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Review of *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years, Volume One: Made for America, 1890–1901* and *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years, Volume Two: Making Speech Free, 1902–1909*. Edited by Candace Falk; Barry Pateman, associate editor; Jessica M. Moran, assistant editor.

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Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years, Volume One: Made for America, 1890–1901. Edited by Candace Falk; Barry Pateman, associate editor; Jessica M. Moran, assistant editor. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003. 676 pp. ISBN cloth 0-520-08670-8, \$60.00.

Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years, Volume Two: Making Speech Free, 1902–1909. Edited by Candace Falk; Barry Pateman, associate editor; Jessica M. Moran, assistant editor. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. 662 pp. ISBN cloth 0-520-22569-4, \$60.00.

Nancy Marie Robertson

“I am anxious to reach the mass of the American reading public . . . not so much because of the royalties, but because I have always worked for the mass.”

—Emma Goldman¹

For more than a quarter of a century, Candace Falk and her comrades at the Emma Goldman Papers Project (EGPP) have worked to make the records of the turn-of-the-century anarchist, lecturer, and social critic available. With the assistance of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC), they joined with papers projects for Jane Addams, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, and Margaret Sanger to form the Consortium for Women’s History, part of an effort to diversify the people represented in historical editing projects. Funded by individual contributions as well as support from NHPRC and the National Endowment for the Humanities, the EGPP has produced 69 reels of microfilm,² an accompanying guide,³ and a website,⁴ and is now publishing four volumes of selected documents. While the microfilm remains indispensable to researchers working on Goldman’s life in its totality as well as those analyzing the movements and events in which she was involved, *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years* brings a representa-

¹ Quoted in Leon Litwack’s foreword to *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years*, vol. 1 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), xvii.

² *Emma Goldman: A Comprehensive Microfilm Edition* (Alexandria, VA: Chadwyck-Healey, 1991–93); the projected seventieth reel, which was intended to include material discovered after the publication of the microfilm as well as recollections of people who knew Goldman, has not yet appeared.

³ *Emma Goldman: A Guide to Her Life and Documentary Sources*, edited by Candace Falk; Stephen Cole, associate editor; and Sally Thomas, assistant editor (Alexandria, VA: Chadwyck-Healey, 1995).

⁴ <http://sunsite3.berkeley.edu/Goldman/>

tive sample of her papers to a larger audience. As such, the volumes expand access to materials essential to understanding American history, especially struggles over radical politics, the position of women, free speech, violence as a means of social change, government repression, and the place of the individual in American myth and culture. The EGPP sheds as much light on Goldman's America as on the woman herself.

Born in Kovno in the Russian empire (now Kaunas, Lithuania), Emma Goldman (1869–1940) lived in Russia and Prussia before immigrating to the United States in 1885. The execution of the Haymarket anarchists in 1887 was a transformative moment in her life (as well as in the lives of other radicals), prompting her to question American society and to work for social change. In 1889, she moved to New York City, where she became active in the radical and immigrant communities on the Lower East Side. America—and New York City, in particular—was the right place, and the turn of the twentieth century was the right time for her. In 1890, Goldman began her speaking career under the tutelage of Johann Most (1846–1906), a German immigrant and a leading figure in the immigrant anarchist community. Until her deportation from the United States in 1919 (as part of the World War I and subsequent Red Scare crackdown on radicals and immigrants), Goldman toured the U.S. lecturing and writing on the issues of her day, including patriotism and war, free speech, women's issues, and modern drama as well as anarchism and political violence.

Goldman's engagement in social change went beyond speeches. In another defining moment of her life, she and Alexander Berkman (1870–1936), plotted the assassination of Henry Clay Frick, chairman of the Carnegie Company. Intent on breaking the steelworkers' union when their contract was up in July 1892, Frick had called in the Pinkerton private security force to protect the factory and potential strikebreakers. Violence ensued—including the deaths of both strikers and Pinkertons—causing protests around the country, often in favor of the workers. Berkman and Goldman sought to promote social unrest through an *attentat* (propaganda by deed), reasoning that killing Frick would motivate workers across the United States to rebel against their social, political, and economic constraints. Rooted in the experiences of radicals in Europe, the *attentat* was most emphatically not effective in the American context. Berkman failed in his attempt to kill Frick, and public sentiment turned against the strikers at Homestead. Workers themselves rejected the tactic; some regarded it as a plot to discredit the labor movement, while others saw it as the act of a disgruntled or crazy individual. When the dust settled down, Berkman was sentenced to twenty-one years in prison (he ended up serving fourteen), and Goldman was left to pick up the pieces of her life while supporting efforts to free Berkman, keeping up his spirits, and dealing with her own guilt over not being punished as well.

In the following years, Goldman gained a national reputation as a com-

elling speaker, a challenging social thinker, and, in the words of J. Edgar Hoover, one of “the most dangerous anarchists in this country.”⁵ Beginning in the mid 1890s, she “crossed over,” gaining audiences among middle-class native-born Americans as well as her base among immigrants and radicals. While she experienced some success, she also faced threats from both the police and vigilantes. She was physically attacked as well as jailed. On three occasions, she was tried, convicted, and imprisoned. The charges involved—inciting a crowd of the unemployed to riot (1893), lecturing on birth control (1916), and obstructing conscription (1917)—are indicative of the range of issues she addressed.

Joined by Berkman after his release from prison in 1906, she developed an additional platform for social and political commentary through her monthly magazine, *Mother Earth* (1906–1917). As the United States began to prepare for entry into the World War, they engaged in anti-war activities. Both served time for these efforts and, in 1919, they were deported to the U.S.S.R. Although they found an initially receptive host in Lenin and the Bolshevik state, their growing concern over political repression (particularly against anarchists) and the increasing power of a centralized state led to an untenable position for them. They left the Soviet Union in 1921 and would remain in exile for the remainder of their lives. They found themselves “nowhere at home,” on one hand trailed and harassed by government agents, while on the other criticized for their “premature” anti-communism by both liberals and radicals. Goldman came to miss America; regardless of her birth in Europe, she was “made in America.”⁶

Although Goldman was somewhat protected by the British citizenship she gained through her 1925 marriage to a Welsh comrade, Berkman remained “stateless.” Both of them faced financial, legal, and medical problems in times that were increasingly unsupportive of anarchists. Ill and depressed, Berkman committed suicide in 1936. Later that year, Goldman found a final moment of hope working with anarchists during the Spanish civil war. After suffering a stroke in early 1940, she died in Toronto on May 14th. Only then was she allowed to return permanently to the United States, to be buried near the Haymarket Martyrs in Waldheim (now Forest Home) Cemetery.

If Goldman was a woman of her time, she would become an icon for later times, especially in the turbulent 1960s.⁷ In 1969, Dover Press reissued her 1911 collection, *Anarchism and Other Essays*. More importantly, the following year, it reprinted her 1931 autobiography, *Living My Life*. When Goldman had set

⁵J. E. Hoover memorandum, 1919, reprinted in *Emma Goldman: A Guide to Her Life and Documentary Sources*, 126.

⁶Rudolf Rocker, quoted in *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years*, vol. 1, iv.

⁷See, for instance, Richard and Anna Maria Drinnon, eds., *Nowhere at Home: Letters from Exile of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), xx–xxii.

about to write her memoir in the late 1920s, she asked friends, colleagues, and family members for the return of her letters, pamphlets, etc. Nonetheless, she relied largely on memory to produce a crafted, if (at almost 1,000 pages) somewhat unwieldy account of her life. It was not simply the limits of memory that produced inaccuracies in her accounting of herself, but her goal of presenting a vision of what involvement in a radical movement made possible. “I am writing about the life of Emma Goldman, the public person, not the private individual,” she wrote to Berkman in 1927. “I naturally want to let people see what one can do if imbued with an ideal, what one can endure and how one can overcome all difficulties and suffering in life.”⁸ Goldman’s portrayal of her “public person” included disclosure of many of her sexual relations and personal feelings. Her social and political vision was one that incorporated a personal liberation that discomfited many of her day—including some anarchists and advocates for women’s rights—who saw issues like “free love” or birth control as distractions from their movements.

Goldman herself may never actually uttered the slogan “If I can’t dance, it’s not my revolution,” but she would certainly have applauded the sentiment. She addressed the need for changing people as well as society (and perhaps the primacy of the former) in a 1906 essay, writing: “The right to vote, equal civil rights, are all very good demands, but true emancipation begins neither at the polls nor in the courts. It begins in woman’s soul. History tells us that every oppressed class gained its true liberation from its masters through its own efforts.”⁹ Her fusion of the personal and the political struck a chord with radicals and feminists engaged in the cultural politics of the 1960s and 1970s, and most of her longer published works were reissued. In addition, her biographers obtained access to collections around the world as well as the anarchist and immigrant presses. But those materials remained inaccessible to most until the microfilm edition.

Despite Goldman’s belief in the importance of personal liberation and her autobiography’s apparent frankness, there were places she hedged, most notably on her support for political violence, but also on the disparity between her public statements of free love and her private experiences of jealousy, loneliness, and self-doubt. In presenting a wide range of Goldman documents, the EGPP allowed for a more complex picture of Goldman, her views, and her world that complemented what had been available in published form. The microfilm collection, drawing on more than 230 repositories around the world, made available

⁸ Quoted in Candace Falk, *Love, Anarchy, and Emma Goldman* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1984), 3

⁹ Emma Goldman, “The Tragedy of Woman’s Emancipation” (1906) in *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years*, vol. 2, 185.

almost 30,000 documents, although it is sufficiently expensive that only select research libraries can afford it.

This overview suggests some of the logistical challenges that have faced Falk and the staff of the EGPP in producing these volumes of selected papers. As with many twentieth-century projects, Goldman's materials are voluminous. At the same time, raids of Goldman's possessions (particularly in 1892, after the *attentat*, and in 1917, with her arrest in response to anti-draft activities) led to the government's seizure of papers which were never recovered. Given the international character of the anarchist movement as well as the circumstances of her deportation, records for her are scattered across the world. They appeared in several languages besides English: German, Russian, and Yiddish, but also French, Italian, Spanish, and Japanese. The breadth of her interests meant that she found audiences amongst anarchists, immigrants, workers, free speech liberals, women's groups, theater devotees, etc. and their records, too, had to be searched.

As its title suggests, the four-volume series seeks to cover Emma Goldman's American years.¹⁰ The editors have drawn on the microfilm, supplemented by documents that appeared after the microfilm came out (often as a result of its publication), to present a representative sample of materials to, by, and about Goldman, ranging from correspondence and essays to newspaper articles and government records. While it may not be possible to articulate an iron-clad explanation for what was selected, it is clear that the editors included materials that cover a range of topics and reveal inconsistencies in Goldman's positions. The sustained introduction in each volume provides an interpretative framework for understanding her life and the documents. The documents themselves allow the reader to develop his or her own analysis of Goldman.

The editors' choice of a chronological arrangement (interspersing different kinds of documents) is well explained and works to provide a deeper understanding of both Goldman and her time period. A footer on each page of the documents includes the year so one can easily keep track of "where" one is. The title and subtitle of each volume suggest a thematic (as well as chronological) emphasis: e.g., Volume One: "Made for America: 1890–1901" and Volume Two, "Making Speech Free, 1902–1909." In the future, Volume Three, "Light and Shadows, 1910–1916," will address her increasing popularity as well as rising governmental surveillance and repression, while Volume Four, "The War Years, 1917–1919," will cover the period leading up to her deportation.

The two volumes published to date each contain a foreword by the late Leon Litwack (originally appearing in the *Guide* accompanying the microfilm); a lengthy analytical introduction (unique to each volume) which provides the his-

¹⁰ One can only hope that the resources will be found to publish selected documents for the years from her deportation to her death.

torical context for Goldman's activities, the larger historical trends and controversies, and the documents; a statement of editorial and selection practices implemented in that volume; the documents themselves; and around forty images. In addition, there are several highly useful appendices: a detailed chronology of the years covered in the volume; directories of the key individuals, periodicals, and organizations found in the volume; a selected (but lengthy) bibliography; and an extensive index. An abbreviated chronology that would provide a framework for her whole life was the only addition that seemed called for.

As explained in the note on "Editorial Practices," the editors have elected a plain text approach to the materials. While they silently corrected punctuation and made spacing uniform, they retained Goldman's spelling and grammar in her correspondence, thereby allowing the reader to see how her mastery of English changed over time, including her distinctive phrasing in places: e.g., the description of a colleague as a "hand packed husband."¹¹ Words that were crossed out in the original (but still legible) have been transcribed with a strike-out bar. There was a less literal transcription of published versus manuscript material, but that policy, too, is explained clearly. Documents are presented with a standardized header indicating document type, author, recipient (if correspondence), place of creation (if known), and date. There is also a note at the end of each document to explain the provenance, the original language (if not English), any abridgement, and format of the original document (e.g., ALS: autograph letter signed).

Finally, each document includes annotations (as footnotes) that identify people, events, or organizations, note other relevant documents (especially in the microfilm edition), and explain terms. In most cases, the editors provide the longest explanation the first time something occurred (e.g., the question of whether the anarchist color was red or black, vol. 1, p. 144–5, n. 3) and then a shorter explanation in subsequent references (vol. 1, p. 208, n. 8). In some cases, an annotation refers back to the initial note (vol. 1, p. 449, n. 1). The shortened notes were more useful since they allow documents to stand on their own (if, for instance, a teacher wants use a single document with a class). Some of the information may already be known by the more informed reader (such as the anarchist color). Other notes provide information harder to come by: the actual name for people identified incorrectly or pseudonymously ("Wurst" for Johann Most, vol. 1, p. 133, n. 4) or the explanation of terms that were used in unique ways by Goldman and her associates (e.g., "third sex" to refer to feminists rather than homosexuals, vol. 1, p. 374, n. 2). While it may be common to ask whether such notes represent explanations or interpretations, the distinction is less clear-

¹¹ *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years*, 2: 142.

cut given the contested nature of Goldman's views (and those of the anarchist community). Given the hundreds of annotations in each volume, it is notable how few errors there were; the few that remained uncaught were generally minor ones (such as the note number in a cross-reference). The end result of the documents as presented and the scholarly apparatus is material in a highly accessible form (especially for the general reader), but which nonetheless provides leads for the scholarly researcher.

Volume one, covering 1890–1901, shows the formation of Goldman's political identity and is essentially bracketed by the assassination attempt on Henry Clay Frick in 1892 and the assassination of William McKinley in 1901 by Leon Czolgosz. The 118 documents and the 44 images cover anarchism, violence, capitalism and labor, patriotism and war, marriage and free love, and free speech. Over the decade, she began to move from the anarchist and immigrant communities (most of her early speeches were not in English) to a wider audience, represented as early as 1893 by the interview with her by Nellie Bly that appeared in the *New York World*. Due to the loss of her early personal papers, many of the documents in this volume are newspaper articles in both the foreign-language and English-speaking press, supplemented by government reports and personal correspondence. Fourteen of the documents are letters (by either Goldman or Berkman) or newspaper articles in the original German, as well an English translation (the latter is the first time for a number of them). Although the version in German will be of greatest use to those who can read it, the documents serve to remind the reader of her European origins as well as emphasize documents that can be examined for variations between what Goldman said to an immigrant community versus what she was saying to native-born Americans. When talking to the latter, she relied on the legacies of radicals such as John Brown and Wendell Phillips, as well as those who praised American individualism, such as Emerson and Thoreau. While such references were clearly intended to provide American roots for the "foreign" ideas of anarchism, they also point to Goldman's own process of Americanization. The concluding documents point to Goldman's uneasy position in both the immigrant and mainstream communities as she sought to present an understanding of McKinley's assassin without justifying the action. Czolgosz was adamant that he had acted alone, but he *had* attended lectures by Goldman. Many at the time were convinced she was involved although the police failed to find evidence to establish a connection.

Volume two, covering 1902–09, opens in the aftermath of the execution of Czolgosz, when Goldman faced increasing private and political efforts to silence her. The 142 documents (including four in Italian) and 39 images detail repression and resistance in early twentieth-century American society. As suggested by the volume's subtitle, she, along with other radicals and liberals, fought for free speech in response to state repression. Roger Baldwin, founder of the American

Civil Liberties Union, described hearing Goldman speak in 1908 as a critical moment in his activism. For her part, Goldman faced a campaign to strip her of her American citizenship, completed in 1909, which made her vulnerable to deportation. More generally, legislators passed laws to criminalize anarchism and make belief in it grounds for refusing someone entrance into the United States (most notably the Immigration Act of 1903). Included here are records for governmental surveillance of her conducted at the local, national, and international levels.

This volume continues the themes and topics found in the first, although there are differences in tone. Goldman evinced increasing interest in the “intelligent middle-class” as the force for change rather than the masses.¹² With the 1906 establishment of her journal *Mother Earth* and its goal of exploring “theoretical, literary and educational” works,¹³ we see more of Goldman’s interest in cultural affairs. Her essays in it on modern drama and literature usually began as speeches to groups ranging from college students and women’s clubs to labor unions. While *Mother Earth* has been reprinted previously,¹⁴ annotations in this volume and their articles’ placement alongside contemporaneous materials allow for greater understanding of the development of Goldman’s thoughts.

An additional aspect of volume two is the presence of her letters to Ben Reitman (1879–1942), whom she met in 1908; the two quickly became engaged in a tumultuous intimate relationship that would end messily in 1917, as Goldman became increasingly involved in anti-war work and Reitman had a child with another woman. The significance of the correspondence is not simply that much of her intimate correspondence with other lovers is apparently no longer extant, but that these letters juxtapose her private feelings with her essays and speeches on the “new woman” and “free love.” The tension between her public statements and her personal experiences would grow even more profound as she aged. Despite her belief in the importance of personal and psychological issues, during her lifetime (even in her autobiography), Goldman held back. Thanks to the materials found here and in the microfilm, it is possible to uncover a more complicated and contradictory story.

Emma Goldman’s interests and views resonated among various audiences at the turn of the century and later. Those opposed to the Vietnam War looked to her analysis of both the Spanish American War and World War I. Those concerned by a growing bureaucratic state could be inspired by her belief in the pos-

¹² *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years*, 2: 153.

¹³ *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years*, 2: 59.

¹⁴ The full run of *Mother Earth* was reprinted in 1968 by Greenwood Reprint Corporation; an anthology of selected pieces can be found in Peter Glassgold, ed., *Anarchy! An Anthology of Emma Goldman’s Mother Earth* (Washington, D.C.: Counterpoint, 2001).

sibilities of a society based on individual freedom expressed through collective activities. Second wave feminists embraced her critique of personal oppression. Today, those worried about governmental response to terrorism, coupled with the prevalence of anti-immigrant sentiments and laws, as well as the resistance to such efforts, can find much to mull over in these two volumes (and no doubt the next two). Americans have a tendency to believe that their current challenges are new; they also often refer to a unified American tradition of individualism and freedom. Fears about terrorism are not unique to the twenty-first century, and Americans have interpreted their traditions in contested ways throughout the nation's history. These documents speak to important questions of our own times. The American reading public can be grateful to Falk and her collaborators.