



EMMA GOLDMAN: A GUIDE TO HER LIFE AND DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

THE WORLD OF EMMA GOLDMAN

In 1969, nearly sixty years after it first appeared, Dover Publications published a paperback edition of Emma Goldman's *Anarchism and Other Essays*. A quarter-century later Dover still sells fifteen hundred copies annually, and its 1970 paperback edition of her autobiography, *Living My Life* (1931), also remains in print--testimony to the continuing interest in Goldman's life and ideas. With the publication of the microfilm edition of *The Emma Goldman Papers*, researchers will be able to supplement these volumes and other collections of Goldman's work with facsimiles of her correspondence, government surveillance and legal documents, and other published and unpublished writings on an extraordinary range of issues.

The purpose of this essay is to assist users of the microfilm who are unfamiliar with Goldman's historical milieu by alerting them to books--secondary sources identified in the course of the Project's fourteen years of research--that will provide context for the documents in the collection. It is not intended to be a comprehensive bibliography; it is confined for the most part to books, excluding, for example, articles in scholarly journals as well as anarchist newspapers and pamphlets. Included, however, are accounts by Goldman and her associates of the movements and conflicts in which they participated that are essential for an appreciation of the flavor of their culture and of the world they attempted to build. Over the years, many of these sources have been reprinted; others have remained out of print for decades (for example, Alexander Berkman's *Bolshevik Myth*). Wherever possible the fullest publishing history has been provided to aid readers in locating books that, despite occasional reprintings, can still be difficult to find.

For more extensive bibliographies, readers should consult Paul Nursey-Bray, Jim Jose, and Robyn Williams, eds., *Anarchist Thinkers and Thought: An Annotated Bibliography* (Westport, Conn.:

Greenwood Press, 1992); the unannotated compilation by Robert Goehlert and Claire Herczeg, *Anarchism: A Bibliography* (Monticello, Ill.: Vance Bibliographies, [1982]); and the catalogue of the anarchist collection at the Institut Français d'Histoire Sociale, Paris: Janine Gaillemain, Marie-Aude Sowerwine-Mareschal, Diana Richet, and Helene Strub, eds., *L'Anarchisme: Catalogue de livres et brochures des XIXe et XXe siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris and New York: K. G. Saur, 1982-1993). An especially thorough bibliography can be found in David DeLeon, *The American as Anarchist: Reflections on Indigenous Radicalism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978). Of historical interest is one of the earliest bibliographies of anarchism, compiled by the anarchist historian Max Nettlau, a frequent correspondent of Goldman's. See *Bibliographie de l'anarchie* (Brussels: Bibliothèque des "Temps Nouveaux," 1897; rpt. ed., New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), with a preface by Elisée Reclus. Finally, always valuable are the bibliographies in the books by Paul Avrich (see below).

GOLDMAN'S WRITINGS

The starting point for anyone interested in Goldman is her thousand-page autobiography, *Living My Life*, 2 vols. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931; rpt. ed., Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing Company, 1934), which covers her life thoroughly through her departure from Soviet Russia in 1921 but devotes comparatively little space to her activities during the 1920s. Three years in the writing, *Living My Life* did not sell as many copies as Goldman had hoped, a victim of the depression and the high price of \$7.50 for the two volumes. Still, Goldman was buoyed by the generally favorable reviews of her work. Friends compared the book to Rousseau's *Confessions*; reviewers saw her life's story as an antidote to complacency. The central theme of the book is the passionate intensity of Goldman's commitment to her "beautiful ideal" of anarchism and her parallel quest for love and intimacy. When the book appeared, however, some readers and reviewers were shocked by Goldman's candor in discussing her personal life, missing its centrality to her political convictions. Her attempt to reconcile the personal and political, however, found a strong resonance in the revitalized women's movement of the 1960s and 1970s. *Living My Life* has been reprinted many times. A two-volume paperback edition is still in print (New York: Dover Publications, 1970). Other modern reprints include a two-volume edition, with an introduction by Sheila Rowbotham (London: Pluto Press, 1986); a one-volume unabridged edition, with an introduction by Candace Falk and a remembrance by Meridel Le Sueur (Salt Lake City: Gibbs M. Smith, 1982); a facsimile reprint of the 1931 Knopf edition (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970); and a one-volume abridged edition that ends with Goldman's deportation from the United States in 1919, edited with an afterword and bibliographical essay by Richard and Anna Maria Drinnon (New York: New American Library, 1977). The editors of this edition performed an especially useful service by compiling a new and far more comprehensive index to replace the hopelessly inadequate original.

In addition to its serialization in Yiddish in the *Forward* in 1931 (see reel 52 of *The Emma Goldman Papers* microfilm), Goldman's autobiography has been published in other languages: for example, in German as *Gelebtes Leben*, 3 vols., trans. Renate Orywa and Sabine Vetter (Berlin: Karin Kramer Verlag, 1978-1980); in an abridged French edition, *Epopée d'une anarchiste: New York 1886-Moscou 1920*, trans. Cathy Bernheim and Annette Lévy-Willard (Paris: Hachette, 1979); in Spanish, *Viviendo mi vida*, 2 vols., trans. Antonia Ruiz Cabezas (Madrid: Fundación Anselmo Lorenzo, 1995); and in Italian, *Vivendo la mia vita*, 3 vols., trans. Michele Buzzi (Milan: La Salamandra, 1980-1986).

Goldman's monthly magazine, *Mother Earth*, which she published in New York from March 1906 to August 1917, is an important source for those interested in her ideas and the anarchist movement of the period. Often the day-to-day operation of the magazine was in the hands of others, most notably Max Baginski and for many years Alexander Berkman, freeing Goldman to spread anarchist ideas, build a readership, and raise money for the magazine through nationwide lecture tours. But *Mother Earth* bore

the stamp of its founder, especially in its melding of art and politics. In addition to her essays--many of them revisions of lectures--and articles on different aspects of anarchism, *Mother Earth* published original poems and short stories; excerpted works by writers such as Tolstoy, Maxim Gorki, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Oscar Wilde and reprinted poems by William Morris and Walt Whitman; reported on labor and civil liberties disputes; kept its readers abreast of developments in the international anarchist and labor movements; and often featured striking graphics on its cover.

Mother Earth helped to revitalize the anarchist movement in the United States, acting as a hub for its intellectual life and attracting readers and supporters from beyond the ranks of the movement by its eclectic contents and especially its unflinching defense of free speech. Its pages provided countless local groups with a forum to advertise meetings and lectures and for endless fund-raising appeals. Each issue carried advertisements for books and pamphlets on anarchism and other topics--advertisements that are a valuable resource for researchers trying to recover the political and cultural locus of the movement. Finally, the magazine's offices also served as a publishing house: The Mother Earth Publishing Association published some of the most important anarchist books of the period, including Goldman's *Anarchism and Other Essays* and Berkman's *Prison Memoirs*.

All twelve volumes have been reprinted in the "Radical Periodicals in the United States, 1890-1960" series (New York: Greenwood Reprint Corporation, 1968). Unaccountably the reprinted volumes appeared under the title, *Mother Earth Bulletin*, the name of the journal that succeeded *Mother Earth* after the latter was banned from the mails under a provision of the wartime Espionage Act. *Mother Earth Bulletin* was published from October 1917 to April 1918, when it met the same fate as its predecessor. After Goldman's imprisonment and the suppression of the *Bulletin*, Stella Ballantine tried to keep her aunt's voice before the public through a mimeographed newsletter with the wonderfully ironic title, *Instead of a Magazine* (recalling Benjamin R. Tucker's *Instead of a Book*). The newsletter, however, lasted just one issue (a copy of it can be found on reel 61 of *The Emma Goldman Papers* microfilm).

Goldman revised many of her early lectures and essays and collected them in *Anarchism and Other Essays* (New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1910). The book includes "Anarchism: What It Really Stands For," "Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty," and "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation," among other essays, as well as a forty-page biographical sketch of Goldman by Hippolyte Havel. A reprint of the third revised edition (1917), with a new introduction by Richard Drinnon, is still in print (New York: Dover Publications, 1969). Other modern reprints have appeared in German as *Anarchismus, seine wirkliche Bedeutung*, trans. Sabine Wolski and Ulrich Schwalbe (Berlin: Libertad Verlag, 1978); and in Italian as *Anarchia, femminismo e altri saggi*, trans. Roberto Massari (Milan: La Salamandra, 1976).

In addition to political topics, from the early 1900s Goldman wrote and lectured on modern European drama. Her essays on playwrights such as Henrik Ibsen, August Strindberg, Gerhart Hauptmann, George Bernard Shaw, and Anton Chekhov were revised and published as *The Social Significance of the Modern Drama* (Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1914), which has been reprinted (New York: Applause--Theatre Book Publishers, 1987).

Goldman's accounts of her experiences in Soviet Russia and what she saw as the Bolsheviks' betrayal of the revolution were translated into many languages (see reel 49 of *The Emma Goldman Papers* microfilm). When her book, *My Disillusionment in Russia* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1923), appeared, Goldman was dismayed that Doubleday, Page & Company had replaced her title, "My Two Years in Russia," without her knowledge. Even worse, the publisher cut the last twelve chapters of the manuscript, omitting her account of crucial events such as the Kronstadt rebellion and an afterword in which she reflected on the trajectory of the revolution after the Bolsheviks seized power. The

publisher attempted to rectify the situation by publishing the omitted chapters as a separate volume: *My Further Disillusionment in Russia* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1924). The complete text in one volume, with an introduction by Rebecca West, appeared the following year: *My Disillusionment in Russia* (London: C. W. Daniel Company, 1925). With the resurgence of interest in Goldman in the 1960s and 1970s, a new edition of the complete text, with Frank Harris's biographical sketch of Goldman from his *Contemporary Portraits* (see below), was published (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, Apollo Editions, 1970).

A useful anthology of Goldman's essays and speeches drawn from the entire span of her career, arranged topically under "Organization of Society," "Social Institutions," "Violence," and "Two Revolutions and a Summary," is Alix Kates Shulman, ed., *Red Emma Speaks: Selected Writings and Speeches by Emma Goldman* (New York: Vintage Books, 1972), which has been reprinted (New York: Schocken Books, 1982).

Two collections of Goldman's letters from her years in exile from the United States have been published. Richard and Anna Maria Drinnon, eds., *Nowhere at Home: Letters from Exile of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman* (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), is an outstanding, often moving collection of letters. Arranged thematically--under "Communism and the Intellectuals," "Anarchism and Violence," "Women and Men," and "Living the Revolution"--the letters are distinguished by the candor and passion with which their authors engage issues and by the deep bond of affection between two lifelong comrades. David Porter, ed., *Vision on Fire: Emma Goldman on the Spanish Revolution* (New Paltz, N.Y.: Commonground Press, 1983), includes letters on all aspects of the anarchist struggle in the Spanish civil war. The historical context is established by extensive introductions and commentaries, and the texts of the letters are thoroughly annotated.

BIOGRAPHIES OF GOLDMAN

There are now a number of scholarly biographies of Goldman. The earliest, Richard Drinnon's *Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961, 1982), remains indispensable and has been reprinted (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970); and (New York: Harper & Row, 1976). For full documentation of his sources, see "Emma Goldman: A Study in American Radicalism" (Ph.D. diss., University of Minnesota, 1957). Two biographies explore the intersection of Goldman's public and private lives. Candace Falk, *Love, Anarchy, and Emma Goldman* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1984; rev. ed., New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1990), offers a challenging view of the theory and practice of anarchism, and Goldman's relation to it, through the prism of her personal life. (Published in German as *Liebe und Anarchie & Emma Goldman: Ein erotischer Briefwechsel; Eine Biographie*, trans. Dita Stafski and Helga Woggon [Berlin: Karin Kramer Verlag, 1987].) Alice Wexler, *Emma Goldman: An Intimate Life* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984)--reprinted as *Emma Goldman in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986)--which covers Goldman's career through her deportation in 1919, and Wexler's second volume, *Emma Goldman in Exile: From the Russian Revolution to the Spanish Civil War* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989), concentrate especially on the character of Goldman's anarchism. A brief survey of Goldman's life focusing on the American years with little attention to her years in exile is John Chalberg, *Emma Goldman: American Individualist* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991). Martha Solomon, *Emma Goldman* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), focuses on Goldman as a writer and rhetorician. Marian J. Morton, *Emma Goldman and the American Left: "Nowhere at Home"* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1992), leans heavily on secondary works, intending to place Goldman's activities in the context of the broader Left during her lifetime. Fuller coverage of Goldman's work on behalf of the Spanish anarchists during the civil war can be found in a biography by veteran anarchist and chronicler of the movement Jose Peirats. See *Emma Goldman:*

Anarquista de ambos mundos (Madrid: Campo Abierto Ediciones, 1978); reprinted as *Emma Goldman: Un mujer en la tormenta del siglo* (Barcelona: Editorial Laia, 1983). An issue of the journal *Itineraire: Une vie, une pensée* (no. 8, 1990), published in Chelles, France, is devoted to Goldman and her circle. Other issues of the same journal have focused on Peter Kropotkin, Rudolf Rocker, and Errico Malatesta.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

Anyone interested in Goldman must also consult works by Berkman, her "chum of a lifetime." Their friend and comrade Mollie Steimer described them as "inseparable emotionally and spiritually. Neither of them ever wrote a major article or a book without consulting the other." Berkman's editorial skills were considerable, as evidenced by his work on *Mother Earth* and in the substantial contribution he made to shaping *Living My Life*. Berkman was also a writer of grace and power, as his three major works testify. Regrettably, he never wrote an autobiography, though in the early 1930s he sketched an outline for one through 1919. See Drinnon and Drinnon, eds., *Nowhere at Home*, xxv-xxviii.

Writing his first book, *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* (New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1912), introduction by Hutchins Hapgood, finally enabled Berkman to slay the ghosts that had haunted him since his release. It has been reprinted, with a new introduction by Paul Goodman (New York: Schocken Books, 1970); and in another edition with an afterword by Kenneth Rexroth (Pittsburgh: Frontier Press, 1970). An account of his fourteen-year imprisonment for attempting to assassinate Henry Clay Frick, the book is a classic of the genre of prison writing, chronicling the brutality of the prison regime and the evolution of his attitudes toward his fellow prisoners--including a sympathetic discussion of homosexuality--with compelling honesty. The book also appeared in Yiddish: *Gefengenen erinerungen fun an anarchist*, 2 vols., ed. M. Katz and R. Frumkin (New York: M. E. Fitzgerald, 1920-1921).

Berkman loaned Goldman the diary he kept in Russia to help her write *My Disillusionment in Russia*, though he always believed that her free use of it detracted considerably from the impact of his subsequent account of the two years they spent in Russia, published as *The Bolshevik Myth (Diary 1920-1922)* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1925). The publisher rejected the final chapter of his manuscript "as an 'anti-climax' from a literary standpoint," prompting Berkman to publish it separately as *The "Anti-Climax": The Concluding Chapter of My Russian Diary, "The Bolshevik Myth"* ([Berlin]: n.p., [1925]). The complete work has recently been republished, with a new introduction by Nicolas Walter (London: Pluto Press, 1989). Berkman's earliest essays on Russia were published in three pamphlets--*The Russian Tragedy*, *The Russian Revolution and the Communist Party*, and *The Kronstadt Rebellion* in Berlin in 1922. They have been collected and reissued as *The Russian Tragedy* (Sanday, Orkney: Cienfuegos Press, 1976), with an introduction by William G. Nowlin, Jr.

Commissioned by the Jewish Anarchist Federation of New York to prepare a primer on anarchism that would be accessible to the average reader and help dispel the popular myths surrounding the topic, Berkman found the book excruciatingly difficult to write (see his letters to Goldman in the summer and fall of 1927 on reels 18 and 19 of this collection). Nonetheless, Paul Avrich, the leading historian of anarchism, considers *Now and After: The ABC of Communist Anarchism* (New York: Vanguard Press/Jewish Anarchist Federation, 1929), "a classic, ranking with Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread* as the clearest exposition of communist anarchism in English or any other language." A recent republication, with a new introduction by Avrich and Goldman's preface to the 1937 edition, appeared under the title *What Is Communist Anarchism?* (New York: Dover Publications, 1972). An abridged edition, *ABC of Anarchism*, first published in London in 1942 and reprinted many times, is still available (London: Freedom Press, 1971), with an introduction by Peter E. Newell.

Following the untimely death of Voltairine de Cleyre in 1912, Berkman edited a collection of her writings: *Selected Works of Voltairine de Cleyre* (New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1914), with a biographical sketch by Hippolyte Havel. The collection has been reprinted (New York: Revisionist Press, 1972). His relationship with de Cleyre was less conflicted than was Goldman's. He held her in high esteem as a writer and fellow anarchist. A faithful correspondent while Berkman was imprisoned, de Cleyre provided emotional and intellectual support after his release and especially while he was writing *Prison Memoirs*.

Berkman's labor weekly, *The Blast*, which he edited and published in San Francisco from January 1916 to May 1917 with the assistance of M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, has also been reprinted in the "Radical Periodicals in the United States, 1890-1960" series (New York: Greenwood Reprint Corporation, 1968).

Under the auspices of the International Committee for Political Prisoners, Berkman compiled and edited a valuable collection of material documenting the Bolsheviks' proscription of civil liberties and persecution of revolutionary groups and parties in the early years of the Soviet state. Comprising correspondence, testimonies, affidavits, and interviews of political prisoners and exiles, *Letters from Russian Prisons* (New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1925), has also been reprinted (Westport, Conn.: Hyperion Press, 1977).

A useful selection from Berkman's major works plus letters and articles from *The Blast* is Gene Fellner, ed., *Life of an Anarchist: The Alexander Berkman Reader* (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1992). Berkman will finally receive the attention he deserves when Paul Avrich completes the biography he is currently writing.

ANARCHISM

The best surveys to date of anarchism are James Joll, *The Anarchists*, 2d ed. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980); George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1962; rpt. ed., Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1963); and Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible: A History of Anarchism* (London: HarperCollins, 1992). A useful brief introduction that ranges from Bakunin to Murray Bookchin and social ecology is Richard D. Sonn, *Anarchism* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1992). For the scope and vitality of anarchist thought, see the selections in the following anthologies: Irving Louis Horowitz, ed., *The Anarchists* (New York: Dell, 1964); Daniel Guérin, ed., *Ni dieu, ni maître: Anthologie historique du mouvement anarchiste* (Paris: Editions de Delphes, [1965]); Leonard I. Krimerman and Lewis Perry, eds., *Patterns of Anarchy: A Collection of Writings on the Anarchist Tradition* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1966); Marshal S. Shatz, ed., *The Essential Works of Anarchism* (New York: Bantam Books, 1971; rpt. ed., New York: Quadrangle Books, 1972); and George Woodcock, ed., *The Anarchist Reader* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1977).

Goldman wrote at length in her autobiography about the formative influences on her political ideas, from the Russian populists and nihilists of her adolescence--apotheosized for her in the character of Vera in Nikolai Chernyshevsky's novel *What Is to Be Done?*--to the Haymarket martyrs and her mentor Johann Most. As important an influence as the Russian anarchist theorists Michael Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin were, Goldman could also draw upon a native radical tradition in the United States of communitarianism and resistance to government authority--a tradition that found political expression in the utopian and abolitionist movements before the Civil War and resonated especially in the writings of Henry David Thoreau and Walt Whitman.

The execution of the Haymarket anarchists was the catalyst for Goldman's decision to devote her life to their ideal of anarchism. The best account of the affair is Paul Avrich's magisterial *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984). Still useful is Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair: A Study in the American Social-Revolutionary Tradition*, 2d ed. (New York: Russell and Russell, 1958). Dave Roediger and Franklin Rosemont, eds., *Haymarket Scrapbook* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1986), is an excellent compilation of contemporary accounts of the affair and its aftermath, remembrances, scholarly articles, and illustrations. On the condemned men themselves, see Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs* (New York: Humanities Press, 1969). The diversity of the social and cultural milieu of anarchism in Chicago is demonstrated in Bruce C. Nelson, *Beyond the Martyrs: A Social History of Chicago's Anarchists, 1870-1900* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1988).

On Johann Most, see *Memoiren, Erlebtes, Erforschtes und Erdachtes* (New York: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1903-1907); Rudolf Rocker, *Johann Most: Das Leben eines Rebellen* (Berlin: "Der Syndikalist," Fritz Kater, 1924); Heiner Becker, ed., *Marxerein, Eseleien & der sanfte Heinrich: Artikel aus der "Freiheit"* (Wetzlar: Buchse der Pandora, 1985); and Heiner Becker, "Johann Most," in *Haymarket Scrapbook*, 137-39.

For a survey of American anarchist thought from the earliest years of the Republic through the mid-twentieth century, see William O. Reichert, *Partisans of Freedom: A Study in American Anarchism* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1976); Ronald Creagh, *Histoire de l'anarchisme aux Etats-Unis d'Amérique: Les origines, 1826-1886* (Grenoble: Editions La Pensée Sauvage, 1981); and Eunice Minette Schuster, *Native American Anarchism: A Study of Left-Wing American Individualism*, Smith College Studies in History, vol. 17 (Northampton, Mass.: Department of History, Smith College, 1932), which has been reprinted twice (New York: AMS Press, 1970) and (Port Townsend, Wash.: Loompanics Unlimited, 1983). On individualist anarchists, see James J. Martin, *Men Against the State: The Expositors of Individualist Anarchism in America, 1827-1908* (DeKalb, Ill.: Adrian Allen Associates, 1953; rev. ed., Colorado Springs: Ralph Myles, 1970); and Michael E. Coughlin, Charles H. Hamilton, and Mark A. Sullivan, eds., *Benjamin R. Tucker and the Champions of "Liberty": A Centenary Anthology* (St. Paul: Michael E. Coughlin and Mark Sullivan, 1986). David DeLeon advances the bold thesis that, as manifested in different forms of libertarian radicalism characterized by a hostility to centralized power, anarchism represents the most significant radical tradition in American history. See DeLeon, *American as Anarchist*.

The intellectual foundations of communist anarchism were laid in the nineteenth century by the Russians Michael Bakunin and Peter Kropotkin. Multivolume collections of Bakunin's works have been published in French and German, and most of his major works are available in English translation. Useful anthologies include Sam Dolgoff, ed., *Bakunin on Anarchy: Selected Works by the Activist-Founder of World Anarchism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), which was reprinted as *Bakunin on Anarchism* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1980); and G. P. Maximoff, *The Political Philosophy of Bakunin: Scientific Anarchism* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953; rpt. ed., New York: Free Press, 1964), with an introduction by Rudolf Rocker and biographical sketch by Max Nettlau. Kropotkin's major works--*An Appeal to the Young*, *Conquest of Bread, Fields, Factories and Workshops*, *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, and *Mutual Aid*--have been reprinted numerous times. The most useful anthologies of Kropotkin's writings are Emile Capouya and Keitha Tompkins, eds., *The Essential Kropotkin* (New York: Liveright, 1975); Martin A. Miller, ed., *Selected Writings on Anarchism and Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1970); and Roger Baldwin, ed., *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets: A Collection of Writings* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1927; rpt. ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1970). The best biographies of the two are E. H. Carr, *Michael Bakunin* (London: Macmillan, 1937; rpt. ed., New York: Vintage Books, 1961); Martin A. Miller, *Kropotkin* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976); and

George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, *The Anarchist Prince: A Biography of Peter Kropotkin* (London: T. V. Boardman, 1950; rpt. ed., New York: Schocken Books, 1971). Excellent brief introductions to Bakunin and Kropotkin can be found in the chapters devoted to them in Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

On the dispute in the First International between Marx and Bakunin, see Paul Thomas, *Karl Marx and the Anarchists* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980); and for the reverberations of that dispute within Russian anarchism as it grappled with Bolshevism, see Anthony D'Agostino, *Marxism and the Russian Anarchists* (San Francisco: Germinal Press, 1977).

THE AMERICAN YEARS

The period of Goldman's life in the United States when she was at the peak of her influence is well documented in autobiographies and reminiscences by other participants in the radical, labor, and literary movements of the time. Readers should bear in mind, however, that after World War I the radicals who once had cooperated took different political paths. The accounts they wrote of earlier years sometimes reflect a changed political orientation; others took the opportunity to settle old scores. With reference to Goldman, then, the following books should be consulted with care.

William D. Haywood, *Bill Haywood's Book: The Autobiography of William D. Haywood* (New York: International Publishers, 1929), reprinted many times; and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, *I Speak My Own Piece: Autobiography of "The Rebel Girl"* (New York: Masses & Mainstream, 1955); rev. ed., *The Rebel Girl: An Autobiography; My First Life (1906-1926)* (New York: International Publishers, 1973), cover the lives of two leaders of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) who occasionally worked closely with Goldman. Mary Heaton Vorse, *A Footnote to Folly: Reminiscences of Mary Heaton Vorse* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1935); and Hutchins Hapgood, *A Victorian in the Modern World* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939), are excellent autobiographies by two author/journalists whose sympathies were with the radicals. Both Margaret Sanger, *My Fight for Birth Control* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1931), and *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography* (New York: W. Norton, 1938; rpt. ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1971) slight Goldman's role in publicizing birth control ideas and her influence on Sanger. Max Eastman, *Enjoyment of Living* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1948); and Floyd Dell, *Homecoming: An Autobiography* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1933; rpt. ed., Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1969), include reflections on their years on the *Masses* before World War I. Mabel Dodge Luhan, *Intimate Memories*, vol. 3: *Movers and Shakers* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1936; rpt. ed., Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), is a prolix but irresistible memoir by the woman who confected the most memorable Greenwich Village salon of the 1910s. Margaret Anderson, the founder and editor of the *Little Review*, includes whimsical but sometimes acute observations of Goldman in *My Thirty Years' War: An Autobiography* (New York: Covici, Friede, 1930; rpt. ed., Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1971).

The radical movement in the United States of the World War I era has attracted some outstanding scholarship. For the anarchists, see Margaret S. Marsh, *Anarchist Women, 1870-1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981); the relevant chapters in Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits*; Paul Avrich, *An American Anarchist: The Life of Voltairine de Cleyre* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); Paul Avrich, *The Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980); Paul Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991); the essays in Antonio Donno, ed., *America anarchica (1850-1930)* (Manduria, Italy: Piero Lacaita Editore, 1990); Roger A. Bruns, *The Damndest Radical: The Life and World of Ben Reitman* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Carlotta R.

Anderson, *All-American Anarchist: Joseph A. Labadie and the Labor Movement* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1998); and Dorothy Gallagher, *All the Right Enemies: The Life and Murder of Carlo Tresca* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1988; rpt. ed., New York: Penguin Books, 1989). For the Jewish anarchist movement, see Furio Biagini, *Nati Altrove: Il movimento anarchico ebraico tra Mosca e New York* (Pisa: Biblioteca Franco Serantini, 1998); and from a participant's perspective, see the account in Yiddish by Joseph Cohen, *Di yidish-anarkhistishe bavegung in Amerike* (Philadelphia: Radical Library Branch 273, Workmen's Circle, 1945).

The best overview of the years immediately preceding World War I is still Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Time, 1912-1917* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1959; rpt. ed., Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964). On the cultural and political radicalism of Greenwich Village before the war, see Arthur Frank Wertheim, *The New York Little Renaissance: Iconoclasm, Modernism, and Nationalism in American Culture, 1908-1917* (New York: New York University Press, 1976); Leslie Fishbein, *Rebels in Bohemia: The Radicals of "The Masses," 1911-1917* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); and Rebecca Zurier, *Art for "The Masses": A Radical Magazine and Its Graphics, 1911-1917* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), which is an excellent introduction to this literary contemporary of *Mother Earth* and covers much more ground than its title and subtitle suggest. Two important books on the intersection of art and politics in the period are Steve Golin, *The Fragile Bridge: Paterson Silk Strike, 1913* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); and Martin Green, *New York 1913: The Armory Show and the Paterson Strike Pageant* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988; rpt. ed., New York: Collier Books, 1989).

For the various strands of the women's movement in this period, see, for example, Nancy Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987); Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism, 1870-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Meredith Tax, *The Rising of the Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880-1917* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1980); Rosalyn Fraad Baxandall, *Words on Fire: The Life and Writing of Elizabeth Gurley Flynn* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1987); Judith Schwarz, *Radical Feminists of Heterodoxy: Greenwich Village, 1912-1940* (Lebanon, N.H.: New Victoria Publishers, 1982); Marsh, *Anarchist Women*; and Avrich, *An American Anarchist*.

On the birth control movement, see Linda Gordon, *Woman's Body, Woman's Right: A Social History of Birth Control in America* (New York: Grossman, 1976; rpt. ed., New York: Penguin Books, 1977); James Reed, *From Private Vice to Public Virtue: The Birth Control Movement and American Society since 1830* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); and Ellen Chesler, *Woman of Valor: Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992). Goldman's fight for birth control was part of a broader battle she waged for economic self-determination and for women's right to sexual freedom. See Bonnie Haaland, *Emma Goldman: Sexuality and the Impurity of the State* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1993). Goldman found support for her ideas in the work of European feminists such as Ellen Key. See Ellen Key, *Love and Marriage*, trans. Arthur G. Chater, introduction by Havelock Ellis (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911; rpt. ed., New York: Source Book Press, 1970); *The Woman Movement*, trans. Mamah Bouton Borthwick, introduction by Havelock Ellis (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912; rpt. ed., Westport, Conn.: Hyperion Press, 1976); and *The Renaissance of Motherhood*, trans. Anna E. B. Fries (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914; rpt. ed., New York: Source Book Press, 1970). For the historical precursors of Goldman's work, see Hal D. Sears, *The Sex Radicals: Free Love in High Victorian America* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1977); and Sheila Rowbotham and Jeffrey Weeks, *Socialism and the New Life: The Personal and Sexual Politics of Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis* (London: Pluto Press, 1977). The work of Carpenter and Ellis also informed Goldman's lectures on homosexuality.

On the IWW, see Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969; 2d ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); and Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, vol. 4: *The Industrial Workers of the World, 1905-1917* (New York: International Publishers, 1965). For the anarcho-syndicalist bent of the IWW and its expression in the art and culture of the Wobblies, see Salvatore Salerno, *Red November, Black November: Culture and Community in the Industrial Workers of the World* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989). See also Peter Carlson, *Roughneck: The Life and Times of Big Bill Haywood* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1983); and Joseph R. Conlin, *Big Bill Haywood and the Radical Union Movement* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1969). The spirit of the Wobblies is wonderfully evoked in Joyce L. Kornbluh, *Rebel Voices: An I.W.W. Anthology* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1964; rev. ed., Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1988).

Goldman and Berkman opposed U.S. entry into World War I and were convicted in 1917 of conspiring to obstruct the draft, one of numerous cases prosecuted under a battery of wartime legislation designed to crack down on dissent. Fueled by the success of the Bolsheviks in Russia, the atmosphere of intolerance did not abate after the war's end, and ad hoc groups and emergency committees formed during the war to protect civil liberties came together in 1920 to found the American Civil Liberties Union. On this period, see Paul L. Murphy, *World War I and the Origin of Civil Liberties in the United States* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979); William Preston, Jr., *Aliens and Dissenters: Federal Suppression of Radicals, 1903-1933* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963); Richard Polenberg, *Fighting Faiths: The Abrams Case, the Supreme Court, and Free Speech* (New York: Viking, 1987; rpt. ed., New York: Penguin Books, 1989); David M. Rabban, *Free Speech in Its Forgotten Years* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997); and Peggy Lamson, *Roger Baldwin, Founder of the American Civil Liberties Union: A Portrait* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976). After Goldman and Berkman were released from prison in 1919, J. Edgar Hoover took charge of the deportation case against them. On Hoover's career, see Richard Gid Powers, *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: Free Press, 1987); and Athan G. Theoharis and John Stuart Cox, *The Boss: J. Edgar Hoover and the Great American Inquisition* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988).

RUSSIA

Aside from Goldman's and Berkman's own accounts (cited above), three books by Paul Avrich are directly relevant to their experience in Russia. *The Russian Anarchists* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967; rpt. ed., New York: W. W. Norton, 1978), which includes an excellent bibliography, traces the intellectual origins of Russian anarchism in the late nineteenth century through the 1905 revolution to the anarchists' role in 1917 and their subsequent suppression by the Bolsheviks. *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973), a collection of documents, includes writings by many of Goldman's comrades who later were part of the community of Russian anarchist exiles in Germany and France. *Kronstadt, 1921* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970) is the fullest account of the rebellion by sailors in the Gulf of Finland against the authoritarian and centralizing tendencies of the Bolsheviks. For accounts of the most sustained anarchist resistance to both Bolshevik power and counterrevolutionary forces during the revolutionary period, see Michael Palij, *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno, 1918-1921: An Aspect of the Ukrainian Revolution* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1976); and Michael Malet, *Nestor Makhno in the Russian Civil War* (London: Macmillan/London School of Economics and Political Science, 1982). An important work in Russian by Peter Arshinov, a participant in the events in the Ukraine, first appeared in Berlin in 1923; an English translation was published as *History of the Makhnovist Movement (1918-1921)*, preface by Voline [V. M. Eikhenbaum], trans. Lorraine and Fredy Perlman (Detroit: Black & Red; Chicago: Solidarity, 1974).

Two accounts by anarchist participants in the revolutionary period are G. P. Maximoff, *The Guillotine at Work: Twenty Years of Terror in Russia (Data and Documents)* (Chicago: Chicago Section of the Alexander Berkman Fund, 1940), reprinted in an abridged edition as *The Guillotine at Work*, vol. 1: *The Leninist Counter-Revolution* (Sanday, Orkney: Cienfuegos Press, 1979); and Voline [V. M. Eikhenbaum], *La Révolution inconnue, 1917-1921: Documentation inédite sur la Révolution russe* (Paris: Amis de Voline, 1947; rpt. ed., Paris: Editions Pierre Belfond, 1969), parts of which were published in English in the mid-1950s, with a biographical introduction by Rudolf Rocker, by Freedom Press (London) and the Libertarian Book Club (New York). The complete work was published as *The Unknown Revolution, 1917-1921*, trans. Holley Cantine (New York: Free Life Editions, 1974). Angelica Balabanoff, first secretary of the Third International and an intimate of Lenin, befriended Goldman and Berkman during their years in Russia and remained close to them after she broke with the Soviet leadership. See her memoirs, *My Life as a Rebel* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1938).

THE EXILE YEARS

Goldman's years in Europe and Canada between her departure from Russia and the beginning of the Spanish civil war were among the most dispiriting of her life, culminating in the death of Berkman in June 1936. During that period she relied on correspondence to stay in touch with family and friends in the United States while she renewed contacts with European associates and exiled Russian comrades and developed new friendships where her work took her.

Friends and family alike among Goldman's American correspondents were connected with the arts, especially the theater. Her favorite niece, Stella, was married to Teddy Ballantine, an actor and occasional director with the Provincetown Players. M. Eleanor Fitzgerald--Goldman's beloved "Fitzi," who occupied many roles at *Mother Earth*--was the moving force behind the scenes of the Provincetown Playhouse during the 1920s after it moved to New York City. See Robert Karoly Sarlos, *Jig Cook and the Provincetown Players: Theatre in Ferment* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1982); and Helen Deutsch and Stella Hanau, *The Provincetown: A Story of the Theatre* (1931; New York: Russell & Russell, 1972). Goldman's nephew (Stella's brother) Saxe Commins had a distinguished career as an editor with Liveright and Random House. His most important association was with playwright Eugene O'Neill, much of whose early work was first performed by the Provincetown Players. See Dorothy Commins, *What Is an Editor? Saxe Commins at Work* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978); and Dorothy Commins, ed., *"Love and Admiration and Respect": The O'Neill-Commins Correspondence* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1986).

Max Nettlau and Rudolf Rocker, two of the most prolific writers in the anarchist movement, became regular correspondents of Goldman during her years in exile. Nettlau devoted his life to chronicling the movement--Rocker described him as the "Herodotus of anarchy"--amassing a huge archive of anarchist materials. Rocker combined activism--with the Jews of London's East End before World War I, in Germany for the International Working Men's Association (IWMA) during the 1920s--with writing and lecturing. Nettlau's and Rocker's works have been reprinted numerous times in many languages. See especially Rudolf Rocker, *Nationalism and Culture*, trans. Ray E. Chase (New York: Covici, Friede, 1937); and *Anarcho-Syndicalism* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938; rpt. ed., London: Pluto Press, 1989). Rocker's three-volume autobiography appeared in Yiddish in 1952; an English translation of the volume covering his years in England was published as *The London Years*, trans. Joseph Leftwich (London: Robert Anscombe, 1956). See also Mina Graur, *An Anarchist "Rabbi": The Life and Teachings of Rudolf Rocker* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); and Peter Wienand, *Der "geborene" Rebell: Rudolf Rocker--Leben und Werk* (Berlin: Karin Kramer Verlag, 1981). Among Nettlau's numerous books were biographies of Bakunin and Errico Malatesta and a study of the First International

in Spain, but little of his work has been translated into English. An important exception is *A Short History of Anarchism*, ed. Heiner M. Becker, trans. Ida Pilat Isca (London: Freedom Press, 1996). His multivolume history of anarchism is currently being published for the International Institute of Social History: *Geschichte der Anarchie*, 5 vols. (Vaduz, Liechtenstein: Topos Verlag, 1981-); a paperback edition, revised and corrected by Heiner Becker, is also in process (Münster: Bibliothek Thélème, 1993-).

Among Goldman's closest comrades were Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin, who also left Soviet Russia after conditions there became intolerable for anarchists. On Steimer, see Marsh, *Anarchist Women*, Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits*; Polenberg, *Fighting Faiths*; and the pamphlet, *Sentenced to Twenty Years Prison* (New York: Political Prisoners Defense & Relief Committee, 1919). See also the memorial volume edited by Abe Bluestein, *Fighters for Anarchism: Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin* ([New York]: Libertarian Publications Group, 1983).

Goldman's experiences in Britain were especially disheartening. She never warmed to the British character, and her message in the 1920s about the Bolsheviks' betrayal of the Russian revolution drew less than enthusiastic responses from her audiences. Only her lectures on drama brought her any satisfaction. Though her attempt to build support for the Spanish anarchists during the civil war met with more success, she never had the same sense of belonging among her British comrades that she had felt in America. Her efforts to reach British workers were for the most part unavailing, and she gravitated instead toward those who were more appreciative of her international reputation, especially writers and intellectuals.

On British anarchism, see John Quail, *The Slow Burning Fuse: The Lost History of the British Anarchists* (London: Paladin, 1978); Hermia Oliver, *The International Anarchist Movement in Late Victorian London* (London: Croom Helm, 1983); Rocker, *London Years*; and William J. Fishman, *East End Jewish Radicals, 1875-1914* (London: Gerald Duckworth, 1974), published in the United States as *Jewish Radicals: From Czarist Stetl to London Ghetto* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975). Albert Meltzer, *I Couldn't Paint Golden Angels: Sixty Years of Commonplace Life and Anarchist Agitation* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1996), includes some background on the efforts to raise money and public support for the anarchist cause in Spain in the 1930s, as well as highly opinionated observations on British anarchists. Among Goldman's closest allies in the cause of the Spanish anarchists were art and literary critic Sir Herbert Read; novelist Ethel Mannin (see below); and Fenner Brockway, leader of the Independent Labour Party. See Herbert Read, *Anarchy and Order: Essays in Politics* (London: Faber & Faber, 1954); and Fenner Brockway, *Inside the Left: Thirty Years of Platform, Press, Prison and Parliament* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1942).

Goldman had only intermittent contact with the celebrated American expatriates of the 1920s in France, though for a time she numbered among her friends Peter Neagoe, Laurence Vail, Kay Boyle, and others associated with the literary magazine, *transition*. Heiress and patron of the arts Peggy Guggenheim helped Goldman purchase her cottage, "Bon Esprit," in St. Tropez and lived close by at Pramousquier. Goldman wrote most of her memoirs at "Bon Esprit," where for a year Emily Holmes Coleman, a young American writer, served as her secretary. "Demi," as Coleman was affectionately known, and Goldman became devoted to one another. See Robert McAlmon and Kay Boyle, *Being Geniuses Together, 1920-1930* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1984); and Jacqueline Bograd Weld, *Peggy, the Wayward Guggenheim* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1986). On Emily Holmes Coleman, see her novel, *The Shutter of Snow* (New York: Viking, 1930); and the entry in Karen Lane Rood, ed., *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 4: *American Writers in Paris, 1920-1939* (Detroit: Gale Research Company, 1980). Goldman also formed a strong friendship with writer and editor Frank Harris and his wife Nellie. See Harris's sketch of Goldman in his *Contemporary Portraits*, fourth series (New York: Brentano's, 1923). The influence of Harris's notorious autobiography, originally published privately in five volumes, can be detected in Goldman's *Living My Life*. See Frank Harris, *My Life and Loves*, ed. John F. Gallagher (New

York: Grove Press, 1963). Although her connections with the French anarchist movement dated from the 1890s--evidenced by her correspondence with Augustin Hamon, editor of *L'Humanité Nouvelle*--Goldman never played an active role during her residence in France, largely one suspects for fear of expulsion. Nonetheless, she had contacts with the anarchists, for example, May Picqueray, who for a time also lived in St. Tropez. See May Picqueray, *May le réfractaire* ([Paris]: Atelier Marcel Jullian, 1979).

Among Goldman's closest friends in England were Paul and Eslanda Robeson. Later in the 1930s her implacable hostility toward the Communists created an unbridgeable gulf between them as Robeson drew closer to the Party. On Robeson, see Martin Baum Duberman, *Paul Robeson* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1988). Visits from old friends and associates from America always fortified Goldman, but served at the same time as a painful reminder of how much she missed her life there. Still, she was heartened that the movement retained some vitality and was glad to encourage it from afar through correspondence. Among her correspondents was anarchist and ILGWU vice-president Rose Pesotta. See Pesotta's memoir *Bread upon the Waters*, ed. John Nicholas Beffel (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1944), which has been reprinted with a new introduction by Ann Schofield (Ithaca, N.Y.: ILR Press, 1987); and Elaine Leeder, *The Gentle General: Rose Pesotta, Anarchist and Labor Organizer* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1993).

Goldman's influence and bonds of friendship encompassed an extraordinary range of people. She corresponded with Ba Jin (Pa Chin), a young Chinese student who was deeply influenced by anarchism. Ba Jin (the nom de plume of Li Fei-kan) later translated Kropotkin and other Western anarchists into Chinese. But it was Goldman, whom he described as his "spiritual mother," who had the greatest influence on both his fiction and political ideas. He recalled in the preface to his collection of short stories, *The General* (1934), which he dedicated to Goldman, that he first encountered her essays in 1919 when he was just fifteen years old. Later the experience of reading her autobiography reinvigorated him, and he modeled Hui, the heroine of two of his fictional works, on Goldman. See Olga Lang, *Pa Chin and His Writings: Chinese Youth between the Wars* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967). In Russia and Germany Goldman renewed her friendship with American novelist and journalist Agnes Smedley, for whom Goldman's career had been a model of courage. By the late 1920s, however, Smedley believed that the Communists offered the best hope to oppressed peoples, especially in China, and chose to end the friendship. On the Goldman-Smedley friendship, see Janice R. MacKinnon and Stephen R. MacKinnon, *Agnes Smedley: The Life and Times of an American Radical* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988). Goldman admired and was a regular correspondent of Danish novelist Karin Michaelis, who explored in her fiction many of the themes of women's sexuality that interested Goldman. See especially her novel, *The Dangerous Age: Letters & Fragments from a Woman's Diary*, trans. Marcel Prévost (London: John Lane, 1912). Another intense friendship that rested mostly on correspondence was with American novelist Evelyn Scott. On Scott, see D. A. Callard, *Pretty Good for a Woman: The Enigmas of Evelyn Scott* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1985).

SPAIN

The historical literature on the Spanish civil war is enormous. The most thorough general history of the conflict is Hugh Thomas, *The Spanish Civil War*, 3d ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1977). Burnett Bolloten's *The Spanish Civil War: Revolution and Counterrevolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991) is an enormously detailed political history of Republican Spain in the civil war period that treats the contributions of the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists more seriously than most standard histories. See also Ronald Fraser's evocative *Blood of Spain: An Oral History of the Spanish Civil War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979).

Spain was the only European country where Bakunin's disciples gained a strong foothold, and anarchism attracted followers in rural areas like Andalusia as well as cities like Barcelona and Valencia. Two important studies of anarchism in a rural context, both of which refute an earlier millenarian interpretation of anarchism, are Temma Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia, 1868-1903* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); and Jerome Mintz, *The Anarchists of Casas Viejas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982). See also George Richard Esenwein, *Anarchist Ideology and the Working-Class Movement in Spain, 1868-1898* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). On the anarchists and the civil war, see Gerald Brenan, *The Spanish Labyrinth: An Account of the Social and Political Background of the Civil War*, 2d ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), reprinted many times; Murray Bookchin, *The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years, 1868-1936* (New York: Free Life Editions, 1977; paperback ed., New York: Harper Colophon, 1978); John Brademas, "Revolution and Social Revolution: A Contribution to the History of the Anarcho-Syndicalist Movement in Spain, 1930-1937" (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1953), which has been published only in a revised Spanish edition: *Anarcosindicalismo y revolución en España (1930-1937)*, trans. Joaquín Romero Maura (Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1974); and Sam Dolgoff, ed., *The Anarchist Collectives: Workers' Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution, 1936-1939* (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1990).

Among accounts of the anarchist revolution and the war in Spain written by participants or sympathizers, see H.-E. Kaminski, *Ceux de Barcelona* (Paris: Les Editions Denoël, 1937), which describes a 1936 tour Kaminski made with Goldman; the reports by Augustin Souchy, IWMA veteran and director of the CNT's foreign information office in Barcelona, who also accompanied Goldman on some of her visits to anarchist-controlled areas, in *Entre los campesinos de Aragón: El comunismo libertario en las comarcas liberadas* (Barcelona: Ediciones Tierra y Libertad, 1937), available in English as *With the Peasants of Aragon: Libertarian Communism in the Liberated Areas*, trans. Abe Bluestein (Sanday, Orkney: Cienfuegos Press, 1982), and *Beware! Anarchist! A Life for Freedom: An Autobiography*, trans. Theo Waldinger, ed. Sam Dolgoff and Richard Ellington (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Company, 1992); two books by Diego Abad de Santillan, an important figure in the CNT-FAI in Catalonia, *El anarquismo y la revolución en España: Escritos, 1930-38*, ed. Antonio Elorza (Madrid: Editorial Ayuso, 1976), and *Por qué perdimos la guerra: Una contribución a la historia de la tragedia española* (1940; Madrid: G. del Toro, 1975); José Peirats, *La C.N.T. en la revolución española* (Buenos Aires: Ediciones C.N.T., 1955), and *Los anarquistas en la guerra civil española* (Madrid: Ediciones Júcar, 1976); Sara Berenguer, *Entre el sol y la tormenta: Treinta y dos meses de guerra (1936-1939)* (Barcelona: Seuba Ediciones, 1988); Albert Meltzer, ed., *A New World in Our Hearts: The Faces of Spanish Anarchism* (Sanday, Orkney: Cienfuegos Press, 1978); and Juan Gómez Casas, *Anarchist Organisation: The History of the F.A.I.*, trans. Abe Bluestein (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1986). A classic account of the period is George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1938), reprinted many times.

Goldman had close relations with many anarchist women during the Spanish civil war, especially those associated with the journal *Mujeres Libres*, which has begun to attract the attention of scholars. See, for example, Martha A. Ackelsberg, *Free Women of Spain: Anarchism and the Struggle for the Emancipation of Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); and Mary Nash, ed., *"Mujeres Libres": España, 1936-1939* (Barcelona: Tusquets, 1975). See also Lola Iturbe, *La mujer en la lucha social y en la guerra civil de España* (Mexico City: Editores Mexicanos Unidos, 1974).

LITERARY INTERPRETATIONS OF GOLDMAN

Among the fictional representations of Goldman's life, three stand out. Ethel Mannin, the British novelist and Independent Labour Party member, worked closely with Goldman in London on behalf of the CNT-

FAI during the Spanish civil war. Her *Red Rose: A Novel Based on the Life of Emma Goldman* ('*Red Emma*') (London: Jarrolds, [1941]) is a shrewd portrait of its subject, especially the tensions between Goldman and Alexander Berkman's longtime companion, Emmy Eckstein. Goldman's life was so full of drama that inevitably it attracted the attention of playwrights and writers of screenplays. Two outstanding American historians have written plays based on her life. See Howard Zinn's *Emma* (first produced in 1976), in *Playbook* (Boston: South End Press, 1986); and Martin Duberman, *Mother Earth: An Epic Drama of Emma Goldman's Life* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), a revised version of a script commissioned two decades earlier by the New York PBS affiliate but never produced. See also Carol Bolt's *Red Emma* (first produced in 1974) in *Playwrights in Profile: Carol Bolt* (Toronto: Playwrights Co-op, 1976). Bolt's play was filmed by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and broadcast in January 1976. Goldman was the inspiration also for an off-stage character in a play by Eugene O'Neill, whose talent she had recognized early in his career. See Winifred L. Frazer, *E.G. and E.G.O.: Emma Goldman and "The Iceman Cometh"* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1974).

DOCUMENTARY FILMS

Two documentaries by Steve Fischler and Joel Sucher are relevant and worth viewing. *Free Voice of Labor: The Jewish Anarchists* (1980) focuses on the lives and ideas of the Jewish anarchists associated with the Yiddish-language newspaper, *Freie Arbeiter Stimme (1890-1977)*. Participants recall labor struggles, especially in the needle trades, the repression of radicals during the post-World War I "Red scare," and the cooperative ventures they undertook in such areas as housing and free schools. The film includes interviews with the anarchists, rare newsreel and feature film footage, still photographs, Yiddish "songs of struggle," and music from the Yiddish theater. *Anarchism in America* (1982) weaves together archival footage--including a newsreel clip of Goldman on her return to the United States for a lecture tour in 1934--and interviews with participants to tell the history of anarchism in twentieth-century America. Among those interviewed is Mollie Steimer, one of Goldman's closest friends and comrades. Both films are available on video and distributed by the Cinema Guild, New York, N.Y. For an understanding of what was at stake for Spanish anarchist women during the civil war, see Lisa Berger and Carol Mazer's ... *de toda la vida (... all our lives)* (1986). In addition to archival footage and stills, this Spanish-language film (with English subtitles) features extended interviews with women who were rank-and-file CNT members in their youth as well as with prominent anarchists such as Federica Montseny and Lola Iturbe. They spiritedly discuss their paths to anarchism, their work during the civil war, and the role of Mujeres Libres. The film is available on video, also distributed by Cinema Guild.

Stephen Cole