

He would not, as Roosevelt, "limit" monopoly, for in a letter to James Madison he said: "The benefit of even limited monopolies is too doubtful to be opposed to that of their general suppression."

The real issue then is not the sham issue between the Hanna theory of "business first and last," and the Roosevelt "control" of privilege as in tory England; but whether there shall be any "special privileges," or simply "equal rights for all."

ALFRED H. HENDERSON.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Tuesday, March 31, 1908.

The Union Square Meeting.

"Drive them into the East river!" commanded the police inspector. He addressed the magnificent mounted police of New York as "these splendid officers bore down upon the multitude like so many mounted soldiers of the Ney division." And down they bore upon a crowd of workingmen and women, many of whom fell beneath the hoofs of the animals. "On came the charging police cavalry, pushing on, on to the sidewalks with the curveting steeds." A crowd of peaceable citizens scattered in all directions before the onslaught, and then, after the meeting had been broken up, a bursting bomb was heard. This is the story as it came to us in Chicago through the New York dispatches of the Inter-Ocean on the 29th, dispatches which colored the story as brilliantly as possible in favor of the police.

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The unemployed of New York had been invited to gather in Union Square on the 28th at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. Union Square is the traditional spot for open-air meetings in New York. For twenty-five years or more the porch of the cottage at the north end of the park has been the rostrum, and the broad street in front the auditorium for enormous meetings—political, labor, etc.—and the same porch has often served as a reviewing stand for parades. On occasions of meetings it has been customary to use carts as speakers' stands, in order to reach the outer edges of large crowds beyond the power of the speakers at the cottage to be heard. Police and park permits have been exacted, but only as a formality. Its purpose has been to guard against the confusion of two different meetings at once, and to enable the police to arrange for pro-

tecting the meetings from disturbance. The permit has always been regarded and treated as a reasonable regulation and not as an arbitrary authorization. Following the long established custom, the promoters of this meeting of the unemployed had applied in the usual way for the usual permit. But it was arbitrarily refused, and an appeal to the courts for an injunction against the police was denied as involving no assertion of property rights. To the unexplained action of the authorities in denying the permit the promoters of the meeting did not submit, but went on with preparations for their meeting, which began to assemble about 2 o'clock on the day in question—the 28th.

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Finding large bodies of police in apparently hostile possession of the usual meeting place and turning crowds away, one of the executive committee for the meeting, Mr. Bruno L. Zimm, a sculptor, went to the cottage and accosted the police inspector—Schmittberger. The interview is thus reported in the Record-Herald's special dispatch, which originated with the New York Herald:

"What are these police here for?" asked Mr. Zimm. "Are you going to try to prevent us from meeting?"

"We are going to preserve order and break up any public meeting held without a permit," replied the Inspector.

There was a lively colloquy between the two men for two or three minutes, Zimm declaring that the police had no right to prevent any peaceable meeting, and the Inspector maintaining that he would allow no meeting whatever.

Finally the sculptor pulled a bulky book out of his pocket and began to open it.

"This is the Constitution of the United States and it is on this that we demand the right of free speech."

Inspector Schmittberger flourished his baton.

"This is bigger than the Constitution just now," he retorted. "Now move on."

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By this time large numbers of people were pouring peaceably into the park and the streets in front, but the police ordered every one to move on. Incidentally, three wagons were driven up to be used at the meeting. They bore what the dispatches describe as "incendiary mottoes," namely, "We demand work," "Why should we go hungry?" "Public thievery makes private poverty." Chased away by the police, they went a block above the cottage, to Seventeenth street and Fourth avenue; but attempts at speaking here were instantly stopped by the police, who refused, however, to arrest any speaker. At 2 o'clock, the time for the meeting, a gathering estimated at 10,000 had assembled. Kept "on the move" by the police, this crowd marched slowly around the park, which is bounded by Seventeenth street, Fourth avenue, Fourteenth street and Broadway, and as the police drove them on someone started the "Marseillaise," which was

taken up by the whole crowd in chorus. Then the police sent for the mounted squad, and when it arrived the order noted above, "Drive them into the East river!" was given.

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Obedying their orders, the mounted men rode in a body ruthlessly into the crowd. We take the story now from the Record-Herald dispatch:

Inspector Schmittberger gave the order to the mounted men to charge the crowd and disperse it. The men obeyed orders and attacked the solid mass of humanity at its weakest points. It was half an hour of hard work for the police before they finally got the crowd started away from the Square. After the sides of the Square had been cleared the cross streets were still full of people, who showed no inclination to move on when told to do so. Mounted policemen rode on the sidewalk, herding the people before them, only to see them slip around the next corner and join the crowd there. Parts of the crowd thronged into Irving place with the police in close pursuit. To avoid mounted policemen a score or more ran into the lobby of the Academy of Music, where a matinee was in progress. Close behind them rode a policeman, up five steps, into the long lobby, and out the door at the other end, driving the refugees in front of him.

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It was not until after all this that the bomb was exploded. The clock had struck three, the meeting of the unemployed had been completely dispersed, and the police were receiving orders to withdraw, when the sound of the bomb was heard. This caused a rush of crowds again to the Square, prompted, doubtless, by curiosity to know the cause of the explosion. Again the crowds were pummeled by the foot police with clubs, while the mounted squad rode recklessly into their midst as before. When the explosion had been investigated, it appeared, as reported, that a young man had tried to throw a bomb at a passing policeman, but the bomb had gone off prematurely, badly wounding the young man himself and killing a bystander. According to Coroner Schrady, as reported in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 29th, the young man who held the bomb, whose name is Selig Silverstein, and whose home is at 21 Van Brunt street, Brooklyn—

said at first that he had been handed the bomb by someone whom he did not know. Later he declared he had made the bomb himself, with some stuff he had bought at a drug store. After that he admitted that it had been his intention to throw the bomb at the police. Asked as to his motive, he said he had been beaten by a policeman a week ago.

He still lives. Arrests have been made of police suspects as conspirators, but no evidence of conspiracy is yet disclosed.

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Among the men who were to have addressed the

meeting of the unemployed, the arbitrary dispersal of which preceded the explosion of the bomb, was Robert Hunter, who has an international reputation as the author of "Poverty." Mr. Hunter's account of his experience is of special value:

I had been invited by the committee of arrangements to make a speech at the meeting. I read in one of the newspapers on the 28th that permission to hold the meeting in Union Square, as had been arranged, had been denied. I decided to go to the Square anyway and try to make a speech. I believe the police had no right to forbid citizens to assemble, and I was prepared, if necessary, to suffer arrest in order that a test case might be made. When I reached Union Square I saw the police were making a crowd keep moving. I went to a policeman who seemed to be in charge. "I am Robert Hunter," I said to him. "I have been invited here to deliver an address. Why are we not permitted to assemble?" "There is to be no meeting," this policeman said. "If we cannot meet here in Union Square," I said, "it is your duty to tell us where we may assemble." "You may not assemble any place near here," the policeman answered. There was nothing offensive in the answer of the policeman. He said he had to do his duty, but he was not rough or violent in his language or action. The policemen under his command did not at first use roughness in handling the crowd, but gradually they used more and more force, and persons in the crowd began to grumble at the manner in which the police acted toward them. The violence that came was the result of the work of the police. Believing as I did that the police had usurped power in denying us the right to free assembly and free speech, I gathered some of my friends about me and started a procession in Union Square. We walked toward Seventeenth street. There a body of mounted police was drawn up across the street. These policemen advanced upon us in a manner that would not be tolerated in any other country in the world, except Russia. To avoid being trampled under foot we were forced to recede from our position. I and others with me began to sing the "Marseillaise" at that point. My secretary and the others with me were anxious, as I was, to do something that would result in the making of a test case. We again formed our procession and walked into Seventeenth street unmolested by the police. I mounted a stoop in Seventeenth street and with many persons before me I began to speak. There were many policemen about. One of these policemen at once reached up and pulled me down from the steps. "I want you to arrest me," I said to him. "I won't arrest you," he said, "but I'll stop your speechmaking." Seeing that it was useless to attempt anything further, I left Union Square. I left at 2:30 o'clock, and it was after my departure that the bomb was thrown. I did not know a bomb had been thrown until after I arrived home, when somebody in New York telephoned the news to me. I regret there was violence and loss of life, but I insist that the police acted tyrannically. They have no right to forbid peaceable assemblies. President Roosevelt had no right to suppress that anarchistic newspaper in Paterson, N. J. Acts of this nature, acts which are acts of usurpation, tend to make

anarchists. I am a Socialist. You should know that Socialism and Anarchy are not akin. But the spectacle I witnessed this afternoon makes me understand how men can readily give their allegiance to anarchy. The violence today was not the result of the resistance of the persons in Union Square to the police so much as it was the result of the manner in which the police acted toward the persons in Union Square. We all have a constitutional right to free assembly and free speech, and I had no hesitancy in resisting today what I conceived honestly to have been an exhibition on the part of the authorities of usurpation of power. Even though I know the meeting had been placed under the ban by the police, I had no intention of withdrawing from it. I had a right to speak there, as had every man that had been invited. I do not believe any wise judge would refuse to accord a citizen of the United States the exercise of his Constitutional right of free speech. I did my best to be arrested that I might have that question tested and decided, and it was not my fault that I failed.

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Among the eye witnesses besides Robert Hunter, who testify to the recklessness of the police, are H. H. McClure and Arthur C. Pleydell, secretary of the Tax Reform Association. In addition to the above quotation from him, Mr. Hunter says:

The mounted officers rode over men, women and children. I have seen many meetings broken up by the police in Russia and in other European countries, but never such extraordinary roughness as was used this afternoon. I met H. H. McClure, the publisher, in the park, and he agreed with me that the conduct of the police was most astonishing.

Mr. Pleydell says:

Coming out of the subway at Fourteenth street at 3 o'clock, just in time to dodge a mounted squad, there was no disorder visible except the confusion created by the police themselves. I did not know of the proposed meeting, and was uptown on business. The statement that the explosion was at 3:30 seems nearest right. At any rate it could not have occurred between 3 and 3:20, or I should have heard it. I saw no actual clubbing, but some of the police didn't seem to care whether they ran over women or not. The Fourteenth street sidewalk is wide and the police drove right along it. The slightest accident would have made havoc.

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A committee appointed by the Socialist party of New York to investigate the action of the police has decided to issue a call to all persons who suffered ill-treatment at the hands of the police on this occasion, and to all who witnessed such ill-treatment. The evidence will be compiled, and made a basis for impeachment proceedings. A call is also to be made upon the legislature to institute an official investigation.

Emma Goldman.

The newspaper reports of the bomb explosion at New York were coupled with statements that Silverstein's rooms had been searched and incriminating letters from Emma Goldman found. Being interviewed in Minneapolis, on the 28th, Emma Goldman said, as reported by the Chicago Tribune of the 29th:

I did not know Selig Silverstein. I did not know the dead man Irwin Bassky. I have never heard of either of them. The report that letters from me to Silverstein were found in his room is absolutely false as—well, I think I know my correspondents. You want to know who I think was at the bottom of the whole riot? The police. They do it to show their authority. Such affairs as occurred this afternoon in New York have been traced in many instances to the police, who grasp the opportunity to lay all blame on anarchists. Who knows that Silverstein threw the bomb? Did any newspaper men see him do it? Why do you come to me for enlightenment? Am I supposed to know every anarchist, any more than President Roosevelt is supposed to know every Republican? As soon as there is a riot, a bomb explosion, an assassination, or an uprising, the police immediately try to attach the affair to me. And that is why I say that they even go so far as to instigate these plots themselves for the purpose of incriminating us and heaping praise on themselves. I don't believe a workingman threw the bomb. It would not have been to his advantage. The logical conclusion in my mind is that the police are in some way behind the whole matter.

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The speeches of Emma Goldman at Minneapolis are reported to have been to crowded houses in consequence of her persecution by the Chicago police (vol. x, pp. 1201, 1212). She is described by those who heard her as having spoken calmly and quietly but forcibly. In view of newspaper reports that are designed to make her appear as a criminal it is but fair to quote Bolton Hall's estimate of her, made after years of familiarity with her work and purpose. Advising *The Public*, Mr. Hall says:

With many of her views I do not agree, but I have known Miss Goldman for about ten years and I know no one who is kinder, more unselfish or broader-minded; and withal she has an indomitable courage both in word and deed. Her home and her slender earnings are always at the disposal of the poor, the oppressed and the unpopular.

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Local Self-Government in Des Moines.

The first election under the "Des Moines plan" of city government (vol. x, p. 1233) took place in two Iowa cities on the 31st, non-partisan nominations having been made under the plan two weeks ago. At Cedar Rapids, John T. Carmody was elected mayor, and ex-Mayor Huston (vol.