeiter Zeitung office. I had a conversation with Parsons in March, 1885, at the Alarm office. I asked him if he didn't think it advisable to get some papers printed in the Scandinavian language, which I would distribute among the Scandinavian people on Milwaukee avenue. Parsons replied, "Yes, it is a good idea, and the best thing you can do is to bring the matter up before our next meeting and I will see that it is attended to." I have seen this book (Most's Science of Revolutionary War) at meetings at Twelfth Street Turner Hall, 54 West Lake street and 106 Randolph street. They were sold there. The chairman had charge of the books.



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At the meeting at which I stated Parsons spoke as to the necessity of largely circulating the Alarm, a number of those present bought copies of the Alarm and stated they would try their best to sell them and to obtain new subscribers.

Both Snyder and Boyd belonged to the armed section of the American group.

426 During the last few meetings that I attended we met at 106 Randolph street. Prior to that we met at 54 West Lake street, at 45 North Clark street, and on the lake front. I never met with the group at 107 Fifth avenue. When I joined the organization I paid ten cents, paid the same contribution once a month. I don't know of any money which was specially devoted to the purpose of the armed section.

427

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I came to this country five years and a half ago. My age is now thirty-three years. I was a police officer at Lancastershire, England, for eight years, three years out of that a detective. I have been a detective ever since, pretty nearly. I was also employed as house man and assistant storekeeper at the Windsor Hotel, St. Paul, Minnesota. Have been 428 with Pinkerton for the last three years.

429 Baum's pavilion is a public beer garden. When I became a member  
430 of the American group my antecedents were not inquired into. The  
431 group is open to anybody who has got ten cents, and expresses a desire to come. I have sometimes seen reporters excluded from the meeting, but nobody else. There were reporters there occasionally. I have seen  
432 once a reporter come with papers and books, and some one said: "That is a reporter; he has no right here. He doesn't report our meetings correctly. We don't want him here." There was no usher at the meet-  
433 ings, but I have seen some of the older members, when they saw strangers come, give up their own seats and ask them to sit down. I have never seen the man stationed at the door exclude anybody, unless it should be a reporter. I have seen persons admitted as members who didn't have ten cents. I can't tell any particular reporter who was excluded.

437 At the meeting of March 22d, when that resolution of sympathy for a girl named Sorrel was introduced, Spies said, in opposing that resolu-  
438 tion, that somebody ought to take a pistol and go and shoot Wight. I wrote that down in my report the same night. I wrote it right in here (indicating manuscript of reports). I find I wrote in here, with my own





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pen, these words: "After Spies concluded, Keagen stood up and re-  
 marked that some one with nerve enough should get a pistol and go and  
 shoot Mr. Wight." Spies said so also. This report here (looking  
 440 over manuscript) does not state that Spies recommended that some  
 young man take a pistol and go and shoot Wight. My report states  
 here, in writing, that after Spies had concluded his remarks, Keagan  
 got up and said that some man ought to take a pistol and go and shoot  
 Wight.

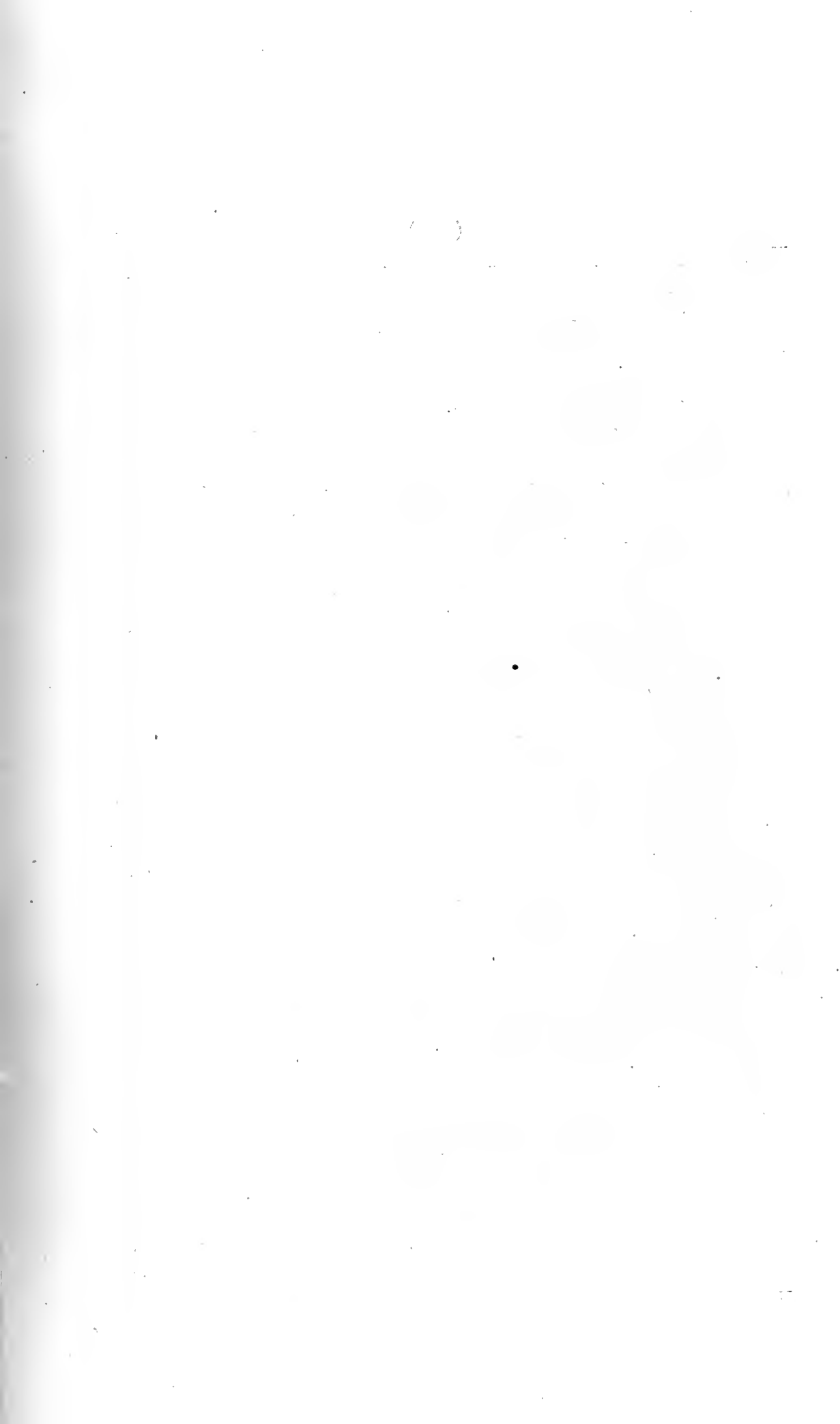
441 At the meeting on April 1st, when the assault upon Martha Seidel  
 was under discussion, it was claimed that she had been raped while  
 under arrest; that the police had gotten together and had sworn out the  
 sergeant who was charged with the offense, notwithstanding the girl  
 had been grossly abused, and maltreated and injured.

445 On April 8th, when Fielden said it was a blessing that some-  
 thing had been discovered wherewith the workingmen could fight the  
 police and militia, I do not remember that he stated what that some-  
 thing was.

450 I never heard in any of the meetings of an arrangement made or time  
 fixed for blowing up the board of trade building, or any other building  
 in the city of Chicago, or for the taking of the life of any one, or of  
 454 the taking of any store in the city of Chicago. At the meeting on the  
 night of the opening of the new board of trade no violence was pro-  
 posed in any of the speeches that night; I heard of no proposal of vio-  
 455 lence of any kind. I heard Parsons when he first got up and stated the  
 object of the meeting; I heard Fielden speak and Parsons when he  
 456 replied, and I was there when the procession moved. Parsons said that  
 there were the board of trade men sitting down to their \$20 supper,  
 while the poor workingmen had to starve. I never heard either Parsons  
 or Fielden or anybody else say they would go down there by force  
 457 into the board of trade and eat of that \$20 supper. I was listening there  
 all the time.

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2 These reports (examining manuscript of reports), are countersigned by  
 L. J. Gage. I don't know why the name of L. J. Gage appears on the  
 8 back of them. At the landing outside of 12th street Turner Hall—I  
 9 can't recollect the date—Fielden designated the first of May this year as  
 the time at which force was to be used. I made a memorandum of that.  
 10 You will find it in one of my reports. It was not in a speech that he  
 11 used this language. Two or three members of the American group



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12 were present. One of them is Boyd; I believe his first name is James.  
The statement was made not to me, but to all who were present. I know  
an old Boyd and a young Boyd; it was the old man.

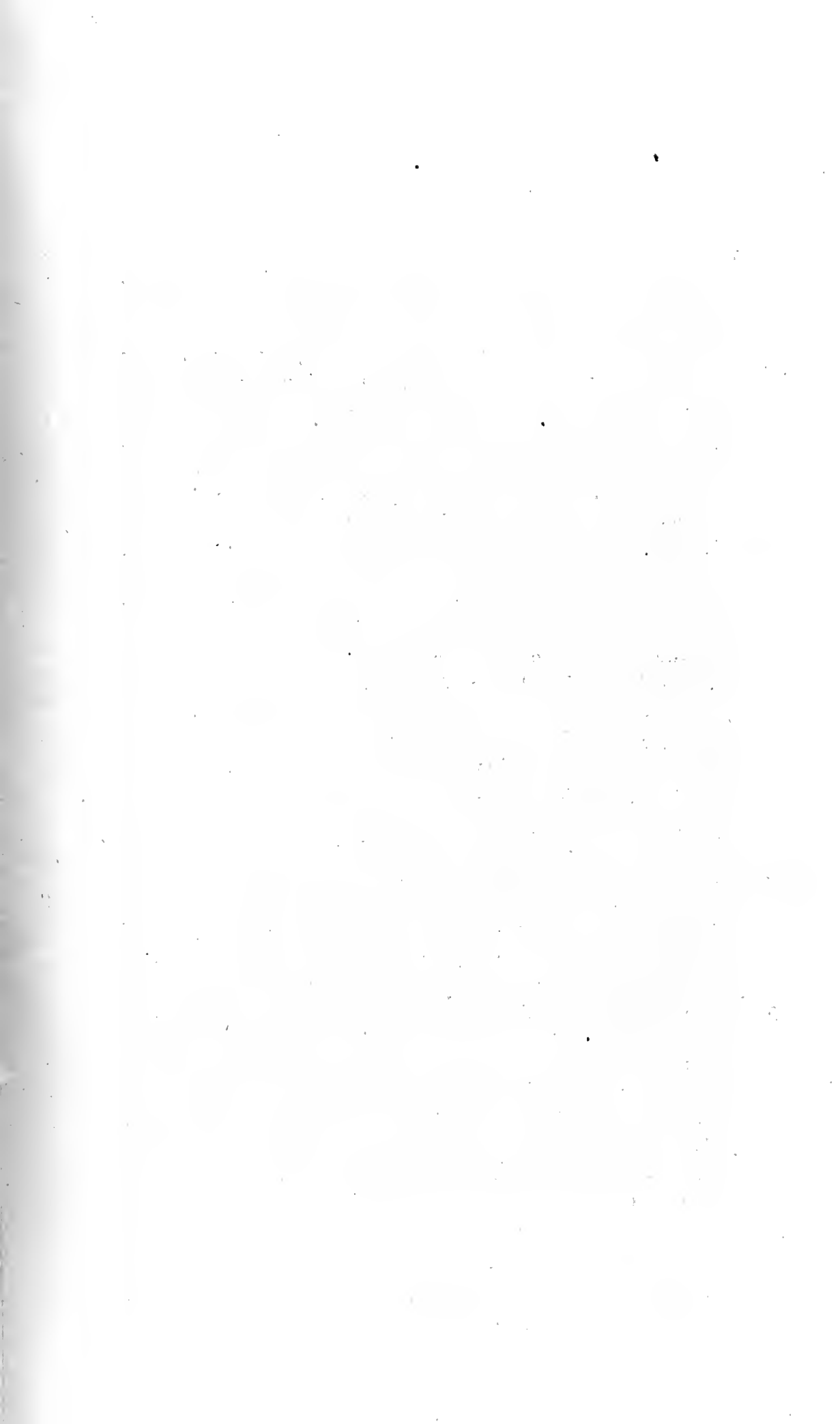
14 I didn't see any rifles in the possession of any member of the armed  
15 section of the American group. We did not drill with guns. We  
were not armed when we drilled. I have heard of several other meet-  
ings that I did not attend because I was otherwise engaged. It was some  
19 time in October that I heard of the last of their meeting for the purpose  
20 of drill. I heard once from young Boyd, in December, that there had  
been a meeting for the purpose of drilling a week prior to that. I heard  
25 these defendants that I mentioned favor the abolition of private property.  
26 Part of their discussion was as to a state of society in which there would  
be a community of interests and ownership of property, in which there  
shall be no rich and no poor, in which every man was required to work  
if he were permitted to live. I have nowhere seen a translation of Herr  
Most's Science of Revolutionary Warfare into the English language.

27 In the report of December 20th (witness examines manuscript of his  
reports), you will find it stated that I had a general conversation with  
Fielden, and, to the best of my recollection, it was on that day and in  
that conversation that he fixed the 1st of May for the time of action.  
What he said in regard to the 1st of May is not in the report. I omitted  
that in my report. I took no further notice of it. I was acting as a  
28 detective at that time. These are not all of my reports; the balance of  
them are at the agency. In my report of the meeting of December  
20th, at 12th street Turner Hall, I find that I used these words: "After  
Fielden finished his speech he left the hall and went into the saloon under-  
neath, and I joined him and Underhill and had a drink with them." This  
29 to the best of my belief and recollection is the occasion when Fielden fixed  
the time for using force at the 1st of May. The report goes on: "Before I  
could enter into any conversation with them, Fielden excused himself,  
saying that he had to go over to the north side, where he had to speak  
at a meeting, and Underhill and himself went away; I returned to the  
hall." I already told you Fielden's remark about fixing the 1st of May  
might not be in writing. They were talking of the time, and it was while  
they were drinking.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

30 I saw the Alarm from time to time.

(The advertisement contained in Alarm of October 17, 1885, intro-  
duced in evidence, marked "People's Ex. 17" in Vol. of Exhibits.)



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33 At the first meeting of the armed section of the American group that I attended, a man was present resembling the defendant Engel. I would not positively say he was the man, but to the best of my belief he is the man.

36 Advertisement in the Alarm of October 17, 1885, above referred to, was here read, as follows: "The armed section of the American group meets every Monday night at 54 W. Lake street."

WILLIAM H. FREEMAN:

I am a newspaper reporter on the Inter Ocean since about six months. I attended and reported a meeting held on the lake front on April 25th last. I saw the procession at the corner of Halsted and Madison streets; a large number of men were marching south on Halsted. They were carrying banners of various sorts and transparencies with inscriptions painted thereon. Later on I came to the lake front and heard Mr. Parsons speak. There was a large number of people gathered there.

Q. What did he say?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

At one period in his address he said that if the workingmen were driven to starvation they would unfurl the banner of liberty and equality and sweep everything before them, sweep away all their oppressors. He said it very emphatically and turned and shook his finger at the red banner that was hanging on the platform. He urged the workingmen there to take up arms and by that means right their wrongs. Spies spoke in German, which I do not understand.

38

Q. What did Fielden say?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

He claimed that all aggregation and accumulation of property by individuals was wrong; that the workingmen had a direct interest in everything that was produced and that they could only be enabled to enjoy the fruits of their labor by the use of force.

39 I was at the Haymarket square on May 4th; arrived there about 9 o'clock. On the corner of Randolph and Desplaines streets I saw a large number of men gathered in the middle of the block, on Desplaines, between Lake and Randolph. Mr. Parsons spoke or was speaking from a wagon—a number of men were standing on that wagon. I remember  
40 Parsons alluding to Jay Gould, that he was a robber, and about his vast accumulations. Somebody in the crowd shouted out they would hang



him or throw him in the lake. Parsons said, "No, not yet," if they did that another Jay Gould would pop up in his place like a jack in the box. They must overturn the whole system by which Jay Gould was able to secure the vast amount of money and power that he had secured, and the way to do that was to use force, and he said "To arms, to arms," a number of times during his remarks. The crowd applauded from time to time the utterances of the speakers. There was perhaps a thousand people present at that time, some six or eight men on the wagon. Fielden discussed the legislation and congress. Martin Foran had stated that no legislation could be enacted that could benefit the workingmen; from that it was clear that it was impossible for the workingmen to obtain any sort of redress through legislation. They ought not to be fools enough to send such men as Martin Foran to Congress to legislate for them, when they admitted that there was no possibility of doing anything that would redound any benefit to the workingmen. He compared the revolution proposed by the workingmen to the revolution which established the government of this country, and that it was equally as proper. He spoke of the law and of the oppressive acts of capital which injured the workingmen, as being the result of the law, and urged his hearers to overthrow the law, to kill it, stab it, to throttle it. Those are about the last words that I remember before the arrival of the police. The police came up very quietly, and standing between the two wagons, I had no knowledge that they were on the ground until the command to disperse was given. After hearing that I stepped at once onto the sidewalk and started to go south towards the police, and before I reached the south end of the wagon the bomb was exploded. The explosion made a great noise, but I saw no fire or light. Immediately after the explosion the firing began, and I simply crouched behind the wagon for a moment or two, and then went towards the alley, and as soon as I thought it safe to go in (I saw there was no firing from there), I went into the alley. I remained in the alley south of the Crane building until the firing had nearly ceased. Then I came out, and after looking over the ground a moment went to the Desplaines street station. I did not hear Fielden make a response to the declaration of the officer to disperse, and did not see him afterwards. I crouched behind the speaker's wagon. I was almost alone in the space behind that wagon. I don't know where the firing began first. The firing was simultaneous, almost, after the explosion of the bomb. I saw on the wagon Parsons, Fielden and Spies. I think I saw Schwab there; I am not altogether positive





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43 about Schwab. There was no light on the wagon that I saw. I think the lamp at the corner of the alley was lighted. I don't think it was extinguished at any time afterwards.

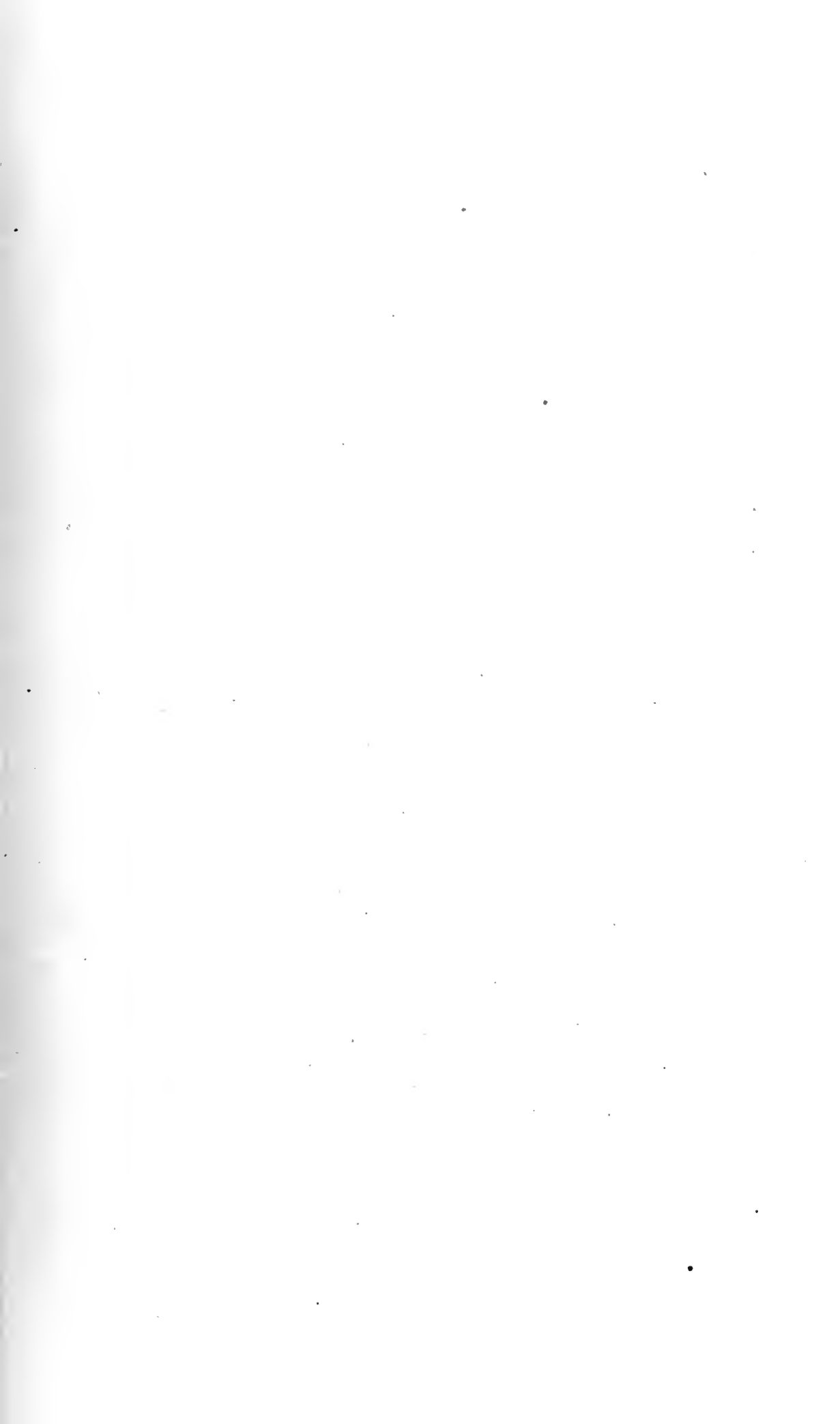
45

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I remember a cloud came up there, and there were indications of rain, and the crowd began to disperse before the close of Fielden's address. At that time I don't think there were more than two or three hundred persons left at the meeting. There was nothing remarkable in the demonstrations from the crowd which occurred from time to time throughout the entire meeting. The talk among the crowd was suppressed; so far as its demeanor was concerned, it was quiet enough. The two wagons were about six or eight feet apart. I heard no response from Fielden to the proclamation; my attention was then concentrated on the officers. I did not hear Fielden say in a loud voice, "We are peaceable," or any such thing. I was within eight or ten feet of Fielden. I did not hear Fielden say, "There come the blood-hounds now," or anything of that kind. I did not hear him say: "Now you do your duty and I will mine." I know of nothing to prevent my hearing that remark if Mr. Fielden had said it in a loud tone of voice before I was aware of the presence of the police. I was on the sidewalk between the wagon and the building about three or four feet from the wagon, crouched down for about five or six seconds, facing south, until I went to the alley. There was a dense smoke all around there. I did not see any person fire at all. I saw two officers at one time with their revolvers pointed dangerously close at me. I saw flashes, but no actual shooting by any individual. Two officers drew a bead on me at one time, but neither fired. Both were against the wagon with their revolvers pointed across it. There was no firing about the alley or down the alley. I went into the alley. I was cool enough to know the place of safety for me to go was in the direction from which no bullets were coming. I don't think there was anybody between me and the wagon. There were a few people south of the alley where the boxes stood, about twenty-five or thirty feet south from me. I saw no shots fired from the wagon. I didn't see Mr. Fielden shoot as he jumped off the wagon. I didn't crouch down when the bomb first exploded; not until the firing began. After the bomb exploded, the firing began. Who was firing, I don't know, except I presume the officers were. I saw the flashes near the police, where the police were at that time. I remember Mr.

50

51



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Parsons left the speaker's wagon some little time after he concluded his speech, and went away towards Lake street. While Fielden spoke I  
 52 remember of Mr. Parsons suggesting the storm and saying they had  
 better adjourn to Zepf's hall. That was perhaps five or ten minutes  
 before the police came. Fielden said: "I am just about through, and  
 53 then we will go home," or something to that effect. I did not consider  
 the wagon as being any protection. As a matter of fact, it was merely  
 a truck, and the only protection would be the bottom boards and the  
 wheels; there was no box to it; no body. . Fielden spoke about twenty  
 minutes.

55 JOSEPH GRUENHUT:

I am factory and tenement house inspector of the health department since six years; have lived in the city for thirty years; I know Spies, Parsons, Neebe, Fielden and Schwab. I have known Spies for six  
 56 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 move-  
 57 ments, 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 my-  
 self an anarchist. I am not a member of any groups of the Internation-  
 als 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 fore-  
 noon, 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.

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

58 (Objected to, particularly by defendants other than Spies; objection  
 overruled, and exception.)

Mr. Wilkinson asked him how many members belonged to the military societies of organized trade and labor unions. Spies said 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  
 59 keep any record of names. Mr. Spies laid some toothpicks on the table



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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. I was present at the Arbeiter Zeitung on the afternoon of May 3d, last. There was Spies, Schwab and the book-keeper present, and may be I saw Mr. Neebe there; I think I did, but I am not quite sure. I think it was after five o'clock—  
60 may have been between five and seven. I may have been there half an hour. It was in the office on the second floor. If I recollect right, I asked Spies about the meeting at McCormick's factory. He said he had been there making a speech at the invitation of the Central Labor Union; that at the beginning some of the officers of the lumber shovers' union objected to his making a speech because he was a socialist, but afterwards the meeting appointed him on a committee of arbitration for the society; after he had made his speech somebody, who came from McCormick's factory, told him the police were shooting and killing a  
61 number of men. And he said that it looked rather strange to him that a vast mass of people would allow themselves to be clubbed down and shot at, and that people would go to such mass meetings without any means of self-defense. He looked very much excited and was tired out; and, if I recollect right, either that afternoon or the next afternoon, he said it would be necessary to have another editor, he was overworked,  
62 too tired. I was at the Arbeiter Zeitung on Tuesday afternoon, between five and six or between six and seven; I saw there Spies, Schwab, Frickie and, I think, Balthazer Rau, and a good many others. We  
63 spoke of the general condition, and about having an open-air mass meeting of all people who were interested in the eight-hour movement. I  
64 think the first thing I heard about the meeting at the Haymarket square was on Monday at the office of the Arbeiter Zeitung. When I was  
65 there Monday night, Spies was about done writing some circulars that were to be printed for distribution for the mass meeting. After that I saw him correcting some proofs of the circular on which he was writing.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

66 At the time of the conversation between Wilkinson and Spies, and the discussion over the toothpicks there, no date was fixed when there was going to begin trouble in Chicago. Spies' statement was on general principles. I didn't hear in that conversation anything about an at-



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69 tack to be made on the 1st of May. In these conversations, when we were talking about the eight-hour movement, Mr. Spies was enthusiastically in favor of the eight-hour movement, as we all were.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

Q. How many conversations have you had with Mr. Spies about the eight-hour movement?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

For about six weeks I met him, perhaps, four times a week. He was not for it at the start, but afterwards he was for it, and worked all he could for it.

Q. You say he was not for it in the start—what did he say about it?

(Objected to as not proper re-direct examination, because not confined to the conversations referred to on cross-examination; objection overruled, and exception.)

71 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 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  
72 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  
73 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  
74 the eight-hour movement at West 12th 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 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





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75 or Monday, night or day; but there was a general agreement upon hav-  
ing one general mass meeting in the open air. It was not sure whether  
76 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.

78 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  
79 time.

79 Q. In that conversation that you had with Wilkinson in the presence  
of Spies, do you remember Spies saying anything about exercising with  
arms or with dynamite at Sheffield, or at any place in the country?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

I recollect that Spies stated that they drilled there, and that one man  
threw a bomb which entirely destroyed four big trees.

Q. In that connection at that time or any time prior to it, did you  
hear any of these defendants advise as to the means or force to be applied,  
as to whether it was pistols, guns or dynamite, or as to the cheapness of  
these things?

80 (Objected to as not proper re-direct examination. Objection over-  
ruled, and exception.)

81 Parsons and Spies, during conversations within the twelve months be-  
fore 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 policemen or company of militia, so that they need not be an  
army.

82 RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

I don't know whether it was Saturday, Monday or Tuesday that I met  
Mr. Neebe in the street, or whether I met him in the Arbeiter Zeitung office.  
Before that I had given him a list of all the trades and occupations, and  
he had organized some of them and others he had not, and I was trying  
to see him, going up to the Arbeiter Zeitung to find him, but I think I  
met him two or three or four days before that happened. I think I saw  
Schwab, Spies and Fricke on Monday or Tuesday. Neebe was not there.  
83 There was no agreement made any time for what night the eight-hour  
mass meeting should be called. I don't know who eventually called the  
meeting. I had no conversation with Mr. Spies or any other of the de-  
fendants in regard to an indignation mass meeting.



## 86-87 F. H. NEWMAN:

I am a physician; I attended some of the officers wounded at the Haymarket square, May 4th, at the hospital. This here (indicating nut heretofore identified by witness Hahn) was extracted under my direction from a citizen, towards the morning of May 5. I think he was a German. I gave the nut to Inspector Bonfield. The wound of entrance was about half an inch from the rectum, passing diagonally into the gluteal region about three inches or three and a half inches, and buried in the muscles of the gluteal region.

88 I examined some ten or twelve officers. I found some bullets and some fragments of a combination of metal lighter than lead and lighter than the bullets, varying very much in size, from perhaps what we would call twenty-two caliber up to forty-five caliber. The bullets also varied  
89 in size. This here (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 pieces. 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.

(Iron nut and piece of metal introduced in evidence.)

## 91 MAXWELL E. DICKSON:

I was formerly a newspaper reporter; I know Spies, Parsons, Fielden, Schwab and Neebe. I had a number of conversations with Parsons in regard to the socialistic movement, and generally. The last time I met Mr. Parsons, either the latter part of last year or the commencement of  
92 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, sometime 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  
94 brought about and sooner than you think for." I attended a number of meetings at which some of the defendants spoke.



95 The 12th street Turner Hall meeting —

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

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 employe who made money for him obtained but \$340,  
 96 and there were upwards of two millions 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  
 97 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.  
 98

At the meeting at Mueller's Hall—

(Objected to; objection overruled and exception.)

Fielden presided and Mr. Griffin spoke first, advocating the use of force to right social wrong. A young man named Lichtner said he was in favor of socialistic ideas, but opposed to the use of force. Schwab, in Ger-



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man, said that the gap between the rich and poor was growing wider; that, although despotism in Russia had endeavored to suppress nihilism by executing some and sending others to Siberia, but nihilism was still growing. And he praised Reinsdorff, who had then been recently executed in Europe, but stated that his death had been averaged 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.

99

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

100

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 co-operative system that would bring about an equality between capital and labor.

101

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





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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 workmen had nothing to be thankful for; that only a few obtained the riches that were produced, while the many had to starve.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness overruled, and exception.)

102

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

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, which 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. Some Palpable Hints for the Revolutionary Soldier. What an Officer of the U. S. Army Has to Say," 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.

113 I remember that Parsons criticised my report of Spies' speech at the meeting at Mueller's Hall, that I had done an injustice to Spies.

115 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 workmen 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.

118



119 PAUL C. HULL:

I am a reporter for the Daily News; I was at the Haymarket on May 4th last; got there quarter before 8 o'clock in the evening; Mr. Spies opened the meeting and spoke first, for about fifteen minutes. He was followed by Parsons, who spoke about an hour. Fielden spoke after, 120 him, about half an hour. I was present when the police marched down the street. I was around the outskirts of the crowd, on an iron stairway that ran up on the outside of the building on the northwest corner of Randolph and Desplaines streets. There was with me another reporter, and several men whom I don't know. Shortly before the police came I went to the station. I was at the station when the 121 police left, and ran ahead of them, and took my former position on the iron stairway, which is about ten or fifteen feet high. The police 122 marched in the regular military fashion, with both hands free, hanging by their sides. I did not hear any response from anybody to the command to disperse given by Capt. Ward. I heard that command, however. Prior to Ward's declaration, I heard Fielden's voice in the wagon. When the bomb exploded I was on this iron stairway, about 123 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 towards the speakers' wagon. As the words were 124 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 seemed to throw to the ground the second and third division 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. 125 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 appeared to regard the speakers with 126 indifference, often laughed at them and hooted them.



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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 bell of the factory rang, a body of the meeting which he was addressing detached themselves and went towards 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 the 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.

127

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.

128

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.

129

When McCormick's name was mentioned during the speeches there were exclamations like "Hang him," or "Throw him into the lake"—some such remark would be made when any prominent Chicago capitalist's name would be 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."

#### CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I wrote the account of the Haymarket meeting, describing the throwing of the bomb and what followed immediately, which account was published in the Daily News of the following morning. It was correct, according to my impression at that time. My impression has decidedly improved since. I was as well advised at the time as I am now, but my recollection was not clear at the time.



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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 report. (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 cracking 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 north-west.

(The following articles were here introduced in evidence, admitted and read to the jury, to the introduction and reading of which the defendants objected; objection overruled and exception. Articles, copies of which are contained in volume of exhibits, and there marked "People's Exhibits 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31.")

146 WHITING ALLEN:

I am a reporter for the Times; I was at the Haymarket meeting on the evening of May 4, 1886, during a portion of Mr. Parsons' speech, and also a short time during Mr. Fielden's speech. I went there with Mr. Tuttle, of the Times. We got there about half past 9. Parsons was speaking when we got there. About the only thing that I could quote from the speech is this: "What good are these strikes going to do? Do you think that anything will be accomplished by them? Do 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





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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 stayed 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, Spiess 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 9.

152

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I am almost certain Parsons was not at Zepf's Hall. I remember a gentleman asked me there if I wanted to be introduced to Mrs. Parsons, which I declined. The saloon was quite crowded. There was a constant passing to and fro from the furniture workers' meeting upstairs to the meeting over at the Haymarket. I was with Mr. Malkoff at Zepf's Hall. The defendant, Fischer, was not there while I was there with Mr. Malkoff. I don't say he was not at the hall, but I did not see him. I was not acquainted with him then.

156

## RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

Malkoff was with me when I heard the explosion of the bomb. I did not see Fischer.

There were many other persons in the saloon that I don't remember, that I could not identify now.



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157 CHARLES R. TUTTLE:

I am a reporter on the Times; I was at the Haymarket meeting on May 4th last for a short time, with Mr. Allen, reporter for the Times, who pointed out to me the speaker, Parsons. I remember very little of what Parsons said, because we were, a portion of the time, on the northern outskirts of the crowd, and the meeting was turbulent and noisy, and it was difficult to catch the connection between one point and another, and we only stayed about three or four minutes close to Mr. Parsons. I had never been at a socialistic meeting before. I should say that the crowd was made up of two classes of persons; the majority of them were opposed to the sentiments of the speaker, and the minority were a good deal more enthusiastic than the speaker himself. The latter formed a semicircle around the speaker's wagon on the south-west, and some were on the north of the wagon. Parsons made a series of refer-

158 ences to existing strikes, one was the south-western 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

159 these persons were struggling for their rights; and then said that the police had been called out by the capitalists to suppress the first indications of any movement on the part of the working people to stand up for their rights, and he asked what they are going to do, and 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.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

The crowd was not any different in the degree of demonstration, in the amount of noise, from what I have seen at political meetings,

166 EDWARD COSGROVE:

I am a policeman; belong to the detective force; I was detailed to Market square on May 4th last; I got there about ten minutes of 8.

167 There was no speaking at the time. There was a crowd about half way



between Randolph street and Desplaines street station and running across Randolph street on Desplaines. I saw there the defendants Schwab, Spies and Parsons; I was not near enough to Fielden to identify him; when the meeting was opened by Spies I was thirty to forty feet from the wagon. Right around the wagon, the street was pretty well filled; I should judge there were over two thousand persons present. When Spies got on the wagon, first he called out twice if Parsons was there and told somebody in the crowd to go and find Parsons, and he said Fielden would be here later. Then he said he would get down from the wagon and go and find Parsons himself. He got down and went in a south-westerly direction. He came back in a short time and commenced speaking. He talked about being out in the Black road and talking from a freight car to a large crowd of people, and they didn't want to hear him because he was a socialist, but he spoke to them anyhow, and he said the crowd went towards McCormick's, and they amused themselves, harmlessly throwing stones at McCormick's building. Then he talked about the police, the blood-hounds of the law, shooting down six of their brothers, and he said, "When you get 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 a 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 north-west 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.

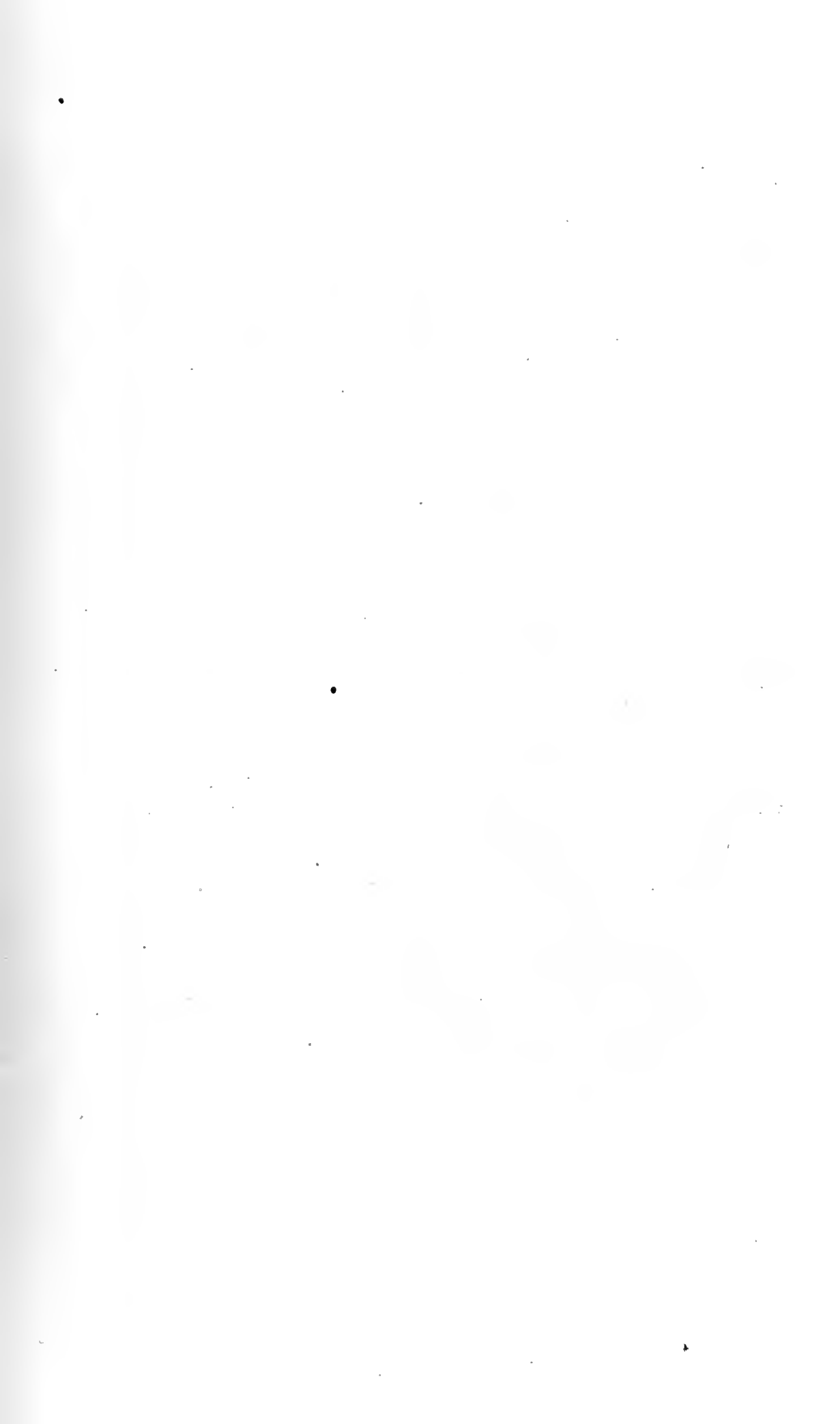


## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

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 8 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, recalled:

I am on the detective force; was detailed at the Haymarket meeting on May 4th. There was a crowd coming and going all the time. I was in the crowd all the time, walking around. I was present when the meeting was 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 five 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 towards 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 says: "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. Par-





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sons 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 says: "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 says: "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 Desplains street station and reported to Inspector Bonfield.

179 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 says 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 will throttle them. That appeared to make the crowd near the wagon more excited, and I made another report to Inspector Bonfield.

180

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.

181, 182

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

When I reached the point of meeting there were about 300 men there. I don't think the crowd exceeded over 800 or 900 at any time while I was present. After half past 8 I didn't see Schwab at all during the entire meeting. I saw Schwab on the wagon, I think, before the meeting started, and he tapped Spies on the shoulder and said something to him. Then Spies got down off the wagon and started away to find Parsons. I saw Schwab again later that night at the side

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of the wagon talking to Spies; that was after Spies had made his speech.  
 193 There were no fights or disturbances there that evening that I saw. Parsons  
 spoke about an hour. I only heard twenty or twenty-five minutes  
 of his speech in broken doses. I went away during Fielden's speech to  
 197 get a cigar. When I came back Fielden was talking about throttling  
 the law, and I went to the station and reported and did not go back to  
 the speaker's stand any more.

200 EDGAR E. OWEN:

I am a reporter on the Chicago Times: On the evening of May 4th  
 last I was at the Haymarket square, or in the neighborhood, from  
 half past 7 until about 11 o'clock. At about half past 7 I saw  
 small crowds gathered on the street corners about the square. I saw  
 201 Parsons at the corner of Halsted and Randolph streets a little before  
 8 o'clock. I asked him where the meeting was to be held; he said  
 he didn't know anything about the meeting. I asked him whether he  
 was going to speak. He said no, he was going over to the south side.  
 Mrs. Parsons and some children came up just then and Parsons stopped  
 an Indiana street car and slapped me familiarly upon the back, and asked  
 me if I was armed, and I said: "No. Have you any dynamite about  
 you?" He laughed, and Mrs. Parsons said: "He is a very dangerous  
 looking man, isn't he?" And they got on the car and went east. I be-  
 202 lieve Mr. Heineman was with him. I walked on east and met the  
 mayor. At the corner of Randolph and Desplaines streets Schwab came  
 up and almost ran into the mayor before he saw him. Immediately up-  
 on that Schwab turned about and went north on Desplaines street. There  
 was no meeting then on Desplaines street. The largest part of the  
 crowd was on the square. I went to the station for five minutes. When  
 I came back the crowd was pushing from the Haymarket north on Des-  
 203 plaines. I went up into the crowd to the middle of Desplaines street and  
 found Mr. Spies talking at the time. He spoke of his address near Mc-  
 McCormick's the previous day, and that a morning paper had stated that  
 Mr. McCormick held Spies responsible for the trouble there and for the  
 killing of men in that riot, and that if McCormick said any such thing  
 he was a liar. That McCormick himself was responsible. The crowd  
 made some derisive remarks at that. I believe it was to the effect that  
 McCormick ought to be hung or thrown into the lake. The crowd about  
 the wagon cheered rather wildly. The outside of the crowd  
 seemed to be mere curiosity seekers. Parsons talked for nearly



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204 three-quarters of an hour. He described a meeting held the previous Sunday at Cincinnati, at which he talked, and said that the militia there marched through the streets behind the bearers of the red flag and that the capitalistic press was very silent in regard to the matter. Towards the finish he made a sort of dramatic cry: "To arms, to arms, to arms." Those about the wagon were enthusiastic, yelled out: "Hang Jay Gould, hang McCormick, shoot the police"—something to  
 205 that effect. When Fielden commenced to speak I went up on an iron stairway on the west side of Desplaines street, nearly opposite the wagon. I saw Mr. Hull there, the reporter. I heard Fielden say that the workmen never could obtain their rights through legislation, citing Martin Foran, and denouncing the workmen as fools for sending such men to Congress; that the only way to obtain their rights was to take mat-  
 206 ters into their own hands. Before Fielden finished I went to the station and just then saw the police marching out. I ran ahead of them and went back to the top of the stairway. I heard some one give an order to the crowd. Then I noticed Fielden jump off the wagon, and at the same time I heard a sort of fiendish, defiant cry, and instantly the bomb exploded, and a great many policemen fell upon the ground in the center. I was hit the same instant in the leg and I ran down the stairway. I  
 207 believe it was a spent ball that struck me. It was almost simultaneous with the explosion.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

210 I believe the bomb exploded about ten minutes after 10 o'clock.  
 214 It seems to me that I was struck before the noise of the explosion. I don't know that I heard any pistol shot in connection with it. I heard  
 215 the explosion of the bomb and pistol shots almost simultaneously with the outcry. I don't know whether the explosion or the firing of pistol shots was first. The pistol shots came from both sides of the street. I could hear them. I could see flashes near the alley on the opposite side.  
 218 When I saw Schwab last that night, it was on the corner of Desplaines and Randolph streets and before half past 8 o'clock.

225

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

After the bomb exploded, I saw a volley of shots coming from the east side of the street. The police had not fired at that time.



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W. C. METZNER:

226 I live at 125 West Randolph street; am a jobber in stoves; my store is  
 on the north-west corner of Desplaines and Randolph. At 7 o'clock in  
 the morning of May 5th, I made an investigation of the street. I found  
 an opening in the pavement, located somewhat on the west side of  
 Desplaines street, slightly north from the south line of the alley; it was  
 a hole about four inches in diameter at the top and about three to three  
 and one-half inches deep, and another hole about one and one-half to  
 two inches, sort of egg-shaped, about a foot from the other. These holes  
 had the appearance as though they were caused by an explosion of  
 227 dynamite or gunpowder. The street has a cedar-block pavement.

231 HENRY E. O. HEINEMAN, recalled:

I am a reporter on the Chicago Tribune. Some years ago I was a  
 reporter on the Arbeiter Zeitung. I got to the Haymarket square on  
 May 4th last, a little after half-past 7. I met Mr. Schwab about 8  
 233 o'clock. I met Parsons at the corner of Halsted and Randolph. I  
 234 attended the meeting during the entire evening. I stood west of the  
 speaker's wagon, a little more than half-way across the street. At the  
 time the bomb exploded I was on the east sidewalk of Desplaines street,  
 about half-way between Crane's alley and Randolph. I was going south  
 235 and kept looking back at what was going on. 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 south-east 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  
 236 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 towards the close of his speech, "To arms! to  
 238 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  
 239 was formerly an internationalist. I ceased my connection with them  
 240 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





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and Schwab occasionally in the groups. I ceased my connection with the international 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.

241

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

When I heard the bullets come past me from the north I was further south than the police. I think the crowd began to thin out before the cloud came up, during Fielden's speech. The organization to which Neebe and I belonged, the International Working People's Association, was not a secret organization, not an armed body. It was an avowed socialistic organization, but there was no secrecy about it, no passwords or signs of recognition. The object of the organization was principally to discuss socialism, instruct the masses in regard to it, and to making converts.

246

After the cloud had come up the suggestion was made either by Parsons or Spies to adjourn to Zepf's Hall. Fielden replied he would be through very soon. Then there was a little confusion following that, and the crowd commenced leaving, as it was getting to be late. Most of the responses from the crowd were made to Parsons. He seemed to catch on better. Fielden's speech didn't take so well.

247

LOUIS HAAS, recalled:

248

I arrived at the Haymarket about 7 o'clock, walked around. There were large crowds at all the corners. They seemed to be looking where to go. When I got to the corner of Randolph and Desplaines I saw a meeting in progress on Desplaines street, in front of Crane Brothers'. I went up to the wagon. Spies was speaking then. He was talking about the trouble at McCormick's the day before. He made the remark that the trouble originated by a few boys and some persons leaving the meeting, throwing a few stones into the factory. If McCormick stated that he was the cause of the disturbance, it was a lie. Some one in the audience hollered out "Hang him," or something to that effect. Spies then said they should not make any threats; when they intended to do anything to go and do it, and tell nobody about it; something to that effect. I heard very little of Parsons' speech. The crowd got very much excited. Every once in a while some one would holler out, "Hang him," and cheer. That was principally on the east side of the street,

250



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251 towards the wagon. Fielden said the law was for the rich man, but not  
 for the poor. "Stab it, throttle it." When the first company of police  
 got north of Randolph street, within ten or fifteen feet, I heard Fielden  
 make this remark, "Here comes the blood-hounds; now, men, do your  
 252 duty and I'll do mine." I was then pretty near the center of the street,  
 more towards the west side, within five or six feet of the wagon. I saw  
 in the air what I afterwards found out was the bomb. It came from about  
 253 five or six feet south of the corner of the alley. From about half way be-  
 254 tween the alley and the boxes piled up on the sidewalk south of the alley.  
 At the moment of the explosion the center of the street was all covered with  
 smoke; as it cleared away it seemed that the second company was all  
 on the ground. There was firing from the east side of the street, al-  
 most at the same time the explosion occurred, before any shots were  
 255 fired from the police. I saw Spies, Parsons, Fielden and Schnaubelt on  
 the wagon.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have been in the detective service for the last six years. In the  
 258 early part of the evening there were about nine hundred or a thousand  
 people there, I should judge. At the close of Fielden's speech there  
 260 were about five or six hundred people left. Fielden said something at  
 the meeting after the remark about the blood-hounds coming, but I can-  
 261 not tell what it was. The remark was made in an excited tone of voice.  
 It was loud enough so I could hear it and everybody else around there  
 262 could hear it, who were as close to him as I was. He could have been  
 heard some distance. The remark was made in the ordinary tone of  
 voice in which he spoke that evening. He speaks in a pretty loud tone  
 263 of voice when he gets excited. I mentioned this remark of Fielden in  
 the station to a number of officers, the next day, or the day after that. I  
 265 mentioned part of it to Quinn. I observed on the wagon that stood  
 268 north of the speakers' wagon some lady. I was a witness at the cor-  
 oner's inquest held in reference to the death of Matthias J. Degan. I  
 did not say in my testimony there anything about this alleged remark of  
 270 Fielden's. My recollection is after the bomb exploded shots were fired  
 from between the boxes and the wagon. The boxes were about eight  
 to ten feet south of the alley. The inquest on the body of Matthias J.  
 272 Degan which I mentioned, was held on the 5th day of May.



I am a reporter for the Tribune and have been for seventeen years; I am also a shorthand reporter. I got to the Haymarket meeting on the 4th of May, about half-past 7. I went all around the Haymarket square from Desplaines to Halsted, saw a few people on the street, but  
 274 no meeting. Later on I saw some people going north on Desplaines beyond Randolph. I went over there and in a little while Mr. Spies got up on the wagon and said Mr. Fielden and Mr. Parsons were to make a speech, but they hadn't come. Spies got down off of the wagon and went over towards Randolph street. He was gone perhaps five or ten minutes; as he passed me in coming back, I asked him if Parsons was going to speak. I understood him to say yes. Then he got up on the wagon and said: "Gentlemen, please come to order." I took shorthand notes of his speech, as much as I could. I had a note book and a short pencil in my overcoat pocket and made notes in the pocket. My  
 275 notes are correct; some of them I can read, some I can't. I don't recollect what he or the others said without my notes.

(Defendants object to the reading of witness' shorthand notes; objection overruled, and exception.)

Before Spies commenced to speak somebody in the crowd suggested that the meeting should go over to the Haymarket, but Spies said no, that the crowd would interfere with the street cars. Here is what I have  
 276 of Spies' speech: (Reading.) "Gentlemen and fellow workmen: Mr. Parsons and Mr. Fielden will be here in a very short time to address you. I will say, however, first, this meeting was called for the purpose of discussing the general situation of the eight-hour strike, and the events which have taken place during the last forty-eight hours. It seems to have been the opinion of the authorities that this meeting has been called for the purpose of raising a little row and disturbance. This, however, was not the intention of the committee that called the meeting. The committee that called the meeting wanted to tell you certain facts of which you are probably aware. The capitalistic press has been misleading—misrepresenting the cause of labor for the last few weeks, so much so"—there is something here unintelligible that I can't read, some of it went off on the side of my pocket. The next is: "Whenever strikes have taken place; whenever people have been driven to violence by the oppression of their"—something unintelligible—"Then the police"—a few unintelligible words, then there were cheers—"But I want to tell you, gentlemen, that these acts of violence are the natural outcome



of the degradation and subjection to which working people are subjected. I was addressing a meeting of ten thousand wage slaves yesterday afternoon in the neighborhood of McCormick's. They did not want me to speak. The most of them were good church-going people. They didn't want me to speak because I was a socialist. They wanted to tear me down from the cars, but I spoke to them and told them that they must stick together"—some more that is unintelligible—"and he would have to submit to them if they would stick together"—the next I have is: "They were not anarchists, but good church-going people—they were good Christians." "The patrol wagons came and blood was shed." Some one in the crowd said "Shame on them." The next thing I have is: "Throwing stones at  
 277 the factory; most harmless sport." Then Spies said, "What did the police do?" Some one in the crowd said, "Murdered them." Then he went on, "They only came to the meeting there as if attending church."  
 \* \* \* "Such things tell you of the agitation." \* \* \*  
 "Couldn't help themselves any more." "It was then when they resorted to violence." \* \* \* "Before you starve." \* \* \* "This fight that is going on now is simply a struggle for the existence of the oppressed classes."

My pocket got fuller and fuller of paper, my notes got more unintelligible. The meeting seemed to be orderly. I took another position in the face of the speaker, took out my paper and reported openly during all the rest of the meeting. The balance of my notes I have not got. From  
 278 what appears in my report in the Tribune I can give you part of what Spies, Fielden and Parsons said. It is, however, only an abstract of what they said. So far as it goes it is verbatim, except the pronouns and the verbs are changed.

(Defendants object to the witness' reading from his printed report.

Objection overruled, and exception.)

279 The balance of Spies' speech is as follows (reading): "It was 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. Whenever you get ready to do something, do it, and don’t make any threats beforehand. There are in the city to-day between forty and fifty thousand men locked out because they refuse to obey the supreme will or dictation of a small number of men. The families of twenty-five or thirty thousand men are starving because their husbands and fathers are not men enough to withstand and resist the dictation of a few thieves on a grand scale, to put out of the power of the few men to say whether  
 280 they should work or not. You place your lives, your happiness, everything, out of the arbitrary power of a few rascals who have been raised in idleness and luxury upon the fruits of your labor. Will you stand that?” (Cries of “No.”) “The press say we are Bohemians, Poles, Russians, Germans—that there are no Americans among us. That is a lie. Every honest American is with us. Those who are not are unworthy of their traditions and their forefathers.”

Spies spoke fifteen or twenty minutes. What I have given here would not represent more than five or six minutes of actual talking.

Parsons stated first that the remedy for the wrongs of the workingmen was in socialism, otherwise they would soon become Chinamen. “It is time to raise a note of warning. There is nothing in the eight-hour movement to excite the capitalists. Do you know that the military are under arms, and a Gatling gun is ready to mow you down? Is this Germany, Russia or Spain? (A voice: ‘It looks like it.’) Whenever you make a demand for eight hours’ pay, an increase of pay, the militia and the deputy sheriff and the Pinkerton men are called out, and you are shot and clubbed and murdered in the streets. I am not here for the purpose of inciting anybody, but to speak out, to tell the facts as they exist, even though it shall cost me my life before morning.” Then he spoke about the Cincinnati demonstration, and about the rifle guard being  
 281 needed. Then the report continues: “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, to arm yourselves. (Applause and cries of ‘We will do it, we are ready now.’) You are not.” Then the rest of it is the wind-up. Besides what I have stated above he spoke for a long while about the fact that out of every dollar the workingman got fifteen cents, and the capitalists—the employers—got eighty-five cents. When he said “To arms, to arms,” he said that in his ordinary way of talking. I did not notice any difference in him when he said that.



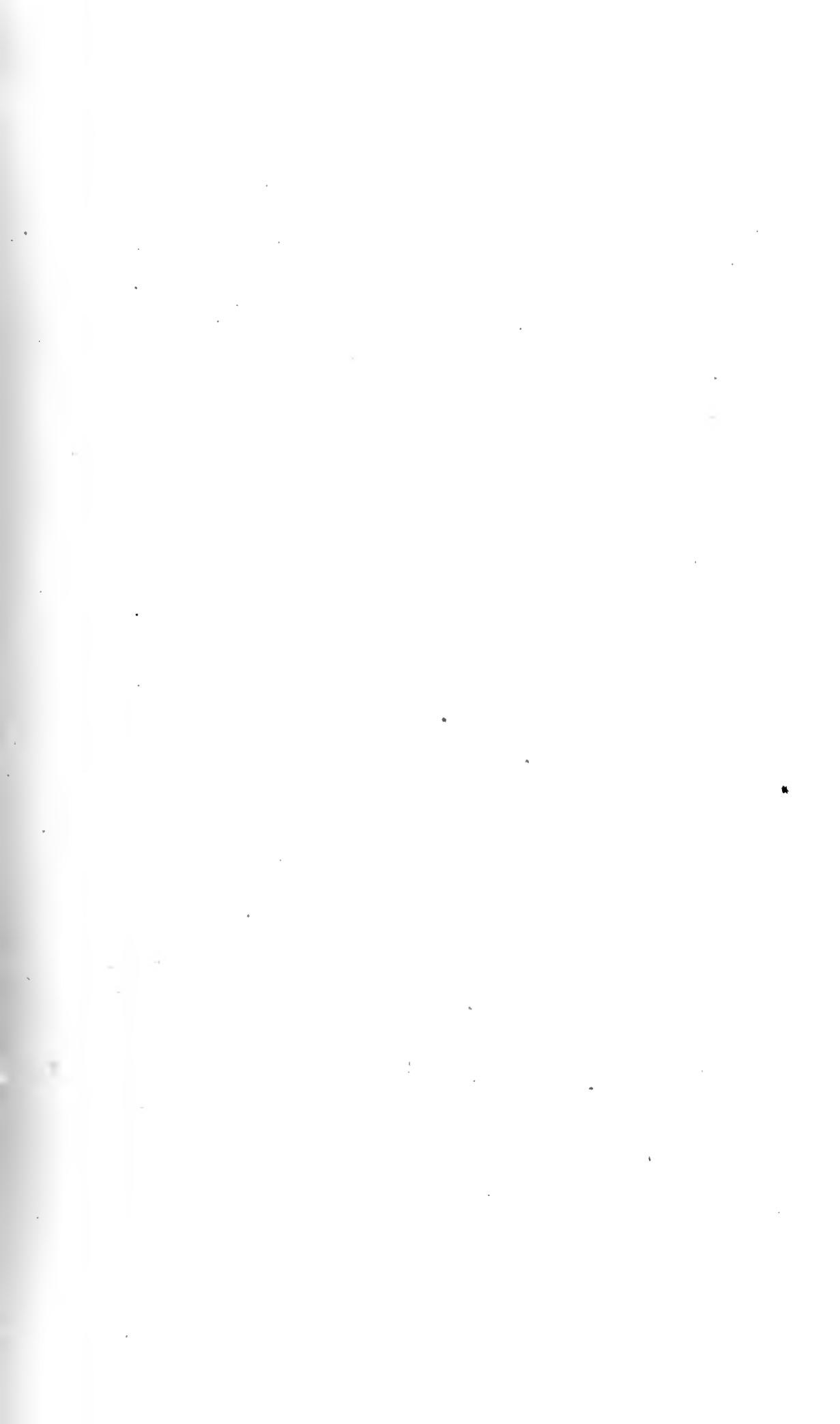
The first that I have written out of Fielden's speech is, "There are premonitions of danger, all know it. The press say the anarchists will sneak away; we are not going to. If we continue to be robbed it will not be long before we will be murdered. There is no security for the working classes under the present social system. A few individuals control the means of living and hold the workmen in a vice. Everybody does not know that. 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 says 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 community where there are dissatisfied workmen, 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 heaven. 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. Those 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, McCormick, attacked him and his living. (Cries of 'No.')

There is the difference. The law makes no distinctions. A million men hold all the property in this country. The law has no use for the other fifty-four millions. (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 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."

Then there was an interruption on account of some storm-clouds;



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everybody started to go away. Mr. Parsons suggested that they adjourn over to Zepf's Hall. Fielden said no, the people were trying to get information, and he would go on. And he went on: "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 another is a slave. Can we do anything except by the strong arm of resistance? The 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 has 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 or 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."

That is all I have. At that time some one alongside of me asked if police were coming. I was facing north-east, looked down the street, and saw a file of police about the middle of Randolph street. At once I put my paper in my pocket and ran right over to the north-west corner of Randolph and Desplaines. Just when I reached the sidewalk, the front rank of the police got to the south-west corner of Randolph and Desplaines. I stood there until some of the police marched by, and the first thing I knew I heard an explosion; and the next thing there was a volley of fifteen or twenty or thirty shots, and I thought it was about time to leave, so I skinned down Randolph street. While I was running I heard a great lot of shots, and somebody tumbled right in front of me, but I didn't stop to see whether he was hurt. I didn't see who shot first. As to the temper of the crowd, it was just an ordinary meeting.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

It was a peaceable and quiet meeting for an out-door meeting. I didn't see any turbulence. I was there all the time. I thought the speeches they made that night were a little milder than I had heard them make for years. They were all set speeches, about the same thing. I didn't hear any of them say or advise that they were going to use force that night. Before I went to the meeting my instructions



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from the Tribune office was to take only the most incendiary part of the speeches. I think when Mr. Parsons spoke about the Cincinnati meeting he said he had been at Cincinnati and seen the procession. I  
 287 heard the announcement to the crowd to disperse, distinctly. I did not hear Mr. Fielden say: "There come the blood-hounds now; you do your duty and I'll do mine." I heard nothing of that import at all.

## M. M. THOMPSON:

I am at present employed in the dry-goods business of Marshall Field & Co. Prior to the 4th of May last I was running a grocery store at 108 South Desplaines. I was at the Haymarket square on the evening of May 4th. I walked west on Randolph street about half past 7  
 288 o'clock, and somebody handed me a circular headed "Revenge," and signed "Your Brothers." About twenty-five minutes to 8 I got to the corner of Desplaines and Randolph. I met Mr. Brazelton of the Inter Ocean; we talked about fifteen minutes; I asked the time; it was ten minutes of 8. Brazelton pointed out to me Mr. Schwab, who came rushing along Desplaines street in a great hurry. I then went over to the east side of Desplaines street. I walked up Desplaines street near the corner of Lake, and came back again to the alley back of Crane Bros. and stood just back of that alley. Then I saw Spies get up on the wagon and he asked for Parsons. Parsons didn't respond, He then got down and Schwab and Spies walked into that alley at Crane Bros., near which  
 289 the wagon was situated. The first word I heard between Schwab and Spies was "pistols," the next word was "police." I think I heard "police" twice, or "pistols" twice. I then walked just a little nearer the edge of the alley, and just then Spies said: "Do you think one is enough, or hadn't we better go and get more?" I could hear no answer to that. They then walked out of the alley and south on Desplaines street, and west on the north side of Randolph to Halsted, and cut across the street and went over to the south-west corner and was there about three minutes, came out of that crowd again and came back. On the way back, as they neared Union street, I heard the word "police" again. Just then I went past them and Schwab said: "Now, if they come, we will give it to them." Spies replied he thought they were afraid to bother with them. They came on and before they got up near the wagon they met a third party, and they bunched right together there, south of the alley, and appeared to get right in a huddle; and there was something passed between Spies and the third man, what it was I could





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not say. This here (indicating picture of Schnaubelt heretofore identified) is, I think, the third man; I think his beard was a little longer than in this picture; this is the picture of the third man. I saw the third man on the wagon afterwards. Whatever it was that Spies gave him, he stuck it in his pocket on the right-hand side. Spies got up on the wagon and I think that third man got up right after him. I noticed him afterwards sitting on the wagon, and that he kept his hands in his pockets. I stayed there until Mr. Fielden commenced to speak, then I left.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

My grocery store was closed by the sheriff under an execution. I worked for Marshall Field before. I had never seen any of the defendants, to my knowledge, before that night, in my life. When I saw Spies and Schwab go into the alley, there was a crowd there. I was standing right near the alley, or alongside north of it, up against the building. I couldn't see down the alley unless I turned my face to it. The first time I had ever seen Spies was when he got up on the wagon. Spies got out of the wagon and went into Crane's alley with Schwab. I was right around the corner of the alley within three feet probably at the farthest, and I moved down to within half a foot. I did not look down the alley, only when they came out of the alley I did look. The conversation between Spies and Schwab was in English. I don't understand German. I didn't hear any words between "police" and "pistols." They were in there probably two or three minutes. When I drew up within a foot of the alley, I heard: "Do you think one enough, or had we better go for more?" Going up Randolph street, I heard some words spoken in German between them, but not in the conversation at the alley. I cannot say that I knew Mr. Schwab's voice at that time. I only knew Mr. Spies' voice from what I heard him ask on the wagon. Spies was the one who used the words "pistols" and "police." I did not see him when he said it. I could not see him without putting my head around the corner. They went out of my sight when they went into the alley. The whole conversation was done in three minutes, I should judge. The first remark that I heard was about a minute and a half after they went into the alley and went out of sight. When they came out and walked south on Desplaines I followed them within a few feet. It was then about a quarter past 8. They walked west on Randolph street to Halsted, and I trailed after them all the time, part of the time beside of them, part of the time ahead, and past them, but all



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the time close to them. When they came to Halsted there were a few  
 people there, not much of a crowd. I was still tagging after them with  
 299 no other object than looking for the meeting, to find where the audience  
 was assembled. I don't know whether they saw me, there was nothing  
 whatever to prevent their seeing me. When they were going west I  
 couldn't hear a word of what they did say. The street lamps were  
 lighted. When they got down on Halsted there was a crowd of about  
 300 twenty-five people. They were right in the thickest of the crowd, and  
 I stood on the sidewalk, about ten feet from them. I didn't hear either  
 of them say a word. Then they went back east on Randolph street. I  
 was about six feet behind them. They said nothing. There was  
 nobody else following them besides me. I couldn't hear what they said  
 301 until they came to Union street. Then I got past them. It was light  
 at the time, they could see me. Near Union street Schwab said:  
 "Now if they come we will give it to them," and Spies said he did not  
 think they would bother them, because they were afraid. This conver-  
 sation was carried on in the English language. I was behind them when  
 I heard the first of it, but they kind of slackened, and I got by them. I  
 was making my gait quicker to get by them. Schwab finished his  
 302 remark when I got about three feet by them. Schwab made his remark  
 in an ordinary tone of street conversation, loud enough for me to hear.  
 303 I heard no more conversation between Schwab and Spies. I testified  
 304 before the coroner's jury. I testified to this conversation at Union street.  
 If I didn't, it was an oversight on my part, or it was because nobody  
 asked me any question, but I say that I did say that before the coroner's  
 inquest.

Coming back, I stopped on the north-west corner of Randolph and  
 Desplaines. I was then about ten or fifteen ahead of Spies and Schwab.  
 They came up; I can't say that they were talking; they went right  
 305 through the street, moving diagonally to the wagon. I stayed at the  
 corner, I did not go after them until they got on to the wagon. That  
 was the last time that I saw Schwab. I saw Spies when he got up to  
 make a speech. Oh, no, that wasn't the last time that I saw Schwab  
 that night. That was the last time that I saw him until they were out  
 of sight, and the third man met them. When they started  
 from the corner north-east across the street, I stood at the  
 corner just to let them cross the street. Then I started  
 306 after them. They did not get out of my sight. I didn't catch up with  
 them at all. When I got within eight or ten feet of them they were

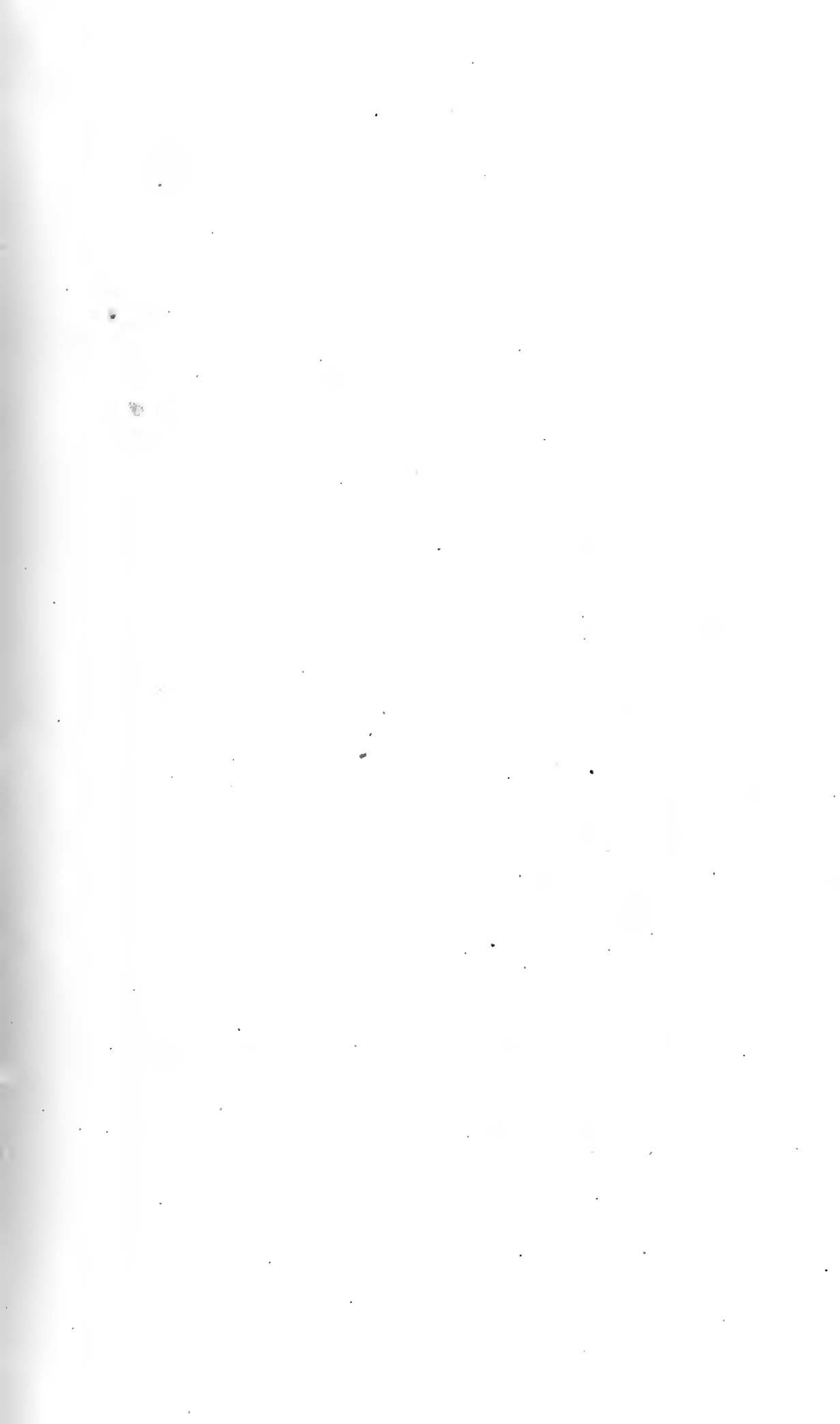


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standing on the sidewalk. They stopped right there, about five feet south of the south line of Crane's alley. There wasn't probably more than half a dozen people on the east side of the street. There were a good many people on the west side of the street. It was then about twenty or twenty-five minutes past 8. When I got up within eight or ten feet of them and they stopped, I stopped, too, and looked at them. They were in plain view of me. I don't think they did see me, though they could see me if they looked up. I think there are some electric lights near there, on the Lyceum building. I was between them and the electric light. When they stopped there, the next thing was that they met that third man. I had never seen that third man before. I have seen this picture of Schnaubelt before; I think Mr. Furthman showed it to me about a week ago. That third party came from the east. He must have been standing up against the house, and he walked west to the front of the sidewalk. Schnaubelt was not facing me, he had his back to me. They did not go into the alley. One had his back south, one east and Spies had his back north. I didn't hear what they were talking about. I was on the sidewalk near the curb-stone, partly south, not directly south of them. Spies stood directly to the north, which would bring his face to me. I don't know but what he did see me. They stood there about thirty seconds. I didn't hear a word. Spies handed that third man something, who put it into his pocket, and Spies got upon to the wagon and made a speech. I did not see Schwab on the wagon. Spies got right up on the wagon and commenced to speak, but one or two minutes elapsed in the time.

315 AUGUST HUEN:

I am a printer; employed by Wehrer & Klein, in this city. I was working for them on May 4th last. I set up the German part of the circular headed "Attention, Workingmen." I got the copy from Mr. Klein, one of the firm. Mr. Fischer came in about 7 o'clock on the morning of May 4th, wrote out the copy on our desk, and ordered these hand-bills. They were printed just as he wrote it. The last line is "Workingmen, arm yourselves and appear in full force." Mr. Fischer just wrote the German and we translated it. I have known Fischer several years. The circular was set up twice—two forms, so we could get them out quick enough. I mean Fischer, the defendant.



## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

318 The printing was done in our establishment. The form was given to  
the pressman about 10 o'clock. About an hour later the last line was  
320 taken out about 11 o'clock or so. I saw the boss take out the line  
"Workingmen, come armed and appear in full force."

## MICHAEL H. MARKS:

I am police officer, connected with the central station. I was in the  
Arbeiter Zeitung building about 10 A. M. on May 5th, with several  
321 officers of the central station. On the second floor I met the defendant  
Neebe. I asked who had charge of the office. He said: "I am in  
charge in the absence of Mr. Spies and Schwab." I asked who occu-  
pied the rooms above this, and he said: "That is the editorial room of  
the Arbeiter Zeitung, the offices of Mr. Spies and Schwab." I said I  
would go upstairs to make a search of that floor. He said: "All  
right, you can go, but you will not find anything there but papers and  
writing materials." I went upstairs into the front room on the third  
floor. There was a desk there facing west. I asked Mr. Neebe whose  
desk that was, and he said it was August Spies'. I turned around in  
the room, going east, and there I found a closet. Officer Duffy then  
322 came in and walked towards the closet with me. There was a shelf  
about ten feet high. I got on a chair, and on the top of the shelf I saw  
a large bag—kind of bag with brown paper around it. I took it down  
and placed it on a chair. I said: "What is this?" Neebe said: "I  
don't know." I opened it and felt it; it was a kind of yellowish, greasy  
sawdust. Neebe says: "I guess that is for cleaning type." Officer  
Haas was standing by. I saw the same package here in court in con-  
323 nection with the testimony of Officers Duffy and McKeough. I was  
present when Mr. Buck, who testified here, made experiments with a  
substance contained in that package, and which he took out of the bag  
in my presence.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

326 There was only one shelf in that closet, at one end of it. I saw  
Mayor Harrison on the second floor of the building before I went up to  
328 the third floor. I have been in the detective service at the central station  
about six months. Before that at the Harrison street station about a  
329 year.





## HUGH HUME:

I am a reporter on the Inter Ocean. I saw Mr. Fielden and other  
 330 defendants in the sweat-box; that is, the cells downstairs, at the central  
 station, about midnight, between the 5th and 6th of May last. I had a  
 conversation with Spies. He said he had been at the Haymarket meet-  
 ing; he had gone up there to refute the statements of the capitalistic  
 press in regard to what he had said at McCormick's. Up at McCor-  
 331 mick's he had been talking to a lot of people whom he could not in-  
 fluence—all good Catholics. During his speech on the Haymarket,  
 some people had shown a disposition to hang McCormick. He had told  
 them not to make any threats of that kind. He had said: "When you  
 want to do a thing of that kind, don't talk so much about it, but go out  
 and do it." He then said to me that the people had reached a condition  
 where they were willing to do any violence, and he had advocated vio-  
 lence of that kind; it was necessary to bring about the revolution that  
 the socialists wanted. He said he had advocated the use of dynamite.  
 I asked him if he was in favor of killing police officers with dynamite.  
 332 He hesitated a little, and then said the police represented the capitalists,  
 and were enemies of theirs, and when you have an enemy he has got to  
 be removed. That is the gist of what he said. Spies said he didn't  
 know anything about the bomb having exploded until afterwards; he  
 had heard a noise that resembled the sound of a cannon, and thought  
 the police were firing over the heads of the people to frighten them.  
 He said he considered all laws as things you could get along without;  
 333 they were inimical to the best interests of the people and of the social  
 growth. He said he was the editor of the Arbeiter Zeitung, but it was  
 owned by the socialistic society, and he only took the responsibility for  
 those articles which he wrote. He said he knew about dynamite, or  
 had experimented with it. He did not know where dynamite was found  
 in his office. He did not think that dynamite was in his office when he  
 left it, and had an idea that the police put that dynamite there to get a  
 case on him.

I had a little talk with Mr. Fielden. He was suffering somewhat from  
 his wound. When I asked him how the Haymarket affair accorded  
 with his ideas of socialism, he said: "You are on dangerous ground  
 334 now. There is an argument, though, that we have, that is to the effect  
 that if you cannot do a thing peaceably, it has got to be done by force."  
 Something to that effect; I don't remember the language. Fielden said,  
 as to the number of socialists in Chicago, that there were a number of



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groups here, containing 250 men. Those were recognized socialists, but they had people all over the city, from nearly every wholesale house, but those people are afraid to come out yet, only waiting an opportunity. He spoke about the decision of the Supreme court prohibiting military companies from marching around with arms. He was inclined to think that the decision was not right.

335 I had a short interview with Schwab. All he had to say was that socialism was right, even with the blood shed at the Haymarket.

337

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I think Lieut. Buckling, a reporter and several detectives were present. My conversation with them was not confidential. It was the object to have these people standing around hear what was said. I think that the detectives could have heard the conversation. I made a report of that conversation right then and there. Mr. Spies saw me write down his answers. He knew I wanted the interview for publication. I think I was introduced to him as from the Inter Ocean. I wrote up my report for publication in the next morning paper. I have looked over my published report three or four times. I handed it to the state's attorney some time ago. I looked at it this morning. I glanced through it yesterday. Independently of this published report my memory is not very clear on the subject. I remember now that Spies said, "I thought I would not be at the meeting, but finally went when the people who got up the circular promised to take out the words, 'with arms.'"

350 He also stated in that interview that he went to the meeting more for the purpose of quieting the people than anything else. He also said in regard to the Haymarket meeting, the bomb should not have been thrown; it was wrong. My published report containing the following question and answer, in quotation marks: "Do you consider the work of Tuesday night as a victory?" "No, it was disgusting." I did not tell this on my direct examination because I must have forgotten it. I think Fielden said it was some damn fool who threw that bomb. Mr. Spies said: "I went home to No. 14 Park street. I was not disturbed, and got up in the morning as usual." Schwab did not put his faith in socialism in connection with the Haymarket. I asked him what he thought of the business at the Haymarket. He shook his head and shrugged his shoulders, and I asked him what he thought of socialism now, in that connection. He said "socialism is right and right." My entire published report of the interview with Schwab is contained in just these

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words (after reading over published report), purporting to be in quotation: "As the machines, factories, mines and all those things are to be worked by the people and by the individuals for stockholders, what do you think of socialism now?" The answer in quotation is: "I think it is right—right—and it is right." That is the entire report of the conversation with Schwab. Schwab speaks English somewhat laboriously.

360

I don't remember having asked Fielden anything about firing, or that any question of that sort was asked or suggested by any one.

I remember Schwab told me he had been out to Deering on the night of May 4th, and made a speech there.

362 HARRY L. GILMER:

I am a painter by trade; reside at 50 North Ann street. On the evening of May 4th last, I was at the Haymarket meeting on Desplaines street; I got there about a quarter to 10 o'clock. In going home, when I got to the corner of Randolph and Desplaines streets I saw a crowd over there, and went up to where the speaking was going on, on the east side of Desplaines street. I saw the wagon, did not pay particular attention to the speaking. I stood near the lamp post on the corner of Crane Bros.' alley, between the lamp post and the wagon, and up near the east end of the wagon for a few minutes. The gentleman here (pointing to Fielden) was speaking when I came there. I stayed around there a few minutes, was looking for a party whom I expected to find there, and stepped back into the alley between Crane Bros.' building and the building immediately south of it. The alley was south of the wagon. I was standing in the alley looking around for a few minutes, noticed parties in conversation, right across the alley on the south side of the alley. Somebody in front of me on the edge of the sidewalk said, "Here comes the police." There was a sort of rush to see the police come up. There was a man came from the wagon down to the parties that were standing on the south side of the alley; he lit a match and touched it off, something or another—the fuse commenced to fizzle, and he give it a couple of steps forward, and tossed it over into the street. He was standing in this direction (illustrating). The man that lit the match on this side of him, and two or three of them stood together, and he turned around with it in his hand, took two or three steps that way, and tossed it that way, over into the street. I knew the man by sight who threw that fizzing thing into the street. I have seen him several times at meetings at one place and another in the city. I do not know

363



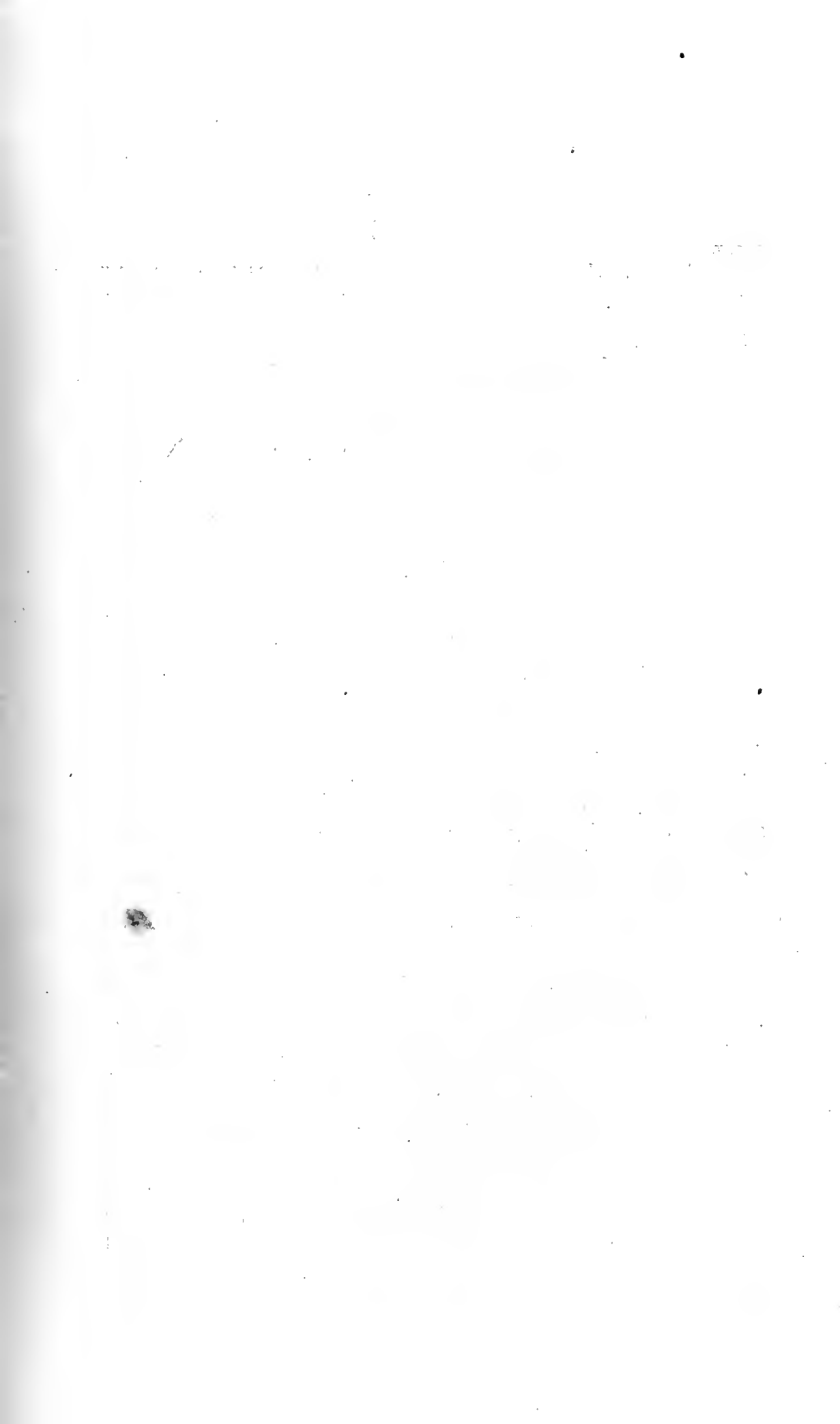
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his name. He was a man about five feet ten inches high, somewhat full chested, and had a light sandy beard, not very long. He was full faced, his eyes set somewhat back in his head; judging from his appearance  
 364 he would probably weigh 180 pounds. My impression is his hat was dark brown or black, I don't know whether it was a soft hat, a felt hat or a stiff hat. This here (indicating photograph of Schnaubelt heretofore identified) is the man that threw the bomb out of the alley. There were four or five standing together in the group. This here (pointing to Spies) is the man who came from the wagon towards the group.

I did not see the police myself, there were so many people between me and them. I don't recollect any declaration from any of the police officers about this person, nothing distinctly, any way. That man over there (pointing at defendant Fischer) was one of the parties. After the bomb was thrown these parties immediately left through the alley. I stood there. The firing commenced immediately afterwards, and my attention was attracted by the firing, and I paid more attention to that than anything else.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

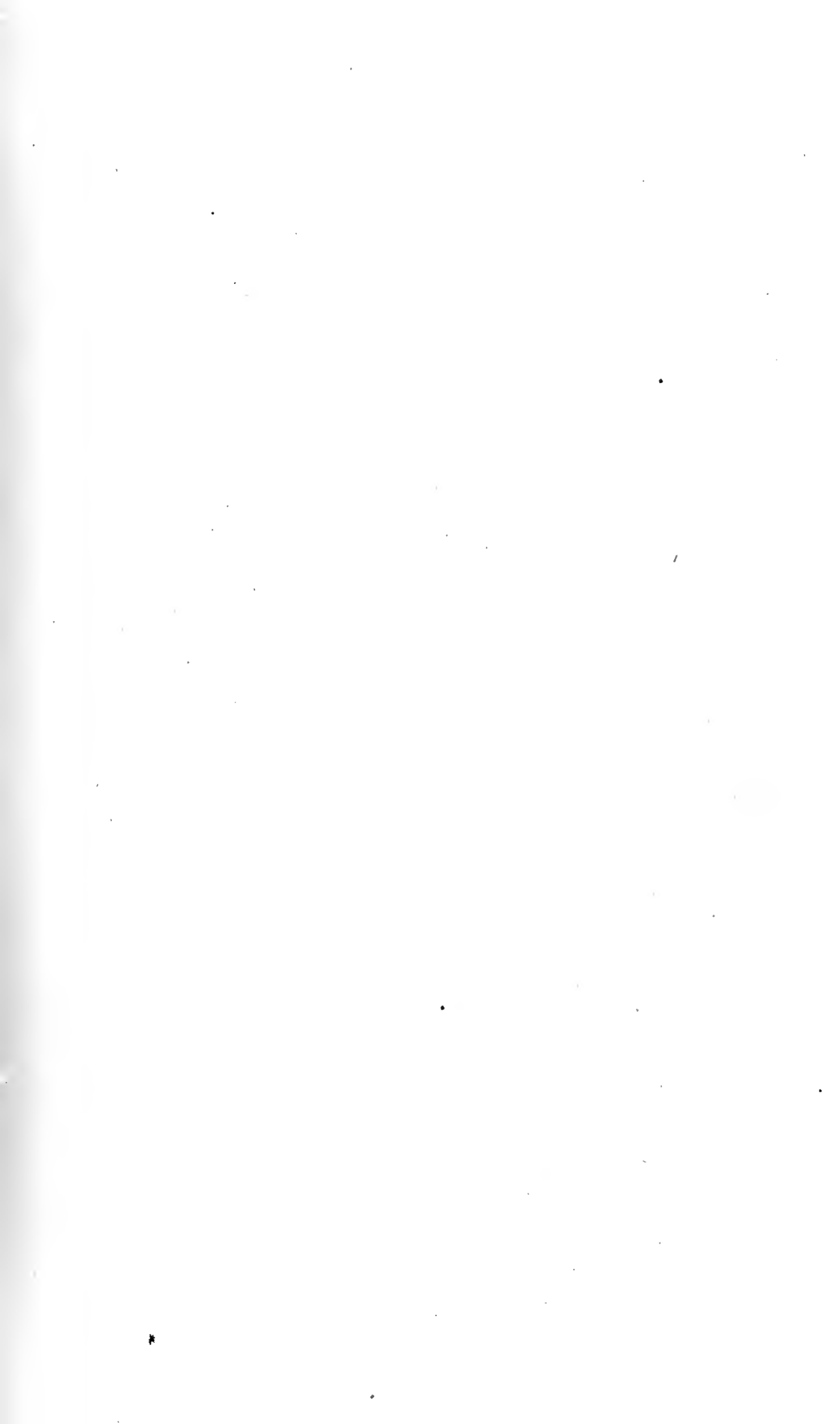
I live now at 50 North Ann street. I was formerly married; am not  
 365 now. I lived with my family at Des Moines, Iowa, and Fort Dodge, Iowa. In Des Moines I owned the house I lived in. I left Des Moines in 1879. I carried on the painting business there for myself. I lived there about nine years. From there I went to Kansas, where I stayed a few weeks. My next home was in Chicago. My wife is dead. I took up my abode in Chicago in boarding houses. First I rented a room at  
 366 310 State street, stayed there two or three weeks, then I went to the Sands House, now called the Continental. I worked and boarded there for about two months, then I went back to 310 State street and stayed there about two weeks. Then I boarded on the corner of Halsted and Lake; lived there about four weeks. My fixed place of residence has generally been in some furnished room somewhere in different parts of the city. I never had a family since I came to Chicago. I have lived  
 367 at 50 North Ann street since about two months. Before that I had a room at 22 North Ann street for about two months and cooked my own meals. Before that I had charge, was watchman of a vessel all winter. Before that I had a room on West Randolph street for about  
 368 three months. I cannot tell at how many different places I lived in Chi-





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cago; it might be twenty or thirty; generally, if I had a job in a place I  
 had a room near by. I lived two years and a half on Carroll avenue in  
 369 1881, '82 and part of '83. I boarded there with Mrs. Holt. I have  
 read the papers in regard to the Haymarket meeting; have seen accounts  
 in various papers in regard to the arrest of these defendants. I have no  
 370 job at anything at present. I have been here several times the last two  
 weeks. I read of the fact that some policeman was killed at the Hay-  
 market. I know the coroner's jury was investigating the matter. I  
 saw an account of the investigation of the grand jury in the paper. I  
 first told a man by the name of Allen and another party whom I don't  
 know, and a reporter of the Times, that I saw the match lighted, and  
 saw the man who threw the bomb. I think that it was two or three  
 371 days after the 4th of May. A number of people were talking the mat-  
 ter over on the west side of the city hall, on La Salle street, and I made  
 the remark that I believed if I ever saw the party who threw the bomb  
 I could identify him. They didn't ask me why I made that remark. I  
 don't think they asked any questions, what I knew about the matter.  
 The reporter afterwards told me he had heard the remark. I think  
 that was on the 6th of May. On May 5th I was working on the corner  
 372 of 20th and Wabash avenue. On the 6th of May I went down to 88  
 La Salle street to collect a bill. I went across the street, and there had  
 the conversation with the reporter and the others. That night I had a  
 note left at my room for me to come down to the central station. The  
 373 name of James Bonfield was signed to the note. I went to the central  
 station and had a conversation with Mr. Bonfield the next day; I  
 couldn't tell exactly whether on the 6th or the 7th. I  
 made my statement to Mr. Bonfield. I never appeared be-  
 fore any coroner's jury; was never subpoenaed to appear  
 before any coroner's jury that examined any of the dead policemen.  
 374 I was at the Haymarket meeting about fifteen minutes from the time I  
 got there to the explosion of the bomb. I was looking for a person who  
 had told me he was going to the meeting. I kept looking through the  
 crowd to see if I could find him. Fielden was speaking then. I don't  
 375 remember anything of his speech, except that he made use of the word  
 "McCormick." Before I went down-town I had read in the paper that  
 376 there had been a riot at McCormick's the day before, and that the police  
 had shot some men. I was in the neighborhood of where Fielden  
 talked for about fifteen minutes. I don't remember anything about the  
 connection in which Fielden spoke of McCormick. I was looking for a



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gentleman by the name of Richard Roe, and I didn't pay any attention to what Fielden said. When I stepped into the alley I think I was on the north side of the alley, about eight feet from the corner of Crane's building. That group of men was right across the alley on the south side. The lamp was burning on the corner of the alley at that time, and it shone right down. I could see the persons in that party distinctly; could see their countenances; they could see myself. They were also about eight or nine feet from the mouth of the alley. I could hear them talk. They spoke German. I didn't understand them. Before the man came from the wagon I stepped across the alley and was standing on the north side of the alley, perhaps three or four feet to the east of that group, so that I was standing about twelve or fourteen from the mouth of Crane's alley. I did not say that I saw the wagon from that point. I could just see the hind end of the wagon from where I stood when I went through the alley. I think there was a tail-board. The edges of the box of the wagon were perhaps ten inches high. I don't know whether there were side-boards on that wagon or not; I could not say positively as to the width of the side-boards on the wagon. They might have been higher than ten inches. I am sure there was a box of some kind on the wagon. My impression is it was a wagon about twelve or thirteen feet long, with low side-boards on. I didn't see anybody get off of the wagon after I went in the alley. I did not say Mr. Spies got down off of the wagon. I said he came from towards the wagon; I saw him standing on the sidewalk before I went in the alley. I did not say I saw Spies in the wagon at all. Mr. Spies is the man that came down in the alley and lighted the bomb, to the best of my recollection. When I saw him standing on the sidewalk he was talking with somebody. I would be inclined to think it was this gentleman here (indicating Schwab). I could not say for sure. I think it was a dark-complexioned man. My impression is it might be him. I have very little doubt but Fischer is the man I saw in the group. I am very nearly as positive that Fischer is the man as I am that the picture is the picture of the man who threw the bomb. I am sure Fischer is the man. I think I saw Mr. Parsons there that night talking to some ladies. I had been down to the Palmer House that evening to see some gentlemen from Des Moines that I understood were in the city. One of them was Judge Cole, another was Ex-Gov. Samuel Merrill. I didn't find either of them there. I went to the meeting, as I thought I would meet Mr. Roe, and we would go home together. That was the only business I had with Mr. Roe. It



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383 would have been eight or nine blocks from the Haymarket to where I lived.

I did not run at the time of the shooting. I did not move at all. I stood right at the mouth of the alley. After it was all over I backed out  
384 the alley, took a car and went home. There were no bullets coming in around my locality in the alley. On the street car on my way home I didn't talk with anybody about the occurrence. There were quite a number of people in the car talking about the Haymarket occurrence, and there was considerable excitement in the car on account of it. The  
385 next morning I went down on the Wabash avenue car to the corner of Twentieth and Wabash avenue.

I heard people speak about the Haymarket affair in the restaurant on Madison street where I took my breakfast. I did not say to them anything about my seeing the match lighted and the boom thrown. I  
386 bought the News on the car. I think I was working for Frank Crandle that day; to the best of my recollection, there was only one man working with me on the job. We worked alongside of each other some time.  
387 Talked about different things, about our business. I did not say to him that I saw the bomb thrown, nor that I saw the man light the match that lit the bomb. I told him I had been at the Haymarket and spoke of the Haymarket riot, and I think I said there was a number killed or wounded. In the evening I went home on the Wabash avenue car.  
388 People were speaking about the Haymarket meeting in the car. I didn't tell them I knew anything about it. I think I got home about half past 6. I had no conversation with the landlady. After my supper, my  
389 impression is I went to Mr. Roe's house. He was not at home. I stayed there about fifteen minutes talking with Mrs. Roe's house. Her daughter, about twelve or thirteen years old, was present during the conversation. We talked about the Haymarket meeting. I told her I was there. She said she would not let him go to the meeting. I did not tell her nor anybody on that occasion that I saw the bomb lighted and thrown.  
390 Since noon adjournment I had no talk with James Bonfield.

Q. Were not you just now walking back and forth in the corridor with him? A. I did not have no—

Q. (Interrupting.) Didn't you walk back and forth? A. Yes, sir.

Q. You were talking with him? A. Yes, sir.

When I was at central station, I think, both Inspector Bonfield and Lieut. Kipley were present when I made the statement that I could recognize the man, if I ever saw him again, who threw the bomb. After-  
392



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wards I told all the details to Mr. Grinnell. I explained matters more to him than to anybody else. I would not be positive that I told Mr. Bonfield I saw the man light the match. I gave a description of the man that I saw throw the bomb. I think the man had a black or blue sack coat on. I think he had black eyes, and somewhat light  
 393 whiskers. The bomb went in a westerly direction. I have seen Mr.  
 394 Spies the last year and a half and knew him by sight, not by name. I heard him speak at public meetings, seen him very frequently, but never knew his name. I heard him once on Market street, a year ago last spring. I did not inquire who it was that spoke. I saw in the paper afterwards who it was that spoke. I knew from hearing him and reading the paper, that Spies was one of the speakers. I frequently heard the name of  
 395 August Spies. At the time I had the conversation with Bonfield I described to him as well as I could the man that struck the match and lighted the fuse; it was either Bonfield or one of the other officers in the central station. They were all together. I was twice over at police  
 396 headquarters. This picture here (photograph of Schnaubelt) was shown to me first sometime last week at the state's attorney's office. I  
 397 was in the city during the time the coroner's jury was examining into the cause of the death of different policemen and at the time the grand jury was examining into this case. The officers knew my name and address. They never called on me to go before the grand jury or the coroner's jury.

The man who threw the bomb was about five feet and eight, ten or nine inches high. I don't think he was a man over six feet tall. The  
 398 first time I told Mr. Grinnell of my experience at the Haymarket was when I made my second visit to the central station, on Sunday, after the Haymarket meeting. I think at that time I only told Mr. Grinnell that I could identify the person that threw the bomb, if I saw him. I think I told him at that time that I saw one man strike a match and light the  
 399 fuse, and another man throw the bomb. Mr. Fischer was brought in while we had the conversation at the central station. I looked at him. I said nothing about his being the man that struck the match. I knew him by sight. I identified him as being one of the men who composed the group in the alley.

I received some money two or three times when I have been over  
 401 here from Mr. James Bonfield—ten or fifteen cents, sometimes a quarter. At the conversation at central station I was not told that I was wanted  
 403 as a witness before the grand jury. I saw the picture of Rudolph  
 406 Schnaubelt about six weeks ago, when Mr. Grinnell sent for me. I did





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not tell to any person at any time, except the officers that I mentioned, that I saw the act of lighting the bomb accomplished. Neither Mr.  
407 Grinnell or Bonfield, or any officer, told me to keep silent in regard to the matter.

I am six feet three in height. I could pretty near see right over the head of the fellow who threw the bomb. When I gave a description of the  
409 man who came from the wagon and lighted the match that lit the fuse they did not bring out Mr. Spies for me to look at. Spies had kind of dark clothes on that night. His hat was black or brown. My impres-  
410 sion is it was a limber rimmed hat. I first told Mr. Grinnell one day  
411 last week that this is the man that struck the match, when I saw him  
412 sitting here in court. I think Mr. Fischer had on a blue sack coat that night. I think he had a black necktie. If Schnaubelt had any necktie that night it was a very light one. Spies had a turned-down collar that night and not any necktie. I think the upper buttons of Mr. Schnaubelt's coat were buttoned. I think Spies had one or two buttons of his coat buttoned up when he came from the wagon into the alley.

414 MARTIN QUINN, recalled:

I have known the defendant Engel for a short time. I was at his  
415 house about three or four days after the Haymarket meeting, about 6 o'clock in the evening. Engel was not there at the time, but came about fifteen or twenty minutes later. I told Engel I had come to look around his premises, having been informed there was combustible material, bombs, etc. That we had looked through his house and found this machine here (indicating) down in the basement. He stated that it was brought or left there by some man about four or five months previous to that  
416 time, and his wife described the man to me. Mrs. Engel gave a description of the man who left the machine down at the basement door, as a man with long black whiskers, and pretty tall. Mr. Engel said he thought he knew the man, and that he thought the machine was made for the purpose of making bombs. There had been a meeting at Turner Hall, where this man had made a speech about the manufacture of bombs, and the next thing was, this machine was brought over, and Engel had said to him he wouldn't allow him to make any bombs in his basement, so the man went away. Engel didn't know where he was. I  
417 took him down with the machine to the central station, and there the chief of police and inspector had also a conversation with him.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness as irrelevant and immaterial overruled, and exception.)



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419 JOHN BONFIELD, recalled:

I was present when Officer Quinn came to the central station with Engel; I saw this apparatus (referring to blasting machine) there at the  
420 time. Engel said he didn't know what this thing was made for, or who made it. It had been brought to his basement door some months ago by some party unknown to him. I have been an engineer myself.

Q. Do you know what that machine could be used for, what its purpose is?

421 (Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

This is a blast furnace in miniature, a home-made one. This upright part could be lined with fire-clay. This shoulder, some two and a half inches from the bottom, could be filled in around with clay, leaving the holes open. This, in a blasting furnace, would be known as the tweer. It is filled up to a considerable height with clay to protect it from the hot fire inside, and the pressure of air is applied through those pipes, one or both of them, as may be necessary. When the fire is extinguished or removed, the debris or slag that comes from the metal and the ashes and cinders from the material used for fuel can be taken out  
422 through the trap at the bottom. The spout is for the purpose of passing out the melted metal. It is stopped with a plug of clay, and when the plug is removed the metal is poured through that tube.

(Motion to exclude all the evidence as to what was said by Engel overruled, and exception.)

424 On the 5th day of May, I found at Zepf's Hall several copies of the Revenge circular, and several copies of the circular calling the Haymarket meeting, containing the words, "Workingmen, arm yourselves and appear in full force."

425 (Motion to exclude testimony regarding the circular as a matter after the 4th of May overruled, and exception.)

#### CROSS-EXAMINATION.

427 There has never been any fire in this machine (indicating blasting machine). There has never been any fire-clay in it, according to my judgment as an expert. I think this thing has never been used.

428 LOUIS MAHLENDORF:

I am a tinner by trade, at 292 Milwaukee avenue, since two years. I know the defendant Engel since about eight years. I made this machine (referring to blasting machine) for Engel over a year ago. I cut



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off the iron and formed it up. Another gentleman, a kind of heavy-set man with long beard, was with him when he ordered it. Mr. Engel waited for it, he took it along with him.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness overruled, and exception.)

429

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

There is a mark inside by which I identify it.

431

HERMAN SCHUTTLER:

I am a police officer; I arrested the defendant Linng, at No. 30 Ambrose street, on May 14th last.

Q. Tell the jury the whole story of the arrest?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

432

Linng was in a room in a cottage on Ambrose street, which is in the south-west part of the city, about three and a half miles from the court house. I went into the room and took him for another man. I had a picture of him, and he was described to me as a man with chin whiskers and a mustache. I had found out that he lived there. I said, "How do you do, Mr. Klein?" As soon as I said that Linng jumped back and drew a revolver and half cocked it. This here (indicating revolver) is the revolver. I grabbed the revolver and he and I fell down on the floor together, and we struggled for the possession of it. Whenever the

433

revolver would be towards me he would try his best to shoot it off. At last he began to get it cocked again, and the only way I could do then, I got his thumb into my mouth and bit it, and he hollered; at that time Officer Lowenstein came in and pulled him off. We put him under arrest. He refused to be shackled. Finally I got my come-alongs on him and he went along. While I tried to get the come-alongs on him he said, "Shoot and kill me." On the way to Chicago avenue station I

434

asked him why he wanted to kill me. He said, "Personally, I have nothing against you, but if I had killed you and your partner I would have been satisfied; I would have killed myself if I had got away with you and your partner."

435

I went to his room on Sedgwick street about 3 o'clock on May 7th, with Officers Stiff, Lowenstein and Whalen. We searched a trunk and found a round lead bomb in a stocking. (Photograph of bomb referred to marked "People's Ex., 129," in Vol. of Ex.) The trunk was in the south-east room. In another stocking I found a large navy re-



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436 volver; both revolver and bomb were loaded. I turned them over to  
 Capt. Schaack. We found a ladle and some tools, a cold chisel and  
 other articles. This here (indicating) is the trunk I found in the room;  
 437 the letters "L. L." were on it at the time. I recollect a round porcelain  
 lined blue cup made out of china that I found, and I believe a file. In  
 the closet underneath the baseboard we found a lot of torn-off plaster.  
 438 The lathing was sawed so you could get your hand between the floor  
 and the bottom of the laths underneath. I saw those lead pipes (indi-  
 cating) laying between the house Linng lived in and the next house to it,  
 in a small gangway.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness overruled, and ex-  
 ception.)

439

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

Linng was not occupying that room at the time. Mr. Seliger was  
 living on that flat at the time. There were different articles in the trunk—  
 socks, envelopes, washing, etc. I had no search warrant for the purpose  
 of going through Linng's things.

444 JACOB LOWENSTEIN:

445 I am a police officer, connected with the East Chicago ave. station.  
 I was present when Linng was arrested.

Q. Tell what took place.

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

446 I went around the back way and went in at the back door. I heard  
 jumping on the floor and I broke the door in. When I got into the  
 room I found Linng on Schuttler's back with his right arm over Schut-  
 tler, and Schuttler had Linng's thumb in his mouth. Linng had his left  
 hand on his revolver. Schuttler had hold of the revolver with both  
 hands. I struck Linng with a little cane I had in the ear; it had no ef-  
 fect on him, so I dropped the cane and grabbed him by the left arm, by  
 his coat sleeve. He jerked away and tore the sleeve all the way up.  
 Then I grabbed him by the throat and dragged him up against the wall.  
 As I had lost my come-alongs, I asked Schuttler to let me have his.  
 Linng refused to be shackled. I told him he had to. We got the  
 come-alongs on him and took him to the station. While we were in the  
 room he said several times, "Shoot me right here, before I will go with  
 you. Kill me." On the wagon to the station he said, "If I had  
 killed you and your partner and put a bullet through my own head it





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would be the happiest hour of my life." I was with Officers Whalen, Stift, Schuttler, Cushman and McCormick, at Linng's room, on May 7th, between 10 and 11 o'clock. Nobody was in the house. The door was locked. Finally we pushed in the door and went in. In a little bedroom in the south-east corner of the house there was a bed and a washstand and a trunk, and a little shelf up in the corner with some bottles on it. In the closet there was some shells, and some loaded cartridges, and on the floor some metal and some lead. Those here (indicating box containing shells) are the shells I found in the closet of Linng's room. I found those bolts (indicating) in the washstand. This metal here (indicating) I found in a dinner-box with some loaded dynamite bombs in the trunk. There were four bombs in this box (indicating), gas-pipe bombs. The two in the bottom were loaded. When I first opened the trunk this cover (indicating) dropped down, and with this Remington rifle (indicating), which was loaded, fell down. I found a lot of papers and books in the top of the trunk. In a gray stocking I found this round dynamite bomb, loaded (indicating). I found two pieces of solder in that dinner-box. I found a blast hammer and one smaller hammer, a couple of iron bits and drills, a two-quart pail, with a little substance looking like sawdust in the bottom of it, which I found out to be dynamite. I found a little tin quart basin under the bed with a little piece of fuse in it. In the bottom of the trunk I found two or three pieces of fuse. In the closet we tore off the baseboard, which had been freshly nailed down; the nails were projecting out a little bit, and found the plaster was torn out all the way around on the baseboard, and there were holes there.

(Motion to exclude the testimony of this witness overruled, and exception.)

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

Linng was not there while we made the search. It was in Seliger's house, 442 Sedgwick street. I believe Seliger was arrested after that search. I had no search warrant. I had no warrant for Linng's arrest. We had been looking for Linng for a whole week, and went down to Ambrose street for the purpose of making the arrest, if we could find him.



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462 JOSEPH B. CASAGRANDE:

I am a telephone operator at the East Chicago avenue police station. On the night of May 4th I was on duty at the Larrabee street police station. A call for the patrol wagon and policemen was received at that station that night, which is recorded in the record book as "Special. Randolph and Desplaines streets, 10:32 P. M." The wagon went out with a full load of officers. They returned at 4 o'clock in the morning.

463 JOHN K. SOLLER:

I am police officer at Larrabee street station. I was there on the 4th of May when the order came for a full wagon of policemen at Randolph and Desplaines streets. I went down on the wagon about 10:40 P. M. We went east on North avenue, down Larrabee street to Chicago avenue, west on Chicago avenue to Halsted, down Halsted to Milwaukee avenue, down Milwaukee avenue to Desplaines and Randolph streets; it took us about eight minutes to get there. I think that there were twenty-

464 one men in all on the wagon. Larrabee street station is at the northwest corner of Larrabee and North avenue. We came out of the station on North avenue, traveled on North avenue probably 150 feet before we came to Larrabee.

465 JOHN B. MURPHY:

I am a physician and surgeon. I was at the Desplaines street station after the explosion at the Haymarket. I arrived there about 11 o'clock. I am surgeon at the Cook county hospital, and connected with Rush Medical College. I have been practicing since 1879. I remained at the station until half-past 3 in the morning. I examined many of the officers

467 brought there wounded. From the station I went directly to the hospital. At the station I saw ten wounded officers on the first floor, just inside the door. I went upstairs and cut the dressings for the officers there. I first dressed Barrett, who was complaining most and crying severely of pain. He had a very large wound in the side, large enough to admit two fingers right into his liver, and severely bleeding. I could not reach with my finger the piece of shell that caused the injury. It was a lacerated wound, much larger than could be made by an ordinary pistol bullet. I tampered the liver with gauze to prevent his bleeding

468 to death at the station, and I went on to other officers in that way until I dressed in all between twenty-six and thirty at the station. When we



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got through with that, at 3 o'clock, Dr. Lee remained at the station while I went to the hospital to take care of those injured most severely, who were to be sent to the hospital. Officers Miller, Whitney, Keller, Barrett, Flaven and Redden are the principal men that I ordered him to send first to the hospital. I will now give a list of the men, and mention their particular wounds.

469 Charles Fink, 154 Sangamon street, had three shell wounds in the leg. The missile which caused the wound in the calf passed in about three inches, from the left to the right, and lay under the skin. I put in a drainage tube. The peculiarity of shell wounds is that, as a rule, they make but a small opening on the outside, but inside they tear the soft parts terribly.

470 A. C. Keller was struck by a piece of shell on the left side, which passed directly into the eighth rib, which glanced it off and it shot under the skin at an angle of twenty degrees, about six inches, and lodged just over the heart on the left side. I made an incision to find where the shell was. It is important in shell wounds, different from wounds with a bullet, to get out the shell.

471 (Defendants object to the witness stating about the importance of anything he did, and also to the whole testimony describing the injuries of the officers, as not material to the issue; objection overruled, and exception.)

It is important because the shells take in large pieces of cloth and other material which favors blood poisoning.

Joseph Norman, 612 Walnut street, had one fractured finger, and the shell perforated the foot.

472 Michael Shehan had a wound in his back just below the ninth rib. The bullet lay in the abdomen. I removed the bullet and his abdomen was bloody. He was collapsed and complaining of pain. I let out about two quarts of blood from the abdomen and put in a large drainage tube to allow it to escape. He got peritonitis and died, I think, on the 7th.

Arthur Conelly had a compound fracture of the tibia; the shell struck him about two inches below the knee. Tore away a piece of bone of the fibula, perforated the tibia and lodged about the middle of the large bone of the leg, a short distance below the knee. We took out a piece of shell. He is now able to be around, but quite lame. He had several other shell wounds.

473 Lawrence Murphy had fifteen shell wounds, one in the neck, three or four in the arms, one in his left foot, the shell lodged at the base of the



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great toe and left his foot hanging by a piece of skin; this piece of shell weighed about an ounce and a half; I divided it and gave a part to Prof. Patton, and two portions of it to Walter F. Haines, of Rush Medical College. The foot had to be amputated about two inches further back. He had a piece two inches square taken out of the anterior surface of his leg. He had two perforating wounds in the left thigh and a number  
474 in the right.

Ed. Barrett had two shell wounds in the neighborhood of the knee joint, turning out large pieces of flesh and leaving ragged wounds on the surface.

J. H. King was struck by a piece of shell in the chin, which went through his upper lip; another piece carried away about an inch of his lower jaw-bone.

J. H. Grady had severe flesh wounds, both in the thigh and legs. Some pieces of shell were taken out of them. I don't know whether they were all shell wounds.

475 Tim. Flaven was struck with a piece of shell four inches above the ankle joint, tearing away a portion of the large bone and fracturing the small bone and leaving his leg hanging. He had two wounds just below the shoulder joint in the right arm, cutting the artery so that it had to be ligated. The missile was not there. It looked like a shell wound. He had two shell wounds in the back. One passed into the abdomen, one into the lung. His leg had to be amputated the second day afterwards, about three inches above the knee. He had besides a large piece torn out of his right hip. He died on the fourth or fifth day.

476 Jacob Hanson had a shell wound in the right thigh about two and one-half inches long, cutting the vein, and a shell-wound fracture of the tibia of the opposite side, the shell was removed and the vein ligated. On the fourth day his leg was amputated about six inches below the hip. He had besides a large wound three inches deep a little above the right hip joint, and another one in the anterior surface of the right side. At the end of three weeks his blood vessel burst and we amputated more. He bled profusely, was pulseless at the time and the vessel was ligated.  
477 Two weeks later it burst again. The vessel was tied two inches higher, artificial respiration had to be kept up to keep him alive on the table. About two weeks later he had another hemorrhage. The doctor stayed by his side with me for four days following. At the end of the fourth day I made an incision into his abdomen and ligated his external iliac, a large vessel that leads from the main trunk down. These





blood vessels kept bursting from time to time, so that they had to be tied higher and higher until I got to the external iliac, which was ligated the 29th of last June. Since that he has gradually improved until now he is able to sit up a little.

478 John Doyle had several wounds about the legs, in the neighborhood of the knee joint.

Thomas Brophy had a number of wounds in the legs.

Officer John Barrett had a large hole in his liver. I removed the gauze that I had put in at the station. I found a piece of shell in his liver, which I removed and I tampered the liver again. Besides, he had a compound communitated fracture of his elbow joint. The internal condyle was torn away by the shell, leaving the elbow joint open. The heel bone of one leg was carried off for about two inches, and left a piece or flap of the skin in its place. He was half unconscious from the time he entered the hospital. He died on the sixth.

479 Michael O'Brien was struck with a shell, which passed almost entirely through his side. I found the shell a little under the skin on the opposite side.

Nicholas Shannon had eighteen wounds, principally in his side and back and neck, none in his face. There were two at his ankle joint of the left foot. I believe we took out in all nine pieces of shell. He is still confined to bed. I think he will recover. We put in eighteen drainage tubes; no amputation; portion of the bone of the leg where it was broken loose with the shell was removed last week.

480 Peter Butterly had a wound in his arm three inches long. The shell was taken out before I saw him. The other wounds were in his leg, one at the anterior surface tearing away about an inch square; two perforating wounds went almost through the leg, which had drainage tubes; in another place the shell burned a large surface, probably two inches long and an inch across.

481 Officer Terrehll had a shell wound in the right thigh or leg, I have forgotten which.

Thomas Redden had a very bad fracture of the leg three inches below the knee, in which a large portion of the bone was entirely carried away, besides several wounds below that in the leg and also in the other leg, and a compound wound opening the joint of the right elbow. Drainage tubes were put into the wounds in the leg, and in some wounds in the back and in his elbow joint. He died on the 16th. We found a piece of shell in the leg and also in the elbow.



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Patrick Hartford had an opening in the ankle joint. The shell was  
 482 removed and a drainage tube put in. A portion of his left foot, his  
 toes, was carried away, the missile was not found. He left the hospital  
 recently. He will recover.

Charles E. Whitney was struck by a piece of shell between the sec-  
 ond and third left ribs, just over the base of his heart, tearing off a  
 piece of the breast bone. I found a piece of shell with a large piece of  
 cloth a week after. A drainage tube was inserted; he is in somewhat  
 483 critical condition, owing to injury done at the base of the heart. He  
 has the symptoms of a developing aneurism.

Bernard Murphy was struck with a shell at the forehead, which made  
 a lacerated wound, in which I put a drainage tube. He also had three  
 wounds in his thigh. He is now about.

Officer McNulty is yet in a critical condition. Both of the pieces of  
 shell passed into the popliteal space. One passed into the knee joint,  
 and on the fourth day it became very much swollen. We put seven  
 drainage tubes through his knee joint. On the evening of the fourth  
 day he had a profuse hemorrhage and was collapsed. The next day  
 he rallied a little, got delirious and remained so for three weeks from  
 484 the shock. He is now just able to sit up at the hospital.

Officer Smith was struck by a shell at the tip of the right collar bone,  
 which was lodged at the base of the neck. It was removed.

Lieut. Stanton had one wound on the right side of the chest, passing  
 into the rib, and then backwards. The missile was not found. He had  
 besides two perforating wounds and one small one in his leg, which were  
 drained, another wound higher up, in front of the leg, carrying away a  
 large portion of the skin. Another in the right fore arm and another in  
 485 the arm about three inches below the shoulder.

Michael Horn had two bullet wounds in the thigh.

Officer McCormick had one small perforating wound of the arm.

Officer Miller was shot in the left side just below the axilla. The  
 bullet passed down through the body and lodged in his right side just  
 above the hip bone. He suffered probably more than any man from  
 pain, for a short period of time. He didn't consent to an operation.  
 His agony was terrible. His right lung collapsed, which made his  
 breathing very difficult, and his bowels being torn by the ball distended  
 his abdomen so that he could not breathe with his diaphragm. The ball  
 486 was taken out above the hip bone.



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Simon McMahon had three wounds of the leg, two pieces of shell were removed.

Officer Weinecke was struck in the neck by a missile which passed up, struck the base of the skull, fractured the external plate and glanced off in some direction so it could not be found.

## E. G. EPLER:

487 I am a physician and surgeon, practicing in this city, at 505 South Canal street. I dressed a wound of the defendant Fielden between 11 and 12 at night on May 4th last. The wound was on the left side of the left knee joint, the bullet having passed in underneath the skin and passed out again five inches from the point of entry. He  
488 said he was crawling on the pavement trying to get away from the crowd when he received the injury, and the bullet glanced off from the pavement and struck him in that position.

## 494 WILLIAM SCHWARTZ:

495 I reside at 492 Sedgwick street. I own the house in which the Seligers lived last May. I remember the closet in the bedroom on the south-east corner of the floor on which they lived. I examined the baseboards in the closet at the time the officers were here. I found some new nails put in there. I took the baseboard off and found underneath it that the lath was cut out and taken away. The wall was calcimined. I painted the baseboard myself and calcimined it through. You couldn't rub it off.

## 497 MICHAEL HOFFMAN:

I am a police officer at Larrabee street station, since about four years. I found nine round bombs and four long ones. These two bombs (indicating) I found at the corner of Clyde and Clybourn avenue, near Ogden's Grove, under the sidewalk. They were empty. I found another  
498 one there which was loaded, and which I gave to Capt. Schaack. Gustav Lehmann, who was a witness in this case, was with me when I found them. I got two coils of fuse, a can of dynamite and a box of caps at the same time.

I found these two pieces of gas-pipe (indicating) at 509 North Halsted street, under the house of John Thielen, who was arrested, with  
499 two cigar boxes full of dynamite and two boxes of cartridges, one rifle,



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one revolver. The revolver and one box of cartridges was buried under the floor of the coal shed, and the two bombs which were loaded, the dynamite and rifle and the other box of cartridges was buried under the house in the ground.

500 The can of dynamite which Lehmann pointed out to me, and which I found near Ogden's Grove, held about a gallon. This can and the box of caps was on the stone of the pavement; the bombs were buried in the ground.

(Motion to exclude testimony overruled, and exception.)

501 JAMES BOWLER, recalled:

This package of clothing I have here (indicating) is clothing taken from officers after they were brought in from the Haymarket on the 4th of May. The clothing is in the same condition as when it was taken off.

(Clothing offered in evidence; objected to by defendants.)

503 Here is one of the shoes, torn in two places on the heel. There are blood stains on these pants, which belong to Lawrence Murphy.

(Above objection overruled, and exception.)

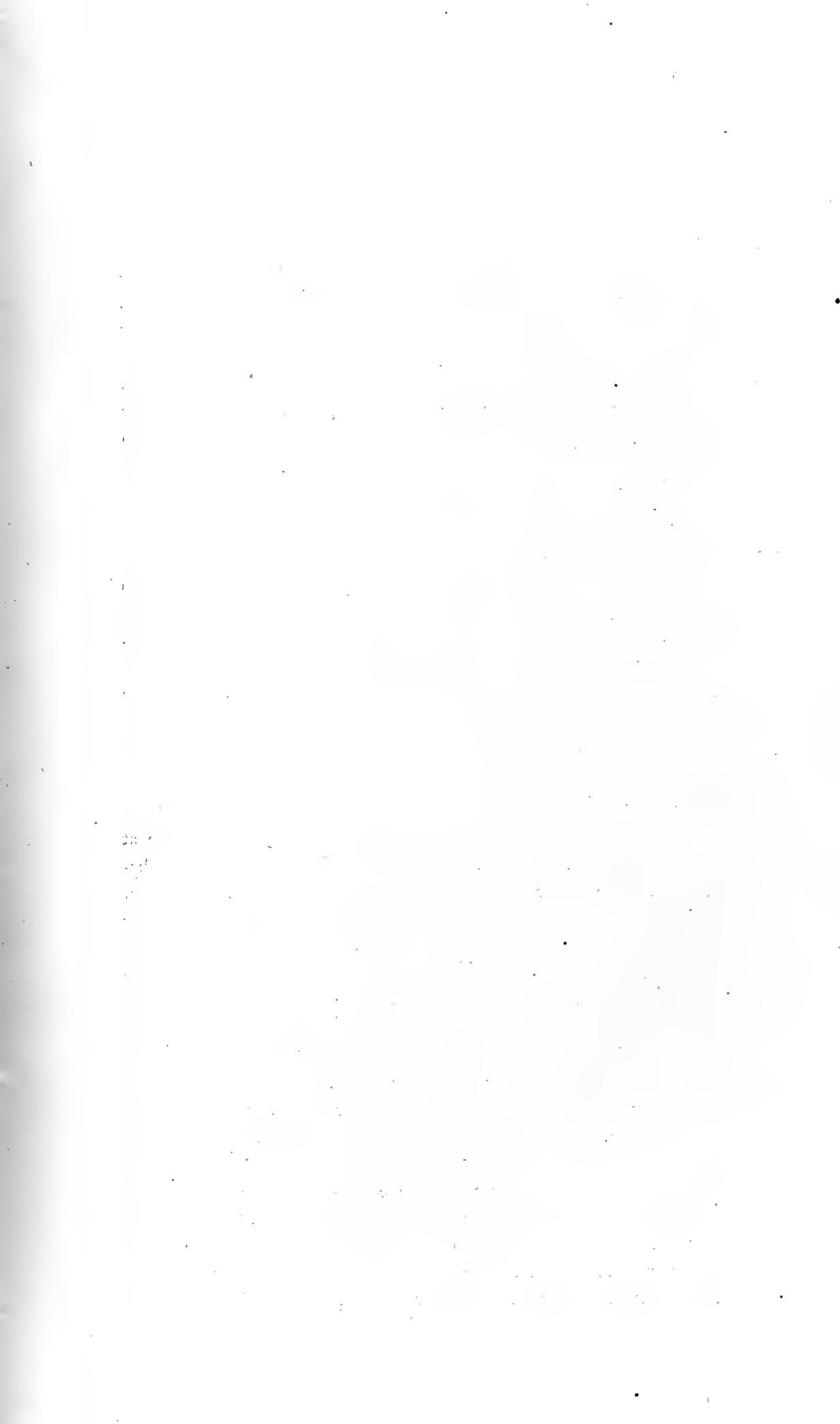
504 MICHAEL SCHAACK:

I am police captain of the fifth precinct. My headquarters are at East Chicago avenue station. I have charge of two other stations besides; have been connected with the force for eighteen years. Have been  
505 captain since one year. I have seen Spies, Schwab, Neebe and Fischer; had no personal acquaintance with them. The defendants Engel and Linng were arrested and confined in my station. Linng was arrested on May 14th; Engel about the 18th. I had my first conversation with Linng about this case about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of May 14th. Linng told me his name, and that he had lived at 442 Sedgwick street.  
506 He had been out of work for about four weeks.

(Objected to in behalf of defendants other than Linng.)

The COURT: It is not admissible as against the others, only as to himself.

I asked him whether he was at the meeting held in the basement of 54 West Lake street, on Monday night, and he said yes. On Tuesday night, May 4th, he said he was at home, not all the evening; he and Seliger had been on Larrabee street, quite a ways north; had had several glasses of beer, and from there he went home. He said he had





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made some bombs to use them himself. He said he had reason for being down on the police, they had clubbed him out at McCormick's.

507 He said he was down on capitalists, and found fault with the police for taking the part of the capitalists. If the capitalists turned out the militia and the police force with their Gatling guns, they couldn't do anything with revolvers, and therefore they had adopted these bombs and dynamite. He said he learned to make bombs in scientific books of warfare published by Most, of New York. He had got his dynamite on Lake street, somewheres near Dearborn, and had bought some fuse and caps, and told me what he paid for it. He had not used up all his dynamite. He said he made bombs of gas pipe and also of metal and lead mixed. He finds the gas pipe on the street sometimes. The lead

508 he got about the same way. He said the bombs they found in his place were all he made. We put Mrs. Seliger face to face with him, and she accused him that he had commenced making bombs a few weeks after he came to their house. He looked at the woman but didn't say anything. John Thielen, who was arrested at the time, faced him too.

509 Linng admitted he had given to Thielen the two cigar boxes full of dynamite and the two bombs which officer Hoffmann brought to me; at the same time Linng looked right square at Thielen and shook his head for him to keep still. Thielen said to him, "Never mind, you might as well tell it. They know it all, anyhow."

510 In Linngs' trunk I discovered a false bottom, and in there I found two long cartridges of dynamite, and some fuse four inches long with caps on and a big coil of fuse. I asked Linng if that was the dynamite he

511 used in his bombs, and he said yes. The dynamite in the package is lighter in quality, and what was found in his bombs, except one was black. I got three kinds of dynamite. That in the gallon box that Lehmann testified was given to him by Linng looked like charcoal, the dynamite in the trunk was white, and the dynamite in most of those bombs is dark colored. Linng said he had tried a round bomb and a long one in the open air somewhere, and they worked well. He put one right in the crutch of a tree and slit it all up. He said he had known Spies for some time. He had been at the Arbeiter Zeitung office about five times, bringing reports of socialistic and anarchistic meetings to the

512 Arbeiter Zeitung. He stated he had been financial secretary of a branch of the carpenters' union. He had been a socialist ever since he could think. He told me he had been in this country since last July or August. He had been a socialist in Europe.



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Q. Now give the conversation which you had with Engel.

(Objected to by defendants other than Engel; objection overruled, and exception.)

Engel said in the first conversation I had with him that on Monday, 3d of May, he was doing some fresco work for a friend by the name of Koch, somewhere out west. He had been for a little while at 54 West  
514 Lake street meeting that night, but made no speech there.

Several days afterwards I had another conversation when his wife and daughter came. Engel complained that his cell was dark and no water running in it, and I told him we would give him another cell, if we had  
515 it. The cells were crowded right along that night. And his wife said, "Do you see now what trouble you got yourself into?" and Engel answered, "Mama, I can't help it." I told him why he didn't stop that nonsense, and he said, "I promised my wife so many times that I would stop this anarchism or socialism business. But I can't stop it. What is in me has got to come out. I can't help it, that I am so gifted with eloquence. It is a curse. It has been a curse to a good many other men, a good many men have suffered already for the same cause, and I am willing to suffer and will stand it like a man." And I think he mentioned Louise Mitchell, as having taken a leading part in the anarchist business. Engel said on the evening of May 4th he was at home laying on the lounge.

I have experimented with all dynamite that was brought me, also the bombs. I gave a portion of the lead bomb which officer Schuttler testified he found in Lingg's room to Professor Haines. I took the dynamite from that bomb and put the dynamite in a piece of gas pipe, about five  
517 inches long, with ends screwed on and I had a box made two feet square of inch boards pretty well nailed together, and we dug a hole three feet deep out at Lake View in the bushes, put the box into the hole, cut a hole in the top of the box, let the bomb in it, put a fuse and cap to it and touched it off. This was found as the result of the explosion (indicating fragments,) the box was blown all to pieces, and some of the pieces flew up in the trees. Everything in that box was smashed to pieces. This bomb here (indicating) I have made in the same way and filled it with  
518 some black dynamite, from that gallon can which was given by Lingg to Lehmann as stated here. This here (indicating fragments of the exploded bomb) was the result of the examination. I put some dynamite also in a beer keg. It smashed it all to pieces.

Now here are the fragments from a lead bomb which Lehmann gave



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to Hoffmann and Hoffmann to me. We got a boiler iron a quarter of an inch thick, nineteen inches high and thirty-four inches wide. Then  
 520 we had a steel top weighing 140 pounds. On the ground I put two inch plank. On top of the plank I put four large metal sheets. I put the bomb right in the center and a big stone weighing about 125 pounds on top and the inside of the boiler iron, the tub, I had painted so we could see where the lead would strike. I touched it off myself. It knocked the tub way up in the air and the stone on top was crushed all to pieces. This is the result of the lead after we picked it up on top of the boards (indicating fragments of the tub). Here is the bolt (indicat-  
 521 ing) that was on the bomb. The nut we did not find. I counted 195 places where the lead struck the painted boiler iron. There is a crack clear through the boiler iron. In six places it is bulged out.

Prof. Haines has got a piece of this bomb (indicating) and Prof. Patton another piece. I gave to the same professors pieces of metal from  
 523 other bombs.

Linng in his conversations with me said there would likely be revolution through this workingmen's trouble. There was a satchel brought from Neff's place. The satchel was filled with bombs. Thielen was present. I asked him if he brought the satchel there. He said he saw the satchel there, saw it stand there when he left, and that was the last he saw of it. Linng said he made the moulds to make these bombs  
 526 himself. He made them of clay, and that they could be used to cast in only about twice. He said he saw the Revenge circular, on the west side, I believe at 71 West Lake street. I asked him when he had his hair trimmed and his chin beard shaved. He said on or about the 7th of May. He said there had been several persons in his room on the afternoon of May 4th, among them the two Lehmanns.

I experimented with fuse. I cut a fuse four inches long and set it on fire, and you could count just four until it struck the cap within. I experimented with dynamite cartridges. I drilled a hole in one end about an inch and a half deep, shoved a percussion cap in, put a fuse on and exploded it. I had it stand free up in the air in a stone, weighing about twenty or thirty pounds. When it went off it broke the stone all up. I  
 528 put one right in the center of a lot of shrubs and brushes and broke everything up, took around about four feet each way.

(Motion to exclude evidence of this witness as not pertinent to the issue; overruled, and exception.)



## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

533 I never took Linnig before any magistrate for examination. There was no complaint entered against him.

ANDREW J. BAXTER:

I am a physician and surgeon, one of the surgeons at the County hospital, the Alexian and the Michael Reese hospitals. I was in attendance on some of the officers brought to the station on the night of May  
537 4th. I attended to officers whose names I didn't know. I remember, however, some of them, for instance, Officer Redden; he was shot in the right leg, the leg was simply shattered. It was a bomb wound. I removed the piece of bomb myself. Officer Sullivan had a large, ragged wound in the upper part of the thigh, so that you could put your hand  
538 in, and after a long search I found these pieces of zinc in the wound. He had another wound on the outside of the leg, and the piece I removed from the inside passed between the bones, and I removed it from the inside. He had another wound made with one of these pieces of zinc which had hit the surface edgewise and consequently didn't make a large external wound. These bomb pieces were undoubtedly cut from pieces of zinc, and they were oblique, of course, after leaving the bomb. If they happened to hit the surface edgewise, they would make a linear incision, but if they hit it flat they made a large ragged wound. I remember  
539 to have found two or three gun-shot wounds.

E. F. L. GAUSS:

I made a translation of portions of the copy of "The Anarchist" of January 1, 1886.

(Translation introduced in evidence and marked "People's Ex. 32," in Vol. of Exhibits.)

(Defendants object to reading of translation, particularly the defendants, other than Engel; objection overruled, and exception.)

EUGENE SEEGER (recalled):

548 This manuscript here (indicating manuscript heretofore identified), is, as far as it goes, a manuscript of an article in the Arbeiter Zeitung of May 4th, headed "Blood."

549-552 (The following articles from the Alarm were here read on behalf of the people, to the reading of which, respectively, the defendants objected; objection overruled, and exception. Said articles appear in Vol. of Exhibits as "People's Exhibits 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48.")





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553 FREDERICK DREWS:

I live at 351 North Paulina street; I saw these cans (indicating) first underneath the sidewalk at my place in this city. On the 2d of June last I gave them to Capt. Schaack. At the time I had them they were  
554 full of some explosive stuff; there were four of them.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness overruled, and exception.)

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

My place is about three miles from the Haymarket. I don't know who put these cans there, nor how long they have been there.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

351 North Paulina street is about a mile and a-half from Wicker Park.

555 MICHAEL WHALEN:

I am a police officer connected with the central station; detailed at the Chicago avenue station; I saw these cans (indicating) first at 351 North Paulina street, in the yard. That is about a mile or half a mile  
556 distant from Wicker Park, and about two miles west of State street. I do not know the proximity of 351 North Paulina street to Wicker Park.  
557 I found four cans; one of them we emptied. I took them to Capt. Schaack.

EDWARD W. LEE:

I am a surgeon and physician; am on the surgical staff of the County Hospital; have been practicing surgery for twenty-one years in Chicago; I was called to the Desplaines street station on the night of May 4th last.  
559 I dressed about seventeen or eighteen at the station—about seven or eight  
560 more at the hospital; the majority of those I attended were wounded with fragments of the bomb.

(Objection to this line of testimony by the defendants; overruled, and exception.)

I recollect three or four wounded with pistol wounds. Shannon received the largest number of wounds. He was wounded from both feet right along up to the hips—eighteen wounds all together; some of  
561 them of quite a severe character. Officer McHenry had somewhat about the same number of wounds—twelve or thirteen. In his case, above the place where the main artery passes the knee-joint both spaces were



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562 open, and the artery exposed in each limb. Both Shannon and McHenry are crippled now. They may recover completely. I took care of eleven officers besides some in the hospital whose names I didn't take down.

563 FERD. HENROTIN:

I am surgeon at the Alexian Brothers hospital and on the staff of the County hospital, am examining surgeon of the police force. I examined about sixty-seven men in the hospital since the 5th of May, about half a dozen of them were apparently wounded with bullets, the balance were mostly bomb wounds.

564-568 (Counsel for people read in evidence articles from the Alarm, marked in Vol. of Exhibits, as "People's Exhibits, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62," to the reading of which respectively, the defendants objected, which objections were overruled, and the defendants excepted.)

DANIEL COUGHLIN:

569 I am a police officer. I have these cans, four of them, at the East Chicago avenue station.

Q. Did you do anything with any of them?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

570 I took one of those cans and took off the top. I took a fulminating cap, and fuse about eight inches long, and I exploded the cap and the cap knocked a hole through the can. I put a vial in again, screwed it on and touched the fuse with a lighted cigar and it knocked the can around and threw the contents, some kind of vitriol, four or five feet around. It ignited the grass for four or five feet and made a blaze three or four feet high. It burned from three to five minutes. These here (showing fragments of can) are the remnants of the can.

(The cans referred to were introduced in evidence; objected to by defendants; objection overruled, and exception. Photograph of same marked "People's Ex. 131," in Vol. of Exhibits.

571 CHARLES B. PROUTY:

572 I am manager for E. Eaton, gun business, 53 State street. Some time late last fall Mr. and Mrs. Engel called at the store.

(Evidence as to that occurrence objected to by defendants; objection overruled, and exception.)

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in financial reporting.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and techniques used to collect and analyze data. It includes a detailed description of the experimental procedures and the statistical tools employed.

3. The third part of the document presents the results of the study, including a comparison of the different methods and a discussion of the implications of the findings.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the limitations of the study and suggests areas for future research. It also provides a conclusion and a list of references.

5. The fifth part of the document contains a detailed appendix of the data used in the study, along with a glossary of terms and a list of abbreviations.

6. The sixth part of the document provides a comprehensive overview of the research methodology and the theoretical framework underlying the study.

7. The seventh part of the document discusses the ethical considerations and the potential impact of the research on society.

8. The eighth part of the document contains a detailed analysis of the data, including a comparison of the different methods and a discussion of the implications of the findings.

9. The ninth part of the document discusses the limitations of the study and suggests areas for future research. It also provides a conclusion and a list of references.

10. The tenth part of the document contains a detailed appendix of the data used in the study, along with a glossary of terms and a list of abbreviations.

11. The eleventh part of the document provides a comprehensive overview of the research methodology and the theoretical framework underlying the study.

12. The twelfth part of the document discusses the ethical considerations and the potential impact of the research on society.

13. The thirteenth part of the document contains a detailed analysis of the data, including a comparison of the different methods and a discussion of the implications of the findings.

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573 They made some inquiries in regard to some large revolvers. They found one there that seemed to be satisfactory, and wanted to know at what price they could get a quantity of them, perhaps one or two hundred, and wanted to buy that one and pay for it and present it at some meeting of some society. They took the pistol and paid for it. A week or two after they returned, said the pistol was satisfactory and wanted to know if I could get them a lot. I said I knew of one lot in the east, and would inquire. I wrote east, and found the lot had been disposed of. They were somewhat disappointed but said they had found something else for a little less money that would answer the purpose, and with that they left our store. Mrs. Engel comes frequently to our store. She has a little store on the west side,  
574 and buys fishing tackle and other things in our line. I sold cartridges to them in a small way, as she might want them in her store. When I spoke of guns I meant large revolvers, something about seven inch barrel. I think 44 or 45 calibre, at \$5.50 apiece. When I stated the price was very cheap they replied they didn't care to make profits on them, it was for a society.

575 I remember seeing Mr. Parsons' face in the store. Never had any dealings with him.

(Motion to exclude testimony of this witness; overruled, and exception.)

576 WILLIAM J. REYNOLDS:

I am with D. H. Lambertson & Co., gun business, at 76 State street, since nine years. I think about February or March of this year Mr. Parsons came to our store.

576 (Evidence as to this occurrence objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

He said he wanted to buy a quantity of revolvers—I think forty or fifty. He wanted what is called an old remodeled Remington revolver, 44 or 45 calibre. I agreed to write and get a quotation of the revolver. He came in again and I quoted him a price upon it. He did not purchase any revolvers, and was in once or twice after that. He seemed undecided about it.

578 (Motion to exclude evidence of this witness overruled, and exception.)



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581 THOMAS McNAMARA:

I am a police officer. I found thirty loaded and one empty gas pipe bombs under the sidewalk on Bloomingdale road and Robey street. The loaded bombs were fixed with caps and fuse. They were in an oil-cloth. The corner where I found them is about four blocks from Wicker Park. Found them in the afternoon of May 23d last.

(Motion to exclude the testimony overruled, and exception.)

Three coils of fuse in a tin can and two boxes of dynamite caps—probably about two hundred caps—were also in the package.

583

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I found these bombs about three and a half miles from the Haymarket.

584 WALTER S. HAINES:

I am professor of chemistry in Rush Medical College in this city since ten years. Before that I was four years professor of chemistry in the Chicago Medical College. I devote most of my time to practical chemistry. I have examined several pieces of metal at the request of the state's attorney. I received from Captain Schaack, on June 24th this year, a piece of bomb said to have been connected with Linng. I call it "Linng bomb, No. 1." I received from Dr. J. B. Murphy, on the same day, a piece of metal said to have been taken from Officer Murphy. I designate it "Murphy bomb." On July 22d I received a piece of metal said to have been taken from Officer Degan. I designate it "Degan bomb." The last piece I received from Mr. Furthman. I subsequently received from Officer Whalen a piece of bomb said to have been connected with Linng. I designate it "Linng bomb No. 2." The next day I received from Captain Schaack pieces of two other bombs also said to have been connected with Linng. I designate as "Linng bombs No. 3 and 4." I received from Mr. Furthman a portion of a bomb said to have been connected with Mr. Spies, which I designate as "Spies bomb." These were all subjected to chemical examination.

586 Linng bombs Nos. 1, 3 and 4 were found to consist chiefly of lead, with a small percentage of tin and traces of antimony, iron and zinc. The amount of tin in these three bombs differ slightly. One of them contained about  $1\frac{9}{10}$  per cent., another about  $2\frac{4}{10}$  per cent., the third about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of tin. Linng bomb No. 2 contained more tin; consequently less lead; also a little more antimony





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- and a little more zinc. The amount of tin in this bomb was very nearly  
 587 seven per cent. The Murphy bomb was composed of a small proportion of tin, chiefly lead and traces of antimony, iron and zinc. The amount of tin was in round numbers  $\frac{1}{10}$  per cent. The Degan bomb contained in round numbers  $\frac{1}{10}$  or  $\frac{1}{7}$  per cent. The remainder was lead, with traces of antimony, iron and zinc. The Spies bomb consisted chiefly of lead with a small quantity of tin, about  $\frac{1}{10}$  per cent.,  
 588 in round numbers, with traces of antimony, iron and zinc. The different pieces of the same bomb differed slightly in the proportions of the metals present. The Degan bomb contained slightly more tin than what I call  
 589 the Murphy bomb. There is no commercial substance with which I am acquainted that has such a composition as these bombs; commercial lead frequently contains traces of other substances, but as far as I know, never tin. Solder is composed of from a third to a half tin and the remainder lead. Lead must have been the basis for the preparation, the various articles which I examined, and this must have been mixed either with tin or some substance containing tin, as for instance solder.
- 590 Linng bomb No. 2 had a minute trace of copper. This piece of candlestick (indicating) is composed of tin and lead, with a certain amount of antimony and zinc and a little copper.
- 591 Professor Patton has been sick for about two weeks. I worked in  
 592 connection with Professor Delafontaine instead of working with Patton. (The Spies bomb is the one which the witness, Wilkinson, identified.)

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

- 594 In a mixture of the ordinary commercial tin and the ordinary commercial lead you would find traces of antimony, zinc and iron. I do not think the antimony, iron and zinc would have been deliberately added to the substances I examined. They probably came in as impurities in both the other two constituents.

## 595 MARK DELAFONTAINE:

- I am a chemist, teacher of chemistry in the high school in this city; have been a chemist for over thirty years. I made an examination of the substances described by Prof. Haines, compared results with him  
 596 and they agreed as closely as they can. I found the piece of candlestick to be a mixture of antimony, tin, lead, zinc and a trace of copper. I made experiments with old lead pipes upon which there was solder.



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Q. What was the result of your experiment in that direction?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

I took a piece of old lead pipe that had been very much mended, had much solder put on, I melted it, analyzed it, and the amount of tin contained in the mixture was about seven-tenths of one per cent. I don't  
597 know of any one commercial product of which the pieces of bomb that I examined could be composed. I never found a sample of lead containing the least traces of tin.

601 MICHAEL WHALEN (recalled):

I gave to Prof. Haines two pieces of lead which Capt. Schaack gave me.

603-608 EUGENE SEEGER testifies to the correctness of his translations of certain articles contained in the Arbeiter Zeitung, the manuscript of which has been heretofore identified by the witness, Frickie, as in the handwriting of Spies and Schwab. Said translations appear in Vol. of Exhibits as "People's Ex., 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68."

611 EDMUND FURTHMAN (recalled):

I gave a piece of lead to Prof. Haines which I got from Dr. Bluthardt. The Haymarket spoken about in this case, Neff's Hall, Greif's  
612 Hall, Zepf's Hall, Thalia Hall, Wicker Park, Lincoln Park, the police station on Desplaines street, are all situated in Cook county, State of Illinois.

THEO. J. BLUTHARDT:

I am county physician. I made a post-mortem examination upon the body of Matthias J. Degan, on the 5th day of May last, before the coroner's inquest, at the Cook County Hospital. I found a cut upon his forehead, another cut over the right eye and another deep cut, about two inches in length, on the left side. I found a large wound apparently a gunshot wound; a hole in the middle of the left thigh. I found  
613 seven explosive marks on his right leg and two on the left leg. The large hole in the middle of the left thigh was the mortal wound caused by an explosive, a piece of lead that had penetrated the skin, destroyed the inside muscles and lacerated the femoral artery, which caused bleeding to death. Besides that he had a wound on the dorsum of the left



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614 foot, also caused by a piece of lead, which forced its way through the bones of the ankle joint. I found a piece behind the inside ankle of the left foot. Both pieces I gave to Mr. Furthman. The external appearance of that wound on that left thigh was that of a rifle ball. It was round and not very ragged, it was clean cut through the skin, but the muscles of the thigh were all contused and torn, formed a kind of pulpy cavity as large as a goose egg on the inside. The missile was lodged in the upper part of the thigh, about four inches above the place where it entered. Matthias J. Degan died of hemorrhage of the femoral artery, caused by this wound that I described.

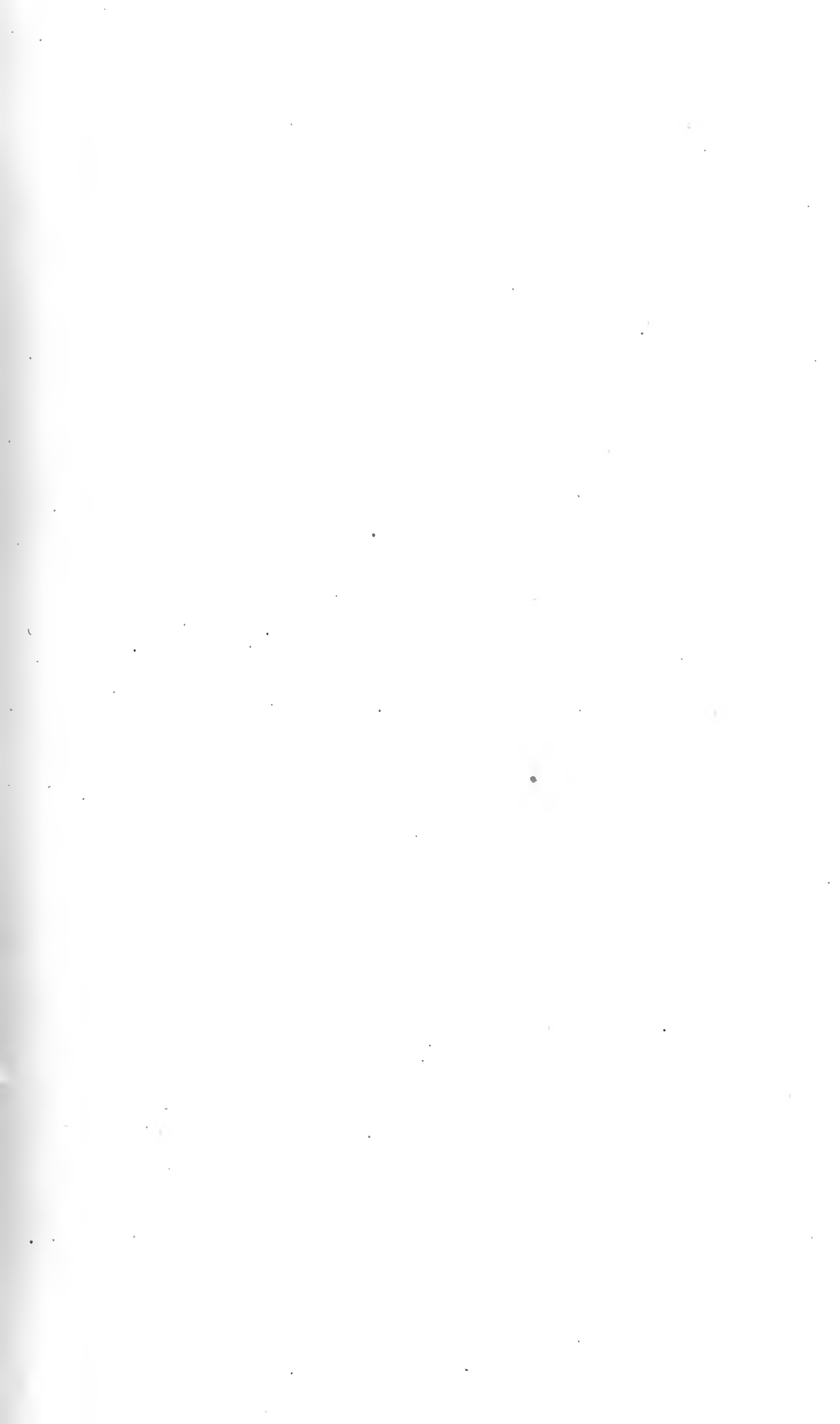
615 I made a post-mortem examination on the body of John Barrett on the 7th of May at 171 East Chicago avenue. A missile had passed through the eleventh rib into the upper part of the liver, about three inches deep. There I found a piece of lead and a piece of blue cloth with a lining in. The right lung was collapsed; from the opening into the diaphragm the air rushed into the cavity of the chest and compressed the lung. In consequence of the wound in the liver there was a good deal of hemorrhage into the chest as well as into the abdomen. This wound, by this explosive piece of material, was the cause of his death. He had several other wounds.

616 On the same day I made a post-mortem examination on the body of George F. Miller, at the Cook County Hospital. This man died, in my opinion, from the effects of a pistol ball which wounded the small intestines and caused inflammation of the bowels.

617 On May 8th I made a post mortem examination on the body of Tim Flavin. He had a small wound in the back four inches to the left of the spine. The missile, which was not a pistol ball, passed into the abdomen below the twelfth rib. I found much blood in both cavities, and the cause of his death was internal hemorrhage.

618 On May 10th I made a post mortem examination on the body of Michael Shehan. He died from exhaustion caused by a pistol shot wound upon the right side of the abdomen, three inches to the right and four inches above the umbilicus. The ball passed through the mesentary and lower part of the liver into the muscles of the abdomen. There was considerable blood in the abdomen and the liver. The surroundings were very much inflamed.

On May 17th I made a post mortem examination on the body of Thomas Redden, at the Cook County Hospital. I found an abrasion over the right eye, a slight lacerated wound upon the lower part of the



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left hip, a large lacerated wound perforating the right forearm, a compound fracture of the left tibia, a large lacerated wound upon the posterior part of the left leg, a circular wound upon the right leg two inches below the knee joint, extending to the bone, another wound upon the right leg about seven inches above the ankle, a large lacerated wound upon the left side of the back. I found the lungs badly inflamed and the blood valves enlarged above the kidneys, and the liver somewhat inflamed with so-called cloudy swelling. In my opinion he died from the effects of these wounds bringing about blood poisoning.

619 JOHN STIFFT:

I am a police officer, connected with the East Chicago avenue station. On the morning of May 7th last I was at the house of the defendant Neebe. I found there a 38-calibre Colt's pistol, a sword, a breech-loading gun, and a red flag; five chambers of the revolver were empty, one loaded with a cartridge, and one with a shell.

620

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

The gun I found may be a sporting gun; it had a large bore in it; it was a single barrel.

621 JOHN DEGAN:

I am a brother of Matthias J. Degan, who was born in Germany; he came to this country when he was four years old; he was thirty-four years of age; had been on the police force since a little over a year ago; 622 he was a very large man; he was a widower; has one boy fourteen years old, living. I saw him about 7 o'clock on the morning of the 5th of May, dead, at the county hospital, in Cook county, State of Illinois.

MICHAEL BURNS:

623

I am a police officer; knew Matthias J. Degan in his lifetime. I saw him on the night of May 4th, near Waldo place, on Desplaines street, near the police station; lifted him into the patrol wagon in which I was, and on which we went to the county hospital; he died on the way to the hospital—about Ashland and Ogden avenues; he was carried into the hospital dead; that was in Cook county, State of Illinois, on the night of May 4th.





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EUGENE SEEGER (recalled):

Testifies to the correctness of certain translations of manuscripts heretofore identified as in the handwriting of the defendants Spies and Schwab, respectively, and to the fact that said manuscripts are published  
624 in certain copies of the Arbeiter Zeitung. The translations referred to  
626 appear in Vol. of Exhibits as People's Exs. 68 to 74 inclusive.

627, 628 Witness further testifies to the correctness of certain other translations made by him of articles appearing in different copies of the Arbeiter Zeitung.

629-639 (Counsel for the people introduced in evidence and read translations of articles from the Arbeiter Zeitung, which are contained in Vol. of Exhibits as People's Exs., 75 to 97 incl., to the introduction and reading of which translations, severally and respectively, the defendants objected, which objections were respectively overruled, and the defendants excepted.)

640-648 E. C. L. GAUSS:

Testifies to the correctness of translations made by him of certain articles from the Arbeiter Zeitung. Said articles were introduced in evidence and read to the jury, to the introduction and reading of which, severally and respectively, the defendants objected, which objections were overruled, and the defendants excepted. Translations referred to appear in Vol. of Exhibits as People's Exs., 98 to 127, incl.

643 I have compared the article appearing in Arbeiter Zeitung of February 9, 1885, headed "Bombs," with Most's book on the science of war, and find that it corresponds with pages 12 to 16, inclusive, of the translation of that book, which appears as "People's Ex., 15." I have  
645 compared the article in the Arbeiter Zeitung of March 24, 1885, headed "Gun Cotton and Nitro-Gelatine," which corresponds with page 25 of the English translation of Herr Most's book on revolutionary warfare; both articles last referred to appear in the Arbeiter Zeitung as quoted from the "Freiheit," a newspaper edited by Herr Most in New York.

648 JAMES BONFIELD (recalled):

I found a number of banners at the Arbeiter Zeitung. I found, altogether, about forty banners. I can identify only a few of them as found at the Arbeiter Zeitung. The inscriptions on those banners (as translated by Mr. Gauss) are: "Every government is a conspiracy against  
649



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the people ” appearing on both sides of banner. “ Down with all law ” appearing on both sides of another banner. There are some small black flags here, and two red flags without any inscription, which I found at the Arbeiter Zeitung office. This banner here (indicating) has the following inscription: “ Boys, stick together. Proletarians of all countries, unite. Club together. International Workingmen’s Association, Sec. 5, Chicago.” The center reads: “ Dedicated by the Socialistic Women’s Society, 16th of July, Chicago.”

650

The inscription on another banner is “ Dick Oglesby, who murdered three poor workingmen in Lemont, is not in this procession. You can see him later.” Another, “ Carter Harrison, who clubbed our citizens during the carmen’s strike, is not in this procession. You can see him later.”

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

651 I found those banners which I identified in a small room off the library. It was a closet—the same room in which I found the files of the Arbeiter Zeitung.

The people here announce that they rest.

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1 Counsel for defendants move the court to send the jury from the court room while they would present and argue on behalf of the defendant Neebe the motion that the jury be instructed to find a verdict of not  
2 guilty as to said Neebe. The court refused said motion to send the jury out, to which decision the defendants excepted. Thereupon the defendant, Oscar Neebe, moved the court to instruct the jury that they may find a verdict of not guilty as to him.

2-25 Said motion was thereupon fully argued, in the course of which argument the following expressions by the court were made:

4 The COURT: There are other things. I won’t repeat them, however, unless you want me to call your attention to the things that are in my mind so you can argue the question to me.

Mr. SALOMON: It is proper your Honor should state that.

The COURT: There is testimony from which the state will be permitted to urge upon this jury that he (Neebe) presided at meetings at which some of the speeches were made, urging the killing of people. Is there not evidence in the case from which the state will be permitted to urge upon the jury that he, without being an active man in the Arbeiter Zeitung, yet was interested in it, and it was published with his co-opera-



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tion and assent, and that therefore what was contained in it received his  
5 assent. What inference can they urge upon this jury from the testimony,  
that when the officers went there, after he was in charge, and asked who  
was in charge, he replied that he supposed that in the absence of Spies  
12 and Schwab he was in charge? \* \* \* Whether he had anything  
to do with the dissemination of advice to commit murder, is, I think, a  
debatable question which the jury ought to pass upon.

13 The COURT: Whether the Arbeiter Zeitung was published with his  
aid or not—

Mr. BLACK: There is not a particle of testimony. I desire your  
Honor to call attention if you can, or the gentleman on the other side to  
call attention to any evidence in this case that shows it was published  
with his aid.

14 The COURT: There have been witnesses who said he was frequently  
seen there \* \* and that when Spies and Schwab were arrested and  
in custody, then he took charge of it.

Mr. BLACK: Certainly—what does that prove?

The COURT: It proves that he had some control. \* \* Why he  
took control of it is a matter you must debate—whether he did it at the  
request of Spies or Schwab or took possession because he was next in  
command, or why he took it, I shall not undertake to say.

21 The COURT: If it depended upon prior knowledge and participation at  
the Haymarket meeting, the question would be quite different, but if there  
is general advice to commit murder, the time and occasion not being  
25 foreseen, the adviser is guilty when it is committed.

After full argument the court overruled the above motion on behalf of  
the defendant Neebe, to which ruling counsel for defendants excepted.

A like motion on behalf of the other defendants, except August Spies  
and Adolph Fischer, was overruled by the court, to which ruling counsel  
excepted on behalf of the defendants respectively.



## DEFENDANTS' TESTIMONY.

CARTER H. HARRISON:

I am mayor of the city of Chicago since over seven years. On the 4th of May last I was present during a part of the Haymarket meeting so-called. On the day before there was a riot at McCormick's factory, which was represented to me to have grown out of a speech made by Mr. Spies. During the morning of the 4th I received information of the issuance of a circular of a peculiar character and calling for the meeting at the Haymarket that night. I directed the chief of police that if anything should be said at that meeting that might call out a recurrence of such proceedings as at McCormick's factory, the meeting should be dispersed. I believed that it was better for myself to be there and disperse the meeting myself instead of leaving it to any policeman. I went to the meeting for the purpose of dispersing it in case I should feel it necessary for the safety of the city. I arrived there about five minutes before 8. There was a large concourse of people about the Haymarket, but it was so long before any speaking commenced that probably two-thirds of the people there assembled left, as it seemed to me. It was about half past 8 when the speaking commenced and the meeting congregated around Crane's building, or the alley near it.

Mr. Spies may have been speaking one or two minutes before I got near enough to hear distinctly what he said. I judge that I left the meeting between 10 and 10:05 o'clock that night. I staid to hear Mr. Spies' speech, and I heard all of Mr. Parsons' up to the time I left, with the exception of about five or ten minutes, during which I went over to the station. When I judged that Mr. Parsons was looking towards the close of his speech I went over to the station, spoke to Capt. Bonfield, and determined to go home, but instead of going immediately I went back to hear a little more; staid there about five minutes longer and then left. Within about twenty minutes from the time that I left the meeting I heard the sound of the explosion of the bomb at my house. While at the meeting I noticed that I was observed when I struck a match to light my cigar and the full blaze showed my face. I thought Mr. Spies had observed me, as the tone of his speech suddenly changed, but that is a mere conjecture. Prior to that change in the tone of Mr. Spies' speech I feared his remarks would force me to disperse the meeting. I was





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34 there for that purpose; that is to say, it was my own determination to do it against the will of the police. After that occurrence the general tenor of Spies' speech was such that I remarked to Capt. Bonfield that it was tame.

35 Q. Did anything transpire in the address of either Spies or Parsons, after the incident of the lighting of your cigar to which you have referred, that led you to conclude to take any action in reference to the dispersing of the meeting?

Objected to; objection sustained; exception by defendants.

36 I did in fact take no action at the meeting about dispersing it. There were occasional replies from the audience, as "Shoot him," "Hang him," or the like, but I do not think, from the directions in which they came, here and there and around, that there were more than two to three hundred actual sympathizers with the speakers. Several times cries of "Hang him" would come from a boy in the outskirts, and the crowd would laugh. I felt that the majority of the crowd were idle spectators, and the replies nearly as much what might be called "guying" as absolute applause. Some of the replies were evidently bitter; they came  
41 from immediately around the stand. The audience numbered from 800 to 1,000. The people in attendance, so far as I could see during the half hour before the speaking commenced, were apparently laborers or mechanics, and the majority of them not English-speaking people, mostly  
43 Germans. There was no suggestion made by either of the speakers looking toward calling for the immediate use of force or violence towards any person that night; if there had been I should have dispersed them at once. After I came back from the station Parsons was still  
44 speaking, but evidently approaching a close. It was becoming cloudy and looked like threatening rain, and I thought the thing was about over. There was not one-fourth of the crowd that had been there during the evening listening to the speakers at that time. In the crowd I heard  
47 a great many Germans use expressions of their being dissatisfied with bringing them there and having this speaking. When I went to the station during Parsons' speech, I stated to Capt. Bonfield that I thought the speeches were about over; that nothing had occurred yet or looked likely to occur to require interference, and that he had better issue orders to his reserves at the other stations to go home. Bonfield replied that he had reached the same conclusion from reports brought to him, but he thought it would be best to retain the men in the station until the meeting broke up, and then referred to a rumor that he had heard that night



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which he thought would make it necessary for him to keep his men there, which I concurred in.

48 During my attendance of the meeting I saw no weapons at all upon any person.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

49 The rumor that I referred to was related to me by Capt. Bonfield immediately after my reaching the station. Bonfield told me he had just received information that the Haymarket meeting, or a part of it, would go over to the Milwaukee and St. Paul freight houses, then filled with scabs, and blow it up. There was also an intimation that this  
50 meeting might be held merely to attract the attention of the police to the Haymarket while the real attack, if any, should be made that night on McCormick's. Those were the contingencies in regard to which I was listening to those speeches. In listening to the speeches I concluded it was not an organization to destroy property that night, and went home.

My order to Bonfield was that the reserves held at the other stations might be sent home, because I learned that all was quiet in the district where McCormick's factory is situated. Bonfield replied he had  
51 already ordered the reserves in the other stations to go in their regular order.

Bonfield was there, detailed by the chief of police, in control of that meeting, together with Capt. Ward. I don't remember of hearing Parsons call "To arms! To arms! To arms!"

53 When I speak of a rumor in regard to a possible attack upon McCormick's, the fact is, it was not a rumor that came from others, but rather a fear or apprehension on my own part, and it was suggested first by myself that this might be the aim of this meeting. There was a direct statement by Mr. Bonfield to me that he had heard the rumor about the freight houses.

## BARTON SIMONSON:

54 I reside at Lake View, in Cook county. I have been a traveling salesman for about seven years. I was born in Chicago. Cook county has always been my home. I have traveled for O. R. Keith & Co., John M. Graves & Co., Jacob Meyer & Bros., John V. Farwell & Co. At present  
55 I am traveling for E. Rothschild & Bros., wholesale clothing. On May 4th last I was at the store until about 5:30; then I went to my mother's



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house, 50 West Ohio street, where I was born and where my mother lived since my birth, and took supper with my mother. After supper I  
 56 went to the Haymarket meeting. In the afternoon I had received a copy of the circular calling the Haymarket meeting. This here (indicating circular marked "Defendants' Ex. 1") is a copy of the circular that I received. It did not contain the line "Workingmen, arm yourselves and appear in full force."

(Copy of circular last referred to introduced in evidence.)

57 I received that circular about 1:30 P. M., on West Lake street, near Jefferson street.

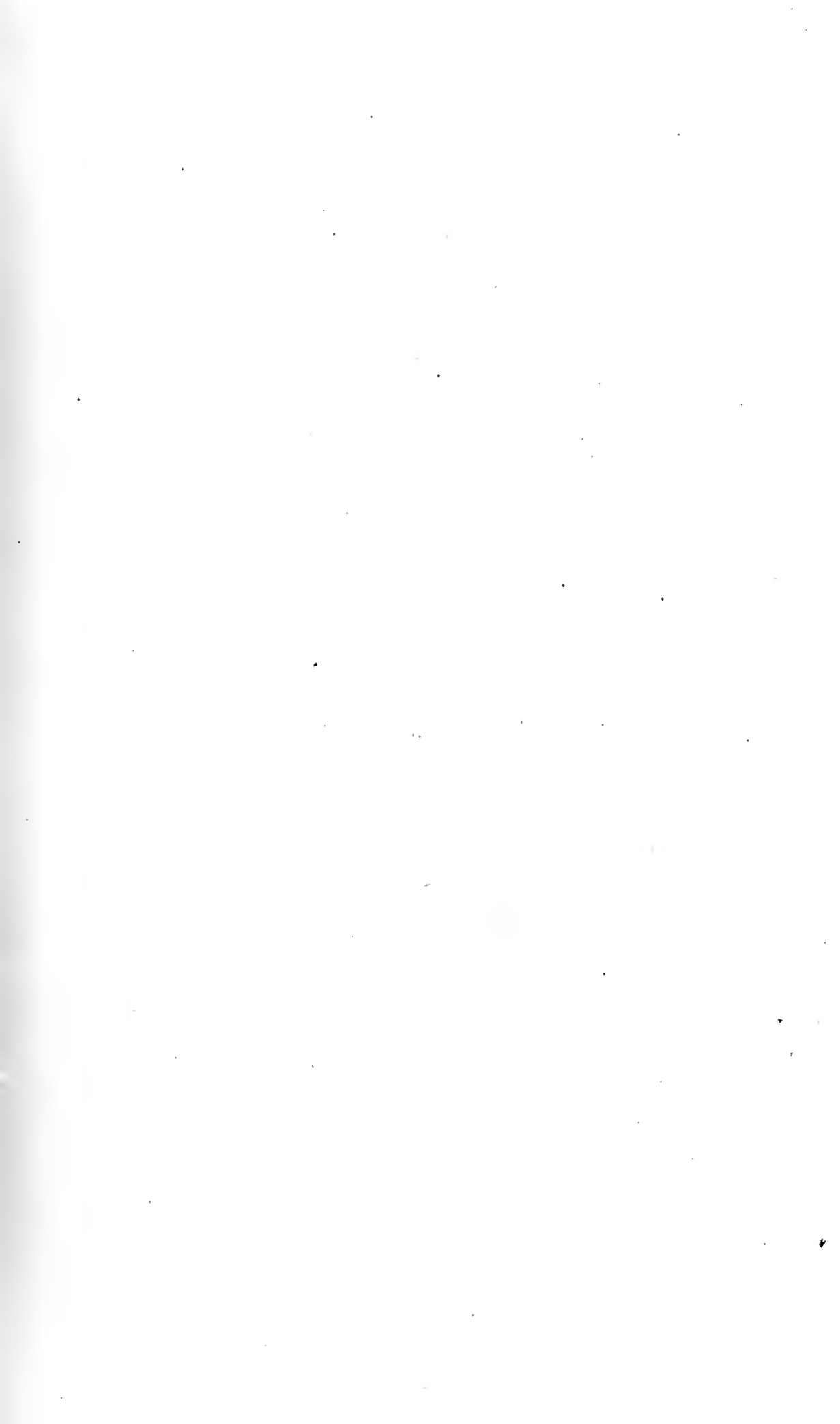
58 I reached the Haymarket about 7:30. I found no meeting there. I walked around among the crowd, which was scattered over the Haymarket, a little thicker together near Desplaines street than any other  
 59 place. Then I went to the Desplaines street station and shook hands with Capt. Ward, whom I knew. He introduced me to Inspector Bonfield and I had a conversation with him. Later on I went back and  
 61 took my stand upon the iron stairway on the north-west corner of Randolph and Desplaines street. There I remained throughout the whole  
 62 meeting and until the bomb had exploded. The speakers were north-east from me in front of Crane Bros.' building, a few feet north of the  
 63 alley. I remember the alley particularly. As far as I remember Spies' speech, he said: "Please come to order. This meeting is not called to  
 64 incite any riot." He then said that McCormick had charged him with the murder of the people at the meeting the night before; that Mr.  
 65 McCormick was a liar; McCormick was himself responsible. Somebody had opposed his speaking at the meeting near McCormick's because he was a socialist. The people he spoke to were good Christian, church-going people. While he was speaking McCormick's people had come out. Some of the men and boys had started for them, and had had some harmless sport throwing stones into the windows, etc. Then he said that some workingmen were shot at and killed by the police. That is as far as my memory goes.

Parsons illustrated that the capitalists got the great bulk of the profit out of everything done. I remember in his speech he said, "To arms, to arms, to arms," but in what connection I cannot remember. Somebody in the crowd said, "Shoot" or "Hang Gould," and he says, "No, a great many will jump up and take his place. What socialism aims at is  
 66 not the death of individuals, but of the system."

Fielden spoke very loud, and as I had never attended a socialistic meet-



ing before in my life, I thought they were a little wild. Fielden spoke about a Congressman from Ohio who had been elected by the workingmen and confessed that no legislation could be enacted in favor of the workingmen; consequently he said there was no use trying to do anything by legislation. After he had talked awhile a dark cloud with cold wind came from the north. Many people had left before, but when that cloud came a great many people left. Somebody said, "Let's adjourn"—to some place, I can't remember the name of the place. Fielden  
67 said he was about through, there was no need of adjourning. He said two or three times, "Now, in conclusion," or something like that, and I  
68 became impatient. Then I heard a commotion and a good deal of noise in the audience, and somebody said "Police." I looked south and saw a line of police when it was at about the Randolph street car tracks. The police moved along until the front of the column got about up to the speakers' wagon. I heard somebody near the wagon say something about dispersing. I saw some persons upon the wagon. I could not tell  
69 who they were. About the time that somebody was giving that command to disperse, I distinctly heard two words coming from the vicinity of the wagon or from the wagon. I don't know who uttered them. The words were "peaceable meeting." That was a few seconds before the explosion of the bomb. As the police marched through the crowd the latter went to the sidewalks on either side, some went north, some few went on Randolph street east, and some west. I did not hear any such exclamation as "Here come the blood-hounds of the police; you do your duty and I'll do mine," from the locality of the wagon or from  
70 Mr. Fielden. I heard nothing of that sort that night. At the time the bomb exploded I was still in my position upon the stairs. A reporter talked to me while I was on those stairs. I remember he went down, and just before the police came he ran up past me again. There was  
71 no pistol fired by any person upon the wagon before the bomb exploded. No pistol shots anywhere before the explosion of the bomb. Just after the command to disperse had been given, I saw a lighted fuse or something—I didn't know what it was at the time—come up from a point nearly twenty feet south of the south line of Crane's alley, from about the center of the sidewalk on the east side of the street, from behind  
72 some boxes. I am positive it was not thrown from the alley. I first noticed it about six or seven feet in the air, a little above a man's head. It went in a north-west course and up about fifteen feet from the ground, and fell about the middle of the street. The explosion followed





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73 almost immediately, possibly within two or three seconds. Something of  
 a cloud of smoke followed the explosion. After the bomb exploded  
 there was pistol shooting. From my position I could distinctly see the  
 flashes of the pistols. My head was about fifteen feet above the ground.  
 There might have been fifty to one hundred and fifty pistol shots. They  
 proceeded from about the center of where the police were. I did not  
 observe either the flashes of pistol shots or hear the report of any shots  
 74 from the crowd upon the police prior to the firing by the police. I stayed  
 in my position from five to twenty seconds. There was shooting going  
 on in every direction, as well up as down. I could see from the flashes  
 of the pistols that the police were shooting up. The police were not  
 only shooting at the crowd, but I noticed several of them shoot just as  
 they happened to throw their arms. I concluded that my position was  
 possibly more dangerous than down in the crowd, and then I ran down  
 to the foot of the stairs, ran west on the sidewalk on Randolph street a  
 short distance, and then in the road. A crowd was running in the same  
 direction. I had to jump over a man laying down, and I saw another  
 man fall in front of me about 150 to 200 feet west of Desplaines street.  
 I took hold of his arm and wanted to help him, but the firing was so  
 75 lively behind me that I just let go and ran. I was in the rear of the  
 crowd running west, the police still behind us. There were no shots  
 from the direction to which I was running.

76 I am not and have never been a member of any socialistic party or  
 77 association. Walking through the crowd before the meeting, I noticed  
 from their appearance that the meeting was composed principally of ordi-  
 nary workingmen, mechanics, etc. The audience listened and once in  
 awhile there would be yells of "Shoot him," "Hang him." The violent  
 78 ones seemed to be in the vicinity of the wagon. My impression is that  
 some were making fun of the meeting. I judge that from the time the  
 meeting first opened to the time it closed, it had thinned out about half.  
 I noticed no demonstration of violence, no fighting or anything of that  
 kind on the part of the crowd.

79 I heard about half a dozen or perhaps a few more of such expressions  
 as "Hang him" or "Shoot him" from the audience. I didn't find any  
 difference in the bearing of the crowd during Fielden's speech from what  
 81 it was during Parsons' or Spies'. In the course of the conversation which  
 I had with Capt. Bonfield at the station before the meeting that night, I  
 asked him about the trouble in the south-western part of the city. He  
 says, "The trouble there is that these"—whether he used the word



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socialists or strikers, I don't know—" get their women and children mixed up with them and around them and in front of them, and we can't get at them. I would like to get three thousand of them in a crowd without their women and children"—and to the best of my recollection he added, "and I will make short work of them." I noticed a few women and children at the bottom of the steps where I was. I don't think there were any in the body of the crowd around the wagon. At the time the police came up there I did not observe any women or children.

83

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have several times visited police stations in the city. I attended a Salvation army meeting on East Chicago avenue, and I thought the roughs there interrupted the meeting. I went across to see Capt. Schaack two or three times about it. I was once at the Desplaines street station and made complaint against a policeman for abusing an old man, and one evening I brought there a fellow who asked me for something to get him a lodging on the west side, and I asked the police to take care of him; and another time, when I heard about the way people who had received lodging at the station were treated there, I went to the station to satisfy myself what was the fact about the matter, and Capt. Ward told me a different story.

84

I went to the Haymarket meeting out of curiosity to know what kind of meetings they held, believing that the newspapers ordinarily misrepresented such things. I had my impression that the papers had misrepresented the meetings of workingmen, not from anything definite I had, but from having seen reports in papers of occurrences I had seen, and, as a rule, they were one-sided. I went to the meeting to satisfy myself—to prove or disprove my impression. That was one of my reasons for going there. At that conversation with Mr. Bonfield that I testified to, nobody else was present. It was in the main office of Desplaines street station. Capt. Ward, I believe, was walking around at the time; there was a good deal of noise in the police station, and we talked quietly. I believe no one else could hear it. I believe it was last fall that I visited the north side police station in regard to the Salvation army again. I visited about half a dozen of their meetings. I saw Capt. Schaack at the station. I did not ask him to arrest any people who had disturbed the meeting, nor to arrest the Salvation army people. I told him that in going to the meeting I heard somebody swear a very vicious oath and damn the Sal-

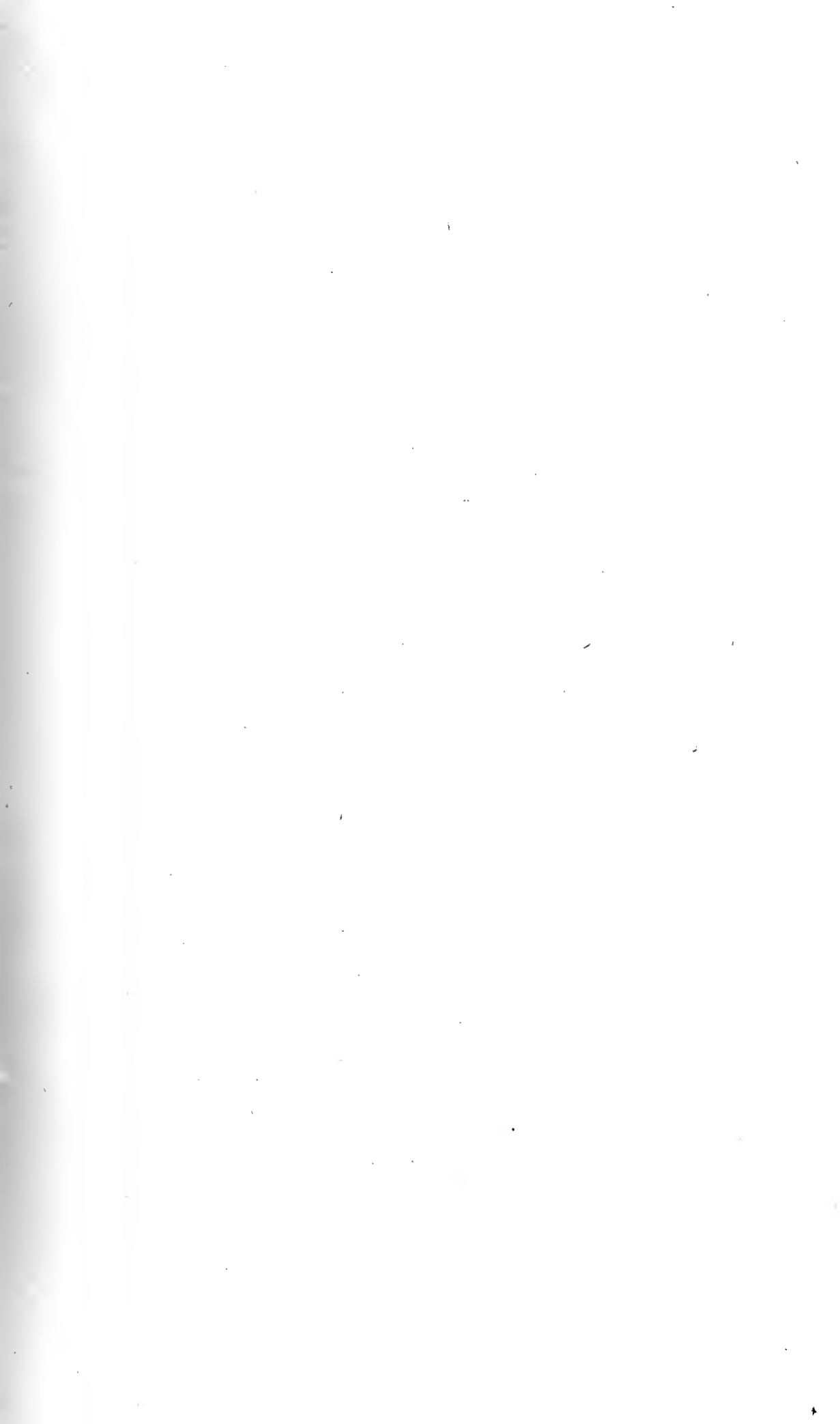
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vation army people; the police were standing within hearing, and the crowd joined in the laugh. I told him it seemed to me that the police ought not to allow anything of that kind. The windows of the Salvation army were filled with boards; I told Capt. Schaack that it seemed not right that in front of the police station they should do any such thing. He said he would order the boards taken down, and if they wanted protection they could get it. I went another time to Capt. Schaack when some of the Salvation army people were confined at the Bridewell; Mayor Harrison had given me a note to Mr. Felton, telling him to let them go, and I went to Capt. Schaack to tell him that. My recollection is that Fielden said: "The law is your enemy; kill it, stab it, throttle it, or it will throttle you." When the police came, I looked at them and at the crowd; I watched both to some extent. I don't know how many lines of police there were. When I saw them at the Randolph street tracks, I saw a straight line of police filling the whole street. There was more than one column, but I don't know how many. I was at that time contemplating the question of my own safety. I was looking in the direction of the wagon at the time the bomb was thrown. I didn't see the officer command the meeting to disperse, but heard somebody, in some form, tell the meeting to disperse. The only words I remember to have heard were: "Command—meeting—to disperse." During the delivery of that, or right after it, I heard somebody say something, of which I caught the two words, "Peaceable meeting." The first column of police were standing on about a line with the north line of the alley. I don't know where the other columns were with reference to where the bomb exploded. I only saw the police in a large body march out. It looked to me at the time as if the bomb struck the ground and exploded just a little behind the front line of police. I saw policemen behind the first line of police, but I did not distinguish the columns. I don't know whether the bomb exploded directly behind the front line, or between the second and the third or third and fourth lines.

The firing began from the police, right in the center of the street. I did not see a single shot fired from the crowd on either side of the street. I didn't know what became of the men on the wagon. I don't think there were any shots fired in the neighborhood of the wagon. I was not looking at the wagon all the time, but was looking over the scene in general. If you get up on a place as high as I was, and it was dark, you could see every flash; the flashes show themselves imme-



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diately when they are out of the revolver, on a dark night. The scene impressed itself so upon me that now, looking back, I see it as I did  
 120 then. Looking at where the bomb exploded, I could not help looking  
 121 towards the wagon, too. My impression is, the boxes on the opposite  
 122 side of the street were from two to four feet high. I have been at the  
 Haymarket to look over the ground several times since the 4th of May,  
 so as to get an idea of the dimensions of the thing. I went there of my  
 123 own volition; nobody asked me to go there. It was on my way to  
 124 mother's house. I am employed by Rothschild Brothers, on commission.

126

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I have never, to my knowledge, seen any of the defendants before. I am a married man, living with my family in Lake View.

## JOHN FERGUSON:

I have lived at the north-east corner of Clinton and Washington streets, in Chicago, since seven years. I have charge of that building and am in the business of cloak making at that place. Have lived in Chicago about seventeen years. On the night of May 4th I happened to pass with a gentleman acquaintance the corner of Lake and Desplaines streets,  
 128 and noticing something of a crowd further south on Desplaines street we walked down to it. Some gentleman was speaking in broken English. My acquaintance told me he believed it was Spies. I stopped about ten minutes and listened to his speech. Then we walked down Desplaines street about half-way to the station, and passed Carter Harrison and two gentlemen with him. I turned around and went back, expecting to hear one of Carter's speeches. Spies was still speaking, but finished in a few minutes, and Mr. Parsons made a speech of about thirty or thirty-five minutes. Then Mr. Harrison went away, and I turned to go away, and, meeting an acquaintance, stopped and con-  
 130 versed with him for a few minutes. I then listened to about fifteen minutes more of Mr. Parsons' speech from the crossing of Randolph street. We could hear all of the speaking plainly from where we stood, as the speakers were facing Randolph street. During his speech, when he mentioned Jay Gould's name, somebody said, "Throw him in the lake," and a man standing almost in front of me took his pipe from  
 131 his mouth and hollered out, "Hang him." Parsons replied that would do no good, a dozen more Jay Goulds would spring up in his place. "Socialism aims not at the life of individuals,





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but at the system." I didn't hear any other responses from the crowd than those I mentioned. After Parsons concluded another gentleman got up and began speaking about Congressman Foran. After a few minutes I saw quite a storm cloud come up. Some one interrupted the speaker with the remark, "There is a prospect of immediate storm, and those of you who wish to continue the meeting can adjourn to —" some hall, I don't remember the name of it; but the speaker, re-suming, said: "I haven't but two or three words more to say, and then you can go home." I walked away from the meeting, across Randolph street to the south-west corner. There I saw the police rush out from the station in a body; they whirled into the street and came down very rapidly towards us; the gentleman in command of the police was swinging his arm and told them to hurry up. After they had passed us we turned to walk south towards the station and we heard a slight report, something like breaking boards, or like slapping a brick down on the pavement. We turned, and we had just about faced around, looking at the crowd, when we saw a fire flying out about six or eight feet above the heads of the crowd and falling down pretty near the center of the street. It was all dark for almost a second, perhaps, then there was a deafening roar, then almost instantly we saw flashes from towards the middle of the street, south of Randolph on Desplaines, and heard reports. That side of the street where the crowd was was dark; at that time there did not appear to be any light there. Then we hurried away. I did not see any flashes from either side of the street.

The majority of the crowd had gone away on the appearance of the approaching storm. The crowd was very orderly, as orderly a meeting as I ever saw anywhere in the street.

It could not have been longer than five minutes from the time that Fielden said we will be through in a short time that the police marched down the street. I am not a socialist, nor an anarchist, nor a communist; I don't know anything about what those terms mean.

#### CROSS-EXAMINATION.

The name of the gentleman I was with that night is William Gleason. I met him several weeks ago and talked to him incidentally about the occurrence of May 4th.

Gleason lives on Blue Island avenue; I have seen him twice since the 4th of May. I have known Gleason about four or five years; before coming to Chicago, seventeen years ago, I lived at Gloversville, N. Y.;



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143 I was born in Watertown, N. Y. The first time I ever saw any counsel  
 145 for the defense in regard to this case was when I was invited to call at  
 Mr. Salomon's office some two weeks ago. Mr. Salomon simply asked  
 my name and residence, whether I was at the Haymarket and about  
 how long I was there. I told him that I didn't know that I could give  
 him any information that was effectual. I was subpoenaed two or three  
 145 days ago, and had a talk with him about the details for the first time to-  
 day, a few minutes ago, in the hall here. I know that Gleason is con-  
 nected with labor institutions.

147 LUDWIG ZELLER:

On the night of May 4th last, at about a quarter past 10, I went on  
 Randolph street down to Desplaines, and I saw the meeting north' on  
 148 Desplaines street, and I went up to the lamp post near Crane's alley. A  
 few minutes after I came there it commenced to rain and the crowd be-  
 gan to move; then, a few minutes after that, the crowd on both sides  
 of the sidewalk moved quickly, and after a few seconds I saw the police  
 marching on Desplaines street and just crossing Randolph street. When  
 149 they passed me I heard the command of the captain; heard no reply from  
 anybody on the wagon or near the wagon. I turned and went south to  
 Randolph street, and in turning I saw a light go through the air about  
 150 six, or eight, or ten feet south of the lamp. It went in a north-westerly  
 direction, right into the middle of the street and in the middle of the police;  
 then I heard an explosion and shooting, and I tried to get out, because  
 there were a great many men falling around me, and a few were crying.  
 I turned the corner on Randolph street east towards Clinton; a great  
 many people were running in the same direction; men were falling before  
 152 me and on the side of me. I heard shooting immediately upon the  
 153 explosion of the bomb. The shots came from behind me while I ran.  
 The shots came from the center of the street, from north and north-west  
 of me.

On Sunday, May 2d, I was present at a meeting of the Central Labor  
 155 Union as a delegate from the Cigar Makers' Union, No. 15. The delegates  
 of the Lumber Shovers' Union at that meeting requested me, as a member  
 of the agitation committee, to send a speaker to a meeting of the Lumber  
 Shovers' Union to be held on Monday, May 3d, at the Black road; they  
 wanted a good speaker, who could keep the meeting quiet and orderly.  
 In the afternoon of the same day we had another meeting of the Central



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Labor Union, at which Mr. Spies was present as a reporter of the Arbeiter Zeitung, and I told him personally to go out to the meeting of the Lumber Shovers' Union and speak in the name of the Central Labor Union. The Central Labor Union is a body composed of delegates from about twenty-five or thirty different labor unions of the city. The Lumber Shovers' Union is represented in the Central Labor Union by delegates.  
 157 There are from fifteen to sixteen thousand laborers represented by those unions. The agitation committee to which I belonged was for the purpose of organizing different branches of trade who had no eight-hour organization at that time.

I did not notice any firing back from the crowd at the police, either on Desplaines street or Randolph street.

158

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

Since last December, I don't belong to any group. Prior to that I was a member of the group "Freiheit," which used to meet on Sherman street. I only attended three meetings of that group. We had no numbers. I am not an anarchist. I am a socialist.  
 159

I was standing about five or six feet south of that alley. I saw the fuse about eight or ten feet south of me. I didn't know what it was. I saw behind that fuse something dark, but I couldn't distinguish what it was. I was only looking where it was going. I cannot say what kind of looking thing it was; it seems to me it was more round, and about as big as a base-ball.  
 160

I have lived at 54 West Lake street for about a year and a half; I board there. I am unmarried. I know Bodendecker; about a year ago he came in for a week or two and went out again. I have known Spies two years.  
 161

I cannot say who fired first after the bomb went off. I can't say exactly whether the police fired—I didn't see. On the wagon I only recognized Fielden. I was too far away from the wagon, and it was dark. The gas light was lighted. I didn't see anybody put it out.  
 162

There was an express wagon about ten or twelve feet south of the alley. I can't remember any boxes there, there were so many men standing around me, and I was only a few minutes there. I first saw the fuse about four or six feet right over that wagon, south of the alley.  
 164

I am at present secretary of the Central Labor Union, since two or three weeks.  
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On Monday and Tuesday, May 3d and 4th, I worked full time at the cigar factory, quitting at 5 o'clock.

166 I talked to Messrs. Salomon & Zeisler, lawyers for the defense, pursuant to an advertisement in the Arbeiter Zeitung, by which they requested people who could give information favorable to the defense to call on them. The meeting of the Central Labor Union, on Tuesday night, was held in the little hall behind the saloon at 54 West Lake street.

167 It lasted from 8 to quarter past 10. When the meeting adjourned I looked at the clock in the saloon and saw the time. It may have been six or eight minutes after the time I left the saloon before the bomb was thrown.

168

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I am five feet five inches high. In an ordinary crowd I can see over the heads of the crowd. The Central Labor Union often requested some of these defendants to speak in agitation meetings. Mr. Spies was not offered, nor did he receive any compensation for his speaking at the lumber shovers' meeting.

169 CARL RICHTER:

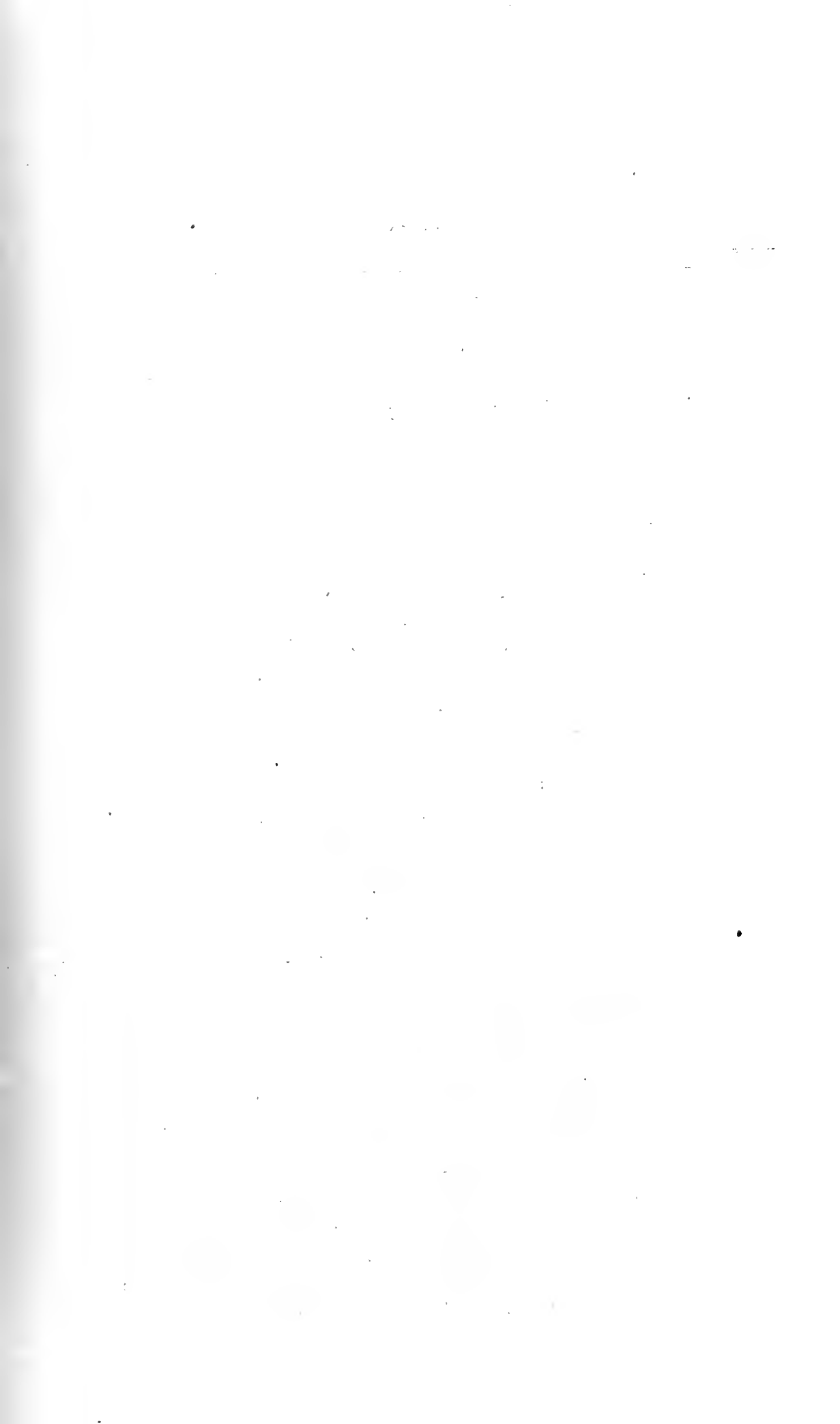
170 I live at 53 North Clark street; am in the leather business. On the night of May 4th last, I went with a friend of mine to the Haymarket. I was

171 standing in the mouth of Crane's alley when the meeting was opened. Mr. Spies was on the wagon, a little north of the alley, and asked, "Is Parsons here?" or something like that. After that Mr. Spies left the wagon. I did not notice in what direction he went. About five or ten minutes later Spies was on the wagon again, and commenced his speech. During all the time Spies was away I was standing right there at the alley. There was nothing to prevent my seeing whoever went into the alley. I am slightly acquainted with Mr. Spies since about a year or

173 two. I was engaged as actor at the German theater. Our company was once engaged by the International Association to give a performance for a festival. That was the occasion of my becoming acquainted with Mr. Spies. There is no relation or friendship between him and me. I never saw this gentleman (indicating Schwab) before in my life,

174 to my knowledge. I did not see Mr. Spies or Mr. Schwab go into the alley at the mouth of which I was standing. I looked at Mr. Spies when

175 he asked, "Is Parsons here?" Then he went right away from the wagon. I did not notice on which side of the wagon he alighted. I





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did not see Spies come towards the alley where I stood. There were not many people around me at the time, maybe ten people in my immediate neighborhood.

176 The meeting was quite orderly. I did not notice many demonstrations, only once in a while some applause.

179 I am not a socialist or communist or anarchist; I don't belong to any labor union or to any socialistic organization of any kind. I have lived in the United States fourteen years; in Chicago about four years. Am a citizen of the United States and a registered voter in this county. I stayed at the meeting until about the last shot was fired. I heard crack-

180 ing and firing, but I did not know whether it was the explosion of the bomb, or whether it was shooting. When the police came there was a rush for Randolph street; I was pushed along, and when I heard the first explosion I was about midway between the alley and Randolph street. I did not see the bomb in the air; I did not see the police come.

181 All at once they were there, and everybody halloed the police is coming. When I heard the command to disperse, the crowd was rushing and pushing to Randolph street. I was pushed along. I did not reach Randolph street. There was too much firing coming from the middle of the street. I jumped over the railing on the house at the corner down into the area way; a great many others were jumping over there. All the people on the sidewalk seemed to try to get away. I didn't see any one on the sidewalk return the fire.

182 I did not hear any response to the command to disperse. There was  
183 not much noise at the time. I heard all the speaking up to the time the police came. I did not hear anybody say some such words as "Here come the blood-hounds; you do your duty and I will do mine."

During Mr. Fielden's speech a cool breeze came. Mr. Fielden said something about adjourning—they were talking about it on the wagon. I heard something said about adjourning to Zepf's Hall; they had a little conversation on the wagon, and he then came up and said, "You better close this meeting." Everybody thought it would rain, and a good  
185 many people went away. The crowd commenced to get very small. At the time the police came most of the people were standing on the sidewalk and around the wagon; when they approached, some of the people went to the sidewalks, some north, some south to Randolph street. I didn't notice any disturbance or breach of the peace during the entire evening. I did not notice any change in the demeanor of the crowd during Fielden's speech from what it was during Parsons' or Spies' speech.



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CROSS-EXAMINATION.

187 My business is making bags and ladies' satchels. A room-mate of  
mine, Robert Lindinger, first told me of the Haymarket meeting, and  
that he wanted to go to it. I am not living with my wife now. She  
lives in St. Louis, where I lived for six and a half years before I came  
189 to Chicago. At St. Louis I was attending to the lunch business in a  
lager beer saloon. I was born in Germany thirty-one years ago.

Lindinger and myself went together to the meeting. We were there  
190 together all the time. He didn't know any of the speakers. We talked  
191 about the occurrences a good many times since. We stood in the mouth  
of the alley, about midway from the edge of the sidewalk to the building  
line, and about half way between the north and south edges of the alley,  
moving a few feet backwards and forwards, but keeping about the same  
position. Near the end of Fielden's speech I went to lean against the  
192 lamp post, and my friend stood in front of me. It was about twenty  
minutes past 10 or half-past 10 when the shooting commenced. When  
the command to disperse was given, Fielden was in the wagon and sev-  
193 eral other men, I don't know who. I know that Fielden was there, from  
the fact that he was introduced to the audience as a speaker.

FRIEDRICH LIEBEL:

On the night of May 4th I got to the Haymarket at about a quarter of  
8. First I talked with some men on the corner of Randolph and  
194 Desplaines streets, later on I went near the speaker's wagon. I am a  
carpenter by trade; have been in the country two years and four months.  
195 I stood on the south-east corner of Crane's alley, near the lamp post, when  
Spies asked for Mr. Parsons. After that Spies left the wagon, I didn't  
see in what direction he went. He returned in about ten or fifteen  
minutes. I did not leave my position while Spies was absent. I had  
seen Spies before and had heard him speak in several meetings. I had  
seen Mr. Schwab once at the north side Turner Hall. I did not see  
Schwab on the wagon or near the wagon when Spies made his first re-  
mark, "Is Parsons here?" or when he commenced to speak. I did not  
see Schwab there that night. I did not see Mr. Spies go towards the  
197 alley at which I stood. I didn't see where Spies went from the wagon.  
There might have been thirty or forty people at the mouth of the alley  
at that time. The lamp near which I stood was lighted. It was light  
enough for me to notice faces, if I had looked at them.

199 The crowd was a little enthusiastic during the speeches, calling out



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different things from time to time, I don't remember what. When the police came I stood near the middle of the street and about five or six feet south of the south line of the alley. The police were very near to me when I saw them first marching down. As soon as I saw them I went to the east sidewalk, others did the same. I went near the lamp post where I had stood before. The police marched a few feet beyond the north line of the alley. I heard the captain call out something. I did not distinguish any words. I didn't hear any response to it. I didn't hear anybody holler out, "Here come the blood-hounds; you do your duty and I'll do mine," or anything to that effect. After I heard the captain's command I went south, tried to get out of the crowd, partly I was shoved, partly I shoved myself. The next thing I observed was a light which I took at the time for the stump of a cigar, about midway between the alley and the corner of Randolph street, over the east sidewalk, about four feet above my head. It went in a north-westerly direction. After that I heard shots coming from west of me, from the direction of the police. I didn't see any of the people on the sidewalk return the fire. I heard the explosion of the bomb and the revolver shots so near together that I can't say which was first. I hurried to get out of the crowd. Some people fell down. I jumped over them and got to the corner and ran east on Randolph street to the next alley. A great many shots came from behind me while I was running on Randolph street. I did not notice anybody in front of me shoot back.

205

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I was born in Germany. I saw the notice of the Haymarket meeting in the Arbeiter Zeitung. I have been reading the Arbeiter Zeitung since I came to Chicago. I subscribed for it on May first last. I did not see the Revenge circular before I went to the meeting. I never saw one. I moved to the middle of the street when Fielden began to speak. I don't remember the boxes on the sidewalk. May be there were some boxes; anyway, the sidewalk was free for several feet south of the southwest corner of the alley. After the bomb was thrown the crowd on the sidewalk moved. We were pretty tight together there. The man who threw the bomb must have been right in that crowd. I don't belong now and have never belonged to any socialistic group. I heard Spies speak on Market square in the fall of 1884, and at the same place about the end of November, 1884. I heard him speak twice after that, but I don't remember where. I did not hear him at the meeting on the night

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of the opening of the Board of Trade. I was not in that meeting. I be-  
 214 longed to the Central Labor Union for a few weeks before the first of  
 May, as a member of the Carpenter's Union. The Carpenter's Union  
 met in a hall on Lake street, I don't remember the number; I was there  
 215 about two or three times. I don't know whether Florus Hall or Greif's  
 Hall. I remember a mass meeting at Zepf's Hall on the corner of Des-  
 216 plaines and Lake streets. I know some of the defendants besides Spies  
 by sight. I saw Lingg in carpenter's meetings. The last time I saw  
 him at Greenebaum's Hall on Fifth avenue. I don't know Fischer nor  
 Engel. I have seen Schwab and Parsons. I don't belong to any group,  
 217 either armed or otherwise. I was in jail last Friday to see Spies, Schwab  
 219 and Lingg.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I joined the Carpenter's Union in April and belonged to it for a few  
 weeks only; in that way I was indirectly a member of the Central Labor  
 Union, but I never was a delegate to it.

220

## RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

I know Neebe by sight since a few weeks, but never talked to him. I  
 saw him at a picnic in the Sharpshooters Park, which was held for the  
 221 purpose of raising money for the defense. I never spoke to Lingg,  
 Schwab or Spies before last Friday.

222 JAMES D. TAYLOR:

I am a physician by profession. I studied and practiced the school of  
 eclecticism. I am seventy-six years old, was born in England, came to  
 this country forty-four years ago; lived chiefly in Illinois during the  
 whole time. I am a naturalized citizen. Have lived in Chicago for  
 three years last past. Have practiced medicine for forty years. -On  
 223 the night of May 4th last I was at the Haymarket. I cannot tell when  
 I reached the Haymarket that evening as to time, but I was there about  
 twenty minutes before the speaking commenced. During those twenty  
 minutes I stood over the curb stone close to the north side of Crane's  
 224 alley, and close to the edge of the sidewalk. I occupied that position as  
 long as I stayed there, and that was as long as the bullets would let me.  
 I was there when the bomb exploded. I am hard of hearing, but  
 225 I heard distinctly every word of the speaking from the wagon. The  
 tail end of the wagon could not have been more than about four feet





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from where I stood. What peculiarly struck me in Spies' speech was his reply to some persons who said, "Hang Jay Gould." Spies said: "You had better shut up and go home and learn more about what you ought to know before you begin talking about hanging anybody. We  
 226 are not here for that purpose." The substance of Parson's remarks, as I gathered, was that in order that those who were struggling for the eight-hour system should win they must unite and stand together. I  
 227 don't remember the general remarks of Fielden, but I remember some particular remarks. Speaking of the character of the law and its administration, he says: "Damn the law, throttle the law." I saw the police come up. The front rank was on a line with me. I could have touched the first man with my arm. I saw some police officers march in front of the front rank. They went up to within about six feet from the wagon.  
 228 I heard one of them say: "I command you in the name of the State of Illinois to disperse." Mr. Fielden was on the wagon or just about coming down from the wagon at that time.

When the police came up I noticed those south of the alley began to disperse. Just a little before that I heard Mr. Fielden say, "We have  
 229 talked long enough and it is time to disperse." Fielden spoke in his ordinary tone. He is a man of strong voice. I did not hear Mr. Fielden or anybody else in the neighborhood of the wagon say in effect: "Here come the blood-hounds of the police; you do your duty and I will dominate."

I heard the explosion of the bomb. I heard no pistol shot prior to it. I saw Fielden get down from the wagon. I saw him after the bomb  
 230 exploded. I heard Fielden reply to the command to disperse: "We are peaceable," while he was still on the wagon. I did not see Fielden draw a revolver and shoot in the direction of the police; I never saw anything of the kind. He came down out of the wagon nearest to the police; he was only a few feet distant from me at the time. I watched  
 231 him as long as I could, but finally I looked in the direction in which he had been standing, and he wasn't there. I didn't see him use a pistol on or off the wagon. I saw the bomb in the air, as near as I could judge between twenty and forty feet south of the alley, and the man who threw it stood beyond a number of boxes. Those boxes were about five or six feet elevated one on the other, on the sidewalk, south of the lamp-  
 232 post. I revisited the ground the next morning after the occurrence and saw the boxes there. I didn't see what became of the man who threw the bomb. When he threw it I could see nothing but his head. When



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I first saw the bomb I took it to be a boy's fire-cracker, it was not more than about six feet above the boxes; it circled through the air in a north-westerly direction and lighted as near as I could judge between the first and second line of police, a little west of the center of the street and a little south of the mouth of the alley. The pistol firing and the explosion of the bomb seemed to me almost simultaneous. The pistol firing came from the direction where the police were. I did not see any pistol firing from the crowd upon the police; I went up to Crane's alley behind other people going into the same alley. When I revisited the ground the next morning I noticed bullet-marks on the wall of Crane's building, which forms the north side of Crane's alley. I could not find one bullet-mark on the wall at the south side of the alley. I examined a telegraph pole on the west side of Desplaines street, north of Crane's alley. I noticed that all the perforations were on the south side of that telegraph pole. I did not find one pistol shot or fresh mark upon the north side of that telegraph pole. The pole is not there now; about a week and a half ago I observed for the first time that it was not there any longer.

After I got into the alley I took a zigzag route to get out of the way of pistol shots. I am a socialist; I am not an anarchist in the sense in which anarchism is understood in the community. I have been a socialist for fifty years. I first learned socialism from Father Robert Dale Owen in England. I have known Fielden and Parsons for about three years. I have known those two more particularly than the others. I have known Spies for about a couple of years. I have seen Neebe, but never had much personal acquaintance with him. I don't know Schwab, Fischer, Engel or Linng. I have attended a good many meetings at which some of the defendants have spoken. I have, controversially, spoken myself at such meetings. I have been a member of the American group of the International Working People's Association up to the 4th of May. I had been a member of that group for a couple of years and attended meetings, chiefly at 54 West Lake street. These meetings were all public. No oaths, no obligations or anything of that character were required as a condition of membership in the American group.

244

## CROSS-EXAMINATION. ,

I suppose I got to the Haymarket before 7 o'clock. I was taking a regular evening walk when I came to the Haymarket. I had seen no notice of a meeting of the American group for that night; I did not know there was a meeting at the Haymarket. I saw people on Desplaines

245



street, about Madison, going in unusual numbers, and they told me they were going to a meeting on the Haymarket. That must have been  
 246 about 7, or not far from it. Directly after I got to the Haymarket I went right close to the alley. I did not stop at any place on the Haymarket. I took my place at the alley in order to hear the discussion.  
 248 I stayed there, I suppose, twenty or thirty minutes, and then the meeting began. I can't particularly tell what Spies said first. I was impressed with the idea that he said he had come there with some reluctance. I have heard Spies make some seven or eight speeches at socialistic gatherings.

250 Parsons said in substance about the same he always said. It was  
 251 evident to him that this thing would have to be settled some other way; that the history of strikes shows that they have always been failures, and that they always would be failures; the better way was to alter the system; he didn't say anything about the way that could be accomplished. I did not hear him urge the people to fly to arms or anything of that sort.

252 All that I remember of Fielden's speech of any particular character was his remark about throttling the law. He also spoke of the fact that the history of the world had proven strikes to be of no force in themselves, the whole system by which things were governed ought to  
 253 be altered, so that capital might not own labor. He did not propose any remedy. I neither heard him speak about force nor about the impossibility of workingmen to get their rights by the ballot. I heard him say  
 254 that before, but not that night. Fielden was coming down the wagon when the bomb was thrown. I kept my eye on him. I saw him standing between the wagon and the police; he had no revolver in his hand. I know he didn't pull out his revolver after he got down, because I could have seen him. I did not take my eye off him from the time he was standing on the wagon, speaking, until the bomb was ex-  
 255 ploded, because he was in a line with the police, and as I was looking across the street I had to see him. The last time I looked in the direction where he first stood, that was after the bomb was thrown, he was down, or he was gone—I don't know which. The demoralization was such that I think he was one among the first that was hit with the shell.

256 I saw that the middle ranks of the policemen were demoralized. And I saw one boy right close to where Fielden was standing go down. Fielden stood a little west of the wagon when I saw him last. I think,



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probably, that is where he went down. I cannot say how many policemen were demoralized at the time the bomb exploded, it was too dark for anybody to see that. There was no light except what came from the street  
 257 lamps. I am not sure whether the lamp at Crane's alley was lighted or out. I remember one lamp on the west side of the street. A good  
 258 many men ran to the alley before me; I was the last man to go in the alley, and I was the last one to leave the alley. A good many bullets  
 259 came into the alley. I went behind a little projection in the alley. When I concluded from the sound of the bullets that the police had gone towards the Haymarket I went to the first opening that led me out to the next street. Then I went back to Desplaines street, dodging in several places along on Desplaines street, until I got to Madison street.  
 260 The police were shooting all the way down. They shot down Randolph street, they shot on Madison street, and I took refuge in the court of the St. Dennis Hotel. There was one policeman who passed me saying, "God damn you, you shall go to hell," and away he blazed at the people going on Madison street. I heard him shoot three times.

I could not say how many men were between me and the man who threw the bomb at the time it was thrown. There were not many. I could see something like his head, nothing more, of the man who threw  
 262 the bomb. I did not look long at it, I was looking at the blaze more than I was at him; it made a circling motion, that is, it made an arch. The fuse did not go in a spiral. I saw the bomb enough to know it was a round bomb, not a gas-pipe bomb. It was about as large as a baseball.  
 263 It went down and made a hole in the lines of police. I didn't hear any  
 264 remarks after that, only groans from the police.

I went to the meetings of the American group on an average of about  
 265 once in three or four weeks. I took part in the discussions about one-  
 266 third of the time. I have read the Alarm and took it for several months.

I believe in organized government; I believe in the oath in courts of  
 267 justice, but I believe a man ought to speak the truth even if there was no oath. If a man is honest the oath adds nothing to his obligation to tell the truth. I knew nothing about the armed section of the American group. I never advocated the use of force; I never handled any dynamite bombs.

268 LUCIUS M. MOSES:

I reside at 301 West Randolph street since five years. Have lived in Chicago six and a half years. I am a grocer; am sixty-four years old.





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I know Harry Gilmer, who I understand was a witness in this case, since he came into the neighborhood, between six and seven months ago. I know his general reputation for truth and veracity in the neighborhood in which he resides. It is very bad, I should judge. I should not believe him under oath.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have had a speaking acquaintance with Mr. Salomon, the lawyer who examined me here, some two or three years. I presume I know how Mr. Salomon became aware of the fact that I knew Gilmer. Mr. Serene, the lawyer, whom I have known for about three years, was in the store one evening, after Gilmer had testified, and we were reading over his testimony. Mr. Salomon came to see me the following day. Gilmer lived in the neighborhood some three or four months last summer. He was in the same building with me; occasionally he bought goods of me. I wouldn't trust Gilmer a dollar. I think he tried once to get trust from me. That is not why I don't believe him under oath. I did not associate a great deal with the same people that Gilmer associated with, nor associate with Gilmer socially. I knew the people that roomed with him; they traded with us, and used to tell us about him. I did not know at that time that he was a member of Battery D. I do not know Major Tobey or Mr. Tuthill. Mrs. Lee, who lives in the same building, Mr. Mitchell, who rooms there, said they would not believe Gilmer under oath. I heard his general reputation discussed by a Pinkerton man, on Van Buren street. I don't know his name. All the other people who discussed his character and reputation come from the same building with myself. We had that talk quite recently, since Gilmer testified. It was also brought up before that.

274 AUSTIN MITCHELL:

I live at 295 West Randolph street since four years. I know Harry L. Gilmer by sight. I am not acquainted with his general reputation for truth and veracity among his neighbors and associates where he resides.

279 MRS. B. P. LEE:

I have lived at 295 West Randolph street since April 1st. Have lived in Chicago since five years. I have known Harry Gilmer since some time last summer. I know his general reputation for truth and



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veracity among the people where he resides. I have always heard it was bad. I heard people say they would not believe him under oath.

280

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have heard Mr. Moses at 301 West Randolph street, speak about Gilmer several times. I don't think it was since Mr. Gilmer testified. I have not heard anybody else speak about Gilmer's reputation.

281

FRANK STENNER:

I am a machinist. On the night of May 4th I was at the Haymarket meeting; got there about 9 o'clock. When Fielden was talking I stood about four or six feet from the speakers' wagon. At the time the shooting commenced I stood at the east side of the wagon, close to the building. It was about half past 10 when the police approached, and  
283 Capt. Ward gave a command. Fielden said, "It is a peaceable meeting," or "We are peaceable," something like that. Capt. Ward told him once more, and Fielden said "All right," and went down from the wagon on the west side. At that moment I heard a detonation. I heard later that it was a bomb. As soon as the bomb was thrown the policemen shot. I didn't see anybody except the police shoot. Immediately after the shooting began I laid myself on the steps of Crane Bros.' building. I remained there a few minutes, a policeman came and arrested me. From reading the paper I guess the policeman's name was Foley.  
284 When I was in the cell, Officer Wessler came to me, showed me a revolver, and said, "It is your revolver." When I was examined before  
285 the justice of the peace, Wessler said to the judge, he had seen me on the steps of Crane Bros.; there was a shot from that place, and he guessed I was the man who shot. That revolver was found by Officer Foley, about fifty feet from the wagon while I was in his custody. He  
286 said three shots were out and two were in. I did not see Fielden or anybody else stand behind the wagon and fire. There were seven or eight men in the wagon, sometimes more and sometimes less. The crowd around the speakers' wagon were peaceable. I didn't see anybody exhibit or hold up a pistol. I heard exclamations from people who  
287 stood around the wagon, some said the speakers were right, some said they were not right, somebody said "Hang them up," some called "Rats." When Parsons was talking, one man who stood by my side  
288 said, "You are a liar." Such exclamations were only made here and there. There was no shot fired from the wagon before the bomb ex-

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It is essential for the company to have a clear and concise system in place to ensure that all financial data is properly documented and accessible. This will help in the preparation of financial statements and provide a clear picture of the company's financial health.

The second part of the document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data. It is important to use a variety of sources to ensure that the data is comprehensive and representative. This includes both internal and external sources, as well as qualitative and quantitative data. The analysis should be thorough and objective, taking into account all relevant factors and potential biases.

The third part of the document discusses the importance of communication in the business process. It is essential for all employees to be kept informed of the company's goals and progress. This can be achieved through regular meetings, reports, and other forms of communication. It is also important to encourage open communication and feedback from all employees, as this can help to identify areas for improvement and ensure that everyone is working towards the same objectives.

The fourth part of the document outlines the various risks faced by the company and the strategies used to manage them. It is important to identify all potential risks, both financial and operational, and to develop a plan to mitigate them. This includes diversification, hedging, and other financial strategies, as well as operational measures such as insurance and contingency planning.

The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of innovation in the business process. It is essential for the company to stay ahead of the competition by developing new products and services. This requires a strong focus on research and development, as well as a willingness to take risks and invest in new ideas. It is also important to foster a culture of innovation and encourage all employees to contribute their ideas and suggestions.

The sixth part of the document outlines the various challenges faced by the company and the strategies used to overcome them. It is important to identify all potential challenges, both financial and operational, and to develop a plan to overcome them. This includes diversification, hedging, and other financial strategies, as well as operational measures such as insurance and contingency planning.

The seventh part of the document discusses the importance of customer service in the business process. It is essential for the company to provide high-quality customer service to ensure customer loyalty and repeat business. This requires a strong focus on training and development, as well as a willingness to go above and beyond for the customer. It is also important to gather feedback from customers and use it to improve the company's products and services.

The eighth part of the document outlines the various opportunities available to the company and the strategies used to take advantage of them. It is important to identify all potential opportunities, both financial and operational, and to develop a plan to take advantage of them. This includes diversification, hedging, and other financial strategies, as well as operational measures such as insurance and contingency planning.

The ninth part of the document discusses the importance of ethical behavior in the business process. It is essential for the company to act ethically and responsibly to ensure long-term success. This requires a strong focus on integrity and honesty, as well as a willingness to stand up for what is right. It is also important to consider the impact of the company's actions on the community and the environment, and to take steps to minimize any negative effects.

The tenth part of the document outlines the various conclusions drawn from the analysis and the recommendations for the future. It is important to summarize the key findings of the analysis and to provide clear and actionable recommendations for the future. This includes identifying areas for improvement and developing a plan to address them. It is also important to monitor the company's progress and make adjustments as needed to ensure that the company is on track to achieve its goals.

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ploded. I was looking at Fielden when he got off the wagon. I did not see him shoot. I had three or four conversations with the state's attorney. I told him what I stated here.

290

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I can't remember that Wessler testified before the justice that there was a large man with big whiskers near the wagon, firing and shooting. I did not understand everything that was said there. I have been in this country only one year and three months. I could not talk English  
291 before I came here. I was discharged upon my examination. It was three weeks after I was arrested. This here (handbill with words "Workingmen, come armed," etc.) is the kind of a handbill that I got  
292 from a man. On Monday night, before the Haymarket meeting, I was at a meeting of the metal-workers at 99 West Randolph street. I got there another circular; I don't know what kind it was. When the police came up, I heard Fielden say, "Stand "; it was not very loud; I heard it. I was about six or eight feet from him. I am sure the police fired  
293 first. I cannot say whether or not any one except the police fired. When I crouched down behind the steps of Crane Bros., I looked at the policemen. A policeman came along, found me there and arrested me. Then he walked by the wagon with me in charge. We walked right south on the sidewalk, and it was pretty near Randolph street where  
295 Foley picked up the pistol. At the time the bomb went off, Fielden was off the wagon; just before Capt. Ward got up there, there were a number of men on the wagon. I don't know all of them. I saw Spies  
298 there. I saw him about 9 o'clock. I got a copy of the circular calling the Haymarket meeting about 9 or 10 o'clock on Tuesday morning. A carrier carried them around. I got it on Lake street, near the corner of Clinton.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

299 I cannot tell whether or not the circular calling the Haymarket meeting which I got contained the line, "Workingmen, arm yourselves, and appear in full force."

300 JOSEPH GUTSCHER:

I am a shoemaker; have lived in Chicago for nine years. On the night of May 4th I was at the meeting at Desplaines street. I was  
301 standing on the west side of the street, south of the wagon. I noticed the police come up there. When the meeting was pretty near over, the



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302 policemen commenced to shoot at everybody on the street. I was shot  
 myself in the back and in the leg. Before the police came, everything  
 was quiet and orderly. I lived about half a block from there. I heard  
 nobody say, "Here come the blood-hounds; do your duty and I will do  
 303 mine," nor anything like that. There were three other men near me  
 304 who were shot. One of them received three shots. The police took  
 me to the station and locked me up for two weeks.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

307 I was taken to the hospital and kept there one week. I went to the  
 meeting because I saw many people go there.

FRANK RAAB:

I am a baker by trade; have lived in this country two years and a  
 309 half, in Chicago for three months. On the night of May 4th last I  
 happened to walk on Randolph street and when I got to the corner of  
 Desplaines I saw the meeting; that was the first I knew of it. I walked  
 up to the meeting. I am a socialist, but belong to no organization, no  
 310 society of socialists, no armed section. It was about half past 8 when I  
 got to the meeting. I stood near the wagon, about ten steps south of  
 the lamp post at Crane's alley. I listened to the speeches, but couldn't  
 understand much. I have no acquaintance with any of the defendants,  
 311 never talked with any of them. Never saw Spies before that meeting.  
 313 When the police came I went a little nearer the lamp post and somebody  
 314 walked up to the wagon and spoke to Fielden. I don't remember what  
 he said. I could not say that I heard any answer by Fielden. Then I  
 heard the explosion of the bomb and right after that pistol shots. I saw  
 Fielden before the bomb exploded, I did not look around when the bomb  
 exploded; the crowd was pretty close together about the mouth of the  
 alley. I saw no fire go through the air from the mouth of the alley.  
 When the shooting began I ran south to Randolph and turned  
 the corner east. I did not see any shooting from the audience at the  
 316 police either before I started to run or when I was running. Lots of  
 men were falling down while I was running, I jumped over three or four;  
 after I turned the corner a man fell before me and another behind me,  
 and I jumped and sort of caught my foot and fell down into the base-  
 ment. I stayed there two or three minutes, then went out and the police  
 were still shooting, not very much, however; I went across the street  
 where there is a saloon on the corner and there I saw a citizen shot right  
 through his hand.





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317

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

318 I became a socialist since I came to America, but I don't belong to any  
socialistic society and know very little about socialism. A man by the  
319 name of Albert Jaeger, who works in the same place with me talked with  
me about socialism and gave me a book about socialism. I don't know  
the title of the book. I never read any socialistic paper. I never read  
320 the Arbeiter Zeitung, never saw it. When I got to the Haymarket  
meeting Mr. Spies was already speaking. The meeting lasted from  
half past 8 to 10. I stood all the time near the corner of the alley south  
321 of it and close to the building. There were about a dozen men walking  
around in the alley.

324 JOHN O. BRIXEY:

I lived at 297 W. Randolph street since a year ago last January; have  
been a resident of Chicago fourteen or fifteen years; was born in this  
country; I have known Harry L. Gilmer since 1880; lived in the same  
325 neighborhood with him at 255 Carroll avenue, in 1880 and part of 1881.  
I lived again in the same neighborhood with him some time last year. I  
was then living where I am living now and Gilmer lived next door to me.  
I think I know his general reputation for truth and veracity among his  
neighbors. It is bad. I don't think I could believe him under oath.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

There are two stairs between Mr. Moses' place of residence and mine.  
326 I have a passing acquaintance with him. I know Mrs. Lee. I don't  
know Mr. Mitchell. I first made the acquaintance of Gilmer at 287  
West Lake street, that was before I lived on Carroll avenue. I knew  
Gilmer about a year, more or less, when he lived on Carroll avenue. I  
327 saw Gilmer various times between my living on Carroll avenue and last  
year; I knew some of his acquaintances and associates between those  
times. I heard his general reputation discussed on Carroll avenue, in  
1880, more than anywhere else. The people that discussed his character  
were living in the same block—some twelve or thirteen tenements in  
328 a row—in which I lived. Gilmer and I had a common-hall. I heard  
329 Mrs. Dunlap speak about his character, Mr. and Mrs. Hayes, Mrs. and  
Mr. Keith; the last two couples lived in the same block on Carroll avenue  
with me. It was a kind of general thing to discuss Gilmer's truth-  
fulness and veracity. I don't know whether Gilmer associated with Mr.  
and Mrs. Keith, but they spoke familiarly enough of his name. I lived



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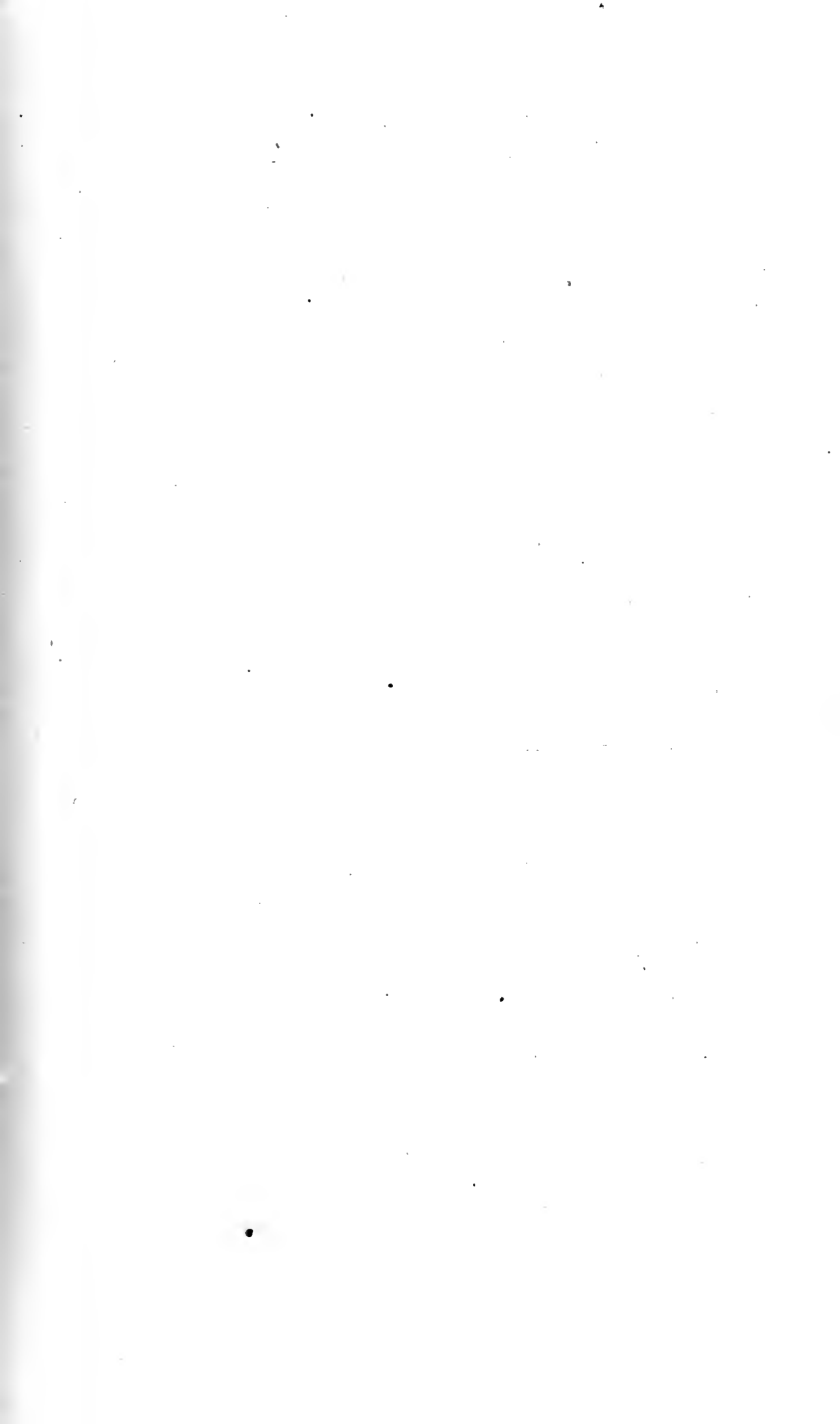
330 with Gilmer some four or six months after his character for truth and veracity was established. I did not visit Gilmer socially or otherwise. I can't say positively who the other people were who talked about Gilmer's character, but it was talked of by all the block. I heard Mr. and Mrs. Moses on Randolph street discuss it, also Mr. Joseph Larson at 331 295 West Randolph street. I don't think I could positively name anybody else; I don't keep account of those things. I am only speaking in a general way. As to Gilmer's truth and veracity I cannot speak from positive facts, but from what I heard. I have not spoken to Mr. Moses about Gilmer's truth and veracity since he testified here. I did not tell 332 the lawyers that I would testify to Gilmer's character for truth and veracity; I wanted to keep out of this thing; only a minute ago I was called at the door and asked what I was going to testify to. I am a printer, work at the Herald office. 333

#### JOHN GARRICK:

I reside at 269 Fulton street; have lived in Cook county thirty-eight years. I was born in Copenhagen, Denmark, and am a naturalized citizen of the United States. I was chief deputy sheriff during the administration of Mr. Kern for two years. I am a property owner and a man of family. I am slightly acquainted with Harry L. Gilmer; I became acquainted with him in the summer of 1881, when he was a tenant of mine. I am acquainted with his general reputation for truth and veracity among his neighbors and acquaintances where he resides. His 334 reputation is very bad, as far as I heard. I should hate to believe him under oath; I could not. 335

#### CROSS-EXAMINATION.

Gilmer rented of me at the same building where I live. He was a tenant of mine for about a month. I had no personal difficulty with him; had no difficulty with him about the rent. I recollect about his general reputation for truth and veracity only generally. I have known of his associates; have seen them since he rented of me. I made personal inquiries about Gilmer while he was in my neighborhood. I can't say of whom; it is simply impossible. I could not tell you any of his associates that I know personally. I cannot name one of his friends and associates 336 that I know myself. I don't know of my own knowledge whether he is a member of a Grand Army post in this city; I have seen him with something hanging on his coat. I never saw him associate with Mr. 337



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338 Tobey or Richard Tuthill. I have seen him associate with very questionable characters, both men and women. I did not know them by name; that was one of the reasons why I got rid of him as quickly as possible; I satisfied myself.

338, 339 WILLIAM URBAN:

I am a compositor at the Arbeiter Zeitung since 1879. I have been in this country since 1873. I know Mr. Spies. I went to the Haymarket meeting on May 4th last, a little after 10; before that I was at  
340 a meeting of the Central Labor Union, as a delegate from the Typographical Union No. 9, at 54 West Lake street, in a room back of the saloon.

On Sunday morning, May 2d, I attended a meeting of the Central Labor Union at the same place, and some delegates of the Lumber Shovers' Union asked for speakers for a meeting to be held by them on Monday afternoon. We said we could send Fielden, Parsons or Spies,  
341 and they said we should send any one of those three gentlemen. Pursuant to that Mr. Zeller, chairman of the agitation committee, spoke to Mr. Spies in the evening at another meeting of the Central Labor Union, at which Spies was present as a reporter for the Arbeiter Zeitung. Mr.  
342 Spies said he was very busy, and if he could go out to the Black road the next day he would do so.

When I reached the Haymarket meeting I came from Randolph street,  
343 went up on the sidewalk and took a position about the middle of the road on Desplaines street. Mr. Parsons was on a wagon about eight or ten feet north of the alley, and said it might rain, and they should adjourn up to Zepf's Hall. Mr. Fielden replied: "Well, gentlemen, I think it isn't worth while to adjourn; I will only talk a few minutes longer to  
344 you, and then we will all go home." Then I guess Mr. Fielden spoke; I didn't listen very much. I looked around to see if any of my friends were there. When I saw the police coming I stood in the street until they got almost near to the alley. Then I went towards the alley, and  
345 stood on the corner of the alley across from that lamp post. I looked at the police. Capt. Ward stepped forward and said: "In the name of the State of Illinois, I command you to disperse," and I saw two or three policemen four or five feet behind the captain have something shining in  
346 their hands. I guess it was revolvers. Then I looked around and saw something like a fire-cracker in the air, then I heard a deep noise and  
347 shooting. It seemed to me all these noises came at once. This fire that



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looked to me like a fire-cracker must have started about fifteen to eighteen feet south of the lamp post at Crane's alley; it went awfully fast, made a kind of a circle, and from where I stood it looked as though it was going towards the middle of the street, a little to the north; about one or two seconds afterwards I heard that deep noise. When I heard that and the shooting I ran south towards Randolph street. I did not reach Randolph street; when I got about half way down I fell over a pile of people lying there and couldn't get any further, so I jumped over the railing of the building on the corner of Randolph and Desplaines down into the area way. I didn't see any of the citizens fire any revolvers. I am a socialist. I am not an anarchist. I do not and never did belong to any armed section. I am a married man, and live with my family. I heard neither Mr. Fielden or anybody else say when the police were approaching: "There come the blood-hounds; now you do your duty and I'll do mine," or any words to that effect. After Capt. Ward had commanded the audience to disperse Fielden said, as far as I could understand, "We are peaceable." That was said as if one would make a private remark. It sounded as if he were talking to the captain. I heard no pistol shots from any source before that deep noise that I speak of, the explosion of the bomb.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I don't belong now to any group of the Internationals. In 1882 or 1883 I belonged to a group on the north side. I had no number; we had no numbers. I never was at a society when we had numbers. In September of last year I was at one meeting of the American group and took a card. I was born in Austria. There were some people between me and the police when I saw revolvers in the hands of some of the officers, but I could see distinctly it was not the people, but officers, who had the revolvers. I noticed them at the time Capt. Ward spoke. I saw nothing except the fire-cracker part in the air, nothing bound to it. It fell towards the middle of the street, south of the position I was in. The next morning I went to work at 54 West Lake street. I took the reports of the eight-hour movement for the Central Labor Union, as a member of the Agitation Committee. Mr. Zeller, myself, and some eleven other men belonged to that committee.





## WILLIAM GLEASON:

I have resided in Chicago a little over six years. I am a native of Ireland; have lived in this country about eight years. I am not a socialist, communist or anarchist; never belonged to any armed section or group of socialists. I am by trade a shoemaker. I was present at the Haymarket meeting for a portion of the time. I went there with a person by the name of Ferguson. I met him at about 9 o'clock on Desplaines street; he told me that the meeting was being held, and we sauntered along leisurely to the meeting. I had not seen any bills or notice of the meeting previous to that. Parsons was speaking when I arrived at the meeting. I remember his making some comments as to Gould. Some person in the audience cried out "Hang him." Parsons replied something to the effect that socialism or socialists did not want any one killed; they wanted the system killed that created and encouraged such men as Gould. In this connection Parsons deprecated the abusing of scabs by trade unionists, stating that they were only parasites on the body politic; he told a story about the flea and the dog, and that while the trade unions were going to kill off the fleas which he compared to the scabs, socialists wanted to kill the dog which was the system that created these scabs.

I remained at the meeting until the weather became threatening. Ferguson and I went to the south-west corner of Desplaines and Randolph. While standing at that corner we suddenly saw a number of policemen rush out of the alley that led down to the police station, coming on and forming along the street, and they were so impetuous that one of the young lieutenants, I presume he was in command, ran five or six feet in advance of his column and was shouting and hurrying them up to be quick, and rallying them, as it were, to advance quicker than they were doing. They advanced very quickly; I should say between a run and a walk. Meanwhile we moved south, and when they had passed by we stood close to the alley at the police station. We saw the dark body of policemen march along the center of the street and watched them closely. The first thing I noticed was something flying over the heads of them. I thought it was a fire-cracker or squib. Instantaneously with that the shooting began. I stayed for a few seconds and saw that the shooting was somewhat indifferent, as if it was wild; I got around the corner of Washington street and remained there until a young man came down who seemed to be shot. I spoke to him and then walked with the rest of the crowd towards Halsted street. The shooting that followed the



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appearance of that light in the air came from the body that was in the center of the street. I did not see any flashes, during the time I looked down upon the sidewalks; only between the two curbs of the streets.

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## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have never heard myself called one of the Irish dynamiters belonging to the O'Donovan Rossa gang. I did not come to this city with a letter of introduction from O'Donovan Rossa. I belonged to a revolutionary society at Newcastle-on-Tyne. I was not a member of a committee trying to get Bonfield discharged last summer. I am a laboring man and look after the interests of my class. I am by trade a shoemaker. Since March I am state agent for the State Labor Bureau of Illinois, in Chicago, elected by the trade assembly and appointed by Mr. Lord, a state officer. I have, besides, a shoe store. Have worked at my trade in Chicago. I am a member of the trades assembly. I have some acquaintance with Parsons and Fielden. I have some acquaintance with Joe Gruenhut. I do not belong to any Irish organization at the present time. I called on the state's attorney with Mortimer Scammon and asked something about the defendants then in jail. I did not at that time tell the state's attorney that I knew nothing about the case, but was friendly to the defendants and would like to see them, and he did not state to me that the investigations of the grand jury came too close to me, and that he would advise me to leave the building and not call upon the defendants. What, in fact, happened was this: I went to Mortimer Scammon and asked permission to see the defendants. I said I knew Fielden and believed him to be an industrious man, or something to that effect, and the state's attorney told me in a bantering manner—I understood he was joking—that I was suspected myself, and advised me not to see them at the present time, I could do them no good. I understood he was joking, laughed at him in reply to his insinuation, and it dropped there. I went away with Mortimer Scammon. I was on my way home at the time, it was 6 o'clock in the evening.

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When the bomb exploded I was standing very close to the office of the Desplaines street station, on the west side of the street. I don't remember any particular noise that attracted my attention before the explosion of the bomb, don't remember that I told Ferguson I believed it was a pistol shot, and that Ferguson said to me, it sounded to him like the cracking of a plank. I don't know that I heard any pistol shot before I heard the bomb explode. I was too far away to detect that a



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372 large quantity of men were driven to the ground upon the explosion of  
the bomb. I only saw a dark body down in the street. I don't know  
whether the body of police stood between me and the crowd. I was  
too far away to observe that. Since the car strike last summer I ex-  
373 pressed my views that Capt. Bonfield should be discharged.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

With reference to Capt. Bonfield, I expressed my views on account  
of what had transpired at the car men's strike, that he was not peace-  
able enough to be an officer of the peace, too much inclined to use the  
374 club. I am a knight of labor and a delegate to the trades assembly.  
I do not belong now to any Irish society of dynamiters. I once be-  
longed to a home organization at Newcastle-on-Tyne, of which I was  
375 the head, and I also belonged to the Fenian organization in England. I  
was interested as an Irishman against the oppression of my brethren  
by the English people. I was also president of an Irish literary institu-  
tion. I have never advocated the use of dynamite or any other military  
violence in this country, having faith in the ballot.

WILLIAM SAHL (testifying through interpreter):

I am a blacksmith; do not belong to any labor union. I sympathize  
376 with the socialists; I am not an anarchist. I went to the Haymarket  
meeting at about a quarter of eight. I stood near the Desplaines street  
station and saw there three patrol wagons, manned with police and about  
100 to 150 men drawn up in the rear of the patrol wagons, on Waldo  
Place. Then I walked around until the meeting commenced. I saw  
that Mr. Spies opened the meeting and asked, "Is Parsons here?" I  
stood at that time about the middle of the street in a south-westerly direc-  
377 tion from the wagon. After Spies had asked for Parsons he came down  
from the wagon and walked with two or three other persons in a south-  
westerly direction, they passed me. I know Mr. Schwab. I did not see  
him on the wagon at the time Spies asked for Parsons; he was not one  
of the gentlemen who accompanied Mr. Spies when he passed me. I  
did not stay at the meeting until the police came. I left a little after ten.  
378 I noticed the gas light on the south-west corner of Crane's alley was  
burning; I saw no torch light on the wagon. I had seen Mr. Schwab  
and Mr. Spies several times before that night, their faces were familiar  
to me then. I did not see Mr. Schwab around that place at any time  
that night.



## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

379 I have lived in the city seven years. I cannot speak much English. I  
 can understand more than I speak. I am a blacksmith by trade. I have  
 not worked at my trade since a year and a quarter. I had earned a little  
 something, and my wife is earning something. I was never a member  
 of the L. u. W. V., never belonged to any group. I read the  
 380 notice of the Haymarket meeting in the Arbeiter Zeitung, among  
 the editorial notices. I have been reading the Arbeiter Zeitung and  
 381 took it for five years. I have heard Spies speak several times at work-  
 ingmen's meetings, once at Greif's Hall, at a meeting of the American  
 group, at the time when Barry spoke; I heard him once at Zepf's Hall  
 at a mass meeting of the metal workers for the purpose of organization;  
 I heard him also at the Aurora Turner Hall and at the North Side  
 382 Turner Hall. I heard Schwab and saw him generally at the same  
 meetings with Spies.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

383 The announcement which I saw in the Arbeiter Zeitung was this ad-  
 vertisement here, a translation of which is as follows (Interpreter Gauss  
 reads): "Attention Workingmen! Grand Mass Meeting this evening  
 at half past seven o'clock on the Haymarket, Randolph, between Des-  
 plaines and Halsted streets. Good speakers will denounce the latest  
 dastardly deeds of the police in shooting our brethren yesterday after-  
 noon."

The INTERPRETER: That is all that appears in the advertisement.  
 The original German is quite the same as the German part of the circular  
 marked "Defendants' Ex. No. 1."

384 WITNESS: I did not read anything in the editorials about McCor-  
 mick's. On that day I had been helping my wife with the housework.

EBERHARDT HIERSEMENZEL (testifying through interpreter):

385 I live at 193 Desplaines street. Have lived in Chicago about two  
 years. I am a painter by trade. I got to the Haymarket meeting about  
 8 o'clock, having read the announcement of it in the Arbeiter Zeitung.  
 At first I stood on the south-east corner of Randolph and Desplaines.  
 Then I saw the people move north on Desplaines street and I went  
 386 there too. I saw Spies speaking on the wagon. I took my position  
 first by the lamp post, but as the crowd got larger I was pushed into  
 the road. I heard three persons speak that night, but could not under-





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stand them. When the police came I stood about two paces south of the lamp post, but I went four or five steps further south close to the sidewalk. I saw the commanding officer walk up to the wagon and say a few words to Mr. Fielden. While I was looking at Mr. Fielden I suddenly heard a noise like a shot. I turned around and I saw the police fire at the people. I did not see at that time any of the people fire at the police. I tried to get down eastward on Randolph street, but the crowd was too large, I couldn't get there. Near the corner there were three or four men lying on the street, and several at my side fell down, and I fell over them. I wanted to turn the corner and I saw some policemen coming that way, the police were still firing into the people, and I laid myself by the iron railing by the saloon. Then when the crowd got too large I was forced down into the basement, I fell down and hurt my knee. I did not see firing from anybody except the police. I only saw that every one wanted to get away as soon as possible to save himself. I did not see any of the citizens have in their possession any revolvers or weapons of any kind, during the time I was at the meeting.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I was not at Greif's Hall that afternoon. I never was at Greif's Hall. I have been in the United States three years, two years in Chicago. I have been reading the Arbeiter Zeitung since I am in Chicago. I read besides the notice of the Haymarket meeting in the Arbeiter Zeitung divers articles, I cannot remember exactly.

Q. Did you read the article headed "Blood" before you went to the meeting on the 4th of May?

(Objected to as not proper cross-examination and as incompetent; objection overruled, and exception.)

It is possible that I read it. I cannot remember precisely what I did read. I remember that I read the issue of the 1st of May from beginning to end, because I was very eager to know all about the eight-hour movement. I did not belong to any group at that time. When I got there the people were standing on the corner of Desplaines and Randolph streets, I got there at 8 o'clock and I believe it was quite an hour before the meeting was opened. When the police came up I kept moving toward Randolph street, tried to gain the sidewalk but could not, because I was pushed by others. There were many people on the sidewalk, everybody was pushing toward the sidewalk from the middle of the street to make room for the police. I saw the commanding officer



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step up to the wagon. He said a few words to Mr. Fielden, Mr. Fielden said a few words in return, and while I still had my eyes on Mr. Fielden, I heard behind me the noise of pistol shots, I turned around, and saw the police firing into the people.

395

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

When I saw the police fire they had turned about, had their front towards the sidewalk and were firing towards the sidewalk; the people on the sidewalk were trying to get away as quickly as possible in a southerly direction.

397

## RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

The police south of me were the only that I saw fire at that time. Afterwards I saw the firing scatter over the whole territory, but I didn't look around to see—I tried to get to the sidewalk.

## CONRAD MESSER:

I am a cabinet maker by trade. I attended a meeting at Zepf's Hall on the night of May 4th; left there about a quarter of 10 and went to the Haymarket meeting. I saw the police after they had arrived there.

399 I stood right by the south-east corner of the wagon at the time. The front rank of the police was about six to ten steps from me. I saw Mr.

400 Fielden and Mr. Spies on the wagon when the police came. I heard the captain of the police say something, I can't exactly repeat the words—he wanted the meeting to disperse. Mr. Fielden replied, "It is a peaceable meeting," not in a very loud tone of voice, while he went down from the wagon. I heard the explosion. I didn't know that it was a bomb. I never heard a bomb. At the time I heard that noise Fielden was down

401 off the wagon pretty near the sidewalk. I saw Fielden all that time. He had no pistol in his hand. I did not see him fire one shot. After the explosion the policemen shot at the crowd, so I went on the sidewalk, Fielden stepped on the sidewalk too—after this I didn't see him any more. Spies left the wagon about the same time Fielden did, perhaps three seconds before—I cannot say that so exactly. I saw Spies on the wagon after the captain had commenced to speak the command. I saw no citizen shoot there. The firing came from the police. I ran to Zepf's

402 Hall, up to the meeting of the cabinet makers, where I had been before. I was there about two minutes, Mr. Zepf closed the hall and I went home.



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I am not a socialist, I do not belong to any group of anarchists or any armed section. The furniture workers' union is not represented in the Central Labor Union. It is represented in the trade and labor assembly.

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

When I left Zepf's Hall about half-past 9 I went home. I live now on Desplaines street. I saw the meeting and stopped. I have seen and heard Fielden and Spies speak about the eight-hour movement within a few months prior to the 4th of May; I heard Fielden once at Zepf's Hall and Spies once at Vorwaerts Turner Hall, about two months before the Haymarket meeting. I stood about two or three steps south-east from the wagon on the road. When I first saw the police they were about eight or ten steps from me. There were three more men on the wagon besides Spies and Fielden. Spies got off on the east side of the wagon, Fielden got down from the south-east corner of the wagon on to the street. When the police shot he ran away like the rest of the crowd; he didn't run very quick. I saw him step on to the sidewalk. I lived at that time at 436 Jefferson street, south of the Haymarket. After the shooting began I ran north until I reached an alley going east and running out on Lake street. I ran through that alley and then went to Zepf's Hall. I went there because the police shot into the crowd, and I didn't want to be killed. There was not much of a crowd at Zepf's Hall, only perhaps six or seven people. I didn't count them. I was shot in the pants. I went up to the third floor of Zepf's Hall. I have been in the country three years and six months. I came here from Germany.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

When I went back to Zepf's building I did not go into the saloon at all.

RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

I cannot say whether the saloon at Zepf's Hall was open or shut. I did not try to get in.

AUGUST KRUMM:

I am a wood-worker and machinist; have lived in Chicago twenty-two years. I am a married man. I am not a socialist or anarchist or communist. I don't know if I ever saw any of the defendants; I don't know one of them. I think, when I came to the Haymarket meeting I



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saw that man right there (indicating Parsons); I think I saw this man  
 with the full beard (indicating Fielden) speaking last. I came to the  
 Haymarket meeting about a quarter of nine, while the meeting was in  
 progress. I had seen no newspaper notice, or any circular about the  
 meeting. I had business down town, heard about the meeting, stopped  
 411 and listened to it. William Albright, who worked with me in the same  
 place, at Kimball's wagon factory, was with me. I worked for Kimball  
 since about three years. I stood close to the north wall of Crane Bros.  
 building, right at the corner of Crane's alley; remained there all the  
 412 evening. Later in the evening Albright and myself went back a little  
 ways into the alley. He gave me a pipe of tobacco, I lit a match and  
 lighted his pipe and mine. When we went back to the corner I saw the  
 police coming up, and one man walked up to the wagon. Shortly  
 413 after that I heard a shot fired from the direction of where the police  
 stood, from the south; right after that the bomb exploded. I didn't see  
 any shot fired from the wagon. While we were lighting our pipes in  
 the alley, and while we were at the corner, I did not see anybody enter  
 the alley. A few men were standing alongside of us, on the north side  
 of the alley. I could not tell whether there was a group of men on the  
 414 south side of the alley, eight or ten feet from the sidewalk. I did not  
 take notice of it. We went back into the alley to light our pipes, a few  
 steps, because there was a kind of draft on the sidewalk. I struck one  
 match, lighted my pipe first, then Albright stuck his pipe in there and  
 lighted his pipe. Before I heard the explosion of the bomb I saw some-  
 415 thing like a burnt out match that was lit yet, go through the air and  
 drop about the middle of the street. It must have started from about  
 twenty feet south of the alley, it was about ten or twelve feet up when I  
 saw it. It could not have started from the mouth of the alley. I was  
 standing right at the building on the same corner of the alley. It went  
 from the east towards the west. I saw the streak of fire, and right after  
 that the explosion followed. I did not see any one strike a match in the  
 416 alley, nor any light except the match I struck. It was rather dark in  
 the alley. I did not see this man (indicating Spies) going to the alley at  
 any time that evening.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

417 I am thirty-seven years old. Was born in Prussia. My family is not  
 living with me. I have not seen my wife and child since over a year.  
 418 They live on the north side. Before that we lived together. I have been





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419 married about twelve years. On May 4th I worked all day at Kimball's factory, from 8 o'clock in the morning until 5 in the evening. After supper I walked down town from where I lived, 1036 W. Twentieth street. On the south-east corner of Desplaines and Randolph street, at about twenty minutes of 9, I stopped and had a glass of beer.

422  
 423 After I left the saloon I walked east on Randolph street as far as Canal street. I wanted to see a friend there, but did not meet him. Then I turned around and went back to the corner of Desplaines street. I knew there was a meeting when I saw the crowd there. I had heard somebody say there was to be a meeting about the eight-hour movement before I got there. The man that I wanted to see, Adolph Winnis, had come up to the shop to see me about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. He told me I could meet him on the corner of Randolph and Canal streets,

425  
 426 on the street, any hour that evening. He is working at wood-work machinery. I don't know where he lives now. He told me at that time he was moving on Madison street somewhere. I went to that corner on Randolph street, looked around on the street, did not see him standing there, turned around, and went back. I did not see him at all that night. It must have been a quarter of 9 when I got to the corner of Randolph and Desplaines street the second time. This is just my judgment. I did not look at a clock or watch from the time I left my home, except when I got to Blue Island avenue and Twenty-first street. There I had looked at the clock in the saloon and saw it was 8 o'clock. When I got to the meeting I believe it was Parsons who was speaking. I don't

428  
 429 recollect what he was talking about. I met Albright standing at the corner of the alley, north of it, and near the wall, and spoke with him. Albright and myself leaned against the wall some time. Albright was not smoking when I met him. While leaning against the wall our faces

430  
 431 were to the south. We may have stood about four or five feet from the corner of the building in the alley. I was standing nearest the street. Albright stood at my left. We leaned up there talking. When I first came there I went close up to him before I recognized him. I said, "Hello, Albright," and he said "Hello, Krumm." I asked him how he came to be there. He said he had heard of the meeting. He asked me how I came to be there. I told him that I wanted to go down to the meeting, and

432  
 433 that I called down to meet a friend. That is all I told him. I didn't hear much of what Parsons said. I heard him say something about Gould. I heard Spies say, "A few words more and then we will go home, boys." That was shortly before the police came.



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Mr. FOSTER: Which is the man that said that?

A. I guess that is the man (pointing to Fielden).

Mr. GRINNELL: Q. That man with whiskers?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is that Spies? A. I suppose that is the man that spoke last.

433 Q. Is he the one that said that? A. Yes, sir.

I was standing in the alley then; had stood in the alley all the time up to that time. I did not hear Parsons say anything about, "When you get ready to do it, do it, and don't make any threats." I did not hear him say "To arms, to arms." I did not hear him or anybody speak  
 434 about throttling the law or stabbing the law. I don't know whether I would have heard it if it had been said. The meeting was quiet as long as I was there. I could hear the talk going on all the time, but don't remember about it; it did not attract my attention. After we had lighted our pipes we leaned again against the wall, with our faces to the south.  
 435 We were in the dark. I don't recollect any light at the corner of the alley. I saw the man with the whiskers speaking there that night. I  
 436 had never seen him before. When I saw him I was in the alley with my back against the wall. I stood right at the corner and turned my head over my shoulder, and saw him in that way. I saw Parsons in the same  
 437 way. That was the only time in my life I saw Parsons or Fielden until I saw them here. If I see a man once I know him again. We were  
 438 three or four steps in the alley when we lighted our pipes. Before that we stood right at the corner, Albright standing at my left. I believe Albright could have seen Parsons from where he stood. The wagon  
 439 stood on the street right near the sidewalk, five or six feet north of the alley. I did not notice whether the tongue end or tail end was north. The speakers stood on the wagon, facing south. I guess the speaker had  
 440 said, "Boys, wait a minute, and then we will all go home," before we went into the alley to light our pipe. When I looked over my shoulder at the speaker I think I was about eight or nine feet from him; I could  
 441 not tell exactly; there were a good many people between me and the speaker; a few men between me and the edge of the alley, and a few men on the south side of the alley. Albright and myself were not talking much while standing there. We listened to the speakers, but I don't  
 442 recollect anything of it any more, and I didn't understand all of it. They talked in English. I understand English. At the time I heard Fielden make the remark about going home in a minute, the police were just coming up Desplaines street. I don't recollect whether I saw Spies



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there that night. I saw that man (indicating Spies) in the wagon, I believe, when I first came there. I saw no man with glasses there. I did not see there that man (indicating Schwab). I don't think I saw that  
443 man (indicating Fischer) that night. I guess there were four or five men on the wagon; they were not coming and going when I looked at them, but stood still there. I only saw them once. I did not talk with Albright about what the speakers were saying; we were talking about our shop and about the eight-hour business. We got the eight hours  
445 at our shop for two weeks. When I first saw the bomb in the air it was about ten feet high and right near the edge of the sidewalk. I didn't see it when it fell; I did not see it explode. I guess it exploded  
446 about twenty feet south of the alley. I don't recollect any boxes on the sidewalk. I was there that night until about 10 o'clock. I looked  
447 about a dozen times over my shoulder at the speakers in the wagon; not  
448 more than a few minutes at any one time. I couldn't have seen the speakers from where I stood unless I turned my head. I don't recollect any lighted lamp there. I know there is a lamp-post standing there; I often passed by there; six or seven years ago I worked on the corner of Randolph and Jefferson streets for ten years.

450 I ran away right after the bomb exploded. I heard a shot from where  
451 the police were standing immediately before I saw the fuse in the air. The police were about forty or fifty feet from the wagon—the  
452 first row of policemen was about ten feet from the wagon. I couldn't tell how far south the next row of police was. I could not distinguish more than one row. That pistol shot came from south. I could see a  
453 row of policemen by turning my head and looking into the street. I am not sure whether the shot came from that row; I think it came from south. Right after that I heard the bomb explode. I don't know who began firing after that. I ran away through Crane's alley, out on Randolph street. There were other people running through the alley. Albright and myself ran together. We got separated in the alley. I saw  
454 Albright next on the following day. I talked with him about what we saw and heard the next day at the shop; not at my house and not on the street in going home from the shop. We worked at the same shop, he upstairs and I downstairs. We talked about it at noon time.

I first saw any counsel for the defense last Sunday morning. I called on Mr. Salomon pursuant to a notice in the Arbeiter Zeitung requesting  
455 people to call on Salomon & Zeisler.

I told Albright that I heard a pistol shot before the bomb. He said



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456 he didn't see it, but he had heard it. I saw that notice shortly after the  
 457 4th of May, after the Arbeiter Zeitung appeared again. It said that all  
 458 who knew anything about the matter—about the throwing of the bomb  
 —should come to be witnesses. I am not a socialist, and never was. I  
 don't know what a group is. I have been reading the Arbeiter Zeitung  
 only since they got the new press; that was after the 4th of May. I  
 never called upon any of the defendants in the jail.

459, 460

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I don't mean to say that I only looked at the wagon once; I looked  
 there more than once, but I saw the speakers only that night. Our gen-  
 eral position while in the alley was leaning against the wall, but we kind  
 461 of moved around, turned around and looked at the wagon. When I  
 looked at the speakers they faced to the south, but they were moving  
 about. I never was on the stand as a witness before. My best guess is,  
 463 the speakers might have been twelve feet from where I stood, but I don't  
 pretend to say I know the distance. The notice pursuant to which I  
 called at Salomon & Zeisler's was like this one in the paper here (indi-  
 cating).

Interpreter Gauss translated said notice as follows:

464

“To the public. All those who can say anything in favor of the par-  
 ties who by the state's attorney are made responsible for the Haymarket  
 affair on Tuesday evening, the 4th of May; this year, are urgently re-  
 465 quested to communicate with the counsel of the defendants, Messrs. Sal-  
 omon & Zeisler, at 116 LaSalle street, fourth floor.”

In the evening on the 4th of May I walked from the factory to my  
 home, which is about twenty minutes walk; then I walked from home to  
 the corner of Randolph and Desplaines street, which is a distance of  
 about four miles. My labor in the shop requires me to stand. I had  
 been standing at my shop eight hours that day, and while at the meet-  
 ing I leaned some in the alley against the brick wall.

466, 467

## RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

In July, 1885, I was confined one week in the bridewell. I was not  
 arrested for licking my wife.

## RE-RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

The occasion of my arrest was this: I bought a revolver on the 3d  
 of July. I wanted to have some shooting on the 4th. I and another fel-





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low went down in a saloon, I pulled my revolver out and was arrested for that, and then I was sent to the bridewell for not quite a week.

468

## RE-RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

This man here (indicating a policeman), is not the man that arrested me. I was not sentenced to the bridewell for thrashing my wife and threatening her life with a pistol. I never was.

469 ROBERT LINDINGER:

470

I live at 53 North Clark street with Carl Richter, a friend of mine. We went together to the Haymarket, and arrived there before 8 o'clock.

471

I saw there the defendants, Spies, Parsons and Fielden; those are the only ones I saw there. I saw Mr. Spies on the wagon when he asked if Parsons was there. I was standing at the mouth of Crane's alley, about midway between the two sidewalks, and midway between the curb-

472

stone and the building line, arm-in-arm with Carl Richter. After Spies had asked for Parsons, he alighted on the north side of the wagon. I did not see him come towards me. I have never seen this gentleman (indicating Schwab), before in my life; he was not in the wagon when Spies was there; I did not see him with Spies or anybody else pass that night into the alley. In about five or ten minutes Spies came up again to open the meeting. I stayed there until the last word was spoken. I heard the explosion of the bomb. Fielden spoke last. When it com-

473

menced like rain, we went under the lamp post. I heard Mr. Fielden say something about going over to Zepf's Hall on account of the weather. I saw Capt. Ward speak the command to disperse. I heard Fielden reply something, I understood the word "peaceable." I did not hear anybody in the neighborhood, prior to the arrival of the police, say in a

474

loud tone: "Here come the blood-hounds; you do your duty and I'll do mine." I heard some fellows around me say: "Here come the police." The remark by Fielden, out of which I only remember the word "peace-

475

able," was made in a quiet voice. I believe the crowd around him could easily understand him. I saw and heard the shooting immediately, about a second or two after the explosion of the bomb. After that I tried to make my way through to Randolph street. I could not get through; there were piles of people laying there and I had to stand still, and I looked back at the wagon. Fielden was off the wagon then. I believe he made preparations to get down from the wagon when he made that last remark. I did not see a pistol in his hand then; did not see him



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fire a shot. I did not see anybody in the crowd fire a shot. I saw shots when I last looked at the wagon, from where the police were standing; I didn't know from where the shots came. I went home alone. I went south on the sidewalk towards Randolph street. Shots were coming in, and I believe people were shot in front of me. I did not see anybody on the sidewalk shoot back at the police. After Capt. Ward had commanded the meeting to disperse, I lost sight of my friend Carl Richter. I am no socialist; never belonged to any socialistic organization; that was the first socialistic meeting I ever attended. I had never seen Spies, Fielden or Parsons before that night. I am a cornice-maker by trade; I am a knight of labor, member of the tinner and sheet-iron workers' assembly, No. 6-18. I have been in this country over three years; in Chicago since a year ago last May. I don't know the L. u. W. V.; never belonged to it. I was not armed that night. I learned of the meeting through a notice in the Arbeiter Zeitung, which I saw in a saloon. I saw the notice in the first column of the fourth page of the issue of May 4th, and also a little editorial notice which reads: "To-night there will be a grand mass meeting on the Haymarket. No working-man ought to miss it." The announcement didn't say anything about arms. I did not see any revolver at the meeting with anybody except the police.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I stood there, arm-in-arm with Carl Richter, for pretty near two hours. After I had seen the announcement of the meeting at the saloon I went back to my room and spoke to Carl Richter about going over to the meeting. I didn't know what kind of a meeting it was to be; it was just that a good speaker was there about the labor question. I was born in Baden, Germany; am 24 years old. Have been a knight of labor for two years. I became a member in Toledo, Ohio. I am a member of no other labor organization. There were not very many people in that alley that night. They came in there when we ran off. We stood with our face towards the speakers all the time. I didn't notice a pile of boxes there. The crowd was pretty thick on the sidewalk when the police came up. I looked at the police, and saw them fire first; I don't know whether the front rank fired first; I saw firing from the space between the wagon and me. I didn't hear any pistol shots before Fielden's remark about "peaceable." The policemen were between me and the wagon; I believe no one else. While I was moving on the edge of the sidewalk towards Randolph street I saw no one shoot on



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487 my side. I talked with Carl Richter the same night, after he got home, about how he got away from that place and about the shooting. I read about it the next day in the Daily News. I have seen other copies of the Arbeiter Zeitung; Carl Richter got them. He was a subscriber of the Arbeiter Zeitung since about a year, but he didn't have it always.

488 WILLIAM ALBRIGHT (testifying through interpreter):

489 I was born in Pomerania, Prussia. Have been in this country and in Chicago for four years. In going from my work on the 4th of May some one told me that a meeting was to take place at the Haymarket, and I went there. I saw August Krumm, who works at the same factory with me, at the meeting. While Parsons was speaking I met Krumm, and we stayed together until the firing began. Krumm stood principally on the north side of the alley, on the corner. I was sometimes standing on the sidewalk, sometimes with Krumm in the alley. I saw Fielden speak from the wagon as the police went up. I didn't understand the speeches; I don't understand English. I spoke with August Krumm from time to time. He speaks German and English too. We went into the alley to light a pipe, and as I came out I saw the police coming. I wanted to give him some tobacco, and wanted a light from him; I had no match. Krumm struck one match, lighted his pipe, then held the match up and I lighted my pipe. We had stepped about two and a half paces into the alley, because the wind was blowing a little. We stood there a little while; I went up to the end of the alley again and went back again. A little while after that the police were coming from Randolph street. I heard one shot and immediately after that the explosion of the bomb. Then I ran up the alley. I saw Krumm again at home that night. I didn't see any one strike a match in the alley except Krumm. I did not see any one, about the time the police came up, pass from the wagon into the alley. I did not see any one throw a bomb, or throw anything from the alley, or from near the mouth of the alley. I did not see the fuse or any fire in the air. I am not a socialist or anarchist. I belong to the knights of labor. I don't belong to any group or armed section. The shot which I heard before the explosion of the bomb seemed to come from a southerly direction, from where the police stood; who was shooting I didn't see. I saw no shooting in the alley towards the police. I heard and saw no shot from the speakers' wagon that night.



## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have been a member of the knights of labor since April, this year. I don't belong to any other labor organization. I first stood on the sidewalk, then when I met Krumm I went in the alley, sometimes walking up and down, sometimes standing by Krumm, sometimes stepping upon the sidewalk. Krumm was standing still when I saw him. I didn't see  
496 him go on the sidewalk. I stood with Krumm at the north-east corner, I don't remember precisely whether he or I stood nearer the sidewalk; sometimes I was in front of him, sometimes behind. I understand very little English. I came into the court room while Krumm testified here, I sat in one of the back seats. I couldn't hear all he said, and I couldn't understand all of it.

While I was standing on the sidewalk I sometimes looked towards the speakers, sometimes towards the south—I looked all around. Krumm stood at the alley while I was on the sidewalk. I heard the police officer  
497 say something, but I could not understand it. I heard Fielden answer something, but what he said I couldn't understand. When I came out of the alley, after I had lighted my pipe, the police were approaching, and the one man went up to Fielden. I heard one man on the sidewalk  
498 say, "The police are coming now," after I came out from the alley. I cannot understand an English speech. I did not understand Fielden or Parsons; I was walking up and down in the hope that some German speaking  
499 would follow. Krumm did not tell me that he heard the speakers. He didn't speak to me about what they said that night. Part of the time Krumm and I were talking together. Sometimes we were leaning against the wall; we spoke about our shop. After the bomb exploded  
500 I ran. While I ran I heard a number of shots. I don't know where they came from.

## GEORGE KOEHLER:

508 I have lived thirteen years in the city of Chicago; I am a laborer; I have worked for Mahl & Shoepler for seven years. I got to the Hay-market meeting while Parsons was speaking. I could not recognize any  
509 of these men as the speakers, because it was dark. I only heard them speak. I was standing on the north-west corner of Randolph  
510 and Desplaines street. I didn't see the police before they were close to me. I was standing close to the sidewalk and then I moved right up to the corner. The police walked up





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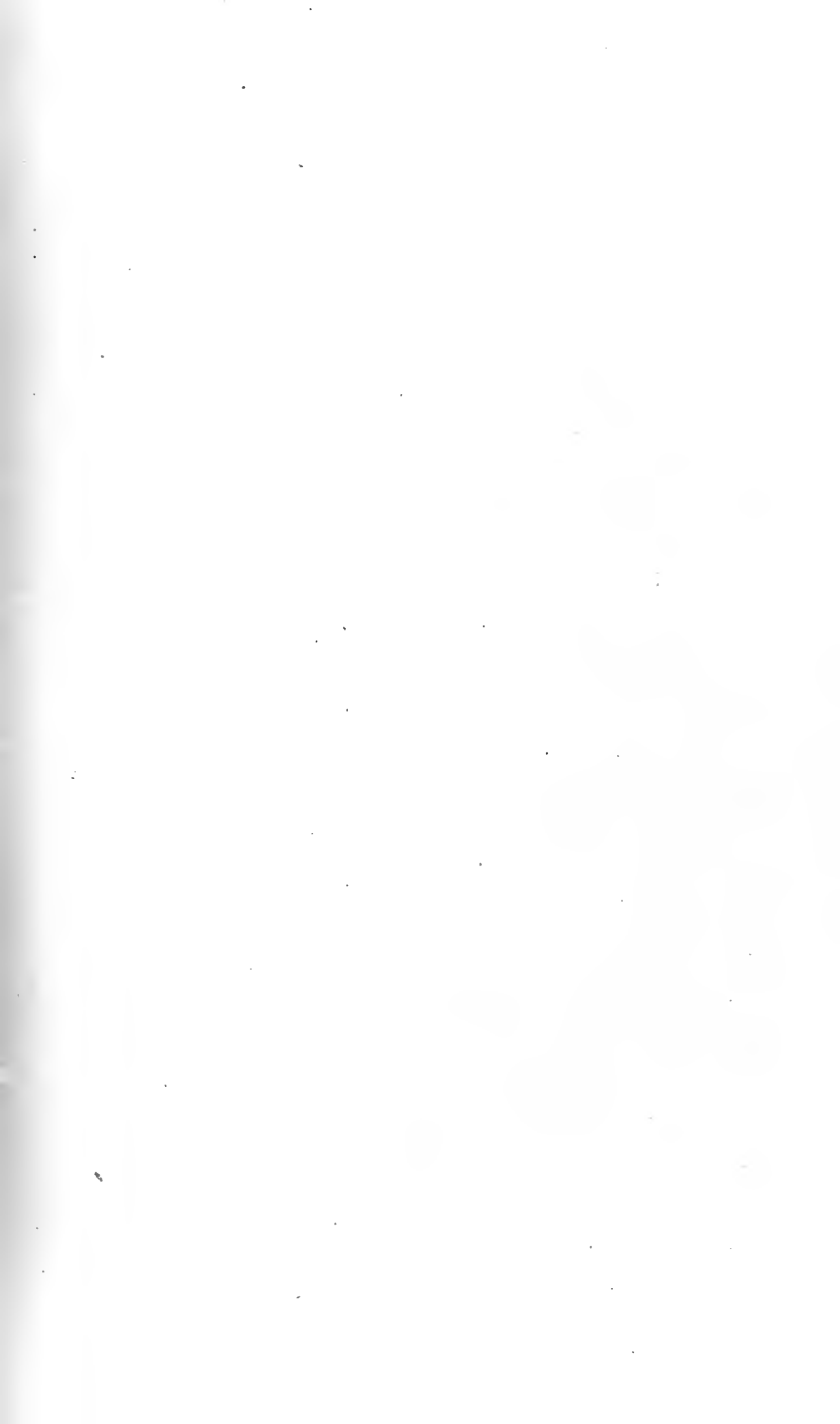
511 north and stopped in front of the speakers. I heard a voice say some-  
 thing. I only understood the word "right." All at once the people  
 were running; I heard a kind of cracking, as if a big pile of lumber fell  
 down; I started to run, too, and fell down right on the corner and was  
 512 shot through my leg by the police. I don't know what it was exactly  
 that caused this cracking noise. I saw it come from the east side of the  
 street, right opposite me, from the middle of the sidewalk, and it seemed  
 514 to fly north-west. Immediately after this light fell to the ground the  
 police began to shoot. The people around me were all quiet. I didn't  
 515 see anybody else shot there. When the police passed me they walked  
 very fast.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

516 I did not know anything about the meeting until I happened to see  
 the people assemble on Desplaines street. I happened to pass by there  
 in going to a meeting of the hod-carriers' union at 73 Lake street, which  
 I wanted to attend. I don't know where the bomb fell; when I saw all  
 the people run, I ran myself, and fell on the sidewalk, and then while I  
 was laying on the sidewalk, I was shot. I saw something flying through  
 the air. I didn't know what it was. I didn't run on account of that; I ran  
 518 because everybody did run. It looked like a fire-cracker. The next day  
 I heard from my doctor that such and such a thing had happened; then  
 I did know what it was.

## THEODORE WEIMELDT:

519 I was born in the city of Chicago in 1849, and had my residence here  
 ever since. I am in the business of canvassing for pictures and frames since  
 eight years. Before that I was a cooper; that is my trade. I live with  
 my family in Chicago. I was at the Haymarket meeting for some time.  
 520 While walking on Madison street a circular was handed me, one  
 like this here (indicating circular marked "Defendants' Ex. 1"). It did  
 not contain the words "Workingmen, arm yourselves and appear in full  
 force." That was about 6 or 7 o'clock in the evening. I could not get  
 521 near enough to hear any of the speakers. I am not a socialist or an anar-  
 chist or a communist; I am an American. I stayed there about three-  
 quarters of an hour, then I went to the corner of Waldo place and Des-  
 plaines street to get a glass of beer. There I met Mr. Kelly, bailiff of  
 522 the Desplaines street station. I have known him for four or five years.



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I had a conversation with him right at that corner, in front of the Des-  
plaines street station, for about fifteen or twenty minutes.

Q. I will ask you what Mr. Kelly said, if anything, in regard to  
trouble that might be expected that night?

(Objected to; objection sustained, and exception.)

524 While I conversed with Mr. Kelly I observed a large number of patrol  
wagons and policemen congregated there; we looked at them during our  
conversation. When I left the meeting to get a glass of beer, I intended  
525 to return to the meeting. After the conversation with Mr. Kelly I went  
directly home; on my way home I met two or three people that I knew,  
who were going to the Haymarket meeting; they did not go to the meet-  
ing, but returned home.

FREDERICK C. GROH:

I am a carpenter, a member of the independent carpenters' union. I  
526 have lived in America five years, in Chicago a year and a half. I have  
seen the defendant Engel once in our union hall, Timmerhoff's Hall, 703  
527 Milwaukee avenue. Mr. Engel spoke at that meeting. It was either  
the first or second Sunday in April, this year. Mr. Engel spoke only  
once in that hall; I attended all the meetings there. Our carpenters'  
union held open mass meetings there every Sunday and union meetings  
on Thursday. I attended all the carpenters' meetings that were held on  
529 Sunday afternoons. I didn't here Mr. Engel say in his speech anything  
in regard to saving money to buy revolvers. He said he wanted all  
530 workingmen to join the union. I did not hear him say anything about  
getting revolvers to shoot policemen down.

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

We held mass meetings at that hall before the first of May. We  
wanted every carpenter to join the union; there was a sign outside the  
door, inviting everybody to come in; and one member of our union in-  
vited Engel to come in and make a speech. I am recording secretary of  
531 the union. Engel spoke in German. I heard the whole of his speech.  
That was on an afternoon. I never heard Engel make any other speech.  
For four or five weeks in succession before the first of May, we occupied  
that hall every Sunday. I don't think we occupied it on Sundays during  
February. We may have occupied it on two Sundays in March and  
three Sundays in April, I don't recollect now.



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532 AUGUST KRAUSE (testifying through interpreter).

I am a carpenter; member of the independent carpenters' union; I have spoken with the defendant Engel, once. I attended our mass meetings on Sunday afternoons last winter. Two were held at 676 Milwaukee avenue, the rest at Timmerhoff's Hall, 701 Milwaukee avenue. I attended the meeting last spring, at which Mr. Engel spoke. I had invited him myself. I don't remember whether Mr. Engel spoke more than once at that hall. He spoke in German. I heard and understood what he said. He did not say in his speech one word about saving money to buy revolvers to shoot policemen with. I heard him advise workingmen to join the union. I had given the instruction myself to Mr. Engel, and he invited the people to attend the discussion of the eight-hour movement. Those meetings were mostly meetings for the agitation of the eight-hour movement. Mr. Engel did not use these words or these words in substance: "I advise every man to join the union; to save up three or four dollars to buy a revolver and shoot every policeman down." He said nothing of that kind. I was chairman of the meeting at which Engel spoke and stood very near him. I know Mr. Wienecke, the policeman. I did not see him at the meeting, but I saw him at the saloon when we had that meeting.

535

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

That meeting at which Engel spoke was on a Sunday, either the end of March or the beginning of April.

## WILLIAM RADTKE:

I keep a saloon at 888 Clybourn avenue. On the night of May 4th last, I saw Mr. Schwab in my saloon about fifteen or twenty minutes after 9. He stayed there about ten minutes. Then I saw him go over to the prairie and heard him make a speech. He spoke about twenty or twenty-five minutes. There was a big crowd of people there, about three or four thousand people, listening to his speech. He stood about a block from our saloon when he made the speech.

538

539

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I am a blacksmith by trade; two years ago I worked for the Chicago Democratic Printing Company. I never worked at the Arbeiter Zeitung office. I don't know Spies; I never saw him. I have known Schwab since about eight years ago.

540



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541 DIEDRICH BEHRENS:

I live at 138 Fullerton avenue, Lake View. I remember to have seen the defendant Schwab, on the night of May 4th last, in Schilling's saloon, on the corner of Clybourn and Ashland avenues, between a quarter-past ten and half-past 10. I am a shoemaker; have lived in America fourteen years; in Cook county about nine years. I am a naturalized citizen of the United States. I sympathize with the socialists. I belonged to the Internationals for a while about a year and a half ago. I belonged to the group "Bruederlichkeit," (fraternity).

543 CHARLES HEIDERKRUEGER:

I am eighteen years old; have lived in Chicago four years, am living with my parents. I am a machinist by trade and run a rip saw. I happened to go down on Desplains street where the speaking took place on the night of May 4th last. I heard three men speak. I was standing on the south corner of the speaker's wagon near the sidewalk. By and by I was pushed to the north side of the wagon and stood north-east of the wagon, near the ditch, until all at once the crowd ran; I didn't know what happened; as I looked up I saw the police officers stand right there, about sixteen or twenty feet from me. The captain walked up to the speakers on the wagon and talked to them. I believe he asked them what they called themselves. So one of them said it was a meeting, and then he said some words that I didn't understand. So the three men that I saw there got off the wagon, and then the big shot went off, I took it for a cannon shot, and all at once the officers started to shoot, and I laid down on my face to the ground and laid still there. I didn't see anybody around me shoot at the officers.

546 The police officers shot in every direction. I didn't hear anybody around the wagon say "Here come the blood-hounds, you do your duty and I'll do mine." I didn't see anybody around the wagon have a pistol or show any arms of any kind. The people around the wagon were quietly listening to the talk of the speakers. I don't recognize any of the defendants as being the speakers. One of them looked much like this man (indicating Fielden), he was the last speaker. I don't know that anybody fired a shot from the wagon, I was facing south. When I laid myself down, officers got around me; I wanted to get away, I got up and went towards the officers, wanted to go home; one of the officers stopped me, told me to hold up my hands, which I did, and he hit me





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with his club, arrested me, and I was taken to the station and locked up. Before the police came up I heard one of the speakers say: "We will soon be through, in a few minutes." At that time a kind of dark cloud had come up and somebody said something about adjourning to the hall at the next corner. There was no light on the wagon. I don't know where the nearest light was, I did not look at it. I didn't notice Fielden get down. I don't know whether he got down first or last, but the three got down, one after the other.

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

548 When I heard that big noise I was still standing. I didn't see the explosion. I was looking at the captain then.

CHARLES LOUIS SCHMIDT:

549 I have lived in Chicago three and a half years. I am a machinist. I was at the Haymarket meeting when the bomb exploded, two or three paces from the speakers' wagon. After the explosion I ran north with the crowd of people. While I ran I heard shots fired from behind me.

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

550 I read the notice of the Haymarket meeting in the Arbeiter Zeitung. I have read the Arbeiter Zeitung since I am in the country.

JOSEPH SCHWINDT:

I am a shoemaker. Work at 205 Wells street, and live with the family of my boss. I was at the Haymarket meeting; stood ten or twelve feet south of the wagon, between the lamp post and the boxes on the sidewalk, at the time the police came up, facing the police. I saw a fire right over the heads of the police, saw it fall down in the middle of the street opposite me. I heard it burst; then I heard and saw shooting from the police. Then I ran south, turned the corner of Randolph street, and my hat fell down; I thought the wind had blown it off, but the next day I saw there was a hole in it. While I was standing and while I was running I didn't see anybody shoot except the police. I saw no one in the crowd have a revolver in his hand.

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

551 I read the notice of the Haymarket meeting in the Arbeiter Zeitung. I had the paper in the house since five months.



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1 M. D. MALKOFF:

2 Up to May 5th I was reporter for the Arbeiter Zeitung. Since that  
I did some work for the Morning News, for the Sun, and now I am  
3 correspondent for a paper in Moscow, Russia. On May 4th last I re-  
ported the meeting of the Central Labor Union at 54 West Lake street,  
and from there I went to the meeting of the furniture workers' union at  
Zepf's Hall. I was at the Haymarket meeting for three or four minutes,  
a little before nine, while Parsons was speaking. Then I went to Zepf's  
4 Hall. There I heard the explosion of the bomb and the firing of the  
pistols. At the time of the explosion I was standing with Mr. Allen at  
the stove in the saloon; I had met him there before, when I came there  
from the Haymarket meeting. In the meantime I had been upstairs at  
the meeting of the furniture workers. I saw Parsons at Zepf's Hall  
from five to ten minutes before the explosion of the bomb. He was  
5 sitting at the window, north of the entrance door, in company with Mrs.  
Parsons and Mrs. Holmes. The saloon was pretty crowded at that  
time. I spoke with Mr. Allen about these parties. I think Mrs.  
Holmes was standing and Mrs. Parsons was sitting on the window sill  
right on the side of Mr. Parsons. I saw them there when I heard the  
6 explosion of the bomb. There was a rush into the hall. Mr. Allen and  
myself moved a few steps back to the rear, then we remained standing  
for a few seconds, but the rush was so great, and the bullets I think  
were rattling on the walls, and we thought best to leave the hall and get  
out, so we went out of the rear of the hall. While I was at the meeting  
7 for three or four minutes I had some conversation with Mr. Spies who  
was on the wagon.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

8 I have been five years in the country, in Chicago about two years and  
a half. When I first came to the country, I was private teacher of the  
Russian language in Brooklyn. I taught Paesig, the editor of the  
Brooklyn Freie Presse; he is not a revolutionist, his paper is not a revo-  
9 lutionary one. Then I went to Little Rock for about half a year work-  
ing as a printer for the Arkansas Staats Zeitung. Then I was in St.  
Louis for about three months, found no work there and came to Chicago.  
I had no letter of introduction to Spies when I came here. I had ob-  
tained my position at Little Rock through a letter of introduction from  
Mr. Spies, whom I knew by some correspondence in regard to a novel  
which Mr. Paesig and I had translated and sold to the Arbeiter Zeitung;



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it was not a revolutionary novel. I did not get that letter of introduction from Mr. Spies through the instrumentality of Herr Most. I have seen Most, but don't know him personally. I know Justus Schwab; I did not  
 11 live with him but had letters directed to his care. When I came to Chicago I went directly to Spies. For about half a year I was without employment, then for a year and a half, up to May 4th, I was reporter on the Arbeiter Zeitung. I roomed with Balthazer Rau for about four  
 13 months, part of that time was after the Haymarket meeting: I had been at Zepf's Hall for more than an hour before I heard the bomb explode, part of the time in the saloon, part of the time attending the meeting upstairs. When I came down again in the saloon it was a good half hour before the bomb exploded. I was there alone, standing near the counter, where I had one glass of beer. I don't remember to  
 14 have seen any of the other defendants there. When I was talking with Mr. Allen, we stood on the floor between the stove and the bar. When Mrs. Parsons came into the hall we were standing a little further than the stove and I suggested to Mr. Allen to introduce him to Mr. and Mrs. Parsons, I pointed Parsons out; I think Parsons was not in plain sight  
 15 of him, he was on the other side of the stove near the door, near the first table at the window, sitting with Mrs. Parsons on the window-sill, facing out on Desplaines street. I think Allen could see Mrs. Parsons, as she was sitting nearer towards this side. I did not go up and speak  
 16 to either of them, neither did Allen. Allen said he didn't care to be introduced. He did not say whether he knew them or not. I think he did not know them by sight. When the bomb exploded we made a few steps towards the rear. Mr. Allen thought it was a Gattling gun, it sounded like a Gattling gun; a few seconds after that the shooting began and a good many people came to the hall; a good many had been there before that; when the crowd came, we rushed out the back door. I  
 17 don't remember to have seen the door closed by the proprietor to stop the crowd from coming in. We stood in the rear in a small doorway for about a minute, then we went on Desplaines street up to Fulton.  
 19 I don't remember who else came in with Mr. and Mrs. Parsons and Mrs. Holmes. I knew those three. There were a number of people  
 20 between the stove and the door where they came in—may be ten people standing scattered. I did not say to Allen I would introduce him to Mrs. Parsons. I said I would introduce him to Mr. and Mrs. Parsons. When Parsons came in he did not sit right down at the window. I remember he shook hands with somebody at the table near the window.



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21 My bed-room was searched; no arms of any kind belonging to me were found. Before I lived with Rau, I lived for two months at 620 Sedgwick street; Rau roomed in the same house; before that I had a room with the defendant Schwab, for about four months. I am not a stockholder in the Alarm Press Society. I remember I contributed once two  
23 dollars to the Alarm; that was about a year ago. I did not belong to any Nihilistic organization in Russia; I was not a Nihilist in Russia. I am not in this country as the agent of the Nihilists, or any other society  
24 in Russia. The reporters used to call me a Nihilist because I was a Russian, that is all. This letter here (indicating) is in my handwriting, and has my signature at the bottom. I don't remember to whom I wrote it; I am now working for the Moscow Gazette.

29

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

The Moscow Gazette is an illustrated paper. Mrs. Parsons and Mrs.  
30 Holmes came into Zepf's hall, and Mr. Parsons came in just about a few seconds after them. I did'n't observe Parsons at any other place in the hall than at that window.

## RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

31 Parsons was sitting at the window when the bomb exploded and when I started to run.

A translation of the letter heretofore referred to was introduced in evidence, and read as follows:

"DEAR MR. EDITOR: The articles which I send you herewith you may read, put them into proper form, and if you consider them competent reprint them in one of your papers. I have also nearly completed a very interesting article treating of the secret revolutionary societies of Russia in the so-called Dekabristis—that is, of 1820 to 1830. I have also another one in my thoughts, but being out of work, and having no dwelling-place, it is entirely impossible to give even a few hours daily to writing. You see, I am writing in German, which I can do—*i. e.*, I translate every sentence, word by word, from the Russian. You have in this connection the not easy task to set the corrupted German right. I hope you will pardon me for this. At the time I came over here I did not understand one German word. Thanks to Wassilisson, which I translated with the help of a dictionary, I have learned this little. For your letter I am very thankful to you. I would of course follow your accommodating invitation, and would have left New York long ago, but





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unfortunately it does not depend on me. I am a proletarian in the fullest sense of the word, and a proletarian is not favored to put his ideas into execution. Respectfully, Michael Malcoff (care of J. H. Schwab), 50 First street, New York. Written on the 22d of October, 1883."

33 J. H. Schwab stands for Justus Schwab. I had my letters addressed in his care, but did not live with him; I don't know that he is a socialistic leader in New York; don't know that he is connected with any paper; he had a saloon in New York.

34 RE-RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I use the word proletarian in the meaning of a man without means—without support; it has no reference to socialistic doctrines.

36 RE-RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

The word proletarian was not used by me in the sense in which socialists use it in dividing society into two classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. I simply understood it in the sense of being a poor man. It is a French word used also in the Russian, German and English languages; it is used by political economists, no matter of what school.

37

MARY GRUBB:

I reside at 22 N. Ann street; am a married woman and have a family of six children. I am acquainted with Harry L. Gilmer. I know his general reputation for truth and veracity among the people where he has resided around the house. It is very bad; I would not believe him under oath.

38

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

Gilmer lived in our house from six to eight weeks since last May. I only heard him spoken about in our house. I never had any trouble with him. He left the house about the end of June. I first told what I knew about Gilmer to a man who came to me and said he was a reporter. I first saw Mr. Salomon this morning. My husband's name is Thomas Grubb. He is a millstone miller.

40

WILLIAM A. PATTERSON:

I am a printer; have resided in Chicago about two years and a half. On May 4th last I was a member of the American Group of the International Workingmen's Association. On that day I saw an advertisement

41

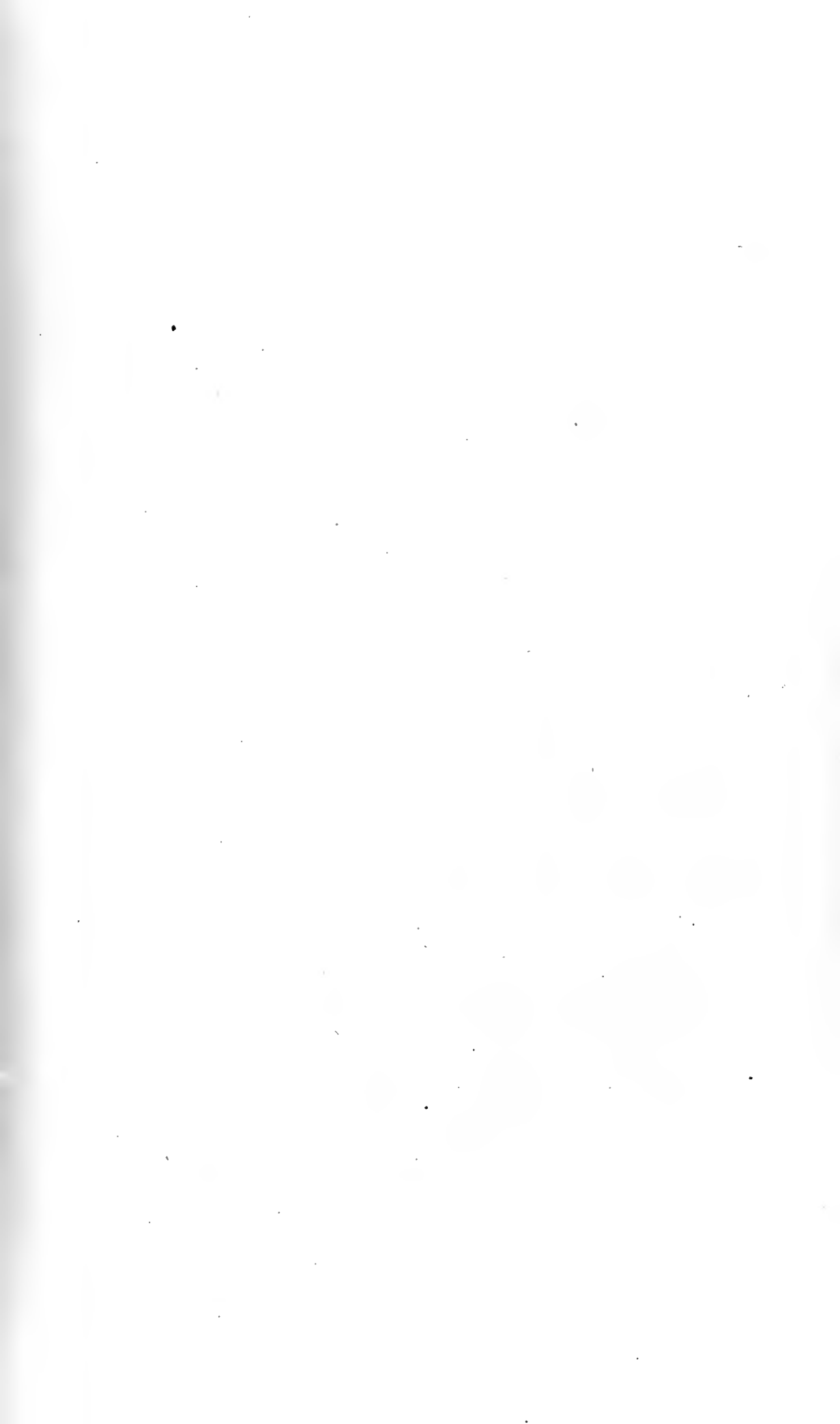


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42 in the News calling a meeting of our group at 107 5th avenue, pursuant  
 to which I went there. There were present Parsons, Fielden, Mrs.  
 Parsons, Mrs. Holmes, Schwab, Waldo, Brown, Snyder, and some  
 others. I went there about 8 o'clock. The business of the meeting  
 was to organize the working-women of Chicago. I did not see Mr.  
 Spies there. There was a call at the telephone, I believe they wanted  
 a speaker at Deering, and a young man, a clerk in the office answered.  
 43 That was about ten or fifteen minutes after the meeting had opened, a  
 little after 8 o'clock. I think the boy asked if they wanted a Ger-  
 man or an English speaker; I don't know what was said, but I know  
 that Mr. Schwab's name was mentioned. I only noticed Schwab's face  
 once in the meeting, about the time of the message, then I didn't see him  
 any more. Our meeting lasted from twenty minutes to half an hour.  
 Some ten or fifteen minutes before we adjourned a gentleman came in  
 and said that speakers were wanted at the Haymarket. I think it was  
 44 Rau, I didn't know his name at the time, but knew that he was con-  
 nected with the office. I had heard of the Haymarket meeting incident-  
 ally on the street, had seen a circular distributed on the street. After  
 45 the adjournment of our meeting I went over to the Haymarket meeting  
 and found Spies just about concluding his speech. Three minutes later  
 Parsons commenced to speak. I stayed there about fifteen minutes and then  
 went home. I am a socialist. I never heard of the word "Rube," never  
 46 knew its meaning until I read about it in the papers during this trial. I  
 do not read German.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

47 I was a member of the American group about a year. I belonged to  
 an English speaking group in Philadelphia for several months. I am  
 acquainted with Parsons, Spies and Fielden; knew Schwab by sight. I  
 was a member of what was called the armed section of the American  
 48 Group as long as it existed; drilled with it at Greif's hall. We drilled  
 once a week. I did not attend every meeting. When Rau came in and  
 49 said they wanted speakers at the Haymarket Schwab had not gone. I  
 think he was still there. I could not say whether Schwab and Rau  
 went together. I went to the Haymarket with a man by the name of  
 50 Myers, a member of the group, who was at the meeting of the group  
 that night. I left after that meeting had adjourned; it was near half-  
 past 8 o'clock. I think I saw the circular calling the Haymarket meet-  
 ing published in the News. I did not see it in the Arbeiter Zeitung,



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51 which I cannot read. I am not positive whether I saw it in the Herald  
 or News. It purported to be the circular distributed the evening before.  
 52 I could not say whether it was headed Revenge, or not. It was this  
 circular here (indicating Revenge circular) that I saw published in the  
 paper. To the armed section of the American group belonged Waldo,  
 myself, Owens, Parsons, Fielden; I don't know the names of the others.  
 I don't know that Snyder and Brown belonged to it. I belonged to no  
 armed section in Philadelphia.

53

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

The children of Mrs. Parsons were present at the meeting of the  
 American group. It was not a meeting of the armed section that night;  
 54 had no relation to it; it was only a meeting of the American group. I  
 have not got my membership card. It was captured of me when I was  
 taken to the central station on Saturday after the riot. Our armed sec-  
 tion continued to drill and existed for about three or four months all  
 together. I was there five or six times. I never drilled with arms.  
 There were never arms used in the room.

55 JOHN HOLLOWAY:

I have lived in Chicago for about four years. I run an express wagon.  
 I am nearly 54 years old; am a married man, have three children in  
 England and one in Chicago. On the night of May 4th, about 7 o'clock,  
 I was walking on Desplaines street around the station and met another  
 56 Englishman. We looked at the patrol wagons, and around the place,  
 and some gentleman came there and spoke rather roughly to us and  
 wanted to know what we wanted.

Q. State what you saw and heard there.

(Objected to.)

57

Mr. SALOMON: I wish to show by this witness that he was told at the  
 station by persons connected with the same that before 12 o'clock at  
 night blood would flow pretty freely, or words to that effect.

(Objection; sustained, and exception.)

58

Then I walked across Randolph street and saw the meeting was go-  
 ing to be opened, near Crane's alley; I went there and stood in the cen-  
 ter of the alleyway while the first speaker spoke, and half way through  
 the second. I was about six yards from the speakers' wagon. Then I  
 moved to the south side of the alley and stood on the corner of the side-  
 walk, against the lamp post, until the meeting was over and the police



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59 came up and charged the meeting to disperse. They came along in marching order until they came to the wagon. Some gentleman went up and said to the speaker, "We command you to disperse," and the speaker, whoever he was, leaned down and said, "You cannot do it," and the officer said, "We will do it through the laws of the State of Illinois," and the speaker said, "You can't do it, we are peaceable." The next thing that happened, and before the words were out of his mouth, they were smothered in smoke from the explosion of what I learned the next day was a bomb; I thought it was a volley of rifles, from the smoke that came out in the middle of the street like a cloud. There were lots of  
60 people standing about me in the alley. The smoke came from the south, going north. I was looking at the speaker up to the time he was spoken to by one of the policemen, and listened to him. My hearing and eyesight are pretty good. I did not hear anybody say at any time that evening "Here come the blood-hounds," nothing of the sort took place. I heard no such language as "You do your duty and I'll do mine." I looked at the speaker and the policemen at the time they were holding  
61 that conversation. I saw no shot coming from the wagon; no shots from the direction of the wagon. After the bomb exploded I heard shots but did not see them. I think, from the reports, they came from the middle of the street, or the street behind us. There was a large number of people about where I stood. I saw no one have any weapons or revolver, or speak about such, or speak about expecting the police to come. The crowd around me was orderly and quiet, with the exception  
62 of one man, who stood near me, and who cried out "Hang him," when the second speaker touched on Jay Gould. I should judge there were three men on the wagon. I did not observe anybody leaving or getting on the wagon before the police came; they racked about from side to side, the same as people will at public meetings, to make room for the crowd, that is all. I am sure nothing came out of the alley while I stood  
63 there. When the shooting commenced I went on the same sidewalk towards Randolph street. The shooting then commenced pretty strongly, and came from the middle of the street somewhere, and the people fell down, and I fell down, and one man exclaimed he was shot, and I pulled him up against me, to keep the bullets off of me, and crawled along and got behind the iron rail and down in the basement under the sidewalk,  
64 out of the shooting.





## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

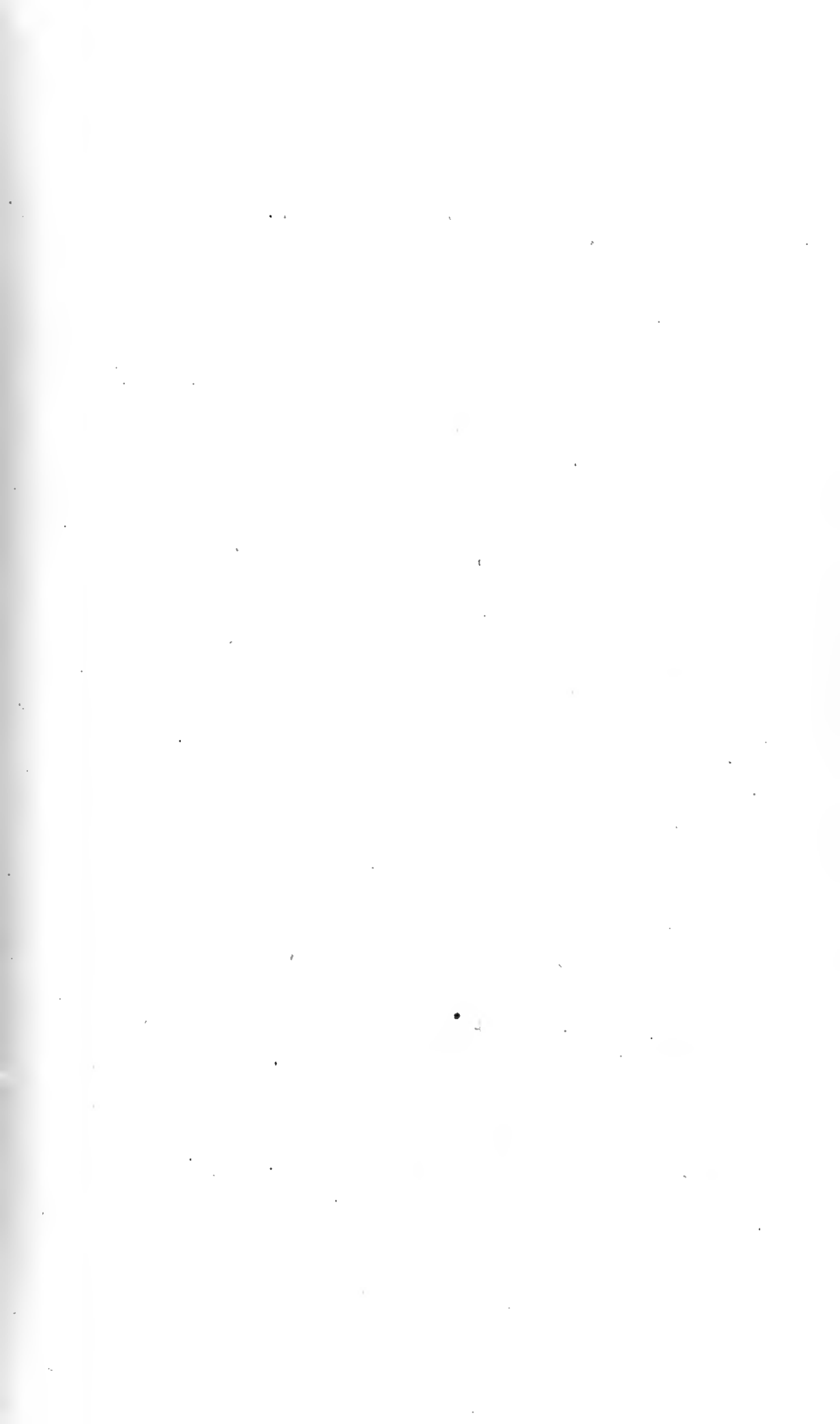
65 I landed in New York September 26, 1880. I have been in Chicago nearly four years. I was not leaning against a lamp-post; I was standing close by it; there were many men around that lamp-post; they were all pushing; I don't know how many were leaning against the lamp-post; there was about one man between me and the lamp-post. The basement into which I got is on the north-east corner of Randolph and Desplaines; I didn't go into the basement, but under the sidewalk; I didn't see other people under the sidewalk; I stayed there about twenty minutes; people were tumbling down the steps, shot. I don't know

67 Spies or Fielden. I don't know William Gleason. I never make speeches. I am an Englishman. I once spoke a few words in England about the land question. I never advised the use of dynamite by the Irishmen against English; never said that to any one in my life. I have never had anything to do with any socialistic group. I came to go to

68 that meeting, because I liked to attend public meetings. A man by the name of Culling told me at the restaurant that there was going to be a meeting at the Haymarket, and I went with him to the meeting. I

69 heard all three speakers. The first speaker called the meeting together as workingmen, and told them it was a public labor meeting, and not a socialistic meeting, and said, "I am a socialist, but I want you to understand that one-fourth of the people here are not socialists." Then he called on another gentleman to speak. The second speaker touched on the McCormick meeting, and sort of denounced the police for what they had done there, and said the workingmen were going to make a failure in their efforts to get what they were asking for, and that the workingmen should combine, otherwise they would not obtain their ends, the end of the present state of things. He went on and said a great deal in the same direction. I don't know that man's name; never learned it. I don't think I could identify him. It may be this man (indicating) with a moustache, or this man with the glasses on (indicating); I would not swear positively. The second speaker was introduced; I was not

71 aware that he was introduced by name. There was a speaker there with heavy whiskers; I believe he spoke second. I didn't know him before, and haven't heard his name yet, but from reading the newspapers, I concluded his name was Parsons.



## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I did not know any of the speakers before, either by name or by seeing them. I am not positive about identifying anybody. I remember one of the speakers had a heavy beard as distinguished from the others; my recollection is that he is the man who spoke second, but I am not positive about it. I believe it was the second speaker who touched on Jay Gould, and referred to the people being starved into submission out in East St. Louis, and then it was when an old gentleman at my side hollered out, "Hang him up," and two fellows south of us said, "Hang him," and the speaker said, "No, what good is it? we don't want to take any life; we want to kill the system. What is the use of killing the fleas on the dog? Kill the dog." It was rather dark about the meeting; that is the reason I won't swear to any man in the dark. I am not a socialist; never intend to be. I am giving now, after the lapse of several months, my best impressions as to who spoke there, and the order in which they spoke.

## RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

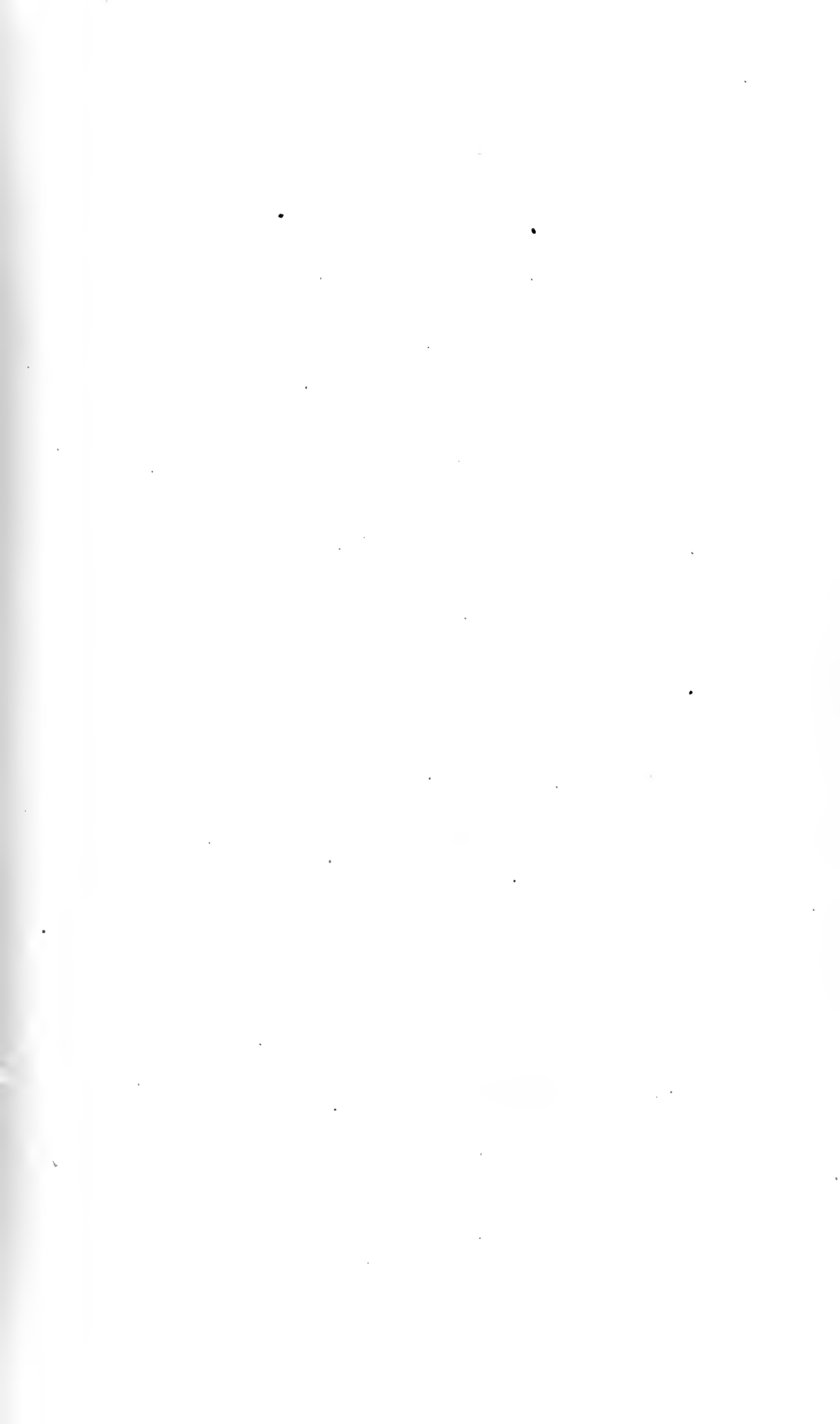
I think I saw the faces of the speakers; I could not see them very well.

74 HENRY LINDEMEYER (testifying through interpreter):

I am a mason; do calcimining, too. I know the defendant Spies. I know the editorial room of the Arbeiter Zeitung on the third floor of the building. There was a closet in the rear of that room which I used to put my working clothes in when I calcimined the house. I commenced calcimining on the 2d of May and stopped on Wednesday, the 5th. There was a shelf in the closet on which I placed some things. I missed a brush and looked for it on that shelf. I took a chair, got on it, found some papers lying on the shelf which I took down, and didn't find my brush. That was about noon-time on Tuesday, May 4th. I found no bundle, no large package, no dynamite on the shelf. Saw no indication of greasiness there. I have lived in Chicago twenty years, have been a mason all that time. I am a man of family.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have known Spies for seven or eight years. I am on the bond of his brother, now, who is charged with conspiracy growing out of the Haymarket trouble. I have known Schwab three or four years; saw



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him at public meetings, at Turner Hall and other halls. I saw Spies nearly every day. He lives in my neighborhood since quite a time. I have been a subscriber for the Arbeiter Zeitung since it is in existence. The closet was in the south-east part of the room, about four or five  
 78 feet square and about eleven or twelve feet high, as high as the room. There was only one shelf in the closet. There was a washstand in there under which I kept some things. I had calcimined that room a few  
 79 weeks before. On the 2d of May I calcimined the upper floor. On the 5th of May I calcimined the library. I left my things in the closet from the 2d to the forenoon of the 5th of May. When the police came I took them to some other place. The things I left in that closet were my working clothes and my tools; my hat and my vest I had on the upper part of the shelf, and the rest on the floor. When I examined the shelf  
 80 I found nothing but a small package of papers covering as much space as the size of an open paper, occupying about one-quarter of the shelf. I didn't feel on the bottom of the shelf to see if there was any grease on it. There was no grease on there, else I wouldn't have put my clothes there. The shelf was about six feet from the ground.

81

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

The bundle of papers was about an inch and a half to two inches high; they were wrapped up in a pasteboard.

82

EDWARD LEHNERT (testifying through interpreter):

I am an engineer at Greiner's tannery. I got to the Haymarket meeting a little after 9 o'clock and was there until the shooting commenced. I know Schnaubelt and saw him there that night about 10 o'clock. I was standing on the west side of Desplaines street, about thirty paces  
 83 from Randolph, about twenty paces south of the wagon. I saw Schnaubelt about the time when it grew dark and cloudy. I had a conversation with him at that time, at the place where I stood; the speaking was still  
 85 going on; it was before the bomb exploded; August Krueger was present; I mean Rudolph Schnaubelt, this man (indicating photograph of Schnaubelt, People's Ex., No. 5).

Q. What was the conversation?

(Objected to.)

88

Mr. ZEISLER: We offer to show by this witness that Schnaubelt stated to Lehnert that he did not understand English, that he had expected a German speaker would be present, that no one was present who



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spoke German except Spies, that Spies had already made an English speech, and that he did not want to stay any longer, and asked Lehnert if he would go along; that Lehnert thereupon said he did not go in the same direction; and that then Schnaubelt went away with another party. We have been able to trace Schnaubelt only for a short distance on his way home. We offer this conversation with Lehnert for the purpose of explaining Mr. Schnaubelt's movements after meeting Lehnert.

(The objection to the question is sustained, and the defendants except.)

August Krueger then spoke to him in my hearing, then Schnaubelt and Krueger went south towards Randolph street.

I saw a streak of fire, which looked like the stump of a cigar, in the air. I heard later it was a bomb. It came from about twenty paces south of the alley, according to my judgment, and went north-west and struck the ground in the middle of the street, about five paces south of the alley. I heard the shooting. I could not distinguish the explosion of the bomb from the shooting, there might have been two or three seconds between them. Then I ran away south to Randolph and west on Randolph. Other people were running in the same direction and the bullets were whistling about the ears. I used to be a member of the L. u. W. V. I ceased to be a member about a year and a half ago. I am a socialist.

#### CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I am not an anarchist.

Q. Never? A. I can't precisely tell the distinction between an anarchist and a socialist. I would like some explanation.

I have been reading the Arbeiter Zeitung for three years. On Sunday afternoon before the 4th of May I attended a meeting of the tanners at 636 Milwaukee avenue. I did not attend a meeting on Emma street on that Sunday. I have known Spies and Schwab for three years. I have known by sight the defendant Neebe since about two years. I have known Engel by sight about one year. I don't know Lingg at all. Never saw him. I have known Schnaubelt three years; Fischer two years. I have known Parsons and Fielden by sight for about two years. I read the announcement of the Haymarket meeting at the Arbeiter Zeitung. I know Reinholdt Krueger. I didn't see him there that night.



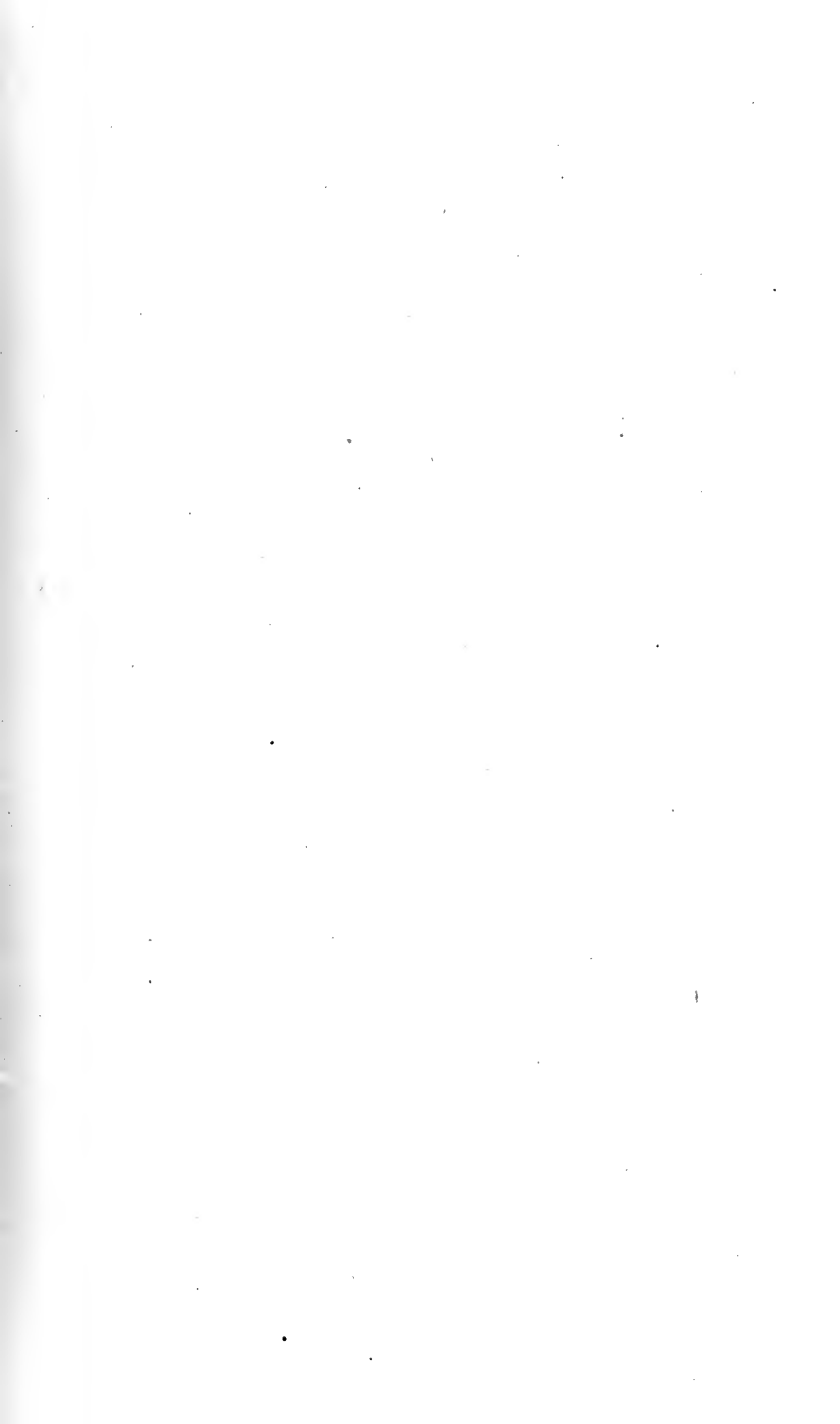


## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I know Parsons, Fielden and Neebe only by sight. There is no intimate acquaintance between me and any of the defendants.

WILLIAM SNYDER:

95 I was born in the State of New York thirty-nine years ago; have  
lived in Chicago twenty-two years. Since the 8th day of May I have  
been in the Cook county jail. I understand I am indicted for conspiracy  
in connection with the Haymarket riot; I have never before been ar-  
96 rested in my life; the detectives who arrested me had no warrant what-  
ever for my arrest. I am a socialist, a member of the American group of  
the Internationals, since it was organized. I am acquainted with all the  
97 defendants except Lingg. I saw Parsons and Fielden on Tuesday night,  
May 4th last, at the Arbeiter Zeitung building on 5th avenue. I had  
gone there pursuant to a notice of a meeting of the American group in  
98 the paper. I knew nothing of this meeting of the group before I read  
the notice in the paper. The meeting was called to order about half-  
past 8. Before that we had waited for some time for Mr. and Mrs. Par-  
99 sons; they finally came about half-past 8. I was elected chairman. I  
100 asked the purpose for which the meeting was called. The general  
101 topic of consideration was to get money from the treasury for the purpose  
of furthering the organization of the sewing girls of this city through  
Mrs. Parsons and Mrs. Holmes. The meeting lasted about half an  
hour, then nearly all of us went over to the Haymarket meeting. I don't  
remember seeing Schwab at that meeting. We walked over. When  
102 we reached the meeting Spies was speaking but stopped nearly as soon  
as we got there. Parsons, Fielden, Brown and myself went on the  
wagon. I remained there all the time, except when I went to the other  
wagon north, on which there were Mr. and Mrs. Parsons and Mrs.  
Holmes. Mr. Parsons went over to that wagon after concluding his  
speech; I went there after him and returned to the speakers' wagon  
103 about ten minutes before the bomb exploded. Spies was on the wagon all  
104 the time while I was there. I got a glimpse of the police when they were  
about the center of Randolph street. They were marching up very fast,  
came up directly to us and halted, and commanded the people to disperse  
in the name of the State of Illinois. The man who made the command  
marched slightly in advance of the head of the column. The head of  
the column stopped about twelve feet from me. Fielden replied, it was



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105 a peaceable meeting; he didn't know that he had done anything to disturb the community in any way. As he spoke, there was a policeman who raised his hand and said, "Get down there." I said to Fielden, "Come now, let us get down," and Fielden said: "Yes, we will get down." I got down first, in front of Mr. Fielden. When I was down, Mr. Fielden was with one leg on the ground and was pulling the other one down, when the report of the explosion of the bomb came. I did not see the bomb thrown. Fielden did not shoot; he would have killed me if he had shot; I was south of him. Fielden had no revolver and  
 106 did not fire at the police officers in front of him or at anybody else. Fielden and I stood looking for about a quarter of a minute; then we started towards the alley way; it was dark there and I lost track of him. Fielden went with me up to the mouth of the alley; I can't say whether he went through the alley or where he went. I went through the alley, coming out on Randolph street, and then I went around to Zepf's Hall. Fielden did not, after getting out of the wagon, stand on the sidewalk between the wheels of the wagon and fire at the police or in the direction of the police. I had my hand right on him a while, until we reached  
 107 the mouth of the alley. I saw Spies on the wagon at the time I saw the  
 108 police coming. I did not see him dismount from the wagon and go in the direction of the alley.

I remember some of the speeches that night. Of course, I being a socialist, didn't pay so much attention to it. I remember of Parsons making a remark in regard to the concentration of the wealth produced by the working people of America, and that it was necessary for them to organize so that they would become strong and powerful to rebut these influences which are brought to bear against them, and to use their forces against the laws which are made by the capitalistic class, and which enable them to fill their pockets with that which the laboring people produce. He showed how the great millionaires of this country were continually concentrating wealth which they had not earned, but had stolen from the laboring classes whom they hired as their wage slaves. He said the working people ought to receive a larger share of the profits of labor than they did, and to get their rights it was necessary for them to organize. He spoke of Jay Gould and the south-western strike. Some persons in the audience said, "Hang Jay Gould." Parsons said it would be wrong to hang Jay Gould, a hundred other Jay Goulds would spring up in his place, it was the system that created the Jay Goulds, it was  
 109 not the individual he was fighting, but the system he was aiming at.  
 110



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Fielden spoke about the workingmen sending representatives to Congress and legislatures to try to have them enact laws for the benefit of the working classes; these representatives had merely taken the money that has been offered them, as a bribe, the same as others. He said  
 111 something about throttling the law; that wherever the working people had tried to enact laws for their benefit, the law had turned around and throttled them, and it was their duty to organize in such a form and to become so powerful that it would be utterly impossible for the law to throttle them. Fielden did not make the remark, "Here come the bloodhounds; you do your duty and I'll do mine," or anything of that sort.

112 The pistol firing instantly followed the explosion of the bomb. I heard no shooting except on the part of the police. While I was running eastward through the alley to make my escape, I saw no firing from any people about me, I saw them all getting out of the way. I never heard of the word "Ruhe." I did not observe the word "Ruhe" published in  
 113 the Arbeiter Zeitung on the 4th of May. I do not read German. I am a Yankee, my father and grandfather were natives of this country.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I went to Parsons' house first after the night of the Haymarket, on Thursday night following it. I did not see Parsons at that time, had not seen him in the meantime. I left a note there under the door  
 114 where Mrs. Parsons lived. That note was at the Central detective station when I saw it last. I never was a member of an armed section of the American group; we marched about some time at Greif's Hall; we  
 115 had no guns; we marched sufficiently to keep a line in the street if we had a picnic or procession or anything of that kind. I am speaking of what I know when I say there was no armed section of the American group. I am slightly acquainted with Walters. We met at Greif's  
 116 Hall four or five times last fall, sometimes once a week, sometimes twice a week.

I used to make addresses to the working people; never missed an opportunity to show the injustice which they are laboring under. I have been chairman of the American group, addressed meetings of the group from time to time. I never talked to people on the lake front. I read the Alarm every time it came out.

Q. How long have you been a socialist? A. Well, I was born one.

118 When I came back from the north wagon to the speakers' wagon, I



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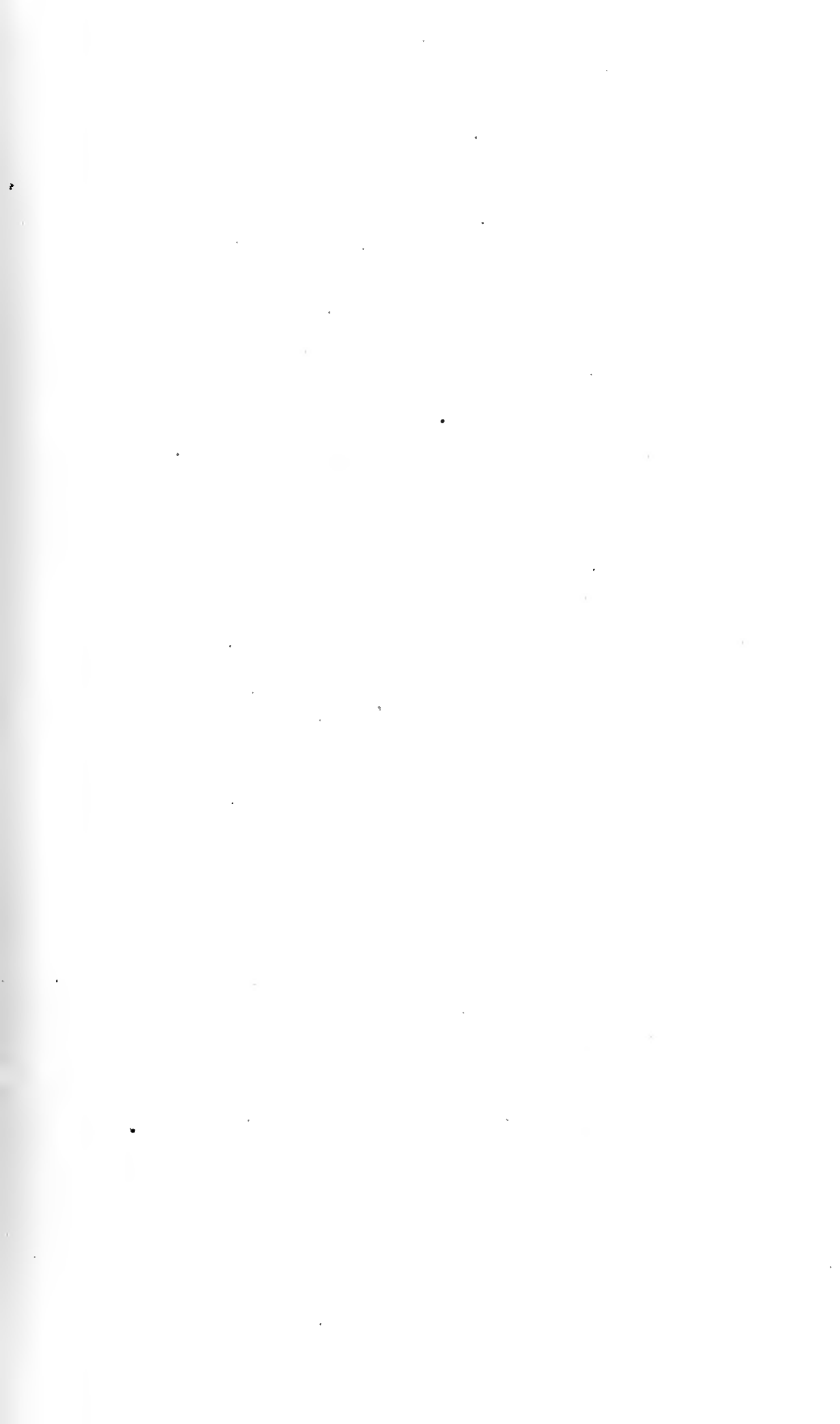
saw Spies and Fielden on the wagon, those were the only ones I knew. Brown had been there, but when I came back he was not on the wagon, he had gone to the hall with Parsons. I didn't see Rau there nor Fischer. I don't know Schnaubelt. I don't know whether he was on the wagon or not.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

The American group never purchased or owned any arms; I never saw any there, either; we were not organized for that purpose. We never adopted any name for our marching exercises. We never practiced with dynamite. I never saw any dynamite.

## THOMAS BROWN:

Since the 8th of May last, I have been four days and five nights in the Central police station, and ever since in the Cook county jail. I was arrested at my room, 229 West Lake street, by police officers who showed their stars, but no warrants for my arrest. I heard that I was indicted for conspiracy in connection with the Haymarket matter. I don't know whether I am or not. I believe in socialism. I was a member of the American group of the Internationals, prior to the 4th of May last, for about a year and a half. I have lived in Chicago since 1879. I never was under arrest before in my life, never charged with any criminal offense. On the night of May 4th I was present at a meeting of the American group at 107 5th avenue, at which Mr. Snyder presided. The meeting lasted about half an hour. I know all the defendants, except Lingg and Engel. I have only a slight acquaintance with Neebe; Schwab I only know by sight. Fischer I saw once in January, 1885, and I didn't see him from then until the night of May 4th last, when I saw him at Zepf's Hall. Balthazar Rau called during the meeting at 107 5th avenue, and asked for speakers for the Haymarket. Shortly after that the meeting broke up, and we started over to the Haymarket. I walked along. When I got there, Spies was speaking, and after him, Parsons spoke. After Parsons had finished his speech I next saw him on a wagon which stood quite a distance north of the speakers' wagon, with Mrs. Parsons and Mrs. Holmes. Later on, I went to Zepf's Hall, and after having made a few steps I met Parsons, and we went together to the hall. There we took a drink together. When I heard the explosion of the bomb Parsons and I were at the south end of the saloon, near the door, near a table which stood there. When Parsons and I





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went into the saloon I saw Fischer there; it must have been about four or five minutes before I heard the bomb explode. At the time the bomb exploded Parsons and I were sitting at that table. I did not see Fischer go out of the saloon. After the explosion quite a number of people  
 126 I remained there quite a while after that. Then I went up on Desplaines street north to Kinzie, and from there home.

I never belonged to any armed section; never drilled; never practiced with dynamite. I do not know anything about the meaning of the word "Ruhe;" never saw that word in print; I did not know that that word was published in the Arbeiter Zeitung on Tuesday, May 4th; I cannot speak German; I heard about it in reading the testimony in this case; that is the first I ever knew anything about it. I had nothing to  
 127 do with calling the Haymarket meeting. I first heard that there was to be a meeting at the Haymarket on that same Tuesday night, when a boy on the street handed me a circular calling the meeting. This here (indicating Defendant's Exhibit No. 1) is an exact duplicate of the circular I got. The words "Workingmen, arm yourselves and appear in full  
 128 force," were not in the circular which I got. I was not armed that night. I never carried arms in my life.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

129 I was born in Ireland; came to this country some thirty-four years ago. The first organization of socialists I joined was in the city of Chicago, about 1881. I did not know Parsons at that time. I became acquainted with Parsons about two or two and a half years ago.

When we entered the saloon at Zepf's Hall, Parsons walked ahead of me. I spoke to Mrs. Parsons and Mrs. Holmes who were sitting on  
 130 chairs close by the door south of the table; I did not notice any window there; then Parsons and I walked up to the bar; stood at the south end and took a drink. It was a pretty busy time there; there were two bartenders there; a good sized crowd drinking all the time. After I got my drink, I turned around and walked around a few steps. For about an instant I lost track of Parsons, he walked around a little. He and I were then sitting together at a table close by the door. Mrs. Holmes  
 131 and Mrs. Parsons sat south of us about four feet, they were not sitting at any table. When the bomb exploded, Parsons and I jumped up. I did not go out with Parsons from the rear door. I did not go out until some time after the explosion. I next saw Parsons on the corner of Kinzie and Desplaines streets, when he was with Mrs. Parsons and Mrs.



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132 Holmes. Parsons asked me what I would do in his case. We separated on the corner, I went north, and I think Parsons went east.

Q. What was the conversation you had with Parsons?

134 (Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

I told him I would leave for a while under the circumstances. He said, "What do you think I had better do?" I told him, "Suit yourself, you are your own boss. You must use your own judgment." I then loaned him five dollars. Parsons did not say to me that he could not get away because he had no money. He simply asked me for five dollars and I lent it to him. I did not state to the state's attorney at the Central station in the presence of Mr. Furthman, James Bonfield, Lieut. Shea and others that Parsons had said he had no money to get away with; that I advised him to go and that I would lend him five dollars.

136 I used to buy the Alarm every time it came out, and used to read it.  
137 I had stock on the paper. While I was at the Central station, four days and five nights, I saw Fischer once there. Fischer and I were confined in the county jail together several weeks.

138 HENRY W. SPIES:

I am a cigar manufacturer at 43 South Market street; the name of my firm is Vogel & Spies, since nine months. I was born in Germany  
139 twenty-five years ago. I have been twelve years in this country; I am a naturalized citizen; a brother of the defendant August Spies. On the evening of May 4th last I was at the Haymarket meeting with my brother August. Before the meeting commented we were at Zepf's Hall, then we walked down Desplaines street out to Randolph, waiting for Parsons and Fielden. We walked as far as Union street and could not find them, we walked back to Desplaines street, August climbed up  
140 on the wagon and asked for Mr. Parsons. I was right with him alongside of the wagon. Some one in the crowd said that Parsons was speaking down on Halsted street. Schnaubelt and another party came up to the wagon and told August the same; then he stepped off the wagon and went with those parties down near Union street. I followed him; we went in a south-westerly direction from the wagon. Schwab was not there. Schnaubelt and my brother went together, and I and  
141 Legner followed right behind them. After asking "Is Parsons here?" and descending from the wagon, August did not go in the direction of Crane's alley nor into Crane's alley. He went as far as Union street,



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not any farther, and some one told us that Parsons was not there, so we returned; then August entered the wagon again, called the crowd up that way and opened the meeting. August was not out of my sight or out of my hearing at any time of that walk to Union street and back. I was right behind him all that time. In coming back he crossed diagonally north-east toward the wagon from the corner of Randolph and Desplaines. He did not go across to the east side of Desplaines street and stop alongside of the wall of the building, a little south of the alley; did not meet there and have anything to do with any person. Schwab was not with my brother during any part of that walk. I have known  
 142 Schwab for four years. I got acquainted with Rudolph Schnaubelt last winter, I merely know him by sight, he and my brother were talking in German on that walk to Union street and back. I did not hear any conversation between them. I never heard my brother and Schnaubelt talk in English. I don't believe Schnaubelt can speak English.

144 While the speaking was going on I was standing right alongside of the wagon, on the sidewalk, between the wagon and Crane's building.  
 145 I stood there during the entire meeting. I saw Schnaubelt at the meeting while Parsons was speaking, I don't remember that I noticed him after Parsons was through. I don't think August spoke more than about fifteen minutes. Then Parsons and Fielden came on the wagon;  
 146 my brother introduced Parsons to the crowd and then Parsons spoke for about half an hour or three-quarters of an hour. After Parsons got through he went over to the wagon, north of the speakers' wagon, on  
 147 which Mrs. Parsons was sitting; he came back a little later and asked us to go over to Zepf's Hall. Fielden said he would only speak a few moments more, and it was not necessary to adjourn, and somebody remarked that the woodworkers occupied the hall and he could not get in. It had become cloudy and we anticipated rain. Parsons then disappeared and a good many other persons left the meeting. During Fielden's speech the audience decreased about one-half. I observed no disturbance or violence anywhere in the audience during the meeting. When the police came I was in the same place by the wagon.  
 148 Some officer said "In the name of the State of Illinois we disperse this meeting." I heard Fielden say "This meeting is peaceable," and the man spoke to my brother the same way, told him to come off the wagon. My brother was still on the wagon at that time. Then I saw Fielden getting off at the back end of the wagon. I told my brother to get off  
 149 and reached my hand over to him to help him jump. He took my hand



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and in fact got down on the side of the wagon, pretty near the middle of it. Just at that time the explosion took place. I asked him what it was, he said "They have got a Gattling gun down there," and at the same time, as he jumped, somebody jumped behind him with a weapon, right by his back, and I grabbed it, and in warding off the pistol from my brother I was shot. I don't know who did the shooting, I didn't see August any more until I went home. I went to Zepf's Hall though and inquired for  
 150 him. August did not leave the wagon about the time the police came or at any time and go to the alley. Legner and myself helped him off the wagon just as the explosion came. He was not at that time or immediately before that at the alley. I did not hear Fielden nor anybody else on the wagon, as the police were coming up, or at any time during the meeting say, "Here come the blood-hounds, men do your duty and I'll do mine," or anything of that kind. There was no shot fired, before the explosion of the bomb, from the wagon or its immediate vicinity. In a second or two after the explosion of the bomb there was pistol firing  
 151 which came from the middle of the street. I observed no pistol firing from the crowd or from the sidewalk towards the center of the street. After I was shot I ran down to Lake street and hid behind the street cars, then went to Zepf's Hall and inquired about August. The crowd was running in the same direction I was. There was no firing from that crowd back towards the police. I was not armed that night; I never carry arms. Dr. Thilo attended me that night. The pistol ball went  
 152 right through me. The man who shot me was as near me as he possibly could be. I got my hand on his revolver which was aimed at my brother, knocked it down and threw it out of his hand, and in knocking it down received the shot myself, right through one of the testicles.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have lived continuously since the 1st of May at 60 McHenry street.  
 153 On the 6th of May I was arrested at my house by officers Whalen and Lowenstein. I told them that when the bomb exploded I was at Zepf's Hall, walked out and was shot in the door. I told them I was not at the Haymarket at all from beginning to end. That was not true when I told it to them. I lied to them. I have told the truth now, when I was  
 154 under oath.

I was afterwards brought down to the central station, about the 9th or 10th of May. I was there interrogated by either Mr. Grinnell or Mr. Furthman, in the presence of Lieuts. Shea and Kiple. I was asked





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155 whether I was a socialist. I don't believe I said I was not. I asked whether you could tell me what a socialist was. I said I had been on business at Zepf's saloon, which is a fact. I told you that I was down there for the purpose of collecting a bill. That was true when I said it. I also told you I was down there and did a large dealing in cigars. I also stated at that time and place that I was not at the Haymarket from the beginning, but was in Zepf's saloon, and was shot when I came out of the door at Zepf's. I also said that I did not see my brother that evening until he called at the house and asked me if I had a good physician. I now state that what I then said about that was not the truth. I was not under oath then, and I knew the treatment which my brothers had found.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

156 Both my brothers had been arrested. My brother Chris was not at the Haymarket meeting at all; he had been arrested too. I told the officers what I did tell because I heard about the treatment which my brothers had received at the central station, and I thought I had better tell them a lie to get out of it. I had business to attend to; I could not stay in a cell for years.

## AUGUST KRUEGER:

157 I think I am known also as the little Krueger. On the night of May 4th I was at the Haymarket meeting. I saw there the man represented on this picture (indicating picture of Schnaubelt). When I saw him I was standing with Mr. Lehnert on the west side of Desplaines street, about thirty to forty feet north of Randolph. I saw that man about 10  
158 o'clock; he came from the north-east. I didn't know at the time what his name was, although I knew him well. Mr. Furthman since told me his name is Schnaubelt. Schnaubelt stayed there about five minutes. He wanted to go home, and wanted me to go along, and I went with him down on Randolph street to Clinton. There I left him; he went further east on Randolph street, and I turned north on Clinton street. This is the last I saw of Schnaubelt; I never saw him since. I walked down  
159 Milwaukee avenue and went to Engel's house. I reached it about fifteen minutes past 10; I don't remember exactly. Mr. and Mrs. Engel were there. I stayed there and drank a pint of beer. Later Gottfried Waller came in and said he came from the Haymarket, and that 300 men were shot by the police, and we ought to go down there and do something.



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160 Engel said whoever threw that bomb did a foolish thing; it was non-sense, and he didn't sympathize with such a butchery, and he told Waller he had better go home as quick as possible; he said the policemen were just as good people; the revolution must grow out of the people, and the police and militia ought to go with the people; if the revolution would grow out of the people, then the police and militia would throw away  
161 their arms and go with the people. I have been seven years in the United States and in Chicago. I am twenty-one years old. I work for the North-western terra cotta works.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I am sometimes called the little Krueger to distinguish me from Reinholdt Krueger, whom they used to call the big Kruèger. The latter is dead now. He was no relation of mine. I have known Waller about  
162 a year. I have known Spies by sight about two or three years, saw him at socialistic meetings at Turner Hall. I know Schwab in the same way. I belonged to the second company of the L. u. W. V. My number was 8. I held the office of orderly sergeant and corresponding secretary. I learned of the Haymarket meeting through the Arbeiter Zeitung; I had heard of it at the meeting of the armed section on Monday night. I have known Engel about one year; saw him at the meetings of the North-west side group at Thalia Hall, 636 Milwaukee avenue. I saw him on Sunday, May 2d, in the morning, at Emma street Hall. I  
164 don't know Lingg. I saw him once on the lake front at a meeting of the Central Labor Union. I have known Fischer personally about two years. I met him at the meetings of the North-west group at Thalia Hall. I have seen Parsons and Fielden and heard them speak at socialistic meetings. I have known Neebe by sight for two years. I am an  
155 anarchist. I was arrested for a day at the north side station. I had a conversation there with Capt. Schaack and Mr. Furthman. I was shown a picture of Schnaubelt at that time. I was asked whether I had ever seen that man. I don't know whether I answered, "I might have seen  
166 him," or what I answered. I know I had seen him. There were several other officers present at the conversation; I don't know their names. I told Mr. Furthman there that I was not at the Haymarket; I told him I was at Engel's house. I don't remember what I stated in regard to the time when I got to Engel's house. It may be that I told him I got  
167 to Engel's house at 9 o'clock and stayed there until 11, but I don't remember.



JOHN F. WALDO:

I am a printer; have lived in Chicago over two years. I was a member of the American group of the International Workingmen's Association since February, 1885. I attended a meeting of that group at the Arbeiter Zeitung building on the evening of May 4th, the object of which was to form a union of the sewing girls. The meeting lasted about twenty-five minutes. There was some telephoning in the room where we met about a speaker for Deering; Mr. Schwab was there at that time for a few minutes. After we adjourned I went to the Haymarket and found Mr. Spies speaking. At that time I had heard nothing about the word "Ruhe" or its meaning or its publication in the Arbeiter Zeitung. I first heard about it from reading the English papers after the Haymarket meeting. I don't understand German. I was born in Indiana. I belonged to what was called the International Rifles. We never had any rifles there.

At the Haymarket meeting I stood on the west side of the street nearly opposite the speakers. I was there at the time the firing began and heard the explosion of the bomb. I heard and saw the firing and then ran down Randolph street; most of the crowd was ahead of me; I saw no firing from any citizen; I was shot in the leg below the knee; the ball went in from behind as I was running. I was not armed that night; I never carried a revolver in my life; I did not see any revolvers in the audience. I heard of the Haymarket meeting for the first time that night at the Arbeiter Zeitung office. I learned of the meeting of the American group that night from friends who had read the notice in the News.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I went to the Arbeiter Zeitung that night about 8 o'clock. I heard the telephoning about a meeting at Deering about ten or fifteen minutes later. I was told there that the telephone message came from Deering. There was first a clerk at the telephone, then Mr. Schwab came there. I saw Schwab go out of the door and leave the room not very long after that. There were about twelve or fifteen people in the room that night. I walked over to the Haymarket meeting with Patterson and Owens. I have never delivered any speeches at socialistic meetings. I never heard Owens speak at any meeting. I belonged to the armed section of the American group which met at Greif's Hall once a week, sometimes twice.



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I was on the west side of Desplaines street on the sidewalk nearly opposite the speakers' stand. I walked until I got to the corner of Randolph, then I commenced to run. There were a good many people on the sidewalk, none that I knew. I think I saw two or three shots fired by the police from about the third or fourth line in the middle of the street, after they had halted, before the bomb exploded. I saw the effect of the explosion upon the police, they seemed to be scattered, a good many of them were thrown to the ground, perhaps fifteen or twenty. It made a hole right in the center. I saw the flashes of two or three revolver shots before the explosion. Instantly I started to go south. I did not turn to look back. Turning the corner I was shot in my right leg; I was facing west then. I have known Spies by sight for over a year. I have made the acquaintance of Parsons about a year and a half ago at labor meetings on the lake front and at other places. I saw him frequently on the lake front on Sundays. I have known Fielden over a year. The other defendants I only know by sight. I have no recollection of ever having seen Lingg. I saw Fischer at several socialistic picnics at Sheffield; I have seen Neebe at such, too; I believe he was at nearly all of them.

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## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I belonged to what was called the armed section, but it was not armed. When I moved down on the west side of Desplaines street I saw the flashes in the middle of the street all along the street, the bullets were cracking against the brick wall by the side of me. I was shot as I turned the corner starting west.

179 JOHN M. FLEMING:

I am a physician and surgeon, in actual practice since fourteen years; have resided in Chicago eighteen years; I am one of the surgeons who performed services at the Desplaines street station on the night of the Haymarket meeting. I attended to every man I saw who required attention, from half-past 10 until 2 o'clock. I saw there probably a dozen persons not connected with the police force, who were wounded with bullets. I don't know whether any such were in cells. I extracted a bullet from the knee of an officer, who told me he lived on Rumsey street. I have since learned that his name was, I believe, Krueger.

Q. At the time of the extracting of this bullet, or after it had been extracted, did you have a conversation with Mr. Krueger?

(Objected to.)

(199)

1999

*[The following text is extremely faint and illegible due to low contrast and scan quality. It appears to be a list or series of entries.]*



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Mr. FOSTER: We propose to prove by this witness that at the time the officer asked to see the bullet, it was handed to him, and that he at once recognized it and said, that came from the police revolver.

(Objection; sustained, and exception.)

(Defendants' counsel here asked Capt. Schaack for a regulation bullet, which was shown to the witness.)

182

I think the bullet that I extracted from the knee of Officer Krueger, or whatever his name was, is the same as this (indicating regulation bullet), though I could not state it positively. It was a bullet of conical appearance and of large calibre. I gave it to the officer at his request.

183

I took also a bullet from the shoulder of a shoemaker who resided at 25 North Halsted street, a middle aged man. The latter bullet and the bullet that I extracted from Officer Krueger seemed to be identical; the one was indented and the other was not. The bullet that I extracted from the shoulder of the shoemaker had passed through the head of the humerus and was indented at its anterior end by contact with the bone. Apart from the indentation they were of the same size, and the rings were the same upon the posterior end of the bullet. There was one citizen at the station who had died from the effect of pistol wounds. I saw the

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bullet that was extracted from the body of that dead man. I examined it and compared it with the bullet which I took from the shoulder of the shoemaker; they were identical. I am not a socialist or communist or anarchist. I am acquainted with a great many policemen. I know Capt. Ward and am slightly acquainted with Capt. Bonfield.

#### CROSS-EXAMINATION.

185

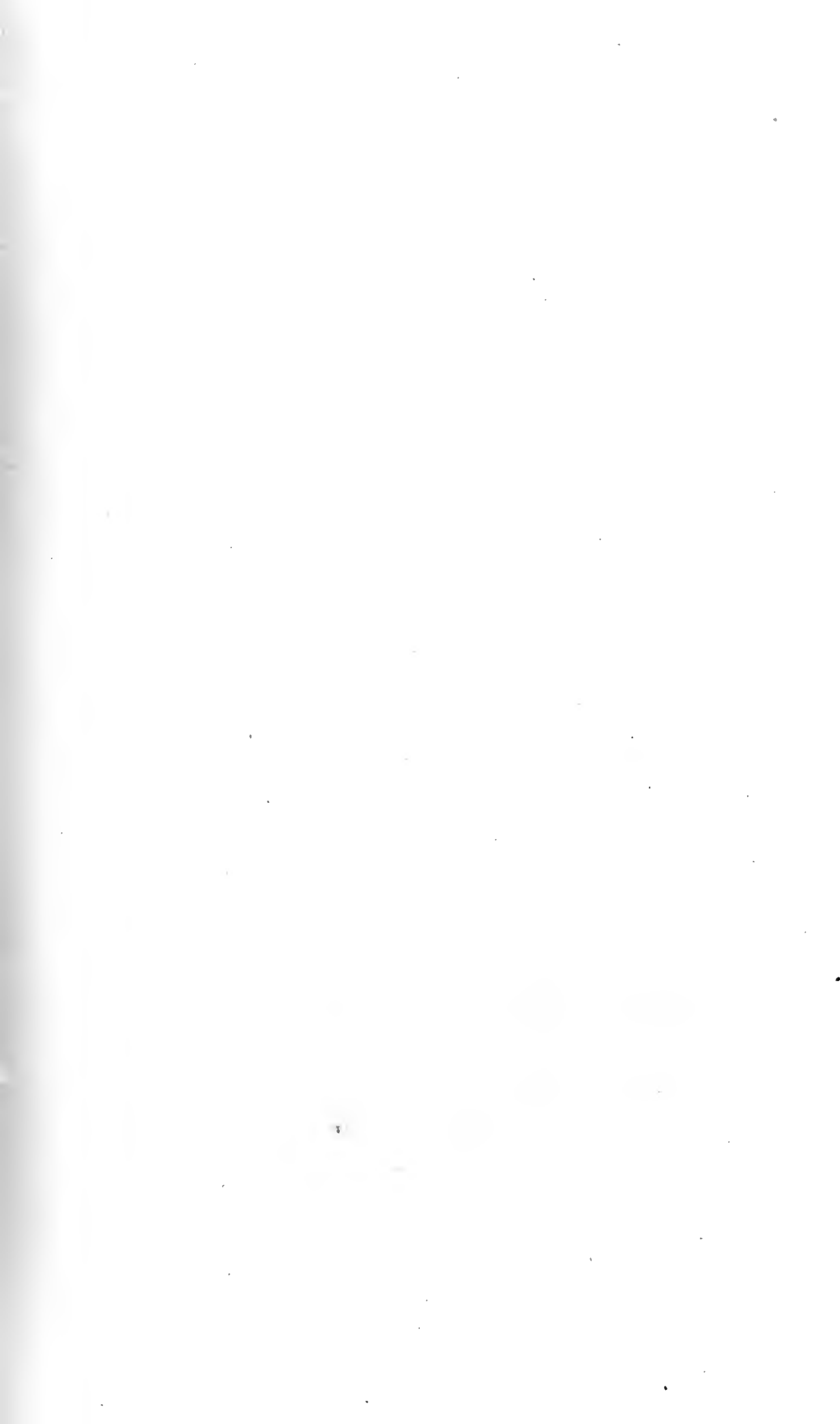
The bullet I extracted from Krueger's knee was a conical-shaped bullet like this (indicating regulation bullet). I could not swear that it was the same calibre; I am not positive. All revolver bullets are conical and somewhat similar to this. Some bullets, however, have rings on them at the posterior end, and are more or less hollow there; others are not. I do not know how many rings there are on this bullet. I can only see one, that is outside of the shell. I could not tell from the appearance of that bullet whether it was fired from a Smith & Wesson or a Harrington

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revolver.

OTTO WANDRAY (testifying through interpreter):

I live at 19 Martine court. I was at the Haymarket on the night of May 4th last between 9 and 10 o'clock. I met Fischer on the north-



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190 west corner of Randolph and Desplaines street. We went around to  
the meeting. Fielden was speaking. Staid there about half an hour.  
I cannot tell precisely. Then we went to Zepf's Hall and there drank a  
glass of beer, sitting down by a table close behind the stove and north of  
it. At the time of the explosion of the bomb Fischer was at my side at  
192 Zepf's Hall. I saw Parsons at Zepf's Hall sitting at a table closely north  
of us. I saw Mr. Parsons enter the room with a tall gentleman with  
gray hair whom I didn't know. I did not see Mrs. Parsons. I was  
arrested in the night from Sunday to Monday after the explosion.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

193 I have been in America nearly five years. I came from Berlin, Germany,  
and came at once to Chicago. I have known Fischer over two years;  
194 saw him at meetings of the Northwest group at Thalia Hall. I entered the  
group about three years ago, and left it last December. I saw Engel at  
meetings of the group several times. I have known Spies by sight about  
three to three and a half years; used to see him in meetings. I had read in  
the afternoon the announcement of the Haymarket meeting in the Arbeiter  
195 Zeitung. I thought German speeches would be made there. There  
were no German speeches there. When we entered Zepf's saloon I  
looked at the clock; it was a little after ten. We left from there after  
everything was quiet again—about half-past 10. After we left Zepf's I  
went home with Fischer. I walked with Fischer to my house, which is  
about one and a half miles from Zepf's Hall. Fischer lived at Wood  
196 street at that time, the next street to where I live. I do not understand  
English; I do not speak or read English. I heard of the paper called  
the Alarm, but could not read it. I contributed fifty cents towards it  
when it was founded; not two dollars.

## EDWARD PREUSSER:

197 I live at Lake View: On May 4th last I lived at 1218 Fullerton  
avenue. I am not a socialist, anarchist, or communist. On the night of  
May 4th last I telephoned three times to the Arbeiter Zeitung for a  
speaker for the meeting at Lake View. The committee from Deering's  
198 factory wanted Mr. Spies. The first time I telephoned before 8; the  
second time I telephoned about ten or fifteen minutes after 8. At that  
time I did not learn what speaker we could get. They answered Mr.  
Spies could not come, but they would send another speaker, and I said,  
199 "I don't suppose it makes any difference which one." About a quarter



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of an hour later I telephoned again, and received the reply that Mr. Schwab was on the way. In pursuance to the last information, which I communicated to the committee, I went to meet Mr. Schwab at the Clybourn avenue car. When I first saw Schwab he was on the rear platform of the car. I had never seen him before myself, but I asked  
 201 him if he was Mr. Schwab. That was about half-past 9 or twenty minutes of 10. Schwab and I went over to Radtke's saloon, 888 Clybourn avenue; staid there about ten minutes; then we went over to the prairie, and Mr. Schwab made a speech. Before he commenced to  
 202 speak he had a conversation with the committee. From the time he got off the car until he began to speak, it may have been ten or fifteen minutes. I heard his speech. He spoke about twenty minutes or half an hour, in German. After he concluded I took hold of his hand and helped him through the crowd, and went with him to Schilling's saloon for a newspaper. We had some lunch and beer, and staid there about  
 203 ten or fifteen minutes. Then we were standing outside awhile; then Mr. Schwab took the next car going down to Chicago. I am in the habit of riding on the street car, from the point where Mr. Schwab got off, to the city. It takes from forty to forty-five minutes, if no bridge is open, to the corner of Washington and Clark, where the cars stop. At night  
 205 the cars go slower. It is about ten minutes' ride on the car from the Haymarket to the corner of Clark and Washington streets, if there is no interruption.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I was a carrier for the Arbeiter Zeitung at that time, and am yet I have carried the Arbeiter Zeitung about eight or nine months. I met Schwab that night on the car on Clybourn avenue, right opposite the car barns where they change horses. From there we went to Radtke's saloon to find the committee, we had no drink there. Then we sent a man to find the committee over on the wagon, which was three or four hundred yards away. Some of the foremen from the reaper works made speeches  
 207 there too. When I telephoned the second time to the Arbeiter Zeitung office, I don't know whether Schwab was at the telephone or not.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

208 Nobody spoke after Mr. Schwab got through; some had spoken before that. There were from eighteen hundred to two thousand people listening to Mr. Schwab, they all went home after Mr. Schwab concluded.



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FRITZ STETTLER:

209 I live at Lake View; on the night of May 4th I was on the prairie,  
down on Fullerton and Clybourn avenue. Mr. Schwab, the defendant,  
was talking to Deering's workmen, between nine and ten o'clock, I  
heard his speech.

210 HERMANN BECKER:

211 I live at 115 Randolph street, the fifth house east of Desplaines on the  
north side of the street. On the night of May 4th last, a little after 8,  
I saw the defendant Schwab come up from Desplaines street while I was  
looking out of the window in the front room, on the second floor, where  
I live. He stopped in front of my house about one minute, then went  
in the middle of the street, took a car and went down east.

212 CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have seen Schwab about four or five times at west side Turner Hall  
and Market square, where he made speeches. Schwab was about three  
houses away when I saw him come up that night, he was on the side-  
walk on my side of the street. I was looking out of the window, looking  
west, I saw him get on the car on the hind platform; I guess I looked  
213 about half an hour out of the window and saw the crowd up there.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I am a butcher; last summer I belonged to the group "Freiheit," for  
two months.

RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

There was no light in my room.

PHINEAS H. ADAMS:

214 I live at Montrose; I have lived in Cook county about fifteen or six-  
teen years. I am a machinist, am engaged in that business with my  
brother at 31 South Canal street, this city. I am acquainted with  
Harry L. Gilmer since about five years. I know his general reputation  
for truth and veracity among the neighbors where he has resided. It is  
very bad. I would not believe him under oath.



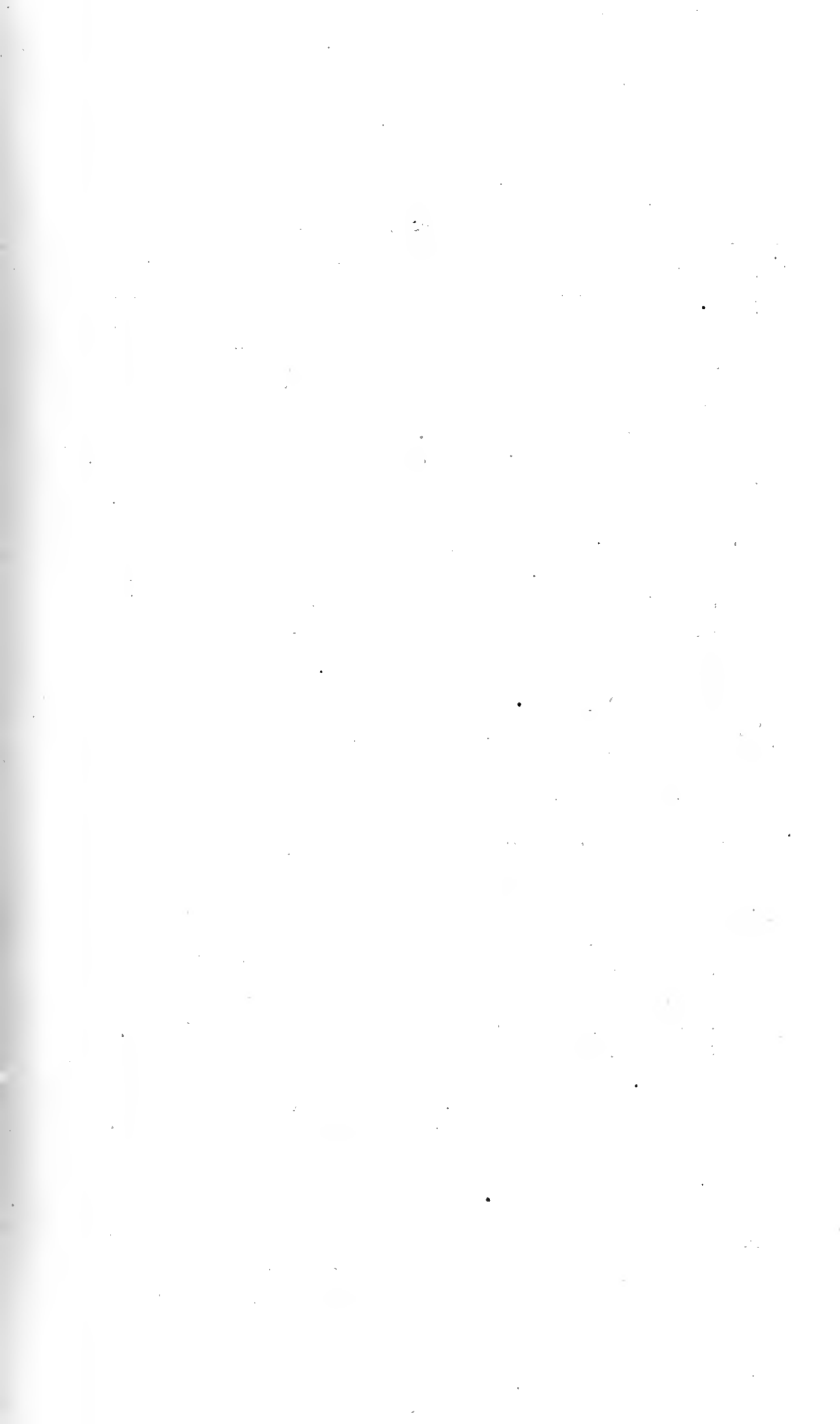


## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

215 I have resided in Montrose consecutively about two years. Gilmer did not reside there; he did not reside in my neighborhood the last two years. Prior to that I lived most of the time at 247 Carroll avenue; Gilmer lived in the same block. I believe one Mr. Hayes and one Mr. Keith lived there too. Some of the reputation that I speak of comes  
 216 from this block. I know some of his associates outside of that block. I knew some of the boys in Battery D; I don't remember their names. I was a member of the 1st regiment at that time. I was not a member of the Battery. I do not know Major Tobey nor Lieut. Allen nor United States District Attorney Tuthill. I don't know as I knew Gilmer's associates, at the time I lived on Carroll avenue, outside of that block. I don't think I associated among the same people he associates with at any other place besides Carroll avenue. I lived on Carroll avenue at that number about two years. I believe Gilmer was there all the time I was. I met him frequently; I had nothing to do with him socially. I very seldom met him in company with the rest of the people in that block.  
 217½ Part of the reputation that I speak of is made up from some parties by the name of Allen that used to live on Ogden avenue. I don't remember the number. I don't think I remember any one else.

HENRY WITT (testifying through interpreter):

218 I am a lumber shover and belong to the lumber shovers' union. On May 2d our union was represented by delegates in the Central Labor Union of Chicago. I was delegate at that time, and as such was present at a meeting of the Central Labor Union on May 2d; I was ordered to obtain a speaker from the Central Labor Union to address the lumber shovers' union on May 3d. I made that request and it was said that Mr. Spies would come. On May 3d I was present at the meeting of the lumber shovers' union about three blocks east from McCormick's factory, on Lincoln street and Blue Island avenue. Spies was there; there might have been six or seven thousand people assembled, about 3,000 of whom were members of the lumber shovers' union; the balance were not. A member of the committee by the name of Breest introduced Mr. Spies as a speaker about half past 3 o'clock. I can't say that I heard anybody  
 220 object to Mr. Spies speaking because he was a socialist; there were some persons who demanded that Spies should speak. I know Haraster, he acquiesced in Mr. Spies' speaking. I heard the bell of McCormick's



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factory ring while Spies was speaking. Mr. Spies was speaking about our interests, and said we should stick to the eight-hour proposition.

221 When the bell rung he said that the people should not go away. Some 300 to 500 people who stood in the rear, by Blue Island avenue, went over to the factory. I did not hear Mr. Spies mention, in the course of his speech, McCormick's factory or the scabs of that factory. There is no connection whatever between the lumber shovers' union and the work-

222 ingmen employed by Mr. McCormick. Spies said the people should remain there, they had nothing to do with McCormick's. Then he did not allow himself to be disturbed any further and continued to speak for about fifteen minutes more. Then I saw three patrol wagons and a number of policemen marching down to McCormick's factory. There might have been 200 policemen. After the police had gone down we heard

223 shooting. Spies continued to speak after the police had passed. I am not a socialist nor an anarchist; never belonged to any socialistic organization. I come from North Germany. I attend the Lutheran church. After Mr. Spies' speech somebody proposed that Mr. Spies should be elected as one of the committee to plead with our bosses; the motion was voted upon and carried.

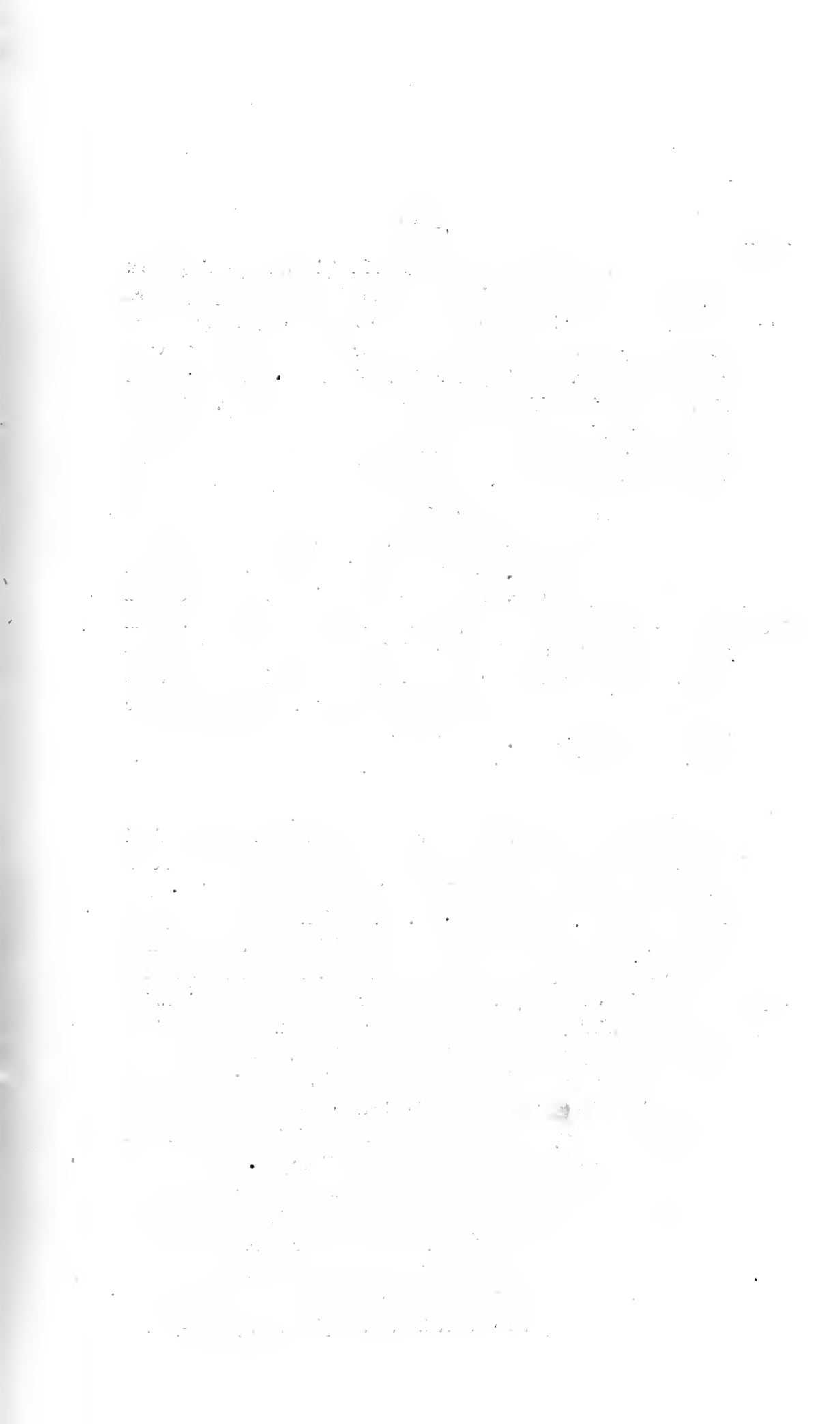
224

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

The meeting of the Central Labor Union about which I have testified was at 54 West Lake street; the Lumber Shovers' Union had been connected with the Central Labor Union since the 4th of April. I was elected delegate in the month of May. I saw Mr. Lingg on the 4th of April at a meeting of the Lumber Shovers' Union and at the Central Labor Union, not anywhere else. I know Engel. Lingg made a speech

225 at the meeting on April 4th. I got to the meeting at McCormick's before it was called to order; at about a quarter of three. I was there when Spies first got on the car where the speakers were. I don't know Fehling. I was there when the man who spoke before Spies got on the car. I said to the first speaker that he should not go on with his speech because the meeting had not been opened. I don't know who he was.

226 There was no objection to Spies' speaking. When McCormick's bell rang Spies said the people should not go to McCormick's; they had no interest in the McCormick factory; they should remain there quietly; he did not go to McCormick's himself. The Lumber Shovers Union had no interest whatever in the McCormick property, we had met simply to discuss the question of obtaining eight hours from our bosses, not for the purpose of discussing the McCormick riot. Spies left a quarter-past 4.



## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

At the time I told the first speaker not to speak, Spies was not present. The meeting at which I heard Lingg speak was the second meeting of the Lumber Shovers' Union. After the meeting near McCormick's had adjourned, I saw Mr. Spies on Blue Island avenue, about the neighborhood of 20th street.

FREDERICK BREEST (testifying through interpreter):

I am a lumber shover; belong to the Lumber Shovers' Union. I am not a socialist or communist or anarchist; I only know Mr. Spies from his making a speech at a meeting of the Lumber Shovers' Union in the  
 229 afternoon of May 3d last, on the Black road. He spoke in German. I was not there when Fehling spoke; I did not hear him. When I was about introducing Mr. Spies, there were a few voices, but weak, objecting against his speaking on the ground that he was a socialist; then I introduced Mr. Spies as a member of the Central Labor Union, and he was asked to speak. I stood up on the car when I made the announcement. I heard all of Spies' speech; I remember part of what he said, but made no note of it; he simply spoke in the interests of the union and said that we should stick together. Nothing was said in his speech in  
 230 regard to the use of arms or dynamite. When McCormick's bell rang, a part of the crowd that stood at the very extreme of the meeting started towards the factory; Spies said the people should remain there quietly and should not mind that. I was at the meeting of the Central Labor Union on Sunday at 54 West Lake street, and there a member told us that Spies would come out and speak. I was recording secretary of the Lumber Shovers' Union, and as the president was not present when it was time to open the meeting, I opened the meeting. Spies continued to speak for fifteen minutes, after part of the crowd had started  
 231 towards McCormick's. After him several men spoke in Bohemian and Polish. Spies was the last one to come from the car; he went off towards Blue Island avenue and 22d street, further I didn't see him.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have belonged to the Central Labor Union since the Lumber Shovers' Union started, that was on the 4th of April at 650 Blue Island avenue. I was not a delegate of the Central Labor Union on May 2d. I went down there with our delegates to know the Central Labor Union. I was there about two hours and a half.



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I got to the meeting near McCormick's about 3 o'clock. It was called simply to help the lumber shovers to get eight hours, and not with refer-  
 232 ence to the McCormick trouble; it was also to hear reports of committees sent to the bosses.

ALBERT SCHLAVIN (testifying through interpreter):

I am a lumber shover; a member of the Lumber Shovers' Union. I was at the meeting on May 3d last at the Black Road; heard Mr. Spies speak there that day. I did not know Spies before that; did not  
 233 know he was going to speak. I am not a socialist, anarchist or communist. Mr. Spies spoke in German. I heard it stated that it was Mr. Spies who was speaking, whether Mr. Breest said so or not I cannot say. Spies spoke of the eight-hour system and the rate of wages. He said nothing about force or guns or dynamite. When McCormick's bell rang, the crowd from the outskirts of the meeting started towards the factory. Spies had said nothing up to that time about McCormick's;  
 234 when the crowd started in that direction, he said they should remain there, and continued to speak for about ten or fifteen minutes. I didn't hear any one object to Spies' speaking on the ground that he was a socialist.

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I stood about ten paces from the car; there were about five to six thousand people present. We were there to hear a report of the committee in regard to what the bosses would do about the eight-hour demand. The last I saw of Spies was when he was on the car. I went home and didn't see him any more.

GOTLIEB PFEIFFER (testifying through interpreter):

I am a machinist. I was present at the meeting of the Lumber Shovers' Union on the Black Road on May 3d last. I saw Mr. Spies there. A number of people and some of the lumber shovers raised an  
 235 objection to his speaking, and said that he was a socialist, but the committee said he was invited and others said he should speak. After that  
 236 he spoke in German. He said that the lumbermen should stick together and should remain faithful to their union, only by that they could achieve something. He said nothing about the use of force or pistols or dynamite. I am not a socialist, communist or anarchist. I know Mr. Spies from meetings, but have no speaking acquaintance with him.





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237 When McCormick's bell rang a large number on the outskirts of the meeting cut loose and went towards the factory. Spies said they should remain, and beckoned to them to remain, and said we had nothing to do with the scabs in McCormick's factory. I formerly worked for McCormicks. I am not a member of the Lumber Shovers' Union. The Lumber Shovers' Union has no connection with McCormick's factory. The only connection between the Lumber Shovers' Union and the Metal Workers' Union is that they are both represented in the Central Labor Union.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have known Spies for a year and a half; heard him speak five or six times on the lake front and at the Workingmen's Hall on 12th street.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

238 I am a man of family; am not a member of any church and don't attend church.

## WILLIAM MURPHY:

239 I am 54 years old; am a cooper by trade, and work at my trade; have lived in Chicago about four years. I was at the Haymarket on the night of May 4th; I heard the speaking, but did not know who the speakers were. I remained there until I heard a bomb go off. When the bomb went off I was on the wagon from which the speaking was done; there were other persons besides me upon that wagon. I first noticed the policemen when they dispersed the meeting. I didn't hear any reply by anybody on the wagon. I didn't hear anything on the  
240 wagon by anybody as to whether or not the police were coming. As soon as he said "disperse" I got down off of the wagon as quick as I could. At the same time I got down another man got down at my right-hand side.

241 When I got on the wagon there were five or six others on there. Up to the time I got off I saw nobody else get off but the one man who got off the same time I did. I went towards the sidewalk and started to the corner to get out of the way of the shots, and I was shot in my back at the corner of Desplaines and Randolph. Before I got on the wagon I stood leaning against the wheel next to the sidewalk. I saw nobody around me display a revolver or any weapon; heard nobody speak about  
242 revolvers or any weapons. The people around the wagon were quiet,



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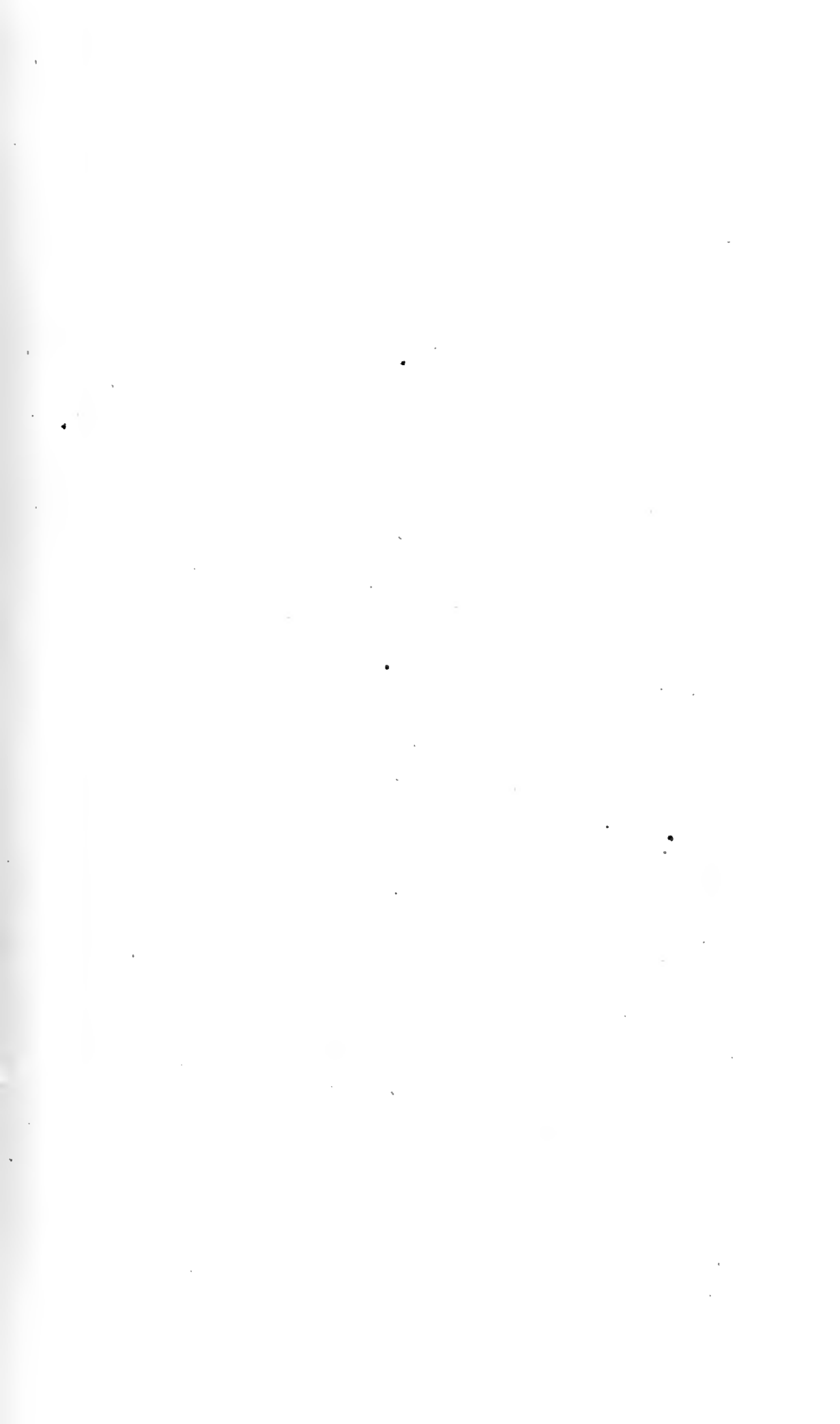
as far as I noticed. I heard no disturbances or threats or anything of that kind. I was not invited by anybody to get on the wagon. I got up to look for the man I had come with. I was thinking about going home, and would know the man by the cap that he wore better than any other way. I looked for him on the ground, but could not see him. I had got lost from him. I am not a socialist, anarchist or communist. I don't know any of the defendants; don't recognize any of them. Didn't hear anybody say "Here come the blood-hounds; do your duty, and I will do mine"; I heard nothing of that kind. After I heard the sound of the bomb I heard immediately the sound of shots. They seemed to come behind me and from the street. I got off of the wagon at the south-east corner of the wagon, facing toward the corner of Desplaines and Randolph.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I went to the meeting before dark. I had a little business up that way, and heard from somebody that there was some speaking; I was not told what the speaking was to be about. I was looking for a man by the name of Heck, with whom I was boarding. He went to the meeting with me. I got up on the wagon may be five or ten minutes before the bomb went off. I was looking over the crowd for my friend, and for that reason didn't pay attention to what the speakers were saying. I heard some of the speaking; I could not remember any words. When I heard the policeman say "disperse" I moved immediately. I don't know who the man was that got down off the wagon with me. I was shot on the corner, turning east. I was taken to the hospital the next day.

JOHANN GRUENEBERG (testifying through interpreter):

I know the defendant Fischer; he is an intimate friend of mine. On May 4th last, in the morning, between 9 and 10 o'clock, I came to the Arbeiter Zeitung and went to the compositors' room. Then I went to the printing establishment of Wehrer & Klein, at the request of Fischer, and called for some circulars, the same as these (indicating circulars calling the Haymarket meeting with the line: "Workingmen, arm yourselves and appear in full force.") I got several thousand of them and took them to the compositors' room of the Arbeiter Zeitung. Then I took some of them down to Spies and had a conversation with him. After that I went up to the compositors' room and came back to Spies' office



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with Mr. Fischer; there were three or four persons present in the office. I remember Schwab and Rau were there; then we had some conversation in reference to the circulars in which Spies took part. Then I went  
 252 to Wehrer & Klein's, at Fischer's order, and gave the printer the order to leave out the line "Workingmen, arm yourselves," etc., from the  
 253 English as well as the German part. Some of the circulars in the original form remained there when I got the first pile, and in the meantime some more of them had been printed. I gave the order not to give those out, to retain them there. Fischer gave me the order to order out those words: "Workingmen, arm yourselves," etc., in the presence of Spies and Schwab. I took away over twenty thousand copies of the circular  
 254 without that line. I distributed some of them myself. The pile of circulars I got at first was about a foot high. I am not sure. I don't  
 255 remember any more.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I came to this country from Germany four years ago. I have lived  
 256 in Chicago two years. I am a carpenter. I have known Fischer one year and a half. I know him from the North-west group, to which I belonged for a year and a half. I met Engel at the same group several times.

Q. Where did the armed section of the North-western group drill?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

I don't know an armed section of the North-western group. I don't know of a single time that the North-west group drilled.

257 I know of a paper called "The Anarchist." I distributed it three or  
 258 four times. I have seen Fischer on Monday, May 3d, between 5 and half-past 5, at the Arbeiter Zeitung, in the compositors' room.

(The defendants object to all of this matter which has no connection with the direct examination; objection overruled, and exception.)

I did not see Fischer at any other place on Monday; I saw him on Sunday afternoon at my house, 570 West Superior street; I did not see him Sunday morning at any place.

Q. Were you at home all the morning yourself?

(Objected to as not proper cross-examination.)

259 The COURT: You have put this witness on the stand for the purpose of showing a thing was taken out, a particular circular; whether he has  
 260 told that thing as it occurred depends in some degree upon what his associations, feelings, inclinations, biases are in reference to the whole business.



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Mr. BLACK: Whether he has told the truth in regard to that depends upon his bias and inclinations?

The COURT: Whether it is to be believed—I don't mean whether he has told the truth.

(Exception to the ruling of the court and to the language by the court.)

I don't remember whether I was home on that Sunday morning; I was not at Emma street on that Sunday morning.

I have known Spies a year and a half; saw him at the Arbeiter Zeitung and at several socialistic meetings; once at our group, the other times I don't remember where. I have known Neebe for a short time  
261 by sight. I have known Schwab as long as Spies, saw him at our group. He did not belong to the group; he made a speech once every few months. I know Lingg since the 1st of May. I met him at the carpenters' union, not at any other place.

EDWARD H. CASTLE:

I reside at 51 Walnut street, in this city; have resided in Cook county since May 1, 1839. During that time I was one year in California. I was in the army four or five years, and I have made other various trips, but my family has always been in Chicago. I am a property owner and man of family; am 75 years of age; I have a general and extensive acquaintance in Chicago and Cook county. I have helped build the Chicago and North-Western railroad. I believe I am acquainted with Harry L. Gilmer, have known him some years; I can't tell exactly how long. He was a tenant of mine three or four years ago. I am acquainted with his general reputation for truth and veracity among his associates and acquaintances or in the neighborhood where he has resided. It is bad; I could not believe him under oath.

263

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I own the house which Gilmer rented from me; I have known of him, seen him, known him perhaps four or five years considerably. He rented from me some months about three or four years ago. I have seen him since that; he lived in my neighborhood. I didn't trace him up very minutely; I don't believe I could tell where he lived. I hear of him in different places, but don't know of my own knowledge where he lives. The house which he rented of me was on Paulina street, between Park avenue and Lake street.

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H. S. HOWE:

I live in Chicago since seven years; am 62 years old; am in the undertaking business. I am slightly acquainted with Harry L. Gilmer since about four years. I know his general reputation for truth and veracity in the neighborhood where he has resided and among the people who know him; it is very bad. I would not believe him under oath.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I am acquainted with Mr. Castle. I knew Gilmer when he rented of Mr. Castle, and I knew him on Paulina street and before that; that was in my neighborhood. I knew him there consecutively while he lived in a little room two or three or five months. I did not know his associates or friends away from that place; I didn't know where he associated just then, only around there at the restaurant and the place where he associated around there.

ADOLPH TENNES:

266 I came from Germany to Chicago nearly five years ago. I am an  
ironworker. I have seen Spies and Parsons for the first time at the  
Haymarket meeting; I saw Fielden one night before the Haymarket  
267 meeting. I am not a socialist, communist or anarchist, and don't know  
anything about that. I had seen a notice of the Haymarket meeting in  
the Arbeiter Zeitung pursuant to which I went there. I was standing  
about four or five feet south of the wagon at the time the police came  
268 up. Fielden was speaking at the time. I saw Spies and Fielden on the  
wagon when the police came upon the ground; there were about four  
or five other men on the wagon whom I did not know. I heard the  
officer make a command; I didn't know what his name was; I was too  
269 much excited, I didn't understand what he said. When I heard the  
officer speak I ran north to the alley. When I started to run Mr. Spies  
was on the wagon.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

At the time the officer spoke I was standing about four feet east of  
him and about a foot south of the wagon. I was so much excited that  
I could not hear what he said. I started to run and the shooting com-  
270 menced. It commenced right when he was there speaking. I was ex-  
cited when I heard the police were coming. I read the notice in the

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Arbeiter Zeitung, in the public library, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon, on May 4th. That was the only notice I saw of the meeting. I got to  
 271 the meeting about half-past 7. I saw Fielden the night before at a wagonmakers' meeting, at a hall on the north side of Lake street, I don't remember the name of the place.

272 MARTIN BECHTEL:

I am a brewer; I know the defendant Oscar Neebe since March of this year. On the evening of May 3d last, Neebe and I were together at a meeting of the brewers, a little after 8 o'clock, at the north side Turner Hall. I was chairman of the meeting. Mr. Neebe made a report as a delegate to the brewer bosses. The meeting lasted about one hour. I saw Mr. Neebe at that meeting all the time until it adjourned. After it adjourned I and Neebe went to two saloons and had some beer, then we walked to the saloon of Franz Hein, nobody else went with us. Neebe there spoke with the saloon-keeper, I was present at the conversation. I did not see a paper like this (indicating Revenge circular) in Mr. Neebe's hands while he was at Franz Hein's  
 274 saloon, I did not see any of these circulars on any of the tables of that saloon, I did not see Mr. Neebe put any of them around on tables there.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

276 There were some circulars at the brewers' meeting, but I don't know whether they were Revenge circulars or others, I did not mind about that. Neebe spoke at the brewers' meeting, as a delegate to the brewer bosses, about matters concerning us as brewers. I cannot say that he spoke there about the killing of people there by the police, at the McCormick factory, that afternoon. I did not pay any attention to that at all.

277 HENRY E. O. HEINEMAN, recalled:

On the night of May 4, 1886, I saw Mr. Parsons with Mrs. Parsons and two little children, perhaps five and six years old, on the corner of Halsted and Randolph streets. Mr. Owen, of the Times, was  
 278 with me at the time. Parsons at that point took an east-bound car.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

That must have been between half-past 7 and 8 o'clock.

Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page. The text is too light to transcribe accurately.

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## LIZZIE MAY HOLMES:

I live at Geneva, Illinois, since last December; prior to that I lived in  
 Chicago for seven or eight years. I know the defendants Spies, Par-  
 sons, Fielden and Neebe; am slightly acquainted with Fischer and  
 279 Engel. For about a year I was assistant editor and contributor of the  
 Alarm. I am a socialist. On the evening of May 4th last I was at a  
 meeting of the American group, on the second floor of the Arbeiter  
 Zeitung building, called to consider the organization of the sewing-girls,  
 the working-girls in the city. An advertisement was published in the  
 Daily News, calling that meeting. It was nearly half-past 8 when we  
 280 arrived there. Mr. and Mrs. Parsons and their two children had called  
 for me; we took a car on the corner of Halsted and Randolph streets,  
 and went from there directly to 107 5th avenue. There were from  
 fifteen to twenty people there. Mr. Schwab was not there after my  
 arrival. I heard no telephoning after I got there. There was no busi-  
 ness transaction at the meeting, except with reference to the organization  
 281 of the sewing-girls. The meeting lasted about half an hour after my  
 arrival. There were present Fielden, Snyder, Patterson, Mr. and Mrs.  
 Parsons and others. After the adjournment I walked over to the Hay-  
 market meeting with Mrs. Parsons. A few moments before we adjourned,  
 there had been some communication from the Haymarket meeting, call-  
 282 ing speakers, and nearly all of us went over. Fielden and Parsons and  
 others went before we did. When I arrived at the Haymarket meeting  
 Mr. Parsons had just commenced. After a little while Mrs. Parsons  
 283 and myself got into a wagon just north of the speaker's wagon, and we  
 284 stayed there during Parsons' and part of Fielden's speech. A cloud and  
 a cold, chilly wind came, and we got down out of the wagon, supposing  
 it was going to rain. We went over to Zepf's saloon; it was said they  
 were going to adjourn the meeting over there. Mrs. Parsons and Mr.  
 Parsons were with me, and I think Mr. Brown was with us or behind  
 285 us. We sat down to a table near the first window, next to the door, on  
 the west side. I think Mrs. Parsons sat in a chair at the end of the table,  
 and close to the window; I remember I sat in a chair. The window-sill  
 is just a little higher than a chair. We sat with our backs towards the  
 window. Mr. Parsons was walking around part of the time and stood  
 at the bar part of the time. I think he took a glass of beer with Mr.  
 286 Brown. While we sat there a gentleman was sitting near to us, whom  
 I had seen attending our meetings; I don't know him very well; his  
 name is Keling or Keeler, something of that kind; he is just about Mr.



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Parsons' size. At the time of the explosion of the bomb we were sitting by that window. I heard the explosion of the bomb and pistol shots afterwards. I could not say just where Mr. Parsons was when the bomb exploded, but I saw him a moment before, and the moment afterwards he came up. Mr. Parsons did not leave Zepf's saloon from the time that I and Mrs. Parsons and he entered the room until after the explosion of the bomb. Soon after we went into the saloon I saw Mr. Fischer there. He was sitting at a table north from us, I think near the wall. There was somebody sitting with him; there were two or three men there; there were men all about; I can't say whether they were right there at that table or not. I don't think Mr. Fischer left the hall up to the explosion of the bomb, at least he didn't pass me; I saw him sitting there from time to time.

I first heard of the word "Ruhe," or any significance of that word, a week or so ago in reading of the examinations here. At the meeting at 107 5th avenue, I heard nothing about the word "Ruhe"; heard nothing and knew nothing about any force or probable trouble at the Haymarket. After Mr. Parsons got through speaking he came over to the wagon, where I sat with Mrs. Parsons; I don't remember of his leaving it, but I believe he left it a little before the time we went to Zepf's Hall. I was arrested on the 5th of May, in the Alarm office, and confined in the police station and in jail until Saturday forenoon following.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

My name has been Holmes since November 26th last. Before that my name was Swank. All articles in the Alarm, under which the initials L. M. S. appear, are my articles. I wrote an article under date of April 23, 1886, headed "It is coming." I meant it in the same way that any prophet means anything, judging from events of past history. I was a member of the American group of the Internationals. It used to meet, sometimes, at 54 West Lake street. I may have spoken there once or twice; I don't think any of my speeches ever appeared in the Alarm. I marched in processions; I never carried the red flag.

When I arrived at the meeting at the Arbeiter Zeitung, on May 4th, they were about adjourning. There were no sewing-girls there; it was nothing but a business meeting of the group. The place at Zepf's Hall, to which we went, is a beer saloon. I think we sat there about five minutes. I think the gentleman who sat near Mrs. Parsons and myself, at the window, resembles Mr. Parsons somewhat, and could have been





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mistaken for Parsons. I don't know what his name was. Mr. Parsons was sitting at one of the beer tables, once, I think. I have no distinct  
 295 recollection of the stove in the saloon. I guess the table at which he sat was towards the south. I think Mr. Brown was sitting with him. Then he walked about; I don't think I noticed him at any other table; I did not keep my eye on him all the time. I did not see any side door to the saloon. I don't think we went out of any side door; he could not go out without my seeing him. I am pretty sure there was no side door.  
 296 The table at which Fischer sat was towards the north end. There were quite a number of people in the saloon. I could see all over the room,  
 297 the room wasn't really crowded; the room was not so crowded that a person sitting at one table could only see a very short distance in it. After the explosion of the bomb I sat there for awhile, then arose to my feet. I went in the back part of the building. Presently Mr. and Mrs. Parsons and myself went out and went home. Before we had gone very far Mr. Brown met us. I think we went to the corner of  
 298 Desplaines and Kinzie. Then I went alone to Mrs. Parsons' house. I lived at that time at Geneva. I stayed at Mrs. Parsons' house that night. Mr. Parsons did not go home that night; I left him on the corner of Kinzie.

I am an anarchist, as I understand anarchy. I have known Spies about three years, Fielden about four years. The latter was a stock-  
 299 holder in the paper, and I believe complaints were directed to him. I was sometimes absent for a whole week from the Arbeiter Zeitung building. I wrote my articles at home, and at various places. I don't think I have ever been at the Arbeiter Zeitung building more than six or eight times. I can't remember where the bureau of information for the Internationals  
 300 was. I suppose it was in the Arbeiter Zeitung, I don't know that Parsons was a member of the bureau; what I mean is, I don't know where the letters were addressed. I do not know that August Spies was a member of that bureau; I don't remember that; I would not be certain now. I don't know that Rau was a member of it. I remember now that Parsons' name was on it. I never made speeches on the lake front.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

301 The word anarchy, from its derivation, means 'no coercion;' it really means self-government. I should consider it perfect liberty to live according to natural laws as distinguished from compulsory laws; that



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is the kind of an anarchist I am; I don't understand anarchy, and didn't  
 302 teach it in my articles as having reference to the use of force or dynamite. The theory of anarchy is opposed to all idea of force and coercion.

## RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

I never advocated arson, or advised persons to commit arson in my  
 303 life. I wrote the article entitled "Notice to Tramps," in the April 24th number of the Alarm, which reads:

"In a beautiful town, not far from Chicago, lives a large class of cultivated, well-informed people. They have Shakespeare, Lowell, Longfellow and Whittier at their tongues' ends, and are posted in history and grow enthusiastic over the wickedness of the safely abolished institutions of the past. They say eloquent things about old fugitive slave laws, etc., which made it criminal to feed and shelter a starving human being if he were black. Posted at the roadside, in the hotels and stores, is a 'Notice to Tramps,' an abominable document which compares well with the old notices to runaway negroes, which used to deface similar buildings. It is against the law to feed a tramp. You are liable to a fine if you give a cup of coffee and a piece of bread to a fellow-man who needs it and asks you for it. This is a Christian community, under the flag of the free. Look out, you wretched slaves. If, after toiling through your best years, you are suddenly thrown out of a job along with thousands of others, do not start out to hunt for work, for you will strike plenty of such towns as this. You must not walk from town to town. You must not stay where you are in idleness—you must move on. You must not ride—you have no money, and those tracks and cars you helped to build are not for such as you. You must not ask for anything to eat, or a place to sleep. You must not lie down and die, for then you would shock people's morals. What are you to do? Great heavens! Jump into the lake? Fly up into the air? Or stay—have you a match about you?"

I wrote that article deliberately; it speaks for itself. I don't think it needs any explanation from me.

305 SAMUEL FIELDEN:

I was born in the town of Doldermon, Lancastershire, England. I was thirty-nine years old on February 25th last. I came to the United States in July, 1868. I lived in North Providence and worked in a woolen mill until the following March; from there I went to Ohio and

1911

1911

Received of the Treasurer of the University of California the sum of \$100.00 for the year 1911.

Witness my hand and the seal of the University of California at Berkeley, California, this 1st day of January, 1911.

Very truly yours,  
The President of the University of California

Witness my hand and the seal of the University of California at Berkeley, California, this 1st day of January, 1911.

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306 worked on a farm four months, and in August, 1869, I came to Chicago and have resided here since then most of the time. Since 1872 I have most of the time worked in stone-yards and driven stone teams. I have a wife and one child living at my home, 110 West Polk, where I was arrested.

307 On May 4th last I was with a load of stone to Waldheim Cemetery; I had engaged to speak that night at 268 12th street, and intended to go there. When I got home in the evening I bought a copy of the Daily News and there saw the announcement of a meeting of the American group to be held at 107 5th avenue, that night; I believe it said "Important business." I was the treasurer of the American group and as such had all the money it was worth. We should have had our semi-annual election the Sunday previous; besides, I thought that some money would be wanted, as important business was announced, so I determined to go to that meeting instead of to the meeting at which I had engaged to speak. I arrived at 107 5th avenue about ten minutes before 8. I was there when some telephoning was done, with reference to the Deering meeting. The witnesses who have detailed that occurrence are substantially correct. After I had entered the room I asked what the meeting was called for, and a gentleman named Patterson, who was 308 not a member of our organization, showed me a hand bill, which did not call that meeting, but had reference to the organization of the sewing-women. I paid, as treasurer, five dollars to those who had laid out the costs of printing those hand bills, and who might need a little money for car fare in going around to hire halls, and other incidental expenses. Schwab must have left there about ten or fifteen minutes past 8. During the progress of the meeting a request was received from the Haymarket meeting for speakers, in response to which Parsons and I went over. Mr. Parsons, I believe, brought his two children downstairs and gave them a drink of water in the saloon, then we walked together through the tunnel, and from about the west end of the tunnel I walked with Mr. Snyder, with whom I had a conversation. Spies spoke about five minutes longer after we had arrived there, then he introduced Mr. Parsons. During Parsons' speech I was on the wagon. After he con- 310 cluded I was introduced by Spies to make a short speech. I did not wish to speak, but Mr. Spies urged me and I did speak about twenty minutes. I referred to some adverse criticism of the socialists by an evening paper, which had called the socialists cowards and other uncomplimentary names, and I told the audience that that was not true;



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311 that the socialists were true to the interests of the laboring classes and would continue to advocate the rights of labor. I then spoke briefly of the condition of labor. I referred to the classes of people who were continually posing as labor reformers for their own benefit, and who had never done anything to benefit the laboring classes, but had at all times approved the cause of labor, in order to get themselves into office. To substantiate this, I cited the case of Martin Foran, who, in a speech in Congress on the arbitration bill that was brought in by the labor committee, had stated that the working classes of this country could get nothing through legislation in Congress, and that only when the rich men of this country understood that it was dangerous to live in a community where there were dissatisfied people, would the labor problem be solved. Somebody in the audience cried out, "That is not true," or "That is a lie." Then I went over it again, adding words like these: That here was a man who had been on the spot for years, had experience and knew what could be done there, and this was his testimony; it was not the testimony of a socialist. Then I went on to state that under such circumstances the only way in which the working people could get any satisfaction from the gradual decreasing opportunities for their living—the only thing they could do with the law would be to "throttle it." I used that word in a figurative sense. I said they should throttle it, because it was an expensive article to them and could do them no good.

312 I then stated that men were working all their lifetime, their love for their families influencing them to put forth all their efforts, that their children might have a better opportunity of starting in the world than they had had; and the facts, the statistics of Great Britain and the United States, would prove that every year it was becoming utterly impossible for the younger generation, under the present system, to have as good an opportunity as the former ones had had.

Mr. Spies had asked me, before I commenced, to mention that the Chicago Herald had advised the labor organizations of this city to boycott the red flag. I briefly touched that and told them not to boycott the red flag, because it was the symbol of universal freedom and universal liberty.

I was just closing my remarks about that point, when some one said it was going to rain. There was a dark, heavy cloud which seemed to be rolling over a little to the north-west of me; I looked at it, and some one proposed to adjourn the meeting to Zepf's Hall. Somebody else said, "No, there is a meeting there," and I said, "Never mind, I will not

The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures that the financial statements are reliable and can be audited without any discrepancies.

Furthermore, it is noted that the accounting system should be designed to be user-friendly and efficient. This allows the staff to enter data quickly and accurately, reducing the risk of errors. Regular training sessions should be conducted to ensure that all users are up-to-date with the latest software updates and procedures.

In addition, the document highlights the need for a strong internal control system. This includes separating duties between different departments to prevent any one individual from having too much control over the financial process. Regular reconciliations and audits are also essential to identify and correct any mistakes as soon as possible.

The second part of the document focuses on the reporting requirements. It details the various financial statements that need to be prepared, such as the balance sheet, income statement, and cash flow statement. Each statement is explained in detail, including the key components and how they are calculated. The document also provides guidance on how to present the information in a clear and concise manner, using charts and graphs where appropriate to make the data more accessible to management and stakeholders.

Finally, the document concludes with a summary of the key points and a list of recommended actions. It stresses the importance of ongoing communication and collaboration between all departments to ensure that the financial system is working effectively and efficiently. Regular meetings should be held to discuss any issues that arise and to plan for future improvements.

The document is intended to serve as a comprehensive guide for all staff involved in the financial process. It is hoped that this information will be helpful and that it will contribute to the overall success of the organization.



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313 talk very long; I will close in a few minutes and then we will all go home." Then I advised them to organize as laboring men for their own protection; not to trust to any one else, but to organize among themselves and depend only upon themselves to advance their condition. I do not think I spoke one minute longer when I saw the police. I stopped speaking, and Capt. Ward came up to me and raised his hand—I do not remember now whether he had anything in his hand or not—and said: "I command this meeting, in the name of the people of the State of Illinois, to peaceably disperse." I was standing up, and I said: "Why, Captain, this is a peaceable meeting," in a very conciliatory tone of voice, and he very angrily and defiantly retorted that he commanded it to disperse, and called, as I understood, upon the police to disperse it. Just as he turned around in that angry mood, I said, "All right, we will go," and jumped from the wagon, and jumped to the sidewalk. This is my impression, after being in jail now for over three months, and I am telling,

315 ing, as near as I can remember, every incident of it. Then the explosion came. I think I went in a somewhat south-easterly direction from the time that I struck the street. It was only a couple of steps to the sidewalk. I had just, I think, got on to the sidewalk, when the explosion came, and being in a diagonal position on the street, I saw the flash. Then the people began to rush past me—I was not decided in my own mind what it was—but I heard some one say "dynamite," and then in my own mind I assented that that was the cause of the explosion, and I rushed and was crowded with the crowd. There were some of them falling down, others calling out in agony, and the police were pouring shots into them. We tried to get behind some protection, but there were so many trying to get there that little protection was afforded. I then made a dash for the north-east corner of Randolph and Desplaines streets, turned the corner and ran until I got to about Jefferson street. Seeing there was no pursuit, I dropped into a fast walk. I turned on Clinton, intending at that time to go home.

316 Immediately after the explosion of the bomb—I had possibly gone three or four steps—I was struck with a ball. I didn't feel much pain at the time, in the excitement, but as I dropped into a walk down on Randolph street I felt the pain, put my finger in the hole of my pants and felt my knee was wet. Then I concluded I had been shot. Walking down Clinton street and intending to go home, I began to think about those that had been with me. Remembering about Mr. Spies being on the wagon at the time the police came up, I thought surely that some one of these



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men must have been killed from all of that shooting. I concluded to take a Van Buren street car and ride down past the Arbeiter Zeitung building and see if any one was there. I caught the car on the corner of Canal and Van Buren, but found that it was a car that runs directly east to State street. I left the car on 5th avenue and walked down 5th avenue to Monroe street. Of course, I was near the place and could  
 317 have walked there, but I thought I was so well known in newspaper row by the reporters, that if I should walk I should be known. So I jumped on the car and stood in front of it. I intended to go up to the Arbeiter Zeitung building, if I saw a light there; but there wasn't any, I alighted near the corner of Randolph street. Intending to go up to Parsons' house, I took an Indiana street car. When we got to Clinton street the driver said: "Why, there is firing going on up there yet," and I saw a couple of flashes up near where I thought the Haymarket was, and I said, "If there is, I am not going up there." I then walked over on Jefferson street north to Lake street, and I saw a terrible crowd of people around there, and thought there might be a good many detectives there. So I turned back again, caught a Canalport avenue car and rode down to the corner of Canal and 12th streets. There I got my knee dressed by a young doctor who was on the stand here, as it was becoming very painful at that time.

318 I feel sure that Mr. Spies was at my side when Capt. Ward was talking. I did not see him after I had spoken to Capt. Ward; I did not see him leave the wagon. I jumped off at the south end of the wagon into the street. While I was speaking I did not pay any attention to the people in the wagon, but I think I noticed four or five there a little previous to the police coming up. Mr. Snyder assisted me in getting on  
 319 the wagon. He got on before I did. When I got down from the wagon Snyder was on the ground, I think I saw him on the sidewalk there. Of course I don't remember everything as distinctly now, as I did the next day. I had no revolver with me on the night of May 4th. I never had a revolver in my life. I did not fire at any person at the Haymarket meeting, I never fired at any person in my life. I did not, after leaving the wagon, step back between the wheels of the wagon and fire behind the cover of the wagon; I did not stay there. My whole  
 320 course was from the wagon south, without stopping, except, perhaps, for the smallest perceptible space of time, when I was startled by the explosion.

I first heard of the word "Ruhe" having been published in the Ar-



beiter Zeitung, and about any significance of that word, when I had been in the county jail for some days. I never had seen or heard of the word before, and did not hear of it on May 4th at any time, and, as I understand it is a German word, I would not have known what it meant if I had seen it; I do not read German. There was no understanding or agreement to which I was a party or of which I had knowl-  
 321 edge, that violence should be used at the Haymarket meeting, or that arms or dynamite should be used there; I anticipated no trouble of that character. I did not use, upon the approach of the police, and did not hear from any person that night, some such expression as "There come the blood-hounds; you do your duty and I'll do mine."

The first I heard of the Haymarket meeting was after I got to the American group meeting on the night of May 4th. I heard, for the first  
 322 time, about a meeting held by certain persons on Monday night, at 54 Lake street, after I had been from ten to fourteen days in the county jail, when I read in the Times that the police had got track of some such a meeting. I wish to say, however, that I spoke to the wagon-makers on the upper floor of 54 Lake street on that Monday night. I was never in the basement of that building, except to the water-closet  
 323 under the sidewalk. I did not go down stairs there at all on that Monday night, and did not hear of any meeting being held there until much later, when I read about it, as stated before.

We drilled not over six times at 54 Lake street, but nobody had ever arms there. I think it was proposed to call the organization the International Rifles, but I don't think it was ever decided to call it so, as the organiza-  
 324 tion was never perfected, never became an armed organization. We began to meet in August, and the last meetings must have been very near the end of September, 1885. There was no drilling during the winter and spring of 1885-86. Once a few men belonging to the L. u. W. V. came in with their guns and shouldered arms, but they did not belong to the American group, and that is the only time that I ever saw any arms at any meeting of our organization.

The shots that were pouring in thick and fast after the explosion of the bomb came from the street, I should judge, from the police. I did not hear the explosion of anything before the explosion of the bomb. As I was rushing down the sidewalk, I heard no explosion of any arms among any of the citizens who had attended the meeting.

326 I remember the testimony of the detective Johnson. I did not have the conversation which he testified to as having had with me in the pres-



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ence of the older Mr. Boyd at 12th street Turner Hall, nor at any other place, or at any other time. I knew that he was a detective long before that, and I would not be fool enough to advocate anything of that kind, if I was a dynamiter, to him.

327 The American group was open to everybody. It was not even necessary to have ten cents admission fee, but the fee was set at ten cents per month to cover the expense of paying for hall rent and advertising. On May 4th I returned home from my work about half-past 5. I bought the Evening News on the sidewalk just before I went into the house.

328 On May 3d I took several loads of stone from Bodenschatz & Ernschaw's stone dock, Harrison street and the river, to different places in the city. I have worked for that firm three or four years. I owned my team and wagon and they hired those and my services and paid me by the day. I only worked three-quarters of a day on May 3d; business  
329 was not brisk at that time. I have been a teamster for the last six years. I was arrested at my home about 10 o'clock on the morning of May 5th. I was never before arrested in my life. I was taken to the Central  
330 station by four or five detectives in citizen's clothes, and have been confined ever since.

I had no examination except that I was brought before the coroner's  
331 jury on the evening of May 5th. I did not state to Officer James Bonfield, or anybody else, after my arrest at the station, or at any other time or place, that I escaped through Crane's alley on the night of May 4th.

331A

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I worked in a cotton-mill in England at eight years of age, and continued to work in the same mill until I came to the United States. I worked my way up until I became a weaver, and when I left the mill I was what is called a binder; that is, binding the warps on the beams.

I joined the International Working People's Association in July, 1884,  
331 B by joining the American group. I suppose I was an anarchist soon after, as soon as I began to study it. I suppose that I have been a revolutionist, in the sense of evolutionary revolution, for some years. I don't know that I have ever been positively of the belief that the existing order of things should be overthrown by force. I have always been of the belief, and am yet, that the existing order of things will have to be overthrown, either peaceably or by force. When I had the books  
332 of the American group, it had about 175 members; that was





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333 last November; I don't know how many members have been added since; there were probably fifteen or twenty ladies among the members. It was called the American group because the English language was used in it. It was not confined to born Americans.

Q. Did you ever meet with any other English-speaking group in this city or county?

(Objected to, as not proper cross-examination; objection overruled, and exception.)

334 We tried to found an English-speaking group a year ago last winter, on West Indiana street; I think we only had two meetings and then abandoned it. I have been making speeches for the last two or three years; they were labor speeches, not always socialistic and not always anarchistic; that is, sometimes I have touched on socialism and anarchy; sometimes they were delivered from an ordinary trade-union standpoint. I have made a great many speeches on the lake front, some on Market square, some at West 12th street Turner Hall, some at 106 Randolph street, some at 54 West Lake. The meetings on the lake front were on  
335 Sunday afternoons.

Q. How many times have you spoken on the lake front on Sunday afternoons?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

I think twenty times. I have taken part in discussions at Greif's Hall about thirty times. I have spoken on the Market square some four or five times.

Q. Did you make a speech there on the night of the opening of the new board of trade?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

I did. I have \$2 worth of stock in the Alarm.

336 Q. Did you have anything to do with the management of the Alarm?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

I was part of the committee to see what should be done about the Alarm when it began to get in deep water, and my name was proposed to be put on the paper as the recipient of communications as to its management. I never received any such. Sometimes I would receive fifty cents or a dollar from people who subscribed through me, or complaints as to not receiving the paper—that is all I had to do with managing the paper. My name was on it up to the time of its suspension, for a little less than a year.



Q. Did you read the Alarm?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

337 I read it sometimes, and sometimes I didn't; I had not much time to read, being occupied so much with my work, having to rise early in the morning and to go to bed at a reasonable hour, and sometimes taking up so much of my time at speaking.

Q. Didn't you read this paper to keep track of the socialistic history as it was being made?

(Objected to; objection overruled; exception.)

338 A. It would not be good judgment to read the Alarm for that purpose. It hardly kept track of the socialistic movement, as far as I could observe. There are issues that I have not read at all; others of which I only read portions. I think I read two issues containing translations from the "Freiheit"; I don't know whether I read them through or not; but I didn't read those articles continuously. I think I saw articles from the "Freiheit" in the Alarm about a year ago.

339 There were possibly twelve or fifteen members of the American group present at the meeting at 107 5th avenue on May 4th. There were Mr. and Mrs. Parsons, Mr. and Mrs. Timmons, Mrs. Holmes, Snyder, Brown and some others. I am not positive whether Walters and Ducey were there. I think we stayed there until nearly 9 o'clock. Balthazar Rau came over from the Haymarket and said Spies was there and a large meeting and no one else to speak. Some four or five of us went over together; I know that Rau, Parsons, myself and Snyder went about together. Schwab left the Zeitung office before us. I had promised, on Sunday night at Greif's Hall, a man who had been to my house before, to speak at a labor meeting at either 368 or 378 West 12th street that Tuesday night. Of those that were on the speakers' wagon, I only remember Parsons, Spies and Snyder; there were some others there who were strangers to me; a boy about sixteen years of age came upon the wagon and rather crowded me to one side, and I told him he might as well stand down. I spoke because Mr. Spies requested me to make a short speech. Mr. Parsons had spoken longer than I thought he would, and I thought it was late enough to close. I don't now remember whether or not I used this language, "There are premonitions of danger. All know it. The press say the anarchists will sneak away. We are not going to." I have no desire to deny that I did use that language. If I used it, and I don't know whether I did, if I had any idea in my mind at any time which would be expressed in that language, I

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343 know for what reasons I would have that idea. I used substantially all  
 that language which Mr. English, the reporter, who was on the stand  
 here, testified as having been used by me in my speech at the Haymarket  
 meeting. I did not say that John Brown, Jefferson, Washington, Patrick  
 344 Henry and Hopkins said to the people, "The law is your enemy." If  
 I used the language, "We are rebels against it," and I possibly did, I  
 346 referred to the present social system. I don't remember that I said, "It  
 had no mercy; so ought you." There is not much sense in it, and I will  
 not father it. The report of my speech as given by Mr. English has  
 been garbled, and it does not give the connection; I don't accept that as  
 347 my speech at all. I think I used the language, but you haven't got the  
 sense of it at all in quoting it in that way.

349 I don't remember ever having seen the article in the Alarm of Feb-  
 ruary 21st, headed "Dynamite," signed "B. Lizius."

When I was shot I was either running or beginning to walk, and I  
 think it was just before I came to those boxes which have been testi-  
 fied to.

I don't remember to have ever seen an article in the Alarm of June  
 27, 1885, headed "Dynamite, Instructions Regarding its Use, etc."

350 (By agreement a general objection as to all cross-examination of  
 this witness, except as to the specific things he was asked about  
 on direct examination, was made, overruled, and exception.)

351 After I left the Haymarket meeting my first intention was to go home.  
 I cannot tell now why I changed my mind about that. Impressions some-  
 times come on a person's mind which he cannot explain why they come  
 there. I rode on the car in passing the Arbeiter Zeitung office, instead of  
 352 walking, and I avoided the crowd on Lake street, in which I thought  
 there would be lots of detectives, because I certainly didn't wish to be  
 arrested that night. Of course, I thought I would be arrested after the  
 trouble; it was only natural to suppose I would. I did not think there  
 was anything inflammatory or incendiary in my speech. I did not incite  
 anybody to do any overt act to anybody or anything. I spoke gener-  
 353 ally, from a general standpoint. I meant to say they should resist the  
 present social system, which degraded them and turned them out of em-  
 ployment, and gave them no opportunity to get a living. Somebody  
 threw a bomb; I did not know and do not know now who it was, or  
 anything about it. Still I know, from reading of criminal proceedings,  
 that in cases of that kind they arrest everybody in order to find out who  
 is responsible. I supposed that I, being one of the participants of the



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meeting, would be arrested, for some time, at least. Knowing my innocence, I made a statement before the coroner's jury, expecting that when they examined into the truth of my statement I should be released.

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## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I have since learned that the meeting at which I had promised to speak on the night of May 4th was a meeting of sugar refiners. I was often invited to address labor meetings without my knowing what the organization was, and found it out only after I got there. If I did make the remark about premonitions of danger in my Haymarket speech, I must have meant that there were so many men striking just then for the eight-hour movement, that some trouble might possibly originate between the strikers and their employers, as had been the case in former strikes, and knowing that all men are not very cool, and some men become aggravated—their condition may have a good deal to do with it—they sometimes commit acts which the officers of the law, in their capacity as such, are compelled to interfere with. I was speaking of the general labor question and the issue that was up for settlement during the eight-hour movement. I had no reference to the presence of dynamite at the meeting. I did not say that John Brown, Jefferson, etc., said that the law was their enemy. What I said in regard to them was, that we occupied, in relation to the present social system, which no longer provided security for the masses, just about the position that John Brown, Jefferson, Hopkins, Patrick Henry occupied in relation to the government and dictation of Great Britain over the colonies; that they repeatedly appealed to Great Britain to peaceably settle the differences in regard to the port duties, the stamp act, etc., but when it could not be peaceably settled, they could not submit to it any longer, and were compelled to do something else; and it was always the element of tyranny which incited strife, and as it was in that case, so it would be in this. As to the use of the expression about killing, stabbing, throttling the law, I used them just as a republican orator, in denouncing the democratic party, might say, "We will kill it," or "We will throttle it," or "defeat it." I used those adjectives, as any speaker would, in rushing along, throw in adjectives without thinking much of what their full import might be. My remarks that night were intended to call upon the people to resist the present social system—not by force, I had no such idea in my mind that night—so that they would be enabled to live; to call their attention to the fact that by the introduc-

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The first part of the paper is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the atom.

The second part is devoted to a discussion of the general principles of the theory of the structure of the atom.

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tion of labor-saving machinery and the subdivision of labor less men were continually needed, more productions produced, and their chance to work decreased, and that by their organizing together they might become partakers in the benefits of civilized, more advantageous and quicker productions. I had not the slightest idea of any immediate action or any immediate violence at that meeting. I had no idea of the presence of any dynamite bombs. I did not know, and no one conveyed to me any information, of there being a superior number of police at the station.

GEORGE THILO:

I am a physician and surgeon at 491 Milwaukee avenue; have lived in Chicago six years. Henry Spies called at my office on the night of May 4th and was treated by me for about eight days. He had a pistol-shot wound in the abdomen, in the testicle. The wound began from the front and went towards the rear in a downward, oblique direction. The ball entered from the front. I think these here (indicating pants) are the pants that Mr. Spies wore that night. I saw the hole in front of the pants and the hole further back.

I studied medicine and surgery for eight years, 1872 to 1880, at Munich, Vienna and Strassburg, and received the degree of doctor of medicine at the university of Strassburg.

363 HENRY SPIES, recalled:

These here (indicating pants identified by Dr. Thilo) are the pants which I wore on the night of May 4th. These holes here (indicating) were made by a pistol shot which I received while pressing down the revolver with which I was shot. I was standing up at the time.

364 (Pants referred to offered in evidence.)

There was also a hole made by the bullet in this undershirt (indicating), and in this outside shirt (indicating), which I had on that night.

(Shirt referred to offered in evidence.)

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I first went that night to get my wound dressed to Madison and Clark streets, Dr. Reynolds. He was not at home. Then I went to Dr. Thilo, who dressed me. Then I went home and to bed, and stayed there some days. Dr. Thilo visited me from time to time. He gave me a prescription that night, which my brother Chris. got put up for me.



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366 ERNST NIENDORF, recalled (testifying through interpreter):

I was called as a witness by the state in this case. On the night of May 3d last I attended a meeting of the Carpenters' Union at Zepf's Hall. I was chairman of the meeting. I saw the defendant Lingg at that meeting. As far as I know he was there during the entire meeting.

367 At about 9 o'clock he made a report as organizer of the union, which occupied about fifteen or twenty minutes. After that I gave Lingg the floor two or three times in the discussion of the eight-hour movement. The meeting commenced at 8 o'clock and lasted until after 11 o'clock. I saw Lingg last in the meeting shortly before we adjourned.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have known Lingg since last September and saw him almost at every meeting. There were about eight hundred to one thousand men

369 in the meeting of the Carpenters' Union that night. The hall was pretty full; there were people coming and going, some were standing, but there was no noise or confusion.

## JACOB SHERMAN:

I am a carpenter, a member of the International Carpenter's Union No. 1, of Chicago, since about last Christmas. I attended a meeting of that union on the night of May 3d last. It lasted from 8 to about 11 o'clock. I was there during the entire meeting. I have known Lingg

370 since I joined the union, of which he was a member, too. Lingg and I were together most of the time in that meeting, and talked together a good deal. Lingg was there before 8 o'clock, and I saw him there up to the close of the meeting. He reported of the organization of carpenters at different shops. That report, which he made a little after 9

371 o'clock, occupied from fifteen to twenty minutes. He talked about three or four times at the meeting after that. He did not leave the meeting at any time, to my knowledge.

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## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I was born in Germany in 1860. Have been in America eight years; in Chicago six years. There were from 600 to 800 people in the hall

373 at that meeting. I never was at Lingg's house. I only met him at union meetings.



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SAMUEL FIELDEN recalled:

374 I was present at the investigation of the coroner's jury into the cause of the death of Matthias J. Degan, on May 5th, in the City Hall, and heard the testimony of policemen and others there.

Q. I will ask you if in the testimony, from the beginning to the end, one word was said about your having fired a pistol shot?

(Objected to; objection sustained, and exception.)

MAGGIE NEEBE:

375 I am the wife of Oscar Neebe, the defendant, since fourteen years. We have three children.

Q. I will ask you whether you have in your house a red flag?

(Objected to; objection sustained, and exception.)

HENRY LINNEMEYER recalled:

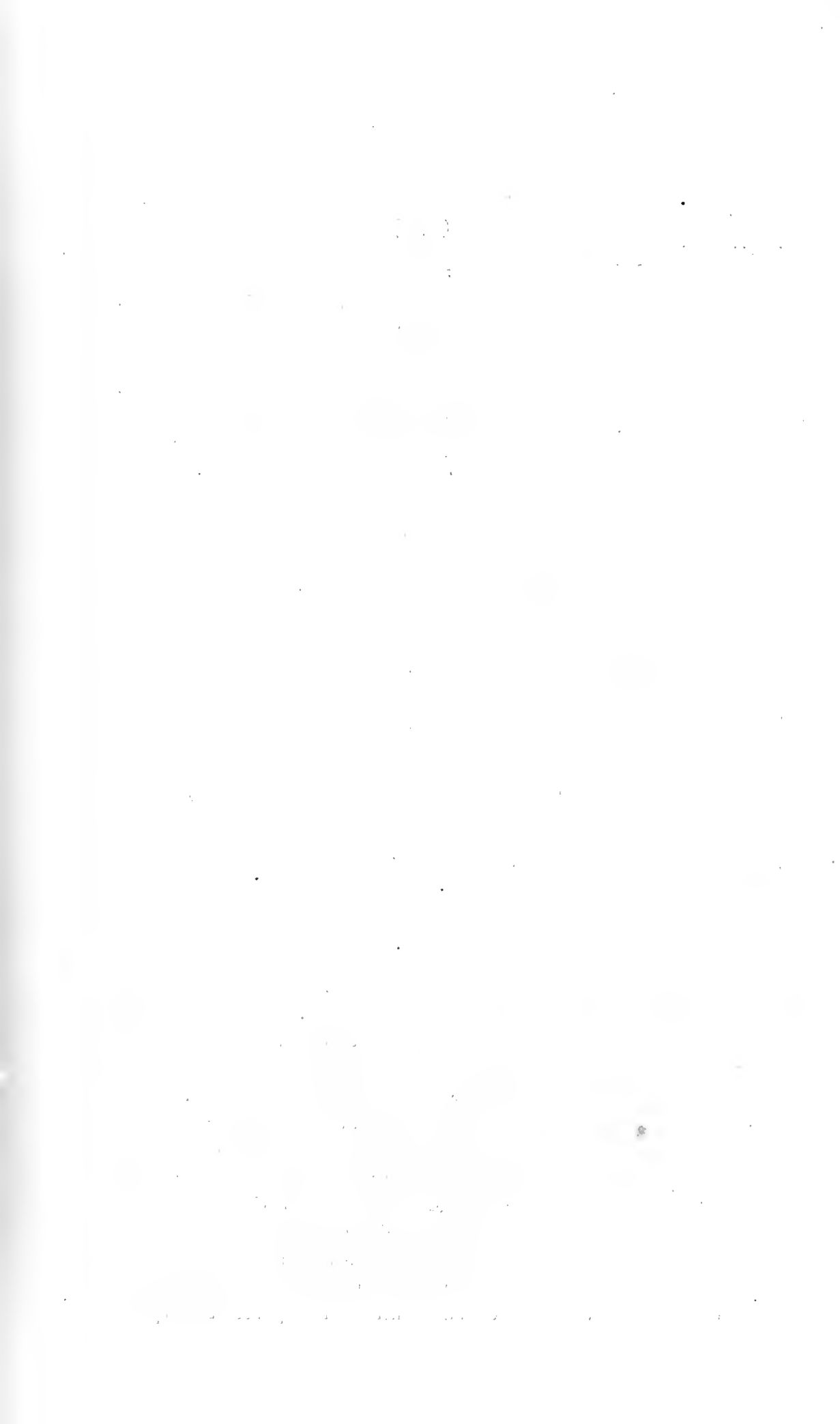
376 When I examined the shelf in the closet of the editorial room of the Arbeiter Zeitung there was no such package there as this here ( indicating package of dynamite heretofore identified by Officers Duffy and other witnesses as having been found in that closet on May 5th).

CROSS-EXAMINATION.

377 I first heard that the police had found dynamite in that closet when I read it in the paper; I don't remember when that was.

HENRY SCHULTZ:

379 I reside at Portage City, Wisconsin. I have been in this country for thirty-six years, and am a naturalized citizen. I own a house and lot in Wisconsin. I am not a socialist, or anarchist, or communist, and do not belong to any group or organization of such. On the night of May 4th last, after 9 o'clock I was at the Haymarket meeting. I had been in Chicago at that time two weeks, traveling for pleasure. I was stopping at 137 Lake street. On my way home from a coffee house on  
380 Randolph street, I saw the crowd on the street and went to the meeting. I had seen no notice of any kind of the meeting; nobody had spoken to me about it in advance. I knew none of the defendants at that time. I can't tell who it was that spoke when I reached the meeting. I stood a little north of the speakers' wagon, and in the middle of the street. I cannot identify any of the defendants here as having been seen by me



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that night. I think I only saw and heard two men speak. I think they changed about 10 o'clock. As I was here only for the purpose of seeing  
 381 sights, I would stop at anything. The meeting was, as far as I know, peaceable, and like the 4th of July. I remember a little of the run of the speech made by the first speaker. He said: "I didn't want to come here, when they called me a coward. I didn't like to be a coward, that is the reason I came." Later on he said: "They are only 500 yards from here—may be by to-morrow morning I will have to die." I heard him speak about Jay Gould, he wanted the people not to kill, but  
 382 the workingmen should get their rights in civil ways. I left the meeting when the black cloud came up. When the bomb exploded I was on Lake street; I did not see the police come up. After the bomb exploded I looked around the corner and saw everything was dark, and I thought the bomb must have blown out the lights, and I saw that the policemen had the ground, the workingmen all ran, they were about two blocks ahead of the police. The police came twenty men strong to Lake street, and they had two men down in the gutter and were striking  
 383 them with their clubs. When that dark cloud came up, the people all wanted to adjourn, and the women and children left. Only a small audience remained, and the speaker said, "I only have a few words to say, we don't need to go to the hall, I will get through here in a few minutes."

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I live at Portage City; have been engaged in no business since about ten years. Prior to that I was in the mining business in Montana Ter-  
 384 ritory. Portage City has been my home for thirty-six years. I was in the mining business ten years. Prior to that I was a violinist since I  
 385 was nine years old, and played for audiences. A few days after the 4th of May I left Chicago, was away from here for one month, and came back again. I am traveling alone. I don't do anything in the mining  
 386 business now. I took my supper that night at 166 West Randolph street. From there I went home, going east on Randolph street up to  
 388 Desplaines. Then I saw the meeting and walked north on Desplaines, on the west sidewalk, and stopped opposite the speakers, in the middle  
 389 of the street, the crowd was not so big but that a man could walk through at any place. There were about 500 people on the sidewalk, about 200 in a group towards the police station, and about 100 in a group towards the north, and about 100 around the wagon and in front  
 390 of it, and there was a space where there was nobody. I read an ac-





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count of the matter the next day, and heard of the names of the speakers, Spies and Fielden; I may be mistaken, I can't say that I heard Spies and Fielden. I saw their faces when they spoke, looked at them for about an hour; I think it was lighted up about as well as any meeting. I don't remember of any big light on the wagon that the speakers stood next to; there was nothing uncommon about the lights; there were lights there as always. I often passed by there at night. I heard the first speaker say something about McCormick's, that men were shot down there the day before, and that somebody accused him of causing it, and he said it was a lie. He says they were only 500 yards from here, and he was likely to die before morning. I think it was the first speaker whom I heard say something about "to arms, to arms." I might be mistaken about that. I did not hear the last speaker say anything about the police. I heard him up to five minutes before the bomb exploded. I left because the cloud came, and it felt just like rain, it was almost like a warning to get away. I think pretty near half of the crowd left with me. I went towards Lake street, and washed the mud off my shoes on Desplaines street, about fifty feet south of Lake. While I was doing that the bomb exploded. I looked up to see what caused it, and walked towards the meeting again. Five minutes later I went to my place, 137 West Lake street, which is about 100 feet west from Desplaines. I have no family.

396 JOSEPH BACH:

I was born in Bavaria, Germany, thirty-two years ago. I came to this country in 1874, to Chicago in 1875, where I have lived ever since. I am acquainted with almost all of the defendants. I am a socialist, a member of the International Working People's Association. On the evening of May 4th last my attention was called to an advertisement of a meeting of the American group at the Arbeiter Zeitung, pursuant to which I went up there before eight o'clock to see what was up, and remained until the meeting adjourned. About ten or fifteen minutes past eight I noticed some telephoning going on. The office boy was at the telephone. I didn't see any one else step to the telephone. Fielden, Schwab, Mr. and Mrs. Parsons, Mrs. Holmes, some children and several others, whose names I don't know, were in the room. I heard the boy telephone that Schwab was present and they could have him as a speaker; and as far as I recollect he left immediately after that. I heard



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399 the telephone message was a call for a speaker at Deering. It must  
have been about half-past eight when Schwab left. I did not see him  
again that evening. The meeting adjourned shortly before nine o'clock,  
400 whereupon I went to the Haymarket meeting. I got there about nine  
o'clock. Spies was speaking at the time. I walked up and down for a  
few minutes and stood near a plumbing shop right on the east sidewalk  
of Desplaines. Spies finished in about five or ten minutes after I got  
there. I remember that he made some remarks about McCormick  
holding him responsible for the shooting there the day before. Then  
Spies inquired if Parsons was present, and Parsons stepped up on the  
wagon and started to speak. I think he spoke twenty or twenty-five  
401 minutes. Parsons spoke up to about half an hour before the police  
came. After him Fielden spoke. During the speaking I walked up  
and down, walked several times towards the wagon and back again to  
get a good stand. Once I was so near to the wagon that I could  
402 touch it. Near there I met a brother-in-law of mine by the name of  
Mitlacher, and stood there quite a while. I think I saw Fischer pass  
by, and I saw Henry Spies standing right near to the wagon while Par-  
sons was speaking, and I spoke to him. I noticed Henry Spies near the  
403 wagon until I went away. Near the close of the meeting we saw a kind  
of elevation, a sort of platform, before the plumbing shop on  
the corner of Desplaines street and the south line of Crane's  
alley, and we took a stand on there next to the window. That  
elevation is about six or nine inches above the level of the  
sidewalk. When I say "we" I mean Mitlacher and myself. I had  
met him soon after I arrived, and we were together during  
almost the whole balance of the evening, except when we would part for  
a few minutes by walking up and down. When the police came I was  
still standing upon that little platform; the first rank passed beyond me  
and crossed over the mouth of the alley and stopped near the wagon.  
From my elevation I could look over the heads of the people who were  
404 standing in the alley and between me and the wagon. I saw the wagon  
very clearly. Fielden was speaking at the time. One of the policemen  
in front commanded "Halt;" the captain came up, or whoever he was,  
and spoke a few words, I could not understand distinctly what he said,  
but I understood he wanted to disperse the meeting. I looked at the  
wagon to see what the speakers were going to do. Fielden listened to  
the policeman and I heard him make a few remarks. I turned and  
told my brother, "Let us go," and at the same time, as I looked over to



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see if Fielden still remained speaking, I noticed him on the wagon, going down from it; I saw Henry Spies standing by the wagon yet, and noticed Mr. Spies trying to get to the sidewalk from the wagon. It was all in a minute. I looked at the wagon and turned to go away, and at the same moment, we had probably made one or two steps, we heard the

405 loud report of what I later learned was a bomb. My impression at the time was that it was a Gattling gun. Just an instant before the bomb exploded I noticed August Spies getting off of the wagon, and his brother standing with his arm up to help him down; that is the impression I had. As we turned I just noticed Fielden turn around, making a

406 motion to go down, and we moved south on the sidewalk. I did not at that time see or hear any pistol shot from the wagon preceding the explosion of the bomb. My belief is that a pistol shot and the bomb went off almost together. I could not say where the pistol shot was. I did not hear Fielden nor any person in the vicinity of the wagon before the police came up, say, "Here, come the blood-

hounds, you do your duty and I'll do mine;" nothing of that sort was said by any person during the meeting. My hearing is pretty good. After the explosion of the bomb I heard lots of shots; I think they all came from the street. I did not see any flashes or hear any reports of pistol shots from the crowd towards the police in the center. Upon that little platform where I stood I was about five or six feet

408 from the south line of Crane's alley. I did not see the bomb thrown out of the alley into the street. I did not see any burning fuse or other burning object, or any object thrown across the sidewalk from the alley into the street. I had been looking steadily at the wagon immediately preceding the explosion of the bomb. I did not see August Spies, at any time shortly before the explosion of the bomb, dismount from the wagon and go to the alley near which I stood. After the explosion I went into

409 the saloon on the corner as quick as I could, and remained there about three-quarters of an hour. My brother-in-law got around the corner quicker than I and ran down Randolph street. I did not see him until the next morning. At the time of the explosion I was facing south. I saw the flashes of the explosion west of me, more diagonally, across the street.

410 Parsons, in his speech dwelt a good deal on statistics, compared socialism with knight laborism and labor unionism. He made some remarks about Jay Gould hiring Pinkerton police to protect the scabs. Some one responded, "Hang him," and Parsons said that would be no



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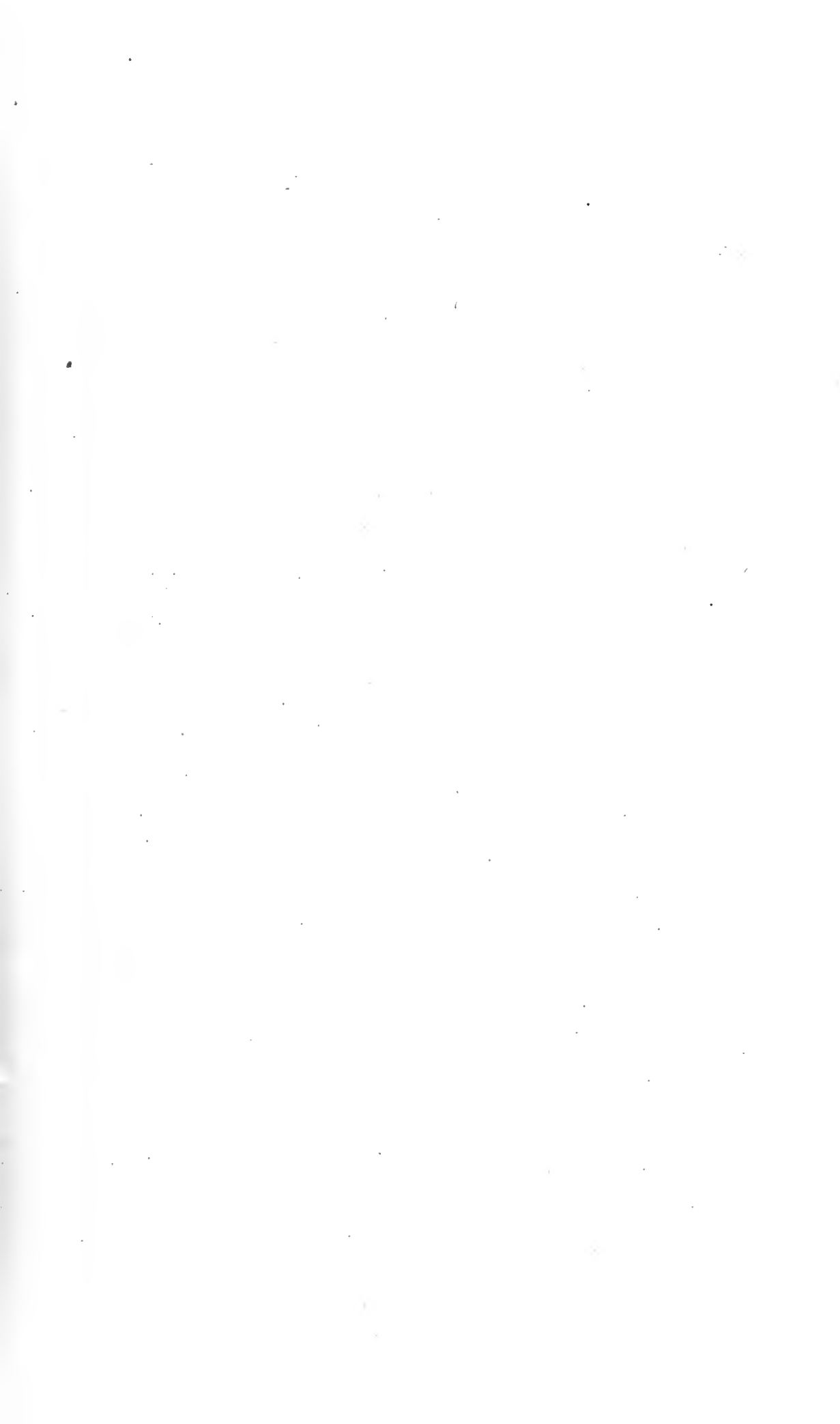
good, because if you hang one Jay Gould, hundreds would follow; it is not the man, it is the system we are after. He pictured the capitalistic system as a dog with lots of fleas, and that the knights of labor were trying to kill the fleas, the socialists wanted to remove the dog, and then they would have the fleas out of the way too.

- 411 I paid little attention to Fielden's speech, because during that time I spoke a good deal with my brother-in-law. I only remember that he spoke about Congressman Foran telling the laborers that they cannot expect anything from legislation. The crowd was very orderly, they were rather enthusiastic, and more laughing was going on than applauding. I saw no disturbances of any kind. When the police came, the
- 412 crowd had thinned out a good deal, only about half of it was left. When that dark cloud came up I noticed a good many leave. Some one made the suggestion to adjourn to Zepf's Hall, and Fielden answered: "No, I have just come to the conclusion, and will be through in a few minutes." Five or ten minutes later the police came.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

- 413 I am a tailor; have worked for Frank Heinig, 126 Dearborn street, over four years. I belong to the north side group of the Internationals since 1883. I believe Schwab and Neebe belonged to that group. I don't know what group Fischer belonged to, some group on the west side. I have known Lingg some five or six months. I saw him at
- 414 meetings. I know Engel slightly, I saw him also in meetings. I have seen the Alarm, had never anything to do with it. I was one of the bureau of information of the International since about a year and a half; I guess I saw it advertised in the Alarm. I have known Spies about six or seven years. I am one of the directors of the Arbeiter Zeitung,
- 415 elected last June. I have attended this trial on three afternoons, I was not in the court room yesterday.

- During Spies' speech I stood south of Crane's alley on the sidewalk; I didn't keep standing right along, I walked around. I saw my brother-
- 416 in-law standing there about 9 o'clock and he was with me then most of the time. About five or six minutes after I had got there, I passed the alley, walked to the wagon and back again. When Parsons was introduced I was south of the alley where I had been first. There was quite a crowd there. I went north of the alley again, when Parsons had been speaking some minutes. When I saw Henry Spies standing right on the side of the wagon, I walked over and talked just a few words





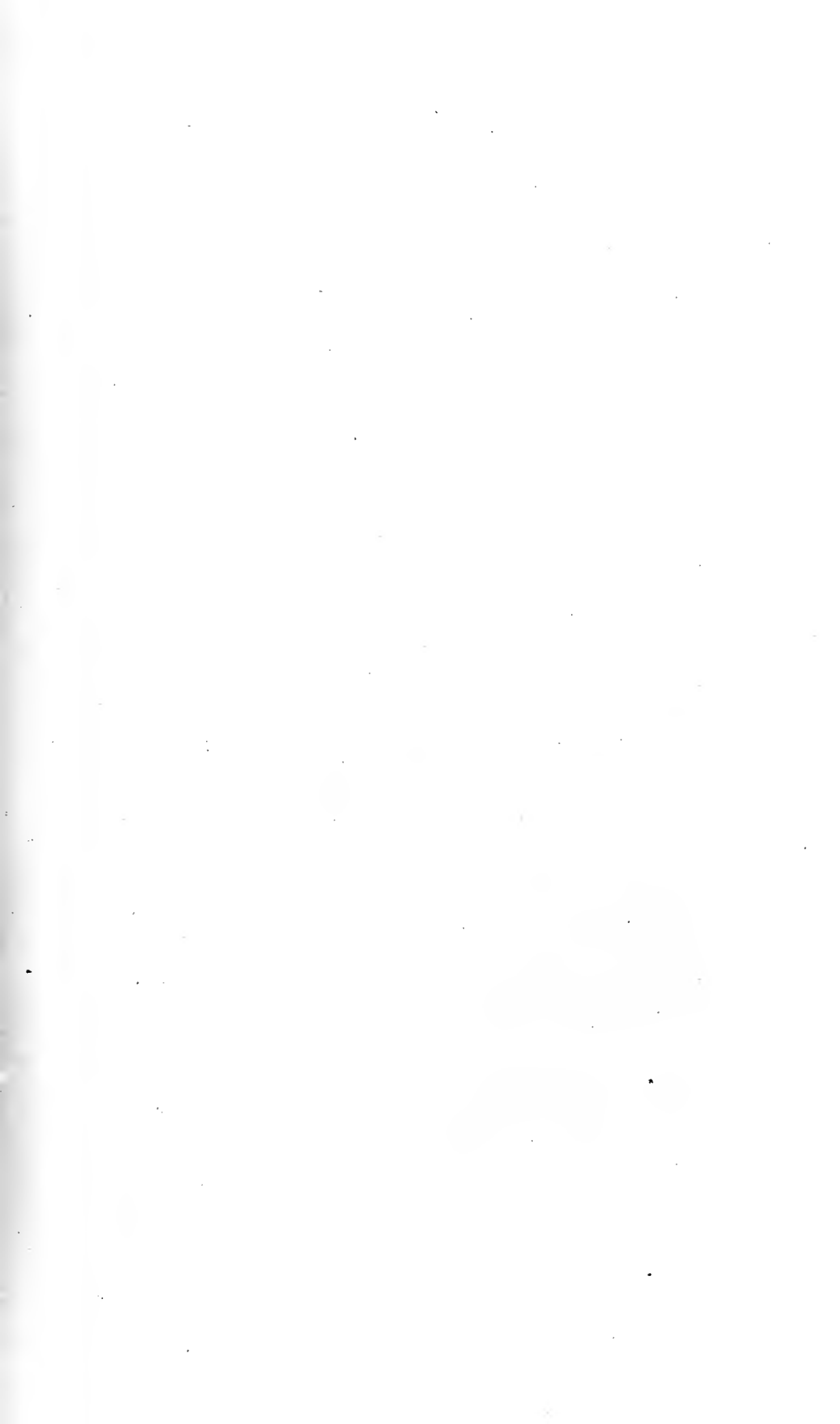
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with him. My brother-in-law walked there with me, but didn't take  
417 any part in the conversation. I stood there a few minutes before I  
walked back to the south edge of the alley again. The crowd did not  
increase much around there, it seemed to increase more in the street. I  
noticed some iron bars at the entrance to that saloon. I did not sit down  
on those. I don't know that I saw any one sitting there; the doorway  
to that saloon is south of the alley, in the middle of the building. The  
railing runs from the side of the building to that plumbing shop, and  
where the railing stops, right next to the window, about thirty-five or  
419 forty feet north of the door of the saloon, is the platform on which I  
stood. There is no iron railing around that platform. I had been stand-  
ing on that platform about ten minutes when the meeting was dispersed.  
I was standing there when the bomb exploded, I should say I was about  
ten or fifteen feet from the wagon. The wagon was about four or five  
420 feet north of the edge of the alley, the alley is about eleven feet wide,  
may be a little more; I didn't measure it. The crowd was pretty thin  
between me and the wagon at the time the police came up. From  
where I was I saw Henry Spies standing at the side of the wagon and  
421 August Spies getting off of the wagon. I don't know what my brother-  
in-law saw, we talked over the occurrence and he made some remark  
that he saw that too. The bomb exploded in the street about north-  
west from me.

I visited Spies and other of the defendants in jail once. I have lately  
422 been re-elected trustee of the Arbeiter Zeitung. I don't know that I am  
a stockholder in the Alarm. I once contributed some money to it.  
I told the defendant's lawyers about a week ago for the first time, that I  
was at the Haymarket meeting from the beginning to the end, and  
wanted to give my testimony, if necessary.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I contributed two dollars to the Alarm about a year ago. The north  
423 side group of the International, to which I belonged, never had any arms.  
I could not tell whether Neebe is still a member of that group. I think I  
last saw him in the north side group some weeks before May 1st at an  
agitation meeting, looking to and having reference to the organization of  
labor unions for the eight-hour movement. Neither at that meeting or at  
any meeting at which I saw Neebe, was anything transacted, except that  
they were agitation meetings, and sometimes business meetings. All the  
424 meetings of the north side group were public; there were no oaths or



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obligations, or anything of that kind in connection with it. I am not now a member of any armed group. About three years ago I belonged to the L. u. W. V.; I ceased my connection with it three years ago.

## RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

I had no number.

MAX MITLACHER (testifying through interpreter):

425 I have resided in Chicago four years and nine months. I came from  
Saxony, Germany. I am a merchant tailor. I know the defendants  
426 except Lingg and Engel. I am a socialist. In the evening I met an  
acquaintance who told me there was to be a meeting at the Haymarket,  
so I went down there. At the meeting near the speakers' wagon I met  
my brother-in-law, Joseph Bach, and was with him until the police came.  
I saw there the defendants Spies, Parsons and Fielden, and Spies' brother,  
427 the cigar-maker, whom I knew since last spring. I saw Spies' brother  
about three or four paces to the side of the speakers' wagon, on the side-  
walk north of Crane's alley. August Spies was upon the wagon, so  
were Parsons and Fielden. I saw two other men upon the wagon, as  
far as I remember, one of them was Rudolph Schnaubelt. I was together  
with my brother-in-law during the entire meeting, after I met him, except  
428 several times when I went away from him. When we were together, it  
was four or five paces from the alley, at the entrance to a plumbing or  
blacksmith shop. There was an iron elevation, about six inches high, on  
which we were standing. I remember to have seen Schnaubelt last  
during Mr. Parsons' speech. I understand English better than I can  
speak it; I understood the speeches sufficiently to get an idea of what was  
said. When I first got there Parsons was speaking, and he spoke about  
429 twenty-five minutes longer. After him Mr. Fielden spoke. About five  
or eight minutes before the police came I heard something said about  
adjourning. I didn't understand it well, but my brother-in-law told me  
they were talking about going over to Zepf's Hall. When the police  
came we were standing on that platform, and remained standing there.  
I did not see what the police were doing, I only looked towards the  
430 wagon. I heard a police officer talk to Mr. Fielden. I understood so  
much, that the meeting was dispersed. I saw Fielden and Spies standing  
upon the wagon at that time, then I saw them get off the  
wagon. Spies, I think, came down first, jumping from the  
east side down to the sidewalk. Fielden, I think, on the west



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side, about the middle of the wagon; I think one or two others jumped  
 431 down from the north end of the wagon. I did not see the face of Henry  
 Spies at the time August Spies got off the wagon, but I knew him by a  
 black slouch hat, which I had seen him wear that night, and I saw a man  
 whom I believe from his hat to have been Henry Spies, reach up to Au-  
 432 gust Spies and help him down. My brother-in-law, who is taller than I,  
 told me he had seen him better and it was Henry Spies. At the same  
 moment the noise came and I saw fire, and I went south to Randolph  
 street as fast as I could, and lost sight of my brother-in-law. I saw  
 433 the flash of the explosion of the bomb. I did not see the bomb thrown  
 through the air. When the officer was talking to Mr. Fielden my face  
 was north-west. I did not see any fire or anything like a lighted match  
 or fuse pass through the air. I did not see August Spies leave the  
 wagon and go to the mouth of the alley just before the police came up  
 or at any time. When I first got to the meeting there were about 500 or  
 600 people there. After the black cloud came up and they had talked  
 about adjourning to the hall; about half of the crowd went away.

434

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I do not belong to any group now. Formerly I was for two years a  
 member of the group "Freiheit," which met at 54 W. Lake street;  
 ceased my connection with it a year ago. I take and read the Arbeiter  
 435 Zeitung. I had not read the Arbeiter Zeitung on May 4th, before I  
 heard of the Haymarket meeting. I had not had any time to read it that  
 day. When I got to the meeting my brother-in-law was there already.  
 I saw him first at the entrance door to that plumbing shop. I remember  
 the railing on the side of the door going into the saloon there; I sat upon  
 436 it for a time; the first ten minutes after I got there. There were other  
 people sitting there, too. My brother-in-law and myself stood on that  
 platform about three-quarters of an hour. During that time I walked  
 up and down about twice; once I went up to the wagon without my  
 brother-in-law. He also went away from that spot. While we were  
 standing upon the platform we talked about the speakers and what was  
 said there. When there was applause I asked him what the speakers had  
 437 said, because I didn't understand well. My brother-in-law did not tell me  
 right then that he thought it was Henry Spies who helped his brother down,  
 but the next morning, when he heard that Henry Spies was shot. I  
 438 heard the same evening that Henry Spies was shot. After the shooting  
 had commenced I ran with a number of others, several acquaintances



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among them, east on Randolph street to Clark street, then I turned around again with the intention of meeting my brother-in-law, On Randolph street, near Clark, right opposite the city hall, I saw Henry Spies walking between two men, who had hold of his arms. They went eastward, and I saw that he must have been wounded. I didn't stop them or speak with them. I went to Wells street. I saw my brother-in-law next on the following morning. We talked about the occurrences. I told him that I had seen Spies' brother and that he must have been wounded, for two men had him by the arms. Probably a week afterwards I told him that if there was any need of it I would be a witness. I didn't say anything to the defendants or their lawyers about it.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

When I talked to my brother-in-law the next morning about Spies' brother being shot he said they must have shot him near the wagon because he saw him there when he helped down his brother August from the wagon.

441 SLEEPER T. INGRAM:

I am nineteen years old, was born in South St. Louis. I came to Chicago in January, 1886. I work at present at Crane Bros. I am not a socialist nor an anarchist. On May 4th last I was handed a circular on the street near Canal and Madison streets which I have got yet. I had it in one of my pockets and found it again the day before yesterday. This is the one (indicating).

(Circular referred to, being a copy of the circular without the line, "Workingmen, arm yourselves," etc., offered in evidence.)

The man who gave me that had a handful of them, was distributing them. I got to the Haymarket that night close to 7 o'clock. At that time there was no assembly, only here and there one or two standing on the corner. I sat down on the peanut-stand on the south-east corner of Randolph and Desplaines for three-quarters of an hour or so, then the crowd began to assemble on Desplaines street and I went over to the steps of Crane Bros. and went up on the next to the top step and listened to the speaking. The wagon stood almost opposite, a little to the south from where I was. I saw several men get on the wagon. I can only recognize Mr. Fielden as one of them. There was a man there whose name I was told was Spies, he looked something like this man (indicating Spies), but I could not state positively that that is the man. I





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445 had heard Spies' name before and I paid close attention to what he had to say. I saw Spies get on the wagon, and get off the wagon again; he went south towards the alley and I thought I noticed him pass the alley, but I could not say for sure that I did. I did not see this man (indicating Schwab) there that night; he was not with Mr. Spies at that time, I am sure about that. I saw Spies next on the wagon again. He made a few remarks. After he concluded some one else made a speech and I heard somebody say it was Parsons. During Spies' and Parsons' address I was standing on those steps that I spoke about before. When 447 Parsons concluded, I went to Zepf's Hall where they said they were to adjourn the meeting to. When I left the meeting Mr. Parsons was on the wagon and I think Mr. Spies also. Mr. Parsons then spoke of adjourning the meeting to Zepf's Hall as it looked like rain, and I went over and found a big crowd there. I tried to find out where the meeting was to be held and I heard that the carpenters were holding the hall, and I went half way upstairs and came back again and stood around the door 448 for a few minutes. While I was standing at the door I saw the same gentleman who I had been told before was Mr. Parsons walk into the saloon with a couple of ladies, one of whom was introduced by Mr. Parsons to some gentleman as Mrs. Parsons; I heard later that the other lady was Mrs. Holmes. I left Mr. Parsons in the saloon and went 449 away; he did not sit down right away. I went back to the meeting and stopped about three feet north of the steps that I had been on before, about the center of the sidewalk north-east of the wagon. I remained there about five or six minutes, until the bomb exploded. Fielden and Spies were on the wagon at that time. "Just before the bomb exploded, some young fellow who was up on those steps said, "Here come a gang of police," in a voice as if he was telling some folks at his side. 450 Some officer in the lead said, as far as I could catch his words, "I command this meeting to disperse in the name of the People of the State of Illinois." Fielden replied that they were peaceable. I heard no other 451 conversation between them. As Fielden made the remark Spies turned around and started to go off of the wagon; he reached his left hand down to be assisted; I did not see how he was assisted; I did not see any one reach his hand to him; I saw him stoop and jump, and he had no more than got to the sidewalk when the bomb exploded. After the explosion of the bomb I stepped back against the wall to keep from getting killed; there was a great deal of shooting going on then, most of it seemed to come from the policemen, from the center of the street. I did not see



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anybody around where I stood have a revolver or speak about a revolver.

452 My hearing and eye-sight are good and were so on that night. I saw no citizen or person dressed in citizen's clothes use a revolver. It was a very peaceable meeting. I heard nobody say that night at any time "Here come the blood-hounds; do your duty and I'll do mine." If Mr. Fielden had said those words I would have heard them. I am sure he did not utter those words. There was no shot fired from the wagon before or after the explosion of the bomb, as far as I can tell, but I could not tell positively, as the police were not very far from the wagon, and there was a great deal of shooting where they were, and the crowd began to rush so. I did not keep my eye upon Fielden until he got off. I noticed Fielden following Spies on the same side. He had no revolver in his hand. I think I should have noticed it if he had had one. I first saw the police when they were about thirty or forty feet from the wagon.

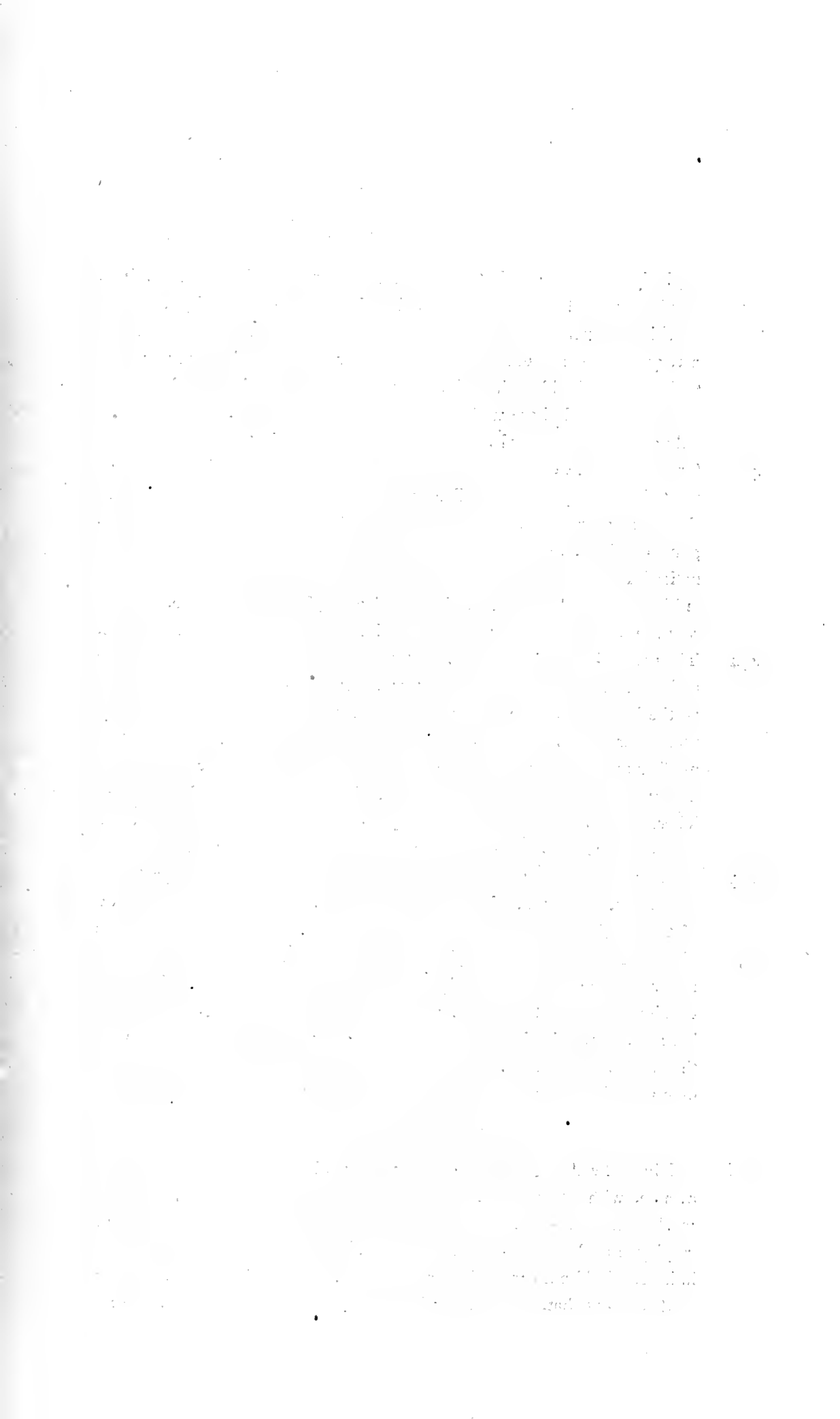
453 They were walking quite fast. At the time the police came up Spies and Fielden were standing in front, and there were one or two other men on the back end of the wagon, either sitting or standing, I don't exactly remember which. I stepped back against the wall right next to the step, holding my head down a little bit, and remained there until everybody got away; then I walked up through Crane's alley out to Randolph street. There was nobody around the wagon then; everybody was up at the north-west corner of the street, or in the middle of the street.

455 I have been working for Crane Brothers in the machine department since about May 10th. I could not repeat Mr. Parsons' speech; if some of the words were called to my memory I may. I remember about the difference between capital and labor; how one got fifteen cents out of the dollar and the other eighty-five. I only recollect of Mr. Spies' speech that he spoke about what the meeting was brought there for. He said it was not brought there for the purpose of making a riot. That is all that I can recollect now. I came down to be a witness in this case of my own accord, having read in the papers the evidence given on this trial.

456

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

457 I have lived in Chicago since January 2d last, at 108 South Hoyne avenue, with my parents. Before that we lived at Detroit, where I worked at steam-fitting. My trade is machinist most of the time. I am employed at that now at Crane Brothers'. I was sworn when I first came in here. I did not care to be sworn at first. I thought I could tell the truth without that. About the 4th of May I was out on a strike. Before



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that I had worked for the Union Brass Manufacturing Company. I was not interested in the strike. I simply struck because the rest of them struck, and I didn't like to make any objection. When I got that circular I put it in my pocket and didn't pay any more attention to it until two or three days ago, when I saw the papers talking about the different kinds of circulars introduced in evidence, and I just wanted to see what kind of a circular mine was. I read in the papers since the beginning of this trial that different kinds of circulars were introduced in evidence, but I happened to think about looking up mine only a few days ago. I first saw any counsel for the defense in this case half an hour ago. I saw Mr. Salomon outside of the court-room here. I came here of my own volition. I first went to Mr. Salomon's office and a young gentleman there took me over here. Before that I had only told my folks that I had been at the Haymarket meeting, and I told yesterday some boys in the shop who are working right by the side of me, one is named Jack and the other Kennedy; I told my folks right away. Right before the explosion Spies and Fielden were standing up in the wagon, and I think there were some fellows on the other end of it. When the bomb went off there was nobody on the wagon. At the time the officer spoke to Fielden, Spies was just getting off on the east side of the wagon, about the middle of it; I did not notice where he went after he got off the wagon. Fielden almost immediately followed Spies; he went in the same direction—he jumped off the wagon; that is all I know. I don't know in which direction he then went. I saw Spies reach his hand down, as if to be helped, and he stooped and jumped. I did not see the man who helped him. When the bomb exploded, I stepped back against the wall and stood there about two minutes; after the bomb exploded I tried to see what was going on, but there was so much noise and rushing and jamming—everybody was jumping and running and crowding over the steps and everywhere else—that I could not see much. I did not see any revolvers near me at that time. I saw the flashes of revolvers out in the centre of the street and nowhere else; none between me and the wagon. The people ran in all directions. I saw the people run north past me; that I could see. I could not say whether any ran south; I think the people that got off the wagon ran north; I don't know that they ran south. There were other people standing alongside of me. I could see there was crowding all over, past me and in all other directions, but nobody stayed there. I stood right up against the wall, on the north side of the steps. At the time I left



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nobody was standing right there against those steps; nobody was lying  
down there at my feet, and the space between me and the wagon was clear,  
466 when I went away, and nobody crouched down along by me, alongside  
of the building at that time. I did not see any policemen come up there  
and arrest anybody along by that step just as I went away, because there  
was nobody there; when I left they might have done so, before the crowd  
got away. I stayed there until everybody quit running and the policemen  
were up at the north-east corner. There was no shooting between me  
and the wagon; the only shooting I saw was out in the street; I was  
467 looking in that direction. The steps on which I stood during the meet-  
ing are about three feet high; I was about fifteen or twenty feet from  
the speakers. The only thing I remember of Spies' speech, was, that it  
was not brought there for the purpose of riot. I supposed that that  
was what the meeting was there for, as I supposed that was a socialistic  
meeting, when I heard Mr. Spies called; I had heard of Spies, and that  
468 he was a socialist. That is about the only thing I can remember  
of his speech to repeat it; I suppose I could remember more  
469 than that if I had it recalled to me. After he got through  
speaking he introduced Fielden, and Fielden, the man with  
the long beard, spoke. I am certain of that. There was no  
speaking between them that I heard. I was there all the time. I can-  
not remember particularly what he said, only before the police came. I  
don't think he spoke quite as long as Spies did. Spies did not speak  
very long. After Fielden another gentleman began speaking whom I  
didn't know at the time. I heard later that it was Parsons. I heard him  
say that the capitalists got eighty-five cents and the laboring man got  
fifteen cents out of each dollar. I thought it was kind of queer and I  
remembered it. I don't remember anything else now that he said. I could  
not pick out Parsons from the defendants here. I don't remember any-  
thing else that he said, except that he proposed to adjourn the meeting  
to Zepf's Hall. I don't know whether he finished his speech at that time  
471 or not. I went away as soon as he said it. I think he was speaking yet  
when he made that remark. Then I went to Zepf's Hall and up the  
stairs and they wouldn't let me go in there. They said there was a car-  
penter's meeting up there, then I went through Zepf's saloon and saw  
two ladies come in, and some gentleman walked up to them, and Mr.  
Parsons introduced to him one of the ladies as Mrs. Parsons. It was kind  
of a heavy lady, dark complexioned. I didn't know at the time who the  
other lady was. I don't know who the gentleman was that stepped





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up. At the time that gentleman stepped up and was introduced to one of them they were sitting by the window at the left of the door, a little south of the stove sitting down at a table. I didn't stay there any longer  
 473 after that. There was quite a crowd in the saloon; it was not overcrowded; it was full around the bar and the entrance to the door leading upstairs. There was not much space in the center. Some people were sitting down, but almost all standing. I stood up. I stayed there about two or three minutes, then I went back to the meeting. I don't suppose I had been away from it over ten or fifteen minutes. When I got back  
 474 Mr. Fielden was speaking. I could not remember what he said. I got up there and I think he was talking, and I heard some one holler the police were coming, and I didn't pay any attention to what Fielden said. I cannot repeat one word of his speech. I only remember his reply to the police: "We are peaceable."

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I remember somebody mentioned Congressman Foran as being sent  
 475 up on the labor ticket. I think it was Mr. Parsons, but I am not sure.

## RE-CROSS-EXAMINATION.

That the name of the lady who came into Zepf's Hall with Mrs. Parsons was Mrs. Holmes I learned about three or four weeks ago, one morning about half past six when I came in the shop. There were four or five men standing in the door on these steps there. One of them said  
 476 he was over at Zepf's that time and saw women in there, and another one said that he was there too and saw Mrs. Parsons and Mrs. Holmes come in and that he knew Mrs. Holmes. I cannot give the names of those men. I don't know them; there are too many men in the shop. I don't believe I could pick them out.

## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

The speakers that night were all strangers to me, except that I heard  
 478 of Spies before. I think Mr. Fielden spoke that night. I heard him speak second and last. There was no lamp there on the wagon; it was not very dark at first, but it grew dark as the evening went on. The speakers sometimes turned sidewise, but most of the time their face  
 479 was towards me. My father is manager of a heating company in this city. I told him what I had seen, and all about the Haymarket meeting, the next morning.



## RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

There were lights along the street before I got to the meeting. I didn't notice any afterwards; when I got there I noticed a lamp-post light on the south-east corner of the street; no other lamp was lit. I  
 480 had my Sunday clothes on that day, and put the circular in the vest  
 481 pocket, and left it there until last Wednesday, three days ago to-day, when I took it out and tried to straighten it out a little. It was all torn to pieces.

J. W. GAGE:

I reside at 16 South Paulina street; am a born American citizen, 45 years old; have resided in Chicago about sixteen or eighteen years. I am in the painting and wall-paper business. Employ all the way up to  
 482 forty men. I am not a socialist, anarchist or communist; do not sympathize with them or those classes. I know Harry L. Gilmer. I made his acquaintance about four years ago; am acquainted with his general reputation for truth and veracity among the neighbors where he resided at that time; that reputation is bad.

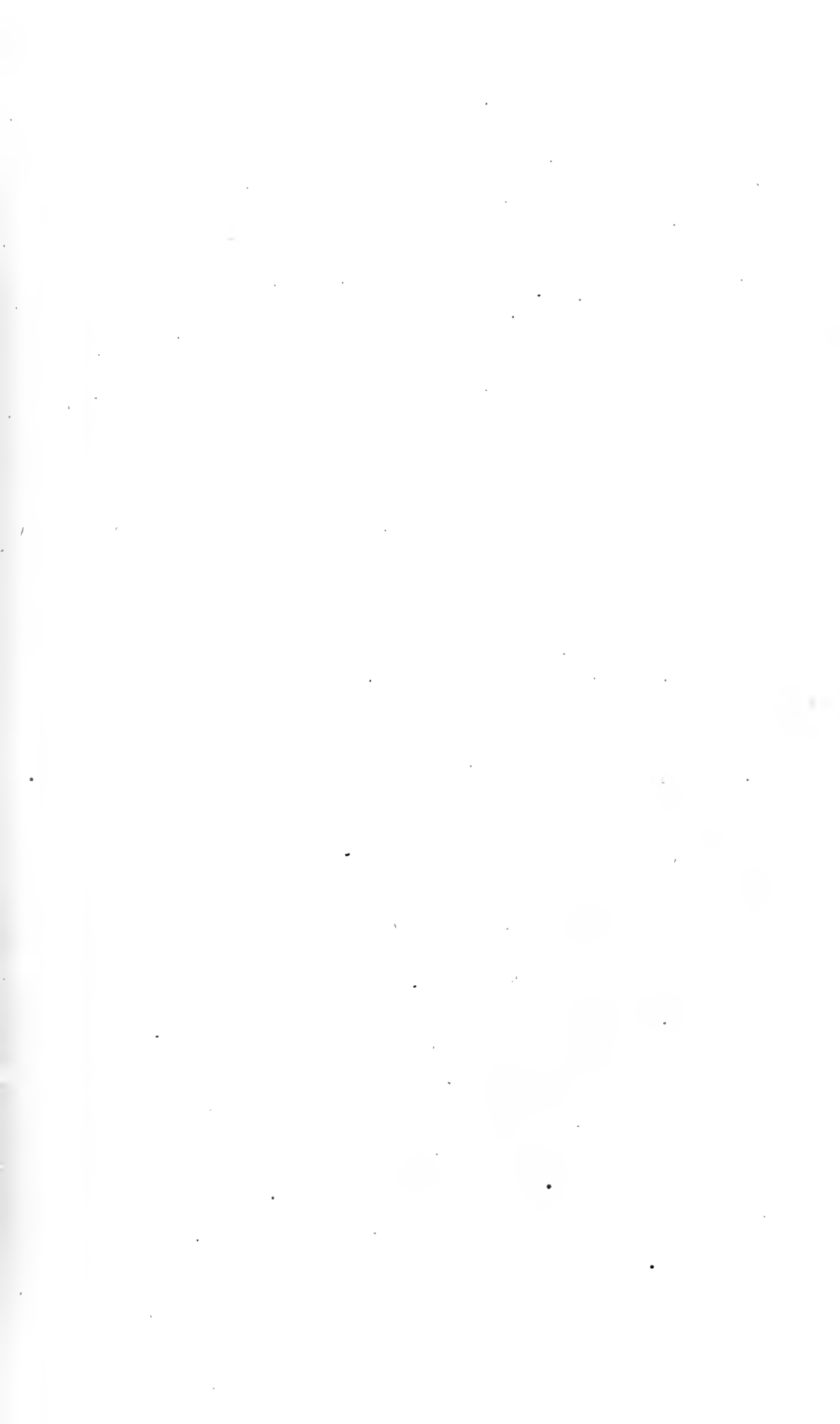
Q. Would you believe him under oath? A. Well, I would have very grave doubts on some things. If I knew the fact I would believe him.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

483 Gilmer lived right next door to me, in Mrs. Castle's little cottage on the corner of the alley. I know undertaker Howe; Gilmer lived in the neighborhood about four months.

JOHN BERNETT:

I live at 94 South Desplaines street; am a candy-maker; have resided in Chicago one year and three months. I have seen the defendants  
 484 Parsons, Spies and Fielden several times on the lake front; I don't know any of the others. I am not a socialist, communist or anarchist. I was at the Haymarket meeting at the time the bomb exploded. At the time of the explosion I was about thirty-eight feet south of Crane's alley. I made a careful examination last Wednesday to find out the locality  
 485 where I stood. I saw the bomb in the air. I saw the man who threw it; he was right in front of me. It went west and a little bit north. The  
 486 man who threw it was about my size, may be a little bit bigger, and I



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think he had a moustache. I think he had no chin beard, and his clothes were dark.

Q. Did you ever see that picture before? (Handing witness photograph of Schnaubelt.) A. Yes, sir; Mr. Furthman showed it to me about two weeks ago.

Q. Do you recognize that as being the man who threw the bomb?

A. I guess not.

Q. Did you tell Mr. Furthman so at the time? A. Yes, sir.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

487 I never could recognize anybody. I told Capt. Schaack and Mr. Grinnell, that the man who threw the bomb was in front of me, and I could not tell how he did look. When the police came up first I stood right in the middle of the alley. When the captain of the police ordered  
488 them to leave that place, I heard somebody say, "Stand, don't run," and there were about three or four men, about the middle of the street, west of the wagon, who hollered out, "No, we won't do it;" that was said in English. I heard Fielden say something to the officer who spoke to him, but I could not hear it, the crowd began to rush and rushed me, and I hurried out as fast as I could; I got shot and fell on the sidewalk. I told Mr. Furthman that I thought the bomb was fired from about fifteen steps south of the alley; I count my steps about two feet and a half.  
489 I don't think it came right from behind the boxes. From the place the bomb was thrown up to the other corner—the house goes up a little further on the other side—the distance is forty-five feet, the bomb was thrown forty-five feet south of the corner of the alley. I cannot remember how far the boxes were south of the alley that night; there was a  
490 lamp post and then the boxes came. I remember of coming to the Central station on the 7th of May and talking to officer Bonfield in the presence of Mr. Grinnell. I don't know that I said at that time that the bomb was thrown from behind the boxes, but I think I am right now. I don't think I stated afterwards, some weeks ago, that it was thrown  
491 some twenty or twenty-five feet south of the alley. I can't remember now how many feet I stated the distance was, but I think I have got it right now. On the 7th of May I was brought over here by Officer Bonfield and Officer Haas, so that I could see the defendants; I was  
492 asked if I had ever seen them before, and I said I had seen them all before on the lake front and the Haymarket. I told Capt. Schaack that I could not describe the man and would not know him if I saw him, and that the man's back was towards me.



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## RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION.

I had several conversations with Capt. Schaack at the Chicago Avenue station. I told him that it was a man a little larger than I with dark clothes, and that he had a moustache and no chin whiskers; I have said so all the time. At the time I spoke to them about the distance from the alley I had not measured it, but last Wednesday, when I found I was to be a witness, I went down and measured it and put the figures down in a little book which I have got here. What I said here about a distance of forty-five feet is the distance from where I stood when the bomb was thrown to the corner of Randolph street. At the time I was brought here to look at the defendants, there were only four men here and that was Spies, Fielden, Schwab and Fischer. As I saw the motion of throwing I saw fire right from the hand, I followed the light with my eye and saw it light where the bomb exploded; I heard the explosion and saw the flash of the bomb and then ran away, and that I told the officers on the 7th of May or soon after.

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495

## RE-CROSS EXAMINATION.

As soon as I saw the bomb thrown I started to run. I didn't want to get killed.

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1 MICHAEL SCHWAB:

Up to the 4th of May I lived at 51 Florimond street. I was co-editor of the Arbeiter Zeitung. On the evening of May 4th I left home 20 minutes to 8, went to the Arbeiter Zeitung and reached there about 8 o'clock. I left about ten minutes later. While I was there a telephone message was received asking Mr. Spies to speak at Deering; the office boy, Louis Brandt, was at the telephone. After that I went over to the Haymarket to see whether I could find Mr. Spies. I didn't stop long over there, I just went through the crowd, as the men out at Deering had been waiting for an hour already. I went over on Washington street, turned north down Desplaines street and went across Randolph street, and north of Randolph on Desplaines I met my brother-in-law, Rudolph Schnaubelt, and talked to him about the matter, then took a car going in an easterly direction and rode up to the court house. I could not say how Schnaubelt was dressed that night, I never paid any attention to details, but if I am right he used to wear light clothes at that time. At the court house I took a Clybourn avenue car and went

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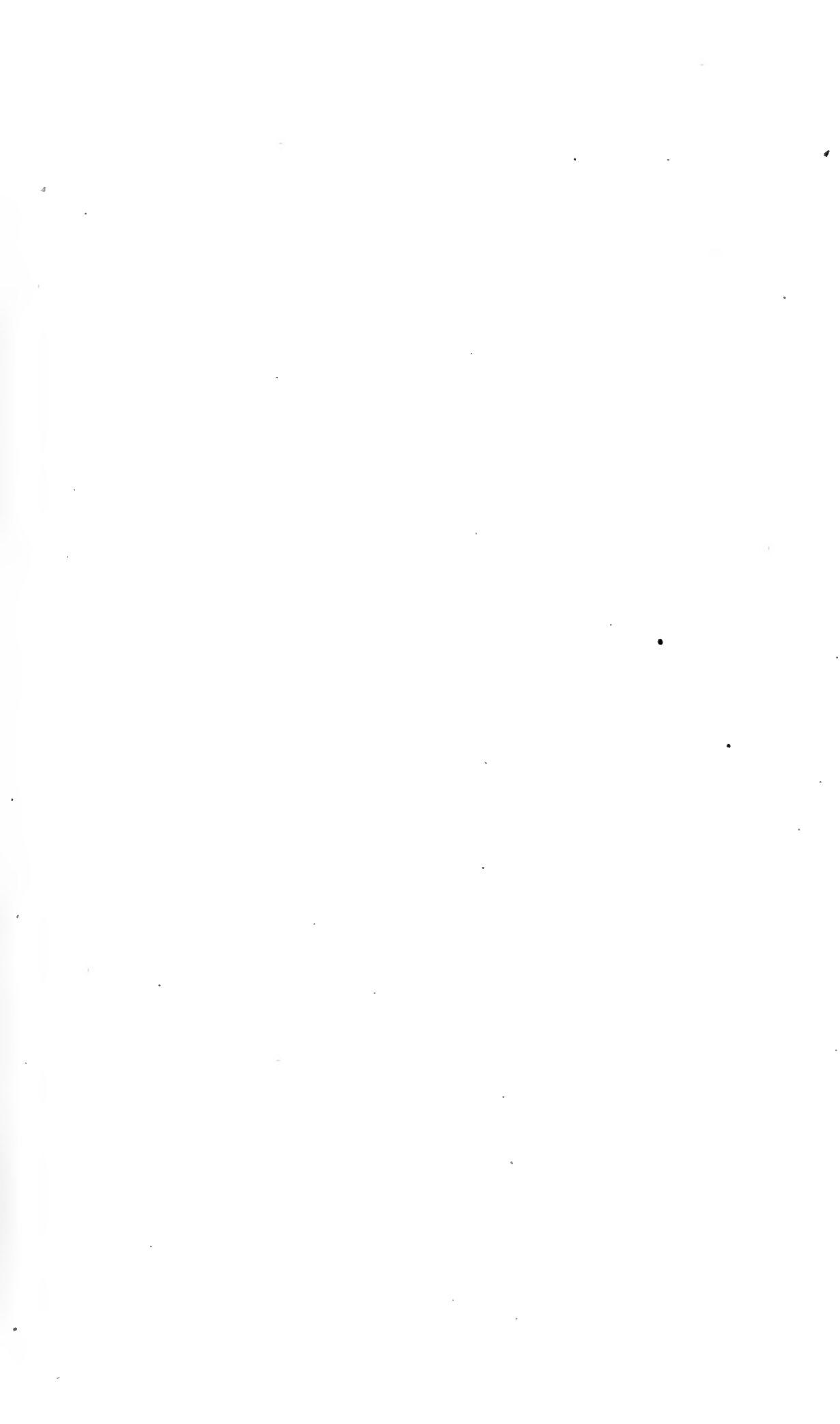


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to Deering's factory. Near the car stables I was met by a man and asked whether I was Mr. Schwab. The man testified here on the witness stand. I think his name is Preusser, as he told me that night. I should judge it takes about ten minutes from the Haymarket to the court house and about forty or forty-five minutes from there to Fullerton avenue. I stepped from the car with that man, went up to the saloon, 888 Clybourn avenue, to see the committee, but the committee was not there, so we went directly to the prairie, corner of Fullerton and Clybourn avenues, and there I met some men who told me that they were the committee. I talked with them some minutes, then mounted the stand and made a speech, twenty or twenty-five minutes long, about the eight-hour movement, to the men who had struck that same day and demanded eight hours work and ten hours' pay. I returned home about 11 o'clock at night. I didn't pay any attention to the time. After the meeting was over I went with Preusser to a saloon, took a glass of beer and had some lunch, and then I took the next car going south. I left the car on Willow street, which is not far north from North avenue, and walked home, which is a distance of about twenty minutes' walk.

I did not at any time while I was at the Haymarket enter Crane's alley or any alley with Mr. Spies; I had no conversation with him near the mouth of the alley; I did not walk at any time that night in company with Mr. Spies on the north side of Randolph street from the corner of Desplaines down past Union street and return to where the wagon stood; I did not in company with Mr. Spies meet Schnaubelt when Spies handed to Schnaubelt any package or anything; I did not see Spies and did not speak to him at all that night at the Haymarket. I did not say anything to Spies or anybody else in the mouth of Crane's alley about pistols or police, or whether one would be enough; I had no such conversation with anybody at the Haymarket or anywhere; I did not say to Mr. Spies or anybody else at any time before the meeting began or at any other time that if the police came we are ready for them or we would give it to them, or any words to that effect.

When I left the Haymarket the meeting had not begun, men were standing around on all four corners. I had seen Mr. Spies last that day in the afternoon. I did not see him again until the next day in the morning, when I came to the office.



## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have been in America seven years. The first year I lived in Chicago, the second year in Milwaukee, then I went out west for some months. My business was then that of a book-binder, which is my trade. I was born at Kissingen, Germany. I came to Chicago to live here permanently about five years ago. I was a member of the north side group of the International Workingmen's Association from the time it started, some years ago, until up to the 4th of May last. I have not seen the office boy, Louis Brandt, since that night, I may have seen him the next morning, but I can't remember. I walked over to the Haymarket from the Arbeiter Zeitung that night through the Washington street tunnel with Balthazar Rau. He left me on Desplaines and Randolph, there I lost him, then I crossed Randolph street and about the middle of Randolph street met Mr. Heineman. I inquired of some persons whom I knew by sight whether they had seen Spies, I stayed there not more than five minutes, then took a car and went east. I went alone. I should judge it was about half-past 8 when I took the car on Randolph street and about twenty minutes of 9 when I took the Clybourn avenue car and went north. I was alone on that way. I don't know what time it was when I got to the saloon at 888 Clybourn avenue. From there it is about a block or a little more to the prairie where the meeting was held. When I got there I spoke first to some of the members of the committee to find out what they wanted me to speak about, that took about five minutes. After I had spoken to the meeting I went with Preusser to a saloon, corner of Clybourn and Ashland avenues, not the same saloon I went into the first time. I did not see Balthazar Rau again that night.

Q. Are you an anarchist? A. That depends upon what you mean by that. There are several divisions of the anarchists.

Q. Are you an anarchist? A. Well, I can't answer that.

17 AUGUST VINCENT THEODORE SPIES:

18 I was born in Hesse Nassau, Germany; I will be thirty-one years old in December. I came to this country in 1872. My father died in 1871; my mother and several brothers and a sister are living here in Chicago. May 4th last I was one of the editors of the Arbeiter Zeitung. I occupied that position since 1880. Prior to that I was engaged in this country principally in the furniture business. I am a member of the Socialistic Publishing Society which is organized under the laws of the



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19 State of Illinois, and by which the Arbeiter Zeitung was published. I was an employe of that society in my position as editor, and as such was subject to their control as to the general policy of the paper. My salary was \$18 a week since I worked for the company. I had no other independent source of revenue or income.

20 At a meeting of the Central Labor Union in the evening of Sunday, May 2d, at 54 W. Lake street, which I attended in the capacity of a reporter, I was invited by one or two delegates to address a meeting of the Lumber Shovers' Union on the afternoon of May 3d, on the corner of 22d or 20th and Blue Island avenue. As there were no other speakers I went out. When I came out there was a crowd of 6,000 to 7,000  
21 people assembled on the prairie. When I was invited, which was the first information I received of the meeting, nothing was said to me about any relationship of McCormick's employes to that meeting; I did not know that the locality of the meeting was in the immediate neighborhood of McCormick's. I arrived there, as near as I can judge, a little after 3 o'clock. Several men were speaking from a car in the Bohemian or Polish language; they were very poor speakers, and small crowds of those assembled detached themselves to the side and talked together. I went up to the car on which they spoke; and as I did not know anybody there, Balthazar Rau, who was with me, introduced me to the chairman of the meeting; I don't remember his name, he testified here. I asked  
22 him if I was to speak there, and he said yes. I waited for about ten minutes while reports came in from the different owners of the lumber yards as to the demand made by the union, which was eight hours work  
23 at twenty-two cents per hour. They then elected a committee to wait upon the bosses to find out what concessions they would make, if any. Thereupon I was introduced to address the meeting and spoke from fifteen to twenty minutes. Having spoken two or three times almost every day for the preceding two or three weeks, I was almost prostrated, and spoke very calmly and told the people, who in my judgment were not of a very high intellectual grade, to stand together and to enforce their demands at all hazards, otherwise the single bosses would one by one defeat them. While I was speaking I heard somebody in the rear, probably a hundred feet away from me, cry out something in a language  
24 which I didn't understand—perhaps Bohemian or Polish. After the meeting I was told that this man had called upon them to follow him up to McCormick's. I should judge about 200 persons standing a little ways apart from the main body detached themselves and went away. I



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didn't know where they were going until probably five minutes later I heard firing, and about that time I stopped speaking and inquired where the pistol shots came from, and was told that some men had gone up there to stone McCormick's scabs and that the police had fired upon them. I stopped there probably another five or six minutes during which time I was elected a member of the committee to visit the bosses, when two patrol wagons came up in great haste on the Black road, so-called, driving towards McCormick's, followed immediately by about 75 policemen on foot, and then other patrol wagons came. I jumped from the car and went up to McCormick's. They were shooting all the while. I thought it must be quite a battle. In front of McCormick's factory there are some

25 railroad tracks on which a number of freight cars were standing. The people were running away and hiding behind these freight cars as much as they could to keep out of the way of the pistol firing. The fight was going on behind the cars. When I came up there on this prairie, right in front of McCormick's, I saw a policeman run after, and fire at, people who were fleeing, running away. My blood was boiling, and seeing unarmed men, women and children, who were running away, fired upon, I think in that moment I could have done almost anything. At that moment a young Irishman who probably knew me or had seen me at the meeting, came running from behind the cars and said: "What kind of a God damn business is this, what hell of a union is that, what people are these who will let those men be shot down here like dogs? I just come from there, we have carried away two men dead and there are a number of others lying on the ground who will most likely die, at least twenty or twenty-five must have been shot who ran away or were carried away by friends."

26 Of course I could not do anything there. I went back to where the meeting had been, which was about three blocks away, I told some of them what was going on at McCormick's, but they were unconcerned and went home. I took a car and went down town. The same evening I wrote the report of the meeting which appeared in the Arbeiter Zeitung of the next day. Immediately after I came to the office I wrote the so-called Revenge circular, except the heading "Revenge." At the time I wrote it I believed the statement that six workmen had been killed

27 that afternoon at McCormick's. I wrote at first that two had been killed and after seeing the report in the five o'clock News I changed the two to six, based upon the information contained in the News. I believe 2,500 copies of that circular were printed, but not more than half of them distributed, for I saw quite a lot of them in the office of the Arbeiter Zeitung





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28 on the morning I was arrested. At the time I wrote it I was still laboring under the excitement of the scene and the hour. I was very indignant.

30 On May 4th I was performing my regular duties at the Arbeiter Zeitung. A little before 9 in the forenoon I was invited to address a meeting on the Haymarket that evening. That was the first I heard of it. I had no part in calling the meeting. I put the announcement of the meeting into the Arbeiter Zeitung at the request of a man who invited me to speak.

31 The Arbeiter Zeitung is an afternoon daily paper, and appears at 2 P. M. About 11 o'clock a circular calling the Haymarket meeting was handed to me to be inserted in the Arbeiter Zeitung, containing the line "Workingmen, arm yourselves and appear in full force." I said to the man

32 who brought the circular that, if that was the meeting which I had been invited to address, I should certainly not speak there on account of that line. He stated that the circulars had not been distributed, and I told him if that was the case and if he would take out that line, it would be all right. Mr. Fischer was called down at that time, and he sent the man back to the printing office to have the line taken out. I struck out the line myself before I handed it to the compositor to put it in the Arbeiter Zeitung. The man who brought the circular to me and took it back with the line stricken out was on the stand here, Grueneberg

33 I believe is his name.

I left home that evening about half-past 7 o'clock and walked down with my brother Henry, arriving at the Haymarket about twenty or twenty-five minutes after 8. I had understood from the invitation that I should address the meeting in German; and knowing that the English speeches would come first I did not go there in time to reach the opening of the meeting. When I got there there was no meeting in progress, however; simply crowds were standing around the corners here and there, talking together. I called them together. After having looked around for a speaker's stand—we generally had very primitive platforms—I saw this wagon on Desplaines street; and being right near the corner, I thought it was a good place to choose and told the people that the meeting would take place there. There was no light upon the wagon. Early in the meeting I think the sky was bright. I cannot tell whether the lamp at the alley was burning or not; my impression is that it was. I could not say about any other light. I found the wagon just where we used it. It was not an ordinary truck wagon, it was a half truck and half express wagon, the truck with the box on; I don't know



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35 that there were any stakes on it; it was a large, long express wagon. I believe I spoke with my brother Henry as to the advisability of choosing that place. Henry was with me during the entire evening. After the  
36 audience got together somebody suggested to draw the wagon into the Haymarket. I replied that that might interfere with the street traffic, and that the cars would make a good deal of noise. Then I asked if Mr. Parsons was present. I thought he had been invited to address the meeting. I was not on the arrangement committee; but seeing the crowd and seeing that the meeting had been very poorly arranged, I took the initiative. When I asked for Parsons one of the editors of the Arbeiter Zeitung, one Schroeder, stepped up and said: "Parsons is speaking up on the corner of Halsted and Randolph street; I just saw him there." I told him to go and call him. He left, but stayed quite a while, and I left the wagon myself and, in the company of my brother Henry, one Legner and Schnaubelt whom I had just met, went up the street to find Parsons. Schwab was not with me at that time or at any time that evening.  
37 Schnaubelt told me I had been wanted at Deering, but as I had not been at hand Schwab had gone out there. After I left the wagon I did not go to the mouth of Crane's alley. I did not even know at the time that there was an alley there at all. I did not enter the alley with Schwab, had no conversation with him there in which I referred to pistols and  
38 police, and Schwab asked whether one would be enough, etc., nor anything of that kind; neither did I have that conversation with anybody else. I left the wagon and moved in a south-westerly direction obliquely across the street to the corner of the Haymarket. From there I went in company with those I mentioned up on Randolph street, beyond Union and pretty near Halsted street, but seeing only a few people, probably twenty or twenty-five, standing there scattered, and not seeing Parsons,  
39 we returned, walking on the north side of Randolph street as we had in going down. I went on the wagon and addressed the meeting. I had no conversation with Schwab at or about the crossing of Union street, in which we spoke about being ready for them and that they are afraid to come. I had no such conversation with any one. I don't remember exactly of what we were speaking, but Schnaubelt and I, as we walked  
40 along, were conversing in German. I have known Schnaubelt for about two years. I think he has not been in the country more than two years. He cannot speak any English at all. I never had an English conversation with him, and I don't know of anybody else who



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41 attempted to carry on a conversation with Schnaubelt in English. He wore a light gray suit that night. In returning to the wagon I went from the corner of the Haymarket right straight to the wagon in a north-easterly direction. I did not on my return, or at any time that evening walk with Schwab across Desplaines street to the center of the sidewalk, some fifteen feet south of Crane's alley and at that point meet Schnaubelt and there take anything out of my pocket or otherwise and give it to Schnaubelt or anybody else at that location. I heard the testimony of the witness Thompson on the stand; there is no truth in his statement at all.

42  
43 I spoke about fifteen or twenty minutes. I began by stating that I heard a large number of patrol wagons had gone to Desplaines street station; that great preparations had been made for a possible outbreak; that the militia had been called under arms and that I would state at the beginning that this meeting had not been called for the purpose of inciting a riot, but simply to discuss the situation of the eight-hour movement and the atrocities of the police on the preceding day. Then I referred to one of the morning papers of the city, in which Mr. McCormick said that I was responsible for the affair near his factory; that I had incited the people to commit violence, etc., and I stated that such misrepresentations were made in order to discredit the men who took an active part in the movement. I stated that such outbreaks as had occurred at McCormick's, 44 in East St. Louis, in Philadelphia, Cleveland and other places were not the work of a band of conspirators, of a few anarchists or socialists, but the unconscious struggle of a class who were struggling for emancipation; that such outbreaks might be expected at any minute and were not the arbitrary work of individuals. I then pointed to the fact that the people who committed violence had never been socialists or anarchists, but in most instances had been up to that time the most lawful citizens, good christians, the exemplary so-called honest workmen, who were contrasted by the capitalists with the anarchists. I stated that the meeting 45 at McCormick's was composed mostly of humble, church-going good christians, and not by any means atheists, or materialists, or anarchists. I then stated that for the past twenty years the wageworkers had asked their employers for a reduction of the hours of labor; that according to the statement of the secretary of the national bureau of labor statistics about two millions of physically strong men were out of employment; that the productive capacity had, by the development of machines, so



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immensely increased that all that any rationally organized society required could be produced in a few hours and that the mechanical working of men for ten hours a day was simply another method of murdering them. Though every student of social phenomena admitted the fact that society was under the present condition of overwork almost retrograding and the masses sinking into degradation, still their demands  
 46 have been refused. I proceeded to state that the legislators had different interests at stake than those involved in this question, and did not care so much about the welfare of any class of society as for their own interests, and that at last the workingmen had conceived, consciously or unconsciously, of the idea to take the matter in their own hands; that it was not a political question but an economic question; that neither legislatures nor congress could do anything in the premises, but the workingmen could only achieve a normal day's work of eight hours or less by their own efforts.

I believe when I had gone so far somebody told me that Mr. Parsons had arrived. Turning around I saw Parsons; and as I was fatigued, worn out, I broke off and introduced Parsons. I spoke in English.  
 47 After introducing Parsons I stayed on the wagon. When I stopped and Parsons began, I believe there were pretty nearly 2,000 people there, it was an ordinarily packed crowd. The people who wanted to listen would crowd to the wagon, others would stand on the opposite sidewalk, but I did not see any very packed crowd, exactly. While I spoke, I was facing, I believe, in a southwesterly direction, the bulk of the audience stood around the wagon south and south-westerly towards the Haymarket. Parsons spoke forty-five minutes to an hour. He stopped  
 48 about 10 o'clock. I had been requested by several persons to make a German speech, but Parsons had spoken longer than I expected, it was too late, and I didn't feel much like speaking, so I asked Mr. Fielden to say a few words in conclusion and then adjourn. I introduced Fielden to the audience and remained on the wagon until the command was  
 51 given by Capt. Ward to disperse. I did not see the police until they formed in columns on the corner of Desplaines and Randolph street. Somebody behind me, I think, said: "The police are coming." I could not understand that; I did not think even when I saw them that they were marching towards the meeting. The meeting was almost as well  
 52 as adjourned. There were not over 200 on the spot. About five minutes previous to that a dark cloud came moving from the north and it looked so threatening that most of the people ran away, and some





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people suggested an adjournment to Zepf's Hall; more than two-thirds of the attendants left at that time. The police halted about three or four feet south of the wagon. Capt. Ward walked up to the wagon. Fielden was standing in front of me, in the rear of the wagon; I was standing in the middle of the wagon. Ward held something in his hand, a cane or a club, and said: "In the name of the people of the State of Illinois, I command you to disperse," and Fielden said: "Why, Captain, this is a peaceable meeting." And Ward repeated, I think, that command and then turned around to his men, and while I didn't understand what he said to them, I thought he said, "Charge upon the crowd," or something to that effect. I did not hear him say: "I call upon you and you to assist," he may have said that and I may have misunderstood him. My brother and one Legner and several others that I did not know stood at the side of the wagon, they reached out their hands and helped me off the wagon. I felt very indignant over the coming of the police, and intended to ask them what right they had to break up the meeting, but I jumped down from the wagon. When I reached the sidewalk, I heard a terrible detonation; I thought the city authority had brought a cannon there to scare the people from the street; I did not think they would shoot upon the people, nor did I think in the least, at that time, of a bomb. Then I was pushed along; there was a throng of people rushing up and I was just carried away with them. I went into Zepf's Hall. The firing began immediately, simultaneously with the explosion. I did not see any firing from the crowd upon the police. I did not hear, as I stood upon the wagon, either by Fielden or anybody else, any such exclamation as "Here come the blood-hounds; men, do your duty and I will do mine." Fielden did not draw a revolver and fire from the wagon upon the police or in their direction. I did not, before the explosion of the bomb, leave my position upon the wagon, go into the alley, strike a match and light a bomb in the hands of Rudolph Schnaubelt. I did not see Rudolph Schnaubelt in the mouth of the alley then or at any time that evening with a bomb. I did not at that time or any other time that evening, go into the mouth of the alley and join there Fischer and Schnaubelt and strike a match for any purpose. Schnaubelt is about six feet three inches tall, I should judge, of large frame and large body.

Q. What is the usual language in which you carried on conversations with Schwab?

(Objected to; objection sustained, and exception.)



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I remember the witness Wilkinson, a reporter of the Daily News.  
 57 He was up at the office several times, but I only had one conversation  
 with him as far as I remember. He made an interview out of it. He  
 was introduced to me by Joe Gruenhut, who told me that the Daily News  
 wanted to have an article. Wilkinson inquired as to the report of some  
 paper that the anarchists had placed an infernal machine at the door of  
 the house of Lambert Tree, and I told him that, in my opinion, the Pink-  
 ertons were doing such things to force people to engage them and to  
 advertise themselves. He then asked whether I had ever seen or pos-  
 sessed any bombs? I said yes. I had had at the office for probably three  
 58 years four bomb-shells; two of them had been left at the office in my  
 absence, by a man who wanted to find out if it was a good construction;  
 the other two were left with me one day by some man who came, I  
 think, from Cleveland or New York, and was going to New Zealand  
 from here. I used to show those shells to newspaper reporters, and I  
 showed one to Mr. Wilkinson and allowed him to take it along and show  
 it to Mr. Stone; I never asked him for it since. That part of the conversa-  
 tion was at noon, while I was in a hurry. Wilkinson came in the evening  
 again with Joe Gruenhut, and invited me to dine with him; I had just  
 about half an hour time to spend; at the table we talked about an infernal  
 machine which had been placed a few days previous into an office of the  
 Burlington and Quincy railroad and about the other placed in front of Lam-  
 bert Tree's house, and I gave the explanation which I have already stated.  
 59 Talking about the riot drill that had shortly before been held on the lake  
 front and about the sensational reports published by the papers in regard  
 to the armed organizations of socialists, I told him that it was an open  
 secret that some three thousand socialists in the city of Chicago were  
 armed; I told him that the arming of these people, meaning not only  
 socialists but workingmen in general, began right after the strike of  
 1877, when the police attacked workingmen at their meetings, killed  
 some and wounded others; that they were of the opinion that if they  
 would enjoy the rights of the constitution, they should prepare to defend  
 them too, if necessary; that it was a known fact that these men had  
 paraded the streets, as many as 1,500 strong at a time, with their rifles;  
 that there was nothing new in that, and I could not see why they talked  
 so much about it. And I said I thought that they were still arming and  
 I wished that every workingman was well armed. I said I didn't know  
 the meeting places of the various societies, but that he could find them in  
 the announcement column of the Arbeiter Zeitung if he wanted to know



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them. Then we were speaking generally on modern warfare. Wilkinson was of the opinion that the militia and the police could easily defeat any effort on the part of the populace, by force, could easily quell a riot. I differed from him. I told him that the views which the bourgeoisie took of their military and police was exactly the same as the nobility took, some centuries ago, as to their own armament, and that gunpowder had come to the relief of the oppressed masses and had done away with the aristocracy very quickly; that the iron armor of the nobility was penetrated by a leaden bullet just as easily as the blouse of the peasant; that dynamite like gunpowder had an equalizing, leveling tendency, that the two were children of the same parent; that dynamite would eventually break down the aristocracy of this age and make the principles of democracy a reality. I stated that it had been attempted by such men as General Sheridan and others, to play havoc with an organized body of military or police by the use of dynamite, and it would be an easy thing to do it. It was a kind of disputing dialogue which we carried on. He asked me if I anticipated any trouble, and I said I did. He asked me if the anarchists and socialists were going to make a revolution. Of course I made fun of that; told him that revolutions were not made by individuals or conspirators, but were simply the logic of events resting in the conditions of things. On the subject of street warfare I illustrated with tooth-picks the diagram which had appeared in one of the numbers of the Alarm, introduced in evidence here. I said to him that I wasn't much of a warrior, but had read a good deal on the subject, and I particularly referred to that article in the Alarm. I said, that if for instance a military body would march up a street, they would have men on the house-tops on both sides of the street protecting and guarding the main body from possible onslaught, possibly by shooting, firing or throwing of bombs. Now, if the revolutionists or civilians, men not belonging to the privileged military bodies, would form an oblique line on each side of the street at a crossing, they could then very successfully combat the on-marching militia and police, by attacking them with fire-arms or dynamite. And I used Market square for illustration. I said there was a system of canalization in large cities. Now, supposing they expected an attack, they could by the use of a battery and dynamite, blow up whole regiments very easily. I don't think that I said what Wilkinson testified to here in regard to the tunnel, but I may have given the talk a little color. I knew he wanted a sensational article for publication in the News, but there was no particular

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63 reference to Chicago, or any fighting on our part. The topic of the conversation was that a fight was inevitable, and that it might take place in the near future, and what might and could be done in such an event; it was a general discussion of the possibilities of street warfare under modern science.

64 I wrote the word "Ruhe" for insertion in the Arbeiter Zeitung, on May 4th. It happened just the same as with any other announcement that would come in. I received a batch of announcements from a number of labor organizations and societies a little after 11 o'clock, in my editorial room, and went over them. Among them was one which read: "Mr. Editor, please insert in the letter box the word 'Ruhe,' in prominent letters." This was in German. There is an announcement column of meetings in the Arbeiter Zeitung, but a single word or something like that would be lost sight of under the announcements; in such cases, people generally ask to have that inserted under the head of Letter Box. Upon reading that request I just took a piece of paper and marked on it "Briefkasten" (Letter Box), and the word "Ruhe." The manuscript which is in evidence is in my handwriting. At the time I wrote that word and sent it up to be put in the paper, I did not know  
65 of any import whatever attached to it. My attention was next called to it a little after 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Balthazar Rau, an advertising agent of the Arbeiter Zeitung, came and asked me if the word "Ruhe" was in the Arbeiter Zeitung. I had myself forgotten about it, and took a copy of the paper and found it there. He asked me if I knew what it meant, and I said I did not. He said there was a rumor that the armed sections had held a meeting the night before, and had resolved to put in that word as a signal for the armed sections to keep themselves in readiness in case the police should precipitate a riot, to come to the assistance of the attacked. I sent for Fischer, who had invited me to speak at the meeting that evening, and asked him if that word had any reference to that meeting. He said, none whatever, that it was merely a signal for  
66 the boys, for those who were armed to keep their powder dry, in case they might be called upon to fight within the next days. I told Rau it was a very silly thing, or at least there was not much rational sense in that, and asked him if he knew how it could be managed that this nonsense would be stopped, how it could be undone; and Rau said he knew some persons who had something to say in the armed organizations, and I told him to go and tell them that the word was put in by mistake. Rau went pursuant to that suggestion and returned to me at 5 o'clock.





I was not a member of any armed section, I have not been for six years. I have had in my desk for two years two giant powder cartridges, a roll of fuse and some detonating caps. Originally I bought them to experiment with them, as I had read a good deal about dynamite and wanted to get acquainted with it, but I never had occasion to go out for that purpose, as I was too much occupied. The reporters used to bother me a good deal, and when they would come to the office for something sensational I would show them these giant cartridges. They are the same that were referred to here by certain witnesses as having been shown on the evening of the board of trade demonstration. One of them will yet show a little hole in which I put that evening one of those caps to explain to the reporter how terrible a thing it was. In fact, if that cartridge, as it is, were exploded in a free place, it would just give a detonation, and the concussion of the air might throw one on the floor, but it could do no harm to anybody. I know absolutely nothing about the package of dynamite which was exhibited here in court and was claimed to have been found on a shelf in a closet in the Arbeiter Zeitung building; I never saw it before it was produced here in court. I don't know anything about a revolver claimed to have been found in the Arbeiter Zeitung. That was not my revolver, but I always carried a revolver, I had a very good revolver; I was out late at night, and I always considered it a very good thing to be in a position to defend myself. Strangely, I did not have that pistol with me on the night of the Haymarket; it was too heavy for me, and while I took it along first, I left it with ex-Alderman Stauber on my way; I guess it is there now.

69

I was arrested on Wednesday morning after the Haymarket meeting, about half-past 8 o'clock, at the Arbeiter Zeitung editorial room. I had begun writing. I had come to the office a little after 7 o'clock, as usual. A man who afterwards told me he was an officer, James Bonfield, asked Mr. Schwab and myself to come over to police headquarters, that Superintendent Ebersold wanted to have a talk with us on the affair of the previous night. I was very busy, and asked him if that could not be delayed until after the issue of the paper; he said he would rather have me come along then, and I, unsuspectingly, went along to the station. The superintendent received us by saying: "You dirty, Dutch sons of bitches, you dirty hounds, you rascals, we will choke you, we will kill you," and then they jumped upon us, tore us from one end to the other, went through our pockets, took my money and everything I had. I never said anything. They finally concluded to put us in a cell, and

70



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71 then Mr. Ebersold said: " Well, boys, let's be cool." I think Mr. James Bonfield interfered during the assault upon us by Mr. Ebersold, and suggested to him that that was not the proper way nor the proper place: I have been continuously confined from then until now.

72 I lost sight of my brother Henry right after the explosion of the bomb, when I was carried away with the crowd. I saw him next about half-past 11 o'clock that night at his house. He was wounded; I had heard of it on my way home.

73

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

There was in fact no editor-in-chief of the Arbeiter Zeitung; there was a kind of autoomous editorial arrangement, but I was looked to as the editor-in-chief; I mean in the editorial department every one wrote what he pleased and it was published without my looking at it. I never assumed any responsibility for the editorials. I never was made respon-

74 sible by the company for the management of the paper. Schwab's salary was the same as mine; our positions were co-ordinate. The management of the paper was left with the board of trustees, the editors had very little to say about it. Nobody looked over the editorials before they were inserted. Contributed articles were looked over sometimes by one of the reporters, sometimes by Schwab or Schroeder, or myself. Schroeder was editor for four months. I usually glanced at the paper

75 to keep track of what it contained. Fischer was merely a compositor of the Arbeiter Zeitung; he had nothing to do with the editorials or the management of the paper. I don't know how long he has been employed there, I think about two years. I had nothing to do with the Alarm, except for four or five weeks, when I edited it in the absence of Mr. Parsons.

Q. Was money ever sent to you for the Alarm?

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(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

There was. I also paid the bills for the printing of the Alarm.

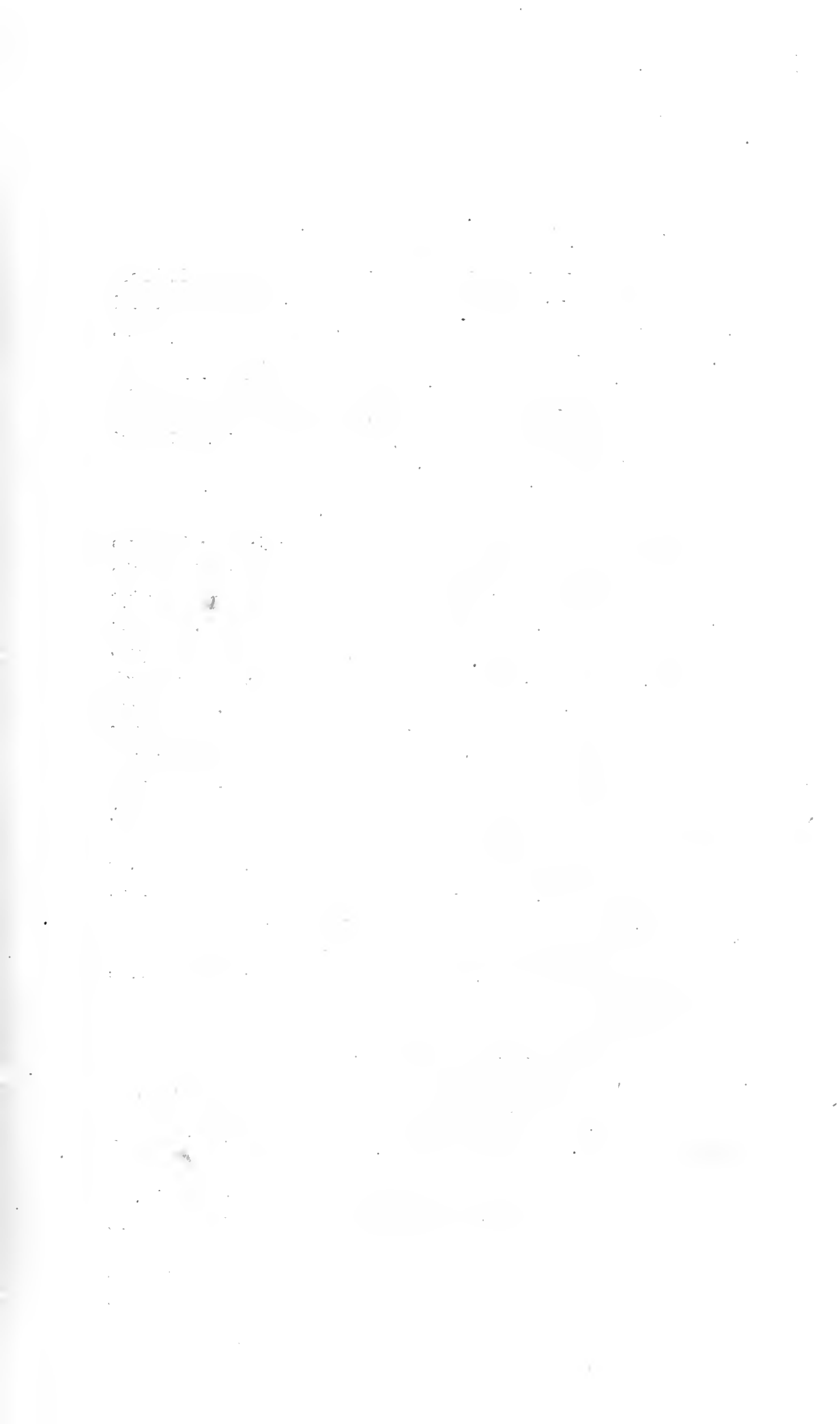
Q. Did you ever write contributions for the Alarm?

(All this class of matter objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

I have occasionally, whenever they were in need of manuscript. I don't know whether I signed them " A. S.," I may have. I signed some, and didn't sign others.

79

Of the bombs I had I received the two iron cast ones first, that was about three years ago; a man who gave his name as Schwape or



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Schwoep brought them to me. I only saw him once; I think he was a shoe-maker, came from Cleveland and left for New Zealand. He asked me if my name was Spies. I told him yes; and he asked me if I had seen any of the bombs that they were making, or something like that.

80 I don't know to whom he referred by "they," he spoke of people in Cleveland with whom he had associated; I didn't ask him and didn't know what class of people. I said I hadn't seen any of them, I don't remember anything more about the conversation I had with him; I would have twelve or fifteen conversations every day; this one was out of the order of my regular conversations; my recollection is, I got rid of him

81 as soon as he would leave. He left those there, he said he would not take them along; I didn't ask him if he had any more with him; they were bombs exploding by percussion, heavier on one side than on the other, so that when they were thrown the cap would always come down. I think they were at the Arbeiter Zeitung on May 4th, I never saw the

82 man before or after that. The other two bombs which Wilkinson called "Czar bombs," a term which I never used to him, were left one day in my absence in the office; when I came from dinner I saw them on my desk and was told that a man had brought them there to inquire whether they were bombs of a good construction, and the man never called for them; that was about a year and a half or two years ago. One I gave to Wilkinson, the other one, I suppose, was at the office ever since; I don't know what became of it and of the two iron bombs; I had not seen them for some time, but I thought they were at the office. I got

83 the dynamite about two years ago from the Ætna Powder Company. I got two of those bars; my intention at first was to experiment with them.

Q. What object did you have in experimenting with the dynamite?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

I had read a good deal about dynamite and thought it would be a good thing to get acquainted with its use, just the same as I would take a revolver and go out and practice with it. I don't want to say, however, that it was merely for curiosity. I can give no further explanation. I got the caps and the fuse, because I would need them to experiment with. I was never present, to the best of my recollection, when experiments

85 were made with dynamite. Neither bombs nor dynamite were ever distributed through the Arbeiter Zeitung office. I did not tell Mr. Wilkinson that they were.

I have been a member of the Bureau of Information of the International for the last three years and up to the time of my arrest; letters



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were generally addressed to me at 107 5th avenue while I was a member.

86 It is hárd to say how long I have been a socialist. Socialism is the result of a process of intellectual activity. My thoughts may have been going that way when I was a child, but I have considered myself a socialist for about ten or eleven years. I have considered myself an anarchist for about eight years. I got a card in the American group of the Internationals at the time it was organized. I don't know whether I was a member in good standing during the last year.

Q. Were you in the habit of making speeches at meetings of the American group?

90 (Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

A. I delivered two or three lectures there, I don't know how long ago.

Q. Have you addressed meetings on the lake front?

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

A. I have, occasionally; I could not say how often. I have addressed workingmen's meetings in the city, they were never composed solely of anarchists or socialists. I have very often addressed meetings at different places in this city whose object was the advocacy of principles of socialism and anarchism. I did the same at different places throughout the country, outside of Chicago, that happened about twice a year.

I never handled any dynamite outside of the two cartridges; never had anything to do with the distribution of dynamite. I know Herr Most.

92 Q. How long have you known him?

(Objected to; objection overruled and exception.)

A. I guess I have known Most for three years. This letter here (indicating) is from Most. I do not know whether I answered that letter, I cannot remember.

Q. In whose handwriting is this postal card (indicating)?

94 (Objection to any inquiry regarding the postal card; objection overruled and exception.)

A. It is Most's handwriting. I suppose I received it, I see my address on it. I do not remember having read that postal or this letter at this date. I don't remember the contents of that letter. I have undoubtedly received and read it, but don't recollect anything about it now. I never carried on any correspondence with Most. I don't re-

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96 member whether I answered the postal card, and whether I said or wrote to Most anything in regard to the inquiries made of me in this letter. I know positively I did not give him the directions where to ship the material mentioned in the letter. There may have been a letter addressed in my care which I may have sent to Most, but I know absolutely nothing outside of that.

As to the phrase, "The social revolution," which occurs in my writings, I mean by it the evolutionary process, or changes from one system to another, which take place in society; I meant a change from the wage system, from the present relations between labor and capital to some other system. By the abolition of the wage system I mean the doing away with the spoliation of labor, making the worker the owner of his own product.

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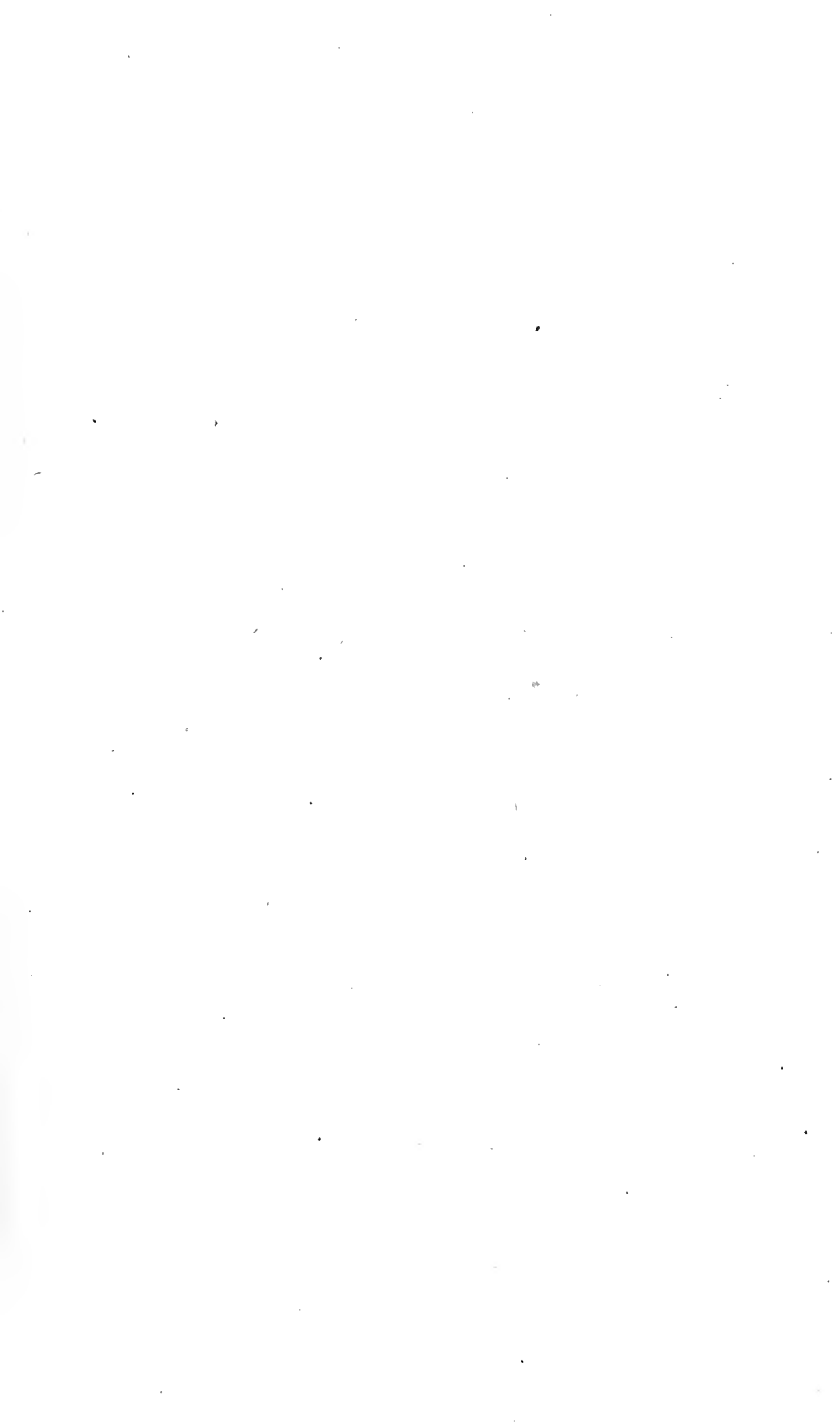
I was invited to go to the Haymarket meeting at 9 o'clock on Tuesday by Mr. Fisher. It was about 11 o'clock when I objected to that last line in the circular. I objected to that principally because I thought it was ridiculous to put a phrase in which would prevent people from attending the meeting; another 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 did not anticipate anything of the kind, but I thought it was not a proper thing to put that line in. I wrote the Revenge circular, everything except the word Revenge. I wrote the words, "Workingmen, to arms!" When I wrote it I thought it was proper; I don't think so now. I wrote it to arouse the working people who are stupid and ignorant, to a consciousness of the condition that they were in, not to submit to such brutal treatment as that by which they had been shot down at McCormick's on the previous day; I wanted them not to attend meetings under such circumstances, unless they could resist. I did not want them to do anything in particular, I did not want them to do anything. That I called them to arms is a phrase, probably an extravagance. I did intend that they should arm themselves. I have called upon the workingmen for years and years, and others have done the same thing before me, to arm themselves; they have a right under the constitution to arm themselves, and it would be well for them if they were all armed. I called on them to arm themselves, not for the purpose of resisting the lawfully constituted authorities of the city and county, in case they should meet with opposition from them, but for the purpose of resisting the unlawful attacks of the police or the unconstitutional and unlawful demands of any organiza-

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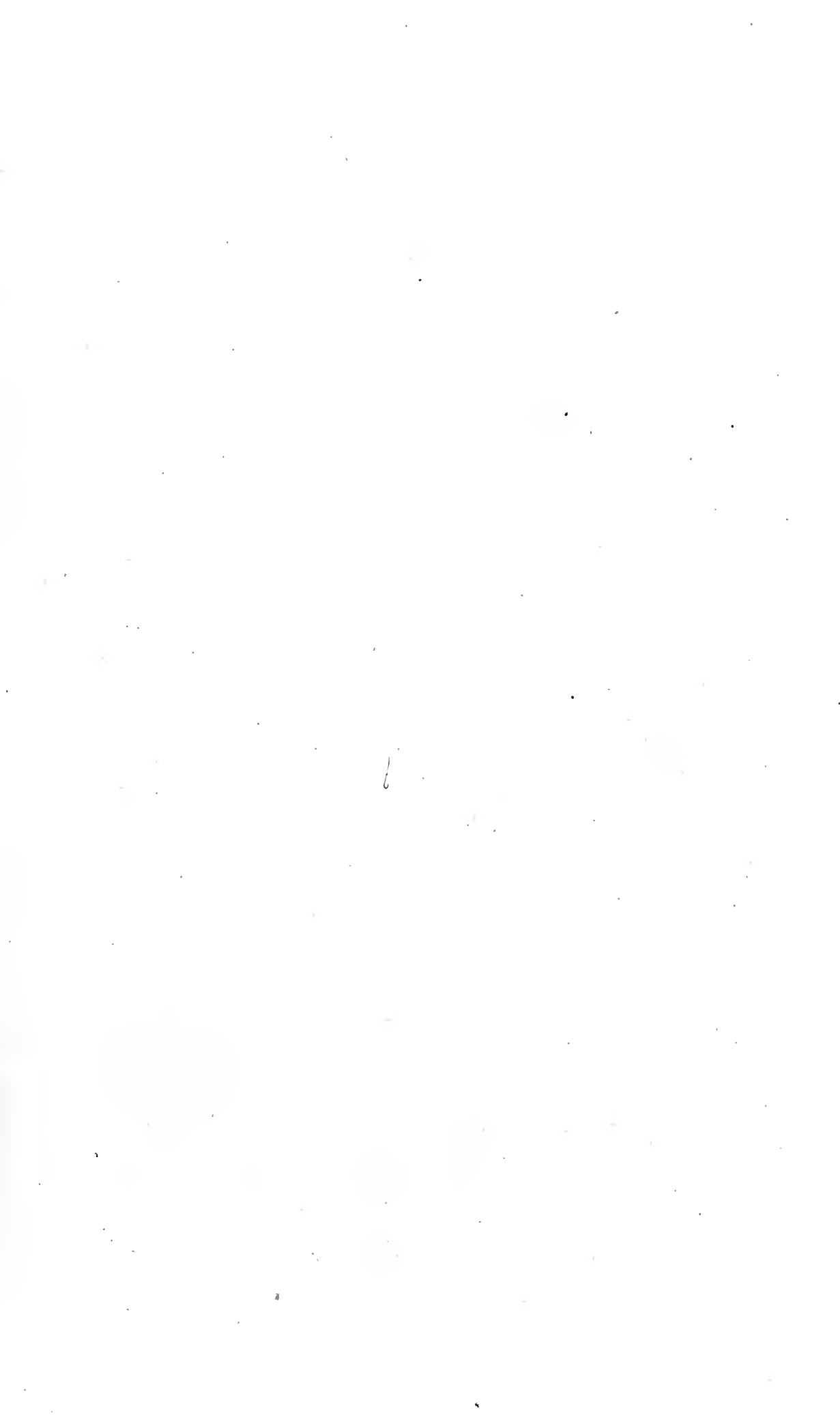
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tion, whether police, militia or any other. I have not urged them in my speeches and editorials to arm themselves, in order to bring about a social revolution or in order to overthrow the lawful authority of the country.

(Letter referred to as Most's letter offered in evidence by the state.  
105. Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

Translation of the letter referred to, dated 1884, was here read as follows: "Dear Spies: Are you sure that the letter from the Hocking Valley was not written by a detective? In a week I will go to Pittsburgh, and I have an inclination to go also to the Hocking Valley. For the present I send you some printed matter. There Sch. 'H' also existed but on paper. I told you this some months ago. On the other hand I am in a condition to furnish 'medicine,' and the 'genuine' article at that. Directions for use are perhaps not needed with these people. Moreover, they were recently published in the 'Fr.' The appliances I can also send. Now, if you consider the address of Buchtell thoroughly reliable I will ship twenty or twenty-five pounds. But how? Is there an express line to the place, or is there another way possible? Paulus, the Great, seems to delight in hopping around in the swamps of the N. Y. V. Z. like a blown-up (bloated) frog. His tirades excite general detestation. He has made himself immensely ridiculous. The main thing is only that the fellow cannot smuggle any more rotten elements into the newspaper company than are already in it. In this regard, the caution is important to be on the minute. The organization here is no better nor worse than formerly. Our group has about the strength of the north side group in Chicago; and then, besides this, we have also the soc. rev. 6. 1, the Austrian League and the Bohemian League, so to say three more groups. Finally, it is easily seen that our influence with the trade organizations is steadily growing. We insert our meetings in the Fr., and cannot notice that they are worse attended than at the time when we got through weekly \$1.50 to \$2.00 into the mouth of the N. Y. V. Z. Don't forget to put yourself into communication with Drury in reference to the English organ. He will surely work with you much and well. Such a paper is more necessary as to truth. This, indeed, is getting more miserable and confused from issue to issue, and in general is whistling from the last hole. Enclosed is a fly-leaf which recently appeared at Emden, and is perhaps adapted for reprint. Greeting to Schwab, Rau and to you. Yours,

JOHANN MOST.



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P. S. To Buchtell I will, of course, write for the present only in general terms.

A. Spies, No. 107 Fifth avenue, Chicago, Illinois.”

Translation of postal-card referred to offered in evidence.

(Objected to; objection overruled, and exception.)

Said translation was read as follows:

“L. S. (DEAR SPIES:) I had scarcely mailed my letter yesterday when the telegraph brought news from H. M. One does not know whether to rejoice over that or not. The advance is in itself elevating. Sad is the circumstance that it will remain local, and, therefore, might not have a result. At any rate, these people make a better impression than the foolish voters on this and the other side of the ocean. Greetings and a shake. Yours,  
J. M.”

ALBERT R. PARSONS:

109 I have resided in Chicago for thirteen years; I was born June 20, 1848. On Sunday, May 2d, I was in the city of Cincinnati, Ohio; came back from there to Chicago on Tuesday morning May 4th, between 7 and 8 o'clock. I caused a notice calling for a meeting of the American group at 107 5th avenue on the evening of May 4th to be inserted in the Daily News of that evening. In the evening I left my house in company  
110 with Mrs. Holmes, my wife and two children about 8 o'clock; we walked from home until we got to Randolph and Halsted streets. There I met two reporters that I have seen frequently at workingmen's meetings, one of them was a Times reporter whose name I don't know, the other was Mr. Heineman of the Tribune. There Mrs. Holmes, my wife and children and myself took a car and rode directly to the meeting at 107 5th avenue. We arrived there about half-past 8 and remained about half an hour. After the business for which the meeting had been called was about through, some one, I understood it was a committee, came over from the Haymarket and said that there was a large body of people and no speakers there except Mr. Spies, and myself and Mr. Fielden were urged to come over to address the mass meet-  
111 ing. After finishing up the work, we adjourned and walked over. Fielden and myself crossed the river through the tunnel, there were three or four others present, but I don't remember their names. I think it was after 9 o'clock when I reached the meeting on Desplaines street near the Haymarket. Mr. Spies was speaking. I managed to squeeze through the crowd, was assisted upon the wagon at once by some gen-



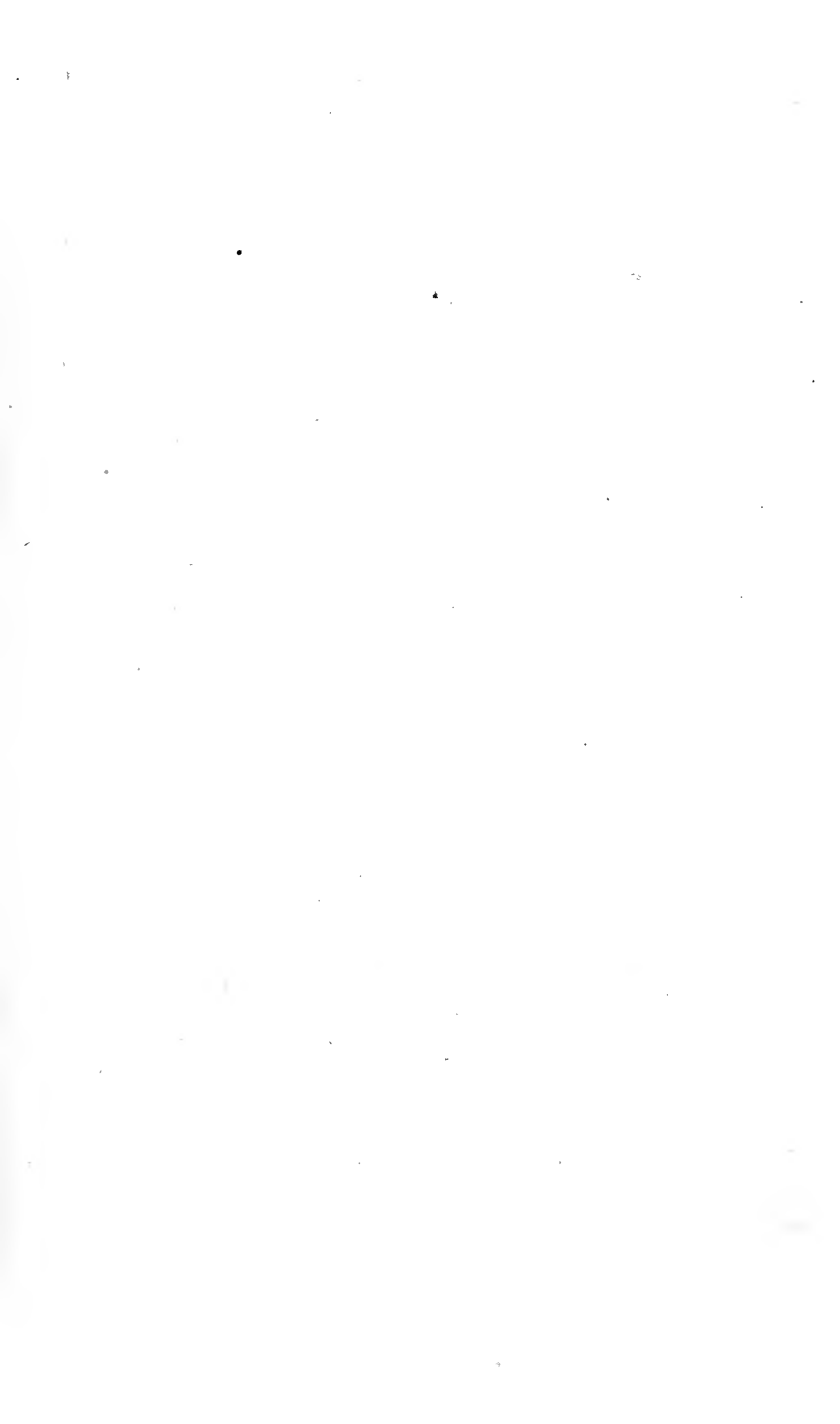
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112 tlemen standing about, and within a minute or two Mr. Spies concluded, stated that I had arrived and would address the meeting, and asked their attention while I was talking. I suppose I spoke about three-quarters of an hour. At the close of my speech I got down from the wagon; I think I was assisted by Henry Spies who was standing by the wagon; then I went to the wagon which stood about fifteen or twenty feet north of the speaker's wagon on which my wife and Mrs. Holmes were seated listening to us. I got into that wagon, asked them how they were enjoying themselves, etc., and while talking with them, about ten minutes later, a coolness in the atmosphere attracted my attention. I looked up

113 and observed white clouds rolling over from the north, and as I didn't want the ladies to get wet I went onto the speaker's wagon and said, "Mr. Fielden, permit me to interrupt you a moment." "Certainly" he said. And I said: "Gentlemen, it appears as though it would rain, it is getting late, we might as well adjourn any way, but if you desire to continue the meeting longer, we can adjourn to Zepf's Hall on the corner near by." Some one in the crowd said "No, we can't, it is occupied by a meeting of the furniture workers." With that I looked and saw the lights through the windows of the hall and said nothing further. Mr. Fielden remarked that it did not matter, he had only a few words more to say. I went over again to where the ladies were, helped them off the wagon and told them to go down to this corner place, and we would all get together and go home. They walked off, and some one detained me for a moment, then I followed them and met near the edge of the crowd a man whom I knew very familiarly, Mr. Brown. I

114 asked him to have a drink with me, as the speaking had made me hoarse, and we moved off a little in the rear of the ladies, to the saloon. There had been no appearance of the police, no explosion or any disturbance up to that time. As I entered the saloon I noticed some four or five gentlemen standing at the bar, there were possibly as many as ten people sitting at tables on the other side next the wall, and about five or six men standing in the centre of the floor talking to each other, among whom I noticed Mr. Malkoff, talking to a gentleman whom I did not know, but I

115 supposed he was a reporter. He was upon the witness stand in this trial, I believe it was Mr. Allen. The ladies took seats about ten feet from the door, in the saloon, at the end of the first table, with their backs to it, looking into the street. I said something to them, and I believe just then I introduced some one to Mrs. Parsons. Afterwards I went to the bar with Brown, and we had a glass of beer and a cigar. Then I turned





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around and noticed Mr. Fischer sitting at one of the tables and said a few words to him and sat down to the table for a few moments, then I think  
 116 I went around to where the ladies were, and I was standing near them looking out and wondering if the meeting would not close, anxious to go home. All at once I saw an illumination. It lit up the whole street, followed instantly by a deafening roar, and almost simultaneously volleys of shots followed, every flash of which it seemed to me I could see. The best comparison I can make in my mind is that it was, as though a hundred men held in their hands repeating revolvers and fired them as rapidly as possible until they were all gone. That was the first volley. Then there were occasional shots, and one or two bullets whistled near the door and struck the sign. I was transfixed. Mrs. Parsons did not move. In a moment two or three men rushed breathlessly in at the door. That broke the apparent charm that was on us by the occurrence in the street, and with that I called upon my wife and Mrs. Holmes to come with me  
 117 to the rear of the saloon. We remained there possibly twenty minutes or so.

When I was introduced to the meeting I noticed that it was quite a large crowd; I should judge about 3,000 men were present. The street was packed from sidewalk to sidewalk, particularly south of the wagon, for a considerable distance. I faced south. I first called attention to the  
 118 evidence of discontent among the working classes of the whole civilized world, and asked whether these evidences were not indications that there was something radically wrong in the existing order of things. I spoke of the eight-hour movement as a peaceable movement, designed to give employment to the idle and thereby bring comfort and cheer to the homes of the destitute, relieving the wearisome toil of those who worked from ten to sixteen hours a day; I spoke of it as a movement in the interest of civilization, prosperity and public welfare, and said I was glad to see them assembled upon this occasion to give their voice in favor of the adoption of the eight-hour work-day. I spoke of my travels through Pennsylvania and Ohio, the Hocking Valley and Monongahela Valley, among the miners of the country, whose wages averaged  $24\frac{1}{2}$  cents per  
 119 day. I pointed to the fact that a report made by the superintendent of police, of Pittsburgh, stated that during 1884 there had called at the Bethel home, a charitable institution there, 26,374 destitute men, tramps, American citizens, for a night's lodging or for a morsel of food. I referred to similar things showing the general condition of labor in the country. I then said that there was surely nothing in the eight-hour



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movement to excite such hostility on the part of the employers, monopoly  
 or corporations, as had been witnessed. I then referred to the fact that  
 120 in the face of all these causes producing these evidences of discontent,  
 monopolistic newspapers blamed such men as me, blamed the so-called  
 agitators for this so-called disorder, while we were simply calling the at-  
 tention of the people to this condition of things and seeking for a redress  
 against it. In response to that several men spoke out loudly: "We  
 need a great many more just such men as you to right these wrongs and  
 to arouse the people." I showed how this compulsory idleness and the  
 starvation wages drove workingmen to commit desperate acts, for which  
 they ought not to be held responsible, and that monopoly and corpora-  
 121 tion, by their attitude toward labor, were creating revolutionists. I called  
 the attention of the meeting to the declaration by the Chicago Times at  
 the time of the strike of 1877 that hand grenades should be thrown  
 among the sailors who were upon a strike then upon the river wharves  
 of this city, in order to teach them a lesson and warn other strikers by  
 their fate; and that the Chicago Times was thus the first dynamiter in  
 America, and, as the mouthpiece of monopoly and corporation, the first  
 to advocate the killing of people when they protested against wrong and  
 oppression. I spoke of the Chicago Tribune, which at that date advo-  
 cated to put strychnine upon the bread given by the hand of charity to  
 122 the poor. I called attention to Frank Leslie's illustrated newspaper,  
 which declared in an editorial that the American toiler must be driven to  
 his task, either by the slave drivers' lash or the immediate prospect of  
 want. I pointed out that the New York Herald said that lead should  
 be given to a tramp when he should come around, and that Tom Scott  
 had said in the strike of 1877, "Give them the rifle diet and see how  
 they like that kind of diet." I cited East St. Louis as showing how  
 monopoly was putting into practice these threats; where Jay Gould paid  
 five dollars a day to men for firing upon and killing in cold blood harm-  
 less, innocent, unarmed people. I referred to the Saginaw Valley, where  
 123 the militia was used to put down strikes, to Lemont, Illinois, where the  
 militia invaded the town and fired upon defenseless and innocent citizens  
 without any pretext. I referred to the action of the police at Mc-  
 Cormick's on the previous day, denounced it as an outrage; and I  
 showed by that how the military and the police and the Pinkerton thugs  
 were used to shoot down workingmen and drive them back into submis-  
 sion and to starvation wages. I referred to the fact that the Evening  
 Mail of the day before had stated that Spies and I incited this trouble at



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McCormick's, and that we ought to be lynched or driven out of the city, while at that time I had been away from Chicago in Cincinnati. I denied the charge of the statement that we were sneaks and cowards, and I defied them to run us out of the city, and I pointed to the fact that every one of these papers was a subsidized agent and organ of monopoly. Then I said, "I am not here, fellow-workmen, for the purpose of exciting anybody, but to tell the truth, to state the facts as they do exist, though it should cost me my life in doing it." I then referred to the Cincinnati eight-hour demonstration on the Sunday previous, which I had been invited to address; stated that the trades unions and other organizations of workingmen of that city had turned out in thousands, and that at the head of the procession 300 men marched with Winchester rifles through the streets of Cincinnati, and that they bore at the head of the column the red flag—the red flag of liberty, fraternity, of equality for labor all over the world, and I pointed out that every other flag in the world repudiated the workingman, and that he had no shield and no flag but the red one. I pointed out that this movement was not one of foreigners in this country, but concerned Americans just as much; that patriotism was a humbug, was used to separate the people and antagonize them against each other; that *f. i.* the national feeling of the Irish was kept alive against the English in order that the exploiters upon them might the more easily make them their victims and use them as their tools. In that connection I referred to land monopoly, and to the fact that the farms of this country were being driven into land tenures like those of Europe. I cited the North American Review as stating that in the little State of Connecticut alone three hundred and fifty million dollars of mortgages were held upon farms. I cited the Chicago Tribune as authority for the statement that over fifty per cent., perhaps two-thirds, of the farms of Illinois, Wisconsin and Michigan were under mortgages, and that monopoly was forcing these men to become tenants. I stated that the banking monopoly of the country empowered a few men to make money scarce in order that they may control the markets, run corners in the medium of exchange and produce a panic in the country, making the price of articles dear, throwing laborers out of employment and bringing on bankruptcy. Then I said, "In the light of these facts and of your inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, it behooves you, as you love your wives and children, and if you would not see them perish of want and hunger, yourselves killed or cut down like dogs in the streets—Americans, in the interest of your liberty and independence, to arm, to arm, to arm yourselves." A voice said, "We



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127 are ready now." I responded "You are not." Then I called attention to the fact that the constitution of the United States gave to the work-  
 ingmen the right to keep and bear arms, gave us the right of free  
 speech, redress and unmolested assembly, but that monopoly and cor-  
 porations, by its paid decisions in the courts, were attempting to trample  
 these rights underfoot. I stated that the government of the United  
 States was in the hands of the money power and that it was almost im-  
 possible for a poor man to get justice in a court of law, that law was for  
 sale just like bread, and that the poor could not buy it. I then gave  
 them Webster's definition of socialism, that it meant a more equitable  
 128 arrangement of society and social affairs, and stated that there was  
 nothing in the world in the purposes of socialism for any one to become  
 alarmed at. On the contrary it should be hailed with delight by all, as  
 it was designed to make all happy. I showed that the wage system  
 was a despotism, because under it the wage worker is compelled to  
 work on such conditions and terms as the employer may see fit to dictate  
 to him. This I called slavery; they were wage slaves, and the wage  
 system was what socialism proposed to displace. I showed the power  
 which the wage system gave to the employing classes by the lock-out,  
 by black-list and by discharge; that I had myself been black-listed be-  
 cause I saw fit to be a member of a labor organization. I then showed  
 that the United States census for 1880 proved that eighty-five cents on  
 the average, out of every dollar produced, went to the profit-taking  
 classes, and that fifteen cents on the average was the sum received by  
 the producing class; that under this arrangement the workingmen of  
 129 the United States were really doing ten hours' work for two hours'  
 pay, but still the employers consider it wrong if you ask ten hours' pay  
 for eight hours' work. I said that for years past the Associated Press,  
 manipulated by Jay Gould and his infamous minions, has been sowing  
 the seeds of revolution, which are summarized about as follows: To de-  
 prive labor of the ballot, to substitute a monarchy for a republic, to rob  
 labor and then make poverty a crime, to deprive small farmers of their  
 land and then convert them into serfs to serve huge landlordism, to  
 teach labor that bread and water is all they needed, to throw bombs into  
 130 crowds of workingmen who refuse to work for starvation wages, to take  
 the ballot by force of arms from the majority if it was against the interest  
 of corporation and capital, to put strychnine upon the bread of  
 the poor, to hang laboring men to a lamp-post by a mob in the ab-  
 sence of testimony to convict them, in fact to drive the poor working  
 classes into open mutiny against the laws in order to secure their punish-





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ment and conviction afterwards for it. This I said was the seed from which had sprung the labor movement. I then called the attention of those present—and they appeared to be very much interested; I never saw a more quiet, orderly, interested crowd of men—to the fact that

131 labor paid for everything—the expenses of the government, of the police, of the army, of the judges, of the congressmen, etc. As an illustration I stated that I, in paying rent to the landlord, paid the taxes, the repairs on the house, and everything of that kind; that on the other hand labor derives none of the benefits of our present civilization. I then showed that ignorance and intemperance was the result of poverty, and for every man who was poor because he drank, I could show twenty men who drank because they were poor; that this poverty, the cramming of people away into hovels and dens unfit for animals to live in, was the cause of disease, of the death of the young, of old age coming upon the middle aged; that it was the cause of crime; that poverty was the root

132 and at the bottom of war, discord and strife; and that this poverty was an artificial and unnatural poverty, which socialism proposed to remedy. I then spoke as a trades unionist, as a member of my union and of the Knights of Labor. I said that these organizations differed somewhat from the socialists in that they hoped to obtain redress within the present system, but that the study of social affairs and historical development had taught me that the system itself was at fault, and that as long as the cause remained the effect would be felt, and that these other organizations would eventually be driven into socialism as the only savior; that

133 strikes were an attempt on the part of unionists and the knights of labor to right these wrongs, but I did not believe that redress could be had by that method; that the employer could meet a strike with a lock-out until the workingmen would be compelled by their destitution to return and accept the terms of their employers. I said that the unionist made war upon the scabs. Here was a distinction between socialism and trades unions. The unionist fights the scab; socialism regards him as the victim of a false system. These scabs could be compared to the fleas on the dog. The unionist wants to kill the fleas, but the socialists would kill the dog, and the dog is the system of wage slavery. I then showed how we were swindled and defrauded at the ballot-box; were

134 intimidated; were even bribed by the very money that had been stolen from us, and that thus the workingmen had but little to expect from the ballot. I pointed out the fact that we had petitioned and had passed resolutions, but had received rebuffs on every occasion, and then said: “Socialism means the free association of the people for the purposes of



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production and consumption; in other words, universal co-operation. This is the sum total of socialism, and the solution of the present difficulties between capital and labor." I then said that monopoly and corporation had formed a gigantic conspiracy against the poor classes; I called upon them to unite, to organize, to make endeavors to obtain eight hours; that the eight-hour movement meant a peaceful solution of the labor trouble; that if the employers of this country would concede this demand it meant peace, and if they refused it it meant war; not war by the laborers, but by monopolists and corporations upon the lives and liberty and happiness of the working classes. Monopoly and corporation had the government in their hands, were forcing the people to protect and maintain their right to self-preservation, and driving them into open revolt; that the monopoly conspiracy originated in the great railroad strike of 1877; that they had, since that time, proposed to use force, and had used force. The New York World, and other papers, said that the American working man must make up his mind to be contented with the wages he received, and not expect to receive any more wages than his European brother, and be contented with his station in life to which it has pleased God to call him. I then appealed to them to defend themselves, their rights, their liberties; to combine, to unite, for in union there was strength. When I referred to Jay Gould and the East St. Louis strike, somebody in the crowd said "Hang him." My response to that was, that this was not a conflict between the individuals, but for a change of system, and that socialism designed to remove the causes which produced the pauper and the millionaire, but did not aim at the life of the individual.

At the conclusion of my speech I think I noticed that the crowd on the outskirts moved off to the north and south. There was not the slightest disturbance, or any disorderly conduct in the crowd, which I observed during my speech.

I have never been arrested. I voluntarily surrendered myself to this court, in this court-room, on the 21st day of June.

#### CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I was born in Montgomery, Alabama. Since I came to Chicago I worked as a type-setter for the first eight or nine years, then for a year and a half myself and wife had a suit business on Larrabee street, then for about a year and a half myself and wife made ladies' wrappers and suits, and I went out soliciting orders. For the last two years, since October, 1884, I was editor of the Alarm. It was a weekly paper for



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139 about a year, and then a semi-monthly. I wrote down the memorandum  
of my utterances on the night of May 4th, which I used in giving  
my testimony as to my speech, from time to time, as they occurred  
to me, and in looking over Mr. English's report. When I referred  
to the methods which the Chicago Times and the Chicago Tribune and  
Tom Scott advised against striking workingmen, I told them they should  
140 defend themselves against such things in any way they could, by arm-  
ing, if necessary. I did not mention dynamite at that meeting, I possi-  
sibly mentioned it at other meetings. I said nothing about bombs that  
141 night, either as a defensive means, or something to use against them. I  
did not, when I said that the present socialistic system must be changed  
in the interest of humanity, explain to them how the social change should  
be brought about, because I did not know myself. I think I told the au-  
dience that the existing order of things was founded upon and maintained  
by force, and that the actions of the monopolists and corporations would  
drive the people into the use of force before they could obtain redress.  
I might have stated that—I am not sure. I did not tell them that the  
ballot was useless for them, because the majority was against them.  
That is not correct; the workingmen are vastly in the majority. I did  
not tell them that night that the only way they could obtain their rights  
143 was by overturning the existing order of things by force. I could not  
tell whether there were any strikers present that night. There were  
very few socialists present. I am a socialist. I am an anarchist, as I  
understand it.

144 W. A. S. GRAHAM:

I am a reporter for the Chicago Times since twenty-five months. I  
have been a newspaper man since eight years. I know Harry L. Gil-  
mer, who testified in this case, since the 5th of May, the day following  
the Haymarket riot. On that day I saw Gilmer in the corridor of the  
basement of the City Hall, just outside the police headquarters. There  
was quite a crowd in the corridor, and to the best of my recollection  
there was one other gentleman present whom I did not know at the time  
I saw Gilmer. I had a conversation with Gilmer on that occasion in  
145 regard to what he saw at the Haymarket, and who threw the bomb.

HARRY L. GILMER, recalled for further cross-examination by de-  
fendants:

I think I have seen this gentleman (pointing to Mr. Graham) before,  
at the Central station. I think he is one of the parties that were there



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146 in front of the Central station; he stepped up and asked me if I thought I could identify the man who threw the bomb, and I said that I could if I ever saw him. I could not now designate the exact spot where that conversation was, but it was there at the Central station; it was the first time I was down-town after the riot; I don't remember whether it was one or two days after the riot. I did not say to Mr. Graham in this conversation that I saw the man throw the bomb, but his back was to me and that I could not see him very well, but that I believed that he had whiskers. I don't think I said to him at that time and place that I saw the man light the fuse and throw the bomb; I did not say that it was a  
147 man of medium size, with dark clothes, and that I saw him light the fuse and throw the bomb, but that his back was to me and I would not be certain as to whether he had whiskers or not; I had no such conversation with him.

148 W. A. S. GRAHAM, recalled:

The gentleman who was just on the stand is the Mr. Gilmer I referred to. He said to me in that conversation, at the time and place I referred to, that he saw the man light the fuse and throw the bomb, and "I think  
149 I could identify him if I saw him." I asked him what kind of looking man he was, and Gilmer said, "He was a man of medium height, and I think he had whiskers, and wore a soft black slouch hat, but his back was turned to me." And to the best of my recollection Gilmer said the man had dark clothes. He said nothing about anybody else in that connection.

#### CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I had this conversation about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of May 5th. I talked with him about three or four minutes. He said nothing about there being more than one man at that location, a knot of men, or anything of that kind; he said that one man lighted the fuse and threw the bomb; he did not say anything about how it was lighted, whether with a match or a cigar; I did not ask him that; he said he was standing in Crane's alley when it was done.

150 It is agreed between the parties that the telegraph pole referred to by the witness J. A. Taylor was not removed by the city or any of its officers, but by the telegraph company alone.

151 By agreement, the following articles, contained in volume of exhibits, were read to the jury, to wit: People's Exhibit 128, Defendants' Exhibits 2, 3, 4 and 5.





## PEOPLE'S REBUTTING EVIDENCE.

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152 DANIEL SCULLY:

I am justice of the peace in Chicago; I held the justice court at the Desplaines street station after the riot of May 4th. I remember a preliminary examination at which Officers Wessler and Foley testified. Officer Wessler did not state in his testimony that Stenner was the man who fired the shot from over the wagon; neither did Foley state that. Wessler at that time stated that the man who fired the shot from the wagon was not in court.

153 Q. Did he, at that time, give a description of the man who fired the shot over the wagon that night as a stout man with heavy whiskers, saying at the same time that if he ever saw him again he thought he could identify him?

(Objected to as not rebuttal; objection overruled, and exception.)

155

A. Yes, sir.—Stenner was discharged upon that examination.

### CROSS-EXAMINATION.

156 The examination to which I refer was, I think, on the 25th of May. There were twenty men under examination at that time. I do not remember the names of any of them. There were a number of police officers who appeared in connection with the prosecution at that time. I could not state the number; cannot give the names of any of the officers other than Wessler. Foley was there, but I can't say whether he testified. I made no memorandum at the time of the testimony of  
157 the different witnesses. The trial of cases occupies two hours of my time each day, more or less. Generally the whole afternoon is devoted to my civil jurisdiction as justice of the peace.

161 JOHN BONFIELD, (recalled):

I saw Mr. Simonson, who was a witness in this case, at the police station on the night of the Haymarket riot. He was introduced to me  
162 by Capt. Ward as a member of the firm of J. V. Farwell & Co. We three stood together outside of the railing. Mr. Simonson opened the conversation by remarking to me that he understood that the horses belonging to the police department were getting used up with the con-



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stant work they had, and that either Mr. Farwell or the firm—I understood him to say Mr. Farwell—told him that their horses were at our service in case we needed any horses. I told him that our teams had stood the work so far very well, but that if the troubles continued for any length of time we would likely need assistance and would call upon him if occasion demanded it, thanking him for his offer. He then spoke about the trouble at McCormick's and on Centre avenue and 18th street that afternoon, and said that the police ought to have dispersed those crowds; not to have allowed them to collect. I remarked that I was on my way to  
 163 McCormick's that afternoon, and that when I got up within a block or two of the place, in passing 22d and Ashland avenue there was a large crowd of people there, with a large sprinkling of women and children among them; that several stones were thrown at the police on our way to McCormick's; that it was almost impossible to attack that crowd or charge upon it without injuring women and children; that the provocation would have to be very great to justify the police in doing so, for we had to use a great deal of caution, because if we injured women and children the public would not uphold us. I did not, in the course of that conversation, tell him that I would like to get a crowd of 3,000 without the women and children, and in that case we would make short work of them, or anything to that effect.

164 WHITING ALLEN, recalled:

I have known Mr. Parsons positively since last fall. I knew him five years ago.

165 RICHARD S. TUTHILL:

166 I am a lawyer; have lived in Chicago about thirteen years. I was born in the State of Illinois; I was in the army during the rebellion; I was city attorney of the city of Chicago. I have been recently United States district attorney for the Northern district of Illinois. I know Harry L. Gilmer.

Q. Do you know his reputation for truth and veracity among his associates and acquaintances in the city of Chicago?

(Objected to in the form in which the question is put.)

167 A. I do. It is good so far as I know. I would believe him under oath.



## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I made Gilmer's acquaintance about five years ago. I have not talked with anybody about Gilmer's character for truth and veracity except Mr. Grinnell since the evidence in this case. Before that I heard a great many men speak of his general character; I cannot say that I heard his reputation for truth and veracity particularly questioned. I am a man of family. I don't think Gilmer has ever been in my house. I don't know that I ever attended the same church with him; I don't think I ever went to any place of entertainment with him. I think I heard Gov. Merrill and James L. Sexton state his general reputation was good, but I don't know that I ever heard his reputation for truth and veracity talked about at all. I suppose that, as a general thing, the reputation of a man which is never talked about is good, and if it is talked about it is not so good. I was brought in contact with Gilmer when I was chairman of the committee of employment of the veteran association. He wanted employment, and I asked those whom I supposed knew about him, and the committee was looking up to see whether he was a man which we could recommend for any kind of employment. He was poor and needy and was a soldier. This was about five years ago. I have seen him occasionally for the last two years; I have not known him so as to know what he has been doing for the last two years or where he has been living for the last five years; I never knew where he lived particularly. Since the time he came to me for employment I have never investigated or inquired in regard to his character.

171 .  
172 CHARLES A. DIBBLE:

I am a lawyer; have lived in Chicago since 1871. I was in the army during the rebellion. I have known Harry L. Gilmer for more than five years. I know his reputation for veracity and truth among his associates and acquaintances in the city of Chicago; it is good. I would believe him under oath.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

Gilmer has about sixteen or seventeen hundred associates in one sense of the word; I am one, Col. Sexton is one, Thomas Sexton is one and Mr. R. S. Tuthill is one. I don't know Mrs. Holt. I don't know in what particular locality Mr. Gilmer lived at any time in the last three years; I think he lived in the west division of the city. I live at 111 South



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175 Leavitt street; I think Gilmer lived within a mile and a half of that. I never entertained him at my house. I have been to picnics where he has been at Silver Grove, and I think while my wife was with me; I don't think I introduced him to my wife or any member of my family. I think I never introduced any lady to him. That was a veterans' picnic, and I think he was there. He is a member of the Union Veteran Club; I know him from there more than any other way; there are more than 1,600 or 1,700 members of that club; I see the members at our monthly meetings; sometimes we have special meetings. Mr. Gilmer is not one of my family associates; I never heard his reputation for truth and veracity questioned; I don't know that I ever heard anybody say in so many words that his reputation for truth and veracity was good. I don't know at how many different places he has lived in Chicago. I never tried to trace up his family genealogy or his character.

179 JOHN STEELE:

I am a painter; reside at 224 Cottage Grove avenue; have lived in Chicago about twenty-seven years. I was in the army during the war. I have known Harry L. Gilmer about six or seven years. He never worked for me or with me. I know his reputation for truth and veracity in the city of Chicago among his acquaintances and associates; it is good; I would believe him under oath.

180

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

181 I have never known where Gilmer lived; I have associated with him in the same company of the militia; I never associated with him about the streets or at places of amusement or in my family. I never introduced Gilmer to my wife or to my daughter, or to any lady, or to any of my acquaintances. I have seen Gilmer at balls; I marched with him in a military company and his reputation was good; he was a good marcher.

MICHAEL SMITH:

I live at 626 27th street. I am a butcher; have lived in Chicago twenty-four years; I am now working at Armour's. I have known Harry L. Gilmer since 1879; I know his reputation for truth and veracity in the city of Chicago among his associates; I consider it good; I would believe him under oath.





## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

183 I never lived near Gilmer; I never knew where Gilmer lived; he lives  
 on the west side somewheres; I never visited him. He worked in the  
 packing-house of Tobey & Booth, on the packing floor, when I was  
 foreman there, for about three months in the winter of 1882. I don't  
 184 know where he worked since then. I have a family. Mr. Gilmer was  
 once at my house on my wife's birthday, when the factory boys came  
 and gave my wife a surprise party, and Gilmer conducted himself very  
 respectably. The boys were not invited, they came up on a surprise. I  
 heard everybody that knew Gilmer say that his reputation was A No. 1.  
 185 I never heard of his living with a woman named Holt. I don't know at  
 how many places he lived through the city here. I don't know what he  
 186 was at during last winter. I don't know where he was staying last  
 summer; I don't know anything about his watching a boat the winter  
 before last; I don't know anything about his living three weeks in one  
 place and six weeks in another. He joined the militia in Battery D in  
 1879. I don't know where he was living then; I met him at Battery  
 187 D. I never visited him at his home; never knew whether he had one or  
 not; never knew who his associates were when he was at home; never  
 talked with any one that lived with him or associated with him from day  
 to day; don't know what they say in regard to his reputation for truth  
 and veracity.

188 BENJAMIN F. KNOWLES:

I live at 245½ Walnut street; am a clerk in Leaveson's clothing store  
 at 250 West Madison street. I was born in Chicago forty years ago,  
 and have lived here ever since. I was in the army during the rebellion.  
 189 I have known Harry L. Gilmer about six years. I know his reputation  
 for truth and veracity among his associates in the city of Chicago; I  
 have never heard it questioned; it is good; I would believe him under  
 oath.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I cannot say who Gilmer's associates are about where he resides. I  
 never knew where he lived; never asked him. I met him at the battery.  
 We enlist in the battery for five years; we used to meet once a week  
 and twice a week, always in the evening, except when we go out for a  
 190 drill in the afternoon. When we met once a week we would drill the  
 same as any battery and go through the maneuvers; we would begin at



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half-past 7 and drill until 10 or half-past 10, then we separated and went home; sometimes we would stop and have a talk. Gilmer and I never worked in the same store; I never worked with him. Mr. Gilmer applied to me for my testimony in this case; he went to the old Battery D boys. I am a married man; I never entertained Gilmer at my house; I never attended any social affair or any amusement with him. I never  
 191 knew with whom he lived, whether he had a wife or a mistress or whether he was a bachelor; I never asked him whether he was married or not. The only question of his veracity was in regard to my dealings in the battery with him. So long as he was honest with me I didn't step outside to inquire. I don't know what others said about him. I only know that in the battery he was thought a good deal of; he is a little bit  
 192 funny fellow. I never inquired whether he was truthful, never heard the question raised.

193 CHESTER C. COLE:

I reside at Des Moines, Iowa; have lived there about thirty years; I was formerly on the bench of the Supreme court of that state for twelve or thirteen years. I knew Harry L. Gilmer from five to seven years when he resided in Des Moines. I think I knew his reputation among his associates and acquaintances in Des Moines, while he lived there, for truth and veracity; it was good; I would believe him under oath.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

194 I have not known anything about Gilmer since 1879. I have met him occasionally in this city; I remember one occasion in 1881, when he called on me at the Palmer House; there was nothing in meeting him in Chicago upon which I could determine any question of reputation. There has never been any intimate relationship between me and Gilmer. I have very frequently given public entertainments in my house. I never  
 195 invited Mr. Gilmer to my house. For a portion of the time Gilmer lived directly west from me on the main street, I living on 4th street. Gilmer  
 196 did some varnishing of wood-work in my house in 1874 or '75. He was never at my house for any purpose except as a painter. I never introduced him to my wife or my daughters, never was at his house. I do not remember meeting him at any social gathering; I never went with him;  
 197 I would not want to say that I never met him at any such. He did some work for me also on my block; I hired him by the day, paid him, and with that our associations substantially terminated. I never made any



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198 direct inquiries among those with whom he associated socially, in regard  
to his character. When he did the varnishing in my house that I spoke  
of, I just inquired sufficiently to satisfy me that it was safe to have him  
there, as my house is a little too large for even my numerous family to be in  
200 every room. I presume he was never alone in my house. I have no  
recollection of anybody in Des Moines or elsewhere, whom I ever asked  
or heard say that Gilmer's reputation for truth and veracity was good.  
I never had any correspondence with Gilmer since he resided in Chi-  
cago, except he asked me once for a letter here, but not this year. I was  
not in the city of Chicago on May 4th, and I have no recollection of  
having been here since the month of March until after the Haymarket  
201 riot. I have not been at the Palmer House this year at any time in com-  
pany with Ex-Governor Merrill.

## EDWARD R. MASON:

I live in Des Moines since 1869. I am clerk in the United States  
Circuit court at Des Moines. I knew Harry L. Gilmer at Des Moines;  
I think I knew his reputation for truth and veracity among his associ-  
ates and acquaintances there; it was good; I would believe him under  
oath.

202

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I have been clerk and deputy for over sixteen years. I lived about  
three-quarters of a mile outside of the corporate limits of Des Moines. I  
knew Gilmer along in 1875 or 1876. Gilmer lived somewheres on 9th  
or 10th street, in the north-west part of the city. I never visited him at  
203 his house. He never visited me socially. I was a married man at that  
time. I never invited him to my house socially. My acquaintance with  
him was such as a man in the ordinary walks of life would form about  
the street in ordinary conversation; I never had any business relations  
with him. He never worked with me, or in my office. I  
met him as a special policeman on the police force; he was on  
the police force several times—whether regular or special, I don't  
204 know; I don't know whether he was married at that time or not, except  
by hearsay; I knew nothing about his domestic relations; I had occasion  
to inquire as to his character, at the time he was on the police force, of  
the mayor and other members of the police force. I never went to those  
with whom he associated and visited back and forth, to ascertain his rep-  
utation for truth and veracity.



I live at Des Moines since seventeen years; I was in the army during the rebellion; I am at present president of the Citizens' National Bank of Des Moines. I was formerly governor of the State of Iowa. I knew Harry L. Gilmer when he lived at Des Moines; I think I knew his reputation for truth and veracity among his associates while he lived there; it was good, so far as I know. I would believe him under oath.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I knew Gilmer when he worked for me as a painter, about 1872 or 1873, and for five or six years after that. I knew him in a general way, the same as I knew other people in the city, as I would know a mechanic. I never did any banking business with him, except to pay him for his  
208 work. I think I never visited him socially at his house or family; I think he never visited me socially. I don't remember where he lived, but I knew him by employing him now and then as a painter during five or six years; I think he worked for me by the day and by the job. I  
209 never met him socially, or went with him to any social parties; I did not know him in the army. I never heard it disputed whether or not he was a truthful man while he lived in Des Moines; I never heard any one  
210 say that he was truthful or was not truthful, as I now remember. I do not remember that I ever investigated among his associates as to whether he was truthful or not. Since 1875 or 1876 I lost sight of Mr. Gilmer; I think I have seen him in this city once, during the banker's convention,  
211 in October of last year. I was not at the Palmer House on the 4th of May, this year. I have been in the city once or twice this spring; I was here some time in May, I think; I stopped at the Grand Pacific; I stop occasionally at the Palmer House; I have not stopped there any time this year; I have only been there to see some parties, perhaps. I don't  
112 recall that I was expected at the Palmer House on the 4th of May; I did not write to Mr. Gilmer or anybody else that I would be at the Palmer House on the evening of the 4th of May; I was requested by the state's attorney to come here as a witness by a dispatch which I received last Saturday night. I don't know anything of what Mr. Gilmer has been doing during the time he has been in Chicago.  
213 I have no acquaintance with him for the last few years. I don't think he was a married man when at Des Moines; I don't know about it; I can't swear to those things. I don't know who his immediate associates





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were in Des Moines, those with whom he visited, those socially acquainted with the man, I don't know anything about that. I believe the population of Des Moines is about 40,000 to 45,000.

214 GEORGE CHRIST:

I live at Des Moines, Iowa, since twenty-one years. I was there in the mercantile trade and at one time was city marshal during 1876 and 1877. I knew Harry L. Gilmer when he lived in Des Moines; I think I knew his reputation for truth and veracity among his associates while he lived there; it was good, I would believe him under oath.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I had some business with Mr. Gilmer during 1876; I don't remember the kind of work I employed him to do. I have an idea he was a collector of the dog tax, I had him employed several times. I don't remember what it was; I don't think it was something of a detective character. I don't know that he ever was a police officer. I don't think I would have known it if Gilmer had been connected with the police force prior to the time that I was on it. I never visited in his family, he never visited in mine; I never introduced him to the members of my family; I had no occasion to associate with him; I do not know with whom he did associate. I only know that I employed him. We had a blank receipt stub, and every man that paid his tax was given his receipt, and the collectors made their returns to me; I knew how many receipts I gave him; the tax was two dollars apiece and the stubs had to tally with the money. He did his work satisfactorily and honestly. I don't know what he has done for the last ten years. I never associated with him and don't know that I associated with his associates. I had no occasion to hear any question as to whether he was a truthful man or not.

W. H. PRINCE:

I reside at 506 Webster avenue, on the north side, since twenty-three years. I have lived in Chicago since 1852. I was in the army during the rebellion. I have known Harry L. Gilmer since about 1879. Gilmer's reputation for truth and veracity among his acquaintances and associates is good; I would believe him under oath. I am a carpenter.



## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I don't know where Gilmer lives. I never knew where he did live. I got acquainted with him at a party. I used to be a member of Battery D, and so was Gilmer. I used to meet Gilmer about 7:30 in the evening and drill until 10 or 10:30; then we all went home. I did not visit Gilmer. He did not visit me. All I know about him is seeing him at the battery. I don't know any of his neighbors at all; I don't know anything at all what his neighbors and those who associated with him from day to day, said about his reputation for truth and veracity.

## CANUTE R. MATSON:

I live in Chicago since twenty years. I am deputy sheriff of Cook county. I have known Harry L. Gilmer for four or five years. I know his reputation for truth and veracity among his neighbors and associates in the city of Chicago. It is good. I would believe him under oath.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

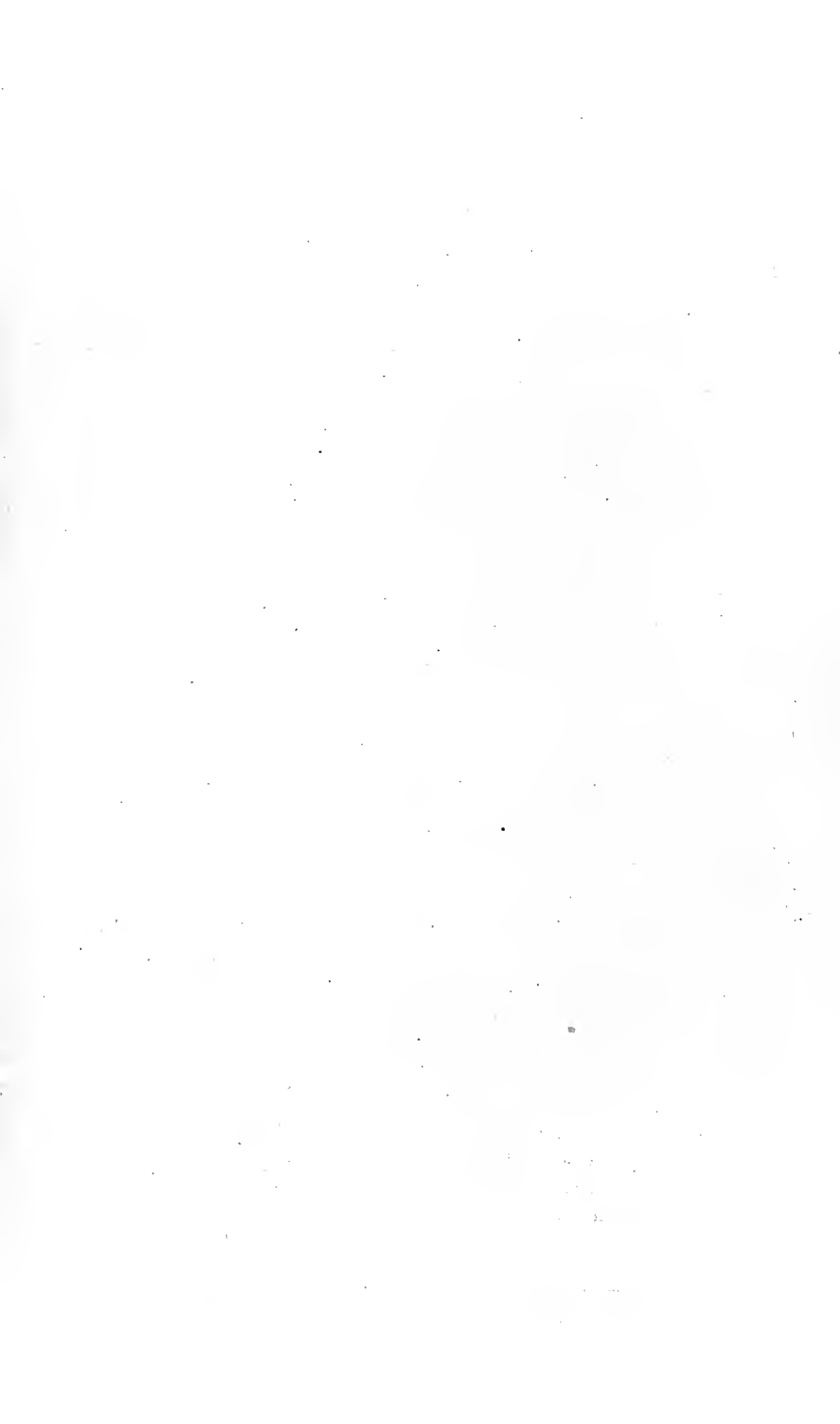
I don't know where Gilmer lives now, where he lived last month, or last year, or in 1884; I don't know any of the persons, men or women, with whom Gilmer has associated, visited and revisited back and forth for the last ten years, never knew any of them. I know members of the veteran club with whom he associated; I am a member of the veteran club and have seen Gilmer there. Gilmer applied to me for recommendation, and that is why I made an investigation to find out whether he was a man of truth or not, I don't remember particularly of whom I enquired. I never knew where he lived during the entire time of his residence in Chicago; I never knew who his intimate associates were, those that he saw and smoked his pipe with.

## SYLVANUS EDINBURN:

I reside at DesMoines, Iowa, since about thirty-two years; I knew Harry L. Gilmer when he lived there. I am a plasterer. I knew Harry L. Gilmer's reputation for truth and veracity among his associates and acquaintances while he lived in DesMoines; it was good; I would believe him under oath.

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

Gilmer lived in DesMoines opposite from where I lived; the last house in which he lived was his own. He was not in the habit of visiting in



225 lived there opposite me. He was considered a good citizen in the neighborhood in which he lived. He was a married man while he lived at DesMoines. He lived near me about a year. I first got acquainted with him about 1872, and I think it was 1876 or '77 that he sold out and went away, I never saw him since then until to-day. I never worked for him or he for me; we never had any business transactions together. I think my wife went over to see his wife, who was an invalid, she did not go over to see Mr. Glimmer nor did I. I think he was on the police force for a while. I never heard his neighbors say anything about his reputation for truth and veracity, and as to whether they would believe him under oath; I never investigated his character in that regard. I know nothing of what his reputation has been for the last nine years.

W. P. HARDY:

I reside at DesMoines, Iowa, since sixteen years. I am a house painter. I knew Harry L. Glimmer while he lived in DesMoines. To a certain extent I knew his reputation for truth and veracity among his associates and acquaintances while he was living there; it was good, I would believe him under oath.

Cross-EXAMINATION.

Glimmer once worked for me about three or four weeks. I knew him from five to six years. I understood he was on the police force for a while, my acquaintance was not intimate enough to know whether he was on the night watch or the day watch. I never lived near him. I never visited him, never took my family to his house nor he to mine; I did not mingle with him in society, no more than to meet him the same as I would any other person. I cannot give the names of the persons with whom he associated from day to day, or with whom his family associated, persons who went to his house and to whose house he went. If I didn't think that he was a straight man I would not have employed him, but I did not know his general reputation for truth and veracity among the people that met him socially more than in a general way, the same as any other citizen. I was not intimately acquainted with him, I was not watching him. He worked for me I think in 1873; since that time I have not seen a great deal of him. I never enquired as to what



231 people who associated with him in the neighborhood in which he lived said about his reputation; I had not heard anything about that even in a general way, from those who were his neighbors and associates, prior to the time I heard of his testifying in this case. I know nothing of what he has done since he came to Chicago. I was a boss painter, hired Harry Gillmer, he worked for me about three weeks, I paid him, did not see anything wrong about him, he went his way and I went mine, that is about all I know of Harry Gillmer.

232 JOHN L. MANNING:  
I am an attorney at law; have lived in Chicago eighteen years; have known Harry L. Gillmer about five years. I know his reputation for truth and veracity among his associates and acquaintances in Chicago; it is good; I would believe him under oath.

CROSS-EXAMINATION

I have only known Mr. Gillmer in connection with the Chicago Union Veteran Club. I am manager of the Veteran Police Patrol, and employed him recently as police patrolman on the occasion of the last strike in May, also in July; that was in the nature of a private police; he was not uniformed. I employed him on the occasion of a strike on the Wabash railroad. I did not have him on the 4th of May; I had him on the nights of the 7th, 8th and 9th of May; he was special deputy sheriff under the management of our officers on the Wabash road; his duties were simply to guard the property. I only know Gillmer from that occasion and from meeting him at the veteran club; I recommended him a great many times for employment as a member of the club. I don't know anything about his reputation for truth and veracity in the neighborhood in which he lived, except what I have stated. I knew where he lived in different places, as he reported to me his changes of residence while I was secretary of the veteran club. I did not know from personal acquaintance where he lived, I never visited him or was at his place of residence. I don't recollect of having ever conversed with any one who resided at or about his place of residence. I don't know the character which he bears for truth and veracity among the neighbors where he lives and those with whom he associates from day to day, only among the members of the veteran club and from my own association with him. I don't know anything about whom he visited. I never introduced him into my family; never made any inquiries as to his family.

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I don't know whether he is married or single; it was not my business as an official in the veteran club to inquire, and I never did inquire. I never knew what he did outside of the Veteran Club. I never have inquired among those with whom he associated from day to day and from night to night, whom he visited and who visited him, as to his reputation for truth and veracity, and I don't know what that reputation is among those people.

237 PATRICK BURNS:

I reside at Des Moines, Iowa, since eighteen years. I am deputy city marshal. I knew Harry T. Gilmer and his reputation for truth and veracity among his associates and acquaintances when he lived at Des Moines; it was good; I would believe him under oath.

Cross-EXAMINATION.

238 I have been on the police force in the city of Des Moines for over six years. Gilmer was on the special force on the occasion of the centennial celebration. I did not know him to be on the police force before that.

239 On that occasion I was on special duty myself, not a regular member of the police force at that time. I don't know where Gilmer lived in Des Moines; I never was at his house; he lived somewhere on the west side,

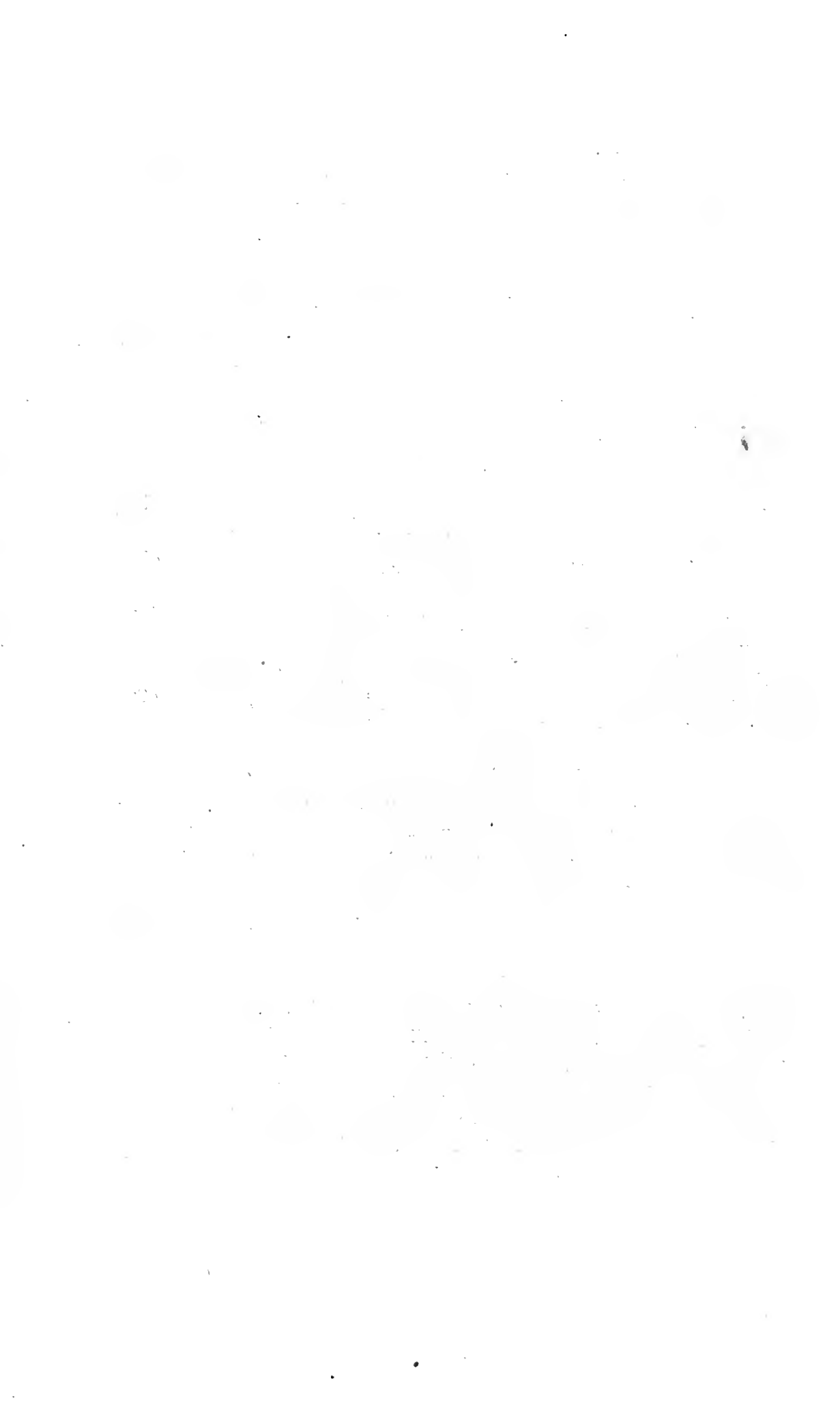
240 up on the hill; I lived in East Des Moines. I could not say who his neighbors were. I don't know what those who lived in his immediate neighborhood said in regard to his reputation for truth and veracity. I

241 only knew what was said about town. Des Moines is practically divided into two towns, by the Des Moines river, one is East Des Moines, the other West Des Moines; each has a separate post-office. I couldn't

242 say what Gilmer's reputation as to truth and veracity was on the west side among the neighbors where he resided; I never made inquiries around his neighborhood, never had occasion to. In 1876 I was in the restaurant business. Gilmer never boarded with me, never visited in my

243 family; I never visited in his. I never had anything in common with him. I knew him before 1876. I saw him around, sometimes two or three times a week; sometimes, perhaps, every day, painting in one place and another. I didn't keep track of what he was doing; he never

244 worked for me. I never had any particular conversation with him at any place, simply saluted him as I would any other member of the city.



ALEX. LINDMANN:

I am a machinist, live at 15 Concord place, in the north division of Chicago, since seven years; have lived in Chicago twenty-one years. I know Harry L. Gilmer. (Defendants object to this witness' testimony as to the reputation of Gilmer, coming from persons residing elsewhere than his neighborhood. Objection overruled, and exception.) I know his reputation among his associates and acquaintances in the city of Chicago for truth and veracity, it is good; I would believe him under oath.

245

Cross-Examination.

I never heard anything said about the reputation of Harry L. Gilmer before I was called as a witness; I never heard anybody say he was a truthful man, the question never came up. I associated with him. I don't know anything about his family. I don't know where he ever lived. I am a Battery D man. Gilmer was down there and drilled with the boys, that is all I know about him; I don't know anything about him outside of the battery.

246

JOHN M. DAHL:

I reside at 723 Elston avenue; have lived in Chicago fourteen years; I have known Harry L. Gilmer for the last four years; I know his reputation for truth and veracity among his associates and acquaintances in the city of Chicago; it is good; I would believe him under oath.

247

Cross-Examination.

Gilmer worked for me about five or six weeks in 1882. I did not know him before I hired him; had no business with him since; have no other acquaintance with him; I met him off and on, right along. I don't know where he lived, whether he was married or single, or who were his associates. I gave him charge of some work; he did his work well, and he proved to be a good painter. I don't know the people with whom he lives. I have a wife. I never introduced him to my family; he was never at my house; I was never at his; I don't know anything about who his associates were. He simply worked for me and did the work I told him to do; that is all I know about him.

249

THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

The history of the United States is a story of growth and change. It begins with the first settlers who came to the shores of North America. These early pioneers faced many hardships, but they persevered and established a new society. Over time, the colonies grew in number and strength. They developed their own laws and customs, and they began to assert their independence from Britain. The American Revolution was a turning point in the nation's history. It was a struggle for freedom and self-governance. The Founding Fathers drafted the Constitution, which established the framework for the new nation. The United States has since grown into a powerful and influential country. It has played a leading role in the world, and it has made many contributions to science, culture, and the arts. The history of the United States is a testament to the power of the human spirit and the pursuit of a better life.

The United States has a rich and diverse cultural heritage. It is a melting pot of different peoples and traditions. This diversity has made the United States a more vibrant and resilient nation. The American dream is a central theme in the nation's history. It is the belief that anyone can achieve success and prosperity through hard work and determination. This ideal has inspired millions of people and has shaped the character of the United States. The history of the United States is also a story of progress and innovation. From the invention of the printing press to the development of the internet, the United States has been at the forefront of many technological advancements. These innovations have not only improved the quality of life for Americans but have also benefited the rest of the world. The United States has a long and proud history, and it continues to play a vital role in the world today. Its values of freedom, democracy, and justice are timeless and universal. The history of the United States is a source of inspiration and pride for all who love this great nation.

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C. J. SCHAEFER:

I reside at Des Moines, Iowa; first went there in 1876 and lived there off and on since that. I have been a policeman there for nearly nine years. I knew Harry L. Gilmer, and his reputation among his acquaintances and relations for truth and veracity when he lived in Des Moines; it was good; I would believe him under oath.

250

## CROSS-EXAMINATION.

I got acquainted with Gilmer in 1876, about the time he went on the police force as special officer on the occasion of the centennial. He was on the force off and on when we needed any officer. He seemed to be busy at work in the city, and when we called him for assistance he  
251 generally went to work. I don't know where Gilmer lived in 1876, but I know where his wife died; that was about nine blocks from where I  
252 lived. I never visited at his house nor he at mine, except that he did a job of painting for me. I did not inquire among his associates in the neighborhood where he resided, or within several blocks around his house, about his reputation. I don't know anything about what he did  
253 since he went away from Des Moines. I never heard his reputation discussed in Des Moines at that time. I never heard the question asked as to whether he was a truthful man or not, no more than as to any other citizen. I never knew him to be a witness in Des Moines. I don't think there was ever any occasion for making up his record.

256 EDWARD FURTHMAN, recalled:

257 I know John Bernett. He told me on the 6th or 7th of May last at the central station that the place from which he saw the bomb thrown was ten or fifteen feet south of the alley.

258 A. S. BERKOWSKY:

I am in the fish business at 123 West Randolph street—north-east corner of Desplaines and Randolph. I generally keep fish boxes there, and left some there on the day of the Haymarket trouble, on the corner, when I went away at 6 o'clock.

260 MICHAEL KISSANE:

I was at the Haymarket on the night of May 4th, the second man in the front line of Lieut. Steele's company. I had no weapon or anything shining in my hand before the bomb was thrown.



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261 MARTIN BOCK:

I was on the Haymarket on the night of the 4th of May, the fourth man in the front line on the east side; I had nothing shining in my hand, revolver or club, at any time before the bomb went off.

262 JOHN O'CONNELL:

I was at the Haymarket on the night of May 4th, No. 4, in the first set of fours in the front rank of Lieut. Steele's company; had nothing shining, revolver or club, in my hand, before the bomb exploded.

CHARLES JANSCH:

I was at the Haymarket on the 4th of May, the first man in the second set of fours in the front rank of Lieut. Steele's company. Before the bomb went off I had nothing shining in my hand, either pistol or club.

263 HENRY WEINECKE:

I was No. 6 in the front row of Lieut. Steele's company; I had nothing shining in my hand, either pistol or revolver, before the bomb exploded.

264 LOUIS BAUMAN:

I was the seventh man from the east in the front row of Lieut. Steele's company on the Haymarket, on May 4th, had nothing shining in my hand, either pistol or club, before the bomb went off.

PATRICK WALSH:

265 I was the ninth man from the east in the first line of Lieut. Steele's company, on the Haymarket on May 4th. Had nothing shining in my hand, either pistol or club, before the bomb went off; I saw none in anybody else's hand there near me.

FRANK G. LETTIS:

I was No. 1 in the second rank in Lieut. Steele's company; had nothing shining in my hand, either club or revolver, before the bomb was thrown.





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CHRISTOPHER W. GAINOR:

266 I was the second man in the second rank of Lieut. Steele's company on the night of May 4th; had nothing shining in my hand, either club or revolver, before the bomb went off; I had nothing in my hand.

WILLIAM DEWALD:

267 I was the third man from the east in the rear rank of Lieut. Steele's company on the night of May 4th; had nothing shining in my hand, club, revolver or anything else, before the bomb was thrown.

EDWARD J. HANLEY:

I was No. 4 in the second rank of Lieut. Steele's company on the night of May 4th; had nothing in my hand, either club or revolver, or anything else, before the bomb was thrown.

268 JOHN HANRAHAN:

I was the fifth man in the second rank of Steele's company on May 4th; had nothing shining in my hand, either club or revolver, or anything else, before the bomb was exploded.

DANIEL McCARTHY:

269 I was No. 6 in the rear rank of Lieut. Steele's company on the night of May 4th; had nothing shining in my hand, either club or revolver, before the bomb exploded. Dumbroskwy was at my left; I saw him; he had nothing shining in his hand, either club or revolver, before the bomb was thrown. McNulty was next to him on his left; he is in the hospital.

JAMES W. KERR:

270 I was No. 1 in the third set of fours in the rear rank of Lieut. Steele's company on May 4th. Officer Cook stood to my right. I had nothing shining in my hand, either club or revolver, before the bomb was exploded; I saw no other officer there have a club or revolver, or anything shining in their hands.



VOL. N.

HENRY PALMER:

271 I am police officer; I made the arrest of Rudolph Schnaubelt either on the 6th or the 7th of May. I took him to the Central police station and conversed with him in the English language. He spoke English, broken English, with decided foreign accent.

JAMES BONFIELD, recalled:

272 I was present at the station at the interview between Supt. Ebersold and the defendant, Spies. Mr. Ebersold did not lay hands on Spies.  
273 He made a great many motions. He walked around the floor, and most of the conversation was in German. I know the word "hound" was used a great deal, and after that I made some remark to the chief to be quiet, and put my hand on his shoulder. He then said in English, addressing Schwab, "You are driven from your own country, and now you want to dictate to us." Chief Ebersold is a German. He is not in town at present.

274 Whereupon the People rested their case. And the foregoing was all the testimony introduced at the trial of this cause.

Pursuant to agreement between counsel for respective parties, photographs, marked People's Ex. 129 to 136, inclusive, and also diagrams and maps are inserted herein and made part hereof.





# Supreme Court of Illinois,

NORTHERN GRAND DIVISION.

March Term, A. D. 1887.

Error to the Criminal Court of Cook County:

August Spies et al.,  
*Plaintiffs,*

vs.

The People of the State of Illinois,  
*Defendant.*

## Abstract of Record.

### Vol. II.

CONTAINING ABSTRACT OF TESTIMONY: VOLS. I TO N.

W. P. BLACK AND

SALOMON & ZEISLER,

Attorneys for Plaintiffs in Error.

ONARD SWETT,  
Of Counsel.







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KF  
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