Death in the Haymarket: A Story of Chicago, the First Labor Movement and the Bombing that Divided Gilded Age America

David M. Anderson

Louisiana Tech University

ISSN 0003-4827

Copyright © 2006 State Historical Society of Iowa. This article is posted here for personal use, not for redistribution.

Recommended Citation

Hosted by Iowa Research Online
tions, including several important to Iowans, eventually serviced Minneapolis as it reached out to an enormous economic hinterland that ultimately extended to the West Coast. In sum, Hofsommer and the University of Minnesota Press have produced a history that will interest railroad buffs and local historians alike.


Reviewer David M. Anderson is assistant professor of history at Louisiana Tech University. He is completing a book manuscript titled *The Battle for Main Street, U.S.A.: The 1955 Perfect Circle Strike and the Myth of Heartland Consensus*.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Midwest underwent a profound economic transformation that made it a center of industrial capitalism with Chicago as its hub. That transformation produced massive wealth, created great individual fortunes, and attracted millions of European immigrants, but it came at the cost of an unstable economy, vast social inequality, and bloody episodes of class conflict that still stand as the labor movement’s historical touchstones.

In *Death in the Haymarket*, labor historian James Green claims that the most important of these episodes occurred at Chicago’s Haymarket Square on May 4, 1886, near the end of a rally organized by local anarchists to protest the killing of four strikers a day earlier during a citywide general strike for the eight-hour day. As city police moved in to break up the rally, a bomb exploded, and amid the ensuing confusion, seven police officers and three civilians were killed, and scores were wounded. In the bombing’s aftermath, eight anarchists, none of whom had actually thrown the bomb, were tried and found guilty in what amounted to a show trial. Four anarchists were hanged, one committed suicide while awaiting execution, and the other three were eventually pardoned. For Green, an ideal of civic unity also died at the end of the same hangman’s noose that choked the life out of the Chicago anarchists. The event, he concludes, “marked a turning point in American history—a moment when our industrial relations could have developed in a different, less conflicted way,” but instead “ushered in fifty years of recurrent industrial violence” (319).

Green sees the Haymarket bombing as the climax of two decades of increasing civic polarization. He opens the book in May 1865, when Abraham Lincoln’s funeral train passed through Chicago, the last moment when city residents stood together in unity. From that point on,
relations between the city’s working class and its employers spiraled downward. Inspired by Republican “free labor” rhetoric, workers organized politically to achieve a statewide eight-hour law in 1867, but saw their efforts overturned when employers ignored the law. As labor leaders became increasingly disillusioned with the ballot box, a collection of working-class intellectuals—some native-born, but many German immigrants steeped in a rich cultural life of mutual aid societies and a vibrant foreign-language press—emerged to seek an alternative to industrial capitalism.

Tracing the formation of that intellectual subculture constitutes the core of Green’s engaging narrative that deftly synthesizes 30 years of the new labor history. His main character is Albert Parsons, a former Confederate soldier who converted to Radical Republicanism during Reconstruction, married an ex-slave named Lucy, and moved to Chicago, where he joined a cadre of German socialists, led by the dashing August Spies, an upholsterer-turned-labor agitator. In the wake of the uprising that accompanied the 1877 national railroad strike, that radical cadre adopted a romantic brand of revolutionary unionism—the “Chicago Idea” of “one big union” that would lead to a general strike to establish a “self-governing community of equal producers” (130). But as employers turned to state militias to crush unions, the radicals drifted toward anarchism, advocating the use of dynamite as the “great equalizer” in the ongoing class war.

While Green sympathizes with the anarchists’ revolutionary vision, he shows that other working-class leaders, either through the Knights of Labor or factory-based trade unions, opted for more practical goals—such as the eight-hour day—capable of rousing workers to militant action. Indeed, as Green shows, the anarchists were initially caught off guard by the “Great Upheaval” for the eight-hour day that inspired their call for the fateful rally at the Haymarket Square.

Both anarchists and the Chicago labor movement would be victims of the “red scare” that followed the Haymarket bombing. Fueled by a sensationalistic press, the public response to the Haymarket case “provoked a new kind of paranoia among native born citizens” who would henceforth demonize immigrants as dangerous revolutionaries and condemn trade unionists as “irresponsible troublemakers” (11). The end result, Green laments, was a society deeply divided by “an atmosphere of fear and hatred,” a legacy that he claims we still live with today (12).

But we also live with another legacy that emerged out of the ashes of Haymarket, one that Green implicitly discounts. After the hysteria over the bombing subsided, mainstream union leaders joined with middle-class intellectuals and party politicians to create the modern
liberalism that led to important labor reforms in industrial cities throughout the Midwest. Despite his disillusionment with modern liberalism, Green has produced the best narrative history of Gilded Age labor conflict, ideal for anybody interested in an important chapter in the Midwest’s wrenching transition from labor republicanism to industrial capitalism.


Reviewer Mary Anne Beecher is associate professor of architecture at the University of Oregon. She has published articles on a wide range of vernacular architecture topics, from farmhouse designs to roadside architecture. *Building Environments*, a collection of essays based on papers presented in meetings of the Vernacular Architecture Forum, represents a broad geographical perspective on historic vernacular architecture from New England to Alaska to Jamaica. All present a strong case for using the built landscape as a lens through which to read the influence of cultural factors such as gender, race, and class. Many serve as excellent examples of how to employ underused sources, such as paint analysis, compensation claims, and the materials deposited in walls by rats, to conduct building research, and of the importance of unconventional building types or “architectural sculptures,” such as Great Lakes fisheries, Lithuanian wayside shrines, and umiak skin boats inverted on beaches for use as shelters.

Pamela Simpson’s well-researched essay on “grain architecture” includes information specific to the historical built landscape of Iowa, including Sioux City’s series of late nineteenth-century corn palaces, but most of the essays do not focus on Iowa. There is still much relevance for this work to investigators of the midwestern vernacular landscape, however. For instance, Kirk E. Ranzetta’s careful reading of nineteenth-century tobacco barns in Maryland offers a sound model for evaluating the significance of now obsolete agricultural structures; and Marla R. Miller’s account of the place of domestic help in early Federal middle-class houses demonstrates architecture’s sometimes subtle role in reinforcing a hierarchy of authority within extended rural households. These and other essays present models of methods for research and draw conclusions that relate directly to scholars of midwestern history.