



Number 119

Two pounds

Dec. 2025

**The Bum on the Rods and the Bum on the Plush**

One rides on the rods beneath the car  
And one on a cushioned chair.  
The one is clad in poverty's rags,  
The other doth broadcloth wear.  
One eats a back-door charity lunch,  
For lack of the price to pay,  
The other is served by a waiter skilled  
In an up-to-date cafe.

The one sneaks into a concert dive  
For an hour's cheap fun and laughter,  
The other a box at the opera has,  
With wine and women after;  
One sleeps in the hay, or as best one may  
Who has no place to dwell,  
The other has a suite of rooms  
In the city's best hotel.

The bum on the rods is hunted down  
As an enemy of mankind,  
The other is driven around to the club  
And feted and wined and dined.  
And those who curse the bum on the rods  
As the essence of all that's bad,  
Meet the bum on the plush with a sycophant's smile,  
And extend the hand so glad.

The bum on the rods is a social flea  
That gets an occasional bite,  
The bum on the plush is a social leech,  
Blood-sucking by day and night;  
The bum on the rods is a load so light  
That his weight we scarcely feel,  
But it takes the labor of dozens of men  
To furnish the other a meal.

So long as you sanction the bum on the plush,  
The other will always be there;  
But rid yourself of the bum on the plush,  
And the other will disappear.  
Then make an intelligent, organized kick,  
And throw off the weights that crush;  
Don't worry about the bum on the rods –  
Get rid of the bum on the plush.

By W. E. Jones. *The Coming Nation*, May 03, 1913  
[https://kansashistoricalopencontent.newspapers.com/  
 image-view/487679277/](https://kansashistoricalopencontent.newspapers.com/image-view/487679277/)



The poem was reprinted in the *Miner's magazine* (Western Federation of Miners) in May 1913 and *The Alaska Socialist* in 1914. After that it seems to have gone on the road itself and passed into oral tradition. When it does appear in print it's anonymous and the first two explanatory verses have been dropped. In 1923 Nels Anderson quoted it for stating 'the case of labor against capital in the language and accents of the hobo'.[1] In 1930, it was retitled 'the Two Bums'.[2] Joyce Kornbluh's *Rebel Voices* says that 'Titled "Society's Bums," the poem appeared in the *Industrial Worker* (July 25, 1955), signed by "Denver Din" Crowley.'[3] Rickety Stan of the IWW recited it in the Bowery, giving the title as 'The Bum on the Plush and the Bum on the Rods' as recorded by Sara Harris.[4] Another Wobbly, Utah Phillips, recorded it on his album 1983 *We Have Fed You All for a Thousand Years*. In Utah's 'Two Bums' the meal for the 'bum on the plush' relies on 'the labor of dozens of folks', not just men. Such is the oral tradition: things change. There's one final twist. The poem appears, in full, with the original title and credited to W.E. Jones in Iain McIntyre's collection *On the fly!: hobo literature and songs, 1879-1941*.[5]

**Notes**

- 1, *The hobo; the sociology of the homeless man* p.202.
- 2, *The hobo's hornbook : a repertory for a gutter jongleur* by George Milburn (1930) p.120-121.
- 3, *Rebel Voices, an I.W.W. anthology* (1972) p.77.
- 4, in *Skid Row USA* (1956) p.183-184.
- 5, p.245-246. Published by PM Press in 2018.

Image: Thanks to Richard Warren. ■

# The Spanish revolution, its mistakes and potential corrections [1934]

[Nestor Makhno, exiled in Paris, was in touch with Spanish anarchists and ‘hoped that they would learn from the Makhnovist experience [...]’ ‘Makhno has never shirked a fight; if I am still alive when you begin yours, I will be with you.’’’[1] Two pieces about Spain appear in *The Struggle Against the State and Other Essays*. This article, written just before his death, has not previously been translated.]

*Our friend Nestor Makhno, whose insurgent activities in Ukraine, all too well-known in these parts to need repeating, jotted down a few notes some months back regarding the Spanish revolution from his impoverished exile in France and forwarded them to us so that Spanish anarchists mind bear them in mind. There will be a follow-up piece in the next edition.*

In recent months, the character and shape of the Spanish revolution have been determined partly by pressures from the revolutionary masses of the proletariat and partly the wishes of the liberal bourgeoisie per se, which made up its mind once and for all to break with the constitutional monarchy and ensure (support) a Republic, that suiting them better.

Bear in mind that the Spanish revolution started out with a novel compromise (concealed from the masses of course) struck between the king and the liberal bourgeoisie. We all know that that bourgeoisie, after defeating the monarchists in the municipal elections, sensed that it had political mastery over the country’s political forces, brought what was, as far as it was concerned, ready-made pressures to bear on the troops and king Alfonso XIII took fright. It is also common knowledge that the monarchists, following some sort of negotiations with the liberal bourgeoisie, saw to it that the executioner king Alfonso XIII was allowed to leave the country unhindered and without facing punishment. Moreover, he left with his entire retinue, taking with him the wherewithal for a life of luxury. The king reserved the right to return to the throne, and to appoint a successor to take his place. All of which shows us that the liberal bourgeoisie, in rescuing the king from the people’s justice and relocating him to another State’s soil, was alive to the fact that the king might be of use to it in scaring the people, just as the latter was getting ready to wrest more freedom than the bourgeoisie was inclined to grant it.

The bourgeoisie got its sums right. It is obvious that the leading lights of Spanish liberalism took careful note of the mistakes made by their counterparts in the Russian revolution vis a vis the working people,

which is waking up and the liberals behave like faithful guardians of the slavery principle built up in Spain down through the centuries. That slavery served the purposes of the king, his retinue and his admirers, but the people hardly featured at all in the story, the great people at whose expense the king and his courtiers were living. And, disgracefully, today’s liberals are looking to that people once again, now that they have struck their deal with the monarchists regarding the criminal king’s unhindered departure. One question arises, out of necessity: where were the real friends of the people, at the time, those revolutionaries of every stripe? Where were they, these people who had so often orchestrated attempts against the life of the criminal king? Had the ideas that prompted Spain’s best sons into acts of heroism cooled down? For it cannot be argued that there were no such personnel in Spain at the time. Nor can it be claimed that they came to some arrangement with the liberals to let the king leave. The only acceptable explanation is that the Spanish revolutionaries, after securing freedom of speech and the right to organize, were preoccupied with marshalling all of their forces and devising schemes for practical action, so that the labouring people might understand them better and be in a position to help them in the fight for liberation. And if this latter point is correct, what results have their gatherings produced? For there is no trace of any in the revolutionary camp: the socialists are in the service of the liberals, and as for the syndicalists and anarchists, well, it looks as if the time has not yet come for implementing and embedding their ideals in the life of the people: In all probability, they are waiting for better times to come. The Bolsheviks (state communists), are, as ever, making do with street demonstrations, without taking any responsibility in the eyes of the working people. Meanwhile, the liberals’ leaders are feeling brave and boldly dictating to their party and the Government the means whereby they should make strides towards ‘strong rule’ and ‘restored order’. Which is what the liberals want of the Spanish revolution. With such appetites at work and without further ado, they are slipping into the life of the country everything that does not conflict with their class interests.

Which is how the liberal bourgeoisie has reached the heights of Power and is hurriedly fitting the country out with fresh chains. Also, they are doing all this safe in the knowledge that the socialists are going to support them in this battle and that they will crush the extremists the moment they try to raise the people against them.

All of this makes it understandable that the neither liberal bourgeoisie nor the government fears the Bolsheviks’ street demonstrations, nor the workers’ general strikes that are so frequently called throughout Spain under the supervision of the revolutionary syndicalists and anarchists and which, despite their making themselves so sorely felt, nearly

always end up in bloody failure. The liberal bourgeoisie can rest easy, in that its leaders are watching out for its well-being: Thanks to the political agility and the astute tactics of its leaders, the bourgeoisie can gauge its strength precisely, measure it against that of its enemies and take its bearings vis a vis its most dangerous left-wing enemies and, thanks to that, the bourgeoisie knows when and in what measure its armed forces must be deployed against its enemies. Meanwhile, the leaders of the left fail to note, or refuse to note, what the bourgeoisie is establishing in the country. Anyway, the leaders' behaviour tells us with certainty that in the entire left-wing front, there is something of a muddle that seems to grow out of the fact that the leaders hold working class offices, for which they are equipped neither by their character nor by their determination, or else based upon their belief that the masses are incapable of implementing their ideas without State oversight. From a distance, it is hard to hang a label on this. But one thing is plain and, as I see it, is not in dispute, and that is that in the ranks of the left there is a deep-seated confusion. Otherwise the Manifesto of '*The Thirty*'[2] would not have surfaced as it is very damaging to the Spanish revolution and to the anarchist movement. That manifesto, even though it comes from senior, veteran and well-meaning militants, may prove deadly for the revolutionary project. The consequences of it may turn out to be even greater, if we consider that the Spanish revolution is afflicted by lots of shortcomings, given that, even today, it has no set course of practical action, any more than it is possessed of sufficient resources for social action, in the absences of which revolutions are always left powerless. The Spanish revolution will be powerless unless it proves equal to the need to press on down its path, without the bourgeoisie or the Bolsheviks in cahoots with it being about to stop it in its tracks.

### **The Spanish revolution, its mistakes and potential corrections [Part two]**

I would go so far as to contend yet again that, thanks to the absence of set courses for direct action, as well as the absence of appropriate resources for social action, a manifesto has now been published by thirty comrades, something similar might happen tomorrow and, on account to of this, the revolutionary front is being narrowed down and the revolution suffering more. In light of this, the chances of the bourgeoisie's ultimately seizing control of the revolution and outright reaction getting worse cannot be ruled out. But it will be too late by then to work towards an authentically revolutionary front and steer the revolution towards victorious expansion. As long as the labouring masses in Spain have not grown weary and still have hopes of achieving something in terms of conquering freedom and well-being, and as long as the liberal bourgeoisie wants to be a left-wing

bourgeoisie: one day proclaiming a bourgeois Republic and the next day a workers' Republic, a lot can be done to bolster the revolution and get it on course for fruitful growth. But such things come at a cost. They call for the utmost effort, not so much from isolated individuals or groups as from workers at large, in close concert ideologically and tactically, free of smugness, workers that know what they want and who invest their entire intellectual initiative in bringing it about. The truth is that our anarchist community is still not used to collective actions. Historically, its practice has been random, and hardly ever and in no revolution has it brought about the impact to which anarchists have aspired, nor managed to win the masses over. But the overriding message of time is that we should forget about that approach and ought to organize our forces, organizing the labouring masses arming them with such resources for social action that they can defend themselves against bourgeois capitalist society. Furthermore: that they can emerge victorious from their battles with it.

The fact of the matter is that, to date, such notions have been out of place in anarchist thinking, but their absence was notable in the Russian revolution and did enormous damage to the anarchists. And there is a damaging absence discernible in the Spanish revolution too.

When you look at the Spanish revolution and see that within the left-wing camp the predominant force belongs to the anarchists, one cannot help but be moved. You cannot blithely watch the mistakes of which the most likely cause is the confusion that has taken possession of the most outstanding persons: instead of cashing in on historical developments that only come along once in a blue moon, the movement watched as cracks emerged within its ranks. And this all happened at a point when the revolutionary timetable was demanding maximum effort from the movement and initiative from its groups so as to help the country to organize its labour resources in order to set up its organs of production. There was also the need to set about establishing committees for the defence of the revolution, whereby the country might be swiftly spared, politically, from the oppression of bureaucracy, economically of the exploiter boss and mentally, from all past enslavement. Then it might devote its efforts to building the new order of the free society and a brand-new life. All of which would be achieved without any oversight from the State, the Church, or finance capital.

Not that I think that all is lost quite yet: the Spanish people still has hopes of not succumbing to the bourgeoisie and reckons that it is quite capable of setting the course for the revolution by means of which it will be in a position to realize its centuries-old ambitions: to be free and independent of the bourgeoisie and any order it imposes. Consequently, revolutionary anarchists must make their own

independent evaluation of the vanguard forces of revolution and not let themselves be distracted by ‘united fronts’ and other abstractions about the future, but rather, live in the here and now and work with an eye to the present. There must be an outline program of practical action, one that is short but clear to all its supporters who may be scattered around the country, and one that can be readily understood by the broad masses of the workers.

In that program, anarchists must state that all of the means of production belong to the nascent labour-based society and must be under the management of the workers’ trade unions. There must be a declaration that all the land belongs to the new society and should be under the management of the peasants’ societies, communes and their unions. That finance, education and other realms of social life must belong to labour associations that are free of sanctions from State authorities.

Anarchists, in propagandizing about such matters must operate with regard for the new, republican system of exploitation. The bourgeoisie must be stripped, forcibly, of the land, factories, mines and means of transport. Once the bourgeoisie makes a stand against these gains, it should be placed in a position where it does not get time to defend the assets accumulated through others’ labours, but enough to save their lives.

Organized, uncompromising struggle will draw the majority of revolutionary workers into the anarchists’ orbit. In which case, there will be no one left to sit on the fence, nor signatories to the ‘Manifesto of the Thirty’, let alone their followers. All of the vital forces of the revolution, attracted by the anarchists’ ideology, and guided by the latter’s organizations and strategy will set about attacking the strongholds of the bourgeoisie, the Government and their hirelings. The toiling people will win and its age-old dream of Freedom and Equity based on free labour will be an accomplished fact.

### **Nestor Makhno**

From *Tierra y Libertad* (Barcelona) Friday, 27 April 1934 and Friday 4 May 1934. Trans PS.

### **Notes**

- 1, Alexandre Skirda *Nestor Makhno : Anarchy’s Cossack* p.277
- 2, Manifesto of the Thirty, so named after its 30 original signatories, was drawn up in August 1931, by leading committee members of the CNT and *Solidaridad Obrera* editorial board members. It was designed to stem the process whereby the CNT was having to suffer the fall-out from FAI-inspired revolts and rebellions. In post-incident crackdowns, the CNT was facing the shut-down of its premises and unions, mass arrests and the expense of funding the legal defences and maintenance of the families of those arrested, killed or deported. The government

encouraged the 30 (the *treintistas*, so called) as a more moderate opposition. It should be pointed out that in earlier years some of these alleged ‘reformists’ had been on the more radical wing of the anarcho-syndicalist movement.

### **Makhno’s death and the Spanish comrades**

Where did the Makhno article above come from and through whom? Going by *Tierra y Libertad* alone:

- a) On 30 June 1934 there was an appeal for ‘Solidarity for Nestor Makhno, gravely ill’ stating that he had been seriously ill for the previous five months. ‘His recovery will take a long time’. Donations were directed to Madame A. Faucier in Paris.
- b) On 9 August 1934, there was a front page article about Makhno, recording his death on 27 July. A shorter piece noted that after his death the United Press agency in Paris had issued a wire report published by a newspaper in Barcelona on 29 July that *Tierra y Libertad* reckoned was defamatory and libellous of Makhno.
- c) On 16 August 1934 *Tierra y Libertad* carried a page 4 article by Angel Calvo entitled ‘Comrade Makhno Has Died’. It read: ‘At six o’clock on the morning of 25 July, the valiant Russian revolutionary and main driving force of the Ukrainian revolution, Nestor Makhno, passed away. ANGEL CALVO.’

Calvo has an entry in the *Dictionnaire international des militants anarchistes*:

### **Angel CALVO**

Born 16 October 1899 in Remolins (Tortosa) – tiler – FAI-CNT-Drancy (Seine-Saint Denis)

Having fled to France, Angel Calvo, a tiler working in Drancy served as secretary of the Voluntad group in 1934; it was active in the Paris area and affiliated to the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI). He was very actively involved in 1935 in the campaign for the right of asylum alongside other members of the Drancy group, including Heriberto Ramos aka Juan Robles y Robles, Fabriciano Carrasco, Manuel Estrada and Pelayo Lopez. The FAI had lots of groups in France at the time [...] Calvo was living at the time in No 17, Rue Jules Verne in Drancy with Fabriciano Carrasco and his name was on a list of anarchist addresses to be checked out in the Paris area.

Rolf Dupuy. From

<https://militants-anarchistes.info/spip.php?article595>

■

## **Dupuy, Rolf (1946-2025)**

I was shocked to hear news of the death of Rolf Dupuy two days after his death. Rolf was one of the founders of the French ORA, and later animator of the *Dictionnaire International des Militants Anarchistes*, a huge online resource in the French language, on biographies of libertarian militants

around the world. I had first met his acquaintance whilst attending congresses of the ORA in the 1970s. I communicated with him on and off, offering biographies, corrections, and additions over the last decade or so, and he solicited my own biography from me, which duly appeared online in 2010. As well as the Dictionnaire, he also was behind another online endeavour, *Dictionnaire des guérilleros et résistants antifranquistes* (Dictionary of Anti-Francoist guerillas and resisters), which he jointly initiated with Antonio Tellez Sola.

N.H.

Daniel Pierre Alexandre Dupuy was born on June 26th, 1946 in the 7th arrondissement Paris (he preferred to use the first name Rolf throughout his life). His parents were unknown, and he was raised by a nurse in Versailles.

In 1961 he attended the Lycée (high school) Louis-le-Grand in Paris. This was during the Algerian war, and soon Rolf joined the Front of Solidarity with the Algerian Revolution-Front de solidarité avec la Révolution Algérienne (FSRA). He was involved in almost daily clashes with fascist groups. He associated with young anti-fascists from the Anti-Fascist University Front, among them Alain Krivine, later to become an important student activist during May-June 1968 and subsequently a famous Trotskyist leader.

On the day when he and others went to defend the building of the Union of Communist Students, near the Sorbonne that he met Maurice Joyeux, the leading light of the Fédération Anarchiste (FA) who came with other anarchists to reinforce the defenders. Dupuy thought this was soon after the FA headquarters on Rue Ternaux had been bombed by the Secret Army Organisation (OAS).

Around this time, he created an informal anarchist group with three friends from high school, as well as a group of the Movement Against Atomic Rearmament (Mouvement Contre l'Armement Atomique). He started to drop out of high school, and frequented the beatnik scene, taking to the road like Jack Kerouac and Neal Cassidy, hitchhiking around Europe. He maintained contact with his high school anarchist friends, taking part in the ceaseless turmoil in the Latin Quarter.

He met regularly with others at the Café L'Écrivain, Place de la Sorbonne, with, among others, Étienne Roda-Gill and Michel Frantz who were trying to build the group Jeunesse Anarchistes Communistes (JAC- Anarchist Communist Youth). This was now the time of the Vietnam War, and in the local Vietnam Committee, with two other anarchists, and young Maoists who would later become members of Gauche Prolétarienne (Proletarian Left) he helped create a short-lived Bakunin-Lin Biao group (!).

Rolf was not impressed by the FA, who seemed

tuned out of the unrest in the Latin Quarter. He hung out at the CNT in exile office and started to learn Spanish. He was not impressed by the Situationists, who, during, a miners' strike in Asturias produced a text with the slogan: "You stupid worker, why are you going down the mine?" illustrated with naked women. He remarked: "That was definitely not my idea of class struggle!"

He became a father and restarted his studies at the School of Oriental Languages. He was also working as a teacher for the blind. Along came May '68 and Rolf went to the Sorbonne occupation on the night of the barricades.

Rolf's work contract was not renewed following a strike by some of the teaching staff and students in spring 1972. He then worked as a librarian for the City of Paris between 1974 and 2005.

After 1968 Rolf defined himself as an anarchist communist. He sympathised with the tendency within the FA around the veteran Maurice Fayolle, around whom young militants like Guy Malouvier, Ramon Finster, Michel Cavallier, and Richard Perez had gathered. This started producing a bulletin, *L'Organisation Libertaire*, for the construction of a revolutionary anarchist organisation. This coalesced into the Organisation Révolutionnaire Anarchiste (ORA), inside the FA.

Rolf joined the ORA via the Jules Vallès group in the 13th arrondissement of Paris (1969-1976), then the one in the 5th arrondissement (1976-1977). Within the ORA, he was a member of the National Collective as secretary for international relations from 1971 to 1975 and participated in most of the national meetings held by the organisation, as well as the international congress in Paris in the summer of 1971. During this same period, he staffed an ORA press table at the Censier University (1969-1972) and sold the ORA newspaper *Front Libertaire* at the market on Rue Mouffetard (5th arrondissement). In 1971, he participated alongside Finster and Cavallier in the Cercle Front Libertaire Chiens de Garde (Guard Dogs), a group of libertarian educators which published two issues of a bulletin of the same name.

In the winter of 1973, while unemployed, he participated in daily support of the picket line at the post office in the 5th arrondissement where the branch of the CFDT union was led by libertarians. He helped set up a neighbourhood group in the Rue Mouffetard quarter, as part of the ORA strategy of outreach. This included other ORA militants like Gérard Mélinand (see his biography at libcom) Geneviève Pauly, and Michel Ravelli (biography at libcom). This group had its base at the Maison pour Tous (House for All) on the Rue Mouffetard. It grouped together other libertarian activists and sympathisers at the post office and at the National Museum of Natural History, or who lived in the neighbourhood, ex-Maoists from Gauche Prolétarienne and many users of the cultural

activities offered by the Maison. It published the bulletin *Le Cri du Ve* (5 issues from February 1976 to March 1977, printed in runs of 500 to 800 copies and sold by street vendors in the neighbourhood markets).

Between 1973 and 1976, Rolf was also responsible for work with the Chinese anarchist communist group, l'Association communiste anarchiste chinoise (ACAC), in Paris. This had been founded by Choy Hak Kin, a student from Hong Kong studying in Paris, and in liaison with the libertarians back in his home city. It included former Red Guards and other principal members were Woo Che and Sze To Lap. Together with them Rolf organised a speaking tour of France with two former Red Guards from Canton. ACAC published several bulletins in Chinese and then took part in the bilingual magazine *Outlook* (only one issue, 15th January 1977) edited by Ki Chee Leung and Rolf Dupuy.

Rolf thoroughly disapproved of the support for the Parisian autonomist movement that the organisation, now transformed into the Organisation Communiste Libertaire (OCL) now supported, and whose chief partisan was Gérard Mélinand. He resigned from the OCL in 1977 and turned towards historical research of the anarchist movement. He collaborated with René Bianco of the Centre International de Recherches sur l'anarchisme (CIRA) at Marseille, and with Antonio Tellez Sola.

From 1985 to 2000, he was active in the communication union of the Confédération Nationale du Travail-France (CNT-F).

He died on October 25th, 2025.

Nick Heath

#### Sources:

<https://maitron.fr/dupuy-daniel-pierre-alexandre-dit-rolf-dictionnaire-des-anarchistes/>

Interview with Dupuy and Cavallier, 2008 in *Alternative Libertaire*:

<https://www.unioncommunistelibertaire.org/Dossier-68-Rolf-Dupuy-et-Guy-Malouvier-Chacun-de-ces-mots-comptait-organisation>

From: <https://libcom.org/article/dupuy-rolf-1946-2025> ■

## Death of Emilio Ceragioli, Glasgow 1945

Forty years ago two young Italian Anarchists stowed away on a ship bound for London. One, 'Mosquito' Borghi travelled on to America, the other, Emilio Ceragioli, remained in London working as a barber. He had escaped from Viterbo Prison where he was serving a sentence of two years for his Anarchist activities. He had earlier served nine months for taking part in strikes in Terni, as a consequence of

which he was being hounded around by the legal thugs under the patronage of the House of Savoy and the Crispi government. In the year 1910 he removed to Glasgow where he opened a barber's shop in Old Govan Road, almost opposite the Finnieston Tunnel where he remained for thirty years until the entry of Mussolini in the recent War. Although he was an ardent Anti-Fascist a gang of misguided patriots in the anti-Italian riots of 1940, smashed up his shop. This was a blow he felt very deeply. He had lost a lung whilst in prison in Italy as a result of that dread disease T.B. very common amongst inmates of prisons and the working class. This coupled with the food scarcity of the War left him suffering very much during his last years. He died suddenly on the 13th September. He had visited me on that date and had as usual given his very frequent contribution to our propaganda funds. He remained consistent and loyal to his Anarchist views to the end. We will miss his advice, encouragement, and his comradeship.

Frank Leech

'Death of Italian Anarchist' *Freedom through anarchism* 20/10/1945 [Where his name is mistakenly given as 'Emilio Ceragioli']

#### Further Info

Ceragioli gets two brief mentions in Edoardo Puglielli's *Dizionario degli Anarchici Abruzzi* (Centro Studi Camillo di Sculio, Chieti). Not under his own name but under two of his fellow members of the local anarchist group in Terni.

'DESIDERI, GIUSTINO, born in Aquila on 29 September 1878. tailor. In Terni in 1900 he was active in the local anarchist group to which Emilio Ceragioli, Edmondo Coen, Emilio Leombruni, Remo Borzacchini, Domenico Zuccari, Giuseppe Angelici and others also belonged. [...] (p.56)

See also the entry for 'LEOMBRUNI, EMILIO, b. Terni on 12 January 1877, blacksmith' The same fellow members are listed. (p. 97)

Going by both entries, the local group was involved in anti-monarchy and labour agitation, celebrating Bresci's regicide and Leombruni was at one point caught in possession of explosives and an iron mortar in his home. He also was a member of a local group known as Giovane Libertaria (Libertarian Youth) which claimed about 30 members. It's not clear how/if Ceragioli was involved in any or all of this.

Ceragioli's widow was Helen Sinclair (she also used Ceragioli), an office cleaner. (see <https://www.thegazette.co.uk/London/issue/37798/page/5795/data.pdf>) ■

## Half A Million Tramps

William Arthur 'Bill' Gape, (1900-1966) went on the tramp after running away from home. He would go on to agitate for their rights, being nicknamed 'The

Tramps Q.C.’ His book *Half a Million Tramps* was published in 1936. Barry Pateman reviewed it in 2020.[1] ‘The casual use of words such as “funkum”, “jake” and “skilly” signal that we are entering a closed world rich with its own language and culture with a complexity that is still disturbing and challenging eighty years or so after it was written. [...] In his world, Gape suggests, organized charity can prove to be a cruel and mean thing that suits the power of the giver more than the rights of the receiver.’

We’d like to put a scanned copy of *Half a Million Tramps* online for everyone to read freely. Are you a descendent of his? Can we have your permission to do so? Write to [info@katesharpleylibrary.net](mailto:info@katesharpleylibrary.net)

#### Note

1, ‘W. A. Gape Half A Million Tramps London: George Routledge and Sons Ltd, 1936 [Review]’ in *KSL: Bulletin of the Kate Sharpley Library* No. 100-101, January 2020 [Double issue]  
<https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/stqmjv> ■

## Tom Brown, Tyneside syndicalist : a little more biographical info.

Home Office files in the National Archives (HO\_45\_25553) give Tom Brown’s address (in March 1945) as 10 Torquay St. W2. and report him telling ‘stories of his youth in Jarrow where he was an apprentice in a shipyard’. The 1939 national register records him (as ‘Thomas Brown’) living at 10 Torquay Street, that his date of birth was 01 Feb 1902; and that he was employed as ‘Aircraft Fitter Heavy Worker’. So, we can say that, despite the Home Office thinking Tom Brown ‘sounds like an alias’ it is his name.

In April 1944 in an ad for a meeting he was speaking at (‘Bevin declares war on miners, Anarchists reply’) he’s described as an A.E.U. Shop Steward. (*War Commentary*, mid-April 1944 p. 11).

The attack on him for opposing a Paddington night club (mentioned in Chapter 25 of Albert Meltzer’s *I Couldn’t Paint Golden Angels*) was reported as ‘Man coshed’ in the *Daily Express* (Tuesday 15 March 1966). ■

## Thoughts on anarchist libraries

As mentioned in the last bulletin one of our readers said ‘The article & information about Georges Pilotelle & Columbia University must have been of particular interest to you. It prompted me to reread the article in the Dec. ’24 bulletin – ‘Freedom Press Library 1979’. [...]’

‘Beyond keeping a historical record, I am sure you have a view about the questions posed in the article and the wider purposes of an anarchistic library’.

The Kate Sharpley Library aims to preserve what anarchists have written (published or not) as an essential way to understand the ideas and history of the movement. To the best of our ability we try to make those things available, which leads into publishing. Which may be less librarianly, but has always has always been a concern of the KSL: see Albert’s ‘Anarchist Literature: “It Must Begin Again”’ in 1991.[1]

Anarchists of the past were always creating libraries: ‘libraries were “one of the fundamental pillars in the anarchist infrastructural apparatus” where one could read but also join in a common space.’[2] But inevitably there are more mentions of anarchist libraries than accounts of exactly what they were doing and why. I assume there’s a shared understanding of how they work. Which is not to say that they didn’t come in all shapes and sizes. In 1956 Robert Lynn reported on a workers’ library inside the North British Locomotive Co., Queens Park Works, Polmadie, Glasgow.[3] In San Francisco ‘The Russian anarchists’ reading room at 2787 Folsom Street became the International Group’s “Club Rooms,” open to the public six evenings a week and hosting monthly “comrades” featuring spaghetti, concerts, and dancing.’[4]

Let’s end with Marianne Enckell of CIRA who has written about the how and the why: ‘It isn’t a matter of us archiving the memory of the movement in order to fix it in place; it is a matter of keeping our history alive and subversive, of affirming the existence of Anarchists (“There are not even a hundred of them...”) and their diversity against the suffocation by those in power.’[5]

#### Notes

1, In *KSL: Bulletin of the Kate Sharpley Library* No.1 [1991]

<https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/vdndmd>

2, Dr. Kirwin R. Shaffer ‘Anarchist Cultural Politics in Latin America: An Introduction’ in *Anarchist Developments in Cultural Studies*, Vol. 2023 No. 2 (2023)

<https://journals.uvic.ca/index.php/adcs/article/view/21699>

3, See *Freedom*, 1956/06/02

4, Kenyon Zimmer *Immigrants against the State*, p.183. There are photos of the room at

<https://nowtopians.com/history/silicon-valley-a-living-history>

5, ‘The School and the Barricade’ (updated version, 2009)

<https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/marianne-enckell-the-school-and-the-barricade> [original note: “Y en a pas un sur cent...” An allusion to the poem “Les Anarchistes” by Leo Ferre.’] ■

# Jack Kielty

It is with profound regret that we record the death, at the age of 45, of our well-known and deeply respected Merseyside comrade Jack Kielty. It leaves a great gap in the ranks of our organisation.

Jack, a foundation member of the S.W.F., was a familiar figure on the street corners of Liverpool, where he tirelessly propagated, at open-air meetings, the ideas of Syndicalism.

Like other members of the organisation, Jack threw himself into the struggle in defence of the seven dockers who, last year, stood trial at the Old Bailey on charges of organising strike action. He gained wide respect among portworkers, and served on the Merseyside Portworkers' Defence Committee.

Despite prolonged ill health and constant suffering in recent months, Jack continued to give wholeheartedly his energies to the working-class movement.

In mourning the loss of a fine comrade, and in paying tribute to his memory, we can do no better than to reprint the letter, from Dave Pude, another Merseyside comrade, informing the National Committee of the S.W.F. of his untimely death:—

It is my sad task to tell you Comrade Kielty passed away on Wednesday, August 29, in Sefton Hospital, Liverpool. He had suffered indifferent health for over twelve months but appeared to be making slow but sure progress towards better health. As his collaborator over the last three years in propagating Anarcho-Syndicalism, I know that our movement has lost a truly proletarian character, breathing the old fighting atmosphere of the I.W.W. with a live, modernistic interpretation. Like many more Anarcho-Syndicalists, Jack Kielty found his way to the top through the welter of left-wing Marxism. The bankruptcy of Trotskyism finally led him to a closer examination of our ideas, and his words to me on deciding to work with us I must record, they are so very true: "Dave, I feel I have always been a Syndicalist and Anarchist. They stand for all that's worthwhile in the working-class movement." A good fighter has left us.

From *Direct Action*, October 1952.

<https://libcom.org/article/direct-action-swf-vol-7-04-59-oct-1952> ■

## Library update [Dec 2025]

New treasures on the website:

**Billy MacQueen** An issue of *Liberty* from 1903 (published by the International Propaganda Groups of America)

<https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/zkh3qq>

**Germany** Syndicalist Press in Germany 1897-1933 by Jonnie Schlichting

<https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/80gd2q>

**Berkman** on Bukharin on Anarchism at the Red Labor Congress

<https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/866vx4>

**Imanol** The Baix Llobregat [Lower Llobregat] Gang <https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/wstt08> and Los Pataletes: the Story of a Libertarian Band Operating in the Malaga Area

<https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/vx0nj3>

**Bulgaria** [Pages of Bulgarian Anarchist History:] The Little-known Parachutists of 1953-1954 by Frank Mintz

<https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/wdbv7d>

### Biographies

'Isaac Puente, Anarchist Doctor' by Mikel Peciña with 'Isaac Puente, Eighty-eight years on' by Javier Irazabal <https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/m37rzd> (we've also posted Puente's *An Outline Program for Libertarian Communism* [1933])

<https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/xd27hh>)

'Julia Romera Yáñez (1916-1941), the Life and Death of a Freedom Fighter' Ángel Sody de Rivas <https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/t4bbvt>

Michele Centrone (1879-1936)

<https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/zw3thz>

**Albert** we have posted two articles by Albert Meltzer from 1976 'Extremism of the centre'

<https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/z8wcw6> and

'A struggle for the slums'

<https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/fbg99c>

**Calendars** 'Anarchist Revolutionary Calendars' for 1969 and 1970 (the days of which match 2026) now up <https://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/sf7p8i> ■

## A Note on the 'Prehistory' of the Kate Sharpley Library

Back in 1996 we reprinted Albert Meltzer's article 'Kate's Tinwear' in issue 6 of the bulletin. It was first published in *Black Flag* in May 1982. A footnote that we didn't include said 'A reading room/library called the Kate Sharpley Library is in the process of being set up at 121 Bookshop'. We could call 1979-1982 our 'prehistory' when what would late be called the Kate Sharpley Library was coming together. Might be celebrations in 2079 and in 2082?

## Publication details

**KSL: Bulletin of the Kate Sharpley Library**

ISSN 1475-0309

KSL, BM Hurricane, London, WC1N 3XX

Sign up to our e-newsletter at

<http://www.katesharpleylibrary.net/doc/subscribing>

Your subscription expires with this issue

Your subscription is now overdue

This is your final issue

Subs £5 UK for a year (more info on our website).

Donations welcome. Feedback welcome, too. ■