

MAX NETTLAU

**A CONTRIBUTION TO AN ANARCHIST
BIBLIOGRAPHY OF LATIN AMERICA**

EDITORIAL LA PROTESTA
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MAX NETTLAU – A BIOGRAPHY

Max Nettlau was born in Neuwaldweg, near Vienna on 30 April 1865 and died on 23 July 1944. His father was descended from old Prussian stock, and had never renounced his nationality, although he lived in Austria. He saw to it that young Max received a very liberal education: after secondary schooling in Vienna, Max read philosophy in a variety of German towns. He secured his doctorate at the age of 23, with a thesis on Celtic languages.

Enthused from an early age by the struggles of the Russian revolutionaries, Max joined the socialist movement and his anarchist beliefs took shape: but for them, he might have gone over to the Marxist school of thought like other German libertarians.

He became a Bakunin enthusiast, and in 1880 he came up with the idea of writing a life of Bakunin. At the time, there were only a few fragmentary or subjective works on the life of the great revolutionary. The undertaking which Nettlau set himself was one of the most far-ranging, and by virtue of its very magnitude, it established his vocation as an historian. He threw himself zealously into methodical sleuthing after any document, titbit and testimony relating to his hero. Such researches drew him into an increasingly profound acquaintance with libertarian doctrines before and after the days of Bakunin. He quickly established himself as an expert in the field, as was demonstrated by his first articles, published in 1890 in the magazine *Freiheit* (Freedom), run by Johann Most (the first of these articles was a study of Joseph Déjacque, a fore-runner of anarcho-syndicalism, the second an essay "On the history of Anarchy"). In 1895, at the prompting of Elisée Reclus, he compiled a 294-page Bibliography of Anarchy, a complete inventory of the anarchist literature to have seen the light of day in various countries up to that point, including periodicals and reviews.

In material terms, having inherited a small fortune from his father, Nettlau was able to lead an independent existence, albeit a very modest one. Most of his resources he expended on the acquisition of archives and the foreign travels required by his research in libraries, and on his contacts with the leading militants of the movement. From his correspondence, we learn that he did the humblest household tasks for himself "... my life is lived at a basic level, my contacts with the outside world reduced to errands to the butcher's and baker's, and the arrival of the postman bringing me my spiritual sustenance in the shape of newspapers and letters."

With a real gift for languages, he became a polyglot with a command of virtually every European language he needed for his researches.

Although no activist, he was not slow to offer his opinion: "I have never been an active participant in the movement, other than through articles in which I have spelled out my views. My life has been given over completely to the movement's history and all of my own views can be found in my writings."

However, this did not preclude him from following his historian's vocation with unshakable impartiality and integrity: he put forward only verified facts and conclusions, enlightened and enhanced by the merest details whose significance he was adept at discovering. And he never regarded any of his output as a finished product. He was forever complementing and enriching them in the light of fresh documentation. Only a portion of his mass of manuscripts saw publication during his life-time, as there were few publishers willing to take the risks, and many remain unpublished to this day. The ardour of Nettlau's work was utterly disinterested and it never faded, in spite all the vicissitudes and disappointments he suffered.

His heart boasted qualities every bit as remarkable as his intellectual gifts. Hampered, one after another, by the advent of fascism in 1920, of Nazism in 1933, by the defeat of the Spanish republic in 1939 and by a second world war, he referred to this, in a letter from 1935, as "an uninterrupted series of maladies caused by the ghastly moral poisoning of mankind since 1914". His anguish was at all times tempered by his fervent belief in the future coming of anarchism. He used to say: "We carry the 19th century in our bowels. No one can steal the past from us, nor our dreams of the future."

Ascetic and philosophical, his appearance might have created an impression of insensitivity. But his abhorrence of injustice and violence was such that he never re-read tales of war and butchery: "Putting up with that once is enough for me." Treacherous displays of animosity disgusted him. Without ever abandoning his own views, he defended them with tact and respected opinions prompted by good intentions and expressed with sincerity. "Someone who belabours a man's honour proves only that he himself has no sense of honour and no notion of what human dignity is."

The deep-seatedness of his beliefs, allied to a touching delicacy of feeling, meant that this loner, a man without family, felt at one, intellectually and sentimentally, with the great figures from the anarchist past. With tenderness and amusement, he used to recount anecdotes from the lives of Bakunin or Reclus, as if they were close relatives.

Of all his libertarian contemporaries, it was with the Spanish libertarians that he felt the greatest affinity. Every year he would visit with his Spanish comrades, whom he loved and admired: "Those who, as I do, come from the waste-land countries of Europe, feel in Spain as if they are in a verdant young forest, in the bosom of a people that has not yet forgotten freedom and human dignity". (Letter written in the spring of 1932)

In him, the Spanish comrades had one of their staunchest champions right to the bitter end. Nettlau issued appeals to his friends all over Europe and the Americas to publicise the heroic past of the Spanish workers' movement, the causes and rivalries of the civil war, and the urgent need for assistance to the fighters for the Republic. He clung to hope right up to the last, and the horrific months leading up to the fall of Barcelona and Madrid were the bitterest of his life.

Having gone in 1938 to pursue his work at the International Institute for Social History, he was obliged by events to stay in Amsterdam. As much of his documentation was still in Vienna, Madame A. Adam van Scheltema-Kleefstra, the Institute's librarian, flew to Austria and, with the help of the Dutch Embassy, managed to retrieve them for Nettlau. She it was (we are told by Rocker in a letter of 1945) who attended to the details of the old man's life and his death (of an inoperable tumour) on 23 July 1943.

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I

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

What follows cannot be anything other than one of the most modest of contributions of a few materials towards a bibliography of the anarchist literature disseminated across the vast territory stretching from Argentina to Mexico and from Cuba, through Brazil to Chile, and which originated, apparently at any rate, in a different way and at a different time in each country, a luxuriant growth here but a very weak one there, and but rarely collated and collected and, inevitably, virtually inaccessible and of a scale difficult to grasp for anyone who, like myself, has never ventured beyond a far-off Europe. It would indeed be rash of me to grapple with this subject, had I not been receiving and retaining a portion of these publications for some time past, and I remember that my interest was piqued whenever I spotted the first issue of El Perseguido of Buenos Aires, which appeared on 18 May 1890. Even then I tried to track backwards, but the comrades of the time were by then unable to procure for me the older Buenos Aires periodicals, but in the case of Montevideo, I received or subsequently came across periodicals dating back to 1878 and 1884. From 1890 onwards, I myself received some periodicals and I am obliged to comrades for all of the interval: I know that Doctor **John Creaghe**, whose acquaintance I made in London, told them of my interest, and **Malatesta** too facilitated such links for me at that time, in 1890. All of that material has been properly preserved, but circumstances have not allowed me to review all of it in the writing of this essay, to extract bibliographical data, information about authors and the history of the periodicals, as well as information regarding the origins and affiliations of movements and concerning organisations, etc. Those sources have been added to enormously by publications sent by way of exchanges with some European anarchist periodicals, large quantities of which have been preserved. But it would require a year's work just to scrutinise all that and properly to arrange the many notes that would be made of it, and one should have to consult a lot of historical, political and economic literature on every one of those countries, etc. That is well beyond my present capacity for work and is a task that would better be left to a collective effort on the part of comrades from each country and from each large city or propaganda centre in every one of the countries concerned.

The subject matter would be not only the origins but also the affiliations of the initiatives in one country that impacted upon other regions. Insofar as the focus of our research is **anarchy**, those origins were very meagre, very individual, attributable to especially active comrades or scattered groups the memory of which was preserved, forgotten or became legendary to a varying extent. Sometimes, anarchist ideas were the first to be diffused in a locality, if the instigator who founded the first group came from Buenos Aires, or Montevideo, or had turned anarchist back in Spain, Portugal, sometimes Italy and France. On other occasions, there was prior socialist propaganda, itself preceded by workers' efforts to combine, the primitive trade unionism of an age barely acquainted with the vaguest and least advanced of socialisms. No doubt too, intense political strife, civil wars and elections clustered workers around political bosses. On still other occasions, some intellectuals embraced one or other of the European socialist arrangements and set about propagating them or amending them off their own bat: in this regard, **Francisco Bilbao**, of Chile, a follower of Lamennais, is much mentioned: he wrote, for instance, Lamennais como representante del dualismo de la civilización moderna (Paris, 1856, 72 pages, in 12.), and later there were, and still are, positivists extremely active in Chile and in Brazil, as well as in Mexico (Revista positiva). And in the Mexico of the decade 1860–70, there was the little known Proudhonist, Doctor **Rhodakanaty**.

Who can go back and trace all of these tiny foyers of social thought and the earliest rudiments of labour organisation and the awakening of struggle, those first strikes, local rebellions and other phenomena – who, indeed, the unhindered course of the strivings of so many men who planted the ideas they brought in from the great cities and from Europe, travelling from country to country, intent upon propaganda or simply driven hither and thither by the vagaries of everyday life or by poverty and persecution? The headway made into those vast territories by socialism, by anarchy – minimal, if not non-existent as yet in many places, and sometimes boasting militants of the highest calibre in others, in Argentina, Mexico or Chile – is the sum of all that. Local tradition, sometimes no doubt printed accounts, whether rare or commonplace, have preserved a little of that history: systematic inquiry in the shape of a survey to be conducted by the local comrades in many localities would unearth much: but much has been lost beyond recovery or lingers as only a vague recollection. And only if that sort of

local research into anarchist origins were followed up by **painstaking local bibliographies** for the whole period – only then might Latin America's anarchist history and bibliography be pieced together. We are, so far as I can tell, only at the beginning of such an undertaking and that fact prompts me to offer what I have been able to put together thus far.

The matter is complicated even further by the incontrovertible fact that what literature may be enumerated accounts for only a **fraction** of the literature that contributed to anarchist propaganda in Latin America. In bygone days and wheresoever the periodicals published in a few great cities had yet to penetrate, the idea was spread thanks to whatever the earliest propagandists had in their heads, abetted by whatever pamphlets, books or periodicals from Spain, Italy, etc. they brought along with them or happened to come by. Later this European literature, including translations of the main writings published in French, etc., was more widely diffused, being circulated by the groups or the administrations of the periodicals. Likewise, Spanish books published by bourgeois publishers, but sometimes offering translations from the finest anarchist writings in French or in other tongues – such editions, produced in Spain, circulated through the independent bookshops of the groups and made those ideas widely known. One further detail: Le Révolté, La Révolte and Les Temps Nouveaux, published from Geneva and Paris, were the anarchist periodicals that exchanged most widely with none too kindred publications, (ideologically speaking), but the purpose of such exchanges was to disseminate the idea, and the fact that such exchanges proceeded with the furthest flung places indicates that everywhere there were individuals keen to acquaint themselves with a periodical that was known to be of like mind with Elisée Reclus (a very well-known figure in Latin America at the time) and Peter Kropotkin.

Along all of these by-ways there was a dissemination of anarchist literature and anarchist ideas that is not susceptible to statistical analysis, but which cannot be denied. To which must be added the many French books, of theory and ideas, novels, poetry and on art that especially from 1890 onwards were often influenced by anarchy and which reached Latin America in the original or in translations. Similarly, Spanish workers in the United States made or, frequently, deepened their acquaintance with anarchist ideas there, and from there those ideas spread through the cities of southern Florida and through Cuba, into the tobacco industry especially – and elsewhere they spread from California into Mexico. And willing or forced emigration brought experienced anarchists into those countries from Spain, Italy, France, Portugal and Russia, etc.

Thus, of necessity, a lot of European anarchist literature and, specifically, a natural selection of the **best** works, circulated along the lines indicated and elude direct observation. Many translations were printed or re-printed locally: I shall be listing many such titles, and the serial publication of periodicals means that an almost complete cataloguing of them is feasible. But inevitably, **for much of the time**, such an abundance of useful writings readily to hand must have dissuaded local comrades from themselves writing books and pamphlets, which might have proved doubly useful in those early stages. Hence, as I see it, the profusion of periodicals, which afford an insight into life in the light of the local situation, facilitating debate, controversy, diatribe, vulgarisation, etc. By this process, local writers gradually emerged, and original local literature has long since surfaced in Argentina and is emerging elsewhere, as in Mexico, but remains feeble in other countries. However, since what I shall term international literature in Spanish, Italian, French, etc., exists, this poverty of local publications is not indicative of an under-development of the movement, but it is obviously impossible for a distant observer to gauge the true state of affairs. For example, I know of no anarchist periodical from Venezuela, and no pamphlets, etc., and I have not bothered to establish whether there are groups: nevertheless, the books, pamphlets and periodicals in existence elsewhere may well be familiar in that country also to who knows how many scattered sympathisers, possibly, as yet, prevented by local circumstances from showing themselves openly.

A further word regarding **bibliographies** in general. Whereas hundreds may find it a humdrum genre, the dry cataloguing, the pedantic and painstaking assiduousness in the listing of titles is nonetheless a genre not without its uses. Indeed. It is out of such reconstruction that classic literature sprouts and this affords understanding, or at least helps one to understand how this pretty well definitive good literature was arrived at. The aristocratic approach is to ignore the great mass and pay heed only to the odd excellence, and that outlook is not ours, for it sees and respects only the grand leaders. It is the labour of the humble, of the workers, that creates the fertile soil where it is feasible for a few fairly great talents to blossom into those rare men of true genius. To get properly acquainted with these, we therefore need to turn back to the humble, and this is what, in literature, **bibliography** does, tracing the context for **everybody's** endeavours in an area, and thereby providing the tools for an examination of the true implications of the salient output of the more eminent. Just as the architect would not be able

to produce his house without the obscure but capable in-put of many trades, every one of which achieves a degree of efficiency that has to be acknowledged, so the outstanding author ought to be studied in a context of familiarity with the setting from which he springs. If the setting has really produced very little, then the work of note gains in value, etc. In any event, in order to base our considerations upon as solid a foundation as possible, bibliography too is an indispensable tool, and, once compiled, it may prove of service in numerous undertakings.

II

ANARCHIST PUBLICATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA PRIOR TO 1890

In 1890, with its great world-wide demonstrations to mark the first May Day, there was everywhere evident an awakening of the workers' movement that promptly found itself supported by the hitherto dormant masses who recovered a sense of their international dimensions, somewhat overlooked ever since the disappearance of the old International, and it blossomed with fresh expectations. How such expectations were disappointed we shall not be discussing here, but since the great days of the International and the Commune of 1871, that May Day of 1890 was the first great day of any note and all of the movements recovered their vigour and made considerable headway. In Buenos Aires, the first anarchist periodical of any real duration, El Perseguido, appeared, lasting from 18 May 1890 to 31 January 1897. Its appearance was only possible thanks to pioneering propaganda which must have been solid if it triggered this blossoming from 1890 onwards, but which had not been vigorous enough to produce the same results earlier. Let me, therefore, summarise what sparse traces I have managed to unearth from the period leading up to 1890.

For centuries past, the term **anarchist** has been current wheresoever public political activity has been practicable, discounting those periods when absolutism, having trampled over ancient local freedoms, imposed a general silence. The malcontent, the rebel was ever maligned by the moderate and the holder of power as a factor for disorder, a friend of anarchy: hence the term **anarchist**. Occasionally it happened that some orator or writer borrowed this term of abuse, embraced it, and proudly exulted in that unbounded freedom, that storm that was always to be preferred over the stagnation of the established power. Fine words have been quoted from **José F. Rivas** of New Granada (cf. La Revista Internacional Anarquista of 15 December 1924, p. 29), words uttered or written on some occasion and in a time – a century or more previously? – that I have not been able to fix.

No doubt the political liberation of the whole of Hispanophone America and its countless civil wars witnessed, alongside the great bourgeois parties, advanced men and factions, popular rebels of social inclinations, philosophers and poets who yearned for the most perfect expressions of freedom and solidarity, and maybe among these there would have been a few real spokesmen for the anarchist ideal, who should not be confused with the countless rhetoricians and eulogists of that formal, Platonic liberty that is congruent with order and property. Thus, before acceptance could be secured in New Granada for that constitution which, a few years on, would prompt **Elisée Reclus** to write (on 3 October 1856) that New Granada "without knowing it, was the freest nation in the world" (cf. Correspondence Paris, I, 1911, p.139), there had to be considerable radical and anti-clerical agitation, and lively discussion of all political issues and a few social issues also. I do not know whether this period has been scrutinised closely: all that I have seen is a few slighting remarks uttered by the reactionaries in pamphlets like: Anarquía y rojismo en Nueva Granada by M. Ancizar (Santiago, Chile, 1853) and Observaciones sobre la anarquía y rojismo en Nueva Granada (anonymous, *ibid*, 1853).

In such struggles against dictators, against the clergy, etc., there was scope for elaborating upon the reasonable and generous conditions of freedom, and through a reading of the works of **Proudhon**, in French, or (in the years 1870–1880) in translations by Pi y Margall and others, a few isolated minds will also have acquired a grasp of social freedom, but, save for one in Mexico, I have not been able to trace them.

I very much regret my unfamiliarity with the historical work of Doctor **Angel Jiménez**, which the author of the above-mentioned article from the Parisian review used in his researches. Thus, I do not have a clear picture of **Bartolomé Victory y Suárez**, a Spaniard, from whose presses issued – according to that source – a translation of Cabet, the Icarian communist, a worker's periodical called El Artesano and later the Revista Masónica Americana. He is supposed to have had dealings with the International in Barcelona (it having been established there since 1869).

No doubt news from Buenos Aires must have reached Spain at this time, for there was " a memoir from the Buenos Aires Typographical Society, written by its president, Juan M. P. Méndez" and which

mentioned the International in Barcelona – that document, mentioned in the source named, is undoubtedly the same one from which I discovered a lengthy extract in La Emancipación (Madrid) No. 130, 11 February 1872, entitled: El Socialismo en las repúblicas americanas. This was indeed socialism, somewhat general, and generic, neither anarchist nor – as far as I can recall at any rate – political or authoritarian, and such sentiments were probably those of the section of the International founded in Buenos Aires in 1872.

The International spread out from the autumn of 1864, either through the adherence of workers' societies as affiliated sections or organisations by means of notification of the secretaries for the various languages and the endorsement of applications by the Central or General Council, or through reports from isolated members whom the Council appointed as correspondents and whose task it was to found sections. The efforts of these correspondents were either successful or unsuccessful, prospered or were very soon abandoned. With regard to the Americas, outside of the United States, I can but cite what Fribourg and Charles Limousin wrote in their report on the London Conference of September 1865, that "steps have been taken to establish correspondence.. with Rio de Janeiro,.. with the French colonies of Guadeloupe and Martinique." (Le Siècle Paris, 14 October 1865). According to the General Council's report to the Lausanne Congress (September 1867) a branch which had existed in Guadeloupe in 1866 had not paid, or had ceased paying its dues in 1866–1867. At the Congress in The Hague (September 1872), the General Council reported that the organisation was firmly established in the United States, "und dass Verzweigungen bestehen in Buenos Ayres, Australien und Neuseeland." (Cf. the German translation of the official report, Braunschweig, 4pp. in 4.). The vague term, Verzweigungen suggests that there were neither recognised sections nor formally affiliated organisations: in the case of Buenos Aires, this probably would have meant that there was a section there, but that it had not submitted the application for admission required under the Statutes as essential. The likelihood is that the section stayed that way and that no harm was seen in it. F.A. Sorge, of the General Council in New York, in a summary of news received between December 1872 and February 1873, stated: "Von Buenos Aires kam Nachricht, dass die Internationale dort Fuss gefasst habe und eine Sektion gegründet sei, die bereits 250 Mitglieder zaehle" (cf. Briefe... an F. A. Sorge Stuttgart, 1906, p.92). Was Sorge referring to the section or to the federation? Because there are more exact sources.

A letter from the general secretary of the Buenos Aires sections (Buenos Aires, 23 March 1873) to a correspondent of the General Council in France, (Larroque, of Bordeaux), a letter designed to build closer relations with the International in Europe, – a letter that I published in the Suplemento de 'La Protesta' of 15 November 1926, No 249 – states: "the French section was the first formed, followed by the Italian and Spanish sections: each section has its own central committee and matters of general interest are handled by a federal council made up of six members (two per section)..". That letter was addressed to a José Tonassi of La Belgerie des Alpes, for transmission to M.(onsieur) Aubert. Might this Aubert have been the "Jules Auberne" who was one of those arrested on 14 March 1875 and discharged on 20 April? (Cf. Rev. Int. An. 15 December 1924, p. 30).

Victory y Suárez – according to the last-named source – also told how in 1872 a "French section" had been organised: in its programme it stated ".. that it is incumbent upon members to reject any form of government that is not the embodiment of the workers", a phrase that rather indicates that the authors of that programme were no anarchists, but that they believed in government by a workers' party, a view very much in currency at the time: in short, a worker deputy instead of a bourgeois deputy. Aubert wrote to Larroque, a friend of Lafargue's, that another of Lafargue's friends, Wilmart, from Bordeaux, a member of the marxist majority at the Congress in The Hague, had gone to Buenos Aires, having set sail from Lisbon on 19 October 1872. So that section, by which I mean the French members, was certainly not anarchist: whether it was drawn especially from among refugees from the Commune or from emigrés from south-east France, from Bordeaux and the Gironde, I cannot tell. According to Angel Jiménez, after September 1872 it issued seven or eight numbers of a periodical called El Trabajador, and May 1875 saw the publication, in French, of the republican and internationalist Le Révolutionnaire, written by S. Pourcille. In Córdoba, a section was founded in 1874.

Finally, the same source mentions, without going into details, that, in 1876, the small number of Internationalists remaining had allegedly embraced Bakunin's ideas and set up a "centre of labour propaganda" which published an exposition of its thinking in 1879 in a pamphlet entitled Una Idea. I am not familiar either with this pamphlet or with any of the detail of these developments, but there is every likelihood that the persecution endured by the International in Spain and the restoration of the monarchy there in 1874 will have driven Spanish anarchist emigrés and refugees to South America

and to Mexico, thereby giving a boost to propaganda and throwing down a significant challenge to authoritarian socialist elements. In the later months of 1875, the Bulletin of the Jura (Switzerland) received, for the first time, as it recorded at the time, a copy of El Socialista of Mexico, in which was inserted an appeal from a **section founded in Montevideo**, addressed to the workers of that city, urging them to join the International. Then, from Switzerland where the Federal Council of the (anti-authoritarian) International was based at the time, correspondence was struck up with Mexico and Montevideo (cf. James Guillaume L'Internationale Paris, III, 1909, p.306). The Montevideo section sent a letter to the International's Berne Congress of October 1876: (op.cit., IV, 1910, pp. 103, 122-123). The 22 April 1877 edition of the Bulletin carried a letter from the committee of the "**Société internationale des Ouvriers**" in Montevideo, relating that the construction workers and ship's carpenters had established associations, etc. (op.cit. IV, p.193). In Montevideo a **Federación** was formed and this was inducted into the International at the Verviers congress of September 1877 (op.cit.p. 258).

Whether the embracing of anarchist ideas by the Buenos Aires Internationalists, definite by around 1876, was due to local factors, to the arrival of Spanish Internationalists or to some influence originating with that Montevideo section, is a problem which there is no evidence to help me resolve. It may be said that, had there been dealings with Montevideo at the time, this would have been known in Switzerland, which was not the case. In Buenos Aires there was a French socialist, one **Baux**, but he was critical of anarchy: it was he who wrote to Elisée Reclus, who replied with the splendid letter published in Le Travailleur (Geneva) under the title L'Evolution légale et l'anarchie. Lettre au compagnon Baux in January-February of 1878. The address book of the Bulletin, which I was able to consult, records, after January 1877: Don Pedro Bernard, Calle Convención 101, Montevideo - the only man in South America receiving the Jura Bulletin, which stopped coming out on 25 May 1878. 5 May 1878 saw the appearance of El Internacional in Montevideo: a second issue appeared on 12 May: those are the only two of which I have knowledge. I do not have them to hand, but they struck me as anarchist whenever I laid eyes on them.

From comrade Valadés in Mexico, I learned on 26 April 1924 that, so far as he had been able to establish, **Carlos Sanz** of Barcelona, had gone to Mexico and been active there beginning in the early months of 1873 - further details will follow - and he was a comrade of Rafael Farga Pellicer: he was extremely active and by that time had already been to Uruguay and Argentina. Thus, in 1872 he could have been one of the first people to disseminate the ideas in those countries, but perhaps his stay was too short although he did live for a long time in Mexico and was very active.

El Descamisado (Buenos Aires) was anarchist from 6 January 1879 on, but it struck me as rather primitive in its grasp of anarchist ideas.

According to that article which I have cited several times, the International's section in Buenos Aires had been reconstituted on 18 September 1879 and October saw the appearance of La Vanguardia, written by Eduardo Camaño.

In addition, I have jotted down, probably from Le Révolté of Geneva, a note regarding La revolución social (Montevideo 1882) and Federación de Trabajadores (beginning on 5 September 1885: the last issue of which I have any knowledge, No 13, dates from 21 November). In Buenos Aires there was La Lucha Obrera, with one programme edition and 29 issues, between 2 March and 28 September 1884. It was from this periodical that the pamphlets La Mujer (14pp., no author, no place indicated: 1884) and ¿Que es la solidaridad? (1884) were lifted.

Around this time, the Francophone anarchist elements were strengthened by the arrival of **Emile Piette** and other Belgians who had long been active in the Belgian International and latterly in the L'Etincelle group in Verviers. They must have carried out **anarchist communist** propaganda, as distinct from the **anarchist collectivist** variety of the Internationalists from Spain. It would be interesting to establish how both schools conducted themselves in Argentina, in that in Spain in the years that followed - these were the days of La Justicia Humana in Barcelona (1886) and Tierra y Libertad in Gracia (1888-89), the earliest **anarchist communist** mouthpieces in Spain - they clashed bitterly. It is my belief that there were fewer clashes (in Argentina), thanks to the tact of Errico Malatesta who spent the years 1885 to 1889 in Argentina and who had been equally conversant with both schools of opinion for some time. I have never managed to see La Question sociale or La Cuestión Social which he published in Buenos Aires in 1885 in Italian and in Spanish, respectively.

Between 1885 and 1890, in Buenos Aires, there were also the following periodicals:

El Socialista (Italian): No 6 is dated 28 August and No 8 4 September 1887.

Venti Settembre (Italian), a one-off dated 20 September 1889.

11 de Noviembre, a one-off, 11 November 1889, Montevideo and Buenos Aires.

And in Montevideo:

Il Socialista (Italian) from 18 August 1889 on.

La Voz del Trabajador (anarchist communist) from 1 December 1889 to 16 February 1890. 10 issues.

Anarchist literature may well have been published elsewhere in Latin America during those years, but I have no knowledge of it: it only remains for me to indicate pre-1890 publications in Mexico and on the island of Cuba.

Of all of the larger countries of Latin America, Mexico is the one that experienced most revolutions and uprisings during the XIX century and this has persisted following the interval of the Porfirio Diaz dictatorship: they still embody a social character to a great extent, representing as they do the peasants' rebellion against feudalism, as well as the rebellion of the workers who extract the country's natural wealth, against the capitalists, and especially the foreign capitalists who claim it for themselves. A sizable Indian population, denied ready access to land, to natural resources and the instruments of labour, tolerates only grudgingly the farcical government, agrarian and industrial exploitation and the parasitism of a very wealthy clergy. Hence, alongside the civil wars prompted by the various political factions' lust for power, there has been, more frequently than elsewhere, a plainly social and also libertarian revolt, leading to seizure of the land and a repudiating and eschewing of the State, and subscribing to the free region or commune as the ideal. Hence too, and above all in the early stages, the cavalier neglect of written, theoretical and literary propaganda, since action and real fighting – rifle, horse, plains and mountains – are more readily accessible to the rebel there than in countries with meek, fatalistic populations.

It is to the credit of comrade Valadés that he has scrutinised Mexico's libertarian origins very attentively: until such time as he presents his findings to us in book form, we can learn something from his article De la historia del anarquismo en México. La insurrección de Chalco (Mayo de 1869) in the Suplemento to La Protesta, No 119, 1 May 1924: and from the first of Julio Diaz's articles Desde México. El movimiento obrero y la propaganda anarquista in La Protesta 3–8 November 1925: I also can call upon the letter that Valadés wrote me on 26 April 1924. Here I will lift from it only a few names of the earliest comrades from the years 1860–1870, people like the students Zalacosta, Juan Villareal and Hermenegildo Villavicencio (1865), the philosophy teacher Plotino Rhodakanaty, a Proudhonist who was in Mexico from 1862 or 1863, or the rebel in Chalco (Mexico state) on 1 May 1869, Julio Chávez, captured on 17 August and shot on 1 September 1869. It appears that these men, together from 1865, inspired the formation of the Circulo de obreros mexicanos (5 March 1870) and, in defiance of a minority of moderates, that of a further centre called La Social (20 May 1871). Bolstered by the influx of refugees from the Paris Commune, but after a time swamped utterly by the legalitarians, they formed a minority at the First Congress of the Workers' Societies of Mexico (5 March 1876) and, under the protracted reign of President Diaz, the broad mass of the workers retreated into a bland mutualism. La Social was reorganised by the libertarians (7 May 1876). The high point of its agitation was the 14 December 1879 demonstration by 5,000 workers in Mexico City, where, according to a local journalist cited by Valadés, upwards of a hundred red flags were brandished behind a huge black placard on which was written, in red lettering: "La Social, affiliated to the Jura's great International League."

From the early months of 1873 on, Carlos Sanz, who had arrived in Mexico from Barcelona, was very active in the libertarian ranks: it is said that at a gathering on 20 March in memory of the Commune, he read out a letter from "Farga Pellicer and Bakunin": there is no other evidence connecting him with Bakunin, but that is not to dismiss the allegation that I can but repeat with circumspection. According to Valadés's researches, the persecutions of 1880 prompted Rhodakanaty to go to ground, whilst Zalacosta spent several years in prison after 1881 and it is believed that Sanz left the country and may have attended the international revolutionary congress held in London in July 1881. However, the records of that congress, passed to me by G. Brocher, as well as Brocher's own recollections, (he was the organiser of the London congress), make no reference to a Carlos Sanz, who should not, of course, be confused with Nathan Ganz, who was then residing in Boston, Massachusetts, where he published the English-language magazine The Anarchist and who carried a mandate from the legalitarian Mexican organisation quite at odds with Carlos Sanz's La Social: the former organisation published El Socialista (which appeared from 9 July 1871 on, a paper whose two editions from 1881, which I have seen for myself, contained only a wishy-washy or insipid socialism). At the London congress, Nathan Ganz made exaggerated and unreliable claims for revolutionary socialism in Mexico. At that very point, 1881, most militants had been scattered or

rendered hors de combat, perhaps as a result of the consolidation of the Porfirio Diaz regime, which thereafter and for the next twenty years kept Mexico in sad and silent subjugation, leading to a build-up of revolutionary passions that finally erupted to unleash the feats of the Magon brothers, Práxedes Guerrero and so many others.

The publications of unmistakably anarchist persuasions were:

La Comuna of which 30 issues were published, starting from 28 June 1874.

La Internacional 11 issues between 14 July and 15 September 1876, a periodical which stated – and here I am quoting Valadés – "our programme is social anarchy, the abolition of all governments and the social revolution", "the eleven issues of this periodical (4 pages, in half triple) are very much in line with the international anarchist movement".

Reports in Le Révolté and in Freiheit concerning the London congress of 1881 list the titles of periodicals named by N. Ganz, but their comments do not inspire confidence.

Rhodakanaty translated Proudhon's celebrated book (1851) as Idea general de la Revolución en el siglo XIX (Biblioteca Socialista: Mexico).

This list will be expanded once Valadés's history of the movement is published. But it seems to me that few publications will be found for the twenty five years after 1881, aside from one pamphlet in 1903. I cannot say whether anarchist periodicals, books and pamphlets from elsewhere in the Spanish-speaking countries then made their way into Mexico.

As regards the island of Cuba, even while it was still under Spanish rule, the tobacco industry led to worker organisation and in their frequent dealings with Spain they might easily have become acquainted with anarchist ideas. One periodical, El Obrero, of Havana, was, in the years after 1880, a rather corporative organ, but El Productor (Havana) was explicitly anarchist.

Borrowing its title from the famous Barcelona periodical which published as a daily from 1 February 1887 onwards, Havana's El Productor, a weekly, must have started in July 1887, for its issue No 13 is dated 29 September. The first series comprised 167 or more issues: the second, in 1889, reached issue No 78 on 10 August 1890.

Acracia was published in Santa Clara: issue No 5 is dated 1 November 1889.

It should not be a pointless exercise at this point to give a mention to the main publications in the Romance languages published in the United States up to 1890: in the French tongue, there were some notable ones. Joseph Dejacques's publications, for instance.

La Question Révolutionnaire (New York, Frank F. Barclay, printer and publisher, 64pp. in 32o).

Les Lazaréennes, Fables et Chansons. Poésies sociales (New Orleans, 1857, 199pp in 8o).

De l'Etre-humain male et femelle. Lettre à P. J. Proudhon (ibid., 1857, 11 pages, in great 8o).

Béranger au Piloni (New Orleans: a pamphlet thus far untraced).

Le Libertaire. Journal du mouvement social (New York, 27 issues from 9 June 1858 to 4 February 1861, 4 pages, in folio).

Philosophie de l'Insoumission ou Pardon à Cain by Félix Pignal (New York, 1854, IV, 74 pages in 12o.)

By Claude Pelletier: Dictionnaire socialiste.. by Eudalc Reitelleg (New York, 1874-1876: 450, 540, 656pp. small 8o. Might there have been a fourth volume?).

Les Soirées Socialistes de New York – Atercratie (1873) and other writings.

The Bulletin de l'Union républicaine de langue française (New York: issue No 39 is dated 16 March 1874 and issue No 70 31 October 1876) contains excerpts from Pelletier as well as articles and notes permeated by the spirit of the anti-authoritarian International, whilst not quite anarchist: even less anarchist are periodicals like L'Internationale (San Francisco, 1872) and La Commune (New Orleans, 1872-1873). But small periodicals were published from 1889 on in Pennsylvania, in the coal-mining areas. The first to appear was Le Réveil des Masses in Newfoundland, Pennsylvania, 12 issues of which appeared after January 1888: the next issue, of Le Réveil des Masses, organe communiste-anarchiste, II, No 1, June 1890, was published out of New York. In addition there was Le Réveil des Mineurs (Hastings, PA. from 1 November 1890), which was still coming out in 1893: then there was L'Ami des Ouvriers (ibid., from 1 August 1894, which was still extant in 1896): and three issues, if not more, of La Crise Sociale (New York, 10 January to 25 February 1891).

In Italian, the only thing I know is L'Anarchico (New York: issue No 2 dates from 1 February 1888 and No 6 from 30 June): in Spanish there were no publications in the United States prior to 1890, but

I cannot guarantee the conclusiveness of my research, and right now there is no way that I can complete it.

French periodicals published by the anti-authoritarians of the International reached America only in isolated instances: But from 1879 onwards, Le Révolté and its successors, and, later on, also Le Père Peinard (Paris, 1889–1894) were much more widely distributed and broke down the feeling of isolation that must have weighed heavily upon the first groups in those wide expanses.

III

ANARCHIST PUBLICATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA IN THE YEARS FROM 1890 TO 1904. – PART ONE: PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS.

In the years after 1890, libertarian publications hitherto localised above all in Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Mexico and Havana, gradually recovered, but some of them returned more numerous and more stable, with a vigour not unrelated to the great flourishing of libertarian movements in Europe between 1890 and 1894: many of these publications now appeared in provincial cities and in other South American countries, and also focussed on particular trades, as well as making inroads into the realms of literary and artistic aspirations. This significant period, not yet concluded, ought to be sub-divided in a bibliography, but how would one go about that, given that the movements in many countries are not co-ordinated, with each one having a history of its own? And those very histories regularly mark a gradual ascent, punctuated by periods of persecution from without, which may put paid to publications or force them underground for a time, but which never arrest the development of the movement which revives its publications after the storm has passed.

A knowledgeable specialist would see temporal sub-divisions for each country – and we are dealing here with roughly a dozen countries – but the data available for each country will vary. I have no such specialist knowledge and am merely looking for a practical guide. For the defining dates of this next period, I have chosen the years 1890 – when the movement gained in strength everywhere and when El Perseguido emerged as the first periodical of durability – and 1904, when, in early April, after nearly seven years appearing as a weekly, La Protesta went daily, having continued to publish on that basis ever since. This highlights the fact that the Argentinian movement, scarcely noticeable 25 years before in the days of the poor El Descamisado in 1879, had attained proportions making it feasible to launch a daily newspaper, a success that has almost always eluded anarchists, certainly over such an extensive period.

Proudhon's newspapers were the first of the daily publications. During the Paris Commune, La Liberté in Brussels published daily: for some years prior to 1886 and indeed for a while thereafter, Chicago's Arbeiterzeitung, edited by August Spies and banned from 11 November 1887, was a militant anarchist daily newspaper: from 1 February 1887, Barcelona's El Productor published on a daily basis for a few weeks to begin with, and the Journal du Peuple in Paris (6 February to December 1890) was a daily edited by anarchists, but was only one of many publications especially created for the purposes of Dreyfusard propaganda at the time: I cannot call to mind any others, and the launching of the daily La Protesta and its maintenance over a 22 year period is, in consequence, a feat both rare and noteworthy, particularly for a movement so young.

Thus, I have chosen 1890 and 1904 as the parameters of this sub-division and I begin with those Argentinian periodicals which have come to my attention. I am not able to review them all just at this moment, so it is not feasible for me to characterise them, dwell upon their groups, contributors and affiliations, (insofar as a new periodical is often a replacement for one recently deceased – or else is a brand new venture entirely), their nuances, or their relative worth (for just as books may be good or bad, so there are periodicals that are of genuine worth, and occasionally some that are truly inferior), etc. I have seen, and often read, periodicals which I shall list, but that was a long time ago, and although I still retain a lot of impressions, these lack freshness, are incomplete and it is not worth burdening these listings with them. Militants with a lively recollection of each periodical are the ones who would be well advised – if they seek to be of service to History – to jot down a few words describing the complexion of each periodical as well as those details worth being placed on record regarding them – and critically-minded researchers, leafing through such collections, will shed light upon the ideas, criticisms, social descriptions and other living matter lying dormant in these old periodicals. So I shall confine myself almost exclusively to listings that do not discriminate between nuances (pro-organisation or individualistic, for example) and which recognise only three classifications:

- a) **General propaganda periodicals.**
- b) **Trades periodicals** which, in the case of Argentina especially, are also largely general propaganda publications.
- c) **Literary magazines and specialist publications** such as anti-militarist ones, etc.

THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC (1890-1904)

A. BUENOS AIRES. – El Perseguido, anarchist-communist organ, 18 May 1890 to 31 March 1896 and 6 December 1896.

La Miseria, 16 and 30 November 1890, 2 issues: ☼ [1]

[1] ☼ – This sign I use to indicate that I cannot vouch for a periodical's not having had more issues published than I indicate here: a periodical often ceases publication without prior notice, or reappears after an interval.

La Voz de Ravachol, 11 November 1895, 1 issue: ☼

La Voz de la Mujer, 8 January 1896: issue No 10 dated 10 March 1897: ☼

La Revolución Social, 8 January 1896: issue No 19, 8 April 1897: ☼

Casario, 14 February 1896, 18 April, 2 issues: ☼

Ni Dios, Ni Amo, 6 March 1896: ☼

La Expansión Individual, February 1896: ☼

Ciencia Social, review, April 1897: monthly: issue No III 13 is from October 1899: ☼

La España Inquisitorial, 9 May 1897.

La Autonomía, 3 June 1897: La Autonomía Individual (No 2) 1 August: ☼

La Protesta Humana, 13 June 1897, weekly up until issue No 256 (26 March 1904), daily after April 1904 as La Protesta. Details regarding its periods of publication will be given in full elsewhere. 1 May 1908 witnessed the appearance of the Suplemento de La Protesta magazine: 11 issues. The current Suplemento semanal has been appearing since 9 January 1922: a Resumen sumario (January to December 1925) 8pp. in oblong folio, lists the contents of issues 1 to 205: issue No 255, which marked the end of five years in existence, contains a guide to issues 205 to 255 inclusive.

Germinal, 14 November 1897: issue No 24 is from 25 December 1898: ☼

El Rebelde, No 7 is from 5 February 1899, and No 94 from 23 November 1902: ☼

El Ideal Anarquista, 1 May 1899.

El Escalpelo, 27 August, 10 October 1899, 2 issues: ☼

Los Tiempos Nuevos, No 2 is from 16 September 1900.

El Alba del Siglo XX, 31 December 1900.

La Comuna Libre, supplement to La Protesta Humana and L'Avvenire 18 March 1901.

1870-XX de Septiembre- 1901, 20 September 1901.

La Nueva Era, 4 August 1901: 3 issues.

Vida Nueva, 15 November 1903: No 5 is from 9 January 1904: ☼

In Italian

Lavoriamo, No 2, 1 January 1893.

La Riscossa, 14 October 1893: No 4 is from 15 April 1894: ☼

La Questione sociale, review, monthly, 1894 to 1896: No 22 is from 23 August 1896: 24 issues or more: ☼

Venti Settembre, long-lived weekly, 10 November 1895: 216 issues: second series published in Montevideo, from No I 2 (218) of 17 January 1903 to issue No 221 or 222: No 223 (1 May 1903) is from Buenos Aires: there is a No 246A, and a 246B: No 250 is the last of which I have knowledge: ☼

La Conquista di Roma, 20 September 1898 (In Italian and Spanish).

La Nuova Civiltà, 27 January 1901: 27 issues or more: ☼

Bahia Blanca- 1887-1903 - 1 de Mayo, 1 May 1903, in Italian and Spanish.

La Favilla, Third one-off edition, 1887-1903, 11 November 1903.

In French

La Liberté, 23 January to 17 April 1893. 13 issues.

La Liberté, 18 March to 9 September 1894: 26 issues.

Le Cyclone, 12 November 1895: probably 5 issues: ☿

LUJAN. – El Oprimido, No 2, 20 September 1894: II 2 (1 August 1895) and ensuing issues up to No 41 or beyond: it was published out of Buenos Aires from 23 August 1896, No 22.

La Inquisición en España, supplement to El Oprimido, 17 January, 23 January 1897 (it appeared in Buenos Aires).

ROSARIO. – La Verdad, No 1, undated: No 21, March 1896: ☿

La Libre Iniciativa, 18 August 1895: No 7, 7 June 1896: ☿

LA PLATA. – La Anarquía, 27 January 1895 (or was it 27 November?): 26 issues or more: ☿

BARRACAS. – El Revolucionario, 15 August 1895: 2 issues: ☿

CHIVILCOY. – La Fuerza del Razón, 23 July 1896: ☿

ROSARIO. – La Federación Obrera, No 2 is from 24 October 1896: ☿

In Italian

ROSARIO. – 11 Novembre 1889 [1887]–1889, supplement to El Paria, with which I am not familiar.

ROSARIO. – La Libera Parola, 29 April 1900: ☿

B. BUENOS AIRES. – El Obrero Panadero, 16 September 1894: at least 22 issues: series II, at least 8 issues: ☿: Long-lived publication, followed by El Obrero Panadero of 1899: No I–12 is from 1 September 1899: 31 issues or more: ☿: another periodical of the same name started in 1911.

La Unión Gremial, No 18 is from 5 March 1896: ☿

El Obrero Albañil, No 36 is from 7 October 1900: 32 issues or more: ☿

La Organización Obrera, August 1901: 5 issues: under the title of La Organización, No 6 and subsequent issues: later became La Organización Obrera: the organ of the Federación Obrera Regional Argentina, continues to appear sometimes: in 1912 as an underground periodical. There are Suplementos extraordinarios: the one for 1 May 1921 runs to 96pp. in great 80: that for 1 May 1922 (two editions) to 128 pages: this periodical deserves a special description which I cannot offer.

El Gremio, (cabbies' union), No 3 is from 1 October 1903.

El látigo del Carrero, from 1903, since No 17 (1905) is marked year III: this periodical appeared over many years (No 98, from 1913, was the latest one I saw): ☿

El Gráfico, March 1904: 20 issues or more: ☿

La Aurora del Marino, from 1904, in that issue II–11 is from August 1905: 18 issues (1906) or more: ☿

El Sombrero, issue No 4 is from August 1904: 30 issues or more: ☿: This periodical brought out the one-off edition 7 de Septiembre, 1902–1905.

El Obrero Sastre, from 1904, since issue III–9 is from February 1906.

El Compañero (kitchen hands and helpers) from 1904, since issue III–9 is from 15 December 1906: No 11 is from 15 January 1907: ☿

El Pintor, one of the oldest periodicals, in that IV–1, of 1 October 1912 is labelled: Year XVIII: ☿

El Carpintero y Aserrador, from 1904, in that No 32, from June 1922, is labelled Year XVIII: No 56 is from May 1925: it still comes out: El Carpintero of 1901 I have not seen.

This list is far from exhaustive and I cannot indicate the regularity of publication of these periodicals, some of which came out often, others at lengthy intervals.

C. I cannot be exact right now as to the extent to which the anarchist idea is manifest in publications like El Sol – its No 99 is from 16 October 1900: I am conversant with it up to No 174: ☿

Martin Fierro – No I–9 is from 28 April 1904, and No 444 from from January 1905.

¡Hierro! (semanario libre) – No I–2 is from 14 October 1904.

There is nothing to equal the sight of our ideas making headway into literary publications and the like, but of course, these are flanked by other ideas and such penetration is liable to vary and is often

temporary. Bibliography cannot pay heed to all such nuances: it has to have the help of description of the make-up of many of these magazines, and of the calibre of the men who inspired them, like - in the case of the periodical in question - **Alberto Chiraldo**. There is a lot about him, for instance, in Ideas y Figuras No 107 of 31 March 1914.

La Cooperativa General, trial issue: September 1900: Buenos Aires: ☼

El Trabajo, organ of the Casa del Pueblo, 26 June, 12 July 1902, 2 issues or more: ☼

URUGUAY, 1890-1904.

A. - MONTEVIDEO. - El Derecho a la Vida, 16 September 1893: No 35 is from April 1897: ☼: Series II began in October 1898: No 17 is from August 1900: ☼

La Luz, No 2 is from 1 January 1896: No 4 is from 26 April: ☼

La Verdad, 8 August 1897 to May 1898, 7 issues: ☼

La Aurora Anarquista, No 3, September 1899: No 4, from January 1900: second series, No 4, from 6 January 1901: there was an extra-ordinary and undated issue (January 1901): No 7 is from 18 August 1901: ☼

El Amigo del Pueblo, December 1899 to August 1900: 6 issues: ☼

Tribuna Libertaria, No 7 is from 10 June 1900: 37 issues: ☼: a fourth era began on 19 May 1907: No 9 is from 23 August 1908: No 10 from 1 May 1909: ☼

La Rebelión, No 12 is from 14 December 1902: No 16 from 10 April 1903: ☼

La Verdad, No 2 is from 21 June 1903: 5 issues or more: ☼

Futuro, monthly review, No 2 is from July/August 1904: 7 issues or more: ☼

La Rebelión, fortnightly supplement to Futuro, No 1, first fortnight in August 1904: ☼

Primero de Mayo, occasional supplement.. 1 May 1905.

In Italian

Il Socialista, 18 August 1896: 6 issues or more: ☼

B. La Idea Libre, (Painters and tobacco-workers), 16 October, 1 November 1896, 2 issues: ☼

{ El Obrero, 10 April 1904: No 57 is from 19 January 1907: ☼ } [2]

[2] These brackets - { } - designate periodicals which I contend belong to libertarian trade unionism, but for which I cannot vouch with complete confidence right now. I have omitted a lot of others which I know for sure are reformist-trade unionist.

CHILE, 1890-1905.

A. - SANTIAGO. - El Oprimido, No 2, 16 May 1893: No 4, 18 September 1893, published out of Valparaiso: Is it the same newspaper? ☼

El Acrata, 1900: No II-1 is from March 1901: 4 issues or more: ☼

La Campaña, No 10 is from 1 January 1901: 15 issues or more: ☼

La Agitación, 9 September 1901: 28 issues or more: ☼

La Rebelión, November 1901: ☼

La Luz, No 16 is from 20 August 1902: No 21 is from 28 May 1903: ☼

Los Nuevos Horizontes, 1 November 1903: No 3, 1 January 1904: ☼

VALPARAISO. - La Revuelta, 24 October 1903: 11 November: 2 issues: ☼

CONCEPCION. - Luz, monthly review. Organ of the Hogar armonista 'Eliseo Reclus': 17 April 1904.

B. - SANTIAGO. - { El Siglo XX, Organ of the sociedades de resistencia. No 2 is from 18 May 1901: ☼ }

{ La Imprenta, 22 January 1902: No 25 is from January 1904: ☼ }

ANTOFAGASTA. - { El Maritimo, No 102 is from 1 May 1905: No 165 from 5 August 1906: ☼ }

CUBA, 1890–1905

A. – HAVANA. – El Socialismo: No I–20 is from 21 August 1890: series II, No II–1, from 4 January 1891: ☼

El Trabajo, No 3 is from 20 September 1891: 18 issues or more: ☼

Jóvenes Hijos del Mundo, 13 and 30 January 1892, 2 issues: Hijos del Mundo, No 3, 18 February: No 5, 18 March: ☼

La Alarma, from 16 December 1893 to 31 December, 3 issues. To former subscribers of La Alarma, 10 and 16 January 1894.

El Nuevo Ideal, No 6 is from 4 March 1899: No 73, from 27 July 1900: ☼: second series, No 1, from 1 September 1900: 31 issues or more: ☼

¡Tierra!, 1902: No 47 is from 30 May 1903: a long-lived periodical: No 553 (1913) is the last of which I have knowledge: ☼

Germinal, 1 January 1904: No 3, from 1 June: ☼

GUANAHACOA. – El Productor, No 2, 1 October 1891 up to the end of that year: Year II, No 33, 8 September 1892: ☼

PUERTO PRINCIPE. – El Trabajo, No 28 is from 31 December 1894: 31 issues or more: ☼

B. – HAVANA. – { La Defensa, (tobacco twisters): No 344 is from 5 March 1902: ☼ }

C. – HAVANA. – Archivo Social. Sociology and literature (Library of La Alarma), periodical small publications, 29 issues or more: ☼: 1894.

There is some data on the Cuban movement in the obituary for Enrique Roig y San Martín, reprinted in La Idea Libre, Madrid, 22 February 1896.

El Proletario, Key West, Florida – is this the socialist periodical that was publishing in 1891–1892? – published a supplement entitled Opinión de los más prominentes anarquistas sobre la cuestión de Cuba.

Hojas al Viento, periodical pamphlets: No 2, 16 pages in 8o., 1895: ☼

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1890–1905

In Spanish:

A. – NEW YORK. – and later, Paterson (New Jersey). – El Despertar, a long-lived periodical, edited by Pedro Esteve: No 10 is from 15 May 1891: weekly: 226 issues or more: ☼

TAMPA (Florida). – El Esclavo, 9 June 1894: 61 issues or more: ☼

NEW YORK. – El Rebelde, (tobacco workers), No 2 from 25 September 1898: No 5 from 19 November: ☼

TAMPA (Florida). – La Voz del Esclavo and La Voce dello Schiavo: No 2, 23 August 1900: 12 issues or more: ☼

B. – { TAMPA (Florida). – La Federación, No 15 from 9 March 1900: 94 issues or more: ☼ }
{ KEY WEST (Florida). – El Resistente: 20 November 1901: 29 issues or more: ☼ }

In Italian

NEW YORK. – Il Grido degli Opressi, from 5 June 1892 to 26 November, 11 issues: published out of Chicago after No II–1, 1 January 1893: No 7 is from 9 May: No III–8 is from 13 October 1894: ☼

PATERSON (New Jersey). – La Questione Sociale: 15 July 1895 to 2 September 1899, 127 issues: new series, of which No 411 dates from 25 January 1908.

NEW YORK. – La Pasqua dei Lavoratori: 1 May 1898.

WEST HOBOKEN (New York). – L'Aurora, 16 September 1899 to 20 January 1900, 16 issues: new series published out of Yohoghany, Pennsylvania: from 8 September 1900 to 14 December 1901, 60

issues.

PATERSON (New Jersey). Umberto e Bresci, supplement to La Questione Sociale: 24 November 1900.

SAN FRANCISCO (California). – La Protesta Umana, 1 March 1900: 3 issues: ☼

NEW YORK. – La Libertà, specimen issue, 1 May 1902: No 2, 24 May: ☼

BARRE (Vermont), then Lynn (Massachusetts). – Cronaca sovversiva, written by Luigi Galleani: weekly from 6 June 1902: it appeared until 1918, at which time Galleani was deported: publication was resumed in Italy (in Turin) until it was suppressed.

B. – BARRE (Vermont). – { Lo Scalpellino: June 1895: 15 issues or more: ☼ }

TAMPA (Florida). – { La Federazione, No 15 from 9 March 1900: 94 issues or more: ☼ }

YBOR CITY (Tampa, Florida). – { L'Alba sociale, 15 July 1901: 5 issues or more: ☼ }

KEY WEST (Florida). – { El Resistente, 20 November 1901: 29 issues or more: ☼ }

In French

A. – CHARLEROI (Pennsylvania). – { La Tribune Libre, 25 June 1896: No 8, year IV, is from 17 August 1899: ☼ }

PATERSON (New Jersey). – Germinal: 1 October 1899: 39 issues or more: ☼

SAN FRANCISCO (California). – L'Effort, No 1, December 1904.

BRAZIL, 1892–1904

In Portuguese

A. – RIO DE JANEIRO. – O Despertar: No 1, 2 November 1898: No 3, 3 December: ☼

O Protesto, No 1, 16 October 1899: No 11, 26 July 1900: ☼

O Golpe, 18 November 1900: ☼

A Greve, No 6 is from 15 July 1903: No 8, from 15 August: extra-ordinary issue, 24 August: 11 issues or more: ☼

Kultur, March to October 1904, 5 issues: ☼

O Libertario, 9 October 1904, 2 issues: ☼

SAO PAULO. – Place of publication not indicated: Avante, No I–1, (undated: 1898).

O Amigo do Povo, from 19 April 1902 to 26 November 1904: 63 issues.

Emancipação, review: 1904: second series: year II, No 1, 21 March 1905: No 2, 6 April.

CURITIBA. – A Voz de Dever: 20 September 1903: O Despertar, No 3 is from 20 September 1904: No 8 is from 31 December: No II–1 is from 31 January 1905: ☼

[I hesitate – rightly or wrongly? – to classify as anarchist both O Crito do Povo, (São Paulo) 1899: No 26 is from 1 May 1900: – and O Libertarista, (Rio de Janeiro), No 3 of which is from 5 December 1903, and No 4 from 1 May 1904.]

In Italian

SAO PAULO. – 1^o Maggio, 1 January 1892: ☼

Gli Schiavi bianchi, No 4, 20 June 1892: 6 issues or more: ☼

L'Asino Umano: 1893: No 28, 25 March 1894: ☼

L'Avvenire, 18 November 1894: 28 issues or more: ☼: series II, 14 July 1895: No 3, 18 August: ☼

L'Operaio, 2 February 1896: 2 issues: ☼: (place of publication not given).

Il Risveglio, 9 January 1898: No 46, 14 May 1899: ☼

Palestra social, 4 November 1900: there was a further issue on 11 November: No 2 dates from December: 11 issues or more: ☼: in Italian, Spanish and Portuguese.

XX Settembre, 20 September 1901.

La Terza Roma, 20 September 1901.

Germinal, 10 November 1902: year III, No 3 from 13 March 1904: ☼: La Cogna, 4 October 1902, is a supplement with issue No 16 of Germinal.

La Voz del Destierro 6 January 1903.

La Rivolta, 29 July 1903.

La Nuova Gente, single issue on 20 September 1903: and No 1, from 1 November: No 2, from 15 November: ⌘

CURITIBA. – Il Diritto: No 11 is from 8 October 1899: 32 issues or more: ⌘

BELEM (Parà). – Un Aniversario. Rivendicazione (a reference to Bresci: this was a one-off publication in Italian and Portuguese), July 1901.

Leafing through these periodicals and especially the lengthy series of some of them, there are probably references to be found to nearly all of the anarchist periodicals omitted from these listings. The periodicals of the libertarian trades unions may be discovered by means of a survey conducted among the present organisations of the various trades. Those in possession of complete runs of these periodicals will be able readily to replace my frequent ⌘s with precise data on the first and last issues of each publication.

Furthermore, albeit rarely, correspondence will be found in these periodicals from countries which at that time did not as yet have any anarchist publications of their own – so far as I am aware at any rate – Peru, Paraguay, Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador and Central America, as well as correspondence that explains the complete silence from Mexico.

Thus, this present listing may serve as a basic groundwork at least.

IV

ANARCHIST PUBLICATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA IN THE YEARS 1890 TO 1904.

PART TWO: BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS, ORIGINAL WRITINGS AND TRANSLATIONS.

This first period of full flowering spawned above all some newspapers of precarious existence, some ephemeral periodicals, and some stable ones, that published over a long period of years, as well as propaganda pamphlets, and translations from international anarchist communist writings, especially from the French and Italian. To these must be added the numerous translations that appeared in periodicals, although some of those translations were left unfinished on account of the short lived nature of the periodicals. Original works are much less numerous: those who could read and write used the periodical as their platform. To an even greater extent, they found expression through a genre of publications which I have not catalogued in this bibliography, although lots of them have survived: namely, the manifesto, the flyer, the small presses dealing with current affairs, everyday life and local affairs, which are no more likely to endure than oratory, but which are of unquestionable importance. There is every likelihood that towards the end of this period, under the influence of Pietro Cori and others, anarchist ideas had inspired real works of literature, poetry and prose, and even drama: but it is not my intention to broaden my focus to include these and that will be left to others to investigate.

For the years up to 1896, I should like to mention here the main translations which I have come across while leafing through the periodical collections to which I have had access: the translations, of course, continued, but the pamphlet and indeed the book very quickly became yet another vehicle for the dissemination of propaganda writings: Buenos Aires and Paterson became the main centres for such publications.

Turning to my Bibliographie de l'Anarchie (Brussels, 1897, XI, 294 pp. in 8o) I find the following: **Bakunin**: his letters on the origin of patriotism (1869) in El Esclavo, Tampa, 1895: his lectures in the Jura (1871), *ibid.*: his lengthy Circular to his Italian comrades (October 1871) in the Italian-language Lavoriamo of Buenos Aires, but unfinished. A. Reichel's memoirs of Bakunin (1892) appeared in translation in El Derecho a la Vida, Montevideo, 1895.

Elisée Reclus: A mon frère le paysan (1872) appears in La Liberté, Buenos Aires, 1894: Evolución y revolución (1880) in El Productor, Havana, 1893 and Archivo Social, Havana, 1894: L'Anarchie (1895) is in La Question Sociale, Buenos Aires, 1899, and El Esclavo, Tampa, 1896: and Reclus's ¿Por qué somos anarquistas? appears in the supplement to El Perseguido, No 75.

La Riqueza y la Miseria (1887) appears, incomplete, in Il Socialista, Buenos Aires, 1887, and, again unfinished, in La Liberté, Buenos Aires, 1894.

Peter Kropotkin: To the Young (1880) appears in Federación de trabajadores, Montevideo, 1895, and (in Spanish) in Il Socialista, Buenos Aires, 1887: The Necessity of Revolution is in La Liberté, Buenos Aires, 1894, in El Esclavo, Tampa, 1894 and in El Perseguido, 1894: The Spirit of Rebellion (1881) is in El Productor, Havana, 1889: Order (1881) is in Il Grido degli Opressi, New York,

1892: Revolutionary Minorities (1881) is in El Perseguido, 1892: Law and Authority (1882) is in El Despertar, Brooklyn, 1893: Revolutionary Government (1882) is in La Anarquía, La Plata, 1895: Expropriation (1886) appears in El Derecho a la Vida, Montevideo, 1894 and in La Luz, *ibid.*, 1896: Prisons (1886) is in La Anarquía (1887) and El Productor, Guanahacoa, Cuba, 1891: The Scientific Basis of Anarchy (1887) is in El Productor, Havana, 1888, in El Despertar, Brooklyn, 1894-95, and (in Spanish) in El Socialista, Montevideo, 1889: New Times, a lecture (1893) is in El Despertar, 1893, in El Perseguido, 1893 and in La Alarma, Havana, 1893, unfinished: El Esclavo, Tampa, started at translation of The Conquest of Bread: A Governmental Utopia (1892-93) on 29 August, and one appeared in Portuguese in L'Avvenire, in São Paulo, 1895.

Jean Grave: The Day After the Revolution (1882) is in El Productor, Havana, 1890: The Dying Society and Anarchy (1893) is in El Despertar, Brooklyn, 1895 and in El Derecho a la Vida, Montevideo, 1895.

Statements from the dock: Clement Duval's (1887) is in La Libre Iniciativa, Rosario, 1896: Ravachol's (1892) in El Perseguido, 1892: Georges Etievant's in Archivo Social, Havana, 1894: Paulino Pallas's (1893) in El Despertar, 1893: Salvador Franch's in El Perseguido, 1895: Auguste Vaillant's (1894) in El Perseguido and El Despertar, 1894: Emile Henry's (1894) in El Despertar and El Oprimido, Luján and Archivo Social, Havana, 1894: Santo Caserio's (1884) in El Perseguido and El Despertar, 1894.

A note should be made here of the heart-rending literature recording the sufferings of anarchists deported to Guyane, in Guyane sudaméricaine: Voix du Bagne and credited to: The anarchist convicts in Guyana (Paris, 2pp. in 40, undated, 1893): Le Massacre des Anarchistes à la Guyane en 1894, an article in La Sociale (Paris), 8 March 1896, and lots of other articles published in France around that time: see also Liard Courtois's Souvenirs du Bagne (Paris, 1903, 452pp. in 180), as well as other books and pamphlets.

Carlo Cafiero: Anarchy and Communism (1880) in El Perseguido, 1892.

Errico Malatesta: Among Peasants (1884) is in Jóvenes Hijos del Mundo, Guanahacoa, Cuba, 1892, but unfinished: his Parliamentary Politics in the Socialist Movement (1890) is in La Verdad, Rosario, 1895.

Pasquale Pensa: Victims and Preoccupations (1887) is in El Productor, Havana, 1889.

F. S. Merlino: Why are we Anarchists? is in Archivo Social, Havana, 1894.

Sergio di Cosmo: Origins of Wealth (1890) is in El Derecho a la Vida, Montevideo, 1896.

Johann Most: Die Gottespest (1883) is.. unfinished?.. in La Voz del Trabajador, Montevideo, 1889-1890.

G. C. Clemens: Primer of Anarchy (1889-1890) is in La Question Sociale, Buenos Aires, 1896. (Ricardo Mella's translation, as Elementos de Anarquía, was first published in El Productor, Barcelona, 1892-1893)

TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS OF SPANISH AND ITALIAN TEXTS IN BOOK AND PAMPHLET FORM UP TO 1904

Eliseo Reclus: A mi hermano el Campesino (La Expropiación: Grupo de propaganda comunista-anárquica. Publicación 2), Buenos Aires, February 1895, 16 pages in 160.

Evolución y Revolución, (Biblioteca del grupo Juventud comunista anárquica, 3) Buenos Aires, September 1892, 22 pages in 160.

P. Kropotkin: A los Jóvenes (Biblioteca del Circulo Internacional de Estudios Sociales, 3) Montevideo, 1899, 31pp.

Ai Giovanni (Gruppo anarchico 'La Propaganda') São Paulo, Brazil, 1903, VIII, 35pp.

Undated Italian translation (1900), along with: Alle fanciulle by Anna M. Mozzoni and with introduction by G. Ciancabilla, VI, 78 pages, in 160, published by the West Hoboken group, New Jersey.

La Ley y la Autoridad (Biblioteca de El Despertar) Brooklyn, 1893, 24pp.

Lo Spirito della Ribellione (Biblioteca sociale libertaria) Paterson, New Jersey, El Despertar printshop, 1900, 43pp.

L'Expropriation (1886), pamphlet in Italian, São Paulo, L'Avvenire, 1895.

La Anarquía en la Evolución socialista (La Expropiación... 5) Buenos Aires, July 1895, 21pp.

La Anarquía es Inevitable (Biblioteca de La Aurora) Montevideo, 1901, 32pp.

Ditto.. (Biblioteca de El Rebelde) Buenos Aires, 1901, 32pp.

El Salariado (Biblioteca anárquico-comunista de El Perseguido) Buenos Aires, 1891, 32pp.

Il Salariato (Publicazioni anarchiche del giornale L'Avvenire, 2) São Paulo, 1895, 16o: printed in Montevideo.

La Morale Anarchica (Biblioteca del Circolo anarchico volante di West Hoboken, New Jersey) West Hoboken, New Jersey, 1900, 62pp. in 16o.

La Anarquía: su filosofía, su ideal (Imprenta 'La Elzeviriana') Buenos Aires, 1897, 46pp.

La Conquista del Pan (Grupo comunista anárquico) Buenos Aires, 1895, 215pp: this book or Juan Grave's book La Sociedad Moribunda y la Anarquía, Buenos Aires, was – as far as I know – the first anarchist book published by the young movements: 1896 saw the publication of Juan Grave's La Sociedad Futura, Buenos Aires.

Juan Grave's Socialismo y Anarquismo (Métodos) Along with Félix B. Basterra's Dos Palabras (Biblioteca de El Obrero Panadero, 2) Buenos Aires, 1900, 15pp.

Gli Anarchici e ciò vogliono Free translation from the French (Biblioteca anarchica dell'"Aurora", West Hoboken, N.J.) West Hoboken, New Jersey, 1900, 42pp. in 16o: the original was published in Geneva in 1892 and was by F. Niquet,

Declaraciones de J. Etievant (La Expropiación... 1) Buenos Aires, January 1895, 32pp.

Declaraciones del anarquista J. Etievant y Consecuencias del Estado (by M. Lores) [plus poems] (Biblioteca de propaganda anárquica del grupo Los Acratas, 2) Buenos Aires, April 1897, 24pp.

Declaraciones de J. Etievant (Biblioteca del Circulo Internacional de Estudios Sociales, 6) Montevideo, 32pp. in 16o.

Emilio Henry: Su discurso ante los tribunales (Biblioteca de La Question Sociale) Buenos Aires, 1896.

Sebastián Faure: Los Crímenes de Dios (Biblioteca .. Los Acratas) Buenos Aires, November 1897, 32pp.

I Delitti di Dio Buenos Aires, Libreria Sociológica, 1899, 31pp.

A. Hamon, Gli Uomini e le teorie dell'anarchia (Biblioteca de La Question Sociale, 2) Paterson, N.J. 1896, 39pp.

Adolphe Retté, Arte y Socialismo, Idilio diabólico. El Revolucionario (Published by La Montaña, revolutionary socialist periodical) Buenos Aires, 1897, 11 pages, 8o.

Charles Albert: El Amor Libre (Biblioteca Libertaria) Buenos Aires, Libreria sociológica, 1900, 48pp. 8o.

Henri Dhorr: Lo que quieren los anarquistas and F. S. Merlino La Familia (Biblioteca de El Obrero Panadero, 1) Buenos Aires, 1900, 16pp., 12o.

André Girard: Educación y Autoridad Paternal (Biblioteca... Los Acratas, 6) Buenos Aires, 1898, 16pp. in 12o.

La Huelga General (Biblioteca Nuevo Ideal) Havana, 'Nuevo Ideal', 1902, 16pp: Palmiro de Lidia's translation from La Grève Générale (Paris, in Temps Nouveaux, 1901, 32pp. in 8o), one of the reports drafted for Paris 1900.

Tolstoismo e Anarchismo (Biblioteca Circolo Studii Sociali, Barre, Vermont), undated, 190-, 17pp. in 8o: G. Ciancabilla's translation from the report Le Tolstoisme et L'Anarchisme (Paris, 1900), Editions de L'Humanité Nouvelle, 12pp. in 8o.

Carlo Cafiero: Anarchia e Comunismo (in Italian) São Paulo, 1903, 14pp.

Anarchia e Comunismo (in Portuguese) ibid., O Amigo do Povo, 1903, 14pp.

Errico Malatesta: Fra Contadini (Italian original: Biblioteca della Question Sociale) Paterson, New Jersey, 1898, 63pp. There was another edition in Paterson in 1904 (1905 on the cover), 59pp., inscribed: sixteenth Italian edition.

Entre Campesinos (La Expropiación.. 6) Buenos Aires, undated, (1895) 64pp.

Ditto... (Biblioteca.. Los Acratas, 1) Buenos Aires, April 1897, 40pp.

La Política parlamentare nel movimento socialista (Biblioteca sociale libertaria di Paterson) New Jersey, 1900, 32pp.

En Tiempo de Elecciones (Biblioteca.. Los Acratas, 3) Buenos Aires, 1897, 18pp.

L'Anarchia (Biblioteca libertaria del grupo L'Alba) Buenos Aires, L'Avvenire presses, 61pp., 16o: undated: 1900 Or 1901?)

Al Caffé. Conversazioni sul socialismo anarchico (Biblioteca della Question Sociale) Paterson, New Jersey, 1902, 63pp.

En el Café. (Biblioteca del grupo Germinal, 1) Buenos Aires, September 1904, 32pp. in 8o.

No Café. (Biblioteca do Estudos Sociais) São Paulo, Tipografia libertaria, 1902, 68pp.

Il Nostro programma (Gruppo s.a. L'Avvenire di New London, Connecticut) Paterson, New Jersey, Tip. de El Despertar, 1903, 31pp. 16o.

Processo Malatesta e Compagni innanzi al tribunale penale di Ancona [1898] (Biblioteca socialista libertaria) Buenos Aires, 1899, 103pp., 12o: foreword by Pietro Gori, Buenos Aires, 2 December 1898.

F. S. Merlino: Per ché siamo anarchici? and Discorso di Emile Henry (Biblioteca de La Questione Sociale, 6) Buenos Aires, undated, (1896), 31pp.

Por qué somos anarquistas? Translation by José Prat (Biblioteca de La Protesta Humana) Buenos Aires, 1898, 46pp., 16o.

Ditto.. (Biblioteca sociológica, 1) São Paulo, Brazil, 1904, 31pp., 12o.

La Difesa di Gaetano Bresci alla Corte di Milano third edition, Paterson, N.J., 1903, printed by the Aurora Club, 15pp., 12o.

Dr. Giovanni Rossi: Un episodio di amor en la Colonia socialista Cecilia.. Translation by José Prat (Biblioteca de la Questione Sociale: Propaganda emancipadora entre las mujeres, 5) Buenos Aires, undated, 189-) 28pp.

Fortunato Serantoni: Per un'innocente d'Italia. Cesare Batacchi condannato all'ergastolo Buenos Aires, Libreria sociológica, 1899, 15pp.

Roberto d'Angio: Libertad! A Proposito di una polemica (Biblioteca de La Nuova Civiltà 1) Buenos Aires, 1902, 32pp., 16o.

Francesco Berti: La Roma Libera dei Patriotti Italiani Montevideo, July 1895, 14 pp., in 16o.

G. Ciancabilla (Kordian): Fiori di Maggio (poetry), New York, Ruffo e Ciani, publishers, May 1900, 30pp., in 8o.

Amilcare Cipriani: Il Regicidio. Risposta ai miei calunniatori. Besci e Savoia Buenos Aires, Libreria sociológica, 1902, 31pp.

Bresci e Savoia. Il Regicidio. second edition. Paterson, N.J., La Questione Sociale. presses, undated [189-], 37pp.

Pietro Gori: Gli Anarchici e l'Art. 248 del Codice Penale Italiano. Difesa dell'avvocato Pietro Gori.. (Biblioteca della Questione Sociale, Paterson, N.J., 1) New York, undated [1895] 47pp., in 12o. (Regarding the trial of Luigi Galleani and 34 other comrades in June 1894 in Genoa).

Santo Caserio. Appunti storici di Pietro Gori (dated: London, March 1895: lifted from the British anarchist periodical The Torch of March 1895); Buenos Aires, Libreria sociológica, 1896, 16pp., in 8o.

La Anarquia ante los Tribunales. Defensa de Pedro Gori (Libertarian propaganda), translation by José Prat: Buenos Aires, Libreria sociológica, 1898, 47pp..

Le Base morali dell'Anarchia (Biblioteca socialista-anarchica di Barracas al Norte, 1) Buenos Aires, 1900, 24pp., 8o.

Primo Maggio. Bozzetto drammatico.. Barre, Vermont, Salvatore Pallavicini publisher, undated [1896] 40pp.

Eduardo Milano: Primo Passo all'Anarchia Buenos Aires, 1897, 68pp., 12o.

Idem: Fundamentos Elementales de la Anarquia Montevideo, 1900, 111 pages, 16o.

Anna Maria Mozzoni: Alle Figlie del Popolo (Gruppo Emancipazione della Donna, 2) Paterson, N. J., El Despertar printshop, 1902, 14pp., 16o.

A Las Hijas del Pueblo (Propaganda anarquista entre las mujeres, 1) Buenos Aires, Biblioteca de La Questione Sociale, 1895, 15pp., 8o: second edition, 1898, 14pp.

A las Mujeres que Estudian y la Unión Libre (Biblioteca de La Questione Sociale, 2) (Propaganda entre las mujeres) Buenos Aires, August 1895, 15pp., in 16o.

Emilio Sivieri: Giorgio e Silvio (dialogo fra due militari) (Biblioteca sociale libertaria), Paterson, N.J., 1899, 16pp., 8o.

Raffaele Valente: Melodia second edition (poetry) Spring Valley, Illinois, 1901, 13 pp., 8o.

Verso il comunismo Barre, Vermont, Cronaca Sovversiva printshop, 1904, 13pp., 12o.

Gli Anarchici e ciò vogliono (Biblioteca della Protesta Umana) San Francisco, California, 1903, 42pp., 12o.

Ditto... Paterson, New Jersey, Libreria sociológica, 1904, 42pp., 12o: (pamphlet No 2)

Canti anarchici rivoluzionari New York, undated [1896] 16pp., 12o: same title (Biblioteca della Questione Sociale, 4) Paterson, N. J. 1898, 20pp., 12o.

Il Canzonere dei Ribelli Barre, Vermont, Cronaca Sovversiva presses, 41pp., 16o, undated [1903 or 1904?]

Emancipazione.. ed Emancipazione and Logica infantile (Gruppo Emancipazione della Donna, 4) Paterson, N.J., El Despertar presses, 1902, 14pp., 16o: Logica infantile is a translation from the English Jones's Boy by "Spokeshave", which appeared first in the Labor Reformer Toronto, Canada, in 188-, and was often reprinted thereafter: There is a Spanish translation: Diálogo entre un burgués y su hijo (Biblioteca de El Ideal) Brooklyn, N.Y., undated [1893?], 8pp.

Pedro Esteve: A los anarquistas de España y Cuba A memoir of the international anarchist conference, Chicago, September 1893 (Paterson, N.J., El Despertar presses, 1900, 85pp., in 8o.)

Idem. A proposito d'un regicidio (Biblioteca della Questione Sociale 9) Paterson, N.J., 1900, 43pp., 16o.

Idem. Socialismo anarquista. (La ley. La Violencia. El anarquismo. La revolución social.) Paterson, N.J. 1902, VII, 79pp., 8o.

Ricardo Mella: Organización, Agitación, Revolución and Soledad Gustavo: El Amor Libre (Biblioteca de El Obrero, 1) Montevideo, undated, [1904?] 32pp., 8o.

Juan Montseny: La Religión y la Cuestión Social (Biblioteca de La Questione Sociale 3) Buenos Aires, undated, [1896] 27pp. 8o.

Ditto.. (Biblioteca del Circulo internacional de estudios sociales) Montevideo, 1902, 38pp., 16o.

Soledad Gustavo: A las Proletarias (Propaganda emancipadora entre las mujeres: Biblioteca de La Questione Sociale 4) Buenos Aires, undated, [1896], 14pp., 8o.

Alle Proletarie (Gruppo Emancipazione della Donna, 3) Paterson, N.J., El Despertar presses, 1902, 15pp. 16o.

La Barbarie gubernamental en España (foreword by R. M. [Mella] and J. P.) Brooklyn, El Despertar presses, 1897, 204pp., 8o, an extremely well documented book which, so it is claimed, was published in Europe. The same may be true of the odd pamphlet, published clandestinely in Europe, but claiming an American place of publication, details that come to light whenever one collates and compares all these printed works. The same goes for a certain Compendio de Química práctica por Sobrero y Nobel, quimicos 1896, 12pp., 8o, where Havana is claimed as the place of publication, that being, rest assured, a fiction.

Johann Most: La Peste Religiosa (Biblioteca della Questione Sociale, 6) Paterson, N. J., 1898, 19pp.

Documento oficial en que el gobernador John P. Altgeld, de Illinois, otorga la libertad absoluta a Samuel Fielden.. (Biblioteca del grupo El Ideal) Brooklyn, N.Y., undated [1893] 15pp., 8o. (Dealing with the release of the three anarchists not hanged in Chicago in 1887 and acknowledged by the governor of the state of Illinois as victims of a miscarriage of justice – S. Fielden, M. Schwab and O. Neebe).

G. C. Clemens: Elementos de Anarquía (Biblioteca de La Protesta Humana Buenos Aires, 1901, 80pp., 8o.)

Socialismo anárquico, Cómo se puede restituir a la comunidad, la paz, la equidad, la justicia y la libertad Translated from the English. (Biblioteca de El Despertar : published by the "Derecho a la Vida" group) Brooklyn, undated, 189-, 8pp., 8o.

I Congressi socialisti internazionali. Reprinted from La Questione Sociale of Paterson, N.J., (Biblioteca della Questione Sociale, 8) Paterson, La Questione Sociale presses 72pp., 16o; (reports from 1900 by P. Kropotkin, E. Malatesta and P. Esteve).

El Congreso Revolucionario Internacional de Paris, Septiembre de 1900 (Buenos Aires, Libreria sociológica, 1902, 304pp., 8o): translation of some of the submissions.

La Nueva Esclavitud, por Mr John Davis Tampa, Florida, 1896, 16pp., 8o, published by the 'Centro de propaganda obrera' group – a pamphlet whose contents I cannot quite recall now.

Nelly Roussel: Il Maestro. Bozzetto drammatico rappresentato alla Università Popolare Diderot di Parigi, XI dip. (Biblioteca della Questione Sociale) Paterson, New Jersey, 1903, 29pp., 16o: libertarian propaganda pamphlet, but broadly socialist in flavour.

That quite extensive list, whilst undoubtedly incomplete, also contains a number of texts published for the first or only time in the Americas, but by writers who, by virtue of their extraction, had connections with Europe or wrote about European topics, e.g. P. Esteve, P. Gori, etc.

LOCAL PROPAGANDA PUBLICATIONS – PARTICULARLY PAMPHLETS – UP TO 1914

Argentina

Dr. Emilio Z. Arana: La sociedad, su presente, su pasado, su porvenir. Conferencia.. 30 de mayo de 1896 (Grupo de propaganda comunista-anárquica "Ciencia y Progreso") Rosario, 1896, 26pp., 8o.
Ditto.. second edition (Biblioteca libertaria "Ciencia y Progreso", 1) Rosario, 1897, 35pp. in 8o.
La Mujer y la Familia (Biblioteca.. ,2) Rosario, 1897, 87pp., 8o: lecture of 17 January 1897.
La Esclavitud antigua y la moderna (Biblioteca.. ,3) Rosario, 1898, 43pp., 8o.
By the same author: La Medicina y el Proletariado, unknown to me except in its "Italian first edition" Rome, Florence, F. Serantoni, 1905, 24pp., 8o.
A. Pellicer Paraire: Conferencias populares sobre sociología (Biblioteca "Geopolita") Buenos Aires, 1900, Imp. Elzeviriana, 106pp., 8o.
Félix B. Basterra: Sobre ciencia social. Estudio (Biblioteca de La Protesta Humana, 2) Buenos Aires, 1901, 31pp., 8o.
Oreste Ristori: Deísmo y Materialismo Buenos Aires, August 1903, 28pp., 8o.
Altair (pseudonym of ?); Fundamentos y lenguaje de la doctrina anarquista. Conferencia.. 1 de mayo de 1900 en el Centro Libertario (Propaganda libertaria) Buenos Aires, Librería sociológica, 45pp., 8o.
Cómo nos diezman (La Expropiación. Grupo de propaganda comunista anárquica, 3) Buenos Aires, March 1895, 100pp.
Ravachol (La Expropiación.. 4) Buenos Aires, May 1895, 30pp.
Capacidad revolucionaria de la clase obrera signed: Los Acratas (Biblioteca de propaganda anárquica del grupo Los Acratas, 4) Buenos Aires, August 1897, 14pp., 8o.
Alfonso Grijalvo: Héroe ignorado. Monólogo en verso... (Biblioteca La Protesta) Buenos Aires 1904, 15pp., 12o.
Dante Silva: Los Mártires, Drama introduction by Francisco Jaquet, Buenos Aires, undated, [190-] 30pp., 8o.
Benjamin Mota: Ni Dios ni Patria and De los métodos de la lucha (Eficacia del boicot et del sabotage) by G. Balsas (Biblioteca La Protesta 1) Buenos Aires, 1904, 32pp. 8o: B. Mota was in Brazil.
Certamen socialista libertario. Tercer certamen... La Plata.. 14 y 15 de mayo de 1898 (La Plata, La Anarquía, 1898-1899): I have knowledge of only six instalments. 96pp. ⚡
La Canaglia. Scene sociale .. di Mario Ginó Buenos Aires, 1899, 30pp. 8o.
Educazione anarchica, il nostro dovere by Francis Milward (Biblioteca libertaria dell' Avvenire 1) Buenos Aires, 1900, 15pp., 8o.

In terms of almamacs, which probably appeared on a yearly basis, I have knowledge of only these:

La Questione Sociale. Almanaque para el año 1895 Buenos Aires, 1894, 48pp., 8o.

Almanaque ilustrado de La Questione Sociale For 1897, 1896, 100pp: for 1900, 1899, 64pp: for 1902, 1902, 64pp. 8o.

Uruguay

Veritas! (poetry) (Biblioteca de La Aurora) Montevideo, August 1899, 2pp., 8o.

R. Carreira and Pilar Taboada: La Mujer en la lucha ante la naturaleza (Biblioteca de La Tribuna Libertaria 1) Montevideo, 1900, 15pp., 16o.

A. Mario Luzzoni [what became of this Luzzoni?] Mártir! A drama. (Biblioteca del Circulo libertario La Aurora) Montevideo, 1901, 31pp., 8o.

Chile

M. Lisperguer R., Hacia la redención humana. Productores, zánganos y parásitos Santiago de Chile, Imprenta internacional, 1904, 47pp., 8o.

Mexico

El Anarquismo. Folleto dedicado al esclarecimiento total sobre las mal interpretadas ideas anarquistas,

propagadas en Europa y en los Estados Unidos de la República Norteamericana by the communist anarchist G.[uillermo] O., Mexico, 1903, 48pp., 8o.).

Brazil

Benjamin Mota: Rebeldias (Biblioteca libertaria, 1) São Paulo, 1898, 77pp., 16o.

By the same author: Zola-Dreyfus, São Paulo, 1899, 14pp., 16o.

B. Mota was the publisher or editor, at the outset at least, of the free-thought periodical A Linterna in São Paulo, issue No 7 of which is from 3 June 1901, and which went into at least four series, starting its fourth on 17 October 1909: No 232 of that series is the last of which I have knowledge. I cannot at the moment assess whether, and to what extent, A Linterna may have been a vehicle for the libertarian views that Benjamin Mota certainly professed at one point.

Below, I give some of the titles of the countless missives from the positivist Juan Enrique Lagarrigue, wherein he strives to rebut anarchist ideas:

Breves observaciones a los anarquistas Santiago de Chile, 15 December 1903, 8pp., 8o.

Quelques observations aux anarchistes 18 January 1904, 8pp.

Lettre au prolétaire anarchiste M. C. Garcia y Balsas 29 February 1904, 8pp.

Lettre à P. Kropotkin 15 June 1905, 7pp. 12o.

There is also his Lettre à M. Léon Tolstoj of 1897, 39pp., 8o.

These lists which I offer here are no more than the rough draft of a bibliography. For instance, for the period from 1890 to 1904, there is virtually nothing on Pietro Cori's work in Argentina, the origins of regional organisation, the background of everyday existence, and the undoubtedly more numerous publications from the two publishing centres in Buenos Aires and Paterson, New Jersey, as well as who can say how many publications scattered across other cities and countries, etc.

V

ANARCHIST PUBLICATIONS IN LATIN AMERICA IN THE YEARS FROM 1905 TO 1914 PART ONE – PERIODICALS

By the beginnings of this period, which is not separated in any way from the preceding one, the movement was everywhere in the ascendant. A few years on, virtually all over, there came an age of unprecedentedly savage repression: the movement faced up to this with its head held high, but, inevitably, its outward visage, its publications, were shut down, departed for exile, moving from Buenos Aires to Montevideo, for instance, very soon appearing clandestinely in the home countries or springing back to public life, undaunted. Finally, in 1914, world war intervened, failing to spread its contagion to these happy, reasonable lands but throwing the European movements into disarray. In my case, for example, it brought a complete seclusion from the South American literature, in which I had been taking an interest ever since 1890. Thus, all sight of it necessarily ceased in the early months of 1914. That was in February, or thereabouts, and listings under this heading will also grind to a halt at that point, as will the next heading: pamphlets and books.

It was during this period that Mexico entered the stage, not under the heading of labour organisation and anarchist propaganda, but rather because of an authentic social guerrilla warfare both heroic and practical: a matter of significance which deserves a bibliography of its own.

Argentina

A. – BUENOS AIRES. – Many of the periodicals listed earlier (see chapter III above) continued to appear. Press life suffered serious upsets in 1908 and 1910: the reader will readily appreciate this from the history of La Protesta sketched by our much-missed comrade Enrique Nido in his Informe general del movimiento anarquista en la Argentina (Buenos Aires, La Protesta presses, 1923, 19pp., 8o.).

In the wake of the events of 14 November 1909, La Protesta offices were stormed and its printing equipment smashed, arrests were made and a state of siege was imposed, after which newspapers reappeared in 1910.. "Two anarchist dailies were publishing at that point: La Protesta in the mornings and La Batalla in the evenings.."

But after the massive anarchist demonstration on 8 May 1910, a further bourgeois and police onslaught occurred, bringing that very active movement to its knees... "Our printshop, where La Protesta and La Batalla were printed, was wrecked and set ablaze by patriotic mobs to savage cries of 'Death to workers!' or 'Death to anarchists!'" Destruction and arrests swept the country, a blanket silence was imposed by a Law for the Defence of Society, foreign-born comrades were deported and Argentine comrades banished to Tierra del Fuego.

"In 1911, two attempts were made to relaunch publication of La Protesta and its editorial staff were quickly jailed and our premises burgled by the police. At that point the Anarchist Liaison Committee clandestinely launched publication as a weekly, up until mid-1912, when it resumed open publication. By 1913 it was back as a daily, whereupon its presses were shut down again and its editors arrested.."
Even so, the daily edition resumed once and for all during 1913 and it appeared without interruption until 5 May 1919, when " a police order forbade its publication as well as that of Bandera Roja, La Obra, etc., and our presses were shut down yet again."

"And from May 1919 up to September 1921 when La Protesta appeared in public in Buenos Aires once more, El Momento, Tribuna Proletaria, La Batalla and Tribuna Obrera appeared either simultaneously or fitfully, as our presses were repeatedly shut down and, on one occasion, this was accompanied by charges being preferred against their administrator.."

I cannot express any opinion regarding the grave consequences of such a vicious crack-down on the entire movement, as set out by Nido, but it must be apparent that the movement's most vulnerable organs, its presses and its bookshop, suffered a lot in the process and that 1908 signalled the end of their thirty years of free and, so to speak, unhindered development and the cruel construction of an odious reality whereby selfless men pursuing an ideal found themselves obliged to live in a context of runaway statism and bourgeois-ness dependent upon nonsense and fanaticism.

El Trabajo 1 February 1906: ☿

Rumbo Nuevo: special issue, 12 April 1906: No 1, 22 April: No 2, ☿

Fulgor 18 March 1906: No 14, 12 December: ☿

Labor 1 April 1907: No 7, 1 July: ☿

¡Accuse one-off: 20 July 1907.

Luz y Vida No 2, June 1908: No 6, 9 September: ☿

Iconoclasta one-off: 11 November 1908.

Boletín de la Federación Regional Argentina No 1, August 1909: ☿

La Batalla, diario anarquista de la tarde in 1910: I, No 1, 7 March 1910: No 24 is from 2 April: ☿

Article-cum-Programme of the daily Alberdi (1 page) plus a letter that begins: 'Señor juez federal' and is signed by R. González Pacheco, Teodoro Antilli, Apolinario Barrera, 10pp., folio, 1910: the letter requests that publication of Alberdi, by the editors of La Batalla, not be obstructed.

El Libertario No 4, 25 January 1911: 9 issues or more: ☿

¡A prepararse! (clandestine) No 1, June 1912: No 2, September: ☿

In the case of La Protesta for example, No 1918 is from 16 July 1910: No 1919 from 2 January 1912: but there is no way that I could give a bibliographical break-down of all of the suspensions and changes that it had to endure in those times.

El Manifiesto 1 October 1912: No 7, 5 January 1913: ☿

La Anarquía Boletín Mensual de la Confederación anarquista R. A.: No 1, November 1912: No 2, January 1913: No 4, 24 August 1913: clandestine: ☿

El Obrero Órgano de propaganda libertaria: 27 September 1913: No 3, 18 October: ☿

In Italian

La Fiaccola Anarchist periodical published by the gruppo Risurrezione: 5 December 1912: ☿

ROSARIO. - El Rebelde 1906: No 4, 1 January 1907: No 6, 9 March: ☿

CORDOBA. - El Proletario 18 March 1907: No 4, 31 May: ☿

CHACABUCO. - El Precursor No 5 is from 9 June 1909: ☿

TUCUMAN. - Germinal one-off, 1 May 1909.

CHACABUCO. - El Combate No 41 is from 23 November 1913.

ROSARIO. - La Rebelión No 7 is from 1 May 1913: No 9 from 30 June: ☿

In Italian

BAHIA BLANCA. – L'Agitatore year II, No 10, 15 June 1906: No 20, 17 December 1908: ☼
La Fusta Buenos Aires, No 1, 22 March 1910 contains: El Despertar – L'Agitatore year IV, second era, No 1, 22 March 1910. – La Revuelta No 1, 22 March 1910.

B. – BUENOS AIRES. – It is not feasible for me, at this juncture, to determine the extent to which libertarian propaganda or corporative struggle had the upper hand in the trade union newspapers. I have placed certain periodicals inside brackets like these – { } – and left out an appreciable number which struck me as being reformist socialist. Occasionally, in the course of their lifespan, periodicals change their persuasions.

El Joyero No II-8 is from June 1906: ☼

La Familia Gráfica one-off: 1 May 1906.

El Obrero Gráfico 1 July 1907: No 62: ☼

El Obrero Ebanista I-1, November 1905: No 12, April-May 1906: ☼

El Obrero Peluquero No 8, January 1906: ☼

El Retroceso Culinario II-2, February 1907: ☼

El Trabajo (dock workers) 1 February 1906: No 7, 1 November: ☼: Suplemento de El Trabajo No 3, 10 April: No 7, 15 October: ☼

El Progreso Culinario (cooks and pastrycooks) 1907: V-146, 1 November 1911: ☼

El Obrero Panadero I-15, 1 June 1911: No 17, El Verbo Nuevo: No 19, November 1911: No 20: ☼: El Obrero Panadero: No 24 (March 1913): No 32: ☼

El Sindicato (waiters) II-76, (7 June 1906): No 79, special issue, September 1908: No 215: ☼

El Obrero en Madera I-3, September 1906: No 55, November 1912: No 65: ☼

1. de Mayo (Buenos Aires dock workers) one-off, 1 May 1907.

El Emancipado Organó de la sociedad de resistencia "Obreros del Puerto de la Capital": 15 June 1907: ☼

El Hierro II-15, December 1907: No 21: ☼

El Obrero Constructor de Rodados No 30, March 1909: No 40, January 1910: No 49: ☼

El Aserrador I-2/3, January 1911: No 4, February: ☼

La Unión del Marino I-7, 23 August 1911: No 25, July 1913: No 113, August 1925 (USA).

La Antorcha (Federación Gastronómica Argentina) 25 May 1911: No 27, 19 September 1912: No 51: ☼

{ El Trabajo (sociedades de conductores de carros, aserradores, obreros del puerto..) June 1911: No 2, July: ☼: }

El Obrero Carpintero No 66 is from December 1913: ☼

El Obrero Ferroviario June 1912: No 5, October: ☼

El Obrero Textil 13 October 1912: No 2, January 1913: ☼

El Obrero Fideero No 12, September 1913: ☼

La Aurora (mechanics) 5 October 1913: ☼

El Obrero Ebanista a periodical unconnected with the 1905 one of the same name, since issue XIII-113 is from July 1922, which gives us a launch year of 1919.

La Voz del Chauffeur: I-5 is from January 1914: but X-116 is from March 1922, which would give a launch year of 1912: No 6 of the second era is from December 1924.

{ La Confederación Organó oficial de la Confederación Obrera Regional Argentina: 15 March 1910: No 2: No 3: Boletín de la Confederación Obrera Regional Argentina No 16, 1 May 1913: ☼: }

{ Apropos of this organisation, it was not libertarian, but I mention it on account of the fact that some of the autonomous unions that belonged to it might have been considered libertarian – cf. the FORA's report to the second AIT congress held in Amsterdam in March 1925: a German translation of this can be found in Die Internationale (Berlin) No 5, June 1925, pp. 95-113. This is probably the context to which belongs La Acción Socialista, periódico sindicalista revolucionario from 14 July 1905 on, the roots of which were at first in the political socialist camp. It published clandestine issues in 1910: Nos 104 to 107, 29 November to 15 January 1910 were published clandestinely. This paper became Acción Obrera, diario sindicalista de la mañana: No 149 is from 12 November 1910: it also turned into a "revolutionary syndicalist" weekly: No 166, 24 December 1910: No 328 (1913 or 1914) is

the last issue seen by me: ☼. It was through these organisations and publications that were never libertarian but also were not explicitly supportive of the legalitarian socialism and reformist trade unionism of the social democrats, that the obstacles encountered from that quarter by the libertarian organisations and endeavours in Argentina began an insidious threat that has not gone away since. }

C. -BUENOS AIRES. - Libre Examen I am aware of only No 24, 8 August 1905, of its "IIIrd incarnation": ☼

Germen Revista mensual popular de sociología. 1 October 1906: 14 issues or more: ☼

ROSARIO. - Nuevas Brisas October 1905: No 7, 16 February 1906: 35 issues or more: ☼

BUENOS AIRES. - Los Nuevos Caminos No 4, 6 March 1907: ☼

PARANA. - La Ráfaga 15 July 1908: No 12, 22 January 1910.

MENDOZA. - Pensamiento Nuevo No II-38, first fortnight of March 1909: ☼

LA PLATA. - Ideas No 3 is from 20 February 1909: ☼

Vibraciones No 6 is from 18 September 1909: ☼

BUENOS AIRES. - Ideas y Figuras monthly review of criticism and the arts (Alberto Chiraldo): No 59 is from October 1911: ☼

El Trabajo, revista mensual No 2, July 1911: ☼

La Cultura, revista quincenal No 9, December 1911: No 10: ☼

DIAMANTE. (Entre Rios) - Prometeo, 15 September 1913: ☼

All of these publications struck me, whenever I received them, as libertarian to a degree, whilst not explicitly anarchist propaganda organs: maybe if I were to re-examine them, I might be able to categorise them better.

BUENOS AIRES. - Francisco Ferrer. Revista de Educación racional No 10 is from 1 October 1911: 17 issues or more: ☼

La Escuela Popular organ of the Rationalist Education League: No 3 is from 1 December 1912: No 6 from 4 April 1913.

Luz al Soldado No 5, 1 February 1908: No 7, September 1913: ☼

El Cuartel Anti-militarist periodical. March 1909: No 3, May: ☼

Uruguay (1905-1914)

A. - MONTEVIDEO. - El Libertario 5 February 1905: 11 issues or more: ☼

En Marcha 10 June 1906: No 2, 20 July: second series, No 1, April 1907: No 2, 1 May: ☼

Pro Ferrer-Nackens one-off, February 1907.

La Acción Obrera No 16, 5 July 1908: No 21, 20 October 1908: ☼

Adelante! No 10 is from 1 August 1909: No 23, from 16 May 1910: ☼

El Surco 25 June 1909: No 6 is from 25 September: ☼

La Nueva Senda 18 September 1909: No 15, 16 May 1910: ☼: second series, 15 March, 5 April 1913: 2 issues: ☼

Ideas, revista sociológica internacional January 1910: ☼

Libertad, Libertad, Libertad! one-off. Published by the Comité pro desertores y prófugos, 25 May 1910.

Tiempos Nuevos 10 December 1910: No 17 is from 31 July 1911: ☼

Guerra Social No 9 is from 27 August 1911: ☼

Crónicas Subversivas 23 March 1912: No 3, 1 May: ☼

SALTO. - Germinal 1 April 1906: 3 issues or more: ☼

MONTEVIDEO. - La Giustizia 5 May 1906: No 7 is from 28 September: ☼

In Italian

B. - MONTEVIDEO. - { El Ferrocarrilero No 4, 31 July 1905: No 25, (1906) ☼ }

{ El Obrero en Calzado No 2, 1 December 1905: No 6, 15 April 1906: ☼ }

{ Revista Gráfica (1905) No 12, 15 May 1906: No 27, 28 December: second series, 31 August 1907 ☼ }

{ La Voz del Marino 1 September 1906: ☼ }

{ El Reporter del Puerto 2, January 1907: ☼ }

{ El Auriga (1906) IV-28, September 1909: No 32, March 1910: ☼ }
 { El Tranvia 10 June 1911: No 6, 22 July: ☼ }
 { El Tirapié (shoe-makers) year II, Supplement No 4, 1 May 1911: year III-12, 5 April 1913: ☼ }
 { El Obrero Panadero year II-15, 1 February 1912: No 28: ☼ }
 { Boletín mensual de la sociedad obreros panaderos year III-24, October 1912: 30 April 1913: ☼ }
 { La Aurora (woodworkers) November 1912: ☼ }

I cannot tell the extent to which these organs engaged in anarchist propaganda, nor if they all belonged to the FORU.

La Emancipación, órgano de la Federación Obrera Regional Uruguay No 2, 1 April 1907: No 5, 12 June ☼
La Federación órgano... No 1 is from 15 June 1911 ☼
Solidaridad órgano... No 1 is from 15 July, No2 from August 1912 ☼

C. -MONTEVIDEO.- { La Linterna, periódico independiente 15 January 1907: 7 issues or more: ☼: }
 { Ideas, publicación semanal No 2, 27 January 1912: No 3, 9 March ☼ }
 { Mi Artículo (Leoncío Lasso de la Vega) I-55, 28 March 1913: daily: single page folio ☼ }

I cannot remember what it was that prompted me to classify these periodicals among those that were to some extent imbued with a libertarian outlook: at the time, I was classifying them willy-nilly in collections, but without any intention of making a study of them.

Infancia January 1912: 21 issues or more: ☼

Paraguay (1906-1914)

ASUNCION. - El Despertar, órgano de la Federación Obrera Regional Paraguaya 1 May 1906: No 10, 1 February 1907: ☼
La Rebelión 8 September 1908: No 11, 30 March 1909.
La Tribuna 1 August 1909: No 15, -1 December 1909.
 ¡¡.....!! Honor al mártir de la verdad y de la justicia (Francisco Ferrer) October 1909: a one-off.
Hacia el Futuro, periódico de ideas 31 December 1913: No 2, 17 January 1914: ☼

Chile (1905-1914)

A. - SANTIAGO. - El Oprimido 15 May 1906: No 3, September ☼
La Protesta No 2, May 1908: No 21, August 1911: No 23 (sic) May 1912: No 22 (sic) June 1912: ☼
El Productor March 1912: 20 issues or more: ☼
La Batalla, anarchist periodical: No 3, first fortnight in January 1913: No 24, second fortnight of January 1914: No 26: ☼: in Valparaiso, year X, second series, No 195 is from May 1922: No 221, January 1925: ☼
 VALPARAISO. - Luz al Obrero No 3, August 1911: October 1911: ☼
 ESTACION DOLORES (Tarapacá) La Agitación No 2, March 1905: unnumbered, 1 May 1905: No 9, 22 July 1905: No 11: ☼: (printed in Santiago).
 ANTOFAGASTA. Luz y Vida year II-13 (July 1909); 60 issues or more: ☼

B. - SANTIAGO. - { El Carpintero No 2, February 1905: ☼: }
 { El Alba, órgano de la Federación de Carpinteros October 1905: 19 issues or more: ☼: this periodical is probably the same as El Alba, órgano de la Federación de Trabajadores en Chile whose year II-21 issue is from 29 December 1906: ☼ }
 PUNTA ARENAS. - ¡Adelante! Organo de defensa obrera y propaganda libertaria No 22 is from 25 March 1911; No 30 from 10 March 1912: ☼

Peru (1905-1914)

A. - LIMA. - Los Parias year II-16, (August 1905): 53 issues or more: ☼
Simiente Roja No 5, November 1905: No 8, March 1906; ☼
El Hambriento No 4, September 1905: 61 issues or more: ☼
Humanidad Year I-8, October 1906: No 9, November: ☼
La Protesta No 2, 15 March 1911: No 27, November 1913: No 145, July 1926: ☼
{ El Oprimido organ of the May 1st socialist centre: No 1, April 1907: No 33, 9 January 1909: ☼: is it libertarian? }
{ TRUJILLO. - La Antorcha weekly: year II-69, 20 May 1905: No 83, 1 May 1907: ☼: is it libertarian? }

The Canal Zone - Isthmus of Panama

A. - COLON. - El Unico. Publicación Individualista 12 October 1911: No 12 is from 25 May 1912: ☼

Costa Rica

A. - SAN JOSE. - Renovación review: 13 January 1911: 66 issues or more: ☼

Cuba (1905-1914)

A. - HAVANA. - El Libertario No 3, 14 September 1905: ☼
La Batalla, periódico anarquista 19 March 1911: Year II-8, 16 March 1912: ☼
Via Libre 1 July 1911: No 3, 5 August ☼
REGLA. (Havana) - ¡Rebelión! Semanario anarquista 14 October 1908: No 8, 21 January 1909: 28 issues or more: ☼: series II-2, 16 April 1910: No 3, 1 May: ☼: printed in Cruces.
B. - HAVANA. - La Voz del Dependiente 18 May 1907: No 182, 6 June 1911: No 183: ☼: La Galerna supplement to issues 39-42 (1908) etc.: followed by El Dependiente 26 July 1911: 112 issues or more: ☼
C. - HAVANA. - Cultura Obrera, órgano comunista del sindicato obrero de Cuba: 20 December 1913: ☼

Puerto Rico

CAGNES. - { Voz Humana series II, year II-3, 2 September 1906: No 7, 22 October: ☼: this periodical struck me as libertarian, though just at this moment I cannot recall precisely why. }

Mexico

The emergence of anarchist ideas in this country is intermingled first with the striving for liberation and agrarian reform initiated by the brothers Magón from within the country and continued from inhospitable exile in the United States: here I recommend D. Abad de Santillán's book, Ricardo Flores Magón, el apóstol de la revolución social mexicana (Mexico, 1925, VIII, 131pp., 80), to be read in conjunction with Aclaraciones a la vida y obra de Ricardo Flores Magón by Ricardo's brother, Enrique, which appeared in La Protesta, Suplemento semana, 30 March 1925, and it is from these that we have extracted the following data:

{ Regeneración - Mexico - 7 August 1900: the two eldest brothers arrested in May 1900: carried on by Eugenio Arnoux and Enrique Flores Magón right up until it was banned: (a short time later? date unknown) }

{ El Hijo de Ahuizote, satirical newspaper, published from July 1902 and written by the Magón brothers who were arrested in September 1902: they continued to write for it: it was banned (date not known): Excelsior, a heavyweight periodical, was banned after No. 4: El Alcarán, 3 issues, then banned: El Padre del Ahuizote, banned: El Nieto del Ahuizote, banned: El Biznieto del Ahuizote, banned: thereafter, "the courts delivered a decision on 9 June 1903, whereby it was forbidden to

circulate any newspaper written by Flores Magón.."..p.11 } From at least 1901 onwards, anarchist ideas had held the interest of the Magóns, Ricardo and Enrique, and in 1902, Ricardo saw to the publication of a part of Kropotkin's La Conquista del Pan in Vésper, Mexico: cf. Librado Rivera, op. cit., p. X.

Regeneración 1904, published out of San Antonio, Texas: moved to St. Louis, Missouri, in February 1905: I am familiar with Regeneración. Periódico independiente de combate: III series, year I, Vol. IV, No 2, 15 February 1906: No 3, 1 March: No 12, 15 July: ⚡: this series was launched after the paper was suppressed following the arrests in St. Louis of 12 October 1905. Harassment in the wake of the attempted action of September 1906 put paid to the paper's existence: (date not known).

Revolución, published out of Los Angeles, California: 1 June 1907: 21 issues or more published up to 1908: ⚡

{ Reforma, Libertad y Justicia, published out of Austin, Texas: 15 May, 15 June 1908: 2 issues or more: ⚡: Libertad y Trabajo: La Voz de la Mujer, El Paso, Texas, 1907: El Liberal , Del Rio, Texas, 1906-07: Resurrección, San Antonio, Texas, 1907.. Cf. p. 58: these are mouthpieces of the Partido Liberal, written by colleagues of the Magón brothers who were assuredly less well-versed in anarchist ideas. }

{ Common Sense, the Los Angeles based American socialist paper, issued a Mexican Supplement: Manifesto to the American People in January 1908: 4pp. in folio. }

Regeneración, semanario revolucionario published in Los Angeles, California, on 3 September 1910: No 176 is from 14 February 1914: part of the paper was written in English (by Alfred Sanftleben, and later by W. C. Owen): Regeneración. Ebdomadario rivoluzionario. Sezione Italiana - 16 September 1911: a one-off edition in Italian?: ⚡: Regeneración was published right up until the final harassment, the pretext for which was the 16 March 1908 manifesto because of which Ricardo Flores Magón and Librado Rivera were sentenced to 20 and 15 years respectively in a US. penitentiary, sentences they began on 15 August 1918. It was there that Ricardo Flores Magón's death was contrived on 21 November 1922: the person who set the seal upon his fate and determined that the ailing prisoner must die was the high ranking United States official, Daugherty, the very same who stood exposed by the oil scandals as an extraordinarily corrupt extortionist, shunned even by his own associates.

With the papers Crito del Pueblo, founded by "a group of miners from Hidalgo State" .. " a few miners", and La Revolución Social of the same year (1906) in Rio Blanco, founded by "the spinners of Orizaba" and later suppressed, I am not familiar. The dates I have borrowed from the cited articles by Julio Diaz (in La Protesta 4 November 1925.) Were they revolutionary syndicalists or libertarians? I cannot say.)

Luz appeared on 17 July 1912: ⚡: I am aware of lots of explicitly anarchist issues, beginning with No 1, second series, Mexico, 13 June 1917: No 86 is from 31 March 1920. According to Diaz, the last issue came out on 1 May 1920: but the paper survived as Luz y Vida until 15 April 1924, and as Rusia Trágica until 1 May 1925. In 1912 the periodical Luz was banned after issue No 3: in 1913 its place was taken by La Lucha on 11 January, banned after its sixth issue on 1 May (according to Diaz).

Brazil

A. – RIO DE JANEIRO. – Novo Rumor: January 1906: No 21 is from 1 May 1907: ⚡

¡Liberdade! August 1909: No 2, September: ⚡

A Guerra Social: 29 June 1911: 30 issues or more: ⚡

Aurora, revista mensal 1 February 1905: No 10, November: (put out by Neno Vasco).

SAO PAULO. – Aurora, revista mensal: 1 February 1905: No 10: ⚡

A Terra Livre: 30 December 1905: No 69, 1 March 1910: 73 issues or more: ⚡

TABOLEIRO GRANDE (state of Minas Gerais) – A Nova Era 5 July 1906: No 9 is from December: ⚡

PORTO ALEGRE (Rio Grande do Sul) – A Luta 13 September 1906: No 55 is from 18 February 1911.

SANTOS. – O Proletario: 1 June 1911: No 3, 15 July: ⚡

In Italian

SAO PAULO. – La Battaglia: I–35, 19 March 1905: No 407, in 1914: ⚡: Renamed La Barricata, No 267: ⚡: 1912: Germinal, anarchist periodical, In Portuguese, Nos 1–10 appeared bearing the number 389, 16 March 1913, etc.: separate issue, No 11, 31 March: ⚡: Primeiro de Maio, Edição special do Germinal e da Barricata: 1 May 1913.

L'Azione anarchica one-off: 19 November 1905.

Il Libertario 17 October 1906: No 2, 6 November: ⚡

Il Ribelle 1 January 1909.

B. – SANTOS. – { União dos Operários: No 9 is from 15 September 1905: ⚡ }

CAMPINAS. – { A Voz operária, órgão das classes trabalhadoras: II–2, 1 May 1907: ⚡ }

VILANOVA DA LIMA (Minas Gerais). – Luz Social: III–51 is from 20 January 1907.

RIO DE JANEIRO. – { Semana operária: 5 May 1907: No 6: ⚡ }

SANTOS. – { Tribuna Operária, special issue, 1 May 1907. }

{ O Proletario: 1 June 1911: No 8, 15 January 1912: ⚡: }

{ A Revolta: 30 September 1912: No 6, 25 January 1914: ⚡: }

ARADAS. (Aveiro). – { O Grito Social: No 4, 3 December 1913: ⚡: }

AVEIRO. – { O Proletario: No 4, 3 December 1913: ⚡ }

All of these papers must have struck me as neither reformist–legalitarian nor explicitly anarchist, but somewhat libertarian or at any rate anti–political.

C. – RIO DE JANEIRO. – { Nova Aurora: review: March 1907: ⚡ }

{ Novo Rumor: 1 May 1910: No 2 is from 30 June: ⚡ }

SANTOS. – { Aurora Social: special third anniversary edition: 1910. }

SETE LAGOAS. (Minas Gerais). – { O Sociocrata: No 2, 1 June 1908: No 11, 30 March 1909: the personal platform of, an isolated individual signing himself Magnus Soendahl, author, for instance, of Conhecer, para prever, a fim do melhorar. União sociocrática, Catecismo orthologico (Juiz da Fora, 1899, 50pp., 120, Publicações do Areopago), of Descrição resumida de un Nucleo Sociocratico durante a phase transitoria de Plutometria (" by Magnus Soendahl, one of the first co–operators of the "União Universal" or "Liberataria" (Publicações do Areopago, 3) Rio de Janeiro, 1900, 12pp., 80: and of Cuia Sociocratico. Dados praticos e geraes sobre a indole e o plano de Propaganda da Razão, Bahia, 1910, 58pp., 80, etc.

I have no further knowledge of this 'Sociocratic' system, which struck me, as far as I can recall, as being a hotch-potch of authoritarian and libertarian ideas.

RIO DE JANEIRO. - ¡Não matarás! March 1908: ⚡: (Anti-militarist).

United States of America

In Spanish

PATERSON. (New Jersey) - Doctrina anarquista socialista: 15 February 1905: No 7, 30 July: ⚡: (Pedro Esteve).

NEW YORK: Brazo y Cerebro : review: 22 June 1912: No 2, 22 October: ⚡

Fuerza Consciente: 15 March 1913: No 2, 29 August: No 3, 5 October: ⚡: No 3 or Nos 2 and 3 were published out of Los Angeles, California.

EL PASO. (Texas). - Cerebro y Fuerza: year II, second series: No 5, 18 October 1913: ⚡

LOS ANGELES. (California). - Pluma Roja: 5 November: No 2, 24 November 1913: No 5: ⚡

In Italian

PATERSON. (New Jersey). - L'Era Nuova: 13 June 1908: No 290 appeared in 1914: ⚡

SAN FRANCISCO. (California). - Cogito, ergo sum (in Italian, French and Spanish): 15 September 1908: No 3, 15 November: ⚡

NEW YORK. - Sorgiamo!: I, No 3, 11 September 1908; II, No 2, March 1909: ⚡: (Individualist).

SAN FRANCISCO. - Nihil individualista anarchico (Individualist): 4 January 1909: No 10, 30 October: ⚡

NEW YORK. - Novatore: Second series: No 1, 13 October 1910: 5 issues: year two, 9 issues, up to 1 May 1911: the first and third series were published in Europe.

BARRE. (Vermont). - Il Contro-Pelo, giornale libertario: February 1911: No 6, July 1911: II, No 1, March 1912: ⚡

LYON. (Massachusetts). - Balilla, quindicinale di propaganda libertaria ai fanciulli: 5 June 1913: No 3, 15 August: ⚡

C. YBOR CITY. (Florida). - { El Combate: No 10 is from 23 December 1909: ⚡ }

BROOKLYN. (New York state). - { Cultura Proletaria: No 2, 30 April 1910: No 81 (final issue), 21 October 1911: ⚡ }

NEW YORK. - { Cultura Obrera (Marine firemen, oilers and water-tenders: Pedro Esteve): 4 November 1911, 19 issues: after No 20 became Labor Culture, Organ of the Transport Workers of America: 16 March 1912: (plus Cultura Obrera): No 55 is from 16 November 1912: Year two, No 1, 30 November 1912: No 45 is the last of which I have any knowledge: ⚡ }

In Italian

PHILADELPHIA. (Pennsylvania). - { L'Internazionale, rivista quindicinale illustrata: No 4, 15 February 1909: No 6, 15 March: ⚡ }

LATIN AMERICAN PUBLICATIONS IN THE YEARS 1905 TO 1914.
PART TWO: BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS (ORIGINAL AND IN TRANSLATION).

These lists are far from complete, in that I list nothing which I have not seen for myself, and also I have not had the wherewithal to purchase others to fulfill my present purpose. Then again, as libertarian literature is expanding as never before, a special study for each individual nation would be called for.

Original publications. -

THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC (1905-1914)

The harassment that puts paid to periodicals, banishes them abroad or drives them underground, has also hindered the publication of books and pamphlets. A narration of such harassment and of the sufferings of its jailed and deported victims would be a requirement.

Acuerdos, Resoluciones y Declaraciones, Congresos celebrados por la Federación Obrera Regional Argentina desde 1901 a 1906: place of publication not indicated (Buenos Aires), Consejo Federal, 1908, 32pp. 8o.

Rafael Barrett: La Huelga, Conferencia... 1.º de Mayo Asunción, Paraguay, 1908, 11pp., 12o.

Rafael Barrett: El Terror Argentino (dated San Bernardino, Paraguay, July 1910), Asunción, Paraguay, 1910, 32pp., in 8o. An anthology from this writer was later collected as Diálogos, Conversaciones y otros escritos.

Il Terrore nella Repubblica Argentina (Biblioteca del Pensiero, 18) Castellamare Adriatico, Italy, Camillo di Sciuolo publisher, 1910, 48pp., great 8o.

Eduardo G. Gilimón: Para los que no son anarquistas. I am familiar only with the 16 page Biblioteca Luz y Amor edition, 1913: it is printed at the end of Carta Gaucha by Juan Crusao, of which the fifth edition was issued in 1922 (Buenos Aires, La Protesta, 31p: 8o). Gilimón is also the author of the book Hechos y comentarios.

Pierre Quiroule: El Fusilamiento de Francisco Ferrer o sea la Infamia Negra. Drama en dos actos (Buenos Aires, 1910, 42pp., 12o.)

Sobre la Ruta de la Anarquía. Novela libertaria (Buenos Aires, B. Fueyo: undated, 1912, 120pp., 8o.)

La Ciudad Anarquista Americana. Obra de construcción revolucionaria.. (Buenos Aires, published by La Protesta, 1914, 2,283 pages, 8o, plus plan.

In Italian

Aristide Ceccarelli: Gli Anarchici e la Reazione. Conferenza.. in Buenos Aires.. dicembre 1906 e gennaio 1907 (Buenos Aires, 1907, 15pp., 12o).

I cannot at the moment recall a few writings such as:

Victor Arreguine: La Guerra, Amor Libre y otros ensayos (Buenos Aires, 1906, 63pp., 8o).

Federico A. Gutiérrez (Fag Libert): Noticias de Policía (ibid., undated, 1907, 214pp.).

Juan Bransen: En Defensa de la Libertad Universal. Palabras de Perfeccionamiento (ibid., 1902, 26pp., 8o).

Alejandro Sux: Cosas del Mundo. Seis días en la cárcel de Mendoza (Mendoza, 1908, 43pp., 8o), etc.

URUGUAY

Eliseo Reclus. Homenaje (Circulo internacional de estudios sociales), Montevideo, 1905, 52pp., 8o: El Asesinato de Ferrer. La Protesta del Uruguay, Montevideo, October 1909, 67pp., in 8o.

El Problema urgente. La imposibilidad de las mejoras económicas (Montevideo, 1909, 16pp., 16o): second edition, (grupo editor "Nuevos Rumbos"), 1911, 19pp., 16o.

Catecismo de la doctrina anarquista escrito por un grupo anarquista 1909, 14pp., 16o.

Of the many pamphlets published since 1910 by the Agrupación "Tiempos Nuevos" in Montevideo, I can cite only the following:

- (27) La Comuna de Paris. Lo que fué, lo que debió ser y lo que será, March 1912, 15pp., 12o.
 (29) 1. de Mayo. Su origen y significado, May 1912, 15pp.
 (30) Los Males de la Guerra, June 1912, 15pp.
 (31) { Los estragos del alcohol, June 1912, 15pp. }
 (32) { La tuberculosis y la cuestión social, August 1912, 15pp. Extract from a congress speech by Doctor Queraltó }
 (33) Cómo pensaba Francisco Ferrer, October 1912, 15pp.
 (35) La religión y la cuestión social, December 1912, 17pp.
 (38) { La tuberculosis y la cuestión social. Conferencia pública leída en el segundo congreso español internacional de la Tuberculosis.. septiembre de 1912 por el doctor Queraltó Undated (1913), 23pp. }
 }

PARAGUAY

Rafael Barrett: Lo que son los yerbaes del Paraguay Montevideo, O. M. Bertani publisher, 1910, 44pp., 8o.

PERU

Caracciolo Lévano: Organización Obrera (Biblioteca "Luz y Amor", 2) Lima, 1910, 37pp., 16o.

COSTA RICA AND TROPICAL AMERICA GENERALLY

In San José (Costa Rica), from 1907 to 1910 at least, ⚡, the Colección Ariel was published: 27 issues appeared in 1907-1908 (up to December): ⚡: 10 March December 1909, 16 in 1910: ⚡: these were pamphlets of 48, 64, sometimes 80 or even 136 pages in size, containing selections mainly from authors and poets from Latin America, and others, obviously selected with an eye to setting out aspirations to freedom and lofty sentiments in their most beautiful artistic forms. The series was to afford an acquaintance with comparatively avant garde persons in the literatures of each Latin America, particularly the tropical countries. There one finds a mass of literary new reviews drawing their inspiration from counterparts in Paris: that is where we should look for the earliest traces of expression of libertarian ideas. There was, for example, in Coro (Venezuela) Mes Literario, 1906-1909: ⚡: in Bogotá (Colombia), Trofeos 1908: in Manizales (Colombia), Crepúsculos 1910-1911: in San Salvador, Ritos 20 March 1908 ⚡: in San José (Costa Rica), Cultura, 15 July 1906: ⚡, etc.

Labour periodicals in these countries start off with faltering, or absolutely vacuous essays, as if the socialist literature that had been around for about a century in the outside world were non-existent. As early as 1889, there was El Artesano in San José (Costa Rica): by 1891 there was El Obrero de Monterrey (No 147, 15 October) in Mexico: in 1913 there was a slightly more developed Paz y Amor in Honda (Colombia). In San Juan and Mayaguez (Puerto Rico), there were also these vaguely labour papers: Federación Libre, 1912: Unión Obrera, 1903 to 1909, ⚡: Obrero Libre, 1903, ⚡: etc. A semi-workerist socialism seems to have generated in these countries rather than anarchy: cf. the socialist paper, La Aurora Social, 1900-1907, ⚡, published in Tupiza, Bolivia. Libertarians are a very rare presence here: I know that one of them published a few letters or articles in 1912 in the great democratic daily newspaper La Prensa, in Quito (Ecuador). These were, it was said at the time, the first words of socialism to appear in that country. (Por los obreros del Ecuador. Algunas consideraciones, bearing the signature of Alejandro Moncheno R., in La Prensa, year IV, No 943. In 1922, there was in Ecuador a little anarchist paper ¡Redención!, published out of Guayaquil, No 1, 15 April, ⚡, 16pp., 8o. Similarly, in Santa Marta (Colombia), published by the "Grupo Libertario", there was the periodical Organización, semanario de sociología y combate, No 1, 9 January 1925. For a general view, see C. Montes de Oca, "El movimiento obrero en América Central", in La Revista Internacional Anarquista, Paris, No 1, 15 November 1924, pp. 20-21.

In the case of Bolivia, the Argentinian papers carry some reports.

Broadly speaking, we should not prejudice the dissemination of libertarian ideas in these countries, according to whether or not the local press prospered. Scattered libertarians have always had the big neighbouring periodicals of Cuba, Florida, Argentina, etc., through which to keep abreast. Cultura Obrera, 6 November 1926 carries a report of the formation of the first group in Guatemala, so our ideas are making headway everywhere.

CUBA

Concurso Internacional de la Habana iniciado en el periódico "El Libertario" (Biblioteca de El Libertario, Havana, 1906, 74pp., 12o).

Ferrer. Recopilación de documentos históricos que inmortalizáran al caído, (Ediciones de La Voz del Dependiente 7) Havana, 1909, 59pp., 8o.

Miguel Martínez: El Dependiente y la Emancipación, Havana, 1908, 29pp., 8o.

MEXICO

The great drive for libertarian social revolution made by the Magón brothers from 1900 onwards has been matched by such a plethora of publications, leaflets and manifestoes, pamphlets, articles, descriptive essays, and critiques in a variety of languages, as would require a separate bibliography. Here all I can do is refer to a very few of these publications, such as:

Land and Liberty. Mexico's Battle for Economic Freedom and its Relation to Labor's World-wide struggle, selected from writings of Ricardo Flores Magon, A. de P. Araujo and William C. Owen, Los Angeles, California, undated (Fall, 1913), 64pp., 8o.

Ricardo Flores Magón, el apóstol de la revolución social mexicana, by Diego Abad de Santillán, Mexico, Grupo Cultural 'Ricardo Flores Magón', 1925, VIII, 131 pp., 8o.

Por la Libertad de Ricardo Flores Magón y compañeros presos en Estados Unidos del Norte.. Mexico, 1922, 163pp., 8o: published by Nicolás T. Bernal.

See also the Congressional Record, Washington, 9 December 1922, pp. 690–706, 4o, and Diario de los Debates de la Cámara de Diputados de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, Mexico, 22 November 1922, pp. 1–12.

Númenes Rebeldes (extractos de la obra literaria de Práxedes G. Guerrero), Mexico, Comité de agitación por la libertad de Ricardo Flores Magón, undated (1922), V, 185pp., 8o.

And the comprehensive series: Ricardo Flores Magón. Vida y Obra:

Tomes I and II: Semilla libertaria (articles) Mexico, Grupo Cultural 'Ricardo Flores Magón', 1923, VII, 176, 216pp., 8o.

Tome III: Tribuna roja (speeches)

Tome IV: Sembrando Ideas (stories) 1923, 98pp.

Tome V: Rayos de luz (dialogues on social conditions in Mexico), 1924, 91pp.

Tome VI: Tierra y Libertad. Revolutionary drama.

Tome VII: Verdugos y Víctimas. Revolutionary drama, 3rd edition: the second edition dates from 1922, 118pp., 12o (Editorial Mexicana).

Tome VIII: Epistolario.

See also "Desde Mexico. El movimiento obrero y la propaganda anarquista" by Julio Diaz, in La Protesta 3–8 November 1925, pending the more comprehensive history under preparation by comrade Valadés of Mexico.

BRAZIL

{ Contra a Imigração, Edição de La Battaglia, São Paulo, 1906, 23pp., 16o. }

Mota Assunção: O Infanticidio, Drama social... com un prefacio de Neno Vasco (Nazianzeno Vasconcelos, died 1920) São Paulo, presses of Terra Livre, 1907, 52pp., 8o.

As doutrinas libertarias. Breve exposição e definições (by Neno Vasco, taken from his book Da Porto da Europa, Lisbon, 1913), Rio de Janeiro, Centro de estudos sociais, 1913, 7pp., 16o.

Oreste Ristori: Polemiche sulla Anarchia (estratte di La Battaglia), São Paulo, La Battaglia, 1907, 32pp., 8o.

(By the same author) Le Infamie secolari del cattolécismo, *ibid.*, undated, 32pp., 16o.

Almanacco della Rivoluzione 1909, published under the aegis of the Grupo La Propaganda, São Paulo, 1909, 96pp., 8o.

O Evangelio da Hora, signed Paul Berthelot, Aranguia, December 1909 (Grupos editores 'Aurora' and 'Libertas', São Paulo) São Paulo, 1911, 30pp., 12o: that, I think, is the first edition of the pamphlet: it was also published in French as L'Evangile de l'Heure (Bibliothèque des Temps Nouveaux 54) Paris, in Les Temps Nouveaux, 1912, 24pp., 8o: and in Esperanto as La Evangelio de la Hora (Amsterdam 1912, 24pp., 12o), etc.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

I have retained very few texts in Spanish and Italian published between 1905 and 1914 in the United States. For the Spanish-speaking movements, that was a period of rest, when a multitude of books and pamphlets flooded in from Spain, or there was some local trade unionist literature that passed unremarked by me. The Italians had their great papers Cronaca Sovversiva and Era Nuova and books and pamphlets were also being churned out in great numbers in Italy itself.

All'Anarchia si arriverá passando per lo stato socialista? (Biblioteca del Circolo di Studi sociali, 4) Barre (Vermont), presses of Cronaca Sovversiva, 1905, 14pp., 8o.

Il Resto del Carlino alla Fogna Socialista No 2, Barre (Vermont), signed **Luigi Galleani**, (Il Vecchio), Barre (Vt.) 7 August 1907, Barre, (Vt.) 1907, 2 folio pages.

L'attentato di Matteo Moral published under the aegis of the Gruppo autonomo, Boston, Massachusetts, undated (1912), 20pp., 16o.

A. R. Anarchismo e Democrazia. Collezione d'articoli pubblicati nel giornale L'Era Nuova sulla crisi dell'anarchismo, with foreword by Libero Tancredi (Massimo Rocca!), Biblioteca della rivista Novatore 1, New York, 1910, v + 47pp., 8o.

Libero Tancredi and Cosimo Carmas: La Scuola moderna (una nuova menzogna) Biblioteca... 2, New York, 1910, 16pp., 8o.

Dio e Cristanesimo. Contraddittorio Tancredi-Giggeli, tenuto a Providence, Rhode Island, 1-11 December 1910, ibid., 1911, 48pp., 8o.

Il Canzioneri dei Ribelli 7th edition, Paterson, New Jersey, Libreria sociologica, 1906, 40pp., 8o.

Nuovo Canzionere dei Ribelli, ibid., undated (1913), 94pp., 16o.

Almanacco sovversivo 1906-1907, published under the aegis of the Biblioteca Circolo Studi Sociali, Barre, Vt., Barre, Vermont, (1906), 109pp., 8o.

1908. Almanacco della Rivoluzione, Paterson, New Jersey, presses of La Questione sociale, 1907, 62pp., 8o.

Una Madre. Calendario storico-scientifico-moderno, I have not seen this for its first year of publication, 1912: 1913, 28pp.,-8o, no place indicated (New York, Libreria Editrice Elvira Catello perhaps?): it came out every year up to 1927, beginning in 1917, published by the Libreria named above: it comprised a calendar of revolutionary dates, etc.

To all of these publications, periodicals, pamphlets and books must be added, of course, a number originating with free-thought circles, especially in South America, plus others on modern art and modern literature, on free education, social hygiene, etc., all manner of publications wherein it was possible occasionally to make good propaganda. But although I am familiar with some of these, I cannot list them with the requisite precision. Because anarchist ideas have never existed in isolation: they always radiate to, illuminate and fertilise the ground of truly humane endeavour in education, thought, art, morality, science, etc.

TRANSLATIONS AND REPRINTS OF EUROPEAN PUBLICATIONS IN SPANISH AND ITALIAN (1905-1914)

Eliseo Reclus: El Ideal y la Juventud (Centro editor "Los Precursores"), Santiago de Chile, 1907, 20pp., 8o.

P. Kropotkin: Lo inevitable. Insurrección y revolución, 20 July 1910: and Jean Grave Rebeldia y Revolución, May 1910 (Grupo El Despertar de los sastres, 1) Montevideo, 1910, 24pp., 12o.

Campi, Fabbriche e Officine. I. Le Industrie nazionali, P. Kropotkin. Translation and introduction by Libero Tancredi (Biblioteca della rivista Novatore 3) New York, 1910, 66pp., 8o.

Jean Grave: Le Colonne della Società Buenos Aires, Libreria sociologica, 1906, 36pp., 8o.

El valor de la iniciativa individual, (Grupo editor "Nuevos Rumbos", 5) Montevideo, 1912, 15pp., 12o.

A. Hamon: De la Patria, Estudio filosófico (Biblioteca Germen, 1), Buenos Aires, 1907, 15pp., 12o.

Paraf-Javal: El absurdo politico, translation by A. Lorenzo (Centro editor "Los Precursores"), Santiago de Chile, 1907, 18pp., 8o: appeared in Barcelona in 1903.

Errico Malatesta: Fra Contadini, 17th Italian edition, Paterson, New Jersey, Libreria sociologica, undated (1913), 71pp., 16o.

Entre Campesinos (Centro Internacional, 3) Montevideo, 1912, 56pp.

Socialisti legalitari e socialisti anarchici (Gruppo La Gioventù libertaria), Barre, Vermont, undated (1909), 1 page, folio: this was Chapter III of La Politica parlamentare nel movimento socialista (1890).

En tiempo de elecciones (Agrupación "Tiempos Nuevos", 37) Montevideo, undated (1913), 18pp., 8o.

El Sufragio Universal (Biblioteca blanca, 3) Buenos Aires, 1907, 30pp., 8o.

Programma socialistas-anarquista-revolucionario, published by the Grupos Aurora and Libertas, São Paulo, Brazil, 1910, 24pp., 12o.

L. Caminita: I Delinquenti, Latrobe, Pennsylvania, Gruppo La Demolizione, 1910, 37pp., 8o.

Scipio Sighele: Contra el parlamentarismo Translation.. (Biblioteca blanca, 2) Buenos Aires, 1907, 31pp., 8o.

Anselmo Lorenzo: El proletariado en marcha. A todos los trabajadores de lengua española residentes en America, (Biblioteca Cultura Proletaria), New York, undated (1911), 40pp., 16o.

Leopoldo Bonafulla: Criterio Libertario. ¿Por qué existe la miseria? (Biblioteca Luz y Amor, 1) Lima, Peru, 1910, 22pp., 8o.

Johann Most: La Peste Religiosa (Centro editor "Los Precursores"), Santiago de Chile, 1907, 24pp., 8o.

F. Domela Nieuwenhuis: El militarismo y la actitud de los anarquistas y socialistas revoluconarios ante la guerra (Biblioteca blanca, 1) Buenos Aires, 1907, 30pp., 8o.

A Mulher e o Militarismo, São Paulo, Brazil, published by the groups Aurora and Libertas, 1909, 15pp., 16o.

{ Antimilitarismo y huelga general, Confederación General del Trabajo de Francia, (Ediciones de La Voz del Dependiente, 4) Havana, 1909, 15pp., 16o: this was the French CGT's report to the congress held in Dublin in 1903. }

{ Leon Tolstoy: A propósito de las ejecuciones en Rusia, translation by Miguel Martinez, (Havana, La Voz del Dependiente, 1909, 24pp., 12o: published in Russian, 1908. }

{ Georges Ekhoude: La buona lezione. In memoria di Santo Caserio, Paterson, New Jersey, Libreria sociologica, undated (around 1910?), 16pp., 12o. }

MAX NETTLAU

CONCLUSION

As of the early months of 1914, every opportunity I might have had to familiarise myself with the literature catalogued here dried up until 1922, and whereas, since 1922, I have again been able to reacquaint myself, thanks to a number of comrades to whom I am indebted, with much of the current literature from Argentina and the United States, and, to a lesser extent, Chile and Mexico, I know nothing of the other Latin American countries, and I have never managed to recoup those eight years between 1914 and 1922. Thus, I really should refrain from comment upon something that was dashed from my hands in 1914 and with which my renewed acquaintance will remain inadequate and precarious, because of the years lost.

I detect a splendid flowering of libertarian literature in recent years, a flood of published matter that facilitates varied and intensive propaganda and inquiry and which is more readily accessible than in other times. It would be interesting to draw up a complete inventory, (a team effort), to which end a detailed survey circulated to the groups and trade unions of every locality, covering every Latin country and every sector, would be of service. Within a few months, unique and priceless data about the origins of the movement in each locality, its periodicals and its pamphlets, might be collected, and only then will there be a proper appreciation of the great range and complexity of this literature, which since its meagre beginnings of roughly **fifty years ago**, has not ceased to develop, spread and branch out. Then one day it will be feasible to tackle seriously this great undertaking that is still needed: a history of the **anarchist movements of Latin America**. Now, since virtually everything has happened over the last fifty years, there is still time to seek out the aged and delve into the primary sources – it will very shortly be too late.

Propaganda and struggle demand different energies, but I am sure that this historical endeavour too will attract the **amateurs** and volunteers who might set it in motion.

27 NOVEMBER 1926