

## Emma Goldman and the United States: The History of a Love-Hate Relationship<sup>1</sup>

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America is the best proof that social tyranny and economic despotism are safest under the mask of political phrases. Never before in all history has a nation been so successfully oppressed and exploited in the very name of liberty, in the name of its own fictitious sovereignty. How make the blind see? That is the difficult problem that propagandists must face...<sup>2</sup>

Emma Goldman, who arrived in the United States in 1885 and tried to “make the blind see” for decades, hated the United States as much as she loved it.<sup>3</sup> While many other Europeans shared a love-hate relationship based on their respective image of what it meant to be American, Goldman’s views—on the US government, the US working class, and the latter’s revolutionary potential—are particularly interesting, and not just for scholars interested in the history of anarchism in the US.<sup>4</sup> Even today, she remains one of the country’s most famous radicals, the “queen of anarchists.”<sup>5</sup> Goldman’s texts were revived by the feminist movement in the second half of the twentieth century and a global anarchist movement that was prematurely declared dead.<sup>6</sup> Anthony Ashbolt’s emphasis on individuals of the international left also applies to Goldman’s view of the United States because “America, in the eyes of European socialists from the mid-nineteenth century on, could be both the promised land and hell-hole of exploitation and excess. For some it was one or the other, for many it was both, while some flitted between these perspectives, depending upon time and place.”<sup>7</sup> Naturally, in Goldman’s case, her respective experiences contributed to her feelings towards the United States throughout (or during) certain periods of her life.

As a victim of the first “red scare” after the Russian Revolution of 1917, Goldman, who had criticized conscription and US participation in the First World War more generally, was deported in late 1919 and, due to restrictions by the US government, was, only allowed to return to her “home country” once for a lecture tour in 1934.<sup>8</sup> Together with her fellow anarchist and lifelong companion Alexander Berkman, Goldman was “waxing lyrical about the possibilities of liberty, while at the same time recoiling from the horrors of American capitalism.”<sup>9</sup> In addition, the female anarchist, who had initially been radicalized in New York, held high hopes for a revolution in the United States, especially after the successful Russian example

of 1917. Although born in Czarist Russia, she considered herself to be an American anarchist and, in a way, was heartbroken that she had to spend the rest of her life abroad.<sup>10</sup> She was nevertheless unwilling to admit that she missed her life as a famous anarchist in the United States.

On October 23, 1920, *The New York Times* reported on the “Discontent of Emma Goldman,” who, when interviewed by a representative of the newspaper in Soviet Russia, “had a tiny American flag in her room and was enthusiastic about the United States, to which she desired to return. In fact, she had been spoiled in America and became soft. In America she was regarded as a little god in her circles, but when she arrived in Russia she was forced to discover that quite a different spirit reigned there; specifically, that the proletarian movement had left her far behind.”<sup>11</sup> This report continues with an emphasis on Goldman’s realization that the Russian utopia was not in any way close to her life in the US: “In America her way of living was certainly not proletarian, but for many years comfortably bourgeois. And now, in proletarian Russia, where the shortage forces everyone to the greatest restrictions, she suddenly had to give up many comforts and to be content with the meagre rations of the Russian people.”<sup>12</sup>

Goldman herself would comment on such reports, highlighting her ambivalence toward the US in a letter to her niece Stella in early November 1920 as follows:

That I long for America is quite true, but let no one think it is the America of ... reaction, the America which is robbing and exploiting the people, the America which has sacrificed her ablest youth on the fields of France ... for profits and for the strengthening of her Imperialist power. The America I long for is the one of my beloved people, of my numerous devoted friends—of my brave comrades, the America where I have ... struggled for 30 years to awaken a real understanding for liberty among the masses and a deep love for what is worth while and true in the country. I do indeed long for that America. ... I have not and shall not change my attitude towards capitalist America. I shall fight it always. As to the America[n] government both stupid and brutal, nothing can change my hatred for it.<sup>13</sup>

Goldman consequently seems to have loved the American working class and other radical intellectuals, especially her friends, but hated the US government at the same time. Her view toward the United States was consequently as ambivalent as her position toward the Russian Revolution; she loved the revolution as it was initially and ideally represented by the Russian people, but hated the ensuing corruption by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, whom she would later attack for their role in the perversion of the ideals of February 1917.<sup>14</sup>

The following article, which in a way further broadens the view on Goldman beyond purely biographical works and adds to the more specialized research of the last few years that focus on aspects of the anarchist's life and impact, intends to provide an analysis of Goldman's love-hate relationship with the United States. This analysis begins with Goldman's radicalization as a young immigrant, whose hopes and dreams for a better life could not be fulfilled in the "New World," causing her to turn to anarchism.<sup>15</sup> Regardless of the transnational nature of the anarchist movement of the late nineteenth century and the genuine or at least theoretical anti-nationalism of the political left, including American anarchists, Goldman had developed a sense of belonging to the US, which, however, would be destroyed by an experience of forced exile.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, Goldman's anti-state activities, leading to the climax of her struggles during the First World War and her eventual deportation to Soviet Russia in late 1919, must also be taken into consideration to illustrate which personal experiences would stimulate her anarchist's anti-American attitude in the years after 1920. Lastly, the article will demonstrate how far Goldman's anti-American views, which should be understood here first and foremost as anti-state, anti-governmental, and anti-capitalist (which have been deemed particularly interesting by other scholars before) were also related to her own experience as an expelled radical, cut off from her friends and political audiences.<sup>17</sup> I will also explain how Goldman's fading status as an important intellectual in the US was related to the overall decline of anarchism in the aftermath of the First World War, although the female anarchist herself must have either not recognized or not accepted this fact, which eventually left her even more bitter in her evaluation of the US, or at least what she considered the country and its government to be. The article thus connects Goldman's personal experiences with the development of her anti-American criticism and shows the extent to which her emotional sorrows stimulated the latter.

### Radicalization in America

Goldman left Czarist Russia with her half-sister Helena to search for a new and better life in the United States in 1885. In her later autobiography *Living My Life* (1931), she stated that "All that had happened in my life until that time was now left behind me, cast off like a worn-out garment. A new world was before me, strange and terrifying. But I had youth, good health, and a passionate ideal. Whatever the new [world] held in store for me, I was determined to meet unflinchingly."<sup>18</sup> Carrying nothing more than five dollars, a small handbag, and a sewing machine, Goldman when she arrived in New York City in 1889, was full of hope and anticipated living the "American dream" as it was reported repeatedly in all corners of her part of the world, which French scholars Alain Brossat and Sylvia Klingberg referred to as "Revolutionary Yiddishland."<sup>19</sup> Her dreams, like those of many other Jewish immigrants, were shattered by the US garment industry. With her sister, Goldman had initially moved to Rochester, New York and worked in a factory. In 1887, she mar-

ried Jacob Kershner, “an attractive young man,” who had immigrated to the United States from Odessa six years before. The relationship, however, did not develop well, and Goldman took a bold and, for her times, radical step when she requested a divorce. In this quite desperate personal situation, the anarchist later claimed that she “was [only] saved from utter despair by my interest in the Haymarket events.”<sup>20</sup> The so-called Haymarket tragedy was one part of Goldman’s radicalization process or what Candace Falk called Goldman’s “political birth.”<sup>21</sup> Her “strong emotional reaction to the execution of the Haymarket anarchists”<sup>22</sup> raised Goldman’s political awareness, and the anarchist’s sleep was still disturbed by the memory even two years after the execution of the anarchists in Chicago.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, her political radicalization intensified as a result of her exploitative experience working in the US garment industry. An experience that was drastically different from the America she had anticipated: “America with its huge factories, the pedaling of a machine for ten hours a day at two dollars fifty a week.”<sup>24</sup>

The experience of a shattered dream in combination with the Haymarket affair, a “crime against the US working class,” led Goldman toward anarchism. This naturally presented “a releasing and liberating force because it [taught] people to rely on their own possibilities, [taught] them faith in liberty, and inspire[d] men and women to strive for a state of social life where everyone [could] be free and secure.”<sup>25</sup> Goldman came into contact with leading anarchist figures after she moved to New York City, especially when she became part of the radical German milieu, which was dominated by anarchists and socialists who had left Europe in response to Bismarck’s anti-socialist repression.<sup>26</sup> These anarchists pointed their finger at the hypocrisy of the American dream and, as historian Blaine McKinley stated, “[l]iving and thinking beyond convention, they offered a unique viewpoint on their times and experienced tensions that illuminated American society. Uncomfortable with the present, they remained torn between the simpler past and the possible future.”<sup>27</sup> Most prominent among Goldman’s contacts were Alexander Berkman and the German immigrant Johann Most, who acted as a mentor during her first anarchist activities and was eager to turn the young woman into a successful public speaker.<sup>28</sup> Most, who was referred to as the “the king bee of anarchists” by the *Pittsburgh Post*, was the leading anarchist of New York City’s Lower East Side, where “foreign” anarchists dominated the radical milieu of the metropolis.<sup>29</sup> Most edited the anarchist newspaper *Freiheit*, and his public speeches proved that he “could electrify audiences with his fiery oratory.”<sup>30</sup> He became Goldman’s idol relatively quickly, and it did not take long before the latter was one of “the newly converted who became enthusiastic proclaimers of the anarchist worldview.”<sup>31</sup> Goldman’s involvement in anarchist activities, like public speeches and protests against the exploitation of the US working people by industrial plutocrats or the government, made her well-known across the country, especially since she was also regularly featured in press reports about anarchism and the political menace it supposedly represented in the United States during the late nineteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Goldman, however, did not only

point her criticism towards the US government or US capitalism, although especially racism seem to have vanished from her considerations about American society.<sup>33</sup> As an anarchist, Goldman criticized nationalism and American patriotism, which she considered a possible reason for violent conflicts in the future:

We Americans claim to be a peace-loving people. We hate bloodshed; we are opposed to violence. Yet we go into spasms of joy over the possibility of projecting dynamite bombs from flying machines upon helpless citizens. We are ready to hang, electrocute, or lynch anyone, who, from economic necessity, will risk his own life in the attempt upon that of some industrial magnate. Yet our hearts swell with pride at the thought that America is becoming the most powerful nation on earth, and that she will eventually plant her iron foot on the necks of all other nations.<sup>34</sup>

In her criticism of the United States, Goldman also often used Europe as a form of antagonist counter-draft, even though she had left her European home looking for better opportunities. This created a strange relationship between her and the “new home” she could only openly criticize due to the freedom the anarchist enjoyed on the western side of the Atlantic.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, European patriotism and nationalism were actually no less dangerous than the forms of leadership that Goldman criticized in the United States.

When Berkman tried to assassinate the industrialist Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919), who had sanctioned the use of violence against workers during the Homestead Strike in Homestead, Pennsylvania in 1892, Goldman explained the anarchist act by referring to Berkman’s “belief that if the capitalists used Winchester rifles and bayonets on workingmen they should be answered with dynamite.”<sup>36</sup> In her autobiography, she also blamed Frick for causing the violence because of his “dictum to the workers: he would rather see them dead than concede to their demands, and he threatened to import Pinkerton detectives. The brutal bluntness of the account, the inhumanity of Frick towards the evicted mother, inflamed my mind. Indignation swept my whole being.”<sup>37</sup> Regardless of her anger about Berkman’s imprisonment, Goldman herself would soon share his fate when she was sentenced to spend one year at Blackwell’s Island Penitentiary following a speech she gave at New York’s Union Square on August 21, 1893, where similar to the Panic of the same year, anarchists demanded more protection for unemployed workers.<sup>38</sup> This, in turn, led to an anti-Goldman campaign in the press that argued that she had demanded workers to act violently against their exploitation by US capitalists.<sup>39</sup> Now, the radical woman would finish her apprenticeship and become a fully accepted member of the country’s anarchist milieu:

I knew from what Most had related to me about Blackwell's Island that the prison was old and damp, the cells small, without light or water. I was therefore prepared for what was awaiting me. But the moment the door was locked on me, I began to experience a feeling of suffocation. In the dark I groped for something to sit on and found a narrow iron cot. Sudden exhaustion overpowered me and I fell asleep.<sup>40</sup>

Goldman left the prison as some kind of celebrity and around 2,800 people gathered in New York City to celebrate her release.<sup>41</sup> Goldman's nationwide lectures now attracted a lot of people, and she toured the country to spread anarchist ideas and to attack the US government. The topics she would talk about in the following years were quite diverse, ranging from anarchism to birth control and the sexual liberation of women.

When President William McKinley was assassinated by Leon Czolgosz, a Polish-American anarchist in 1901, Goldman was immediately declared an enemy of the state, because the assassin had stated that he knew the famous female anarchist and killed McKinley because he was an enemy of the "good working people."<sup>42</sup> This also intensified the US perception of anarchism as a threat and turned anarchists into "foreign enemies" of the state and its government: "While many Americans considered anarchism a foreign problem and the United States immune from the litany of anarchist assassinations of European leaders and monarchs in the 1890s, President McKinley's assassination pulled the United States into existing international efforts and the global conversation about how to combat anarchist violence."<sup>43</sup> Goldman was one of the figureheads of the anarchist movement, whose members and well-known representatives had often turned against the United States due to their experience of immigration, their anarchist and anti-capitalist ideals that were challenged by American industrialized labor conditions, and the shattering of ambitious dreams related to a stereotypical image about their "new home." Consequently, they radicalized on American soil but were considered a foreign menace by the authorities. Goldman's initial love for her "chosen home" turned into critical energy, which she expressed as an anarchist activist over three decades. The struggle between her and the US state would, however, reach its climax during the First World War, ending in Goldman's deportation to Soviet Russia, an experience that further stimulated her anti-Americanism.

### **Against Conscription and the US State**

When the US government declared that they would enter the First World War in April 1917, "the country went mad with patriotism," while the conflict between anarchism and the state intensified. When a "German spy hunt became a radical witch hunt," many socialists and anarchists went to jail, thereby following pacifist and left war critics in other national contexts since 1914.<sup>44</sup> Since anarchism in par-

ticular was perceived as an alien menace, men like the young J. Edgar Hoover were willing to solve this problem once and for all, and Goldman and Berkman were soon targets of a state-led anti-anarchist campaign.<sup>45</sup> They were not willing to betray global working-class internationalism and they demanded a revolution against the war which, turned them into natural targets.

Two years before war became an official burden for American society, Goldman and Berkman, together with Bill Shatov, who in 1917 returned to Soviet Russia to support the revolutionary process there, published a manifesto in May 1915 against the defensive demands of many European left radicals. Together with many other anarchists who signed the manifesto, they resisted the nationalist wave that had taken over the US and other European countries alike.<sup>46</sup> In fact, the First World War drove a wedge into the international workers' movement in general and the anarchist movement in particular. While Piotr Kropotkin, the famous Russian anarchist, demanded support for the war effort from Allied powers, other anarchists, such as Errico Malatesta in Italy, opposed any participation in the First World War.<sup>47</sup> The anarchists "claimed that the war only served to benefit the rich, and they linked conscription to other means by which elites denied the autonomy of working people."<sup>48</sup> In this way, they hardly stood a chance against a public opinion that was in favor of nationalist tones during the war years. In the meantime, Goldman criticized the discussion about America's preparedness for the war and published "Preparedness, the Road to Universal Slaughter" in her anarchist journal *Mother Earth*. She argued that "[t]he human mind seems to be conscious of but one thing, murderous speculation."<sup>49</sup> Our whole civilization, our entire culture is concentrated on the mad demand for the most perfected weapons of slaughter." Goldman appealed to workers, hoping that they would understand who really profited from this war, namely the "privileged class; the class which robs and exploits the masses, and controls their lives from the cradle to the grave." The working class would be exploited by a capitalist state and its imperialist ambitions, though not only in factories but also as cannon fodder on the European battlefields. She consequently emphasized the dangers of the preparedness debate and claimed that:

America grows fat on the manufacture of munitions and war loans to the Allies to help crush Prussians [and] the same cry [was] now being raised in America which, if carried into national action, would build up an American militarism far more terrible than German or Prussian militarism could ever be, and that because nowhere in the world has capitalism become so brazen in its greed and nowhere is the state so ready to kneel at the feet of capital.

At the same time, Goldman accused US President Woodrow Wilson, "the historian, [and] the college professor," of being an agent of capitalism and of only serving

“the big interests, to add to those who are growing phenomenally rich by the manufacture of military supplies.” According to the female anarchist, war could not be waged “with equals; you cannot have militarism with free born men; you must have slaves, automatons, machines, obedient disciplined creatures, who will move, act, shoot and kill at the command of their superiors.” Once the United States joined the war, Goldman continued in her anti-imperialist and anti-militarist argument, that militarism would suppress individual freedoms and exploit the masses:

Militarism consumes the strongest and most productive elements of each nation. Militarism swallows the largest part of the national revenue. Almost nothing is spent on education, art, literature and science compared with the amount devoted to militarism in times of peace, while in times of war everything else is set at naught; all life stagnates, all effort is curtailed; the very sweat and blood of the masses are used to feed this insatiable monster—militarism.<sup>50</sup>

Goldman's early criticism of the war and the US government would eventually cause problems, especially since 1916 was “a particularly dangerous year to become [or to be] an anarchist.”<sup>51</sup> However, the events of the following year turned a struggle for the future of the United States into open war between the anarchists and the state they had been criticizing for decades. The Russian Revolution in February 1917 stimulated fears of unrest, which intensified following the rise of Lenin and the Bolsheviks, who took power in October 1917 and claimed to be leading the way toward a communist society. The US decision to join the war, on the other hand, triggered further actions by Goldman and her fellow anarchists, who now not only criticized the war but also hoped that the events in Russia would spark a revolution by the American working class as well. In early May, together with Berkman, Eleanor Fitzgerald, and Leonard Abbott, Goldman organized the No-Conscription League, and its first meeting at the Harlem River Casino on 126th Street and 2nd Avenue, as reported by *The New York Times*, turned out to be “a wild anti-conscription demonstration, in the course of which the Government of the United States was denounced and referred to as a tool of the capitalist classes.” Goldman “[u]rge[d] workers to follow Russia's lead” and demanded young men to resist conscription. In addition, she “predicted a nationwide strike to embarrass the Government and denounced the authorities in Washington as being on par with the old powers in Russia.”<sup>52</sup> The No-Conscription League, which soon “became the nerve center of the resistance to the draft,” consequently not only challenged the position of the government but also linked the American decision to join the First World War with the Russian Revolution.<sup>53</sup> These connections must have caused US Authorities to react nervously at that time, especially the fulfillment of “the anarchists' prophecies of wartime revolution; they were also elated to learn that Russian workers had established workplace and citywide soviets . . . that shared the self-managing ethos of anarcho-syndicalism.”<sup>54</sup>



The No-Conscription League was formed as a reaction to the new Selective Service Act, although the latter, in combination with already-existent anti-conspiracy laws and additional new laws, such as the Espionage Act of 1917 and the Sedition Act of 1918, provided the authorities, first and foremost Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer and the young Bureau of Investigation agent J. Edgar Hoover, with the legal means to get rid of the anarchist menace once and for all.<sup>55</sup> Eventually, as Richard Drinnon correctly remarked, “the war between Emma and the government [got] entangled in the larger war to save the world for democracy.” On the day the Espionage Act took effect, a US marshal and 12 policemen arrested Goldman, who had been prepared, changed into her purple dress, grabbed James Joyce’s *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916), and did not resist. She was, once more, willing to face prison time for her ideals. An extremely high bail of \$25,000 was set to free Goldman for the trial, and Harry Weinberger prepared the legal strategy for her and Berkman, although both anarchists decided to defend themselves in court.<sup>56</sup> The trial of Goldman and Berkman was, however, only the tip of the iceberg, because almost 1,500 people were put on trial nationwide in relation to the new laws, and around two-thirds were convicted.<sup>57</sup> Francis Caffey, a New York district attorney, emphasized that Goldman was a high-profile target for authorities when he said that “Emma Goldman is a woman of great ability and of personal magnetism, and her persuasive powers are such to make her an exceedingly dangerous woman.”<sup>58</sup> The trial, however, was not like the ones Goldman had faced in the past, and an article in *The New York Times* explained that “[t]he Federal authorities, backed by the full power of the New York Police Department, [were] determined to put an end to anarchy in New York.”<sup>59</sup>

Although she was out on bail, the anarchist was reluctant to speak at another public meeting at Madison Square Garden on 23 June 1917: “The great anarchist meeting ... failed to materialize. Great was the disappointment of the men and women who follow the red flag, about 3,000 of whom ... stood about four hours waiting for Emma Goldman ... and other agitators, whose coming had been announced, but who left Madison Square off their schedule yesterday.” As the newspaper report about the event continues, this was unusual, but “for once the woman anarchist leader, who generally [kept] her speaking appointments, disappointed her perspiring and noisy cohorts.”<sup>60</sup> When the trial began, “[t]he courtroom was packed both at the morning and afternoon sessions” by “500 followers, each wearing a red rose,” while Goldman “discarded her favorite purple robe and appeared in [a] plain black gown.”<sup>61</sup>

It was not hard to prove that Berkman and Goldman opposed the war. A letter by the No-Conscription League from May 1917 already made clear what the two anarchists had tried to achieve by forming this anti-war organization. Goldman and Berkman were “sure that [the addressees] are interested in the anti-war agitation” and “we appeal to you for moral and financial support to enable us to carry on an effective campaign by means of meetings ... manifestos and, above all,

through the channels of MOTHER EARTH and THE BLAST. We consider this campaign of the utmost importance at the present time, and we feel confident that you will not withhold from us your immediate generous support.”<sup>62</sup> They had tried to organize protests against the new conscription law, and the authorities had not wasted time in collecting evidence to prove that the two radicals were violating it. At a mass meeting at Hunts Point Palace on 4 June 1917, Berkman had emphasized the value of freedom and the extent to which conscription violated it:

There is no greater boon in the world than liberty. There is nothing greater in the whole universe than freedom of conscience, freedom of opinion and freedom of action, in short liberty. But it is we who are fighting for liberty, and no one else, not those who oppose us. We have been fighting for liberty for many years, and even for the liberty of those who oppose us. ... Conscription in a free country means the cemetery of liberty, and if conscription is the cemetery then registration is the undertaker. (Great applause and cheers and boos, and something thrown at the speaker that looked like a lemon.) ... Those who want to register should certainly register, but those who know what liberty means, and I am sure there are thousands in this country, they will not register.<sup>63</sup>

Goldman would later speak as well and provided a relatively negative evaluation of the United States that again reflected upon her shattered dream:

I actually believed that this was the promised land, the land that rests upon freedom, upon opportunity, upon happiness, upon recognition [sic!] of the importance and the value of the young generation. ... I have come to the conclusion that when the law for conscription was passed in the United States the Funeral March of 500,000 American youths is going to be celebrated tomorrow, on Registration Day.<sup>64</sup>

Furthermore, Goldman did not think about camouflaging her anti-conscription attitude: “I am here frankly and openly telling you that I will continue to work against Conscription.”<sup>65</sup>

According to her basic political beliefs, she resisted giving advice to the young men who thought about serving the US war effort, arguing that “the only reason that prevents me telling you men of conscriptable age not to register is because I am an Anarchist, and I do not believe in force morally or otherwise to induce you to do anything that is against your conscience.”<sup>66</sup> She nevertheless described the realities of the war, a senseless slaughtering of young men, and prophetically

pointed out that “for every idealist they [the governments] kill, thousands will rise and they will not cease to rise until the same thing happens in America that has happened in Russia.”<sup>67</sup> Goldman consequently not only criticized conscription as such but also made an argument for a revolution on American soil, which she considered to be the only way to solve the exploitation of the working class, whose members were now supposed to die for their capitalist ideals in an imperialist war. She closed her speech with a remark that would highlight the end of American liberties as they were known and believed by workers:

My friends, we are grateful to the Government for having passed the Conscription Bill for it will teach the American people that American Liberty has been buried and is dead and is a corpse, and that only our voice is going to raise it up and revive it again, until the American people and all the people living in America will unite in one great mass and will throw out capitalism and Government by militarism.<sup>68</sup>

Ten days later, on 14 June 1917, at another meeting organized by the No-Conscription League at Forward Hall in Pennsylvania, the two anarchists repeated these arguments, and Berkman, almost prophetically, added: “I personally do not believe that a workman or a man who stands for real liberty, an anarchist, can receive justice in any court of the United States. I don’t believe it. I speak from personal experience. I have had enough of it and I know I will have more. I know there is no justice for a working man.”<sup>69</sup> A flyer for this meeting at Madison Square Garden clearly demanded protests against conscription to defend American liberty against an increasingly authoritarian government:

NOW is the time to protest: Later it will be too late. If hundreds of thousands of you raise your voice NOW, you will force the government to listen to you, and they will know that you have the courage of manhood and womanhood, and that you cannot be treated as the Czar used to treat his submissive subjects. The people of Russia, your own brothers and sisters, brought the mighty Czar off his high throne. Are you going to submit to Czarism in America?<sup>70</sup>

The US authorities consequently had sufficient material to bring the two anarchists to trial, and it was clear that this one would be nothing more than a “farce.”<sup>71</sup>

In his closing speech of July 1917, Berkman emphasized this to a jury in court and stated that “we stand here indicted for a charge never mentioned in the indictment itself. We stand here accused of being anarchists. A vain accusation! We are anarchists, and I for one am proud of being an anarchist, and I am sure I may

say the same for my co-defendant Miss Goldman.”<sup>72</sup> Nothing more, as Berkman continued, could have been proven by the trial. Besides the anarchist identity of the accused, nothing could lead to a sentence in this trial: “I believe it is absolutely demonstrated here that the District Attorney has no case. I believe that it is absolutely demonstrated here that he did not begin to prove a conspiracy. They did not prove any overt acts.”<sup>73</sup> The two anarchists would consequently not bend their knees before the US state, which is why Berkman, obviously in agreement with Goldman, added:

I am not arguing to keep myself from going to prison. I am not afraid of prison. I am willing to suffer for my ideas in prison if necessary. Life is dear, but not so dear that I should be at liberty without self respect. I would rather be in prison with my ideals, with my convictions, true to myself than be outside with my soul damned in my own estimation. So I am not pleading to save ourselves from prison.<sup>74</sup>

Goldman also wanted to emphasize that her actions were not directed against the American people and that she considered herself to be pro-American, although not in the sense of the increasing nationalism that somehow perverted patriotism of her time. Therefore, Goldman argued that there were immigrants like her who “love America with deeper passion and greater intensity than many natives whose patriotism manifests itself by pulling, kicking, and insulting those who do not rise when the national anthem is played...”<sup>75</sup>

When attorney Harold A. Content replied to this speech on 9 July 1917, he emphasized the intellectual capacity of the two anarchists added that “unfortunately I am sadly lacking in that eloquence of words that had distinguished Miss Goldman’s oration. I am paid to talk for a living, but I am sure that if Miss Goldman wanted to accept a position in the government service she could secure the finest kind of position by reason of her oratorical gifts.”<sup>76</sup> Regardless of such praise, he concluded: “I say to you that from the evidence you have heard you are safe in saying that the No-Conscription League might just as well have been termed ‘Goldman, Berkman & Company, dealers in all sorts and orders of disorder.’”<sup>77</sup> In addition, the prosecutor made clear that Goldman and Berkman “really are the No-Conscription League,” and he eventually reminded the jury members that:

[t]he government is your government, in which you participate through your duly constituted representatives. And this case is of prime importance to that government. Will you by your verdict say that people like these can go forth again, defy our laws, desecrate the Stars and Stripes, make fun of the national anthem and do that with impunity? Urge people willfully to set themselves above the provisions of a definite law?<sup>78</sup>

For Goldman herself, the accusations against her and Berkman as well as the trial “proves that the court is prejudiced because we are anarchists; because we were frank and because we stood by our opinions, and because we are going to stand by our opinions.”<sup>79</sup> The verdict of the jury and the sentencing by Judge Julius Mars-huetz Mayer eventually surprised no one:

It has undoubtedly been a source of regret to the gentlemen of the jury, as it has been to the court and possibly to those who have set in the courtroom for these many days, that the extraordinary ability displayed by the defendants has not been utilized in support of law and order. The magnetic power of one of the defendants [Goldman], if thus utilized, might have been of great service, in forms legitimately advocated, for the betterment of conditions as the world goes on. That power might have been of tremendous service, and more especially among the millions of humbler people who come to our country in an aspiration for liberty. ... [W]hen I impose this sentence I am imposing it on the one hand with regret that these abilities were not better used. I impose it on the other hand with profound conviction that I am speaking for organized law, for the kind of liberty that we know and we understand, who have been privileged to live in this country that we believe is a true democracy.<sup>80</sup>

Both anarchists had to face the maximum sentence, i.e. two years in prison and a \$10,000 fine. However, the anti-anarchist action by the legal authorities was not yet over. Judge Meyer referred the case to “the commissioner of labor ... in order to determine in due course whether or not either or both of the defendants are subject to the provisions as to deportation provided in that act.”<sup>81</sup> Goldman, facing prison time again, would ironically address the court again in the final moments: “I wish to thank the court for the marvelous fair trial we have received. I hope history will record the fairness. ... Thank you very much.”<sup>82</sup> The “true type of American anarchist” seemed now to be contained, although Goldman tried to hold onto hope when she wrote to her friend and fellow anarchist Leon Malmed on 7 August 1917: “Now is the time. You must not lose courage no matter what happens. As a matter of fact, Anarchism was never proven with greater force than at the present moment when all the institutions resting upon the State collapsed so utterly.”<sup>83</sup> However, just a month later, the hope for an American revolution that would prevent Goldman’s prison sentence dematerialized, and she wrote in a letter to Malmed on 18 September 1917 that “our ideal which is now also bleeding and crushed by the judges that lie” seemed unable to activate the masses. Before finally entering a cell again, Goldman had nevertheless “decided to go on a short tour ... partly to enlighten the American public as to who the Boylsheviki [sic!] really are and what their example will mean to the world.”<sup>84</sup>

In February 1918, Goldman was taken into custody by the US marshal service and brought to Missouri State Penitentiary in Jefferson City, while Berkman was transferred to Atlanta, Georgia.<sup>85</sup> Her time in prison was not easy for the female anarchist.<sup>86</sup> To quote Vivian Gornick, “in the Missouri penitentiary for women, prisoners survived under conditions of permanent low-grade sadism. Routinely, and for the most arbitrary of reasons, they were deprived of food or exercise, went untreated when ill, were forced into illegal and demeaning labor, were beaten when deemed disobedient, and were thrown into solitary confinement at the drop of a retort.”<sup>87</sup> Goldman would also suffer further as she “spent many lonely months, starved o[f] intellectual and spiritual companionship. Added to that was considerable physical indisposition which made my life and the work very tiring indeed.”<sup>88</sup> However, some luxuries and moments of joy were nevertheless possible, as Malmel had sent her a care package that was shared by Goldman with her prison friends Kate Richards O’Hare and “Dynamite Girl,” Ella Antolini.<sup>89</sup>

Although Goldman had thought and talked about the possibility of moving to Soviet Russia with Berkman to support the Russian Revolution, she did not really intend to leave her beloved America, even though she was sent to serve jail time again.<sup>90</sup> Fifteen days before her release from the penitentiary, she received her deportation papers.<sup>91</sup> While she and Berkman were still in prison, the state authorities ensured that new problems awaited them the moment they stepped through the prison door. *The New York Times* had already reported about this governmental *coup* on 19 September 1919: “When the terms of the two agitators expire late this month they will be rearrested, and, after an examination, it is expected that further warrants will be issued for their deportation. The immigration authorities are proceeding on the grounds that both are aliens, there being some question as to their citizenship.”<sup>92</sup> While it seemed clear that Berkman did not stand a chance of staying in the United States, Goldman considered herself to be an American citizen and did not anticipate that she would be expelled as well.

The deportation charges, as far as Goldman considered them, represented nothing more than “a denial of the insistent claim on the part of the Government that in this country we have free speech and free press.” The anarchist instead requested that “if I am not charged with any specific offense or act, if—as I have reason to believe—this is purely an inquiry into my social and political opinions, then I protest still more vigorously against these proceedings, as utterly tyrannical and diametrically opposed to the fundamental guarantees of a true democracy.”<sup>93</sup> On 1 November 1919, Goldman and Berkman declared in a letter to their friends and fellow-anarchists what they now had in mind:

We say it freely and frankly, with utmost conviction, that both of us are entering again upon the remaining sentences of our lives, with our spirits unbroken, entirely unrepentant—indeed, with a will unembittered by the acid of the prison test, but rather

purified and made stronger, with our minds happily unimpaired by the terrible experience of the last two years, our hearts youthful with the joy of life, of work, of social effort.<sup>94</sup>

They also pointed out that many anarchists were facing deportation, but Goldman and Berkman were not yet fully accepting such a fate:

Deportation of so-called aliens is fast becoming an established American institution, and if allowed to remain unchallenged by the liberal minded spirits of the country, this imperialistic system of stifling the voice of social protest will become rooted in American life. Deportation is but the first step that will inevitably lead to its ultimate, the complete suppression of popular discontent and free speech by the system of expelling even the native protestants and rebels.<sup>95</sup>

Goldman might have been optimistic that only Berkman would have to leave the United States, but in the end, her marriage was not accepted as legally binding because it had not been documented and because her husband, Jacob Kerschner, had lied during his naturalization process, which made his and Goldman's claims for citizenship legally unbinding.<sup>96</sup> The legal prosecutors at Ellis Island were not convinced by the presented arguments and declared that:

the Court views both of these defendants as enemies of the United States of America, and of its peace and comfort. The defendant Berkman has a criminal record that began with his attempt to assassinate Mr. Frick. At the beginning of the war, both of these defendants sought to injure the United States by preventing the carrying out of the Selective Service Draft Law. They were convicted, and their conviction was sustained. They did everything they could to destroy the welfare, the stability and the integrity of this Government.<sup>97</sup>

While the two anarchists had to await their deportation, they sent a letter to their friends on 9 December 1919: "This may be our last letter to you. The expected has happened: the Federal Government had ordered both of us deported. ... If Emma Goldman can be deprived of her citizenship and deported, every other citizen of foreign birth is in similar danger."<sup>98</sup> For Goldman, this was shocking, and she would suffer from the exile experiences that followed, once the deportees had been sent abroad on the *USAT Buford*, a "barely seaworthy relic of the Spanish-American War" and later known as the "Soviet Ark," which sailed out from New York for an initially unknown destination.<sup>99</sup>

The night before their deportation, Goldman and Berkman finished their last official message to the American people, “Deportation: Its Meaning and Menace—Last Message to the People of America,” highlighting that they now had to suffer for their resistance against the First World War:

The brave men and women that dared to speak in [sic] behalf of peace and humanity, that had the surpassing integrity of remaining true to themselves and their ideals, w[ith] the courage of facing danger and death for conscience sake—these, the truest friends of Man, had to bear the cross of Golgotha ... as the lovers of humanity have done all through the centuries of human prayers.<sup>100</sup>

Goldman’s American experience ended by force, and the anarchist who wanted to change the United States by activating the revolutionary potential of the national working class was bitterly disappointed. Her life with Berkman in Soviet Russia was surprisingly more challenging than expected.<sup>101</sup> The anarchists left their new home in late 1921, and Goldman in particular turned into a fierce anti-Bolshevik in the following years. At the same time, she continued to criticize the United States, railing against its inability to reach Goldman’s postrevolutionary utopia, even more than those of Soviet Russia. Most likely, this behaviour was a result of Goldman’s deportation experience, which had hurt her more than the recognition that the Russian Revolution had been undermined by Lenin and his followers. The last section of the present article shall, therefore, take a look at Goldman’s anti-Americanism during the years she spent in exile.

### **Ambivalent Views from Abroad**

Once Goldman had settled in Berlin, after having left Soviet Russia and a stay in Sweden, she sent a letter to Leon Malméd and described her situation on 9 August 1922 in some detail:

In fact I have not written to any one of my friends in the States for nearly three months. I cannot go into the causes which affected me mentally and spiritually. Primarily it is the utter hopelessness of the Russian situation. I suffered keenly under it while I was there, but always consoled myself with the thought that when I got out of Russia I would be able to do much to arouse the workers against the terrible things that were happening there. Since I came to Germany, I seem to have gotten into a state of lethargy. I could not get myself to work, or even to concentrate on any one given thought. You can well imagine that I was in despair. However, I believe I have myself in hand.<sup>102</sup>



In the following months, while she lived at Rüdeshimer Straße 3 in Berlin, Goldman finished her first manuscripts about her Russian experiences, but she was treated quite badly by her American publisher. On 22 September 1922, in a letter to the Polish-born American anarchist and her US representative Michael A. Cohen, Goldman confirmed that she had finished 85,000 words of the manuscript, but she expected to deliver it at a later date: "I think it will be ready much later, I do want to give something good and to write about Russia which is living through Purgatory all over again."<sup>103</sup> Her manuscript was published by Doubleday, Page & Co. in 1923, but only the first 12 chapters were published as *My Disillusionment in Russia*, though she had suggested *My Two Years in Russia* as the title. Goldman was furious about the "butchery of her work."<sup>104</sup> Doubleday, Page & Co. would later publish the second half of the work as *My Further Disillusionment in Russia* (1924), but the damage had been done. Considering Goldman's anger about that accident, it is interesting that only two reviewers, a critic for the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and a Buffalo librarian, realized that the first book had only partially been published.<sup>105</sup> Nevertheless, the book's release "brought down on [Goldman] a storm of left-wing abuse from which there would be no recovery."<sup>106</sup>

Her writings also brought old friends up against the female anarchist. Among them was Goldman's former manager Ben Reitman, with whom she had some kind of toxic relationship between 1908 and 1916, especially acrimonious since Goldman was very jealous that Reitman had intimate liaisons with other women during these years. In 1925, Goldman's former lover wrote a letter to her about his impression of the anti-Bolshevik books that must have further embittered Goldman, who seemed unable to gain any support from the US left with regard to her criticism of the Soviet government.<sup>107</sup> Reitman wrote that:

Your first book on Russia left me sympathetic to Russia. I felt that Russia gave you a chance in the world, that they put themselves out to let you and Sasha work and be helpful but true to yourselves. YOU WERE AS YOU ALWAYS WERE HARD\* CRITICAL\* BITTER\* SELFDETERMINED\* UNWILLING TO FALL IN WITH NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY\* (Now don't label this refusal to compromise). What I am trying to say [is] that you and Sasha wanted your way (and that is characteristic of the ANTI-Mind) and refused to work for God, for society, or humanity or what ever you may call it unless it was your way. ... You are always knocking, kicking, criticizing, seeing the worst side of everything, whining until you have your reader HATING\* ... you have no idea of your whinfulness and bitterness and unjust critical attitude. Wake up and be happy. ... when I understood that the Bolshevist has to deal with minds like your[s] I was not surprised at the Kronstadt bombardment and Prisons

and all the terribel [sic!] things they did to the ANTIMINDS— yes you are a typical *antimind* you always oppose the thing that is ... How in the hell could the Bolsheviks live and thrive if they allowed you and minds like you[rs] to have power\* ... Your and Sa[s]ha[s] books convince any thoughtful student that MINDS like your[s] will never permit the world to have anything that approaches Socialism or much less Anarchism. I think the Bolsheviks were kind to you and you were most unjust to them.<sup>108</sup>

Regardless of such letters, Goldman continued her fight against Lenin's legacy, although she received no support from the US left, which made her both sad and angry.

In the following years, when Goldman lived in England and then France, the anarchist continued to use most of her energy agitating against the corruption of the Russian Revolution by Lenin and the Bolsheviks, but she would also discuss the situation of anarchism and the working class in the United States from time to time during her lectures. Goldman's criticism of the American working class as well as US leftist intellectuals who still supported Lenin was based on several factors during these years. First of all, she was bitter that her position as a well-known and respected anarchist was fading, leading to a lack of trust in the revolutionary potential of the US working class. Secondly, she felt disrespected by the American left, whose representatives seemed to ignore her first-hand reports from Soviet Russia. Lastly, she was disappointed in the weak position of the anarchist movement in the United States, as it had declined in membership and influence, as in other countries, since the end of the First World War. In short, Goldman could observe the shattering of her dreams for her own role within the anarchist movement as well as the movement in the United States as a whole—a fact that must have harshened her views and her criticism alike.

In "America in Comparison," Goldman referred to her twelve years of exile as an experience that "enable[d] me to see both the good and the evil of America in much sharper outline than before."<sup>109</sup> Without any doubt, she still loved the US: "My faith in the good potentialities of the country has not been dimmed or lessened by my European vantage ground. On the contrary, it has been strengthened. But similarly has also grown my realisation of the evil things in America, and the need of speaking out frankly and fearlessly against them."<sup>110</sup> According to her comparisons, which relate to the recently introduced concept of "migrant knowledge," the US was too immature: "Everywhere I found the fundamental difference between them and America is mostly a difference of age. The difference between juvenility and maturity with all the peculiar traits and characteristics that go to make up the two stages of human and social development."<sup>111</sup> In addition, the immensity of capitalist exploitation, as it existed in the United States, was unmatched by any European state because "[t]he political rights established through

age-long struggle have solidified into traditions which the plutocracy of Europe cannot so easily and brutally set aside for its convenience and benefit as [was] done in the United States.”<sup>112</sup> Even worse, however, was the fact that “in the United States, the political is considered a fool, and impractical dreamer, or—worse yet—a criminal.”<sup>113</sup> For Goldman, one thing was more than obvious: “That which is evil in America is due not only to its adolescent crudity and heartlessness, but also to the fact that as pioneer country it was and still is more concerned in material values than in the achievements of the spirit.”<sup>114</sup> The United States had “no patience with the social pioneer,” but “as America can do nothing by halves, it outdoes Europe in its crude suppression, its draconic laws, and savage persecution, of everything that has its being outside of the purely material pursuits of his fellows.”<sup>115</sup>

Regardless of such statements, Goldman was still in love with her spiritual home, represented by friends and family there, and was very happy that she got one more chance to visit the US in 1934 for a lecture tour. Therefore, she had continued to hate the American state and its government, but she was still in love with the American people, or at least those she had met as members of the anarchist movement. What she did not fully understand before her visit in 1934, however, was that many of the anarchists she knew from before had already moved on, and the US anarchist movement of the 1930s was nothing in comparison with the one of the late nineteenth century. Her visit in 1934 would not only give her an opportunity to see old friends again, but also to secure some income after her autobiography had failed to generate long-lasting financial security, a fact for which Goldman would blame Alfred A. Knopf and a lack of professional advertisements.<sup>116</sup> What the formerly famous anarchist had not realized, and what she would learn during her lecture tour in 1934, was the decline of anarchism in the United States since the end of the First World War in general and the fading of her own stardom in particular.<sup>117</sup> James B. Pond, who had prepared Goldman’s tour at Pond Bureau, Inc., New York, came into conflict with Goldman over the collection of admission fees, but he would also confront the anarchist with the simple and harsh reality:

I repeat another thing, when this tour started out you, yourself, spoke of Madison Square Garden. There wasn’t a single person connected with your family or friends, but [you] thought Mecca Temple was the proper place. You all had the same feeling that I and every other showman had that you were going to draw large audiences. Now, because you have had two successful meetings, out of an otherwise consistent run of failures, you inform me that the reason for the whole debacle was myself. There was a whole lot deeper reason than that. If any of the people who have been associated with you in the past had told me in advance what you were telling me now, we would have handled everything differently.<sup>118</sup>

Her renewed American “business” was thus rather unsuccessful, but Goldman was sad about leaving the US again. In a letter to Rudolph Rocker, a German anarchist, she confessed:

Yes, I admit it will be extremely painful. Much more so than 15 years ago to leave America. Then I turned my face to Russia, and my hopes went high, but now I know that I will never be able to do any kind of real work in Europe. It is only here that I can find myself, and I am sure you will not take it as braggadocio when I tell you that I never was in better trim, and never did better work. The greater the tragedy that I could reach so few people.<sup>119</sup>

Financially the tour was more or less a waste of time, as “old Emma [would] leave America as poor in cash as she has arrived.”<sup>120</sup> The American experience in 1934 also made Goldman doubt the possible success of the anarchist movement in the future. The US anarchists, she argued, “do not move a fly, let alone anything on the structure of American life. But it is Anarchism itself which burns like a red, white flame in my soul and it is for this reason that I would rather die in exile and poverty than I would detract one iota from its beauty and its logic.”<sup>121</sup> Her relationship with US anarchists had also suffered from Goldman’s deportation and her following years of exile, although the female anarchist seems to have failed to accept the larger picture of the story about the confusion and decline of European and American anarchism in the years following the Russian Revolution.

## Conclusion

Emma Goldman’s relationship with the United States was ambivalent, to say the least. She hated the capitalist exploitation of the American working class, which made her radicalize and fall in love with anarchism, a relationship she would cherish during her whole life. What broke Goldman’s heart was her deportation to Soviet Russia in late 1919. Although the anarchist had supported the Russian Revolution and the Bolsheviks because she had hoped for a revolution on American soil, Goldman would never have expected to be expelled from the country she had initially turned to in search of freedom and independence. For three decades, Goldman had fought for freedom and equality, especially for women, but she eventually became a victim of the seminal American red scare. Shipped away, Goldman realized how good the US had been compared to an increasingly totalitarian Russia, but she continued to attack the American situation in later lectures. These attacks were partly stimulated by her continuing views of a necessary class struggle to set free the potential of the American working class, but also motivated by her feelings of anger about her own treatment between 1917 and 1919. Although Goldman’s feelings toward the United States can best be described as a *longue-durée* love-hate relations-

hip, it must also be stressed that this relationship was also determined by global phenomena, i.e. the Russian Revolution and the American reaction after “Red October” as well as the general decline of the anarchist movement after the end of the First World War. Considering the current situation of the United States, one could argue that Goldman would still love and hate the US today. She would probably hate that the country is still in the grip of capitalist forces while workers continued to suffer from exploitation. No matter which conclusions she would have drawn, Goldman, of course, would have found a way to protest against these American shortcomings, regardless of the consequences.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The author would like to thank the three anonymous reviewers for their invaluable comments to improve this article.

<sup>2</sup> "Observations and Comments," *Mother Earth* 2, no. 2 (1907): 62.

<sup>3</sup> The main works on Goldman's life, in chronological order, are Richard Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982 [1961]); Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984); Kathy E. Ferguson, *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011); Vivian Gornick, *Emma Goldman: Revolution as a Way of Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011); Paul and Karen Avrich, *Sasha and Emma: The Anarchist Odyssey of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012). The main works on Goldman's life, in chronological order, are Richard Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982 [1961]); Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984); Kathy E. Ferguson, *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011); Vivian Gornick, *Emma Goldman: Revolution as a Way of Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011); Paul and Karen Avrich, *Sasha and Emma: The Anarchist Odyssey of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); When the present article refers to America or the United States, it must be emphasized that these terms refer to an image of the latter that was related to Goldman's evaluation or perception and not the historical realities. When it is said Goldman hated the US, this is often related to the existence of a capitalist and exploitative system she had suffered from, and in her case, her love was more or less dedicated to the people that surrounded her in the workers' or anarchist movements. Goldman herself seemed to be uncertain where and if the America she longed for actually existed. Therefore, the love-hate relationship reflected upon in the present article is one that refers to Goldman's ideas and perceptions about her life and experiences in the United States. For a more detailed analysis of Goldman's image of the US, see Anthony Ashbolt, "Love and Hate in European Eyes: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman on America," *Australasian Journal of American Studies* 22, no. 1 (2003): 1-14.

<sup>4</sup> Ashbolt, "Love and Hate," 1.

<sup>5</sup> Kathy E. Ferguson, "Discourses of Danger: Locating Emma Goldman," *Political Theory* 36, no. 5 (2008): 736; Carl Levy, "Anarchism and Cosmopolitanism," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Anarchism*, eds. Carl Levy and Matthew S. Adams (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 126-127.

<sup>6</sup> Andrew Cornell, *Unruly Equality: U.S. Anarchism in the Twentieth Century* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016), 71.

<sup>7</sup> Ashbolt, "Love and Hate," 1.

<sup>8</sup> Frank Jacob, "The Russian Revolution, the American Red Scare, and the Forced

Exile of Transnational Anarchists: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and their Soviet Experience,” *Yearbook of Transnational History* 4 (2021): 113-134; Erika J. Pribanic-Smith and Jared Schroeder, *Emma Goldman’s No-Conscription League and the First Amendment* (New York: Routledge, 2019); “Entry Permitted to Emma Goldman: Anarchist Deported in 1919 Wins Authority for 90-Day Visit with Relatives,” *Special to The New York Times*, January 10, 1934: 23.

<sup>9</sup> Ashbolt, “Love and Hate,” 1.

<sup>10</sup> On her years in exile see Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman in Exile: From the Russian Revolution to the Spanish Civil War* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989).

<sup>11</sup> “Cofirms Discontent of Emma Goldman,” *New York Times*, October 23, 1920, 10.

<sup>12</sup> “Cofirms Discontent of Emma Goldman.”

<sup>13</sup> Emma Goldman to [Stella Cominsky] and [M. E. Fitzgerald], Petrograd, November 3, 1920, Papers of Leon Malmed and Emma Goldman, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, MC 332; M-88 (henceforth LMP), Folder 26, 1-2.

<sup>14</sup> For a more detailed description of Goldman’s views about the Russian Revolution see her works *Die Ursachen des Niederganges der russischen Revolution* (Berlin: Der Syndikalist, 1922), *My Disillusionment in Russia* (New York: Doubleday, 1923). Accessed May 20, 2020. <https://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/library/emma-goldman-my-disillusionment-in-russia>, and *My Further Disillusionment in Russia* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1924). Accessed May 10, 2020. <https://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/library/emma-goldman-my-further-disillusionment-in-russia>. Also see Emma Goldman, “What I Saw,” Emma Goldman Papers, International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam (henceforth EGP-IISH), No. 284.

<sup>15</sup> These works include, among others, Donna M. Kowal, *Tongue of Fire: Emma Goldman, Public Womanhood, and the Sex Question* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2016); Erika J. Pribanic-Smith and Jared Schroeder, *Emma Goldman’s No-Conscription League and the First Amendment* (New York: Routledge, 2019); Frank Jacob, *Emma Goldman and the Russian Revolution: From Admiration to Frustration* (Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, 2020); Rachel Hui-Chi Hsu, *Emma Goldman, Mother Earth, and the Anarchist Awakening* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2021); Frank Jacob, “An Anarchist Revolution? Emma Goldman as an Intellectual Revolutionary,” *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 15, no. 2 (2021): 29-48; Frank Jacob, *Emma Goldman: Identitäten einer Anarchistin* (Leipzig: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2022).

<sup>16</sup> Constance Bantman, “Internationalism without an International? Cross-Channel Anarchist Networks, 1880-1914,” *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire* 84, no. 4 (2006): 961-981; Constance Bantman and Bert Altena, “Introduction: Problematizing Scales of Analysis in Network-Based Social Movements,” in *Reassessing the Transnational Turn: Scales of Analysis in Anarchist and Syndicalist Studies*, eds. Constance Bantman and Bert Altena (London/New York: Routledge, 2014), 3-22; Constance Bantman, “The Dangerous Liaisons of Belle Epoque Anarchists: Internationalism, Transna-

tionism, and Nationalism in the French Anarchist Movement (1880-1914),” in *Re-assessing the Transnational Turn: Scales of Analysis in Anarchist and Syndicalist Studies*, eds. Constance Bantman and Bert Altena (London/New York: Routledge, 2014), 174-192; Frank Jacob and Mario Keßler, “Transatlantic Radicalism: A Short Introduction,” in *Transatlantic Radicalism: Socialist and Anarchist Exchanges in the 19th and 20th Centuries*, eds. Frank Jacob and Mario Keßler (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2021), 1-20. In reality, the theoretical antagonism between nationalism and the political left was often not really antagonistic when one considers the political realities. On this crux, see, among others, Ephraim Nimni, *Marxism and Nationalism: Theoretical Origins of a Political Crisis* (London: Pluto Press, 1991); Stefan Berger and Angel Smith, eds., *Nationalism, Labour and Ethnicity 1870–1939* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999). See also some individual perspectives on these issues as gathered and presented in Vivian Gornick, *The Romance of American Communism* (London: Verso, 2020).

<sup>17</sup> Anthony Ashbolt, for example, stated, “The dialectic of love and hate reflected in early writings and in correspondence between Goldman, Berkman and others, is a fascinating instance of the European radical imagination coming to grips with a society itself full of contradictions.” Ashbolt, “Love and Hate,” 2.

<sup>18</sup> Emma Goldman, *Living My Life* (New York: Knopf, 1931). Accessed December 17, 2018. <https://www.theanarchistlibrary.org/library/emma-goldman-living-my-life>.

<sup>19</sup> Alain Brossat and Sylvia Klingberg, *Revolutionary Yiddishland: A History of Jewish Radicalism*, transl. by David Fernbach (London/New York: Verso, 2016). For an example of the stories about the unlimited wealth of the United States see Michael L. Zlatovski, “A Russian Chronicle,” Michael L. Zlatovski Papers, Immigration History Research Center Archives, University of Minnesota, IHRC2914, 4 and 32.

<sup>20</sup> Goldman, *Living My Life*. The failed marriage might have had a long-term impact on the young woman, who would later also become an activist against women’s exploitation in general, and marriage in particular. See Donna M. Kowal, “Anarcha-Feminism,” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Anarchism*, eds. Carl Levy and Matthew S. Adams (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 265-279.

<sup>21</sup> Candace Falk, “Introduction,” in Emma Goldman, *Living My Life: An Autobiography* (Salt Lake City, UT: Peregrine Smith, 1982 [1931]),

<sup>22</sup> Martha Solomon, *Emma Goldman* (Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1987), 1.

<sup>23</sup> Goldman, *Living My Life*. See also Emma Goldman, “On the Road,” *Mother Earth* 2, no. 3 (1907): 128-131. Also see Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).

<sup>24</sup> Emma Goldman, “An Anarchist Looks at Life,” text of a speech by Emma Goldman, held at Foyle’s twenty-ninth literary luncheon (London, UK), March 1, 1933, EGP-IISH, no. 191, 4-5.

<sup>25</sup> Goldman, “An Anarchist Looks at Life,” 5.

<sup>26</sup> Emma Goldman, “The American Labor Movement,” n.d., EGP-IISH, No. 190,



1. On that radical German milieu see Tom Goyens, *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880-1914* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007); Tom Goyens, "Johann Most and the German Anarchists," in *Radical Gotham: Anarchism in New York City from Schwab's Saloon to Occupy Wall Street*, ed. Tom Goyens (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2017), 12-32.

<sup>27</sup> Blaine McKinley, "'The Quagmires of Necessity': American Anarchists and Dilemmas of Vocation," *American Quarterly* 34, no. 5 (1982): 503-504. See also Blaine McKinley, "Anarchist Jeremiads: American Anarchists and American History," *The Journal of American Culture* 6, no. 2 (1983): 75-84.

<sup>28</sup> Kowal, "Anarcha-Feminism," 274; Rudolf Rocker, "Zum Geleit," in Emma Goldman, *Die Ursachen des Niederganges der russischen Revolution* (Berlin: Der Syndikalist, 1922), 3-4; Solomon, *Emma Goldman*, 4-8. In Chapter 1 of *Living My Life*, Goldman wrote that she intentionally met with Most, whose German paper *Die Freiheit* she had read and whose articles about the events in Chicago must have inspired her: "My mind was made up. I would go to New York, to Johann Most. He would help me prepare myself for my new task."

<sup>29</sup> "Goldman's Cry Against Society," *Pittsburgh Post*, November 27, 1896, in *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years*, vol. 1: *Made for America, 1890-1901*, eds. Candace Falk et al. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008), 250. Also see Kowal, "Anarcha-Feminism," 274; Kenyon Zimmer, *Immigrants against the State: Yiddish and Italian Anarchism in America* (Urbana, IL: Illinois University Press, 2015), 2-3.

<sup>30</sup> Bill Lynskey, "'I Shall Speak in Philadelphia': Emma Goldman and the Free Speech League," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 133, no. 2 (2009): 174.

<sup>31</sup> Rocker, "Zum Geleit," 4. On Most's influence and relationship with Goldman, see also Edward de Grazia, "The Haymarket Bomb," *Law and Literature* 18, no. 3 (2006): 296; Shari Rabin, "'The Advent of a Western Jewess': Rachel Frank and Jewish Female Celebrity in 1890s America," *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women's Studies & Gender Issues* 22 (2011): 121; Reichert, William O. "Toward a New Understanding of Anarchism," *The Western Political Quarterly* 20, no. 4 (1967): 861.

<sup>32</sup> Wexler, *Emma Goldman*, xv. See also Candace Falk, ed., *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History*, 3 vols. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2008-2012) for a collection of Goldman's writings during her "American years."

<sup>33</sup> Kathy E. Ferguson, *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 211-212. For a broader survey of anarchist positions towards nationalism, see Uri Gordon, "Anarchism and Nationalism," in *Brill's Companion to Anarchism and Philosophy*, ed. Nathan J. Jun (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 196-215.

<sup>34</sup> Emma Goldman, Speech in San Francisco, April 26, 1908, accessed December 10, 2021, <https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/2017/03/09/what-is-patriotism-april-26-1908>. For a broader debate of patriotism, see Goldman's text "Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty," in *Emma Goldman, Anarchism and Other Essays*, 2nd ed. (New

York: Mother Earth, 1911), accessed December 10, 2021, <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/emma-goldman-anarchism-and-other-essays#toc7>.

<sup>35</sup> Ashbolt, "Love and Hate," 2.

<sup>36</sup> On Frick, see Kenneth Warren, *Triumphant Capitalism: Henry Clay Frick and the Industrial Transformation of America* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1996); Quentin R. Skrabec, *Henry Clay Frick: The Life of the Perfect Capitalist* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010); Paul Krause, *The Battle for Homestead, 1890–1892: Politics, Culture, and Steel* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992). Paul Krause, *The Battle for Homestead, 1890–1892: Politics, Culture, and Steel* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992); "Goldman's Cry Against Society," in *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years*, vol. 1: *Made for America, 1890-1901*, eds. Candace Falk et al. (Urbana/Chicago, IL: Illinois University Press, 2008), 249. Berkman was later sentenced to 22 years in prison, but was already released in 1906. Alexander Berkman, *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* (New York: Mother Earth, 1912). After his time in prison, Berkman would join forces with Goldman again in their anarchist struggle for a better society. See Alexander Berkman, "A Greeting," *Mother Earth* 1, no. 4 (1906). [http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist\\_Archives/goldman/ME/mev1n4.html](http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/goldman/ME/mev1n4.html).

<sup>37</sup> Goldman, *Living My Life*.

<sup>38</sup> Goldman describes her prison experience in *Living My Life*, see esp. chap. 12. The anarchist Philip Grosser, who spent time at Blackwell's Island Penitentiary during the First World War, later referred to it as "Uncle Sam's Devil's Island." Philip Grosser, *Uncle Sam's Devil's Island: Experiences of a Conscientious Objector in America during the World War* (Boston, MA: Excelsior Press, 1933).

<sup>39</sup> Lynskey, "I Shall Speak in Philadelphia," 175.

<sup>40</sup> Goldman, *Living My Life*, chap. 12.

<sup>41</sup> Lynskey, "I Shall Speak in Philadelphia," 175; Rabin, "The Advent of a Western Jewess," 122.

<sup>42</sup> "Assassin Czolgosz Is Executed at Auburn," *New York Times*, October 30, 1901. See also Scott Miller, *The President and the Assassin: McKinley, Terror, and Emire at the Dawn of the American Century* (New York: Random House, 2011).

<sup>43</sup> Julia Rose Kraut, "Global Anti-Anarchism: The Origins of Ideological Deportation and the Suppression of Expression," *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies* 19, no. 1 (2012): 171.

<sup>44</sup> Alix Shulman, *To the Barricades: The Anarchist Life of Emma Goldman* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1971), 188; Shulman, *To the Barricades*, 189; For a broader perspective on anarchism during the war, see Matthew S. Adams and Ruth Kinna, eds., *Anarchism, 1914–18: Internationalism, Anti-Militarism and War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017).

<sup>45</sup> Hoover gathered material related to the two anarchists between 1917 and 1919. See "FBI File on Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman," IISH, ARCH01724.

<sup>46</sup> In the US, left radicals, e.g. those responsible for the *Frage Arbeter Shtime*, a Yiddish

weekly paper in New York City, later also supported the US war effort, although its editor Saul Yanovsky had initially signed the manifesto. On the latter's role within New York's anarchist circles, see Kenyon Zimmer, "Saul Yanovsky and Yiddish Anarchism on the Lower East Side," in *Radical Gotham: Anarchism in New York City from Schwab's Saloon to Occupy Wall Street*, ed. Tom Goyens (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2017), 33-53.

<sup>47</sup> Michaël Confino, "Anarchisme et internationalisme. Autour du Manifeste des Seize Correspondance inédite de Pierre Kropotkine et de Marie Goldsmith, janvier-mars 1916," *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique* 22, no. 2-3 (1981): 231-249; Peter Ryley, "The Manifesto of the Sixteen: Kropotkin's Rejection of Anti-War Anarchism and His Critique of the Politics of Peace," in *Anarchism, 1914-18: Internationalism, Anti-Militarism and War*, eds. Ruth Kinna and Matthew S. Adams (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 49-68; Carl Levy, "Malatesta and the War Interventionist Debate 1914-17: From the 'Red Week' to the Russian Revolutions," in *Anarchism, 1914-18: Internationalism, Anti-Militarism and War*, eds. Ruth Kinna and Matthew S. Adams (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 69-92.

<sup>48</sup> Cornell, *Unruly Equality*, 56.

<sup>49</sup> Emma Goldman, "Preparedness, the Road to Universal Slaughter," *Mother Earth* 10, no. 10 (1915): <https://theanarchistlibrary.org/library/emma-goldman-preparedness-the-road-to-universal-slaughter>. The following quotes are taken from this article.

<sup>50</sup> Goldman, "Preparedness, the Road to Universal Slaughter."

<sup>51</sup> Cornell, *Unruly Equality*, 54.

<sup>52</sup> "Anarchists Demand Strike to End War," *The New York Times*, May 19, 1917, 11.

<sup>53</sup> Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise*, 186.

<sup>54</sup> Cornell, *Unruly Equality*, 59.

<sup>55</sup> For a detailed discussion of the work of the No-Conscription League and the legal issues it caused for Goldman, see Pribanic-Smith and Schroeder, *Emma Goldman's No-Conscription League*.

<sup>56</sup> Weinberger's documents that related to legal issues during the Red Scare that also involved the defense of Goldman can be found in the Harry Weinberger Papers (MS 553), Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library, Box 2, Folders 12-19.

<sup>57</sup> Cornell, *Unruly Equality*, 62. Gornick, *Emma Goldman*, 93, mentions 4,000-10,000 arrests, but states that less than 600 cases led to actual trials between 1917 and 1921.

<sup>58</sup> Candice Falk, ed., *Emma Goldman: A Guide to Her Life and Documentary Sources* (Alexandria, VA: Chadwyck-Healey, 1995), 15.

<sup>59</sup> "Government to End All Anarchy Here," *The New York Times*, June 17, 1917, 7.

<sup>60</sup> "Leaders Disappoint Anarchist Hordes," *The New York Times*, June 24, 1917, 8.

<sup>61</sup> "Reds Are Defiant, Can Get No Delay," *The New York Times*, June 28, 1917, 5.

<sup>62</sup> Alexander Berkman, No-Conscription League, Serial Letter No. 1, New York, May 25, 1917, Alexander Berkman Papers, Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Archives, New York University (henceforth ABP-TAM), Box 1, Folder 7.

<sup>63</sup> Stenographer's Minutes of Meeting of No-Conscription League, Hunts Point Palace, New York, June 4, 1917, ABP-TAM, Box 1, Folder 12, 17 and 19.

<sup>64</sup> Stenographer's Minutes of Meeting of No-Conscription League, June 4, 1917, 24.

<sup>65</sup> Stenographer's Minutes of Meeting of No-Conscription League, June 4, 1917, 26. Goldman also addressed the present stenographers, who recorded what had been said on behalf of the authorities, directly: "We are told that you have stenographers here to take down what we say, this is not the first time we are having stenographers at our meeting. And I have always said things that everybody can hear, and what is more important I want the police and the soldiers to hear what I have to say. It will do them good." Stenographer's Minutes of Meeting of No-Conscription League, 26.

<sup>66</sup> Stenographer's Minutes of Meeting of No-Conscription League, June 4, 1917, 27.

<sup>67</sup> Stenographer's Minutes of Meeting of No-Conscription League, June 4, 1917.

<sup>68</sup> Stenographer's Minutes of Meeting of No-Conscription League, June 4, 1917, 30 and 32.

<sup>69</sup> Stenographer's Minutes of Alexander Berkman's Speech in Forward Hall, New York, June 14, 1917, ABP-TAM, Box 1, Folder 12: 13.

<sup>70</sup> Flyer "Labor and War," Demonstration Madison Square, Saturday, June 23, 1917, ABP-TAM, Box 1, Folder 7.

<sup>71</sup> Telegram by Carl Newlander to Leon Malmed, New York, July 3, 1917, LMP, Folder 22.

<sup>72</sup> Alexander Berkman's Closing Speech, U.S. v Goldman and Berkman, 1917, ABP-TAM, Box 1, Folder 15, 4.

<sup>73</sup> Alexander Berkman's Closing Speech, U.S. v Goldman and Berkman, 1917, 56.

<sup>74</sup> Alexander Berkman's Closing Speech, U.S. v Goldman and Berkman, 1917, 57.

<sup>75</sup> *Trial and Speech of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman in the United States District Court, in the City of New York, July 1917* (New York: Mother Earth, 1917), cited in Avrich, *Sasha and Emma*, 277.

<sup>76</sup> Address of Harold A. Content to the Jury, July 9, 1917, U.S. v Goldman and Berkman, ABP-TAM, Box 1, Folder 14, 2.

<sup>77</sup> Address of Harold A. Content to the Jury, July 9, 1917, 9.

<sup>78</sup> Address of Harold A. Content to the Jury, July 9, 1917, 60-61.

<sup>79</sup> Address of Harold A. Content to the Jury, July 9, 1917, 87.

<sup>80</sup> Address of Harold A. Content to the Jury, July 9, 1917, 90, 93.

<sup>81</sup> Address of Harold A. Content to the Jury, July 9, 1917.

<sup>82</sup> Address of Harold A. Content to the Jury, July 9, 1917, 95.

<sup>83</sup>"Anarchists, in Russia and Elsewhere, Always Disorganized," *The New York Times*, July 15, 1917, 53; <sup>84</sup> Leon Malmed, born in Russia in 1881, emigrated to the US around 1895. He went to New York City and worked as a cigar maker before he opened a delicatessen with his wife in 1907, later working in the real estate business

in the 1920s. He met Goldman in 1906 and supported the anarchist movement by arranging meetings or distributing publications. During a lecture tour in 1915, he was arrested for his distribution of birth control-related materials. He continued to support Goldman after her deportation, and died in 1956. Information provided in relation to Leon Malmed and Emma Goldman Papers, accessed December 10, 2021, <https://hollisarchives.lib.harvard.edu/repositories/8/resources/7287>; Emma Goldman to Leon Malmed, August 7, 1917, LMP, Folder 22.

<sup>85</sup> Serial letter, Emma Goldman, December 18, 1917, LMP, Folder 22; Emma Goldman to Leon Malmed, September 18, 1917, LMP, Folder 22.

<sup>86</sup> Stella Comyn to Leon Malmed, New York, February 5, 1918, LMP, Folder 22.

<sup>87</sup> Richard Drinnon and Anna Maria Drinnon, eds., *Nowhere at Home: Letters from Exile of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 4-8.

<sup>88</sup> Gornick, *Emma Goldman*, 102.

<sup>89</sup> Emma Goldman to Leon Malmed, Jefferson City, MO, July 17, 1919, LMP, Folder 24, 1-2.

<sup>90</sup> Sally M. Miller, *From Prairie to Prison: The Life of Social Activist Kate Richards O'Hare* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1993), 167-169.

<sup>91</sup> Emma Goldman to Leon Malmed, Chicago, November 29, 1919, LMP, Folder 25, 2.

<sup>92</sup> Avrich and Avrich, *Sasha and Emma*, 292; Shulman, *To the Barricades*, 194.

<sup>93</sup> "Plan Deportation of Emma Goldman," *New York Times*, September 19, 1919: 11.

<sup>94</sup> Statement by Emma Goldman at the Federal Hearing on Deportation, October 27, 1919, in EGP-IISH, No. 303.

<sup>95</sup> Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Circular, New York, November 1, 1919, ABP-IISH, No. 119, 1.

<sup>96</sup> Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Circular, New York, November 1, 1919, 1.

<sup>97</sup> Emma Goldman to Leon Malmed, Chicago, November 29, 1919, LMP, Folder 25, 2. Emma Goldman to Leon Malmed, Chicago, November 29, 1919, LMP, Folder 25, 2; Deportation Hearings of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, Stenographer's Minutes, December 8, 1919, ABP-TAM, Box 1, Folder 3, 28 and 30.

<sup>98</sup> Deportation Hearings of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, Stenographer's Minutes, December 8, 1919, 68.

<sup>99</sup> Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman to Leon Malmed, Serial Letter [New York], December 9, 1919, LMP, Folder 25, 1.

<sup>100</sup> Gornick, *Emma Goldman*, 105-106; Kowal, *Tongue of Fire*, ix; Avrich and Avrich, *Sasha and Emma*, 296-297; Cornell, *Unruly Equality*, 74. On the journey of the USAT Buford, see Torrie Hester, *Deportation: The Origins of U.S. Policy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017), 121-124.

<sup>101</sup> Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, *Deportation: Its Meaning and Men-*

ace—Last Message to the People of America, Ellis Island, NY, December 1919, ABP-IISH, No. 126; Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, *Deportation: Its Meaning and Menace—Last Message to the People of America*, Ellis Island, NY, December 1919, 6.

<sup>102</sup> Alexander Berkman to Michael A. Cohen, Stockholm, February 12, 1922, Michael A. Cohen Papers, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, RG 313, Box 1, Untitled Folder, 2.

<sup>103</sup> Emma Goldman to Leon Malméd, Berlin, August 9, 1922, LMP, Folder 28, 1.

<sup>104</sup> Emma Goldman to Michael A. Cohen, n.p., September 22, 1922, Michael A. Cohen Papers, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, RG 313, Box 1, Untitled Folder, 2.

<sup>105</sup> Gornick, *Emma Goldman*, 118.

<sup>106</sup> Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise*, 245.

<sup>107</sup> Gornick, *Emma Goldman*, 118.

<sup>108</sup> Goldman also tried and failed to persuade Bertrand Russel to make a statement against Bolshevik rule while she was living in England. See Emma Goldman to Bertrand Russell, London, February 9, 1925, Emma Goldman Papers, New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, ZL-386, Reel 1, 1. A copy of this letter can also be found in EGP-IISH, No. 144. Bertrand Russell to Emma Goldman, London, February 14, 1925, EGP-IISH, No. 144, 2-3; Bertrand Russell to Alexander Berkman, London, June 15, 1925, EGP-IISH, No. 144.

<sup>109</sup> Ben Reitman to Emma Goldman, Chicago, IL, July 10, 1925, EGP-IISH, No. 132, 1-2. Emphasis in the original. Goldman also corresponded about Bolshevism with Roger Nash Baldwin, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union, whom she considered not only a student of hers, but also a friend. On 30 December 1933 she wrote about him to Arthur Ross: "I can assure you that I never at any moment doubted the sincerity of Roger Baldwin, or his friendship for me. Don't forget he is a pupil of mine. And while not all pupils give cause for pride on the part of their tutors Rogers [sic!] stand during the war had already been sufficient to gladden my heart. The work he has been doing in the States since our deportation made him stand out among all those who had claimed me as their teacher. No, I had never doubted his sincerity. But I had too many occasions to doubt his judgement in a number of issues. Primarily, I found him most naive in his faith in people in authority. Being perfectly honest himself he takes everything as gospel truth what his friends in power tell him." Emma Goldman to Arthur Ross, Toronto, December 30, 1933, Emma Goldman Papers, Tamiment Library and Robert F. Wagner Archives, New York University (henceforth EGP-TAM), Box 1, Emma Goldman Correspondence to Arthur Ross, Jan. 4, 1933 - Dec. 30, 1933, 1.

<sup>110</sup> Emma Goldman, "America in Comparison," [1931], EGP-IISH, No. 189. An earlier version of the text, from 1924, is Emma Goldman, "Good and Evil Points in the Makeup of America," [1924], EGP-IISH, no. 189; Goldman, "America in Comparison," 1.

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<sup>111</sup> Goldman, "America in Comparison," 2.

<sup>112</sup> Simone Lässig and Swen Steinberg, "Knowledge on the Move: New Approaches toward a History of Migrant Knowledge," *Geschichte und Gesellschaft* 43, no. 3 (2017): 313-346; Goldman, "America in Comparison," 2.

<sup>113</sup> Goldman, "America in Comparison," 3-4.

<sup>114</sup> Goldman, "America in Comparison."

<sup>115</sup> Goldman, "America in Comparison," 6.

<sup>116</sup> Goldman, "America in Comparison."

<sup>117</sup> Emma Goldman to Alfred A. Knopf, St. Tropez, August 5, 1933, EGP-TAM, Box 1, Emma Goldman Correspondence to Arthur Ross et al., Jan. 22, 1930-Jun. 12, 1939, 1.

<sup>118</sup> Carl Levy, "Anarchism and Cosmopolitanism," in *The Palgrave Handbook of Anarchism*, ed. Carl Levy and Matthew S. Adams (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 126-127.

<sup>119</sup> James B. Pond to Emma Goldman, New York, March 30, 1934, EGP-TAM, Box 1, Emma Goldman Correspondence to Arthur Ross et al., Jan. 22, 1930-Jun. 12, 1939, 1; James B. Pond to Emma Goldman, New York, March 30, 1934, 3.

<sup>120</sup> Emma Goldman to Rudolph Rocker, Pittsburgh, PA, April 12, 1934, EGP-TAM, Box 1, Emma Goldman Correspondence to Doris Zhook et al., Dec. 24, 1926-Jul. 31, 1939.

<sup>121</sup> Emma Goldman to Rudolph Rocker, Pittsburgh, PA, April 12, 1934, 2.

<sup>122</sup> Emma Goldman to Jeanne Levey, New York, April 23, 1934, EGP-TAM, Box 1, Emma Goldman Correspondence to Doris Zhook et al., Dec. 24, 1926-Jul. 31, 1939, 1.