

Notes to autobiographies

1. Sir William Hamilton (1788–1856) was a Scottish philosopher and authority on Germany philosophy and Presbyterian church affairs.

2. This is a quotation from the Declaration of Independence, but there is an error in the sentence as published in the *Knights of Labor*. The entire sentence reads: “Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.”

3. Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) German poet and dramatist, noted for his opposition to the existing social order and his hatred of despotism.

4. James Russell Lowell (1819–1891), American poet, and author, among other writings, of *A Fable of Critics* (1848) and *The Bigelow Papers* (1848). In the latter work he used the vernacular to denounce the Mexican War. Later in life he was United States Minister in Spain and to Great Britain. From 1857–1861, he was editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*. The quoted poem, here given exactly, dates from 1865 and is in Lowell’s *Poetical Works* (Boston, 1888), IV, 18–19.

5. A “powder monkey” was a boy who carried or had charge of powder. It originally applied to a powder boy on board a war vessel.

6. The Red River Expedition was designed to establish Union control

in one point in Texas, mainly as a counter to the movements of the French in Mexico. It began in the spring of 1864, under the command of General Nathaniel P. Banks, heading a force of 27,000 men. On April 9, a battle was fought at Pleasant Hill in which both parties claimed the victory. Banks, due largely to lack of ammunition and supplies, was forced to fall back, and, on May 13, evacuated Alexandria. The expedition proved to be a disaster for the Union forces.

7. General James Longstreet (1825–1904) was one of the most distinguished officers in the Confederate Army. After the Civil War he supported the Reconstruction measures of the Republican Congress and joined the Republican Party in New Orleans.

8. Slavery was legally ended by the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution, adopted in 1865. The fourteenth amendment, adopted in 1868, made the Negro a citizen, and the fifteenth amendment, adopted in 1870, provided that a citizen's right to vote should not be denied by a state or by the national government because of race or color.

The Reconstruction measures were first adopted by Congress under the leadership of the Radical Republicans in March, 1867. They placed the South under military rule, permitted military tribunals in peacetime, disqualified from voting former leaders of the Confederacy, and gave the vote to former male slaves.

9. The Klu Klux Klan was a secret organization established in the South during the Reconstruction period. It aimed, through terror and violence, to re-subjugate Negroes and to prevent the development of a democratic South. It was responsible for the murders of hundreds of black and white people.

10. Albert R. Parsons married Lucy Eldine Gonzalez.

11. Ulysses S. Grant (1822–1885) was President of the United States from 1868 to 1872. Although personally honest, his administrations became notorious for corruption and poor organization.

12. The great Chicago fire started on October 8, 1871 in the barn of Catherine O'Leary, and before the flames had burned themselves out, nearly 100,000 persons were made homeless and 73 miles of street and 17,500 buildings of all kinds destroyed. Relief societies were immediately established in Chicago.

13. As a result of the Paris Commune the name "communists" became a popular epithet in the United States in the 1870's.

14. "Forty acres and a mule" was the slogan popularized among the freedmen during and after the Civil War. It aroused their hope that they

would obtain land and a mule from the federal government so as not to be at the mercy of the white planters.

15. The Workingmen's Party of the United States was organized at a convention in Philadelphia in July, 1876, not at Pittsburgh. At the convention, nineteen American sections of the International Workingmen's Association (the First International) dissolved the I.W.A., and a few days later, they organized the Workingmen's Party of the United States. The Social-Democratic Party of North America, founded in 1874 by followers of Ferdinand Lassalle, merged with the W.P. of U.S. A year later the new party changed its name to the Socialist Labor Party of North America.

16. The great Railroad strike of 1877 started after the Pennsylvania Railroad announced in mid-May, 1877 a new 10 per cent wage cut to become effective on June 1. (This came on top of previous wage cuts during the depression which began in 1873.) Other eastern roads announced wage cuts to become effective on July 1st, and also began to intensify the discharge and blacklisting of members of the three conservative railroad brotherhoods—locomotive engineers, firemen, and conductors. A planned strike to begin on June 27, organized by a secret "trainmen's union," under the leadership of Robert H. Ammon, never took place. But on July 16, a strike began on the Baltimore and Ohio line at Camden Junction, Maryland, and spread the next day on the same line at Martinsburg, West Virginia. State militia proving ineffective to break the strike, federal troops were asked for, and with their arrival, the strike was smashed. But, in the meantime, the strike had spread westward into Cumberland, Maryland and into Kentucky and Ohio. It also spread to other lines, and bitter battles between strikers and police and militiamen occurred at Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Scranton, Reading and other points along the route of the Erie and New York Central in New York. Railway workers also quit work at Columbus, Cincinnati, Chicago, and St. Louis. The strikes were broken by police, vigilantes, militia and Federal troops, and by August 2 railway service had been restored.

The strike was the largest in number of persons involved of any in the nineteenth century. It was not confined to railroad workers; it was joined by miners, millhands and unemployed workers.

17. This was the second rally the Workingmen's Party of the United States held in Chicago during the great strike. The mass meeting took place on July 23, 1877 at Market and Madison streets. Parson's statement that 30,000 workingmen attended the meeting is an exaggeration. Probably no more than 6,000 were present.

18. Joseph Medill (1823–1899) bought an interest in the Chicago *Tribune* in 1855 and used the paper to support the newly-organized Republican Party. In 1874 Medill bought a majority of the stock of the *Tribune* company, and during the remainder of his life, controlled the paper's policy. Medill was elected mayor of Chicago in 1871 after the great fire which swept the city.

19. For a vivid description of the battle of the 16th street viaduct, see Robert V. Bruce, *1877: Year of Violence*, (Indianapolis, 1959), pp. 248–50.

20. The Noble Order of Knights of Labor was formed in 1869 in Philadelphia. The Order grew slowly, but during the Railroad Strike of 1877, in which the Knights did not participate officially, its membership rapidly increased. The Order's great growth, however, occurred in the years 1883–1886. In 1883 it had about 42,000 members, in July, 1885, 104,000 members, and in 1886, it boasted 703,000 members. It never reached the figure of one million members as Parsons states.

21. Richard F. Trevellick (1830–1895) was president of the International Union of Ship Carpenters and Caulkers in 1865; president of the Detroit Trades' Assembly, and president of the National Labor Union in 1869, 1871 and 1872. He helped form the Greenback Party and was active in movements for currency reform as well as for the eight-hour day.

Charles H. Lichtman (1849–1902) was National Secretary of the Knights of St. Crispin and General Secretary of the Knights of Labor for fourteen years. He was an active lobbyist at Washington, often at his own expense, for eight-hour legislation.

Dyer D. Lum (1840–1893) dedicated much of his life to the cause of the labor movement after service in the Civil War. In 1876 he was a candidate for Lieutenant Governor in Massachusetts, and later served as secretary to a congressional committee. A firm revolutionist, he contributed frequently to the anarchist press.

Nothing was accomplished by the lobbying activities of the National Eight-Hour Association.

22. The quotation is from *The Communist Manifesto* by Marx and Engels. The *Manifesto* was prepared by Marx and Engels in 1848 at the invitation a year before of the Congress of the Communist League in London.

23. At its 1884 convention, the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada, the original name of the American Federation of Labor, adopted a resolution asserting that eight hours should constitute "a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886," and calling upon labor organizations to "so direct their laws as to con-

form to this resolution by the time named.”

24. Mrs. Sarah E. Ames had also been arrested in the original police round-up following the Haymarket Affair, but had been released.

25. The editorial appeared on page 9 in the *New York Times* of April 25, 1886 under the heading, “The Financial World.” The words “short” and “easy” in the first paragraph are not italicized in the original. The second paragraph quoted by Parsons reads as follows in the original: “Another way suggested is to pick out the leaders, and make such examples of them as to scare the others into immediate submission.” Parsons, however, omitted the next sentence which reads: “It is not, however, a sure thing that even this would be entirely successful; and it is confessed among the more thoughtful men of the Street that the labor problem as now presented is a serious one, and that the solution will be worked out slowly.”

26. Parsons exaggerates in stating that the Haymarket Affair caused the eight-hour strike to be broken and the movement to fall to pieces. Actually, the eight-hour movement was not a total failure and it did result in some shortening of working hours.

27. The thirty years war began in 1618 with an open rebellion of the Bohemian nobles, in answer to the forced acceptance by the Bohemian Diet of the Catholic Duke Ferdinand of Styria as future king of Bohemia. As the war progressed, it involved almost every state in Europe. It ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 which marked the end of the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation as a political power. Germany was devastated by the war and pestilence which accompanied it. It has been estimated that the density of the population of Germany as a whole decreased by nearly two thirds.

28. The Pinkertons was an organization founded by Allan Pinkerton which became notorious for anti-union and anti-labor activities. In many strikes of this period, workers had to combat “Pinkerton strike-breakers.”

29. Martin Luther (1483–1546), leader of the German Reformation, stayed at the Wartburg, in disguise, for almost a full year after he was condemned as a heretic in the “Edict of Worms,” May 8, 1521. It was while he was in the Wartburg that Luther translated the New Testament from Greek into German.

30. Thomas Muenzer (c. 1490–1525) was a priest who became the revolutionary and religious leader of the masses during the Reformation. He was an adherent of the Reformation, but, influenced by the Hussite and Taborite ideas, called for a more basic attack on traditional Christianity as well as for a popular revolution against the feudal ruling class. He was a

leader of the Peasants' War of 1524–1525, and attempted to link the uprisings of the peasants to the revolutionary movements of urban workers and miners. Muenzer denounced Luther for his relations with the evangelical princes and landowners, and was, in turn, denounced by Luther for his radical program. After the defeat of his forces in the battle of Frankinhausen, Muenzer was put to death. His ideas, however, continued to influence German social and radical movements.

During the Peasants' War, Luther sided with the German Princes and advised the lords to drown the revolt in blood.

31. Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) was lord protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland from 1653 to 1658. He was one of the leaders of the Puritan Revolution against King Charles I.

Armand-Jean Du Plessis de Richelieu (1585–1642) was the famous French Cardinal and statesman who set out to make King Louis XIII of France actual master of the entire realm and assure him supremacy in Europe.

32. Honore Gabriel Riquetti Comte de Mirabeau (1749–1791) was the leader of the French National Assembly (1789–1791) and is regarded by some as the author of the Declaration of the Rights of Man. He was a champion of complete religious and intellectual freedom.

33. Only nine states established unqualified age limits below which child labor was prohibited, the highest being thirteen years and the lowest ten. In these and at least eleven other states, the age limits for child laborers were based upon school attendance or ability to read or write. But the means of escaping the restrictions were numerous and the penalties for violation so mild that the legislation did not prevent the employment of young children in industry.

34. Aristotle (384–322 B.C.) was the great Greek teacher and philosopher, psychologist, logician, political thinker and father of literary criticism.

35. The quotation is from Karl Marx's *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy* (Volume I, New York, 1967, p. 408). The name of the Greek poet who lived at the time of Cicero was Antipatros.

36. Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1805) was Germany's greatest creative personality. His masterpiece was the *Faust* drama which he completed a year before his death.

37. Henry Thomas Buckle (1821–1862), English historian, was the author of *History of Civilization in England* (2 volumes), published in 1857–1861. It was translated in all European languages, and is considered one of the most important works in the history of social sciences.

Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881), American ethnologist, published his masterpiece, *Ancient Society or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress*, in 1877.

The first edition of *Das Kapital* by Karl Marx (1818–1883) was published in Germany in 1867.

38. E.S. Dreyer was a banker who served as foreman of the grand jury which indicted the anarchists. Later, he joined in the movement to persuade Governor Altgeld to pardon Neebe, whom he thought entirely innocent, and Fielden and Schwab, who although in his opinion were guilty to some extent, had suffered enough.

39. The Turner Bund was a social organization of German-Americans.

40. From the beginning the Knights of Labor surrounded itself with ritualism and required its members never to reveal the name of the Order or the names of its members. In 1881 the Knights made the name of the Order and its activities public. Members, however, were still forbidden to reveal “to any employer or other person the name . . . of any . . . member of the Order without the permission of the member.”

41. In 1884 the miners in the Hocking Valley, Illinois refused to accept a wage cut proposed by the Columbus and Hocking Valley Coal and Iron Company. When the miners decided to strike, the company discharged all strikers. The strike, which lasted from July, 1884 until March, 1885, involved 4,000 miners, and caused much suffering among the strikers and their families. In the end the miners were forced to accept the operators' terms.

42. Spies was the first of the condemned men to address the court. He protested his innocence, charged that it was not murder for which he was being tried, but for his belief in Anarchism. While he did not deny that he and his comrades advocated the use of dynamite, he justified this in the fact that the ruling class employed force to prevent all reform and progress. He denied, however, that he and his comrades deliberately planned the violent destruction of the existing social order on a specific date. He closed his lengthy speech to the court with the statement that he and his comrades were ready to follow in the path of Socrates, Christ, Giordano Bruno, Huss, and Galileo.

43. The Hanseatic League was a co-operative association of German cities for the protection of mutual commercial interests. The League comprised the most important cities of northern Germany; its membership at one time was close to one hundred cities. The League held a monopoly of the Baltic trade and controlled the important herring and cod industries; it

reached its greatest prosperity in the second half of the fourteenth century.

44. The Franco-Prussian War began in August, 1870 and ended with the signing of the final peace treaty at Frankfurt on May 10, 1871. The French were quickly defeated, and, in the same peace treaty, without consulting the wishes of their populations, the provinces of Alsace and part of Lorraine were annexed by Germany and incorporated into the Prussian system of administration. In addition to these territorial losses, France had to agree to German occupation of her key fortresses, until the war indemnity of five billion francs (about one billion dollars) was paid in full.

45. Red Cloud (1822–1909) was an American Indian chief of the Oglala tribe and of the Sioux and Cheyenne Indians, who opposed the westward movement of the white man. He signed a treaty with the government of the United States in 1868, and thereafter advocated peace. He died in the Pine Indian Reservation in South Dakota to which his tribe had been removed.

46. The doctrine of individual Anarchism, as propounded by Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865), with its demand for complete individual liberty and opposition to the State and all other coercive and restrictive social institutions, appealed to the working-class in France but primarily to intellectuals in the United States. It was the teaching of Anarchist-communism, carried over to the United States by Johann Most, that attracted the revolutionaries who had broken away from the Socialist Labor Party.

47. Dr. Edward Aveling was the husband of Eleanor Marx Aveling, the daughter of Karl Marx. He and his wife visited the United States in 1886, and while they defended the Haymarket defendants, they also indicated that they, as Socialists, did not approve of Anarchism. It is doubtful that Aveling would have denied that he was a State-socialist, meaning a socialist who believed in the use of political methods, since he made it clear in the book, *The Working-Class Movement in America*, written with his wife and published in 1887, that he supported the Socialist Labor Party.

48. During the Civil War, President Lincoln promoted compensated emancipation as a solution for slavery, particularly in the border states. But his proposals met with no favorable response from the slaveowners. Compensated emancipation, however, was adopted in the Act of Congress abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. One million dollars was appropriated to pay loyal masters of slaves.

49. At East St. Louis in 1885 a railroad corporation imported thugs from other states to help break the strike of switchmen. The strikebreakers were made deputy sheriffs. Without provocation they fired upon a

crowd of strikers and citizen sympathizers, killing several and wounding many. The thugs were arrested as a result of public outcry, but the courts and grand jury of St. Clair county refused to try them.

In 1885 the quarry workers at Lemont, a Chicago suburb, staged a walk-out against a pay reduction. The militia shot and killed two strikers before it was over.

50. During a street-car strike in Chicago in 1885 not only were strikers clubbed right and left by the police, regardless of whether they engaged in violence, but non-striking workers and even businessmen who happened to be in the strike zone were similarly treated.

51. John Waller was the leader of the social-revolutionaries in Chicago, and spoke frequently at their meetings. It was disclosed that Waller had been promised immunity by the police if he testified properly during the trial, threatened with death if he did not, and that parts of Waller's testimony injurious to the Haymarket defendants were dictated to him by police.

52. In his testimony during the trial, Mayor Carter H. Harrison stated: "There was no suggestion made by either of the speakers looking toward calling for the immediate use of force or violence towards any person that night; if there had been, I should have dispersed them at once. . . . When I went to the station during Parson's speech, I stated to Captain Bonfield that I thought the speeches were about over; that nothing had occurred yet, or looked likely to occur, to require interference, and that he had better issue orders to his reserves at the other stations to go home. . . ."

53. Harry L. Gilmer testified that he had seen Rudolph Schnaubelt, a young German radical who had been twice arrested, released and then disappeared, throw the bomb and that Spies had supplied the match with which the fuse was lit. He also testified that Schnaubelt was five feet, ten inches in height (not five feet, eight as Fischer states). It was made clear during the trial that Spies did not leave the wagon when the police came on the scene and could not have provided the match as Gilmer testified. Actually, Gilmer contradicted himself throughout his testimony.

54. The two Elbe duchies of Schleswig-Holstein were united with Denmark in 1460, but trouble arose because the language spoken in Holstein and southern Schleswig was German and the sympathies of the population were with Germany. In 1848 the two duchies rose in revolt against Denmark's repeated attempts to deprive them of their independence. Although the war ended with a Danish victory, the Treaty of London (1852) decreed that Schleswig-Holstein should retain its semiautonomous po-

litical organization in continued personal union with the King of Denmark. The Treaty was signed by all the great European powers, including both Prussia and Austria.

In 1863 King Christian IX of Denmark published a new Constitution for all Danish territories, including the duchies, and this was considered a breach of the London agreement. At the same time, Duke Frederick of Augustenburg received the claims of his line for succession to Schleswig-Holstein and was supported by the German Confederation.

Bismarck, determined to incorporate Schleswig-Holstein into the Prussian state, used this situation to achieve an agreement with Austria to settle the question by force of arms. In 1864 Prussian and Austrian troops invaded Schleswig. When Denmark, in negotiations during the truce refused to accept Bismarck's proposal that Schleswig-Holstein receive political autonomy with a continued personal union with the Danish crown, hostilities were resumed. In the Peace of Vienna, Denmark agreed to cede the duchies of Schleswig-Holstein unconditionally to Prussia and Austria. The Danish campaign had lasted from February to October, 1864.

55. The reference is the "Seven Weeks' War" between Prussia and Austria caused by a renewed dispute over the Schleswig-Holstein question. Austria was decisively defeated, and in the forced Peace of Prague (August 23, 1866) was compelled to consent to the reorganization of Germany under Prussian leadership. Schleswig-Holstein was annexed by Prussia.

56. In 1878 two attempts were made on the life of William I, in the second of which the emperor was severely wounded. Although the perpetrators were radicals without Socialist party affiliations, these incidents gave Bismarck the excuse to introduce his anti-socialist bill. When it appeared that a parliamentary majority would not go along with the repressive legislation, Bismarck had the Reichstag dissolved. The newly-elected representatives adopted the bill which was renewed in 1880, 1884, and 1886.

The passage of the German "exceptional laws," placing heavy penalties on active socialists, led to an emigration of many of them to the United States.

57. The majority of the Socialist Labor Party favored fusion with the Greenbackers and the S.L.P. participated as a party in the Greenback convention which nominated James B. Weaver for president. But a number of the German members and many English-speaking socialists in Chicago bolted, and nominated their own local ticket.

58. Harmodius and Aristogiton were Greek patriots who slew the Athenian tyrant Hipparchus in 514 B.C.

Lucius Junius Brutus was the traditional founder of the Roman repub-

lic in 509 B.C. Marcus Brutus (85?–42 B.C.) was the Roman senator who was a leader of the conspirators who assassinated Julius Caesar on the Ides of March 44 B.C.

59. Peisistratus (c. 600–528 B.C.) was the “tyrant” of Athens who seized power in 561–560 B.C., lost and regained it twice, and died after a long rule. He left the state to his sons Hyppias and Hipparchus.

Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.) was the Roman general, statesman, and dictator of Rome, assassinated on the Ides—the fifteenth—of March, 44 B.C.

60. On September 2, 1870, six weeks after the start of the Franco-Prussian war, a French army of 86,000 men, with Emperor Napoleon III in their midst, was forced to surrender at Sedan. Two days later the Second Empire of France collapsed and a republican provisional government of National Defense, headed by the French lawyer Gambetta, was proclaimed in Paris.

61. Among the Germans who protested the war was August Bebel, the socialist, who was sent to prison in 1870–1871 for opposing the war.

62. Ferdinand August Bebel (1840–1913) was a wood turner who became a founder and leader of the German Social-Democratic Party.

Adolph Hepner (1846–1923) was a German Socialist who became a member of the First International; he emigrated to the United States in the 1880’s and returned to Germany in 1908.

Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826–1900) was the founder of the German Social-Democratic Party and editor of the party paper, *Vorwärts*.

Bebel and Liebknecht were found guilty of “high treason” and were in prison from 1873–1875.

63. Ferdinand Lassalle (1825–1864) was a German lawyer and labor leader who founded the German Workers’ Union in 1863 and continued to play a leading role in the German Labor and Socialist movement. Among his published works were *Die Wissenschaft und die Arbeiter* and *Die Agitation für den Allgemeinen deutschen Arbeiterverein Das Jahr 1863, Polemik*. His proposed “productive associations” of workers under the protection of the state was rejected by Marxists as a reform brand of Socialism.

64. Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) was a famous German scientific geographer who collected a tremendous wealth of material on his many travels to foreign lands and continents, especially during his trip to the Spanish colonies of South America. He was the brother of Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767–1835), noted German educational reformer.

65. Between 1877 and 1887 the Social-Democrats had increased their vote from 500,000 to 763,000. But they were not yet the strongest party in

Germany. It was in the election of 1912 that they obtained 110 seats (out of 397) and thus became the strongest party in the Reichstag.

66. The fusion of the Social-Democratic Workers' Party of Germany, led by Liebknecht and Bebel, with the General Association of German Workers (the Lassalleans) took place at the Gotha Unity Congress, May 22–27, 1875.

67. The poem by Heinrich Heine (1797–1856) is entitled “The Silesian Weavers.”

68. About thee is the story told.

69. George Bancroft (1800–1891) was the author of the ten volume *History of the United States*, the first volume of which was published in 1834 and the final volume in 1874. The work ends with the peace between the United States and Great Britain in 1783.

70. The truck system provided for payment of wages in goods instead of cash. In the mines particularly, where the company store system prevailed, wages were often paid in company scrip, redeemable in the company's store. When taken in trade in other than the company's store, it was discounted at fifty percent. If exchanged in national currency, it was worth only forty cents on the dollar. Since the prices in company stores were invariably higher than in ordinary retail shops, the scrip represented a wage cut even at par value.

71. Paul Grottkau was a leading figure in the Chicago social-revolutionary movement.

72. The Latin should read: “Dies irae, dies illa solvet solum in favilla.” “The day of wrath, that day will dissolve the earth in ashes.”

73. Joaquin Miller, the West Coast poet, wrote a poem entitled “In Memory of Sophie Peroffsky,” the Russian nihilist. (Her name is variously spelled.) She had assassinated Czar Alexander II in March, 1881, and was executed. The poem, published in *Truth* (San Francisco), December 6, 1882, contained the lines:

The Czar is dead, the woman dead,
 About her neck a cord,
 In God's house rests his royal head—
 Hers in a place abhorred;
 Yet I had rather have her bed
 Than thine most royal lord.

Yea, rather be that woman dead,
 Than this new living Czar,

To hide in dread, with both hands red,
Behind great bolt and bar—
While, like the dead, still endless tread
Sand exiles tow'rd the star.

74. Labor solidarity was the accepted and official policy of the Knights of Labor and was symbolized by the slogan, "An Injury to One is the Concern of All." For the first time in American labor history, the Knights of Labor united skilled and unskilled, men and women, Negro and white, native-American and foreign-born workers, of all religious and political opinion. Negro workers were recruited in large numbers; Negro organizers were appointed by the Knights and Negroes played important roles in the organization. John W. Hayes, secretary of the Order, estimated that the Knights of Labor had 60,000 Negro members in 1886, many of them in the South, and other estimates ran even higher.

75. The ten-hour agitation led to the introduction of a bill in Parliament by John Fielden in 1846 limiting the hours of work in factories to ten hours a day. The bill passed the House of Commons on May 3, 1847.

76. The Chartist movement of 1837–1848 derived its name from the People's Charter, the program drawn up by six members of the Working Men's Association and six radical members of Parliament. It was published on May 8, 1838, and demanded six changes in the existing system: universal manhood suffrage, the ballot, payment of members of Parliament, abolition of the property qualifications for members of Parliament, equal constituencies, and annual elections. The Chartists presented a huge petition to Parliament in 1839, signed by a million and a quarter names, but it was rejected. In 1848 another petition, said to be signed by over five and a half million people, was once more presented to Parliament, but was again rejected. Following this defeat, Chartism declined until its death in 1855. But it was an important educational movement for organizing the British working class.

77. Fergus O'Connor was a leader of the Chartist movement. After his election to Parliament was invalidated in 1835 because he did not fulfill the pecuniary qualifications prescribed by law, O'Connor moved to the north of England where he organized the Radical Association. In late 1837 he founded his paper the *Northern Star* in Leeds through which he conducted a vigorous campaign for universal suffrage.

78. The cooperative movement in England became strong after the collapse of Chartism. Generally the co-operative societies were based on

the ideas of the Rochdale Pioneers. Organized in 1844 at Rochdale, England, by twenty-eight persons, the "Rochdale Plan" involved the purchase by members of shares of stock, which brought interest. Goods were sold for cash, and at the end of stipulated periods, the profits were divided among the members according to a prepared system.

79. The movement to disestablish the Anglican Church in Ireland, which though ministering to no more than an eighth of the population, enjoyed wealthy endowments, was a major issue in British politics in the 1840s.

80. The movement for universal suffrage in England revived in the 1860s and led to the passage of a law in 1867 providing for limited concessions in the right to vote to non-propertyholders.

81. William Cowper (1731–1800) was an English poet whose hatred of oppression is expressed in his denunciation of slavery in *The Task* and in a series of other poems.

82. Unitarianism was a social and religious viewpoint which challenged the concept of the Trinity, conceiving of God as one.

83. The suspension bridge crossed the Menai strait, a channel of the Irish sea, separating Anglesey from Abermenai.

84. Henry Brown, a slave in Richmond, Virginia, ordered a specially designed and equipped box to be built in which he could be shipped to freedom. Three feet long and two feet wide, containing food and water, it was carefully marked so that Brown would be traveling with his head up. It was shipped to Abolitionist headquarters in Philadelphia by a white shoe dealer in Richmond, named Smith. The box reached Philadelphia, via Adams Express, after twenty-six hours en route. When the box was delivered, the four men who were awaiting its arrival, pried off the lid. Then, according to William Still, one of the four men, "the marvellous resurrection of Brown ensued. Rising up on his box, he reached out his hand, saying, 'How do you do, gentlemen?'"

85. Harriet Martineau's *Society in America*, with its frequent denunciation of slavery, was published in 1837.

86. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* by Harriet Beecher Stowe was published in 1852. The novel sold more than 300,000 copies in the first year of its publication and was soon dramatized in theatres throughout the North. It was read widely in England.

87. For a description of the suffering of the English working class during the Civil War and their refusal to support the South, see Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, (New York, 1947), I, pp. 312–17. For a reevaluation of this subject, see Royden Harrison, "Brit-

ish Labour and the Confederacy," *International Review of Social History*, II, 1957, pp. 79–86 and Joseph M. Hernon, Jr., "British Sympathies in the American Civil War: A Reconsideration," *Journal of Southern History*, XXXIII, August, 1967, pp. 356–67.

88. During the Civil War, Union soldiers took up the song "John Brown's Body."

89. The Methodist (Wesleyan) Church was founded by John Wesley (1703–1791). It had a great following among the poor and working classes to whom Wesley sent many of his preachers.

90. The reference is to Horace Greeley (1811–1872), editor of the *New York Tribune* and an advocate of many reforms.

91. Dwight Lyman Moody (1837–1899), the famous evangelist, was especially well-known and popular in Chicago.

92. The sharecropping system emerged during Reconstruction in the South. Under the system, the sharecropper, or tenant farmer, was subject to the control of the owner. The landlord took one third of the harvest for the use of the land, one third for feed, tools, provisions and other necessities, and the sharecropper received what was left; and the plantation owner kept the accounts.

Fielden's use of the name "Sambo" for the Negro no doubt was resented by many readers of the *Knights of Labor*, white as well as Negro.

93. After the close of Reconstruction in 1876, emigration movements arose in many southern states as Negroes sought to escape the conditions they were forced to live under. By 1879, thousands of Negroes, especially in Mississippi, had joined in a great trek to Kansas, Missouri, and Indiana.

94. Charles Bradlaugh (1833–1891), English free-thinker and radical was prominent during the second half of the nineteenth century for his championship of individual liberty. He was involved in a long struggle to gain his parliamentary seat from which he finally emerged victorious.

Theodore Tilton (1835–1907) was a distinguished editor and reformer until his career was disrupted by the great Beecher scandal involving his wife's alleged intimate relations with the pastor of Plymouth Church.

Bayard Taylor (1825–1878) traveler, translator, and man of letters, frequently lectured on German literature, especially on Goethe, whose *Faust* he had translated into English.

Fielden must mean Robert Collyer (1823–1912) the clergyman born in England who emigrated to the United States in 1850 and became an active abolitionist. He became a Unitarian minister in Chicago in 1859 and played an important role in the city until he moved to New York to

become pastor of the Church of the Messiah.

James Freeman Clarke (1810–1888), Unitarian clergyman, active in behalf of temperance, anti-slavery and woman suffrage. He was a prolific writer and lecturer.

Joaquin Miller (1839–1913) was the pen name of Cincinnatus Hiner Miller. He took the name Joaquin after his defense of a Mexican bandit, Joaquin Murieta. He was born in Indiana, but became famous as a poet in San Francisco.

Robert G. Ingersoll (1833–1899), lawyer and defender of free speech and free press. He was most widely known as “the great Agnostic,” and lectured frequently on the theme that the Bible was a compilation of falsehoods. Ingersoll spoke out against the verdict in the Haymarket cases, declaring that the “men were tried during a period of great excitement” when a fair trial was an impossibility.

James Parton (1822–1891) was biographer of Burr, Jackson, Franklin, Jefferson, and Voltaire.

95. Captain Ward’s actual words were variously reported in the press the next day. Most reporters agreed that he said: “In the name of the people of the State of Illinois, I command this meeting immediately and peaceably to disperse.” After waiting a minute, he repeated the order, and added: “And I call upon you and you (here he turned and pointed to bystanders) to assist.”

96. The work of Thomas Paine (1737–1809) which influenced Neebe was undoubtedly *The Age of Reason*, in which Paine affirmed his belief in God but maintained that the Bible was not infallible and Christianity merely “mythology.”

97. The reference is to the crushing of the Paris Commune of 1871 by the French government. Many Parisian workers lost their lives in the repression. It is estimated that between twenty and thirty thousand citizens of Paris were executed.

98. The new German Empire was proclaimed in the Hall of Mirrors in Versailles on January 18, 1871, the anniversary of the creation of the Kingdom of Prussia 170 years before. As later constituted the Empire comprised twenty-five sovereign States, besides the imperial province of Alsace-Lorraine.

99. Like most Germans, Lingg knew of the struggle of the Swiss people against Gessler’s tyranny through Schiller’s last completed play, *Wilhelm Tell*, published in 1804, with the whole Swiss people as its hero.

100. The United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the official

name of the union, was organized in 1881 by Peter J. McGuire, a former Lassallean Socialist who became a leader in the organization of trade unions. McGuire is also known as the father of Labor Day.

101. William Seliger had been indicted for murder together with those on trial. He became a witness for the state and testified that Lingg, who occupied a room in the house in which Seliger resided, had been engaged in manufacturing dynamite bombs. However, no evidence was produced that one of Lingg's bombs was thrown at Haymarket Square on the fourth of May, 1886.

102. In 1890 the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners led the way for a new mass labor struggle for the eight-hour day. The union gained the eight-hour day for many of its members and recruited new workers to its ranks.

103. In his lengthy address to the prisoners before pronouncing sentence, Judge Gary accused them of being "morally guilty" because they sought to change the existing order of society by terror and dynamite.

104. The "Kulturkampf" refers primarily to the conflict between Bismarck and the Catholic Church which got under way in 1870. Bismarck sought to establish his powerful state without interference from the Church and he took steps to put down its power. He decreed that marriages could be performed in civil ceremonies and that clergymen must not speak out about politics. While progressive, Bismarck's reforms were basically aimed at consolidating his power. What he did not foresee was that the "Kulturkampf" would have a tremendous influence on German workers. It stimulated the emphasis of a "Paradise on Earth rather than in Heaven," and fostered the growth of free thinking movements among workers and other sections of the population.

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