

And They Called Them “Galleanisti”:

**The Rise of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* and the Formation of
America’s Most Infamous Anarchist Faction (1895-1912)**

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This Dissertation is Dedicated
To George and Bessie
And to the Coast of California
Where Their Ashes are Spread

Table of Contents

Lists of Maps & Figures	iv
Chapter 1—Immigrant Radicals, Propaganda Networks and Subversive Social Fields in the Early 20 th Century	1
Chapter 2—Green Mountain Anarchists and the Founding of the <i>Cronaca Sovversiva</i>	41
Chapter 3—Anarchist Community Building in Barre	76
Chapter 4—The <i>Cronaca Sovversiva</i> as the Champion of Immigrant Workers and the Battle Over Booze in Barre.....	126
Chapter 5—Galleani’s Arrest and the Rise of the <i>Cronaca Sovversiva</i>	179
Chapter 6—Conflict within the Movement and the Emergence of the “Galleanisti”	219
Chapter 7—The Relocation of The <i>Cronaca Sovversiva</i>	257
Epilogue—Lynn and Barre After the <i>Cronaca</i> Relocated	292
Concluding Analysis and Goals for Future Scholarship	299
Bibliography	317
Bibliographic Index of Newspaper Articles:.....	333
Appendixes	346
Appendix 1: Chronological List of <i>Cronaca Sovversiva</i> Articles Cited	346
Appendix 2: Collective Groups Contributing to <i>Cronaca Sovversiva</i> 1903-1919	354
Appendix 3: Lists of Purchasers of the Original Materiale Tipografico	362
Appendix 4: CPC Jackets for Founders of the <i>Cronaca Sovversiva</i>	363
Appendix 5: CPC Donors and Members of the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre	365
Appendix 6: CPC files on All identified Bundlers	370
Appendix 7: Plays Announced in the <i>Cronaca Locale</i> (in order of appearance).....	372
Appendix 8: Towns that Appear as New Subscribers After Galleani’s Trial:	373
Appendix 9: Towns that Appear as Both New Subscribers and Donors after the Trial.	376
Appendix 10: Correspondents Involved with Relocating of the <i>Cronaca Sovversiva</i>	377

List of Maps

Map 1: Anarchist Collectives: Geographical Spread.....	54
Map 2: Cluster of Sending Communities North of Milan	67
Map 3: Detail of Varese Communities	69
Map 4: Vermont Towns Appearing in <i>Cronaca Sovversiva</i>	73
Map 5: Major Towns Around Barre Where <i>Cronaca Sovversiva</i> Circulated.....	176
Map 6: Towns that Donated to Galleani Defense Fund.....	211
Map 7: First-Time Subscribers Post-Galleani’s Trial.....	213
Map 8: Location of Towns that Donated to Trasloco Fund.....	287

List of Figures

Figure 1: Barre Social Events by Type and Day of the Week	80
Figure 2: Barre Social Events by Type and Month of the Year.....	81
Figure 3: Groups in Conflict with Barre Anarchists and Number of Times Referenced.....	138
Figure 4: Number of Times Groups were Referenced in Conflict Notes.....	140
Figure 5: Number of Times Individuals were Mentioned in <i>Cronaca Locale</i>	141
Figure 6: Financial Transactions Minus Sottoscrizione, Abbonamenti and Galleani Defense Fund	208
Figure 7: Unified Graph of <i>Cronaca Sovversiva</i> Financial Data	209
Figure 8: Total Number of Donations to Galleani Defense Fund by Town.....	210
Figure 9: Published Financial Record of Galleani Defense Fund.....	224
Figure 10: Total Annual Donations to <i>Cronaca Sovversiva</i> from Barre and Lynn	289

Chapter 1

Immigrant Radicals, Propaganda Networks and Subversive Social Fields in the Early 20th Century

This dissertation develops a new methodology for writing the history of transnational immigrant anarchism that I call “propaganda-outward.”¹ It requires an extremely close reading of anarchist print culture that avoids a focus on ideological debates. Instead of examining polemics, this approach mines financial records and other more mundane data related to the daily lives of immigrant radicals and their social networks. By focusing on these elements, which have been largely overlooked in scholarship dominated by biographies of major propagandists and dramatic events (such as strikes and assassinations), the propaganda-outward research method makes visible the vast web of social relationships that enabled the early twentieth-century anarchist movement to thrive despite dogged persecution.

I began to develop this strategy during the summer of 2009, when I had the opportunity to process a collection of archival material sent to Dana Ward, professor of political studies at Pitzer College, from the Archivio Giuseppe Pinelli in Milan. As I was organizing hundreds of anarchist pamphlets, I noticed that not only did a small number of authors dominate the collection—but there were actually multiple different copies of their individual texts (such as Errico Malatesta’s *Fra Contadini* or Peter Kropotkin’s *The*

¹ The name “propaganda-outward” was first coined in a conversation with Donna Gabaccia when she noted the similarity my approach has to the more famous method pioneered by migration historian Samuel Baily; see Samuel L. Baily, “The Village-Outward Approach to Italian Migration: A Case Study of Agnonesi Migration Abroad, 1885-1989,” *Studi emigrazione* 29, no. 105 (March 1992): 43-68.

Conquest of Bread)—however each of these physical objects was printed by a different group, in a different place, at a different time. This realization led me to organize the collection around the publishers instead of authors, thereby highlighting the groups responsible for producing material culture instead of the individuals who penned the propaganda. In this way I sought to create a finding aid that emphasized the collection's origins within a large, diasporic, and persistent anarchist social movement, rather than merely reifying the canonical status of a few key authors.

During this process, I came across a pamphlet printed in 1913, in Barre, Vermont. The text, written by the Austrian anarchist Max Nettlau, was about worker solidarity.² However, it was not the content that drew me to the pamphlet; it was the historical existence of an Italian language anarchist movement in small-town Vermont that intrigued me. This dissertation began as I commenced to search for clues about this mysterious group of immigrant radicals. To learn more about the people who produced and circulated this print culture I formulated the “propaganda-outward” approach to anarchist history; the following study is the fruit of its protracted deployment.

An Anarchist Printing-Press Comes to Vermont:

1902 was a difficult year for Italian anarchists in Paterson, NJ. In February, the offices of their primary newspaper, *La Question Sociale*, were destroyed in a dramatic fire. Then, later that summer, police harassment following a violent strike forced the

² The pamphlet mentioned was Max Nettlau, *La Responsabilità e la Solidarietà nella Lotta Operaia* (Barre, VT: Casa Editrice L'Azione, 1913); for more information, see Andrew Hoyt, “Methods for Tracing Radical Networks: Mapping the Print Culture and Propagandists of the Sovversivi,” in *Without Borders or Limits: An Interdisciplinary Approach to Anarchist Studies*, ed. Jorell A. Meléndez-Badillo and Nathan J. Jun (Newcastle upon Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 75-106.

paper's editor, Luigi Galleani, to flee the country. In response, a group of Italian workers in Barre, VT, proposed that Galleani and *La Question Sociale* (1895-1908) relocate to their hometown. This initiated a discussion among the wide-spread supporters of the paper, most of whom opposed moving the press. By the end of February 1903, the Barre group had withdrawn their proposal. However, they did not give up on the idea of starting a publication.³

Luckily, there was another printing-press owned by the Italian anarchist movement in North America. Purchased in 1899 so Giuseppe Ciancabilla could print a journal called *L'Aurora* (1899-1900), this machine had been sitting unused, in Spring Valley, IL, since September 1900.⁴ During the spring of 1903, the Barre anarchists began to raise money to ship the press to Vermont. By the middle of the summer Galleani and his companions were ready to proceed with their project. They named their new journal the *Cronaca Sovversiva* (1903-1919), or Subversive Chronicle.⁵

This dissertation tells the story of how this small group of low-profile militants, located on the periphery of industrial America, set in motion a chain of events that led Galleani to become the most notorious Italian anarchist in North American history and led their little journal—at first a humble enterprise run by the local Circolo Studi Sociali

³ Kenyon Zimmer, email to author, May 28th, 2018.

⁴ For more on Ciancabilla's break with *LQS* and the role the Paterson anarchists played in the purchase of the printing-press used to publish *L'Aurora* (and later the *Cronaca Sovversiva*), see Davide Turcato, *Complete Works of Errico Malatesta: Vol. IV: "Towards Anarchy: Malatesta in America 1899-1900*, trans. Paul Sharkey (Chico, CA: AK Press, 2016).

⁵ For more on the founding of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*; see Antonio Senta, "Ut redeat miseris, abeat fortuna superbis. I primi anni del settimanale 'Cronaca Sovversiva'," *Il Present e la Storia*, no. 91 (June 2017): 19-37; Antonio Senta, *Luigi Galleani: L'anarchico più pericoloso d'America*, (Rome: Nova Delphi, 2018), 146-160.

(Social Studies Circle, CSS)—to become the most infamous and divisive “anarchist rag” ever published in North America.

Italian Subversives in Barre: Context and Background

At the dawn of the twentieth century, Barre, VT, was a boom town with granite quarries that attracted stonecutters and artisans from around the world. Between 1882 and 1914, its population increased from 2,000 to over 10,000, a quarter of whom were of Italian origin.⁶ By my estimates, almost a quarter (or approximately 600) of these Italian immigrants were associated with the local anarchists. A large percentage of the Italian workers in Barre had emigrated from Carrara, a stone carving region of Italy. Inspired by the “Fasci” uprising that occurred in Sicily during the summer of 1893, anarchists and their sympathizers in Carrara staged an insurrection early in the winter of 1894.⁷ The Italian government responded with a state of siege and a purge of all alleged anarchists. Subversive propaganda, declared illegal to possess, was ferreted out through daily house searches. Hundreds of people were arrested and sentenced, on average, to two years of *domicilio coatto* (forced residency) and two years of “special surveillance.”⁸ A police

⁶For more on the composition of the working-class community in Barre, see Peter B. Liveright, “Unionism and Labor Relations in the Granite Industry, Barre, Vermont” (MA thesis, Goddard College, 1943), 1-7.

⁷ For more on the Sicilian Fasci uprising, see Eric Hobsbawm, *Primitive Rebels: Studies in Archaic Forms of Social Movement in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971); for post-unification Italian politics, see Christopher Seaton-Watson, *Italy from Liberalism to Fascism, 1870-1925* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 1967); and for coverage of anarchism in Italy during this same time period, see Maurizio Antonioli, *Il Sindacalismo Italiano: Dalle origini al fascismo* (Pisa: Biblioteca Franco Serantini, 1997).

⁸ Roberta Farber, “The Rise and Decline of Anarcho-sindicalism in Carrara, Italy from 1894-1922,” (MA thesis, Goddard College, 1996), 35; for more on the use of *domicilio coatto*, see Ernesto De Cristofaro, ed. *Il Domicilio Coatto: ordine pubblico e politiche della sicurezza in Italia dall'Unità alla Repubblica* (Roma: Editore Bonanno, 2015); for background on the persecution of anarchists in Italy, see Daniel Pick, “The Faces of Anarchy: Lombroso and the Politics of Criminal Science in Post-Unification Italy,” *History*

state remained in effect until 1896. The persecution led many of the radical quarry workers in Carrara to seek employment abroad. Barre’s granite sheds greatly benefited from their migration.⁹

The arrival of the Carrara stonecutters in Barre attracted political exiles such as Luigi Galleani, whose presence soon made the town an “active center” in the transnational anarchist network—one that played a key role in linking groups of subversives scattered across the Atlantic world. Barre was so large a node of working-class radicals that it drew internationally famous speakers who addressed large crowds in the Barre Opera House and the local Socialist Labor Party Hall.¹⁰ These included the notorious anarchist agitators like Emma Goldman, who came to speak in Barre in 1898, 1907 and 1911. The town also hosted Big Bill Haywood, founder and General Secretary of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), in 1909; Eugene V. Debs, the founder and perennial presidential candidate for the Socialist Party of America (SPA), came in 1910; and Marry Harris “Mother” Jones, the legendary union organizer for the Knights of Labor and the United Mine Workers (UMW), made an appearance in 1915.¹¹

Workshop Journal, no. 21 (1986): 60-86; for more on Lombroso himself, see Mary Gibson, *Born to Crime: Cesare Lombroso and the Origins of Biological Criminology* (Westport, CT: Praeger Press, 2002).

⁹ Farber, “The Rise and Decline of Anarcho-Syndicalism in Carrara,” 60-65; for anarchism in Carrara, see Gino Vatteroni, *Sindacalismo, anarchismo e lotte sociali a Carrara dalla prima guerra mondiale all’avvento del fascismo* (Carrara, Italy: Edizioni “Il Baffardello,” 2006); Rosario Bertolucci, *Come anarchia o come Apua: Ugo Mazzucchelli un anarchico a Carrara* (Carrara, Italy: Quaderni Della FIAP, 1984).

¹⁰ Karen Lang, “A Passion for Knowledge and a Love for Dreams: Immigrant Artists of the Barre Area,” in *Carlo Abate: ‘A life in Stone’*, ed. Barre Museum Aldrich Public Library (n.p: n.p, 1986), 5-8.

¹¹ David Seager, “Barre, Vermont Granite Workers and the Struggle against Silicosis, 1890-1960,” *Labor History* 42, no. 1 (2001): 63. For more on Goldman, see Kathy Ferguson, *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2013); for Haywood, see Peter Carlson, *Roughneck: The Life and Times of Big Bill Haywood* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1983); for Debs, see Bernard J. Brommel, *Eugene V. Debs: Spokesman for Labor and Socialism* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr

Due to high-profile events such as the assassination of King Umberto I of Italy in 1900 and the 1919 bombing of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer's home in Washington, DC, historians often discuss the immigrant Italian anarchists associated with Galleani in the context of terrorism, police investigations and mass deportations.¹² Yet, as numerous studies of the "lost world of Italian-American radicalism" have shown, these radicals also produced a rich and vibrant social movement.¹³ Because anarchists developed a tightly knit security-culture to protect themselves from police investigation, and because they were the subjects of protracted defamation and misinformation campaigns, they have otherwise remained mysterious and largely ignored by historians of the early twentieth century.¹⁴ Over the course of the following chapters I use digital humanities tools, network/social theory and a close reading of editions of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* published in Barre between 1903-1912, to reveal the everyday methods and tactics that turn-of-the-century migrant labor radicals used to recruit people into their

Publishing Co., 1978); and for Jones, see Elliott J. Gorn, *Mother Jones: The Most Dangerous Woman in America* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001).

¹² For more on the deportation of Italian anarchists, see Kenyon Zimmer and Cristina Salinas, eds., *Deportation in Americas: Histories of Exclusion and Resistance* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2018). For an example of a work focused on the violent side of anarchism, see Beverly Gage, *The Day Wall Street Exploded: A Story of America in Its First Age of Terror* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009); Charles H. McCormick, *Hopeless Cases: The Hunt for the Red Scare Terrorist Bombers* (New York: University Press of America, 2005); John Merriman, *The Dynamite Club: How a Bombing in Fin-de-Siècle Paris Ignited the Age of Modern Terror* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009); Mike Davis, *Buda's Wagon: A Brief History of the Car Bomb* (New York: Verso, 2007); Filippo Manganaro, *Dynamite girl: Gabriella Antolini e gli anarchici italiani in America* (Roma: Nova Delphi, 2013); Michele Coresntino, *Michele Schirru e l'attentato anarchico* (Catania, Italy: Edizioni Anarchismo, 1990).

¹³ Philip Cannistraro and Gerald Meyer, eds., *The Lost World of Italian American Radicalism: Politics, Labor, and Culture* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 13.

¹⁴ For a close examination of the role police records and oral histories have played in anarchist historiography, see C. Bermanni et al., *Voce di Compagni Schede di Questura: considerazioni sull'uso delle fonti orali e della fonti di polizia per la storia dell'anarchismo* (Milan: Centro Studi Libertari Archivio Pinelli, 2002).

“social field,” spread their ideology, extend their networks, and perform their combative political praxis both in their local communities and across an extended diaspora of immigrant workers.

Scholars still debate the chronological development and the ideological content of anarchism. Peter Marshall defines anarchism as an anti-authoritarian intellectual current with deep roots in human history while Davide Turcato believes the birth of the movement “unquestionably dates from the St. Imier Congress of 15-16 September 1872, where the federalist branch of the First International laid out its constitutive principles, in open contrast with those of the Marxist branch.”¹⁵ This dissertation sidesteps the quagmire of such debates by defining immigrant Italian anarchism as a social movement that was spread by a radical propaganda network within a far larger social field of subversives who rejected “centralism, advocated the free federation of autonomous groups, and argued that working class emancipation was to happen from the bottom up.”¹⁶ U.S. immigration historians now largely accept that anarchism— while long overlooked by institutional studies of the immigrant labor movement—was “the dominant radical ideological tendency among the Italians” who immigrated to the United States at the end of the nineteenth century.¹⁷ Historian of Italian anarchism Nunzio Pernicone further emphasizes that “anarchism, not Marxism, was the ideological current

¹⁵ Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (London: HarperCollins, 1992); Davide Turcato, *Making Sense of Anarchism: Errico Malatesta’s Experiments with Revolution, 1889-1900* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 14–20; for more on the movement’s origins, see Robert Graham, *We Do Not Fear Anarchy We Invoke It: The First International and the Origins of the Anarchist Movement* (Oakland: AK Press, 2015).

¹⁶ Turcato, *Making Sense of Anarchism*, 20.

¹⁷ Philip V. Cannistraro and Gerald Meyer. *The Lost World of Italian American Radicalism*, 17.

that dominated and largely defined the Italian socialist movement during its first fifteen years of development.”¹⁸ However, as Jennifer Guglielmo has shown, because Italians gravitated towards the anarchist community, and because anarchists organized more through newspapers and informal collectives than membership-driven unions (that produced archives), they were long thought to be uninvolved with or even hostile to labor organizing.¹⁹

Between 1870 and 1940 around 500 anarchist newspapers were published in the United States, most circulated transnationally.²⁰ Highly mobile anarchists made their newspapers a source and a site of community cohesion. Journals like the *Cronaca* functioned as a form of social media that formed bonds deeper than those typically associated with newspapers. Publications, and not political parties or trade unions, connected thousands of Italian-speaking militants across the Atlantic world.²¹ The networks formed and maintained through the circulation of anarchist periodicals have largely been overlooked as organizational platforms. Yet they facilitated the movement of people and information, the creation of identity, the exchange of money, and the spread of tactics, thereby making possible mass-mobilization for collective action.²² In this way,

¹⁸ Nunzio Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism, 1864-1892* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 3.

¹⁹ Jennifer Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution: Italian Women's Resistance and Radicalism in New York City, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 2–3.

²⁰ Paul Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1996), 54.

²¹ Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution*, 146.

²² For more on the role anarchist newspapers played in facilitating collective action, see Jose Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 308–310; Elliott Shore, Ken Fones-Wolf, and James Philip Danky, *The German-*

print culture helped create what Kathy Ferguson has called an “anarchist counter-public” capable of physically and imaginatively linking their migrant readership to a larger transnational revolutionary movement.²³

Circulated on three continents, the *Cronaca Sovversiva* was one of the most important organs of insurrectionary anarchism from 1903 until 1919. The weekly publication was edited by orator and labor agitator Luigi Galleani (who was deported from the United States under the Sedition Act of 1918) and included illustrations by local artist and activist Carlo Abate. The preeminent historian of anarchism, Paul Avrich, described Galleani as “One of the greatest radical orators of his time, a man of magnetic personality and bearing.”²⁴ While, Attorney General Palmer considered him “one of the most notorious anarchists in the United States” during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Despite his association with prominent American radicals, Galleani “remained an obscure figure in the wider world of progressive politics” because he did not learn English or build “social ties with American intelligentsia” like other immigrant radicals such as Emma Goldman and Carlo Tresca. Indeed, most of his audience were “immigrant workingmen, manual laborers, and autodidacts... they acknowledged no

American Radical Press: The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850-1940 (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992).

²³ Ferguson argues that while the controversial content of anarchist publications stands out, we must really pay attention to other characteristics of this material such as “the temporal regularity and common calendar of publication... that helped people imagine themselves as part of a larger anarchist landscape.” Kathy Ferguson, “Anarchist Counterpublics,” *New Political Science* 32, no. 2 (June 2010): 204.

²⁴ Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti*, 54.

bona fide leaders, hierarchies, or organizations. But their name—the ‘Galleanisti’—was a testament to Galleani’s influence.”²⁵

Studies of the “Galleanisti” have long focused on the *Cronaca*, and the subsequent journal *L’Adunata dei Refrattari* (New York, 1922-1971), as leading organs of the anti-organizational branch of Italian anarchism. This narrative, first articulated in Paul Avrich’s important book *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background*, has been largely shaped by Nunzio Pernicone in his biography of Carlo Tresca.²⁶ Pernicone posits the “Galleanisti” as opponents of the syndicalists and “organizational” anarchists who were more involved with labor unions. In articles such as “War among the Italian Anarchists: the ‘Galleanisti’s’ Campaign against Carlo Tresca,” Pernicone presents the “Galleanisti” as rabidly sectarian and blindly loyal to Galleani, a portrait that is far from flattering and sometimes even condescending, for it dismisses Galleani’s audiences as dazzled by his incomprehensible prose and thus unjustifiably or irrationally antagonistic to Tresca, whom the biographer paints more favorably. Despite the fact that much of the conflict narrated by Pernicone occurred after the suppression of the *Cronaca* (and Galleani’s deportation back to Italy), both Galleani and the *Cronaca Sovversiva* have been retrospectively subsumed into an account that makes conflict among anarchists seem both endemic and fundamentally ideological— instead of the intermittent result of

²⁵ Gage, *The Day Wall Street Exploded*, 207.

²⁶ The unjustly aggressive “Galleanisti” play a key role in the narrative Pernicone tells about the life of Carlo Tresca, see Nunzio Pernicone, *Carlo Tresca: Portrait of a Rebel* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); also, see Nunzio Pernicone, “War Among the American Anarchists: the Galleanisti’s campaign against Carlo Tresca,” in *The Lost World of Italian American Radicalism*, ed. Philip Cannistraro and Gerald Meyer (West Port, Connecticut: Prager, 2003), 77-98.

interpersonal conflicts with all the material and complex contingency such ruptures always contain.²⁷

The analysis of the “Galleanisti” offered here focuses on the years prior to the schisms highlighted by existing historiography and reveals a far more dynamic relationship between the publishers and the supporters of the *Cronaca* than previously described. It paints a complex portrait of Galleani as a champion of anti-organizational anarchism and as a magnetic personality among the anarchists. It also provides a sense of why he and his compatriots broke with Tresca and the “organizational” anarchists in Paterson without placing blame on individual moral failures (such as spite and envy) and seeks to avoid interpreting interpersonal conflicts as ideological ones. This is not to say that issues of ideology and revolutionary strategy were not important to these self-identified radicals. Rather, this dissertation reveals a kind of dialectic that existed between human social relationships and intellectual positions. Ideological divisions always existed between members of the anarchist network. However, as we will see, fissures appeared only when bonds of friendships were already strained beyond the breaking point. Only after personal schisms became irreconcilable did ideological disagreements become vocally dominant.

In the end, by using the name “Galleanisti” in its title, this dissertation suggests how deeply problematic the term is as a historical label. The title insists that “they called them” the “Galleanisti” because I have no evidence of the supporters of the *Cronaca* ever

²⁷ Pernicone’s description of the “Galleanisti” has been maintained by subsequent scholarship, see Lucien Van Der Walt and Michael Schmidt, *Black Flame: The Revolutionary Class Politics of Anarchism and Syndicalism* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009), 21.

calling themselves by this name. The label has been used as a pejorative term to diminish their ideological legitimacy within the anarchist movement by implying that this group of highly independent-minded rebels were simply the mindless followers of a single charismatic leader. I argue it is more accurate to view Galleani as the flagbearer for a nuanced strain of antiorganizational insurrectionary anarcho-communism collectively championed by a much larger group. Second, by naming entire sections of the anarchist movement after a single editor/propagandist like Galleani, historians have transformed the historiography of a social and cultural movement into an intellectual history of ideas and a set of biographies of a few major thinkers.²⁸ Correcting these distortions while historicizing the process by which Galleani and the supporters of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* became a highly sectarian, divisive, and isolated wing of the broader anarchist movement is the central goal of the following chapters.

To counter the erasure of anarchists from the social history of the immigrant working-class (and to describe members of the *Cronaca* network beyond Galleani), this dissertation conducts extensive analysis of a single journal but avoids its ideological content.²⁹ Instead, I focus my investigation on the newspaper's financial data (including

²⁸ The result of the transformation has been theory focused books such as Steve J. Shone, *American Anarchism* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2014); as well as historical works that tangentially touch on the anarchists, see Michael Miller Topp, *Those Without a Country: The Political Culture of Italian American Syndicalists* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 257-258; and those that rely on surveys to summarize the movement, see Robert Viscusi, ed., *Italoamericana: The Literature of the Great Migration, 1880-1943* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2014), 551-562, 613-616.

²⁹ For an early attempt to write a social history of anarchism in the United States, see Bruce C. Nelson, *Beyond the Martyrs: A Social History of Chicago's Anarchists, 1870-1900* (New Brunswick, NY: Rutgers University Press, 1988); for the use of sociological and anthropological approaches in the European context, see Temma Kaplan, "The Social Base of Nineteenth-Century Andalusian Anarchism in Jerez de la Frontera," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 6, no. 1 (Summer, 1975): 47-70.

over 70,000 lines of subscription information) and on over 700 “notes” published under the *Cronaca Locale* heading (which documented events and conflicts in the town of Barre). A focus on these two sources has allowed me to map the flow of money through the larger *Cronaca* network and to rebuild a calendar of the Barre anarchists’ social life; thereby facilitating a materially specific telling of a story of the *Cronaca*’s rise to prominence and the process by which the journal’s network spread and simultaneously narrowed—reaching a position of importance within a transnational movement while also walling itself off from that larger movement by becoming inseparably linked with the polarizing and larger-than-life personality of Galleani. It is a tale of social relations more than of ideas or ideology; its goal is to explain how a small sub-network within the anarchist movement became increasingly radical and turned away from mass-organizing, thereby setting the stage for the better-known history of the so-called “*Galleanisti*” as anarchism’s most divisive faction.

Problems in Anarchist Historiography

The historiography of anarchism has been shaped by an emphasis on exceptional moments of conflict and on iconic individuals. In opposition to this “exceptionalist fallacy,” I argue that figures such as Galleani must be understood as members of a network in which interpersonal not ideological relations were central. These intimate bonds were not formed during rare instants of violence like bombings or assassinations. The discourse around “Terrorist Studies” and books that focus on specular acts, like Jeffrey Johnson’s study of the 1916 Preparedness Day bombing and Robert Tanzilo’s examination of the 1917 Milwaukee police station bombing, have blinded us to the way

the anarchist movement actually recruited members to its black flag.³⁰ Rather than building a movement during moments of explosive conflicts, anarchists, including Galleani, intervened successfully in the everyday lives of immigrant workers, providing concrete services to local, embodied communities. Far more than romantic and violent encounters with authorities, social networking and cultural production were the most common anarchist activities.³¹

Even exceptional moments can best be understood in the context of the anarchists' daily practices, which help us perceive why so many seemingly unaffiliated members of immigrant communities rallied to the anarchist cause when they perceived anarchists as under attack from wealthy elites, police or states. Decontextualized studies of high profile events fail to show how anarchists survived in between the "big moments" or how they managed to mobilize rapidly during moment of crisis. My close reading of the *Cronaca* reveals anarchists organizing like the microscopic tendrils of mushroom mycelia, a mass of branching filaments that spread throughout the nutrient substratum of immigrant networks, linking nodes scattered across the world while remaining hidden

³⁰ Jeffrey Johnson, *The 1916 Preparedness Day Bombing: Anarchy and Terrorism in Progressive Era America* (New York: Routledge, 2018); Robert Tanzilo, *The Milwaukee Police Station Bomb of 1917* (Charleston: The History Press, 2010); for journal articles from the terrorism school of anarchist studies see Richard Bach Jensen, "Daggers, Rifles and Dynamite: Anarchist Terrorism in Nineteenth Century Europe," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 116-153; Whitney Kassel, "Terrorism and the International Anarchist Movement of the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, no. 32 (2009): 237-252; Alexander Sedlmaier, "The Consuming Visions of Late Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century Anarchists: Actualizing Political Violence Transnationally," *European Review of History* 14, no. 3 (September 2007): 283-300.

³¹ A focus on violence also characterizes many studies of Spanish anarchism, see Julian Casanova, "Terror and Violence: The Dark Face of Spanish Anarchism," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 67 (Spring 2005): 79-99; Stanley G. Payne, "Political Violence During the Spanish Second Republic," *Journal of Contemporary History* 25, no. 2/3 (May-June, 1990): 269-288.

from easy observation. Analysis of financial records printed in anarchist newspapers is the best way to make visible the hidden cartography of these transient radicals.

Biographies of major figures have long been a major sub-genre of anarchist history. Authors such as Pernicone and Turcato have written detailed accounts of major figures such as Carlo Tresca and Errico Malatesta.³² However, they have left the mass of base-militants almost completely unexplored. While editors and propagandists like Galleani were clearly important, they take on larger-than-life roles in the historiography when not combined with social analysis. Ironically, the tendency to focus on prominent individuals has roots in the anarchist movement itself since anarchists created their own canon of saints and martyrs in order to solidify subversive values and identities.³³

Without a deeper social history of anarchism, most immigrant subversives are reduced to being invisible followers rather than the contributors and supporters of a movement shaped through their direct participation in a broad radical culture.³⁴

Similarly, historians of anarchism have tended to focus on debates that occurred in the anarchist press and at occasional anarchist congresses, thus highlighting conflict and division (often in an ahistorical manner) while ignoring expressions of broader

³² Pernicone, *Carlo Tresca: Portrait of a Rebel*; Turcato, *Making Sense of Anarchism*. Malatesta has also received a great deal of attention within the Italian language historiography, see Vittorio Giacopini, *Non ho bisogno di stare tranquillo: Errico Malatesta, vita straordinaria del rivoluzionario più temuto da tutti i governi e le questure del regno* (Milan: Elèuthera, 2012); Paolo Finzi, *La nota personal: Errico Malatesta in Italia (dicembre 1919-luglio 1920)* (Ragusa, Italy: Edizioni La Fiaccola, 2008).

³³ For more on anarchist martyrology, see Marcella Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture: The Idealism of the Sovversivi in the United States, 1890-1940* (New York, New York University Press, 2011), 120-121.

³⁴ For an example of a textbook intellectual history that renders the mass-movement largely invisible, see Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible*.

cultural unity.³⁵ By concentrating exclusively on ideology, van der Walt and Schmidt's *Black Flame* identifies syndicalism as the most important ideological trend within anarchism, dismissing the insurrectionary anarchism of Galleani.³⁶ In a more nuanced and specific manner, scholars like Kenyon Zimmer and Michele Presutto have explored anarchist debates about the Mexican Revolution, often noting the inclusion of vicious personal attacks while attributing such fights to ideology rather than to more personal or local causes.³⁷ A myopic interest in intellectual developments within the philosophy of anarchism can overlook the extensive daily interactions of the people who supposedly espoused hostile, fixed, and competing ideological positions.³⁸ The problem is especially dramatic when it comes to larger collectives, such as the *Cronaca* group and the Paterson anarchists, who for many years were tightly interwoven and cooperating and whose break was the result of larger historical processes in which ideological differences were just one component.

Finally, as David Turcato made explicit in his paper, "Italian Anarchism as a Transnational Movement, 1885–1915," anarchism is difficult to understand when studied within the history of a single nation-state.³⁹ That is because the anarchists were composed

³⁵ Nunzio Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism*, 209.

³⁶ van der Walt, *Black Flame*, 123-124

³⁷ Kenyon Zimmer, *Immigrants Against the State: Yiddish and Italian Anarchism in America* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2015); Michele Presutto, *La rivoluzione dietro l'angolo: Gli anarchici italiani e la Rivoluzione messicana, 1910-1914* (Foligno, Italy: Editorial Umbra, 2017).

³⁸ Similar to Marshall's work, the most exhaustive study of anarchism within the Italian language historiography is focused on ideological debates and the evolution of ideas, see Giampietro Berti, *Il pensiero anarchico dal Settecento al Novecento* (Rome: Piero Lacaita Editore, 1998).

³⁹ Davide Turcato, "Italian Anarchism as a Transnational Movement," *International Review of Social History* 52, no. 3 (December 2007): 407-444.

of a polyglot and ethnically diverse population of migrant laborers who circulated around the Atlantic world in the early twentieth century and who, for various reasons and in different ways, found ideological meaning and organizational power through the anarchists' analysis of state power and social inequity. To the best of my ability I have struggled to follow in the footsteps of Claudio Lomnitz (in his excellent study of Mexican anarchist Ricardo Flores Magón) in order to tell a story of a "transnational revolutionary network that thought of itself collectively as the servant of an ideal."⁴⁰ Thus, while the following chapters explore the story of Italian speaking anarchists as shaped by the cultural vocabularies and ideological idiosyncrasies of immigrants originating in the fertile soil and marble mountains of that Mediterranean peninsula, even this local study is just a piece of a greater transnational history of anarchism.

Social Fields, Cultural History, Counterpublics and Anarchist Print Culture

This dissertation draws on recent work by cultural historians and theorists of print culture that provide new ways to address the problems of anarchist historiography just identified. One of its primary goals is to concretely conceptualize how the network around the *Cronaca Sovversiva* mobilized widespread resources during moments of crisis, such as Galleani's arrest in 1907. I argue it did so by accruing social capital through localized, intimate and embodied activities and by circulating print-culture that enabled readers to access counter-public discursive spaces. Michael Warner states that publics, such as the one constructed through the anarchist press, "exist... only by virtue

⁴⁰ Lomnitz's work also stresses the complex interpersonal dynamics which shaped the lives of Mexican anarchist propaganda groups much as they did the Italians associated with the *Cronaca*; see Claudio Lomnitz, *The Return of Comrade Ricardo Flores Magón* (New York: Zone Books, 2014), xiii.

of their imagining” and that “to think of oneself as belonging to a public” is to “inhabit a certain kind of social world, to have at one’s disposal certain media and genres, to be motivated by a certain normative horizon, and to speak within a certain language ideology.”⁴¹ The following dissertation is an attempt to understand how those norms and language ideologies were communicated and employed by anarchists propagandists such as those responsible for publishing the *Cronaca Sovversiva*.

In order to conduct an analysis of the role print culture played in creating this anarchist counter-public, without getting sidetracked into intellectual history, I follow Kathy Ferguson’s advice to push anarchist ideological debates “temporarily to the background in order to illuminate the dynamic relationship between the realm of ideas, the social imaginary, and the bodily habitus within which anarchism came to be in the United States.” My account of the “Galleanisti” further illustrates Ferguson’s insight that “there is no hard-and-fast distinction to be drawn between anarchist theory and anarchist practice, since each takes its shape from and helps create the other.” Therefore, this dissertation “shift focus away from the arguments anarchist made in order to examine what their anarchism allowed them to accomplish.”⁴²

This dissertation also builds on the work of Marcella Bencivenni, who introduced the “cultural turn” into anarchist studies by not only bringing to light previously unexamined archival sources but also by using them to reframe the way in which we understand the depth and breadth of the social-field in which anarchist immigrants and

⁴¹ Michael Warner, *Public and Counterpublics* (New York: Zone Books, 2002), 8-10.

⁴² Ferguson, “Anarchist Counterpublics,” 194.

other radicals lived. Bencivenni highlights the role of culture when she suggests that the anarchists aspired to fashion a “revolutionary” culture—in literature, in art, and on the stage—that could change the way people saw the world and how they lived.”⁴³ Similarly, Jennifer Guglielmo has examined tactics of resistance, or what the sociologist Charles Tilly might have called a “cultural repertoire of contention,” that were employed by immigrant Italian women to organize themselves both as communities and in the workplace.⁴⁴ Bringing together the feminist analyses of Ferguson, Bencivenni and Guglielmo opens new horizons of exploration beyond the fallacies of previous scholars without fetishizing ideological division.

To clarify the relationship between anarchist militants and the larger immigrant community in Barre, without placing migrants in static categories of allegiance or belief, I draw from the work of Pierre Bourdieu and employ concepts of Social Capital and Social Fields as key analytical axes. Social Capital, as described by the famously neologizing sociologist Bourdieu, is “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network,” or, in other words, “to membership in a group.” However, the profits “which accrue from membership in a group are the basis of the solidarity which makes them possible” and the existence of a network of connections “is not a natural given... It is the product of an endless effort.” Thus, “the

⁴³ Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 222.

⁴⁴ Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution*, 44-78; Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution*, (Boston: Addison-Wesley, 1978); for more on Tilly, see Sidney Tarrow, “Charles Tilly and the Practice of Contentious Politics,” *Social Movement Studies* 7, no. 3 (2008): 225-246.

reproduction of social capital presupposes an unceasing effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges in which recognition is endlessly affirmed and reaffirmed.”⁴⁵

In Vermont “endless effort” meant repeated social gatherings hosted by the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre, requiring the “expenditure of time and energy” and represented the primary activity of local anarchist outside the printing of the *Cronaca*. I argue that the anarchists’ local community building activities and their production of print culture should not be separated. Rather, I believe they buttressed each other—so that readers of the *Cronaca* formed through “acts of belonging” (such as donations to the many causes supported by the journal) participatory-identities within the transnational anarchist social-field, thereby making the accruing of social capital quantifiable to the observant historian.⁴⁶

According to Bourdieu, a society is composed of highly various “social-fields” or multidimensional spaces in which social activity transpires, relationships are negotiated, and identities are formed.⁴⁷ Understanding anarchist migrants in the context of a larger social-field composed of Italian subversives unites rather than divides ideological

⁴⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in *the Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. J. Richardson (New York, Greenwood, 1986), 245-249; for an excellent application of the theory of social capital to the anarchist movement, see Erica Lagalisse, “*Good Politics*”: *Property, Intersectionality, and the Making of the Anarchist Self* (PhD diss., McGill University, 2017); for more on Social Capital and Social Fields, see David Swartz, *Culture & Power: The Sociology of Pierre Bourdieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); for a discussion of social capital and network theory, see Nan Lin, “Building a Network Theory of Social Capital,” *Connections* 22, no. 1 (1999): 28-51.

⁴⁶ For more on transnational identity formation, see Avtar Brah, “Diaspora, Border and Transnational Identities,” chap. 8 in *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities* (London: Routledge, 1996); for on how radical social movements produce identity, see Roger V. Gould, *Insurgent Identities: Class, Community, and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

⁴⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, “The Social Space and the Genesis of Groups,” *Theory and Society* 14, no. 6 (November 1985): 723–744.

factions, highlighting the shared cultural imaginings that linked similar yet combative networks of militants and that help explain how a relatively small inner circle of anarchists in Barre, which probably numbered somewhere below 50 members, could easily turn out 500 or more local supporters at times of crisis (such as when Galleani was arrested), or to support one of their community events (such as a theater performance). This is because not everyone who supported the local anarchists actually identified as an anarchist.

Members of the Italian left, often broadly referred to as “sovversivi” or subversives, were a social field that shared many fundamental ideological positions while disagreeing on specific questions of tactics and strategy. Bencivenni argues that not only was the movement “fragmented, but members within each faction constantly argued with one another... But this ideological fragmentation coexisted with a broader and distinctive culture rooted in communal ethical values and political ideas centered on universalism, solidarity, social justice, and equality... this shared culture was a rich and vital dimension of the sovversivi’s radical movement... [and] provided an alternative vision that fired the hopes and dreams of thousands of oppressed workers.”⁴⁸ Without understanding the critical role this shared culture played in constructing the social field in which the anarchists operated, we will never be able to adequately explain the surprising resilience the anarchists displayed in the face of state oppression.

Social fields have also been employed by migration scholars such as Nina Glick Schiller and Peggy Levitt. Glick Schiller and Levitt define social fields as “a set of

⁴⁸ Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 221.

multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized, and transformed...” these interlocked networks encompass “structured interactions of differing forms, depth, and breadth that are differentiated in social theory by the terms organization, institution, and social movement.”⁴⁹ Migrants such as those who produced the *Cronaca Sovversiva* participated in multiple social fields. For example, we may describe them as part of the transnational sovversivi social field composed of Italian speaking leftists as well as a transnational anarchist social field that included anarchists from many different cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

Levitt and Glick-Schiller explain there are at least two ways for someone to relate to a social field. They describe the difference between “ways of being” in social fields as opposed to “ways of belonging.” “Ways of being” refers to the actual social relations and practices that individuals engage in rather than to the identities associated with their actions. Social fields generate categories of identity that are ascribed to or chosen by individuals or groups. Critically, any individuals can be embedded in a social field but not identify with any label or cultural politics associated with that field. Such people retain the ability to act or identify with the institution or social movement at any time, because they live within the relevant social field; but not all choose to do so.⁵⁰

In contrast to this “way of being” Levitt and Glick-Schiller pose “ways of belonging.” These behaviors refer to practices that signal or enact an identity which

⁴⁹Peggy Levitt and Nina Glick Schiller, “Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society,” *The International Migration Review* 38, no. 3 (2004): 1006-1009.

⁵⁰ Levitt and Schiller, “Conceptualizing Simultaneity,” 1010-11.

demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular group. These actions are not symbolic; they are concrete, visible actions that mark someone's belonging to a social field, such as the "anarchist movement." Ways of belonging "combine action and an awareness of the kind of identity that action signifies." This means that, while subscribing to the *Cronaca* might simply be a "way of being" in the social field, donating money to the paper was clearly a "way of belonging."⁵¹

Commenting on this idea, Glick Schiller and Levitt state that "someone who had access to a transnational way of belonging would be likely to act on it at some point in his or her life."⁵² We can take this to imply that people who appear in the pages of the *Cronaca* only at times of crisis represent a critical component of the overall social field in which the anarchists lived and operated because they showed the broadest extent of the anarchists' connections to immigrant workers and thus a kind of latent or unrealized potential energy source during moments of crisis. Inspired by Levitt and Glick-Schiller's analysis of the complexity of the lives and cultural production of transnational migrants, this dissertation is driven by a desire to make visible and legible the experience of migrants on the ground in small towns such as Barre, Vermont, and the means by which they built their transnational social field and diasporic community identity.

⁵¹ Levitt and Schiller, "Conceptualizing Simultaneity," 1010-11.

⁵² Levitt and Schiller, "Conceptualizing Simultaneity," 1010-11.

The “Propaganda-Outward” Approach to Anarchist History

One implication of my method of close-reading is that the chapters below are overwhelmingly based on articles published in the *Cronaca Sovversiva* (see Appendix 1 for a chronological list of all 136 of the *Cronaca* article this dissertation cites). While I have worked hard to find corroborating evidence in other newspapers and in various state archives, a quick perusal of the footnotes makes it clear I have written a work about the signs, symbols, and information preserved with ink on the pages of the *Cronaca*. The following dissertation should therefore be understood as a close study of a story constructed by the “Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva,” about itself. In this narrative, the writers and editors of *Cronaca* always positioned themselves in the best of light, as the true champions of the workers. This does not mean the leaders of the Granite Cutter’s Union were all corrupt, or that the socialists were as vindictive and lacking in principles as the anarchists described them. But it does mean the anarchists saw them and wanted others to see them in that way, which is interesting in and of itself. It is thus a study of a performance on the printed page—this public act of self-creation is what makes the *Cronaca* such interesting source material.

My methodology is only possible because the publishers of the *Cronaca* included extensive information on their social network in the administrative section of the paper. While including detailed financial records in the pages of their newspaper may seem foolish and naive to us today (because we know states would eventually use such data to crush the movement), to historical anarchists it was a clear necessity—required to build public trust in their handling of donations for various causes. Additionally, the printing of one’s name, and the various small notes one could include in such donations, provided a

space for largely subaltern and voiceless immigrants to enter into the historical record.

Having one's name printed in the *Cronaca* was an important event that not only communicated one's belonging to the anarchist social field but also communicated one's actual physical location to the rest of the network, thereby allowing highly mobile works to stay in-touch, in a world of constant flux.

The propaganda-outwards methodology can demystify many puzzling events in anarchist history. For example, on June 6th, 1909, *The Charleston Daily Mail* of West Virginia reported that striking Italian coal miners were refusing to follow the return-to-work orders of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW of A) District 17 branch president. According to an observer, "as if by magic" the immigrant miners had "produced an amazing supply of rifles that they had apparently been accumulating for some time," and used their weapons to prevent 400 of their fellow coal workers from returning to work as well. Local newspapers referred to the show of Italian immigrant force as a "riot" while historian of West Virginia miners, Frederick A. Barkey, concludes that while "in some ways these events do seem similar to spontaneous peasant revolts that were common in Italy and other parts of Europe...there did appear to be some well thought out strategies involved." The miners' armed insurrection remained mysterious to Barkey because he did not see the broader social field to which local miners belonged and from which they drew their arms and strategies. Without a larger context, Barkey could only state that, "while it is difficult at this point to make links between specific Italian syndicalist and the left-wing West Virginia Socialists... the connection appears considerable..." He could only conclude that Italians seemed "infused with the

anarcho-syndicalism of their homeland.”⁵³ Similar vague rhetorical gestures towards “spontaneous peasant revolts” or the “infusion” of politics from the “old-country” litter local, state and regional labor histories of wild-cat strikes and labor conflicts, especially in mining towns with Italian immigrant workers.

By studying the financial records of the *Cronaca*, I can clearly reveal the organization that underlay the armed revolt in West Virginia. Extensive informal social networks, commonly associated with twenty-first century social movements, also existed in the early twentieth century and were created by print culture. My research suggests that the West Virginia miners were directly connected to one of the largest and most effective anarchist networks in the world, which was unified, educated, motivated, inspired, funded and “organized” through the pages of the *Cronaca*. Gossamer threads of communication and exchange ran from central nodes in the anarchist network such as Barre, through the pages of circulating propaganda organs such as the *Cronaca*, to apparently isolated and peripheral locations in West Virginia and elsewhere. The scholar examination of the most mundane pages of anarchist newspapers allow us to see crucially important network connections that linked small towns like Boomer to the larger diasporic social field of insurrectionary Italian labor militants.

In fact, the *Cronaca*'s financial records show that the paper received twenty-five donations from the town of Boomer during in the years before the insurrection. The

⁵³ Frederick A. Barkey, “‘Here Come the Boomer ‘Talys’: Italian Immigrants and Industrial Conflict in the Upper Kanawha Valley, 1903-1917,” in *Transnational West Virginia*, ed. Ken Fones-Wolf and Ronald L. Lewis (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2002), 180; for more on Italian syndicalism, see Carl Levy, “Currents of Italian Syndicalism Before 1926,” *International Review of Social History*, no. 45 (2000): 209-250.

money came from fourteen different donors and was gathered together at three separate festivals, including multiple donations from a figure named E. di Giacomo. Di Giacomo is very likely the same man named as the leader of the Boomer militants. Di Giacomo's connection to the *Cronaca* network is underscored by the fact that he not only personally subscribed to the paper but also acted as a bundler of funds from the Boomer area.⁵⁴ By focusing on financial records printed in the *Cronaca*, previously invisible base militants like di Giacomo become visible as important historical actors. Names such as his are investigative leads ripe for further exploration, making possible a history of immigrant anarchists and a more complete picture of the role their social networks played in shaping labor relations and working-class politics during the early twentieth century.

Network Elements: Luigi Galleani, Carlo Abate and the Road to Vermont

And They Called Them "Galleanisti" was inspired by recent digital humanities innovations that allow social and cultural historians to more easily use network analysis tools pioneered by scholars in the quantitative sciences. Such methodologies offer exciting new ways of organizing data and understanding the interconnection of people, ideas, and spaces. However, network analysis can provide the historian with much more than a way to turn social relationships into elegant looking digital maps. Indeed, network theory offers analytically rich vocabularies that can reshape the very way we think about

⁵⁴ *Cronaca*'s financial section for October 29th, 1910, reveals that E. di Giacomo gather together money from four other companions to help fund the printing of a special edition of the *Cronaca* focused on commemorating the 1909 execution of the Spanish anarchist educator Francesco Ferrer. For more, see Andrew Hoyt, "Uncovering and Understanding Hidden Bonds: Applying Social Field Theory to the Financial Records of Anarchist Newspapers," in *Historical Geographies of Anarchism: Early Critical Geographers and Present-Day Scientific Challenges*, eds. Federico Ferretti et al. (London: Routledge, 2018), 25-39.

informal and horizontally organized historical movements. For example, the metaphoric sense of motion implied in the terms "social movement" lends itself to talking about "leaders" who are at the front of "movements," guiding the direction and flow of the faceless rank-and-file participants who follow in their wake. Networks, on the overhand, are not constituted by leaders and followers but by distinct and often horizontal "network elements" with specific characteristics. The usefulness of network theory can best be seen when examining concrete lives. Consider Galleani and Carlo Abate—two men who are normally considered to possess very different historical importance. One was a charismatic leader and the other a largely insignificant contributor.⁵⁵ However, I argue that network vocabulary is capable of meaningfully expressing the difference between both figures in terms of the roles they played in the network without arranging them into the kinds of hierarchies that institutional organizations—unlike anarchist networks—tended to produce.

Luigi Galleani and Carlo Abate traveled very different migrant paths to reach the Green Mountains of Vermont. Galleani was a classic example of a political exile and a transnational revolutionary while Abate was a textbook case of the transatlantic labor migrant who is usually missing from anarchist historiography. By examining the trajectories that brought Abate and Galleani to Barre, we can see that their different positions in the historic record were the direct result of their different positions in

⁵⁵ For more on Abate's artistic contributions to the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, see Andrew Hoyt, "The Inky Protest of an Anarchist Printmaker: Carlo Abate's Newspaper Illustrations and the Artist's Hand in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Protest on the Page: Essays on Print and the culture of Dissent*, ed. James L. Baughman, James P. Danky and Jennifer Ratner-Rosenhagen (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2015), 32-58.

anarchist networks. Abate's life in Barre contrasts with the usual depiction of “*Galleanisti*.” He was a painter and schoolteacher, a community organizer, not a bomb thrower or terrorist.⁵⁶

Born in Lombardy in 1860, only one year after unification with the kingdoms of Piedmont and Sardinia, Abate resembled many of his fellow immigrants.⁵⁷ In 1894, Abate lost three of his five children and his wife to epidemic disease, leaving him alone with his infant son and young daughter. After spending two years in mourning, in 1896 he immigrated to the United States following paths pioneered by relatives. First, he lived with family members in the granite town of Quincy, Massachusetts, before bringing his two young children to Barre and settling in the Italian section of Blackwell Street. Abate helped found and manage the anarchists’ drawing school, thereby enabling the children of immigrant workers to escape the granite dust that caused so many of their fathers to die from silicosis. A much beloved figure in the community, he died in 1941, at the age of 81. Locals still tell stories of how he fearlessly entered the homes of the ill during epidemics in the city and purchased groceries for poor families. He also supplied shoes to neighborhood children.⁵⁸ While some of these stories are impossible to confirm, their

⁵⁶ For more on network theory as applied to the lives of Galleani and Abate, see Andrew Hoyt, “Active Centers, Creative Elements and Bridging Nodes: Applying the Vocabulary of Network Theory to Radical History,” *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 9, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 37-59.

⁵⁷ Richard Hathaway, “Brotherhood of All Human Energies: Immigration to the Workers’ Colony of Barre,” in Barre Museum, *Carlo Abate: “A Life in Stone”*, 1.

⁵⁸ After his daughter turned 12, both children were sent to live and work with family in Quincy and Abate lived in numerous boardinghouses before fully settling into his studio on Blackwell Street. Decades after his death, a memorial was erected outside his old studio which features a base relief portrait of the artist by Alcide Fantoni of Barre. Joelen Mulvaney, “For Life and for Ideals: Carlo Abate, his Life and his Work” in Barre Museum, *Carlo Abate: “A Life in Stone”*, 9-13. For more on the family life of immigrants like Abate, see Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, *Family and Community: Italian Immigrants in Buffalo, 1880-1930* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1977).

veracity is less significant than the fact they are still repeated by people in Barre.

Understanding the bonds Abate built with his fellow immigrants through many years of face-to-face interactions helps explain the deep roots anarchists established in their local communities.

Galleani's life, shaped by police persecution, was very different from Abate's. He was born in the city of Vercelli in the Piedmont region of Italy and became an anarchist while studying law at the University of Turin. By 1883 Galleani's contributions to several leftwing papers forced him by the end of the decade to flee to France, where he was caught up in mass arrests of radicals and imprisoned for four months.⁵⁹ Upon release he found work in Geneva, where his involvement in the local anarchist movement once again resulted in his arrest and expulsion. After the Capolago anarchist congress in January 1891, Galleani was tasked with conducting a peninsula-spanning propaganda tour that enabled him to connect with many militants in Piedmont, Lombardy and Tuscany. Then, in January 1894, he was arrested on charges of criminal conspiracy. Prosecuted in the Court of Genoa, he was sentenced first to house arrest and then internal exile, or *domicilio coatto*, first on the island of Lipari and then the island of Pantelleria. *Domicilio coatto* was a punishment widely used "to neutralize perceived insurgents, socialist and anarchist alike. The desolate islands of the Mediterranean became a stopping point in the careers of most of the famous Italian radicals of this period." Galleani was thus following in the footprints of other prominent revolutionary figures and exiles, a

⁵⁹ For more on anarchism in France, see Richard D. Sonn, "Language, Crime, and Class: The Popular Culture of French Anarchism in the 1890s," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques* 11, no. 3 (1984): 351-372.

trajectory which differed from the more mundane and familiar paths traveled by labor migrants like Abate.⁶⁰

Galleani escaped from the island of Pantelleria, traveling first to Tunisia, then to Malta and Alexandria; they finally took refuge in Cairo in 1900. He spent a year in Egypt, participating in the activities of the local anarchist movement. In 1901 he joined the Italian exile community in London and then, in 1902, he made the journey across the Atlantic, settling in Paterson, New Jersey. In Paterson, Galleani became the editor of the famous anarchist newspaper, the *Questione Sociale*. Once again, he became a target for arrest after being charged with incitement to riot during the 1902 silk-dyers helpers strike. He fled to Montreal, where he spent a short time before re-crossing the border, undetected, in 1903, and settling in Barre.⁶¹ On June 6th of that year he began to publish the weekly *Cronaca Sovversiva*, a periodical he called “a rag of a paper that lives on crusts and bits of bread, with the support and pennies of five thousand beggars.”⁶² Galleani’s numerous border-crossings illustrate how important trans-border migration was for anarchists; it was a key strategy in avoiding police persecution rather than being—as it was for the labor migrants—a function of international labor markets. High profile anarchists such as Galleani relied on connections and interpersonal relationships

⁶⁰ Other famous figures sentenced to domicilio coatto include Errico Malatesta (confined on Ustica and Lampedusa); Galileo Palla (1865–1944; exiled to Pantelleria), and Luigi Fabbri (1877–1935; sent to Ponza).” Nunzio Dell’Erb, *Biographical Dictionary of Italian - Volume 51* (Italy: Istituto dell’Enciclopedia Italiana, 1998), accessed May 11, 2018, http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/luigi-galleani_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/

⁶¹ Gage, *The Day Wall Street Exploded*, 208.

⁶² Robert D’Attilio, “La Salute e’ in Voi!: The Anarchist Dimension,” in *Sacco-Vanzetti: Developments and Reconsiderations—1979* (Boston: Boston Public Library, 1982), 81.

to other anarchists to guide them from one safe house to another, from one node in the network to another, across borders and under police radar.

In Barre, the transnational anarchist network and the Italian-American migrant social field came into direct, physical and human contact. It was here that Galleani's transnational network of persecuted revolutionaries was directly linked by local activists such as Abate with the more general immigrant world of migrant workers and working-class struggles. Networks are valuable tools for thinking about the lives of these two men because unlike "social movements," networks are not constituted by "leaders and followers" but by distinct "network elements" with specific characteristics. Davide Turcato argues that the anarchists' transnational networks remain "elusive objects of study," because, unlike formal organizations, the nodes of anarchist networks had "no fixed configuration, no articulation of center versus periphery or top versus bottom and information had no fixed direction."⁶³ These truly transnational networks survived despite massive international governmental oppression that included the birth of Interpol and the 1898 Anti-Anarchist Conference in Rome.⁶⁴ The anarchists' resilience has been difficult for historians to explain. I suggest that their successful resistance emerged directly from their distinctive horizontal form of organizing and that this structure is best spoken about and analyzed through the language of network theory.

⁶³ Turcato, *Making Sense of Anarchism*, 47.

⁶⁴ For more details on anti-anarchist organizing, see Richard Bach Jensen, "The International Anti-Anarchist Conference of 1898 and the Origins of Interpol," *Journal of Contemporary History* 16, no. 2 (April 1981): 323–347.

The *Cronaca* group was notoriously insular, sitting on the extreme left-wing of the anarchist movement.⁶⁵ In the language of network theory, isolated and cliquish groups such as this are often called “modules.” Modules, also referred to as network communities, are “groups of network elements that are relatively isolated from the rest of the network and where the elements inside the module are functionally linked to each other and have denser contact with each other than with the group with outside groups.” “Nodes” or “network elements,” which can be both individuals or clusters of individuals, are linked together by differing types of relationships. Specific network elements called “bridging nodes” link modules to networks and networks into larger social fields.⁶⁶ I argue that Carlo Abate, rather than being understood as a “less significant” follower, should be seen as one of these “bridging nodes” that linked the anarchist network to the larger migrant social field in Barre. He did this by building and maintaining strong personal bonds to two communities that would otherwise be connected only through weak ties.

While such strong bonds were critical, so too were weak bonds such as those created and maintained through propaganda projects like the *Cronaca*. Anarchist periodicals acted as “communication hubs” linking wide-spread audiences. The “weak ties” propagated by print culture facilitated the circulation of news and resources. Mark

⁶⁵ Antonio Senta, “Sugli anarchici antiorganizzatori,” *Rivista Anarchica* 42, n. 373 (Summer 2012): <http://www.arivista.org/?nr=373&pag=144.htm>.

⁶⁶ Theorists in various disciplines have described network nodes as elements (chemistry), vertices (graph theory), sites (physics), and actors (sociology) while the connective tissue of network social relations are referred to as edges, ties (weak or strong), or bonds. Peter Csermely, “Creative Elements: Network-based Predictions of Active Centers in Proteins and Cellular and Social Networks,” *Trends in Biochemical Sciences* 33, no. 12 (December 2008): 569.

Granovetter has famously shown that the significance of weak ties lies in their ability to better link “members of different groups” than can “strong ones, which tend to be concentrated within particular groups.” Weak ties are especially relevant to propaganda networks because they are the “the channels through which ideas, influence, or information” from socially distant groups penetrate various networks. In the case of the anarchists, weak ties built by newspapers allowed for the circulation or diffusion of financial resources, news and ideas to the largest number of people, over the greatest geographic space, in the fastest way possible.⁶⁷ It was the combination of the weak ties produced by propaganda projects as well as the existence of bridging nodes such as Abate that allowed the *Cronaca Sovversiva* modular network element to play such a significant role in the lives of the larger Italian American left. Unfortunately, the role of nodes, bridges and weak or strong ties has been lost in the shadows of a largely intellectual history of ideology focused on Galleani’s polemic debates in the pages of the *Cronaca*.

Network theory provides an alternative way of thinking about the relationship between editors, newspapers, and the larger anarchist counter-public. Peter Csermely describes “network hubs” such as the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, as an “active center” composed through the activity of a “creative element.” “Active centers” play a key role in helping networks “survive unprecedented, novel challenges and play a key part in the development, survival and evolvability of complex systems.” Network vocabulary is thus capable of fully describing the role of Luigi Galleani played as the editor of the anarchist newspaper *Cronaca Sovversiva*. He fits the description of a “creative element” of the

⁶⁷ Mark S. Granovetter, “The Strength of Weak Ties,” *American Journal of Sociology* 78, no. 6 (May 1973): 1367-1376.

network while the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, the “active center,” enabled the rapid dissemination of information and resources across the network. Csermely argues that the creative elements animating these hubs “sound like the characterization of a mastermind, broker, innovator, or network entrepreneur;” and in a description that encapsulates the role anarchist newspapers played for the movement, he states that these active centers also “influence the speed and efficiency of communication between all other network elements” while being responsible for integrating “the communication of the entire network” and accommodating “most of the energy of the whole network.”⁶⁸ The degree to which this description fits anarchist network praxis strongly suggests that attention to networks can allow scholars to shift the focus of anarchist studies away from intellectual history, based upon analysis of editorial polemics, toward the mapping of the personal and financial columns of newspapers which describe the social context through which texts and resources circulated.

The tension between Galleani’s standing as a historic member of a transnational movement and Abate’s position as an honored historic member of a local immigrant community is the direct result of the two men’s very different relationships to the anarchist network. The difference directly informs how anarchists managed to root their radical network in the transnational communities of migrant workers that characterized the early twentieth century Atlantic world. A historiography that employs the language of leader and follower or focuses solely on famous figures or dramatic events misses out on the dynamic function played by actors like Abate.

⁶⁸ Csermely, “Creative Elements,” 569.-571.

The Rise of the Cronaca Sovversiva and the Birth of the “Galleanisti”

The chapters of this dissertation examine the activity of the anarchists in Barre and the world beyond their small hometown. Chapter 2 begins with a general look at the early editions of the paper into order to determine who was involved in its founding. Offering a fragmented social history of the Barre anarchists it reveals that the *Cronaca* was not created by Galleani, but rather Galleani was recruited by an already active but peripheral node of anarchist militants who had moved to Barre several years earlier. It also reveals the important role anarchists from northern Lombardian towns played in founding the paper. (Previously Barre anarchists have been associated exclusively with immigrants from Carrara.) The presence of the Lombardian group suggests the existence of interpersonal ties to Galleani that originated in Italy. In this way, even a short, relatively superficial social history of the lives of less-prominent members of the anarchist network can help explain previously opaque events.

Chapter 3 begins a close reading of a section of the paper called the “Cronaca Locale,” or Local News. During the years in which it was most commonly printed, the Cronaca Locale section of the paper recorded the formation the Barre anarchist colony as represented publicly in the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. In Chapters 3 and 4, I use the Cronaca Locale to highlights the anarchists’ two primary modes of engaging in the local life of the Barre social field: building community, through various positive and often bucolically described social activities, and simultaneously attacking almost every other major power player in the city, often in extremely aggressive language bordering on slander. I argue that the anarchists’ positive community building activity was intentionally paired with a

combative and conflict-oriented politics of local engagement in which the anarchists always discursively positioned themselves as the true champions of the exploited immigrant worker. I believe that these dual voices and forms of engagement were tactically meant to buttress each other, increasing the network's ability to attract unaligned immigrant workers to their cause, build up social capital, and spread their movement.

Chapter 5 examines Galleani's 1907 trial and the way in which his arrest and extradition to Paterson New Jersey backfired on his political opponents, catapulting him into national prominence. After successfully defeating the charges against him, Galleani returned to Barre not only more popular but with massively expanded contacts and subscribers for the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, which was now no longer a small regional paper but a transnationally recognized organ of anarchism with a network that reached well beyond its earlier grasp. Chapter 6 then examines the rise of a mysterious group referred to by the *Cronaca* as the "Sacra Compagnia di Gesù," which had roots in the Circolo Studi Sociali of Barre and which greatly damaged the ability for Galleani and the *Cronaca Sovversiva* to continue functioning in Barre. The chapter highlights the critical role that social capital and trust played for an anarchist journal because newspapers such as the *Cronaca* were not simply propaganda organs but also played a role similar to contemporary social media platforms—facilitating interpersonal communication and the flow of financial resources across the anarchist diaspora.

The attacks leveled against Galleani and the *Cronaca* forced the paper to relocate from Barre, VT, to Lynn, MA, a process explored in Chapter 7. This chapter shows how the *Cronaca* remained collectively owned even as the community expanded well beyond

the localized one in Barre that had given birth to the journal nine years before. Its supporting community was now composed of many anarchist circles spread across North America. The relocation of the paper also helps us see how particular locations were chosen as home-base for anarchist propaganda projects and brings into focus the critical nodes of the *Cronaca* network that existed outside of Vermont.

If Galleani had never been arrested and extradited back to Paterson to face trial, the *Cronaca* might have continued fighting small battles against local forms of corruption. However, as we will see, with his arrest came a huge surge in money flowing through the pages of the *Cronaca*. Galleani's defense campaign catapulted the paper and its notorious editor into national and international prominence. His victory in the Paterson Courthouse and the Barre anarchists' subsequent successful fight against liquor licenses in Vermont rankled many former friends and associates who soon began attacks on Galleani, his supporters, and the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. First, they began to call everyone who supported Galleani "geese," and then, eventually, they dismissed them as "Galleanisti," implying their status as blind and thoughtless followers of a man instead of seeing them as companions fighting together for a shared ideal.

In the end, relocating the printing-press and offices was the best move for the *Cronaca*, but it is not clear that such a move would have been needed or possible prior to Galleani's trial. Indeed, police persecution had caused Galleani to abandon New Jersey in 1902, but the anarchist network had not seen it fit to allow him to take the Paterson printing-press with him, choosing instead to find a new editor for *La Question Sociale*. By 1912 Galleani's status in the movement was quite different, and when forced to leave town he took the machines with him.

As this dissertation shows, from the successful campaigns waged by the anarchists against small-town corruption to the newspaper's eventual departure from Barre it was local politics that shaped the *Cronaca's* Barre years. The publishers of the *Cronaca* learned a harsh lesson from their struggles in Barre and ended up on the edges of Lynn, reclusive and mysterious, and printed in a barn far from prying eyes and away from the combative intrigue which had so animated its life in Vermont. It is hard, if not impossible, to know if the *Cronaca* would have earned as much community support in Barre if it had not fought corrupt police, union bosses, store owners, bartenders, and other "pests" which the newspaper saw as plaguing the life of the immigrant stone carvers of Barre. The constant anarchist calendar of celebrations, picnics, dance parties, lectures and theater performances, along with the establishment of institutions which made a real difference in the lives of the local workers such as the art school and popular library positioned Galleani, the *Cronaca* and the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre to play a critical role in the life of the local people; and immigrant workers in return rewarded the paper with heartfelt moral and financial support through its early years.⁶⁹

After the newspaper's departure from Barre, its former hometown became less significant in the anarchist social field. Future fights would be waged in the sovversivi press and no longer on the streets of a remote town in the hinterlands of New England. The *Cronaca's* Lynn years were characterized by the kind of ideological debates and conflicts that have received far more attention than the activities which shaped the Barre years, because they played out across the larger anarchist social field. However, they tell

⁶⁹ For more on anarchist dance parties and picnics see chapter 3, "Dancing Socialists, Picnicking Anarchists?" in Nelson, *Beyond the Martyrs*, 127-152.

us far less about how immigrant anarchists organized their lives and built their movement than the activity of the Barre years makes apparent. In the heat of local flames, a newspaper was forged; its combative character was kindled. Without examining local conflicts, it is impossible to fully understand Galleani's politics and the loyalty the readers of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* had for its most contentious of directors.

Chapter 2

Green Mountain Anarchists and the Founding of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*

In the historiography of anarchism, the *Cronaca Sovversiva* is primarily remembered as Luigi Galleani's ideological propaganda organ.⁷⁰ But the *Cronaca*, as the following chapter shows, was a paper founded and supported by a community. Galleani did not choose Barre, Barre chose him. He came to Vermont in response to an invitation from a nascent group of anti-authoritarian radicals who had migrated to the Green Mountain State from stone carving regions of northern Italy, bringing their revolutionary political culture with them. Many of these militants were political refugees. As active members of the transnational anarchist network they were capable of attracting Galleani to their remote location. Yet these hardened anarchists remain largely invisible within the history of their own movement. A close reading of the *Cronaca* reveals names that can now be acknowledged as founders and supporters of the newspaper during its earliest years. Base-militants played an indispensable role in producing anarchist print culture, despite an historiographical tendency to focus on a few prominent newspaper editors as the primary creators and mobilizers of the anarchist movement. Data housed in the Italian State Archive's "Casellario Politico Centrale" (CPC), or political police files, provide further information on the founding members of the *Cronaca* network and helps build a

⁷⁰ The link between the *Cronaca* and Galleani also usually relates to the years in which the journal was published in Lynn, MA (1912-1918); this time period has received the most extensive examination by scholars, see Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti*.

small, fragmentary, social history of anarchism that challenges the idea that it was a movement driven exclusively by ideology and prominent individuals.⁷¹

The Founding of the Cronaca Sovversiva and the First Edition of the Paper

By the time Luigi Galleani's perilous life journey led him to the streets of Barre, the town was well-stocked with experienced anarchist agitators fleeing persecution in Italy. Before them, socialists, republicans, and non-political quarry workers and stone carvers had also made their way to Vermont. Still older migrant flows, notably from Aberdeen (a stone carving areas of Scotland), had given the community of stone-carvers a strong socialist flavor. Such migration chains, built along kinship lines as well as labor and political affiliations, made Barre a vibrant community surprisingly capable of supporting serious radical political projects.⁷²

The original *Club degli operai di lingua Italiana di Barre e Vicinanze* (the Club of the Workers of the Italian Language in Barre and Vicinity) was initiated by Italian immigrants in Barre on December 9th, 1895, by men with the surnames Bacilieri, Cassi,

⁷¹ Of the over 150,000 files housed in the *Casellario Politico Centrale* (CPC), in the Italian *Archivio Centrale dello Stato*, anarchism is the smallest of the four dominant groupings. There are 43,529 communists, 35,848 antifascists, 35,446 socialists, and 26,554 anarchists listed (with a paltry 5,262 republicans and a smattering of other terms, including 206 listed as *sovversivi* and even 40 Masons); see "Casellario Politico Centrale." *Archivio Centrale Dello Stato*, accessed April 30, 2018, <http://dati.acs.beniculturali.it/CPC/>.

⁷² For more on the history of Barre, see Eric Gradoia, "Barre's Old Labor Hall: Statement of Significance," *Socialist Labor Part Hall: Barre, Vermont*, accessed May 4, 2018, <http://www.uvm.edu/histpres/HPJ/NR/barrelabor/statement.html>; Donald G. Allen, *Barre Granite Heritage with Guide to the Cemeteries* (Barre, VT: The Friends of the Aldrich Public Library, 1997); *If Stones Could Speak: Se la pietra sapesse parlare*, directed by Randy Croce (self-pub., 2007), DVD.

Belli, Pallavicini, Frontini, two Corti brothers, and Piccioli.⁷³ Founded only a year after the 1894 insurrection in Carrara, the group launched the first anarchist projects in Barre—laying the ground work for the birth of the *Circolo Studi Sociali* and eventually the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. The club's constitution stated that the group's purpose was to “promote and maintain friendly and fraternal relations between its members and awaken and nourish in them social feelings and solidarity with workers and instruct them with lectures, discussions, readings (recreational or about the social question); establish a library of works (scientific, recreational, socialist, and professional); the organization of public conferences and family celebrations designed to educate and entertain the Italian language colony of Barre; and the payment of funeral expenses in case of death.”⁷⁴ These early goals were broad enough to attract general participation from Barre's Italian immigrants without fully hiding the subversive intentions of its core members.

In fact, when the club's members sent the proceeds from its inaugural party to the famous anarchist agitator Pietro Gori to support libertarian propaganda, no one objected. Also, a proposal to house an Italian flag in its clubhouse was unanimously rejected and the club chose to celebrate March 18th (the Paris Commune) and May Day. By early July, 1896, the club had rewritten its vague founding principles and adopted explicitly

⁷³ For more on clubs and mutual aid societies of this type, see Gary R. Mormino and George E. Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885-1985* (Tampa: University Press of Florida, 1998), 188-197.

⁷⁴ Luigi Galleani [Nevesk.], “Ieri ed Oggi: Saggi di..... patologia Coloniale,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 20, 1909. In my study of the *Cronaca* I used both digitized copies I made of microfilmed copies stored at the Immigration History Resource Center, Anderson Library, the University of Minnesota, and digital copies available through the Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers website (<https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov>) produced by the National Digital Newspaper Program (NDNP). Throughout this dissertation I will be citing just the publication information of the journal itself. All translations are my own.

anarchist goals such as the seizure by the workers of “all that constitutes social wealth” and the education of the masses “to understand the futility and the danger of governments, to fight with all our strength the religious idea, to systematically oppose universal suffrage, and stand against the use of the political and social power that keeps people dependent.”⁷⁵ These clearly anarchist sentiments revealed the increasingly subversive character of the club, which could also be seen in its support for Louise Michel (a prominent member of the Paris Commune) and the workers arrested in the Italian port of Ancona (where in 1897 Errico Malatesta was printing the anarchist journal *L’Agitazione*), as well as its support for the political agitation of the anarchist newspapers *La Avvenire* in Buenos Aires and *La Questione Sociale* of Paterson, New Jersey.⁷⁶

In other words, Italian immigrants in Barre were organized, self-conscious radicals well before Galleani’s 1903 arrival from Montreal (where he had been living clandestinely under an assumed name). Indeed, the group invited Galleani to Barre and then supplied him with the labor power and financial support required to publish a weekly journal. They raised funds to cover the start-up costs of the *Cronaca* by holding a festival on the 29th of May 1903. The group raffled off a bicycle and raised \$71.95 as seed money for the first printing. Such fund raising soon became the lifeblood of the

⁷⁵ Galleani [Nevesk.], “Ieri ed Oggi,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 20, 1909.

⁷⁶ For more on Malatesta’s role in the Ancona dock strike, see Turcato, *Making Sense of Anarchism*, 163-4; and Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism*, 246.

paper, which never printed paid advertisements, spent most of its fifteen-year existence in debt and depended more on donations than subscriptions to keep the press running.⁷⁷

Early evidence from the pages of the *Cronaca* itself reveal that the anarchist circle was well established prior to the Galleani's arrival. For example, in the first edition of the paper, the *Cronaca* reported that the Circolo Studi Sociali (as the group now called itself) had “moved its headquarters” to Cambria Street. At this time, the local anarchists also housed a *Biblioteca Popolare* (Popular Library) at the same location. Additionally, a “propaganda festival” was going to be held “to bid farewell to the old hall of the circolo” and raise money to support the newspaper; implying that the circolo already had an “old hall” and a library before Galleani arrived.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, printing of a paper and relocating to a new club house capable of hosting large social functions suggests the group was entering a more serious stage of public engagement.

Information harvested from early editions of the paper reveals much about the early supporters of *Cronaca*. First printed on June 6th, 1903, the original masthead that read *Cronaca Sovversiva: Ebdomadarío anarchico di propaganda rivoluzionaria* (Subversive Chronicle: Weekly publication of revolutionary anarchist propaganda). Below this was a Latin quote of Horace that read: “*Ut redeat miseria abeat fortuna superbis!*” (May fortune leave the proud and return to the wretched!). Jean-Paul Marat, the legendary Jacobin leader and champion of the *sans-culottes* (with whom many late

⁷⁷ For a broader study of anarchist publishing, see Davide Turcato, “Italian Anarchist Press in USA,” in *Historical Geographies of Anarchism: Early Critical Geographers and Present-day Scientific Challenges*, ed. Federico Ferretti et al. (London: Routledge, 2018), 40-64.

⁷⁸ Anon., “Battaglie del Lavoro: Per la vita e per l’idea – Stati Uniti – Barre E Dintorni,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), June 06, 1903.

19th and early 20th century anarchists identified) had used the same inscription as the subtitle for his *Journal de la République Française* (formerly the *L'Ami du Peuple*). This culturally loaded declaration immediately placed the *Cronaca Sovversiva* in a long literary tradition of radical propaganda.⁷⁹

Newly arrived, Galleani's education, oratory skills, and emotive writing style certainly gave the new paper a unique flavor. His skills and life experiences also placed him in a very different quadrant of the anarchist social field than that occupied by the rank-and-file militants who invited him to Barre. But while Galleani's cultural capital was noteworthy, from the beginning the paper also embodied a sense of shared struggle. In the first column of the *Cronaca*, entitled "Al Compagni" (To the Companions), the authors attributed the paper's birth to the anarchists' "burning desire to contribute... to the spread of the principles" that "embody" all their "hopes" and "whole lives"; and to "give to the cause of the revolution and emancipation" all their "strength." The note added that the collective behind the publication of the paper was "confident that the implacable *Cronaca Sovversiva*" would "be able to fruitfully attract the sympathy and solidarity of companions" with their unified "sincerity" and the "serenity" of their "modest but tenacious propaganda work."⁸⁰

⁷⁹ For more on Marat's journal, see J. Gilchrist and W.J. Murray, eds., *The Press in the French Revolution: A Selection of Documents taken from the Press of the Revolution for the Years 1789-1794* (New York: St Martin's Press 1971); for more on the role of the press in European revolutionary traditions, see Jeremy D Popkin, *Press, Revolution, and Social Identities in France, 1830-1835* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002); Dean de la Motte and Jeannene M. Przyblyski, eds., *Making the News: Modernity and the Mass Press in Nineteenth-Century France* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1999); William H. Sewell, Jr., *Work and Revolution in France: The Language of Labor From the Old Regime to 1848* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

⁸⁰ Circolo di Studi Sociali di Barre, Vt., "Al Compagni," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), June 06, 1903. The term *compagni* is used for self-identified members of the anarchist movement. Often translated as "comrade" it can also mean "companion." Since, in English, "comrade" has a strong association with

It was not accident that the first-person plural was employed throughout this article. The newspaper was a deeply collective project. Years later, when interviewed by federal agents in 1917, Galleani stated that "When we established this paper in Barre, Vermont, a group of diverse men came from different places and suggested establishing this paper; we bought the type and the machinery; as a matter of fact there is no owner but it is in my charge; if I want to sell it I cannot sell it."⁸¹ Galleani acknowledged that he never owned the paper or the press that printed it. Of course, his claim of collective ownership might have been a lie invented by Galleani to avoid traps set by his federal inquisitors. But much of the paper's subsequent development suggests he was telling the truth.

A second article in the first edition entitled "Programma?" ("Program" or "Platform") reiterated the collective nature of the propaganda project. The first sentence of the article stated that no ideological manifesto was necessary because, "the subtitle of the newspaper clearly states our faith and the character of our beliefs thereby dispensing with the need for a broad and superfluous declaration of principles." The authors believed readers were already familiar with the basic tenets of revolutionary anarchism, a confidence that hints at the degree to which anarchism was a normal part of the political spectrum of the immigrant social field in Barre. Reviewing the collapse of the First International Workingmen's Association (for which it blamed Marx) and attacking

communists, I prefer the second translation which emphasizes the sense of fraternity and equality without the cold-war baggage.

⁸¹ John A. Ryder, Inspector, "Report of Hearing in the Case of Luigi Galleani, Italian," Boston, MA, May 16, 1918; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service: Subject and Policy Files, 1893-1957, Record Group 85, Box 2801, files 54235/033, National Archives Building, Washington, DC. These files were made available to me by Ryan Johnson.

authoritarian socialists as well as religion, capitalism and the state, the article concluded that the “goal of the revolutionary education provided by the *Cronaca Sovversiva*” was “anarchism without any of the numerous adjectives where presupposed intellectual restrictions and innocuous vanity typically take refuge.” The authors sought “solidarity from all *compagni* within the United States” and invited everyone’s “regular and active cooperation.”⁸²

It appears that, despite its reputation as a combative and sectarian paper, the *Cronaca Sovversiva* was not originally conceived to be “an organ of a particular set of individuals, groups, churches or of academies,” but, rather, longed “to be the loyal voice of the truth, the fair voice of the proletariat working and suffering, in pain, without tears and without resignation, hardened by the great resurgence of arms, of spirits and of weapons.” It was to the hard-living workers, in “anarchy and the social revolution” that the paper was “fraternally” addressed by “*Circolo di Studi Sociali di Barre, Vt.*”⁸³

All of this evidence clearly shows that, from its beginning, the *Cronaca* was explicitly a collective project of the *Circolo di Studi Sociali di Barre* meant to appeal to a broad social field of companions and self-identified fellow Italian anarchists. The *circolo* was the founding group Galleani mentioned to federal investigators in 1917. It had emerged before Galleani’s arrival, moved to a new building and held a raffle to raise startup money for printing the paper. The group was every bit as important as the

⁸² Circolo di Studi Sociali di Barre, Vt., “Programma?,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), June 06, 1903.

⁸³ Circolo di Studi Sociali di Barre, “Programma?,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, June 06, 1903.

extensively studied Galleani to the birth and early development of the social network that would eventually be referred to as the “Galleanisti.”

The Circolo Studi Sociali and Anarchist Collectivity

In the early 20th century, “circoli” like the one in Barre were the financial foundation of the anarchist movement and played a central role in the social lives of left-wing, working-class Italian migrants. The term “Circolo di Studi Sociali” was a particularly popular, if generic, name for this form of social organizing. Jennifer Guglielmo states that,

In addition to providing mutual aid, these circoli sought to extend the anarchist and revolutionary social movements then spreading across Italy and its many diasporas. Members met in one another’s homes and businesses, rented storefronts, gathered in parks, and meeting halls. They also established an impressive network of collectively run libraries, schools, food cooperatives, theater troupes, independent presses and some of the earliest union locals of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and other industrial unions, through which they built a radical counterculture to the religious, patriotic, or apolitical societies.⁸⁴

While the Barre-based Circolo di Studi Sociali was the newspaper’s founding group, it was certainly not the only collective that would play a critical role in the life of the *Cronaca*. Over time, the paper came to rely on the support of numerous circoli, gruppi, clubs and committees. Centered in the industrial Northeast and the coal producing regions such as western Pennsylvania, as well as parts of Illinois, Oklahoma and Kansas, anarchist collectives supported strikes and social conflicts throughout the United States.

⁸⁴ Jennifer Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution*, 142; for more on the IWW, see Howard Kimeldorf, *Battling for American Labor: Wobblies, Craft Workers and the Making of the Union Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Salvatore Salerno, *Red November, Black November: Culture and Community in the Industrial Workers of the World* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989).

While many of the collectives became closely associated with the *Cronaca Sovversiva* and held regular fund-raising parties for the paper, few ever played as central a role as did the founding Circolo Studi Sociali in Barre.

Of the 309 separate collectives listed as contributors to the *Cronaca Sovversiva* from 1903-1919, 155 used the title Circolo; of these, seventy-nine were “Social Studies” circles. The predominance of this title highlights the Italian anarchists’ general feeling that the problems in society were driven by social inequity and that such inequity could be studied and solved with dedication and rational inquisitive education.⁸⁵ Other circles took their names from major anarchist propagandists, such as the “Circoli Educativo Pietro Gori” in Brooklyn, New Haven and Sacramento.⁸⁶ Notably, using an individual’s name as a title for a collective entity reveals a kind of hagiography of anarchism which was actively being constructed both in the *Cronaca* and by the larger anarchist network.⁸⁷

Many other collectives named themselves after martyrs such as the famous Catalan anarchist educator Francesco Ferrer i Guàrdia, who was executed by the Spanish state in 1909 and to whom at least 21 collective names were dedicated.⁸⁸ This name linked these groups to a current event. Other names were more historical, such as the

⁸⁵ For more on anarchist educational philosophy, see Robert H. Haworth, *Anarchist Pedagogies: Collective Actions, Theories, and Critical Reflections on Education* (Oakland: PM Press, 2012).

⁸⁶ For more on Pietro Gori, see Maurizio Antonioli, *Pietro Gori il cavaliere errante dell'anarchia: Studi e testi, seconda edizione riveduta e ampliata* (Pisa: Biblioteca Franco Serantini, 1996).

⁸⁷ For an excellent analysis of the discourse of martyrdom around the anarchist bomber Ravachol, see Julian Brigstocke, *The Life of the City: Space, Humor, and the Experience of Truth in Fin-de-Siècle Montmartre* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 169-190.

⁸⁸ For a classic analysis of Ferrer, see William Archer, *The Life, Trial and Death of Francisco Ferrer* (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1911); for a more recent history, see Juan Avilés Farré, *Francisco Ferrer Y Guardia: Pedagogo, anarquista y mártir* (Madrid: Marcial Pons, 2006).

“Circolo Giordano Bruno” (which referenced an anti-clerical martyr executed in 1600); while still others made direct appeals to the Risorgimento tradition that infused late 19th and early 20th century Italian anarchism such as “Circolo Rapisardi” (named after the nineteenth-century poet), and the “Circolo Mazziniano” and “Club Giuseppe Garibaldi” (named after the two leaders of the struggle to unify Italy, Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi).⁸⁹ Major dates from revolutionary history were also commemorated with collective names, including the 14th of January (anniversary of Felice Orsini’s 1858 attempted assassination of Napoleon III in Paris), the 29th of July (anniversary of Gaetano Bresci’s 1900 assassination of King Umberto I of Italy), the 11th of November (anniversary of the 1887 execution of the Haymarket martyrs), and the 13th of October (anniversary of Ferrer’s execution).⁹⁰ These commemorative names helped solidify a kind of counter-history within the anarchist movement and romanticized “Propaganda of the Deed” assassinations or “attentats.”⁹¹

⁸⁹ For more on Giordano Bruno, see Hilary Gatti, ed., *Essays on Giordano Bruno* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); for Rapisardi, see Lorenzo Vigo-Fazio, *Apologia di Mario Rapisardi* (Catania, Italy: Editrice Giannotta, 1983); For Mazzini, see Denis Mack Smith *Mazzini* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); and for Garibaldi, see Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

⁹⁰ For an interesting take on Orsini, see Jad Adam, “Striking a Blow for Freedom,” *History Today* 53, no. 9 (September 2003): 18-19; for Bresci, see Paolo Pasi, *Ho ucciso un principio: vita e morte di Gaetano Bresci, l’anarchico che sparò al re* (Milan: Elèuthera, 2014); For background on the Chicago labor movement, see James Green, *Death in the Haymarket: A Story of Chicago, the First Labor Movement and the Bombing that Divided Gilded Age America* (New York: Anchor Books, 2007); for a controversial but extremely well-researched examinations of the Haymarket bombing, see Timothy Messer-Kruse, *The Trial of the Haymarket Anarchists: Terrorism and Justice in the Gilded Age* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011); and, see Timothy Messer-Kruse, *The Hay-Market Conspiracy: Transatlantic Anarchist Networks* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2012).

⁹¹ For more on anarchist tyrannicide, see Erika Diemoz, *A morte il tiranno: Anarchia e violenza da Crispi a Mussolini* (Turin: Giulio Einaudi editore, 2011).

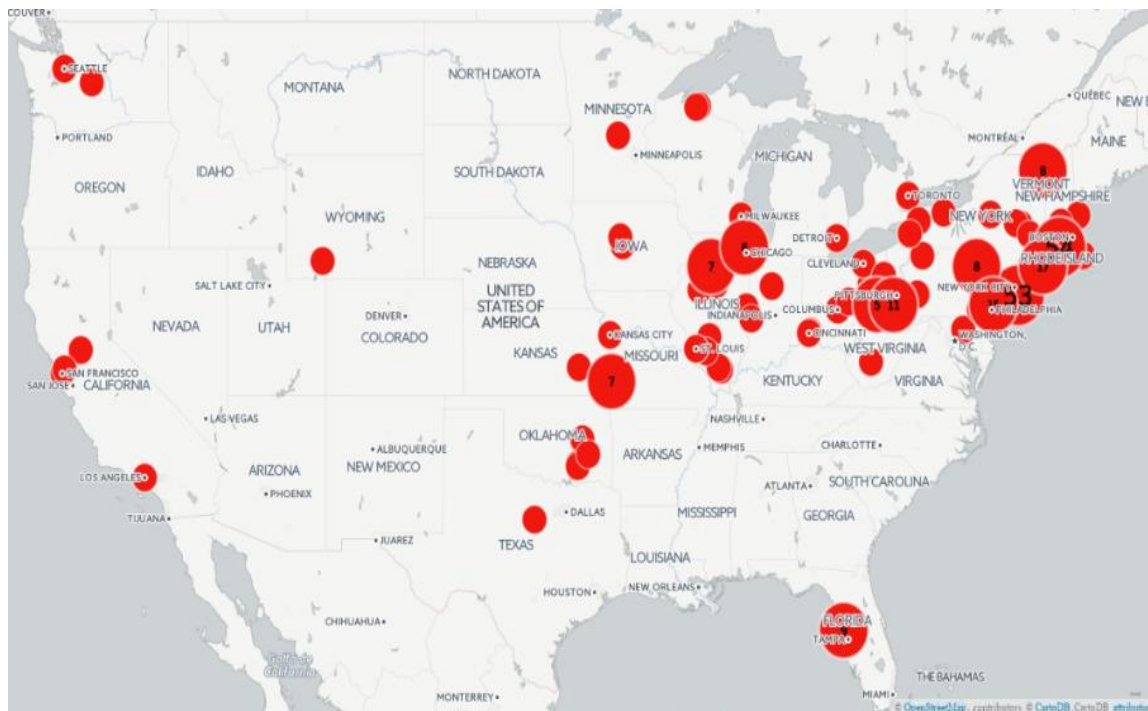
Anarchist collectives also commonly branded themselves through cultural references. Fifteen clubs were named “Germinal” (e.g. in Spring Valley, IL), after Émile Zola’s popular novel about striking coalminers in northern France in the 1860s.⁹² While others collective underlined their anarchist character with keywords—the “Circolo Educativo Libertario” (Libertarian Education Circle), “Circolo Emancipazione Proletaria” (Proletarian Emancipation Circle), “Circolo Gioventù Libertaria” (Libertarian Youth Circle), “Circolo Libero Pensiero” (Free Thought Circle), “Circolo Unione e Progresso” (Union and Progress Circle), the “Circolo Socialista-Anarchico” (Anarcho-Socialist Circle)—these were all terms which would have been easily agreed upon by a collective to signal a broad ideological focus. However, sometimes collective names employed slang to convey a more militantly subversive commitment, such as “Circolo Canaglia” (Scoundrel Circle) of Plainsville, PA, or the “Circolo Libertario La Termiti” (The Termites Libertarian Circle) of Waterbury, CT, which probably referenced the anarchists’ desire to destroy systems of social injustice.

The second major category of organizations within the *Cronaca Sovversiva*’s anarchist social field was the “Gruppo.” The pages of the *Cronaca* list a total of 130 different groups. Groups followed the same basic pattern as the circles and followed very similar naming patterns, such as an emphasis on famous figures with names such as the “Gruppo Carlo Cafiero” of Long Island City. Explicit terminology that would associate the collective with the anarchist movement were also common, as was the case with the

⁹² Published in 1885, *Germinal* was the thirteenth novel in Émile Zola’s twenty-volume series *Les Rougon-Macquart*. For more on Zola, see Matthew Josephson, *Zola and His Times* (New York: Garden City Publishing Company, 1928).

“Gruppo Autonomo” (Autonomous Group) of East Boston, MA, the “Gruppo D'Alba” (Group of the Dawn) in Fredericktown, PA, and the “Gruppo Anarchico Volontà” (Anarchist Will Group) in San Francisco, CA. Perhaps because of their smaller size, groups were also often more colorfully named—“Gruppo Dritto all'Ozio” (The Right to be Idle Group), “Gruppo Gli Erranti” (The Wanderers Group), “Gruppo Gli Iconoclasti” (The Iconoclasts group), “Gruppo Gli Insorti” (The Insurgents Group), “Gruppo Gli Sleali” (The Disloyal Group), “Gruppo I Banditi” (The Bandits Group), “Gruppo La Barricata” (The Barricade Group), and the “Gruppo Demolizione” (Demolition Group)—this last being particularly notable, since the *Cronaca* network became infamous for its support of the use of dynamite.

The names of seven “Committees” listed were quite specific to their chosen collective task, such as the “Comitato Pro Vittime Politiche” (Committee for Political Victims) in Paterson, NJ. Circle names were also quite specific, e.g. the “Circolo Propaganda Rivoluzionaria” (Revolutionary Propaganda Circle) of Newark, NJ, the “Circolo Propaganda Socialista” (The Socialist Propaganda Circle) of Philadelphia, PA, or the many “filodrammatica” or theater groups which raised money for the journal through the production of theatrical performances. I treat these designations, particularly circoli, gruppi, and clubs as the same basic form of organization, which I refer to as an anarchist collective (a committee was somewhat different because it was more purely focused on a single issue). In total, over 309 of these collectives sent in funds to the paper or circulated its propaganda. Each represented a node in a broader social field. Map 1 shows the geographic spread of the newspaper's network of supporting anarchist organizations (a list of groups is also provided in Appendix 1).



Map 1: Anarchist Collectives: Geographical Spread

Scholars of Italian anarchist culture such as Pietro Di Paolo have noted that while the notion of an anarchist club may seem odd to an English speaker the use of such organizational structures had a deep history in the Italian left. Di Paolo states that sociability “was a main factor in the birth of socialism in Italy,” adding that in Italian villages “osterie” (pubs or taverns) were “centers of republican and socialist conspiracies before and after unification.” For Italian exiles in London “that background intersected with the longstanding local tradition of political clubs, and of and of radical discussion groups in free houses and cafes.”⁹³ Marcella Bencivenni elaborates, commenting that

⁹³ Pietro Di Paolo, *The Knights Errant of Anarchy: London and the Italian Anarchist Diaspora (1880-1917)* (Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 2013), 155; for more on anarchist social life, see Nelson, *Beyond the Martyrs*, 103-115.

clubs were common throughout the Italian political diaspora; in them, communities developed “an extensive and elaborate social infrastructure that contributed to produce distinctive subculture and community.” She notes that Barre was among “the most vibrant and militant centers of radicalism” despite being much smaller than major metropolitan hubs such as New York City.⁹⁴ Bringing its vibrant and militant “anarchist community” into greater focus provides a powerful critique of anarchist historiography, with its focus on famous figures such as Galleani and on ideological debates over cultural production and community life.

Unfortunately, the first edition of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* did not name the key members of Barre’s circolo. Only the last line of this edition noted the existence of a “Tipografia della ‘Cronaca Sovversiva’ Barre, Vermont” (with “tipografia” being a printing house or a publisher). The “Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva” later printed pamphlets and other propaganda that were sold through the pages of the *Cronaca* as well as anarchist libraries and other collectives. The relationship of the Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva to other circoli and gruppi typifies how ideas and resources circulated through the transnational anarchist network. Thus, even as the *Cronaca* declared itself a product of the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre, it also named an inner group of people involved directly with publishing the paper who were organized into a separate and distinct collective body.

⁹⁴Marcella Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 50.

Searching for Clues of the Founders

Beside Galleani, only a few names have officially been associated with the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. These include the much beloved artist, Carlo Abate, whose end-block wood engravings graced many of the paper's special editions and mastheads. Additionally, Galleani's most recent biographer, Antonio Senta, has provided some details on two other key-members of the *Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva*: Giovanni Balloni Fruzzetti and Antonio Cavalazzi. Fruzzetti came to Barre from Carrara in the early 1890s and was a close confidant of Galleani's whose address was often used to receive correspondence. Cavalazzi was a young barber from the area around Ravenna whose political activity back in Italy had resulted in his confinement under "domicilio coatto." This experience, shared by Galleani, may have acted as a bond between the two men and in Barre he became Galleani's primary assistant. Cavalazzi would often take over editorial tasks while Galleani was away on speaking-tours and he became quite effective at imitating Galleani's blistering writing-style, using the pen-names Ursus (Latin for bear) and Lo zio Virgilio (Uncle Virgil). Cavalazzi also managed the paper's finances for many years, although, as we will see, he did not always do this to the community's complete satisfaction.⁹⁵ Both men would play critical roles in the life of the *Cronaca* in Barre and its eventual relocation to Lynn, MA.

To identify other the members of the Barre collective one must dig through the paper's financial records, starting with the list of people who helped purchase the printing press used to publish the paper. The press was acquired at a discount from the old

⁹⁵ Senta, *Luigi Galleani*, 155-156.

editorial group of the defunct anarchist paper *L'Aurora*, revealing a direct kinship between the *Cronaca* and a paper which, in 1900, had famously attacked “organizational” anarchists much as the *Cronaca* would do in later years. Over the life of the journal, the *Cronaca* published several such lists, providing over 60 names for further investigation. The first lists appeared on the 4th of July 1903, as a special fund in the “Amministrazione” section of the paper. Entitled “Materiale Tipografico,” the account recorded all the expenses involved in setting up the *Cronaca* printing office, a sum that totaled \$533.01 (the equivalent of \$14,370.05 in 2018 USD).⁹⁶ The greatest costs listed were the purchase of the Printing Press (\$300), the motor (\$75), rooms to house the press (\$50), transportation of printing materials donated by *L'Aurora* of New York (\$20.69), shipping the two machines (\$21.17), and instillation of the press (\$26.57). Below the expenses appeared a list of 22 donors from Barre who each gave five dollars (133.89 in 2018 USD). Five dollars was a sizeable proportion of the weekly wage of a skilled worker in 1903. Over the next two months additional lists appeared in the newspaper, naming a few more donors.⁹⁷ I believe it is appropriate to call these people the founders of the Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva. (For a full list of donors, see Appendix 2).

I have been able to identify the first and last names of 18 of the founders of the newspaper: Angelo Bianchi, Pietro Giuseppe Bianchi, Rocca Bottiggi, Giuseppe Corti,

⁹⁶ "Inflation Rate between 1903-2017 | Inflation Calculator," 1903 Dollars in 2018 | Inflation Calculator, accessed May 13, 2018, <https://www.officialdata.org/1903-dollars-in-2018?amount=533.01>

⁹⁷ This included a woman simply called Emma and “un Africano.” In addition, V. Laffargo (probably Virginio Lovargo, a man who twenty years later refused to deny his anarchist beliefs and loyalty to the *Cronaca* when questioned by federal investigators) contributed three times, making him the most frequent and largest founding donor to the press. Anon., “Amministrazione: Materiale Tipografico,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), July 04, 1903.

Carlo Franzi, Serafino Frontini, Desidero Giudici, Giacomo Giudici, Ottavio Granai, Virginio Laffargo, Antonio Novi, Achille Picolini, Ernesto Rizzi, Martino Rizzi, Pietro Rizzi, Angelo Giovanni Scampini, Giovanni Scampini, and Ettore Somaini. The Italian state political police files (CPC) contain files for only seven of these men and do not always associate them with Barre. (It is worth noting however that even Galleani's CPC file jacket failed to list his residence in Barre). Nevertheless, apparently Angelo Bianchi, Pietro Giuseppe Bianchi, Romolo Augusto Cesare Giuseppe Corti, Carlo Franzi, Desiderio Giudici, Pietro Rizzi and Angelo Giovanni Scampini were under Italian surveillance.⁹⁸

The CPC is an extensive database created by the Italian government under Francesco Crispi in 1894, the same year as the Carrara insurrection and only a year after the Sicilian fasci uprising, as a means of monitoring those it considered public threats and security concerns. Di Paolo states that the Italian authorities “were seriously concerned about the danger represented by anarchists living abroad; they regarded the colonies established outside Italy by the Internationalists as dangerous centers of conspiracy. Since the Italian police could not intervene directly in foreign countries... the Italian government attached great importance to its own system of surveillance carried out by an intelligence service largely based on informers and secret agents infiltrating the anarchists' groups. Ambassadors and consuls were key elements in establishing the office

⁹⁸ Two of the seven files were started only in 1930s but the other five fell under surveillance by Italian police between 1901 and 1910; “Casellario Politico Centrale,” Archivio Centrale dello Stato, accessed May 11, 2018, <http://dati.acs.beniculturali.it/CPC/>.

known as the “International Police.”⁹⁹ Spanning more than 50 years, the CPC archive that resulted from this project contains over 150,000 files that are divided by the “Political Color” of the individuals under surveillance. This included republicans, socialists, communists, antifascists and, of course, anarchists. Rather than focus on the intellectual content of anarchism and the other political philosophies they were tasked to monitor, the state agents classifying their fellow Italians under these categories did so, “based on reputation, documented activism, and adherence to particular groups and leaders.”¹⁰⁰

Most of the subversives with files in the CPC were men. However, there was a regular presence of women not only subscribing to and donating to the *Cronaca* but also acting as correspondents. Yet often women’s names were obscured as they were referred to as companions of a male anarchist or simply referred to by their first name, making any further investigation as to their social position almost impossible to conduct. In his excellent book *Transnational Radicals: Italian Anarchists in Canada and the US*, Travis Tomchuk noted the overall lack of women in the CPC, commenting that the CPC collection “leaves a gaping void... in regards to the lack of files on women in the anarchist movement.” He believes that this absence “could be due to the nature of Italian migration, since it often entailed single men crossing the Atlantic, which in turn was

⁹⁹ In 1888, the consul in Geneva, Giuseppe Basso, writing to the Prime Minister Francesco Crispi, declared himself one of the main founders of this system of international surveillance...” Pietro Di Paola, *The Knights Errant of Anarchy*, 122. For more on the CPC, see Giovanna Tosatti, “L’anagrafe dei sovversivi italiani: origini e storia del Casellario Politico Centrale,” *Le carte e la storia*, no. 2 (1997): 133-150; for more on the relationship between Internationalism and anarchism, see Carl Levy, “Anarchism, Internationalism and Nationalism in Europe, 1860-1939,” *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 50, no. 3 (2004): 330-342.

¹⁰⁰ Travis Tomchuk, *Transnational Radicals: Italian Anarchists in Canada and the U.S. 1915-1940* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), 68.

reflected in the gender composition of the Italian anarchist movement in Canada and the United States.” Tomchuk also argues that the existence of CPC files on women anarchists, such as the New York City-based poet Virgilia D’Andrea and Maria Vecile of Sault Ste. Marie’s Il Gruppo Libero Pensiero, “shows that Italian authorities were aware of women as political actors” and, as Guglielmo and others have shown, “it was typical for anarchist circoli, or circles, to be largely male in composition while women were more likely to form their own women’s groups.” Tomchuk concludes that gender bias on the part of Italian authorities, more than a lack of female involvement in the movement, can largely explain the dearth of CPC files on women.¹⁰¹

The CPC files on the founders of the *Cronaca* hint at commonalities among the initiators of the paper. All were men born in the middle of the 19th century, with Angelo Bianchi the oldest (born in 1854) and Giuseppe Corti the youngest (born 1883). While there was no CPC file for Virginio Laffargo, his American INS file suggests a birthdate around 1872, making him typical of the group. These birth years composed a generation that came of age during and after the unification of the young Italian nation—not a triumphant period in the history of the peninsula (particularly for those outside the upper echelons of society).¹⁰²

Not only was the period after unification a time of economic hardship but the political system of the new state alienated to the countries young men, most of whom were denied the vote. Christopher Duggan states that “Unification of Italy was the result

¹⁰¹ Travis Tomchuk, *Transnational Radical*, 58.

¹⁰² For an excellent study of class formation in Italy during this time, see Louise A Tilly, *Politics and Class in Milan, 1881-1901* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

of a civil war more than a war of liberation... For many it seemed Piedmont had conquered Italy and felt justified in imposing their own terms on the rest of the peninsula.” Additionally, faced with a huge public debt, from 1862 to 1865 the Italian government raised direct taxes by 54% and indirect ones by 40%. Meanwhile income remained static for the first decade and a half of unity (while other European countries were experiencing steady growth). On top of this, only men who paid at least 40 Lire a year in direct taxes could vote in the new State. This was just 2% of the population or 8% of males over the age of 24. “Italy’s ruling class was thus narrower than any other European country. This led to a sense of vulnerability among the ruling class which in turn resulted in the use of increasingly dramatic levels of repression in defense of the status quo.” In reaction, the army was regularly used to stop strikes and protests. During major periods of unrest such as 1894 (in Carrara) military law was put into effect over large areas. Economic hardship was amplified by the growth in the Italian population and the rise of larger cities. As the population became more urban and less agricultural the average peasant was left to live in severe poverty, knowing little beyond their commune. “Italy signified to them simply ‘military service, taxes, and the arrogance of the leisure classes.’”¹⁰³ It was therefore no surprise that a generation growing up amidst harsh cultural and social transitions and inequality were attracted to a political ideology of radical change, which is what anarchism represented to many oppressed and marginalized workers.

¹⁰³ Italy had extremely high birthrate during the years after unification. The population was 27 million in 1870 but 40 million by the First World War. And this was despite massive emigration. Christopher Duggan, *A Concise History of Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 133-149.

When they donated money to purchase the *Cronaca*'s press, the average age of the eight men was 33—significantly older than the average Italian immigrants of the time. Tomchuk has shown that the majority of anarchist migrants were older than their fellow travelers (in their 20s and 30s while the majority of non-anarchist immigrants came to North America in their early 20s).¹⁰⁴ Tomchuk's study also revealed that most anarchists were trained as skilled laborers (such as bakers, bricklayers, typographers, and electricians) and that they traveled along two distinct types of networks: one was the "standard familial or regional pattern and one that was specifically anarchist."¹⁰⁵ His conclusions ring true in the case of the Barre anarchists as well. For example, the CPC files include twenty-one names associated with Barre. Seventeen are listed as anarchists, with the remainder including three socialists, one antifascist and one communist. For their occupations, the CPC database lists six *scalpellini* (stonecutters), two *marmisti* (marble workers) and one each listed as *cavatore* (quarryman), *insegnante* (teacher), *meccanico* (mechanic), *modellatore* (modeler), *negoziante bottiglie* (bottle dealer), *oste* (innkeeper) and *sarto* (tailor). Such occupations suggest training in a trade while the higher frequency of stone cutters and marble workers reaffirms claims that it was the more skilled workers in Barre who were drawn to anarchism.

¹⁰⁴ Tomchuk comments that the CPC files, allow researchers "to follow the movement of their subjects as they travel from Italy to other parts of the world and trace their involvement in anarchist circles abroad. In many cases, the information contained within CPC files gives important insights into the activism of Italian anarchists that may not appear in movement newspapers or existing oral histories... Of course, one has to be cautious when using security files that have been created and maintained by those who are diametrically opposed to anarchism. It may have been in the interest of the Italian government to have its security apparatus keep the most up-to-date and verifiable information on anarchists around the world, but there is no guarantee that informants were correct in their reporting, that they may not have been purposely misled by those they were spying upon, or 'manufactured' evidence to justify their continued employment as informants." Tomchuk, *Transnational Radicals*, 13.

¹⁰⁵ Tomchuk, *Transnational Radicals*, 69-72.

Although most Italian immigrants to Barre came from Carrara, Tuscany, this was not true for the identifiable inner-circle of anarchists (for biographical details see Appendix 3). Rather, most of those with CPC files came from Lombardy, with the province of Varese accounting for four (Bianchi, Franzi, Guidici, and Scampini). Pietro Bianchi was born in the town of Bisuschio, Carlo Franzi in Viggiù (a town also famous for its stone carving traditions), Desiderio Guidici in Saltrio (also famous for having produced several noted sculptors in the 19th century), and Angelo Scampini in Samarate. Only Giuseppe Corti was born in Lucca, Tuscany, while Pietro Rizzi was from Cino, in a different section of Lombardy.¹⁰⁶ Varese was the northernmost region of Lombardy. Bordering Switzerland, it was a frontier territory through which revolutionaries and subversives could easily escape the hegemonic reach of the Italian state and its police.

None of the Varese anarchists came from the same village; suggesting theirs had not been a traditional village-based chain migration. The origins of the founders remind us that while Carrara stone carvers contributed the largest number of Italian immigrants to Barre, the attraction of its granite stone carving community was broadly attractive to stonecutters throughout Italy. Indeed, beside Angelo Scampini the bottle seller and Rizzi

¹⁰⁶ The majority of anarchists in the CPC were born in Tuscany (6,484 files), followed by Emilia Romagna (3,722 files), the Marche (2,450 files), Lombardy (2,195 files), Piedmont (2,091 files), Lazio (1,263), Liguria (1,088), Veneto (970 files), Sicilia (894 files), Campania (696 files), Abruzzo (604 files), Umbria (548 files), Puglia (524 files) Calabria (494) Friuli (345) Sardinia (173) and Basilicata (127). Smaller numbers were born in Switzerland, Trentino, Argentina, Brazil, Tunisia, the United States, Egypt, Yugoslavia, Germany, Great Britain, Spain and various other countries in North Africa, Latin America and Europe. The United States occupied an important place in the Italian anarchist social field and was second most common popular residence for listed anarchists in the CPC, with 3,013 listed, only slightly behind Tuscany itself (with 3,951 anarchists in residence). France had 2,853, Emilia Romagna, 2,131, South America 2,460 (with 880 in Argentina alone), Lombardia had 1,621, Lazio, 1,338, Liguria, 1,300, the Marche, 1,244, and Piedmont, 1,093. "Casellario Politico Centrale," Archivio Centrale Dello Stato, accessed May 11, 2018, <http://dati.acs.beniculturali.it/CPC/>.

and Corti (who did not have professions listed in the CPC files), all the other founders were in the stone business. Bianchi was a quarryman, Bianchi and Guidici were stonecutters, and Franzi was a marble worker. It is likely that occupational and familial migration chains brought these four men to Barre.¹⁰⁷ Also, the CPC files suggest that while Massa Carrara was a much larger region than Varese both regions had active communities of ideologically diverse sovversivi.

At twenty-three pages, Pietro Bianchi's CPC file is one of the larger ones for this group of founders. His file documents not only his life but also the lives of several family members, noting, for example, that his father Giovanni traveled to South America, where he lived in Buenos Aires and Montevideo and was repeatedly expelled for anarchist activity. In Italy, anarchism was often a family affair as well as a transnational phenomenon. In 1910, the CPC file noted, Bianchi had moved to the United States in 1898 and had lived in the Barre area about a year before relocating, at the age of 26, to Montpelier. There, in the capital of Vermont, he subscribed to the paper *Il Libertario*

¹⁰⁷ The CPC data base also gives us a sketch of employment history of the anarchist social field by describing the professions different anarchists are said to have followed. While the entire list is quite long, the top thirty-six jobs (each of which listed at least 100 associated files), cover 17,096 of the 26,549 anarchists surveyed in the CPC (64%). This list clearly reveals a mixed group of workers and skilled artisans with shoemaker (1,985) and bricklayer (1,700) composing the two largest categories of employment followed by the less trained positions of laborer (1,568) and worker (1,203). Other skilled positions such as mechanic (1,116) and carpenter (1,058), came next. While the less-skilled farmer (828) was common, so too was skilled job of tailor (607). This general pattern of skilled and unskilled work continues through the list including the job of porter (562), quarryman (515), printer (502), manual laborer (463), barber (440), smith (390), stonemason (384), waiter (363), varnisher (326), baker (270), merchant (258), street vendor (249), miner (223), electrician (180), employee (177), butcher (159), blacksmith (149), marble cutter (145), weaver (137), journalist (136), hatter (135) painter (134), shopkeeper (133), baker (131), glazier (128), cook (120), teamster (113), and cabinetmaker (109). In total, at least twenty-six of these thirty-six job titles imply a skilled artisan or trade, eight seem to hint at a less trained worker and two (merchant and shopkeeper) hint at greater financial resources. The CPC thus describes the anarchist social field as being of working-class background. Several of the main forms of employment associated with the *Cronaca* network--marble cutters, quarrymen, and miners--all appeared among the most common categories of anarchists' employment in the CPC. "Casellario Politico Centrale," Archivio Centrale Dello Stato, accessed May 11, 2018, <http://dati.acs.beniculturali.it/CPC/>.

(The Libertarian) from Spezia, openly “professed” anarchist principles, and claimed to have been “condemned in Italy for political crimes.” The Italian police also noted he used the nickname Caserio in homage to Sante Geronimo Caserio, the Italian anarchist who had assassinated the president of France in 1894.¹⁰⁸

Carlo Franzi’s CPC file was started later and was much briefer than Bianchi’s. However, even in the 1930s the police remembered he had subscribed to both the *La Questione Sociale* and *Cronaca Sovversiva*. The file described Franzi as living in Barre and dying there in 1922 and it included a Vermont death certificate that gave cause of death as Pulmonary Tuberculosis. The file listed no wife but gave Franzi’s mother’s maiden name as Serafina Cassani. While several male Cassani’s appeared on lists of anarchists in Barre, last names are so commonly shared in Italian small towns that it is dangerous to assume a blood relationship just based on last name (although shared trade, migration destination and political affiliation add more probability to a connection).¹⁰⁹ Carlo Franzi was buried in Barre’s Hope Cemetery alongside many other stonecutters who died from lung disease contracted in the granite sheds. Indeed, many of Galleani’s closest colleagues died young, regularly diminishing Barre’s ranks of activist anarchists.

¹⁰⁸ The file concluded by noting that Pietro Bianchi in 1925 moved to Worcester Mass, where he continued to work as a stonecutter, and, while he continued to profess anarchist ideas, he was no longer active in propaganda work. By 1939 he was living in Fresno California and as of 1942 he still lived in North America but no longer regularly corresponded with his father Giovanni, his mother Francesca or any other friends or acquaintances. Il Prefetto, Prefettura di Varese, to Ministero dell’interno, Direzione generale della pubblica sicurezza, Divisione Affari Generali Riservati, Casellario Politico Centrale, “Oggetto: Bianchi Pietro Giuseppe fu Giovanni—anarchico,” October 12, 1942; Records of the Casellario Politico Centrale, Box 621, file 86425, Archivio Central dello Stato, Rome.

¹⁰⁹ James Smart, City Clerk, “Certificate of Death: Carlo Franzi,” Barre, VT, November 8, 1922; Records of the Casellario Politico Centrale, Box 2163, file 76104, Archivio Central dello Stato, Rome.

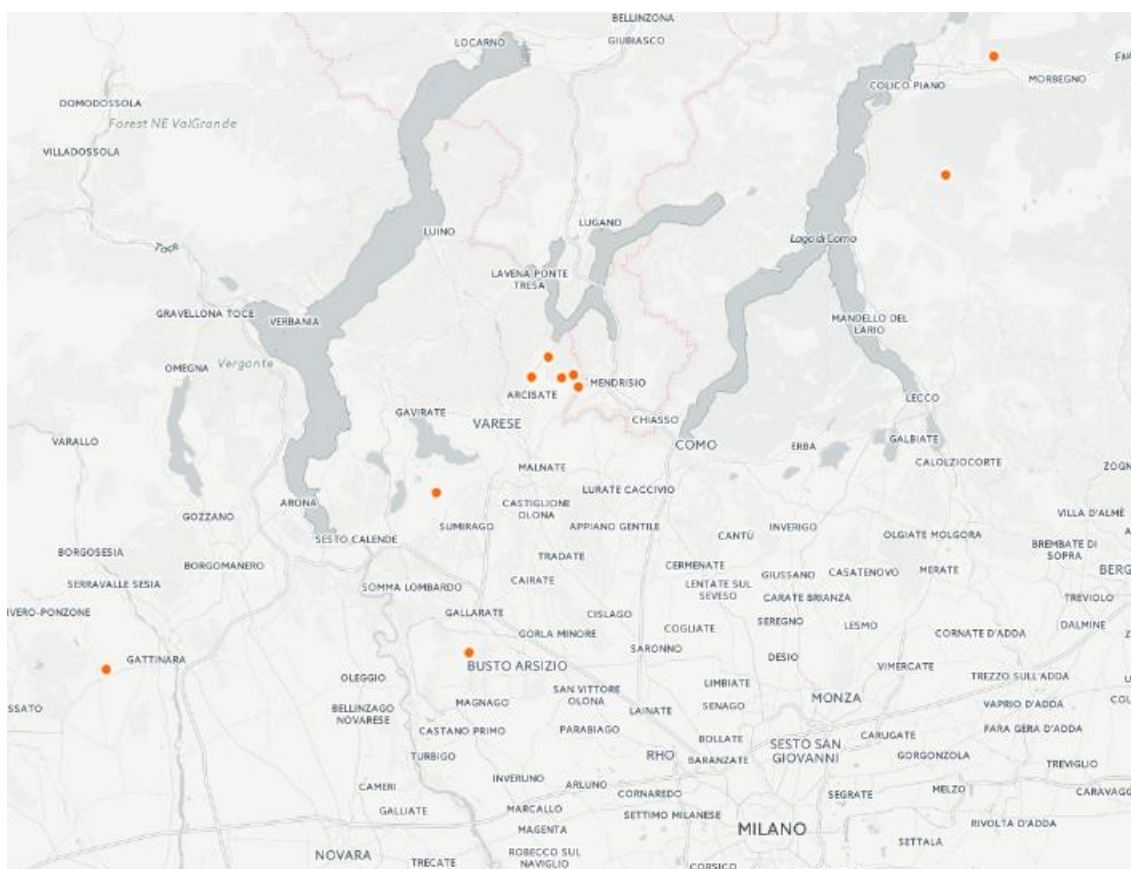
Unfortunately, other CPC files for anarchist founders of the *Cronaca* are much less detailed and provide little beyond their presence in Barre, their connection to the paper, their relocations within North America, and their occasional returns to Italy. To move beyond the biographic data on CPC file jackets requires attention to the relations of the founders to the broader social world of anarchists in Barre.

The Composition of the Barre Anarchist Scene

The founders were by no means the only members of Barre's Circolo Studi Sociali or the only local supporters of the *Cronaca*. In January 1905, when another special fund was undertaken to support the purchase of new typographical materials, the newspaper listed forty-four names of people in the Barre area who contributed between five and fifteen dollars. Shortly thereafter, the *Cronaca* printed a letter from twenty-one "compagni del Circolo di Studi Sociali." A similar but slightly expanded list of names appeared on August 26, 1905. Together, seventy-eight names can directly be linked to the purchase of typographical materials for the Circolo Studi Sociali, creating a foundation for social historical analysis (for all names uncovered see Appendix 4).

Of the full names of sixty-two people appearing in other editions of the newspaper, of whom twenty-six had CPC files. Fifteen were listed as anarchists, five as socialists, three as communists, two as antifascists, and one was labeled a republican. Their names either provide some evidence of support for the newspaper from the broader social field of sovversivi of diverse ideologies or indicate the malleability of individuals' ideological commitments over time. For example, Giovanni Comi, who was from Bisuschio, Varese, Lombardy, Italy and was a *scalpellino* (stonecutter) in Barre,

Vermont, may have been closely allied with Oreste Gariboldi and Pietro Bianchi, who shared birthplaces and occupations. Although only thirty-five percent of the sixty-two individuals appeared in CPC files, identifying them broadens any mapping of Barre's attraction of Barre to potential migrants in Lombardy. For example, Map 2 identifies a cluster of sending communities north of Milan.

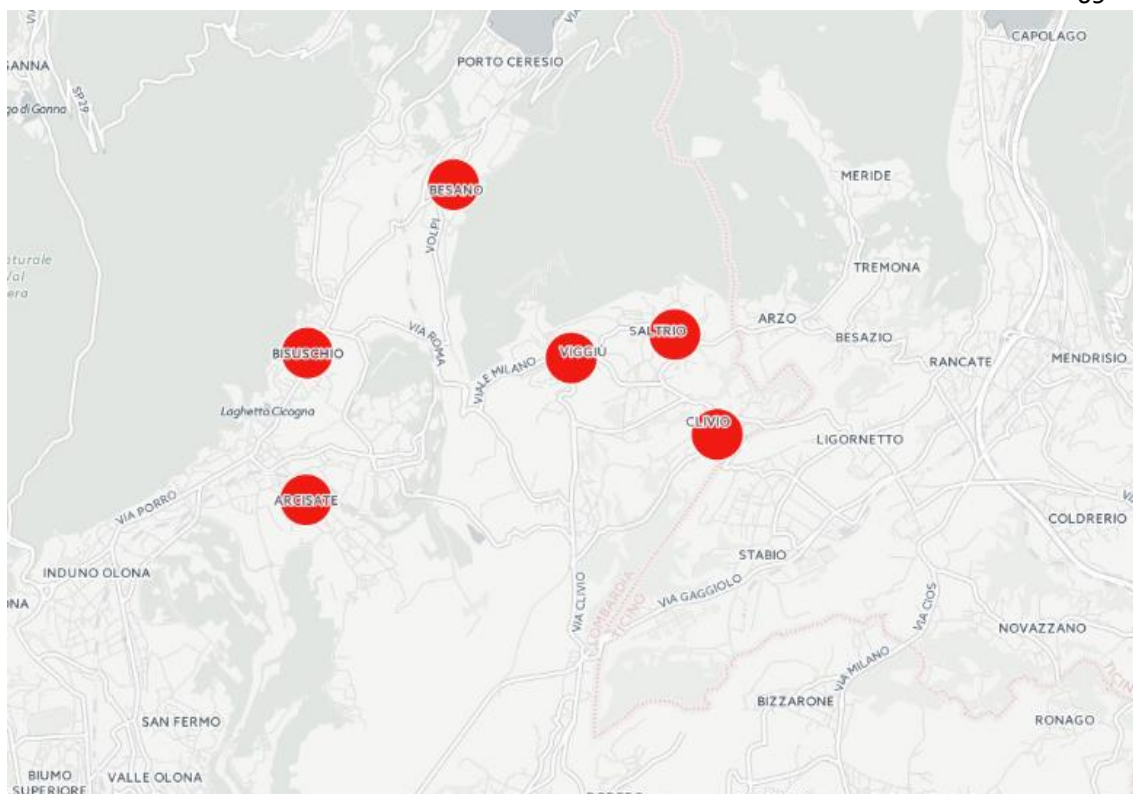


Map 2: Cluster of Sending Communities North of Milan

The map above shows the proximity of sending communities to the Swiss border. The representation of Varese subversives in Barre between 1903 and 1905 is notable

though perhaps not extraordinary—all were stone carvers linked through labor migration chains and anarchist networks to Barre. They undoubtedly found co-workers from Carrara in possession of similar political cultures despite differing regional origins. They were probably familiar with the several anarchist papers printed in Carrara (*Il Cavatore*, *Combattiamo!*, *La Parola degli Anarchici*, *Il Pensiero*, *Pro Libertà*, '94, and the still in-print *Umanità Nova*), and it is likely the Varese anarchists also had experience with similar propaganda projects given their close location to the Swiss border.¹¹⁰ In particular, the Varese towns of Besano, Bisuchio, Arcisate, Clivio, Saltrio, and Samarate sent many subversives to Barre. The cluster of these Varese towns (shown in Map 3) sent eight stonecutters, a bricklayer, and a marble worker to Barre. Varese was, in general, similar to Carrara, where male employment was overwhelmingly associated with stone workers. In Carrara thirty-seven percent of people on file (1113 of the total 2,984) were tied to such trades, with the CPC listing: 673 quarrymen, 224 stonecutters, 179 farmers, 119 bricklayers, 101 workers, 97 marble workers and 96 laborers. In Varese the numbers were similar, with 368 (bricklayer) listed among the 1,400 CPC files. Thus, these two sending communities were quite similar—both shared connections to nineteenth century Risorgimento radicalism and occupations associated with the mining, quarrying and sculpting of hard rock.

¹¹⁰ For publication history of Italian anarchist newspapers printed in Italy, see Leonardo Bettini, *Bibliografia Dell'anarchismo, vol. 1: periodici e numeri unici anarchici in lingua italiana pubblicati in Italia (1872-1971)* (Firenze: CP Editrice, 1972).



Map 3: Detail of Varese Communities

The tight cluster of sending communities close to the Swiss border also bordered on Capolago (seen in the upper right-hand section of Map 3), where in 1891 anarchists held one of the most important Congresses in the movement’s history.¹¹¹ To attend it, Galleani had crossed over the Italian-Swiss border at Lake Como, only a few miles away from the cluster of Varese villages that contributed so many militants to the Barre group. Due to

¹¹¹ Before this anarchist gathering, Capolago was also home to the “Tipografia Elvetica,” an important republican propaganda publisher from 1830 to 1853, during the Risorgimento. Thus, for well over sixty years this border region had been saturated in subversive propaganda as well as physically crisscrossed by countless self-identified radicals and revolutionaries. Locals would have ample opportunity to take day trips across the border to hear political speech otherwise hard to find during some of Italy’s more repressive years; for more on the role of Swiss-based publishing houses and their effect on Italy, see Fabrizio Mena, *Stamperie ai margini d’Italia” editori e libri nella Svizzera italiana, 1746-1848* (Bellinzona, Switzerland: Edizioni Casagrande, 2003).

police harassment, he ultimately missed the actual congress. However, afterwards, Malatesta and the more militant members of the congress then gave him the job of conducting a “speaking tour” in Northern Italy purportedly to spread word of the “Partito Socialista Anarchico Rivoluzionario-Federazione Italiana,” the formation of which the Congress had just approved; suggesting that at this time Galleani was not the dedicated anti-organizationalist he is often remembered as in the historiography.¹¹² On this tour Galleani likely visited the Varese towns (and Carrara).

Years later, Galleani claimed that his real purpose was not to give speeches but build an insurrectionary anarchist network. He described his task as searching out and linking together “the best companions” in a “strong chain,” which he described as a “web” to be “put to good use at the first opportunity.” Thanks to this mission, it is highly likely that some of the Varese founders of the *Cronaca* had either direct or closely networked personal ties to Galleani. The “strong chain” built between Galleani and the most serious companions he could uncover may even explain how he was initially invited to Barre while living clandestinely in Canada, thereby emphasizing what Turcato has described as the “decentralized network model of organization” which characterized the anarchist movement.¹¹³

One final list of individuals complements the analysis presented above, the so-called “bundlers” of donations to the newspaper. Bundlers, documented in the *Cronaca*’s financial records published between 1903 to 1918, included at least fifty-three individuals

¹¹² Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism*, 254-256.

¹¹³ Turcato, *Making Sense of Anarchism*, 95. For more on the Capolago Congress see Turcato, *Making Sense of Anarchism*, 80-89, and Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism*, 254-259.

active in Barre. Of the seventy-nine people identified as founders of the *Cronaca* or as active members in the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre, twenty-one were also listed as bundlers. Of the remaining thirty-two bundlers in Barre, only twenty could be identified by first and last names and only eleven of them had CPC files. Adding bundlers to the inner circle of anarchists adds more activists' names including: Pellegrino Bernacca, Giuseppe Chioldi, Vittorio Cravello, Giuseppantonio Lariccia, Giulio Ottolini, Nicolò Palumbo, Giuseppe Sassi, Luigi Guilio Sassi, Giuseppe Tedeschi, Enea Tosi, and Ludovico Caminita. As we will see in Chapter 6, several of these men played key roles throughout the life of the *Cronaca* in Barre, particularly, Cravello and G. Sassi (for CPC information on all the identified bundlers see Appendix 5).

The list of bundlers reaffirms the diasporic composition of the social field in which *Cronaca* operated, with five men coming from Lombardy, three from Emilia Romagna, two from Tuscany and one each from Piedmont, Veneto, the Marche, Abruzzo, Puglia, and Sicily. The CPC described six of the bundlers as anarchists, five as socialists, three as antifascists, and one as a communist, while one was not labeled with a “political color.” The men were born between 1872 and 1886, so not much younger than those appearing on other lists—not surprising when we remember that lists of bundlers, unlike other lists, continued to appear in the *Cronaca* until 1918. The list of bundlers is striking mainly for the presence of three printers alongside three stone carvers.¹¹⁴ Other bundlers were tailors, salesmen, farmers, and decorative artists, suggesting it was not

¹¹⁴ Although the CPC file for Ludavico Caminita does not include an occupation, Kenyon Zimmer has shown that he was a printer for the *Cronaca Sovversiva* before having a falling out with Galleani, then with “*La Question Sociale*” and later still with the *Magonista* paper *Regeneración*; for more, see Zimmer, *Immigrants Against the State*, 80-83.

shared workplace experiences that brought bundlers to anarchism. It is even possible that the community-and family-based anarchist culture described in the next chapter first attracted the bundlers to anarchism.

Beyond the names listed here, most of the supporters of *Cronaca* in Barre remain unidentifiable. It is impossible even to know whether the Varese group dominated the inner circle of the Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva and the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre. After all, the names identified represent only a tiny percentage of the 1,068 Barre-based subscribers and donors who appeared in the pages of the *Cronaca*'s over its 15 years in print. Also, as the case of Bianchi has shown, Barre was not the only Vermont city where confirmed founding members and key supporters of the *Cronaca* network resided. In fact, thirty-one different Vermont towns were listed as sources of donations or subscriptions.¹¹⁵ As Map 4 below shows, the *Cronaca* network was active throughout a large portion of Vermont and was particularly interwoven with the communities immediately surrounding Barre. This larger world of Vermont anarchist and subversive not only played a key role in founding the *Cronaca Sovversiva* but helped sustain not only the financial life of the paper but, as we will see in the following chapter, the social world in which Galleani and his cohort produced their anarchist propaganda.

¹¹⁵ The towns in Vermont that appeared in the *Cronaca Sovversiva* were: Barre, Bellow Falls, Bennington, Bethel, Brattleboro, East Barre, Northfield, East Montpelier, Fair Haven, Groton, Hardwick, Montpelier, Morrisville, Northfield, Orange, Pioneer, Proctor, Readsboro, Rochester, Rutland City, Ryegate, South Ryegate, St. Albans, Washington, Waterbury, West Berlin, White River Junction, Williamstown, Windsor, and Woodstock.

Conclusion: Striving for a Social History of Anarchism

The purpose of this chapter's rudimentary social history of the *Cronaca Sovversiva's* origins is to address the fallacy of making writer/editors like Galleani (along with the flavor of ideology they espouse) the exclusive drivers of anarchist history. By focusing on the anarchist collective responsible for founding the *Cronaca* it becomes clear that the Barre's anarchist community existed before Galleani and was responsible for his move to Vermont. The data available in the pages of the newspaper, cross-referenced with individual CPC files, makes it clear that the anarchists and other Italian subversives represented a sizeable population of people with deep roots in specific towns and regions. Mapping the collectives formed by these militants reveals a radical diaspora that migrated out of Italy and across Europe, North Africa, the Americas and even eventually to Australia. Having a sense of these men and women as living, working, interrelated adults with names does much to pull back the shroud of mystery which has cloaked the "rank in file" for far too long.

By methodologically moving outward from the *Cronaca* this chapter constitutes a first step in building a social history of previously nameless anarchist rank and file activists. Further close readings of anarchist print culture will expand its list of subaltern and formerly invisible anarchist militants. Each of these names is a lead waiting for deeper and more comprehensive exploration with the tools of social history. The CPC files, when they exist, can give clues as to the activists' migration patterns both transnationally and within the United States as can other governmental documents such as INS files and census records. In this way, scholars can slowly move beyond a history of the great writers and thinkers of anarchism to a more general understanding of the

people who read anarchist propaganda and supported the movement with their lives, their money, their hearts and their emotional bonds.

Understanding the complex lives of rank-and-file anarchist activists is also central to Chapter 3, which explores the festivals and activities that made the anarchist social field so attractive to Barre's immigrant families. Keeping our eyes focused on Barre as a site of cultural production, it explores how Galleani and his companions in the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre embedded their "active center" into the heart of the Barre immigrant social field, and how doing so created conflict with other branches of *sovversivi* were present in Barre even before the arrival of the Italian anarchists. In the end, conflict would force Galleani and his companions to relocate. But in 1903 that outcome was still 8 years in the future.

It was there, in a small town in Vermont, that the culture of the group that others called "Galleanisti" took form. Drawing heavily on pre-existing *sovversivi* practices, they built in Barre a political culture that they then circulated along with the dangerous and inflammatory ideas printed on the weekly pages of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. With a better general sense of who the anarchists were and with a growing understanding of the specific people involved in the production of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Chapter 3 offers a general history of these formative years.

Chapter 3

Anarchist Community Building in Barre

If one half of the “exceptionalist fallacy” in the historiography of anarchism is a focus on exceptional figures, the other half is a focus on exceptional activity. Historians tend to write about anarchists during moments of conflict— insurrections, strikes, bombings or other violent actions— unfortunately this relegates the everyday reality of anarchist activity to the margins of history. Along with many feminist historians of immigrant women radicals such as Jennifer Guglielmo, I argue that the day-by-day, week-by-week, and month-by-month life of the Barre anarchists was more focused on building community, raising money, and providing real services to the “Colonia Operaia Italiana di Barre” (Italian worker’s colony of Barre) than it was on actively plotting insurrection or revolution. This chapter aims to make explicit the methods and character of anarchist activity in Barre and, by extrapolation, the larger transnational anarchist social field which shared many of its tactics and strategies. In particular, it focuses on anarchist social gatherings and parties, anarchist theatrical productions at the Barre opera house, and the anarchists’ management of the Barre School of Design. Analysis of anarchist community building activities helps to explain how the anarchists accrued the social capital needed to resist the state-based oppression they would provoke through their more confrontational activities. The anarchist social field was thus as much a source of defensive strength as it was offensive coordination.

The Cronaca Locale: Documenting Anarchist Activity in Barre

The “Cronaca Locale” (Local News) column that appeared in *Cronaca* a total of 214 times, 1903-1918, containing 773 notes, documented local activity in Barre. The peak years of the Cronaca Locale were from 1904-1908. After the journal’s relocation to Lynn the Cronaca Locale section declined to the point of essentially disappearing (the implications of this will be clear when we come to the paper’s relocation in Chapter 7).¹¹⁶ The column’s ostensible function was to publicize local events, but it also made the Barre community a model for all the far-flung anarchist groups that received the newspaper and sought to recruit new members. In this chapter, I use the Cronaca Locale to highlight anarchists’ primary methods of creating and shaping the social life of the immigrant workers in Barre. The Barre anarchist community is a good case study because of its small size and relative isolation.

As an immigrant gateway, Barre differed from New York, Boston and Chicago or even the smaller industrial towns of New Jersey and New England. In larger cities, particularly in the great industrial metropolises that have been the site of most studies of Italian immigrant culture, small groups of radicals struggled to make an impact on the social life very large immigrant communities. In a town like Barre, and indeed most of the small towns and coal camps where the subscribers to the *Cronaca* resided, even a small group of anarchists could throw parties and picnics, produce theatrical

¹¹⁶ The Cronaca Locale column was first printed on August 1st, 1903. The column appeared 12 times in 1903, 27 times in 1904, 49 times in 1905, 48 times in 1906, 40 times in 1907, 22 times in 1908, once in 1909, once in 1910, twice in 1911, once in 1912, once in 1913, four times in 1914, four times in 1915, and once each in 1917 and 1918. The only year in which it was totally absent was 1916, when much of the *Cronaca* Network was either underground or had left the country, heading mostly to revolutionary Mexico to avoid the draft.

performances and organize community services, thereby building social space conducive to intimate and interpersonal interactions. By creating a social space and presenting the community with alternatives to the religious and nationalist cultural activities, the *Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre* encouraged participants to adopt a sense of belonging to the anarchists' social field and helped shape the local texture of the migration experience of the Italian workers in Barre. For the anarchists associated with the *Cronaca Sovversiva* local activity was key to recruiting new members, funding propaganda projects and defending those companions targeted by the state or bosses for suppression, imprisonment, and elimination.

The *Cronaca Locale* focused on the minutiae of everyday life in Barre, revealing a community of *sovversivi* capable of maintaining a social life, thousands of miles away from their homes, while also remaining an active node in a transnational network of radicals. Historians have not entirely overlooked the importance of anarchist social gatherings. Pietro Di Paola devotes a section of his book to the sociability of Italian Anarchists in London.¹¹⁷ Marcella Bencivenni has shown that Italian immigrants in the United States established “stable and insular communities with intense social relationships...” adding that, the “leisure-time activities they sponsored” became “an integral part” of the *sovversivi* world;¹¹⁸ while Jesse Cohn states that the purpose of “anarchist resistance culture” was to enable the anarchists, “while remaining within the world of domination and hierarchy, to escape from it... a process of ‘engaged

¹¹⁷ See: Di Paola, *The Knights Errant of Anarchy*, Ch. 10.

¹¹⁸ Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 50-52.

withdrawal' from authoritarian institutions." Anarchist resistance culture was thus "not mainly defined by its end," rather it was "a means."¹¹⁹ My analysis of the *Cronaca Locale* builds on this work. A close reading of the *Cronaca Locale* suggests the most important contribution of anarchists to Barre sociability was to provide politically charged entertainment for fellow workers, a group much larger than the core group that had founded the *Cronaca*. Sociability thus provided the most important point of contact between Barre's working-class immigrants and the anarchist network and helped forge a space outside the narrative structures set up by the Judeo-Christian religions and the patriotic discourses of sending and receiving nations

Historians have long acknowledged how radical calendars of celebration, including subversive holidays such as May Day or the anniversary of the Haymarket Martyrs on November 11th, were used to foster left-wing community cohesion.¹²⁰ I argue that the daily, weekly, monthly and yearly regularity of anarchist events was more important. The *Cronaca Locale* reveals that, in Barre, Saturday and Sunday (and to a less extent Monday) were key moments for large social gatherings of the anarchists, their friends, and their sympathizers (See Figure 1):

¹¹⁹ Jesse Cohn, *Underground Passages: Anarchist Resistance Culture, 1848-2011* (Oakland: AK Press, 2015), 19-21.

¹²⁰ For a look at how Europeans interpreted the Haymarket affair, see Hubert Perrier et al., "The 'Social Revolution' in America? European Reactions to the 'Great Upheaval' and to the Haymarket Affair," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, no. 29 (Spring 1986): 38-52.

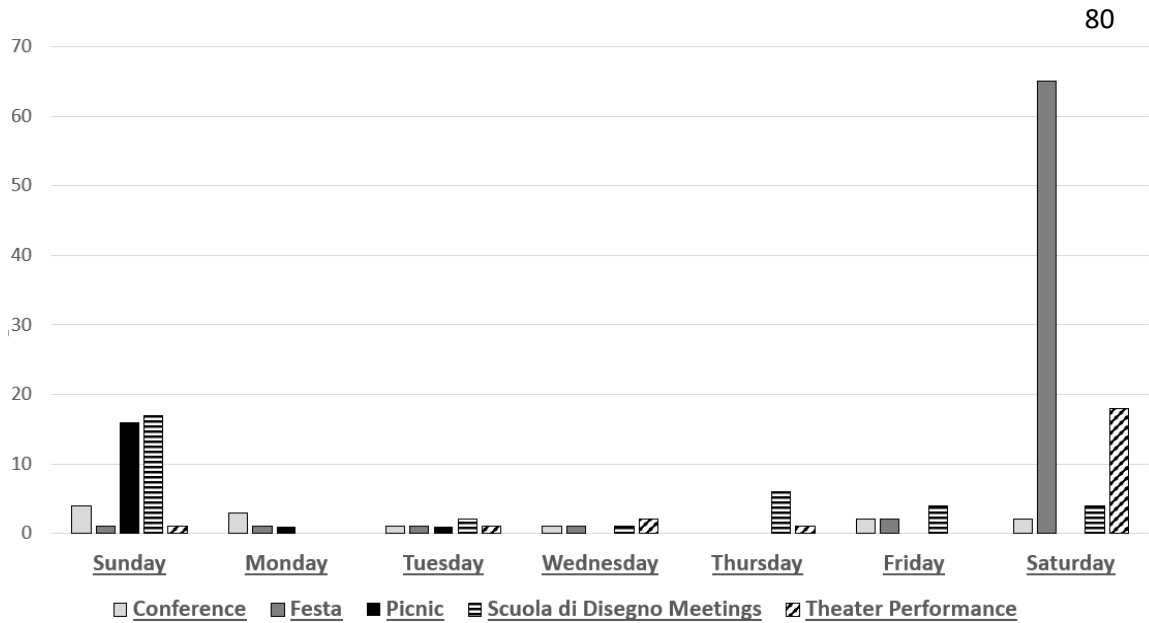


Figure 1: Barre Social Events by Type and Day of the Week

Saturday night saw indoor anarchist parties (*feste*). It was also the most common night for performances by theater troupes. Sunday was the day reserved for gatherings and meetings (*Riunione*), and for outdoor parties or picnics (*Festa Campestre*). Anarchists seem to have preferred to socialize first and then meet to discuss movement business later in the weekend. This may have been a propaganda tactic, allowing them to socialize broadly at convivial and celebratory Saturday night gatherings while reserving meetings for core group members on Sundays. Alternatively, having a meeting or speech planned for the following day provided an easy way for the militants to encourage newcomers at Saturday events to remain involved in radical activities, deepening newcomers' connection to the movement. Predictably, indoor parties occurred during the colder and wetter months (September through May) while picnics were thrown in the summer.

If we look at the type of events over the course of the year we see some other regular changes. There were more theater performances in winter and fewer conferences in summer. Political speeches were most often given over May Day celebrations but

could be heard throughout the year, especially during the November commemoration of the Haymarket Martyrs (see Figure 2).

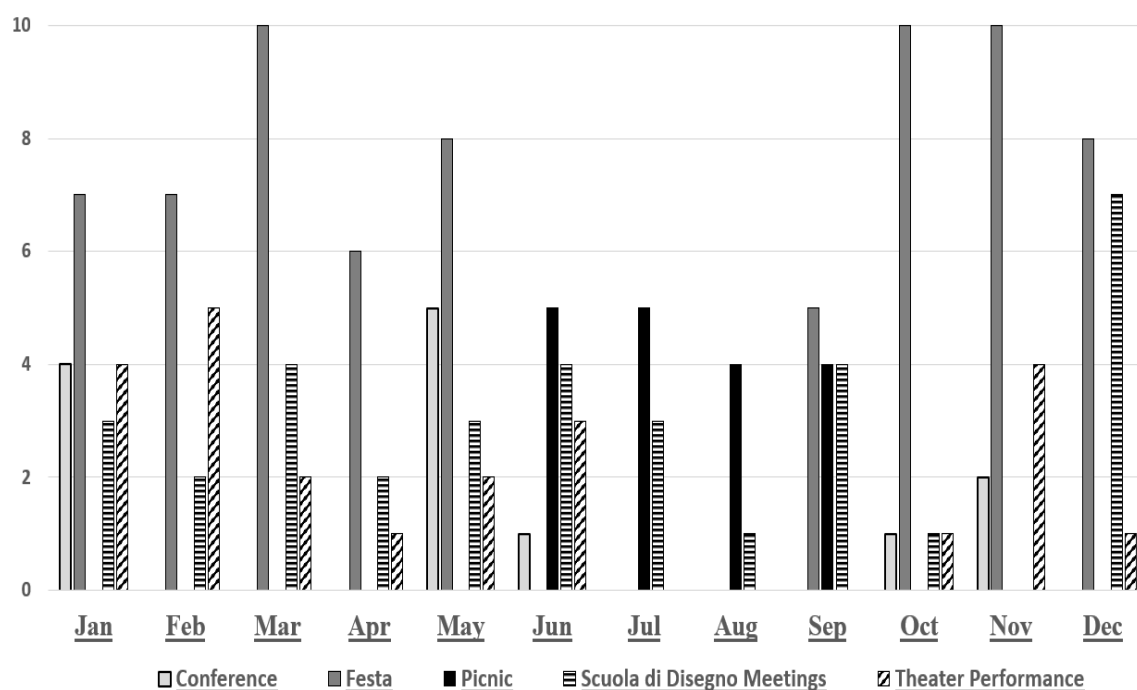


Figure 2: Barre Social Events by Type and Month of the Year

Printing in-depth description of social events in the Cronaca Locale Section was meant to accomplish more than simply informing a local readership of upcoming events. Rather, it made the Barre community a model for anarchists elsewhere. A study of the Barre anarchists' sociability can reveal as much about anarchist movement building as does reportage on riots, strikes, assassinations and bombings.

Anarchist Parties: Traditional Celebrations, Ethnic Identities and Cross-National Solidarity

Anarchists sought to not only entertain their fellow immigrants, but to bring them into their politicized space where they could form intimate social bonds and slowly become radicalized, all while raising funds for the newspaper or some other cause of the moment. To do this, they needed to compete against other social attractions in Barre, including gatherings hosted by the local socialists, local religious groups, and the lively commercial sociability of Barre's drinking establishments. Music was an important tool and part of almost all Saturday night social gatherings and Sunday afternoon picnics.¹²¹ The music was provided by two bands with names that referenced the life experiences of the local immigrants: The Transatlantic Band and the Stone Cutters Band. At least fifty-three announcements in the *Cronaca Locale* noted the participation of the bands, suggesting that they provided one of the major forms of entertainment consumed by the Italian immigrant community. In fact, there is evidence that locals may have been familiar to the point of boredom with the two bands and the *Cronaca* often noted the bands' intention at least to play new music as an incentive to attend a party.

The anarchists offered other enticements for immigrants to attend their revelries. On December 23rd, 1905, the *Cronaca Locale* announced a get-together featuring "The Transatlantic Band" but added that there would "also be a most attractive gastronomic fair" and "because of the surprises planned for the evening" there was "a chance to go home with a hare, a turkey, a partridge, a ham or a zamponne." A "zamponne" is a stuffed

¹²¹ Music has long played a central role in Italian anarchist sociability; for an anthology of this rich cultural production, see Santo Catanuto and Franco Schirone, *Il Canto Anarchico in Italia nell'Ottocento e nel Novecento* (Milan: Zero in Condotta, 2001).

pig's foot and lower leg filled with various seasoned meats, associated with Christmas celebrations in the cities of Mirandola and Modena and the region of Emilia-Romagna. Such a succulent and juicy opportunity may well have brought in immigrant workers who otherwise rarely visited the anarchists' clubhouse; it also emphasized the role of the often unseen and unmentioned female members of the anarchist community. The organizers also promised children attending "a pleasant surprise."¹²² These home-style treats and surprises for children stressed the event's family-friendly character and should be seen as propaganda tactics intended to bring unaffiliated immigrants into the physical space and social network of the subversives.

Festive parties that largely relied on female labor, simultaneously raised money and consciousness. For example, on April 7th, 1906, the paper announced that the "initiators of the festival" had agreed to donate to the *Grido della Folla* (Cry of the Crowd), a journal in Milan which had close ties to the *Cronaca*, "any profits from the big dance party with the Transatlantic Band."¹²³ By organizing and promoting this benefit party the anarchists sought to foster a sense of transnational connection in its readers and keep them in touch with ongoing struggles back home.

However, while the anarchists were certainly aware that many readers would return to Italy, they also sought to avoid fostering ethno-nationalism and encouraged

¹²² Anon., "Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni — La nostra festa," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Dec. 23, 1905.

¹²³ Adding that "Companions and friends" would "lead the crowd" to help the anarchists' "embattled brethren with their conscious and supportive aid" and this would be "the best response to the armed henchmen," who sought "by all the most sordid means" to suppress the *Grido della Folla* "during the exhibition in Milan." Anon., "Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Pel Grido della Folla," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 07, 1906.

participation in similar struggles across ethnic and national lines. For example, in 1905 the Barre CSS organized a dance party to raise money in support of Russian Revolutionaries. The announcement noted that the Italian and Spanish “initiators of this entertainment,” wanted to stress “the importance and necessity” that all workers support “the epic struggle” that was “being fought in Russia for the liberation of the proletariat and the end of the infamous czarism.” Adding that the *Cronaca* hoped “for the unanimous participation of all those who harbor feelings of freedom.”¹²⁴

The transnational solidarity of Italian anarchists in Barre was no mere slogan or abstraction. They eagerly sought bonds with other immigrant groups in Vermont. Throughout 1906 there were a series of parties at the CSS clubhouse that encouraged cross-national encounters between the Spanish and the Italian workers in Barre. This relationship had begun the previous year, when a degree of boredom with the same old dance parties seemed to threaten the community. The *Cronaca Locale* commented that the Spanish companions “deserved the congratulations of the whole colony” because they had disrupted “the monotony of the usual festivities” by performing some “ancient Castilian dances” that were “full of life” and contained “ethnographic and traditional elements performed with exquisite taste, precision and unsurpassed harmony.”¹²⁵ The performance was repeated again the following week, when a group of Spaniards along with the Independent Orchestra performed a selection of original Spanish dances

¹²⁴ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Pro’ Rivoluzionarii Russi.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 10, 1906.

¹²⁵ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—I Compagni Spagnuoli,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Nov. 11, 1905.

(Andalusian, Catalan, Castilian). The exchange of cultural traditions played an important role in building a larger sense of unity between the immigrant groups in Barre. The social connection among Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese subversives continued with the celebration of Carnevale and other holidays that drew upon the immigrants' shared anticlerical but culturally catholic background.

One of the most important of the Italian ethnic holidays celebrated in Barre was the annual "Festa della Frutta," which differed little from similar parties elsewhere in anarchist North America, for example in Paterson, NJ. Marcella Bencivenni describes it as:

a traditional Italian peasant festival that was held annually in the fall with elaborate decorations of fruits and vegetables to celebrate the season's harvest. When *La Questione Sociale's* group gave such a feast in October 1906, the paper noted its overwhelming success despite terrible weather. "The Italian colony," it wrote, "did not disappoint us, crowding the beautiful hall filled with all kinds of fruit trophies symbolizing a better and healthier future." Like the picnics, the feast included performances, music, games, and raffles. These family events were a regular feature of the nineteenth and early twentieth-century labor movement. They were occasions for propaganda and fundraising, but they also satisfied the recreational and emotional needs of the workers.¹²⁶

In Barre, the holiday served a similar function and was announced with significant fanfare. For example, the announcement for the 1907 Festa della Frutta, stated that the "banco di beneficenza" (benefit counter) would be "very rich in rewards and adjusted so that each competitor will have a guaranteed prize of the real value of the ticket."¹²⁷

In Barre, the "Festa dei Fiori," or Festival of the Flowers, was also a major event—the springtime equivalent of the autumnal Festa della Frutta. In 1905, the Festa

¹²⁶ Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 62

¹²⁷ Anon., "Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Festa della Frutta," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Oct. 12, 1907.

dei Fiori was described as “an auspicious festival of unusual genius” celebrating the “spring solstice” that would allow the Italian’s in Barre to “finally... revisit the earth after six months of fog, ice, and snow.” Held on March 25th, the announcement asked if the reader could “imagine the large, bright room of the Circolo decorated with vegetables and flowers? The lively and courteous tournament to win a bouquet of violets, roses, hyacinths?” If not, then, the paper implored, one should “come to the Club” and see that the anarchists knew “how to impart grace to the libertarian cause and to pour for you the honey of a congenial, vibrant and well lived hour.”¹²⁸ The announcement must have been effective because a subsequent report stated that “despite the poor state of the roads” the festival was “a successful one.” Indeed over \$125 dollars (approx. \$3,347.35 in 2018 USD)¹²⁹ were taken in at the door, a fairly large sum of money that suggests several hundred people were likely in attendance. The report back also stated that the headquarters of the CSS were decorated:

with exquisite taste and delicate sobriety, in Libertarian style, and never appeared so cramped with the colony which cheered among the fresh and beautiful roses, hyacinths, violets, and carnations that were profuse and generously laid about with kindness in order to give to those gathered for a few hours the illusion of the much anticipated and heralded spring while outside, between patches of snow, the land stiffened under the last frosts. And when, at midnight, the illusion was finally painfully renounced, the party ended with a long applause from the young and old and with friendly cheers to the organizers of the wonderful evening.¹³⁰

¹²⁸ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—La Festa Dei Fiori,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 18, 1905.

¹²⁹ "Inflation Rate between 1903-2018 | Inflation Calculator," \$125 in 1903 → 2018 | Inflation Calculator, , accessed April 26, 2018, <http://www.in2013dollars.com/1903-dollars-in-2018?amount=125>.

¹³⁰ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—La Festa Dei Fiori,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 01, 1905.

This description of a lovely, peaceful and intimate social world gives a good sense of the role that the CSS played in addressing the needs of the migrant community. While the party's profit of \$50 (\$1,338.94 in 2018 USD) was a tidy sum, it was not likely the main organizational motivation. Again, a family-friendly event spoke to the dislocation of immigrant Italians in a foreign land with far longer, colder winters than in Italy. It thus revealed that the anarchist organizers understood the importance of meeting the real emotional and physical needs of the colony. This strategy was instrumental as well as sentimental. Only wide-spread support could prevent the *Cronaca Sovversiva* from plummeting into unsustainable debt and protect the anarchists when the police or other antagonists came knocking.

Another popular seasonal celebration was the "Ballo Mascherato." This festa replaced traditionally Catholic Carnival celebrations and again encouraged cross-national sociability between the Spanish and Portuguese companions. The masquerade balls held in Barre hint at the Northern Italian ancestry of many of the town's anarchists, since Venice also celebrated Carnival season with ornate and complex masks, the best of which won its wearer a special award. The first recorded masked Ball occurred in March 1905. The report that followed noted no one had "ever seen in any party" of the Italian colony "a crowd like that which attended the ball."¹³¹ According to the *Cronaca*, the "crowd was suffocating!" The party-goers wore brilliant masks, some of which portrayed "victims of

¹³¹ The size of the crowd was confirmed by *The Barre Daily Times*, which called it the largest company ever gathered together in the Pavilion Hall, adding that a large number wore unique costumes. About \$125 dollars were raised "for the benefit of the Italian paper *Cronaca Sovversiva*." Evidently Sironi was quite the costume wearer and the following year, 1906, he won again. Anon., "Carnival Night for the Italians," *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Mar. 13, 1905; Anon., "The annual masquerade Carnivale of the Italian colony," *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Mar. 05, 1906.

labor, victorious Russian revolutionaries, the nightmare of the capitalist and of course a restless swarm of Pierrots.” The festivities lasted until midnight, “the next day it was Lent.”¹³² As this note revealed, the most common masked (or costumed) character of Commedia dell'Arte (Pierrot) dominated the Barre anarchist gathering; Pierrot was a stock character who went unmasked (making dressing up as him all the easier) but had also become a late nineteenth century symbol of Revolutionary People, tragically struggling for a place in the bourgeois world.¹³³

The anarchists saw masked balls as political events, stating that “humorous satire,” which the anarchists described as “one of the most effective weapons to shame depravity and corruption,” would have “free rein.” Thus the *Cronaca* was sure that their companions and friends would not fail “to participate in this cheerful and not ‘thoughtless’ evening, during which many honest workers, with magnificent masks for the occasion,” would “show their hatred and their contempt for the bourgeois regime and the cowardly vipers of the local Mafia.”¹³⁴ The subversive character of masked balls emerged from the act of masking-up, allowing the working-class to mock and tease the ruling elite of the community— the “prominenti/padroni” who, as Bencivenni describes, “ran the immigrant banks, mainstream newspapers, employment agencies, saloons, and boarding houses and were often the presidents of the many Italian societies that arose in

¹³² Anon., “La Festa Dei Fiori,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Mar. 18, 1905.

¹³³ For more on Pierrot, see Martin Green and John Swan, *The Triumph of Pierrot: The Commedia dell'Arte and the Modern Imagination* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986), 1-25.

¹³⁴ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Grande ballo mascherato,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 16, 1907.

the United States...[and whose] real focus ...too often was to advance their own interests at the expense of the poor Italians.”¹³⁵ To bring immigrants into their radical space, the anarchists also provided entertainment for the colony’s children. The children got their own masked ball in late February, in which the anarchists presented a “big prize for the most guessed or most original masked or group of maskedlittle ones” as well as a big prize for “the mask or group of the most elegantly masked little ones.” Not wanting to leave anyone out, they also promised a “consolation prize for all competitors without distinction,” in hopes that “none will pout.” And all would “have the right to dance to a waltz or a mazurka,” allowing all to “find enjoyment regardless of the age of the children and the adults.”¹³⁶

The *Cronaca Locale* presented the core anarchist group’s assessment of the event’s impact in reaching the broader community. The following week, the *Cronaca* stated that regardless of how the event had gone financially, they deemed the children’s ball “a triumph.” In fact, “a hundred children, some more disguised than others but all equally happy, did not give the shivering and proud mothers a minute’s rest, nor the jury that was to perform the thankless task of rewarding the most original and most elegant symbolic masks while seeking to smooth over the inevitable pouting in order to give all the children a memory of a vibrant evening of bright and lively harmony.”¹³⁷ Thus, the

¹³⁵ Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 37.

¹³⁶ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Pei nostri bimbi,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 22, 1908.

¹³⁷ Although not all was harmony among the adult Italians in Barre. The Italian Socialist Party (FSI) also hosted masquerade dance parties every March, emphasizing the competition between the two groups was not just ideological but also social. Although they did not get the rave-reviews that the *Cronaca* generated

party was a success that would “encourage a replication even more successful and more grandiose in this or the next carnival.”¹³⁸ In this happy picture of their social life, the anarchists were embedded in the immigrant community—providing real services and engendering deep affections.¹³⁹

Radical Theater in Barre: Gender, Community Building, and the Anarchist Stage

The Barre anarchists believed that theater was a potent tool for propagandizing the wider public and helping less-political members of the immigrant social field gain a deeper critique of capitalism, nationalism, and religion through thought-provoking and entertaining performances and narratives. As Bencivenni has written, the stage was “the real cultural center of the radical movement...”¹⁴⁰ The main organizer of theatrical events in Barre was the “Compagnia Filodrammatica Indipendente” (Independent Drama Company), a group of amateur Barre-based performers who held over twenty-six different performances between May 1904 and June 1908 (see appendix 6 for a list of all

in the mainstream press, the Socialists’ announcements did appear regularly every year; see Anon., “Talk of the Town,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Mar. 09, 1905.

¹³⁸ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—La Festa dei Bambini,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 29, 1908.

¹³⁹ Celebrations of *Carnevale* were not universal in anarchist communities. Kirwin Shaffer notes that Cuba anarchists’ cultural challenges to mainstream Cuban culture included a challenge to carnival as “part of the culture war that anarchists’ waged for the hearts and minds of potential followers as well as against the hegemonic culture that they so despised.” Apparently in Catholic countries such as Cuba the anarchists tended to oppose the holidays of the dominant culture, criticizing Carnival for its overly sexualized and depoliticized content and called it a distraction from radical organizing. By contrast, in Protestant Vermont Italian, Spanish and Portuguese immigrants were a minority and better able to use a shared catholic culture to attract workers and politicize Carnival. The differences between Cuban and Barre anarchists remind scholars that celebrations were site-specific tactics. Kirwin R. Shaffer, *Anarchism and Countercultural Politics in Early Twentieth-century Cuba* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 195.

¹⁴⁰ Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 100.

plays announced in the *Cronaca*). Most of these productions included musical accompaniment by the “Orchestra Indipendente” and occurred at the Barre Opera House, a beautiful building which was considered one of the finest in the state. This elegant venue, which seated 650 people, would have given any performance an added air of dignity. There is every reason to believe the anarchists could fill the seats in the Opera House. In fact, the Compagnia regularly reported bringing in more than \$100 (\$2,677 in 2018 USD) at the door for tickets that usually went for well-under 20 cents (\$5.35 in 2018 USD).

This would put attendance at Barre-based events not far behind those occurring in much larger urban centers. For example, Suriano notes that at anarchist theater events in Buenos Aires the crowd typically numbered around 500,¹⁴¹ while Bencivenni estimates that between 300 and 500 people went to similar performances in New York City.¹⁴² The popularity of the theater in Barre is emphasized by the presence of multiple anarchist-oriented theater companies. During this four-year period (1903-1907), there were also performances by the “Vecchia Compagnia Filodrammatica.” For comparison, Bencivenni states that NYC had approximately seven Italian-language radical theater troupes during the first two decades of the 20th century and Suriano reports between nine or ten Spanish-language troupes in Buenos Aires during the same era.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Juan Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia: Anarchist Culture and Politics in Buenos Aires 1890-1910*, trans. Chuck Morse (Oakland: AK Press, 2010), 112.

¹⁴² Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 101.

¹⁴³ Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 101; Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, 105.

Only fifteen of the forty-seven *Cronaca Locale* notes on theatrical performances named any of the actors involved in the productions; performers when listed included Ettore Pellegatta, Mr. Cerruti, Mr. Tedeschi, Mr. Abbiati, Gino Cerutti (a child), El Vecc (Galleani), Giulio Berlucchi, Miss Felicity Cerruti, Miss Tedeschi, Mr. Ossola, Mr. Induni, Mr. Terminini, Mr. Cabrini, Ugo Monti, Maria Induni, Prof. Alpheus Buja, Alessandra Termini, Mr. Pirolini, Miss. Jone Ghioche, Michele Garibaldi, and Mrs. Venditti. We can take this list as the roll-call of the “Compagnia Filodrammatica Indipendente.” The names of performers mentioned in the *Cronaca* suggest considerable overlap between the membership in the Circolo Studi Sociali and the Compagnia Filodrammatica Indipendente. Sometimes even Galleani performed. For example, in the performance of Cavallotti’s *Il Cantico dei Cantici: scherzo poetico in un atto* (The Song of Songs: poetic joke in one act) Galleani performed the role of Colonel Soranzo, an old military retiree and free thinker. The crowd seemed to enjoy seeing Galleani dressed up and “aged” a few decades.¹⁴⁴

Performance was sometimes a family affair. On the evening of November 27, the anarchists performed the drama *La Gioconda* and the farce *L'ombra di Rinaldo*, interspersed by the delivery of “two beautiful monologues.” The *Cronaca* noted it was “very pleased with Gino Cerruti, a boy of just six years, who performed the monologue *Il Recluse*, with passion and feeling.” Since Mr. Cerruti and Miss Felicity Cerruti were also performers, it is fair to assume the whole family was involved in the theater group. Also, the inclusion of the names of the five women mentioned (a very rare phenomenon in a

¹⁴⁴ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—il Cantico dei Cantici,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 15, 1908.

paper that almost never printed first names) affirms arguments made by historians of Italian American radical culture that women played a larger public role in sovversivi theater in the United States than in other parts of the movement. Indeed, the names of female members of the anarchist community in Barre were far more prominent in the reports on theater performances than other activities such as *feste*, which they were also clearly involved with as both organizers and participants.

When scholars have examined anarchist cultural activity, the stage has been cited as a space where women played a major role. Pietro Di Paola notes that in London it was on the stage of the Italian anarchist theater “that the oftentimes hidden presence of women in the anarchist movement emerges”¹⁴⁵ and Kerwin Shaffer states that anarchist theater in Cuba “became a central medium for women and children to play a role in the social struggle.”¹⁴⁶ In regards to Italian anarchist theater in New York City, Jennifer Guglielmo comments that “Italian women in the anarchist movement concentrated their energies on theatrical performances.”¹⁴⁷ Guglielmo’s conclusions fit well with the way gender played out on the anarchist stages in Barre.

While the anarchist theater in Barre, London and New York reveal some surprisingly “modern” approaches to gender relations, this was not always true of the anarchist stage. Juan Suriano has observed that in the anarchist theater groups in Argentina, “the vast majority of the actors were male (organizers’ hopes

¹⁴⁵ Di Paola, *The Knights Errant of Anarchy*, 182. For more on gender and anarchism, see Matthew Thomas, “Anarcho-Feminism in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain, 1880-1914,” *International Review of Social History*, no. 47 (2002): 1-31.

¹⁴⁶ Shaffer, *Anarchism and Countercultural Politics*, 195.

¹⁴⁷ Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution*, 172-174.

notwithstanding)” and, some families apparently resisted women’s participation. Suriano goes on to quote the anarchist journal *La Protesta* as stating that, except in rare circumstances, “female comrades” were “enthusiastic” but were not allowed to actively participate.¹⁴⁸ A similar phenomenon was reported in the anarchist theaters of Paris, which Robert White describes as having a “scarcity of women in what was principally a male environment.”¹⁴⁹

This discrepancy suggests that there was a significant variation across the transnational anarchist network in gender and the roles women could play in public.¹⁵⁰ The Argentine example is not far from what Tom Goyens notes in 1880’s and 1890’s German anarchist community in New York City, in which “women interested in radical politics did not stay at home on the evening of a major event, though they were rarely seen on stage.” Although he does go on to comment that there was “no evidence of outright dismissal or barring of women... On a few occasions women did appear on stage at commemorative gatherings or to orate a prologue to a play....”¹⁵¹ Similarly, Kenyon Zimmer notes that while “Yiddish theater stood at the center of Jewish immigrant cultural

¹⁴⁸ Juan Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, 108; for more on the role of gender in Argentine anarchism, see Maxine Molyneux, “No God, No Boss, No Husband: Anarchist Feminism in Nineteenth-Century Argentina,” *Latin American Perspectives* 13, no. 1 (Winter, 1986): 119-145; Asunción Lavrin, “Women, Labor and the Left: Argentina and Chile, 1890-1925,” *Journal of Women’s History* 1, no. 2 (Fall 1989): 88-116.

¹⁴⁹ Robert White, “Anarchist Theater in Paris Prior to 1914,” in *Essays in Honour of Keith Val Sinclair: An Australian Collection of Modern Language Studies*, ed. Keith Val Sinclair and Bruce Merry (Townsville, Australia: University of North Queensland, 1991), 108.

¹⁵⁰ During times of revolution the role of women clearly changed, see Martha A. Ackelsberg, “Models of Revolution: Rural women and anarchist collectivization in civil war Spain,” *Journal of Peasant Studies* 20, no. 3 (April 1993): 367-388.

¹⁵¹ Tom Goyens, *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880-1914* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 147-158.

life” and that while “as much as one-third to half of the Yiddish movements members were female, far more than any other segment of American anarchism... few anarchist women were able or allowed to attain much influence, and a clear gendered division of labor existed...Men... monopolized virtually all public roles... while women performed behind-the-scenes reproductive labor...”¹⁵² The divergence between gender roles such as these in different geographic places and different cultural branches of the anarchist social field highlights the complex contextual character of anarchist praxis in which manifestations of ideology were always filtered through local conditions and socio-cultural realities.

The *Cronaca Sovversiva* began reviewing local theater performances in 1904. Their critical comments focused exclusively on ideological or political readings of the pieces performed and not the quality or talent of their fellow citizens (and often fellow anarchists) on stage. By contrast, in Buenos Aires, Suriano found anarchist performances were “usually quite poor, judging from comments in the libertarian press. Some charged those involved with carelessness and theatrical ignorance and there were frequent complaints about the actors, who appear to have been almost universally deficient.”¹⁵³ This kind of critical commentary is completely absent from the *Cronaca Locale*, although in other arenas the *Cronaca* had no problem using cutting language. Perhaps living in a small town made a difference, or perhaps the “filodrammatiche” in Barre took more time

¹⁵² Kenyon Zimmer, *Immigrants against the State*, 36-43.

¹⁵³ A review in the local Argentine press concluded, “from an artistic point of view... the productions premiered in the matinee left a lot to be desired.” This was because “though devoted and willful, the actors lacked experience, improvised excessively, forgot their lines, mimicked in an exaggerated manner, and read poorly.” Juan Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, 108

preparing their performances and truly were more capable. In any case, the *Cronaca* concluded that, “except for very rare and inevitable exceptions, the performances of the Compagnia Filodrammatica Indipendente are studious, careful, and accurate tributes to the art...”¹⁵⁴

The first theater event recorded in the *Cronaca Locale* (on May 21st, 1904) made clear it was intended as propaganda as much as entertainment, confirming Bencivenni’s conclusion that the stage was seen not only as a spectacle but also as “an important shaper of public opinion and a crucial catalyst in the making of self-consciousness.”¹⁵⁵ Harsh criticism would both have detracted from the theaters ability to shape public opinion and help the local community form a “self-consciousness.” Indeed, in the *Cronaca*, the authors noted that “the good amateur actors of the Independent Drama Company” would not only “receive the applause of the audience for their undeniable prowess... but also and above all for having broken the tradition of the old romantic plays by performing a strong social drama that vibrates with truth and the weighty aspirations we all have to be more human.”¹⁵⁶ Here the *Cronaca* praised both the actors’ skill and the quality of the text they have chosen to perform.

While the anarchists of Barre did not find the local production of *I Minatori* (The Miners) to be without flaws, they refrained from being critical of the performers. Rather, they focused on the chosen text, noting that while many may have thought “the title ‘The

¹⁵⁴ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Pro Colorado,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Dec. 17, 1904.

¹⁵⁵ Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 104-105.

¹⁵⁶ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Gli Ultimi Sarrano I Primi,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 14, 1904.

Miners' suggests a social drama, a web of misery and rebellion, and a curse at those who excessively exploit" the anarchists were disappointed to find out that "this it was not." The "skilled performers," however, deserved "applause for having interpreted the text with dignity," but they also needed "encouragement to do better, to choose better subjects, those more socially educational and better suited to the setting of Barre's working-class."¹⁵⁷ The *Cronaca* thereby recognized the labor that went into presenting the play to the community, but noted the ideologically problematic character of the play performed and suggested the drama company do a better job choosing its subject matter.

There is other evidence that Galleani and his companions at the *Cronaca* pressed for more explicitly anarchist texts to be chosen by the Compagnia Filodrammatica Indipendente. Later in the year, a new performance responded to this political critique.

The *Cronaca* commented that the Compagnia had:

freed itself from the old repertoire which was infected with romantic rubbish and oozed the sentimentalism of all the ancient educational patterns that are employed in the arduous and dishonest task of prolonging the agony of the decrepit social institutions of the moribund bourgeoisie and the hypocrisy of their moral sentiments, which expose bigotry, greed and filth. The Compagnia Filodrammatica Indipendente thus reveals an understanding of how to use the theater as an evocative and effective means of education and propaganda, and by giving it a sharp and exquisite sense of modernity they make a valuable contribution to our difficult and laborious work. They thus receive our sincere applause and our best wishes for the coming season.¹⁵⁸

As time went on, the drama company became increasingly political, acting as a key component for both the radicalization of the Barre working-class and as a fund-raising

¹⁵⁷ Anon., "Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—I Minatori," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 11, 1905.

¹⁵⁸ Anon., "Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—La compagnia Filodrammatica Indipendente," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Sept. 09, 1905.

tool for the transnational anarchist network. However, when that happened the *Cronaca* reported push back from the larger community. While urging the theater company not to abandon its educational and propagandistic purposes, it noted “there were only a few people in attendance,” perhaps because the billboards failed to advertise “the laughter of a lying sentimentality and the hysterical bombast of insane heroes the subtle poison of the old morality of the conservative reactionaries and traitors.” It advised the group to “not succumb to the crowd’s distrust of new things” but rather to “crash brutally into their prejudices, superstitions and traditionalism and smile at their efforts to find inner satisfaction while maintaining the broadest vision to gradually disarm their mistrust, their prejudices and superstitions, and give to them a path to contemplation, to reason, to the appreciation of art and the love of freedom.”¹⁵⁹

Suriano noted a similar break with the capitalist theater in Argentina, stating that the anarchists’ “approach to theater implied a rupture with the professional drama circuit. ‘Bourgeois’ theater depended on the economic structure generally and its salability in particular, whereas anarchist’s principal concern with theater was not profit but the dissemination of ideas. Anarchists thus built an alternative to the commercial theater network.”¹⁶⁰ What mattered then was not the quality of the performance, but the sense of community created by the relationships that existed between performers and audience. While the content of the plays was fair game for criticism, in a town like Barre where

¹⁵⁹ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—La Filodrammatica Indipendente,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 20, 1906.

¹⁶⁰ Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, 106.

everyone knew everyone else, the labor that went into providing educational entertainment remained above reproach.

Unlike papers in large urban areas that pushed anarchists to create higher-quality artistic performances, the *Cronaca* sought to encourage more participation in the movement by the rank-and-file population of militants. As with all small-town newspapers, the goal was not to aspire to high art, but to increase community cohesion and radicalization. Thus, Italian anarchists interacted with the theater in ways fundamentally different from English-speaking audiences, whom Bencivenni describes as “increasingly ‘dignified and quiet’.” By contrast, “the Italians sang, wept, laughed, cheered the hero, or hissed the villain. They demanded that songs be repeated, or new acts be added to prolong a show they were enjoying. When they did not like the play, the director or producer would often hastily fix the story, improvising new scenes and events to please the audience.”¹⁶¹ Juan Suriano adds that anarchists “saw theater as a means of direct communication with the audience and an act of collective creation... anarchists believed that the performances encouraged cooperation and the emergence of collective sensibilities...”¹⁶²

For instance, a writer for *La Luz* (1886) reporting on a theatrical event held to commemorate the anniversary of the Paris Commune, noted that during a performance the audience got so worked up at the sight of an “unworthy priest” that they couldn’t “maintain their stance as detached observers any longer. ‘Kill them,’ screamed some

¹⁶¹ Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 103.

¹⁶² Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, 108.

outraged, recalcitrant viewers.” Even the calmest shows were “marked by similar outbursts: ‘Dirty bourgeois! Idiots! Brutes!... Long live Anarchy!’”¹⁶³ Thus, the anarchists’ use of the theater should be seen as an aggressive and direct appropriation of a powerful cultural technology. Engaging with the performance may have lent the events a more radical dynamic than normally allowed by the script. Audience participation of this kind was a form of “direct action.” In Barre, theater performances were intended to raise the class-consciousness of the immigrant audience and to raise money for causes both big and small. Additionally, because the presentation of theatrical events required the building up of a cultural institution in Barre as well as the collaborative creative contributions of many of the small town’s vibrant anarchists circle, the theater also played a role in community building.

Galleani certainly saw the theater as a key space for education and propagandizing the workers, while gaining social capital through providing the community with entertainment. Marcella Bencivenni goes even further, describing the Italian American radical stage as “not just a weapon in the class struggle; it also reflected the artistic needs of the *sovversivi*. In this sense, it tried to satisfy the demands of both art and politics, providing a major creative outlet for radical intellectuals as well as an important opportunity for political action.”¹⁶⁴ Public entertainment was deeply intertwined with radical education in the social praxis of the Italian anarchists. The theater events described above served multiple roles, not only helping the workers pass

¹⁶³ Cohn, *Underground Passages*, 254-255.

¹⁶⁴ Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 104-105.

their free time but also providing a place of empowerment, where audiences could directly express their feelings or emotions. They simultaneously raised money for the cause, encouraged the formation of intimate interpersonal connections, educated people in direct and indirect manners, and recruited members of the immigrant social field into the *Cronaca Sovversiva*'s network.

Because their activities were not uniform across the transnational anarchist social field, historians of the anarchist movement must pay close attention to local conditions. Many plays traditionally associated with Italian American anarchists were absent from the stage in Barre, while many of those that were performed were written by non-anarchists and often had rather mainstream melodramatic content. Barre was a much smaller community than New York, London or Buenos Aires, and the prominent presence of female anarchists and children performed on the stage in Barre, emphasized the family character of the performances and the close bonds between the Compagnia Filodrammatica Indipendente, the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre and the Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva. In response, the anarchist press was careful not to criticize too openly the work of the amateur actors because such criticism would have had little propaganda value and would have harmed interpersonal relations while potentially turning off potential audience members. However, as we will now see, the paper could be highly critical of local immigrants who were unresponsive to their community building efforts.

From Collective Project to Private Enterprise: The Story of the Barre School of Design

The most important anarchist collective in Barre called itself a Circolo Studi Sociale, a name that emphasized the need for study. Therefore, it makes sense that the Barre anarchists did not rely solely on theater events to educate their fellow works. In fact, educational activities regularly appeared in the *Cronaca Locale*. While some of these blurbs were announcements or reviews of lectures by Galleani or other visiting speakers, the majority emerged from a much longer-term and protracted project—the Barre School of Design.¹⁶⁵

Paul Avrich has argued that anarchism “assigned education a more prominent place in its writings and activities” than any other social movement in the early 20th century.¹⁶⁶ The most famous and well-studied examples of anarchist educational praxis were the Ferrer “Modern” Schools. Over twenty of these schools appeared in the United States from 1910-1960. They were different from many other educational experiments in that they focused on the children of the working class and were meant to be run directly by the workers themselves.¹⁶⁷ One of the more famous Modern Schools was located in

¹⁶⁵ I refer to the school as a “design school” and not the more traditional translation of “drawing school” because many elements of art beyond drawing, such as plaster sculpture, were taught by the instructors.

¹⁶⁶ Paul Avrich, *Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2014), xi. For more on anarchism and education, see Chris Ealham, *Anarchism and the City: Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Barcelona, 1898-1937* (Oakland: AK Press, 2010), 45-47; Matthew Thomas, “‘No-one telling us what to do’: anarchist schools in Britain, 1890-1916,” *Historical Research* 77, no. 197 (August 2004): 405-436; Kirwin R. Shaffer, “Freedom Teaching: Anarchism and Education in Early Republican Cuba, 1898-1925,” *The Americas* 60, no. 2 (Oct., 2003): 151-183; Alejandro Tiana Ferrer, “The Workers Movement and Popular Education in Contemporary Spain (1868-1939),” *Paedagogica Historica* 32, no. 3 (1996): 647-684; John Jovan Markovic, “The Education of Radical Youth in Imperial Russia, 1861-1917: An Analysis of Data from the Bol’shaia Sovetskaia Entsiklopedia,” *East/West Education* 19, no. 1 (1998): 51-72.

¹⁶⁷ Paul Avrich’s *The Modern School Movement* is the definitive work on the schools. For other studies, see Laurence Veysey, *The Communal Experience: Anarchist and Mystical Communities in Twentieth Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); Joseph Cohen, *The Modern School of Stelton: A*

New York and provided space to several important young artists who grew to fame, including the “Revolt Group” which included Max Weber, Adolf Wolff and Robert Minor, and as such played a role in the develop of 20th century Modern Art.¹⁶⁸ Another was founded by the Paterson-based Right to Existence Group in 1915.¹⁶⁹ There is no record of a Modern School opening in Barre. Instead, in Barre, the anarchists supported a School of Design; its story reveals a great deal about the way anti-organization anarchists such as Galleani and his cohort provided services to their community.

The Modern Schools were programmatically revolutionary and experimental. Their goal was to “destroy the myths and moral laws of the old regime and promote a libertarian culture based on free thought, love, solidarity and reason.”¹⁷⁰ However, they did not become popular until after the death of Ferrer in 1909. Prior to this, Italian radicals pioneered the “Università Popolare” (People’s University). The Università

Sketch (1925; repr., Berkeley: Factory School, 2006); Amerigo Sassi, *Gli Anarchici di Clivio e La Scuola Moderna Razionalista* (Azzate, Italy: Macchione Editore, 1998); Sassi’s book is about an anarchist school in the Varese region of Italy, where many of the founding members of the *Cronaca* group originated.

¹⁶⁸ For more on the Ferrer Center and Modern School in New York (and the role played by the resident “Revolt Group” in the early Modern Art movement), see Allan Antliff, *Anarchist Modernism: Art, Politics, and the First American Avant-garde* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 26-27, 108-120, 198.

¹⁶⁹ The anarchist silk-weavers of New Jersey had displayed a focus on adult and child education since at least 1899, when they had opened Paterson’s only evening school for Italian workers, which provided not only language and writing lessons but also classes on American history and culture. Then, in 1903, they founded a branch of the *Università Popolare*, which offered free lectures and classes for adults; see Zimmer, *Immigrants against the State*, 56; while the *Università Popolare* was closed in 1914 it was succeeded in Paterson by an Italian “Workers Cultural Circle” in 1915 and then in 1916 by “The Edmundo De Amici Educational and Hobby Circle;” see Zimmer, *Immigrants against the State*, 65.

¹⁷⁰ Instructing children could bring out authoritarian traits in even the most enthusiastic advocate for free speech, as was the case in Home, Washington, where the instructor in the local anarchist school, James F. Mortin Jr., was attacked for having yelled at students to “Shut Up!” and for having too traditional a curriculum. Some former pupils nevertheless still remember the school “with utopian fondness.” Justin Wadland, *Trying Home: The Rise and Fall of an Anarchist Utopia on Puget Sound* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2014), 106-107.

Popolare did not just focus on politics but provided lectures on health, medical issues, and scientific theories, as well as art and literature. Its “rational and secular” pedagogy emphasized its role as a counter to the influence of the Catholic Church and power of the prominenti.¹⁷¹ Galleani seemed to have been well acquainted with the Università Popolare, with direct or indirect ties to three of the most famous iterations. Zimmer states that the Università Popolare was an idea initiated by socialists in Turin, Italy, in 1900. While Galleani was not in Piedmont at that time, Turin was not far from Galleani’s childhood home (Vercelli), and it was in Turin that he attended University, became radicalized, and, in 1883, published his first propaganda periodical.¹⁷² Additionally, the financial records of the *Cronaca* contain the names of at least ten subscribers who had lived in Turin, the most prominent group being seven members of the Venturini family. This suggests Galleani had strong network ties to the area. He likely had heard word of the Università Popolare project.

Zimmer also suggests Galleani was directly involved in founding a second iteration the following year, in Alexandria, Egypt, while living there after escaping from imprisonment on the island of Pantelleria.¹⁷³ The curriculum at the Università Popolare in Alexandria emphasized the didactic role of theater, a focus that fits well with Galleani’s support for the dramatic arts.¹⁷⁴ A third iteration of the Università Popolare appeared in

¹⁷¹ Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 58.

¹⁷² M. Scavino, “Galleani, Luigi,” in *Dizionario Biografico Degli Anarchici Italiani*, ed. Franco Bertolucci et al. (Pisa: Biblioteca Franco Serantini, 2003), 654-657.

¹⁷³ Zimmer, *Immigrants Against the State*, 56.

¹⁷⁴ Ilham Khuri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism, 1860-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 69; while the Alexandria Università Popolare was started by a coalition of anarchists and other radicals, the anarchist rapidly lost control over the school and focus

Paterson, in 1903, only a few months after Galleani had played a pivotal role in the silk-riots there. It is not hard to imagine that he had spoken about the Università Popolare with his companions in New Jersey while he was there working as the editor of *La Questione Sociale*, and that the Right to Existence Group had gone forward with the project after he had fled to Canada.

While Galleani may have been experienced with anarchist educational projects, Modern Schools and Università Popolari usually appeared in larger urban areas where there was a community able to both financial support a school and fill the school's classrooms with active and eager students. Such conditions did not exist in the coal caps and hard-rock mines where Italian anarchists lived. In these peripheral communities anarchists tended to gather in what they referred to as "free thought circles." Rudolph Vecoli has identified several of these among the coal miner camps where the *Cronaca* circulated, such as Cle Elum, Washington, and Thurber, Texas.¹⁷⁵ Thus the anarchist network connected to the *Cronaca* was already well experienced with both formal and informal anarchist educational projects both in the Mediterranean and in North America.

The art school that anarchists ran in Barre was not a Modern School nor a Università Popolare. Yet it resembled them as a long-term effort by an anarchist group to provide a concrete educational resource to their community. Eschewing radical pedagogy, the School of Design focused on training the town's male youth in artisanal skills (a reflection of the gendered-nature of work in the stone industry). The school

shifted away from issues of class inequality and worker education; for more, see Khuri-Makdisi, *The Eastern Mediterranean and the Making of Global Radicalism*, 122-126.

¹⁷⁵ Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 59.

offered courses in figure drawing as well as technical training in things such as architecture and the sculpting of plaster models, which was Abate's profession. Sculpting plaster was not only one of the most prestigious and highest paid form of work in the granite town but it was also one of the safest because it did not actually require working with stone, and thus avoid the deadly dust which killed so many of the granite carvers in Vermont.¹⁷⁶ In this way the School of Design was fundamentally different than these more ideologically driven educational formats (most of which were coed) and might have more resembled schools like the "Scuola d'Industrie Italiane" on McDougal street in Manhattan, which trained women for labor in the garment industry and imagined itself as "rescuing immigrant women from sweatshops and preserving their artistic traditions."¹⁷⁷ However, because the school on McDougal St. was run for women by Anglo-reformers and not by subversive Italian immigrants, it had a distinctly different feel. The school that most resembled the School of Design in Barre was probably the Leonardo Da Vinci Art School founded in New York in 1923.

"The Leonardo" was run by the highly respected Italian sculptor Onorio Ruotolo, who, like Carlo Abate, was affiliated with various *sovversivi* groups. The Leonardo and the Barre School of Design both offered classes in Fine and Applied Art that targeted working-class students and were free of charge. Additionally, The Friends of Italian Arts Association was organized to support The Leonardo in a manner very similar to how the

¹⁷⁶ Anon., "Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—La Scuola di Disegno," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 02, 1908.

¹⁷⁷ Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution*, 103.

Barre anarchists supported the School of Design.¹⁷⁸ While Avrich and others have looked at the Modern Schools in depth, this alternative, craft-focused, and pragmatic educational format has largely been ignored by historians of the anarchist movement, perhaps because the schools represented a less radical manifestation of anarchist ideology, with less focus on free thought and the willful development of young anti-authoritarians. Although the pedagogical contributions may have been less revolutionary, projects like the Barre drawing school still offer a unique perspective on how anarchist circles such as the Barre CSS conducted their community building efforts.

The Barre School of Design was one of the most important services the anarchists provided to the local community. By training the town's male youth, the anarchists offered a path out of the unhealthy granite quarries and stone sheds where so many of their fathers grew sick and died. The town's parents were quite aware that technical training of this kind, by working artists such as Carlo Abate, could help their boys live safer lives than they themselves led. Also, as notes in the *Cronaca Locale* make clear, the school was occasionally the host of the Peoples' Library; therefore, it was not completely free of radical ideology. More significantly, the Barre CSS sought to involve the towns fathers in the running of the school, introducing them to the processes of self-management at the heart of anarchist praxis.

By attempting to recruit the children's fathers to manage the school, the anarchists strove to provide their fellow migrant workers with a sense of self-empowerment and

¹⁷⁸ The Leonardo, probably because of its metropolitan location and larger and more focused community support structure, was more successful than the Barre school, and grew from 74 to 600 students by 1934. Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 59.

ownership over an institution that was important to their children's future wellbeing. However, garnering wider community support for the school was not always easy; anarchists had to continually cajole members of the immigrant community to participate in the steering committee and to help solve the school's financial difficulties. The *Cronaca* also reveals that the school faced campaigns of rumors and accusations meant to force its closure. In the end, the CSS largely failed to recruit the parents into the school's management committee. As a result, they eventually abandoned the school, which transitioned from a collective and community-run project into a more commercial private-school model that charged increased student dues.¹⁷⁹

Despite this defeat, the school managed to survive many decades after many anarchists departed Barre and Abate (the school's primary instructor) is still fondly remembered in Barre for the classes he taught at this much-beloved institution. Though a simple narrative, the details of how these events unfolded are worth exploring if only because of the rich documentation of the school's developing relationship between anarchists and the larger Barre community and because changing relations among members of the Circolo Studi Sociali in governing the school would have major consequences a few years later during the crisis over the financial (mis)management of the *Cronaca*.

Notes published in the *Cronaca Locale* tell us that the school's steering committee was staffed by members of the Circolo Studi Sociali and that it held regular

¹⁷⁹ For More on Italian-American family life, community participation, child-rearing and education see Herbert J. Gans, *The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans* (New York: The Free Press, 1962), 45-110.

publicmeetings. An examination of the names connected to the School of Design reveals a cluster of familiar names— Carlo Abate, Mai, Bottinelli, Fontana, Celrici, Giuseppe Sassi, Galleani, Induni, and Frontini. It also seems likely the school was operating before Galleani arrived. Just a month into the life of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, the paper announced the management report for the last quarter of the school before it closed for the traditional summer break. The note stated that supporters of “Evening School of Design” held a “biannual election for the schools Executive Committee.” At this election Raffaele Clerici, Costantino Cardi, Egidio Donghi, Giovanni Gattoni and Giovanni Induni were chosen to manage the school for the following six months—these were all men associated with the Barre CSS.¹⁸⁰

In its early days, the school was financially stable, possessing more than twice its semi-annual operating budget. By the end of May 1904, however, Barre anarchists were clearly becoming frustrated that the city’s employers—who benefited from having trained local craftsmen—were not more supportive of the School of Design. When the anarchists organized a fundraiser for the school at Pavilion Hall, they requested that the working-class colony of Barre, “come together at this party to reaffirm once again our solemn respect for the school, which sprouted from our hearts and which is thriving due to everyone’s constant loving care and which allows it to remain free of any disturbing interference or insidious outside management.”¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—La Scuola di Disegno,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Aug. 01, 1903.

¹⁸¹ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Per la Scuola di Disegno,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 07, 1904.

The anarchists felt the Barre elite treated a genuinely benevolent project unfairly. The anarchists declared that it was “a shame” that they had to “go begging from house to house to support the school.” They believed that the city would have been forthcoming with funds if, instead, they “were building a church!”¹⁸² Noting the role ethnicity played in local politics, the *Cronaca* argued that when “the Scots wanted subsidies” for building a gymnasium, the local politicians “snatched the funds from the Italian School of Design.”¹⁸³ In response to this outrage the *Cronaca* responded with its typical masculine swagger, declaring that the school would fight “to remain autonomous” so that it could “maintain its moral and educative role in the community.”¹⁸⁴ Anarchists condemned the petty tensions that animated life in small towns like Barre, where the immigrant population was either directly exploited or manipulated to serve the economic and political ambitions of people without their best interests at heart. The anarchists’ struggles to fund the school exposed both the hypocrisy of local governmental priorities and the importance of building self-managed and community-supported institutions.

To the anarchists, the school was “a weapon in the struggle for better wages and livelihood.” In classical anarchist language, one author concluded that the school was for those “who study, who love to study, it is a free space for all young people who look

¹⁸² Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—La Furie d’un Reverendo Strozzino,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 07, 1904.

¹⁸³ Mayor Barclay favored using public school space to house the drawing school, noting the importance it provided in training the towns youth. However, he seemed unable to convince the rest of the local establishment. For more on the debate over city funding of the drawing school and the use of possible space as a gymnasium instead, see Anon., “Talked Drawing School,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Apr. 28, 1904.

¹⁸⁴ Anon., “Cronaca Locale—La Furie d’un Reverendo Strozzino,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, May 07, 1904.

beyond the limits of history and who seek to find, for the good fortune and freedom of future generations, the fertile and glorious furrow from which will sprout the brotherhood of all human energies which will come together for the conquest of light, of life, of happiness, forever transforming the ignorance that today exploits, defrauds, and plunders with dark egoism.” This statement, signed by a “Well-known Father” (possibly Galleani), went on to demand that the school be free of political rivalry and remain a safe space for the youth who wanted to broaden their minds and learn new skills. During the school’s first two years of existence, when it “received very limited resources,” it was able to produce “flattering results” and seemed to be a “healthy organism, vigorously self-possessing its wellbeing and strength, which is bound to produce serious developments and luminous triumphs when, candid and free from any protection, the school continues to perform valuable work blessed by that independence which is its own law and is perhaps the only secret of the school’s marvelous bloom.”¹⁸⁵

However, by the Spring of 1905 there was a growing awareness of the school as a kind of battleground between the anarchists and other factions of the Barre community. The *Cronaca* commented that “the unanimous participation of the public” would “ensure the full financial and moral success of the evening and thus smite the yellow faced fools with their sterile rage who delude themselves into thinking that the school needs to prepare for its funeral!”¹⁸⁶ While it is never explained why the school garnered such antagonisms, it is not at all unlikely that leading members of the community such as

¹⁸⁵ Rapin., “La Scuola di Disegno,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 14, 1905.

¹⁸⁶ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Per la scuola di Disegno!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 22, 1905.

Giovanni Comolli were opposed to any anarchist led project—quite rightly recognizing that the more successful anarchist projects were, and the more they were able to gain the support and positive sentiment of the average workers, the more dangerous the anarchists would be in terms of disrupting the normative power relations within the immigrant colony.

Frustration with the lack of involvement from the parents, particularly the fathers, became more explicit by June of 1906. The *Cronaca* noted the scheduling of “an important meeting to discuss and make arrangements regarding the school’s vital interests.” At the time, the Committee lacked any confidence that the town’s, “who benefit most directly from the institution,” would attend the meeting.” Having always “witnessed the most cynical indifference from the parents,” it felt that “the school must rely on the cooperation of the faithful and intelligent friends who have always given their loving and just support.”¹⁸⁷ Regardless of the cynicism developing towards the parents, who happily took advantage of the institution without investing any of their own time in the management of the school, the Circolo and the *Cronaca* did not waver from maintaining the school and from continuing to attempt to involve more people in its important meetings.

Despite their best attempts to give the locals a sense of ownership over the project, the anarchists found themselves still running the school for the community—taxing their time, energy, and already-limited resources. One response was to vest more responsibility in the hands of teachers, like Abate. Indeed, Abate would maintain the

¹⁸⁷ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Scuola Popolare di Disegno,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), June 16, 1906.

school and continue teaching the children of Barre for decades after Galleani and his companions left Vermont. In fact, when the night school recommenced in October of 1906 Abate's increased responsibility and role was made explicit with the anarchists extending their best wishes to "the excellent Abate, who will be presiding over the school with intelligence and love."¹⁸⁸ Here we see *Cronaca*'s clear affection for the Milanese artist. However, while Abate managed the educational component he was not in charge of the schools' finances.

Notices relevant to the School of Design continued to appear in the *Cronaca Locale* at the end and beginning of each term, announcing management meetings, elections to the executive committee, registration of students, and continually attempting to get more of the community involved; a desire that continually resulted in frustration. A March 1908 blurb in the *Cronaca* announced an "extraordinary meeting of all members of the People's School of Design which must be given a vigorous and decisive push to form an effective and durable administrative structure." The anarchists went on to comment that it was "useless to appeal to fathers." Stating that if these men could see "two finger widths beyond the rim of their glass" then they would have "years ago understood that the good performance of the school" affected no one "more directly than themselves, and that no one else should care more about the school's stability, development, and management." The *Cronaca* was left to lament that the fathers of the town were "always imperturbably disinterested and the school has to date been supported

¹⁸⁸ Anon., "Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Scuola di disegno," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Oct. 06, 1906.

only by the special dedication and tireless work of a few willing volunteers on whom responsibilities, burdens and curses have unfairly rained thicker than hail.”¹⁸⁹

The gendered nature of this harsh-language makes it clear that the anarchists did not see the town’s mothers as responsible for this kind of job-training. Unlike other industries in which anarchism flourished (such as the silk-mills of Paterson) the granite quarries of Barre were a particularly masculine space and this division clearly effected the development of the *Cronaca*’s political praxis. Also, notably, the critique of the immigrants drinking habits must be read in the context of the protracted fight over temperance, which, as we will see in chapter 4, greatly shaped the life of the anarchists in Barre.

Over the next two months, two more similar demands for more public participation were made, illustrating the crisis the school faced as the anarchists responsible for its upkeep and management found themselves emotionally and financially exhausted. The first statement, appearing on April 25th, 1908, declared that the school’s steering committee, “along with the small circle of loyal friends” who had “watched over the first steps of this altruistic working-class institution, supporting its noble intentions” and promoted “its development with assiduous dedication,” summoned the Italian worker’s colony of Barre to a public meeting. The goal was “to seek an agreement, with the advice and assistance of all good folk, on how to lift the school once and for all out of the precarious conditions that threaten its existence and limit its effectiveness.” The anarchists argued that the School of Design, “which has to its credit survived seven years

¹⁸⁹ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Scuola di Disegno,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 21, 1908.

of experiments, producing happy and gratifying results, living all the time by begging, drawing its resources from any means possible in ways that contradict its lofty educational goals, should not be supported through the sacrifice of a just a few generous souls.” The organizers thought this was “an embarrassment.” They declared that “the school must be self-sufficient while drawing upon its own resources to help those who directly or indirectly profit from it to live with the dignity of the proud and the free.”¹⁹⁰ Over the next month, three more statements appear in the *Cronaca Locale* that revealed the schools process of transformation—as it transformed from the original altruistic institution the anarchists have been running on a shoestring budget and donations for over seven years into a much more traditional private educational institution supported by student fees rather than community donations—this change suggests the failure of the anarchists to fully involve the Barre social field in the operation of the school, a feat complicated by the contentious role the anarchist played in the large community.

Importantly, attempts to rally local citizens to the school’s aid were not limited to the Italian immigrant community. As the paper notes, despite “posting a double invitation in both the *Cronaca Sovversiva* and *The Barre Daily Times*, despite a thousand door-to-door house calls, the meeting of the colony was no more pleasing a success than the previous ones: only two dozen people participated, and this included only one family man!” The frustration of the anarchist organizers was palpable. Their failure to convince local fathers to help manage the school was pushing the anarchists to slowly withdraw their support. At the meeting, Giuseppe Sassi, who was one of the members of the

¹⁹⁰ Giuseppe Sassi and the Comitato della Scuola, “Per la Scuola di Disegno,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 25, 1908.

school's management committee, "addressed the situation" that the school faced by "responding to the sickening apathy of the colony with his resignation." However, Sassi declared that he would "remain in office to help with administrative chores until someone else is found to replace him."¹⁹¹

The *Cronaca* also stated that the anarchists had ceased organizing fundraising events for the school, a move that represented a surprising break with the anarchists' long-standing practice of throwing benefit parties and suggested the extreme degree to which the local CSS was exhausted with struggling to keep the school running. The paper explained that in the beginning, "these tactics were useful," because "the utility of the School was not commonly understood, and they helped to infuse in the masses, through the strength of sacrifices, some conviction." However, the anonymous editorial voice of the *Cronaca Locale* complained, "after seven years, fathers who have direct interest and the bosses who indirectly benefit from having smart workers and apprentices should well know and understand the usefulness of the school." The local organizing committee had come to conclude that the school "must therefore be self-sufficient and the \$120 of monthly expense must be distributed among the students who attend it. Since this total sum has been reached by assuming a student body of sixty pupils, the monthly tuition must equal two dollars apiece, per month."¹⁹²

Charging a fee was quite a dramatic break with anarchist practice and caused debate between the militant *sovversivi* in Barre. The *Cronaca* described "two ways of

¹⁹¹ Anon., "Cronaca Locale—La Scuola di Disegno," *Cronaca Sovversiva*, May 02, 1908.

¹⁹² Anon., "Cronaca Locale—La Scuola di Disegno," *Cronaca Sovversiva*, May 02, 1908.

thinking in regard to this issue.” One side, championed by Abate and Induni among others, believed “that an equal share of two dollars a month should be paid by each student.” On the other side of the argument were Galleani, Frontini, and Clerici who “argued that payment should be proportional.” Sassi had wanted to postpone the meeting to another date in hopes of “a better turn-out.” However, Galleani had argued that, “given the recurring indifference and stubborn lack of interest displayed by those who draw from the school direct and indirect benefits, the meeting should proceed between those who have shown for the school a bit of love and good will.” Thus—with Galleani’s backing—the meeting had gone ahead.¹⁹³

This disagreement foreshadowed the conflict between Galleani and Sassi explored in chapter 6. Ultimately, the two groups reached an agreement, with most favoring Galleani’s position (thereby highlighting the powerful influence he wielded in Barre). The meeting finally concluded that registration would begin the following week, with the understanding that if the enrollment did not reach “the fixed number needed to fill the above-mentioned conditions” the Evening School of Design would not re-open. That, everyone agreed, “would be tragedy,” but it would also be “the only appropriate response” to the financial situation “created by all the cynical fools.”¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ Anon., “Cronaca Locale—La Scuola di Disegno,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, May 02, 1908.

¹⁹⁴ In order to ease the financial burden placed on the students the CSS agreed that paper would “be provided by the school at cost; compasses, models, and teaching materials will be provided by the school free of charge;” however erasers, pencils, etc., would be supplied by the pupils. They also agreed that registration would be “paid by the parents when they sign the corresponding contracts except when the children are registered for the duration of the school year, in which case fees can be paid in monthly installments.” This was to aid the working-class members of the community. Anon., “Cronaca Locale—La Scuola di Disegno,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, May 02, 1908.

Clearly the *Cronaca* was not universally opposed to criticizing members of the local working-class, despite the soft-gloves approach they took when reviewing the local theater events. The difference was that, regardless of the quality of the amateur actors' performances, the members of the Filodrammatica were putting in effort to support the anarchist movement; while in the case of the school, the lack of participation from the fathers led the CSS to desperate frustration. Eventually, anarchists decided to change the fundamental character of the school to preserve the institution as a self-sufficient business. While they were clearly not seeking to make great profit off the enterprise, the decision to fund the school directly from student fees and thus forsake the use of benefit parties and donation drives was a break with the traditional way the anarchists had organized the School of Design and the People's Library. However, it is not too dissimilar to how the newspaper itself was run, with a mix of donations and subscription fees. Also, they set up some provisions to keep the school accessible to the poorest members of the community.

The next question was whether the school could succeed in bringing in the sixty students needed to remain financially solvent after its transformation from a charity project to a not-for-profit educational foundation. The following month, the *Cronaca* commented that because the school was of limited size, "there must also be a limit on the number of pupils enrolled. In case of an excessive number of registrants, preference of admission to the school will go to those who enrolled first."¹⁹⁵ The policy encouraged parents to hasten to enroll their children. With this commercial announcement, the

¹⁹⁵ Giuseppe Sassi and the Comitato, "Scuola Serale di Disegno (anno scolastico 1908-09): Avviso D'Iscrizione," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 09, 1908.

advertisement for the school read very much as an advertisement for a private school. After it was published the school rapidly disappeared from the pages of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*.

Two years later, in May 1910, a note in the *Cronaca Locale* declared that the fathers of families “that have children among the pupils of the Evening School of Drawing, or have in mind to register their children, should not miss the meeting which will take place tomorrow, Sunday, May 15th at 10 am, on the premises of the school (Zanleoni Block, Granite Street).” Here was evidence that the school remained under anarchist management and support, with the *Cronaca* stating that regardless of “the number of participants, it has been resolved to apply the measures required to ensure the renew and enhancement of the school’s course material.”¹⁹⁶ This final posting was signed by Carlo Abate, suggesting that the school was now fully in his hands and that it was probably out of friendship to him that the anarchist paper printed this final announcement.

In the end, it seems that Carlo Abate, as the primary instructor at the school, continued to carry the work load of managing the project. As Abate’s biography makes clear, the school met in his studio, with students being instructed in the same space in which he lived and conducted his commercial sculptural work. Eventually Abate relocated his home/studio/school to Blackwell Street, just across from the building that had first housed the *Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva* and the CSS clubhouse before it mysteriously burned down on January 14th, 1905. There Abate remained for several more

¹⁹⁶ Carlo Abate, “Cronaca Locale—Scuola di Disegno,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 14, 1910.

decades, teaching youth fine-arts of drawing, painting, and sculpture and long outlasting Galleani as an influential resident of Barre.

While the School of Design was no longer managed collectively by local anarchists, one local radical kept it alive as his personal passion project. Abate, well known for his generosity, remained in Barre after Galleani left in 1911. His services to the community also outlasted the memory of the combative Galleani, and his old art studio now bears a historical marker in the town. Although the anarchists as a group failed to entice immigrant parents to own and manage the school, the teacher who kept the school going was also an anarchist dedicated to bettering the lives of his fellow immigrants in Barre.

Conclusion: Anarchist Community Building and Building Up Social Capital

While anarchists are usually examined in moments of conflict, most of their activity focused on everyday community building and providing concrete services to local communities. In highly site-specific ways, immigrant activists provided opportunities for entertainment and education for their fellow migrant workers. Simultaneously, by using activities such as *feste* and theatrical recitals to raise money not only for local causes but also for those back home in Italy as well as other nations around the world they helped encourage a cosmopolitan working-class consciousness among party goers and receptive audiences. At social events, close familiar relationships formed, and the immigrant families of Barre came to know Galleani not only as a fire-brand and political dissident but also as a family man, as a self-deprecating amateur actor, and as leader among his peers. The friendships thus formed, and the social capital accrued from

providing community services on a regular and dependable weekly, monthly, and yearly cycle, would prove to be critical when Galleani's history caught up with him, and the police came knocking on his door.

The Barre anarchists' social scene was shaped around Feste and Feste Campestre (parties and picnics) as well as theater performance and public lectures. Besides these events, the anarchists also ran a radical library and an art school. The large number and differing types of events document the extent of the Circolo Studi Sociale's engagement with the wider community, illustrating how they attempted to insert anarchist ideas and transnational anarchist solidarity into what would have been otherwise a much more provincial world. Anarchists successfully offered alternative social spaces for the residents of Barre and as such became an important part of the social fabric of the town. As we will see in Chapter 4, their activism also brought them into direct conflict with all the other power-players in the community who were attempting to harness the money, the votes, and the hopes (or the prayers) of the town's immigrant population. The events organized by the CSS and announced in the *Cronaca Locale* would have appealed to lonely traveling migrants looking for comradeship and a community in which to participate or, perhaps, even belong.

The numerous gatherings, conferences, theatrical performances, picnics, dance parties, masked balls, and seasonal festivals were essential for linking anarchists' militant network to the larger community social field through substantial interpersonal bonds of mutual aid and intimate sociability. The hundreds of events they organized earned them respect and appreciation, connected them to other immigrant colonies in the region, and most importantly raised the money required for further action. Almost all the money they

raised was funneled into more propaganda and cultural production—even money that was raised to help an old widow or an injured worker became an act of propaganda when announced in the newspaper, not simply because it made anarchists look generous and kind-hearted but because central to their political ideology was an emphasis of working-class self-reliance. It was self-reliance and mutual aid that anarchist newspapers facilitated transnationally; ultimately, however, it was the money raised at small, local events that traveled along the inky pathways established by the circulation of the paper and enabled the large strikes and violent insurrections that typified labor conflict in the years just prior to World War I.

This chapter's survey of the *Cronaca Locale* has shown that Barre's anarchists created a lively social space of intimacy and conviviality in which the immigrant workers could escape their position on the bottom of the local power structure—enabling the formation of lasting bonds and raising money for both local and distant struggles. Local workers also soon learned they could count on Barre's anarchists to call out corruption and mistreatment in the most stringent of terms in the pages of their weekly paper, and they also came to know that if one of them was injured on the job, or if a strike was called, the anarchists appeared with social and monetary support.

I argue that while general patterns of sociability existed across the anarchist social field transnationally, from Argentina, to Cuba, to London, to New York City and on to the coal camps and granite towns of the American hinterland, local variations did exist.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁷ For more on the way Italian migration linked together Argentina and the United States, see Samuel L. Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 47-68; for the role of radical newspapers, see Richard J. Walter, "The Socialist Press in Turn-of-the-Century Argentina," *The Americas* 37, no. 1 (July 1980): 1-24; for more on anarchists in Argentina, see Jose Moya, "The Positive side of Stereotypes: Jewish anarchists in early-twentieth-century Buenos Aires," *Jewish History* 18 (2004): 19-48; Ruth Thompson, "The

Local experiences and dynamics, including factors such as the ethnic composition of the local immigrant community, the cultural isolation of the immigrant community, and the anarchist *circolo*'s relationship with the local labor movement helped shape the way anarchist activists used celebrations to bring unaligned immigrant workers into their radical social spaces and build cross-national alliances with anarchists from other immigrant groups. New York City's anarchists were not always the model for anarchists living in peripheral locations; just as analysis of anarchist activity in majority Catholic countries does not necessarily reflect how anti-Catholic anarchist immigrants in Protestant countries celebrated holidays such as Carnival. In this way, in-depth ethnographic examinations of anarchist activity emphasize the site-specific tactics militants employed.

Understanding anarchists not only as propagandists or combatants in violent conflicts but as community builders who spent countless hours running a public art school and setting up decorations for parties and picnics contextualize the vocal community wide support anarchists often received during moments of crisis. People who did not identify as anarchists could nevertheless be activated as supporters when crisis struck. Bringing immigrant workers into their social field was the key to movement-building for Barre's anarchists. While some of the party goers and members of the audience at the local theater might have come to call themselves anarchists, what we will see in future chapters is that many more came to think of Galleani and his cohort as good

Limitations of Ideology in the Early Argentine Labour Movement: Anarchism in the Trade Unions, 1890-1920," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 16, no. 1 (May, 1984): 81-99; Joel Horowitz, "Argentina's Failed General Strike of 1921: A Critical Moment in the Radicals' Relations with Unions," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 75, no. 1 (February 1995): 57-79.

people, outstanding members of their immigrant enclave who deserved support. This is why the colony rallied to the defense of anarchists when they came under unfair attack. During the Barre years, community building was a key component of the anarchists' social praxis—but that focus also changed after the paper relocated to Lynn.

The shift away from direct community engagement represented a major change in Galleani's politics and led to the formation of the militant network we now more readily identify with the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, the so-called "Galleanisti." However, during the Barre years, and particularly prior to Galleani's arrest and trial, the paper was as much a local "rag" as a transnational one, and Galleani was not yet the iconic figure he would become. During these early years, as this chapter has shown, the group of hardcore activists connected to the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre was far less concerned with major conflicts between ideological branches of the anarchist movement and far more concerned with recruiting young immigrants to their cause on the streets of Barre, where the local priests and mafiosi sought to capture the same young minds.

Viewed in this way, the failure of the art school to remain free and community run, and the financial difficulties experienced by the theater as it moved to present more politically charged plays, did not mean that anarchists' community building activities had failed to accrue social capital. Certainly, the members of the CSS were exhausted from their attempts to get parents involved in the school and the amateur actors were disappointed by the turn-out for their more political plays. But as future events showed, parents who did not use their scarce free time to attend school management meetings still appreciated anarchists for educating their children. Thus, even organizations that failed could earn respect and appreciation for anarchist activists; that respect mattered during

moments of crisis when the town's radicals enjoyed powerful and vocal community support.

The next chapter shows that anarchists paired their bucolic community building activities with a second primary mode of local activism, championing local workers against multiple exploiters and exercisers of corrupt power who took advantage of workers and immigrant families. The conflicts driven by Galleani's sharp tongue and facilitated by the circulation of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* earned anarchists as much enmity among the powerful as their community building earned them gratitude among workers. Galleani soon became the "Gadfly of Barre" and his followers were soon called the "Galleanisti." The anarchists' pairing of community organizing and championing of workers against the local elite paid off for Galleani, and, as this dissertation shows, led to the rise of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* and the attendant network of militants into the annals of anarchist history. None of that would have happened without the social life the anarchists built in Barre and the close intimate relation they formed with the stone carvers and their families.

Chapter 4

The *Cronaca Sovversiva* as the Champion of Immigrant Workers and the Battle Over Booze in Barre

In stark contrast to the largely tranquil descriptions of dance parties and theatrical performances printed in the *Cronaca Locale*, Galleani and his companions also published a continuous stream of diatribes and invectives targeting local groups in Barre whose behavior they deemed morally suspect. Included among their enemies were the socialists, union bosses, politicians, employers, religious leaders, and, of course, the police. In this chapter, I refer to these such entries in the *Cronaca Locale* as “conflict notes.” The newspaper published nearly 400 of these commentaries during the Barre years (1903 to 1912). The *Cronaca* used local conflicts to construct a narrative featuring the Barre anarchists as the true champions of the disenfranchised immigrant workers. Simultaneously, its expletive-ridden tirades provoked counter-attacks that, in turn, seemed to prove the anarchists’ assertions regarding the injustice of social relations in the United States. Characterized by the *Cronaca*’s distinctive language of attack, the “conflict notes” reveal not only whom the Barre CCS thought of as local rivals but also tell the story of the largest conflict that shook the town during these tumultuous years— a dramatic fight over liquor licensing in Barre which led up to Galleani’s arrest and extradition to New Jersey 1907. With its focus on conflict, this chapter complicates the happy picture of a peaceful, harmonious community painted in chapter 3. I argue that local conflicts shaped a trajectory that led the *Cronaca* to become one of the most important anarchist papers ever published— one that engaged with national and

international events and drew a wide readership— but that also forced the newspaper to leave Barre, in 1911 and resulted in its final suppression in July 1918. The vituperative language developed for local conflicts, permanently shaped historiographical assessment of the so-called “Galleanisti” when they turned their wrath on fellow anarchists.

Galleani and the Language of Attack:

The “conflict notes” in the *Cronaca* show that the journal’s combative character was as much verbal as it was behavioral. Other scholars have noted Galleani’s talent for vituperative and highly masculine language. Nunzio Pernicone quotes one militant as saying that you only needed to hear “Galleani speak and you were ready to shoot the first policeman you saw.”¹⁹⁸ Paul Avrich concurs, noting that Galleani “was prized above all other speakers” because one could be “sure of an exciting evening if *il maestro* [the teacher] was on the platform. His eloquence, combined with a personal magnetism that few could resist, always ensured him a large audience...”¹⁹⁹ Even former Chief of the Secret Service, William J. Flynn, “was himself impressed with Galleani’s eloquence,” calling him one of the “most difficult individuals the United States secret service” ever had to deal with, “because he was the brainiest.”²⁰⁰ Paul Ghio, a French anarchist and contemporary of Galleani’s, testified that he had “never heard an orator more powerful than Luigi Galleani” and that Galleani possessed “a marvelous dexterity of speech,

¹⁹⁸ Nunzio Pernicone, “Luigi Galleani and Anarchist Terrorism in the United States,” *Studi Emigrazione/Études Migrations* 30, no. 111 (September 1993): 474-475.

¹⁹⁹ Paul Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti*, 5.

²⁰⁰ Beverly Gage, *The Day Wall Street Exploded*, 209

accompanied by a faculty rare among popular speakers— of precision and clarity of ideas.”²⁰¹ While Bartolomeo Provo, a carpenter and an amateur artist who had made drawings for the anarchist press (including a sketch of Galleani) recalled how the *Cronaca* stirred the “rebellious spirit” and stated that Galleani was “a great orator, the greatest in the anarchist movement,” he was “honest and also humorous and had great knowledge,” adding that “Galleani had guts... Galleani had courage!”²⁰² Galleani deployed all these talents in the battles he waged in Barre.

Galleani’s linguistic skills allowed him to effectively play the role of gadfly in Barre; they also resulted in charges that he created a cult of personality among his less educated audience members. Pernicone, for instance, has called Galleani a “spellbinding orator” but also charged him with using a prose style that was “more dazzling than comprehensible for many of his followers.”²⁰³ It is impossible to know if this is a fair assessment of Galleani’s oratory skills, but he certainly displayed similar patterns in his printed prose. In the *Cronaca* he regularly used a stunning range of diction. He mixed historical and literary references (Dante was a favorite) with street slang, and often included only one period per paragraph in lengthy diatribes that strung together curses, insults, profanity, and vividly obscene imagery. For example, in a report on the protest against his arrest in 1907, the *Cronaca* printed a copy of a letter from Galleani in which he encouraged his “dear friends,” to tell “the snout-like-faces of the clique of wicked

²⁰¹ Paul Ghio, *L’anarchisme aux Etats Unis* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1903), 75.

²⁰² Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America* (Edinburgh: AK, 2006), 77.

²⁰³ Nunzio Pernicone, “Carlo Tresca: Life and Death of a Revolutionary,” in *Italian Americans: The Search for a Usable Past*, ed. Richard Juliani and Philip Cannistraro (New York: American Italian Historical Association, 1989) 238; Pernicone, “War Among the Italian Anarchists,” 79.

pigs, lewd harlots and devilish pirates (who are trying again their electoral fortunes next March) and their coconspirator Governor Fletcher Proctor” that his heart and spirit did not waiver and that just as he did yesterday, he reaffirmed “today and tomorrow and forever the invincible hope for social justice built through the unity of all rebellious and free spirits out of the ruins” of the present “social disorder and the destruction of current class inequities.” Galleani then extended best wishes “to all who live the social revolution.”²⁰⁴ After which, the paper claimed, there was a round of applause that “bore witness to the solidarity of those present.”²⁰⁵ Presumably such language pleased his supporters as much as it upset his targets.

The *Cronaca* regularly employed highly-gendered derogatory terms, such as “pimps for Mephistopheles”, “whores deserving a good fuck” and “hermaphrodites.”²⁰⁶ However, this was far from the limit of Galleani’s vocabulary, and the *Cronaca* habitually labeled its enemies: bandits, pirates, mercenaries, mobsters, above-the-law bigshots, systematic scammers, hypocrites, charlatans, thieves, criminals, blackmailers, murderers, sewer trash, Pharisees, bible thumpers, shameless conmen, spies, imposters, thugs, fetid carcasses, assassins, butchers, slave drivers, scabs, pigs, crows, pygmies, sheep, fools, idlers, vultures, shrews, proselytizing neophytes, tyrants, and on and on. However, a list of expletives fails to capture the full power of the language of attack deployed in the journal. For example, when responding to a police raid on an anarchist

²⁰⁴ Galleani, “lettera ai compagni a Barre,” in “L’arresto del compagno Luigi Galleani,” A. Cavalazzi, *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 05, 1907.

²⁰⁵ A. Cavalazzi, “L’arresto del compagno Luigi Gallenai,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 05, 1907.

²⁰⁶ For more on the way masculinity shaped the language and politics of Italian subversives see Topp, *Those Without A Country*, 18-24.

party the paper asserted its virility and manliness, declaring that “from these columns, in front of the public, we will commence to fight once more against old plots and against new pirates with such activity that they will regret they ever lifted their snouts out of the sewer in which they live, as has been foretold by the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, the workers' colony Barre will drown and bury them without pity and without forgiveness... we will settle this debt ourselves.”²⁰⁷ Similarly, in reference to another opposition group, the newspaper dramatically displayed its scatological tendencies — describing some anti-Galleani propaganda as “a stinking sewer of slimy drool in which hide the most fantastic tangle of reptiles.”²⁰⁸

Galleani's vibrant and unusual diction is evident in two of the most common terms Galleani used to insult his nemesis. One was to call someone a “Maramaldo,” a reference to Fabrizio Maramaldo (1494-1552), an Italian mercenary or “condottiere” who became infamous for the brutal execution of Francesco Ferrucci, the captain of the Florentine army who had already been mortally wounded. The event gave rise to the expression “tu uccidi un uomo morto” (you are killing a dead man).²⁰⁹ Maramaldo was a term the *Cronaca* often used in the “Faccie di Bronzo” (Faces of Bronze) section of the paper in which it attacked cruel employers and sovversivi who had betrayed the anarchists' ideals. In 1909 he even printed a column entitled “Maramaldo,” which attacked Pablo Iglesias (a Spanish socialist and labor leader) on the front page of the

²⁰⁷ Anon., “Infame attentato: Ancora un colpo dei pirati,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), June 29, 1907.

²⁰⁸ Anon., “Ancora Una Bolla!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 23, 1910.

²⁰⁹ “Maramaldo in Vocabolario - Treccani,” Vocabolario - Treccani, accessed April 26, 2018, <http://www.treccani.it/vocabolario/maramaldo/>.

paper.²¹⁰ Allusions to Maramaldo might indeed have required a rather developed education to fully appreciate. But Galleani also attacked the “mafiosi, camorristi and padroni” in Barre by calling them “pinozzari.”²¹¹

Marina Dossena, an Italian linguist I consulted, was forced to conduct “a crowd-sourcing” campaign in search of what the word might have meant. Finally, she concluded that “the term may well be idiosyncratic” because, as far as she could see, it only occurred in the *Cronaca*. But the term seems to have had roots in the term “pinozzi,” which was Sicilian for “peanuts.” So, pinozzari might have meant “‘peanut sellers’, i.e. petty traders, with the “-ari” suffix giving it a disparaging sense. Thus, pinozzari should be considered “a nonce formation of great semantic value” and we might translate it as a “Sicilian peanut dealer.”²¹² Given common stereo-types about southern Italians and read in the context of articles about the camorra and “hunger merchants,” the term probably can be read as an insult concerning the targets reputation for shady-dealings and the selling of goods at criminally-inflated prices.

Galleani’s high and low diction, together with his frequent use of a stream-of-consciousness flow of images and emotive expressions, helped make the *Cronaca* highly

²¹⁰ Luigi Galleani [G. Pimpino], “Maramaldo,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Oct. 16, 1909. For more on conflict between anarchists and socialists in Spain, see Angel Smith, “Anarchism, the General Strike and the Barcelona Labour Movement, 1899-1914,” *European History Quarterly* 27 (1997): 5-40.

²¹¹ Anon., “Mercanti Di Fame: varietà della pirateria colonial,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 24, 1906.

²¹² “A nonce word is one coined ‘for the nonce’--made up for one occasion and not likely to be encountered again. When Lewis Carroll coined it, frabjous was a nonce word. Neologisms are much the same thing, brand-new words or brand-new meanings for existing words, coined for a specific purpose. Analogy, especially with familiar words or parts of speech, often guides the coiner, and occasionally these words will enter the standard vocabulary.” Kenneth G. Wilson, *The Columbia Guide to Standard American English* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993). Dossena’s remarks came to me from an email sent to Donna Gabaccia, September 1, 2016.

popular. It also limited his long-term influence; almost no major work of Galleani has been translated into English and he has largely been ignored by scholars. Galleani's fate contrasts sharply with that of Errico Malatesta (the most important Italian anarchist propagandist of the era) who was famous for employing a highly accessible prose which made even the most complex ideas easy to follow and understand. Next to Malatesta's logical formulations, Galleani reads like a poet hurling fire at the opposition and singing vivid homages to the "idea bella." Yet Galleani did not limit himself to curses and historical references; he helped organize numerous acts of resistance. The combination of militant voice with combative tactics helped establish the *Cronaca Sovversiva's* reputation as a fearless champion of workers in Barre.

Anarchists as Champions of Immigrant Workers: A Survey of Social Conflict in Barre

In 1918, many years after Galleani and the *Cronaca* had relocated to Massachusetts, federal agents investigating anarchist activity in Vermont noted that the Barre CSS's recruitment strategies had caused problems in the town. However, the investigators believed that matters had "improved greatly since the departure of Luigi Galleani from that city," adding that Galleani "had a malignant and baneful influence upon the Italian people." The investigator explained that the *Cronaca* had been printed and published on Blackwell Street "in a secluded part of the city in the heart of the Italian colony where it was, and is today, sparsely settled and where this man could do and say what he liked to without being heard by the English-speaking people outside." While living in Barre, "Galleani instituted a method of disturbing young Italians upon their arrival" in town. This included "jeering and sneering at them when going to and coming

from church” and telling them that “it was not a proper thing for Italians to go to church.” Additionally, when a young immigrant man “first arrived in Barre from Italy it was customary for Galleani or some of his followers to invite him out to take a little rest, to be given food and lodging and many times provided with clothes.” Such gifts were provided, we are told by the federal agent, “in order to influence these young men to join their anarchistic group.”²¹³

As Chapter 3 demonstrated, benevolent outreach of this type was just the beginning of the anarchists’ approach to recruitment and community-building. Yet, the years of Galleani’s residence in Barre were also characterized by labor unrest and intense moments of political violence, including shootings and arson. The first conflicts between anarchists and other members of the Barre community occurred prior to Galleani’s arrival in 1903. In 1900, an anarchist by the name of Arturo Bernacca shot Police Chief Patrick Brown. As the story was told in the December 27th, 1900, edition of the *Barre Evening Telegram*, Chief of Police Patrick Brown had been shot three times “by Italian anarchists.” The shooting occurred after “an Italian dance at the new Socialistic Labor Party hall on Granite St.” Evidently, there had been some ruckus between anarchists and socialists at the dance. Later that night, when patrolling the area, Police Chief Brown “passed two Italians and noticed another across the street.” As soon as he had walked by them “they began firing on him from both sides.” From a hospital bed, Brown identified his assailants as Otto Bernacca and Luigi Sassi. The paper described Bernacca as “a

²¹³ John W. Dolan, Inspector, to Commissioner of Immigration (Boston, Mass.), “Investigation in Re Anarchists in Barre, VT,” July 21st, 1918; Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service: Subject and Policy Files, 1893-1957, Record Group 85, Box 2801, files 54235/033, National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

granite carver” who was “well known to the officers of the law, having been in trouble before.”²¹⁴ The Luigi Sassi mentioned here was likely the brother of Giuseppe Sassi who, more than a decade later, became an important player in the anti-Galleani faction of Barre subversives. This serves as another reminder that Barre was a hotbed of subversive activity before Galleani arrived.

Nevertheless, Galleani’s entrance dramatically escalated the level of conflict between ideological competitive branches of the immigrant community in Barre. In fact, his arrival was accompanied by claims that the notorious anarchists of Paterson were relocating to Vermont. However, even mainstream publications challenged this assertion. For example, in 1903 *The Barre Daily Times* noted that the Barre and Paterson Italians practiced different trades (silk weaving versus stone carving) and that while the editors of *The Barre Daily Times* had “no sympathy with the principles advocated by those engaged in the publication of ‘*Cronaca Sovversiva*’... it knows them to be good citizens in that they are peaceable, honest men, who mind their own affairs, pay their bills, and have no desire to trouble anyone, and whose children are among the brightest scholars in our public schools.” The English-language journal even stated that “in years to come they will be counted among the best blood of Vermont.”²¹⁵ However, this positive sentiment aside, Galleani’s arrival clearly provided a focal point for anti-anarchist agitation as well as a combative leader for the local immigrant radicals.

²¹⁴ Anon., “Chief of Police Shot: Attempt to Assassinate Patrick Brown on Maple Avenue this Morning,” *Barre Evening Telegram*, (Barre, VT) Dec. 27, 1900.

²¹⁵ Anon., “Whenever anything happens to bring Barre’s Italian population into public notice,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Aug. 31, 1903.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Barre's population of workers already shared a sense of class-consciousness—as revealed in the high percentage of union membership and the eventual election of a socialist mayor. For a while the Granite Cutters Union even had its offices in the Socialist Labor Party Hall.”²¹⁶ But there were also volatile tensions within the community. As seen with the disturbance preceding the attack on the police chief, the Socialist Labor Party Hall was a site of conflict between anarchists and socialists even before Galleani arrived; however, his presence escalated tensions and not long after his arrival a dispute involving him resulted in the murder of one of the early members of the CSS—Elia Corti.²¹⁷ Corti, widely regarded as one of the most talented stone carvers in Barre, was shot and killed on October 4, 1903, by the socialist Alessandro Garetto.²¹⁸ For this act Garetto was sentenced to twenty years in prison although he only served part of his term before being released. Investigators added that it was “believed by many that Galleani instigated the disturbance at this meeting for the purpose of breaking up the socialist circle and dominating the entire neighborhood with his anarchistic group.”²¹⁹

²¹⁶ “Pioneer of Union Label on Barre Baked Goods,” Old Labor Hall History, accessed May 8, 2008, <http://oldlaborhall.org/history/history-of-the-socialist-labor-party-hall-introduction/the-bakery/>.

²¹⁷ Eric Gradoia, “Barre’s Old Labor Hall: statement of significance,” Socialist Labor Party Hall: Barre, Vermont, accessed April 26, 2018. <http://www.uvm.edu/histpres/HPJ/NR/barrelabor/statement.html>.

²¹⁸ For more on the *Cronaca*’s analysis of the shooting, see Luigi Galleani [El Vecc.], “L’Assassino di Elia Corti,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 09, 1904.

²¹⁹ In 1918, investigators were told this by Alessandro Garetto himself, who had returned to live in Barre. When Garetto was “informed” that Galleani “had been arrested... and that there was a possibility of his being deported to Italy,” he exclaimed, “What, deport Galleani? Why now?” Then after a long pause he remarked, “Why not twenty years ago?,” suggesting that “if this had been done years ago the Italians throughout the country would have been spared a great deal of trouble and unhappiness.” The investigator concluded with a note that “Garetto appeared to be a respected member of the community.” Dolan, to Commissioner of Immigration, Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, RG 85, NAB.

Garetto was a supporter of Giacinto Menotti Serrati, the editor of *Il Proletario*. Galleani had come into conflict with Serrati well before the 1903 incident. The two had clashed during the struggle between Italian “legalitarian” socialists and anarchists at the Genoa Congress of 1892.²²⁰ Then, in 1902, they engaged in a heated debate that erupted during the silk dyers’ strike in Paterson, New Jersey. Galleani urged the strikers to attack the factories while Serrati preached restraint. Tension between the two men had grown even worse since the strike and in August of 1903 Serrati had—inadvertently, he insisted—revealed Galleani’s whereabouts in the pages of the socialist journal *Il Proletario*.²²¹ Galleani was hiding from the police at the time and his supporters were outraged that a fellow sovversivo would publicly announce Galleani’s whereabouts. According to *The Barre Daily Times*, Serrati had also referred to the Barre anarchists as “ruffians,” “Counterfeiters,” “liars, and similar names.” When he came to give a talk in Barre that October “women and children” came “out of their houses to yell ‘spy’ at him as he passed along the street.”²²² In fact, “pagnacca” (a nickname given to Giacinto Menotti Serrati in 1903, after he outed Galleani) became an anarchist slang-term for a spy or rat.²²³ Then, on the night of October 4, 1903, numerous anarchists attempted to disrupt his speech at the Socialist Labor Party Hall. In the ensuing chaos, Corti was shot.

²²⁰ For more on the fight between the “legalitarian” and “antilegalitarian” (anarchist) socialists at the Genoa Congress of 1892, see Pernicone, *Italian Anarchism*, 276-281.

²²¹ Topp, *Those Without A Country*, 45-49; according to the *Cronaca* the outing occurred during a polemic debate that began in no. 89 of *Il Proletario* (Aug. 13, 1903) and ran through that month, see Luigi Galleani, “Metodi Della Lotta Socialista,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Nov. 14, 1903.

²²² Anon., “Eli Corti mortally Wounded at Meeting in Socialist Hall,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Oct. 05, 1903.

²²³ Nunzio Pernicone, “War among the Italian Anarchists,” 87.

This was not the only sign of violent tensions in Barre. In 1905, the *Sunday Herald of Boston* ran an article that described an “Anarchist headquarters on Blackwell Street, in Barre” that they described as the “seat” of the Circolo Studi Sociali. This club house was said to contain a library and a meeting room where drawing classes were held as well as the office where “Abate had published an unnamed anarchist paper prior to the building mysteriously burning-down” on January 14th, 1905.²²⁴ The presence of Abate, Corti, Galleani, and others on Blackwell Street suggests the fire may have been a direct attack against Barre’s anarchist community. Two shootings and the burning of the Blackwell CSS office provided visible examples of the blossoming of conflict between the anarchists and other groups in Barre. The political climate in Barre had become so polarized that socialists and anarchists left “no bars, no refuge, to the indifferent: he who has a brain, a thought, an aspiration has to choose his side... no statement, no attitude, no socialist conference escapes the criticism and examination of the adversarial anarchist.”²²⁵

The anarchists’ confrontational character was clearly displayed in the conflict notes that appeared in *Cronaca* between 1903 and 1912. Figure 3 analyzes this data.

²²⁴ Anon., “The Anarchists of Barre, Vermont,” *Sunday Herald of Boston*, Mar. 12, 1905. This article was discovered thanks to the diligent support of Karen Lang, Director of Aldrich Public Library.

²²⁵ Anon., “La Conferenza di N. Barbato: Al Pavillon Hall,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 10, 1906.

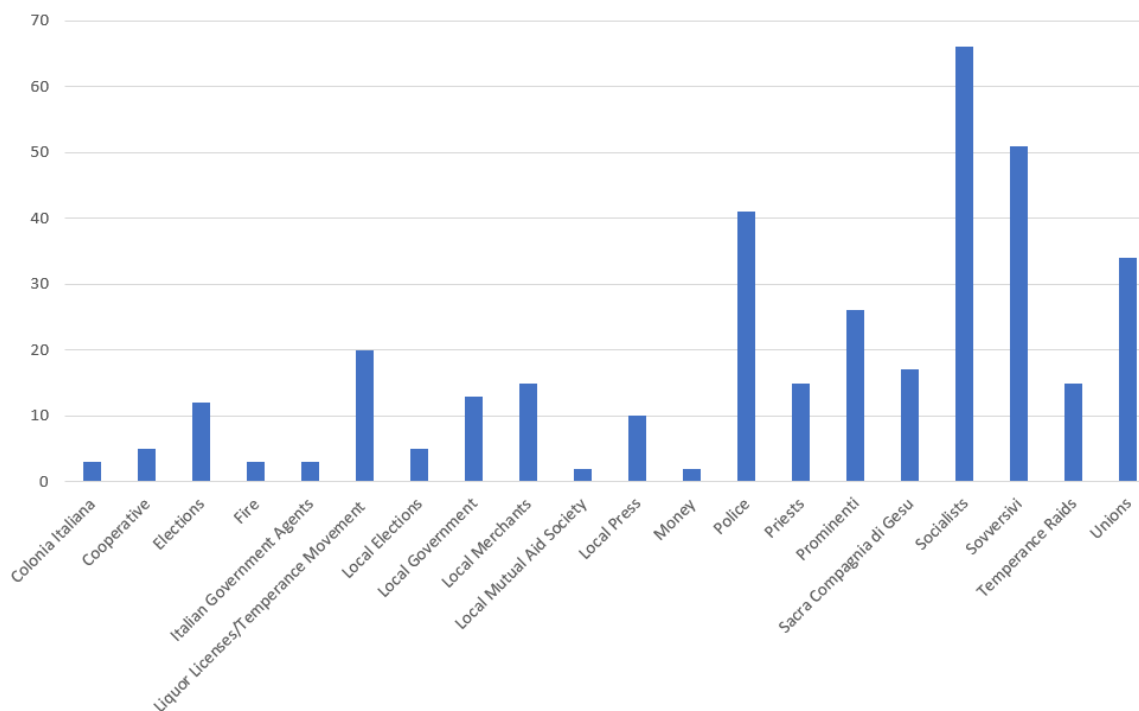


Figure 3: Groups in Conflict with Barre Anarchists and Number of Times Referenced

The anarchists' most commonly mentioned enemy were Barre's socialists, followed by other sovversivi. These two groups were largely the same, although sovversivi was a larger category which also included anarchists and other members of the Italian left. In general, these "conflict notes" were focused on members of the "Federazione dei Socialisti Italiani" (FSI), particularly regarding the shooting of Corti which occurred at the Local Socialist Party Labor Hall in 1903. But the conflicts were not always ideological. One series of notes printed in February 1905 pointed to an argument between B. Sassi and the Transatlantic Band over the band's demand for compensation after playing a benefit party Sassi helped organize. In another, V. Laffargo expressed upset that the circolo's offices had been used for a private event. Both conflicts were mediated by the *Cronaca* group and seem to have been resolved amiably. Although historians like

Pernicone and Zimmer have described the *Cronaca* as highly antagonistic to other anarchists, during the Barre years (1903-1912), at least, it largely refrained from inter-libertarian ideological disputes and focused its firepower almost exclusively on socialists, union bosses, and other obvious enemies such as the mafia and the police.²²⁶

The *Cronaca* used a different discursive dynamic when condemning fellow immigrant radicals than it did when attacking Barre's English-speaking establishment. The Stone Carvers' Union was one of the next most commonly attacked groups. Galleani's attacks were not made against the rank-and-file of the union but rather against elected leaders portrayed in the *Cronaca* as corrupt, in bed with the local government (as well as with the socialists), and unwilling to stand up for immigrant workers. Conflict with the union provided anarchists the opportunity to step into the role of vocal and combative leaders representing the more disaffected members of the Barre immigrant working class.

The police, followed by the prominenti (local elite and employers), the priests, local merchants, local politicians and government representatives, and the local press, all felt both the lash of Galleani's pen and the push of anarchist opposition on the ground. In these cases, the *Cronaca* always presented anarchists as the champion of downtrodden and exploited immigrants. Even the local cooperative, the mutual aid society and Italian governmental agents came in for attacks in the pages of the *Cronaca*.²²⁷ The conflict

²²⁶ In fact, one of Galleani's eventual ideological rivals within the anarchist movement, Pedro Esteve, gave a pro-union speech at the 1904 Labor Day rally at Caledonia Park in Barre without receiving any real criticism from Galleani despite the fact that the *Cronaca* rejected Labor Day as an authentic workers holiday. Anon., "Big Holiday for Labor," *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Sept. 06, 1904.

²²⁷ A 1907 article in *The Barre Daily Times* noted that an Italian consul named Pasqual Cobianchi had opened an office in Montpelier. Prior to moving to Vermont he had been trained as a lawyer at the University of Naples and was the founder and former long-time editor of *L'Unione*, an Italian newspaper in

notes also reveal how combative tactics shifted in focus over time. Figure 4 shows that in general conflicts were escalating through 1907. This was largely due to the fight over liquor licenses from 1905 through 1907. After the liquor conflict ended the *Cronaca* became less concerned with fighting the local power structure in Barre. Until 1910/11, when conflict with the so-called “Sacra Compagnia di Gesù” (“S.C.d.G.”), discussed in Chapter Six, dramatically escalated conflict in Barre.

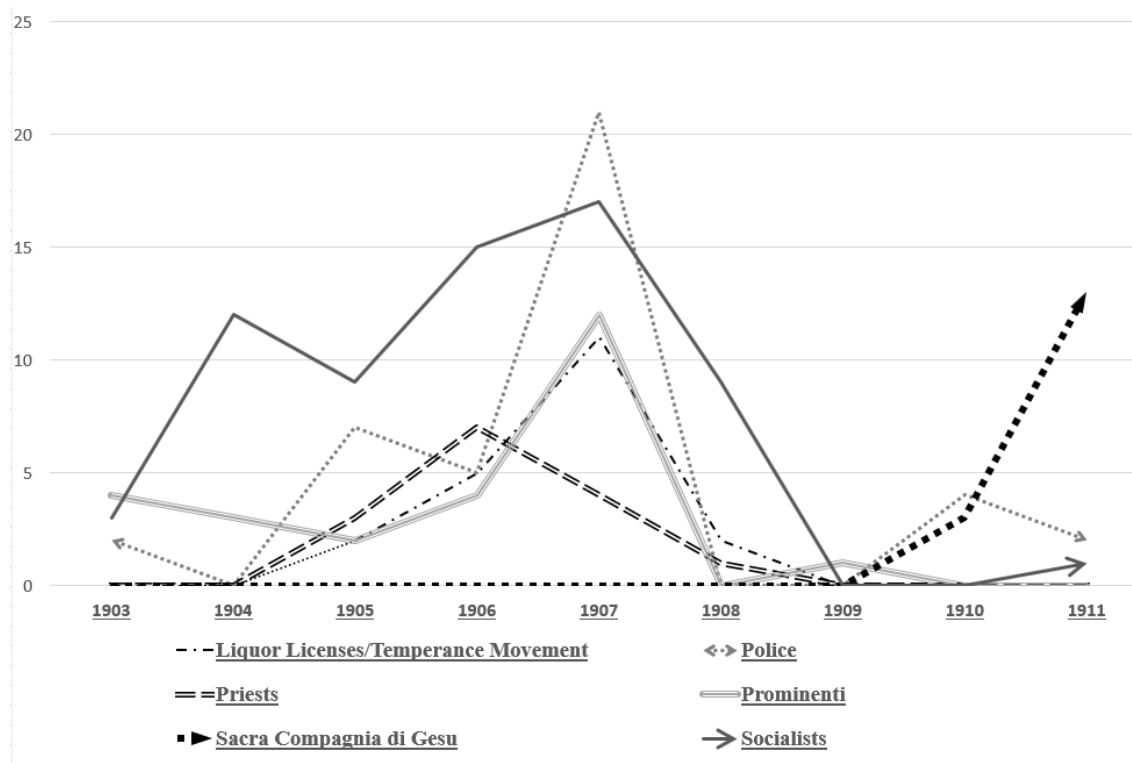


Figure 4: Number of Times Groups were Referenced in Conflict Notes

To interpret Figure 4 correctly, it is important to remember that the *Cronaca Locale* section was printed less often after 1908 (and almost not at all in 1909). Therefore the

Boston. Anon., “An Italian Consul: Italy Now Represented at Montpelier by Pasquale Cobiانchi,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), May 25, 1907.

decline in conflict notes at that time does not mean anarchists suddenly had warm relations with others in Barre, just that they chose not to print the details.

In total, approximately 483 different individuals' names were mentioned in conflict notes. Over one hundred appeared more than once. Many of these individuals were members of Barre's Italian American community, such as Ambogio Bottinelli and Antonio Cavalazzi. Cavalazzi, for example, was at one point the journal's manager and he sold subscriptions at his barbershop in Barre. Galleani also appears many times, both under his given name and his numerous pseudonyms. Eliminating individuals who were part of the Circolo Studi Sociali generates a list of the *Cronaca's* most prominent adversaries (see Figure 5).

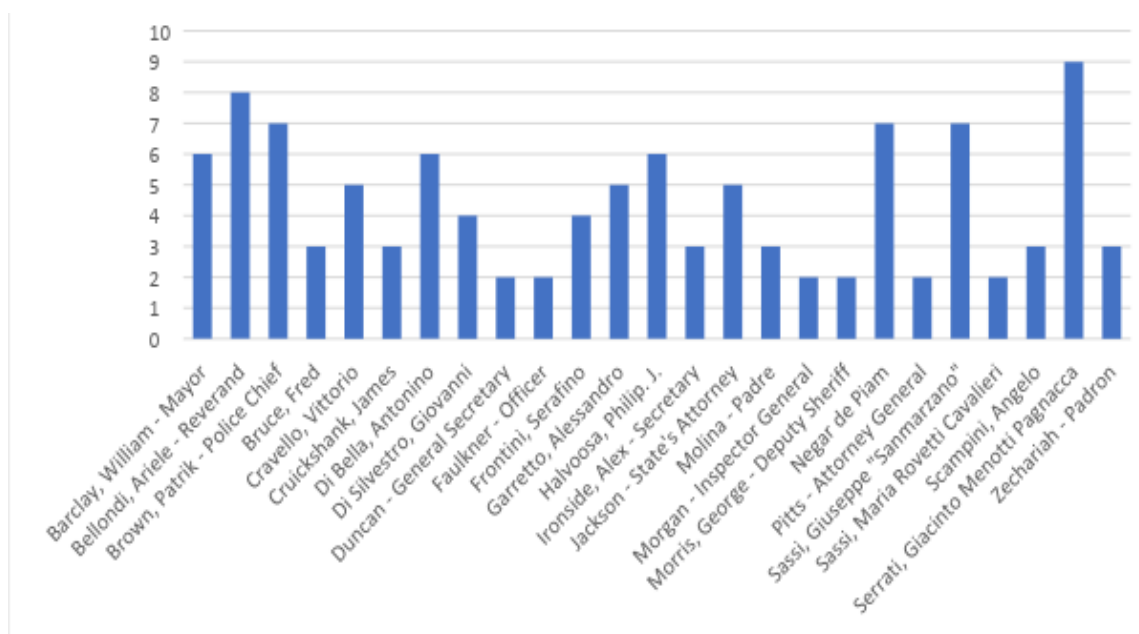


Figure 5: Number of Times Individuals were Mentioned in Cronaca Locale

The list included Mayor Barclay, Police Chief Brown, Police Officer Faulkner, Deputy Sheriff Morris, Inspector of Roads Fred Bruce (an important figure whose position in the city and the union brought him into repeated conflict with the anarchists), Mr. Duncan

(the General Secretary of the Stonecutters Union), Alex Ironsides (Secretary of the Stonecutters Union), James Cruickshank (of the Stone Cutters Union), Philip Halvossa (another Union leader), the local Reverend Ariele Bellondi and the Catholic Priest Father Molina, Zechariah (an important employer), Angelo Scampini (a merchant and former subversive) as well as Italian immigrants such as Vittorio Cravello, Giovanni Di Silvestro, Serafino Frontini, Negar di Piam (Joseph Bianchi), Giuseppe “Sanmarzano” Sassi and his wife Maria Rovetti Cavalieri Sassi (most of these figures would become members of the group that eventually drove the *Cronaca* out of Barre). From outside Barre, names such as Vermont’s Governors Fletcher and Bell, the State Attorney Jackson, Inspector General Morgan, Attorney General Pitts, and two important Italian-American socialist leaders in the United States— Giacinto Menotti Serrati and Antonio di Bella— also appeared regularly.

The first conflict notes printed in the *Cronaca Locale* appeared on August 8th, 1903, bemoaning the lack of good doctors in Barre. An Italian immigrant, Attilio Bini had been injured by an exploding 4th of July firework only to receive sub-par care. The *Cronaca*, referring to the local medical establishment as “Butchers!” asked, “What else can we call them?” The anarchists argued that in a town like Barre, “where industry is thriving and taxes are unscrupulously extorted... and the so-called liberal professions are handsomely remunerated,” the local workers “should be entitled, if not to a modern hospital, at least to the service of a decent doctor.” Instead, they were “in the hands of butchers, heartless butchers expelled from the guts of this purulent bourgeois society. These doctors do not study, because to study a disease and then the patient takes time, and time is money: instead they must act quickly, chasing the dollar... do not look for

respect unless you have money.” They concluded that a world that treated honest people in this way was “a sewer” and that it could “only be cleaned” by means of “the social revolution.”²²⁸

The note communicated both the callous treatment immigrants received and the *Cronaca*'s fire-breathing outrage in response to injustice. A string of notes about other injustices followed. The same month the *Cronaca* criticized the treatment of forty African-American prisoners brought north from southern states, under exploitive contract leasing practices, to dig and lay a new underground telephone line. Vigilance against corruption and unfair treatment of the less privileged remained a hallmark of conflict notes in the *Cronaca Locale*.²²⁹ With each note, Barre anarchists assumed the mantle of champion of the downtrodden and protector of the dispossessed classes.

Local authorities quickly became aware of the subversive, combative paper. By the end of August 1903, when the paper had been in print just two months, the *Barre Evening Telegram* demanded an investigation of the “Barre Dagos.”²³⁰ Encouraged, anarchists then began a campaign against George Bond, a corrupt employer of stone carvers and in defense of G. Sartorelli, a poorly treated stone carver.²³¹ Only near the end of 1903 did the paper turn its attention to Barre’s socialists and the Stone Cutters Union.

²²⁸ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—I Beccai,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Aug. 08, 1903.

²²⁹ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Gli Iloti,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Aug. 15, 1903.

²³⁰ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Le Cretinerie Dell’ ‘Evening Telegram’ non sono una leggenda,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Aug. 29, 1903.

²³¹ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Faccia di Bronzo,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Sept. 12, 1903.

The *Cronaca*'s attacks began after Serrati announced that Galleani was living in Barre, thereby precipitating the Corti murder and Galleani's eventual arrest in 1907.

The paper's disdain for local socialists only grew over the coming years. After the collapse of the Barre Cooperative Store in June of 1904 *Cronaca* criticized the socialists' tactics. According to *Cronaca*, a special meeting in early June 1904 was held to tell the Cooperative shareholders "without preamble" that "the affairs of the cooperative were hijacked with a deficit of about \$2,000 dollars." The anarchists felt that the ugly end to this first iteration of the Barre Cooperative justified their belief that consumer cooperatives were "fragile and ephemeral instruments of struggle that (unless mitigated by direct action and close observation) hopelessly lead to utter decay and corruption—leaving faithful workers to deal with the damage."²³² The cooperative had operated in the Socialist Party Labor Hall; again, anarchists emphasized the socialists' failure to protect the working class and positioned themselves discursively as the true defenders of the exploited.

Opposition to electoral politics was a central tenet that distinguished all anarchists, regardless of their ideological variations, from both "reformist" socialists and most American citizens. While positioning themselves as the real protectors of the

²³² According to the *Cronaca*, the Barre Cooperative Store was founded "when the great mining strike in Pennsylvania led to a boycott of wood and coal from local stores, provoking a need to purchase items with discretion and without greed." The paper went on to state that the store was open "to all, regardless of nationality, language or party" and had been "founded by a few good and unpretentious workers." However, despite these good roots, the project failed. It seems likely that the strike being mentioned was the Coal Strike of 1902. However, historians of the Barre Socialist Labor Party Hall, which is now a National Historic Landmark, claim that a fire insurance map of Granite Street dated 1900, "Showed the footprint of the Hall (which was then under construction)" including a "bake shop." Un Operaio, "Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Barre Cooperative Store," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), June 18, 1904; "The Bakery from the Beginning to 2004," Old Labor Hall History, accessed May 8, 2008, <http://oldlaborhall.org/history/history-of-the-socialist-labor-party-hall-introduction/the-bakery/>.

working-class required the *Cronaca* to undercut any other group claiming to represent workers, they focused especially on union leaders and socialists involved in local politics. When the socialists nominated John Anderson, president of the Stonecutters Union and an English-speaking socialist, for Mayor of Barre, the anarchists reminded readers that, despite his supposedly progressive politics, Anderson had opposed their attempts to raise money for a local family that had lost two of its children to contagious disease. The *Cronaca* dismissed Anderson as “an American socialist (beware of fakes!)” who was “unrivaled in his shamelessness.” The paper also accused him of refusing to contribute to a companion's emergency fund, instead saving his money “for contributions to the socialist and the vestal bigots that are the Salvation Army, while groveling and wagging his tail for the bosses.”²³³

The anarchists were once again positioning themselves as true defenders of marginalized workers, claiming the local stone carvers' union produced a corrupt hierarchy and unfair treatment of workers. They described a “unionist mafia” composed of Duncan, Bruce, and Halvoosa who had advocated for a new constitution (of the International Granite Cutters Union) that required all workers to speak “only the language of this country,” effectively banning foreign members from communicating in their native tongues. The anarchists believed the aim of the resolution was to keep the Italian workers “in a position of inferiority during debates” and to prevent them “from participating in the life” of the organization, thus reducing them “to the position of subjects who must obey and above all pay,” as well as excluding them from any “control

²³³ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—L'impudenza di John Anderson,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Dec. 23, 1905.

of the company” that was supposed to represent their most “vital interests.” Unequal treatment of immigrant workers outraged the anarchists and gave them a wedge to drive between workers and union bosses.

The *Cronaca* also extensively covered struggles within the Stone Cutters Union, thereby providing their readers an anarchist analysis of local political conflicts. The journal pointed out that Mayor Barclay gave the post of Inspector of Roads to F. Bruce, “in return for what mysterious services, no one knows.” But Bruce had subsequently refused to leave the Union and thereby lose the benefits of his office as State Organizer and the benefits provided to twenty-year veterans of the union. According to the *Cronaca*, Bruce had obtained permission from Barclay to return to work in the Mayor’s stone yard, where he worked for a couple of hours and had the shop-steward mark his card. He then paid his dues. When the union assembly asked Anderson for his opinion on Bruce’s “scam” the union president “found it completely constitutional.” The anarchists saw this as proof that the organization was “controlled by the worst bosses.”²³⁴ For the anarchists, the fact that Bruce was made Inspector of Roads, without withdrawing from the union, emphasized the corrupt character of small town politics in Barre. Thereafter, the *Cronaca* made a bid for support from the rank-and-file by printing regular articles focused on union corruption and thus, as local gadfly, earned the resentment of union officials.

The *Cronaca* also organized against the exploitation of the immigrant workers by the local shopkeepers in Barre, who apparently took every opportunity to raise prices on

²³⁴ Uno che nell’Unione ci sta e ci vede, “La Camorra Unionista: Bruce, Barclay, Anderson e Duncan,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 17, 1906.

imported food from Italy. In February 1906, the *Cronaca* published a diatribe against the “Mercanti di Fame” (Hunger Merchants) that lambasted “the powerful elite who have a monopoly over local industry and trade and thus hold the town by the wrists, by the throat, and by the belly.” The anarchists believed it was their job “to stand in defense of proletarian interests,” noting that there were stonemasons in Barre who were “between sixty and seventy years” and had “always lived in poverty” Yet, they had to go “back every morning to the stone yards,” while “the proprietors” were “the only ones who have never worked, who never wanted to work.”²³⁵ The anarchists then organized bulk import of food from Boston, circumventing the shopkeepers’ monopolies and inflated prices. Weekly reminders in the *Cronaca* noted that at Cavalazzi’s barber shop one could “freely request a price lists of the best food import houses, which provide items at prices between 25 and by 30 percent less than those of the local shop keepers and petty criminals (pinozzari).”²³⁶ Again, their campaign sparked a strong response.

In May 1906, local shop owners, the cooperative store, and the local government conspired to stop people from ordering food direct from distributors in Boston. The anarchists’ responded by stating they had anticipated “more than mild opposition and ... obstacles raised by those who feel harmed by this campaign and see their lucrative profits decreased.” The anarchists promised that everyone would be able to access the price-lists of essential goods they distributed. They recognized their tactic had “gotten under the skin of... the managers of the so-called Cooperative, who have sworn unanimous

²³⁵ Anon., “Mercanti di Fame,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Feb. 24, 1906.

²³⁶ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Listini prezzo dei viveri,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 12, 1906.

vengeance.” The *Cronaca* remained combative, stating that the Coop sold “its merchandise at the same high prices as do the other... hunger merchants,” and that the “workers of Barre and the surroundings region” no longer had to “be served only by the local shop keepers” and this was thanks only to the efforts of the local anarchists. Once again, the paper proved their opponents could not simply ignore them as irrelevant.²³⁷

That the *Cronaca* managed to survive despite constant counter-attacks, generated support both within Barre and from the larger sovversivi social field in America. Both local and network-wide support mattered as the *Cronaca* began a much longer battle over the selling of alcohol in Barre. It became their most effective exertion of local political influence among immigrant workers but also provoked the most aggressive response from local elites. The battle climaxed with Galleani’s arrest, and—as subsequent chapters demonstrate— fundamentally changed the character of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* and Galleani’s role in the transnational anarchist social field.

Alcohol Licenses and the Battle over Booze in Barre

A temperance movement existed in Barre well before the arrival of Galleani. It first garnered the attention of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* in March 1905, when local teetotalers began agitating against the granting of liquor licenses as advocated by local merchants and innkeepers. The conflict offered anarchists an opportunity to insert themselves into local politics, revealing a great deal about their political praxis (in small towns like Barre). Once again, the CSS positioned itself as the champion of exploited

²³⁷ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Le grandi vendette dei pigmei,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 05, 1906.

immigrant workers by assuming a position that antagonized both sides in the debate. The *Cronaca*'s advocacy of voter-abstention provoked overt acts of violence, including an attempted mass-shooting as well as attempts to systematically muzzle them. This silencing seemed to prove the anarchists' claims concerning the corrupt character of local politics and offered them further opportunities for recruitment.

The consumption of alcohol provoked quite a range of attitudes among different anarchist fractions. In general, the Italians had no problem with moderate drinking, although Galleani once referring to the "hidden cellars of bankrupt brothels" where workers were poisoned with "flat beer, lots of brandy, and even more whiskey (the vilest of them all)."²³⁸ In general, anarchists opposed excessive consumption of alcohol, cigarettes and other "bourgeois vices." They viewed the Barre innkeepers as capitalists seeking to gain a monopoly over the liquor trade and portrayed them as lazy leeches who exploited the human frailty of the immigrant working-classes.²³⁹ However, anarchists also sold wine and beer at their parties and picnics; they raffled off barrels of wine at fundraising events, which proved to be one of their most effective fundraising tactics. But when government tried to regulate liquor the anarchists objected and seized the opportunity to present themselves as the only real opponents to a law that favored the English-speaking and often nativist elite of Barre, and therefore as defenders of the victims of regulations— namely, poor immigrant women who used the sale of alcohol as

²³⁸ Anon., "NON VOTATE!," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 29, 1908.

²³⁹ Beer halls did play a key role in the German anarchist movement in New York City; see Tom Goyens, *Beer and Revolution*. In fact, Emma Goldman famously met Alexander Berkman drinking in one such establishment; see Ferguson, *Emma Goldman*, 83-85. However, the Spanish and the Argentinean movements were both known to be very critical of alcohol, often forming alliances with more mainstream temperance advocates see Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia*, 92-93.

a means of supporting themselves after their husbands died from silicosis contracted in the granite sheds of Vermont.²⁴⁰

In Vermont, the sale of alcoholic drinks had been regulated since the 1830s. Anarchist luminaries such as Emma Goldman noticed the result of regulation when they visited. On a visit to Barre in 1899, Goldman sarcastically observed that “Vermont was under the blessings of Prohibition.” Accompanied by local anarchist Salvatore Palavicini, Goldman visited private homes, where she found “that almost all of them had been turned into saloons.” In one, she found “almost a dozen men visibly under the influence of liquor.... The stuffy kitchen, with the children of the family inhaling the foul air of whisky and tobacco, constituted a drinking--den.” She noted that many underground bars “were thriving under the protection of the police, to whom part of the income was regularly paid.” She went so far as to claim that prohibition had caused an “increase of prostitution” and that she had seen the mayor and the police chief of Barre getting drunk in an Italian home.²⁴¹

In 1902, just before Galleani arrived in Barre and after half a century of what Vermont historian Robin Hazard Ray has called “ill--enforced and ineffective” prohibition, Vermont implemented the “local option,” letting each town decide its own policy. In 1904, after Galleani assumed the editorship of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, prohibition was repealed state-wide. Vermont remained officially “wet” until the

²⁴⁰ For more on the effect liquor laws had on Italian widows, see Robin Hazard Ray, “No License to Serve: Prohibition, Anarchists, and the Italian-American Widows of Barre, Vermont, 1900—1920,” *Italian Americana*, no. 29 (Winter 2011): 5-22.

²⁴¹ Ray, “No License to Serve,” 8.

Volstead Act of 1919 made prohibition a national policy. Despite the “Local Option,” private speak-easies continued to spread because the poor could not afford a license. But bribing police did not always work, particularly in Barre where the Scotch-Irish police and the Anglo-Saxon elite were obviously biased against Italians. Every week, they fined immigrant widows for selling alcohol without a license.²⁴² Galleani viewed these fines as evidence of hypocritical injustice and launched a campaign against local police, antagonistic local merchants, and corrupt local politicians whom he began to refer to as “pirates” (because they raided homes and social gatherings and seized property).

Local historians like Ray have admirably described the stakes of the temperance struggle in Barre, but their analysis of the anarchists’ position is less satisfactory.²⁴³ The *Cronaca* never encouraged anyone to vote, as Ray has suggested. Voters in Barre could choose between licensing and maintaining the illegality of alcohol sales. Neither position helped the widows of deceased stone carvers and neither followed anarchist political analysis, to which Galleani remained devoted. While historians are correct that Barre voters approved licensing in 1907, they also reversed the decision only a year later. The same sequence occurred in many Vermont towns between the repeal of statewide prohibition in 1903 until Barre’s repeal in 1908.²⁴⁴

²⁴² Ray, “No License to Serve,” 9.

²⁴³ In her speech on the 27th of June, 1907, Goldman commented that if one must vote, then vote against licenses. This is likely the root cause behind Robyn Hazard Ray’s misconception that Goldman and Galleani were advocating the vote. In truth, Goldman still advised the workers not to fall into the electoral trap, only adding the last bit as an addendum if they refused to follow her central piece of advice. Ray, “No License to Serve,” 9-12; Candace Falk, Barry Pateman and Jessica M. Moran, *Emma Goldman, A Documentary History of the American Years, Volume 2: Making Speech Free, 1902-1909* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 480; Anon., “Said Police Are ‘Asses.’: Goldman, Famous Anarchist, Spoke in Barre Last Night,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Feb. 28, 1907.

²⁴⁴ For example, the 1907 “Yes vote” was a reversal from the vote the previous year. In March 1906, Barre had voted against licensing along with Montpelier, Brattleboro and St. Johnsbury, while 27 other towns had

Beginning in March 1905, Galleani clearly defined his position as an anarchist, writing: “the prohibitionists say: NO! - The pro licensing crowd say: YES! But the psychology behind the unrest is a little more complex and is not expressed as the antithesis of either monosyllable.” By rejecting a clean division between Yes and No positions, Galleani muddied the political waters. This was a typical move for the combative anarchist, outraging supporters of both side of the previously binary debate. For Galleani it mattered little if someone said, “yes or no” because neither “allow[ed] for freedom, either way the shop keepers win.” The anarchists considered “the advocates for either position as equally comedic!” Then, drawing on his experience as a two-year Barre resident who had witnessed the effects of the changing legal status of alcohol, Galleani argued that “a vote for licenses is not a vote for freedom but a vote for monopoly.” Voting would not “give citizens the right to buy or sell drinks as freely as or with the same latitude with which they are allowed to trade in food or in footwear; rather, a monopoly is conferred to four to five or even ten pirates who will let us drink their grog at the price they want and only the bilge-water they choose...” Thus, for Galleani and the anarchists the vote in question did not involve “any question of freedom but only a matter of commerce. That retailers that control the political parties and leaders have nothing to show us and anarchism is a thousand miles away from the present debate.”²⁴⁵

Galleani concluded firmly that anarchists “do not vote for temperance because they believe that the it is absurd to pass a law to restrict or prohibit the satisfaction of an

passed licensing laws. Anon., “27 ‘Yes’ Towns in the State After Election,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Mar. 07, 1906.

²⁴⁵ Luigi Galleani [El Vecc.], “Pro o CONTRO?,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 04, 1905.

individual's physiological needs.” At the same time, he argued, anarchists “do not vote for the licenses because the freedom to satisfy a need of your body does not negotiate with bailiffs and does not go begging the mobsters of the commission for a license.” Galleani advocated for eliminating all “oppressive and indiscriminate” laws. He was not interested in helping “erect or accept a new one.” Galleani and his anarchist companions were determined to remain “strangers to a fight waged on these false premises and on behalf of such wretched passions.”²⁴⁶

Anarchist Gatherings Under Attack: The Fight Over Liquor Becomes Personal

Once anarchists had refused to support either side of the liquor licensing debate, Barre police began to raid their parties and picnics. The *Cronaca* reported seven raids between May 1905 and April 1907. The first wave of raids came in 1905. The *Cronaca* reported that before the start of a party benefiting the newspaper “a dozen bailiffs invaded the nearly empty room and confiscated five quarters of beer on the pretext that they were meant for illegal sale, seizing them and whisking them off to the jail-house.” One of the important members of the CSS, Bottelli, later received a steep fine and Galleani wryly noted that “the robbery” had been an example of “organize extortion on behalf of the desires of four brewers and a pimp.”²⁴⁷ Given the importance of alcohol sales for anarchist fundraising, the raids presented a real threat to the economic survival of the *Cronaca*.

²⁴⁶ Galleani, “Pro o CONTROLLO?,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Mar. 04, 1905.

²⁴⁷ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Rapina ed estorsione,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 27, 1905.

The next raid was the most significant one. On July 23rd, 1905, the police raided an anarchist picnic at the Thousand Woods. *The Barre Daily Times* described Galleani as one of “the leaders of the movement among the Italians for continuance of no-license” and “the author of the resolutions adopted urging all Italians to refrain from voting on the license question.”²⁴⁸ He was arrested for “breach of the peace.” Evidently, the anarchists had with them a rifle which they used for target shooting. The police took possession of it; a struggle for control of the gun led to Galleani’s arrest. Later, the *Burlington Free Press* added that Galleani’s wife had “put up” a “stiff front” when the police raided the picnic.²⁴⁹

In the next week’s edition, the *Cronaca* launched a vicious attack on Mayor Barclay, Attorney General Fitts, States Attorney Jackson, Philip Halvoosa, Alexander Ironsides and Fred Bruce. First, Galleani praised the “energetic protest with which the Italian Colony responded” to the police raid. He mocked Fred Bruce for having triumphantly dispersed the hundreds of Italians “armed to the teeth with daggers” who had threatened to break the town’s “puritan laws” and “sow terror” in the “little Quaker world” of Barre. Galleani also attacked the *Barre Telegram*, a paper he described as a “urinal.” The *Cronaca* contested the English language press account of Galleani’s arrest, stating that everything the paper said was “a lie, impudence and cowardice.” The

²⁴⁸ Anon., “L. Galleani Arrested: In Behalf of the Paterson, N. J. Police,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Dec. 31, 1906.

²⁴⁹ Anon., “An Anarchist Editor in Jail: Luigi Galleani of Barre Wanted for Serious Crimes in New Jersey,” *The Burlington Free Press* (Burlington, VT), Jan. 03, 1907.

Cronaca concluded that Galleani would face trial the following Monday, “accused of disturbing the quiet city” while “two miles from the city, in the Thousand Woods.”²⁵⁰

On Monday, when brought before the court, Galleani refused to pay bail, “insisting that the officers lock him up.” Although some friends had gone to Judge Fay to pay Galleani’s bail without his knowledge, he “wouldn’t hear of the plan, and his friends had to pull him away.”²⁵¹ *The Barre Daily Times* noted that Galleani “conducted his own case with a skill that might have resulted in acquittal, instead of conviction, as it did, had he been better versed in Vermont law.” Instead he was “fined \$10 for breach of the peace” a fine which was “promptly paid.”²⁵² The trial constituted the first attempt to drive Galleani from Barre. The *Cronaca* believed that the “pimps, pirates, and spies” had hoped Galleani would receive a prison sentence of five years. The anarchists argued that the proceedings should convince any sane observer of the “arbitrariness and obscene abuses of law” immigrants had to deal with in Barre.²⁵³

Two more raids followed in September 1905, when police seized from the central train depot’s warehouse “about twenty alcoholic beverages intended for that same number of families in Barre.” Anarchists portrayed the event not as a “direct seizure meant to prevent the illegal sale of alcoholic beverages, but rather an arbitrary distortion of the law intended to prohibit the personal consumption of wine, beer and all alcoholic

²⁵⁰ Anon., “El Vecc in quarella!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), July 29, 1905.

²⁵¹ Anon., “Wanted to Be Locked Up,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), July 29, 1905.

²⁵² Anon., “L. Galleani Arrested,” *The Barre Daily Times*, Dec. 31, 1906.

²⁵³ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—El Vecc in quarella,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Aug. 05, 1905.

beverages.” Galleani summarized the situation—stating that, independent of the desires of the voting public, the state was “applying strict rules of Temperance such that no citizen can consume, even for personal use, the most discreet amount of alcoholic beverage.”²⁵⁴ Not aimed at an anarchist gathering, the raid nevertheless suggested that prevention of unofficial shipments to the local Italian community might force them to buy libations at inflated rates in local shops.²⁵⁵ Again, hypocrisy allowed anarchists to castigate what they saw as an essentially corrupt and unfair local system of power that was attacking the only local group fighting for workers’ rights.

Some members of the CSS faced legal repercussions for their involvement in the sale of booze at anarchist parties. The *Cronaca* reported in April 2006 that S. Bottelli was still being “held responsible for the well-known disobedience that occurred at the benefit party for the *Cronaca Sovversiva* on the evening of May 20, 1905.” His punishment included payment of a “three-hundred dollar fine and court costs.” The *Cronaca*, which already felt that the anarchists in Barre were being unfairly targeted by the police, was outraged that Bottelli had been given the same fine as that which had been just recently assigned to “two pirates who were convicted of having sold alcohol for two years in a row house without observance to the laws of the State.”²⁵⁶

²⁵⁴ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Ancora un raid,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Sept. 02, 1905.

²⁵⁵ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—La polizia di Barre,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Sept. 23, 1905.

²⁵⁶ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—In Corte,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 07, 1906.

Then, in June 1907, anarchists faced a far deadlier attack after they rented the Thousand Woods for “a modest banquet that... was meant to be completely private in character” and to which they “only invited those recent companions” who had actively stood with them “against the infamous bandits of the local mafia.” This gathering was crashed by a sinister fellow referred to in the *Cronaca* as the “notorious Negar de Piam” whom the anarchists claimed had been hired by the local mafia the previous March “to intimidate us and cause mischief” through a “campaign of slanderous belching.” The man had “celebrated the March 5th victory of licensing over temperance by waving his five-dollar hat, paid for by their shameless dark wages.” According to the anarchists, “the presence of Negar, a well-known and admitted tool of the shameless local Camorra, at a party for those who had protested against the crimes of the illiterate and dishonest dictatorship of our whore-mongering fellow countrymen, was such a blatant and obvious provocation that no one took the bait, nothing was done to Negar, who came, as he himself confessed and in his own words, to cause a massacre.”²⁵⁷

Had Negar succeeded, the *Cronaca* claimed, “he would have shot up the crowd, and no one could have stopped him. Instead, with an excess of caution, Negar was offered a few glasses of beer free of charge.” According to the *Cronaca*, after drinking among the anarchists for a while, Negar pulled a gun, pointed it at the chest of his interlocutor and pulled the trigger. But it was too late, the other had grabbed the pistol in a vice like grip and managed to redirect the shot, which almost hit the child of Cassi. In the blink of an eye Negar was disarmed, thrown to the floor, fully searched and

²⁵⁷ Anon., “Infame attentato,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, June 29, 1907.

constrained, and he owes his survival only to our companions who made an effort to protect him from the indignant and angry crowd.” After this moment of excitement, the anarchists escorted the attacker back to his home where supposedly he confessed that “if he had been able he would have shot a hundred shots from his revolver and, regaining his bravery, he threatened to go from house to house to kill one by one the anarchists on the doorsteps of their own homes.” To add injury to insult, the Barre police arrested not Negar but the anarchists Cassi, Bruno and Sassi, whose lives had been threatened by the uninvited thug. They were accused of breaking the peace and released on bail awaiting a July 10th court date. Negar, described by the anarchists as a “would-be assassin” and a “poorly paid executor of pirate vendettas,” remained free.²⁵⁸

Focusing again on cynical police practice, anarchists contrasted “the speed with which the enemies of the pirates were searched, arrested, and placed under bail,” to “the impunity granted to the murderer.” Galleani concluded that “the more we investigate Negar, a brigand who several years ago was associated in the shameless scandal of running a brothel, we will find that he is known in several New England states for similar deeds, a repeat offender tried and sentenced for attacks on the security of people and the public peace.” Still, Galleani emphasized that Negar did not scar the anarchists and the *Cronaca* scoffed at their enemies’ “ill-fated fantasy” that by attacking the picnic, they could “be rid of us in a final and radical way.”²⁵⁹

²⁵⁸ Anon., “Infame attentato,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, June 29, 1907.

²⁵⁹ Anon., “Infame attentato,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, June 29, 1907.

The English language press naturally told a different story. *The Barre Daily Times* presented Negar de Piam (real name, Joseph Bianchi) as a victim of anarchist violence. It described Bianchi as a 44-year-old granite cutter, who was released on a \$500 bail paid by Charles Bianchi.²⁶⁰ It also reported that at the picnic Joseph Sassi had asked Bianchi if he had been involved with “the publication of a flyer which had been circulated upon the street.” This paper is of significance because it directly ties the shooting at the picnic to the anarchists’ involvement in the anti-liquor licensing campaign. After several false starts, including the rapidly dismissed trials of Sassi, Cassi, and Bruno, Bianchi was finally arrested and charged for his attack on the picnic. However, his trial ended in a hung jury because the court would not trust the testimonies of anyone who had attended the picnic or was associated with the *Cronaca Sovversiva*.²⁶¹

September 24th of that same year, just as the cases against the anarchists were finally dismissed, the State began its case against Bianchi, whose trial commenced in November 1907.²⁶² At this time “Joe Bianchi of Barre” was charged with “assault with a dangerous weapon at an Italian picnic.” Notably, the trial began with “an extended interrogation” of the Italians present, seeking to determine “if they were anarchists or socialists.” The next day *The Barre Daily Times* ran a short column summarizing Bianchi’s defense in which Patrolman Frank Hamel stated that “disturbance” at Ward

²⁶⁰ Anon., “Bianchi Arrested Like the Others: man who got pounded is now charged with breach of the peace,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), July 10, 1907.

²⁶¹ Anon., “That Picnic Scrap: Both sides tell their stories in trial,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), July 26, 1907.

²⁶² Anon., “Bianchi is Indicted: Man who caused disturbance at picnic,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Sept. 24, 1907.

Five “during the last election in Barre, the testimony having a bearing on the case because it is said that the fracas at the Italian picnic June 23, was caused by election disagreement over the liquor question.”²⁶³ Ward Five was home to the largest community of Italians in Barre.²⁶⁴ The report emphasized the connection between the attack at the picnic and the role the anarchists played in the fight over liquor licensing in Barre.

The November 11th edition of *The Barre Daily Times* continued coverage of the trial, noting that F. M. Andreanni, the court interpreter, “testified as to certain translations in the *Cronaca Sovversiva*.” With this strategy, defense attempted to leverage anti-anarchist sentiments on Bianchi’s behalf. The arguments in the trial finished the next day, when “State’s Attorney Gates concluded that Bianchi had been trying to “get back” at those men, whom he called “crooked, hunch-backed anarchists.”²⁶⁵ Then, the November 14th edition of *The Barre Daily Times* quoted Bianchi claiming that none of the witnesses testifying against him could be trusted because they were all anarchists.²⁶⁶ Of all the arguments presented by Bianchi in justification of his attack on the picnic, his appeal to local anti-anarchist sentiments was most effective. Indeed, it created enough confusion amongst the jurors that the trial was suspended.

²⁶³ Anon., “Defense Now On: Trying to prove Joseph Bianchi guiltless of assault charges,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Nov. 08, 1907.

²⁶⁴ Voting location for Ward 5 was the Blackwell Street “hose-house.” Anon., “City Elections: Warning,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Feb. 22, 1908.

²⁶⁵ Anon., “Bianchi Case Is At An End,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Nov. 12, 1907.

²⁶⁶ Anon., “Bianchi’s Story Told: Says Witnesses Are Anarchists and Wanted to Kill Him,” *The Burlington Free Press* (Burlington, VT), Nov. 14, 1907.

Violence made explicit the stakes involved in the fight over alcohol. It also highlighted the ease with which subversives labeled as anarchists were marginalized, preventing them from working within the local system of governance and from finding any justice within the court house, where their testimonies were deemed invalid due to their ideological commitments.²⁶⁷ The swift move to dismiss anything anarchists said or advocated for in Barre was part of a larger national effort (which rose to a fever pitch during the aftermath of assassination of McKinley) to exclude migrant anarchists from public life. As we will see, the silencing of Barre's anarchists continued outside the courthouse as well.

The Corrupt Proponents of Liquor Licensing and the Silencing of the Anarchists

In 1907, the anarchists began to attack wealthier Italians who could afford licensing fees and who backed the 1906 repeal. Collusion between immigrant businessmen like Angelo Scampini (a former member of the CSS who imported wine from St. Helena, California) and the police seemed intended to prevent locals from drinking wine not purchased from the prominenti. Once again, the *Cronaca* positioned the anarchists as fearless champions of the immigrant workers, reminding its readers of how willing the authorities were to allow the “pirates” wine-wagons to remain “on the train tracks for three days” while police focused on the threat of “a quarter-of-a-liter of beer up between the oaks of the Thousand Woods.” It contrasted police who ignored “the

²⁶⁷ For more on anti-anarchist mobilizations, see Richard Bach Jensen, *The Battle against Anarchist Terrorism: An International History, 1878-1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015); Ryan M. Johnson, “War is the Health of the State: War, Empire, and Anarchy in the Languages of American National Security” (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 2014).

express train crammed with barrels that will fill in the cellars of the pirates even as it passes under their noses on Main St.,” but managed to locate “with a lantern in a miserable cellar a half-pint upon which to base a formidable fine.”²⁶⁸ Exposés highlighting police hypocrisy revealed local officials blatantly ignoring crimes committed by wealthier residents like Scampini while persecuting anarchists and other marginal members of the community.

When the fight against the licensing law failed, Barre’s anarchists continued to organize against the so called “camorra” of local Italian prominenti by trying to prevent them from gaining the privilege of legally owning a bar. Once again, whatever actions the anarchists took within the normative spectrum of civil discourse and municipal politics were silenced and suppressed simply because they were anarchists. The effort to disrupt the prominenti’s businesses began at a public meeting held to decide who would receive the much-coveted liquor licenses. A flyer in the *Cronaca* was to be distributed “to all the honest folk of Barre who may desire to sign it and then place it in front of the Licensing Committee, on the occasion of public meeting.”²⁶⁹ The text of the flyer, printed in both English and Italian, was addressed “To the Citizens of Barre” and noted that among the Italians who had applied for liquor licenses were several who had repeatedly violated the liquor laws “in the most impudent manner.” The anarchists sought to prevent these men from gaining a legal monopoly over alcohol sales. Contrasting this “rascally band of oligarchic smugglers and usurers” to private citizens who remained subject to police

²⁶⁸ Anon., “Contro I Pirati: Le prove ci sono!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 30, 1907.

²⁶⁹ Anon., “Ai Cittadini di Barre: Protestiamo,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 20, 1907.

persecution for attempting to “provide for themselves whatever they needed for their consumption in the manner most suitable to their requirements and according to law,” the anarchists’ petition sought to exclude Scampini and his associates. Their flyer stated that they would “regard as an outrage to public morality, an offence to the general sense of equality, and a provocation to the whole Italian Colony, the granting of any license whatever by the Commission to any of those Italian applicants” that had been arrested for selling liquor in the past.²⁷⁰

The *Cronaca* charged a second prominent member of the Italian immigrant community, Zanleoni, with corruption. They also attacked Teobaldo Rossi, a socialist, who seemed assured of being granted a liquor license. *Cronaca* did not suggest Rossi was among the corrupt mobsters or prominenti of the community but instead described him as a tool of the town’s Catholic priests. They believed socialists would be rewarded for their failure to oppose the licensing laws. Thus, “one of the lucky ones, who will be granted the privilege of the license, will be Mr. Teobaldo Rossi” first, “because he is in the good graces of father Bellondi, who, as we all know, received a fifty-dollar donation from the obliging Socialist Section Num. 2. And, second, because he was able to persuade members of the Section Socialist to vote for licenses, even after their own newspaper published a manifesto advising electoral abstention. And indeed, it seems that this second act is the one that tells us the most about Mr. Rossi’s character.”²⁷¹ Both of these acts clearly outraged the anarchists’ sense of proper sovversivi behavior, and they made sure

²⁷⁰ Anon., “Ai Cittadini di Barre,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Apr. 20, 1907.

²⁷¹ Anon., “Avvicinandosi il giorno,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 20, 1907.

to let as many of their fellow immigrants as possible know about the unforgivable trespass against proper radical morality.

When it came time to directly oppose the granting of licenses to men such as Scampini, the anarchists faced insurmountable opposition. On April 24th, *The Barre Daily Times* discussed who would get licenses, demonstrating the systematic way the anarchists were ignored and marginalized by opponents at public meetings. The English language paper noted that objections had been raised about nine applicants but dismissed the objections because they were “against the locations named rather than the persons, the exceptions being Patrick Brown and Angelo Scampini, both of whom were vigorously opposed by some Italian residents of the city.” The Barre anarchists had raised their voices against one of their long-time antagonists and been ignored.²⁷²

We know these “Italian residents” were members of the Barre CSS because the paper named them, noting that O. Granai was the first to speak, arguing that when Brown had been chief of police “he had looked only to his own interests.” Granai, an immigrant from Carrara who was one of the founders of the *Cronaca*, “hinted that Brown had received hush money.” The paper stated that Granai had testified that “he was ready to prove it.” Meanwhile, “Ex-Chief Brown smiled from the back part of the room.” Then, employing its usual ridicule of the immigrants’ accent, *The Barre Daily Times* quoted Granai as saying “He's no man... he never done any good.”²⁷³ The English-language

²⁷² Anon., “Objections Were Heard: Nine Applications are Protested Against in Barre,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Apr. 24, 1907.

²⁷³ For further evidence of the racialized debate over Italian immigrants, see Anon., “Use Them Fair,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Oct. 15, 1908; and, see Anon., “Italians and Italians,” *The Bennington Evening Banner* (Bennington, VT), Oct. 15, 1908.

paper stated that Granai was then interrupted by a member of the licensing board, who demanded to know "What are your politics!" To this Granai responded that he was a member of "The party of liberty." The officials then asked, "are you an anarchist?" and when Granai answered "Yes" the chairman of the board responded, "That is all" and dismissed the Italian's objection, rapidly moving on to the next name: Angelo Scampini.²⁷⁴

The Barre Daily Times described Angelo Scampini as a former licensee applying for a permit next to Brown's." Joseph Sassi stepped forward to object to Scampini, claiming Sassi had been "fined for selling liquor." After some discussion the Committee asked Sassi if he was also an anarchist, to which he responded, "No, free mind." He presented a formal petition "protesting against the granting of a license to Scampini and casting reflections on his character" but Scampini defended himself by stating that "most every name on the petition was that of an anarchist." Outraged, Granai reminded the audience that when he had arrived in Barre, "Scampini was himself the leader of the anarchists." This statement met the approval "of most of the Italians present."

F. Mariani, another member of the CSS, "also had no good word for Scampini, thinking also that the licenses ought to be granted to the poor rather than the rich." Mariani encountered a different form of silencing. First, board member W. C. Quinlan "put in a word of protest against allowing anarchists to participate in the hearing." Patrick F. McCarthy added that he "thought the same and that the anarchists' opinion had no weight." These statements "brought out an impassioned protest from Granai, who

²⁷⁴ Anon., "Objections Were Heard," *The Barre Daily Times*, Apr. 24, 1907.

claimed to have never broken the law since he had been in Barre, that he was no ‘bum,’ and worked hard to support his family and he didn't want to see a few ‘bums’ in the Italian colony get licenses.”²⁷⁵

After their exchange, John W. Gordon stepped forward and presented himself as Scampini’s attorney. Gordon attempted “to refute the statement” that Scampini was ineligible under the law to receive a license despite the fact that “he had been fined for selling under the local option law.” Gordon argued that Scampini’s case “was more or less of a test case and that Scampini pleaded guilty to the charge in order to try out the question as to what limit a second-class licensee can go in making sales, not to encroach on a wholesale license.” The Italian’s attorney “declared that the court, in imposing sentence” had “referred to the case as a benefit in that it threw light on a disputed point and that the respondent was not fully guilty of a misdemeanor despite his plea.” This, *The Barre Daily Times* noted, “completed the hearing of Scampini’s application.” The English language paper concluded that the anarchists opposed Scampini because they believed he was behind the raid on Townsend's grove, which “was strenuously denied by Scampini.”²⁷⁶ Again, anarchists had been silenced due to their political affiliations. Still, they had successfully used the conflict to highlight local corruption and to discursively position themselves again as the true champions of immigrant workers.

²⁷⁵ Anon., “Objections Were Heard,” *The Barre Daily Times*, Apr. 24, 1907.

²⁷⁶ Anon., “Objections Were Heard,” *The Barre Daily Times*, Apr. 24, 1907.

Anarchists Flex their Muscles at the Polls by Convincing Italian Immigrants Not to Vote

From March 1907 to March 1908 the “so-called” pirates had their way in Barre, having been granted their legal licenses to sell alcohol. But the story was not yet finished. Every year Vermont towns voted on the issue of temperance or licensees, with local papers running in-depth studies of the increase of alcoholism and court cases connected to drinking, alongside various editorials and letters condemning the liquor industry. Clearly, temperance still had momentum; eventually the whole country would ban the sale of alcohol. In Barre, the fight re-opened in March 1908. It was the last time the anarchists played a major role in the debate. Their influence helped swing the election against the “pirates,” not because they voted against licensing, but because they convinced their fellow immigrants, much to the ire of the socialists and union bosses, to abstain from voting altogether.²⁷⁷

However, the anarchist message of opposition to electoral politics may have been more positively received in Italy (where few workers could vote) than in Barre where Italians began to naturalize and vote well before the formation of the CSS or Galleani’s arrival. In fact, Italians had been something of a force in Vermont politics since the end of the 19th century. As early as 1896, Vermont newspapers like *The St. Johnsbury Caledonian* were running articles that spoke about the “Italian vote” in state politics alongside the German and Irish voting blocks.²⁷⁸ Efforts by socialists and local union organizers, who were extremely active in the local granite quarries, largely created the

²⁷⁷ Anon., “NON VOTATE!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Feb. 29, 1908.

²⁷⁸ Anon., “Politics has...,” *The St. Johnsbury Caledonian* (St. Johnsbury, VT), June 12, 1896.

Italian vote. In fact, in 1899 articles in *The Burlington Free Press* made it clear that “political workers” were making their presence felt at meetings held “for the purpose of making corrections to the voting lists.”²⁷⁹

While not all Italians naturalized, evidence seems to suggest these efforts had an effect.²⁸⁰ By 1902 newspaper commented on the power of unionized voters, forcing local governments to concede it some “recognition” or face “a radical change.”²⁸¹ As the first decade of the 20th century progressed, Italians became more embedded in Vermont politics and, beginning in 1905, *The Barre Daily Times* ran articles that cast a positive light on the Italian immigrant population in the United States, including statistical evidence that the more recent immigrants were immigrating with their family members and seemed intent on becoming citizens.²⁸² Despite these trends, in 1901 there was also considerable pressure, on both the local and the national level, to bar any anarchist immigrants from naturalizing as U.S. citizens.²⁸³

²⁷⁹ Of particular note was “the list of persons who had not appeared on the general list but who paid their taxes.” Anon., “A Bear Garden: New Name Given to the City Council by Mayor Sutton,” *The Burlington Free Press* (Burlington, VT), Mar. 09, 1899.

²⁸⁰ During the 1899 Mayoral vote, the *Barre Evening Telegram* noted that one Italian, S. Pallavicini, had attacked the old mayor for having “broken up a meeting of free citizens,” adding that “his people had been abused by that party.” He then “laid much stress upon the fact that the Italian vote could not be bought, that they are new citizens and to try to corrupt them” was wrong. Anon., “The Eve of Battle,” *Barre Evening Telegram* (Barre, VT), Mar. 07, 1899.

²⁸¹ Anon., “News of Vermont: More Important Events Grouped for Free Press Readers—Many Labor Unions Organized in Middlebury,” *The Burlington Free Press* (Burlington, VT), Dec. 18, 1902.

²⁸² Guglihimmo [sic.] G. di Palma Castiglione, “Our Italian Immigration: statistics showing that it is not open to accusations made against it,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), May 15, 1905.

²⁸³ The first federal immigration laws explicitly excluded anarchists as undesirables, along with criminals, prostitutes, paupers, the diseased, and Chinese laborers; see Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2004), 18; for expressions of anti-anarchist sentiments on the local level in Vermont, including comments such as

While it is not clear what percentage of Barre Italian immigrants ended up becoming citizens and thus becoming eligible to vote, it does seem that in the early years of the 20th century voting laws were lax in Vermont and it may have been possible for even unnaturalized residents to vote. In the September 20th, 1900, edition of the Vermont *Herald and News*, an article about the possible adoption of New York voter registration laws commented that “in Vermont, we know nothing of registration, but in most other states certain days are set apart, shortly before an election, on which voters must take steps prescribed by law in order that their names may appear on the registration or check lists, thus entitling them to vote where they are registered... All is very different from our ‘go-as-you-please’ way.”²⁸⁴ As Italians integrated into State politics, Vermont began to increasingly regulate its voting systems. October 12, 1906, *The United Opinion of Bradford, VT*, ran an article by Governor Proctor which discussed new Caucus Laws being passed by the State legislator due to “gross abuses” that consisted “in the voting in caucus of men who are not legal voters.” However, despite the passage of registration laws requiring people to state their party affiliation, only “a small percent” of Vermont towns had “made use of the caucus check lists.”²⁸⁵

Only after Italians became a voting-bloc worth fighting over did the influence of the anarchists become a major concern for Vermont politicians and their advocates in the English language press. In 1906, *The Barre Daily Times* noted that the “‘No’ license

“America for Americans and only such foreigners as have the ability to become thorough Americans,” see non., “Need of Restriction of Immigration,” *The Burlington Free Press* (Burlington, VT), Sept. 12, 1901.

²⁸⁴ Anon., “Editorial Notes: New York’s Primary Law,” *Herald and News* (Randolph, VT), Sept. 20, 1900.

²⁸⁵ Fletcher D. Proctor, “Gov. Proctor’s Message: Caucus Law,” *The United Opinion* (Bradford, VT), Oct. 12, 1906.

forces” had been “conducting an active campaign and a large portion of the Italian colony has been active in an endeavor to persuade the Italians to refrain from voting,” adding that several meetings had been held and that the CSS had “issued a circular in English and Italian addressed to ‘workingmen’ and urging them to refrain from voting.” On the other hand, the paper noted, “some of those who have hopes of securing a license if the city votes yes have been very active and the result of this work is shown in the registration.”²⁸⁶ The article suggests the local political elite had become concerned enough about the anarchist influence over possible voters to mobilize their resources against abstention.

Meanwhile, the unions remained a major factor affecting Italian participation in Vermont voting. In July 1906, *The Barre Daily Times* reported the role that the Stone Carvers’ Union was playing in getting out the immigrant vote, commenting that the Union was “the greatest of existing forces in what is called Americanization. It breaks down the barrier of races, nationality, language and religion. It teaches self-government and obedience to elected leaders, sets up the goal of an American standard of living. Neither the church nor the school nor politics nor employers can do this work. The school reaches the children and not the immigrant... Political parties teach the immigrant to vote for his job or his ward boss or his employer. But the union frees the workman from dictation and at the same time teaches him the greatest lesson of obedience to laws and constitutions framed by himself and officers elected by himself. This is... American

²⁸⁶ Anon., “‘Do Not Vote.’: The Circolo di Studi Sociali Issues Circular on Local Option,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Mar. 03, 1906.

democracy.”²⁸⁷ Then, in the weeks leading up to the March 1906 vote, *The Barre Daily Times* reported that after a large meeting of between 300 and 400 men, a resolution was “adopted by a large majority” to “refrain from voting” while a “good minority” advocated voting No. “All were opposed to voting yes.” It appears that anarchists had influenced more of the immigrant community than their ideological rivals in the union (or the local socialist section). Evidently, their influence was enough to lead the English-speaking press to conclude that Barre would vote against liquor licenses.²⁸⁸

Undeterred, pro-voting elements continued to register new voters. *The Barre Daily Times* reported that seventy-seven new names had been added to the check lists in one evening, which was “a heavy increase;” adding that there was no particular ward that stood out and that everyone should be sure “to get their names on the voting lists.”²⁸⁹ The paper also noted that, at this time (1907), the number of Italians naturalizing as citizens of the United States and Argentina was great enough to force the Italian state to respond, passing new nationality laws that assured Italians who become naturalized Americans would become Italian citizens by “merely re-entering the kingdom” and declaring they had established a domicile.²⁹⁰ Such laws suggest that enough Italian immigrants were

²⁸⁷ Anon., “Work of Unionism: What it has Accomplished in the Face of Difficulties,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), July 26, 1906.

²⁸⁸ Anon., Barre will Vote ‘No’,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Feb. 20, 1906.

²⁸⁹ Anon., “Registration Heavy on First Night,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Aug. 30, 1906.

²⁹⁰ Anon., “Italy to Make New Emigration Rules: Government Wishes to Supervise Trips to United States,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), May 03, 1907. For more on Italians in Argentina, see Tanja Bastia and Matthias von Hau, “Migration, Race and Nationhood in Argentina,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 40, no. 3 (2014): 475-492; Dorna Zaboli, “Italian Immigration to Argentina, 1880-1914: Assimilation or Rejection of Argentine Society?,” *Glendon Journal of International Studies* 8, no. 2 (2015): 1-13; Matthew B. Karush, *Workers or Citizens: Democracy and Identity in Rosario, Argentina (1912-1930)* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 15-42.

becoming Americana citizens to make them an important political force, particularly in small towns like Barre where their population stood out so drastically.²⁹¹

Before the big vote in 1908 Galleani threw his full force into the political arena, writing an open letter urging the Italians of Barre to vote neither for nor against licensing, suggesting that neither solution worked. Galleani argued it made no sense “to vote to give the most offensive of the camorra the most absurd of privileges.” He repeated that a vote for licensing would “privilege five or six individuals to monopolize the trade of alcoholic beverages, and consequently to force us to drink the crap that they want at the price they demand.” Additionally, the vote would empower the local mafia to “grow obscener behind the mask of licenses.” He exhorted readers, “Do not give them this privilege! Do not prostitute yourself to the Camorra! Do not vote for the licenses!” Galleani then dismissed licensing opponents, “the champions of temperance and the Salvation Army” as just “another concerned group of hypocrites and merchants.” He called them “bigots of religious and bourgeois morality” stating that one could find such characters “in every situation of life, allied to the priest who deceive you, the government that oppresses you, the law that strikes you, and the boss who exploits you.” Workers should not, in his words, “serve the contemptible designs of four greedy merchants” nor serve “the disingenuous hypocrisy of four charlatan imposters.” They must not “vote for

²⁹¹ For the politics of Italy’s competition with American nations for “citizens,” see David Cook-Martin, *The Scramble for Citizens: Dual Nationality and State Competition for Immigrants* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2013); for more on Italian nation-building abroad, see Mark I. Choate, *Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

temperance!” Galleani then concluded that “Do not go to vote!” was the *Cronaca*’s official position.²⁹²

Rather than simply declare their position, the anarchists promised to use their resources to directly discourage local immigrants from voting, stating that “in all wards, but especially in the Fourth and Fifth where the majority of the Italian voters are inscribed,” they would “record and publish in the *Cronaca Sovversiva* the names of all Italians” who voted “in support of the local Camorra.”²⁹³ Clearly the anarchists’ again wanted to antagonize both those seeking to maintain their licenses and the temperance activists attempting to permanently prevent legal sale of booze. Their promise did not go unnoticed by the Barre elite, and on February 22nd, 1908, just a matter of weeks before the issue would be once again brought to the ballot box, the front page of *The Barre Daily Times* ran a long column under the title “‘Yes’ OR ‘No’?” that argued explicitly against the anarchists’ position of abstention.

Once again, the English language papers felt that the anarchists’ influence was critical enough to deserve a direct response, publishing an article that argued that “the right to vote implies the moral obligation to vote.” If “upon intelligent and unselfish investigation one honestly believes that it is right and wise to license the sale of liquor” then one should “vote according to his conviction.” If on “weighing the evidence with all the natural issues involved, one comes to believe that licensing the saloon is unwise; that it will prove a peril or a positive injury to any or to all; to the general business or to

²⁹² Anon., “NON VOTATE!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Feb. 29, 1908.

²⁹³ Anon., “NON VOTATE!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Feb. 29, 1908.

morals” then one had “a moral responsibility to be at the polls without fail” and vote against licenses. For the English-speaking press at least, the immediate question was this: “Will the city of Barre be better under license” or not, or as they put it, would the towns’ “general business interests, its moral tone, its reputation, its sound economic development, and the life and prosperity of its citizens, as a whole, be helped or hindered by licensing the sale of liquor?”²⁹⁴ Here we see not only the standard temperance rhetoric against the corrupting influence of alcohol but also a stress on the civic duty to vote, a clear response to the anarchists’ position of abstention.

Despite all their threats and campaigns, the licensing advocates were roundly defeated in 1908. The local press described the vote as a major sea-change. On March 4th the front page of *The Barre Daily Times* noted that many towns reversed their liquor policy, “some surprising and others expected in the Vermont spring election” and that a majority of only 80 votes had flipped Barre “from license to no license.” In total, twenty-seven cities and towns “voted for licensing the sale of liquor”—32 fewer than had passed licensing laws the previous year, while 15 towns had switched from license to no license.”²⁹⁵

Galleani’s review of the election results maintained the *Cronaca*’s longstanding criticism of both sides of the debate, while also suggesting that the newspaper’s influence on the Italian population had in fact helped defeat the “pirates” once and for all. He wrote that, for two months, the local mafia had been “quietly organizing their campaign plans.”

²⁹⁴ Anon., “‘Yes’ or ‘No’?,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Feb. 22, 1908.

²⁹⁵ For a list of towns, see Anon., “Surprises Were Sprung: Election Results in Various Towns,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Mar. 4, 1908.

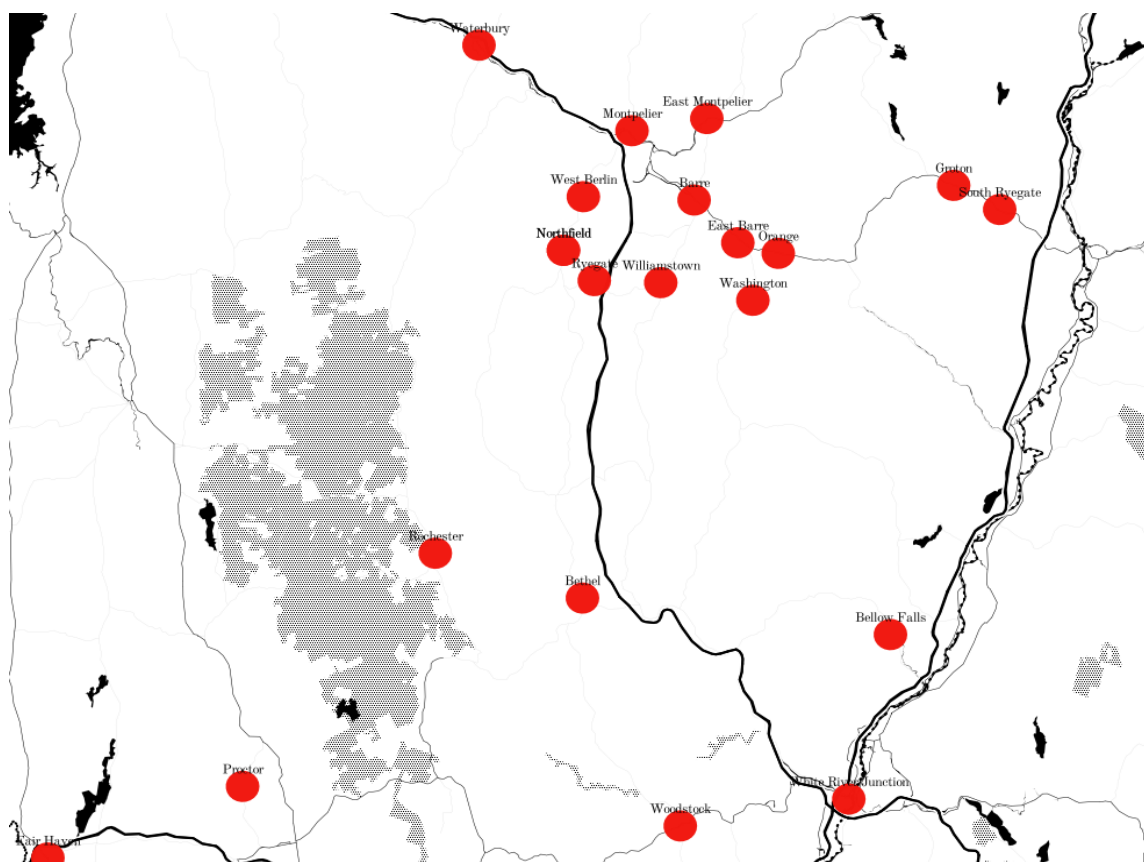
They had tamed “some reluctant cops, set traps for dangerous competitors, greased the wheels of the local elite, menacingly waved promissory notes in the faces of debtors, convinced the doubters, pursued the timid, torment the typewriters of influential mercenary journalists, and brazenly organized the illicit trafficking of votes.” Then, “on the eve of the last and the final hurrah” the innkeepers had “run a half column editorial in a hermaphrodite newspaper to encourage voters to get drunk in the name of hygiene, decency, morality, civilization and Salvation” concluding that pirates advocating “for decency, morality, and civilization” was quite “quaint and charming!”

However, with the votes counted and the pirates defeated, Galleani took clear pleasure in noting that “the strong beer, the grappa, and all the money handed-out to minions was in vain.” The loss meant that in one year the pirates had “lost two hundred forty-two supporters” and that the political conflict had revealed the hypocrisy of both “the temperance regime” and “the licenses regime.” The conflict had made “evident the interwoven character of fraud, corruption and depravity” in Barre and the vote had “disgusted everyone, starting with those who naively sought a legal solution to a problem that can only be resolved through freedom.”²⁹⁶ In the end, Galleani and the anarchists found “repulsive the means and the weapons with which this battle for the ballot-box was waged” but they were “pleased to say openly and honestly” that they found “the outcome and implication to be ethical” and were “comforted by the certainty that the large abstention by Italian workers contributed to this victory.”²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ Anon., “Alla Malora!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 07, 1908.

²⁹⁷ Anon., “Alla Malora!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Mar. 07, 1908.

Given the sizeable list of Vermont towns that voted against licenses, and the financial information included in the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, it is possible to test Galleani's assertions by comparing the no-license cities and towns with those who had subscribers to the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. See Map 5, which shows some of the major towns around Barre where the *Cronaca Sovversiva* circulated:



Map 5: Major Towns Around Barre Where *Cronaca Sovversiva* Circulated

Of the 32 total locations in Vermont with subscribers to the *Cronaca*, 17 held votes in 1908 and of these only 3 voted for licensing (Fair Haven, Rutland City, and West Rutland). The other 14 locations where the *Cronaca* circulated voted against licenses:

Barre, Berlin, East Montpelier, Groton, Hardwick, Northfield, Orange, Rutland Town, Ryegate, St. Albans (town and city), Washington, Waterbury, and Williamstown. Thus, while approximately 30% of towns in Vermont voted for licenses (27 out of 90 reported), only 17% of the towns where the *Cronaca* circulated voted this way (3 out of 17). While each town undoubtedly experienced its own political dynamic, all had relatively large Italian immigrant communities. Where votes were close, readers of the *Cronaca* persuaded by Galleani to abstain could easily have made the difference. While far from conclusive, such evidence suggests that Vermont towns with *soversivi* populations tended to vote against the licenses, as the historian Robin Hazard Ray has also suggested. Galleani was moderately happy to see the pirates defeated in the 1908 election.

Conclusion: The Tangle of Small Town Politics

The anarchists in Barre did not fall into the trap of electoral politics, as Robin Hazard Ray thought. Rather, they maintained their ideological principles and advocated against voting in support of either the “moralizing hypocrites” or “corrupt criminals.” They did so while always maintaining their preferred discursive position as the only defenders of disempowered and marginalized Italian workers. And they did it in a manner that alienated, once again, almost every other group exercising power in Barre. Thus, while the anarchists may have gained some support from workers, they also garnered the animosity of almost every politically influential group in the town. Their animosity made itself felt during the heat of the fight over liquor licenses not only in the form of Joseph Bianchi and his gun at the anarchist picnic but, as the next chapter will show, with the subsequent arrest and extradition of Galleani to New Jersey.

Acknowledging how fully the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre and the Tipografia *Cronaca Sovversiva* had become entangled in community building and small-town politics is a first step toward explaining why the supporters of the *Cronaca* eventually changed course and strategies, evolving into an externally focused network infamous for its combative interaction with other anarchist groups and for bombing campaigns against the United States Government. Understanding the role that the *Cronaca* played in Barre, both as a community building force sympathetic to the lives and experiences of the local immigrant colony and as an antagonist force facing off against anyone who might be perceived as doing the immigrants wrong makes it possible to interpret in new ways the subsequent attacks against Galleani and the choices he made as he sought to defend himself and the *Cronaca*.

Chapter 5

Galleani's Arrest and the Rise of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*

Galleani's arrest on New Year's Eve, 1906, and the response it provoked in Barre and the larger radical world, had far reaching consequences. Rooted in charges made against him concerning his role in the 1902 Paterson silk strike, Galleani's extradition occurred as the violent struggle over booze unfolded in Vermont.²⁹⁸ The arrest, which the *Cronaca* continually linked to the Barre anarchists' combative relationship with the local socialists as well as to the "pirates" and "camorra," provided the local Circolo Studi Sociali with a perfect opportunity to deploy their extensive social capital, garnered from the concrete services they provided to the immigrant community as well as the endless hours of intimate contact they had nurtured in their festive gatherings, to secure support for their underdog champion, Galleani. Galleani's defense campaign should thus be understood as the product of years of preparation and effort that allowed a relatively small group of militants in Barre to rapidly mobilize large crowds and significant financial resources in Barre.

This chapter also documents how the larger radical world rallied to Galleani's cause, revealing the way influential members of the transnational anarchist network used authoritarian acts of injustice as spectacular tools to mobilize resources across a vast social field. In fact, beside the residents of Barre, the Paterson anarchists (often portrayed in the historiography as enemies of the Barre group) played the largest role in Galleani's

²⁹⁸ For more on the 1902 Paterson Silk strike, see Zimmer, *Immigrants Against the State*, 76-80; Avrich *Anarchist Voices*, 272-273; Salvatore Salerno "Paterson's Italian Anarchist Silk Workers and the Politics of Race," *WorkingUSA* 8, no. 5 (September 2005): 611-625.

defense campaign. Their activism confirms the solidarity that at one point existed between two factions of anarchists who have traditionally been described as deeply antagonistic. By turning Galleani into a “cause-célèbre,” famous anarchists such as Emma Goldman catapulted him from a rather peripheral node in the broader anarchist network toward a much more central position. Once out on bail, Galleani at first capitalized on his newfound status to continue his fight with the socialists and “pirati” in Barre, using the energy directed against him to strengthen his standing as a community leader and champion of local immigrant workers.

After his arrest, Galleani also increased his travel outside of Barre, where the publicity of the trial attracted growing audiences and further extended the *Cronaca*'s network. Galleani's Defense Fund propelled the paper from regional to national and even transnational prominence, dramatically increased the amount of money funneled through the journal and boosted the *Cronaca*'s total number of subscribers to unprecedented levels. Thus, the Galleani Defense Committee managed to do much more than raise money to bail Galleani out of prison. The whole ordeal was pivotal in the rise of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*'s influence and transformation, and as such deserves in-depth examination.

Galleani's Arrest and Community Response in Barre:

On December 31st, 1906, *The Barre Daily Times* reported that Galleani, “one of three men who were indicted in Passaic county, New Jersey, on the charge of rioting in Paterson, N.J., on June 18, 1902,” had been arrested in Barre and turned over to Sergeant William Lord and Assistant Prosecutor Ralph Shaw of the Paterson police department.

The Barre Daily Times went on to state that Galleani was a man of “influence” and that the entire time the Paterson authorities have been looking for him Galleani had been “living quietly in Barre with his wife and three children.” The paper also commented that Galleani could be “picked out at once as leader of men” noting that he was “about 55 years of age, a man of striking physical appearance, a little above the medium height, heavily built and wearing a dark beard.” He had “clear, piercing eyes” and such great “physical magnetism” that it was said that when he rose-up “to address an audience of his followers” he swayed them “like a reed.”²⁹⁹ *The Burlington Free Press* added that Galleani was “a strapping six-footer” and that the police had feared there might be trouble “in making his arrest.”³⁰⁰

Upon their arrival in Barre, Sheriff Tracy, his deputies, and Chief of Police Brown went to Galleani’s home at 92 Pleasant Street. The English language paper stated that Galleani answered the door with “his coat and hat on, ready to start out for a walk.”³⁰¹ The *Cronaca*, on the other hand, said that that Galleani had been “torn from the bosom of his family (where only a few days ago he had returned to seek a little rest) by a gang of cops” who worked under the orders “of the New Jersey authorities with the consent of the smug governor of Vermont, Proctor.” It added that when the police arrived Galleani was “preparing for lunch,” surrounded by his “small children.”³⁰² Despite these discrepancies, both reports agreed that when the officers told Galleani why they were at his door “he

²⁹⁹ Anon., “L. Galleani Arrested,” *The Barre Daily Times*, Dec. 31, 1906.

³⁰⁰ Anon., “An Anarchist Editor in Jail,” *The Burlington Free Press*, Jan. 03, 1907.

³⁰¹ Anon., “L. Galleani Arrested,” *The Barre Daily Times*, Dec. 31, 1906.

³⁰² La Cronaca Sovversiva, “La Vendetta,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 5, 1907.

displayed no surprise and maintained complete control of himself.” After being read the charges, “Galleani announced his willingness to accompany the officers.” The party boarded an electric street-car and reached the county jail at Montpelier, where Galleani was turned over to the officers from Paterson.³⁰³

The January 3rd edition of *The Burlington Free Press*, adding a dramatic flair that seems doubtful, stated that after Galleani had “landed in Jail he burst into curses.” The paper then explained that he spoke “little or no English and began walking his cell... like a caged tiger.”³⁰⁴ Such behavior does not fit with Galleani’s typical style and this is likely more a manifestation of the mainstream press’s habitual anti-anarchist and anti-Italian tendencies than a real description of Galleani’s behavior; particularly since we know Galleani was not one to fear a trial or a prison cell and that in other cases he was described as being rather docile under arrest, friendly to his captors and not even requiring handcuffs.

Galleani’s court hearing was held before Supreme Court Judge J.H. Watson. His lawyer argued that he was not a fugitive from justice, and that the governor's writ was improperly issued.³⁰⁵ *The Burlington Free Press* added that “if it was a question of bail” almost any amount of money “would be forthcoming to release Galleani.”³⁰⁶ For the next three nights Galleani resided in the Montpelier prison, giving the Barre anarchists the opportunity to mobilize an extended community in defense of their local champion. The

³⁰³ Anon., “L. Galleani Arrested,” *The Barre Daily Times*, Dec. 31, 1906.

³⁰⁴ Anon., “An Anarchist Editor in Jail,” *The Burlington Free Press*, Jan. 03, 1907.

³⁰⁵ Anon., “L. Galleani Arrested,” *The Barre Daily Times*, Dec. 31, 1906.

³⁰⁶ Anon., “An Anarchist Editor in Jail,” *The Burlington Free Press*, Jan. 03, 1907.

Barre CSS clearly saw the crisis as requiring public intervention to prevent the kind of judicial injustice they had intimately experienced during the battles over alcohol. First signs of the mobilization occurred when Galleani's wife and "a score or more Italians from Barre" visited Galleani at the county jail.³⁰⁷ Within a short time, word of Galleani's arrest had spread throughout the Italian colony, generating "a massive response." Many supporters traveled to Montpelier to visit the captive and "express their indignation" at a "dishonorable and unjust act." The stream of visitors continued unabated until Wednesday morning—that is, until Galleani was transported to the railroad station and departed for Paterson.³⁰⁸

With little faith that their lawyers could stop the extradition, Barre's anarchists immediately organized "a public meeting" that brought together a "very large cross-section of the public."³⁰⁹ According to the *Cronaca*, the rally "attested to the apprehension many felt concerning" Galleani's situation "as well as the spontaneous and sincere indignation" many felt "towards the perpetrators" of the arrest, which they placed squarely on the backs of the "den of pirates, starvation lords and certain complicit authorities" in Barre.³¹⁰ The mass protest was held at the train depot on Wednesday the 2nd of January 1907. The following day, *The Barre Daily Times* stated that a hundred or more Italians had gathered at the Depot Square to protest the arrest.

³⁰⁷ Anon., "An Anarchist Editor in Jail," *The Burlington Free Press*, Jan. 03, 1907.

³⁰⁸ Cavalazzi, "L'arresto del compagno Luigi Galleani," *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 05, 1907.

³⁰⁹ Cavalazzi, "L'arresto del compagno Luigi Galleani," *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 05, 1907.

³¹⁰ Cavalazzi, "L'arresto del compagno Luigi Galleani," *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 05, 1907.

At this rally, Cavalazzi and several of the other prominent members of the CSS including Cassi, Granai, Trentini, G. Sassi, and Frontini made speeches on an improvised stage. The *Cronaca* printed a copy of the speech made by Cavalazzi, which began the meeting. In his speech Cavalazzi read a letter from Galleani (see Chapter 3, Galleani's Language of Attack) and emphasized "the intrigues and shady maneuvers of the local camorra." Foreshadowing the critical role bail and legal fees would play in the future life of the *Cronaca*, he concluded with a call "for energetic and resolute agitation on the behalf of Galleani's defense."³¹¹ Each speaker that followed suggested "various ways of agitating for the release of Galleani and the humiliation" of their local enemies, the pirates. At the rally, one anarchist joked that when the Salvation Army held meetings at the square "there weren't so many policemen around." The speaker added that he "thought that they and the Salvation army ought to be treated alike," a statement which so flew in the face of the reality experienced by the immigrant works that the crowd had a good laugh.³¹²

Finally, the gathered crowd agreed upon the "necessity of a dual response"—first, "the defense and liberation of Galleani" and, second, "to combat the local camorra of political, religious, and business elites." To these ends, "some companions agreed to organize regular meetings for the purpose of devising means appropriate to the tasks at hand." The anarchists then decided to "open a donation fund to provide for court costs." Some of the most trusted anarchists in Galleani's inner circle— O. Granai, S. Frontini, L.

³¹¹ Cavalazzi, "L'arresto del compagno Luigi Galleani," *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 05, 1907.

³¹² Anon., "Make a Protest Against Arrest," *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Jan. 03, 1907.

Cassi and G. Sassi— were to manage this fund. The presence of Giuseppe Sassi is notable because he later played a key role in ousting the *Cronaca* from Barre, a process that began with a scandal related to the defense fund he was helping organize.³¹³

The rally emphasized again the ongoing conflict between the anarchists and other factions of the Italian community in Barre. Cavalazzi (on behalf of Galleani) declared that the anarchists would not “accept a penny, nor any other form of support, from those people known to belong to the council of the Camorra or the Socialist Section No. 2.” Socialists in the crowd protested the announcement. Cavalazzi responded that “it would be contemptible” and “embarrassing” for Galleani to “accept any support from those who subsidized the police work of Serrati, or who contributed (and still contribute) to the slanderous campaign that aids the work of the police and the mafia.”³¹⁴ Anarchists thus used the defense campaign to continue their attacks on their local opponents and further drive a wedge between the socialists and the larger immigrant community by connecting Serrati’s 1903 outing of Galleani in *Il Proletario* not only to Corti’s death but now also to Galleani’s arrest and extradition to Paterson.³¹⁵

Assistant Prosecutor Ralph Shaw and Detective Sergeant William Lord brought Galleani to Paterson. Galleani’s lawyers withdrew the application for *habeas corpus* with which they had intended to fight his extradition. The lawyers did not deny that Galleani had taken part in the riots, which makes sense, since Galleani was never one to deny

³¹³ Cavalazzi, “L’arresto del compagno Luigi Galleani,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 05, 1907.

³¹⁴ Cavalazzi, “L’arresto del compagno Luigi Galleani,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 05, 1907.

³¹⁵ For more on the conflict between Galleani and Serrati, see Topp, *Those Without a State*, 45-49.

having been involved in revolutionary actions or to fear facing a court for such behavior. Galleani left Barre accompanied on the train by his wife, having “assured the officers that he would accompany them without any trouble.” The English language papers reported that the only time handcuffs were used was when the group passed through Grand Central Station on the way to Paterson.³¹⁶

Things were not as quiet back in Barre and soon after Galleani’s departure a second protest was held at Depot Square. The *Cronaca* described a massive demonstration of approximately 600 people in which the crowd shouted slogans such as “Viva Galleani!” and “Down with the mafia!” This crowd was about the size of the ones that regularly filled the Barre opera house and serves as a good indicator of the full size of the sovversivi community in Barre. The large crowd applauded “the vibrant and truthful speeches” given by Cavalazzi, Cassi and Granai. Following the impromptu speeches, what the English press called a “petition” and the anarchists referred to as a “protest statement” addressed to Mayor Barclay was read aloud. This declaration from “the Workers of Barre” spoke out against “the deceitful designs of the lecherous thieves of the colony” and requested the Mayor tell the authorities of New Jersey that Galleani was well known in Barre for “his proud and honest character.”³¹⁷ The crowd then proceeded to City Hall, to present this document to Mayor Barclay. Not finding him there they sent a telephone message to his house.³¹⁸

³¹⁶ Anon., “Paterson Anarchist Arrested: Luigi Galleani Held for Participation in Silk Riots of 1902,” *The New York Tribune* (New York, NY), Jan. 03, 1907.

³¹⁷ Cavalazzi, “L’arresto del compagno Luigi Galleani,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 05, 1907.

³¹⁸ Anon., “Make a Protest Against Arrest,” *The Barre Daily Times*, Jan. 03, 1907.

The Barre Daily Times reported that, upon hearing about the crowd gathered at City Hall, the Mayor “consented to come down town, and the crowd pressed into the little city court room, filling it to suffocation.” After a while, “the mayor appeared and was escorted into the midst of the crowd,” where Cavalazzi (aided by a translator) presented the petition. The English language press reported that “Mayor Barclay listened patiently to the statements made and took the matter under advisement, telling them, however, that he could not write to the court.” After which the rally “broke up amid cheering.”³¹⁹ Clearly the English-speaking press recognized something unprecedented was unfolding in response to Galleani’s arrest. However, the anarchists’ retelling of events differed.

The *Cronaca* stated that the anarchists did not “recognize Barclay as a leader but only as a man who has the opportunity to bear witness,” which is why Cavalazzi invited the mayor to read the protest letter “with his own eyes” and to “observe the large crowd that had gathered to object to the arrest of Galleani.” The anarchists hoped the mayor would be moved “by such a scene” to “write to the Passaic County Court and tell them that the Italian residents of Barre are unanimous in recognizing the arrested Luigi Galleani as an honest man, of unimpeachable character, who is now the victim of a criminal vendetta.”³²⁰ In response, the *Cronaca* claimed that “Barclay stated that he did not believe in the utility of such a statement.” To which Cavalazzi replied he was not “asking for a favor but demanding an act of justice, namely the observance of a simple fact.” Barclay responded that “he would comply” with their “expressed desires” and write

³¹⁹ Anon., “Make a Protest Against Arrest,” *The Barre Daily Times*, Jan. 03, 1907.

³²⁰ Cavalazzi, “L’arresto del compagno Luigi Galleani,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 05, 1907.

the telegram. The crowd then cheered, “letting loose with the cry: Viva Galleani! Viva anarchy!” The *Cronaca* rejected reports that the Mayor had only assented to “take into consideration the protest of the Italian workers.” Rather, it claimed he had promised to write a telegram to the Passaic County Court “that very same evening.” The paper also refused to use Barclay’s official title as mayor. Instead the *Cronaca* invited “citizen” Barclay to make public a copy of his letter, concluding that if he would not do this, they would “dig up the facts.”³²¹ In these ways, the paper presented the anarchists in a much more assertive and empowered role than they performed in *The Barre Daily Times* report.

Galleani’s arrest set off rumors that the *Cronaca* itself was to be shut down. Certainly, this was the hope of numerous influential people in Barre whom Galleani had antagonized over the years. The CSS acted swiftly to assure their community that this was not the case, going so far as to have *The Barre Daily Times* announce that “in spite of any rumor to the contrary,” the *Cronaca Sovversiva* would be “printed as usual.”³²² Several days later the first “post-arrest” edition of the *Cronaca* was published. For the first time since the fire at the CSS club house on Blackwell Street, the *Cronaca* printed only a two-page edition of the paper, instead of the normal four-pages. The paper explained that, “due to typographical reasons” the collective had been forced reduce the newspaper to just two pages.³²³ As one would expect, this abbreviated edition of the *Cronaca* focused on Galleani’s arrest. The paper also announced another rally in defense

³²¹ Cavalazzi, “L’arresto del compagno Luigi Galleani,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 05, 1907.

³²² Anon., “Make a Protest Against Arrest,” *The Barre Daily Times*, Jan. 03, 1907.

³²³ Anon., “Ai Compagni,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 05, 1907.

of Galleani to be held at Pavilion Hall the coming Sunday (January 6th, 1907). The rally planned to include a speech by G. Cruickshank, the president of the mainstream and often antagonistic Stonecutters' Union.³²⁴ Cruickshank's presence reveals how, during this crisis, the anarchist network mobilized non-anarchist members of the Barre working-class social field. The union's support for Galleani, which had roots in *Cronaca's* championing of rank-and-file stone workers, would eventually lay bare the corruption of political life in Barre.

The mainstream press and the *Cronaca* also disagreed about the reasons for Galleani's arrest. *The Barre Daily Times* claimed the arrest was prompted by a newspaper article in New York which had stated that Galleani was living in Barre. It also claimed that during "the four years and a half since the riot, the Paterson police had been on the lookout for the man, having traced him to various points, including Canadian cities." Until recently, it claimed, "the man had dropped out of their sight." Yet during the entire time, Galleani had been "residing in Barre, walking the streets freely and making no effort at concealment."³²⁵ *The Barre Daily Times* did admit that since his arrival in 1903, Galleani had been openly "mingling with his countrymen, addressing gatherings on social subjects" and contributing to *Cronaca Sovversiva*. Supposedly, when a New York newspaper disclosed this fact, "the chief of police of Paterson communicated with the Barre authorities for confirmation, and he was informed that a man using the name of Louis Galleani and bearing the description of him was residing openly in this city." Then

³²⁴ Anon., "Lavoratori," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT) Jan. 05, 1907.

³²⁵ Anon., "L. Galleani Arrested," *The Barre Daily Times*, Dec. 31, 1906.

the “prosecuting officers of Passaic county... started the machinery to get the man back to New Jersey for trial. Extradition papers were sought from Governor Proctor and... the New Jersey officers continued on their way to Montpelier.”³²⁶ *The Burlington Free Press* confirmed the story, stating that “Assistant Prosecutor Shaw” had only recently noticed “in an article in the New York Sunday Sun on the anarchists of America... that Galleani was publishing an anarchist paper in Barre, Vermont.”³²⁷

However, *The Barre Daily Times* added that “Galleani was one of the leaders of the movement among the Italians for continuance of no-license, took active part in several meetings held, and was the author of the resolutions adopted urging all Italians to refrain from voting on the license question;” and they admitted that, because of this activity, “others who were interested in securing a license vote” might have given information concerning Galleani's whereabouts to the Paterson police.³²⁸ Their report gives credence to the idea that the ongoing battle over liquor licensing was somehow involved, while other mainstream media traced the arrest to *The Sun* article. Clearly, Galleani’s extradition was linked in the minds of the Barre’s English-speaking community to recent and localized political conflict as much as old arrest warrants.³²⁹ But for the Italians of Barre there was absolutely no doubt.

An anonymously written article in the *Cronaca Sovversiva* entitled “*La Vendetta*” (The Revenge) successfully imitated Galleani’s vituperative style and argued that

³²⁶ Anon., “L. Galleani Arrested,” *The Barre Daily Times*, Dec. 31, 1906.

³²⁷ Anon., “An Anarchist Editor in Jail,” *The Burlington Free Press*, Jan. 03, 1907.

³²⁸ Anon., “L. Galleani Arrested,” *The Barre Daily Times*, Dec. 31, 1906.

³²⁹ Anon., “L. Galleani Arrested,” *The Barre Daily Times*, Dec. 31, 1906.

Galleani's arrest was "the result of plots hatched by a half-dozen infamous and insolent pimps whom for years have so shamelessly lorded over the Italian colony of Barre." They explained that they were being persecuted by a "little clique of pirates" who had "since the arrival of Galleani, been beaten and whipped (as was the case last Spring)," when they lost the licensing vote. Involving the New Jersey police meant that the "pirates" had expanded the "current war... beyond the narrow confines of discrete disputes." They believed the action was the result "of a steady hatred... for unrepentant anarchists" that was "firmly held by the authorities of this so-called 'free country.'" The *Cronaca* summed up the position of the Barre anarchists, stating their belief, as well as that of "all the workers of Barre" that Galleani was the victim "of the local Camorra."³³⁰

Mobilization for an Anarchist Cause Célèbre: Galleani's Defense Spreads Beyond Barre

As soon as the train carrying Galleani and his captors pulled out of the Barre Train Depot, the fight to save him expanded. The next truncated two-page edition of the *Cronaca* contained a letter from another famous Italian radical imprisoned in the United States, Carlo Tresca. Tresca declared his solidarity with Galleani and addressed the role the socialist paper *Il Proletario* had played in his own arrest.³³¹ As a revolutionary syndicalist, Tresca was not a member of the "Galleanisti." In fact, in later years he was far more antagonistic than congenial with Galleani and his cohort. Tresca's support at this time reminds us that ideological differences among the anarchists receded during

³³⁰ Cronaca, "La Vendetta," *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 5, 1907.

³³¹ For more on Tresca's falling out with the FSI, see Pernicone, *Carlo Tresca*, 30-34.

moments of crisis, particularly when interpersonal relations were still cordial (as they were between Galleani and Tresca until the 1912 Lawrence strike).³³² Tresca's 1907 letter, written from the Moyamensing Prison in Philadelphia, emphasized that Galleani and Tresca had not had a falling out and that conflict between the *Cronaca* and other branches of the anarchist social field had not yet solidified. With little evidence of intra-anarchist factionalism Galleani's defense campaign expanded rapidly.³³³

The same day (January 5th), under the headline "Galleani's Friends Trying to Raise His Bail Money," the *New York Sun* reported that the Italians in New York who were "in sympathy with Luigi Galleani, the anarchist," would hold a meeting the following evening for the purpose of securing the \$12,000 bail required to affect his release...³³⁴ This excessive bail provoked condemnation from anarchists and other subversives beyond Barre and Paterson, and even from outside the *Cronaca's* direct network of subscribers. The Barre anarchists alone could not easily raise \$12,000; the fundraising required activation of the entire anarchist movement. The English language press seemed aware of this. On January 11th, an article in *The Vermont Phoenix* of Brattleboro made the wild claim that "in Boston and Barre," \$37,000 had already been raised for Galleani's defense, adding that the sum could be "more than doubled if

³³² For more on the conflict between Galleani and Tresca during the Lawrence Strike, see Pernicone, "War Among the Italian Anarchists," 18; for the *Cronaca's* view of the Lawrence strike, see Luigi Galleani [L'Eretico], "American Culture on the Wing!," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT) Oct. 19, 1912.

³³³ Carlo Tresca, "Dopo l'Aggressione," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 05, 1907.

³³⁴ Anon., "Galleani's Friends Trying to Raise His Bail Money," *The Sun* (New York, NY), Jan. 05, 1907.

necessary.”³³⁵ Where such numbers came from is hard to assess and a review of the finances of the Galleani Defense Committee makes the claim doubtful. Regardless of the actual amount of money raised, evidence was mounting that anarchists and others well beyond Barre were rallying in defense of Galleani. His arrest was mobilizing a much larger social field.

Anarchists and their sympathizers also found ways to support Galleani beyond raising money for his defense fund. For example, the January 8th edition of the *New York Daily Tribune* reported that Governor Stokes had received a telegram from the Anarchist Club, of Newburyport, Massachusetts, protesting Galleani's arrest. The telegram stated that authorities had no right “to arrest him in middle of the night” and demanded “his liberty.”³³⁶ The letter to the Governor of New Jersey, while not directly making any threats, came only a few years after the assassination of President McKinley and at a time when newspapers regularly ran articles about anarchist violence against employers as well as major and minor state officials in the United States and abroad. In this context, even a mild letter from a group of anarchists could sound ominous. Meanwhile, *The Barre Daily Times* also ran an article about the correspondence between the mayors of Paterson and Barre. It claimed Mayor Barclay had received a letter in reply to the one he had written on behalf of the Barre Italian community.³³⁷ By printing the response *The*

³³⁵ Anon., “In Our Own State: Galleani Arrested in Barre, Under \$12,000 Bonds in Paterson,” *The Vermont Phoenix* (Brattleboro, VT), Jan. 11, 1907.

³³⁶ Anon., “Anarchists to Governor: Mr. Stokes Indifferent to Message on Galleani, but Friends Consider It Serious,” *The New York Tribune* (New York, NY), Jan. 08, 1907.

³³⁷ Anon., “Receives Protest From Anarchists: Letter to Mayor Barclay,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Jan. 09, 1907.

Barre Daily Times attested to the pressure the Mayor and the local establishment were feeling from the mobilized supporters of Galleani.

A week later the *Washington Herald* noted that Galleani had been released on bail. Victor Blotto, a New York wine merchant, had fronted the \$5,000 cash security.³³⁸ The next edition of the *Cronaca* focused on Galleani's case: addressing the network's need to react, detailing how people had responded thus far, and publishing correspondence between Galleani's right hand man, Antonio Cavalazzi, with various radical leaders including Carlo Tresca and the Di Silvestro brothers in the Philadelphia prison as well as Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, J.R. Coryell and I.L. Schwartz.³³⁹ Goldman had recently been arrested while speaking on "The Misconceptions of Anarchism" at an afternoon meeting of 600 people in New York's Clinton Hall. She was charged with publicly uttering "incendiary statements." Her infamous anarchist colleague Alexander Berkman, a 15-year old named Israel Schwartz, and John Russell Coryell (who had chaired the meeting) were also arrested. Galleani's arrest quickly became associated with these other arrests, helping Goldman and her companions to frame their own struggle around a narrative of authoritarian reaction which was spreading across the

³³⁸ Bail was originally fixed at \$11,000; see Anon., "Anarchist Leader Out on Bail," *The Washington Herald* (Washington, D.C.), Jan. 18, 1907.

³³⁹ After their 1907 release from prison, Tresca "discovered the Di Silvestro's real intention was not to fight the prominenti but to join them. The erstwhile comrades parted company and eventually became bitter enemies. Di Silvestro acquired riches as a banker, achieved notoriety as the supreme venerable of the Sons of Italy, and became one of Fascism's leading supporters among Italian Americans." Pernicone, *Carlo Tresca*, 33.

land; while being associated with Goldman garnered Galleani's case increased attention from the broader anarchist movement in America.³⁴⁰

Of course, support for Galleani reached well beyond famous individuals. In fact, the Barre anarchists claimed to have received “a mountain of letters” from all over the United States, many of which swore “oaths of solidarity” with Galleani and anxiously request information about his case. In response the *Cronaca* urged their readers to “publicly speak words of sympathy” for Galleani everywhere “honest people” could be found. The paper also issued a warning to “the camorras (those tools of republican tyranny)” who they believed were responsible for the arrest. The best answer the anarchists could give these “guard-dogs of power” and “servants of capital” was to show “firm resolve not to be swayed an inch from the path” they had been walking and thus “demonstrate the worthy character of the man they have locked up” in Paterson and the greatness of their shared anarchist ideal.³⁴¹ Their language clearly shows both the romantic idealism with which the anarchists’ now surrounded Galleani and the way in which they were connecting Galleani’s arrest with the struggles of the larger movement. Such discursive gestures elevated Galleani into the upper echelon of the anarchist hagiography; demonstrating again that ideological tensions had not yet turned to divisions between the *Cronaca Sovversiva* and other anarchist groups.

The outpouring of support from hundreds of the supporters represented the actualized and mobilized force of the full anarchist social field, extending well beyond

³⁴⁰ Falk, *Goldman, Making Speech Free*, 479.

³⁴¹ La Cronaca Sovversiva, “Ai Compagni, Agli Amici, Agli Onesti,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 12, 1907.

both the confines of the Italian immigrant community and daily active members of the anarchist networks. Their involvement makes Galleani's arrest a successful example of how anarchists resisted state oppression. It also helps to explain why the anarchists were effective at prisoner solidarity work, using pressure from the police to radicalize those not already directly involved in anarchist propaganda projects, thus using the oppressive force of the state to expand their support base and energizing their movement.

After nineteen days in jail, Galleani was released on a \$6,000 bail. Meanwhile a political fight had broken out within the Stonecutters' Union. The *Cronaca* reported that "the unionist Camorra captained by the pig Fred Bruce" had proposed a censure vote for president James Cruickshank for the role he has played in Galleani's defense campaign. The *Cronaca* commented that this was "the disgraceful way the unionist Camorra" always treated "those that threaten to tear away their masks and expose them for who they are" and concluded that the workers, in the name of their "trampled rights" and "by virtue" of their "high ideals of justice" must "rise up against such cowardice and shove Bruce's unionism back down his throat and the throats of all his Barre based henchmen."³⁴² Members of the Stonecutters' Union clearly supported Galleani's defense committee while their leaders, including Fred Bruce, whom Barre's anarchists had so often attacked, not only opposed aiding Galleani but tried to punish any union members who stood in solidarity with the anarchists.

But there were limits to how far the anarchists would extend a sense of unity during the defense campaign. For example, Galleani's arrest also provided the *Cronaca*

³⁴² Anon., "Cronaca Locale—La camorra unionista tenta alzare la testa," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 19, 1907.

with ammunition to continue the fights against the Socialist Labor Party in Barre. An article by Cavalazzi entitled “Ragliano” or “They Bray” (a reference to the harsh cry of a donkey or mule), noted that while no one denied that some Socialists could “have room in their hearts for a feeling of sympathy” for Galleani’s situation, the anarchists still refused to “accept donations from people who belong to the council of the Camorra or to Socialist Section No. 2.” Cavalazzi believed the statement absolved the socialists “of having any need to shed crocodile tears.” He added that the socialists were the kind of “men that had the nerve to approve... a salute to the pig Serrati, one of the main detractors and false denouncers” of Galleani and they therefore could simply “fuck off!”³⁴³ Clearly, anarchists continue to hold Serrati and the Barre socialists responsible for Galleani’s arrest and sought to drive a wedge between the socialists and the larger community rallying to Galleani’s cause.

The final page of the January 19th edition of the *Cronaca* was filled with a list of donors who had contributed to Galleani’s defense fund. At this time, the defense fund donors was limited to 160 local folk who had given their donations directly to G. Sassi and O. Granai. Then, over the next fourteen editions of the newspaper (between January 19th and May 25th), 2,118 donations arrived from eighty-five different towns, bringing Galleani’s defense fund to a total of \$1,131.83 (approx. \$28,422 in 2018 dollars).³⁴⁴ A very large sum of money had been gathered quickly by largely working-class anarchists.

³⁴³ Antonio Cavalazzi, “Ragliano,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 19, 1907.

³⁴⁴ "Inflation Rate between 1907-2018 | Inflation Calculator," \$1,131.83 in 1907 → 2018 | Inflation Calculator, accessed April 26, 2018, <http://www.in2013dollars.com/1907-dollars-in-2018?amount=1131.83>.

On January 19th, Barre residents alone contributed \$170.75, exceeding any previous campaign both in the amount of money donated and the number of donors listed. While most surnames remained Italian, the list extended into the larger immigrant community and garnered from those who may have previously attended parties and anarchist sponsored functions but who had not previously donated to the paper. The size of their donations was significant—equaled only by donations made by core members of the CSS when they purchased the original printing machines (see Chapter 2) or, years later, when the *Cronaca* relocated to Lynn, MA (see Chapter 7).

Once out on bail, Galleani rapidly returned to Barre, where he was greeted by a “great ovation by his fellow Italians.” Galleani declared that his bail bond was “\$6,000 instead of \$8000, as announced.” This amount, the paper claimed, was “put up in currency... raised by his friends in all parts of the country.”³⁴⁵ In the next edition of the *Cronaca*, Galleani “profusely thanked the workers of Barre for the sympathy and solidarity they had displayed for him and his family” during these days of persecution and “he invited the whole colony to participate in the next campaign against colony’s pirates.”³⁴⁶ Now, out on bail and with the all eyes turned his way, he intended to give his opponents in Barre the “red-hot branding” he owed them.

³⁴⁵ Anon., “Luigi Galleani, the anarchist editor,” *The Brattleboro Reformer* (Brattleboro, VT), Jan. 25, 1907.

³⁴⁶ Anon., “Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni—Pro Galleani,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 26, 1907.

Galleani on Bail: Extending the Network and Bringing the Fight Home to the Pirates

After Galleani returned to the helm of the *Cronaca*, Barre anarchists redoubled their attacks on the pirates and the socialists, continually linking them to the arrest. Galleani argued that from June to December of 1902, while he had remained at his home in Paterson, the courts of Passaic County never tried to serve him any writ of summons. Additionally, during the four years he had resided in Barre “as a docile taxpayer,” the authorities of Passaic County never said anything about an arrest warrant. During this time, he was not behaving clandestinely. The Paterson authorities had always ignored him, even after his denunciation in 1903 by Serrati, and when (in 1905) they were warned of his residence in Barre, where he had been actively disparaging “the illiterate arrogance of the prominent thieves and the castrated resignation of their vassals.”³⁴⁷

Galleani pointed out that he had somehow remained invisible to the police even after he participated in numerous public battles, including his arrest at the picnic in 1906 (see chapter 4). After four years of having his name and addresses published in the Barre directory and printed in dozens of New England’s major newspapers, Galleani had been consistently ignored by the Paterson authorities. Since 1902, he had even traveled and spoken in New Jersey itself at least twenty times. Galleani understandably concluded the police had only “recently discovered” his presence in Barre so they could remove him “from under the feet of the pirates.”³⁴⁸ Galleani felt it was clear that his arrest was

³⁴⁷ Luigi Galleani, “Soprese di capo d’anno,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 26, 1907.

³⁴⁸ Galleani, “Soprese di capo d’anno,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 26, 1907.

connected to the “shameful” referendum on alcohol licensing. The “pirates” wanted to prevent any agitation against the vote scheduled for March 1907.

Galleani promised that the fight against the camorra would resume “in the coming days with a vehemence that was not seen in the years past” because, “after making their ungrateful surprise arrest” his enemies had not expected the solidarity and sympathy he received “from people spread from the Atlantic to the Pacific to the Gulf of Mexico to the Great Lakes.” Galleani felt empowered by the support of the expanded anarchist and subversive social field, populated by people who responded, “to murky and clandestine attacks with the energy of affections so unanimous and so ardent as to make the authorities of the New Jersey regret their posthumous retaliation.” It was these people who would “strike the pirates their final blow.” Indeed, “the most effective weapon” against the pirates was the “spontaneous support of the workers of Barre, of Lynn, of Paterson” who pulled together “in 24 hours, six thousand US dollars in cash” for Galleani’s bail (approximately \$150,671.30 in 2018 USD). In response, he pledged that the anarchists would be “all the more daring” in the coming fight against their “eternal enemies the Camorra of lies and cowardice, and privilege.” With “this faith,” Galleani sent his sincere affection to this wider network, particularly “the workers of Barre, Paterson, Lynn, Philadelphia, Providence, New London” and every other “proletarian colony of America.”³⁴⁹

On the list, beside the residents of Barre, the Paterson anarchists played the largest role in Galleani’s defense campaign—a surprise given the emphasis in anarchist

³⁴⁹ Galleani, “Soprese di capo d’anno,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 26, 1907.

historiography on the bad blood that existed between the two groups.³⁵⁰ In a letter to the *Cronaca*, the Paterson group explained that despite some humble hesitation, Galleani had made an appearance at a mass-meeting they helped organize. After “a long and enthusiastic ovation from the large crowd that had come despite hasty preparations and horribly bad weather,” Galleani had expressed profound gratitude for the outpouring of support he had received since his arrest. After his short speech, a parade of famous anarchists followed him on stage. While years later Galleani would be considered something of a divisive sectarian, this gathering of luminaries showed that, in 1907, the larger community had no problem rallying around him. Among the speakers were Alexander Berkman, Max Baginski (who addressed the crowd in German), Harry Kelly, Emma Goldman, Ludovico Caminita, and Victor Cravello.³⁵¹

In her speech, Goldman expressly linked her recent arrest in New York to the extradition of Galleani, thus lifting Galleani up to a position similar to hers in the anarchist social field. Caminita was the former type-setter of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. In 1907 he worked for the Paterson-based newspaper *La Questione Sociale* and later (along with Cravello) he became one of Galleani’s harshest critics and opponents from within the movement. But in 1907 Caminita instead proposed a general strike in solidarity with Galleani. Anarcho-syndicalists such as Caminita saw the general strike as both the final means of social revolution and as a critical performative space for radicalizing the

³⁵⁰ This conflict later grew so heated that leading figures of the two factions in San Francisco, Angelo Luca and Mario Piccinini would, years later (1939), refuse to speak to each other even after their children married. For more on this Romeo and Juliet type feud, see Zimmer, *Immigrants against the State*, 180.

³⁵¹ “W,” “Per la Vita e per l’Idea: Stati Uniti—Paterson, N.J.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 26, 1907.

working class. His attempt to use the strike in 1907 confirms that the ideological and interpersonal conflict between the *Questione Sociale* and *Cronaca Sovversiva* anarchist factions (and the violent schism which would develop between Galleani and both Caminita and Cravello) had yet to manifest itself.³⁵² The rally in Paterson revealed that the anarchist movement in the United States saw Galleani's trial as an opportune moment to organize resistance against the anti-anarchist reaction spreading across the nation. The anarchist use of Galleani's arrest and trial was turning the oppressive actions of the State against itself, catapulting Galleani into national prominence and providing column space in the general press for the anarchists to spread their ideas and expand their networks.³⁵³

While out on bail awaiting trial, Galleani made the most of his time: giving speeches not only in Paterson (where he addressed the protests), but also at conferences in West Hoboken (on The Emancipation of the Proletariat) and Orange Valley, NJ, (on Anarchism and Socialism) as well as in New York City (on the Cursed Utopia). The Hoboken based anarchist group "La Vetta" (The Peak), reported that Galleani had lectured on the topic "The Anarchists and What They Want" in which he "touched very effectively on all of the main points relevant to the subject." Evidently, Galleani had also "successfully responded to the argumentative socialist Ricucci in a manner that was most conclusive."³⁵⁴ Thus, it was not only Galleani's position as a target of state oppression

³⁵² For more the fight between Galleani and Caminita/Cravello, see Presutto, *La Rivoluzione Dietro L'Angolo*, 99-110.

³⁵³ Galleani's new prominence probably also explains Emma Goldman's eventual visit to Barre, where she joined Galleani on the stage of the Barre opera house and called on workers to oppose the licensing law by abstaining to vote; see Ray, "No License to Serve."

³⁵⁴ R. Cormio, "Per la Vita e per l'Idea: Stati Uniti—Hoboken, N.J.," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 09, 1907.

and as a well-known anarchist organizer which allowed him to capitalize on the limelight of his newfound anarcho-celebrity status, but also his often-praised oratory skills.

Perhaps someone not as eloquent and persuasive on the stump would not have been as effective at making the most of his moment of celebrity. But Galleani was exceptionally equipped for the opportunity and knew how to take advantage of the crisis when it appeared before him. Galleani did not simply use his temporary freedom to raise awareness of his trial and the injustice of his arrest, he also used the arrest to spread the anarchists' ideas among working-class audiences while simultaneously combatting the anarchists' primary ideological rivals within the sovversivi social field, the socialists.

As Galleani circulated through New England and the Mid-Atlantic states, spreading anarchist propaganda and debating socialists, the mainstream English language press continued its anti-anarchist reportage. For example, on Tuesday, February 26th, 1907, *The New York Daily Tribune* ran an article under the headline "Rumored Plot to Wreck Courthouse at Galleani Trial" that stated that "Police Chief Bimson ordered the night squad to report for duty at the courthouse" during Galleani's trial because rumor had it "that there was a plot to blow up the courthouse in case Galleani was convicted." The report quoted a detective who commented "that the information may have been only a scare, but that the chief was taking no chances since Justice Cortese was killed by a bomb."³⁵⁵ Either way, the report certainly dramatized the tensions animating Paterson

³⁵⁵ Anon., "Fear Anarchist Blow: Rumored Plot to Wreck Couthouse at Galleani Trial," *The New York Tribune* (New York, NY), Feb. 26, 1907.

and the threat of a courthouse bombing as mentioned in the *New York Daily Tribune* helped to exacerbate the situation.³⁵⁶

As the press was warning of a possible bomb plot against the courts, Galleani was facing arraignment. While there is no evidence of an anarchist bomb plot, *The Sun* of New York did note that there had been a call for anarchists to pack the courtroom during this pre-trial process. According to *The Sun*, few people responded to the “circular which had been distributed to Italians in this city, Newark, Passaic and Jersey City.” The anarchist press, particularly the Italian-language anarchist press, obviously could never rival the circulation of the mainstream papers that were so actively biasing popular sentiment against Galleani. Their power heightened the importance of hosting conferences and mass-meetings and circulating flyers such as this one. Indeed, Galleani may have helped distribute them during his lecture tour. The flyer bore the label of the Industrial Workers of the World, emphasizing the support Galleani had from syndicalists in Paterson with whom he would later come into heated ideological conflict. *The Sun* went on to state that while Chief of Police Bimson “had little faith in the power of the circular he felt that it was best to be on the safe side.” Either way, a copy of the document was given to the police, who dutifully made it available to the local press (which might have tainted the possible jury pools).³⁵⁷

While the press was warning of a possible bomb plot against the courts, Galleani’s first hearing resulted in a delayed trial date. He did not linger in Paterson after

³⁵⁶ Mail-bombing was a technique that the anarchists around Galleani used a decade later, see Gage, *The Day Wall Street Exploded*; Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti*; McCormick, *Hopeless Cases*.

³⁵⁷ Anon., “Call Sent Out To Anarchists,” *The Sun* (New York, NY), Feb. 27, 1907.

the trial was postponed and rapidly returned to Barre. Two days later, on the 27th of June, he spoke for the second time in just over a month alongside Emma Goldman, this time on the stage of the Barre Opera House. As part of Galleani's promised and renewed war against the corrupt prominenti in Barre, Goldman, raised her famous voice against the "coming March elections and the pirates."³⁵⁸ It is highly unlikely that Goldman would have made the trip to Vermont if it were not for Galleani's legal troubles in Paterson. Galleani's persecution had thus strengthened anarchist solidarity and mobilization locally and nationally.

The anarchists' campaign against "the pirates" in the days and weeks leading up to the March vote provoked a response from some of the leading Italian figures in Barre, such as Angelo Scampini. In the months since Galleani's arrest, local anarchists had identified Scampini as one who had denounced Galleani to the Paterson police. In response he published a note in the March 11th edition of *The Barre Daily Times* stating that the accusation published about him concerning Galleani's arrest and the raid at Townsend's grove on July 25, 1903, were absolutely false, and he could "prove it" to "any committee that the *Cronaca Sovversiva* may appoint."³⁵⁹ Accusations of Scampini's involvement in a police raid on an anarchist picnic had circulated through the pages of the *Cronaca* for some time, but it was only with Galleani's newly gained influence that Scampini found it necessary to respond. It is notable that his response was published in

³⁵⁸ The English-language press reported that "Galleani spoke in a satirical vein and several times was interrupted by applause, while Goldman had an uninterrupted discourse to the end. At the close of the meeting the Goldman woman sold her pamphlet, 'Mother Earth,' and other literature of like kind." Anon., "Said Police are 'Asses': Goldman, Famous Anarchist, Spoke in Barre Last Night," *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Feb. 28, 1907.

³⁵⁹ Angelo Scampini, "To the *Cronaca Sovversiva*," *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Mar. 11, 1907.

English, in the mainstream press, suggesting that the anarchists' crusade against him was affecting his social standing outside the immigrant enclave in Barre, among the English-speaking components of the Stonecutters' Union and other working-class members of the community.

State Oppression and Anarchist Resilience: Exploring the Effect of the Defense Campaign

In the end, Galleani's trial ended with a hung-jury and, despite the prosecutions best efforts, a second set of charges never materialized. On May 18th, 1907, the *Cronaca* published an eight-page special edition focused on the trial. This beautiful publication included a portrait of Galleani (done by Abate) and provided narrative accounts of the original 1902 Paterson "silk riots" as well as the 1907 courtroom drama—effectively solidifying Galleani's place in the paper's hagiography. While this discursive evidence suggests how Galleani's arrest elevated his status in the anarchist network, we can find more concrete evidence of the effect of the defense campaign in the financial records of the paper. One of the reasons the *Cronaca* makes such an interesting subject of study is that the editorial group was highly conscious of the importance of maintaining financial transparency. The two major categories of financial exchanges printed regularly in its pages were "Abbonamenti" (subscriptions) and "Sottoscrizione" (donations). Together these categories comprised 48,212 of the 69,783 distinct financial transactions recorded in the paper. The remaining 21,571 transactions were listed under one of the other 194 special events or causes for which the *Cronaca* raised money. The largest of these was Galleani's Defense Fund.

One measure of the effect of the 1907 trial was the number of financial transactions recorded in the administrative section of the paper. There were four spikes in the number of subscribers and donors to the paper between 1903 and 1918, with the first and largest occurring in the year of Galleani's trial, 1907. For the first few years of the paper's publication, these categories had grown at a slow steady rate of about two hundred transactions per year, climbing from 1,851 transactions recorded in 1903 (the first year of publication) to a modest 2,414 transactions in 1906. 1907 broke with this pattern, with a total of 5,571 financial transactions publicized in the pages of the *Cronaca*—a 130 percent increase of 3,157 transactions, effectively more than doubling the total number recorded the previous year and proving that the *Cronaca* had successfully harnessed the crisis caused by Galleani's arrest to build a much more national, and even transnational, following. The trial fundamentally changed the size of the *Cronaca* network and the flow of capital through its pages.

Even without the sottoscrizione, abbonamenti or the defense fund, 1907 was a busy year for the *Cronaca* (see figure 6):

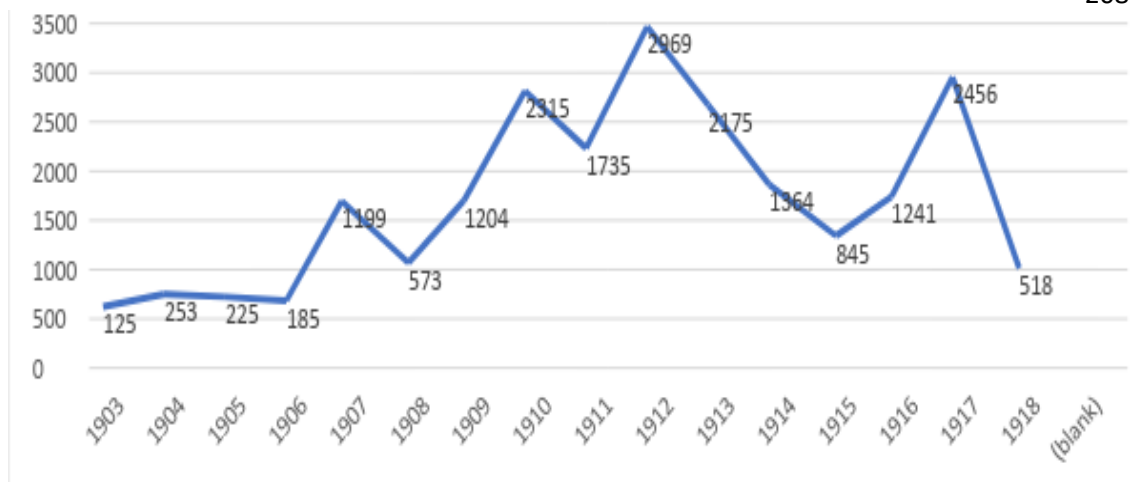


Figure 6: Financial Transactions Minus Sottoscrizione, Abbonamenti and Galleani Defense Fund

Graphing special benefit-funds raised by the *Cronaca* over the years shows four major spikes, with the three ascending peaks of 1907, 1910, and 1912 in a clear line of growth, each peaking higher than the previous and returning to a lower state that is somewhat in line with growth expected without any crisis or corresponding spikes in activity. The consistent character of both these trend lines (the peaks and valleys), suggests that while the gains made during moments of crisis did not linger very long, the populations which could be at least temporarily mobilized remained consistent, following a parallel line of growth with the paper's general growth curve over time.

Combining all financial data into a single figure reveals the defense fund of 1907 as even more extraordinary (see figure 7):

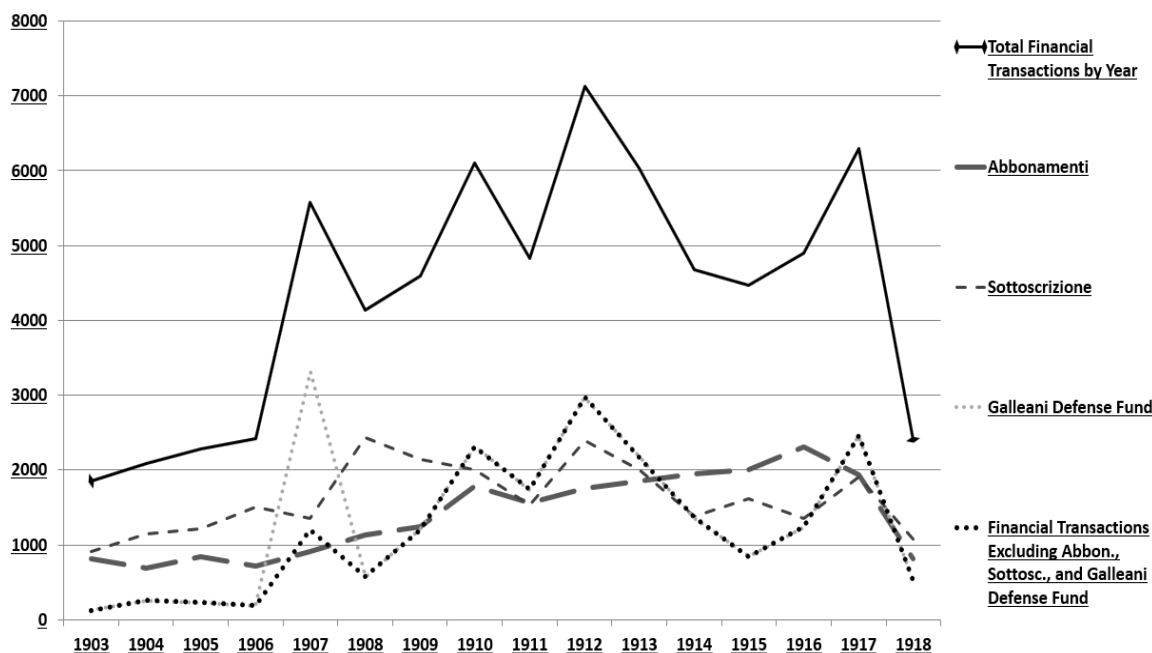


Figure 7: Unified Graph of Cronaca Sovversiva Financial Data

The peak in 1907 is the defense fund, which is now clearly matched up with a dip in the sottoscrizione in 1907. The following year the sottoscrizione shoots up as the donations to other causes decreases. Figure 7 shows that 1907 was not the first or smallest of three repetitive increases in financial activity, but rather the largest single event in the paper's financial life. This massive jump, from 185 donations to 3,316, is the best way to visualize the impact Galleani's trial had on the *Cronaca*.

To put 1907 into context, the second largest spike in financial transactions occurred in 1912, the year the paper relocated to Lynn, Massachusetts. The increase in activity in 1912 involved 2,289 more transactions than occurred in the previous year (a 47% increase from the 4,835 transactions recorded in 1911). The other two major spikes in financial activity in the *Cronaca* occur in 1910, at the time of the Ybor/Tampa strike in Florida, and in 1917 when the paper came under direct attack from the US Government,

which resulted in its eventual suppression. Neither of these flurries of activity showed more than an increase of 2,000 transactions. Thus, the increase in 1907 was greater both in terms of total increase in number and percent increase in total transactions recorded.

In 1907, the donations for the defense fund came from eighty-four different towns, with some towns only appearing once, while others (like Barre) appeared several hundred times. The numbers of one-time donors in small towns could be significant: for example, the four people who donated from Cle Elum Washington (a tiny mining camp) represents a higher proportion of town's population than 162 donations from New York City. Still, the towns with at least twenty donations provide clear evidence of the increasingly national reach of the *Cronaca* (Fig. 8):

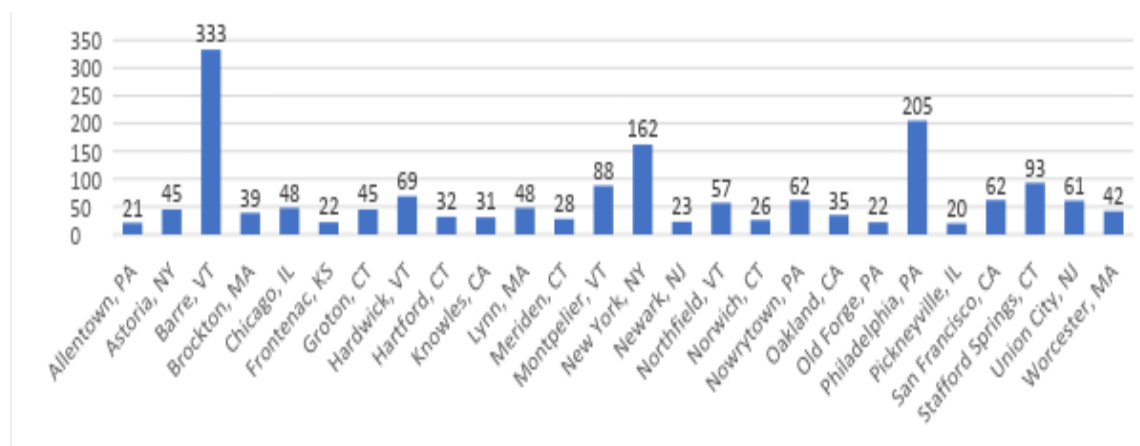
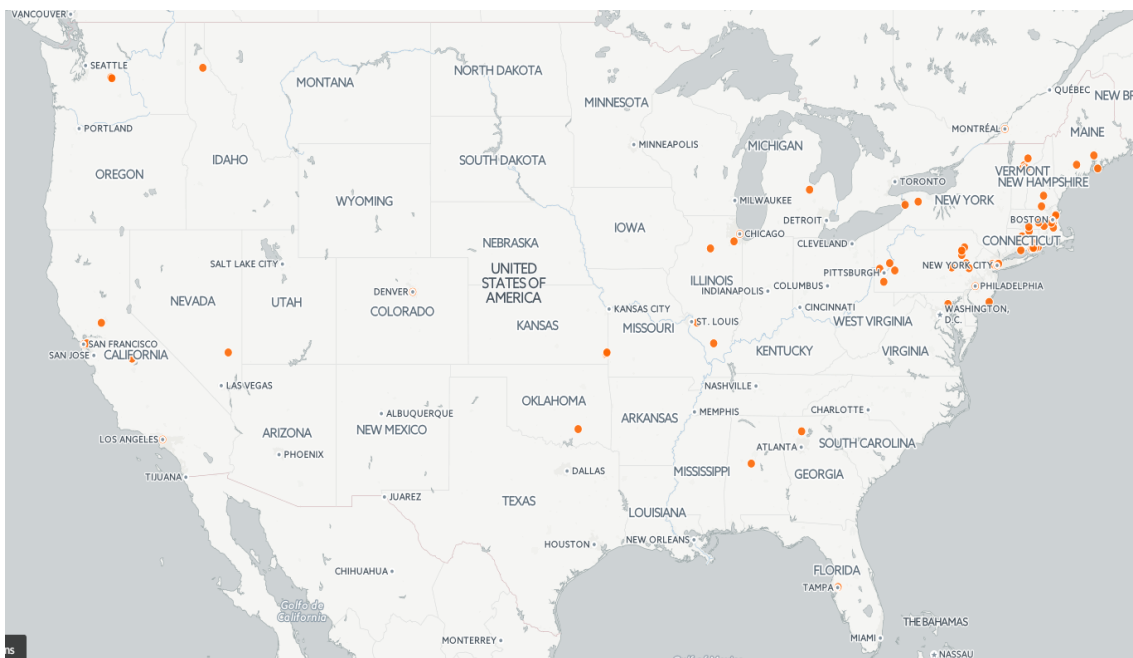


Figure 8: Total Number of Donations to Galleani Defense Fund by Town

Although, New York City and Philadelphia remained significant sources of support, many small mining towns also appeared. For example, residents of Knowles, California, gave 31 times, Nowrytown, Pennsylvania, gave 62 times, Old Forge, Pennsylvania, gave

22 times, and Pickneyville, Illinois, gave 20 times. Map 6 show all the towns that sent in donations, revealing the extent of national response to the trial.



Map 6: Towns that Donated to Galleani Defense Fund

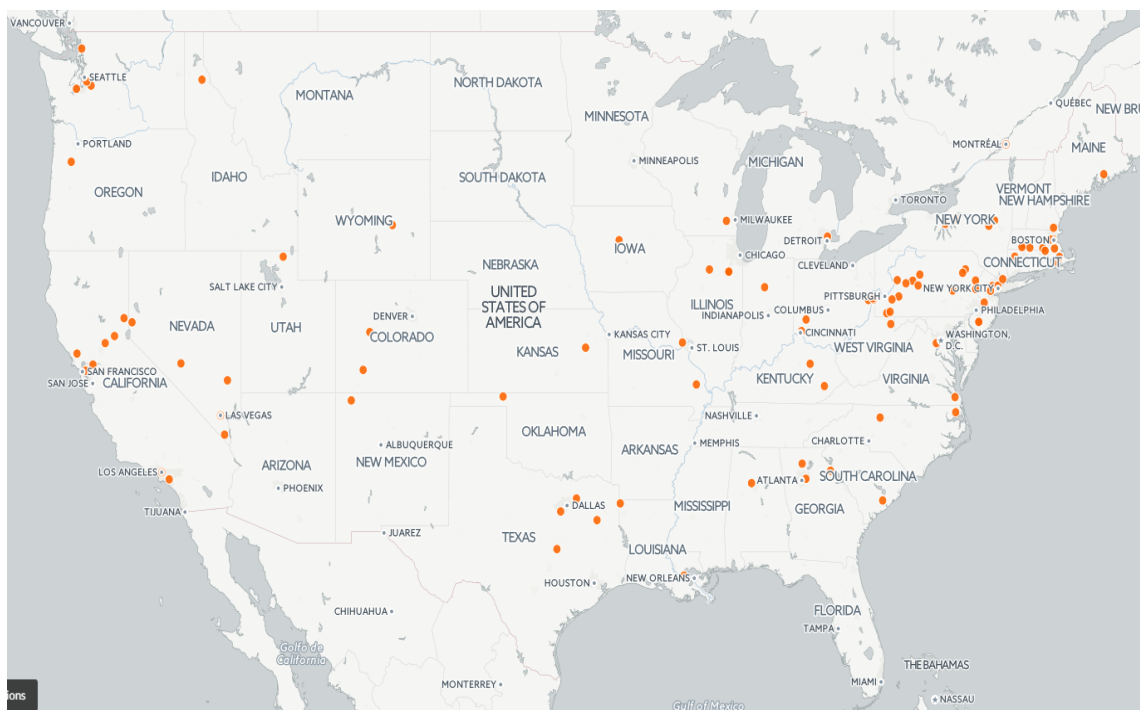
Here we see that the main locus of support remained in New England area, but the network had spread across the continent to locations on the West coast, particularly around the San Francisco Bay area and near Seattle. Vermont was once again at the head of the donation lists, followed up predictably by Pennsylvania. However, the prominence of Connecticut is somewhat surprising, surpassing the donations from New York State. Additionally, while we shouldn't be surprised to see Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Illinois at the front of the pack, the prominence of California is unexpected, as is the presence of the lower-down but still very active states of Maine, New Hampshire, Nevada, and Washington State. There were even a few outposts of activity in the south

and southern Midwest (Georgia, Alabama, Missouri, Kansas and Oklahoma). Scholars have never studied Italian immigrant anarchism in most of these locations, suggesting especially the need for greater attention to anarchism among immigrant coal miners.

An even more granular analysis of the data shows changes over time. In the two years preceding and the two years following Galleani's arrest, money came to the *Cronaca* from forty-one different states as well as communities in Argentina, Canada, England, France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland. The new states sending donations only after Galleani's arrest included Arizona, Georgia, Montana, Nevada, South Carolina, and Wyoming. There were also sixty towns receiving copies of the *Cronaca* in 1907 that had no subscribers in 1906. 1908 saw another large increase in the paper's distribution, with thirty-nine new towns with subscribers. Not all were new towns, since many towns may have subscribed in 1905 but not 1906 and then once again in 1907, showing an increase in total number of towns but not necessarily new ground broken by the paper's circulation. One example was Allentown, Pennsylvania, where there were 13 subscribers in 1905, none in 1906, and then nine in 1907. Clearly, the paper's circulation increased significantly as a result of Galleani's arrest and defense. (For a list of all new subscribing towns see Appendix 7). Towns sending donations also deserve further analysis. There were forty-nine new towns that sent *sottoscrizione* funds in 1907. Of these, twenty-seven were completely new to the pages of the *Cronaca*, meaning only twenty-two of the new towns sending donations were also towns with first-time subscribers (for a list of these towns see Appendix 8).

The map of towns with first-time subscriptions after the trial (Map 7) is significantly more dispersed geographically than the map of towns that sent in funds for

the defense campaign, suggesting that the mainstream press coverage of the trial inspired numerous people to subscribe to the paper who had no previous connection to the *Cronaca*. It also highlights the degree to which new subscribers in 1907 were from mining towns and other peripheral cities, and not just traditional, large gateway cities. Note (particularly in Map 7) the spread of the *Cronaca* network to the western portions of Pennsylvania as well as the far west (Texas, Oklahoma, Colorado, Nevada, and particularly California and Washington State).



Map 7: First-Time Subscribers Post-Galleani's Trial

Circulation also increased in towns and cities where *Cronaca* already had a foothold. In Chicago, for example, there were only five subscribers in 1905 and six in 1906; but in 1907 the number of subscribers spiked to fifty-one. Additionally, donations from Chicago

saw a corresponding spike, going from two in 1906 to thirty-two in 1907. Also, in 1907, forty-eight people in Chicago donated to the defense, suggesting that the trial was directly responsible for the increase in subscribers. However, after a year, the number of subscribers in Chicago dropped by half (twenty-six in 1908), but the number of people sending in donations continued to increase (forty-four in 1908). This strange phenomenon suggests that many of the new subscribers only received the paper for a year but remained active in the network as financial supporters of the journal.

The trial also elicited support and solidarity from folks who were not normally militant members of the network. Batavia, New York, a small industrial center in the otherwise agricultural region of western New York, had only one subscriber to the *Cronaca Sovversiva* in 1905 and none in 1906. However, in 1907, six subscribers joined. But only three of these remained a year later. At the same time, Galleani's defense fund received eight donations from Batavia. While there was an increase from zero contributors in 1905 (and only one donation in 1906) to forty-one in 1907 and an additional twenty-eight in 1908. These donations were often bundled together by subscribers to the paper after they hosted a fundraising event. For example, in 1908 twelve donations from Batavia were raised at a July 11th, 1908, picnic held at the farm of G. Valli, the town's most active member of the *Cronaca* network.

Another interesting example is Hardwick, VT, a granite quarry town with a population of approximately 3,000 people in 1900.³⁶⁰ There was only one subscriber in Hardwick in 1905, and six in 1906. In 1907, the number jumped to seventeen and

³⁶⁰ "1916 - GreenerPasture GENEALOGY," GreenerPasture.com, accessed April 26, 2018, <http://greenerpasture.com/Places/ShowNews/44445>.

continued to climb in 1908 to twenty-four subscribers. In 1907 sixty-nine donations for the defense fund were sent in from the same town, although the sottoscrizione list reveals there had been only three donors in 1905 and six in 1906. In the year of Galleani's arrest, 1907, the numbers of donations skyrocketed to eighty-one and continued to climb in 1908 to 140. The financial support followed on top of donations to the defense fund, making Hardwick a major center of support for the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. The example of Hardwick suggests that granite and stone workers, along with miners, were especially likely to respond to appeals for assistance from the *Cronaca*.

A still more granular analysis of *Cronaca's* supporters is possible. For example, 594 names appeared as subscribers in 1907 who did not subscribe to the paper in 1906. Approximately 1,750 new names appeared in the Galleani Defense Fund list and approximately 590 new names appeared as donors to the sottoscrizione list in 1907. Combined, these two lists suggest the Barre's anarchists and Galleani acquired 3,000 new supporters in 1907—a massive expansion for a network that had fewer than 1,000 subscribers before 1907. While people who donated to the defense fund were not necessarily members of the anarchist network (or even a subscriber to the newspaper), it is fair to conclude they existed within the paper's larger social field and were accessible and willing to respond in times of crisis. The editors of *Cronaca* almost certainly regarded them as future recruits to the movement.

Conclusion: Capitalizing on Crisis

The Barre anarchists, with their most charismatic and experienced leader behind bars, managed to continue printing the *Cronaca* in reduced format while also organizing

Galleani's defense campaign. The campaign paid for lawyers and bail bonds but also became a valuable tool to attack anarchists' major competitors in the Italian American left, the socialists, whom the anarchists at least partly held to blame for Galleani's extradition. The anarchists also used the crisis to further inflame local sentiment against their primary enemy in Barre, the "pirate camorra," which was composed of the Italian prominenti and other right-wing businessmen who had been engaged for several years in a combative campaign to solidify for themselves a monopoly on legal liquor licenses and to shut down alcohol consumption which did not line their pocket books. Thus, the anarchists in Barre were able to rapidly mobilize a broad base of support in Barre, print their newspaper, start a defense campaign, and capitalize on the crisis to attack their two primary enemies—all within a matter of days.

Then, as Galleani was extradited out of Barre, so too did his struggle expand beyond the green mountains of Vermont. His cause was taken up by the larger radical world and incorporated into other ongoing struggles. As the movement rallied around him and placed him on its largest stage, Galleani—who was particularly well prepared for and experienced with the spotlight—grabbed his new celebrity status (granted to him by the state's ham-fisted tactics) and rapidly ascended into the upper echelon of the country's anarchist elite. Regularly now on stage with fearsome revolutionary luminaries like Emma Goldman and invited to speak at anarchist groups across the United States, his oratory skills and the combative vibrancy of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* allowed Galleani to not only address his legal situation but to also radicalize the communities he visited and to incorporate them into the *Cronaca's* ever expanding network.

Taken together, all this data shows beyond a doubt that the Galleani's arrest in 1907 backfired on the enemies of the *Cronaca*—increasing rather than eliminating his influence. Rather than resulting in the suppression of the paper and the elimination of the gadfly of Barre, it lifted Galleani up to a position of prominence within the Italian American left, secured for the paper a greatly expanded circulation map, and connected the paper with literally hundreds of new readers. Galleani rapidly capitalized on this publicity and growth with a series of speaking tours and other activity geared at bringing him and his legendary oratory skills into direct contact with the militant miners of the American west. Indeed, only a few months after the end of the trial, Galleani expected “to resume the propaganda excursions that he had to stop” the previous year and “to now visit all those places that in the past he neglected.” The *Cronaca* instructed anyone who wanted to host Galleani to give them prompt notice. In this way, building off the momentum of his successful defense, Galleani picked up where he had left off, but this time with an expanded map of friends and sympathizers to visit, taking him more often away from Barre and the CSS's community-building activities.³⁶¹

This chapter's study of the Galleani Defense Committee financial records, and the larger narrative of Galleani's trial, demonstrates anarchists' surprising resilience in the face of unrelenting state oppression and reveals that the organizational strength of immigrant Italian anarchists lay not in their numbers or in the formation of lasting institutions, such as unions or political parties, but in their highly flexible networks which allowed small numbers of militants to mobilize sympathetic (though not necessarily

³⁶¹ Anon., “Per un giro di Conferenze del Compagno L. Galleani,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), June 08, 1907.

ideologically radicalized) members of the larger immigrant and working class social fields. It was their ability to mobilize quickly and effectively that made anarchists resilient to attack. Their ability to mobilize was not an accidental consequence of their anarchism but a direct result of their ideology of social revolution, which stressed working class self-reliance.

The next chapter examines other ramifications of Galleani's trial, although with a far less victorious ending. While attacks from outside the movement could greatly strengthen a group like the *Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva*, attacks from within the movement could, by contrast, prove terribly damaging. Chapter 6 shows that Galleani's increased stature, and the large amount of money his defense campaign brought together for his bail, alienated key members of the *Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre*. The resulting fractures divided the local community, eventually resulting in the *Cronaca's* forced relocation to Lynn and the evolution of the "Galleanisti" into the violent sectarian faction so commonly referenced by historians of the movement.

Chapter 6

Conflict within the Movement and the Emergence of the “Galleanisti”

The 1907 trial not only expanded the *Cronaca*'s network but also greatly increased Galleani's prominence in Vermont, leading the local press to express concern about “the steady growth of the little knot of anarchists in Barre.”³⁶² Over the next two years, opposition to the *Cronaca* coalesced and, in 1909, accusations of malfeasance were leveled against Galleani and the journal's treasurer, Antonio Cavalazzi. These attacks undermined the *Cronaca*'s reliability as a transparent handler of its growing financial contributions. The opposition, which originated from within the CSS itself, soon belittled the supporters of Galleani as sycophants who blindly followed his lead. While Italian subversives have long had a reputation for this kind of personal factionalism, anarchist historiography has focused primarily on ideological schisms—such as those that occurred around organizationalism or anarchists supporting the Mexican revolution—the importance of interpersonal conflict has remained undertheorized, and too often assumed rather than explained. Often historians have simplistically blamed interpersonal conflicts on the character flaws of one or another individual anarchist. This chapter demonstrates a different approach, one in which no guilt is assigned and the origins and consequences of interpersonal ruptures are reviewed.

³⁶² Montpelier Journal, “Press Notes: The Barre Anarchists,” *Herald and News* (Randolph, VT), Nov. 21, 1907.

This chapter explores a previously overlooked but I think critical piece of the story of intra-anarchist conflict among the Italian anarchists of the early twentieth century. The infighting that erupted in Barre from 1909-1911 was characterized by criminal accusations, character assassinations, fist fights, death threats, lawsuits and arrest-warrants, as a protracted war between critics and supporters of Galleani spread from the streets of Barre out into the larger anarchist world. In the end, the conflicts rendered Barre untenable as the continuing home for the *Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva*. I argue that this break down, occurring within the *Circolo Studi Sociali*, transformed the *Cronaca* into a vehemently sectarian paper, led to the birth of the “Galleanisti” (as personal and ideological supporters of the *Cronaca* came to be called), and turned the “Galleanisti” into an insular faction within the wider anarchist social network.

Social Mobility, Ex-Sovversivi, and Accusations of Financial Mismanagement

Signs of intra-anarchist conflict in Barre were first hinted at in 1907, in the special edition of the *Cronaca* that came out almost immediately after the Paterson trial ended. One article about the funding of the Galleani Defense Committee stated that several of the companions who had contributed to Galleani’s bail-fund had begun requesting the reimbursement of their donations. The CCS said they would like to return the money, but the funds would not be released by the courts until the question of a new trial had been final put to rest that May (if not deferred until the next court session in September). To now insist on the return of their money put the Committee “in a very painful situation.” The Committee added that Galleani’s lawyers had “sought by any means to convince the Court to reduce the bail” and thereby allow the Committee to return donated money “to

those poorest among the donors who may be in need and whose contribution represents a real sacrifice.” Unfortunately, that application was rejected and the bond remained fixed at six thousand dollars. They also noted that Galleani was ready to sit in jail if these people continued to “insist on these unjustified refund requests.”³⁶³ Unrest regarding the handling of the defense fund would continue to simmer for several years before fully burst into the open.

The public learned of the conflict in March 1909, when the *Cronaca* printed an article harshly criticizing former members of the “Club degli operai di lingua Italiana di Barre e Vicinanze” (the Club of the Workers of the Italian Language in Barre and Vicinity). Founded in 1895, the “Club degli operai” had initiated subversive agitation in Barre, laying the groundwork for the birth of the Circolo Studi Sociali and eventually the *Cronaca Sovversiva* itself (see chapter 2). However, some men who signed the club constitution on December 14th, 1895, such as Giuseppe Ossola, Angelo Scampini, and Carlo Zanleoni, had subsequently become successful businessmen and dropped out of the movement. They navigated their class-transition, from poor subversive workers to successful entrepreneurs and employers, in various ways. Elia Corti, for example, largely retired from the movement but did not give up on “the ideal of freedom and justice.” He felt a “huge and painful contradiction, from which he could not break” and maintained sympathy for the anarchists’ “idea bella.” Others, like Desiderio Giudici, “forgot their rebellious youth” and “began to covet fortune” and abandoned “all political solidarity.”³⁶⁴

³⁶³ Il Circolo di Studi Sociali di Barre, Vt., “I Seimila Scudi della cauzione Galleani,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 18, 1907.

³⁶⁴ On March 6, 1898, Desiderio Giudici had asked to be inscribed among the club’s members, which had now become the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre. Desiderio would take on the club’s fiduciary

After Giudici's financial status changed, the anarchists claimed he became "a cigar smoking padrone," who thought anyone tired of being exploited by others should just begin their own business.³⁶⁵ As far as the *Cronaca* was concerned, by 1909 Giudici was "a landlord, an exploiter and, consequently, a reactionary." In short, the *Cronaca* paints a picture in which many of the original sovversivi of Barre had found economic success, assumed more conservative positions within the community, and opposed Galleani's influence over their fellow immigrants.

The opposition began their attack on Galleani's control of the *Cronaca* when Giudici began to publicly demand a better accounting of the *Cronaca*'s financial records. He was particularly interested in money that flowed into the 1907 Defense Fund. The *Cronaca* responded that Desiderio Giudici, Angelo Scampini, Zanleoni, Guglielmo Corti, Cornelio Trentini, Paolo Mainini, Ferdinando Comi, and the other accusers were "members of the notorious pirates" and had been "the spies who had played a role in Galleani's arrest and extradition to New Jersey." The conflict between members of the Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva, particularly those involved in running Galleani's Defense Fund, and these anti-Galleani members of the community also focused on the financial records of the benefit fund for the children of Gaetano Bresci (who killed the King of Italy in 1900), and a fund set up to pay for some propaganda tours after the trial.

responsibilities and signed onto the October 1st, 1899, constitution of Errico Malatesta's American Federation of Anarchist Groups as a member of a Correspondence Commission. Nevesk., "Ieri Ed Oggi: Saggi," *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Mar. 20, 1909.

³⁶⁵ For a background on the relationship between "padrones" and migrant workers, see Gunther Peck, *Reinventing Free Labor: Padrones and Immigrant Workers in the North American West, 1880-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

The first accusation, which concerned the Bresci Fund, was very damaging to the reputation of the *Cronaca* because it accused Galleani of embezzling funds from the children of a martyr to purchase furniture for his private home. Galleani rejected this accusation outright, noting that he never had any personal access to the money for the children and called the accusation “a weapon of war” being used in “a campaign of defamation and slander... to create a climate that would encourage the growth and spread of more serious accusations concerning the squandering of funds for propaganda excursions and the Paterson trial.” To prove his claim, the *Cronaca* published a letter from Gaetano’s Bresci’s wife, Sophia, and one from G.B. Cominetti, who ran the fund for her. Both stated Galleani’s innocence and noted that Galleani’s “friends and rivals and personal enemies know unanimously that honesty, selflessness and self-denial... are in Galleani’s nature and character.”³⁶⁶ Such affidavits from key figures in the movement protected Galleani from the first accusations.

However, when making public the financial records of Galleani’s Defense Fund, which had been managed by Cavalazzi, poor bookkeeping did come to light. The *Resoconto*, or financial records, were presented in a straightforward manner, with incoming funds listed on the left and descriptions of how money was spent on the right (see Figure 9). For example, \$100 dollars were returned to Vittorio Blotto, the New York wine merchant who had provided money for Galleani’s bail-bond. The one line that caused an uproar of accusations was the line that reads “Lasciate a C. Casellini

³⁶⁶ G.B. Cominetti, “Carissimi compagni del Circolo di Studi Sociali—Barre, Vt.,” included in Luigi Galleani’s “Tra Giuda E Pilato,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), July 03, 1909.

\$260.00.”³⁶⁷ It suggested that Costanzo Casellini, who first appears in 1905 as a member of the CSS alongside his brother Arturo, had been given responsibility over a large sum of remaining money. This put significant pressure on Casellini to explain what happened to the money and initiating a protracted and vehement debate over the *Cronaca's* financial records.

RESOCONTO	
Sottoscrizioni pervenute a Cavalazzi e per esso alla <i>CRONACA SOVVERSIVA</i>	
Entrate :	
<i>Sottoscrizioni pubblicate</i>	
19 Gennaio 1906	170,75
26 " "	261,01
2 Febbraio	237,45
9 " "	230,95
16 " "	120,95
23 " "	144,17
9 Marzo	87,00
16 Marzo	181,10
6 Aprile	123,45
Totale	\$1556,83
<i>Sottoscrizioni non ancora pubblicate</i>	
Barre, Vt. — Unione Scalpellini	100,00
P. Bernacca 2,00, R. Clerici 0,50, E. Berincchi 0,50, I. Kruschank 1,00	4,00
Philadelphia, Pa.—L. Beduschi	1,75
Reilly, Pa.—Piccinato Innocente	6,00
San Francisco, Cal.—	40,00
Somerville, Mass. —	26,00
Quincy, Mass.—Vannelli	20,00
So. Bourgetstown —	
A mezzo Souvarine	16,00
Totale	\$213,75
Totale generale incassi	\$1770,58
Uscite :	
<i>Versamenti:</i>	
7 Gennaio B. Cominetti	100,00
9 " " V. Blotto	100,00
17 " " B. Cominetti	200,00
11 Aprile Blotto	200,00
24 " " Blotto	600,00
<i>Viaggi</i> — 5 viaggi a Galeani da Barre a Boston per conferire interprete ed a New York Paterson per conferenza avvocati. Andata ritorno e relative spese di permanenza. Viaggio Ferrari Barre New York e viaggio Maria Galeani per testimoniare a Paterson andata ritorno spese complessivamente	
	241,70
<i>Telegrammi</i> e vaglia telegrafici come da deconto	
	37,87
<i>Rinnovazione</i> tratte cambiale cauzione come da deconto	
	43,85
<i>Agitazione</i> : consulto avv. Senter Montpeier	
	10,00
Manifesti per meeting	
	2,90
Piccole spese	
	7,37
Lasciate a C. Casellini	
	260,00
Totale uscita	1803,69
RIASSUNTO:	
Totale uscite	1803,69
Totale entrate	1770,58
A credito Cavalazzi	\$ 33,11
che deve pagare a Granai	
	14,25
	Induni 7,85
	\$ 22,10
<i>A. Cavalazzi</i> , che prega chiunque avesse rettifiche o reclami da fare sul suo rendiconto a presentarlo senza ritardo.	

Figure 9: Published Financial Record of Galleani Defense Fund

³⁶⁷ Antonio Cavalazzi, "Resoconto: Sottoscrizioni pervenute a Cavalazzi e per esso alla Cronaca Sovversiva," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), July 03, 1909.

Accusations Turn to Insults: Casellini and the First Anti-Galleani Manifestos

On August 20th, 1909, Casellini and his allies within the Barre community published a manifesto hostile to the administration of the *Cronaca* entitled *Ai Compagni!* (To the Companions). Signed by Antonio Novi, Rodolfo Buzzi, Carlo Visconti, Luigi Cassi, Vittorio Cravello, Pietro Trentini, G. Caccivio, Battista Giacomino, and Giuseppe Sassi, the manifesto constituted the first organized challenge to Galleani's control of the *Cronaca*. Several of these men had played major roles in the *Cronaca* group, including Cassi and Sassi, who were nominated to help manage Galleani's defense fund at the first Train Depot rally after his arrest, and Cravello, who had spoken at the Paterson rally. In other words, the accusations came from well-known and respected members of the local circolo who had intimate bonds to other anarchist groups (particularly those in Paterson) and could not be dismissed as attacks from ideological rivals such as the socialists, or from the local "pirates" and members of the "camorra."

The fight between antagonists and supporters of Galleani subsequently spread over 29 editions of the *Cronaca* (from August 28th, 1909, to July 7th, 1911), as Galleani and Cavalazzi attempted to defend their administration of the paper from attacks led first by Costante Casellini, then by Vittorio Cravello, and finally by Giuseppe Sassi. Their first response came in the August 28th edition of the *Cronaca*, when Cavalazzi's described the accusations as nothing but "diffamazione loiolesca" (Jesuitical defamations). Their choice of language implied double-dealing and trickery, invoking the tactics used by Jesuits during the inquisition—the gravest of insults for the rabidly anti-clerical sovversivi. On September 4th, Galleani christened his antagonists "the Sacra Compagnia di Gesù" ("S.C.d.G."). He claimed that the name was "voluntarily and

intelligently taken by some rabid dogs” who in “furious secret meetings” had “plotted to drown the *Cronaca* within one month” and chase him out of Vermont.³⁶⁸ The group remained the paper’s primary antagonist until the journal relocated away from Barre in 1912.

Attacks against Galleani became more pointed in a second manifesto, which appeared on August 30th, 1909. Entitled *Ai Compagni E Agli Onesti* (To the Companions and Honest People), it was signed only by Costante Casellini. A third manifesto was followed several months later, 13th of December 1909; it was entitled *Ai Compagni, Non alle Oche* (To the Companions and Not to the Geese) and was authored by Cravello. The final public manifesto by this group came on the 5th of April 1910, under the same title as the original, *Ai Compagni* (To the Companions), but was signed by a long list (G. Sassi, San Marzano, C. Viscontini, A. Novi, V. Cravello, P. Trentini, G. Caccivio, L. Cassi, B. Giacomini, R. Buzzi). Among other accusations, the manifestos charged Galleani and Cavalazzi with embezzlement, claiming that up to \$260 of the \$3,000 provided by Vittorio Blotto for Galleani’s bail had been stolen.

The reference to “geese” was meant to insult the supporters of Galleani, essentially labeling them as blind followers. It was the first appearance of this appellation for readers of the *Cronaca* network though certainly not the last: it became a standard description for “followers” of Galleani both in polemic exchanges with rival anarchists and in later historiography. For the highly independent minded and prideful anarchists the insult stung. Giovanni Fruzzetti, one of the original founders of the *Cronaca*, responded

³⁶⁸ Luigi Galleani [El Vecc.], “Al Sole, Al Sole!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Sept. 04, 1909.

in the January 1st, 1910, with an article entitled “Alle Oche, Alle Oche!” (To the Geese, To the Geese!). In his long letter, Fruzzetti stated that the *Ai Compagni, Non Alle Oche* manifesto argued unfairly that those who approved of the attacks on the *Cronaca* were the only good anarchists and those who disapproved of the attacks were “evidently” just “geese!” (blind followers). Fruzzetti concluded that, according to the authors of the manifesto, anyone “who disapprove of their tactics” was “a goose,” and to be otherwise would mean that, “prior to entering the debate,” he would have to “forsake” his old friends at the *Cronaca* and “recognize them as being in the wrong.” This seemed clearly unacceptable, and Fruzzetti was left to sarcastically state “a goose at least has the right to call another goose by its name!”³⁶⁹ The long shadow of such insults should not be underestimated, especially since Cravello later played a role in the schism between the *Cronaca* and *Era Nuova* (edited by the Paterson anarchists), a conflict which has gained a central place in the history of Italian anarchism in America.

Defending the Cronaca: Galleani and Cavalazzi Respond to the Accusations

Galleani believed the charges against him were intended to tarnish the *Cronaca*'s reputation rather than correct any accounting errors or improve the financial status of the paper. Because the paper played a key role as a financial middleman, able to move funds across the scattered anarchist diaspora, any doubt as to the honesty and reliability of the paper's administration deeply undercut the journal's viability. Thus, Galleani's first goal was to restore confidence in the *Cronaca*'s commitment to financial transparency. To do

³⁶⁹ G. Fruzzetti, “Alle Oche, alle Oche!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 08, 1910.

this he published a series of financial statements, along with correspondence and polemic responses to the accusations.³⁷⁰

At first, Galleani took a neutral position in relation to the missing money. He argued that balancing the *Cronaca*'s financial records in an honest, complete and transparent manner (as Casellini also seemed to desire) required intervention from the Circolo Studi Sociali. After all, the CSS was "solely responsible for publishing the newspaper" and Galleani had never directly handled the bail money. He made it clear that his central interest was to maintain the trustworthy reputation of the journal, which needed public confidence to successfully function as a central nodal-hub within the anarchist network. Galleani believed that the Circolo Studi Sociali should undertake "a broad examination, free discussion and the most serious proceedings regarding the administrative management of the newspaper" and that "provisions" should be made "in the shortest time, to provide a final arrangement that will eliminate doubt, suspicions and slander and thus ensure the life and effectiveness of the paper." To this end, Galleani summoned "all the companions who have given the *Cronaca Sovversiva* their faithful service of the last six years" to gather "to discuss any proposal of noble and useful intent." He desired "to guarantee the liberty and the gravity required for the investigation of the administrative conduct to be successful within a wider examination, surrounded by the free discussion essential to reaching an agreement upon more serious proceedings."

³⁷⁰ Luigi Galleani, "Rispondo subito!," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Aug. 28, 1909.

He then requested his companions to “openly declare” their final “judgment” on the matter.³⁷¹

Galleani was even rather critical of Cavalazzi, whom he believed bore “the weighty responsibility of this present dispute, which would not have occurred, or would have played out over a less indecent background, if during his management of four years he had given better financial statements.”³⁷² In December, 1909, Cavalazzi responded that he too blamed himself— but for failing “to notice their plotting and to only disdainfully shrug-off their scraps of gossips, which they would eventually turn into weapons used to overwhelm the ‘bosses of the newspaper’”—a term he claimed these intriguers “secretly called” him, Galleani and other members of the Administration of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*.³⁷³

Cavalazzi’s agitated self-defense suggests that he had perceived how Galleani’s increased prominence had begun to grate on his fellow anarchists in Barre. Cavalazzi had been the financial manager of the paper for three years, during the height of the liquor licensing conflicts and Galleani’s arrest and trial. During that time, some members of the community had apparently come to resent the leadership of both men. When the paper had a hard time paying its debts during the financial crisis of 1907/08, dissatisfied members of the Circolo Studi Sociali attempted to blame and expel Cavalazzi, who was Galleani’s right hand man and kept the paper running while Galleani was away on

³⁷¹ Luigi Galleani [El Vecc.], “Al Sole, Al Sole!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Sept. 04, 1909.

³⁷² Luigi Galleani, “I Decoratori,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Dec. 04, 1909.

³⁷³ Antonio Cavalazzi, “Comunicati—Compagni della Cronaca,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Dec. 04, 1909.

speaking tours. Cavalazzi refused to provide financial records to them, not trusting them to keep the papers safe. The result was more attacks. After a contentious meeting the “S.C.d.G.” seemed to have officially formed and the conflict spread to include Galleani as well, since he continued to support Cavalazzi.³⁷⁴

The Conflict Spreads Beyond Barre: The Larger Anarchist Social Field Gets Involved

Despite the fact that Blotto, the wine merchant who had provided the initial money for Galleani’s bail-fund, confirmed the calculations published in the *Cronaca* and stated that Casellini (not Cavalazzi or Galleani) should be held accountable for missing money, financial issues remained a hot topic in Barre.³⁷⁵ The anti-Galleani faction, now led by Vittorio Cravello, turned its attention to some of the other funds managed by Cavalazzi during his time as financial manager for the paper, particularly those related to Galleani’s propaganda tours and money set aside to fight the “pirates” in 1907/08. Galleani responded that placing the burden of the cost of that journey on the fund for the campaign against the Pirates had been “firmly insisted upon” by Vittorio Cravello himself. The idea that Cravello would attack Granai and Cavalazzi for taking a trip he had originally supported made Galleani irate. Galleani concluded that the “deceitful bile of this shopkeeper should be poured down the drain.”³⁷⁶ The fact that Cravello ran a

³⁷⁴ Cavalazzi, “Comunicati,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Dec. 04, 1909.

³⁷⁵ Blotto stated that he had received \$3,000 from Cavalazzi in January 1907, to pay for Galleani’s bail. On 12th of October 1907, after all the charges against Galleani had been dropped, Blotto sent \$2,790.00 back to Barre. This left a residue of \$210.00, not the original amount of \$260 printed in the *Cronaca*. Blotto concluded that Casellini was the only person who could still possess this money. Vittorio Blotto, “Il colpo di grazia,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Oct. 02, 1909.

³⁷⁶ Luigi Galleani, “Al Sole, Sicuro!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Nov. 06, 1909.

clothing store represented to Galleani his opponent's distance from the working-class, highlighting the shared economic ascendancy of the group of antagonists now harassing the *Cronaca*.

By the end of 1909, the attacks leveled against Galleani, in what been locally distributed manifestos, began to spread. Outsiders who responded to the conflict in Barre emphasized the importance of the newspaper and clearly linked Galleani's opposition to obscure, earlier battles both inside and outside of Vermont. The first sign was a letter from the *Cronaca's* long time correspondent Giovanni Lupo of Quincy, Massachusetts.³⁷⁷ Lupo wrote that the “the cops” of the *Piccone* (another newspaper), who had long been belittled in the pages of the *Cronaca* for being nothing but “some burned out old barkeepers,” had, he asserted, now joined up with “the viper of Barre” (aka Cravello).³⁷⁸ A few months later (March, 1910) the *Cronaca* printed a small note from New London, Connecticut, that repeated the supposed link between *Piccone* and Vittorio Cravello.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁷ Along with other members in the *Cronaca* network, Lupo was targeted in 1918 by the Commissioner of Immigration in Boston for deportation. He evaded capture during the Palmer Raids and was eventually tracked to Virden, Illinois, where, in 1922, he was again targeted for deportation. N.J. Burns, Director—Department of Justice (Bureau of Investigation), to John W. Abercrombie, Acting Secretary of Labor. “In Re: Gianni Lupo, alias G. Luppi,” (Washington, D.C., April 22, 1922), Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service: Subject and Policy Files, 1893-1957, Record Group 85, Box 3076, file 54379/384, National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

³⁷⁸ Gianni Lupo, “Appello ai Compagni,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Dec. 18, 1909.

³⁷⁹ In the letter Marta Dondero complained that Cravello had sent her a copy of *Piccone*, even though Cravello had, in her house “and in front of many companions,” declared *Piccone* “to be a police organ.” She then asked Cravello, thru the public pages of the *Cronaca*, why if he “really wanted to maintain correspondence” with her, he had not sent her “instead of this repulsive *Piccone*, the \$6.75 that under the cloak of good friendship” he had “cheated” her, “as he did with many other companions here in New London.” Such an accusation would certainly further blemished Cravello's reputation. Marta Dondero, “Communicati—Da New London, Conn.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 19, 1910.

Piccone (Pickaxe) was a “numero unico” or one-off publication printed in Taylorville, IL, in 1909. The single “long-winded article” that filled its four pages was “just a string of venomous attacks” against Ludovico Caminita and Gino Farina, authors of articles published in *L'Internationale* of Philadelphia; as well as Alberto Guabello and Luigi Galleani, who were not “forgiven for the positions they took regarding Souvarine and Ravachol in their papers,” the *Cronaca Sovversiva* and *L'Era Nuova* (1908-1917).³⁸⁰ The fact that both the Barre and Paterson papers were attacked in *Piccone* shows again that the infamous ideological divide that placed the two on opposing sides of the anarchist world had not yet fully developed. Instead, bitterness built-up over the next several years, as various accusations pushed key members like Caminita and Galleani into opposite camps.

These interpersonal ruptures greatly increased awareness of ideological disagreements between factions of the Italian anarchist movement in the United States, particularly as the debate about the Mexican Revolution became increasingly combative in 1911 and 1912. As scholars like Presutto and Zimmer have noted, Caminita eventually worked with Cravello to counter Galleani’s critique of the Mexican Revolution. The two even relocated to Los Angeles together and printed an Italian-language section in the revolutionary Mexican anarchist “Magonista” newspaper *Regeneración*.³⁸¹ Thus,

³⁸⁰ The authors of *Piccone* were the two ex-editors of the late *Sorgiamo!* of New York, G. Souvarine (Giosuè Imparato) and Ravachol (D. Visalli). These men had been “pushed to the margins of the movement,” after being called out as “criminals,” “instruments of the police,” “crazy” and “irresponsible” for the “explicitly inflammatory character of their former publication.” Leonardo Bettini, *Bibliografia dell’Anarchismo, vol. 2: Periodici e numeri unici anarchici in lingua italiana pubblicati all’estero (1872-1971)* (Firenze: CP Editrice, 1976), 188-189.

³⁸¹ The first edition of the Italian-language section of *Regeneración* (July 15, 1911) lists Vittorio Cravello as the paper’s first contributor. He gave five dollars, an equal amount of money as the paper’s editor, Caminita. Caminita devoted the lion-share of the paper to anti-Galleani attack-articles. These began on

understanding the interpersonal conflict in Barre between Galleani and Cravello helps to humanize a schism, which has otherwise been understood to a purely ideological disagreement and that fails to fully explain its passion and rhetorical violence.

Giovanni Fruzzetti (who, like Lupo, lived in Quincy) wrote to the *Cronaca*, concerned that the debate over the paper's financial records was not only "shaking-up the sovversivi community of Barre" but in fact knew "no bounds" and was going to become "generalized" across the movement if some companions failed "to intervene in the matter and address the issue from outside." Because Fruzzetti had been "one of the staunchest supporters of there being an anarchist newspaper in Barre" he felt that he could speak without fear of being contradicted.³⁸² Fruzzetti was indeed a major player in the *Cronaca* network. He appears in Galleani's INS files and was one of the militant Italian anarchists deported alongside Galleani in 1919. In those files he is described as a 53-year-old who had been in the United States for 26 years and was the father of ten children, eight of whom had been born in Barre, Vermont. He admitted being an anarchist opposed to all governments including that of the United States and stated that he advocated anarchist ideas at every opportunity. He also stated that he attended anarchist meetings throughout the United States and was a founding member of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. He was arrested in May 1918, for advocating anarchy and his warrant for deportation was issued

August 26, 1911 and ran through October. Notably these were not limited to rejecting Galleani's analysis of the Mexican revolution, but also contained personal attacks on Galleani that had roots in accusations made by the "S.C.d.G.". For digital copies of the Italian language section of *Regeneración*, see <http://archivomagon.net/periodicos/regeneracion-italiano/>; for more on the role Caminita and Cravello played at *Regeneración*, see Presutto, *La rivoluzione dietro l'angolo*, 71-89; Zimmer, *Immigrants Against the State*, 124-129.

³⁸² Fruzzetti, "Alle Oche, alle Oche!," *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 08, 1910.

on December 7th, 1918. Notably, Gianni Lupo was also included in this list for deportation but managed to evade capture, going underground until 1922.³⁸³

In his letter in 1910, Fruzzetti explained that during the first planning meetings for the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, he was “one of those (in fact the only one) who argued for a salaried administrator to be assigned to the *Cronaca*, in the absence of a skilled volunteer administrator, in order to ensure the efficient administration of the newspaper.” As much as he “strove to convince everyone of the indispensability of having a well-paid and highly skilled individual fully focused on managing the most vital functions of the newspaper.” Unfortunately, his voice was “drowned out by all the enthusiasts, each of whom believed that, without ever causing harm to the paper, they would be capable of being good administrators.” But, he pointed out, experience had now taught them that this was not the case.³⁸⁴

Fruzzetti believed that all the mistakes that fueled the attacks on Cavalazzi were the result of the founders having “entrusted the most delicate part of the newspaper not only to the most eager volunteers but also to the most inexperienced, who simply did not have the required skills.” In fact, one simply had to “show a bit of initiative in order to be entrusted with this very delicate task” and no one “bothered to determine if a volunteer was a good and serious companion, or the opposite.” How else could the newspaper have afforded to have Cavalazzi remain for more than three years as administrator of the

³⁸³ John M. Lyons, Immigrant Inspector, “Brief submitted on behalf of the Commissioner of Immigration, Boston, Mass. In re Habeas Corpus Petition of Luigi Galleani, et al.” Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service: Subject and Policy Files, 1893-1957, Record Group 85, Box 2801, file 54235/033, National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

³⁸⁴ Fruzzetti, “Alle Oche, alle Oche!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 08, 1910.

newspaper while he went “not only without a log-book but without even the most basic administrative oversight?”³⁸⁵

Fruzzetti was convinced that if the founders and all the members of the *Circolo Studi Social*, including “those who have published the goose manifesto,” had not been “cowards”—but instead “active companions who lovingly cared for the most vital function of the newspaper”—there would have been no reason “to complain.” He implied that if the opposition were really “acting in good faith” and “truly cared about the life of the newspaper,” they would now “recognize that the errors are everyone’s fault.” They would “care more and become more involved” with the management of the paper; they would, in other words, “work harder” and attempt “to make amends” for their “previous sloth,” and in this way they “would have discovered the thief if there was a thief to discover.” Because they did not do this, Fruzzetti believed the larger anarchist social field would judge the “signatories of these libels against the *Cronaca*” very severely and would never forgive them “for making an attempt on the life” of the newspaper for sectarian reasons.³⁸⁶

Fruzzetti’s insightful analysis provides the necessary context for understanding the fight with the so called “S.C.d.G.,” particularly as it was seen from outside Barre by the larger *Cronaca* network. Fruzzetti had decided that the administrative errors represented a collective failure to demand oversight. If Cavalazzi was really doing such a bad job, it was the *Circolo Studi Sociale*’s responsibility (as much if not more than

³⁸⁵ Fruzzetti, “Alle Oche, alle Oche!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 08, 1910.

³⁸⁶ Fruzzetti, “Alle Oche, alle Oche!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 08, 1910.

Galleani's) to have replaced him earlier. Moreover, to the larger anarchist community, the attacks on the paper were appearing more and more vindictive and divisive and thus counter-productive at a moment when the movement was building and growing. Their counter-productive discourse caused many outside Barre to distrust the motives of the anti-Galleani faction.

While Fruzzetti was willing to criticize Cavalazzi, and the whole Barre anarchist community, others simply rallied behind Galleani. It was at this time that support for Galleani began to demarcate supporters of the *Cronaca*. A letter by Dr. Osvaldo Battendieri lamented that Galleani, whom he described as “the old soldier of International, the captivating orator, the powerful mind of the Italian anarchist party,” had “known violence at the hands of cops hired by his native government, harassment by the rules of Italy, prisons and internal exile,” and “now come to know the slander and disrespect” of those who called themselves “companions” but whose mouths were filled with “the purulent mucus of breasts not warmed by the sacred fire of our Ideal but powered by insults and malicious intentions.” He recommended that “conscientious anarchists and all the good and responsible subversives” should avoid making “common cause with these brutes.” The *Cronaca* network's rejection of attacks on Galleani was “the only thing” that could “provide comfort and satisfaction” to the paper's editor.³⁸⁷

By printing letters such as this one, the *Cronaca* was making sure that its readers saw the broader sovversivi world responding to attacks on Galleani with outrage. And while men such as Fruzzetti, and even Galleani himself, recognized that there were some

³⁸⁷ Dr. Osvaldo Battendieri, “A proposito di certi manifesti,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 08, 1910.

issues with Cavalazzi's financial management of the paper, strong condemnation was reserved not for the administrators of the *Cronaca* but for those who led the charge against the paper. This social dynamic resulted in the formation of the "Galleanisti" as a distinct faction within the larger movement—a faction based not around antiorganizational ideology, as it is often described, but around support for one man whose supporters perceived as being unjustly persecuted by vindictive rivals.³⁸⁸ As historians have written about the events of these years, historiography has in turn portrayed all supporters of the *Cronaca* as blind followers of Galleani—as "Galleanisti."

Accusations Turn to Blows: The War of Words becomes Increasingly Violent

On the 17th of February 1910, *The Barre Daily Times* reported that Galleani had been arrested on a warrant charging him with breach of the peace for fighting with Cravello in the post office corridor. Galleani pleaded guilty to the charge and was fined \$10, plus an additional court cost of \$5.14, which he immediately paid. Shortly afterwards, he left Barre on a propaganda tour in hopes tensions might ease in his absence. Cravello was arrested on a similar charge and also departed Barre, later turning up in Paterson.³⁸⁹ *The Barre Daily Times* stated that the dispute was related to the

³⁸⁸ A sense of group persecution and a violent purging of dissenters are both classic components to tight group identity formation; see Stephen Reicher, S. Alexander Haslam and Rakshi Rath, "Making a Virtue of Evil: a Five-Step Social Identity Model of the Development of Collective Hate," *Social and Personality Psychology Compass* 2, no. 3 (May 2008): 1313-1344.

³⁸⁹ Simultaneously, John Solari was arrested for a fight with Erneato Calosso. John Solari was probably the "Giuseppe Solari," who was one of the ten Italian anarchists deported alongside Galleani in 1919. At that time, Solari was 34 years old. He was arrested on May 11th, 1918 for "teaching anarchy" and managing a "propaganda import business" for the Gruppo Autonomo of East Boston. His deportation order came on November 22, 1918. Lyons, "re Habeas Corpus Petition of Luigi Galleani, et al," INS Files, RG 85, NAB.

Cronaca, “with which both were jointly associated.” According to the article, Cravello had “withdrawn from the administration in charge of the paper,” while Galleani continuing to be associated with it. Since Cravello had quit, there had been ill feeling between the two men that culminated in the post office encounter. Previously limited to the Italian language press and thus not readily seized upon by the English-speaking opposition to Galleani, coverage of this ruckus brought the intra-anarchist conflict into full view.³⁹⁰ The involvement of the police would have important consequences, as old nemeses repeatedly defeated by the anarchists sensed an opportunity for revenge.

On April 5th, 1910, the fourth and final anti-Galleani manifesto was published. By then, the Cavalazzi administration was officially over and the paper was trying to put the whole issue behind it. The *Cronaca* claimed to have addressed all concerns and to have provided “as clear and exact a picture” of the paper’s financial management as was possible given Cavalazzi’s lax bookkeeping. They wanted “to silence the rabid barking of the professional slanderers.” But even these actions did not stop Cravello, who now attacked Galleani and the Circolo Studi Sociali for their management of the propaganda library. Antonio Bianchi, on behalf of the CSS, responded that it appeared, “from the record of materials recently checked-out from the library and taken on consignment,” that

³⁹⁰ Anon., “One Pleaded Guilty: While three others arraigned for Breach of the Peace pleaded not guilty,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Feb 17, 1910. *The Ogden Standard* added that, at the time, there was “quiet in the colony” because Galleani was “gone and the rule is not quite so strongly administered as it was,” adding, in an apparent reference to the incident with Cravello, that Galleani had, “became involved in disputes concerning the management of the *Cronaca*” and that one of “his critics,” “who had ventured to express his opinions to his face, was knocked down for hits temerity.” The next morning Galleani paid his fine in court “without making any explanation or defense.” New York Herald Co., “Anarchy’s Black Flag in a New Camp: Barre, the Marble City of Vermont, Chosen by the Apostles of Force as the Home of Their Propaganda Now That the Gates of Paterson are Closed to Them,” *The Ogden Standard* (Ogden, UT), July 30, 1910.

the greatest debt was represented by a batch of pamphlets withdrawn by Cravello himself. Evidently, only a small part of the fines had been repaid because the Libertarian Youth group, in whose name the pamphlets had been withdrawn by Cravello, had just recently gone defunct. The collapse of the group, Bianchi explained, was “thanks again to the same Cravello.”³⁹¹ Galleani added that the accusations were nothing but “the most artistic false narratives and most stupid defamations” that emphasized the increasingly personal nature of the attacks being leveled against the *Cronaca* now that Cavalazzi’s financial irregularities were not effective fuel for attacks.³⁹²

The *Cronaca* also claimed that Cravello had passed on secrets that only he and two others knew about to the Italian secret police, who had set up a spy ring in nearby Montpelier.³⁹³ The other two men who knew this secret were Bianchi and Galleani. Pietro Di Paolo has shown that anarchists attempted to expose spies by providing false information to a limited circle that included the suspected informant. They then waited to see if that information leaked to the authorities. It seems a similar method had been employed in Barre. Di Paola suggests that there were two kinds of spies employed by the Italian State: informers and secret agents. The difference between the two was that “secret agents provided their information from inside anarchist groups, informers were people who had some contact with them for different reasons.... When the anarchists unmasked

³⁹¹ Antonio Bianchi, “Sul grugno spudorato del solito falsario,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 14, 1910.

³⁹² The new administrators also asked all “readers and subscribers” to submit complaints as soon as “irregularities” were “detected;” because printing correction three or four weeks later could give “the impression” that the paper was “covering up shameful embezzlement.” Anon., “Rettifiche,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 23, 1910.

³⁹³ For more on the Italian spies in Vermont, see Jensen, *The Battle Against Anarchist Terrorism*, 286.

a spy, they warned their comrades by publishing notes in their newspapers or, if the case was particularly serious, by printing and circulating special issues...³⁹⁴ These were serious charges, emphasizing that, after Galleani's recent physical confrontation with Cravello, the two camps were essentially engaged in open war.

The English language press had also taken note of the conflict among the Italians and the scandal over possible spies. However, they framed the issue as one in which the anarchists were using false accusations to terrorize those who did not ideologically agree with them. During "the reign of Luigi Galleani," one article in the English language press stated, "the favorite methods of dealing with one who does not meet with the approval of the anarchists who rule in secret" was to denounce them "as the spy of some government or as a tool of the despised police." Such accusation could be "whispered from one to other" or it might be "proclaimed in open meeting or in some innuendo" or even "conveyed in the official publication or nailed like a summons at the door of the Intractable and hence undesirable inhabitant." Evidently, "those who have been the subjects of warnings... lost no time in getting across the border" and occasional "revolver shots or stiletto thrusts" made sure the anarchists were in control.³⁹⁵ The presence of this story in the mainstream press highlights the dramatic way in which the intra-anarchist conflict in Barre was gaining national attention.

While such sensational descriptions are almost certainly hyperbolic, even other anarchists like Fruzzetti noted the vehemence of the conflict in Barre, which he described

³⁹⁴ Di Paola, *The Knights Errant of Anarchy*, 124-127.

³⁹⁵ New York Herald Co., "Anarchy's Black Flag in a New Camp," *The Ogden Standard*, Jul. 30, 1910.

as having a “mania for insults, defamation, and fragmentation” the likes of which the anarchists had never seen in the history of their movement in North America. By this time Fruzzetti was firmly in the pro-Galleani camp, convinced “that not a cent” had been stolen by Cavalazzi or anyone else. Fruzzetti also confirmed that if the *Cronaca* had made any real mistake, that mistake had been placing “any trust in the promoters of these infamous libels” and to have treated their accusers “with undeserved deference.”³⁹⁶

After the brawl at the post office, Cravello departed for his old home in Paterson. In response, Galleani revealed that Cravello had sold several hundred copies of the Paterson journal, *Era Nuova*, netting twenty-five dollars for himself but only donating “five miserable dollars” back to the New Jersey publishers. For profiting this way from the sale of anarchist publications the *Cronaca* referred to Cravello as a “sulking Shylock,” an anti-Semitic reference that echoed their earlier comment of being “drowned” in the “leeches of the ghetto.”³⁹⁷ The *Cronaca* also reported that, while in Vermont, Cravello had often bemoaned the “rot” that existed in Paterson and had described the leading Paterson anarchists (Guabello, Forgnone, Della Barrel, Rosazza, and Mazzotta) as men who accommodated the anarchist idea according to their pleasure and changed “according to the most recent fashion.”³⁹⁸

³⁹⁶ G.B. Fruzzetti, “Oche, Oche!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 23, 1910.

³⁹⁷ Shylock was the principal antagonist of Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice* and had become a name for money lenders in general. Anon., “Sul grugno spudorato di un emerito truffatore,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 07, 1910.

³⁹⁸ The reference was to Guabello and others originally siding with Ciancabilla in the 1899 schism with Malatesta, going as far as to help Ciancabilla edit *L’Aurora* (The Dawn). Later, Guabello abandoned Ciancabilla and return to editorial board of the *Question Sociale* and its replacement *L’Era Nuova*; see Turcato, *Complete Works of Errico Malatesta: Vol. IV*.

Yet, after fleeing Barre it was among the Paterson anarchists that Cravello sought refuge. It is odd that Cravello would attack Guabello for waffling on the issue of anarchist organizing and siding originally with the *Cronaca* before he himself flipped to the organizational end of the spectrum by seeking refuge with the anarcho-syndicalists in Paterson. Also, Cravello, who the *Cronaca* referred to as the “spiritual leader” of the “S.C.d.G.,” spoke on the stage in Paterson during Galleani’s big rally in 1907 and wrote a lengthy section about the Paterson Silk riots in the Trial Special Edition of the *Cronaca*. In fact, he was one of the original organizers of the Silk Dyers Helper’s strike in 1902. Cravello also had a brother and sister in Paterson (Antonio and Ernestina) who were major players in the Right to Existence Group and it would be natural for him to return there after his relatively short sojourn in Vermont. Notably, Vittorio’s sister, Ernestina, was close to Ciancabilla’s partner, Ersilia Cavedagni, who would play an important role in one of the most active “Galleanisti” nodes in Washington State. This emphasizes the close interpersonal ties that characterized the anarchist network regardless of ideological divergences.³⁹⁹

While the *Cronaca* “never had excessive tenderness for the contents nor for the people of the *Era Nuova*,” they had also never attacked them as Galleani accused Cravello of doing. In fact, Galleani claimed that he could publish a dozen letters in which Cravello “waves incense around the *Cronaca* and its editor like a priest.” Instead, the managers of the *Cronaca* preferred offering proof by making Cravello’s letters available

³⁹⁹ For more on the Cravello family, see Zimmer, *Immigrants against the State*, 75-77 and 125-130, and Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution*, 160-162.

for public perusal at A. Bottinelli's print shop.⁴⁰⁰ Within only a few years the two papers would become serious polemic opponents, debating organizationalism and the Mexican Revolution. However, in 1910 the conflict between the two fractions was still evolving and still very personal. The violent fight with Cravello may have contributed to the eventual split—as it almost certainly played a role in the violent rhetoric which characterized the debate about the Mexican revolution starting in 1911—a reminder that ideological and interpersonal conflicts entwined in animating the anarchist movement as an historically embedded processes.

Not long after Cravello again found acceptance among the Paterson anarchists, the *Cronaca* objected to Errico Malatesta's efforts to form an Anarchist Revolutionary Party. For the first time, *Cronaca* signaled an increasingly combative positionality within the sovversivi social field as champion of the anti-organizational branch of anarchism. In fact, during the Barre years Galleani's fight had been more focused on the socialists. He was not an ideologically rigid "anti-organizationalist" until around the time of his relocation to Lynn.⁴⁰¹ During the previous years, ideological differences may have quietly existed under the surface, but they did not provoke major conflicts. These polemic battels only came to flourish after interpersonal battles had poisoned the well-of-friendship between the two branches of the anarchist network.

Galleani and his companions also began to more actively fight against the larger turn the international anarchist movement was making towards anarcho-syndicalism. The

⁴⁰⁰ Anon., "Sul grugno spudorato...", *Cronaca Sovversiva*, May 07, 1910.

⁴⁰¹ Antonio Senta, email to author, May 27, 2018.

debate about organizing and involvement in the labor movement which would embitter *Cronaca's* relationship with other journals in the coming years. At the same time the journal was pulling away from more localized battles that had characterized it through almost all the years it was printed in Barre. Empowered by its increased network and social influence, it instead increasingly focused on ideological conflicts within the anarchist movement itself—a topic of limited interest in its first seven years of publication.

One Last Battle: Conflict with Sassi Escalates from Death Threats to Arrest Warrants

The last big battle that the anarchists fought in Barre began with the *Cronaca* using its bully-pulpit to chastise a member of the immigrant community for improper behavior. While the *Cronaca* had mostly stopped printing the *Cronaca Locale* it continued to attack locals in a column called “Faccie Di Bronzo” (Faces of Bronze). “Bronzo” was a pun for someone who is particularly brazen, thus the *Cronaca* was calling these people “brazen-faced,” or shameless. The section called out enemies of the anarchists, usually employers or political figures. One of the quarrels that rose out of the paper’s “bronzing” of a local boss exceeded all the earlier skirmishes it had experienced in Barre. At first, the *Cronaca* faced resistance from the target of their attack; then a coalition formed. This group included not only local police and “pirates” but also former members of the anarchist community and even agents of the Italian government, whose secret police were now stationed in Vermont and seeking to destroy the newspaper. These forces made Barre an ever more dangerous site of operation for the *Cronaca*, even as it was outgrowing its old role of local gad-fly and assuming a new position as the dominant

champion of antiorganizational anarchism amongst Italian anarchists. Its opponents unexpectedly coalesced around a rather mundane and seemingly insignificant conflict with one of the more disreputable members of the “S.C.d.G.” The ensuing conflict forever transformed the paper and led it to abandon its long-standing tactic of social engagement as it both fled the streets of Barre and entered a more disruptive transnational role as champion of anti-organizational anarchism.

This final conflict in Barre began with an article focused on the “Sassi household” in which the *Cronaca* examined “the snouts of two new masters” who, after “freeing themselves of the detested yoke of the bosses” had also “abandoned their rebellious and subversive past.” According to Galleani, these ex-sovversivi had “became hungry for gold” and had started “to spread crazy greedy fangs towards any wretches who had the misfortune of falling into their grasp.” The paper explained that, as soon as “the warlike fury” of the “S.C.d.G.” had eased up, Giuseppe Sassi had entered into a “very legal and predictable marriage” and “rapidly lowered the flag of pure and radiant subversion” to become a boss. In their new roles as employers, these former radicals even forced the workers to use “the infamous machine” that had been “the cause of last year’s well-known strike,” (meaning one of the granite polishing buffers—devices that kicked up excess dust and which had been directly tied to the spread of deadly silicosis among the workers).⁴⁰²

⁴⁰² Arturo, “Faccie di Bronzo,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Oct. 22, 1910. For more on silicosis and labor accords in Barre, see Seager, “Barre, Vermont Granite Workers and the Struggle against Silicosis,” 69-70; for background on the labor movements struggle for health care, see Alan Derickson, “Take Health from the List of Luxuries’: Labor and the Right to Health Care, 1915-1949,” *Labor History* 41, no. 2 (May 2000): 171-187.

The Stonecutters' Union, warned of the behavior of these two new bosses, had repeatedly demanded that they observe the labor contract which had been settled in February, at the end of a nearly four-month-long strike by over 5,000 quarrymen. The *Cronaca* explained that since being warned, things had "proceeded haphazardly, until a week ago, when the pot finally boiled over onto the noses of these two overseers." Among "the employees of these two new aspirants to the inheritance of Croesus," there had been "a poor worker" who, after eight days of work, had been paid only \$2.50 per day, instead of the required union rate of \$3.20. Of course, "the worker protested and received from one of the bosses insults instead of the money he was owed." This laborer then appealed to the Union Committee, which immediately intervened on his behalf. And when the Committee came to the granite shed, which the author noted might as well be called a prison, the same boss who had first insulted the worker was seized by a "hysterical outburst," and "after hurling curses at the representatives of the Stonemasons' Union," the boss "summoned the impudence to deliver a punch to one of the members of the Committee," before speedily escaping outside in order to avoid "the certain return blow." The article concluded it was the only kind of response the workers could expect from such "disreputable lords" of the "S.C.d.G."⁴⁰³

The *Cronaca* noted that, while it had never "harbored vain sympathies for the unions and its committees," when it came to conflicts between bosses and the workers, the paper's position could not be questioned. On the other hand, the *Cronaca* argued that local detractors had felt the need to leave the anarchist movement in order "to devote

⁴⁰³ Arturo, "Faccie di Bronzo," *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Oct. 22, 1910.

themselves to the hunt for stupid fortune;” and since “the *Cronaca* could foil their calculations,” they felt ever stronger the imperative to “kill the paper.” Still, the *Cronaca* lived and would “continue to live despite their rotten and vindictive tricks.” Then, once more stating their role as champion of the immigrant workers in Barre, the article concluded that anarchists would “never fail to nail” figures like the Sassi’s “to the pillory.”⁴⁰⁴

The charges leveled against Sassi and his wife certainly aimed a lot of negative attention at the two in Barre, explaining the violent reaction that followed, which included Sassi’s threatening Cavalazzi with a gun. The journal described Sassi San Marzano as “alone, abandoned even by the members” of the “S.C.d.G.,” who “could not find an explanation, however contrived, that might help clear” his name “from the reputation of being the new slave driver” or, to use the anarchists’ expression, “to wash his snout from the bronzing” they had given him. The *Cronaca* caustically concluded that it would rail against Sassi no more. However, they would advise him that “a .32 caliber bauble is not a bad thing to own, nor is it bad thing to carry around in your pocket, but it is bad, very bad, to pull it from your pocket and fail to use it, to show it to the educated and learned public; because when it is in certain hands it will not even scare the cats.”⁴⁰⁵

Violence, again openly displayed in the streets of Barre, attracted attention from local authorities who were predictably opposed to the local anarchists. In fact, the editors of the *Cronaca* did not hesitate to point out that “when someone from the *Cronaca*

⁴⁰⁴ Arturo, “Faccie di Bronzo,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Oct. 22, 1910.

⁴⁰⁵ Arturo, “Faccie di Bronzo,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Oct. 29, 1910.

punched someone from the Sacra Compagnia di Gesù, ” there was “always a diligent secret informant” who notified the authorities, so they could immediately intervene and fine the offender. However, when the so called “disturber of the peace” was someone from “S.C.d.G.”, the informant went missing and the authorities delivered only “snores.” The paper insisted that it did not intend to request the intervention of the law on its behalf and that the affair was theirs alone. Then, in its typically masculine manner, the *Cronaca* claimed that the anarchists knew best “how to handle” Sassi, as they were sure “he must realize.”⁴⁰⁶ Ultimately, however, pressure from the local state officials was crucial in forcing the *Cronaca* to relocate from Barre.

The first sign of this escalation came not in the *Cronaca* but in *The Barre Daily Times*, which on December 29th, 1910, noted that a lawsuit seeking \$5,000 for damages for alleged slander had been brought by Joseph Sassi against Luigi Galleani, “the Italian editor.” The plaintiff claimed “that Galleani has been contriving wickedly and maliciously to injure him and to break up his family and to bring him into public scandal.” Local lawyer R.A. Hoar had been retained as counsel for the plaintiff and just the day before a warrant had been placed in the hands of Deputy Sheriff George L. Morris for the arrest of Galleani. The article noted the police had been unable to find Galleani. *The Barre Daily Times* also said that Mrs. Sassi would “bring a similar suit against Galleani for alleged slanderous statements against her reputation.”⁴⁰⁷

⁴⁰⁶ Arturo, “Faccie di Bronzo,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Oct. 29, 1910.

⁴⁰⁷ Anon., “Sues for \$5,000: Joseph Sassi is Plaintiff in Actions Against Luigi Galleani,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Dec. 29, 1910.

The following day (December 30th, 1910), *The Barre Daily Times* ran a second article which described a confrontation between the two men, stating that Joseph Sassi had been arrested and placed under \$5,000 bail. Sassi was being charged with assaulting Cavalazzi in his barber shop. The paper added that it was “alleged by Cavalazzi that Sassi came into his shop and that during a quarrel between them Sassi pulled a revolver and, threatening to shoot him, pointed the gun so close to Cavalazzi's face that the muzzle went into his mouth and injured his lip.” The local police confirmed that “the scrap was continued out on the sidewalk in front of the shop, and that revolvers and razors were flourished in a dangerous manner.”⁴⁰⁸

The article also claimed that Cavalazzi's suit was “a cross-fire against the suit for \$5,000 damages,” which Sassi had just brought against Galleani. Sassi was arrested by Deputy Sheriff Morris; and, “after considerable hustling around,” Sassi found six friends to pay his bail. The bondsmen were G. Catto, P. Negroni, A. Perolini, G. Xaiz, L. Pozzi and G. Movalli. An addendum added that Deputy Sheriff Morris had not yet been able to locate Galleani, in order to serve the papers on him in the suit brought against him by Sassi. Finally, the day before, “a lot of circulars, printed in Italian,” had been distributed in Barre's north end; it supposedly represented “Mrs. Sassi's opinion of Galleani in very strong language.”⁴⁰⁹

Evidently, Sassi had waved his gun around Cavalazzi's barber shop, which was also one of the main public fronts for the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, where locals could pay

⁴⁰⁸ Anon., “Counter-Suit Brought: Joe Sassi Charged with Assault by Cavalazzi,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Dec. 30, 1910.

⁴⁰⁹ Anon., “Counter-Suit Brought,” *The Barre Daily Times*, Dec. 30, 1910

their subscriptions and purchase copies of the paper. It seems fair to conclude that the anarchists had lived up to their word to not involve the police in the matter until Sassi brought his lawsuit against Galleani, provoking only their countersuit. Galleani was evading the police during the time Sassi was arrested and released on bail.⁴¹⁰ Out of this group of bondsmen, Movalli appeared the most times in the *Cronaca's* financial records.

Movalli was a regular donor to the paper in its early years, giving at least six times in 1903 and 1904 on top of his annual subscription, twice under the full name Giovanni Movalli. He first subscribed to the very first edition of the paper, printed June 13th, 1903, and his second subscription was bundled with other funds gathered by B. Sassi, possibly one of Giuseppe Sassi's relatives. Kin relations in the Barre sovversivi community may have motivated supporters of the paper, such as Movalli, to bail out even a designated enemy of the *Cronaca*.⁴¹¹

⁴¹⁰ G. Catto, one of Sassi's bondsmen, appeared in the 4th edition of the paper ever printed, on July 4th, 1903, when he paid fifty cents to subscribe to the paper. He reappeared 6 more times, subscribing again on January 23, 1904, and again on February 18th, 1905. He also donated a total of sixty cents to the papers *Sottoscrizione* fund over three donations as well as twenty-five cents for the March 26th, 1904, fund for the victims of oppression in Spain. Thus, he was, in the years prior to Galleani's trial, a regular subscriber and at least casual donor to the paper. P. Negorni was a similar case, although he subscribed and donated to the paper not only in 1904, 1905, and 1906 but again in 1909, 1910, 1911, and 1913 (even after the paper left Barre). A. Perolini on the other hand never subscribed to the paper, but did donate one dollar on June 13th, 1908, which had been accompanied by a note stating that he was "*content di rivedere i compagni di Barre*" (happy to re-encounter the companions in Barre) suggesting he had just returned to Barre. On August 15th of 1908 he donated another 25 cents but then disappeared from the paper's records until 1916, when he donated another fifty cents. G. Xaiz never appeared in the paper; but an F. Xaiz did subscribe to the *Cronaca* in Barre once, on March 30th, 1907. The records also show L. Pozzi (once fully named as Luigi Pozzi) donating four times after he paid Sassi's bail. His subscriptions to *Cronaca* (on April 22nd 1911 and 1912) came from Springfield, MA, and New Haven, CT. On May 24th, 1913, he subscribed again, back in Springfield, MA, at which time he also donated a dollar to the *Sottoscrizione* fund which was accompanied by a note stating that the donation was "*per distruggere l'infausto e decrepito deficit*" (to destroy the sad and decrepit debt).

⁴¹¹ Movalli also donated, on January 28th, 1905, five of the \$355 dollars raised to purchase the paper's printing press. An act which highlights his closeness to the *Cronaca* crew and participation in the Barre anarchist social field. However, in April 1905, the five dollars were returned to him by the *Cronaca* collective, essentially buying out his share of the ownership of the press. More importantly, he is listed as having donated \$1.25 to the fund in support of Covelli on October 24th 1908, part of a bundle of \$42.50 gathered together by Giuseppe Sassi. Giovanni Movalli's final two donations (25 cents for Carlo Tresca's

Information about the men who bailed Giuseppe Sassi out of prison after he was charged with assaulting Cavalazzi highlights the increasingly fratricidal character of the fight within the anarchist community in Barre. Both casual and more deeply connected members of the anarchist scene in Barre broke with the paper in very public ways. It also revealed a pattern in which some of the less active members retained affiliation with the paper in the years after the relocation to Lynn, while those who had been more heavily involved in the paper early on but sided with the anti-Galleani faction in 1910, tended to break with the *Cronaca* group.

The conflict with the Sassis did not end with the exchange of lawsuits and more combative articles appeared in the *Cronaca*, including one, on January 7th, 1911, that described how Giuseppe Sassi “was unceremoniously laid out on the sidewalk” by Galleani and adding that Sassi had filed against Galleani “some half dozen lawsuits demanding compensation of five thousand US dollars in damages.” The *Cronaca* believed that a lawsuit was “the only course of action that can allow the crusaders” of “S.C.d.G.” to “affirm their revolutionary intransigence.”⁴¹² The next week the *Cronaca* stated that “the snouts” of detectives were always “hovering around” Galleani’s house but had “not been able to lay hands” on “the devilish old man.”⁴¹³

legal defense fund in February, 1909, and another 25 cents for the funeral of I. Belli in May, 1909) both come before the violent community rupture of 1910, after which he disappeared from the paper’s records.

⁴¹² Anon., “Cronaca Locale—In quarella!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 07, 1911.

⁴¹³ Anon., “Cronaca Locale—La Sacra Compagnia di Gesù,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 14, 1911.

Barre Becomes Too Hot for Galleani: Time to Leave Vermont

Despite Galleani's absence, his local enemies continued to mobilize against the *Cronaca* and attempted to recruit support from other members of the Barre community. However, everyone was not sympathetic to the anti-Galleani agitators. For example, the Spanish anarchists in Barre apparently supported Galleani, whom they knew well thanks to all the cross-national social events organized by members of the Circolo Studi Sociali. Isidoro Arnaiz, on behalf of a group of the Spaniards, stated that Galleani had always had their complete respect and that they had nothing in common with the "S.C.d.G." and wished not to be involved in matters that did not concern them personally. Arnaiz expressed a deep distaste for the "S.C.d.G.", suggesting the degree to which the group had alienated many members of the larger sovversivi social field with their close relationship to the authorities.⁴¹⁴

Sassi had sued Galleani for \$5,000 in what the January 13th edition of *The Barre Daily Times* was calling "the Sassi-Galleani-Cavalazzi feud." The paper added that, but before papers could be served on him, Galleani disappeared and had not yet been located. While Galleani was on the lam, Sassis filed still more slander lawsuits; this resulted in Cavalazzi being re-arrested. This time Cavalazzi was provided bail money by S. Simonelli, P. Ricciarelli, C. A. Bottonelli and O. Granai, all well-known members of the

⁴¹⁴ Isidoro Arnaiz, "Cronaca Locale—Compagni della Cronaca," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 21, 1911.

Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre. This case was then followed by a suit for \$3,000 by A. Cavalazzi against Joseph Sassi and then a third suit by Mrs. Sassi against Cavalazzi.⁴¹⁵

While Galleani had escaped, Cavalazzi chose to remain and have some of the other members of the Circolo Studi Sociali post his bail. Galleani had become too important to the movement to be caught up in this exchange, but Cavalazzi was no longer directly involved in running the *Cronaca* and could thus afford to deal with the legal quagmire. With the anarchists' extensive social network, the arrest and exorbitant bail created only a minor inconvenience. Regardless, the event showed that pressure from the police now made it unsafe for Galleani to return to Barre.

By February, anarchists from around the country began to suggest that the *Cronaca* relocate to avoid the drama stalking it in the streets of Barre.⁴¹⁶ The decision to relocate the *Cronaca* would eventually be consented upon by all the major parties involved, helped along no doubt by the fact that Galleani was now essentially a wanted man in Barre. It was not clear where Galleani went at this time—perhaps he was traveling on one of his speaking tours. Historian of Italian anarchism, Ugo Fedeli, has stated that Galleani moved to Lynn in 1910, “where the paper assumed an even more vigorous tenor.”⁴¹⁷ While impossible to confirm, Galleani may have vacated Barre well before the paper began listing Lynn as its site of publication. Lynn was home to many supporters of Galleani's combative anarchism and it would have been easy for him to find safe shelter

⁴¹⁵ Anon., “Bring Another Suit: This time it is for \$3,000, and Slander is Charged,” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), Jan. 13, 1911.

⁴¹⁶ Il Gruppo Francisco Ferrer, “Comunicati: Riceviamo e Pubblichiamo—Da Providence, R.I.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 18, 1911.

⁴¹⁷ Fedeli, *Luigi Galleani*, 92.

there, away from the Vermont police. If this is true, the series of lawsuits brought against the members of the editorial collective were successful and had forced Galleani and some of his fellow anarchists to abandon Vermont.

Conclusion: From Conflict to Purge

For almost nine years the *Cronaca*, helmed by Galleani, had played a major role in the life of Barre. It had involved itself directly in the life of the community and had come into violent rhetorical battles with almost every major power player from the “pirates who conduct sinister business,” to the “police who lack judgment,” the “bar keepers who strip frivolous fools bare,” the “managers of discount whore houses,” the “small and mangy aspirants to the laurels of the betting book,” the “brazen faced exploiters,” and all the rest of the “tribe of slimy crawling reptiles who hide away in their lairs and fearfully lash-out” at the anarchists’ “honest and incorruptible newspaper.”⁴¹⁸ While conflict with so many in the Barre community had helped catapult the *Cronaca* into international prominence, conflict within the anarchist community proved to have a more complicated set of ramifications.

A sense of group persecution and a violent purging of dissenters are both classic components of the five-step process of tight group identity formation explicated by scholars such as Stephen Reicher, S. Alexander Haslam and Rakshi Rath, which include: (i) Identification— the construction of an ingroup; (ii) Exclusion— the definition of targets as external to the ingroup; (iii) Threat— the representation of these targets as

⁴¹⁸ Anon., “Cronaca Locale—Parlando della Sacra Compagnia di Gesù,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 25, 1911.

endangering ingroup identity; (iv) Virtue— the championing of the ingroup as (uniquely) good; and (v) Celebration— embracing the eradication of the outgroup as necessary to the defense of virtue.⁴¹⁹ In the case of the *Cronaca* network, this process eventually helped form the “Galleanisti” as a distinct faction, transforming the *Cronaca* from a regional, community-focused, anti-corruption paper into the combative, secretive, and aggressively sectarian banner of a notably violent strain of antiorganizational anarchism.

By the end of 1911, Galleani and his cohort had departed from Vermont. Unlike previous breaks between editorial boards and the collectives that supported community papers, such as the rupture between Ciancabilla and The Right to Existence Group in Paterson in 1899, the *Cronaca* and its press moved with Galleani, dislocating itself from its founders.⁴²⁰ While placing the journal more firmly in the hands of Galleani, the move robbed the newspaper of its collective character and close association with a face-to-face community. Chapter 3’s discussion of the School of Design also revealed issues around salaried versus volunteer administrators. These failures highlight the problems anarchist volunteerism faced in real-world scenarios. In both cases, individuals ended up taking over for the community—Carlo Abate in the case of the school and Galleani in the case of the newspaper.

The next chapter demonstrates that the *Cronaca*’s relocation was part of a process that reaffirmed its anarchist principles and put on display the fact that this paper was really owned not by any person or even a single community but by a social network that

⁴¹⁹ Reicher, Haslam and Rath’s “Making a Virtue of Evil,” 1313.

⁴²⁰ In 1899 Ciancabilla and two of his co-editors, Della Barile and Guabello, abandoned the Paterson group and founded their own rival paper *L’Aurora*. Zimmer, *Immigrants against the State*, 59.

spanned North America. That social network was a very different kind of community than the one that had founded the *Cronaca* in 1903. Rather than embodied and nurtured through intimate social contact, the new network was an imagined community knit together by the *Cronaca* itself—a network that was now fully ready to take the journal off the hands of the divided and exhausted Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre.

Chapter 7

The Relocation of The *Cronaca Sovversiva*

On the 25th of February 1911, the *Cronaca Sovversiva* printed an open letter from the Gruppo Francisco Ferrer of Providence, Rhode Island, advocating for the relocation of the Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva away from its long-standing home in Barre, Vermont. The Providence anarchist group argued that the publication “of a newspaper with an eminently subversive and rigidly uncompromising character” like the *Cronaca* could not continue very long in a village like Barre, “far from all industrial and mining centers” where personal frictions could “continue without interruption” and “intensify day-by-day.” They believed that even if this climate did not cause the suppression of the newspaper, it clearly sapped energy, consumed a large portion of the anarchists’ activities, and preserved a seemingly insurmountable deficit. However, they did not believe that just any other city in the United States would suffice. They formally proposed that the publishing of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* be relocated to Boston, which they referred to as “the most important commercial and industrial center of New England.”⁴²¹ This chapter explores how the journal’s relocation, motivated by financial pressure and conflict in Barre, was conducted—making legible both the birth of the

⁴²¹ Groups in Kansas and New York also invited Galleani to transfer the *Cronaca* to their locales. Not wanting “to insult anyone or to create disagreements among companions,” the Providence group believed such a move “would be disastrous.” They also felt that “in transferring its residence in Boston,” the *Cronaca* would “bring with it all the printing material (fonts, machine, engine and accessories)” and “thus the publication of the newspaper” would be able to continue without interruption. Il Gruppo Francisco Ferrer, “Comunicato: Riceviamo e Pubblichiamo—Da Providence, R.I.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 25, 1911.

“Galleanisti” as a distinct anarchist faction of the larger social field and Galleani's unique position within the *Cronaca* network.⁴²²

Over these seven months, between February 25th and September 11th, 1911, more than 30 “relocation notes” appeared before Galleani officially announced plans to transfer the press to Lynn, MA. Numerous collectives participated in this conversation. The names of the letter writers form an interesting list of respected individuals who were vouching for the radical credentials of their local groups (for the list of these correspondents see Appendix 9). The foremost locations proposed as new sites for the *Cronaca*'s publishing included the three major industrial metropolises in which substantial Italian communities resided: Boston, New York City, and Chicago; as well as two major coal-mining hubs: Scranton, Pennsylvania, and Frontenac, Kansas. The logic behind these propositions and the different groups who supported moving the offices of the *Cronaca* to various locals tell us a great deal about the *Cronaca* network's ownership of the paper, thereby revealing their priorities (in terms of propaganda strategies) as well as the process they employed in their search of consensus.

During the debate over relocation, two primary themes emerged: the first was a powerful sense of collective ownership of the newspaper shared by the larger network; the second was the powerful influence exerted by Galleani. Galleani stressed this tension when he admitted to federal investigators that he had been the “editor-in-chief” of the

⁴²² According to Robert D'Attilio, the paper relocated to Massachusetts to be closer to “the heat of action” during years in which industrial New England towns like Lawrence were convulsing with labor unrest. Barre was “simply too far removed” from events. However, in 1911 no one anticipated the Lawrence strike of 1912. And, while the desire to escape persistent debt might have partially motivated the move, the *Cronaca*'s financial records show that the transfer did not help eliminate the debt. Robert D'Attilio, email to author, July 5, 2009.

Cronaca for 16 years, “from the first number published until the last.” But, when asked about who owned the paper he replied that while the journal was in his charge, there was no owner, adding that even if he had wanted to sell it he would not be able to do so. As the list of donors who purchased the original printing press shows (see Chapter 2), this was not a completely disingenuous claim.⁴²³ Evidence suggested that, at least initially, the *Cronaca* belonged more to the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre than to Galleani himself. However, this chapter shows that, by the end of 1911, the *Cronaca*’s larger network of collectives had replaced the original Barre circolo as the paper’s “managerial group.”⁴²⁴

Additionally, Galleani and the journal were married together in a far more intimate and enduring manner than the title of “editor” usually describes. Galleani’s powerful personality and the paper’s network-wide collective sense of ownership sets the *Cronaca* apart from most other anarchist propaganda projects. For example, Carlo Tresca’s famous paper *Il Martello* (The Hammer), was owned directly by Tresca himself. But *La Question Sociale* was firmly controlled by the Paterson-based Right to Existence Group, who replaced the paper’s editor numerous times. In fact, Galleani himself had been replaced by the Paterson anarchists when he was forced to leave town to avoid

⁴²³ “Copy of Hearing made for Counsel, attorney A.V. Fette, sent by W.B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor, to H.J. Skeffington, Commissioner of Immigration, Boston, Mass., Re Luigi Galleani,” Records of the Immigration and Naturalization Service: Subject and Policy Files, 1893-1957, Record Group 85, Box 2801, files 54235/033, National Archives Building, Washington, DC.

⁴²⁴ The founding ownership group, the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre, was not deeply involved in the decision to relocate the paper. However, the February 25th, 1911, edition of the paper did call for all “ardent members of the Circolo Studi Sociali” to attend a “meeting” to “discuss things of the greatest importance.” It seems clear that this meeting discussed the paper’s decision to relocate. Anon., “Cronaca Locale—I compagni aderenti al Circolo di Studi Sociali,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 25, 1911.

arrest in 1902.⁴²⁵ The *Cronaca Sovversiva* was shaped by a tension between collectivity and charismatic leadership that was both a result of the trials and tribulations of the previous eight years and a driving force behind its transformation into an increasingly insular, combative and violent branch of the anarchist movement.

Debating the Move: The Decision-Making Process of the Cronaca Network

The expanded *Cronaca* network had a fundamentally different producer/consumer relationship with Galleani and the journal's publishing collective than most newspaper audiences have with editorial boards. Unlike in Barre, network relationships were neither daily nor face-to-face. The mediated nature of the network was made evident throughout the relocation decision-making process. The supporters of the *Cronaca* felt that all the companions spread across the paper's far flung network, not just those in Barre or those directly involved in producing the paper, had a stake in the paper's relocation. For example, G. Vitullo wrote that the Circolo F. Ferrer (Utica, NY) had read the statement from the companions in Providence and hoped the proposal from the Utica companions would be "submitted for the approval of all the companions in different location."⁴²⁶ This sense of ownership over the *Cronaca* became a common feature in the various calls for the paper to relocate to different communities.

The discussion began in earnest in the March 4th, 1911, edition of the *Cronaca*, which contained a note from L. Backet in Middletown, Ohio. Backet argued that Chicago

⁴²⁵ For more on Tresca's ownership of *Il Martello*, see Pernicone, *Carlo Tresca*, 106; for more on the collective ownership of the Paterson paper, see Zimmer, *Immigrants against the State*, 56-59.

⁴²⁶ G. Vitullo, "Comunicati—Da Utica, N.Y.," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 25, 1911.

should be preferred to any other city in the United States.⁴²⁷ He listed positive qualities a location should include, such as centrality to the network, a large population of Italians, and a strong anarchist movement capable of maintaining the paper's financial stability. Other proposals that appeared in the paper followed this format. For example, Vito D'Amico and the Circolo "Senza Dio" (the "Godless" circle) in St. Louis, Mo, argued that the Eastern States already had "many intellectual companions, newspapers and subversive magazines," and it was unfair to abandon the West, where there was a great need for anarchist propaganda. D'Amico also noted that "to ensure the most expeditious circulation of the newspaper," the network might want to think about a geographically central point of the United States. The St. Louis Circolo believed Pittsburg, Kansas was the best location for the *Cronaca's* new home.⁴²⁸

While Pittsburg, Kansas, was near many mining communities, it certainly was not an industrial center on the same level as Chicago, a point made by Arthur Barili on behalf of the Chicago-based Circolo F. Ferrer and Gruppo Libertario.⁴²⁹ Barili also argued that Chicago, "despite being an industrial center of the greatest significance (with a very large and cosmopolitan proletariat that includes one of the most populous Italian colonies in the United States)" did not have "a serious and honest subversive newspaper printed in

⁴²⁷ L. Backet, "Comunicati—Da Middletown, Ohio," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 04, 1911.

⁴²⁸ Vito D'Amico, "Comunicati—Da St. Louis, Mo.," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 04, 1911.

⁴²⁹ Arthur Barili, "Per il trasloco della Cronaca—Da Chicago, Ill.," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 11, 1911.

the Italian language or even any lecturers able to devote themselves with love and sincerity to the propagation” of the anarchists’ shared ideas.⁴³⁰

Pressure to choose a major city also came from P. Bambara, who suggested that the *Cronaca* should choose a large metropolis and that a small town was not at all suitable for the publication of “a combative newspaper of struggle and revolutionary education.” In villages like Barre, he asserted, there would never be the life that there was in a big city like New York, and it was precisely in such a city where there was “great soil for planting seed and perhaps a great harvest to gather.” Thus, for Bambara, it was in New York City “where a dignified voice” was most needed to protest “all the infamies and colonial filth” and to “start the work of purification, of education, and of moral elevation.”⁴³¹ He saw relocation to New York as an opportunity to reinvigorate not only the paper but also whatever community it finally came to call home.

The debate continued in this manner for several weeks, until Salvatore Federico Quinto of Boston suggested that the network should reevaluate its approach to the relocation process. Quinto was frustrated that having consulted almost everyone, the anarchists could hardly find two companions who agreed on the same location. Instead, almost all of them seemed to choose their home towns. Quinto did not know if their recommendations had roots in “some simple and unconscious sense of pride,” or if they signaled “an ignorance regarding the largest industrial cities where Italian speaking

⁴³⁰ While in 1911 Chicago had no such paper, as Kenyon Zimmer has shown, the Windy City did have Italian language anarchist journals in the past and would have more in the future, including: *Il Grido degli Oppressi* (1892-1894), *La Protesta Umana* (1900-1905), *L'Allarme* (1915-1917), and *Germinal* (1926-1930). Kenyon Zimmer, "Anarchist Newspapers and Periodicals 1872-1940," *Anarchist Newspapers*, accessed April 26, 2018, http://depts.washington.edu/moves/anarchist_map-newspapers.shtml.

⁴³¹ P. Bambara, “Comunicati—Da White Plains, N.Y.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 04, 1911.

workers number in the hundreds of thousands.” Either way, despite living in Boston, Quinto recommended New York as the *Cronaca*’s future home. After all, he reasoned, almost all mainstream publishers of commercial Italian-language periodicals, whose activity degraded “the mass of working people for the exclusive benefit of the elite class,” published their papers in the metropolis of New York.⁴³² Quinto believed that the leading capitalist propagandists were centered in New York City for good reasons and the anarchists should be printing there as well. From New York the *Cronaca* could best counter propaganda coming from the prominenti.⁴³³

The sentiment expressed by Quinto did not dissuade other members of the network from joining the debate. Richard Trogon in Middletown, NY, argued for Scranton, Pennsylvania, because Scranton was an important center of Italian immigration. Trogon believed that a newspaper such as the *Cronaca*, “led by a propagandist of the strength of companion Galleani,” would be “useful to this huge mass of wage slaves” who were continuously exposed to mistreatment by employers’ seriously dangerous work conditions. Scranton was also encircled by “a dense network of mine camps and small and large villages clustered near each other and only a short distance from the city center.” It was therefore his opinion that the *Cronaca* should relocate to Scranton, where it would be ensured a flourishing life and would “certainly be in the best situation to propagate anarchist theories and produce conscious rebels among the large

⁴³² Salv. Federico Quinto, “Per il trasloco della Cronaca—Da Boston, Mass.” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 18, 1911.

⁴³³ For more on what has been called the “prominenti phase of Italian journalism in America” and competition with the *soversivi* press, see Peter G. Vellon, *A Great Conspiracy Against Our Race: Italian Immigrant Newspapers and the Construction of Whiteness in the Early 20th Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 22-35.

crowd of miners still dominated and exploited by the priests, duped by bankers and journalists, and oppressed by the bosses.”⁴³⁴

Quinto and Trogon’s divergent rationales revealed a split between network nodes located in the gateway metropolises and ones scattered deeper into the American hinterland. Italian immigrant workers inhabited both spaces, but they confronted very different kinds of environments in this turbulent era, and friction existed between the two primary camps of supporters who subscribed to the *Cronaca*—industrial workers in major gateway cities on the east coast (and in Chicago) and miners scattered across hundreds of small towns from Pennsylvania and West Virginia to Colorado, Utah and Arizona, along with other migrants who had traveled out west.⁴³⁵

Increased Stress on Galleani’s Role in the Decision-Making Process

For some members of the network, the entire debate seemed misguided. Fruzzetti, in Quincy, MA, wanted to conclude the discussion with haste. People had proposed that the *Cronaca* relocate to Boston, or to Utica, or New York, or Chicago, or Pittsburg, Kansas. But, while all the proposals offered great advantages, he was irritated that everyone was looking at things “from their own point of view.” After all, Fruzzetti personally “would not live in New York or Boston” even if they “strapped him down,” while others lived there happily. It seemed that all agreed that Galleani would continue as

⁴³⁴ Richard Trogon, “Per il trasloco della Cronaca—Da Middletown, N.Y.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 18, 1911.

⁴³⁵ For more on the radical labor movement in the western United States, see Greg Hall, *Harvest Wobblies: The Industrial Workers of the World and Agricultural Laborers in the American West, 1905-1930* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2001).

editor and that the *Cronaca* must leave Barre; it therefore followed that Galleani would have to move to wherever the paper was relocated. Since Galleani had traveled extensively in the United States, he was probably the most qualified person to choose the new location.⁴³⁶ In this way, while many people felt a sense of ownership of the paper, the fight with the “S.C.d.G.” had effectively solidified Galleani’s control over the journal.

Pasquale De Francesco, who wrote from Chicago, Illinois, also emphasized the importance of Galleani in decision-making. De Francesco felt that no one had “touched on the real heart of the matter,” except perhaps Fruzzetti, who had “proposed that Galleani decide the issue.” For De Francesco, the question was “not about finding the largest city, with the best group of capable companions able to shoulder this financial burden, or the most central town, or the best industrial center,” because an anarchist publication had to be international in character and “speak to the entire world of workers and to anarchists of all countries.” What was most critical, in his view, was for the network “to reach consensus on the future location” for the paper. After all, the *Cronaca*, as a publication project, was “quite different from that of a bourgeois newspaper” and local issues were “of minimal importance to the larger movement.” He felt it would be a serious error to choose a location because there was this or that conflict to support. Anarchist journals, especially those in the United States, had to be “cautioned against

⁴³⁶ G. Fruzzetti, “Per il trasloco della Cronaca—Da Quincy, Mass.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 11, 1911.

such a narrowness of vision.”⁴³⁷ Like others, De Francesco hoped to avoid future embroilments of *Cronaca* with petty, local politics.

Instead, De Francesco proposed that the network select a town of the second or third order, as long as it was next to a major urban center and in a geographical position that enabled it to maintain correspondence with Europe. For an Italian newspaper, he noted, the Atlantic was the real center of the larger network. He concluded that it was appropriate to accept the proposal made by Fruzzetti and allow Galleani to choose the most convenient location. After all, Galleani was “the person in the best position to know the needs of the *Cronaca*” and, given his extensive travels around the United States on countless propaganda tours, he was best acquainted with “the characteristics of the various Italian colonies in the United States.”⁴³⁸

Pasquale De Francesco made several interesting observations. Most notably, he cautioned against relocating to a place where local politics might dominate the paper as the fight against the pirates and the “S.C.d.G.” had done in Barre. Galleani and his companions took this to heart, and soon eliminated the *Cronaca Locale* section of the paper. Viewed from their new perspective, it had blurred the focus on the paper, which was now playing a more critical role in the transnational anarchists social-field than it in the early Barre years. De Francesco also drew attention to the fact that the *Cronaca* network— and indeed the anarchist social field— was not bound by the United States.

⁴³⁷ Pasquale De Francesco, “Per il trasloco della *Cronaca*—Compagni della *Cronaca*,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 25, 1911.

⁴³⁸ De Francesco, “Per il trasloco della *Cronaca*” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Mar. 25, 1911.

Seen from a transnational perspective, the Eastern coast of the United States made more sense than did someplace in the center of the North American continent.⁴³⁹

Of course, not everyone agreed. For example, a short letter from A. Marietti and “Club Ed. Peter Gori” in Sacramento, California, sided with the companions from St. Louis, stating that they felt that it would be preferable for the paper to relocate to Pittsburg, Kansas, because this would allow the newspaper to arrive a few days earlier at a few important locations where it currently arrived very late. Adding that being closer to the West coast would allow Galleani to easily and more economically conduct propaganda tours to distant California, where the anarchists needed “the intelligent work of a good propagandist.” For some of the more remote nodes of the network, there was clearly a strong desire for faster circulation of the journal and more affordable propaganda tours by Galleani. After all, in the far west there were great opportunities for radical organizing among the immigrant populations and fairly few radical orators spreading the message of rebellion and revolt. However, it also betrayed the self-focused attitude of many of correspondents.⁴⁴⁰

Another group making a collective pitch for the paper was the Gruppo Anarchico “Senza Patria” (the “Without a Country” Anarchist Group) of Frontenac, Kansas, who had gathered for a special meeting, where they had voted to support the *Cronaca*’s relocation to Pittsburg, KS. However, they added that, just as Fruzzetti had already well articulated, they also wanted to hear “the opinion of Galleani, who, having traveled

⁴³⁹ De Francesco, “Per il trasloco della Cronaca” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Mar. 25, 1911.

⁴⁴⁰ A. Marietti, “Per il trasloco della Cronaca—Da Sacramento, Cal.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 25, 1911.

extensively throughout the United States and having lingered in all the important localities” certainly knew “better than anyone the needs and aspirations of the newspaper” and what place was “best suited to the journal’s longevity.”⁴⁴¹ In this way, the anarchist miners in Frontenac agreed with Fruzzetti that Galleani was best positioned to make the final decision. Together, these writers were attempting to change the tone of the conversation, while many scattered groups were still organizing to make cases for the selection of their own hometowns.

On the local level, collective decision-making processes continued through the following weeks. Pennsylvania anarchists, for example, reported back on a meeting that had included companions from Scranton, Plainsfield, Old Forge, Enyon and Jessup—all of whom confirmed their desire to see the *Cronaca* relocate to Scranton—but they happily agreed that the choice should be left to Galleani, who was “the only one, by unanimous consent... able to choose the residence most suitable to the life of the paper.”⁴⁴² Even as individual nodes of the movement were mobilizing to make the decision a collective one, Fruzzetti’s proposal to leave the selection of a location to Galleani was gaining momentum, again illustrating the extent of the wider network’s sense of ownership of the *Cronaca* and the horizontal and grass-roots nature of the anarchist’s decentralized movement at a time when Galleani held powerful influence throughout the network.

⁴⁴¹ Il Gruppo Anarchico Senza Patria, “Per il trasloco della Cronaca—Da Frontenac, Kans.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 25, 1911.

⁴⁴² This was the first time a group has submitted a consensus decision on the issue which included the names of all the individuals involved in the decision-making process. Anon., “Per il trasloco della Cronaca—Da Scranton, Pa.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 15, 1911.

Continued Persecution in Barre Emphasized the Need to Move

At the end of March 1911, two senior officials of the various departments of the federal police visited Barre. They had come to Vermont to investigate the *Cronaca* and “the personality of its editors.” The anarchists claimed that the officials, accompanied by a local sheriff, had been “obligingly received” at the headquarters of the “Sacra Compagnia di Gesù.”⁴⁴³ Thus, even as the anarchist network was busy deliberating on where the paper should move, their enemies were meeting with federal investigators. At this time, Galleani remained absent from Barre and none of the anarchists had been questioned by the newly arrived authorities. It would be another six years before such interviews occurred. Nevertheless, the threat motivated both the Barre anarchists and the larger network to move forward more rapidly with the process of choosing a better, safer, and more productive home for the *Cronaca*.

While the *Cronaca* pivoted to searching for a new home, the anti-“Galleanisti” forces in Barre redoubled their attacks on the paper and published several propaganda pieces, including a new journal called *Contro-Pelo* (Against the Grain or Counter Point).⁴⁴⁴ However, Galleani and his companions were moving on from this fight, stating

⁴⁴³ Anon., “Ch’ogni uom sganni,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 01, 1911.

⁴⁴⁴ *Il Contropelo* or *Il Contro-Pelo* was published monthly in Barre (February 1911 to March 1912) a total of eight times. The paper was also connected to some of Galleani’s would-be assassins. According to a 1912 article in *Regeneración*, *Il Contro-Pelo* carried some articles by Sebastiano Messaglia that dealt with the Mexican Revolution. Messaglia appeared in the financial records of the *Cronaca* numerous times: as a bundler of donations and distributor of the journal in Vancouver (1910), a subscriber and donor in 1911 (Vancouver), a donor in 1912 (Vancouver), and later (1916) as a donor in Arma, Kansas. He thus seems tightly connected to the *Cronaca* network and his “skeptical attitude” fits with Galleani’s critique of the Mexican Revolution, although it is curious that he is publishing in a journal which seemed to be explicitly anti-Galleani. Berttini, *Bibliografia dell’Anarchismo*, vol. 2, pg. 191; Emanuel., “La Conferenza Galleani a New York: e la latitanza della mafia vile dei contrapelisti,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 27,

that the best answer they could give their opponents was “a doubling of the common work of anarchist propaganda” and “the further spread of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*.”⁴⁴⁵

Back in Barre, both allies and enemies of the paper’s administration were processing the departure of the *Cronaca*. In the March 11th edition of the paper, a note from Barre expressed surprise that Galleani had become determined to leave so soon. His decision displeased an “old friend,” who was sorry to see Galleani and the *Cronaca* depart. The paper’s presence in Barre had “always acted as a kind of price cap” against “the threatening invasion of the wicked tribe of the prominenti, exploiters, starvers, and intriguers of every stripe and color.” The author did not take personal offense at the paper leaving, because he knew “that once established in a new location” it would be easier for the *Cronaca* “to permanently emancipate” itself from the deficit that had all too often weighed it down, and that having the financial situation under control would allow Galleani to give greater attention to developing the paper’s editorial content. The anonymous author added that leaving Barre did not mean that the *Cronaca* was going off “to meet that death” which its enemies had “so fervently prayed for;” rather, he asserted, the paper departed Barre in order “to embrace life.”⁴⁴⁶

The following week, the same anonymous author provided a few more details about the way in which the people of Barre, particularly the “S.C.d.G.,” understood the paper’s transferal to a new local and the various enemies that Galleani and his cohort had

1911; "1912-89," Archivo Digital De Ricardo Flores Magón, accessed April 26, 2018, <http://archivomagon.net/obras-completas/art-periodisticos-1900-1918/1912/1912-89/>.

⁴⁴⁵ La *Cronaca Sovversiva*, “Non polemizziamo!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 11, 1911.

⁴⁴⁶ Tuo amico di vecchia data, “Cronaca Locale—Cara Cronaca,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 11, 1911.

earned over their long nine years in Vermont. Printed under the old heading of *Cronaca Locale*, the letter argued the laughter of the “S.C.d.G.” was a lie that barely concealed the bile that tormented the *Cronaca*’s enemies. The author explained that, as soon as the communique from the group in Providence had been published, he had begun to probe the anarchists’ long-time adversaries. He had approached the members of the “S.C.d.G.” as well as “the handler of .32 caliber trinket” (meaning Sassi). He also questioned some pirates, barkeepers and “other individuals of their ilk.” Evidently, between drinks and jokes, he had asked all of them what they thought of the departure of the *Cronaca*. He summarized their response as “Finally he leaves!” Which, he claimed, was “followed by a grimace that they wanted to be a smile.”⁴⁴⁷

Thus, the old adversaries of the *Cronaca* seemed unsure whether they should rejoice or mourn the paper’s departure. They feared that when the *Cronaca* left Barre behind it would find a new location where it would be recharged and gain in power. The author believed that the *Cronaca*’s departure from Barre had surprised its adversaries because what they had wanted was the paper’s death. Relocation meant that their efforts had been in vain. He warned that the “S.C.d.G.” might try some last minute dirty trick and that Galleani remain alert because enemies would always be on the lookout for him.⁴⁴⁸

The editors of the *Cronaca* responded, stating that their old foes were clearly “not pleased with the course of events” and feared “the departure of the *Cronaca* (which they

⁴⁴⁷ Amico di vecchia data, “Cronaca Locale—Cara Cronaca,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 18, 1911.

⁴⁴⁸ Amico di vecchia data, “Cronaca Locale,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Mar. 18, 1911.

had hoped to strangle)” and would “try to organize some desperate last-minute trick.”

After all, the anarchists knew they had “an aptitude for spreading misery.” But, they also reminded their “dear peaceful and friendly informer” that the *Cronaca* was ready to face the “nefarious and villainous plots” of its enemies. The *Cronaca* thus portrayed the move from Barre not as a retreat but as a tactical victory—Galleani and his companions were able to extract themselves from a quagmire of local politics and continue spreading their *idea bella* without suffering the harassment of hostile police and local elite.⁴⁴⁹

However (as we saw in Chapter 6), conflict with the “S.C.d.G.” was not limited to Barre. On April 29th, 1911, the Francisco Ferrer Group of Providence commented that “the villains of the rabid” “S.C.d.G.” had been going around saying that their proposal for the *Cronaca*’s transfer to Boston had not come from the Providence group but from Galleani, to whom, supposedly, they were “but obliging incense waving acolytes.” The Providence anarchists responded that, in reality, the only real strong opposition to the transfer of the *Cronaca* to Boston had come “singularly and exclusively” from Galleani. They added that they were proud of their independence, and that the “S.C.d.G.” was focused on the destruction of the *Cronaca*. It was “therefore not truth nor love” that preoccupied those “moralists of the sewer and brothel,” but “bile,” “bitterness,” “wretchedness,” and “willingness to employ any means necessary, including lying and especially false slander and fraud.”⁴⁵⁰ In this way the “S.C.d.G.” continued to attack Galleani and spread rumors that the companions in Providence were mindless followers,

⁴⁴⁹ Anon., “Due parole a noi,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Mar. 18, 1911.

⁴⁵⁰ Il Gruppo Francisco Ferrer, “Comunicati—Da Providence, R.I.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 29, 1911.

“Galleanisti,” a characterization the network would find extremely hard to shake. The fact that the “S.C.d.G.” was continuing its campaign against the *Cronaca*, even as the network focusing on its relocation, added to the sense of pressure and need for rapid action.

This pressure reached a boiling point by the end of May, when Galleani visited New York to give a lecture on “fifty years of socialism” at Arlington Hall. The report on the event explained that a special package had been “anonymously delivered” to Luigi Raffuzzi in which “a friend warned that something bad was being cooked up.” Evidently, a few “cowards” of the “S.C.d.G.” were conspiring with “the three battered loudmouths of the old *Piccone* in order to take the life of Luigi Galleani.” The letter gave the names of the two “proposed executors of the threatened assassination.” These were “a former naval officer always in the service of the *Contropelo* and a well-known contract killer-for-hire,” who would come from Barre to ensure “the summary execution” of a plot “to do away with Galleani with a final thrust of the dagger.” The anonymous friend concluded that if the anarchists wanted “to save the honor of the party” and the life of Galleani then he had to “avoid the conference and other invitations, on pain of death!”⁴⁵¹

At this time there was in New York “a Don Ciro Vitozzi” who was known as an associate of the “S.C.d.G.” and an “enforcer of the pompous Erricone of Barre,” as well as “the Abate-Maggio crooks of Los Angeles.” It was clear to the anarchists that “these petty loudmouth gangsters” sought to use cheap threats to prevent the conference, “thus provoking the discontent of the disappointed public.” Then they would “gather the cloud

⁴⁵¹ Emanuel., “La Conferenza Galleani a New York,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, May 27, 1911.

of discontent” over the *Cronaca Sovversiva* (which was already “harassed by the deficit”). In this way they hoped to provoke “the much dreamed of collapse of the paper.” However, their “presence made the conference even more attractive” to Galleani, who boasted that “this scum” was “strong enough only to gather slaps on their snouts” and “were not to be feared.”⁴⁵² Thus, the death threats only solidified Galleani’s determination to go through with the conference.

When he appeared on the stage he was “greeted by a long, insistent and affectionate ovation.” The crowd “roared like a hurricane” when Galleani mentioned “the stupid threats that he had come to collect on” and challenged “the assassins by saying” that he hoped they “at least had the guts to own up to their cowardice” as he “assumed full responsibility for all attitudes and opinions.” This bravery led the companions to confirm again their confidence in Galleani. As to “the shadowy assassins?” Everyone was certain they remained “in the basement or the attic, irritated by bile and from holding in their diarrhea.”⁴⁵³ Galleani had once again demonstrated his legendarily intrepid masculine courage and oratory skill that had secured him his dominant role in the network while reconfirming the need to relocate the *Cronaca* away from Barre and his dogged antagonist as soon as possible.

⁴⁵² Emanuel., “La Conferenza Galleani a New York,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, May 27, 1911. This threat oddly foreshadowed the one which Carlo Tresca would receive in the 1940’s just prior his murder by the Italian mob, see Pernicone, *Carlo Tresca*, 260-296. The black hand, *camorra*, *costra nostra*, or mafia was a real force in the Italian colonies perhaps only countered by the activity of the *sovversivi*. For more on the role of the Mob in Italian culture, see James Fentress, *Rebels and Mafiosi: Death in a Sicilian Landscape* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000); for more on involvement of “enforcers” and organized crime figures in the labor movement, see James B. Jacobs, *Mobsters, Unions and Feds: The Mafia and the American Labor Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2006).

⁴⁵³ Emanuel., “La Conferenza Galleani a New York,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, May 27, 1911.

Financial Crisis Forces the Network to Focus on Fund-Raising for the Relocation

Financial issues also drove the desire to rapidly finish the relocation debate, as documented in an important letter from the anarchists in Seattle, Washington. Printed April 22nd, under the heading “trasloco della *Cronaca*,” the dispatch was prefaced by a long note from the *Cronaca* editorial staff that described the proposal as “unlike many of the other flowers that have sprouted from the initiative of the good companions of Providence,” because it recognized “the demands of reality” and did not “stake any claim to the independence of the newspaper or its editors.” The *Cronaca* then noted that no one (besides the companions in Providence) had attempted to tackle the difficulties of moving the paper, no one had discussed issues such as dismantling and transporting the printing press and important related material, which the administrators thought would cost approximately three hundred US dollars. If anyone had “thought and calculated this,” they had only “addressed it in terms of small personal and local satisfaction.” Someone had even openly stated that if the *Cronaca* came to their town, they would “work to collect the means for transporting it;” but if it did not “go there,” they would “do nothing!” The *Cronaca* felt that the proposal put forward by the companions in Seattle was “more respectful of the independence that the newspaper must have,” and was therefore an “exemplary document of disinterest.”⁴⁵⁴ Thus, the administrators of the paper used the note from Seattle as an example of proper anarchist behavior, highlighting the way the interest of every node in network should be the paper’s overall health and

⁴⁵⁴ Anon., “Per il trasloco della *Cronaca*,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 22, 1911.

future propaganda success and not the prestige their town might gain from having Galleani join their community.

The proposal, signed by Leone Morel and the companions of Seattle, did not argue for the relocation of the *Cronaca* to Seattle. They knew that there were many less peripheral places where the *Cronaca* could be “better assisted, more effectively supported and invigorated.” The Seattle community agreed that Galleani, who had just recently traveled around the United States and was a “diligent and keen observer” certainly knew “more than one location where the paper could live and prosper.” However, they stated, the future home of the paper was not what interested them. Rather, Morel explained, while the move was being debated, uncertainty still prevailed, giving hope to those who wanted to destroy *Cronaca*. Simultaneously, the *Cronaca* was forced to go without the normal influx of aid on which it depended financially, thereby increasing its deficit. Seattle anarchists believed the network had to “make a choice: either remain in Barre and cut short this harmful pedantic discussion or move with haste to the new location.” But, they also knew from experience that relocating a printing press— disassembling and reassembling it, transporting the material, etc.— required money.⁴⁵⁵

The managers of the *Cronaca* had already estimated the cost of relocation at three hundred dollars. So, Morel argued, “everyone must therefore respond to the urgent need of the paper” and “provide unconditional support, without placing any restrictions on the freedom of the editorial staff and the managers of the *Cronaca* to choose (as they deem

⁴⁵⁵ This reference to experience may have pointed at the Seattle anarchists’ connections to the *L’Aurora* group (via Ersilia Cavedagni) and the numerous times Ciancabilla had been forced to relocate his press. In fact, his press was the one which the *Cronaca* group had purchased in 1903. Leone Morel, “Per il trasloco della Cronaca—Ai compagni degli Stati Uniti,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 22, 1911.

most appropriate) a locality in which to establish the headquarters of the newspaper.” The network had to “stand together” to help the *Cronaca*. To this end, the Seattle group had “reached out to all the companions that appear most often on donation lists” because they were the most consistent when it came to “responding to emergencies by bundling together collections with the greatest promptness.” They used their note to give the bundlers notice in the pages of the *Cronaca*, so that when they received the donation cards they would “know to where and to whom to send any collected funds.” Meanwhile, Morel wrote, the Seattle anarchists were happy to lead by example.⁴⁵⁶

The anarchists in Seattle printed their pointed attack on the continuing debate because they saw it perpetuating long-term instability and undermining the paper’s finances. They called on Galleani and the other members of the editorial staff to choose the new location rapidly while also calling on the network to refocus on raising money rather than debating the merits of different localities. The Seattle anarchists helped refocus the network on raising the required money for the move, donating five bronze sculptures to be raffled-off to raise the requisite money. The raffle was one of the most effective ways the anarchists had to raise money, particularly when the item being raffled had been donated, saving all expenses and allowing all donated money to go straight towards the specific cause being supported, in this case the relocation fund.⁴⁵⁷

Luigi Sarda of Margaret, AL, followed this up by arguing something had to be done “with greater energy and promptness” if the network was going to prevent a lack of

⁴⁵⁶ Morel, “Per il trasloco della Cronaca,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Apr. 22, 1911.

⁴⁵⁷ Morel, “Per il trasloco della Cronaca,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Apr. 22, 1911.

financial resources from forcing the suspension of publication of the *Cronaca*. Sarda pointed out that May Day was rapidly approaching, and he suggested that readers of the *Cronaca* should “abandon the usual sentimental and academic discussions” as well as any “self-brutalization with abundant libations” that mimicked “Catholic ways of celebrating” and “instead... do something practical.” To this end he proposed opening a benefit fund for the libertarian press and especially the *Cronaca*.⁴⁵⁸ This was followed by announcements of May Day events in various towns around the country, including a particularly large one in New York City.

The following week the Seattle anarchists called on all the other companions, clubs, and groups in the United States to provide financial help and to collect as quickly as possible the funds for the transfer of the *Cronaca*. They also asked everyone “to leave to the companions of the *Cronaca* full freedom to choose the most suitable location” for the future life of the newspaper.⁴⁵⁹ In this way, the rest of the network fell in behind Fruzzetti’s proposal that the relocation be directed by Galleani and refocusing on raising money to aid in the transfer.

The following week, May 13th, 1911, the *Cronaca*’s front page was dominated by a large introductory statement that declared that, after several weeks of waiting, the editorial staff believed the time had come “to break the deadlock and to speak clearly” because the life of the journal hung in the balance. The administration noted that everyone knew “how distasteful a task” it was to “constantly remind everyone of the

⁴⁵⁸ Luigi Sarda, “Comunicati—Da Margaret, Ala.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Apr. 29, 1911.

⁴⁵⁹ Gli anarchici componenti il Circolo di Studi Sociali, “Per il trasloco della ‘Cronaca’—Da Seattle, Wash.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 06, 1911.

newspaper's precarious economic situation." Everyone knew that it disgusted the management "to have to beat, as they say, the bass drum." This was not work, they said, "well-suited to people whose convictions" had "allowed them for many years to engage in the lofty work of spreading" their shared ideal without ever bending before "blandishments nor rage nor the most sinister behind-the-scene maneuvers." However, the *Cronaca* group admitted, it would be their own fault if they would someday have to cease publication of the *Cronaca* for lack of financial means without having first made an appeal to their audience's solidarity.⁴⁶⁰

Asserting the critical role that the larger network played in the life of the paper, they explained that the *Cronaca* had reached a point in which a few collective efforts would be "sufficient to ensure the life" of the journal. However, clearly sensitive to the fluctuating nature of the network's support, they commented, "it would also only take only a few weeks of inertia and neglect" for all their work to be irretrievably lost. So, they concluded, it was up to their readers "to look after the deficit and to say frankly if the *Cronaca* should continue its regular publications" as well as if "it should continue forever eking out a miserable and feeble existence" as it had in the past; however, they added, if the network "chose the second case" the management "would much rather cease publication altogether."⁴⁶¹

Running this appeal so prominently stressed the critical nature of the financial situation and the editorial group's exasperation with always dealing with debt. It also

⁴⁶⁰ La Cronaca, "Ai compagni, ai simpatizzanti," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 13, 1911.

⁴⁶¹ Cronaca, "Ai compagni, ai simpatizzanti," *Cronaca Sovversiva*, May 13, 1911.

emphasized the way in which the increasingly far-flung network felt ownership of the paper and responsibility for its continued existence as much as the editorial group. By making the newspaper's financial problems a first-page feature, they supported the Seattle anarchists' call to shift the network's focus away from debating possible locations to focusing on the paper's economic condition. And the network seemed to respond to the initiative put forward by the Seattle anarchists, with the *Cronaca* reprinting their call for donations along with a list of the first money coming into the "sottoscrizione per il trasloco della *Cronaca Sovversiva*" (Donation fund for transporting the *Cronaca Sovversiva*) including the original seed donation of \$44 (approx. \$1,115 in 2018 USD) from Seattle.⁴⁶²

As *Cronaca* raised money for the relocation, the relocation debate itself continued. For example, a letter from Galleani, who was writing under the pen name Gigione, argued that the anarchists needed to focus on eliminating debt, and only after achieving this goal should the debate about location begin again. For months and months, he wrote, the community of anarchists connected to the *Cronaca* had discussed the transfer of the paper and, except the group of Seattle, they had made no visible progress. Meanwhile, administrative reports made it clear that the precarious financial conditions of the paper rendered the "implementation of any plan to transfer impossible." Therefore, Galleani lectured his companions, before anything else they had to deal with the deficit. Only after paying this off, could they set to work on proposals, which in his opinion

⁴⁶² Dollar conversions are based on calculations from "Inflation Rate between 1911-2018 | Inflation Calculator," \$44 in 1911 → 2018 | Inflation Calculator, accessed April 26, 2018, <http://www.in2013dollars.com/1911-dollars-in-2018?amount=44>.

should always “be concrete and useful, and not rising out of a stupid vain desire to see to the paper published right under your nose.” Galleani thus dared to hope that everyone would “do their best to participate with contributions to the elimination of the deficit,” and only after this was accomplished should they “give their views on the issue of transferring the paper.”⁴⁶³

Galleani’s note was followed by a second one from Carlo Dalboni, who reported back on a meeting of several anarchist groups in New York City, stating that companions representing the Avanti Club of Brooklyn, the Circolo Pensiero ed Azione, Il Circolo Studi Sociali di Harlem and several other from the lower city, gathered together to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of relocating the *Cronaca* to New York City. Dalboni explained that the Club Avanti of Brooklyn had offered rooms that they believed were large enough for all the printing and typographical machines.⁴⁶⁴ These same companions were “fully willing to jointly find the necessary means for transporting everything,” and fully believed that only in a center like New York could the *Cronaca* “live the healthy and thriving life that comes from the energy of many who fight together because it would unite their exuberant will to act.” Finally, Dalboni added that no other

⁴⁶³ Luigi Galleani [Gigione], “Per il trasloco della ‘Cronaca,’” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 20, 1911.

⁴⁶⁴ Club Avanti was composed largely of immigrants from Sicily. The Club’s rooms were located close to “the heart of north Brooklyn’s network of Sicilian radicals” at 202-204 Bushwick Avenue. “Founded by free-thinkers” Club Avanti “offered a broad program” and “frequently it acted in conjunction with Spanish-speaking and Jewish groups in the neighborhood” as well as acting “as a mediator and supporter of united-front coalitions among immigrant radicals of all stripes.” In 1911, the Club maintained a “policy of broadmindedness” and “tolerated considerable diversity—and even contradiction—among its supporters.” Given the *Cronaca*’s divisive reputation it is interesting to think about how Club Avanti’s mindset might have changed with Galleani publishing upstairs. Donna Gabaccia, *Militants and Migrants: Rural Sicilians Become American Workers* (New Brunswick, NY: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 139-141.

city in America could “provide the benefits to publication” that New York City unquestionably offered.⁴⁶⁵ In this way the New York City anarchists continued to advocate for their hometown, but this time taking extra care to note the financial benefits of relocating to New York—benefits that included the fact that more people would help pay off the debt and to help pay for the relocation costs, as well as providing free housing of the printing press and other typographical material. At the same time, more and more donations flowed into the relocation fund. The continued attacks by the “S.C.d.G.” helped increase this solidarity, with numerous nodes around the network not only sending in their money but also commenting on the persecution of Galleani and the need to rally behind the *Cronaca*.⁴⁶⁶

Galleani's Prominence and Network Decision Making

Having decided to allow Galleani complete autonomy in choosing the paper's new home, the expanded *Cronaca* network turned to the question of funding the move and paying off the debt. Picnics sprang-up across the country as different nodes followed published examples and focused on fund-raising. This is not to say that the organizational activities and arguments pitched at the *Cronaca* to influence the choice of a destination for the press were a waste of time. Clearly, they gave Galleani a solid handful of locations to choose among and summarized the advantages and disadvantages of various localities. Rank-and-file anarchist voices became audible during the debates over

⁴⁶⁵ Carlo Dalboni, “Per il trasloco della ‘Cronaca’—Cari Compagni,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), May 20, 1911.

⁴⁶⁶ For an example of a peripheral node organizing a fund-raising event, see Ernesto Perrella, “Comunicati—Da Frankfort, Me.,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), June 03, 1911.

relocation, even if they simply recommend that Galleani alone make the decision.

Fortunately, everyone in the network seemed to concur that Galleani was both best suited to choose and the person who would be most affected by the relocation of the paper, so it seemed logical to empower him to make this decision. The paper did not print any dissenting voices. The difference from a decade prior, when many groups rejected the Barre anarchists' motion to relocate *La Question Sociale* to Vermont (in order to facilitate Galleani's continued editorship) was striking.

The paper and its network had fully pivoted from the discussion of where the paper should relocate to a steady drum beat of appeals, announcements, and reports-back on activities designed to raise money and free the paper from financial constraints during this precarious moment. Over the next several months the special sottoscrizione fund for relocating the paper continued to receive donations and, by fall of 1911, Galleani and the inner circle of the Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva were finally ready to announce that the paper would settle into its new residence in Lynn, MA.⁴⁶⁷ This was a rather anticlimactic end to the relocation question debated by the network for the last several months. It is likely that the paper did not want to draw too much attention to its move. Certainly, the management group was not looking to stir up more debate on the issue.

On the surface, Lynn may seem to have been an odd choice.⁴⁶⁸ Indeed, it had not ever received mention in the relocation debate, which suggests that the final call really

⁴⁶⁷ The management advised the "subscribers" to "please continue to write to the old address in Barre, Vt., Box I," until they could "give notice in the "*Cronaca*" of the correct new address, which they hoped to have by "the next numbered." Anon., "La Cronaca," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Sept. 02, 1911.

⁴⁶⁸ For background on labor and class politics in Lynn, see Alan Dawley, *Class and Community: The Industrial Revolution in Lynn* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976).

was Galleani's and his alone. However, Lynn did fit the description of a second or third tier city on the outskirts of a major metropolis (Boston in this case), so Galleani likely took other opinions into account. It also placed Galleani and the *Cronaca* near the huge population of Italian immigrants in New England, secured the rapid communication lines desired for maintaining correspondence with Europe, was already an active node in the network, and had a circle of anarchists well prepared to support the paper (although their location certainly did nothing to speed communication with Midwest and West).

Lynn did have an anarchist social life much like Barre. For example, the Lynn community had an active theater troupe much like Barre. In fact, the same edition of the paper which publicized the move contained a note from Lynn that announced a picnic organized by the Circolo Educativo Sociale, which would take place on Labor Day, at "Tony Citera's Land." And the anarchists requested that companions in the surrounding vicinity participate in great numbers. The Circolo Educativo Sociale stated that all proceeds from the gathering would go to benefit libertarian propaganda. Galleani was to speak at the picnic.⁴⁶⁹ However, the Circolo Educativo Sociale organizing this event did not take up the mantle of the Barre Circolo Studi Sociali and the Lynn community would not play as central role in the pages of the *Cronaca* and the *Cronaca Locale* section of the paper basically disappeared after the move to Massachusetts.

Two weeks later, the paper printed an announcement that all money orders for donations or subscriptions as well as all correspondence should now be sent to the *Cronaca Sovversiva* at "P.O. Box 678, Lynn, Mass.," adding that the new headquarters of

⁴⁶⁹ In order to reach the site, one had to take "the Reading Bus and get off at Lynn Wood Road." Circolo Educativo Sociale, "Comunicati—Da Lynn, Mass.," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Sept. 02, 1911.

the journal had been established and the administration was already in residence.⁴⁷⁰ This same month, Robert Elia, the manager of the paper over the last thirty months of conflict and relocation, left the administration, “to enjoy a little rest,” and “a little holiday.” Certainly, having kept the paper running and managing all the accounts and transactions during the move was a full-time job. As evidence they kept in mind Fruzzetti’s earlier comments about the importance of skilled administrators, the *Cronaca* went on to comment that until Elia was “permanently replaced (and in order to avoid any suspension or interruption in the production of the paper and the legitimate complaints that would surely follow)” the administration of the *Cronaca* had “temporarily hired a good companion from Lynn,” who had “immediately assumed the arduous office.”⁴⁷¹ Thus, by December of 1911, the transfer of the paper to Lynn was essentially complete. The last string tying the paper to Barre would not be cut until the January 10th edition of the journal, which, for the first time, carried the inscription “Lynn, Mass.” above the journal’s well-known masthead.⁴⁷²

Consequence of the Transfer to Lynn

With the relocation process complete, the economic reverberations of the transfer of the paper from Barre to Lynn became obvious. From May 6th, 1911, to October 27th, 1911, there were 152 individual donations made to the trasloco fund from twenty-five towns; 142 of them came from sixteen towns with more than one donor. I argue that the

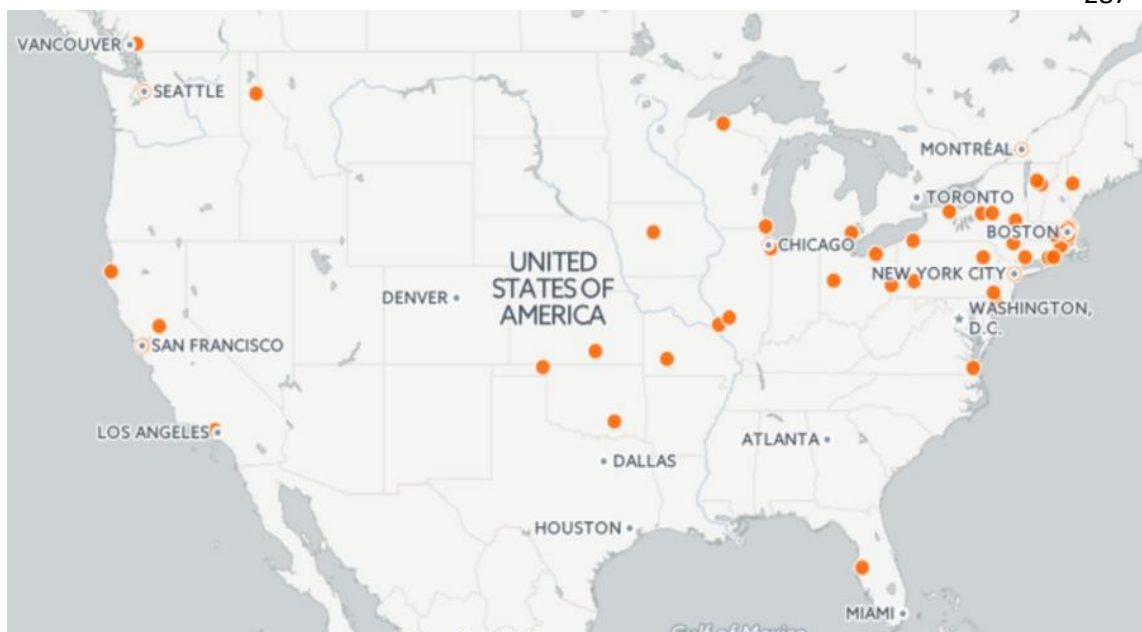
⁴⁷⁰ Anon., “Agli abbonati,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Sept. 16, 1911.

⁴⁷¹ Anon., “Roberto Elia,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Dec. 23, 1911.

⁴⁷² Anon., Cronaca Sovversiva Masthead, *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Feb. 10, 1912.

flow of money from towns in Vermont and Massachusetts, with Barre and Lynn being the focal points, suggests how the paper's readership may have changed when it moved.

The four primary towns in Massachusetts that supported the move were East Boston, home of one of the most militant and active anarchist groups affiliated with the *Cronaca*; Lynn, where the paper was relocating; Quincy, where we have already seen important *Cronaca* loyalists such as Fruzzetti and Lupo lived; and Wakefield which is 8 miles from Lynn. Providence—the collective that first brought up the issue of relocating the press—and Seattle, where the trasloco fund began were also very supportive. More surprising was the financial support of Jackson Center, Pennsylvania, located outside Scranton. Its support reveals once more the close connection the *Cronaca Sovversiva* had to Italian coal miners and that, after Scranton had been passed over as a home for the press, the group which had organized there readily switched from pitching their hometown to helping fund the relocation to Lynn. Map 8 shows the location of all the towns that donated to the Trasloco Fund.



Map 8: Location of Towns that Donated to Trasloco Fund

A total of \$344.30 (approx. \$8,344 in 2018 USD) was raised for the relocation for the press. This money came from fifty-four towns, with just seventeen giving more than one dollar (accounting for \$315.05 of the total). They were led not by Lynn, as one might have guessed, but rather by Providence followed by Frontenac (KS), Seattle (WA), and Old Forge (PA). These large donor towns either had numerous individual donors or sent in a large amount of money in one donation, as was true of Frontenac, KS, (which sent in a \$50 donation raised at a community event). In total sixteen states donated to the Trasloco Fund. Massachusetts recorded the most individual donations, followed by Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Washington State. Vermont gave a relatively small amount of money, no doubt because many of the Green Mountain anarchists were upset at seeing the paper move away from Barre and were exhausted after all the years of conflict and drama. Map 8 suggests that node that enthusiastically contributed to the

Cronaca's financial life, had different motives for doing so with both major industrial immigrant communities in Massachusetts, and coal miners in Pennsylvania, Kansas, and Oklahoma, as prominent contributors alongside a few nodes of militants in Rhode Island and Washington State (which was also home to many coal miners).⁴⁷³ The absence of New York and Chicago, both of which had felt themselves far better suited to house the *Cronaca*, may suggest anarchists in both places felt somewhat rebuffed and became less supportive of the paper when their location was not chosen.

The transfer to Lynn had other consequences. Up until this point, Barre had been one of the key sources of income for the *Cronaca*, providing more money than any other node in the network. In its early years, the donations from Barre sustained the paper almost single handedly. Predictably, donations from Barre sharply declined after the relocation.⁴⁷⁴ Figure 10 shows that over the first seven years of the paper's existence the anarchists in Barre typically raised more than \$800 a year (and five times it raised over \$1000).

⁴⁷³ It also contained the Home Colony, one of anarchism's most famous communes; for more see Wadland, *Trying Home*; Brigitte Koenig, "Law and Disorder at Home: Free Love, Free Speech, and the Search for an Anarchist Utopia," *Labor History* 45, no. 2 (May 2004): 199-223.

⁴⁷⁴ Of course, anarchists did not disappear from Barre, and in November of 1911 the paper published a note from the old CSS in Barre stating that it would be meeting every Sunday at new headquarters on "Tomasi Block" after the departure of *Cronaca*. Il Circolo di Studi Sociali, "Comunicati—Da Barre, Vt.," *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Nov. 25, 1911.

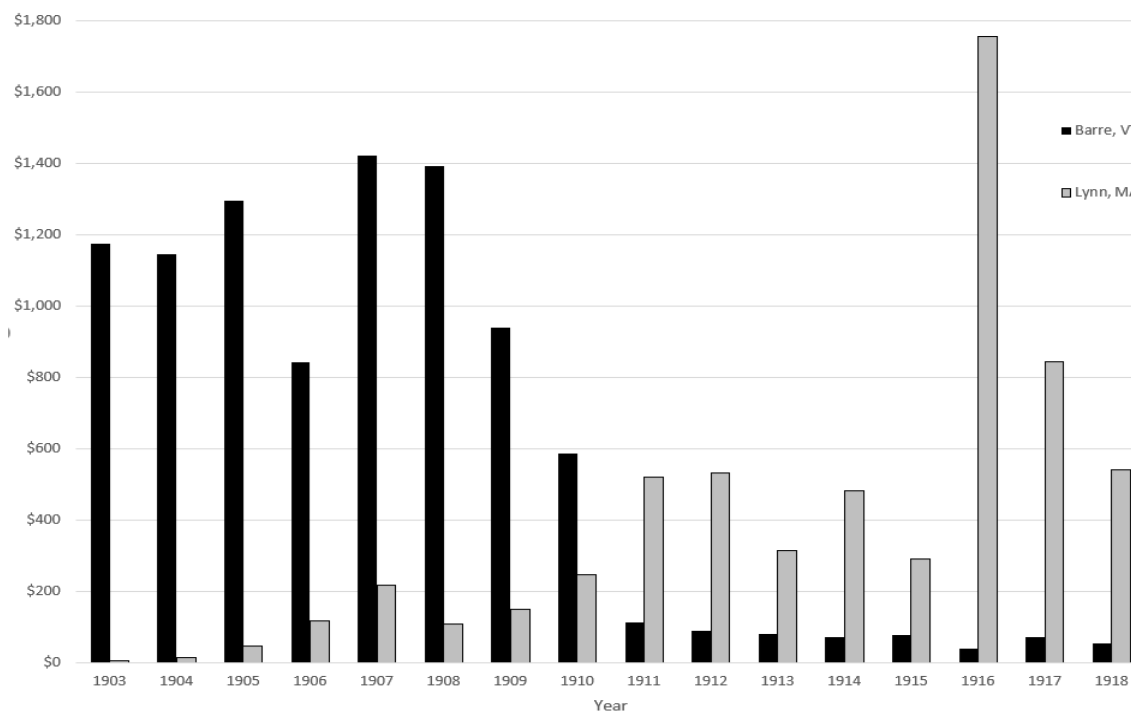


Figure 10: Total Annual Donations to Cronaca Sovversiva from Barre and Lynn

Only in 1910 did donations drop to \$600, and this was at a time in which the paper was under heavy attack by the “S.C.d.G.” and the Barre *sovversivi* were divided. Lynn never matched the level of financial support provided by Barre. Before 1910 Lynn never gave more than \$200, and after 1910 it rarely gave less than \$300. Thus, from its high-water mark of fundraising successes in 1907 and 1908 (described in Chapter Five) the years after relocation saw contributions to the *Cronaca* drop to 1/14th or just 7.14% of previous totals. While, from the year of the transfer in 1911 to the highwater mark of Lynn contributions in 1916 donations from the paper’s new hometown increased by 900%. However, in only one year (1916) did Lynn give more than Barre had in the past. The fact that Lynn never achieved Barre’s level of support reflected changes in the fundamental organizational principles of the *Cronaca*.

The *Cronaca* did more than simply relocate in 1912; it evolved and changed. It was no longer a small-town publication focused on a local community. In a direct break with the strategic praxis in Barre, Galleani and his companions in the Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva remained aloof from local politics in Lynn, almost eliminating the Cronaca Locale column and instead focusing more heavily on network interactions and strategic/ideological debates in the larger anarchist movement— involvement in union organizing, defining the proper anarchist reaction to the Mexican Revolution and the First World War, and so forth. The decline in the use of the Cronaca Locale section of the paper does not mean all local news was removed from the *Cronaca Sovversiva*; many event announcements were simply moved to other sections of the paper such as “Per La Vita e Per L’Idea” (For Life and for the Idea) and “Note di Propaganda” (Propaganda Notes). However, these columns included announcements of events throughout the widespread *Cronaca* network, thus decentering the *Cronaca*’s host community and signaling the loss of its previously vital role in the network. Once in Lynn, the *Cronaca* did not need a local community to be its primary source of financial support. It instead depended on numerous smaller donations from many more towns. This is not to say that Galleani and the *Cronaca* group did not attract around them a tight-knit community in Lynn. But this community was not as central to the paper’s financial survival as the Barre community had been in the early years.

Conclusion: The Formation of the “Galleanisti”

After the network’s involvement in the conversation about how and where to relocate the journal, consensus empowered Galleani to make the final decision. Each

node that proposed a location for the *Cronaca*'s new home did so as an act of solidarity with Galleani and a gesture towards the significance and power the *Cronaca* had wielded in Barre. As a few of the more astute observers noted, the paper had grown beyond the local battles that characterized its first eight years of existence. The anarchists who now rallied to its more belligerent banner wanted it to champion their ideological commitments in the larger transnational social field.

I argue that the journal's evolution into a vessel for ideological conflict within the anarchist movement was the result of the journal's unique process of development. Originally called to Barre to help manage a community paper, Galleani's trial raised him up to a prominence achieved by very few Italian anarchists in America, similar perhaps only to Tresca and Malatesta, both of whom are associated with the ideology of anarcho-syndicalism. Subsequently, conflict within the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre resulted in a purge of any anti-Galleani anarchists from the paper's base of support as well as in the journal's break with the original founding group. This, in turn, propelled the *Cronaca*'s transition into a propaganda organ controlled by an increasingly sectarian network that was fiercely loyal to their eloquent and combative champion, Galleani. The combination of these two processes resulted in the *Cronaca*'s reputation for insular factionalism and Galleani's reputation as a dominant leader, or, in other words, the birth of the "Galleanisti" as they were commonly referred to and are still remembered today. The relocation from Barre was the final step in the paper's evolution. Shedding the Barre years and relocating to Lynn, Galleani used the newspaper to expand his network and to become the prominent figure he is remembered as today.

Epilogue

Lynn and Barre After the *Cronaca* Relocated

As a federal investigator sent to Barre in 1917 noted, Galleani's shift away from Barre had implications for the local immigrant community too. Nevertheless, the *Cronaca Sovversiva* continued to print regular correspondence from the anarchists in Barre who remained connected to other collectives associated with the *Cronaca*.⁴⁷⁵ For example, after the *Cronaca* moved, the Barre-based “L’Azione” group published small anarchist pamphlets that were distributed by the “Gruppo Autonomo di east Boston” (East Boston Autonomous Group).⁴⁷⁶ The only member of L’Azione historians have identified was Felice Guadagni. Felice Guadagni’s association with the Barre-based L’Azione suggests he was living in Vermont, in 1913; he appears again in the historical record in Boston, as editor for *La Notizia*, in 1920. In fact, Guadagni is reported to have had lunch with one of the two most famous members of the “Galleanisti,” Nicola Sacco (of Sacco and Vanzetti fame), the day of the Braintree shooting which led to their trials and executions.⁴⁷⁷ These collaborations reveal thickly crosshatched connections linking

⁴⁷⁵ The connection between the Barre and Lynn anarchists is displayed in a February 15, 1913, announcement concerning the release of a new pamphlet called *Il Portafoglio (The Portfolio)*. The pamphlet, a one act drama by Ottavio Mirbeau, was co-edited by both the *Circolo di Studi Sociali di Barre* and the Gruppo Autonomo di East Boston. The advertisement describes *Il Portafoglio* as “an excellent work for reading and for acting,” and comes “strongly recommend to all companions desiring to intensify elementary propaganda among the workers.”

⁴⁷⁶ The link between the two groups was confirmed by Robert D’Attilio, email, July 5, 2009.

⁴⁷⁷ Guadagni’s correspondence appear in at least two archives in relation to the Sacco and Vanzetti case, the Boston Public Library Rare Books and Manuscripts Department’s Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee Collection and in the Anthony (Nino) Capraro, Papers, at the University of Minnesota Immigration History Research Center. The letter on file in Boston was written in December of 1920, accompanies a Carlo Tresca letter, and attempts to refute the guilty verdict by arguing for political discrimination. The letters in the Capraro Papers, written in 1924 and 1925, shows a similar set of connections. Capraro, an Italian socialist and labor organizer, was friends with Carlo Tresca and Arturo Giovanitti, all of whom were

the nodes and constituent parts of the newspaper's network, a web that was characterized by both the weak ties of shared propaganda projects and the stronger interpersonal bonds built between fellow radicals over long years of close association. While the Circolo Studi Sociali existed before and after Galleani's time in the city, it was during the years in which Galleani resided in Barre that the town and the group gained its most militant reputation. Even very vibrant political communities can become peripheral to a transnational movement if they do not have some person or project drawing more direct, connections to a wider network.

Several newer journals printed in Barre are available on microfilm for researchers to use, including *La Cooperazione* (Cooperation), which was printed semi-monthly starting in 1911, and *Corriere Libertario* (The Libertarian Courier),⁴⁷⁸ which was printed weekly starting in 1914—not long after the *Cronaca* stopped publishing in Barre. While these papers reached a smaller readership and did not build a network as extensive or impactful as that of the *Cronaca*, they show the continued importance of bridging nodes such as Abate who were able to maintain an active anarchist presence in the city without the vitalizing presence of “creative elements” such as Galleani. Still, Barre's rapid decline to a minor node in the anarchist network reveals the way a creative element, and the active centers they produce, are rare and important phenomenon for the long-term survival of any network.

involved in the Sacco and Vanzetti Defense Committee. Cannistraro, *The Lost World of Italian-American Radicalism*, 15. For a big-picture look at the Sacco and Vanzetti case see Philip V. Cannistraro, “Mussolini, Sacco-Vanzetti, and the Anarchists: The Transatlantic Context,” *The Journal of Modern History* 68, no. 1 (March 1996): 31-62.

⁴⁷⁸ “IHRC Italian American Collection,” IHRC Archives, accessed December 10, 2013, <https://www.lib.umn.edu/ihrca/periodicals/italian-newspapers>.

Once the *Cronaca Sovversiva* moved to Lynn, its pages included many articles, notes, correspondence, announcements and advertisements referencing the East Boston Autonomous Group.⁴⁷⁹ The East Boston Autonomous Groups became a major distribution hub for the Boston area anarchists and was at least partially responsible for distributing propaganda printed by the Tipografia della Cronaca Sovversiva as well as material they produced by other groups, resembling the Circolo di Studi Sociali di Barre. The connections linking the nodes and constituent parts of this newer network suggest that the web of interpersonal relations and propaganda projects was never completely broken between Lynn, Boston, and Barre, regardless of where the *Cronaca Sovversiva* was printed and where Galleani was living at any particular time.

By working outward from print culture, represented by the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, we can see details of how these different collectives related to each other and how they built and sustained community. For example, the June 21, 1913 edition of the paper, the East Boston Autonomous Group posted an announcement for their new Bulletin *Il Movimento Anarchico*. This Bulletin contained articles by R. Elia, G. Guzzardi, and G. Solaria, three of the group's most active members. Identifying these figures moves the anarchists in East Boston out of the vague category of "rank and file anarchists" and one step closer to a describable community of individuals whose lives might be further revealed through the methods of social history. If these names are fleshed out and their affiliations and connections investigated, whole new portions of the ever-shifting network

⁴⁷⁹ The East Boston Autonomous Group was considered one of the most militant anarchist collectives in the United States. They faced intense federal investigation, including undercover spy work and repeated police raids, and the eventual judicial murder of two of their members (Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti). Nunzio Pernicone, *Carlo Tresca*, 116.

of Italian immigrant anarchists will come into view. Besides collaborating on the production and distribution of propaganda, the “Biblioteca della *Cronaca Sovversiva*” and the East Boston Autonomous Group also worked on benefit projects that raised funds and distributed them through the network. In such cases, it is not unfair to assume that interpersonal relationships were established through these collaborations. This kind of granular, individual-focused and step-by-step investigation is required to map the anarchists’ network, extricating it from intellectual history's emphasis on its divisions, ideologies, and isolation.

Among the Massachusetts anarchists was Raffaele Schiavina, also known as Bruno Rossi or Max Sartin, who published the “Galleanisti” paper *L’Adunata dei Refrattari* (The Gathering of the Recalcitrant) in New York, from 1922 to 1971. Schiavina replaced Cavalazzi as Galleani's right-hand man during the years the *Cronaca Sovversiva* was printed in Lynn.⁴⁸⁰ Schiavina also became Carlo Tresca's major antagonist from within the anarchist community, adding to the “Galleanisti’s” reputation for combative sectarianism. Paul Avrich argues that Schiavina was part of the group of anarchists actively bombing government offices after WWI, in response to the Palmer Raids. This group also included Mario Buda, the man Avrich believed was behind the Bombing of Wall Street in 1920.⁴⁸¹ Thus, Galleani moved from Barre’s granite paved

⁴⁸⁰ Not that Cavalazzi was abandoned after the financial scandal in 1910, nor did he withdraw from Galleani’s inner circle. In fact, he continued to collaborate with the *Cronaca* till he died in 1915, although his health rapidly declined around the time that the paper moved to Lynn. Cavalazzi spent the last 20 months of his life in a sanitarium at Tewksbury, Massachusetts, being treated for a painful illness which in kept him in a state of “conscious desperate agony.” Gianpiero Landi, “Cavalazzi, Antonio,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli anarchici italiani*, eds. Maurizio Antonioli et al. (Pisa: Biblioteca Franco Serantini, 2003), 352-353.

⁴⁸¹ For more on Buda and the 1920 bomb on Wall Street, see Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti*, 204-207.

streets and Abate's cozy Blackwell studio in the mountains of Vermont to a seething urban world of revolutionary militants.⁴⁸²

Propaganda networks produced and maintained through print faced real opposition and deadly consequences as they attempted to build ties between diasporic groups of migrant worker activists. Their transnational networks survived small-scale local setbacks, such as the Blackwell Street fire, and even massive international governmental oppression in the form of Interpol.⁴⁸³ In fact, it was not until the years after World War I that governments in both the United States and Italy were able to systematically dismantle these networks by arresting, killing and deporting people like Galleani.⁴⁸⁴ Abate survived the Red Scare and Palmer Raids and continued to fight for the granite workers in Barre, eventually witnessing the adoption of life-saving dust-vacuums in the granite sheds.

In 1918, the *Cronaca* was suppressed for opposing the draft in World War One, and Galleani was deported back to Italy, where in Turin he would continue to publish The *Cronaca* briefly before starting a new paper called *Il Stormo* (The Flock).⁴⁸⁵ When

⁴⁸² For an excellent take on the relationship between the *Cronaca* and the working-class, see Christopher Wellbrook, "Seething with the Ideal: Galleanisti and Class Struggle in Late Nineteenth-Century and Early Twentieth Century USA," *The Journal of Labor and Society* 12, no. 3 (September 2009): 403-420.

⁴⁸³ For more on the role anarchists played in the formation of Interpol, see: Jensen "The International Anti-Anarchist Conference," 323-347.

⁴⁸⁴ In her book *Foreign Relations*, Donna Gabaccia calls such transnational networks "immigrant foreign relations" and (using Gaetano Bresci as an example) shows both how they supported transnational mobilizations of various kinds and how states cooperated internationally and through migration restrictions to try to break their power. See Donna Gabaccia, *Foreign Relations: American Immigration in Global Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 111-116.

⁴⁸⁵ The name *Il Stormo* is particularly interesting given the way the Galleanisti had been slandered as "Geese" by their detractors in Barre. While we cannot be certain of the motive for using this name, it could be seen as an appropriation of the label, emphasizing their unity. I owe thanks to Fiama Chessa and the

Mussolini ended the freedom of the press in Italy, Galleani was repeatedly imprisoned for insulting the fascist leadership. Eventually he was once more imprisoned on a desert island, this time Lipari, from 1926 to 1930. Then, with his health damaged by diabetes, Galleani was granted permission to return to the mainland. He was sent to live in the small hilltop town of Caprigolia on the Ligurian/Tuscan border not far from Carrara. There, under close police surveillance, Carrara anarchists Pasquale and Zelmira Binazzi helped Galleani live out his final days in relative isolation. While taking one last lonely stroll through the Italian hills, Galleani died on November 4th, 1931.⁴⁸⁶ After his death the *Adunata Dei Refrattari*, the successor to the *Cronaca Sovversiva* in the United States (printed by Galleani's longtime friend Rafael Schiavina), published a last special edition of the *Cronaca* dedicated to Galleani. The old teacher, as they called him, may have died alone but he was not forgotten back in America.

In 1982, Robert D'Attilio helped Schiavina (who used the pseudonym Max Sartin) finish the only official English translation of Galleani's major published work, *La Fine dell'Anarchismo?* (The End of Anarchism?).⁴⁸⁷ This was an essay published in ten installments of the *Cronaca* between August 1907 and January 1908 (and first collected into a pamphlet in the 1920s). It focused on an extended debate between Galleani and former anarchist-turned-socialist, Francesco Saverio Merlino.⁴⁸⁸ The translation has

Archivio Famiglia Berneri – Aurelio Chessa for making copies of this hard-to-find journal accessible to me.

⁴⁸⁶ Scavino, "Galleani, Luigi," 657.

⁴⁸⁷ Luigi Galleani, *The End of Anarchism?*, trans. Max Sartin [Rafael Schiavina] and Robert D'Attilio (Orkney, UK: Cienfuegos Press, 1982).

⁴⁸⁸ Viscusi, *Italoamericana*, 614.

contributed to the image of Galleani as an ideological polemicist and not as someone largely involved with community building, small-town struggles for social justice, or the creation of a broader sovversivi transnational culture.⁴⁸⁹ Nevertheless, as Paul Avrich noted in his review of the translation in 1983, “Malatesta, whose conception of anarchism diverged sharply from that of Galleani, hailed the work as a ‘clear, serene, eloquent’ recital of the communist-anarchist creed. In its present English edition, it takes its place beside Malatesta’s own *Talk About Anarchist Communism*, Alexander Berkman’s *What Is Communist Anarchism?* and Nicolas Waiter’s *About Anarchism* as a classic exposition of the subjects.”⁴⁹⁰ Galleani never wrote any other books for publication and—because of his poetic and often wild prose—his writing is so difficult to translate that almost all his extensive oeuvre remains embedded (imprisoned, we might even say) in the newspaper he edited. Schiavina himself lived a clandestine life in the United States for more than 60 years. He was the last of the original so-called “Galleanisti” when he passed away in 1989.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁹ Amedeo Bertolo, email to author, June 23, 2009.

⁴⁹⁰ Paul Avrich, "Review of Luigi Galleani's 'The End of Anarchism?'," *The Anarchist Library*, accessed April 26, 2018, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/paul-avrich-review-of-luigi-galleani-s-the-end-of-anarchism>.

⁴⁹¹ Nunzio Pernicone, email to author, July 22, 2009; Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti*, 217.

Concluding Analysis and Goals for Future Scholarship

The story told by this dissertation emerged from one primary source, the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. Other material, such as rival newspaper accounts and police files, have helped fill in some details but play an essentially secondary role. It is a detailed and often local story of contingency and complexity, and of events driven by specific people in specific places. My “propaganda-outward” approach has emphasized the small, ephemeral relationships that transformed a single small town and its activist community into an important node in a transnational and multi-ethnic anarchist network. Propaganda, ideology, great men and major events figure in the story, but they are not central. Rather, the great men and ideology are explored as part of the social and financial interactions process that created a network of stronger and weaker ties.

To conduct this investigation (particularly in chapter 2), I turned to methods pioneered by social historians and ethnographers. Chapter 2 showed that the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre founded the *Cronaca* as a collective project and invited Galleani to be the editor, refuting the notion that the *Cronaca* was Galleani’s paper and creation from the beginning. Chapter 2 created space for a narrative arc resulting in Galleani’s complete control over the *Cronaca* after it was relocated, with an ideologically purified network’s support, to Lynn eight years later. By looking closely at the names extracted from the *Cronaca* and populating the Barre CSS with real individuals who can be investigated as individuals and eventually understood in their complexity both as immigrant workers and political radicals, Chapter 2 lays a foundation for a social history of anarchism outside the great urban metropolises that have been the focus of most research.

As I explored the *Cronaca's* financial records and the narratives woven through the hundreds of *Cronaca Locale* notes, a story emerged of anarchist immigrants building a social movement by providing communities with real services, even if those communities failed to take ownership of the institutions created by industrious militants, as was the case of Barre's art school (explored in Chapter 3). Within this story of community building were also subplots about how subversives antagonized influential members of the larger Barre community, particularly by staking out contrarian positions such as they did during the fight over liquor licensing in Barre (as told in chapter 4). This combative stance led to persecution, including police raids on anarchist picnics and the arrest and extradition of Galleani, which, in turn, propelled the *Cronaca* into the national spotlight and made Galleani at least momentarily an anarchist celebrity (as told in chapter 5).

However, this dissertation is also the tale of how class mobility and the spotlight of celebrity strained and snapped relationships among radicals and former radicals in Barre (the focus of chapter 6). In response to the pressure created by local fights, the network purged itself of all non-supporters of Galleani and relocated the press and publishing business away from Barre and its founding group (a story told in chapter 7). The interpersonal conflicts that drove the paper from Barre also helped forged tighter bonds among the paper's loyalists and led the *Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva* to abandon their previous tactic of heavy involvement in local community social life. This, in turn made ideology a more important unifying force for the *Cronaca* network after 1911.

The *Cronaca* itself seemed aware of this narrative arc. In its first printed edition of 1911, it proudly began its ninth year of "combative existence" by recalling the "hard-

fought comfort of sympathetic supporters... and a field of engagement full of hateful opposition” which it had “quietly expected to provoke when it was first conceived by the founders.” Thus, in hindsight at least, the *Cronaca* confirmed that one of its primary tactics was to provoke controversy and conflict in Barre. The paper argued that none of the primary founders of the Tipografia Cronaca Sovversiva “had been disappointed” with the results they had achieved.⁴⁹² And why, after all, would they be disappointed? The paper, begun in a relatively isolated peripheral node of the movement, had risen to international prominence.

According to this article, when the founders of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* “first came together as a crowd” there had been many among them “who had never been touched” by the anarchist idea and who “served traditions and interests in direct conflict with the program and with the function of a libertarian newspaper.” They had thus “dreaded” Galleani being hired as the paper’s editor. This helps explain why some people who appear in the founding Circolo (as seen in Chapter 2) would later work to overthrow Galleani’s editorship. But, as the paper explained, Galleani was supported by a “few who knew the arduous path of the apostles” and who came to the project having experienced the oppressive force of the Italian state, with “fresh livid bruises” on their wrists. These hardened militants knew that they would not have to wait long “before facing hurricanes of disagreement” and would “receive only one reward— the hemlock of taunts and villainous crucifixions at the hands of loutish traitors and vile persons.”⁴⁹³

⁴⁹² La Cronaca Sovversiva, “Dopo Otto Anni!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva* (Barre, VT), Jan. 07, 1911.

⁴⁹³ Cronaca, “Dopo Otto Anni!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 07, 1911.

After reviewing the violence and ultimate victory of the fight against the “pirates,” the *Cronaca*’s self-conscious narrative of the Barre years concluded with the conflict with the “S.C.d.G.”; when “a barrier arose (of common and vulgar rumors) that would not submit to the force of logic.” For the anarchists, either the *Cronaca* had to volunteer itself to suffer “in the name of anarchy, at the brutal hands of the thieves of the village taverns” and accommodate in the granite sheds “the scabs of the newest anarchist bosses,” or the *Cronaca* would have “to die and its editors and supporters be lacerated by as an atrocious campaign of libel and insults” that “the fiefdom of Camorra innkeepers” would “discharge.” Despite these conditions, the anarchists remained “uniquely aware” of “the necessity of penetrating the dense mass of honest workers” that lived and struggled “without arrogance, without weakness, and without cowardice.”⁴⁹⁴

Barre’s anarchists felt their “adversaries” should understand that the “cooperation of this force whose loyalty, sincerity and energy” were “an immutable law” that should not “be looked down upon nor ignored, as if these were but fleeting episodes of liveliness and partisan passion, such as the campaigns conducted by the *Cronaca Sovversiva* against *Il Proletario* (in solidarity with the *Avvenire*).” After all, they explained, “the fight against the enemy” had “allowed the various factions of the subversive proletariat to retain full and complete their respective mutual independence of judgments and action,” a tactic that the anarchists felt made theirs “the broadest” and “most influential faith.” The paper concluded that after “the rout of the pirates,” the *Cronaca Sovversiva* had been able to expand its size, redouble its vigor, and increasingly secure “the sympathy and

⁴⁹⁴ *Cronaca*, “Dopo Otto Anni!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 07, 1911.

solidarity of good folk,” a fact borne out by analysis of its subscription lists. And, “despite being under a barrage of cynical and vile insults from the abusive and vindictive” “S.C.d.G.,” the *Cronaca* had “grown by over a thousand subscribers” and was now able to claim “several thousand readers.” Thus, Galleani and his companions had “appealed neither wine-selling bordello keepers, nor repainted strumpets.”⁴⁹⁵ And, so they proudly proclaimed, “in the ninth year” of their “hard fought and combative existence” they expected to “emerge with a wealth of sympathy, with the reassurance of solidarity,” and with “encouragement full of pride and hopes” which they never would have had otherwise, and they were ready to “return calm and confident” to their “work.”⁴⁹⁶ Their long, embattled tale ended with feelings of vindication and hope.

Debt as a Way of Life: The Big Picture of the Cronaca's Financial Records

Hidden behind the move to Lynn and embedded in the very nature of the attacks launched by the “S.C.d.G.” was the importance of financial transparency and solvency undergirding the life of the paper. This need explains why the paper regularly printed such minute and exact fiscal data—which, in turn, is why researchers can exhume so much information about the larger network from the pages of the *Cronaca*. The most distinguishing aspect of the paper’s financial life was the fact that, throughout all these tumultuous years, turning a profit was never a priority. When debt became life

⁴⁹⁵ Cronaca, “Dopo Otto Anni!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 07, 1911.

⁴⁹⁶ Cronaca, “Dopo Otto Anni!,” *Cronaca Sovversiva*, Jan. 07, 1911.

threatening the anarchist network could be counted on to respond but could only produce short-lived periods of financial solvency.

The financial status of the paper in 1911, as it readied to relocate to Lynn, was decidedly precarious. Chapter 7 showed that debt had become both a secondary motive for relocating and one of the major issues discussed by the network. The journal's financial bottom-line formed a jagged rollercoaster. There were only four very short periods of solvency during the four key post-trial years (1908-1912), and from 1911 through 1912 the *Cronaca* was in constant debt. During 1911 it owed \$600—which was six times the weekly operating costs of the paper. Long-term debt was eliminated only through intense levels of fundraising, after which the network would pivot to raising money for other crises, such as a strike or natural disaster—resulting in dramatic decreases in donations to the *Cronaca* and an equally dramatic spike in the paper's debt. The *Cronaca*'s administration was never shy about expressing their frustration at seeing the debt spike back up again so quickly after being halved. After each crisis, the paper sent out a feverish fundraising pitch and rushed once more to dig itself out of debt.

In the years following the relocation to Lynn, the *Cronaca* hardly ever emerged from beneath its debt. Its few times in the black were short-lived, often lasting only a few weeks before dramatically plummeting back into the red. The relationship between financial viability and dramatic spikes in income—the paper's see-sawing finances—were no accident, nor were they a situation the paper ever attempted seriously to remedy. Rather, despite constant frustrations, debt was a feature of the role the paper played in the movement. Unlike commercial papers, it was able to survive its near constant indebtedness only by relying on a network to rally and pull it temporarily back into the

black. At such times it made no attempt to remain solvent, using extra funds to print special editions of the paper or, on occasions, to purchase new printing equipment. Regardless, the relocation of 1911 was one of the deepest and most sustained periods of indebtedness in the paper's history.

The *Cronaca*'s move to Lynn represented a fundamental reworking of its operation, with Barre, its longest running and biggest donor node, almost completely dropping out of the picture. Barre was not replaced by any node of nearly the same significance. Instead Lynn, and many other towns in New England and across the United States, assumed more important financial roles. The result was a net-total increase in the amount of money flowing into the paper's coffers, despite the average amount annually donated from the biggest donors being less than the primary donors used to give. The paper came to rely financially less on any one location; its finances became dependent on a much extended, if somewhat thinner, network of support. None of the newer nodes would ever play as important a role as Barre—neither in terms of finances or in terms of the interpersonal and political life of the paper in relationship to various Italian colonies, as is made evident by the disappearance of the *Cronaca Locale* section of the paper. It was only in 1911 that the paper fully transformed into the *Cronaca* most commonly remembered by historians.

Print Culture and The Propaganda-Outwards Approach to Anarchist History

The chapters of this dissertation followed the money donated by people living in the large towns of New England and the upper Midwest, NYC, Boston (and the surrounding factory towns), Chicago, Detroit, even San Francisco and Seattle. But even

more striking were the paths that each edition of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* followed to the small towns (many now ghost towns) and unincorporated areas that populate the map of the *Cronaca*'s historic circulation. The number of regular picnics, festivals, raffles, and other fundraising events that occurred in small towns such as Kellogg, Idaho, or Plainville, Pennsylvania, suggests that the *Cronaca* played an important role in providing those polyglot coal camps with a distinctive cultural and political character.

The presence of numerous gruppi and circoli in small company mining towns for example would have had a much greater impact on the social life and political conversations there than in larger urban areas. Similarly, printing announcements of various events and interpersonal conflicts in the Cronaca Locale section of the paper did more than spread word to the Barre community about the next dance party. Such notices instructed a diaspora of readers how to accumulate social capital in their immigrant enclaves and how to bring people into contact with the anarchist social field by providing real services to their community and by sharing intimate social space with their fellow workers. Such activities helped raise funds for the larger network, which also demonstrated one's presence and belonging to the social field. Certainly, most of the material in the Cronaca Locale column was not needed for the functioning of a local social scene in Barre. And the use of precious space in the four-page paper was not cheap or meaningless. Researchers should read these notes for discursive significance as well as narrative content. The notes partly helped build the movement, and for this reason alone, they are worth studying.

All the theoretical tools used in this dissertation—networks, social capital, and social fields—are to some extent metaphorical; they are ways of making the world

sensible and understandable. There are many such tools and ideas, and they all offer different perspectives. For example, in his book *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson discusses how newspapers created a sense of simultaneity between its readers.⁴⁹⁷ This argument has been built upon by scholars such as Jeremy Popkin, who has shown that newspapers were key sites for the construction of social and cultural identities during revolutionary moments. Much like Anderson, Popkin argues that newspapers were more powerful than other form of writing because they sought out readers, arrived on a regular basis, reaching (potentially at least) the whole public at the same time, and becoming “part of a daily diet and conversation.”⁴⁹⁸ Periodicals, like the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, allowed for dynamic interaction with readers who were “able to send in articles and letters as well as subscription changes, all of which gave feedback in reaction to editorial choices.”⁴⁹⁹

Popkin argues that revolutionary media projects were successful when they became agents in the construction of the group they claimed to represent. Long-term propaganda projects were thus meant to be “catalysts” around which new social formations coalesced. Similarly, newspapers like the *Cronaca Sovversiva* created an imaginative opening for the reader; they elaborated on the “real world,” giving events

⁴⁹⁷ Anderson discusses “horizontal-secular, transverse-time” in relation to the rise of print capitalism and Walter Benjamin’s “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” in his third chapter, “The Origins of National Consciousness.” See Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zorn (London: Pimlico, 1999) 211-244; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1983), 37-46.

⁴⁹⁸ In contrast to newspapers, books and pamphlets were isolated phenomena virtually unrelated to each other and could not represent collectives that existed over time. Popkin, *Press, Revolution, and Social Identities in France*, 8.

⁴⁹⁹ Popkin, *Press, Revolution, and Social Identities in France*, 15–16.

new meanings and creating the conditions for future radical action.⁵⁰⁰ Print-culture's ability to transform readers into collectivities made newspapers critical tools for building revolutionary social-fields. Comprising over 2,000 unique locations, the *Cronaca* network was composed of a highly-mixed population of activists and militants who built a transnational network opposed to state, authority, capitalism, and organized religion. Unfortunately, social networks like that of the "Galleanisti," and the larger subversive social-field of which they were a constituent part, have been particularly susceptible to historical invisibility. Yet they are particularly noteworthy because of their cosmopolitan composition and their central reliance on print-based propaganda.

When analyzed through the lens of simplistic ideological categorizations, the impact of immigrant propagandists and anarchist cultural production is too easily ignored and marginalized. For example, Guglielmo has shown that because Italian women gravitated toward anarchist community and the syndicalist IWW and not toward socialist trade unionism, they were long understood to be too isolated and submissive to participate in labor movements. This kind of marginalization may explain why feminist scholars (and scholars of immigrant women and their distinctive forms of feminism) have been so important in calling attention to culture and social relations in the history of anarchism.⁵⁰¹ It is my hope that this dissertation's examination of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* has addressed distortions in the historiography of anarchism and made a better case for including the role of anarchists in the narrative of early-twentieth-century history.

⁵⁰⁰ Popkin, *Press, Revolution, and Social Identities in France*, 18–19.

⁵⁰¹ See Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution*, 79–89.

Understanding the historical process by which a peripheral node like Barre could assume a large role in an extensive social field such as the early-twentieth-century anarchist movement is important for what it uncovers about the contingent and material complexity behind the success or failure of creative elements like Galleani, as well as active centers like the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. The central technology employed in the building and maintenance of this network was a newspaper, which hints at the resemblances between newspapers as a pre-digital form of social media within print culture, all too easily dismissed today as antiquated and limited in their network building capacities. The story of the *Cronaca* suggests that newspapers might have been as good if not even better at forming the kind of bonds required to construct a social movement, and that the activists and community builders of the past have something to teach people fighting for social justice today.

By working outward from the journal to the base militants, I have revealed network bonds between the so called “rank-and-file” of this largely invisible social movement in ways previous historians have found impossible. This is evident with the “inexplicable” nature of many protests and strikes which have seriously underestimated the anarchists’ ability to mobilize working class communities throughout the United States. For example, William B. Klaus’s excellent study of Americanization amongst Italian immigrants in West Virginia, provides detail of events much like the rebellion in Boomer discussed in chapter 1. Klaus describes how on February 15, 1915, Italian strikers marched behind a red flag, armed and carrying a banner that read “We Stand, Divided We Fall, Give Us Justice or Nothing at All.” He goes on to comment that these miners, “who lacked the backing of the UMWA or any other ‘labor group’” further

alienated the power elite with their “display of red flags, which was perceived as a symbol of anarchy.” Yet he concludes that:

Only scant evidence suggests that the strikers had tangible connection to such national anarcho-syndicalist organizations as the Industrial Workers of the World or “Wobblies.” Individual Italian radicals who organized small groups were not uncommon in coal mining regions. Perhaps such an individual was responsible for sparking the strike, but the strikers’ lack of organization suggests an unfolding of events more similar to a peasant revolt.⁵⁰²

Here we see a violent insurrection on the part of Italian coal miners, which clearly aligns with several key tropes of anarchism evident in the *Cronaca*, being dismissed by scholars for its lack of any clear connection to an “official” or “organized” union structure. Unable to grasp connective tissues built through print culture, historians have largely failed to weave such events into a broader understanding of historical phenomena.

Even scholars who have attempted to explore the anarchists as a social network, such as Davide Turcato, have relied on an analytic lens which focused the story through the narrative of one individual’s biography.⁵⁰³ I have striven, on the other hand, to avoid speaking about how Galleani affected things and instead look at how everyday people created Galleani. I thereby bypass ideological debates, even though they clearly existed under the surface, because I believe these came to the forefront only after interpersonal ruptures had already broken the tranquility of any pre-existing solidarity. By moving away from an explanatory dependency on large institutions, such as labor unions, and

⁵⁰² William B. Klaus, “Uneven Americanization: Italian Immigration to Marion County, 1900-1925,” in *Transnational West Virginia*, ed. Ken Fones-Wolf and Ronald L. Lewis (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2002), 191.

⁵⁰³ See Turcato, “Italian Anarchism as a Transnational Movement,” 407-444.

toward the informal structures of social networks, we arrive at a new understanding of events in coal country prior to World War I.

My examination of the anarchists in Barre is meant to help map a movement as a social network, and in so doing, to finally give anarchists their proper place in the history of immigrants and working-class radicals in America. By following the money, researchers can learn much about the ideology and political philosophy of anarchism which, more than most political ideologies, was grounded in the lived experience of immigrant workers. Researchers can learn more about struggles against domination and exploitation when they not only understand the ideologies offered or consumed by migrant laborers and the historical narratives that provided them with the tools and means by which to resist, but also uncover the very real and surprisingly powerful network of social solidarity that enabled the purchase of guns, the support of families, the defense of the arrested.

It is hard to know for sure what other ideologies or varieties of anarchist thinking circulated through the mining camps and company towns where the *Cronaca* was read; the kind of mapping I have begun with the *Cronaca* has yet to be done on the circulation lists of other major anarchist papers. That is not surprising for it took over 2,000 hours to transcribe the lists from PDF into excel spreadsheets, and another six months to digitize the original micro-film of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* as a searchable database. Regardless, we do know that in the name of transparency (and perhaps to inspire others as well as gain some social capital amongst the readers of the paper) groups in small towns reported to the *Cronaca* about their fundraising events and also included information about how any profits were spent. Their communications not only included donations to the

Cronaca and to various strike funds and defense funds, facilitated by the paper but also support for various other anarchist newspapers both in the United States and back in Italy. Often this would include funds for newspapers considered by historians to have been in conflict with the *Cronaca*, such as *L'Era Nuova* of Paterson, NJ.

The successor of *La Questione Sociale*, *L'Era Nuova* often printed strong anarcho-syndicalist critiques of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*. One of the most important “organizationalist” papers in the United States, *L'Era Nuova* was deeply connected to the Italian branch of the IWW as well as the Mexican revolutionary Ricardo Flores Magón and his PLM paper *Regeneración*. Historians such as Nunzio Pernicone, Kenyon Zimmer and Michele Presuto have examined the numerous conflicts that existed between these two Italian anarchist groups, their polemic debates and their interpersonal feuds. However, if we follow the money and pay attention to the base militants, what we see is widespread support for both papers coming out of the same social fundraising events. In this way the readers and financiers of the papers supported both sides of ongoing debates, albeit undoubtedly while preferring ideological favorites. It does seem that far more money went from the miners to the *Cronaca*, while the *L'Era Nuova* drew more funding from the New York-New Jersey factory scene. This makes sense considering the very different work environments shaping these two spaces. This dissertation does not make a Marxist argument about the politics of organizational and anti-organizational anarchism in relationship to the difference workspaces of the mine and the factory. However, I do think that the violent rhetoric of the *Cronaca* had far more in common with the violence of labor conflicts in West Virginia mine communities than it did with the large mass

marches and picketing associated with the Paterson silk strike, let alone the more mundane business of union building.

The use of guns and dynamite in places like Colorado followed the insurrectionary language used in the *Cronaca*. The *Cronaca* has often been described as masculine in its rhetoric, which would once again match the male-dominated space of the mines over the mixed gender space of the factory floor. As Chapter 2 showed, the male stone carvers in Barre were fertile soil for nurturing the *Cronaca*, especially as Barre attracted Italians seeking to escape from the oppression of the Francesco Crispi regime in Italy after a failed insurrection in Carrara. The independence of the marble workers shared similarities with American coal mines; both faced similarly deadly work environments as well, particularly when it came to respiratory health.

Finally, the Carrara insurrection of 1894 in many ways resembled the aborted revolt in West Virginia, as well as Colorado's Coal War. Applying a transnational history to these local events contextualizes them as far more than spontaneous peasant revolts—these were anarchist insurrections, staged in solidarity with other struggles. Far from senseless riots, events in places like West Virginia displayed attention to the infrastructure of states by blocking rail lines and roads, cutting telegraph communication, fortifying and barricading, etc. While their effectiveness may be questioned, these were tactics that had emerged from events such as the Paris Commune and the Italian Risorgimento and were repeated by historically aware and fully active political agents rather than uneducated, spontaneous peasants. The ability to contextualize such events through analysis of the seemingly mundane data held in the *Cronaca Locale* and the

financial records of anarchist newspapers such as the *Cronaca* points a sturdy path forward for historians of anarchism.

Moving Forward: Mapping Anarchist Networks and The Need for Scholarly Collaboration

In the last decade, there has been an explosive growth in the study of anarchism. The formation of professional scholarly associations such as the Anarchist Studies Network (ASN), based in the U.K., and the North American Anarchist Studies Network (NAASN), composed of scholars from the United States, Canada, Mexico, and the Caribbean, have stimulated dialogue and scholarly rigor as well as facilitated publication efforts in the form of both peer-reviewed journals and monographs. Scholars have begun to see anarchist print-culture, particularly newspapers and periodicals, as more than simply conveyors of information or forums for debate but as tools used to facilitate the movement of resources and the construction of identity. Representing a shift in scholarly interest, these new examinations of anarchists inspired my own study, providing both a model for how to conduct this research, a set of studies on which I could build and expand, and a group of academic colleagues to help contextualize and inform my research on the *Cronaca* network.⁵⁰⁴

At the 2015 NAASN conference in San Francisco, I led a round-table discussion about how historians of the anarchist movement could work together in attempts to contextualize and quantify the spread and impact of the historical network. The name we coined for this project was Collaborative Anarchist Mapping Project (CAMP). CAMP

⁵⁰⁴ Bencivenni, *Italian Immigrant Radical Culture*, 223.

proposes that scholars specializing on individual journals and geographic/linguistic networks should compile data in order to visualize the reach of the transnational anarchist networks which spanned much of the industrial world in the early 20th century. It is my hopes this dissertation will become known as a first gesture toward the new research direction, and that in the coming years I will be able to link my data with that gathered by other scholars.

Even with dissertation now completed, much of the data I harvested from the *Cronaca* remains unused. Originally, I had imagined a three-part work that examined the production, circulation, and consumption of anarchist print culture, looking at the complete lifespan of the *Cronaca*. In the end, the dissertation examines only the site of production, and only during the first half of the paper's life. However, I still have all the digitized data required to look more closely at where the paper circulated and who read it. Over the coming years, I intend to continue processing and analyzing this data, exploring the character of the paper's audience in more detail, and linking up my map with other scholars, such as Kathy Ferguson, who has collected comparable information on all the people linked directly in print culture and archives to Emma Goldman. A fuller mapping will allow scholars to see how, when and if isolated linguistic groups became connected, where different ideological branches of the movement overlapped, and how international borders affected the exchange of resources and the role of interpersonal bonds. In other words, this dissertation constitutes little more than just a beginning to the work I intend to do on a fascinating and large group of historical actors. For now, all I can hope is the story I have told and the information I have been able to harvest is deemed as worthy of

the institutional support and the financial backing needed to continue to develop this research program for many years to come.

Bibliography

For ease of reference, in the following bibliography all historical newspaper articles have been separated from the rest of the cited material. The bibliography of newspaper articles has been subdivided again, between *Cronaca Sovversiva* articles and all the other newspaper articles cited in the dissertation. Their separation makes accessing and reviewing the *Cronaca Sovversiva* articles as easy as possible. In Appendix 1 all the *Cronaca* articles can be found arranged in chronological order, based on publication date.

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This dissertation has relied upon both personal scans I made of microfilmed copies of the *Cronaca Sovversiva* (stored at the Immigration History Resource Center, Anderson Library, the University of Minnesota), and digital copies of the *Cronaca* and the other papers listed below, all of which are available through the National Digital Newspaper Program's (NDNP) *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers* website. For digital copies, see <https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov>. All translations of cited newspaper articles are my own.

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- . “Wanted to Be Locked Up.” *The Barre Daily Times* (Barre, VT), July 29, 1905.
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Appendices

Appendix 1: Chronological List of Cronaca Sovversiva Articles Cited

1903

June 06, 1903— “Stati Uniti – Barre E Dintorni” in *Battaglie del Lavoro: Per la vita e per l’idea*.

——— “Al Compagni” by Il Circolo di Studi Sociali di Barre.

——— “Programma?” by Il Circolo di Studi Sociali di Barre.

July 04, 1903— “Materiale Tipografico” in *Amministrazione*.

August 01, 1903— “La Scuola di Disegno” in *Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni*.

August 08, 1903— “I Beccai” in *Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni*.

August 15, 1903— “Gli Iloti” in *Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni*.

August 29, 1903— “Le Cretinerie Dell’ ‘Evening Telegram’ non sono una leggenda” in *Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni*.

September 12, 1903— “Faccia di Bronzo” in *Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni*.

November 14, 1903— “Metodi Della Lotta Socialista” by Luigi Galleani.

1904

January 09, 1904— “L’Assassino di Elia Corti” by Luigi Galleani [El Vecc.].

March 30, 1907— “Contro I Pirati: Le prove ci sono!”

May 07, 1904— “Per la Scuola di Disegno” in *Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni*.

——— “La Furie d’un Reverendo Strozzino” in *Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni*.

May 14, 1904— “Gli Ultimi Saranno I Primi” in *Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni*.

June 18, 1904—"Barre Cooperative Store" by Un Operaio, in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni,

December 17, 1904—"Pro Colorado" Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

1905

January 14, 1905—"La Scuola di Disegno" by Rapin.

February 11, 1905—"I Minatori" in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

March 04, 1905—"Pro o CONTRO?" by Luigi Galleani [El Vecc.].

March 18, 1905—"La Festa Dei Fiori" in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

April 01, 1905—"La Festa Dei Fiori" in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

April 22, 1905—"Per la scuola di Disegno!" in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

May 27, 1905—"Rapina ed estorsione" in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

July 29, 1905—"El Vecc in quarella!"

August 05, 1905—"El Vecc in quarella" in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

September 02, 1905—"Ancora un raid" in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

September 09, 1905—"La compagnia Filodrammatica Indipendente" in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

September 23, 1905—"La polizia di Barre" in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

November 11, 1905—"I Compagni Spagnuoli" in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

December 23, 1905—"La nostra festa" Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

———"L'impudenza di John Anderson" in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

1906

January 20, 1906— “La Filodrammatica Indipendente” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

February 10, 1906— “Pro’ Rivoluzionarii Russi” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

February 10, 1906— “La Conferenza di N. Barbato: Al Pavillon Hall.”

February 17, 1906— “La Camorra Unionista: Bruce, Barclay, Anderson e Duncan” by Uno che nell’Unione ci sta e ci vede.

February 24, 1906— “Mercanti Di Fame: varieta’ della pirateria colonial.”

April 07, 1906— “Pel Grido della Folla” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

April 07, 1906— “In Corte” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

May 05, 1906— “Le grandi vendette dei pigmei” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

May 12, 1906— “Listini prezzo dei viveri” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

June 16, 1906— “Scuola Popolare di Disegno” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

October 06, 1906— “Scuola di disegno” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

1907

January 05, 1907— “lettera ai compagni a Barre” by Luigi Galleani, in “L’arresto del compagno Luigi Galleani” by Antonio Cavalazzi.

——— “L’arresto del compagno Luigi Galleani” by Antonio Cavalazzi.

——— “La Vendetta” by La Cronaca Sovversiva.

——— “Lavoratori.”

——— “Ai Compagni.”

——— “Dopo l’Aggressione” by Carlo Tresca.

January 12, 1907— “Ai Compagni, Agli Amici, Agli Onesti” by La Cronaca Sovversiva.

January 19, 1907— “La camorra unionista tenta alzare la testa” in Cronaca Locale.

——— “Ragliano” by Antonio Cavalazzi.

January 26, 1907— “Pro Galleani” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

——— “Soprese di capo d’anno” by Luigi Galleani.

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February 09, 1907— “Stati Uniti: Hoboken, N.J.,” by R. Cormio, in Per la Vita e per l’Idea.

February 16, 1907— “Grande ballo mascherato” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

March 30, 1907— “Contro I Pirati: Le prove ci sono!”

April 20, 1907— “Ai Cittadini di Barre: Protestiamo.”

——— “Avvicinandosi il giorno.”

May 18, 1907— “I Seimila Scudi della cauzione Galleani” by Il Circolo di Studi Sociali di Barre.

June 08, 1907— “Per un giro di Conferenze del Compagno L. Galleani.”

June 29, 1907— “Infame attentato: Ancora un colpo dei pirati.”

October 12, 1907— “Festa della Frutta” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

1908

February 15, 1908— “il Cantico dei Cantici” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

February 22, 1908— “Pei nostri bimbi” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

February 29, 1908— “La Festa dei Bambini” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

——— “NON VOTATE!”

March 07, 1908— “Alla Malora!”

March 21, 1908— “Scuola di Disegno” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

April 25, 1908— “Per la Scuola di Disegno” by Giuseppe Sassi and the Comitato della Scuola.

May 02, 1908— “La Scuola di Disegno” in Cronaca Locale: Barre e Dintorni.

May 09, 1908— “Scuola Serale di Disegno (anno scolastico 1908-09): Avviso D’Iscrizione” by Giuseppe Sassi and the Comitato della Scuola.

1909

March 20, 1909— “Ieri ed Oggi: Saggi di..... patologia Coloniale” by Luigi Galleani [Nevesk].

July 03, 1909— “Carissimi compagni del Circolo di Studi Sociali di Barre, Vt.” by G.B. Cominetti, in “Tra Giuda E Pilato” by Luigi Galleani.

——— “Resoconto: Sottoscrizioni pervenute a Cavalazzi e per esso alla” by Antonio Cavalazzi.

August 28, 1909— “Rispondo subito!” by Luigi Galleani.

September 04, 1909— “Al Sole, Al Sole!” by Luigi Galleani [El Vecc.].

October 02, 1909— “Il colpo di grazia” by Vittorio Blotto.

October 16, 1909— “Maramaldo” by Luigi Galleani [G. Pimpino].

November 06, 1909— “Al Sole, Sicuro!” by Luigi Galleani.

December 04, 1909— “I Decoratori” by Luigi Galleani.

——— “Compagni della Cronaca” by Antonio Cavalazzi, in Comunicati.

December 18, 1909— “Appello ai Compagni” by Gianni Lupo.

1910

January 01, 1910— “Comunicati” by Antonio Cavalazzi.

January 08, 1910— “Alle Oche, alle Oche!” by G. B. Fruzzetti.

——— “A proposito di certi manifesti” by Osvoldo Battendieri.

Mar 19, 1910— “Da New London, Conn.” by Marta Dondero, in *Comunicati*.

April 23, 1910 — “Ancora Una Bolla!”

April 23, 1910— “Oche, Oche!” by G.B. Fruzzetti.

Apr 23, 1910— “Rettifiche.”

May 07, 1910— “Sul grugno spudorato di un emerito truffatore.”

May 14, 1910— “Scuola di Disegno” by Carlo Abate, in *Cronaca Locale*.

——— “Sul grugno spudorato del solito falsario” by Antonio Bianchi.

October 22, 1910— “Faccie di Bronzo” by Arturo.

October 29, 1910— “Faccie di Bronzo” by Arturo.

1911

January 07, 1911— “In quarella!” in *Cronaca Locale*.

——— “Dopo Otto Anni!” by *La Cronaca Sovversiva*.

January 14, 1911— “La Sacra Compagnia di Gesù” in *Cronaca Locale*.

January 21, 1911— “Compagni della Cronaca” by Isidoro Arnaiz, in *Cronaca Locale*.

February 18, 1911— “Da Providence, R.I.,” by Il Gruppo Francisco Ferrer, in *Comunicati: Riceviamo e Pubblichiamo*.

February 5, 1911— “Parlando della Sacra Compagnia di Gesù” in *Cronaca Locale*.

——— “Da Providence, R.I.” by Il Gruppo Francisco Ferrer, in *Comunicato: Riceviamo e Pubblichiamo*.

February 25, 1911— “I compagni aderenti al Circolo di Studi Sociali” in *Cronaca Locale*.

February 25, 1911— “Da Utica, N.Y.” by G. Vitullo, in *Comunicati*.

March 04, 1911— “Da Middletown, Ohio” by L. Backet, in *Comunicati*.

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March 11, 1911— “Da Chicago, Ill.” by Arthur Barili, in *Per il trasloco della Cronaca*.

——— “Da Quincy, Mass.” by G. B. Fruzzetti, in *Per il trasloco della Cronaca*.

——— “Non polemizziamo!” by La Cronaca Sovversiva.

——— “Da Boston, Mass.” By Salv. Federico Quinto, in *Per il trasloco della Cronaca*.

——— “Cara Cronaca” by Amico di vecchia data, in *Cronaca Locale*.

March 18, 1911— “Cara Cronaca” by Amico di vecchia data, in *Cronaca Locale*.

——— “Due parole a noi.”

——— “Da Middletown, N.Y.” by Richard Trogon, in *Per il trasloco della Cronaca*.

March 25, 1911— “Compagni della Cronaca” by Pasquale De Francesco, in *Per il trasloco della Cronaca*.

——— “Da Sacramento, Cal.” by A. Marietti, in *Per il trasloco della Cronaca*.

——— “Da Frontenac, Kans.” by Il Gruppo Anarchico Senza Patria, in *Per il trasloco della Cronaca*.

April 01, 1911— “Ch’ogni uom sganni.”

April 15, 1911— “Da Scranton, Pa.” in *Per il trasloco della Cronaca*.

April 22, 1911— “Per il trasloco della Cronaca” in *Per il trasloco della Cronaca*.

——— “Ai compagni degli Stati Uniti” by Leone Morel, in *Per il trasloco della Cronaca*.

April 29, 1911— “Da Providence, R.I.” by Il Gruppo Francisco Ferrer, in *Comunicati*.

——— “Da Margaret, Ala.” by Luigi Sarda, in *Comunicati*.

May 06, 1911— “Da Seattle, Wash.” by v, in *Per il trasloco della ‘Cronaca’*.

May 13, 1911— “Ai compagni, ai simpatizzanti” by La Cronaca Sovversiva.

May 20, 1911— “Cari Compagni” by Carlo Dalboni, in Per il trasloco della ‘Cronaca’.

——— “Per il trasloco della ‘Cronaca’” by Luigi Galleani [Gigione].

May 27, 1911— “La Conferenza Galleani a New York: e la latitanza della mafia vile dei contrapelisti” by Emanuel.

June 03, 1911— “Da Frankfort, Me.,” by Ernesto Perrella, in Comunicati.

September 02, 1911— “La Cronaca.”

——— “Da Lynn, Mass.” By Circolo Educativo Sociale, in Comunicati.

September 16, 1911— “Agli abbonati.”

Nov 25, 1911— “Da Barre, Vt.” by Il Circolo di Studi Sociali, in Comunicati.

December 23, 1911— “Roberto Elia.”

1912

October 19, 1912— “American Vulture on the Wing!” by Luigi Galleani [L’Eretico].

1913

February 15, 1913— “Le nostre pubblicazioni E’ Uscito,” by Il Gruppo Autonomo.

Appendix 2: Collective Groups Contributing to Cronaca Sovversiva 1903-1919

Name of Circolo	Town	State	country
Circolo 14 Gennaio	Boston	MA	USA
Circolo 29 Luglio	CleElum	WA	USA
Circolo Anarchico	Somerville	MA	USA
Circolo Augusto Masetti	Milford	MA	USA
Circolo Autonomo	EastBoston	MA	USA
Circolo Autonomo	Meriden	CT	USA
Circolo Carlo Marx	NewBritain	CT	USA
Circolo Carlo Marx	Providence	RI	USA
Circolo Coltura Moderna	Bridgewater	MA	USA
Circolo Coltura Moderna	NewBritain	CT	USA
Circolo Coltura Moderna	NiagraFalls	NY	USA
Circolo Cultura Proletaria	NewYork	NY	USA
Circolo Educativo Libertario	Westfield	NJ	USA
Circolo Educativo Mazziniano	Roxbury	MA	USA
Circolo Educativo Pietro Gori	NewHaven	CT	USA
Circolo Educativo Sociale	JerseyCity	NJ	USA
Circolo Educativo Sociale	Lynn	MA	USA
Circolo Educazione Moderna	NiagraFalls	NY	USA
Circolo Emancipazione Proletaria	Orange	NJ	USA
Circolo Francisco Ferrer	Coatesville	PA	USA
Circolo Francisco Ferrer	Dunkirk	KS	USA
Circolo Francisco Ferrer	Guffey	PA	USA
Circolo Francisco Ferrer	NewHaven	CT	USA
Circolo Francisco Ferrer	Philadelphia	PA	USA
Circolo Francisco Ferrer	Pittsfield	MA	USA
Circolo Francisco Ferrer	Quincy	MA	USA
Circolo Francisco Ferrer	Sacramento	CA	USA
Circolo Francisco Ferrer	Trenton	NJ	USA
Circolo Francisco Ferrer	Utica	NY	USA
Circolo Francisco Ferrer	Yohoghany	PA	USA
Circolo Giordano Bruno	LorenzagoCadore	Veneto	Italy
Circolo Giovanile Francisco Ferrer	ArquàPolesine	Veneto	Italy
Circolo Giovanile Masetti	Milford	MA	USA
Circolo Gioventù Libertaria	Barre	VT	USA
Circolo Gioventù Libertaria	Hoboken	NJ	USA
Circolo Gioventù Libertaria	NewYork	NY	USA
Circolo Indipendente	Quincy	MA	USA

Circolo La Canaglia	Plainsville	PA	USA
Circolo La Propaganda	NewYork	NY	USA
Circolo La Rivolta	Milford	MA	USA
Circolo Lavoratori	Wilkes-Barre	PA	USA
Circolo Libera Gioventù	Philadelphia	PA	USA
Circolo Libero Pensiero	Hartford	CT	USA
Circolo Libero Pensiero	MountVernon	NY	USA
Circolo Libero Pensiero	Panama	IL	USA
Circolo Libero Pensiero	SaultSte.Marie	Ontario	Canada
Circolo Libertario	Chicago	IL	USA
Circolo Libertario	Laurel	NH	USA
Circolo Libertario	Milford	NH	USA
Circolo Libertario	Philadelphia	PA	USA
Circolo Libertario	Providence	RI	USA
Circolo Libertario	StaffordSprings	CT	USA
Circolo Libertario La Termiti	Waterbury	CT	USA
Circolo Libertario Pensiero ed Azione	NewYork	NY	USA
Circolo Marchigiano	MountVernon	NY	USA
Circolo Mario Rapisardi	EastLiberty	PA	USA
Circolo Mazziniano	Lowell	MA	USA
Circolo Moderno	Scranton	PA	USA
Circolo Pietro Gori	Brooklyn	NY	USA
Circolo Pietro Gori	NewHaven	CT	USA
Circolo Pietro Gori	Sacramento	CA	USA
Circolo Propaganda Rivoluzionaria	Newark	NJ	USA
Circolo Propaganda Socialista	Philadelphia	PA	USA
Circolo R.U.P.	Lehigh	OK	USA
Circolo Ricreativo Operaio	Ripalimosani	Molise	Italy
Circolo Rivoluzionario Unione e Progresso	Lehigh	IA	USA
Circolo Scuola Francisco Ferrer	NewYork	NY	USA
Circolo Socialista	Castagnole Monferrato	Piedmont	Italy
Circolo Socialista	Haverhill	MA	USA
Circolo Socialista	Portsmouth	NH	USA
Circolo Socialista Carlo Marx	Providence	RI	USA
Circolo Socialista-Anarchico	Frontenac	KS	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Baltimore	MD	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Barre	VT	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Bellaire	OH	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Bessemer	MI	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Boston	MA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Bradley	OH	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Bridgeport	CT	USA

Circolo Studi Sociali	Buffalo	NY	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Camden	NJ	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Canton	MA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Canton	OH	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Chicago	IL	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Christopher	IL	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	CleElum	WA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Cleveland	OH	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Clifton	NJ	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Derby	CT	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Dillonvale	OH	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Dunkirk	NY	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	FallRiver	MA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	FayetteCity	PA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Franklin	MA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Fredericktown	PA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Frontenac	KS	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Gallatin	PA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Harlem	NY	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Haverhill	MA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Henryetta	OK	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Hoboken	NJ	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Hurley	WI	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Jessup	PA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Jobville	OH	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Kensington	IL	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Lawrence	MA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	LosAngeles	CA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Lynn	MA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Mansfield	MA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Milford	MA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Milwaukee	WI	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Montreal	Qubec	Canada
Circolo Studi Sociali	Naugatuck	CT	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	NewHaven	CT	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	NewYork	NY	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	OldForge	PA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Pawtucket	RI	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Philadelphia	PA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Pittsburgh	PA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Plymouth	MA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Portsmouth	NH	USA

Circolo Studi Sociali	Providence	RI	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Quincy	MA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Rayland	OH	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Rochester	NY	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	RockSprings	WY	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Sagamore	MA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	SaintLouis	MO	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	SaintLouis	MO	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Sant'Ambrogio	Valpolicella	Italy
Circolo Studi Sociali	Scranton	PA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Seattle	WA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	SouthQuincy	MA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	StaffordSprings	CT	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Stege	CA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Steubenville	OH	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Tampa	FL	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Thurber	TX	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	UnionCity	NJ	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Vancouver	British Columbia	Canada
Circolo Studi Sociali	W.Hoboken	NJ	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	WestMineral	KS	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	WestTampa	FL	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Westfield	MA	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Westfield	NJ	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Westville	IL	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Woonsocket	RI	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	Yorkville	OH	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali	NewYork	NY	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali Francisco Ferrer	Cleveland	OH	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali Francisco Ferrer	Newark	NJ	USA
Circolo Studi Sociali Francisco Ferrer	RockSprings	WY	USA
Circolo Tra Spagna e Italia	Barre	VT	USA
Circolo Unione e Progresso	Lehigh	IA	USA
Club Avanti	Brooklyn	NY	USA
Club Colombo	West Wareham	MA	USA
Club Germinal	Spring Valley	IL	USA
Club Giovanile	Tampa	FL	USA
Club Giuseppe Garibaldi	Mulberry	KS	USA
Club Italian Happy	Orange	NJ	USA
Club Italian Prosperity	Benld, IL	IL	USA
Club Italian Prosperity	Roanake	IL	USA
Club Labor	Spring Valley	IL	USA

Club Nuova Civiltà	Philadelphia	PA	USA
Club Prosperity	Spring Valley	IL	USA
Club Social Education	Lynn	MA	USA
Club, Italian Brotherhood	Yohoghany	PA	USA
Club, Italian Independent Political	Philadelphia	PA	USA
Club, Marconi	Cohoes	NY	USA
Club, Marconi	Roxbury	MA	USA
Comitato anarchico internazionale	New York	NY	USA
Comitato di Agitazione	Trenton	NJ	USA
Comitato Popolare	Long Island City	NY	USA
Comitato Pro Vittime Politiche	Paterson	NJ	USA
Comitato Pro Volonta	New York	NY	USA
Comitato Protesta Francisco Ferrer	?	?	USA
Comitato volontario pro vittime della reazione	San Francisco	CA	USA
Gruppo 11 Novembre	Boston	MA	USA
Gruppo 11 Novembre	Chicago	IL	USA
Gruppo 11 Novembre	East Mineral	KS	USA
Gruppo 11 Novembre	Hamilton	KS	USA
Gruppo 13 Ottobre	Kansas City	MO	USA
Gruppo 14 Gennaio	Boston	MA	USA
Gruppo 29 Luglio	Cle Elum	WA	USA
Gruppo 29 Luglio	Coalgate	OK	USA
Gruppo Alba Sociale	Tampa	FL	USA
Gruppo Alba Sociale	Ybor City	FL	USA
Gruppo Anarchico	Detroit	MI	USA
Gruppo Anarchico	Gallatin	PA	USA
Gruppo Anarchico	Haledon	NJ	USA
Gruppo Anarchico	Leckrone	PA	USA
Gruppo Anarchico	Rochester	NY	USA
Gruppo Anarchico	Wehrum	PA	USA
Gruppo Anarchico La Rivolta	Los Angeles	CA	USA
Gruppo Anarchico Volontà	San Francisco	CA	USA
Gruppo Anarchico Volontà	Gallatin	PA	USA
Gruppo Ateo	Vidren	IL	USA
Gruppo Autonomo	Brooklyn	NY	USA
Gruppo Autonomo	East Boston	MA	USA
Gruppo Carlo Caffero	Long Island City	NY	USA
Gruppo Cultura Moderna	New York	NY	USA
Gruppo D'Alba	Fredericktown	PA	USA
Gruppo D'Elizabeth St.	New York	NY	USA
Gruppo Diritto all'Ozio	Haverstaw	NY	USA
Gruppo Diritto all'Ozio	Philadelphia	PA	USA

Gruppo Educazione Libertario	New Britain	CT	USA
Gruppo Emancipiamoci	Philadelphia	PA	USA
Gruppo Figli del Lavoro	Spring Valley	IL	USA
Gruppo Filodrammatici Piccoli	Barre	VT	USA
Gruppo Filodrammatica Avanti	Brooklyn	NY	USA
Gruppo Filodrammatica Indipendente	Barre	VT	USA
Gruppo Filodrammatica Moderna	New York	NY	USA
Gruppo Filodrammatica Sovversiva	New York	NY	USA
Gruppo Filodrammatica Studi Sociali	Springfield	MA	USA
Gruppo Filodrammatica Vecchia	Barre	VT	USA
Gruppo Filodrammatica Vecchia	Panama	IL	USA
Gruppo Filodrammatico	New London	CT	USA
Gruppo Francesco Ferrer	Hoboken	NJ	USA
Gruppo Francesco Ferrer	Providence	RI	USA
Gruppo Francisco Ferrer	Columbus	OH	USA
Gruppo Francisco Ferrer	Utica	OH	USA
Gruppo Gaetano Bresci	New York	NY	USA
Gruppo Germe	Farmington	IL	USA
Gruppo Germinal	Spring Valley	IL	USA
Gruppo Gli Anarchici	New Britain	CT	USA
Gruppo Gli Anarchici	New London	CT	USA
Gruppo Gli Anarchici	Philadelphia	PA	USA
Gruppo Gli Anarchici	Plainsville	PA	USA
Gruppo Gli Erranti	New Haven	CT	USA
Gruppo Gli Ertici d'Isnello	Schenectady	NY	USA
Gruppo Gli Iconoclasti	San Francisco	CA	USA
Gruppo Gli Insorti	Paterson	NJ	USA
Gruppo Gli Sbandati	Arma	KS	USA
Gruppo Gli Sbandati	Franklin	KS	USA
Gruppo Gli Sbandati	Monogahela	PA	USA
Gruppo Gli Schiappini	Quincy	MA	USA
Gruppo Gli Sleali	New Haven	CT	USA
Gruppo I Banditi	New York	NY	USA
Gruppo I Buoni	Dunkirk	NY	USA
Gruppo I Buoni	Framingham	MA	USA
Gruppo I Carbonari	Buffalo	NY	USA
Gruppo I Coatti Tutti Affogati	Waterford	CT	USA
Gruppo I Disperati	New Haven	CT	USA
Gruppo I Liberi	Chicago	IL	USA
Gruppo I Liberi	New Britain	CT	USA
Gruppo I Liberi	New London	CT	USA
Gruppo I Morti	Paterson	NJ	USA

Gruppo I Ribelli	Norris	IL	USA
Gruppo I Ribelli	West Frankfort	IL	USA
Gruppo I Rivoluzionarii	Youngstown	OH	USA
Gruppo II Rivoluzionario	Vintondale	PA	USA
Gruppo IWW Propaganda League	Youngstown	OH	USA
Gruppo La Barricata	Centerville	IA	USA
Gruppo La Demolizione	Latrobe	PA	USA
Gruppo La Nuova Vita	West Tampa	FL	USA
Gruppo La Termite	Waterbury	CT	USA
Gruppo L'Alba Novella	Longacre	WV	USA
Gruppo L'Aurora	Federal	PA	USA
Gruppo L'Aurora	Granville	IL	USA
Gruppo Lavoratori	New Haven	CT	USA
Gruppo L'Azione	Plainsville	PA	USA
Gruppo L'Era Nuova	Hoboken	NJ	USA
Gruppo Liberi Operai	Van Nest	NY	USA
Gruppo Libertario	Allentown	PA	USA
Gruppo Libertario	Derendingen	Switzerland	Switzerland
Gruppo Libertario	Hardwick	VT	USA
Gruppo Libertario	Philadelphia	PA	USA
Gruppo Libertario	Providence	RI	USA
Gruppo Libertario	Somerville	MA	USA
Gruppo Libertario	Toronto	Ontario	Canada
Gruppo Liberty	St. Louis	MO	USA
Gruppo marchigia	Brooklyn	NY	USA
Gruppo Marchigiani	New Haven	CT	USA
Gruppo Masetti	New Baden	IL	USA
Gruppo Michele Angiolillo	Alderson	OK	USA
Gruppo Montecarlo	Cincinnati	OH	USA
Gruppo Motociclisti	East Bridgewater	MA	USA
Gruppo Pietro Gori	Brooklyn	NY	USA
Gruppo Pietro Gori	Frankford	PA	USA
Gruppo Pietro Gori	New Haven	CT	USA
Gruppo Pro Vittime Politiche	Allentown	PA	USA
Gruppo Propaganda Libertaria	Tampa	FL	USA
Gruppo Propaganda Rivoluzionaria	New York	NY	USA
Gruppo Propaganda Rivoluzionaria	Newark	NJ	USA
Gruppo quelli	Cincinnati	OH	USA
Gruppo Risorti e Verita	Paterson	NJ	USA
Gruppo Risveglio	New York	NY	USA
Gruppo Rivolta	Milford	MA	USA
Gruppo Schiavi del Lavoro	Farmington	IL	USA

Gruppo Sezione Socialista 'Germinal'	Chicopee	KS	USA
Gruppo Sezione Socialista Italiana	Clinton	IN	USA
Gruppo Simpatizanti	New York	NY	USA
Gruppo Simpatizanti	Philadelphia	PA	USA
Gruppo Sindacalista	Philadelphia	PA	USA
Gruppo Socialista Anarchico	Logansport	IN	USA
Gruppo Socialista Nuova Idea	Spring Valley	IL	USA
Gruppo Sovversivi	New Haven	CT	USA
Gruppo Sovversivi	Newton	MA	USA
Gruppo Sovversivi di Piana dei Greci	Los Angeles	CA	USA
Gruppo Sovversivi	West Frankfort	IL	USA
Gruppo Sovversivi	Youngstown	OH	USA
Gruppo Sovversivo	Allentown	PA	USA
Gruppo The Stone Cutters	Sauk Rapids	MN	USA
Gruppo Transatlantic Band	Barre	VT	USA
Gruppo Volontà	New York	NY	USA
Gruppo Volontà	Tampa	FL	USA
Gruppo Volontà	West Tampa	FL	USA
Gruppo, 11 November	Chicago	IL	USA
Gruppo, Sezione Sindacalista	Chicago	IL	USA

*Appendix 3: Lists of Purchasers of the Original Materiale Tipografico*1903/07/04:

Bianchi, A. \$5.00
Bianchi, Pietro \$5.00
Bottiggi, Rocca \$5.00
Bottino, O. \$5.00
Comi, F. \$5.00
Corti, Giusepp \$5.00
Franzi, C. \$5.00
Frontini, S. \$5.00
Gattoni, B. \$5.00
Giudici, Desiderio \$5.00
Giudici, Giacomo \$5.00
Granai, O. \$5.00
Laffargo, V. \$5.50
Massoni, A. \$5.00
Novi, Antonio \$5.00
Picolini, Achille \$5.00
Rizzi, Ernesto \$5.00
Rizzi, Martino \$5.00
Rizzi, Pietro \$5.00
Scampini, A. \$5.00
Scampini, G. \$5.00
Somaini, Ettore \$2.00

1903/07/11:

Bianchi, Lugig \$5.00
Emma \$1.00
Laffargo, V. \$1.00
Sassi, B. \$0.50

1903/08/01:

Laffargo, V. \$0.50
Casimiro, T. \$0.05
Mariuzza \$0.10

1903/08/08:

Laffargo, V. \$1.30
Tocchi Casimiro \$1.00
Fra Compagni \$0.70

1903/08/29:

A.G.G. \$1.00
Un Africano \$1.00

Appendix 4: CPC Jackets for Founders of the Cronaca Sovversiva

Bianchi, Angelo

data di nascita: 1854

luogo di nascita: Massa Carrara, Toscana, Italia

luogo di residenza: Massa Carrara, Toscana, Italia

colore politico: anarchico

condizione/mestiere/professione: cavatore

busta: 612

estremi cronologici: 1906-1925

Bianchi, Pietro Giuseppe

data di nascita: 1879

luogo di nascita: Bisuschio, Varese, Lombardia, Italia

luogo di residenza: Barre (Vermont), Stati Uniti America; Montpelier (Vermont), Stati Uniti America

colore politico: anarchico

condizione/mestiere/professione: scalpellino

busta: 621

estremi cronologici: 1910-1942

Corti, Romolo Augusto Cesare Giuseppe

data di nascita: 1883

luogo di nascita: Lucca, Toscana, Italia

luogo di residenza: San Francisco, Stati Uniti America

colore politico: anarchico

busta: 1494

estremi cronologici: 1905-1941

Franzi, Carlo

data di nascita: 1878

luogo di nascita: Viggiù, Varese, Lombardia, Italia

luogo di residenza: Barre (Vermont), Stati Uniti America

colore politico: anarchico

condizione/mestiere/professione: marmista

busta: 2163

estremi cronologici: 1933-1934

Giudici, Desiderio

data di nascita: 1863

luogo di nascita: Saltrio, Varese, Lombardia, Italia

luogo di residenza: Stati Uniti America

colore politico: anarchico

condizione/mestiere/professione: scalpellino

busta: 2451

estremi cronologici: 1901-1943

Rizzi, Pietro

data di nascita: 1873

luogo di nascita: Cino, Sondrio, Lombardia, Italia

luogo di residenza: Cino, Sondrio, Lombardia, Italia

colore politico: antifascista

busta: 4352

estremi cronologici: 1935-1935

Scampini, Angelo Giovanni

data di nascita: 1859

luogo di nascita: Samarate, Varese, Lombardia, Italia

luogo di residenza: Barre (Vermont), Stati Uniti America

colore politico: anarchico

condizione/mestiere/profession: negoziante bottiglie

busta: 4655

estremi cronologici: 1902-1942

Appendix 5: CPC Donors and Members of the Circolo Studi Sociali di Barre

Names	CPC busta #	Political Label	Birth Place	Birth Date	Occupation	Known Places of Residence	Years Covered
Abate, Carlo	#1	Anarchico	Milano, Lombardia, Italia	1860	insegnante	Barre (Vermont), Stati Uniti America	1906-1939
Bernacca, Pellegrino	NA						
Beverina, Attilio	NA						
Bianchi, Angelo	NA						
Bianchi, Antonio	#613	Anarchico	Capriata D'Orba, Alessandria, Piemonte, Italia	1863	giornaliero	America Meridionale	1909-1942
Bianchi, Attilio Celso	#613	Socialista	Bisuschio, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1889	scalpellino	Stati Uniti America	1930-1941
Bianchi, Pietro Giuseppe	#621	Anarchico	Bisuschio, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1879	scalpellino	Barre (Vermont), Stati Uniti America; Montpellier (Vermont), Stati Uniti America	1910-1942
Boffino, Ot.	NA						
Bottelli, A.	NA						
Bottelli, Salvatore	#794	Anarchico	Milano, Lombardia, Italia	1853	scalpellino	Milano, Lombardia, Italia	1901-1906
Bottiggi, C.	NA						
Bottiggi, Rocca	NA						
Bottinelli, Ambrogio	#796	Repubblicano	Milano, Lombardia, Italia	1882	tipografo	Milano, Lombardia, Italia	1900-1940
Broggini, Pompeo	NA						
Calcagni, Ernesto	NA						
Calcagni, Giovanni	#941	Socialista	Premana, Como,	1852	meccanico	Monza, Milano, Lombardia, Italia	1896-1925

			Lombardia, Italia				
Calcagni, Luigi	NA						
Calderara , Felice	NA						
Casellini, Arturo	NA						
Casellini, Costanzo	NA						
Cassani, Giovanni	#115 2	Socialista	Arcisate, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1886	scalpellino	Arcisate, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1913- 1914
Catto, Pierino	NA						
Cavallaz zi, Arnaldo	#119 5	Anarchico	Castel Bolognese, Ravenna, Emilia Romagna, Italia	1878	tipografo	Castel Bolognese, Ravenna, Emilia Romagna, Italia	1900- 1942
Colombo , Gaetano	NA						
Comi, A.	NA						
Comi, F.	NA						
Comi, Giovanni	#142 8	Socialista	Bisuschio, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1874	scalpellino	Barre (Vermont), Stati Uniti America	1910- 1911
Comi, Leo	NA						
Corti, Giuseppe Dario	#149 4	Comunista	Vinci, Firenze, Toscana, Italia	1886	?	Spicchio, Firenze, Toscana, Italia	1930- 1942
Corti, Guglielm o	NA						
Crolla, Giovanni Antonio Battista	#154 5	Anarchico	Santa Maria, Vercelli, Piemonte, Italia	1869	tessitore	Paterson (New Jersey), Stati Uniti America	1902- 1934
Crolla, V.	NA						
De Rocchi, Giuseppe	#174 1	Comunista	Casale Litta, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1883	fruttivend olo	Busto Arsizio, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1926- 1942
Fabbricot ti, Carillo	NA						

Fontana, Giuseppe	#2107	Antifascista	Acquaviva Picena, Ascoli Piceno, Marche, Italia	1877	falegname	Acquaviva Picena, Ascoli Piceno, Marche, Italia	1930-1934
Franzi, Carlo	#2163	Anarchico	Viggiù, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1878	marmista	Barre (Vermont), Stati Uniti America	1933-1934
Frediani, Andrea Quirico	#2176	Anarchico	Gragnana Di Carrara, Massa Carrara, Toscana, Italia	1870	cavatore	Stati Uniti America	1929-1939
Frontini, Serafino	NA						
Galli, Antonio	#2245	Comunista	Clivio, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1884	muratore	Svizzera	1930-1942
Garibaldi, Michele	NA						
Gariboldi, Oreste	#2289	Anarchico	Bisuschio, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1876	scalpellino	Barre (Vermont), Stati Uniti America	1911-1942
Ghio, Primo	#2364	Anarchico	Carrara, Massa Carrara, Toscana, Italia	1864	scalpellino	Stati Uniti America	1897-1942
Giudici, Desiderio	#2451	Anarchico	Saltrio, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1863	scalpellino	Stati Uniti America	1901-1943
Giudici, Giacomo	NA						
Granai, Ottavio	NA						
Guidici, C.	NA						
Guidici, Gaetano	NA						
Guidici, Giacomo	NA						
Induni, G.	NA						
Laffargo, Virginio	NA						
Ludovico, O.	NA						

Macedonia, Carlo	NA						
Magnaghi, G.	NA						
Mai, Gaetano	NA						
Mainini, L.	NA						
Mainini, P.	NA						
Malnati, Ernesto	NA						
Mariani, F.	NA						
Massoni, A.	NA						
Monti, Paolo	NA						
Movalli, Giovanni	NA						
Navoni, Michele	NA						
Novi, Antonio	NA						
Olgiate, L.	NA						
Perlatti, Gaetano	NA						
Pirolini, Achille	NA						
Restelli, Francesco	#4288	Anarchico	Besano, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1870	scalpellino	Besano, Varese, Lombardia, Italia; Barre (Vermont), Stati Uniti America	1908-1937
Rizzi, Ernesto	NA						
Rizzi, Martino	NA						
Rizzi, Pietro	#4352	Antifascista	Cino, Sondrio, Lombardia, Italia	1873	?	Cino, Sondrio, Lombardia, Italia	1935-1935
Scampini, Angelo Giovanni	#4655	Anarchico	Samarate, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1859	negoziante bottiglie	Barre (Vermont), Stati Uniti America	1902-1942
Somai, Ettore	NA						
Tedeschi, Felice Benvenuto	#5055	Anarchico	Boveno, Novara, Piemonte, Italia	1879	?	Barre (Vermont), Stati Uniti America	1905-1931

Trentini, Cornelio	#520 6	Anarchico	Saltrio, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1869	scalpellino	Stati Uniti America	1902- 1930
Vegezza	NA						
Vochini, Emilio	NA						
Volpi, Antonio	NA						
Zini, Giovanni	#557 7	Socialista	Novellara, Reggio Emilia, Emilia Romagna, Italia	1882	?	?	1927- 1928

Appendix 6: CPC files on all identified Bundlers

Names	CPC Busta #	Political Label	Birth Place	Year Born	Occupation	Known Places of Residence	Years covered
Bernacca, Pellegrino	#526	Anarchico	Bedizzano, Massa Carrara, Toscana, Italia	1872	cavatore	Bedizzano, Massa Carrara, Toscana, Italia	1895-1927
Cavallazzi, Arnaldo	#1195	Anarchico	Castel Bolognese, Ravenna, Emilia Romagna, Italia	1878	tipografo	Castel Bolognese, Ravenna, Emilia Romagna, Italia	1900-1942
Chioldi, Giuseppe	#1308	?	Terenzo, Parma, Emilia Romagna, Italia	1884	?	New York, Stati Uniti America; Terenzo, Parma, Emilia Romagna, Italia	1928-1934
Comi, Giovanni	#1428	Socialista	Bisuschio, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1874	scalpellino	Barre (Vermont), Stati Uniti America	1910-1911
Corti, Giuseppe Dario	#1494	Comunista	Vinci, Firenze, Toscana, Italia	1886	?	Spicchio, Firenze, Toscana, Italia	1930-1942
Cravello, Vittorio	#1524	Anarchico	Valle Superiore Mosso, Vercelli, Piemonte, Italia	1873	tessitore	California, Stati Uniti America	1900-1938
Fontana, Giuseppe	#2107	Antifascista	Acquaviva Picena, Ascoli Piceno, Marche, Italia	1877	falegname	Acquaviva Picena, Ascoli Piceno, Marche, Italia	1930-1934
Lariccia, Giuseppantonio	#2724	Socialista	Monacilioni, Campobasso, Abruzzo, Italia	1879	tipografo	Stati Uniti America	1932-1941
Ottolini, Giulio	#3625	Antifascista	Milano, Lombardia, Italia	1885	commerciante in quadri	Francia	1931-1943

Palumbo, Nicolò	#3684	Antifascista	Molfetta, Bari, Puglia, Italia	1884	gestore di bottega barbiere	Stati Uniti America	1928-1943
Sassi, Giuseppe	#4624	Socialista	Martignana Po, Cremona, Lombardia, Italia	1875	contadino	Francia	1930-1942
Sassi, Luigi Giulio	#4624	Anarchico	Fabbrico, Reggio Emilia, Emilia Romagna, Italia	1875	operaio	New York, Stati Uniti America; Milano, Milano, Lombardia, Italia	1909-1936
Tedeschi, Giuseppe	#5056	Socialista	Sant'Ambrogio Volpicella, Verona, Veneto, Italia	1877	ornatista	Sant'Ambrogio Volpicella, Verona, Veneto, Italia	1925-1937
Tosi, Enea	#5180	Socialista	Busto Arsizio, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1878	commesso studio	Busto Arsizio, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1896-1932
Bianchi, Pietro Giuseppe	#621	Anarchico	Bisuschio, Varese, Lombardia, Italia	1879	scalpellino	Barre (Vermont), Stati Uniti America; Montpelier (Vermont), Stati Uniti America	1910-1942
Caminita, Ludovico	#973	Anarchico	Palermo, Sicilia, Italia			New York, Stati Uniti America	1905-1920

Appendix 7: Plays announced in the Cronaca Locale (in order of appearance)

- Archita Valente (?-1917?)- *Gli ultimi saranno i primi: Dramma sociale in 5 atti* (1902)
- Demetrio Alati (1869-1943)- *Per la vita: Dramma in tre atti* (1903)
- Giovanni Arrighi (?-?-)- *La passata dei corvi ovvero errore giudiziario: Dramma in 6 atti* (1894)
- L.M. Caminita (1879-1943?)- *L'idea cammina! : Dramma in tre atti* (1905)
- Ferdinand Dugué (1816-1913)- *André le mineur: Drame en 5 actes* (1855)
- Adolphe d'Ennery (1811-1899)- *Les deux orphelines: Drame en 5 actes et 8 tableaux* (1874)
- Luigi Gualtieri (1807-1901)- *Silvio Pellico e le sue prigionie ovvero I Carbonari del 1821: Dramma in tre atti* (1861)
- Pietro Gori (1865-1911)- *Proximus tuus: Bozzetto sociale in un atto* (1898)
- David Chiossone (1820-1873)- *La suonatrice d'arpa: Dramma in tre atti* (1859)
- Giulio Cesare (1838-1910)- *Idoli infranti: Quattro atti* (1905)
- Raymond Roussel (1877-1933)- *Il maestro (?)*
- Tito Carniglia (1870-1942?)- *Sangue fecondo: Bozzetto drammatico* (1905)
- Pietro Gori (1865-1911)- *Gente onesta: Scene della vita borghese in tre atti* (1905)
- Lucien Descaves (1861-1949) - *La cage: Pièce naturaliste en un acte* (1898)
- Carlo Barbini (1860-1918)- *Brescia e Venezia ossia Luigi Gambarà e Maria da Brescia nelle carceri del Ponte dei Sospiri in Venezia: Dramma storico in quattro atti* (1868)
- Eugène Cormon (1810-1903)- *La gerla di Papà Martin ovvero il facchino del porto: Dramma in tre atti* (1872)
- Victor Hugo (1802-1885)- *La Gioconda* (1835)
- Felice Cavallotti (1842-1898)- *Il cantico dei cantici: Scherzo poetico in un atto* (1882)
- Émile de Girardin (1802-1881) - *Supplice d'une femme: Drame en trois actes* (1865)
- Camillo Antona-Traversi (1857-1934)- *La nuova famiglia: Commedia in tre atti* (1908)
- Felice Cavallotti (1842-1898)- *Lea: Dramma in tre atti in prosa con un prologo in versi* (1890)

Appendix 8: Towns that Appear as New Subscribers After Galleani's Trial

Palos, AL.
Globe, AZ.
Knowles, CA.
Loyalton, CA.
Rocklin, CA.
Whitehouse, CA.
Mammoth, Shasta County CA.
Michigan Bluff, CA.
Oakland, CA.
Denver, CO.
Hartford, CT.
Bristol, CT.
Torrington, CT.
Elberton, GA.
Nelson, GA.
Stone Mountain, GA.
Albia, IA.
Kellogg, ID.
O'Fallon, IL.
Seatonville, IL.
Canton, IL.
Dolton, IL.
Farmington, IL.
Girard, IL.
Harrisburg, IL.
Highwood, IL.
Clinton, IN.
Logansport, IN.
Perth, IN.
Osage City, KS.
Roseland, KS.
Carona, KS.
Columbus, KS.
Monson, MA.
Haverhill, MA.
West Wareham, MA.
Hopedale, MA.

Hyde Park, MA.
Waltham, MA.
East Saugus, MA.
New Bedford, MA.
North Uxbridge, MA.
Wales, MA.
Baltic Mine, MI.
Graniteville, MO.
Livingston, MT.
Winston-Salem, NC.
Hoboken, NJ.
North Bergen, NJ.
Phillipsburg, NJ.
Elizabeth, NJ.
Newfield, NJ.
Plainfield, NJ.
Trenton, NJ.
Westfield, NJ.
Whiteplains, NJ.
Reno, NV.
Las Vegas, NV.
Searchlight, NV.
Tonopah, NV.
Solvay, NY.
Seneca Falls, NY.
White Plains, NY.
Astoria, NY.
Cincinnati, OH.
Amsterdam, OH.
Glencoe, OH.
Mingo Junction, OH.
Parlett, OH.
Steubenville, OH.
Coalgate, OK.
Haileyville, OK.
Avella, PA.
Burgettstown, PA.
South Bethlehem, PA.
Stroudsburg, PA.
Blairsville, PA.

Cherry Valley, PA.
Clairton, PA.
Graceton, PA.
Jeannette, PA.
Johnsonburg, PA.
Josephine, PA.
Masontown, PA.
Newfield, PA.
Old Forge, PA.
Phillipsburg, PA.
Sandy Ridge, PA.
Uniontown, PA.
Wilkes-Barre, PA.
Warren, RI.
Ladson, SC.
Temple, TX.
Helper, UT.
Norfolk, VA.
Ravensdale, WA.
Renton, WA.
Kingwood, WV.
Carbondale, WV.
Eckman, WV.
Big Muddy, WY.
Michel, British Columbia, Canada.
Montreal, Quebec, Canada.
Carrara, Tuscany, Italy.
Legnano, Lombardy, Italy.
Vergiate, Lombardy, Italy.
Cremona, Lombardy, Italy.

Appendix 9: Towns that Appear as Both New Subscribers and Donors After the Trial

Flat Creek, AL.
Los Angeles, CA.
Howardsville, CO.
Marble Hill, GA.
Centerville, IA.
Burke, ID.
Dimond, IL.
Diamond, IN.
Garyville, LA.
Bay View, MA.
Brockton, MA.
Holyoke, MA.
Mansfield, MA.
Salem, MA.
Somerville, MA.
Redstone, NH.
Dillonvale, OH.
Curwensville, PA.
Donaldson, PA.
Hazard, PA.
Mount Sterling, PA.
Woonsocket, RI.
Lakebay, WA.
Vivian, WV.
Lille, Alberta, Canada.
Dommary-Baroncourt, Lorraine, France.
La Spezia, Liguria, Italy.

Appendix 10: Correspondents Involved with Relocating of the Cronaca Sovversiva

G. Moni, Gruppo Francisco Ferrer, Providence, RI

G. Vitullo, Circolo F. Ferrer, Utica, NY

L. Bucket, solo, Middletown, OH

Vito D'Amico, Circolo "Senza Dio," St. Louis, MO

P. Bambara, solo, White Plains, NY

Arthur Barili, Circolo F. Ferrer and Gruppo Libertario, Chicago, IL

Fruzzetti, solo, Quincy, MA

Salv. Federico Quinto, solo, Boston, MA

Richard Trogon, solo, Middletown, NY

Pasquale De Francesco, solo, Chicago, IL

A. Marietti, "Club Ed. Peter Gori," Sacramento, CA

Annibale Ferrero, F. Ferrer Circolo, Chicago

N.N., Gruppo Anarchico "Senza Patria," Frontenac, KS

Joe Barra, solo, Roanoke, IL

U. Bolzano, solo, Cleveland, OH

F. Liveaca, Italian Francesco Ferrer Association and Grupo L'Era Nascente, The Bronx,
NY

G. Mazzarino, Circolo Studi Sociali di Westville, Westville, IL

Louis Fedel, solo, Hurley Wisconsin

N. Celenza, Anarchists of Scranton, Scranton, PA

G. Montalbano, Circolo Studi Sociali, Old Forge, PA

A. Bagnerrini, solo, Eynon, PA

A. Mascioli, solo, Jessup, PA

Leo Morel, companions of Seattle, Seattle, WA

Luigi Sarda, solo, Margaret, Alabama

G. Albano, solo, Jackson Center, PA

Galleani [Gigione], solo, New York, NY

Carlo Dalboni, Circolo Pensiero ed Azione, Il Circolo Studi Sociali di Harlem, New York, NY

Emanuel, solo, New York, NY

Ernesto Perrella, the sovversivi of Frankfort, Frankfort, ME

T. Mascioli, "Circolo la Canaglia," Plainsville, PA

Rinaldi Minelli, young subversives of Plench Road, Plainsville, PA