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## Political Contestation and Internal Strife: Socialist and Anarchist German Newspapers in London, 1878–1910

Daniel Laqua

In 1910, Theodore Rothstein – a socialist émigré from Tsarist Russia – traced the ‘long and glorious history’ of the German political press in London.<sup>1</sup> Fittingly, his survey appeared in the *Londoner Volks-Zeitung* – a weekly founded in 1909 ‘to form a connecting link between the working-class movements of both sides of the North Sea.’<sup>2</sup> Summarizing nearly a century of publishing ventures, Rothstein portrayed the *Londoner Volks-Zeitung* as the ‘heirress of a beautiful bequest.’<sup>3</sup> Like many of its forerunners, the paper itself was short-lived, lasting for only nine months. Nonetheless, the existence of such publications illustrates the political dynamism of London’s German community. Britain’s role as a site for activists from different countries was linked to its openness towards refugees: the country’s liberal asylum policy only changed with the passing of the Aliens Act in 1905. As Bernard Porter has noted, ‘between 1823 and 1906 no refugee who came to Britain was ever denied entry, or expelled.’<sup>4</sup>

Germans formed a sizeable part of Britain’s foreign-born residents. Panikos Panayi has pointed out that, between 1861 and 1891, they constituted the largest grouping from continental Europe.<sup>5</sup> Evidently, not all of them had come to Britain for political reasons. Moreover, in terms of class and ideological background, they certainly formed a heterogeneous community.<sup>6</sup> It is clear, however, that political repression on the continent generated upturns in migration to Britain. With regard to the period before 1914, Panayi has identified three major waves of political immigration from Germany: the first during the *Vormärz* period of the 1830s and 1840s; the second after the defeat of the German 1848 revolution; and the third in the era of Bismarck’s Anti-Socialist Laws (1878–90).<sup>7</sup> While Rosemary Ashton and Christine Lattek have skilfully surveyed the exile communities of the first two periods, the third phase requires further investigation.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, soon after the passing of the Anti-Socialist Laws, many activists made their way abroad. As early as December 1878, the Prussian political police commented on Britain’s role as that ‘old meeting ground of political refugees and the representatives of the most extreme tendencies from all kinds of countries.’<sup>9</sup> In 1881, it noted the ‘numerous foreign elements who abuse the unlimited freedom that is

being granted to them in England and who are the point of origin for the revolutionary movement of all of Europe.<sup>10</sup>

This chapter considers Britain as a site of transnational contestation. It does so by focusing on socialist and anarchist German papers published in London – the city that hosted around half of Britain's German-born population.<sup>11</sup> Most of these periodicals appeared as weeklies, with their length usually amounting to four and sometimes to eight pages. The time period covered in this chapter ranges from the introduction of the Anti-Socialist Laws in 1878 to the demise of the *Londoner Volks-Zeitung* in 1910. Publishing activities abroad were particularly important until 1890, as German policies made it virtually impossible to print socialist newspapers at home. The exile press thus became a vital conduit for the German left. *Der Sozialdemokrat* was a key example. Launched in Zurich in 1879, the paper served as an unofficial organ of the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (SAP; known as Social Democratic Party of Germany/SPD from 1890 onwards). By 1886, its circulation amounted to an estimated 10,000 copies, most of which were sent to Germany.<sup>12</sup> In April 1888, however, the Swiss authorities expelled its editors Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Hermann Schlüter and Leonhard Tauscher. Therefore, from October onwards, *Der Sozialdemokrat* was published from London.<sup>13</sup> Motteler later said that the British capital had provided the paper with a 'new and even more storm-proof operational basis'.<sup>14</sup>

Yet, SAP leaders were far from the only ones to use London for their activities. Repression in Germany meant a weakening of central party control, and various dissenting voices within the left made themselves heard in exile. The London-based *Freiheit* was the most prominent example. The controversial former SAP Reichstag deputy Johann Most had launched this weekly in January 1879, predating *Der Sozialdemokrat* by over nine months. The paper soon embraced a revolutionary stance and ultimately 'became the first anarchist paper published in England'.<sup>15</sup> Both Most and *Freiheit* moved to New York in December 1882, yet London continued to be a hub for its European distribution. A Prussian police report from 1885 estimated that of 5,000 copies printed in the United States, 4,500 made it across the Atlantic.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, *Freiheit* was not the sole German anarchist paper with roots in London. In 1886, the Austrian anarchist Josef Peukert launched *Die Autonomie* in the British capital.<sup>17</sup> The emergence of *Freiheit* and *Die Autonomie* epitomizes a wider issue: London's importance as a centre for international anarchism during the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>18</sup>

Seen within this broader context, the foreign political press in London sheds light on important episodes in the history of German socialism and anarchism. The chapter starts by mapping the wider milieu connected to these publishing activities. It subsequently shows how the history of these papers reflected three kinds of tension: between social democrats and anarchists; within the anarchist camp; and between the German exiles and their host society.

## The settings of the radical German press in London

The creation of socialist and anarchist newspapers in London was intrinsically connected to the associational life of London's German community. In this respect, the

significance of the Communistischer Arbeiter-Bildungsverein (Communist Workers' Educational Association, CABV) can hardly be overstated. The CABV was founded in 1840, initially known as 'Deutscher Bildungsverein für Arbeiter' (German Educational Association for Workers). As Christine Lattek notes, it 'not only became an important focal point of *Vormärz* radicalism, but was also home to many leading socialists fleeing reaction after the defeat of the 1848–1849 revolution.'<sup>19</sup> In the following decades, the club experienced manifold divisions – yet it survived until the Great War, with most of its incarnations attracting at least two hundred members. Moreover, the CABV was never just a German venue: it hosted revolutionary refugees and national sections from several countries.<sup>20</sup> It is therefore hardly surprising that the CABV has been described as a 'model' for other clubs founded by political exiles.<sup>21</sup>

The period of the Anti-Socialist Laws coincided with major changes in the CABV. In 1878–9, the club split into three sections: the First Section maintained premises in Rose Street (present-day Manette Street) in London's West End; the Second Section had its quarters in nearby Tottenham Street; and the Third Section catered for German 'East Enders' through its club house in Whitechapel.<sup>22</sup> The political developments in Germany meant that in all sections, older members were joined by activists who had fled Bismarckian repression. Johann Most was one such arrival. Having reached London in December 1878, he published *Freiheit's* inaugural issue in January 1879, using the CABV's First Section as his base.<sup>23</sup> As early as December 1879, police reports noted the paper's growing distribution in Germany.<sup>24</sup> Most's willingness to steer a radical course soon became obvious. His embrace of the 'propaganda of the deed' culminated in an article that celebrated the assassination of Tsar Alexander II.<sup>25</sup> The British authorities' firm response marked a shift from earlier practice. Whereas they had shown little concern about the publishing activities of political exiles during the preceding two decades, they decided to prosecute Most. Bernard Porter has explained the different reasons that led the British government to deviate from its past policy – notably that the threat posed by Fenian terrorism resulted in a firmer line against advocacy for violent action.<sup>26</sup>

*Freiheit's* subsequent fate illustrates the importance of its local support structures: during the sixteen months of Most's imprisonment, CABV members such as John (Johann) Neve ensured the paper's survival. Matters were complicated when *Freiheit* described the Phoenix Park murders – the killing of Lord Cavendish and Thomas Henry Burke by Irish nationalists – as 'the unavoidable result of English tyranny in Ireland' and expressed its solidarity with the terrorists.<sup>27</sup> Another prosecution was the result. For a few months, the paper was therefore printed in Switzerland until the newly released Most moved to New York. Although *Freiheit* retained some support in London, by March 1884, the Prussian police believed that direct links between the CABV and the publication had ended.<sup>28</sup>

In contrast to the First and Third Sections' support for the radical *Freiheit*, the Second Section of the CABV remained within the social democratic fold. Heinrich Rackow was the dominant figure of the latter CABV branch. Until 1878, he had been active in the Berlin SAP and had run the party's publishing cooperative in the German capital. Following the passing of the Anti-Socialist Laws, he was arrested and expelled from the city, moving to London in the wake of these events.<sup>29</sup> In

November 1886, Rackow and the Second Section launched their own weekly, the *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung*. Unlike *Freiheit*, *Der Sozialdemokrat* or *Die Autonomie*, it primarily targeted the German community in Britain. This focus helps to explain why its distribution in Germany itself remained limited.<sup>30</sup> The newspaper's association with the Second Section did encounter challenges: in autumn 1887, the club members voted to end its publication 'for financial reasons'.<sup>31</sup> In response, activists founded a publishing cooperative and continued the paper under a different name: *Londoner Freie Presse*. These changes were not detrimental in every respect: after the re-launch, the paper's content grew from four to eight pages. Nor was there a rupture with the Second Section. For example, in January 1888, the *Londoner Freie Presse* carried Rackow's CABV New Year's speech on its front page.<sup>32</sup>

Later on in 1888, the Second Section proved important for another reason: when *Der Sozialdemokrat* moved its operation to Britain, the Second Section was the German club with the closed political proximity to its editors. Indeed, even after the paper had ceased to exist, Eduard Bernstein continued to lecture at the club 'from time to time'.<sup>33</sup> That said, the publishing house of *Der Sozialdemokrat* was not based at the Second Section's quarters in Tottenham Street, but at a cooperative in Kentish Town. Bernstein later explained that this location was partly chosen because the editors 'did not wish to go very far afield from that part of town in which Engels was living'.<sup>34</sup> Bernstein's memoirs mention his attendance of social gatherings at Engels's place in Primrose Hill, mingling with German exiles and British activists.<sup>35</sup>

Both *Londoner Freie Presse* and *Der Sozialdemokrat* ceased publication in 1890: the former for financial reasons, the latter because the end of the Anti-Socialist Laws meant that the SAP no longer required an exile paper.<sup>36</sup> The CABV did, however, provide the setting for one more newspaper, namely the *Londoner Volks-Zeitung*. The latter was launched in 1909, at a time when only one CABV club – located on Charlotte Street in Fitzrovia – was consistently active. The newspaper's founder Józef Sachse pointed out that this periodical was a CABV paper although, for legal reasons, it presented itself as an independent venture.<sup>37</sup> Along with Sachse, some of its authors came from Austria-Hungary, for instance Karl Steinhardt, who later co-founded the Austrian Communist Party.<sup>38</sup> The Prussian political police described the publication as 'well-written' and observed that it seemed to be well distributed.<sup>39</sup> One year later, however, its report noted that the CABV had been unable to sustain the publication, despite the club's 'rather active life'.<sup>40</sup>

The examples of *Freiheit*, the *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung*/*Londoner Freie Presse* and the *Londoner Volks-Zeitung* show that the CABV provided the soil from which newspapers could spring. *Die Autonomie* is a somewhat different case as its creation was entwined with the formation of a new club. Its founders Josef Peukert and Otto Rinke were initially active in the First Section of the CABV and sporadically published the anarchist periodical *Der Rebell*. Because of divisions that shall be discussed in due course, they established a separate group, entitled 'Autonomie', in May 1885. In November 1886, they launched the group's paper *Die Autonomie*, while also raising funds for their own club house. The plans for their venue soon attracted interest beyond German circles: according to Peukert, 'the French, Italian and Slavic groups waited impatiently for its completion so as to make it their home'.<sup>41</sup> The Club Autonomie

did indeed emerge as a meeting ground for anarchists from different countries.<sup>42</sup> The Prussian police later noted that London had been ‘the centre of international anarchist agitation’ during the club’s lifetime.<sup>43</sup> Yet, international links were also a factor in the demise of this venture. In 1894, the police raided the Club Autonomie after Martial Bourdin, a French visitor, had carried out a failed bomb attack on Greenwich Observatory.<sup>44</sup> Shortly afterwards, the club premises were destroyed in an unresolved case of arson. After this episode, German anarchists in London never managed to re-establish quarters of a comparable impact.

This is not to say that every socialist or anarchist paper was firmly rooted in a political club. From 1895 to 1899, Conrad Fröhlich, a Swiss typesetter, issued a series of publications – including a *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung* that, somewhat confusingly, was unrelated to the earlier CABV periodical of the same name. Fröhlich’s papers were less significant than the other publications that are being discussed in this chapter. Police reports described them as ‘full of ribaldry and foul-mouthed vituperation’; they also

**Table 7.1** Major German socialist and anarchist periodicals published in London, 1878 to 1910<sup>45</sup>

Publication Title	When?	Key Figure(s)	Institutional Base
<i>Freiheit</i>	in London: <b>October 1878–December 1882</b> [then published in USA until 1910]	Johann Most, John Neve	First Section, CABV (Rose Street)
<i>Der Sozialdemokrat</i>	in London: <b>October 1888–90</b> [previously from 1879–1888 in Switzerland]	Eduard Bernstein, Julius Motteler, Hermann Schlüter, Leonhard Tauscher	Socialist Workers’ Party of Germany; Second Section, CABV (Tottenham Street); circle around Friedrich Engels
<i>Der Rebell</i>	in London: <b>June 1884–October 1886</b> [sporadic publication from Dec. 1881 in various and not always clearly identifiable places]	Josef Peukert, Otto Rinke	one faction of First Section, CABV (Rose Street); formation of Autonomie group in May 1885
<i>Die Autonomie</i>	<b>November 1886–April 1893</b>	Josef Peukert, Otto Rinke	Club Autonomie (Windmill Street)
<i>Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung</i>	<b>November 1886–October 1887</b>	Ferdinand Gilles, Heinrich Rackow	Second Section, CABV (Tottenham Street)
<i>Londoner Freie Presse</i>	<b>October 1887 to June 1890</b>	Ferdinand Gilles	some members of Second Section, CABV (Tottenham Street); separate publishers cooperative
<i>Londoner Volks-Zeitung</i>	<b>October 1909–July 1910</b>	Józef Sachse, Theodore Rothstein	CABV (Charlotte Street)

noted that most activists viewed Fröhlich and his associates as ‘politically unreliable’.<sup>46</sup> While such claims need to be approached with caution, Max Nettlau – an anarchist contemporary and chronicler of the movement – reached similar conclusions. Nettlau portrayed Fröhlich as an opportunist: someone who moved from printing radical invectives to becoming ‘the model of a respectable witness’ in the 1901 trial against Italian anarchist Luigi Parmeggiani.<sup>47</sup>

As previously noted, the associational settings for the German political press – the CABV and the Club Autonomie – were international in character. Moreover, the periodicals themselves looked far beyond Germany and Britain, dedicating considerable space to developments abroad and translating material that had been published in other radical papers. Connections to the Yiddish press were one manifestation of such transnational ties. For instance, in 1885, the Second Section of the CABV hosted a fundraising concert for the newly founded *Arbeter Frait* (Workers’ Friend) – a weekly that became the leading radical periodical in Yiddish.<sup>48</sup> These links were strengthened through the activities of German anarchist Rudolf Rocker. Rocker arrived in London in 1895 and initially joined the CABV. However, he soon concluded that the Jewish population in the city’s East End bore the greatest potential for revolutionary action. Despite being a gentile who had to teach himself Yiddish, Rocker became the *Arbeter Frait*’s editor, performing this role from 1899 until the paper’s ban in 1914.<sup>49</sup> In 1900, he also established a second journal, *Germinal*, which initially appeared as a fortnightly before becoming a monthly.<sup>50</sup> Rocker later wrote the first major biography of Johann Most, testifying to the ideological and personal intersections within radical circles.<sup>51</sup>

## Social-revolutionary and anarchist challenges to social democracy

*Freiheit* did not start out as a champion of anarchism. Yet, from the outset, its ‘forceful’ tone proved attractive to many SAP followers while being unwelcome to the party leadership.<sup>52</sup> As early as December 1879, police reports noted that *Freiheit* ‘ridiculed the maxims of the current party leaders’, inciting revolution and urging socialists to ‘copy the activities of the Russian Nihilists’.<sup>53</sup> The foundation of *Der Sozialdemokrat* in October 1879 can partly be viewed as an attempt to counter *Freiheit*’s radical voice.<sup>54</sup> Over the following years, an intense rivalry between the radical London-based *Freiheit* and the moderate *Sozialdemokrat* in Zurich ensued. This conflict was stoked by *Freiheit*’s ideological journey. As Max Nettlau noted, the periodical moved into a ‘social revolutionary direction’ in 1879 and began to feature anarchist contributions from 1880.<sup>55</sup> In August 1880, the SAP reacted to this development by expelling Most from the party.<sup>56</sup>

These divisions did not simply pitch exiles in Switzerland and Britain against one another: they also account for the existence of two separate CABV sections in the West End of London. In contrast to the First and Third Sections, the Second Section was critical of Most’s aims and methods.<sup>57</sup> Unlike Most, Heinrich Rackow ‘defended the importance of election campaigns to bring socialists into power’.<sup>58</sup> Prussian police reports even alleged that Rackow responded to Most’s imprisonment in 1881 with

glee.<sup>59</sup> It would be wrong, however, to assume a permanent state of antagonism. In the course of the 1880s, the Second Section became more open to radical perspectives.<sup>60</sup> This shift became evident in the association's paper, the *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung*. Despite his anarchist convictions, Peukert found warm words for the publication, lauding its 'opposition to the autocratic leadership' of the SAP. He noted that social democratic leaders had unsuccessfully sought to take over the *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung* and 'steer heretical London back towards the course of the only true social democratic church.'<sup>61</sup> His apparent appreciation of the paper is striking as its editor Ferdinand Gilles remained hostile to anarchism.<sup>62</sup>

Peukert's comments highlight the possibility of a dialogue between radical social democrats in the Second Section and the anarchist circle surrounding *Die Autonomie*. Indeed, in 1887, parts of the Second Section criticized the anti-anarchist resolutions that had been passed at a party congress in St. Gallen, Switzerland.<sup>63</sup> Half a year later, members of the Club Autonomie and the Second Section met to debate anarchism. After three hours, the participants agreed that, following the revolution, a transitional phase would be required before a genuinely free society could be established.<sup>64</sup> In its turn, *Die Autonomie* encouraged German workers of a 'more moderate disposition' to join the revolutionary struggle.<sup>65</sup>

Occasional dialogue, however, should not obscure the underlying ideological differences. The latter can be traced through the coverage accorded to key events in the history of the socialist movement. The contrasting responses to the formation of the Second International in 1889 are a good example. Both *Der Sozialdemokrat* and *Londoner Freie Presse* praised the meetings that led to its creation as the making of a 'workers parliament' and a 'turning point.'<sup>66</sup> *Die Autonomie* was less impressed and dismissed it as 'international humbug.'<sup>67</sup> These divergences were hardly new. The First International had initially included followers of both Karl Marx and Mikhail Bakunin, but famously expelled the latter camp in 1872. It soon became apparent that the Second International would not accept anarchists back into the fold. In 1891, *Die Autonomie* extensively covered the exclusion of anarchists from the Brussels congress of the Second International, denouncing the 'charlatans of Brussels' as 'part-monkeys.'<sup>68</sup> It also suggested that the debates in Brussels demonstrated the corrupting effects of power.<sup>69</sup> When anarchists organized a breakaway meeting in Brussels, Otto Rinke of *Die Autonomie* attended the event and, according to one police report, gave 'bloodthirsty speeches.'<sup>70</sup>

One of the Second International's earliest decisions was to adopt May Day as an international day of labour, using the latter to push for key demands such as the eight-hour working day. Accordingly, *Der Sozialdemokrat* praised 1 May 1890 as a 'festive day of labour' and concluded that the activities had successfully put the congress decision of 1889 to the test.<sup>71</sup> Kevin Callahan has stressed May Day's emergence as the 'most important international working-class ritual' while noting the contrasting views on May Day strategy within the Second International.<sup>72</sup> For anarchists, the issue was complex, too. On the one hand, May Day held symbolic value for the movement because of its association with the Haymarket Affair of 1886. On the other hand, anarchists criticized what they regarded as a non-revolutionary agenda. *Die Autonomie*, for example, dismissed the May Day campaign as 'essentially conservative, anti-revolutionary because the root cause of social evil remains untouched.'<sup>73</sup>

Nonetheless, the paper argued that anarchists should not stand aside: after all, May Day strike action might offer possibilities for revolutionary agitation. In March 1891, an international anarchist meeting at the Club Autonomie confirmed this view, suggesting that anarchists should exploit the circumstances of Labour Day as much as possible.<sup>74</sup> Such examples ultimately show that May Day could be framed in different ways. An article from the *Londoner Volks-Zeitung* offers yet another perspective: in 1910, the paper responded to rising Anglo-German activism and partly cast May Day as a demonstration for peace, based on the notion that 'capitalism ... unleashes the horrors of modern war'.<sup>75</sup>

### The anarchists' 'fateful fraternal war'

The most acrimonious rift within London's exile community involved people from a relatively similar ideological background: in the 1880s, the anarchist and social-revolutionary camp was torn apart by a 'fateful fraternal war'.<sup>76</sup> According to Rudolf Rocker, this conflict 'inflicted more damage upon the anarchist and revolutionary movement in Germany and Austria than even the most egregious persecution of the reaction could cause'.<sup>77</sup> The German political press played a key role in this dispute, which saw Josef Peukert challenge the dominance of Most and his *Freiheit*.

Peukert arrived in London in 1884, having narrowly avoided arrest in Austria. His role in reinvigorating the work of First and Third Section of the CABV was soon noted by the Prussian political police.<sup>78</sup> Yet, Peukert clashed with Most who – despite publishing his paper from New York – still had a substantial following in London. In his memoirs, Peukert noted that *Freiheit* had refused to print pieces that contradicted Most's position. To him, these editorial decisions reflected Most's 'vain, self-righteous, despotic nature'.<sup>79</sup> Such remarks indicate that the dispute was partly a clash of personalities. Indeed, historian Tom Goyens has noted the 'deeply personal enmity between Peukert and Most that dated back to 1880'.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, according to Rudolf Rocker, the contemporaries of Peukert and Most acknowledged the role of 'personal ambition' and 'bruised vanity' in the dispute.<sup>81</sup> This is not to say that ideological distinctions were irrelevant: Peukert pursued a vision of anarchist communism under the influence of Peter Kropotkin's writings, whereas at the time Most still adhered to collectivist anarchism.

The initial challenge to *Freiheit* arose when Peukert and Rinke began to publish *Der Rebell* in London. This anarchist paper had previously appeared sporadically, with Switzerland as the most likely place of publication.<sup>82</sup> Its print run was relatively low, amounting to around 800 copies.<sup>83</sup> Despite its limited distribution, Peukert claimed that Most perceived *Der Rebell* as 'an inconvenient fellow'.<sup>84</sup> Most was not the only one to view the periodical critically. There were also 'unmistakable misgivings among the active comrades' who deemed the existence of *Freiheit* to be entirely sufficient.<sup>85</sup> One factor was the competition for access to secret distribution networks. Peukert and Rinke succeeded in recruiting Gustav Knauerhase – who had the list of European *Freiheit* subscribers – for their rival publication.<sup>86</sup> The rising antagonism meant that by 1885, the Prussian political police described the anarchist circles in London as being divided into warring 'cliques'.<sup>87</sup>

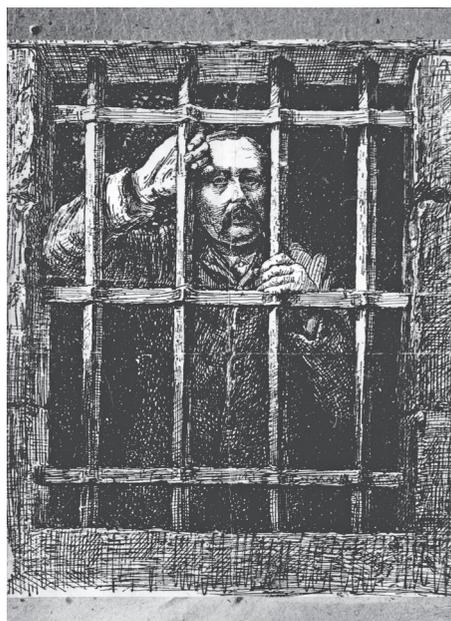
Even after its move to London, *Der Rebell* did not appear regularly and, in Rocker's views, it remained a 'poorly edited paper'.<sup>88</sup> However, it did provide the launching pad for *Die Autonomie*. In November 1886, Peukert's inaugural editorial for the new periodical stressed that it would promote 'the ideas of anarchist communism with energy and consequence'. In an implicit criticism of *Freiheit* and its editor, he argued that a publication coming 'from distant parts of the world' could not fulfil such a mission; moreover, he promised that his paper would remain 'completely independent from individual figures'.<sup>89</sup> Similar comments featured in later editions, for instance when denouncing 'cults of personality' among the left.<sup>90</sup> In the subsequent battle between the two periodicals, *Die Autonomie* seemed to have the upper hand until its eventual demise in 1893. In this period, as Max Nettlau put it, *Freiheit* 'lost its European friends nearly entirely' and became more or less 'cut off, something that even the harshest persecution of the years 1879 to 1886 had never managed to do'.<sup>91</sup>

With Most himself being overseas, Peukert's most prominent local antagonist was the Belgian anarchist Victor Dave, who has been described as Most's 'closest friend and mentor in London'.<sup>92</sup> Peukert sought to counter Dave's criticisms and diminish his role in German circles by publishing an anonymous brochure, portraying Dave as a threat to the anarchist movement.<sup>93</sup> The growing divide between the camps became unbridgeable after the arrest of John Neve – a German anarchist who served on *Freiheit's* press committee and had edited the paper during Most's imprisonment of 1881–2.<sup>94</sup> Neve commanded the respect of the rival factions, having maintained links to both Dave and Peukert. On New Year's Day 1887, Peukert and Neve met in Liège. Yet, Peukert had not travelled to Belgium by himself: he was joined by Charles Theodor Reuß, a police spy who had infiltrated London's anarchist circles. Soon afterwards, the Belgian police arrested Neve and extradited him to Germany, where he was sentenced to fifteen years of prison. Peukert's adversaries blamed him for Neve's fate – at worst, labelling him a police spy; at the very least, accusing him of carelessness that had revealed Neve's identity to the police.<sup>95</sup>

The exile press became a major forum for mutual recriminations after Neve's arrest. In Zurich, *Der Sozialdemokrat* joined the debate, accusing Peukert of being a spy and using the case for a general critique of the anarchist movement.<sup>96</sup> Likewise, *Freiheit* was convinced of Peukert's culpability.<sup>97</sup> In response, *Die Autonomie* claimed that *Der Sozialdemokrat* had begun to open the 'floodgates of pungent spite not only against P. [Peukert], but against the anarchists as a whole'.<sup>98</sup> It argued that *Der Sozialdemokrat* had used the case to 'throw excrement upon a long-detested enemy'.<sup>99</sup> In mounting a counter-accusation, it suggested that Dave had secretly pulled the strings in the affair. These claims were not without consequence. Despite not officially taking sides, the *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung* cast suspicions on Dave's role.<sup>100</sup> In light of the blows to Peukert's reputation, *Die Autonomie* subsequently distanced itself from its founder, stating that he was not editing the paper.<sup>101</sup> Even after Peukert's fall from grace, the periodical survived for several years. Prussian police reports noted that it had the 'first rank among anarchists', describing its editor Rinke as 'a fanatic of the first order'.<sup>102</sup> On the whole, it is clear that the Neve case further polarized the anarchist community in London.

These tremors were also felt on the other side of the Atlantic. After all – as Tom Goyens has pointed out – Most was 'a major figure in American anarchism' and 'the

AQ: Please check if the name "Charles Theodor Reuß" in the sentence "On new Year's Day . . . anarchist circles." is given as intended.



**Figure 7.1** John Neve in prison, Pierre Ramus Collection. © International Institute of Social History (Amsterdam).

public voice for German revolutionary anarchism in the Atlantic world during the last two decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>103</sup> Yet, as early as 1884, Peukert had US-based followers, too.<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, having left London in the wake of the Neve Affair, he ultimately reached New York in June 1890.<sup>105</sup> The London conflicts were thus bound to affect anarchist politics in North America.

One example shall serve to illustrate these impacts. In 1890, Emma Goldman – who soon emerged as a key figure in American anarchism – came across *Die Autonomie* in New York. To her, ‘its tenets were much closer to what anarchism had come to mean to me than those of the *Freiheit*’.<sup>106</sup> Her positive assessment of the publication was delicate because, at the time, she maintained close relations with Most. Most’s response was predictable: he denounced *Die Autonomie* as the paper of ‘the spy Peukert, who betrayed John Neve, one of our best German comrades, into the hands of the police’.<sup>107</sup> Both Goldman and her close ally Alexander Berkman tried to mediate between the two camps in the United States. For Berkman, this had the consequence that Most broke with him, proclaiming that ‘[y]ou have chosen my enemies as your friends’.<sup>108</sup>

The severity of these rifts raises challenges for historians, as much of the existing source material is highly partisan. Peukert used his posthumously published memoirs to defend his actions.<sup>109</sup> Rocker later criticized Peukert’s portrayal of Most and Dave as ‘truly distorted’, arguing that Peukert’s account could only be used ‘with the greatest caution’.<sup>110</sup> Max Nettlau was similarly critical of Peukert’s memoirs and, in discussing the events of the 1880s, denounced ‘the efforts of Peukert, Rinke and their fanaticized

followers to destroy Most and Dave'.<sup>111</sup> In his biography of Most, Rocker sought to acknowledge flaws on both sides – but his sympathies for Most were obvious. Rocker argued that the rise of *Die Autonomie* had not been a positive development as it was no match to *Freiheit*.<sup>112</sup> In his view, the struggle had turned the 'magnificent German movement, which under Most's mighty power of agitation flourished in London and elsewhere, into a barren debris field', giving rise to 'mean-spirited sectarianism'.<sup>113</sup> Both *Freiheit* and *Die Autonomie* continued to appear after the rupture of 1887, yet they had certainly contributed to the fragmentation of the exile community.

## Anglo-German relations

The German political press in London did not only reflect and amplify the divisions within exile circles: it also served as a mirror for the complex relationship between refugees and their host society. For most of the period, exiles had a significant scope for political action. In the decade after the 1848 revolutions, the British government had experienced diplomatic pressure to act against potentially subversive foreigners – yet in the aftermath of the Orsini Affair of 1858, the appetite for systematic action against exile groups decreased significantly. Bernard Porter has suggested that by 1878 'it appears that police surveillance of refugees had subsided almost to nothing'.<sup>114</sup> There were occasional exceptions – notably the Most trial of 1881 and British diplomats' involvement in international anti-terrorist efforts during the 1890s.<sup>115</sup> Yet, by and large, socialists and anarchists continued to perceive their host society as relatively tolerant. For instance, having seen its editors expelled from Switzerland, *Der Sozialdemokrat* praised Britain's commitment to the freedom of the press.<sup>116</sup> After visiting the country in 1899, Emma Goldman described it as a 'haven for refugees from all lands' and suggested that exiles were able to pursue their agenda 'without hindrance'.<sup>117</sup>

This is not to say that Britain was welcoming in every respect. Bernard Porter has suggested that refugees 'were never greatly liked in Britain', and Panikos Panayi has noted 'various strands of socio-economic hostility' towards the Germans.<sup>118</sup> German newspapers in London were certainly sensitive to negative attitudes. In December 1887, the *Londoner Freie Presse* lambasted the *Berliner Voksblatt* for its overly positive coverage of Britain, arguing that it had glossed over the existing anti-German sentiment.<sup>119</sup> The *Londoner Freie Presse*'s own reports discussed examples of the latter. For instance, only two months earlier, *Reynolds's Newspaper* – a radical publication with a working-class readership – had blamed unemployment on German migrants who had pushed aside 'honest English labour', arguing that it was 'about time we began in this country to do what the Americans did in the case of the Chinese'.<sup>120</sup> To the *Londoner Freie Presse*, these remarks were indicative of a wider phenomenon:

anyone who has lived in London for several years will not have missed the fact that from all sides, in the daily and weekly press, in the music halls and churches, in temperance meetings and pubs, great efforts are made to tell the English proletariats that it is the 'bloody Germans' who are to blame for the misery of English workers.<sup>121</sup>

In January 1888, a contributor to the *Londoner Freie Presse* further addressed the issue of ‘German-baiting’.<sup>122</sup> His article began with the observation that a popular West End music hall show had featured a song in which Germans were told to return to their ‘home, sweet home’. The author wondered whether English people were ‘so foolish as to believe that the great misery in London has been caused by foreigners’. His subsequent discussion juxtaposed the two nations’ attitude towards other cultures, describing Germans as ‘virtually the opposite’ of the English in this respect: ‘He [the German] has a real passion for everything alien and foreign .... He learns foreign languages – which very few Englishmen do – in short, he is a citizen of the world *comme il faut*.’<sup>123</sup> These claims about German cosmopolitanism were not free from contradictions: after all, the author acknowledged that it was repression at home rather than ‘sheer pleasure’ that had forced many Germans to come to ‘foggy England’. While these generalizations reveal the author’s own prejudices, the wider framing of the critique is interesting: it cast exiles as the better internationalists, arguing that ‘from a socialist standpoint, we regard national particularism as an obstacle to culture’.<sup>124</sup>

More than two decades later, the *Londoner Volks-Zeitung* also commented on the suspicions faced by the German community. For instance, it noted the ‘widely held view among the English that unemployment in all sectors is largely attributable to foreign immigrants who, through their low wage demands, make it impossible for British workers to compete’.<sup>125</sup> It pointed to official statistics, suggesting that long-term migration was more limited than widely believed. Another article argued that the presence of foreign workers on British soil need not necessarily have to depress local wages, provided that foreign workers were integrated into local trade unions.<sup>126</sup> The forging of links between the British labour movement and foreign communities could be one way of reducing potential tensions. Yet, interaction was sporadic rather than systematic – primarily manifesting itself on specific occasions such as the commemorations of the Paris Commune or, from 1890 onwards, the annual May Day celebrations.

Moreover, relations between German radicals and the British labour movement were hardly free from political tensions. Some British socialists did join the ‘*Freiheit* Defence Committee’ after Most’s arrest in 1881 – but such activism was largely shaped by a concern for civil liberties rather than ideological proximity.<sup>127</sup> In the late 1880s, police reports noted that links between German exiles and British organizations such as the Social Democratic Federation (SDF) and the Socialist League.<sup>128</sup> However, other parts of the British left were often reluctant to associate themselves with forces that were deemed more radical. Reflecting such tensions, the *Londoner Freie Presse* criticized the British trade union leader Henry Broadhurst in 1888 as he had planned an international labour congress from which many socialists would be excluded.<sup>129</sup> G. D. H. Cole has noted that British trade unionists had been keen to make this event ‘as far as they could, non-political’.<sup>130</sup> In response, the *Londoner Freie Presse* provided ample coverage to a rival international meeting held in London on the same occasion. In doing so, it quoted Heinrich Rackow’s comment that Broadhurst ‘served the interest of the property-owning classes’ because of his efforts to keep socialists away from organized labour.<sup>131</sup> The negative portrayal of British trade union leaders continued in 1889 as the paper described them as ‘entrepreneurial fellows, with a fine understanding

of the opportunities for a so-called labour leader to line his own pockets through services rendered to the political parties and capitalist groups.<sup>132</sup>

The *Londoner Freie Presse* was not the only German periodical that debated the stances of the British left. In March 1889, *Der Sozialdemokrat* published the German translation of an English leaflet in which Eduard Bernstein defended German socialists 'against deliberately false accusations'.<sup>133</sup> This was a response to an article in *Justice*, the fortnightly of the SDF. The British paper had claimed that Germans in Britain and the USA 'strictly confine themselves to their own national clubs' and alleged that they were undermining propaganda efforts in Britain and the USA 'by printing their newspaper in a language which not one in a thousand of their neighbours can understand'.<sup>134</sup> To the German social democrats, such criticism seemed 'incredible'. They pointed out that *Der Sozialdemokrat* was written in German because its intended audience was German, with nine-tenths of its print run distributed in Germany. In other words, the place of publication was the result of German oppression rather than of any particular link with Britain. The pamphlet also mentioned the *Londoner Freie Presse*, describing it as a 'local paper in the German language' whose ongoing existence demonstrated 'that it supplies a want'.<sup>135</sup>

Such examples illustrate the tensions between German exile activists and British labour. The foundation of the *Londoner Volks-Zeitung* in 1909 was a notable initiative as it was conceived as a forum for dialogue. Its first editorial presented the paper as a response to 'the seriousness of the international political situation' and to 'the ever-present danger of war'.<sup>136</sup> According to its co-founder Jozef Sachse, German and English labour activists could make a positive change in international relations – but to do so, they would have to 'cooperate truly, i.e. not only to limit themselves to holding speeches and passing resolutions, but to develop programmes for action from time to time'.<sup>137</sup>

The *Londoner Volks-Zeitung* was construed as a step in this direction. While most of its content was written in German, it occasionally published pieces in English, starting with its bilingual opening editorial. Another example was the publication of a debate between Karl Kautsky and Keir Hardie. The root of this dispute had been in the opening edition as Kautsky had noted the 'masterly...demagogy' of the English bourgeoisie.<sup>138</sup> He subsequently wrote a more substantial article, commenting on problems faced by the British labour movement.<sup>139</sup> His piece triggered a response by Keir Hardie, who defended the achievements of the British left, pointing out that Kautsky's own time in Britain had been over twenty years ago.<sup>140</sup> Kautsky responded and – perhaps unsurprisingly – the *Londoner Volks-Zeitung* took his side.<sup>141</sup> The newspaper argued that 'the English had no need to feel smug about their insular obtuseness'. It criticized the 'political intelligence of the ordinary worker', noting that many workers voted for liberals or conservatives rather than Labour candidates.<sup>142</sup>

While the debate with Hardie was conducted in cordial fashion, a more serious dispute concerned Robert Blatchford, who served as editor of the left-wing *Clarion*. In 1909, Blatchford published a series of articles in the *Daily Mail*, covering Germany's alleged plans to inflict a war on Britain.<sup>143</sup> In line with its founding mission, the *Londoner Volks-Zeitung* repeatedly condemned these reports. While the article series was still ongoing, it commented sarcastically that 'this jingoistic organ, the *Daily Mail*,

has had the splendid idea to send a socialist leader, Robert Blatchford, to Germany so that he could get confirmation of the Teutonic plans for world domination...on the spot.<sup>144</sup> The *Volks-Zeitung* subsequently denounced the ‘almost infantile articles which also-comrade Robert Blatchford has written about Germany’ and labelled him a ‘warmonger’.<sup>145</sup> Seen in this context, the paper is a prism through which we can see how Anglo-German antagonism affected the labour movement, including its representatives within the exile communities.

## Conclusion

What, then, does an analysis of the German political press in London show us? First of all, it is evident that a presence in London enabled German socialists and anarchists to promote their views in the era of the Anti-Socialist Laws. *Der Sozialdemokrat* used London as its base when even Switzerland no longer accepted its presence. Having come to Britain, its editors interacted with a lively community that maintained its own weekly, the *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung/Londoner Freie Presse*. As far as the anarchists are concerned, both Johann Most’s *Freiheit* and Josef Peukert’s *Die Autonomie* played important roles. The former was important in challenging the party leadership, printing revolutionary rhetoric and championing the ‘propaganda of the deed’. The latter was more concerned with disseminating anarcho-communist ideas, publishing theoretical considerations along the reporting of specific events. On the whole, London was an important site for both the propaganda and ideological development of the German left. The early presence of a figure such as Most contributed to the city’s prominence as an international anarchist hub – while attracting controversy and the attentions of the police.

Secondly, the analysis shows that for members of the German left, exile was a site of intense ideological and personal strife. In some respects, this was a corollary of operating within a marginal community. Exile activism involved people who faced repression at home, scepticism from the host society and potential infiltration from police spies. The fact that the community was very small was certainly a factor as well – as personal disputes could easily be amplified.

Thirdly, the case of the German political press illustrates wider issues in the history of internationalism. The periodicals certainly promoted the idea of being part of a greater cause. Moreover, these publications were linked to venues such as the CABV and the Club Autonomie – venues where manifold transnational encounters occurred. Yet, as the complex relationships with the host society demonstrate, it is important to remember the limitations of this internationalism.

## Notes

- 1 Theodore Rothstein, ‘Zur Genealogie der “Londoner Volks-Zeitung”’, *Londoner Volks-Zeitung*, 1 January 1910.
- 2 ‘Was wir wollen’, *Londoner Volks-Zeitung*, 23 October 1909.

- 3 Rothstein, 'Zur Genealogie'.
- 4 Bernard Porter, *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 8. See also Pietro Di Paola, *The Knights Errant of Anarchy: London and the Italian Anarchist Diaspora (1880–1917)* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 18.
- 5 Panikos Panayi, 'German Immigrants in Britain, 1815–1914', in *Germans in Britain since 1500*, ed. Panikos Panayi (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), 73.
- 6 Panikos Panayi, *Immigrants, Ethnicity and Racism in Britain, 1815–1945* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 67–9 and 95.
- 7 Panayi, 'German Immigrants in Britain', 77.
- 8 Rosemary Ashton, *Little Germany: German Refugees in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); Christine Lattek, *Revolutionary Refugees: German Socialists in Britain, 1840–1860* (London: Routledge, 2006).
- 9 Prussian police report, 11 December 1878, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven: Übersicht der Berliner politischen Polizei über die allgemeine Lage der sozialdemokratischen und anarchistischen Bewegung 1878–1913*, vol. i: 1878–1889, ed. Dieter Fricke and Rudolf Knaack (Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1983), 10.
- 10 Prussian police report, 15 June 1881, in *ibid.*, 105.
- 11 By 1911, at least 27,290 Germans lived in London: Panayi, 'German Immigrants in Britain', 78. Census data, however, tended to ignore some individuals. Christine Lattek has pointed out that while official figures for 1861 were 12,448, German residents assumed a much higher number: Lattek, *Revolutionary Refugees*, 9.
- 12 Prussian police report, 24 July 1886, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 298.
- 13 Prussian police report, 22 November 1889, in *ibid.*, 359.
- 14 Horst Bartel, Wolfgang Schröder, Gustav Seeber and Heinz Wolter, *Der Sozialdemokrat 1879–1890: Ein Beitrag zur Rolle des Zentralorgans im Kampf der revolutionären Arbeiterbewegung gegen das Sozialistengesetz* (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1975), 105.
- 15 Lattek, *Revolutionary Refugees*, 194.
- 16 Of these, an estimated 4,500 went to Europe: Prussian police report, 6 July 1885, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 275.
- 17 'Freunde und Genossen', *Die Autonomie*, 6 November 1886.
- 18 Hermia Oliver, *The International Anarchist Movement in Late Victorian London* (London: Croon Helm, 1983); Constance Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London, 1880–1914: Exile and Transnationalism in the First Globalisation* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013); Di Paola, *The Knights Errant*.
- 19 Lattek, *Revolutionary Refugees*, 19.
- 20 Di Paola, *The Knights Errant*, 159–60; Lattek, *Revolutionary Refugees*, e.g. 22; Prussian police report, 5 September 1878, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 11.
- 21 Oliver, *The International Anarchist Movement*, 5; Di Paola, *The Knights Errant*, 10.
- 22 Lattek, *Revolutionary Refugees*, 193.
- 23 Rudolf Rocker, *Johann Most: Das Leben eines Rebellen* (Berlin: Verlag 'Der Syndikalist', 1924), 21; Tom Goyens, *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880–1914* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 92; Frederick Trautmann, *The Voice of Terror: A Biography of Johann Most* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1980), 40.
- 24 Prussian police report, 29 December 1879, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 37.
- 25 Johann Most, 'Endlich', *Freiheit*, 19 March 1881.

- 26 Bernard Porter, 'The *Freiheit* Prosecutions, 1881–1882', *The Historical Journal* 23, no. 4 (1980): 833–56.
- 27 On official responses, see Rocker, *Johann Most*, 130; Porter, 'The *Freiheit* Prosecutions', 852–3.
- 28 Prussian police report, 4 March 1884, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 221.
- 29 August Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben*, vol. iii (7th edn; Berlin: Buchhandlung Vorwärts, 1922), 24 and 26.
- 30 Prussian police reports, 15 November 1887 and 22 November 1889, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 328 and 359.
- 31 'An alle Freunde der Arbeitersache', *Londoner Freie Presse*, 8 October 1887.
- 32 'Eine Neujahrsrede', *Londoner Freie Presse*, 8 January 1888.
- 33 In his memoirs, Bernstein mentions lecturing at the CABV in 1899: Eduard Bernstein, *My Years of Exile: Reminiscences of a Socialist*, trans. Bernard Miall (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1921), 252.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 174.
- 35 *Ibid.*, 196–204. The 'close connection' between *Der Sozialdemokrat* and Engels is noted in Bartel et al., *Der Sozialdemokrat 1878–1890*, 106–26.
- 36 'Ende des Sozialistengesetzes', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 2 August 1890.
- 37 Józef Sachse to Karl Kautsky, 5 October 1909, in *Karl Kautsky und die Sozialdemokratie Südosteuropas: Korrespondenz 1883–1938*, ed. Georges Haupt, Janós Jemnitz and Leo van Rossum (Frankfurt: Campus, 1986), 497.
- 38 Karl Steinhardt (Gruber), 'Meetings with the Great Lenin', in *They Knew Lenin: Reminiscences of Foreign Contemporaries*, ed. S. F. Bezveselny and D. Y. Grinberg (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1968), 57.
- 39 Prussian police report for 1909, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven: Übersichten der Berliner Polizei über die allgemeine Lage der sozialdemokratischen und anarchistischen Bewegung 1878–1913*, vol. iii: 1906–1913, ed. Dieter Fricke and Rudolf Knaack (Berlin: Berliner Wissenschaftsverlag 2004), 242.
- 40 Prussian police report for 1910, in *ibid.*, 333.
- 41 Josef Peukert, *Erinnerungen eines Proletariers aus der revolutionären Arbeiterbewegung* (Frankfurt: Verlag AV, 2002 [orig. 1913]), 176.
- 42 Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London*, 39; Di Paola, *The Knights Errant*, 71; Lattek, *Revolutionary Refugees*, 195. For an example of a joint gathering, see 'Internationale anarchistische Konferenz in London', *Die Autonomie*, 4 April 1891.
- 43 Prussian police report for 1901, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven: Übersichten der Berliner politischen Polizei über die allgemeine Lage der sozialdemokratischen und anarchistischen Bewegung 1878–1913*, vol. ii: 1890–1906, ed. Dieter Fricke und Rudolf Knaack (Weimar: Hermann Böhlhaus Nachfolger, 1989), 260.
- 44 The attack itself is immortalized in Joseph Conrad's novel *The Secret Agent* (1907).
- 45 With the exception of *Der Rebell*, all papers in this table were conceived as weeklies. They mostly comprised four pages, although the *Londoner Neue Presse* and the *Londoner Volks-Zeitung* were twice this size.
- 46 Prussian police report, 15 January 1898, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. ii, 94. See largely identical remarks in the report covering events in 1898: *ibid.*, 148.
- 47 Max Nettlau, *Geschichte der Anarchie*, vol. v: *Anarchisten und Syndikalisten* (Vaduz: Topos-Verlag, 1984), 181. On the trial itself, see also Di Pietro, *The Knights Errant*, 76–8.
- 48 'Kleine Chronik', *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 6 August 1887.

- 49 For Rocker's own assessment of the *Arbeter Fraint's* significance, see Rudolf Rocker, *The London Years* (Nottingham: Five Leaves Press, 2005 [orig. 1956]), 96. In 1909, its estimated circulation was 2,000: Prussian police report for 1909, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. iii, 242.
- 50 In 1909, the year that it ceased publication, *Germinal's* estimated circulation stood at 3,000: *ibid.*
- 51 Rocker, *Johann Most*. Rocker's publication was also important as the events covered in Most's memoirs predate his time in London and New York: Johann Most, *Memoiren: Erlebtes, Erforschtes und Erdachtes* (New York: J. Most, 1903).
- 52 Bartel et al., *Der Sozialdemokrat 1879–1890*, 38.
- 53 Prussian police report, 29 December 1879, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 31.
- 54 Rocker, *Johann Most*, 72.
- 55 Max Nettlau, *Geschichte der Anarchie*, vol. ii: *Der Anarchismus von Proudhon zu Kropotkin. Seine historische Entwicklung in den Jahren 1859–1880* (Glashütten: Auermann, 1972), 301. See also *idem*, *Geschichte der Anarchie*, vol. iii, *Anarchisten und Sozialrevolutionäre. Die historische Entwicklung des Anarchismus in den Jahren 1880–1886* (Glashütten: Auermann, 1972), 145–67; Rocker, *Johann Most*, 65.
- 56 Goyens, *Beer and Revolution*, 93.
- 57 Prussian police report, 10 June 1880, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 58–9.
- 58 Lattek, *Revolutionary Refugees*, 195.
- 59 Prussian police report, 15 June 1881, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 105.
- 60 Prussian police report, 15 November 1887, in *ibid.*, 333.
- 61 Peukert, *Erinnerungen*, 189.
- 62 Nettlau, *Geschichte der Anarchie*, vol. v, 167.
- 63 'Bruggener Resolution', *Londoner Freie Presse*, 5 November 1887.
- 64 'Nah und fern', *Londoner Freie Presse*, 5 May 1888.
- 65 'An die Arbeiter und Arbeiterinnen Deutschlands', *Die Autonomie*, 7 February 1891.
- 66 'Der internationale sozialistische Arbeiter-Kongress und die deutsche Presse', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 10 August 1889; 'Die beiden Arbeiterkongresse', *Londoner Freie Presse*, 3 August 1889. *Der Sozialdemokrat's* positive coverage of the Second International's formation is analysed in Kevin Callahan, *Demonstration Culture: European Socialism and the Second International, 1889–1914* (Leicester: Troubadour, 2010), 55–6.
- 67 'Die internationalen Congresses', *Die Autonomie*, 17 November 1888.
- 68 'An die Adresse der Brüsseler Gaukler', *Die Autonomie*, 5 September 1891.
- 69 E. Heine, 'Kongress-Betrachtungen', *Die Autonomie*, 12 September 1891.
- 70 Prussian police report, 22 November 1889, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 359.
- 71 'Der Festtag der Arbeit', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 26 April 1890.
- 72 Callahan, *Demonstration Culture*, 194.
- 73 'Zur 1. Mai Bewegung', *Die Autonomie*, 10 January 1891.
- 74 'Internationale anarchistische Konferenz in London', *Die Autonomie*, 4 April 1891.
- 75 'Zum 1. Mai 1910', *Londoner Volks-Zeitung*, 30 April 1910.
- 76 Rocker, *Johann Most*, 222.
- 77 *Ibid.*, 216.
- 78 Prussian police report, 1 November 1884, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 252.

- 79 Peukert, *Erinnerungen*, 150.
- 80 Goyens, *Beer and Revolution*, 128. See also Trautmann, *The Voice of Terror*, 172.
- 81 Rocker, *Johann Most*, 226.
- 82 Prussian police report, 4 March 1884, in Fricke and Knaack, *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 221–2.
- 83 See the Fricke and Knaack's note in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. ii, 140.
- 84 Peukert, *Erinnerungen*, 155.
- 85 Rocker, *Johann Most*, 229.
- 86 *Ibid.*, 239–43; Peukert, *Erinnerungen*, 143–4.
- 87 Prussian police report, 6 July 1885, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 275.
- 88 Rocker, *Johann Most*, 230.
- 89 'Freunde und Genossen!', *Die Autonomie*, 6 November 1886.
- 90 'Der Personenkultus', *Die Autonomie*, 28 January 1887.
- 91 Nettlau, *Geschichte der Anarchie*, vol. v, 168. See also *ibid.*, 182.
- 92 Goyens, *Beer and Revolution*, 92. See also Rocker, *Johann Most*, 225.
- 93 Anon., *Trau, schau, wem! Victor Daves Thätigkeit in der Arbeiter-Bewegung* (London: Fischer, 1886).
- 94 Oliver, *The International Anarchist Movement*, 17.
- 95 There are a various accounts of these incidents. Apart from those by Peukert, Rocker and Nettlau, see also Prussian police report, 15 November 1887, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 333; Goyens, *Beer and Revolution*, 128–30; Alex Butterworth, *The World That Never Was: A True Story of Dreamers, Schemers, Anarchists and Secret Agents* (London: The Bodley Head, 2010), 210–11.
- 96 'Wie John Neve der preußischen Polizei in die Hände geliefert wurde', *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 13 May 1887.
- 97 Peukert, *Erinnerungen*, 185.
- 98 'Zur Beachtung', *Die Autonomie*, 2 July 1887.
- 99 'An den Pranger', *Die Autonomie*, 16 July 1887.
- 100 'Kleine Chronik' and 'Sprechsaal', *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 11 June 1887; 'Kleine Chronik', *Londoner Arbeiter-Zeitung*, 18 June 1887.
- 101 'Erklärung', *Die Autonomie*, 15 October 1887.
- 102 Prussian police report, 22 November 1889, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 359.
- 103 Goyens, *Beer and Revolution*, 86.
- 104 *Ibid.*, 116.
- 105 *Ibid.*, 130–3.
- 106 Emma Goldman, *Living my Life* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1931), 74.
- 107 *Ibid.*, 74.
- 108 *Ibid.*, 76.
- 109 In a letter to German anarchist Gustav Landauer, Peukert said that his memoirs had to discuss the argument with Most 'without sugarcoating it', even if this resulted in 'an ugly picture': letter of 1 July 1909, cited in the introduction to Peukert, *Erinnerungen*, n.p.
- 110 Rocker, *Johann Most*, 9–10.
- 111 Nettlau, *Geschichte der Anarchie*, vol. v, 153.
- 112 Rocker, *Johann Most*, 294.
- 113 *Ibid.*, 282.
- 114 Porter, *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Britain*, 210.

- 115 On the latter, see Richard Bach Jensen, *The Battle Against Anarchist Terrorism: An International History, 1878–1934* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Pietro Di Paola, ‘The Spies Who Came in from the Heat: The International Surveillance of the Anarchists in London’, *European History Quarterly* 37, no. 2 (2007): 189–215.
- 116 ‘Vom Boden der Republik in die Metropole der Monarchie’, *Der Sozialdemokrat*, 22 September 1888.
- 117 Goldman, *Living my Life*, 165.
- 118 Porter, *The Refugee Question in Mid-Victorian Britain*, 226; Panayi, ‘German Immigrants in Britain’, 92. See also Panayi, *Immigrants, Ethnicity and Racism*, 118.
- 119 ‘Der Londoner Correspondent eines deutschen Arbeiterblattes und die deutschen Arbeiter im Auslande’, *Londoner Freie Presse*, 3 December 1887.
- 120 ‘English Paupers and German Paupers’, *Reynolds’s Newspaper*, 30 October 1887.
- 121 ‘Deutsche Paupers in London’, *Londoner Freie Presse*, 5 November 1887.
- 122 ‘Deutschenhetze in London’, *Londoner Freie Presse*, 21 January 1888.
- 123 Ibid.
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 ‘Arbeitslosigkeit und Ausländer’, *Londoner Volks-Zeitung*, 27 November 1909.
- 126 ‘Die gewerkschaftliche Internationale’, *Londoner Volks-Zeitung*, 13 November 1909.
- 127 Porter, ‘The *Freiheit* Prosecutions’, 840.
- 128 Prussian police report, 15 November 1887, in *Dokumente aus geheimen Archiven*, vol. i, 334; Rocker, *Johann Most*, 249.
- 129 ‘Zwei internationale Congresses’, *Londoner Freie Presse*, 21 January 1888.
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