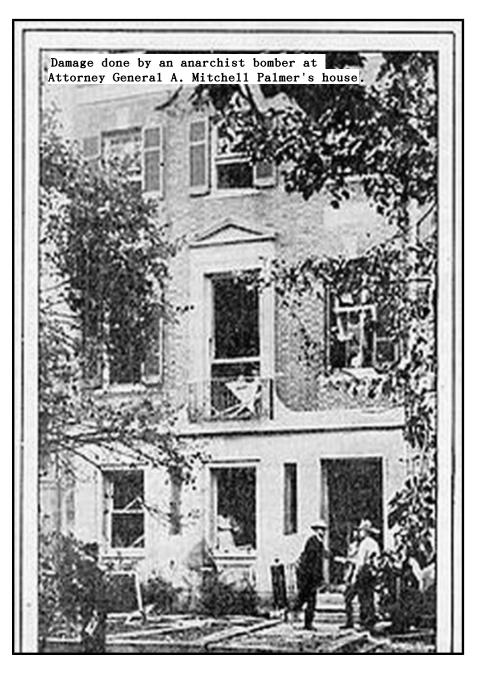
"War, Class war, and you were the first to wage it under the cover of the powerful institutions you call order, in the darkness of your laws. There will have to be bloodshed; we will not dodge; there will have to be murder: we will kill, because it is necessary; there will have to be destruction; we will destroy to rid the world of your tyrannical institutions."

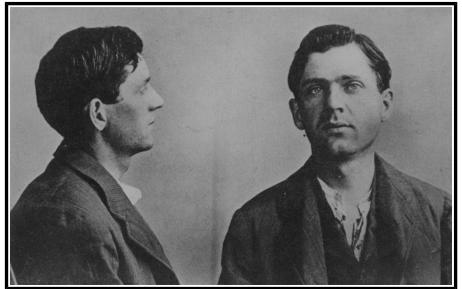






War on the American Government: Insurrectionary Anarchy in the Early 20th Century





Mugshots of Leon Czolgosz after his arrest for the assassination of President William McKinley in 1901

Insurrectionary anarchy/Propaganda by the deed:

Insurrectionary anarchism is a revolutionary theory, practice, and tendency within the anarchist movement that emphasizes insurrection within anarchist practice. It is critical of formal organizations such as labor unions and federations that are based on a political programme and periodic congresses. Instead, insurrectionary anarchists advocate informal organization and small affinity group based organization. Insurrectionary anarchists put value in attack, permanent class conflict, and a refusal to negotiate or compromise with class enemies. **Propaganda of the deed** (or **propaganda by the deed**, from the French *propagande par le fait*) is specific political action meant to be exemplary to others and serve as a catalyst for revolution. It is primarily associated with acts of violence perpetrated by proponents of insurrectionary anarchism in the late 19th and early 20th century, including bombings and assassinations.

Luigi Galleani was an Italian anarchist active in the United States from 1901 to 1919, viewed by historians as an insurrectionary anarchist. He is best known for his enthusiastic advocacy of "propaganda of the deed", i.e. the use of violence to eliminate tyrants and oppressors and to act as a catalyst to the overthrow of existing government institutions. From 1914 to 1932, other insurrectionary anarchists in the United States, carried out a series of bombings and assassination attempts against institutions and persons they viewed as class enemies. After Galleani was deported from the United States to Italy in June 1919, his accomplices are alleged to have carried out the Wall Street bombing of 1920, which resulted in the deaths of 38 people.

Galleanists, or **Galleanisti**, was a group of Insurrectionary/Propaganda of the deed anarchists of working-class militants spread across Italian immigrant communities of the U.S. throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Their activity crystallized around the works of Italian anarchist Luigi Galleani and his paper, Cronaca Sovversiva (The Subversive Chronicle). The group was responsible for many insurrectionary attacks across U.S, with their most famous being the 1920 attack on Wall Street, one of the deadliest attacks in the U.S history. While some anarchists in the U.S. advocated change through non-violent, non-criminal means, others believed the most amount of impact came through direct attack.

Insurrectionary Attacks on America

Leon Czolgosz, son of Polish-Russian immigrants, was enamored with Anarchist doctrine. In 1900, his excitement rose when Italy's King Umberto was murdered by the Anarchist Gaetano Bresci. Czolgosz began attending speeches by the revolutionary Emma Goldman, who spoke of class struggle and said it was time to take action against the government. Czolgosz decided he would be the one to do the deed.

On September 6, 1901, Czolgosz stood in line at the Pan-American Exposition

in Buffalo, New York to shake hands with President William McKinley.

As Czolgosz approached the President, Secret Service agent George Foster stood 150 centimeters (5 ft) away. He saw nothing unusual as Czolgosz stepped up to McKinley with a handkerchief in his hand—the hot weather had many guests using handkerchiefs to wipe off sweat. But Czolgosz's hanky hid a gun, and he pumped two bullets into McKinley's chest.

The President staggered, bloodied, and was helped into a nearby chair. "Be careful how you tell my wife," he pleaded weakly. Foster tackled the assassin as he prepared for a third shot. He underwent surgery at a nearby hospital, and he seemed to be recovering when gangrene set in. He died on September 14.

Czolgosz readily owned up to his crime. "I killed President McKinley because I done my duty," he explained. "I didn't believe one man should have so much service and another man should have none." He was electrocuted on October 29.

Bomb explodes in Milwaukee Police Station

On September 9th in 1917, a confrontation occured between Italian anarchists and police at a religious revival meeting held by Rev. A. Giuliani of the Italian Evangelical Church in the city's Bay View section, who was outspoken against anarchists and preached patriotism and capitalism. The anarchists rushed the platform and tore down the American flag. Anarchist Anthony Fornaquier was shot four times by police officers and six others were wounded (August Marvilla, Detective Albert Templin, Detective John Rydlewicz, Michael Magunik, Bert Mestalini, and Lillie Anelo). On September 15th Augusto Marinelli died from wounds inflicted by police on September 9. Nine days later a bomb was found at the Italian Evangelical Church (where Giuliani preached). The bomb was taken to the police station where it exploded killing eleven people, including seven police officers.

In January Ella Antolini, an Italian anarchist, was arrested in Chicago, Illinois after being discovered with a bag of dynamite. Antolini was transporting the explosives to Chicago, where they would have been taken to Milwaukee to bomb the home of District Attorney Winfred C. Zabel. Zabel was the prosecuting attorney in the trial for eleven Italian anarchists, convicted on 21 December 1917.

On April 15, 1918 two bombs were placed at the home of district attorney Winfred C. Zabel, prosecutor of the Milwaukee case. Neither bombs went off though and the persons responsible were never found.

April insurrectionary attacks

In late April 1919, at least 36 booby trap dynamite-filled bombs were mailed to a cross-section of prominent politicians and appointees, including the Attorney General of the United States, as well as justice officials, newspaper editors and roundup of radicals. By early January, 1920, the plans were ready. The department organized simultaneous raids in major cities, with local police called on to arrest thousands of suspected anarchists. But, the ensuing "Palmer Raids" turned into a nightmare, marked by poor communications, planning, and intelligence about who should be targeted and how many arrest warrants would be needed. The constitutionality of the entire operation was questioned, and Palmer and Hoover were roundly criticized for the plan and for their overzealous domestic security efforts.

The "Palmer Raids" were certainly not a bright spot for the young Bureau. But, it did gain valuable experience in terrorism investigations and intelligence work and learn important lessons about the need to protect civil liberties and constitutional rights.

The attacks were never solved. Although the synchronized timing and power of the bombs had a psychological impact, the bombings were often unsuccessful. None of the intended targets were killed. A number of their targets were not at home at the time of the attacks; some were still out on the town, while others were vacationing at summer homes. This suggests a lacking in thorough operational planning by the anarchists. Nonetheless, the use of violence was agreed as justified in response to persecution, the existence of the state and the capitalist society of America



criminal trials, but, authorities continued to use the Anarchist Exclusion Act and related statutes to deport known insurrectionaries.

The federal investigation in Philadelphia was headed by Special Agent Todd Daniel and the Bureau of Investigation's Acting Director, William Flynn, Flynn, a former Secret Service agent, was known to be an "anarchist chaser," and, according to Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, "the greatest anarchist expert" in the U.S.

Days after the bombings, Special Agent Daniel said that "the terrorist movement is national in scope, and it is not impossible that its headquarters is located in this city [Philadelphia]." Daniel also noted the large number of "anarchists in this city and so many places used by them for meeting places." Daniel's first thought was that the perpetrators of the Philadelphia bombings were members of the Industrial Workers of the Word (a leftist union that embraced socialistic principles). By June 5th, federal and local investigators were tracking down members of the "bomb-throwing squad", which was said to have included women, and had 12 radicals suspected of having a hand in the city's attacks under constant surveillance.

This was already a time of high anxiety in America—driven by a deadly wave of the pandemic flu, the Bolshevik revolution in Russia and ensuing over-hyped "Red Scare," and sometimes violent labor strikes across the country. The Attorney General created a small division to gather intelligence on the radical threat and placed a young Justice Department lawyer named J. Edgar Hoover in charge. Hoover collected and organized every scrap of intelligence gathered by the Bureau of Investigation (the FBI's predecessor) and by other agencies to identify anarchists most likely involved in violent activity. In the meantime, the young Bureau continued to investigate those responsible for the bombings. The Bureau of Investigation increased its efforts with the Immigration Bureau to round up and deport illegal immigrants who posed a threat to national security, including many "Galleanists". The scope of the effort, poor preparation, and the abuse of the rights of those detained in the raids, though, led to a significant backlash against the Attorney General and the Bureau. The public's support for the strong suppression of potentially dangerous aliens clearly had limits.

Later that fall, the Department of Justice began arresting, under recently passed laws like the Sedition Act, suspected radicals and foreigners identified by Hoover's group, including well-known leaders Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman. In December, with much public fanfare, a number of radicals were put on a ship, dubbed the "Red Ark" or "Soviet Ark" by the press, and deported to Russia.

At this point, though, politics, inexperience, and overreaction got the better of Attorney General Palmer and his department. Hoover, with the encouragement of Palmer and the help of the Department of Labor, started planning a massive

businessmen, including John D. Rockefeller. Among all the bombs addressed to high-level officials, one bomb was addressed to the home of a Department of Justice Bureau of Investigation (BOI) field agent once tasked with investigating the insurrectionary anarchists, Rayme Weston Finch, who in 1918 had arrested two prominent insurrectionary anarchists while leading a police raid on the offices of their publication *Cronaca Sovversiva*.

The mail bombs were wrapped in brown paper with similar address and advertising labels. Inside, wrapped in bright green paper and stamped "Gimbel Brothers-Novelty Samples.", was a cardboard box containing a six-inch by three-inch block of hollowed wood about one inch in thickness, packed with a stick of dynamite. A small vial of sulfuric acid was fastened to the wood block, along with three fulminate-of-mercury blasting caps. Opening one end of the box (the end marked "open") released a coil spring that caused the acid to drip from its vial onto the blasting caps; the acid ate through the caps, igniting them and detonating the dynamite.

The insurrectionary anarchists intended their bombs to be delivered on May Day. Since 1890 and the Second International, May 1st had been celebrated as the international day of communist, anarchist, and socialist revolutionary solidarity. Seattle Mayor Ole Hanson, who had recently attained national prominence for opposing a general strike in Seattle, received one of the mailed package bombs, but it was opened by William Langer, a member of his office staff. Langer opened the wrong end of the box, and the bottle of acid dropped onto a table without detonation. He took the bomb to the local police, who notified the Post Office and other police agencies. On April 29, Georgia senator Thomas W. Hardwick, who had co-sponsored the anti-radical Immigration Act of 1918, received a similarly disguised bomb. It blew off the hands of his housekeeper when she attempted to open the package. The senator's wife was also injured in the blast, which severely burned her face and neck, and a piece of shrapnel cut her lip and loosened several of her teeth.

News reports of the Hardwick bomb described its distinctive packaging; an alert post office employee in New York connected this to 16 similar packages which he had set aside a few days earlier for insufficient postage. Another 12 bombs were eventually recovered before reaching their intended targets. The addressees were:

- Theodore G. Bilbo, Governor of Mississippi
- Frederick Bullmers, editor, Jackson, Mississippi Daily News
- Albert S. Burleson, Postmaster General of the United States
- John L. Burnett, U.S. Representative, Alabama
- Anthony Caminetti, Commissioner General of Immigration
- Edward A. Cunha, Assistant District Attorney, San Francisco
- Richard Edward Enright, Police Commissioner, New York City
- T. Larry Eyre, Pennsylvania state senator
- Charles M. Fickert, District Attorney, San Francisco

- Rayme Weston Finch, field agent, Bureau of Investigation
- Ole Hanson, Mayor of Seattle, Washington
- Thomas W. Hardwick, former U.S. Senator, Georgia
- Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr, United States Supreme Court justice
- Frederic C. Howe, Port of New York Commissioner of Immigration
- John F. Hylan, mayor, New York City
- Albert Johnson, U.S. Representative, Washington
- William H. King, U.S. Senator, Utah
- William H. Lamar, Solicitor of the Post Office
- Kenesaw Mountain Landis, U.S. District Judge, Chicago
- J. P. Morgan, Jr., businessman
- Frank Knowlton Nebeker, Special Assistant to the Attorney General
- Lee S. Overman, U.S. Senator, North Carolina
- A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General of the United States
- John D. Rockefeller, businessman
- William I. Schaffer, Attorney General, Pennsylvania
- Walter Scott, mayor, Jackson, Mississippi
- Reed Smoot, U.S. Senator, Utah
- William C. Sproul, Governor of Pennsylvania
- William B. Wilson, United States Secretary of Labor
- . William Madison Wood, president of American Woolen Company

June Attacks

In eight U.S. cities, on evening of June 2, 1919, all within approximately 90 minutes of one another, bombs of extraordinary capacity rocked some of the biggest urban areas in America, including New York; Boston; Pittsburgh; Cleveland; Washington; D.C.; Philadelphia; and Patterson, New Jersey. The bombings were a concerted effort among U.S. based insurrectionary anarchists who fought against the world of laws and capitalism. The homes of Mayor Harry L. Davis of Cleveland; Pittsburgh's Federal Judge W.H.S. Thompson; Immigration Chief W.W. Sibray; Massachusetts State Representative Leland Powers; Judge Charles C. Nott of New York; and Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, already the recipient of a mail bomb in April, were attacked in the new wave of insurrectionary attack. Two near-casualties of the same bomb were Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin Delano Roosevelt

On June 2, 1919, a militant anarchist named Carlo Valdinoci, a former editor of the Galleanist publication Cronaca Sovversiva and close associate of Luigi Galleani blew up the front of newly appointed Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer's home in Washington, D.C. He also blew himself up in the process when the bomb exploded pre-maturely. A young Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt, who lived across the street, were also shaken by the blast. The bombing was just one in a series of coordinated attacks that day on judges, politicians, law enforcement officials, and others in eight cities nationwide. About a month earlier, in late April, radicals had also mailed over 30 booby trap dynamite-filled bombs to a prominent politicians and appointees, including the Attorney General of the United States, as well as justice officials, newspaper editors and businessmen, such as John D. Rockefeller, and the mayor of Seattle, Washington. Among all the bombs addressed to high-level officials, one bomb was notably addressed to the home of a Federal Bureau of Investigation field agent once tasked with investigating the Galleanists, Rayme Weston Finch, who in 1918 had arrested two prominent Galleanists while leading a police raid on the offices of their publication Cronaca Sovversiva. Though no one was killed in these bombings, one senator's maid lost her hands.

The bombs of June 2nd were much larger than those previously sent by mail in April. These bombs were comprised of up to 25 pounds of dynamite packaged with heavy metal slugs designed to act as shrapnel. Addressees included government officials who had endorsed anti-sedition laws and deportation of immigrants suspected of crimes or associated with illegal movements, as well as judges who had sentenced anarchists to prison.

Within minutes of the bombing of U.S. Attorney General Palmer's home, more were exploding in other cities including Philadelphia. Here, two bombs exploded within seconds of each other under the porch of the rectory of the Our Lady of Victory Catholic Church, caving in the porch and shattering every window in the rectory as well as those in the basement. The church was still smoldering when another bomb exploded less than a mile away at the home of Philadelphia jeweler Louis Jajieky. The interior of the Jajieky residence was completely demolished; leaving only four walls standing.

During these bombings, as well as simultaneous explosions in six other cities, none of the targeted men were killed, but one bomb took the life of New York City night watchman William Boehner.

Each of the bombs was delivered with several copies of a pink flyer, titled "Plain Words," that read:

"War, Class war, and you were the first to wage it under the cover of the powerful institutions you call order, in the darkness of your laws. There will have to be bloodshed; we will not dodge; there will have to be murder: we will kill, because it is necessary; there will have to be destruction; we will destroy to rid the world of your tyrannical institutions."

The flyer was later traced to a printing shop operated by two anarchists – Andrea Salsedo, a typesetter and Roberto Elia, a compositor – who were both insurrectionary types. Salsedo committed suicide, and Elia refused an offer to cancel deportation proceedings if he would testify about his role in the organization. However, prosecutors were unable to secure enough evidence for