

"These aliens, driven out of Germany and Bohemia
for treasonable teachings by Bismarck and the Emperor
of Austria, have swarmed into this country of extreme toleration
and have flagrantly abused its hospitality."

—Chicago Tribune, *May 8, 1886*

"The city went insane."

—*Mother Jones* (nickname for
the labor organizer *Mary Harris Jones*)

A *Harper's Weekly* illustration of the police being caught in the explosion.

❖ Chapter 2 ❖

The Haymarket Bomb Trial

On the night of May 4, 1886, Chicago police were getting ready to break up a meeting of industrial workers in a place called Haymarket Square when someone threw a bomb. The event led to the deaths of seven policemen and provided America with a new devil—the anarchist, “a fiend with a smoking gun and a bomb.”

ARE YOU AN ANARCHIST?

Immigrants arriving on New York’s Ellis Island at the beginning of the twentieth century had to go through rigorous inspections before they were allowed to enter the country. Doctors examined them for signs of mental handicap or disease. Each newcomer had to answer a series of questions designed to weed out undesirables: “Can you read and write? Have you been in a prison, almshouse, or an institution for the care of the insane?” There was one political question: “Are you an anarchist?”

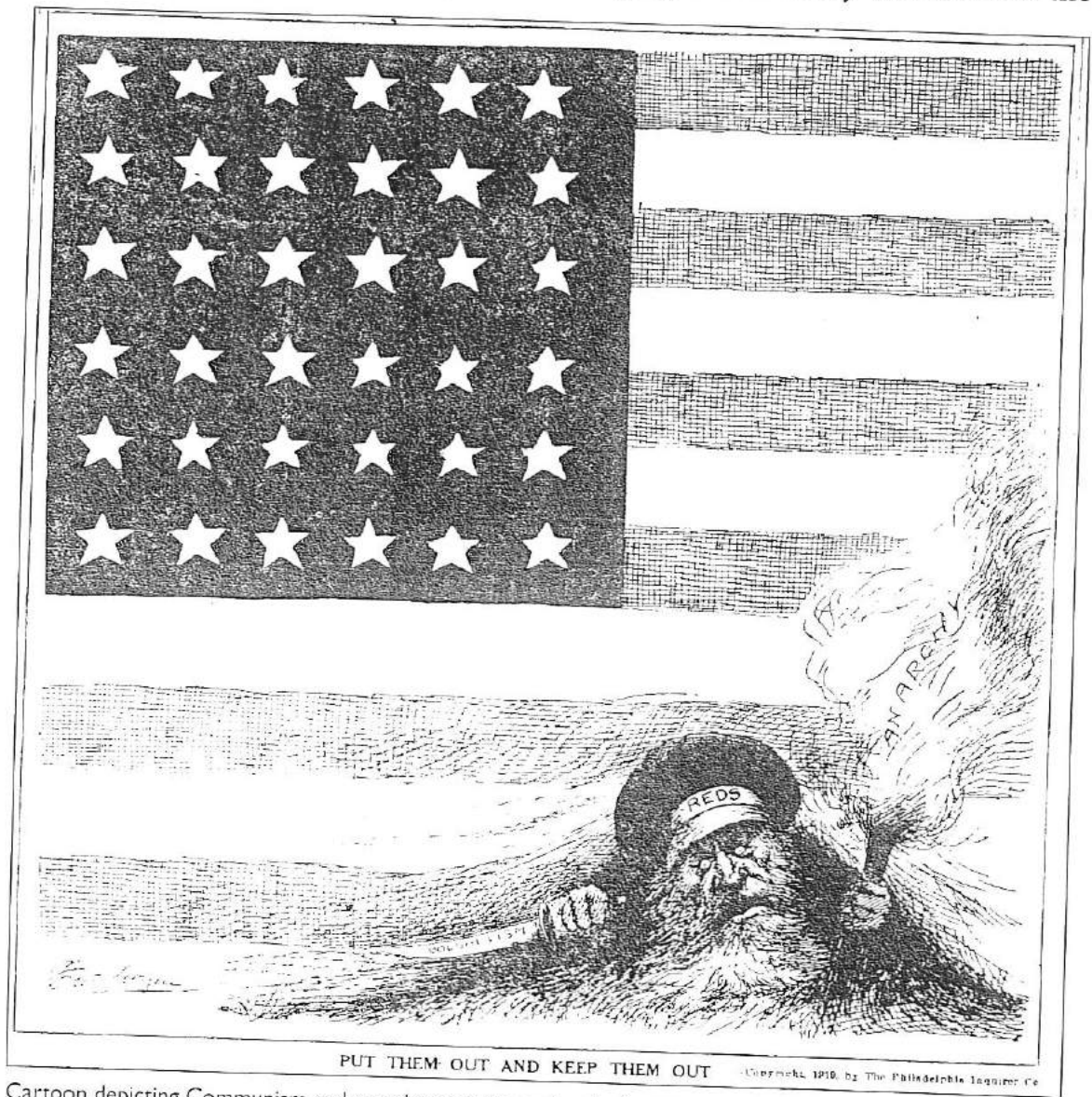
If the answer was yes, the immigrant was sent back to the Old World on the next boat, along with the people who had tuberculosis or typhus. Like them, he was thought to carry a dangerous contagion. He was infected with a political disease that caused assassinations and bombings.

“WILD-EYED FIEND”

For a fifty-year period, between 1880 and 1930, the word *anarchist* could send a shiver of fear up the spines of stockbrokers in silk hats, kings in braided uniforms, and ordinary newspaper-reading citizens in America and in Europe. For most

people, the word conjured up the image of "a wild-eyed fiend, armed with a smoking revolver and a bomb" (so the historian Henry David summarized the typical American's idea of the anarchist).

In their fiery writings and speeches, anarchists called for a mighty uprising that would change the world forever. It would begin with a strike of all workers: laborers would put down their tools, leave the factories, and abandon the controls of the trains and streetcars they drove, bringing the economy to a halt and the



Cartoon depicting Communism and anarchy creeping under the American flag, 1919, by Fred Morgan.

ruling classes to their knees. The chain of events unleashed by this great strike would, anarchists believed, bring an end to poverty. Property, government, and class distinctions would disappear, giving way to the reign of perfect freedom, equality, and justice.

Anarchism had much in common with socialism, the other radical political response to the vast upheavals of the Industrial Revolution, and the general public had a hard time telling the two movements apart. One important difference, though, was that anarchists killed people. In the years before the First World War, six heads of state were killed by men calling themselves anarchists.

But anarchists did not limit their attacks to kings and politicians. Convinced that their cause justified any action, throughout the 1880s and 1890s anarchists threw bombs at people marching in parades, celebrating a monarch's birthday, or just sitting in cafés listening to music. Though the damage done and the number of people hurt were minimal by today's standards, these attacks had an enormous impact. Terrorism was a new idea then. Dynamite, which had been invented only in 1867, for the first time put a weapon of mass destruction into the hands of anyone with a little ingenuity and a lot of deadly intent.

What could motivate people to commit these seemingly senseless crimes? For the police, politicians, and editors of the most widely read newspapers in the United States, the answer was simple—anarchism was a political disease that had invaded America from Europe, where the powerless poor were numerous. America was a democratic country where anyone could rise through hard work; it could never have spawned an ideology like anarchism. Some of the richest men in the United States had started with nothing. If the United States had an anarchist movement—and indeed, it had one of the largest in the world—then this was an unfortunate side effect of immigration. Along with the honest people looking for a better life, some insane fanatics had managed to get in.

This explanation seemed reasonable, because many of America's radicals were immigrants. But it failed to take into account a host of other facts. The Industrial Revolution that had begun in Europe was now sweeping the United States at an astonishing pace. Industry was reshaping society—welding the continent

together with railways and telegraph lines; mass-producing cheap shoes and canned meat, hair cream and sewing machines; and erecting great cities complete with gas lamps, streetcars, and elevated trains. A byproduct of all this industrialization was a drastic change in the ground rules of American life: it was creating a handful of fantastically wealthy captains of industry and millions of desperate people who had nothing to lose.

THE BOMB IN HAYMARKET SQUARE

The most famous anarchist bombing of the nineteenth century took place in Chicago on May 4, 1886, and it arose out of the bitter labor conflicts that had plagued the city for twenty years. The day before the bombing, police had fired into a crowd of factory workers on strike, killing as many as four of them. To protest the shooting, a rally was held the next night near a place called Haymarket Square. The crowd was already dispersing when a police chief inspector known for his eagerness to deal harshly with strikers dispatched his men to hasten the breakup of the meeting. As the police marched into the crowd, someone threw a bomb into their ranks. The police responded with wild pistol fire. Seven policemen ultimately died from their wounds.

The Haymarket bombing led to the trial of eight anarchists: August Spies, a furniture maker; Michael Schwab, a bookbinder; Samuel Fielden, a stone hauler; Adolph Fischer, a typesetter; Oscar Neebe, a former ship's cook; Louis Lingg, a carpenter; George Engel, a wagon maker; and Albert Parsons, a newspaper compositor and former Confederate soldier.

The courtroom battle that followed was closely watched throughout the United States and Europe. Looking back on it today, we can see that the Haymarket bomb trial was a trial of the American judicial system as it existed in the 1880s as much as it was a trial of the men accused of the bombing. It tested the court's ability to deal fairly with a group of defendants who frightened and enraged almost the whole society. It tested the court's ability to put what it considered to be the devil on trial.

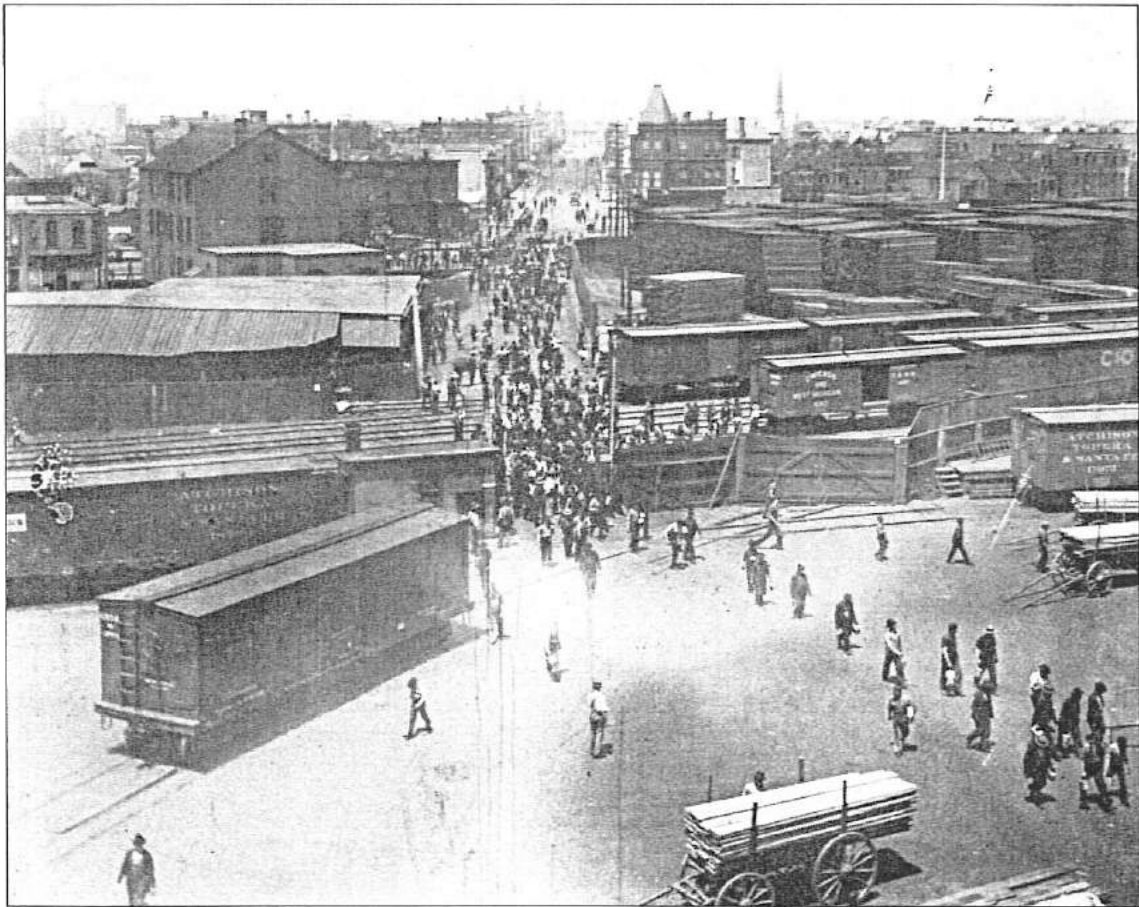


In the Chicago stockyards, Chicago was the center of the American meatpacking industry in the 1880s. Note the Armour packing plant in the background.

A "PILING UP OF BLIND FORCES"

Although an incident like the Haymarket bombing could have occurred in any major manufacturing city in the United States, it was not surprising that it occurred in Chicago, the fastest-growing big city in the country, with the bitterest labor conflicts, the toughest factory owners, and the angriest and most outspoken work force.

Chicago exhibited all the light and darkness, all the energy and brutality, of the new industrial America. "Murderously actual" was how the architect Frank Lloyd Wright described the city—a "piling up of blind forces." All the railroads



Workers entering McCormick Reaper Works in the 1880s. Police shot several striking workers here on the day before the Haymarket bombing.

of the West led to Chicago. It was to Chicago that the hogs and cattle were brought to be processed in the city's meatpacking plants; and it was from Chicago that they were shipped off the next day as chops, steaks, and rib racks in refrigerator cars that had been manufactured in Chicago. Chicago's mail-order companies supplied the nation's farmers and their families with everything from whalebone corsets to prefabricated houses. The factories of the McCormick Reaper Works in Chicago poured out the harvesting machines that were stitching the prairie into even squares of quilted cornfields and wheat fields. For tourists coming to the United States in the late 1800s, Chicago was an attraction equal to Niagara Falls.

But as it turned hogs into hams, lumber into furniture, and molten metal into reaping machines, Chicago was also busy manufacturing a new brand of misery. More than half the city's workers were immigrants who had been drawn to the metropolis by the promise of (relatively) high-paying jobs. And though there were certainly plenty of jobs in Chicago, there were many more workers than jobs. Wages went up and down with the fluctuations of the economy, making workers' lives uncertain and confronting many of them with a deprivation greater than anything they had ever known in the Old World. Workers lived in rooming houses, crowded together in the homes of relatives, or in cheaply built shanties located near open sewers and unpaved streets. Many simply camped out. In 1870, a prosperous year for the city, there were twenty thousand homeless workers wandering the streets by day and sleeping in alleys and under bridges in the dead of winter.

American workers had no safety net in those days. There was no such thing as minimum wage, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, social security, or welfare. When business was slow, factories lowered wages or simply fired workers, leaving them with nothing but charity to fall back on. Charity was not always available—charity was supposed to be bad for workers' characters—so unemployment in those years meant more than an inability to pay for any of the specialty goods displayed in Chicago's shop windows. It meant hunger for the worker and his family.



A child laborer linking bedding springs in a factory in Boston, Massachusetts.

Even in boom times, some workers did not earn enough to support themselves, and it often fell on children to supplement the family income by working in factories, peddling newspapers, shining shoes, sewing buttons, making artificial flowers, or rolling the fat cigars that, in those days, were always burning in the mouths of successful men.

Occasionally politicians attempted to improve labor conditions by proposing legislation to regulate wages or shift lengths (which in the 1880s commonly ran ten or eleven hours, sometimes as long as fourteen). Factory owners considered all such efforts to be a misguided interference with the laws of the economy, which would just make workers lazy. As the creators of the country's new wealth, business leaders had little trouble seeing to it that their views prevailed.

THE LABOR MOVEMENT

In the 1820s workers in the United States and Europe began to organize themselves into labor unions. Through labor unions, workers found strength in numbers. For the first time in their lives, they had the ability to bargain for higher wages and better working conditions: unions gave workers the power to threaten bosses with their most effective weapon, the labor strike. All at once, they could lay down their tools and bring the factory to a halt, immediately cutting into their employers' profits, damage that got worse every minute goods weren't produced and customers' orders weren't filled. Larger industry-wide strikes could have even more powerful effects. A strike of streetcar workers could stop a city. A strike of railroad workers could stall the entire U.S. economy, as essential products and resources couldn't get to the next city.

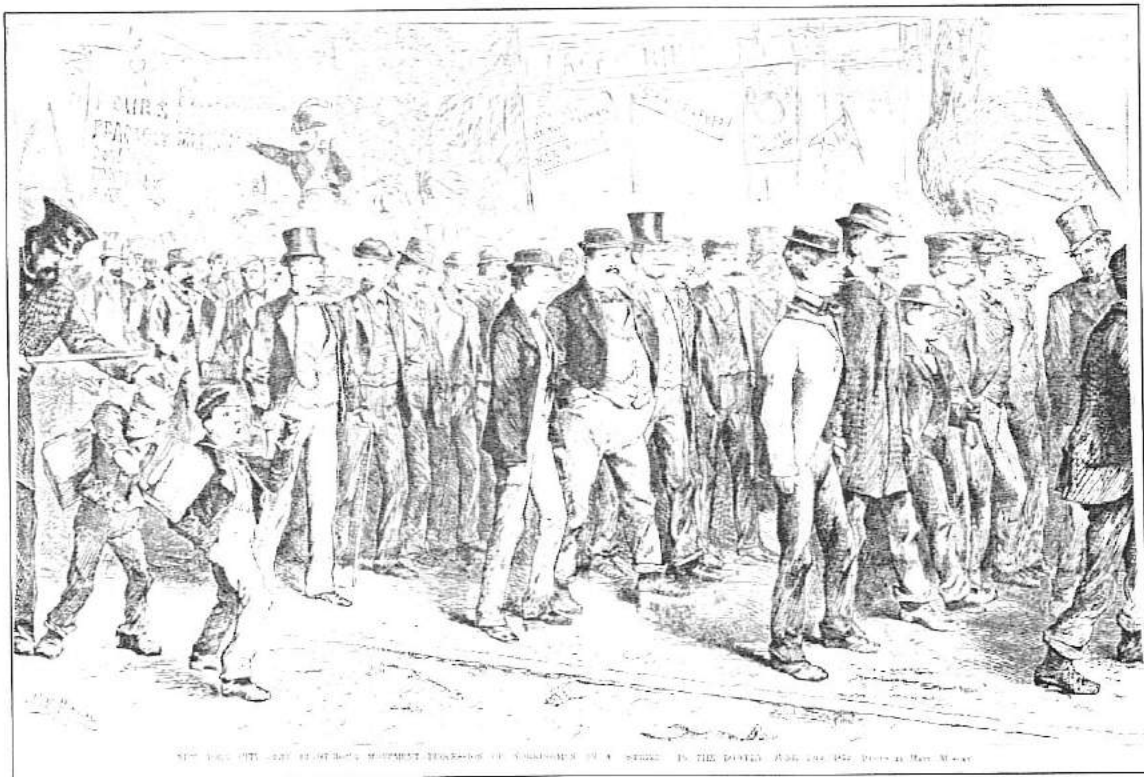
If things went as strikers intended, they would resume work when their demands had been met or some compromise had been reached. Factory owners were extremely reluctant to permit such an outcome. In fact, most of them considered union demands to be a complicated form of robbery, and at first judges were inclined to agree. At the behest of business, judges issued court orders to disband the unions and force their members to pay fines. In the 1840s, when the courts ruled that unions were legal, most authorities—judges, officeholders, and police—were still on the side of the executives in labor disputes. Bosses made workers sign contracts promising, as a condition of their employment, not to join unions; they enlisted the help of other workers by paying them to act as company spies. Employers shared lists (“blacklists”) of known union organizers with one another so that such men and women could not find work. But workers continued to band together anyway.

Conflicts between factory workers and bosses often turned violent. During strikes, rather than giving the workers what they were asking for in terms of higher wages or better working conditions, factory owners brought in replacements, who came to be called “strikebreakers.” Strikers responded by trying to prevent strikebreakers from going to work, attacking them with fists, clubs, and

stones. Employers responded by hiring armed men to escort the strikebreakers to work. The violence continued as the century wore on.

THE MOST RADICAL CITY IN THE UNITED STATES

By the mid-1880s, Chicago was the most radical city in the United States. Several thousands of its workers were anarchists, thousands more were socialists, and the majority of those who did not belong to either group joined in anarchist-led political demonstrations. Chicago's mainstream newspapers, which expressed the views of the business community, were certain that workers were drawn to extremist political ideologies only because so many of the workers were immigrants. They had brought these foreign ideas—*anarchism and socialism*—into this county like a contagious disease.



The Eight-Hour Day March as depicted in *Frank Leslie's Weekly*.

There was, however, another explanation as to why Chicago's workers were attracted to extreme solutions: American democracy had failed them. In the late 1860s, during a time of general prosperity and enthusiasm for reform in the northern United States, the Illinois legislature had passed a law establishing an official eight-hour workday, scheduled to take effect on May 1, 1867. On that day, tens of thousands of workers, including representatives from forty-four unions, marched down the city's streets carrying banners that read EIGHT HOURS AND NO CONCESSION and WE RESPECT THE LAWS OF THE STATE.

The following day, the city's largest factory owners ordered their employees to work the usual ten or eleven hours. Workers who left after eight hours were considered to be strikers, and other workers were brought in to replace them. Neither the governor nor Chicago's mayor made any effort to enforce the new law, and when strikers fought the strikebreakers, the mayor had police and militia stationed in factories and in immigrant neighborhoods in a show of force that cowed resistance—at least for the moment. Defeated, the strikers returned to their jobs.

Over the years, other clashes between Chicago workers and police created a legacy of hatred between the two groups. In 1877, during a nationwide strike in the fourth year of a depression, a total of thirty men were killed—they were all workers, and they were all killed by the Chicago police. It is not surprising, then, that many of Chicago's working people thought that the courts and the police existed mainly to serve the interests of factory owners and men of property.

THE ANARCHISTS

Nowhere was this bitter conviction—that the law and police force were on the side of the wealthy—more openly expressed than in the pages of two radical newspapers: *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, edited by a German immigrant named August Spies; and the *Alarm*, edited by a man named Albert Parsons and his wife, Lucy. Both newspapers printed fiery speeches by their editors, as well as translations of the writings of socialist thinkers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and anarchist thinkers Mikhail Bakunin and Jacob Most.

A native of Landeck, Germany, August Spies had come to the United States in 1872 when he was seventeen years old. After working in an upholstery shop, he took a brief stab at farming and then returned to shop work in Chicago. Handsome and well spoken, Spies embraced radical politics during the labor upheavals of the 1870s.

Albert Parsons had an unusual life story for an anarchist; indeed, the course his life had taken defied all conventional expectations. A descendant of the Pilgrims (some of his ancestors had come over on the *Mayflower*), Parsons was a former Confederate soldier. Though he

had served the South during the Civil War, when the war was over Parsons embraced the cause of black emancipation. After finishing college and training as a printer, he started a newspaper called the *Spectator*, which he used to champion the rights of freedmen. In 1869, he ran for office in McLennan County, Texas, where the Ku Klux Klan was attacking blacks and “scalawags” like himself (*scalawags* was a derisive word for Southerners who sided with the North). Later, as a militiaman, he defended black voting rights. In 1872, he married an attractive dark-skinned woman named Lucy Parsons, who, according to some reports, had been born an African-American slave. Albert and Lucy Parsons were an unusual



This photo montage, created in 1887, shows five anarchists: August Spies, A. R. Parsons, Louis Lingg, George Engel, and Adolph Fischer.

couple for their time, believing in equality between the sexes as well as between blacks and whites. After their arrival in Chicago in 1874, they worked as union organizers and speakers, calling for the overthrow of the propertied classes.

MAY DAY

The Haymarket bombing, which led to the trial of August Spies, Albert Parsons, and six of Chicago's other leading anarchists, grew out of a renewed effort on the part of the labor movement to take up the fight for the eight-hour workday that had been launched in 1867. In 1886, unions across the country agreed to call for a nationwide strike, which they planned to take place on May 1, 1886.

On May 1, a total of 300,000 workers across the United States went on strike: 85,000 of those strikers lived in Chicago. Despite anarchist threats of violence (the pages of the *Alarm* suggested MAKE YOUR DEMAND FOR EIGHT HOURS WITH WEAPONS), Chicago's May Day strikes and the demonstrations that accompanied them were peaceful. But blood would be shed only a few days later, at the McCormick Reaper Works, the manufacturer of the harvesting machinery that was transforming American agriculture.

LOCKOUT

Back on February 12, 1886, the workers at McCormick Reaper Works had voted to strike. Cyrus McCormick, Jr., son of the company's founder, countered by declaring a "lockout," shutting the factory down while his managers looked for replacement workers.

Overseeing the police protection of the plant was Chief Inspector Jack Bonfield, a man with a reputation for dealing harshly with strikers. In 1885, against the orders of Chicago's mayor, Carter Harrison, Bonfield had told his men to fire their guns at a group of striking streetcar workers, a move that made him a hero to Chicago's business community.

By May, the McCormick factory was running again, with strikebreakers

operating the machinery under police protection. But McCormick's labor problems were not over. Half his replacement workers had joined the strike movement. The stage was set for violence at the McCormick plant.

SHOOTING AT THE MCCORMICK PLANT

On the evening of May 3, the factory bell at McCormick Reaper Works rang out, signaling the end of the workday. When McCormick's strikebreakers started to leave the plant, the McCormick strikers charged toward the factory, planning to attack them. The police, under the command of Jack Bonfield, responded by firing into the crowd of strikers, killing as many as four workers (the exact number of those killed is unknown).

In response to this incident, Spies, who happened to have personally witnessed it, went to his newspaper office and composed a leaflet: "Workingmen, to Arms!!! Your masters sent out their bloodhounds—the police—they killed six of your brothers at McCormick's this afternoon. . . . If you are men, if you are the sons of grandsires who have shed their blood to free you, then you will rise in your might, Hercules, and destroy the hideous monster that seeks to destroy you. To arms, we call you. To arms!"

"MASS-MEETING TO-NIGHT"

In an editorial printed the next day, Spies called for workers to arm themselves. That afternoon the anarchists passed out a leaflet to announce a protest meeting to be held that night. The leaflet was printed in both English and German.

Attention Workingmen! Great Mass-Meeting to-night, at 7:30 o'clock, at the HAYMARKET, Randolph St., Bet. Desplaines and Halsted. Good Speakers will be present to denounce the latest atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.

Twenty-five hundred people—far fewer than Spies had expected—showed up for the meeting at Haymarket Square, a place used for open-air markets in a slum neighborhood of railroad tracks, tenements, and saloons. Perhaps to avoid drawing attention to the disappointing size of the crowd, Spies moved the meeting to a space on Desplaines Street near Cranes Alley, a driveway behind a metal factory.

Chicago's Mayor Harrison, an easygoing, broad-minded politician, had also expected a larger crowd. In order to prevent a riot from taking place, he had arranged for 167 policemen to assemble at the Desplaines Street police station, half a block from Haymarket. The police were commanded by Chief Inspector Jack Bonfield, the same Jack Bonfield who had ordered the police to shoot at the workers at the McCormick plant the day before. The Haymarket meeting had been called specifically to protest these actions.

Spies gave the first speech himself. Taking note of the police presence, he insisted that the meeting would be peaceable. Spies went on to call Cyrus McCormick, Jr.—who had accused him of inciting violence at the plant the day before—an “infamous liar.”

“Hang him!” someone in the crowd called out.

Attention Workingmen!

MASS-MEETING

TO-NIGHT, at 7.30 o'clock,

HAYMARKET, Randolph St, Bet. Desplaines and Halsted.

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

Workingmen Arm Yourselves and Appear in Full Force!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Achtung, Arbeiter!

Große

Massen-Versammlung

Heute Abend, 7 1/2 Uhr, auf dem

Haymarket, Randolph-Strasse, zwischen

Desplaines, u. Halsted-Str.

☛ Gute Redner werden den neuesten Schurkenstreich der Polizei, indem sie gestern Nachmittag unsere Brüder erschoss, geißeln.

☛ Arbeiter, bewaffnet Euch und erscheint massenhaft!

Das Executiv-Comite.

AN ANARCHIST HANDBILL.

Reproduction of anarchist handbill “Attention workingmen! Great mass-meeting ...” The same words were printed in German at the bottom of the leaflet.

"There will be a time, and we are rapidly approaching it, when such men as McCormick will be hanged," Spies told the crowd. "But that time has not yet come."

After Spies finished speaking, Albert Parsons addressed the crowd. Denouncing the evils of capitalism, he exhorted the workers: "Arm yourselves." Voices in the crowd shouted, "We will do it" and "We are ready now."

Believing that his presence at the scene would have a calming effect, Mayor Harrison attended the rally. He was easy enough to recognize, for he was a tall man weighing 225 pounds, well known for his big gray beard and black slouch hat. To make sure he would be noticed, he kept striking matches as though to re-light his cigar. To a friend he explained, "I want the people to know their mayor is here." The speeches by Spies and Parsons left Harrison with the impression that the meeting would be peaceful. He testified later that although he would describe Parsons's speech as a "violent political harangue against capital," it was



Mayor Carter Harrison wearing his big slouch hat.

temperate compared to many other speeches he had heard on such occasions. Further, said Harrison, the crowd had remained calm and orderly, and the occasional cries of "Shoot him" or "Hang him" evoked only mild responses. In fact, several of the "Hang him" cries came from a boy standing at the edge of the crowd, and each time he shouted this, the audience would laugh.

A little before the end of Parsons's speech, Harrison left the meeting. He stopped by the police station to inform Inspector Bonfield that the meeting was "tame" and that the reinforcements could be sent home.

After Parsons finished speaking, around ten o'clock, he introduced Samuel Fielden to the crowd. Fielden was an immigrant from England, the son of a Lancashire hand-loom weaver who had been active in the British labor movement. When Fielden was seven, he had gone to work in the Lancashire cotton mills, an experience he described as "satanic." After coming to America in 1868, he traveled widely. Educating himself by reading radical literature and attending socialist meetings, he became a popular speaker.

About ten minutes into Fielden's speech, a dark cloud began to approach from the north. Gusts of wind made signs creak and sent scraps of paper flying through the air. Afraid of being caught in a downpour, people began to leave. Parsons called out for the meeting to adjourn to a nearby tavern called Zepf's Hall; Parsons himself, along with fellow anarchist Adolph Fischer, went to Zepf's. Fielden, in the meantime, told the dwindling crowd of about three hundred people: "A million men hold all the property in this country. The law has no use for the other fifty-four million."

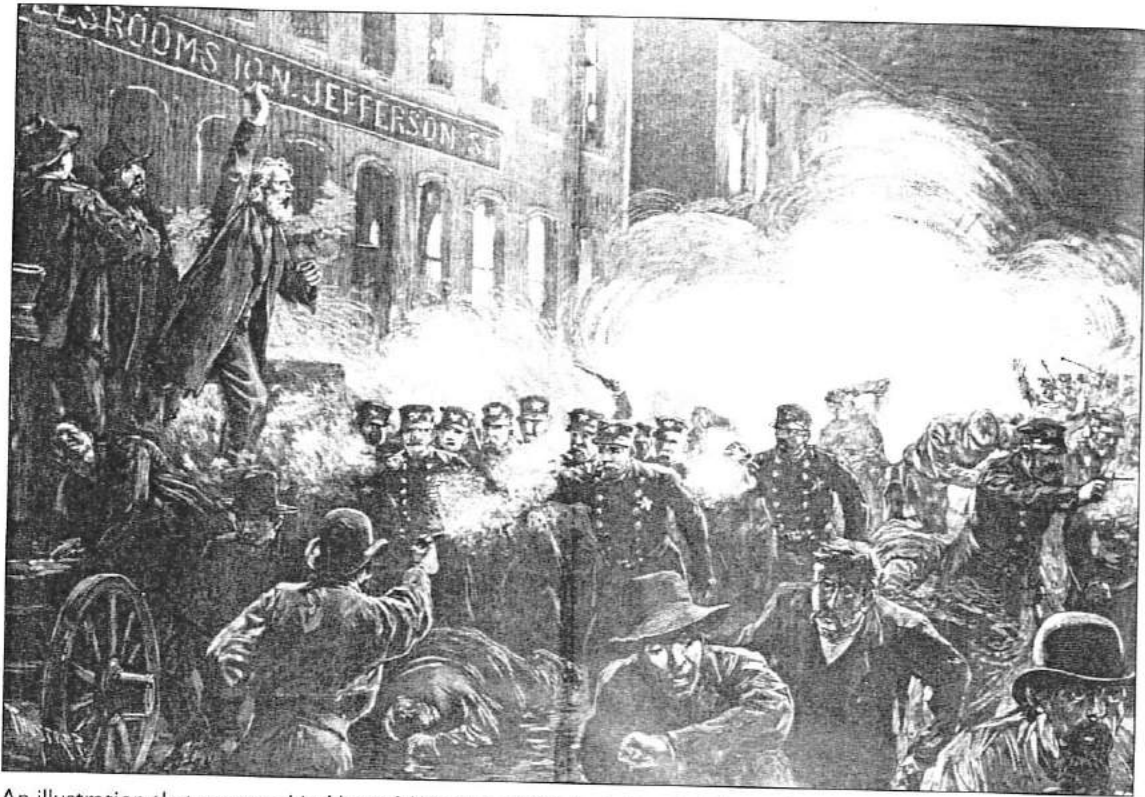
"Right enough," a voice in the crowd answered.

Fielden continued:

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.

At this point in Fielden's speech, two detectives in the crowd rushed to the Desplaines Street police station to tell Inspector Bonfield that Fielden was saying the law must be throttled and killed.

Bonfield responded by assembling his men in an alley next to the station and marching them in quick time—"almost a run"—to the rally, their ranks filling Desplaines Street from curb to curb. The buttons on their blue coats glittered in



An illustration that appeared in *Harper's Weekly* in 1886 depicting the Haymarket bombing.

the electric lights of the nearby Lyceum Theater. As they surged forward, the crowd retreated up the street and edged onto the wooden sidewalks.

Led by Inspector Bonfield and Captain William Ward, the police marched up to the speakers' wagon. "I command you, in the name of the people of the state of Illinois, immediately and peaceably to disperse!" shouted Ward.

Fielden told Ward, "But we are peaceable." When Captain Ward repeated his command, Fielden agreed to go and began to step down from the wagon.

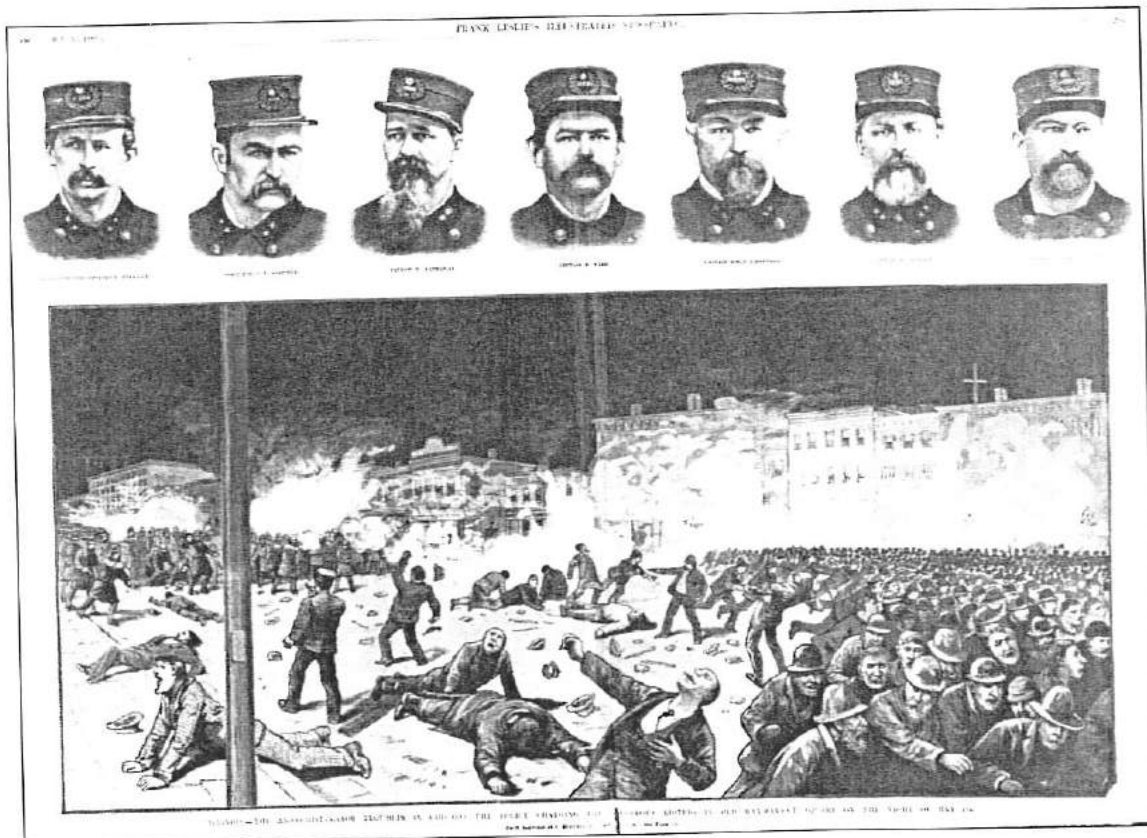
That was when witnesses remembered hearing something sputtering over their heads, "something like a miniature rocket." Giving off a red glare, it flew about two feet in the air before falling into the middle of the street among the ranks of policemen. It lay on the ground for a few seconds before exploding with tremendous force.

Eyewitness accounts of what occurred at this point differ widely. The *Chicago Tribune* reported the next day that the blast stunned the officers, and before they

could come to their senses, "the anarchists and rioters poured a shower of bullets into the police." Most of the police officers on the scene testified they had been fired at from the crowd.

The workers and speakers there that night, however, maintained that all the gunfire came from the police, and their testimony was backed by three businessmen who were at the meeting.

Everyone agreed about what happened next. "Goaded by madness," wrote the *Chicago Tribune*, "the police were in the condition of mind that permitted no resistance, and in a measure they were as dangerous as any mob of Communists, for they were blinded by passion and unable to distinguish between the peaceful citizen and Nihilist assassin." An unknown number of civilians were injured or killed by the police, at least some of them while they were attempting to flee the scene.



An illustration from *Frank Leslie's Weekly* depicts a moment after the explosion. The policemen killed in the Haymarket bombing appear on the top of the picture.

RED SCARE

As news of the event spread, fear of an anarchist uprising gripped the country. The incident had come during a time of great unrest. In 1886, more than 610,000 workers went on strike, causing Friedrich Engels, coauthor of *The Communist Manifesto*, to remark, "History is on the move over there [in the United States] at last." The bloodshed on Desplaines Street was seen by many people as a symptom of general disorder and the signal for a revolution.

White-collar workers, the middle class, and the rich united in a demand for vengeance. Newspapers around the nation fanned the fury, describing the anarchists as "cutthroats and thieves" and "monsters." Editorials compared the anarchists to animals, calling them "ungrateful hyenas," "incendiary vermin," and "slavic wolves." The *St. Louis Globe-Democrat* proclaimed, "There are no good anarchists except dead anarchists." *Harper's Weekly* described the Haymarket incident as "an outburst of anarchy, the deliberate crime of men who openly advocate massacre and the overthrow of intelligent and orderly society."

Chicago papers called for revenge. "The anarchists are amenable to no reason except that taught by the club and rifle," said the *Chicago Daily News*. The *Chicago Tribune* recommended that Congress deport anarchists and restrict immigration to keep out the "foreign savages, with their dynamite bombs." Anarchists, the *Tribune* explained, arise out of "the worst elements of the Socialistic, atheistic, alcoholic European classes."

Neither the press nor the general public seemed to appreciate the fact that the Haymarket violence had occurred within the context of other violent events—in particular, the shooting of the McCormick strikers the day before. The police reports of the incident were accepted at face value. As the labor organizer Mary Harris Jones (known as "Mother Jones") recalled in her autobiography, "The city went insane, and the newspapers did everything to keep it like a madhouse. The workers' cry for justice was drowned in the shriek for revenge."

“HE WANTED TO KEEP THE THING BOILING”

On May 5, Mayor Harrison issued a proclamation forbidding public gatherings and marches. Chicago police ransacked meeting halls, raided anarchist and socialist newspaper offices and homes, and opened mail. They rounded up hundreds of men and women without charges or warrants and beat them, partly in an attempt to extract confessions from them, but undoubtedly also for revenge.

Led by a glory-hunting police captain named Michael J. Schaack, the investigators fed newspapers' far-fetched accounts of plots

and conspiracies. Chicago's papers accepted Schaack's stories without question and published articles that helped to convince the people of the United States that the Haymarket bomb had been the opening volley in a carefully planned anarchist insurrection. Schaack became America's best-known police detective as he and his investigators "discovered" bombs all over Chicago—most of which were nonexistent or had been planted by the police.

PROCLAMATION

TO THE PEOPLE OF CHICAGO:

MAYOR'S OFFICE, Chicago, May 5, 1886.

WHEREAS, Great excitement exists among the people of this good city, growing out of the LABOR TROUBLES, which excitement is intensified by the open defiance of the guardians of the peace by a body of lawless men, who, under the pretense of aiding the laboring men, are really endeavoring to destroy all law. And Whereas, last night these men, by the use of weapons never resorted to in CIVILIZED LANDS, EXCEPT IN TIMES OF WAR or for REVOLUTIONARY PURPOSES, CAUSED GREAT BLOODSHED AMONG CITIZENS AND AMONG OFFICERS of the MUNICIPALITY who were simply in the performance of their duties. And Whereas, the CITY AUTHORITIES PROPOSE TO PROTECT LIFE AND PROPERTY AT ALL HAZARDS, and in doing so will be compelled to break up all unlawful or dangerous gatherings; and

WHEREAS, Even when men propose to meet for lawful purposes, bad men will attempt to mingle with them, armed with cowardly missiles, for the purpose of bringing about bloodshed, thus endangering innocent persons:

THEREFORE, I, Carter H. Harrison, MAYOR OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO, DO HEREBY PROCLAIM THAT GATHERINGS OF PEOPLE IN CROWDS OR PROCESSIONS IN THE STREETS and PUBLIC PLACES OF THE CITY ARE DANGEROUS AND CANNOT BE PERMITTED, AND ORDERS HAVE BEEN ISSUED TO THE POLICE TO PREVENT ALL SUCH GATHERINGS and TO BREAK UP and DISPERSE ALL CROWDS, TO PREVENT INJURY TO INNOCENT PERSONS.

I urge all law-abiding people to quietly attend to their own affairs, and not to meet in crowds. If the police order any gatherings to disperse, and they be not obeyed, all persons so disobeying will be treated as law-breakers, and will surely incur the penalty of their disobedience.

I further assure the good people of Chicago that I believe the police can protect their lives and property and the good name of Chicago, and WILL do so.

CARTER H. HARRISON, Mayor.

The proclamation issued by Mayor Harrison forbidding public gatherings and marches in the wake of the Haymarket bombing.

Schaack's superior, the chief of police Frederick Ebersold, later disclaimed responsibility for Schaack's behavior. "It was my policy to quiet matters down as soon as possible after the 4th of May. . . . On the other hand, Captain Schaack wanted to keep things stirring. . . . He wanted to keep the thing boiling."

The bombing doomed the eight-hour-workday movement. The men who had led the rally were arrested or in hiding, and the Red Scare caused by the bombing guaranteed public support for ruthless action against any workers who went on strike in support of a shorter workday.

THE POLICE FIND A SUSPECT

On May 6, in the course of a general roundup of known radicals, the police went to William Seliger's house, where they knew Louis Lingg, a young anarchist carpenter and union organizer, also resided. The police did not find Lingg, who had gone into hiding, but they did find a trunk belonging to him. Its contents included a bomb, a pistol, and a great deal of anarchist literature. Seliger was arrested, and he confessed to spending May 4 manufacturing bombs under the direction of Lingg.

Twenty-two years old, handsome, strong, and fanatical, Louis Lingg was the youngest, and the most violent, of the men who would become defendants at the trial. When he was a child in Baden, Germany, he had seen his parents destroyed by poverty. He had become an anarchist while working as a carpenter in Switzerland. When he came to the United States in 1885, he headed straight for Chicago because he knew it to be the home of a large community of anarchists. Lingg impressed other anarchists with his forceful personality and his physical courage. Nothing less than revolution would satisfy him.

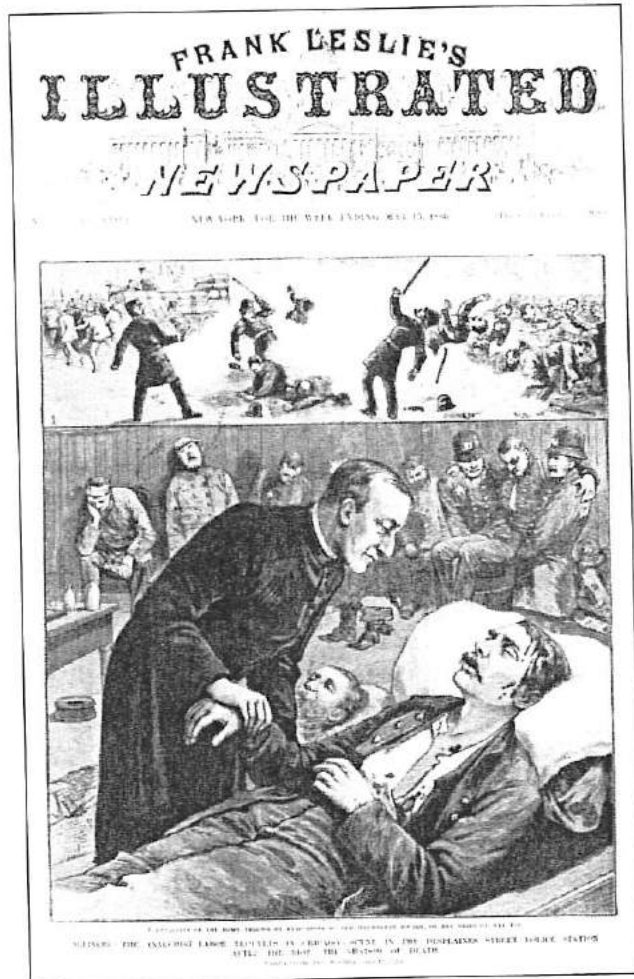
After the bombing, Lingg cropped his hair, shaved his mustache, and hid out on Chicago's Southwest Side. The police got word of his whereabouts and arrested him after a violent struggle. Lingg had his hands around one detective's throat when another hit him over the head with a club.

LEGAL PROCEEDINGS BEGIN

The first policeman to succumb to injuries sustained in the Haymarket incident was Officer Mathias J. Degan. According to a coroner's inquest that was held on May 5, he had died from a wound caused by "a piece of bomb, thrown by an unknown person . . . aided, and abetted" by a list of well-known Chicago anarchists.

Less than two weeks later, on May 17, a grand jury was convened to review the results of the investigation and to determine whether a crime had been committed and if so, who should be tried for it and what the charges should be. Swept up in the mood

of the time, the judge of the grand jury proceedings, John G. Rogers, instructed the jurors, "Anarchism should be suppressed." After interviewing several witnesses, the grand jury indicted ten men for the murder of Officer Degan. The accused, most of whom were associated with the anarchist newspapers the *Alarm* and *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, included Albert Parsons, the former Confederate soldier; August Spies, the German furniture maker; Samuel Fielden, the British stone hauler; Adolph Fischer, the typesetter; Louis Lingg, the young carpenter turned revolutionary; Michael Schwab, a bookbinder from Bavaria; George Engel, a



The cover of *Frank Leslie's Weekly*, May 1886. The illustration shows a priest giving last rites to a policeman.

fifty-year-old wagon maker from Kassel, Germany, who, like Lingg, believed the time for revolution had come; and Oscar Neebe, a former ship's cook, salesman, and factory worker who had suffered near starvation after he was fired for defending the rights of other workers at a stove factory.

Accused but never brought to trial was Rudolph Schnaubelt, a Czech machinist active in the anarchist movement, who had been seen standing near the speakers' wagon on the night of the bombing. He had been arrested and then released after several witnesses backed up his claim that he had left before the bomb exploded. After he fled the city, some police and newspapers concluded that he was the most likely person to have actually thrown the bomb. He was never caught. William Seliger, Lingg's roommate, escaped prosecution by turning state's evidence, testifying against Lingg at the trial. Except for Parsons, who was born in Texas, and Neebe, who was born in New York of German parents, all the men arrested were immigrants.

By the time of the indictment, five policemen had died of wounds received on the night of May 4. However, the anarchists were charged only with the murder of Officer Mathias Degan. Only Degan's death could be definitely attributed to the bomb and not to gunfire, which could have come as easily from the police as from the anarchists.

Considering the hysterical atmosphere at the time, the wording of the indictment was calm and reasonable. Declaring that the labor movement as a whole was not responsible for the Haymarket crime, the grand jury insisted that the idea that the eight-hour-day movement was part of a revolutionary plot was exaggerated in the public mind. Still, the grand jury believed that the Haymarket bombing was the result of "a deliberate conspiracy, the full details of which [were] in the possession of the officers of the law."

The grand jury could not see the police as fallible human beings capable of lying or distorting the truth to cover up their mistakes, nor could they see them making up tales to advance their careers, as Captain Schaack was doing. To believe such things about the police right after the Haymarket bombing would be

unpatriotic; it would seem as though the jurors were indifferent to the fate of men killed in the line of duty.

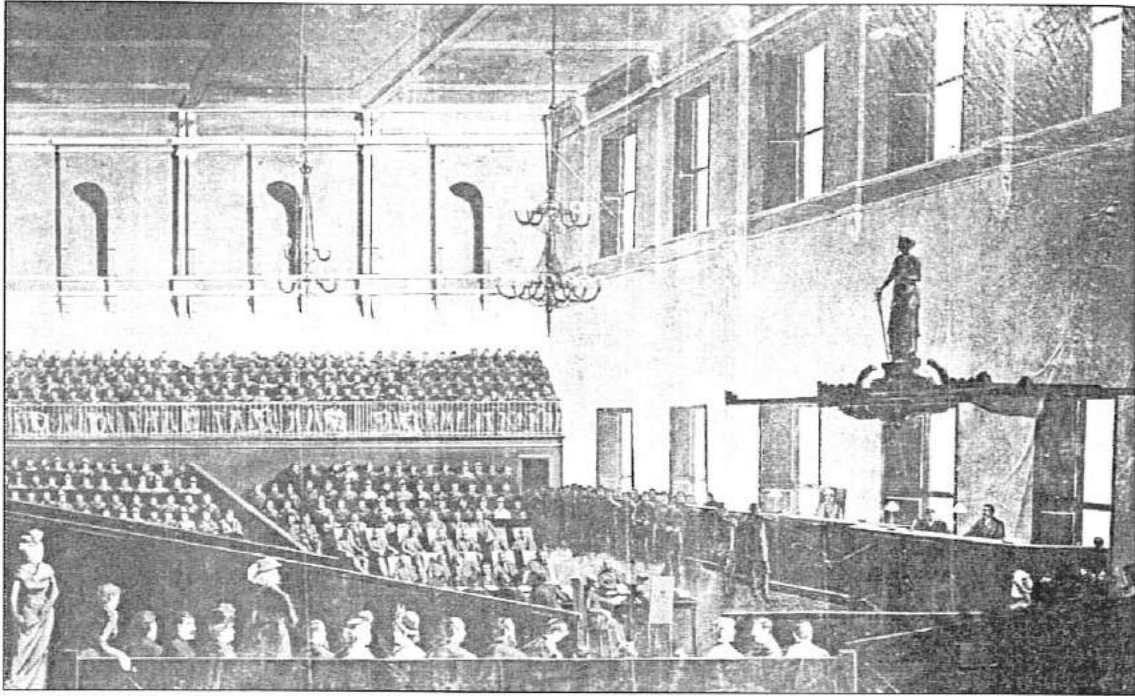
DEFENDING THE DEVIL

It was difficult to find defense attorneys willing to be associated with defendants who were hated by the most powerful people in the city and viewed as less than human by millions of Americans across the country. Two of Chicago's moderate socialists formed a committee to create a fund for legal expenses, collecting money mostly by appealing to workers.

The first two lawyers willing to help were Moses Salamon and Sigmund Zeisler, neither of whom had much experience as a defense attorney. Eventually a corporate lawyer named William Black agreed to lead the team. After serving as a Union army captain in the Civil War, Black had built up a profitable law practice, which he knew he would be throwing away by leading the anarchists' defense team. (He said at the time that his actions would lead to "an almost total sacrifice of business," and in fact, most of his clients did end up abandoning him.) Black himself lacked experience as a criminal lawyer, so he asked William A. Foster, a talented criminal defense attorney who had come to Chicago from Iowa only a few months before, to join him.

William Black's keen sense of justice has won him the respect of most historians of the Haymarket affair. However, at the outset of the case, his fair-mindedness also led him to make a serious error in judgment.

Albert Parsons had gone into hiding shortly after the Haymarket bombing. Communicating with Parsons through his wife, Lucy, Black convinced the fugitive to turn himself in, thinking that in doing so Parsons would be able to show how confident he was that his innocence would be proven. Although Parsons did not agree with Black about this—he told a friend that if he surrendered he could "never expect . . . to be a free man again"—he had a weakness for dramatic gestures. On the opening day of the trial, June 21, 1886, Parsons walked into the



Photograph of a painting of the surrender of Albert Parsons to Cook County legal authorities in a crowded courtroom after he was charged with murder for his role in the Haymarket Square Riot.

courtroom. After entering a plea of not guilty, he shook hands with the other accused men and took his place among them.

A HANGING JUDGE

The panic that surrounded the Haymarket affair imperiled the defendants' chances of receiving a fair trial. To begin with, it was difficult to find jurors who had not already made up their minds about the case. Matters were made worse by the bias of the judge, Joseph E. Gary, who did not even bother trying to hide his hostility toward the accused, which in and of itself was a transgression of his duty to conduct a fair trial. During jury selection, he ruled again and again that it was all right for jurors to think the defendants were guilty as long as the jurors were willing to say they could change their minds. Gary's rulings consistently favored the prosecution, and he denied defense requests at every turn. When the defendants asked to be tried separately so that the evidence against one of them would

not be held against all of them, Judge Gary refused. He gave the prosecution the freedom to present evidence that was only distantly related to the crime while subjecting the evidence of the defense team to stringent standards.

In the American system of justice, each side has a right to question its opponent's witnesses. This process, called "cross-examination," is subject to a special rule: questions asked on cross-examination must be relevant to the topics about which the witness originally testified. But what is "relevant"? That is up to the judge to decide. Gary allowed the prosecution to veer widely from the original questions while strictly imposing the rules on the defense.

A WEAK CASE

After assuring the jury that the case would be based solely upon the facts and that he would not play upon their prejudices, the lead prosecuting attorney, Julius Grinnell, proceeded, in his opening statement, to do everything he could to appeal to the jurors' biases and manipulate their emotions:

In the light of the fourth of May we now know that the preachings of Anarchy [by] . . . these defendants hourly and daily for years, have been sapping our institutions, and that where they have cried murder, bloodshed, Anarchy and dynamite, they have meant what they said, and proposed to do what they threatened.

The prosecution's two key witnesses told far-fetched stories about overhearing the conspirators discuss their plans right before the bomb went off. First, M. M. Thompson, an employee of the department store Marshall Field & Company, testified that he had followed Spies and Schwab into Cranes Alley, where he overheard them plotting revenge against the police. Thompson swore that he spotted Spies and Schwab passing an object—allegedly, the bomb—to a third man, who put it into his coat pocket. After being shown a photograph of Rudolph Schnaubelt, the Haymarket conspirator who had been released after arrest and was now on the run, Thompson identified him as the third man.

The defense discredited Thompson's testimony by producing witnesses who established that Schwab had been at the Haymarket rally for only a few minutes and that he had left before the meeting began. They also pointed out that Spies and Schwab always spoke to each other in German, a language Thompson didn't know. Further discrediting himself, Thompson admitted on cross-examination that the prosecution had prepped him by showing him a picture of Schnaubelt before the trial.

The prosecution's other star witness, a painter named Harry L. Gilmer, was also hard to believe. Gilmer testified that he had witnessed a clandestine meeting in Cranes Alley between Spies and Fischer and another man—whom he identified in a photograph as Schnaubelt. After watching them confer with one another in hushed tones, Gilmer said he saw Spies light a match and ignite a bomb. But Gilmer's testimony was easily discredited by the defense, who pointed out that he had never before mentioned any of this—neither at the coroner's inquest, nor before the grand jury, nor when, in the presence of reporters, he had told his story to the police. In fact, on another occasion he had identified Fischer as the bomber.

Damaging Gilmer's credibility even further, ten prominent Chicago citizens testified that he was a habitual liar. On cross-examination, Gilmer admitted that he had received money from Detective James Bonfield, the brother of Chief Inspector



This illustration, entitled *Liberty, Not Anarchy*, shows the hands of Justice holding, in the left, a sword labeled U.S., and, in the right, a handful of anarchists.

Jack Bonfield. In addition, there were many witnesses, including reporters and policemen, who had seen the bomb thrower, and all of them testified that he did not resemble Schnaubelt. Many also testified that the bomb had not been thrown from Cranes Alley, where Gilmer claimed to have seen it thrown, but from Desplaines Street.

After attempting to link the defendants directly to the bomb, the prosecution moved on to the second part of its case. With the cooperation of Gottfried Waller and Bernhard Schrade, two anarchists who had agreed to testify in order to escape being charged with the others, the state's attorney tried to establish that the Haymarket bomb was part of a plan to spark an anarchist uprising—a plan supposedly hatched in a meeting hall the day before the Haymarket incident. Although Waller and Schrade testified that they had heard Engel, Fischer, and Lingg speaking about revolution during that meeting (which was no surprise, considering they were all anarchists), neither went so far as to say that he had heard any of the accused mentioning a bomb or Haymarket Square. The prosecution did manage to prove that Louis Lingg made bombs, but they could not produce any evidence linking Lingg to the particular bomb that had killed Officer Degan.

A third part of the prosecution's case, and the real heart of their courtroom strategy, was simply to present the jury, for days on end, with the most inflammatory speeches and writings of the defendants and of other anarchists not on trial. They displayed an assortment of bombs and bomb parts, none of which had been traced to any of the defendants or to the Haymarket bomb. They laid out the bloodstained uniforms of the policemen for the jury to see.

In their concluding remarks, the prosecution tried to frame the crime as broadly as possible. They maintained that the defendants had been involved in a vast conspiracy to overthrow the social order. Drawing the jury's attention to the idea of a major anarchist plan for revolt, the prosecution urged the jurors to convict the anarchists even if none of the evidence or testimony that had been presented had succeeded in convincing them of the defendants' guilt. One of the prosecutors went so far as to say that not only the eight defendants but three thousand of their fellow anarchists were guilty of Degan's murder.

The defense countered by contending that the defendants were not on trial for being anarchists: they were on trial for one crime—the Haymarket bombing—and one murder—the murder of Officer Degan. Furthermore, they argued, the prosecution had not produced any evidence linking any of the defendants to the Haymarket bomb, nor had they produced any evidence of a specific conspiracy, other than the defendants' general advocacy of anarchism and the use of violence—specifically, dynamite.

The lead prosecuting attorney, Grinnell, rested the prosecution's case by again calling the jury's attention to the dangers of anarchism. He proclaimed that though it was a glorious thing that the United States was a republic, there was "but one step from republicanism to anarchy." Thus, he implied, anarchism posed a greater danger to the United States than it did to other countries and it should be suppressed even more vigorously here than elsewhere. He warned that if the jury freed the anarchists, the anarchists' followers would "flock out again like a lot of rats and vermin."

Judge Gary sealed the fate of the defendants in the instructions he gave to the jury. In a speech that sounded like a closing argument for the prosecution, Gary told the jury that they could find the eight men guilty of murder even if the actual crime had been committed by a person who had not been identified. Echoing the prosecution's message, he implied that anarchism itself was a criminal conspiracy, and because of this, all anarchists could be held equally responsible for a death arising from their beliefs.

THE VERDICT, THE APPEALS, AND THE EXECUTION

On the morning of August 20, 1886, just one day after they began their deliberations, the jurors announced that they had found all eight defendants guilty. They declared that seven of the accused should be sentenced to death (by hanging) and one, Oscar Neebe, to fifteen years' imprisonment. While the evidence presented against the other anarchists does not seem credible today, there had been no evi-

dence at all of a crime committed by Neebe. All that was known was that he was member of anarchist organizations and that a search of his home had turned up two guns, a sword, and a red flag. The presence of these objects in his home was not a crime. Still, he was an anarchist. Thus the jurors did not acquit him, but they gave him a lighter sentence than the other men on trial.

Throughout the United States, the verdict was hailed as a victory of law over anarchy. It was the general consensus of opinion that the Haymarket anarchists (a group of specific men) and anarchism (a political philosophy) were one and the same. With the exception of a few radical papers, newspapers throughout the nation agreed that anarchism had been given a fair trial and that it had been given the only fitting penalty: death.

Lucy Parsons, the wife of Albert, spearheaded the effort to overturn the convictions. She was helped by Nina Van Zandt, a Chicago socialite who had attended the trial out of idle curiosity. Van Zandt was a wealthy heiress, the only child of a Chicago medicine manufacturer. She took up the cause of all the men but was especially drawn to August Spies, with whom she talked for hours through wire mesh when she visited him in prison. Newspapers went wild when it was learned that the glamorous Van Zandt had married Spies by proxy (his brother stood in for him, saying the vows in a ceremony conducted outside the prison).

As tempers around the country cooled, some important national figures began to express misgivings about the trial and question the wisdom of hanging seven



Nina Van Zandt, the Chicago socialite who married August Spies by proxy when he was in prison.

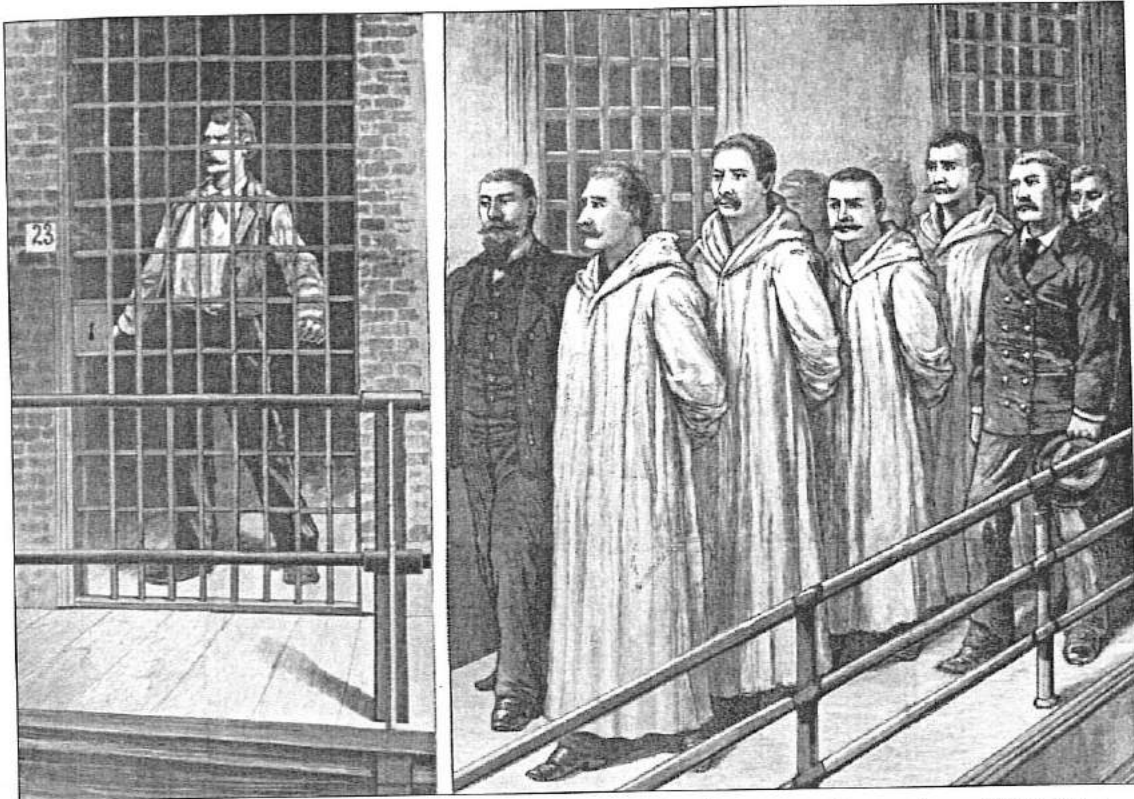
anarchist leaders. The novelist William Dean Howells attempted, without success, to convince the editor of *Harper's Magazine* that the trial had been unfair. The banker Lyman J. Gage, who was later made U.S. secretary of the treasury, called a meeting of bankers and businessmen to argue that showing clemency—mercy, forgiveness—to the anarchists would help improve relations between labor and management.

When a trial is thought to have been unfair or impaired by mistakes in law or by faulty evidence, attorneys may ask the judges of a higher court to review the case and reverse the decision, in some cases leading to a new trial. This process is called an *appeal*. Attorneys for both sides of the case then debate the merits of the previous trial before the judges. Attorneys for the Haymarket defendants appealed their case to the Illinois Supreme Court. When the Illinois Supreme Court upheld the original verdict, the attorneys appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, a very conservative body at the time. Giving in to the fears and prejudices of the day, the U.S. Supreme Court turned down the appeal.

As the date of the executions approached, people friendly to the cause rallied to save the prisoners' lives, beseeching the Illinois governor, Richard J. Oglesby, to commute, or reduce, their sentences. Among those asking the governor to intervene were the conservative labor leader Samuel Gompers and the British writers Oscar Wilde and George Bernard Shaw.

While Oglesby was considering their petitions, news arrived that one of the prisoners, Louis Lingg, had committed suicide by exploding a smuggled stick of dynamite in his mouth. About two hours after Lingg's death, Oglesby announced his decision to lessen the sentences of Fielden and Schwab to life imprisonment. He did not have the legal authority to commute the sentences of the other prisoners because none of them had filed a request for a reprieve.

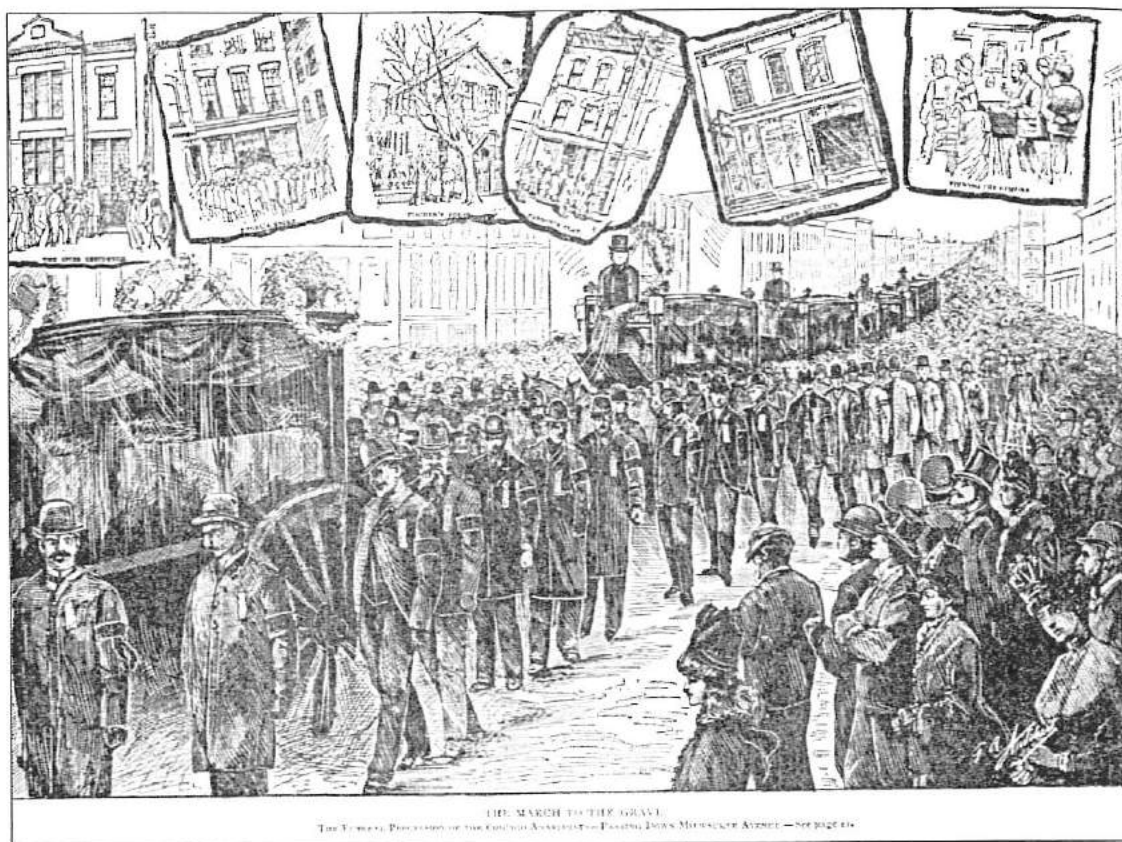
On November 11, 1887, Albert Parsons, August Spies, George Engel, and Adolph Fischer ascended the scaffold that had been erected in the Cook County prison. Attired in white robes provided by the state for the occasion, the condemned men stood before the row of nooses that awaited them. The bailiff fastened leather straps around their ankles, then proceeded to drape the nooses



An 1887 *Frank Leslie's Weekly* illustration showing the march of the Chicago anarchists to the scaffold before the moment of execution. The frame to the left depicts Albert Parsons singing in his cell.

around their necks. August Spies's rope got caught on his ear, and according to one of the witnesses to the execution, he jerked his head in order to make it fall. Flouting the right of the condemned to say their last words, the bailiff put hoods over their heads before any of them had the chance to speak. The men had to utter their last words from underneath the shrouds that covered their faces. Just before the order came to open the trapdoor beneath them, Spies said from beneath his hood: "The day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are throttling today." Parsons said: "Will I be allowed to speak, O men of America?" Fielden and Engel shouted, "Hurrah for anarchy!" Then all four men fell at once. Parsons and Engel appeared to die instantly, but it took Spies and Fischer several minutes before they were strangled to death.

To the twenty thousand people who marched behind the funeral procession two days later, the executed anarchists were martyrs. As far as the Chicago Bar



THE MARCH TO THE GRAVE.
THE FUNERAL PROCESSION OF THE CHICAGO ANARCHISTS—PASSING DOWN MISSISSIPPI AVENUE—SEE PAGE 434.

The funeral of the anarchists was attended by 20,000 people. This illustration appeared in *Frank Leslie's Weekly* at the time.

Association—an organization of the city's lawyers—was concerned, however, justice had prevailed. At a bar association dinner held in his honor six weeks later, Judge Gary was praised for making the legal profession a bulwark—a safeguard—against radicalism and was applauded for decrying the “tyranny” of labor unions.

THE PARDON

In January 1889, the *Chicago Times* reported that Chief Inspector Jack Bonfield and Captain Michael Schaack had been extorting money from saloon keepers, prostitutes, and thieves and that they had been selling merchandise they had confiscated from people they had arrested. Bonfield responded to the article by

arresting the newspaper's editors and trying to shut down the *Times*. This, however, was going too far; there was a general public outcry, and the mayor suspended Bonfield and Schaack. After an investigation both of them were fired.

This scandal—disgracing the two policemen who were most closely identified with the Haymarket bombing—gave force to an effort to obtain the release of the three surviving prisoners. An amnesty committee for these prisoners included prominent Chicago citizens who were remorseful about the part they had played in the events leading up to the executions.

By this time, Illinois had a new governor, Joseph F. W. Fifer. A cautious, mediocre politician, Fifer was unwilling to get involved in a controversy and was no help to the committee.

However, the governor elected in 1892, John Peter Atgeld, was a man of a different stamp. A Civil War veteran and former Chicago Superior Court judge, he had risen to state office as a supporter of prison reform. He agreed to listen to the arguments of those who wanted the remaining prisoners pardoned.

Clarence Darrow, who would go on to become the most celebrated trial lawyer of his time, spoke to Governor Atgeld on behalf of the Haymarket defendants. As Darrow recalled later in his autobiography, Atgeld told him to be patient: "If I conclude to pardon these men it will not meet with the approval you expect; let me tell you that from that day I will be a dead man."

On June 26, 1893, after a lengthy review of the trial records, Atgeld issued a full pardon for the surviving prisoners: Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe. As expected, the move was extremely controversial, all the more so because Atgeld justified his decision with a detailed condemnation of the trial. Atgeld wrote that "much of the evidence given at the trial was a pure fabrication." He criticized the judge, the jury, and the people of Illinois. "No greater damage could possibly threaten our institutions than to have the courts of justice run wild or give way to popular clamor."

Newspapers and prominent public officials accused Atgeld of encouraging the overthrow of civilization. The *Chicago Tribune* said that Atgeld, who had been born in Germany, did not have "a drop of true American blood in his veins." The future U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt called him "a friend of the lawless

classes." Cartoonists depicted him as a terrorist. Historians have been kinder to the governor, viewing his pardon as an act of moral courage unusual in a professional politician.

THE AFTERMATH

The two decades after the Haymarket trial saw many bitter clashes between labor and management in the United States. This period was also the heyday of international anarchist violence, marked by assassinations and random bombings. In



This 1893 cartoon, entitled "The Friend of Mad Dogs," suggests that Governor Atgeld's pardon of the surviving Haymarket defendants, Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab, and Oscar Neebe, was tantamount to releasing the hounds of socialism, anarchy, and murder. The monument erected in memory of the Chicago police officers who were killed or wounded in the Haymarket Riot is pictured in the background.

1901, Leon Czolgosz, a young man claiming to be an anarchist, assassinated President William McKinley.

These bloody deeds did not bring about the end of private property or cause great numbers of people to rally to the cause of anarchy—indeed, they succeeded in frightening many more people than they attracted. However, it would be glib to say that anarchist violence had no impact on the course of history. The fear of revolution may have made government officials consider the need for reform, in America as well as in Europe. Whatever the reason, the period of American history between the Haymarket bombing and the First World War is often called the “Progressive Era.” It was a time during which more and more regulations were imposed on businesses, and business and government alike reluctantly recognized the right of workers to organize. As the efforts of unions and reform-minded politicians brought about tangible changes in the lives of industrial workers, drastic solutions began to have less appeal and the anarchist movement was pushed to the fringes of American society.

Soon enough, though, America would find other devils.