

Man! and the International Group: American Anarchism's Missing Chapter

In January 1940 Marcus Graham, editor of *Man!: A Journal of Anarchist Ideal and Movement*, triumphantly declared in a note to the readers that despite six years of routine government harassment and political persecution “our journal has endured . . . our modest voice of truth . . . [has] carried on.”¹ Graham had spoken too soon. Only three additional issues of *Man!* were to appear. After nearly a decade as the primary organ of the International Group, an organization which served as the center of an international network of anarchists and vibrant American counterculture, the periodical folded under the weight of repression and habitual debt. Without the journal, the International Group soon dissolved and one of Depression-era America's most vital radical voices went silent.

Despite *Man!*'s tumultuous run and somewhat abrupt end, the very fact that the journal managed to thrive throughout the better part of the decade is enough to challenge one of the great misconceptions of American anarchist history. The general consensus among historians and scholars of radicalism is that by the 1930s the anarchist movement had petered out, becoming little more than a whisper of dissent and smattering of communitarian settlements until its resurgence in the 1960s. Yet, while it is arguable that anarchism in the United States dwindled somewhat during the Depression, it certainly did not disappear from the political landscape altogether. The vocal presence of the International Group throughout the country, coupled with *Man!*'s expansive – even international – circulation, is irrefutable testament to a flourishing and widespread American anarchist movement during this period.

Beyond simply contributing to scholarship on radicalism, however, an account of the group's dissolution provides a critical window into how mechanisms of power function in America amidst climates of fear. The relentless attempt to suppress *Man!* along with the several year persecution of Graham as well as his associates, Vincenzo (Vincent) Ferrero and Domenic Sallitto, underscores a historical pattern of the targeting of radicals and immigrants as well as the ready abandonment of basic civil liberties in the name of security. It also highlights how immigration policy not only failed to safeguard the rights of foreign-born during this period, but can be, and has been, used as tool of political repression and social control during periods of national panic. The combination of these two factors – the ways in which the story of *Man!* and the International Group both serves as a historiographical corrective and elucidates the relationship between radicalism, ethnicity, and State power in the United States – definitively situates it among the important hidden chapters in American social history. And, perhaps more importantly, this makes its telling an effective tool for better understanding America post-9/11 and in the midst of the “Great Recession.”

Missing from History? Current Understanding of Depression-era American Anarchism

As a cause célèbre in its own time, it is puzzling that the several year trials of Ferrero, Sallitto, and Graham, and consequently the International Group and *Man!*, have received virtually no historical attention. In part this may simply reflect a dearth of scholarship on 1930s American anarchism. While there is no shortage of works that explore the American anarchist movement, few actually look at the Depression era, let alone treat it at-length. Several reasons account for this oversight. To begin with, the Spanish Civil War, which lasted from 1936 to 1939 and is regarded as one of the richest moments in modern anarchist history – with reason – tends to be the greatest point of interest from this period for scholars.² Furthermore, given the rise of communism in the United States at

¹ Marcus Graham, “Our Eighth Year,” *Man!*, January 1940.(Connecticut: Greenwood Reprint Corporation, 1970), introduction, 1968.

² During the civil war – largely under influence of the CNT-FAI, an anarcho-syndicalist trade union a million strong – workers throughout Spain assumed control of their respective industries and collectivized their places of work. There are numerous

this time and the central role it occupied in the latter half of twentieth century geopolitics, most historians focus on its emergence rather than on other Left-wing and anti-authoritarian movements. What most explains the limited treatment, though, is the prevalent assumption that for a variety of reasons anarchism had simply faded away by the 1930s.

Gerald Runkle's *Anarchism: Old and New* and George Woodcock's *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movement*, two of the major works that actually include the Depression era in their analyses, typify this attitude. Influenced by the great social upheavals of the mid-twentieth century and the concurrent rise of the neo-anarchist movement and New Left, both texts attempt to "set the record straight" on the subject.³ As Woodcock notes in his prologue, "[f]ew doctrines or movements have been so confusedly understood in the public mind."⁴ To rectify this, he and Runkle provide their readers with broad overviews of anarchist history and theory, devoting little more than a paragraph or so to American anarchism in the 1930s. Yet, the cursory analysis they offer is less to do with the sweeping scope of their examinations, and is more a reflection of both authors' conclusions that by this period the anarchist movement was essentially dead.

According to Runkle and Woodcock, this decline was due to a "series of sensational and tragic events" that inextricably linked anarchism with violence in popular and governmental perception.⁵ Effectively arguing that the movement ended as soon as it really began, for them, the Chicago Haymarket affair of 1886 – when the term "anarchist" first became equated with a maniacal and unkempt, bomb-wielding foreigner – signified the start of its demise.⁶ The assassination of President McKinley by Leon Czolgosz in 1903 only reinforced this negative image, and in turn paved the way for the repressive measures employed in the post-war period, which culminated in the Palmer Raids of 1919 and 1920.⁷ Then, after the deportation of most of the "vibrant" figures such as Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman following the raids, the movement "settled down into self-contained inactivity," consisting of little more than "social and educational circles for the aging faithful" who "talked mainly to themselves."⁸ And by the thirties, the confluence of these events made it so that there was barely a movement to talk about, especially, as Runkle comments, "the depression . . . did not inspire much interest in anarchism."⁹

Not until 1995 with the publication of *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America* by Paul Avrich, leading historian of American anarchism, was there any substantial research on the topic, and even this was limited. Like Runkle and Woodcock, Avrich argues that by the 1920s, following the severe repression of the post-war era, the anarchist movement ceased to be a strong radical force in America. According to him, by the 1930s the once vibrant social network, with its "orchestras and theater groups . . . debating clubs and literary societies

accounts of the multifarious dimensions to the role anarchism played during the war – from analysis of gender, including Martha Ackelsberg's *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991) to overviews such as Jose Peirats' *The CNT in the Spanish Revolution, Volume I* (Chris Ealham, Ed. East Sussex: Hastings Press, 2001). For a broader discussions of Spanish anarchism leading up to the civil war see Murray Bookchin's *The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years 1868-1936* (New York: Free Life Editions, 1977).

³ Gerald Runkle, *Anarchism: Old and New* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1972); George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1962).

⁴ Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History*, 9.

⁵ Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History*, 464-5.

⁶ In 1886 during a workers protest for the eight-hour day gathered in the Haymarket Square in Chicago, a bomb exploded killing a police officer and injuring several others. Eight anarchists were accused of the bombing. Despite their innocence, four of the men were hanged on November 11, 1887 for their political convictions. For a full assessment of Haymarket see Paul Avrich's *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984).

⁷ On September 6, 1901 son of Polish immigrants, Leon Czolgosz, shot and killed President McKinley. Two years later the 57th Congress passed an act known as the "Anarchist Act," excluding anyone "who disbelieves in or who is opposed to all organized government, or who is a member of or affiliated with any organization entertaining or teaching such disbelief in or opposition to all organized government." See "In Defense of Anarchy," in the New York Times, December 5, 1903. For a discussion that contextualizes Czolgosz's attack on McKinley within progressivism, see Eric Rauchways' *Murdering McKinley: The Making of Theodore Roosevelt's America* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2004). Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History*, 466.

⁸ Runkle, *Anarchism: Old and New*, 33. Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History*, 467.

⁹ Runkle, *Anarchism: Old and New*, 34.

involving hundreds if not thousands of participants . . . concerts, picnics, dances, plays, and recitations, in which children as well as adults took part, imparting a new revolutionary content to customary social activities . . . was now a mere shadow of what it had been only a decade or two earlier.”¹⁰ Although, he does concede that “weakened and scattered as they were, they struggled to regroup their forces,” and remained abreast of contemporary issues, engaging in animated debates over everything from the rise of Fascism and the Spanish Civil War to, of course, the Depression.¹¹ Yet, despite Avrich’s discussion, research on Depression-era anarchism remains minimal at best. As an oral history, *Anarchist Voices* offers little in-depth analysis of the movement’s socio-historical context or the broader themes and implications that can be teased out from a closer reading of the movement during this era. Furthermore, it largely focuses on the New York anarchist scene and only briefly touches on circles in other areas of the country. Consequently, Avrich fails to acknowledge the full extent and significance of the anarchist movement at that time.

Needless to say, in light of the state of current scholarship in this area, research on some of the more specialized subjects relating to the story of *Man!* and the International Group is even less readily available. For instance, there is a serious deficiency in analysis on the intersection of ethnicity, immigration policy, and anarchism during this period in America. This is not say that general discussions of ethnic radicals and federal immigration policy do not exist, they do – most notable of which is William Preston’s *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933*. There is also a rich, and growing, body of work on the history of xenophobia and deportation in the 1930s that tends to address Mexican repatriation.¹² At present, however, there is a real vacuum of substantial work on all these issues read together in the context of the Depression, particularly at its peak during the Roosevelt years.¹³ And as a time known for rampant antiradicalism, xenophobia and anti-immigrant policies, especially with the steady march towards WWII in the latter years of the decade, it seems to beg for further exploration. So, while an examination of *Man!* and the International Group certainly does not fill in all the blanks in current understanding of Depression-era radicalism it does begin to grant 1930s anarchism in the United States the deeper-level of attention it merits.

Man! and the International Group: A Necessary Corrective

From January 1933 through April 1940 *Man!* functioned as the mouthpiece of an international community of anarchist groups and individuals. At the suggestion of Vincent Ferrero, former editor of the Italian-American anarchist periodical *L’Emancipazione*, Romanian-born Marcus Graham, née Shmuel Marcus, established *Man! A Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement*.¹⁴ With the subheading, “man is the measurement of everything,” the journal was intended to address social questions among “those who are willing to face the truth, and act for themselves” and enable “Man to regain confidence in himself, in his great power to achieve liberation from every form of slavery that now encircles him.”¹⁵ A self-professed “philosophical anarchist,” Graham was at once a

¹⁰ Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America*, (Oakland: AK Press, 2005), 319.

¹¹ Avrich, *Anarchist Voices*, 415.

¹² Given the rise in xenophobia post-9/11 as well as increased tensions over the Mexican border and fierce debate over immigration reform in the wake of the Great Recession, numerous explorations of the early roots of these contemporary issues have recently been published. Peter Schrag’s *Not Fit For Our Society: Immigration and Nativism in America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), for example, is one of the latest of these important contributions and traces the origins of contemporary immigration policy controversies to socio-political patterns throughout America’s history. Justin Akers Chacón and Mike Davis’ *No One is Illegal: Fighting Racism and State Violence on the US-Mexican Border* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2006) is another important addition to analyses of the intersection of state control and xenophobia in the US.

¹³ William Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1995). Preston’s *Aliens and Dissenters* offers an excellent discussion of popular conceptions of the intersection between anarchism and aliens and how this impacted immigration policy.

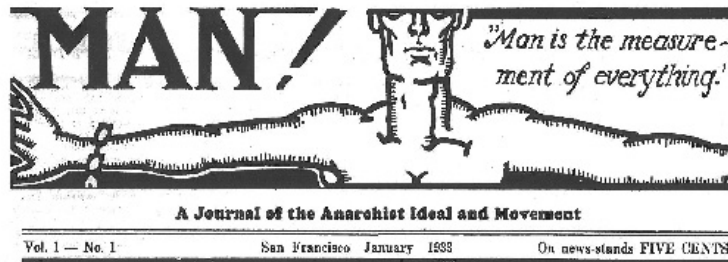
¹⁴ There is little available biographical information on Ferrero, aka. “Johnny the Cook,” however, there is a brief oral history by him in Avrich’s *Anarchist Voices*, 163-167. There are also scattered references to Graham in some of the historical testimonies. He also provides some additional commentary in his “Autobiographical Note,” in the foreword to his anthology, *Man! An Anthology of Anarchist Ideas, Essays, Poetry and Commentaries* (London: Cienfuegos Press, 1974).

¹⁵ “Man!,” in *Man!*, January 1933.

staunch pacifist and follower of Galleanist anarchism which supported “propaganda by the deed” or direct action.¹⁶ Nevertheless, steadfast to the anarchist position that coercion of any kind constituted an infringement of individual rights, including the imposition of intellectual and political beliefs on another person, Graham ensured that *Man!* would be an open forum for discussion and offer “no programs, platforms of palliatives on any of the social issues confronting mankind.”¹⁷



“Mikhail Bakunin.”
Man!, December 1933.



Man!, January 1933.



“Voltairine De Cleyre.”
Man!, July-August 1937.

True to his vision, through articles and letters to the editor, the members of the International Group and other radicals shared their diverse perspectives, oftentimes engaging in heated debates over political theory, strategy, and the general state of the movement.¹⁸ The journal also served as a cultural resource for the community. It frequently included articles that paid tribute to prominent anarchists through biographical sketches on figures like Voltairine De Cleyre, Alexander Berkman, and Mikhail Bakunin, and had an extensive “Arts and Literature” section with visual work such as woodblock prints (now emblematic of radical graphic art) as well as poetry and fiction by “those in sympathy” with the aims of *Man!*¹⁹ Above all, however, the periodical functioned as a political watchdog. Reports like “Sparks (of Progress),” “In Retrospect of Current Events,” and “Under the Iron Heel of Government,” provided readers with a running commentary on the current state of local, national, and international developments, paying particular attention to labor issues or instances of political repression.²⁰ Based out of Oakland for most of its run, editorial pieces and notes from the readers also routinely recounted clashes between the migrant workers and agribusiness owners in California as well as the impact of the New Deal or “Double Deal” – as it was often referred to – on the state.²¹

Despite the emphasis on local events, *Man!* was far from confined to a limited number of California-based followers. Rather, the network of readers connected anarchists and radicals across multiple continents. Initially *Man!* was only available in California and could be purchased at two bookshops in San Francisco, six newsstands in Los Angeles and one location in Pasadena.²² Within two years of its appearance, however, Graham was able to boast having readers in “every state in the union.”²³ And eventually *Man!*’s circulation extended to locations as far spread

¹⁶ Interview with Dr. Barry Pateman, October 2002. Dr. Pateman is a historian of anarchism and former associate of Marcus Graham. For a discussion of Luigi Galleani and his theories of anarchism see *No Gods, No Masters: An Anthology of Anarchism* (San Francisco: AK Press, 1998).

¹⁷ “Man!,” in *Man!*, January 1933.

¹⁸ See for instance articles in *Man!* including: “Onward-People of Spain,” August-September 1936; “Behind the Lines of Spain,” October-November 1936; “They Shall Not Pass,” December 1936-January 1937; and “Save Spain Save Yourself,” February-March 1937.

¹⁹ “Errico Malatesta,” in *Man!*, February 1933; “Alexander Berkman- Rebel Anarchist” in *Man!*, July 1936; “Mikhail Alexandrovich Bakunin,” in *Man!*, May 1939. See for instance, *Man!*, February 1933.

²⁰ See for instance, *Man!*, February 1936.

²¹ “Facts and Comments,” in *Man!*, February 1935.

²² “Man is on Sale At,” in *Man!*, February 1937.

²³ “Shall man continue to Exist?,” in *Man!*, November – December 1935.

as Cuba, the United Kingdom, Germany, Japan, New Zealand, Australia, and Palestine.²⁴ Yet, while *Man!* served as an international platform for dialogue among anarchists, it was the chapters of the International Group that enabled the on-the-ground movement to flourish throughout California and many of the major American cities. In fact, within months of its establishment, chapters of the International Group had sprung up around the country in cities like New York, Chicago, Detroit, Patterson, and Philadelphia.²⁵

In many ways, there is very little about the International Group that distinguishes it from the New York anarchist milieu that Paul Avrich describes in *Anarchist Voices*. His depiction of the social life based on literary societies and revolutionary versions of otherwise typical activities like picnics or theatrical aptly fits the International Group as well.²⁶ On December 31, 1932 the original organization based in San Francisco gathered to “greet the appearance of *Man!*”²⁷ Following this, the various chapters scattered across the country sponsored countless events that served as the heart the communities’ social life, as well as a hotbed for activism and avenue through which the members were able to uphold their various cultural traditions.²⁸ Usually elaborate multiethnic affairs, they tended to involve art, politics or both, and nearly all offered “eats aplenty.”²⁹ Members and friends frequently gathered for picnics or dinners that offered cuisine ranging from Chinese to Russian. Although, Italian-American “Spaghetti-luncheons” and evenings of “Dancing, Singing and Spaghetti” were by far the community’s preferred dining-related activities.³⁰

Literary activities, debates, and intellectual gatherings were also a favorite. The International Group organized numerous lectures, forums and speaking-tours, oftentimes co-sponsoring them with other organizations such as the Russian Progressive Club and Confederate Libertarian Union of Los Angeles.³¹ Mostly they involved talks related specifically to the movement, but sometimes they debated other radical topics, like one somewhat unusual discussion held at the Labor College in San Francisco on whether or not Marius Van Der Lubbe, a Dutch Communist assassinated by the Nazis, should be considered “an Outstanding Revolutionist” or a Nazi spy.³² The San Francisco chapter also held “monthly comradeships” at their “Freethought

The First Anniversary of
MAN!
will be celebrated by a
Creative Art Bazaar
Saturday and Sunday, afternoon and night,
February 24 and 25, 1934

At Equality Hall, 143 Albion Street
Near 16th and Valencia Sts., San Francisco, California

Saturday Night Dance and Orchestra
Admission 25 cents

Sunday, Day and Night—Continuous Concert
Admission Free

Chinese, Italian and Russian dishes will be served
at all times

Every reader of MAN! is invited to participate in
the anniversary by forwarding gifts, handcraft ones
preferred, for the Bazaar. All gifts should be for-
warded to: 1000 Jefferson Street, Oakland, California,
U. S. A.

Dance and Entertainment
Saturday Evening, January 13th, 1934
At the Folk Shule, 420 N. Soto St., Los Angeles, Cal.
To Aid the
Italian and Spanish Political Prisoners
Rudolf Rocker will speak on the Spanish Revolution.
Spaghetti and Refreshments Everyone Welcome

Man!, January 1934.

²⁴ “Man is on Sale At,” in *Man!*, February 1937. “An Appeal from Cuba,” in *Man!*, February 1936; “A Letter from Japan,” in *Man!*, March 1935; “By the Readers,” in *Man!*, April 1933; “A Letter from New Zealand,” in *Man!*, April 1935; “A Letter from Australia,” in *Man!*, April 1939 and “Two Letters from Palestine,” in *Man!*, April 1938.

²⁵ “The Movement Around Man,” in *Man!*, May-June 1933. The International Group was actually the informal name for the Road to Freedom Group, based in New York, that published the *Road to Freedom*, a journal edited by Hyppolite Havel from 1927-1931, which is considered by many to be the successor to Emma Goldman’s periodical *Mother Earth*. Graham had actually been a member of the group in New York, so it seems likely that the International Group he later founded was at the very least influenced by, if not meant to be a reincarnation of, the former organization. Several of the oral histories in Avrich’s *Anarchist Voices* refer to the Road to Freedom Group.

²⁶ Avrich, *Anarchist Voices*, 219. Given the close connection with the Road to Freedom Group in NY that Graham had been part of, and the heavy degree of cross-migration between members of the two radical communities their commonalities come as no surprise.

²⁷ *Man!*, January 1933.

²⁸ True to its name, the largely immigrant and working class members hailed from several nations – cutting across traditionally divided ethnic-lines among radical groups – including Italy, China, Russia, and, of course, Graham’s native country, Romania.

²⁹ *Man!*, October 1933. *Man!*, November 1933. Although it seems likely that this was partly due to the cooperative ethic of the group as well as the central role of food in social gatherings for many cultures, undoubtedly, with breadlines and hunger a daily reality for many, this also reflected a pragmatic strategy for drawing larger crowds.

³⁰ *Man!*, March 1933. *Man!*, May-June, 1933. *Man!*, January 1934.

³¹ *Man!*, January 1933.

³² *Man!*, March 1934.

Library” where “[n]ewspapers, periodicals and other reading matter in various languages [were] available . . . every night except Fridays.”³³

Most of all, events and gatherings served as a way to raise funds for *Man!*. One typical benefit, for example, held on April 22, 1933 at the Equality Hall in San Francisco, presented a “three-act play in the Russian language,” a piano recital, a reading, “songs in German and English,” and ended with a dance and music by the “Popular Balalaika Orchestra.” Admission was twenty-five cents.³⁴ Other radical organizations also came to the support of *Man!*, such as the Jack London Guild which did theatrical performances of political pieces like “Looking for the State” and Tchekov’s “The Boor” as fundraising events.³⁵ In turn, although money collected generally went into the publication of *Man!*, the International Group held many affairs to help fund other radical causes as well. Chapters gathered to support comrades in need like the “Italian and Spanish Political Prisoners” who received all proceeds from an evening of “Danc[ing] and Entertainment” accompanied by a speech by acclaimed anarchist, Rudolph Rocker. Other events supported “anarchist exiles in Russia” and incarcerated radical martyr, Warren K. Billings.³⁶ And a picnic held in Brooklyn, New York was used for the joint funding of *Man!* and *L’Adunata*, an Italian anarchist periodical.³⁷

Where an account of the group diverges from Avrich’s assessment – and even more so Runkle and Woodcock’s perceptions of the movement – is in the network’s strength as well as the prominent position it occupied within the American Left at that time. *Man!*’s near-decade run, despite the financial hardships of running a paper, especially amidst the Depression, is real testament to a solid anarchist presence and relatively widespread sympathy among the liberal and antiauthoritarian communities throughout the country. For while Graham did eventually charge a dollar for a year’s subscription and the paper partially folded due to debt, most support came from the voluntary contribution of subscribers and event attendees, many of whom were not self-identified anarchists and the majority of whom lived outside of California.³⁸

Far more than the financial challenges of maintaining the periodical though, the fact that the paper remained in circulation for nearly eight years despite vigorous efforts by local and federal authorities to suppress *Man!* and undermine the International Group is even clearer evidence of the vigor and significance of anarchism during this period. Undoubtedly, most telling of this, is the nation-wide protest movement that sprung up in response to this governmental harassment and the ensuing deportation trials of Ferrero, Sallitto and Graham. In fact, not only did the movement to see justice for the three men become one of the dominant issues taken on by the American Left throughout the thirties, but many of the leading contemporary liberal figures galvanized the efforts on their behalf.

The Trials of Vincenzo Ferrero, Domenic Sallitto, and Marcus Graham

Little more than a year following its debut, the local and federal governments began to systematically harass subscribers to the paper. In the May 1934 issue Graham reports that readers were sending letters of complaint regarding visits from government agents. The officials had been detaining them at the local justice departments for questioning on their relationship with the periodical and demanding to know, “why they read and lent material aid to an Anarchist journal such as *Man!*”³⁹ Sessions ended with threats of deportation against the foreign-born readers and

³³ “For an International Freethought Library,” in *Man!*, March 1933.

³⁴ *Man!*, April 1933.

³⁵ *Man!*, December 1933. *Man!*, April 1934.

³⁶ *Man!*, June 1939.

³⁷ *Man!*, January 1934.

³⁸ Most gifts were under two dollars; however, occasionally they were more extravagant like the contribution from “Comrade [Joe] Boring who forwarded his Elgin watch, 16 size, 14 karat gold, valued at \$80.00” See “An Unusual Gift,” in *Man!*, April 1933. Financial Statements also appear in each issue. See for example: “Financial Statement (From Feb. 15th to March 15th, 1933),” in *Man!*, April 1933.

³⁹ “Government’s Foul Conspiracy to Destroy *Man!*,” in *Man!*, May 1934.

criminal prosecution for those born in America. Meanwhile, a hold had been placed on the journal's mailing by the government, preventing the March issue from reaching many of the readers.⁴⁰ Yet, despite the attempts to intimidate *Man!*'s followers and the members of the International Group, their commitment did not waiver. Letters continued to pour in, the gatherings went on, and every month individuals and organizations scraped together money to ensure that the next issue would appear. The governmental harassment of *Man!*'s readers and the delays in its distribution, however, were just the beginning.



"Freedom of Thought Arraigned."
Marc S. Graham Freedom of Press
Committee, January 1939.

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Michigan- Ann Arbor Library.

On April 11, 1934 immigration inspectors and local police led by E.C. Benson forcibly entered the restaurant owned and operated by Vincenzo Ferrero and Domenic Sallitto at 1000 Jefferson Street in Oakland, California and raided the small space they rented at the back of their business to Graham for use as the printing headquarters for *Man!*⁴¹ Although Ferrero had been the one to initially suggest that Graham start the paper, neither he nor Sallitto officially contributed to its publication. Nevertheless, after the inspectors ransacked the backroom to obtain copies of the periodical and materials used for its production, they were both arrested on "telegraphic warrants from Washington to be seized for deportation."⁴² Ferrero was then charged with "causing the publication of *Man!*" and Sallitto was picked up for chairing the debate on Marius Van der Lubbe the previous March, during which he purportedly advocated the violent overthrow of the government.⁴³ They were quickly released on a thousand-dollar bond apiece, but only nine days later a squad of detectives returned to Jefferson Street, allegedly in response to an attempted robbery of the restaurant, and raided the office for a second time. The two men were removed to Angel Island and it became clear that their charges were not going to be readily dropped.⁴⁴

For a year the cases of Ferrero and Sallitto remained at a standstill as they went in and out of custody, all the while working tirelessly with advocates from the International Group in concert with legal counsel from the American Committee for Protection of Foreign-Born, an affiliate of The American Civil Liberties Union

(ACLU). In June 1935, however, when their verdict did finally come in, they were dealt a crushing blow. Even though they were both legal residents in the United States – Ferrero, a thirty-year resident, and Sallitto, a fifteen-year resident and widowed father of a three-year-old daughter born to an American wife – the Immigration Bureau of the Labor Department ordered their deportation to Italy.⁴⁵ On December 10, 1935 the United State's Labor department issued a formal demand that Ferrero turn himself in to Ellis Island for the sailing of the S.S. "Conte di Savoia" to Italy two weeks later. Ferrero complied and arrived a day prior to his scheduled departure date. His attorney, however, managed to stay the deportation through a writ of habeas corpus.⁴⁶ Sallitto, meanwhile, joined his comrade at Ellis Island shortly thereafter as he was scheduled to be deported on January 11th. Like Ferrero, he also secured a writ of habeas corpus,

⁴⁰ "Government's Foul Conspiracy to Destroy *Man!*," in *Man!*, May 1934.

⁴¹ Along with Ferrero's account, there is also a brief oral history by Sallitto in Avrich's *Anarchist Voices*, 166-67.

⁴² "Government's Foul Conspiracy to Destroy *Man!*," in *Man!*, May 1934.

⁴³ "Government's Foul Conspiracy to Destroy *Man!*," in *Man!*, May 1934.

⁴⁴ "Government's Foul Conspiracy to Destroy *Man!*," in *Man!*, May 1934.

⁴⁵ "Alleged Anarchist Fights Deportation," in *San Francisco Chronicle*, September 5, 1935. "Deportation Order Fought," in *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 29, 1935. "Resisting Attempt to Throttle Freedom of Thought," in *Man!*, July-August 1935. "Deportations Hysteria," in *Man!*, October-November 1936.

⁴⁶ "The Struggle to Save Ferrero and Sallitto," in *Man!*, January 1936. "Deportation Order Fought," in *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 29, 1935.

and after three months of being detained, both men were released. Even so, their legal persecution was still not over.⁴⁷

Ultimately charged with “being a member of an organization advocating the overthrow of government by force and violence,” Sallitto’s ordeal persisted for two additional years. It was not until January 1938, following four years of legal proceedings, and several months of detention at both Ellis and Angel Islands – which meant prolonged periods of separation from his young daughter of whom he had sole custody – when his case was dismissed.⁴⁸ Ferrero did not fare as well. While the court never directly determined that he was involved with *Man!* in any official capacity, as the former editor of the Italian anarchist periodical *L’Emancipazione*, he was charged with “writing or publishing printed material advocating the overthrow of government by force and violence.”⁴⁹ And despite his claims that he qualified for political asylum as being sent back to Italy would condemn him to severe punishment for having “written and spoke violently against Mussolini for years,” in February 1937 the Second District Court of Appeals denied his plea.⁵⁰ If he had failed to successfully go off the radar and evade the authorities by adopting the alias “Jonny the Cook” back in California, Ferrero would have been deported two years later in November 1939.⁵¹

Throughout the years of Ferrero and Sallitto’s persecution, Graham faced similar tribulations. A few days prior to June 11, 1936, he received a notice from the Immigration Bureau upholding a mandate for his deportation issued seventeen years earlier. The nearly two-decade old directive demanded his return to Canada, where he allegedly held citizenship, for the crime of possessing subversive anarchist literature.⁵² Denied entry into Canada, and unable to ascertain Graham’s nation of origin, the immigration officials allowed the expulsion to slip through the legal cracks. With pressure on the rise to shut down *Man!*, and the trials of Ferrero and Sallitto well underway, Graham felt threatened enough by the renewed interest in his expulsion to go underground. Consequently, in the August-September 1936 issue he announced his termination as editor of *Man!*. He then temporarily entrusted its editorship to Ray Randall and Walter Brooks, although under Hippolyte Havel’s name, and for a year the periodical was published out of New York.⁵³ The following July Graham came out of hiding and reassumed his role as editor, relocating its headquarters to Los Angeles.⁵⁴

Graham’s return was short-lived. It was only two months before the authorities once again took action against him. On October 6, 1937, four plain-clothes immigration officers raided the Los Angeles office and seized all materials relating to *Man!*. Graham was arrested onsite and incarcerated in the county jail for eight days.⁵⁵ Several months of hearings and appeals followed, and on January 14, 1938 Judge Leon R. Yankovich finally

⁴⁷ “Bay Man Appeals Deportation Order,” in *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 8, 1936. “The Ferrero and Sallitto Case,” in *Man!*, May 1936.

⁴⁸ “Anarchy on Trial in United States Court,” in *Man!*, January 1938. “Deportations Hysteria,” in *Man!*, October-November 1936.

⁴⁹ “Deportations Hysteria,” in *Man!*, October-November 1936. “Another Refugee,” in *Man!*, November 1939.

⁵⁰ “Deportations Hysteria,” in *Man!*, October-November 1936.

⁵¹ “Ferrero Loses Deportation Plea,” in *San Francisco Chronicle*, February 2, 1937. “Former Publisher Reported a Refugee,” in *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 21, 1939. “Deportations Hysteria,” in *Man!*, October-November 1936. “Another Refugee,” in *Man!*, November 1939. Interview with Audrey Goodman, January 4, 2009.

⁵² The controversial literature was a copy of *A Revolutionary Anthology of Poetry* that Graham had edited.

⁵³ Hippolyte Havel (1871-1950) is a famous Czech anarchist who lived in New York and was a close friend, and biographer, of Emma Goldman’s. Ray Randall and Walter Brooks were pennames and while their real names were never disclosed, their initials were “A.A.” and “D.S.” respectively. It seems plausible that these might stand for Domenick Sallitto and Aurora Alleva, his eventual life partner and secretary of the Ferrero and Sallitto Defense Conference in New York, who were both in New York at that time raising funds for his defense. Marcus Graham, “Autobiographical Note,” in Marcus Graham, ed. *Man! An Anthology of Anarchist Ideas, Essays, Poetry and Commentaries* (London: Cienfuegos Press, 1974), vii.

⁵⁴ “In Retrospect of Current Events: A Statement of Facts,” in *Man!*, August-September 1936. *Man!*, July-Aug 1937. Despite this Graham did not remain overly silent or carefully hidden. Several times in late 1936, his name appears with “Bermuda” next to it in parentheses, as the author of articles in *Man!* This suggests that Graham went on the lam and sought refuge in Bermuda.

⁵⁵ “U.S. Government Raids ‘Man!’ and Jails Editor Again,” in *Man!*, October 1937. “Editor May Evade Deportation Charge,” in *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 9, 1937.

dismissed the seventeen-year-old edict. Nevertheless, Graham did not evade all legal repercussions. Judge Yankovich sentenced him to six months imprisonment on the charge of “criminal contempt” for his persistent refusal to reveal his place of birth to immigration officials making it impossible deport him.⁵⁶ Again, he managed to temporarily elude his punishment with additional legal appeals, although it was a Pyrrhic victory. By this point, sufficient enough damage had been done to the stability of *Man!*’s publication that it was now deeply in debt.⁵⁷ With the aid of contributions from supporters, *Man!* stayed afloat for another year and a half, but in April 1940 the U.S. District Attorney “advised” the journal’s printer to immediately suspend the printing of the May issue. When Graham was unable to find an alternate publisher he was forced to end its publication.⁵⁸ Two months later he lost his appeal regarding the pending charge of contempt for refusing to cooperate with immigration officials, and was sentenced to serve out his time.⁵⁹

Ironically, if the goal of Graham, Ferrero, and Sallitto’s persecution was to deter further radical agitation, it instead helped to unite the Left in one of the largest protest movements of the period. The government’s attempt to deport these men and suppress *Man!*, was far from unnoticed, and received nationwide condemnation. The ACLU who had immediately taken on their cases made sure to spread word on the issue to the wider public. In just over a year after the initial raid at 1000 Jefferson Street, hundreds of organizations and thousands of individuals joined the protests held throughout the country on their behalf. The first public gathering was held on July 2, 1935 at the San Francisco Labor College. Spokesmen at the event represented numerous labor and radical organizations including the ACLU; the Industrial Workers of the World; the International Group; the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; the Non-artisan Labor Defense; the Proletarian, Workers’ and Socialist parties; and the Tom Mooney Molders’ Defense Committee.⁶⁰ Soon thereafter, on July 22nd the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference was established at the Stuyvesant Casino in New York and six days later the first mass demonstration outside of California was held at Union Square.⁶¹

Following this demonstration, numerous committees were formed across the country as part of the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference to arrange local demonstrations and inundate Capital Hill with letters of protest. Another rally held at Irving Plaza in New York City on October 27, 1935 had delegates from some two hundred and twenty-one organizations all of whom signed a declaration “that the traditional right of asylum in America for political and religious refugees from tyrannical governments be preserved.”⁶² Copies of the resolution were sent directly to President Roosevelt.⁶³ And within six months, in addition to New York and San Francisco, major protests were also held in Philadelphia, Chicago, Cleveland and Los Angeles.⁶⁴ Meanwhile, after Graham’s arrest, separate defense committees were formed out of many of the same groups on his behalf.⁶⁵

⁵⁶ “Anarchy on Trial in United States Court,” in *Man!*, January 1938.

⁵⁷ “Writers Assailed by Federal Judge,” in *New York Times*, June 27, 1939. “Marcus Graham Sentenced to Second Six Month Jail Term,” in *The Challenge*, July 22, 1939.

⁵⁸ Marcus Graham, “Autobiographical Note,” xviii.

⁵⁹ “Silence About Birth Thwarts His Deportation,” in *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 7, 1940. “A ‘Philosophical’ Anarchist Gets 6 Months in Jug,” in *San Francisco Chronicle*, June 23, 1940.

⁶⁰ “Resisting Attempt to Throttle Freedom of Thought -- First public Protest,” in *Man!*, July-August 1935. Albert Strong, “The Fight Against Deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto,” in *Class Struggle*, January 1936.

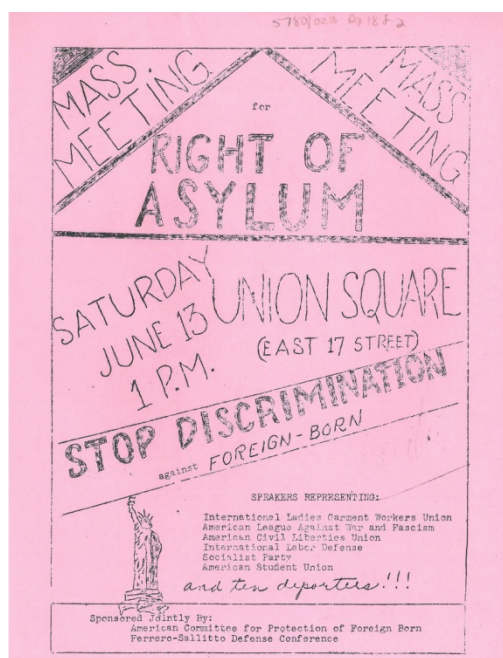
⁶¹ Albert Strong, “The Fight Against Deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto,” in *Class Struggle*, January 1936.

⁶² “On the Revolutionary Battlefield -- In the Land We Live In,” in *Man!*, November-December 1935.

⁶³ “On the Revolutionary Battlefield -- In the Land We Live In,” in *Man!*, November-December 1935.

⁶⁴ Albert Strong, “The Fight Against Deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto,” in *Class Struggle*, January 1936. “Deportation Officials’ Unlimited Perfidies,” in *Man!*, February 1936.

⁶⁵ “U.S. Government Raids ‘Man!’ and Jails Editor Again,” in *Man!*, October 1937. “Editor May Evade Deportation Charge,” in *San Francisco Chronicle*, December 9, 1937. “Stop the Persecution of Graham and Man!,” in *Man!*, March 1938.



CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED		RECEIVER'S NUMBER	
DOMESTIC	FOREIGN		
TELEGRAM	CABLE		
DAY LETTER	NIGHT MESSAGE		
NIGHT MESSAGE	DEFERRED CABLE		
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT CABLE LETTER		
SHIP	RADIOGRAM		
RADIOGRAM	RADIOGRAM		

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

November 24, 1937

James L. Houghteling
Acting Commissioner of Immigration
Washington, D. C.

IN NAME OF THIRTY THOUSAND ORGANIZED WORKERS IN OUR UNION
AND OF CIVILIZATION AND HUMANITY WE ASK YOU TO POSTPONE
DEPORTATION OF VINCENT FERRERO STOP HIS DEPORTATION TO FASCIST
ITALY MEANS DELIVERING HIM TO CERTAIN DEATH AT HANDS OF
MUSSOLINI'S EXECUTIONERS STOP IMMEDIATE ACTION BY YOU IS
NECESSARY.

Charles S. Zimmerman, Secretary-Manager
Dressmakers Union Local 22, International
Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

Protest flier and telegraph from the ILGWU appealing for political asylum for Vincenzo Ferrero and Domenic Sallitto, 1937. Reprinted with permission from the Labadie Collection in the Special Collections of the University of Michigan- Ann Arbor Library.

The movement to see justice for Ferrero, Sallitto and Graham continued to grow in size and intensity, catching the attention of numerous prominent citizens who joined the Defense Committees, often taking on coordinating roles for the protests and petitions. Multiple delegations of notable personalities, civil rights advocates, and labor leaders, even went so far as to travel to Washington to contest Secretary of Labor Perkins' sign off on their deportation. On December 23, 1935 five members of the Conference met with Assistant Secretary of Labor Edward McGrady to no avail. When that failed to work, another attempt to intercede on their behalf was made by "100 renown[ed] men and women in the realm of Art and Education."⁶⁶ Leading the group was the wife of former Secretary of Labor, Louis F. Post.⁶⁷ And by January 1938 upwards of forty thousand letters of protest representing five hundred thousand individuals were sent to Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins.⁶⁸ Several high-profile individuals including Sherwood Anderson, Roger Baldwin, Alice Stone Blackwell, John Dewey, Max Eastman, Kate Crane-Gartz, Sinclair Lewis, Scott Nearing, Jon Dos Passos, Upton Sinclair, and Norman Thomas were among them.⁶⁹

Yet, despite this popular attention, in the end, with Ferrero still officially slated to be deported and Graham in jail for half a year, the protests had only met with partial success. And, ultimately, the International Group and *Man!* simply could not withstand the weight of the persecution and disbanded. Clearly though, regardless of the outcomes, what is important to note is that the widespread protest movement around Ferrero, Sallitto, and Graham undercuts any argument that anarchism was a marginal component in 1930s American radicalism. When an account of their trials is reincorporated into the historical record, it becomes clear that at the very least, anarchism continued to be a mainstay in the fabric of the political Left, if not one of its major unifying threads.

⁶⁶"Two Fight Deportation," in *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 7, 1937. "Anarchy on Trial in United States Court," in *Man!*, January 1938. "Deportation of Sallitto Defeated," in *Man!*, January 1938.

⁶⁷"Two Fight Deportation," in *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 7, 1937. "Anarchy on Trial in United States Court," in *Man!*, January 1938. "Deportation of Sallitto Defeated," in *Man!* January 1938. "Protesting Voices," in *Man!*, March 1938. Albert Strong, "The Fight Against Deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto," in *Class Struggle*, January 1936.

⁶⁸"Anarchy on Trial in United States Court," in *Man!*, January 1938.

⁶⁹"America's Conscience Speaks Out," in *Man!*, October 1937. *Man!*, December 1937. "The Fight Against Deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto," in *Class Struggle*, January 1936. "Shall These Men and Women be Exiled," in *Man!*, December 1937. "Stop the Persecution of Graham and Man!," in *Man!*, March 1938.

Oscar H. Swede.

PROTEST RESOLUTION

The conclusions of those present at the mass meeting held July 2, 1935, at the Labor College, 1254 Market Street, San Francisco, California, upon the evidence presented by representatives of various social and political organizations are:

That the ordered deportation of Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallitto is a violation of the principles of freedom of opinion and speech and freedom of the press, principles basic to the establishment of the United States;

That the ordered deportation of Ferrero and Sallitto, legal residents of this country for thirty and fifteen years respectively, is contrary to the long established custom of offering political asylum to persecuted persons;

That, further, such deportation, under the newly adopted Special Law enforced in Italy, is tantamount to Extradition as both men, upon arrival in Italy as political exiles, face fifteen years of punishment--if not loss of life;

That the evidence upon which this deportation is ordered, the chairmanship of a debate upon the revolutionary integrity of Marinus Van der Lubbe, and the rental of space for the publication "Man!" is insufficient;

That the campaign of intimidation carried on against readers of the publication "Man!" is un-American, unjust, and a direct violation of the principle of freedom of the press as guaranteed in the Constitution;

That the people here assembled do call upon the Government of the United States to cancel these deportation orders against Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallitto and to cease its campaign of intimidation against the anarchist publication "Man!";

That the people here assembled do call upon all social and political groups throughout the world to publicize and protest the injustice of the above described deportation orders and threatening the readers of "Man!"

Copies of this resolution to be forwarded to the President of the United States, Secretary of Labor, U.S. Commissioner of Immigration, and to the press.

Participating organizations:

American Civil Liberties Union,
Industrial Workers of the World,
International Group,
Inter. Lad. Gar. Workers Union,

Non-Partisan Labor Defense,
Proletarian Party,
Socialist Party,
Tom Mooney Mold. Def. Com.

Workers Party.

Note: All correspondence, material aid, and information re case, should be addressed to:

Auxiliary Defense Committee
A. B. Botti,
590 Duncan St.,
San Francisco, Calif.

OEA-A F of L

The Bigger Picture: Radicalism, the Immigrant Experience, and State Power in Climates of Fear

Along with setting the record straight on the role of anarchism in Depression-era America, the ordeal endured by the Ferrero, Sallitto, and Graham also highlights the way immigration policy and deportation can be used as a tool to suppress radical dissent during periods of heightened national panic brought on by social, political or economic instability – in this instance, caused by the Great Depression. In order to fully explicate the patterns of State power that the story of *Man!* and the International Group underscore, however, it is necessary to contextualize it with an account of the ways in which radicalism, xenophobia and governmental machinations of control have historically intersected in America and California.

The targeting of *Man!* and the International Group reflects a long tradition of anti-anarchist sentiment in America. Until the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 – and really not before the 1930s with the rise of communism in the United States – since the Haymarket Affair, anarchism had been the American political boogeyman. Furthermore, given both the demography of the movement as well as its connection to labor activism, popular conception had come to equate anarchism with labor agitation and immigrants. For this reason, while the movement itself had received little attention following the executions of Italian-American anarchists, Sacco and Vanzetti, in 1927, the knee-jerk reaction of most American businessmen was still to immediately point fingers at foreign-born anarchists, or alien radicals in general, when there were any signs of trouble among the workforce.⁷⁰ It also reflects the particularly precarious role of immigrants in American society – radical or not – who have historically faced the two-fold pressures of nativist scapegoating during socio-economic troubles and a legal system that fails to safeguard their basic rights.

With the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, for the first time, since the post-Revolutionary Alien and Sedition Laws, ethnicity and nation of origin became an official determining-factor in who was legally welcomed by the United States.⁷¹ In response to declining financial opportunities caused by a post-Civil War economic downturn and the slowing of the gold rush in California, Chinese laborers were blamed for depressing wages and taking jobs. Along with widespread nativist violence, this sparked an organized drive to see immigration from China curtailed. On May 6, 1882 Congress passed a bill preventing entry of Chinese skilled and unskilled miners into the United States. It also prevented the re-entry of those who chose to return to China.⁷² Following this, the “desirability” or “undesirability” of certain ethnicities became a primary central aspect of American immigration policy.

In the wake of WWI anti-alien hysteria and a rise of nativism in the mid-1920s, for example, the National Origins Act of 1924 – designed to curtail further immigration by Southern and Eastern Europeans and exclude Asians – put a two-percent cap per country based on their total population in the 1890 census. All Asians were barred. Then, during WWII (and perhaps notably, overlapping time wise with Graham’s trial and just shortly after the final verdicts came in for Ferrero and Sallitto), the government passed a barrage of anti-alien bills including the Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938, which required all agents for foreign principles to register with the Secretary of State.⁷³ And following the war as anti-Communist Cold War hysteria set-in, the US passed the

⁷⁰ Ferdinando Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti were two Italian-born anarchists, who were convicted and then executed for allegedly robbing and then murdering two pay-clerks in Braintree, Massachusetts in 1920. They were electrocuted on August 23, 1927, yet, their guilt remains a point of controversy to this day. Paul Avrich offers an account of their trial and execution that emphasizes the importance of anarchism to their experiences in *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

⁷¹ The Alien and Sedition Acts were four bills passed in 1798 by Federalists in response to the unofficial war with France. The Alien Friends Act, one of these bills, made it legal the government to deport aliens considered to be threats to the “peace and safety” of the United States.

⁷² See Elmer Sandmeyer’s *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991).

⁷³ For a general discussion on American immigration see Roger Daniels’ *Guarding the Golden Door: American Immigration Policy and Immigrants Since 1882* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004). For an analysis of anti-alien and anti-radical legislation passed during WWII, see Margaret A. Blanchard, *Revolutionary Sparks: Freedom of Expression in Modern America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 159 and Goldstein, *Political Repression*, 245.

McCarran-Walter Act, which again seriously capped entry of Asians while establishing ideological criteria for expulsion – any immigrant or foreign-born resident could be expelled for “activities prejudicial to the public interest” or “subversive to national security.”⁷⁴

The exclusion of certain ethnic groups and nationalities, however, is only part of how federal immigration policy evinces xenophobic sentiments and the systematic denial of alien rights. The active removal of undesirable elements through deportation was in many ways a far more insidious aspect of historical trends in national policy on foreign-born. Throughout America’s early history, laws such as the Alien and Sedition Act and the Indian Removal Act of 1830, were aimed at eliminating unwanted groups.⁷⁵ It was the Supreme Court ruling in *Fong Yue Ting vs. The United States* in 1893 though when all constitutional safeguards against the expulsion of immigrants were eliminated, opening the floodgates to the use of deportation as a tool of political repression and social control. It was in this case where deportation was determined to be an “administrative” process rather than a criminal matter, and hence not subject to due process.

Instead, as the Bill of Rights only pertained to criminal cases, immigrants were now subject to expulsion based on star-chamber examinations and the arbitrary finding that they were somehow “inconsistent with public welfare.”⁷⁶ There was also no longer a legal bar against lengthy incarcerations, repeated searches and seizures of their property, high bail, and self-incrimination. Furthermore, the process was now, above all, to be based on expedience. This allowed for practices such as use of the telegraphic warrants which effectively enabled immigration officers to round up aliens on a basis of “guilty until proven innocent.”⁷⁷ And it was this ruling, in hand with the “Anarchist Act” of 1903, which made anarchists inadmissible for US entry, as well as the hyper-patriotic Espionage and Sedition Acts of 1917 and 1918, that effectively shaped federal policy for alien radicals in the first decades of the twentieth century and paved the way for round ups of radicals like Ferrero, Sallitto, and Graham.⁷⁸



“Constitutional Rights be Damned!”
Man!, November 1933.

With the onset of the Depression prejudice against foreign-born and suspected radicals surfaced in spades. Given the severity of the economic catastrophe, anxieties over financial and social instability took on extreme dimensions, creating both a climate of intense anti-radicalism and xenophobia, which fostered a rise in ethnically-based violence, political repression and a liberal use of laws that allowed for rounding up and expelling immigrants *sans* criminal trial. During the 1930s, for the first time since the Palmer Raids, agitation from the Left seemed to pose a serious challenge to the status quo. The apparent virtual collapse of capitalism had severely undermined faith in business, sending shockwaves of panic over a Red-menace across the nation. What seemed to be a nationwide attitudinal shift towards radicalism evident in the growth of the Communist Party, the proliferation of strikes and labor agitation and, of course, the “big government” policies of the New Deal,

⁷⁴ From the foreword by Howard Zinn in Deepa Fernandes, *Targeted: Homeland Security and the Business of Immigration* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2007), 15.

⁷⁵ Meant to free up land for white settlers, this Act did not actually forcibly remove native peoples from their homes, but rather encouraged them to do so by offering provisions for the journey as an alternative to being unofficially pushed off the land by the encroaching settlements.

⁷⁶ Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters*, 11.

⁷⁷ Preston offers a brilliant analysis of the “de-criminalization” of deportation making extradition of unwanted aliens a bureaucratic process rather than criminal, consequently, not subject to due process and the legal safeguards of a right to trial by jury.

⁷⁸ The Espionage Act made it illegal to make any attempt to interfere with military operations, including recruitment and the Sedition Act of 1918 forbade the use of any language aimed at criticizing the United States government, its flag, or its armed forces. The act also allowed the Postmaster General to refuse to deliver mail that conveyed language deemed to meet these criteria.

only confirmed the suspicions of conservative businessmen and local authorities across the country.⁷⁹ In response, they retaliated with brutally repressive measures from physically terrorizing suspected radicals and aliens to using the legal system and threats of deportation as ways to deter dissent.

Tensions ran particularly high in California where there was an intense history of anti-radicalism, xenophobia, and vigilantism. It was California, for instance, that served as the heart of the virulent nativist and anti-Chinese movement in the late nineteenth century that eventually led to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Then, in 1916, anxieties over labor agitation allowed fear to trump justice when radical labor activist, Tom Mooney, and his assistant, Warren K. Billings, were falsely accused of, and incarcerated for, bombing the San Francisco Preparedness Day parade. Despite obvious perjury and suspect evidence, it was twenty-three years before their acquittal.⁸⁰ And of thirty-three states to pass Criminal Syndicalist Acts in the wake of the Palmer Raids, California was one of the only ones to actually keep it on the books, rounding up some 504 members of the Industrial Workers of the World, before it was repealed in 1924.⁸¹

These trends only worsened during the Depression. By the 1930s, California served both as home to one of the most extensive and well-organized radical networks in the United States and had an economy that depended on immigrant labor. With agribusiness as the dominant industry, Mexican migrant laborers were in many ways the backbone of the state's financial wellbeing. Asian Americans, and more specifically, Filipinos, were also a major source of manpower for the farms. For this reason, the intersection of the radical presence with the large, but virtually unorganized agricultural labor force, gave rise to a powerful immigrant-based farm workers movement. Organizations such as the communist-led Cannery and Agricultural Worker's Industrial Union (CAWIU) were especially active, coordinating many of the largest strikes including the ten thousand person cotton pickers strike in San Joaquin Valley in 1933.⁸² In fact, under their direction, in 1933 and 1934 alone some 67,887 farm workers went on strike.⁸³ This movement, coupled with the established pattern of scapegoating aliens and radicals during economic panics along with California's propensity for vigilantism, elicited an extremely aggressive nativist and anti-radical response from the local elite. Hundreds of thousands of Mexicans were coerced or convinced into repatriating during the 1930s.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, the European ethnic radicals and labor organizers faced attitudes such as those expressed by a justice of the peace who stated, "These men are nothing but a bunch of rats, Russian anarchists . . . In some towns they would take his kind and hang them from the town hall . . . this town may see a few hangings yet."⁸⁵

Growers rallied with police, individual vigilantes, and patriotic organizations like the American Legion, in a concerted effort to suppress revolutionary impulses and restore control over their workforce. Cracking skulls became the order of the day as they physically assaulted foreign-born and suspected radicals, raided headquarters and homes of union organizers, arrested strikers, and attempted to have detainees deported.⁸⁶ As Kevin Starr, a prominent historian of California, comments, "tear gas, blackjacks, night sticks, flying fists and blood shed" became

⁷⁹ In 1934 the party had 24,000 registered members. By 1939 the number had grown to 100,000.

Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America: 1870 to the Present* (Cambridge: Schneckman, 1978),

233. Robert McElvaine, *The Great Depression: America 1929-1941*, (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1993), 225. McElvaine argues that during the Depression, America's values shifted away from "individualistic values" dominant in the 1920s to a more community-oriented ethic and "moral economy" and that there was a concurrent shift "leftward" by much of the population. See his chapters, "Moral Economics: American Values and Culture in the Great Depression," 196-223 and "Thunder on the Left: Rising Unrest, 1934-35," 224-249.

⁸⁰ See Estol E. Ward, *The Gentle Dynamiter* (Palo Alto: Ramparts Press, 1983).

⁸¹ Zechariah Chafee, *Freedom of Speech in the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941), 327.

⁸² Robert Goldstein, *Political Repression*, 221.

⁸³ Goldstein, *Political Repression*, 221.

⁸⁴ No discussion of immigration and repression in 1930s California would be complete without an examination of Mexican repatriation. For an account of see Camille Guerin-Gonzales' *Mexican Workers and the American Dreams: Immigration, Repatriation, and California Farm Labor, 1900-1939* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1994).

⁸⁵ Goldstein, *Political Repression*, 220-21.

⁸⁶ Goldstein, *Political Repression*, 221.

commonplace realities for workers.⁸⁷ The Associated Farmers of California, Inc. – established to prevent communists from inciting agitation among the farm laborers – was perhaps the most vehemently anti-labor organization and notorious for its violent opposition to radicalism.⁸⁸ When, for example, over four thousand lettuce-packers walked out during the 1936 Salinas Lettuce Strike, the Association supplied the local sheriff with an army of reserve officers to help arm and deputize twenty-five hundred local men to put down the strike who were given permission “shoot down [the] workers” if need be.⁸⁹ And smaller vigilante groups – often led by the local sheriff – were equally brutal, like one from Sonoma County that reportedly attacked “suspected radicals and ordered each one to leave the country and kiss the American flag” prior to beating, tarring and feathering them.⁹⁰ Death was not an uncommon outcome of the clashes. According to one of the running lists in *Man!* of workers killed during labor struggles, out of twenty-two named victims, five were from California.⁹¹



“On the Miner’s Battlefield.”
Man!, April 1933.

cigarettes and candy, thousands of spectators gathered in downtown San Francisco to watch the denouement of tensions between striking maritime workers and the forty-six hundred National Guardsmen.⁹² The situation exploded when lobbing tear gas canisters into the crowd failed to disperse it, leading one of the police to fire his shotgun at the picket line, killing a seaman and strike sympathizer. The following day thousands of San Franciscans joined for a mass funeral procession over a mile and a half long, and a week and a half later, the San Francisco Labor Council called for a general strike.

Although the strike itself lasted only four days, in that time, the National Guard, local authorities and conservative citizens certainly did not passively allow the workers to take over the city. On the third day, using machine gun mounted trucks, they raided food supplies from behind picket lines. They also responded with an aggressive counteroffensive that targeted radical groups and, in particular, communists. Vigilantes ransacked headquarters for local radical groups throughout the Bay Area. Scenes where labor organizers found their offices n

⁸⁷ Kevin Starr, *Endangered Dreams: California in the Great Depression* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 70, 269.

⁸⁸ The federally-appointed investigative LaFollette Committee even went so far as declare them quasi-fascist and concluded that the Association had “designed to prevent the exercise of their civil liberties by oppressed waged laborers in agriculture [which] was executed ruthlessly with every device of repression that anti-unionism could muster.” Goldstein, *Political Repression*, 223-4. Current scholars, including Kevin Starr, have also argued that the Associated Farmers, and the California Right as a whole, approached near fascism. As he states, the “vertical and horizontal integration of private power and public authority . . . can only be described as right-wing syndicalism.” Furthermore, the “counter-intelligence and legal persecution” employed to suppress the Red threat, was frighteningly similar to the “spies, counter-spies, forced indictments, political trials convictions, imprisonments and executions” found in “fascist Europe and Soviet Russia.” See *Endangered Dreams*, 164-65.

⁸⁹ “Salinas Strike Situation,” in *Man!*, August-September 1936.

⁹⁰ “Vigilantes, Government and Justice,” in *Man!*, September 1935. “We Are the Refugees,” in *Man!*, May 1938.

⁹¹ “The Social Struggle Throughout the World,” in *Man!*, September 1935.

⁹² McElvaine, *The Great Depression*, 227. Starr, *Endangered Dreams*, 104, 111.

shambles with “[b]ooks and furniture . . . torn and broken to bits, windows . . . smashed, even the wall paper . . . torn off” were common. And in one case, during the raid on the Unity Hall office of the communists in San Francisco, a man found sleeping in the office was brutally beaten by the mob, prior to the complete destruction of the office culminating in a bonfire of the furniture and march on City Hall with an “erected gallows and the sign, ‘Reds Beware.’”⁹³ Read in this context, it comes as no surprise, that only a month before the initial coast-wide walkout by the longshoremen, local officials began rounding up suspected radicals and tightening the reign on the distribution of pro-labor printed materials like *Man!*.⁹⁴

Restoring *Man!* and the International Group to Records

Although the general strike may have served as the immediate context for the roundup of Ferrero, Sallitto, and Graham, it was the general atmosphere of anti-radicalism and heightened xenophobia pervasive throughout California at the time that led to the persistent and extreme nature of their political persecution. And it is this point that makes their story of such significance for historical and socio-political analysis of the United States – they typify the dominant pattern in how American mechanisms of power have historically responded to perceived threats in climates of fear that has continued into the 21st century. When facing a crisis that undermines confidence in the stability of American society, both the radical and the immigrant become the frequent targets of scapegoating. And, many Americans – although certainly not all – readily accept that sometimes circumstances demand that basic civil liberties must be given up for the sake of maintaining security. As alien anarchists, the successful suppression of *Man!* and the vigorous efforts to deport these men became a symbolic demonstration of the government and local authorities’ abilities to reassert their control and restore order to a system gone haywire, ensuring American safety – economically, politically, and physically. Moreover, they found themselves in particularly vulnerable positions as they were not only at risk for nativist-violence, but also legally, as they were subject to deportation, which was set-up in a way to make expulsion of “undesirable” elements unhindered by Constitutional rights.

Parallels are easily drawn between what Ferrero, Sallitto, and Graham endured and the experience of immigrants and radicals who came before them – like the Chinese immigrants who were beaten by vigilantes and barred entry into America or the radicals who were deported en masse in the Palmer Raids – and those who have come since. The most blatant manifestations of this particular blending of widespread xenophobia, state control, and national panic in present-day, of course, being the response to terrorism in the wake of September 11th and, more recently, the economic instability of the “Great Recession.” Indeed, the racial profiling, hate crimes and illegal detention for being suspected “radical” Muslims under the auspices of national security and sanctioned by the USA Patriot Act that Arab and Arab-Americans experience everyday is undeniably similar to the kind of treatment ethnic radicals faced during unstable periods in early and mid-twentieth century America, including during the Depression. The sweeping control afforded law enforcement and immigration officials in the Patriot Act to detain and deport purported terrorists in many ways even echoes earlier anti-radical and anti-immigrant bills – like Anarchist Act, Espionage and Sedition Acts, and McCarran-Walter Act – that made it possible to easily do away with those deemed in contradiction with or a threat to the American way of life. And, almost needless to say, the rise in anti-immigrant, “close-the-border” sentiments since the onset of the financial crisis is almost a replay of what Mexican-Americans faced in Depression-era California and which ultimately fueled the massive repatriation efforts. Furthermore, aspects of the expedited, administrative expulsion process used to arrest and detain Ferrero, Sallitto, and Graham, remain in place to-date, and actually center at the ongoing controversial debates over immigration policy reform.⁹⁵

⁹³ “Was There a General Strike?,” in *Man!*, August 1934. Starr, *Endangered Dreams*, 168-9. In fact, it was material confiscated during these raids which led to the arrest of six prominent communists involved with the CAWIU under the Criminal Syndicalism Act of 1919 in the “Sacramento Conspiracy Trial.”

⁹⁴ For a full account of the strike see Starr’s chapter “Bayonets on the Embarcadero: The San Francisco Waterfront and General Strike of 1934” in *Endangered Dreams*, 84-120.

⁹⁵ Under current immigration law, non-citizens do not always have the right to a removal or deportation hearing – immigration officers can determine admissibility of the resident or individual trying to enter the country and order an expedited removal for

While these points alone make it imperative that the story of *Man!* and the International Group are restored to historical record, the ways in which the experiences of Ferrero, Sallitto, Graham and the International Group entirely alter an understanding of 1930s American anarchism also makes it even more vital that their stories are rescued from the lost annals of history. Despite the partial success of the efforts to see justice for these men, the protests on their behalf had effectively reinvigorated the anarchist movement, giving it a momentum and direction that had begun to wane since the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in 1927. Beyond simply reaffirming the role of anarchism as a potent radical alternative, however, the defense movement also connected the anarchist community with the mainstream American Left. Although anarchism may have been eclipsed by communism, it certainly remained a salient element of American radicalism and was hardly the “self-contained” community described by scholars such as Runkle, Woodcock and Avrich. Far from a dying movement, the mass protests surrounding their trials, in hand with the international readership of *Man!*, and the active chapters of the International Group across the country, demonstrate just how vibrant American anarchism continued to be throughout the Depression.

those lacking proper documentation at the border, determined to have entered illegally within two years prior at the time of the questioning or who have been convicted of aggravated felonies.

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