1. NAME OF PROPERTY

Historic Name: **Haymarket Martyrs' Monument**

Other Name/Site Number:

2. LOCATION

Street & Number: 863 South Des Plaines Avenue Not for publication: ___

City/Town: Forest Park Vicinity: ___

State: IL County: Cook Code: 031 Zip Code: 60130

3. CLASSIFICATION

Ownership of Property
- Private: X
- Public-Local: ___
- Public-State: ___
- Public-Federal: ___

Category of Property
- Building(s): ___
- District: ___
- Site: ___
- Structure: ___
- Object: X

Number of Resources within Property

Contributing	Noncontributing	
____	____	buildings
____	____	sites
____	____	structures
1	____	objects
1	____	Total

Number of Contributing Resources Previously Listed in the National Register: 0

Name of Related Multiple Property Listing:

Designated a
NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK on

FEB 18 1997

by the Secretary of the Interior

4. STATE/FEDERAL AGENCY CERTIFICATION

As the designated authority under the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, I hereby certify that this ____ nomination ____ request for determination of eligibility meets the documentation standards for registering properties in the National Register of Historic Places and meets the procedural and professional requirements set forth in 36 CFR Part 60. In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register Criteria.

_____ _____
Signature of Certifying Official Date

_____
State or Federal Agency and Bureau

In my opinion, the property ____ meets ____ does not meet the National Register criteria.

_____ _____
Signature of Commenting or Other Official Date

_____
State or Federal Agency and Bureau

5. NATIONAL PARK SERVICE CERTIFICATION

I hereby certify that this property is:

____ Entered in the National Register
____ Determined eligible for the National Register
____ Determined not eligible for the National Register
____ Removed from the National Register
____ Other (explain):

_____ _____
Signature of Keeper Date of Action

Designated a
NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARK on

FEB 18 1997

by the Secretary of the Interior

6. FUNCTION OR USE

Historic: funerary Sub: graves/burials

Current: funerary Sub: graves/burials

7. DESCRIPTION

ARCHITECTURAL CLASSIFICATION: N/A

MATERIALS N/A
Foundation:
Walls:
Roof:
Other:

Describe Present and Historic Physical Appearance.

The Haymarket Martyrs' Monument is located at the Forest Home/Waldheim Cemetery in Forest Park, Illinois. The "martyrs" are buried at Waldheim because it was the only cemetery in the Chicago area that would accept their remains. German Waldheim Cemetery had a policy of not discriminating on the basis of race, ethnicity, or politics from the time of its incorporation on March 13, 1875. Waldheim encompassed two cemeteries: German Waldheim and Forest Home (translation of Waldheim), incorporated in 1876. The two merged shortly after the incorporation of Forest Home, only to split again in the 1980s. The area had once been a burial ground of the Potowatami Indians, and a burial mound still is located within the grounds of the cemetery. When train and streetcar service extended from Chicago out to Forest Park, the cemetery became accessible to immigrants whose deceased relatives were not accepted in burial grounds in the city.

The monument was designed by German-American sculptor Albert Weinert (1863-1947), who came to the United States in 1886, the same year as the Haymarket tragedy. He was schooled at the Royal Academy in Leipzig, Germany (his birthplace), and the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Brussels. The cornerstone of the monument was laid on November 6, 1892. The monument itself consists of a sixteen-foot-high granite shaft crowned by a triangular-cut stone with intricate sculpting. The shaft is supported by a two-stepped base, on which stands two bronze figures. The predominant figure is a woman who is standing over the other figure, a bearded male worker. Below the bronze figure on the upper step is inscribed the date 1887 with bronze palms below it. On the step below is inscribed, "The day will come when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you are throttling today," words spoken by August Spies on the gallows. On the back of the monument are engraved the names of the "martyrs": August Spies, Adolph Fischer, Albert Parsons, Louis Lingg (who committed suicide before the execution date), and George Engel. A bronze plaque lists the names of Schwab, Neebe, and Fielden who were not hanged and later pardoned. On top of the shaft rests another bronze plaque inscribed with an excerpt from Governor Peter Altgeld's pardon:

> These charges are of a personal character, and while they seem to be sustained by the record of the trial and the papers before me and tend to show that the trial was not fair, I do not care to discuss the features of the case any further, because it is not necessary. I am convinced that it is clearly my duty to act in this case for the reasons already given, and I, therefore, grant pardon to Samuel Fielden, Oscar Neebe, and Michael Schwab this 26th Day of June, 1893.

Spies, Fischer, Parsons, Lingg, and Engel are buried beneath the monument. Surrounding the monument are the ashes and graves of other labor activists and sympathizers who, throughout the twentieth century, requested they be buried alongside the martyrs. These grave sites have become known as the "Dissenters' Graves (see Appendix)."[1]

The bronze figures on the monument are facing eastward "evok[ing] the dawning of a new and more hopeful day." The woman stands assertively, with a hooded head, yet a stern gaze, dressed in a smock and an apron. Her sleeves are rolled up and in her right hand she holds up her cape, while her cloak billows out behind her. With her right foot extending off the pedestal, she is given the appearance of walking out of the sculpture. In her left hand she grasps a laurel wreath which she holds over the head

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[1] William J. Adelman, *Haymarket Revisited: A Tour Guide of Labor History Sites and Ethnic Neighborhoods Connected with the Haymarket Affair* (Chicago: Illinois Labor History Society, 1986).

of the other figure. The worker is in a reclining position behind the woman with his head thrown back resting upon a pillow. With one hand open facing up, and the other still clenched in a fist, the overall nature and position of the body suggests the horrors of a death by hanging.[2]

The monument is approximately 200 feet from the main entrance of the cemetery on Des Plaines Avenue, south of the Eisenhower Expressway. At the main gate, proceed along the curvilinear path on the right; the monument is across the road from the chapel, and sits about ten feet back from the road. It is surrounded by grassy areas and small headstones, marking the graves of the "dissenters."

[2] Melissa Dabakis, "Martyrs and Monuments of Chicago: The Haymarket Affair," Prospects 19 (1994): 115.

8. STATEMENT OF SIGNIFICANCE

Certifying official has considered the significance of this property in relation to other properties: Nationally: X
Statewide:___ Locally:___

Applicable National
Register Criteria: A X B X C__ D__

Criteria Considerations
(Exceptions): A__ B__ C X D X E__ F X G__

NHL Criteria: 1 ,2 Criteria Considerations: 4, 7

NHL Theme(s) [1994]

II. CREATING SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND MOVEMENTS
2. Reform Movements

IV. SHAPING THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE
1. Parties, Protests and Movements
4. Political Ideas, Culture, and Theories

V. DEVELOPING THE AMERICAN ECONOMY
5. Labor Organizations and Protests

National Register Areas of Significance: Social History

Period(s) of Significance: December 18, 1887; June 25, 1893

Significant Dates: December 18, 1887; June 25, 1893

Significant Person(s): Parsons, Albert; Spies, August; Engel, George; Lingg, Louis; Fischer, Adolph

Cultural Affiliation: N/A

Architect/Builder: Weinert, Albert, sculptor

NHL Comparative Categories: XXXI. SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN MOVEMENTS
H. Labor Organizations
N. General and Radical Reform

State Significance of Property, and Justify Criteria, Criteria Considerations, and Areas and Periods of Significance Noted Above.

The Haymarket Martyrs Monument commemorates workers' struggle to achieve the eight-hour workday, in America and throughout the world, and the 1886 rally in Haymarket Square that led to the hangings of four leaders of the fight for workers' rights. The "martyrs" are buried beneath the monument, which was constructed to pay homage both to the labor and radical movements' leaders, and to workers' continuing quest for justice. While commemorative properties and grave sites normally are not designated as landmarks, this monument is the most powerful symbol of the legacy of Haymarket. The site of the Haymarket meeting and bombing, in Haymarket Square on the corner of Des Plaines Avenue and Randolph Street, lacks physical integrity, as the construction of the Kennedy Expressway in the 1950s resulted in the razing of many of the buildings in the area and the destruction of the environment associated with the market. A more appropriate site to preserve as a landmark to the Haymarket incident, both for reasons of physical integrity and continuing historical significance, is the monument and grave site at Forest Home Cemetery (originally part of German Waldheim cemetery) in Forest Park, Illinois. It is at this cemetery where the executed anarchists are buried, as no other cemetery in Chicago would accept their bodies. Six years after the 1887 funeral, the Pioneer Aid and Support Association erected a monument to mark the graves. This monument has served as an icon to both the labor and radical movements.

Perhaps the greatest testimony to the enduring legacy of the Haymarket incident is the continued desire of those associated with the labor movement to be buried alongside the Haymarket martyrs. This appeal extends far beyond Chicago; many of those buried in the cemetery are people from throughout the nation and even the world captivated by the memory of the martyrs and what they symbolize. Thus, the site meets NHL criteria based on its association with people and events of national significance, and as commemorative property that has achieved its own national historic significance.

Historians consider the Haymarket incident of 1886 one of the seminal events in the history of American labor. The significance of the event and its aftermath are equally important to the historical memory of workers across the United States and even the world. Labor groups and progressives organized rallies and strikes throughout the nation and the world on May 1, 1886 in support of workers' efforts to win an eight-hour workday. Hundreds of thousands of workers in the U.S. alone gathered to press for recognition of workers' rights, launching May 1 as International Workers' Day. Chicago was the heart of the May Day movement and the struggle for the eight-hour day. As a result of clashes between workers and police in Chicago following May Day rallies, and the subsequent execution of several protesters, May Day took on added significance as a day to commemorate the martyrdom of workers, and has been celebrated throughout the world since 1886.

On May 4, 1886, a group of workers gathered in Haymarket Square to protest police brutality against strikers at the South Side McCormick Reaper Factory. At the conclusion of this meeting, as the last speaker finished his remarks, police marched in and demanded an end to the gathering. Then an unknown assailant threw a bomb into the crowd, killing and wounding several police officers and protesters. Police apprehended eight anarchists on charges of conspiracy to commit murder. All were tried and convicted although no evidence linked them to the bomb. The trial and subsequent execution of four of the men have served as an enduring symbol of the struggles waged by labor in the face of police brutality and a public fearful of challenges to the social order. As historian Paul Avrich explains, "Haymarket demonstrated, in more dramatic form than any other event of the post-Civil War era, both the inequities of American capitalism and the limitations of American justice."[1] Haymarket

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[1] Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984) p. xii.

continues to serve as a reminder to many in labor and politics of the need to fight to defend free speech, the right to organize, and the right to a fair trial, as basic tenets of American democracy.

Each May Day and November 11 (the anniversary of the execution of the martyrs), people from all over the nation and the world have come to this site to discuss issues of free speech, workers' rights, and social democracy. These gatherings continue to this day. Thus, the Haymarket Martyrs' Monument qualifies for National Historic Landmark consideration for reasons of historical significance to the American Labor Movement as the site American workers have chosen to recognize and commemorate the execution of the martyrs in 1887, and for its direct association with the struggle by American workers to achieve the eight-hour day and establish May 1 as an international holiday.

Narrative History

The events surrounding the Haymarket incident reflect broader issues of economic inequalities and social upheaval which plagued late nineteenth-century American cities. Workers suffered from irregular employment, lack of decent wages, and inadequate housing. According to a Hull-House study of West Side neighborhoods in Chicago, "This irregularity of employment, whether caused by the season, weather, fashion, or the caprices of the law of supply and demand, affects not only the unskilled, but to a considerable degree the employee of the manufactories, and the artisan."[2] A depression in 1883 made living conditions even more difficult for workers. During that year, the Citizens' Association of Chicago initiated an investigation into housing conditions for the working class, and found conditions deplorable. The report spoke of the "wretched condition of the tenements into which thousands of workingmen are huddled, the wholesale violation of all rules for drainage, plumbing, lighting, ventilation and safety in case of fire or accident, the neglect of all laws of health, the horrible condition of sewers and outhouses, the filthy, dingy rooms into which they are crowded, the unwholesome character of their food and the equally filthy nature of the neighboring streets, alleys, and back lots filled with decaying matter and stagnant pools."[3]

The depression and these conditions fueled radical movements, as workers became more receptive to critiques of the capitalist order. In 1883, a congress of radical and labor organizations meeting in Pittsburgh led to the organization of the International Working People's Association (IWPA) and the proliferation of local branches throughout the nation. Attended by an eclectic group of unionists and socialists, activities at the Pittsburgh meeting included a vigorous debate over whether the new organization, based on principles of anarchism and direct action, should include the trade union movement in their efforts. Albert Parsons and August Spies, two prominent radicals from Chicago who would later be hanged for their alleged role in the Haymarket bombing, supported the role of progressive trade unions in advancing cause of radicalism (this tenet was labeled the "Chicago idea").[4] In a later article in *The Alarm*, the official publication of the IWPA, Parsons laid out his statement of the goals of anarchism:

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[2] *Hull-House Maps and Papers: A Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago* (New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell & CO., 1895), pp. 21-22. A later study on housing corroborated this report, stating that "housing conditions for the low paid wage-earner in Chicago are generally quite below standard in decency and comfort." Edith Abbott, *The Tenements of Chicago, 1908-1935* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936) p. 401.

[3] *Report of the Committee on Tenement Houses of the Citizens' Association of Chicago*, September 1884, p. 3, quoted in Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair: A Study in the American Social-Revolutionary and Labor Movements* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., 1936) p. 15.

[4] *History* (Arlington Heights, IL: Harlan Davidson, 1984) pp. 116-17; Frank Gerard and Ben Perry, *The Socialist Labor Party*, 1876-1991: A Short History (Philadelphia: Livra Books, 1991) pp. 6-12; and Bruce C. Nelson, *Beyond the Martyrs: A Social History of Chicago's Anarchists, 1870-1900* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1988) p. 161.

> Anarchists would... abolish statute law and all law manufacturers and thus permit the laws of nature to have full sway. That would be in accordance with natural law which is only another phrase for natural necessity. This would remove the barriers which make and keep the producer poor... We would then have a free system, with science for its guide and necessity for its compelling force. It would then follow that all human beings freely producing and freely consuming, none could be denied any reasonable and natural demand. Free to unite and dis-unite, free to produce and to consume; poverty would vanish; ignorance, its offspring, would disappear, and peace and plenty would abound. This is the goal, the end aim, of Anarchy.[5]

To promote worker education on the problems of capitalism and their solutions, the IWPA in Chicago sponsored lectures, political gatherings, and held free, public meetings on the Lakefront on Sundays, often drawing audiences of 1,000 or more. Speakers included Spies, Parsons, Samuel Fielden, and Michael Schwab, all of whom would be indicted during the Haymarket trial.[6]

Anarchists joined with labor organizations to fight for the eight-hour workday as a plank which could unify these often divided groups. Interest in working with all labor groups to press for the eight-hour day grew as leaders of the Central Labor Union (CLU), a radical labor reform group, recognized the popular support among workers for passage of this legislation. At an 1884 convention in Chicago, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada (forerunner of the AFL and headed by Samuel Gompers and Peter McGuire), members proclaimed that "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886." While an Illinois statute had been established in 1867 mandating eight hours of work per day, the law had never been enforced. According to the Chicago Knights of Labor, "the eight-hour day as it now stands is a dead letter. There is not one person in a thousand who knows there is such a law."[7] The IWPA was not sure it should support the movement, seeing it as an accommodation to the capitalist wage system. By the fall of 1886, the CLU joined with the IWPA, the Socialist Labor Party (SLP), and the Knights of Labor to form the United Labor Party and fight for the eight-hour day.

On May 1, 1886, close to 300,000 strikers nationwide and 40,000 in Chicago took part in strikes for the eight-hour day. These strikes coincided with a strike and lockout at the McCormick Reaper Works, where workers had been protesting the hiring of Pinkerton detectives and replacement workers to keep strikers at bay. A history of police brutality against workers, during the 1877 railroad strikes, the 1885 streetcar strike, and earlier strikes at McCormick, helped fuel the fire of labor discontent. In early 1886, workers who had been involved in organizing activities at McCormick were dismissed, despite a pledge the previous April that this would not occur. While the dispute was being settled, Cyrus McCormick, Jr. closed the plant and locked out 1,400 workers; two days after the lock-out, on Feb. 18, 1886, workers went on strike and McCormick hired close to 1,000 Pinkertons and police as replacement workers and guards. On May 3, while strikers rallied outside McCormick, August Spies addressed a rally for the Lumber Shovers' Union, which was striking against reduced wages. When the bell went off at the McCormick factory, discharging the replacement workers, scuffles broke out between strikers and "scabs." The police fired randomly into the gathering, called for back-up, and stormed into the crowd. At least two strikers were killed, five or six seriously wounded by bullets.

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[5] *The Alarm*, April 4, 1885.

[6] See David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, p. 110.

[7] Quoted in David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, p. 159; See also Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*, p. 181.

This event catapulted the labor movement to quick action, and led to the events at Haymarket the following day.[8]

When word got out that strikers had been killed (the exact number killed is not known, as various accounts claimed two, four, and six dead), Spies fired off a circular calling for a meeting at the Haymarket the following evening. The circular was printed in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the German-language socialist newspaper he edited. An article headlined "REVENGE! WORKINGMEN! TO ARMS!!!" detailed the acts of police brutality against labor:

> Your masters sent out their bloodhounds--the police--they killed six of your brothers at McCormick's this afternoon. They killed the poor wretches, because they, like you, had courage to disobey the supreme will of your bosses. They killed them because they dared ask for the shortening of the hours of toil. They killed them to show you "free American citizens" that you must be satisfied and contented with whatever your bosses condescend to allow you, or you will get killed!

The addition of the "Revenge" heading was unfortunate; it had been added by a compositor at the paper, and became a key piece of evidence in the trial against the anarchists.[9]

The meeting was called for 7:30 p.m., although poor organization left the crowd without a speaker until 8:30. A peaceable crowd of about 3,000 gathered near Randolph and Des Plaines for a meeting which was approved and attended by Mayor Carter Harrison. Harrison spoke with Inspector John Bonfield of the Des Plaines Street Station and informed him that he felt the meeting would be orderly and therefore would not need police presence. August Spies was the first to speak, followed by Albert Parsons, who had just returned from a trip East. Parsons concluded his remarks close to 10:00 p.m., as a light rain began to fall. Satisfied that the meeting was a peaceful one and would soon end, Mayor Harrison left and went home. Teamster Samuel Fielden spoke next. As the crowd started to disperse due to the rain, Parsons suggested moving the meeting to nearby Greif's Hall, a meeting place for labor and radical groups in the city. Fielden indicated that he was about to finish, when Inspector John Bonfield and Captain William Ward, leading a group of 176 police officers, descended on the gathering. They ordered the meeting to disperse in an orderly fashion, and as Fielden explained that they already were doing so, a bomb exploded in the midst of the crowd. The police responded by firing their pistols, killing and wounding several crowd members as they attempted to flee. In the end, seven police officers and countless protesters were killed, though investigation reports proved that all of the deaths but one, that of Mathias J. Degan, were the result of bullet wounds most likely fired by the police. Only Degan was killed by the explosion.[10]

The frenzy which followed the event amounted to "the first red scare" in American history. Police promptly raided labor halls, German Turnvereins, radical and labor newspaper offices, and homes of

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[8] See Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*, pp. 181-186; James H. Horan, *The Pinkertons: The Detective Dynasty that Made History* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1967) pp. 329-35; Nelson, *Beyond the Martyrs*, pp. 142-143; and Ernest Bloomfield Zeisler, *The Haymarket Riot* (Chicago: Alexander J. Isaacs, 1956) pp. 7-13.

[9] *Haymarket Scrapbook*, Dave Roediger and Franklin Rosemont, eds. (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1986), pp. 14-17.

[10] For accounts of the incident, see Adelman, *Haymarket Revisited*, pp. 15-17; Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*, p. 197-222; David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, pp. 198-205; *The Haymarket Affair and the Trial of the Chicago Anarchists, 1886* (New York: H. P. Kraus, 1970) pp. 6-7; Nelson, *Beyond the Martyrs*, pp. 184-190; and Carl Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief: The Great Chicago Fire, the Haymarket Bomb, and the Model Town of Pullman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) pp. 120-125.

noted anarchists, establishing what amounted to martial law in the city of Chicago. Mail was opened, anarchist papers suppressed and their editors arrested, union meetings banned, public gatherings prohibited, and personal belongings confiscated. The police investigation, headed by Captain Michael J. Schaack, received financial support from prominent Chicago business people. Close to 300 Chicagoans, including Marshall Field, George M. Pullman, Philip D. Armour, and Cyrus McCormick, Jr. (President of McCormick Reaper Works), collected over $100,000 to help police suppress the anarchist movement.[11] Captain Schaak was charged with arresting the anarchists and investigating the incident.[12] Arrests of leading anarchists were swift; within the week, ten people were arrested and charged with murder, conspiracy to commit murder, and unlawful assembly. Those arrested included Parsons, Spies, Fielden, Michael Schwab (an editor at *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, who left the meeting well before the bomb exploded), Adolph Fischer (composer of *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, who also left the meeting before the bomb exploded), George Engel (a toy maker active in the eight-hour movement, though not present at the meeting), Louis Lingg (a Carpenters' Union organizer), and Oscar Neebe (active in Chicago Central Labor Union). Rudolph Schnaubelt, the man who came to be labeled the official bomb thrower (although this was never proved), was arrested and then released by police on May 7. William Seliger, Lingg's landlord, was arrested and then released after turning State's Witness. Parsons went into hiding after witnessing the hysteria caused by Haymarket. He turned himself in six weeks later so he could honorably stand trial with the other defendants, firmly believing they would all be found innocent.[13]

The national press responded to the event by linking labor unionism with radical politics and alien elements. Newspaper articles spoke of the "foreign menace" represented by the Haymarket defendants, and castigating these "outside agitators" for disrupting social order in America. *The Chicago Tribune* was the most blatant in its nativism. One editorial claimed, "Americans must rule America, and not the scum of Central Europe." The press also inflamed the public with sensational stories of large-scale conspiracies to overthrow the American government and obliterate all private property. "There seems little doubt now," stated the *Tribune*, "that Spies, Fielden, Schwab, Parsons, and their fellow Anarchists planned a wholesale massacre of the Chicago police force preparatory, perhaps, to looting the city."[14] During the trial, the prosecution alleged that "it was undoubtedly the design of these reckless and misguided plotters to take advantage of the labor troubles to organize mobs and incite riots on a large scale."[15] By blaming outsiders for American labor troubles, the press and the public could, in effect, dismiss any claims of inequality or inadequate working conditions in the American economy. *The Commercial and Financial Chronicle* wrote, "Though the labor disputes are used as the cover and cause for this violence, there is no evidence to show and much to disprove that such methods have to any considerable extent the sympathy of the striking employees there or elsewhere."[16]

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[11] See Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*, p. 222; For an amusing account of the arrest procedures, see Michael J. Schaack, *Anarchy and Anarchists: A History of the Red Terror and the Social Revolution in America and Europe* (Chicago: F.J. Schulte and Company, 1889) pp. 139-148.

[12] Schaack, *Anarchy and Anarchists*, quote from David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, p. 233.

[13] See *The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs*, Philip S. Foner, ed. (New York: Humanities Press, 1969); *The Day Will Come*, and *Haymarket Scrapbook*, pp. 18-19.

[14] Chicago *Tribune*, May 8, 12, 1886.

[15] Quoted in *Politics and Politicians of Chicago, Cook County, and Illinois, 1787-1887*, Pt. 1 (Chicago: Blakely Printing Company, 1886) pp. 382-3.

[16] *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, May 8, 1886, quoted in David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, p. 214.

On June 4, 1886, the Grand Jury announced the indictments, charging ten people with sixty-nine counts, including murder, and aiding and abetting the murder of Mathias J. Degan. From the outset it became clear that the trial was about the political beliefs of the accused, rather than the act of murder. Moreover, the blatant disregard for proper procedures during the trial reflected the desire of those involved, and the public in general, to prosecute the accused no matter what the evidence. According to future governor John Peter Altgeld, the special bailiff appointed to hand-select jurors "boasted while selecting jurors that he was managing this case; that these fellows would hang as certain as death; that he was calling such men as the defendants would have to challenge peremptorily and waste their challenges on, and when their challenges were exhausted they would have to take such men as the prosecution wanted."[17] Most jurors admitted their prejudice against the defendants but were selected nonetheless.

Almost immediately after the arrests, friends of the accused started a Defense Committee to try to raise money for the trial expenses. Lucy Parsons, wife of Albert Parsons and one of the leaders of the labor movement, helped initiate this campaign. She worked with Ernst Schmidt, former SLP candidate for mayor in 1879 and one of the leading physicians in the city, who was in charge of raising funds and securing defense. Anarchists, socialists, and some labor unions were the biggest supporters, with greatest contributions coming from IWPA members. Contributions came from all over the world, as Schmidt appealed to humanitarians everywhere to counter the political hysteria surrounding the case. The Committee raised over $50,000, with over half of that coming from the labor movement once the injustices of the trial became clear. Attorneys for the Central Labor Union, Moses Salomon and Sigmund Zeisler, represented the Haymarket defendants, and convinced corporate attorney and Civil War hero Captain William Perkins Black to head the defense team.[18]

The defense centered on two simple facts: many of the men indicted for murder were not even present during the bombing, and there was no evidence linking the defendants to the bomb. During questioning, Seliger said that he and Lingg were together from 8:30 to midnight on the night of the bombing and had not been near Haymarket; Fischer was shown to be at Zepf's Hall, near Haymarket; Parsons left with his wife during Fielden's speech, and it was shown that he too was at Zepf's Hall when the bomb was thrown; Spies was on the speaker wagon when police arrived, as was Fielden; and Schwab was at Schilling's Saloon on the North Side of the city, one hour from Haymarket.[19]

Despite all evidence to the contrary, on August 20, 1886, the jury found the defendants guilty of murder, and sentenced seven of them to death by hanging, and one, Neebe, to fifteen years in prison. The Illinois State Supreme Court reviewed the case on appeal, and let the convictions stand, with December 3, 1886 chosen as the execution date. A stay of execution was granted on November 23 so that an appeal could be argued with the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court, however, denied the "writ of error" and let stand the lower courts' rulings. A partner in a large Chicago clothing firm spoke for many Americans when he commented on the guilt and sentencing of the accused:

> No, I don't consider these people to have been found guilty of any offense, but they must be hanged... I'm not afraid of anarchy; oh no, it's the utopian scheme of a very few philanthropic cranks, who are amiable withal, but I do consider that the labor

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[17] John Peter Altgeld, *Reasons for Pardoning Fielden, Neebe and Schwab* (June 26, 1893), quoted in Zeisler, *The Haymarket Riot*, p. 33.

[18] Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*, pp. 248-51, and Stuart B. Kaufman, *The Samuel Gompers Papers, Vol. 1: The Making of a Union Leader, 1850-1886* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), p. 413.

[19] Zeisler, *The Haymarket Riot*, p. 53.

> movement must be crushed! The Knights of Labor will never dare to create discontent again if these men are hanged."[20]

Throughout the appeals process, the labor community and others became convinced of the improprieties and injustices wrought in the trial, and were outraged over the verdict. Rallies took place throughout the nation to protest the ruling. The Knights of Labor recognized that the police most likely were responsible for inciting the riot, and encouraged members to support the accused. The Central Labor Party of New York issued a public appeal to working people to have the sentence commuted; Samuel Gompers and other prominent labor leaders signed the plea. The newly-formed American Federation of Labor also passed a resolution pleading for mercy on behalf of the accused.[21] Labor groups pressed the governor to commute the sentences and solicited the aid of sympathizers throughout the world. Workers across the nation shared the belief, expressed by Spies after the verdict was read, that the sentencing amounted to state-sanctioned murder. Spies stated:

> I have been indicted on a charge of murder, as an accomplice or accessory. Upon this indictment I have been convicted. There was no evidence produced by the State to show or even indicate that I had any knowledge of the man who threw the bomb, or that I, myself had anything to do with the throwing of the missile... If there was no evidence to show that I was legally responsible for the deed, then my conviction and the execution of the sentence is nothing less than willful, malicious and deliberate murder.[22]

A rally in London on October 19, 1887 illustrated the broad international support for the accused. Speakers included William Morris, socialist writer and leader of the Arts and Crafts movement; Peter Kropotkin, one of the leaders of the European anarchist movement; George Bernard Shaw, British playwright and socialist; and Annie Besant, British freethinker. Eleanor Marx, youngest daughter of Karl, also protested the decision in a speech delivered in Aurora, Illinois. In the U.S., novelist William Dean Howell urged the general public to join the campaign. In his letter to the *New York Tribune* he wrote:

> All those who believe that it would be either injustice or impolicy to put [the accused] to death to join in urging [the governor of Illinois] by petition, by letter or through the press and from the pulpit and from the platform to use his power, in the only direction where it can never be misused, for the mitigation of their punishment.[23]

Among those who came to the aid of the accused were Henry George, Henry Demarest Lloyd, Clarence Darrow, John Greenleaf Whittier, Joseph Labadie, and University of Chicago professor Robert Herrick. Even State's Attorney Grinnell and Judge Joseph Gary recommended commuting the sentences of Fielden and Schwab, since they were "essentially good" men and not anarchists.[24]

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[20] Quoted in Adelman, *Haymarket Revisited*, p. 22.

[21] Newspaper descriptions of meetings held to protest the verdict in "Labor and Haymarket Scrapbook, 1873-1919," produced by the United Steelworkers of America, Local 1033, in author's possession. See also David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, p. 408 and Nelson, *Beyond the Martyrs*, pp. 202-4.

[22] August Spies, quoted in David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, p. 331.

[23] William Dean Howells, "Letter to the Editor", New York *Tribune* (November 6, 1887), reprinted in Haymarket Scrapbook, p. 156.

[24] S. Zeisler, *Reminiscences of the Anarchist Case* (Chicago: Chicago Literary Club, 1927) cited in Zeisler, *The Haymarket Riot*, pp. 78-9.

Governor Richard J. Oglesby took the pleas for mercy seriously, but also feared the response of the business community if he should grant clemency. He stated privately that if members of the Chicago business community favored commuting the sentence, he would be open to doing so. Upon hearing this possibility, Lyman Gage, a prominent banker in Chicago, arranged for a meeting of fifty of Chicago's top business people. Gage argued in favor of commuting the death sentence from a business perspective, claiming that it would be unfortunate to make martyrs out of the accused. While many appeared to agree with Gage's arguments, Marshall Field objected, arguing against bowing to the wishes of rabble-rousers. By the time the meeting ended, Field had prevailed. The Governor responded by commuting the death sentences of Schwab and Fielden, after the appeals by Judge Gary and Julius Grinnell, but let the other execution orders stand. After the announcement of the decision, Lingg died in his cell on November 10. His death, by dynamite, was officially ruled a suicide. Spies, Parsons, Fischer, and Engel were hanged on November 11, with police, militia, and federal troops on hand.[25]

Even before the execution was a *fait accompli*, those who supported the appeals of the accused started referring to them as martyrs. A September 14, 1887 *Arbeiter-Zeitung* article perhaps was the first to label the accused "martyrs," calling a disgrace the sentence "which orders that seven of our comrades shall die a martyr's death for the cause of the laboring people..."[26] The funeral procession on Sunday November 13 reflected this sense of tragedy over the deaths of the accused. Chicago Mayor John A. Roche set down the conditions under which a funeral procession would take place. Prohibited were banners, flags, and arms; speeches, and music other than dirges. The procession was subject to police surveillance from beginning to end. Over 200,000 people reportedly lined the streets. Lizzie Holmes, an IWPA leader, recalled the pervasive grief, "the sorrow on the faces of the work-hardened toilers along the route, the sweet, sad music of the bands, the deep intensity of emotion manifest everywhere." The marchers went to the homes of each of the dead to retrieve their coffins, then proceeded down Milwaukee Avenue into downtown Chicago, where close to 10,000 boarded a train at Grand Central Station and headed to the cemetery in Forest Park, IL, ten miles west of Chicago.[27]

Once the bodies of the Haymarket "martyrs" reached the cemetery, they were placed in a temporary vault, and finally placed in a permanent grave on December 18. The original grave was made up of a broad bed divided into five compartments, with the initials of the martyrs marking where each was laid. There was a headstone with their names in medallions, and the date of November 11, carved in the stone.[28] Several speakers addressed the crowd at the funeral, including Captain William Black, who had led the defense team. His eulogy foreshadowed the religious tone in which future descriptions of the events at Haymarket would be articulated, and the role the event would play in rallying labor and political causes in the nation and throughout the world for years to come:

> As the years go by, of whose record the story of their services will form a splendid part, they will come to be better known, to be loved, to be revered. I am not here to talk of their violent end as of an ignominious death. We are not beside the caskets of

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[25] See Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*, pp. 334-54; David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, pp. 433, 457; and Smith, *Urban Disorder and the Shape of Belief*, pp. 152-54.

[26] Quoted in David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, p. 393.

[27] Quoted in Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*, p. 396. See also Adelman, *Haymarket Revisited*, pp. 23-24, and *Haymarket Scrapbook*, pp. 121-26 for more on the funeral.

[28] Dabakis, "Martyrs and Monuments," pp. 99-133.

> felons consigned to an inglorious tomb. We are here by the bodies of men who were sublime in their self-sacrifice, and for whom the gibbet assumed the glory of a cross.[29]

The funeral marked the beginning of the cemetery's role as the rallying grounds for protesting injustice in a variety of aspects of American culture. The 1893 erection of a monument to commemorate the deaths of the martyrs produced what would become an icon of the American labor and radical movements. As Henry David notes, "Waldheim was soon to become almost a place of pilgrimage and the monument almost a shrine."[30]

The impetus for dedicating a statue to the martyrs came from the Pioneer Aid and Support Association (PASA), incorporated on December 15, 1887, with the purpose of "providing for the families of the executed men and of erecting a monument to their memory."[31] The PASA, headed by Lucy Parsons, comprised members of the Amnesty Association that tried to obtain the commutation of the death sentences, the Defense Committee, and the Central Labor Union. The group worked to free Neebe, Fielden, and Schwab, who were still in the Joliet penitentiary, at the same time that it started a monument fund. The group felt these two efforts were integrally linked, for, as Emma Goldman later explained, "The monument served as an embodiment of the ideals for which the men had died, a visible symbol of their words and their deeds."[32]

Here Goldman poignantly articulated the role the monument would play in commemorating an event of the past while at the same time constructing a shared social memory of that event for generations in the future. Historians recently have looked at the role of memory in shaping a community's understanding of history. Recognizing that the construction of social memory is a highly contested process, they have attempted to understand how important events in a community's past can be invested with competing meanings. One way to examine this process is by looking at how the icons constructed by various groups to commemorate and represent their past reflect a particular vision of how the past should be remembered. Art serves an important function in this process, as it offers a tangible, visual reminder of the past, making visible "the activity of memory." The Haymarket monument, according to its promoters, would embody the beliefs of the martyrs, and serve as a visual reminder of the tragedy of their deaths.[33]

The competition over structuring social memory of the Haymarket incident began with the dedication of the police monument in Haymarket Square in 1889. This monument was commissioned by the *Chicago Tribune* which, on January 19, 1888, urged the public to donate money to a monument fund to "honor the bravery" of the Chicago police. This despite the fact that Inspector Bonfield, who ordered the May

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[29] Captain William P. Black, "Eulogy at Waldheim," in *Haymarket Scrapbook*, p. 121.

[30] David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, p. 467.

[31] Quoted in Dabakis, "Martyrs and Monuments," p. 113.

[32] Quoted in Dabakis, "Martyrs and Monuments," p. 114. See also Adelman, Haymarket Revisited, p. 105, *Haymarket Heritage: The Memoirs of Irving S. Abrams*, Dave Roediger and Phyllis Boanes, eds. (Chicago: Charles Kerr Press, 1989), p. 32, and *Haymarket Scrapbook*, p. 171, for further discussion of the plans for the Haymarket Martyrs' Monument.

[33] For further discussion of the role of memory in shaping understanding of history, see John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); *CRM: Cultural Resources Management Special Issue; "Balancing Memory and History."* vol. 18:4 (1995); James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992); George Lipsitz, *Time Passages: Collective Memory and American Popular Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990); Leo Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); and "Memory and American History: A Special Issue," *Journal of American History* 75 (March 1989), 1117-1221. Quote is from Dabakis, "Martyrs and Monuments," p. 101.

4, 1886 raid, and Captain Schaack, the officer charged with making the arrests, were thrown off the police force on charges of corruption. The *Tribune* held a contest for the best design, and received over 168 submissions. The winning design, selected at a ceremony at the Union League Club on September 23, 1888, was submitted by a newspaper reporter from St. Paul, Minnesota. The design depicted a robust police officer with one arm raised in the air, evidently symbolizing Captain Ward's command to the May 4 Haymarket crowd to disperse. The *Tribune* raised $10,000 and the statue, executed by sculptor Johannes Gelert, was dedicated on Memorial Day, 1889.[34] Evidently, there still were those in the public, particularly in the business community, who agreed with the claim that the actions of the police on that evening "saved Chicago from a still more bloody riot" at the hands of "a mob of restless Anarchists, who made the boldest attempts at the subversion of the law and public authority since the days of the Paris Commune."[35]

This interpretation of the meaning of the Haymarket Affair clearly contrasted with the lessons PASA wanted the public to learn. The Police Statue gave PASA and its sympathizers added impetus to construct a commemorative monument that would symbolize their definition of the meaning of Haymarket. On October 12, 1890, PASA opened its own design competition, with prizes offered to the top three designs. The Association had raised close to $6,000 from sympathizers nationally and throughout the world. On February 14, 1892, the monument committee announced that the commission would go to Albert Weinert, a German-American who was born in Leipzig, Germany and had studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Brussels. The cornerstone to the monument was laid on November 6, 1892.[36]

The dedication ceremony on June 25, 1893 was accompanied by huge festivities. Over 3,000 people marched from downtown Chicago to Waldheim Cemetery. Included in the parade were trade unionists, members of German Turnvereins, musical groups, and others who were in Chicago for the World's Columbian Exposition and were curious about the spectacle. By the *Chicago Tribune's* conservative estimate, over 8,000 people were present at the unveiling of the monument. Organizers of the dedication presented speeches in English, German, Bohemian, and Polish. The monument, a woman representing Justice placing a laurel wreath on the head of a fallen worker (an image Weinert took from a verse of the Marseilles, the French national anthem) was garnished with flowers and banners sent from throughout the world. Floral tributes came from unions in England, France, and Belgium. The platform of the monument was covered with the crimson banner of the Architectural Ironworkers Union No. 2, the blue flag of the Brewery Workers Union, the red banners of the Turnverein Clubs, and the American flag. Sculptor Albert Weinert opened the ceremonies by presenting the statue to the PASA as Fetzner's orchestra played the Marseilles, which the executed martyrs sung at the gallows. The ceremony reflected the renewed links between ethnic culture, the labor movement, and radical

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[34] For further discussion of the Haymarket Police Statue, see Adelman, *Haymarket Revisited*, pp. 38-40; Dabakis, "Martyrs and Monuments," pp. 108-13; *Haymarket Scrapbook*, pp. 167-8; and Labor and *Haymarket Scrapbook*, clippings.

[35] Quoted in *Politics and Politicians of Chicago, Cook County, and Illinois, Part I* (Chicago: Blakely Printing Co., 1886), p. 385.

[36] Dabakis, "Martyrs and Monuments," pp. 113-115. Weinert's body of work would include: *Lake George Memorial*, Lake George, New York: marble groups in vestibule of the Hall of Records, New York City; *McKinley Monument*, Toledo, Ohio; *Stevens T. Mason Monument*, Detroit Michigan; historical tablets for Sons of the Revolution and Society for Colonial Wars; work at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, San Francisco; sculptural relief for *The Court of Neptune Fountain* (1897-1898) at the Library of Congress, Main Building, Washington, D.C.: and *Statue of Lord Baltimore* (1908), Baltimore, Maryland. See, Glenn B. Opitz, ed., *Mantle Fielding's Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors, and Engravers*, "Weinert, Albert," p. 1006; Virginia Norton Naudé, ed., *Sculptural Monuments in an Outdoor Environment*, (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1985), p. 1985; and James M. Goode, *The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C.*: A Comprehensive Historical Guide (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974), pp. 69-70.

politics inspired by the martyrdom of the Haymarket anarchists and the public dedication of the monument.[37]

The dedication ceremony was followed the next day by another symbol of the injustice of the Haymarket executions; the pardoning of the accused by recently elected Governor John Peter Altgeld. During the 1890s, several labor groups and organizations, many of which had been active in attempts to get the Haymarket death sentences commuted, formed a new Amnesty Association to put pressure on Governor Joseph W. Fifer to pardon the remaining jailed prisoners. These efforts were put forth through the cooperation of labor groups, Turner societies, and civic leaders across the country. The Chicago branch had over 100,000 members by 1893, including Lyman Gage, Lyman Trumbull, and William Penn Nixon (publisher of the *Chicago Inter Ocean*). In the 1892 election, Governor Fifer, the Republican incumbent, was defeated by John P. Altgeld, the first time in thirty years a Democrat had been elected. Altgeld became governor in January of 1893. On June 26, 1893 he issued an absolute pardon for Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe, arguing that his study of the case showed that the jury had been improperly selected, the judge was biased, and the state never found the bomb thrower. Fielden, Schwab, and Neebe were released from prison, after having spent over seven years in jail, including five in the state penitentiary.[38]

The pardon reignited much of the nativist sentiment expressed during the time of the trial. On June 27, 1893, a *Chicago Tribune* editorial targeted Governor Altgeld:

> It was generally understood that they [the remaining jailed defendants] were to be let go in the event of Altgeld's election. The Anarchists believed that he was not merely an alien by birth, but an alien by temperament and sympathetic, and they were right. He has apparently not a drop of true American blood in his veins. He does not reason like an American, nor feel like one, and consequently he does not behave like one. . . .We cannot feel that the brave fellows who lost their lives in the Haymarket massacre have been remembered as long or as gratefully as they should be when two at least of their murderers are turned loose upon the community after a scant term of imprisonment.[39]

The pardon represented an official sanction of the historical memory of the event the sympathizers hoped to create with the creation and dedication of the statue, though, as the above testimony illustrates, it certainly was not a universally shared opinion. Altgeld's political career was ruined by the act of pardoning the martyrs, and the links between "foreigners," radicals, and threats to American security were made once again following World War I, leading to the postwar "Red Scare."

The number of internationally-renowned labor leaders and radicals who visited the monument bears witness to its central role as an icon of labor history. The Haymarket monument became, according to Paul Avrich, "a revolutionary shrine," a "place of pilgrimage" for radicals and labor leaders from all over the world.[40] PASA held annual meetings at the monument, on May 1 (May Day), May 4 (the anniversary of the bombing), and November 11 (the anniversary of the executions) from the time of its

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[37] Adelman, *Haymarket Revisited*, pp. 104-7; Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*, pp. 413-14; Dabakis, "Martyrs and Monuments," pp. 117-18; David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, p. 492; and *Haymarket Scrapbook*, p. 171.

[38] Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*, pp. 415-27; David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, p. 486; Ray Ginger, *Altgeld's America: The Lincoln Ideal Versus Changing Realities* (New York: New Viewpoints, a Division of Franklin Watts, Inc., 1973) pp. 61-88; and Zeisler, *The Haymarket Riot*, pp. 84-9.

[39] Chicago *Tribune*, June 27, 1893.

[40] Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*, p. 414.

founding. Tributes to the martyrs took the form of rallies, parades, speeches, wreath lyings, and the presentation of flower garlands. John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor, spoke frequently, as did other prominent labor leaders.[41] Those visiting the monument and speaking of its symbolism included Lucy Parsons, Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, Peter Kropotkin, Emma Goldman, and Eugene Debs, among others. Debs crystallized the role of the monument as the symbol of freedom and justice when he made the monument at Waldheim his first stop after being released from prison for his role in the 1894 Pullman strike. Prominent writers, poets, and artists, including Carl Sandburg, Vachel Lindsay, Ralph Chaplin, Edgar Lee Masters, and Kenneth Rexroth commemorated the monument in their writings. Voltairine de Cleyre, an anarchist and poet, wrote a tribute poem to Waldheim and the monument in 1897. Referring to the monument's female depiction of Justice, she writes:

> Is this thy word, O Mother, with stern eyes,
> Crowning thy dead with stone-caressing touch?
> May we not weep o'er him that martyred lies,
> Slain in our name, for that he loved us much?[42]

The emotion inspired by a visit to the monument was expressed most clearly during the fiftieth anniversary of the executions. In 1937, PASA organized a 50th Commemoration of the Haymarket tragedy and executions, setting up a Memorial Committee which contacted labor and radical groups throughout the world (except the Soviet Union). The committee received support from the Chicago Federation of Labor, the Workmen's Circle, and numerous unions worldwide. The celebration took place on November 11, 1937, and speakers included representatives of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), and the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL). Simultaneous memorial gatherings were held throughout the nation and the world, from Milwaukee to Mexico. In Mexico City the Palace of Justice features a large mural by Diego Rivera depicting the Haymarket incident, trial, and execution. In addition, in 1925, the town of Matehuala near Mexico City unveiled a monument to the "Martyrs of Chicago," and each May Day workers gather here to commemorate the "Day of the Martyrs of Chicago," the name given to May Day in Mexico.[43]

Annual commemorations at Forest Home Cemetery continued under the auspices of PASA throughout the early and mid-twentieth century. In addition to commemorations, though, sympathizers found a new way to demonstrate their allegiance to the causes of freedom and justice symbolized by the monument; they requested that they be buried alongside of the martyrs. Among the first to do so were Joe Hill (1882-1915), another martyr in the labor movement, and William Haywood (1869-1928), one of the founders of the IWW; both had their ashes scattered next to the monument. This practice continued with the wives and relatives of the martyrs, including Meta Neebe (1831-1887), Lucy Parsons (1859-1942), and Nina Van Zandt Spies (-1936). Among the more prominent people buried here are Irving Abrams (1891-1980), Voltairine de Cleyre (1866-1912), Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (1890-1964), William Z. Foster (1881-1966), and Emma Goldman (1869-1940). By 1960, PASA had diminished to only three members. The group turned over whatever funds it had to Waldheim Cemetery for the perpetual care of the monument. Then, on May 2, 1971, PASA held a public ceremony at the monument to turn over the title to the newly-formed Illinois Labor History Society

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[41] Adelman, *Haymarket Revisited*, p. 106, and *Haymarket Heritage*, p. 34.

[42] Reprinted in *Haymarket Scrapbook*, p. 178. See also pp. 171, 176, 182, 184, 195, 196, 216, 227-28, 230, and 241 for additional poetic and literary tributes to Haymarket and Waldheim.

[43] *Haymarket Heritage*, pp. 32-3, and *Haymarket Scrapbook*, pp. 215-16, 223, and 247.

(ILHS). ILHS sponsored an even larger celebration to commemorate the Centennial of the Haymarket Affair. Ceremonies took place on May 4, 1986 at the monument, and included music, poetry, and speeches similar to those that took place during the original dedication ceremony. Labor societies from throughout the world sent contributions for the ceremony, and sponsored their own tributes to the Centennial of Haymarket.[44]

Haymarket has provided a symbol through which various groups have been able to create a usable past and shared pride in radical heritage. Indeed, activists worldwide continue to invoke the history of the Haymarket martyrs in their struggles for labor and civil rights. Workers visit the monument in tribute to its central role in labor history. In the early 1980s, visitors marked the monument with the label "Solidarity," linking the monument to Polish struggles for political freedom. Similarly, South African workers during apartheid fought for the right to have May Day recognized as the official commemoration of workers, as it is in most nations throughout the world.[45] Both the Haymarket incident and the monument commemorating it speak to ubiquitous themes in the history of labor, politics, and democracy. According to Henry David, the martyrs' speeches in court have been countless times reprinted in most modern languages. Their pictures have been hung in the homes and gathering-places of radicals. November 11, has become a consecrated day, and has been appropriately observed in Europe and America with a religious constancy and fidelity."[46] The monument and cemetery symbolize the process of creating cultural heritage through a poignant, enduring legacy of collective identity. The monument, then, has become an enduring symbol which has linked the struggles of labor, radical politics, and social justice throughout the world.

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[44] *Haymarket Heritage*, p. 34, and *Illinois Labor History Society Reporter*, April, 1986, June 1990.

[45] Telephone interview with Marty Blatt at Lowell Historical Park.

[46] David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair*, p. 503.

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Previous documentation on file (NPS):

___ Preliminary Determination of Individual Listing (36 CFR 67) has been requested.
___ Previously Listed in the National Register.
___ Previously Determined Eligible by the National Register.
___ Designated a National Historic Landmark.
___ Recorded by Historic American Buildings Survey: #_____
___ Recorded by Historic American Engineering Record: #_____

Primary Location of Additional Data:

___ State Historic Preservation Office
___ Other State Agency
___ Federal Agency
___ Local Government
___ University
_X_ Other (Specify Repository):

Illinois Labor History Society, Forest Home Cemetery

10. GEOGRAPHICAL DATA

Acreage of Property: less than one acre

UTM References:

	Zone	Easting	Northing
A	16	431980	4632430

Verbal Boundary Description:

The nominated resource boundary includes the monument, under which are buried George Engel, Adolph Fischer, Louis Lingg, Albert Parsons, and August Spies, as well as the fronting grass and walkway leading to the monument (see enclosed map for boundary diagram). This is Lot 789 at Forest Home Cemetery. The resource is edged by the walkway that connects with the main road of the cemetery at the entrance gate on Des Plaines Road.

Boundary Justification:

The boundary reflects the most significant area within Dissenters' Row at Forest Home Cemetery for commemorating the Haymarket incident. It is here, at the monument, that the Haymarket Martyrs are buried. It also is here that generations of sympathizers have gathered to remember the cause of the martyrs and celebrate May Day and struggles for social justice.

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APPENDIX

The "Dissenters' Graves" are located between 143 feet west of the monument and 170 feet east of the monument, most on the same (north) side of the road as the monument (see included map). Below are listed the "dissenters" buried in the graves with a brief history, along with numbers which correspond to the grave site on the map. Those without numbers have their ashes scattered throughout the area:

1 **Ralph L. Helstein (1908-1985)** Served as attorney for the CIO and as general counsel for the United Packinghouse Workers of America, and joined Michael Harrington on the board of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

2 **Sylvia Woods (1909-1987)** African American woman featured in the documentary film *Union Maids*, who held numerous positions in the United Auto Workers and was a spokesperson for the Communist Party of Illinois. She helped to found the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

3 **Irving Nebenzahl (1914-1979)** Businessman who helped fight against the McCarran Act and the House Un-American Activities Committee, and often wrote letters to the *Chicago Tribune*.

4 **Greta Lindquist Bradley (1952-1989)** Member of the International Socialists and board member of Chicago's Third Unitarian Church, serving as the chairperson for their social action committee.

5 **Morton Prinz (1912-1988)** Landscape designer for the City of Chicago who helped found the Rogers Park Tenants Committee as well as the Committee for Sane Nuclear Policy.

6 **Tobey S. Prinz (1911-1984)** Helped Organize "Education vs. Racism," a conference to promote the teaching of African American Studies. She also helped to found the Chicago Teachers Union and the Rogers Park Tenant Committee.

7 **Ellen R. Budow (1952-1974)** Activist jailed for organizing a campaign for better working conditions for food workers at University of Wisconsin at Madison. She also was an organizer for the United Electrical Workers in Massachusetts.

8 **Elizabeth Gurley Flynn (1890-1964)** Labor Organizer for the Lawrence Strike (Massachusetts, 1912) and the Paterson Strike (New Jersey, 1912-13). She worked closely with Eugene Debs and Bill Haywood, was jailed for three years under the Smith Act, and later became chair of the Communist Party USA.

9 **Clarence Hathaway (1894-1966)** Charter member of the Communist Party USA (CPUSA), worked as CPUSA's Illinois district organizer and as editor of its national newspaper the *Daily Worker*.

10 **William Z. Foster (1881-1966)** Organizer for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), American Federation of Labor (AFL), and the Committee for Industrial Organization (CIO), and founder of the Trade Union Educational League. He helped to organize the meatpacking industry in 1917, making it the first mass production industry to be organized. He also led the Great Steel Strike of 1919 and helped to organize the United Mine Workers. He joined the

CPUSA in 1921 and was its candidate for president in 1924, 1928, and 1932.

11 **Raymond Hansbrough (1903-1950)** African American steel worker who became a leader of the Communist Party in the 1930s and 40s and led campaigns to free the "Scottsboro Nine" and Angelo Herndon. He also served on the CPUSA's Black Liberation Commission.

12 **Eugene Dennis (1904-1961)** Member of the Communist Party USA and its General Secretary. He was jailed under the Smith Act for nine years and wrote *Ideas They Cannot Jail* during that time.

13 **Jack Johnstone (1881-1942)** An organizer for the Chicago Federation of Labor, he founded the Stock Yards Labor Council and organized a mass multi-racial demonstration known as the "Checkerboard Parade." He went to India to work with Mahatma Gandhi and was arrested and jailed by the British.

14 **Emma Goldman (1869-1940)** Heavily influenced by the hanging of the Haymarket Martyrs when she was eighteen, she was a noted anarchist lecturer and writer who was deported in 1919 and only allowed to return to the U.S. once in 1935.

15 **Pettis Perry (1897-1965)** A leader of the Communist Party USA's Black Liberation Commission. He was jailed for three years under the Smith Act.

16 **Jack Stachel (1900-1965)** A charter member of the Communist Party USA and educational director of the Young Communist League who later became executive secretary of the CPUSA.

17 **Esther Foster (?-1965)** Worked closely with her husband, William Z. Foster, as an industrial trade unionist, and also was a member of the Communist Party USA.

18 **Alexander L. Trachtenberg (1885-1966)** A student of W.E.B. DuBois at Yale, he was a founding member of the Communist Party USA in 1919, and was jailed in the 1950s for his writings and activities.

19 **Otto H. Wangerin (1888-1975)** Jailed for fifteen years for his opposition to World War I, he led a struggle to celebrate May Day in Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary. He also ran Chicago's Modern Bookstore, the city's oldest socialist bookstore.

20 **Charles F. Wilson (1910-1984)** A Certified Public Accountant, he found his career hindered by racism, and became a union activist. He refused to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee 79 times, and ran for U.S. Senate on the Communist Party USA ticket.

21 **William L. Patterson (1890-1980)** An African American lawyer who joined the Communist Party USA to help defend Sacco and Vanzetti. He edited the *Midwest Daily* and worked against the Jim Crow laws as well as for the integration of major league baseball.

22 **Henry Winston (1911-1986)** A member of the Young Communist League and founder of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, he was jailed under the Smith Act. He later became national chairman of the Communist Party USA.

23 **Jack Kling (1911-1990)** A member of the Young Communist League and the Communist

Party USA, he wrote an autobiography titled *Where the Action Is*.

24 **Carl Winter (1906-1991)** Editor of *The Worker* (1966) and the *Daily World* (1968) who was jailed for five years under the Smith Act.

25 **Art Shields (1888-1988)** Member of the Communist Party USA and writer for the *Daily Worker*, also edited the IWW paper *Solidarity*.

26 **Esther Lowell Shields (1900-1989)** A pioneer among women in journalism as a reporter for the Federated Press and later on the first American staff of TASS.

27 **Josef Dietzgen (1828-1888)** A social theorist and philosopher, he edited the Chicago anarchist daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung* after former editor August Spies was jailed as a Haymarket defendant.

28 **Hepp** Perhaps the wife of Oscar Neebe or a relative of the Grand Marshall of the Haymarket Martyrs' funeral procession.

29 **Hermine Bielefeld (1884-1932)** Perhaps the wife or sister of John Bielefeld.

30 **Clara Bielefeld (1869-1935)** Also, perhaps the wife or sister of John Bielefeld.

31 **George Engel (1836-1887) Haymarket Martyr** An active organizer for the Eight Hour Day movement, he was hanged on November 11, 1887.

32 **Samuel Fielden (1847-1922) Haymarket Martyr** One of the charter members of Chicago's first Teamster's Union, was arrested and imprisoned, then later pardoned by Governor Altgeld. He is the only member of the Haymarket Eight not buried in Forest Home.

33 **Adolph Fischer (1858-1887) Haymarket Martyr** Worked with August Spies on *Arbeiter-Zeitung* as a foreman for the paper, and helped to plan the Haymarket meeting. He was hanged on November 11, 1887.

34 **Louis Lingg (1864-1887) Haymarket Martyr** A Carpenter Union organizer, his death was ruled a suicide on the morning of the other hangings.

35 **Oscar Neebe (1850-1916) Haymarket Martyr** He established his own yeast business, and helped to organize brewery workers. He was sentenced to fifteen years in Joliet Prison, but was pardoned by Governor Altgeld after six years.

36 **Albert Parsons (1848-1887) Haymarket Martyr** With his wife Lucy, he was an active member of the Socialist Labor Party and several local unions, as well as an editor for the anarchist paper *The Alarm*. He was hanged November 11, 1887.

37 **Michael Asher Schwab (1854-1898) Haymarket Martyr** An editorial writer for *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, he was originally sentenced to death but his sentence was changed to life imprisonment. He was pardoned after six years by Governor Altgeld.

38 **August Spies (1855-1887) Haymarket Martyr** Editor of the anarchist daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, he was the first to address the crowd at the Haymarket meeting. He was hanged on November

11, 1887.

39 **Irving S. Abrams (1891-1980)** An anarchist and member of the IWW, also a founder of the Pioneer Aid and Support Society, a group founded to aid the widows and children of the martyrs and responsible for erecting the monument.

40 **Esther Abrams (1896-1985)** Wife of Irving Abrams.

41 **Lucy Parsons (1859-1942)** Wife of Albert Parsons, she was a militant industrial unionist and noted public speaker, also one of the leading writers for *The Alarm*. She was a founding member of the IWW, led the "Unemployed Parade" up Halsted Street in Chicago, and worked closely with the Communist Party USA.

42 **George Markstall (1869?-1942)** A socialist shareholder in Charles H. Kerr Publishing.

43 **Louis Vormbrock (1855-1892)** Believed to be involved with *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

44 **Fred Bergmann (1857-1928)** Believed to be involved with *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

45 **Voltairine de Cleyre (1866-1912)** Essayist and poet, she was an opponent of censorship and repression and an anarchist colleague of Emma Goldman.

46 **Meta Neebe (1831-1887)** The first wife of Oscar Neebe.

47 **Harry Kelly (1871-1953)** (plaque missing) A contributor to Emma Goldman's magazine *Mother Earth* and an associate of Russian Anarchist Peter Kropotkin, he was an organizer for the International Typographical Union.

Boris Yelensky (1889-1974) (ashes scattered between graves 47 and 48) Took part in the 1905 Russian Revolution, and became a key figure in Chicago's Free Society. He wrote a history of the Anarchist Red Cross called *In the Struggle for Equality*.

48 **Anna Sosnovsky Winokour (1900-1949)** One of the first members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

49 **Ben L. Reitman, MD (1880-1943)** The leader of the International Itinerant Migratory Workers Union (Hobos of America, Inc.). Through private tutoring he was able to enter medical school. He started a transient worker's educational project called Hobo College on Madison Street. He also was a longtime companion of anarchist Emma Goldman.

50 **James E.P. Toman (1915-1970)** Chair of the Department of Pharmacology at Chicago Medical School and an activist for open housing in the Garfield Park area.

51 **Elizabeth Johnstone (?-1954)** Member of the Communist Party USA and educational director for the Communist Party Illinois.

52 **Frank Mucci (1905-1954)** The first Communist Party USA member to be elected to public office as City Councilman in Taylor Springs, IL.

53 **Alfred Wagenknecht (1881-1954)** A member of Eugene Debs' Socialist Party, he was jailed for his opposition to World War I. After being expelled from the Socialist Party, he became a charter member of the Communist Party USA and went on to help build the Trade Union Educational League.

54 **Samuel T. Hammersmark (1872-1957)** Influenced by the Haymarket hangings, he joined the IWW and later the Syndicalist League. He helped organize the Post Office Workers Union and opened the Marxist bookstore The Modern Bookstore in Chicago.

55 **Frank A. Pellegrino (1890-1969)** An active member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union and a charter member of the Communist Party USA.

56 **Geraldine Lightfoot (1912-1962)** One of the top organizers for garment industry workers unions on the south and west sides of Chicago.

57 **Claude Lightfoot (1910-1991)** Prominent leader of the Communist Party USA who led a struggle for African American workers to be employed for the building of DuSable High School.

58 **Morton S. Schaffner (1953-1973)** Ran for Niles Township School Board in 1971, at age eighteen, to challenge the rule against minors on the board. He was a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Young Workers Liberation League and The Communist Party USA.

59 **Eddie Balchowsky (1916-1989)** (unmarked grave) Fought in the Spanish Civil War against the fascists, called by Studs Terkel "Chicago's Huck Finn."

60 **Myron Reed "Slim" Brundage (1903-1990)** (interred in chapel) Owned pubs under the name College of Complexes that served as a forum for intellectuals, poets, and politicians.

61 **Raya Dunayevskaya (1910-1987)** One-time secretary to Leon Trotsky, she was a Marxist author who emphasized the contemporary relevance of Marx and Hegel.

62 **John F. Dwyer (1912-1989)** Active in the Socialist Workers' Party and in the early CIO, he elaborated a theory of state-capitalism.

Ashes Scattered

Arthur Boose (1878-1959) Active and vocal member of the IWW.

Esther Dolgoff (1905-1989) Active IWW member and co-editor of the New York anarchist journal *Views and Comments*.

William "Big Bill" Haywood (1869-1928) Helped to found the IWW in 1905 and a prominent figure in the "Free Speech Movement," he was sentenced for seditious act but jumped bail and settled in Moscow.

Joe Hill (1882-1915) A cartoonist and union activist who was framed and executed for

murder. His ashes are scattered on every continent and in every state (except Utah, where he was executed).

Carl Keller (1891-1980) Active member of the IWW, a member of its executive board, and an editor of its weekly newspaper.

Albert Moreau (1897-1977) A member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party USA, he gave special attention to the struggle for Puerto Rico's independence.

Henry P. Rosemont (1904-1979) Led a 22-month long strike of the typographic unions against the Chicago daily papers, considered to be the first major battle against the Taft-Hartley Act.

Irving Potash (1902-1976) Helped to found the Communist Party USA and an active builder of the CIO.

Nina Van Zandt Spies (?-1936) Fell in love with August Spies during the Haymarket trial, helped him write his autobiography, and later marched with Lucy Parsons on numerous occasions.

Eva Terveen (1911-1991) A union organizer who fought to free Sacco and Vanzetti and the Scottsboro Nine, member of the Communist Party USA.

Fred W. Thompson (1900-1987) Taught at the IWW Work People's College in Duluth and led the reorganization of the Charles H. Kerr Publishing House.[1]

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[1] Joe Powers and Mark Rogovin, *The Day Will Come...: The Stories of the Haymarket Martyrs and the Men and Women Buried Alongside the Monument*, (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Co., 1994).