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# PROPAGATING SEX RADICALISM IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA:

## *Emma Goldman's Anarchist Solution*

Rachel Hui-Chi Hsu

*This article charts the discourse, propagation, and reception of Goldman's anarchist-oriented sex radicalism to reveal the influence and the limits of anarchism as a political philosophy in the early twentieth century. My study reveals three important but underexplored points: first, Goldman radicalized sexological ideas by demonstrating the role that liberated and equal intimacies could play in creating anarchist revolution; second, her version of sex radicalism created a native-born intellectual audience for anarchism; and third, among other European thinkers, she was a pioneer in exporting the idea of free love to East Asia. These points shed light on the interplay between various radical and progressive ideas in and beyond America. By explicating Goldman's anarchistic ideas and influence as a sex radical in a cross-cultural context, this article clarifies the strength, the limits, and the historical significance of her project to popularize anarchism.*

During her lifetime, Emma Goldman (1869–1940) was dubbed “the Queen of the Anarchists” by the press and labeled, along with her lifelong comrade Alexander Berkman, as “the most dangerous anarchists in America” by J. Edgar Hoover.<sup>1</sup> A Jewish Russian immigrant who came to America in 1885, Goldman was reputed to be “the greatest living woman revolutionary.”<sup>2</sup> Her contemporaries acknowledged her contributions to women's emancipation and sexual liberation.<sup>3</sup> Through her anarchism—more precisely, anarchist communism—she envisioned a free and egalitarian society based on voluntary associations without regulation from any authorities. In her belief, women could be truly free only through radical social transformation. Goldman expected women to be their own emancipators in the social revolution that would usher in a new sexuo-ethical order with neither hierarchies nor suppressions.

Previous scholars have characterized Goldman's advocacy of free love, birth control, and sex education, her criticism of marriage, and her defense of homosexuality as “sex radicalism.” The term refers to Goldman's espousal of inclusive sexual freedom for both sexes as the key to gender equality, liberated intimacies, and individual self-expression. The historian Linda Gordon argues that Goldman, more than any other figure, “fused into a single ideology the many currents that mingled in American sex radicalism.”<sup>4</sup> Numerous

biographers of Goldman have highlighted the uniqueness and iconoclasm of her insistence on free love and sexual pleasure.<sup>5</sup> Other scholars have engaged in a critical analysis of her ideas in light of modern theories. The feminist scholar Bonnie Haaland, for example, criticizes Goldman's heteronormative position on sexuality and reproduction from contemporary feminist perspectives.<sup>6</sup> In general, Goldman's biographers overstate the singularity of Goldman's ideas and underplay their similarity to her contemporaries' understandings of love, women, and sexuality. Those who examined her work in light of modern theories have tended to understate the role that anarchist frameworks played in shaping her sex radicalism. Both groups have called for more historical investigation of Goldman's ideologies.

This article charts the discourse, propagation, and reception of Goldman's anarchist-oriented sex radicalism to reveal the influence and the limits of anarchism as a political philosophy in the Progressive Era. My study reveals three important but underexplored points: first, Goldman fused European sexology with the anarchist legacy of sex radicalism from the 1870s to formulate a politics of sexuality to compete with the gender politics promoted by progressive-era feminists; second, her sex radicalism spearheaded the popularization of her anarchist philosophy and created an army of anarchist sympathizers among native-born intellectuals; and third, the circulation of Goldman's sex radicalism in nonanarchist press in East Asia broadened the spatiality of anarchist propaganda. These points shed light on the interplay between various radical and progressive ideas in and beyond America. Goldman's most intensive propaganda campaigns for anarchism, including sex radicalism, took place from the prewar decade to WWI, the heyday of the Progressive Era (from the 1890s to 1920s). In that period, accelerating industrialization, urbanization, and immigration created significant social and economic problems. Reform and radical ideas were developed in response to those problems. Goldman started to target white middle-class intellectuals as the potential audience for anarchist propaganda. Various drives for change in the Progressive Era paved the way for, but also competed with, the anarchist propaganda of social revolution.

The anarchist solution that Goldman's sex radicalism provided to "the woman question" and "the sex question" showcased her ingenuity when it came to maximizing the transnational influence of anarchism.<sup>7</sup> This article scrutinizes what I call Goldman's sexuo-political reasoning in order to demonstrate how she integrated sexology into her anarchist ideology. By sexuo-political reasoning, I mean her perception of the political implications and effects of sexuality, namely of people's sexual needs, preferences, and relationships. To Goldman, the sexual was political—in order to liberate sexuality, the political realm had to be transformed. Whereas other Progressive-Era feminists sought change "on their own behalf," as the

historian Nancy Cott described it, Goldman called for radical change on behalf of all human beings.<sup>8</sup>

The anarchist message of Goldman's sex radicalism drew intellectual audiences who would otherwise have distanced themselves from anarchism. Anarchism's association with bombs and assassinations had marred its public image for decades. For her part, Goldman served prison time for inciting a riot and was allegedly involved in two assassinations before 1901.<sup>9</sup> Her campaigns for free speech and her advocacy of free love, birth control, and modern drama gradually transfigured her social persona, allowing her to reach the educated middle class during the prewar decade. She seized the rising tide of culturally iconoclastic bohemianism to advocate for her version of anarchism, including sex radicalism, among young intellectuals. They found Goldman's notion that a new social order could be founded on free individuality and free sexuality appealing. Sex radicalism became a stepping-stone for Goldman to promote social revolution through personal emancipation.<sup>10</sup> Her audiences' practices of anarchism and their devotion to social revolution, however, seldom exceeded the boundaries of their individual private lives.<sup>11</sup> Outside of America, anarchists in Japan and China, in contrast, translated Goldman's works of sex radicalism in nonanarchist journals to provide anarchist propaganda to a wider audience. Some writers within East Asian print culture categorized Goldman's sex radicalism as "progressive" thought instead of "anarchist." By explicating Goldman's anarchistic ideas and influence as a sex radical in a cross-cultural context, this article clarifies the strength, limits, and historical significance of her project to popularize anarchism.

### The Anarchist Orientation of Goldman's Sex Radicalism

Goldman's sex radicalism departed from various schools of feminism of her time in its anarchist principles. Her idea of anarchism was summed up in a motto-like declaration in her anarchist monthly *Mother Earth* (1906–1917): "Anarchism—The Philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary."<sup>12</sup> She did not advocate violence, but she sympathized with individuals who used violence to strike at the government and capitalist system.<sup>13</sup> Anarchism, Goldman wrote, sought transformation in "every phase of life," both internal and external transformation for individuals and the collective to eradicate all existing evils by the authorities.<sup>14</sup> She attributed social injustice and gender inequality to institutional vices rather than to male oppression; this mindset explains her reconciliatory attitude towards men for solving the questions of women and sexuality. She embraced the opinion of the British writer Mary

Wollstonecraft, who thought that women's demand for economic, political, and sexual freedom would create as much benefit for men as it would for women.<sup>15</sup> Goldman's vision of a stateless, egalitarian socioeconomic and sexuo-ethical order was therefore different from other feminists of her time who resorted to civil and legal rights to gain equality.<sup>16</sup>

Goldman's sex radicalism was an amalgamation of European sexology and anarchist philosophy that promoted liberated heterosexual relations. Her anarchistic idea of human nature and her sexological notion of instinct provided the conceptual basis for her sexuo-political reasoning. Goldman defined human nature as an individual's "latent qualities" and "innate disposition."<sup>17</sup> She emphasized the factors of environment on the evolution of human societies and individuals. In her view, the "humiliating and degrading situation" people endured under the capitalist system destroyed human integrity.<sup>18</sup> Her anarchist beliefs caused her to conclude that the goodness of humanity could only develop in a healthy social order without authorities. Within this healthy social order, the new relations between men and women would develop on the basis of their kindness to one another without the distortion of coercion and hierarchies. Goldman used sexology to highlight sex—its instincts, behaviors, and relationships—as the root of women's subjugation.<sup>19</sup> A newly developed discipline in nineteenth-century Europe, sexology focused on the interplay of human nature, sexuality, and society.<sup>20</sup> Goldman subscribed to the British sexologist Havelock Ellis's view that the joy of sex between men and women was the foundation of human nature, individuality, social progress, and women's emancipation.<sup>21</sup>

Goldman took in Ellis's exaltation of the natural expression of sex and heterosexual love; those ideas shaped her ideal of heterosexual intimacy. Like Ellis, she considered sex "the most natural and healthy instinct," which was vital to happiness in life and human freedom.<sup>22</sup> Love was for her "the strongest and deepest element in all life," which "finds supreme joy in selfless giving."<sup>23</sup> Goldman resisted Ellis's characterization of women's sexuality as passive, but they both emphasized the essential joy of free sexuality between men and women who were in love. Goldman therefore labeled the feminist demand for economic independence at the expense of their emotional needs and sexual love a "tragedy." Echoing Ellis, Goldman argued that love and sexuality were necessary for a woman to "be human in the truest sense."<sup>24</sup> A woman's nature was the source of her power, she wrote, and "her freedom will reach as far as her power to achieve her freedom reaches."<sup>25</sup>

Goldman's radical adaptation of Ellis's sexology work showcases her anarchist sexuo-political reasoning in response to "the woman question" and "the sex question." In her essay "The Hypocrisy of Puritanism," for example, Goldman turned Ellis's historical discussion of nakedness into evidence of the injurious effects of Puritanical prudery. Ellis elaborated on the hygienic,

aesthetic, educational, and moral value of nakedness in history. His focus was on the benefits of cultivating nakedness for children's sexual education and physical beauty.<sup>26</sup> Goldman transformed Ellis's detached, apolitical commentary into a rhetorical assault on Puritanism, which she argued was a "crime against humanity": "The result of this [Puritanic] vicious attitude is only now beginning to be recognized by modern thinkers and educators. They realize that 'nakedness has a hygienic value as well as a spiritual significance . . . The vision of the essential and eternal human form, the nearest thing to us in all the world, with its vigor and its beauty and its grace, is one of the prime tonics of life.' But the spirit of Puritanism has so perverted the human mind that it has lost the power to appreciate the beauty of nudity, forcing us to hide the natural form under the plea of chastity."<sup>27</sup> Goldman continued her selective citation of Ellis's text to strengthen her criticism of chastity as "but an artificial imposition upon nature, expressive of a false shame of the human form."<sup>28</sup> Ellis's nuanced analysis of chastity as "the virtue which exerts its harmonizing influence in the erotic life itself" was lost in Goldman's discourse.<sup>29</sup> In her anarchistic thinking, chastity was an institutional vice that cut women off from their sexual natures and damaged their well-being. Her harsh criticism of chastity, in contrast to Ellis's positive remark in its proper use, showcased her feminist impulses.

As a rule, Goldman radicalized Ellis's intellectual concepts to bolster her anarchist argument for revolutionary change in the sociopolitical and sexuo-ethical realms. In "The Traffic in Women," she ascribed the rampant practice of prostitution to economic exploitation, religious superstition, sexual suppression, and moral hypocrisy.<sup>30</sup> She revised passages from Ellis's work to offer a stronger account of prostitution's religious origins. Ellis's assertion that "the rise of Christianity to political power produced on the whole less change of policy than might have been anticipated" became in Goldman's text "The rise of Christianity to political power produced little change in policy." "The leading fathers of the Church were inclined to tolerate prostitution for the avoidance of greater evils" in Ellis's text turned out to be "The leading fathers of the Church tolerated prostitution" after Goldman's editing.<sup>31</sup> She mobilized data from Ellis to support her own condemnation of the sham and hypocrisy of the existing systems and sexual norms. Near the end of her article, Goldman invoked Ellis's historical account of the futile legal regulation of prostitution in sixteenth-century France in order to make the argument for "a thorough eradication of prostitution." She argued that the abolition of commercial sex compelled "a complete transvaluation of all accepted values" and should be "couple[d] with the abolition of industrial slavery."<sup>32</sup> A statement like this with suggestion of a radical social revolution would not have appeared in Ellis's works. In another essay, "Prisons: A Social Crime and Failure," Goldman's call for the "complete reconstruction

of society" through the eradication of prisons and other existing institutions was again absent in Ellis's work on prison reform and the reorientation of criminology.<sup>33</sup>

Goldman similarly radicalized Ellis's narrative of the prevalence of male prostitution in some army barracks to highlight the vices of military service. A passage from Ellis's *Sexual Inversion* appeared in Goldman's essay "Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty" to back her anti-military argument. Ellis's narrative that "some of the barracks are great centers of male prostitution" in England was used to support her generalized point that "the growth of the standing army inevitably adds to the spread of sex perversion" across different militaries.<sup>34</sup> Her inherent distrust of conscripted state services drove her to translate Ellis's sexological data into evidence that the conditions of men's (often involuntary) military service led them to engage in degrading homosexual practices. Goldman treated homosexuality not only as a sexological issue, as Ellis did, but also as a cultural-political problem.<sup>35</sup> Ellis considered homosexuals as sexual beings and defended their right to practice their inherent sexuality, whereas Goldman saw homosexuals as human beings and asserted their individual right to be themselves. She believed that institutions like army barracks and prisons that bred male homosexuality in an involuntary manner ought to be abolished.<sup>36</sup>

Goldman's radicalization of Ellis's ideas illustrates her anarchist criticism of the "external tyrannies" (institutional authorities) and the "internal tyrants" ("ethical and social conventions") that distorted women's nature while exploiting their sexuality.<sup>37</sup> Her emphasis on women's sexuality, love, and maternal instincts accompanied her demand for total socioeconomic and political reorganization. Goldman made it clear that woman "should take her part in the business world the same as the man; she should be his equal before the world."<sup>38</sup> But she disapproved of economic self-sufficiency at the price of sacrificing woman's inner needs for love and sex. Goldman also did not see motherhood as a biological imperative as some current feminist scholars suggest.<sup>39</sup> She saw motherhood as contingent on women's material, psychological, and sexual conditions.<sup>40</sup> She detested the "much-lauded motherhood" under the existing socioeconomic system as "a hideous thing" and deplored that some women were "physically and mentally unfit" to be mothers "yet forced to breed."<sup>41</sup> Goldman set an example by refusing to bear children in order to dedicate herself to the anarchist cause.<sup>42</sup> She likewise deprecated women's suffrage because she believed participating in electoral politics could not emancipate women. As an anarchist, she believed that only an overall structural transformation of society would emancipate women.

The centrality of sexuality and love in Goldman's sex radicalism reflected the particularity, and potential problems, of her version of anarchy. Her sexuo-political reasoning divorced the free expression of love and sexual



nature from socially constructed commercial sexuality. She saw no hierarchies in a "true conception of the relation of the sexes"; rather, "it knows of but one great thing: to give of one's self boundlessly."<sup>43</sup> In her ideal anarchy, truly liberated persons had no need to resort to violence for enjoying sex and love. Her anarchist logic contributed to her disregard of female sexual vulnerability and the gender pitfalls that later feminist scholars found were the outcomes of sexual liberation.<sup>44</sup> Goldman's cult of heterosexual love as the basis of harmonious anarchy also overlooked such potentially destructive factors as jealousy, multiple sexual relationships, and betrayal, which could have existed between both sexes even in equal and free relationships. Her perception of anarchism as "the reconstructor of social life, the transvaluator of all values" nonetheless drove her to believe that the old, perverted values in sexuality would cease to exist in her ideal anarchy.<sup>45</sup> The historians Ellen Carol Dubois and Linda Gordon argue that a credible feminist politics about sex "must seek both to protect women from sexual danger and to encourage their pursuit of sexual pleasure."<sup>46</sup> Goldman's anarchism, at least in her own reasoning, would produce those results. When exploitative social hierarchies were eliminated through the creation of anarchy, women would be protected from sexual danger and free to enjoy sex in love.

Goldman's ideal of the complete and true emancipation of woman was meant to benefit both men and women by allowing them "to be one's self and yet in oneness with others."<sup>47</sup> This ideal, Goldman insisted, could only be practicable in an anarchistic society, a harmonious state without government and hierarchies. Bonnie Haaland argued that Goldman missed the "relations of power which might reside in customs, habits, and informal patterns of behavior, including sexuality itself."<sup>48</sup> As an anarchist, however, Goldman did not believe that repression and hierarchy existed in a transvalued thought process or behavior. She intended to defy heteronormative patriarchy by declaring that women could emancipate themselves *in* heterosexual relationships. She believed that practicing asceticism and celibacy fell into the patriarchal trap of repressing women's natural needs. Goldman furthermore judged that lesbianism was a retreat into the female world. For her, homosexuality failed to provide couples with the capacity to sabotage the unequal division of labor in re/production.<sup>49</sup> She also believed that female homosexuals renounced the joy of true companionship that they could only find in heterosexual love unions. In sum, Goldman's anarchist project and personal preferences propelled her to adhere to heterosexuality and reject asceticism, celibacy, and homosexuality as alternative means to women's emancipation. Her support for homosexuality, although strong, was therefore conditional.<sup>50</sup> Her proposal for women, as we shall see, was to take part in the process of social revolution by waging a daily struggle with state and capitalist powers to control their own sexuality.



## **Anarchist Project for Women: Creating an Everyday Revolution for Sexual Autonomy**

Goldman emphasized that woman's development, independence, and freedom "must come from and through herself," not from external institutions or man-made laws.<sup>51</sup> In particular, she insisted that woman's fight for her freedom contributed to, rather than followed, the new social order of anarchy.<sup>52</sup> For Goldman, women's liberation from conventional sexual and gender norms was both an end and a means to the creation of an anarchist society. She saw female free sexuality as the nexus around which a liberated psychosexual life and equal socioeconomic status would interact.<sup>53</sup> She targeted capitalism, Puritanism, and militarism as the evil trio that exploited women's bodies and sexuality. Capitalism was a callous, male-dominated institution that resulted in poverty, ignorance, and the demoralization of workers.<sup>54</sup> She contended that women's socioeconomic inferiority under "the merciless Moloch of capitalism" drove them into prostitution.<sup>55</sup> Puritanism was, she emphasized, the straightjacket of female sexuality. She held Puritanical sexual mores responsible for the tyranny of sexual repression and the perpetuation of women's sexual ignorance. "Puritanism," she stated, "is killing what is natural and healthy in our impulses."<sup>56</sup> Under the sway of Puritanism, women were coerced into one of three possible sexual roles: a celibate, a prostitute, or a helpless breeder of hapless children.<sup>57</sup> As she saw it, capitalist values and Puritanical prudery indulged the materialistic and male-centered sexuality that deprived women of their sexual autonomy. She further accused militarism of being "the greatest bulwark of capitalism" that turned women into breeding machines for the army and factories.<sup>58</sup>

Goldman encouraged women to sabotage the exploitative socioeconomic and sexuo-ethical order by taking back their sexual agency. Her anarchist project was to mobilize women to disrupt the prism of capitalism, Puritanism, and militarism in their daily lives. For her, women were able to blur the conventional public/private divide as they engaged in public production and private reproduction.<sup>59</sup> Women's everyday acts of revolution, according to Goldman, hinged upon their awakened and autonomous sexuality. By stopping what she described as the "indiscriminate breeding of children," women's free sexuality would enable their daily resistance to the oppressive social order.<sup>60</sup> Her proposal differed from the late nineteenth-century idea of "voluntary motherhood," which promoted abstinence to prevent pregnancy, because she argued that women were entitled to sexual pleasure, not just control over their fertility.<sup>61</sup>

Goldman's goal was to transform sex from a reproductive liability and commercialized commodity into an instrument for women's liberation. In order to achieve that goal she called for sexual education, sexuality freed

from marriage and social conventions, and birth control. Goldman declared that a woman would emancipate herself "first, by asserting herself as a personality, and not as a sex commodity. Second, by refusing the right to anyone over her body; by refusing to bear children, unless she wants them; by refusing to be a servant to God, the State, society, the husband, the family, etc.; by making her life simpler, but deeper and richer."<sup>62</sup> She believed that women could attain a "deeper and richer" life through their own inner regeneration. By encouraging them to refuse serving not only men but also the Church and the State, Goldman intended to show women how a regenerated life would enable them to acquire power from their nature and refuse to be inferiors of men.

Goldman promoted birth control so that women could claim their sexual autonomy and enjoy free motherhood and sexual pleasure. She began to offer lectures on birth control after she learned about the existing contraceptive methods at the Paris Neo-Malthusian Conference in 1900.<sup>63</sup> As a midwife on the Lower East Side of New York, she saw firsthand how working-class women suffered because of non-voluntary procreation and believed that birth control was a better alternative than abortion for women's reproductive control.<sup>64</sup> The prosecution of Margaret Sanger and her husband in 1914 for distributing birth control information intensified Goldman's resolve to join them in their activism. When Margaret Sanger fled to Europe, Goldman turned her birth control lectures into practical activism by informing audiences of the methods to challenge the repressive Comstock laws.<sup>65</sup>

Goldman's advocacy of birth control as the basis of an anarchistic sexuo-ethical order was distinct from other advocates who turned to institutions, experts, or the government for resources. Goldman never compromised in her demands for birth control with the medical or legal authorities in order to gain their recognition as Margaret Sanger did. Sanger sided with bourgeois liberals, philanthropists, and medical professionals for their support despite her early radical approach to birth control.<sup>66</sup> Within a few years, Sanger endorsed the eugenicists' call for racial hygiene and population control through legal and even coercive means.<sup>67</sup> Her categorization of "Negroes" and immigrants as "unfit" further indicated that she had adopted a mindset of elitist bigotry.<sup>68</sup> In contrast, Goldman believed that birth control was a woman's fundamental, individual right and wanted for every woman to be able to control her own fertility without the intervention of men or institutions. She also did not advocate for birth control in order to perfect or purify any particular race, nation, or culture.<sup>69</sup> She rejected the racist inclinations, class discrimination, and coercive measures of eugenicists as she offered birth control education. She condemned any official or institutional interference with individual sexuality in the name of eugenics.<sup>70</sup> Goldman believed that birth control education was socio-politically

important because it would help women secure autonomous motherhood, free sexuality, and social hygiene.<sup>71</sup> For her, birth control was an anarchist cause because effective contraception would empower women and change the existing social order.

"Direct action against the invasive, meddlesome authority of our moral code," Goldman declared, "is the logical, consistent method of Anarchism."<sup>72</sup> This statement explained her rationale for women's everyday direct action for sexual agency as an alternative tactic for economic autonomy. She specified that gaining access to birth control was a phase in mankind's complete socioeconomic emancipation.<sup>73</sup> Goldman sought to free sex from the interference of authority, be it from the government, medical professionals, the Church, or eugenicists. The rich repertoire of Goldman's sex radicalism provided alternative solutions to "the woman question" and "the sex question" in the Progressive Era. As the next section will show, Goldman's sex radicalism also gave her great appeal among non-anarchist intellectuals despite its limited success as anarchist propaganda designed to create a social revolution.

### **Sex Radicalism as Anarchist Propaganda: Spreading the Message beyond Anarchist Circles**

William Marion Reedy (1862–1920), a St. Louis-based editor, commented in 1908 that Emma Goldman was "about eight thousand years ahead of her age."<sup>74</sup> Reedy's remark was more historically accurate in relation to Goldman's anarchist ideals than it was about her sex radicalism. Unconventional sexual ideas and behavior were not rare phenomena in metropolises like New York and Chicago. The historian Christina Simmons's study of modern American women's sexuality notes that "most sex radicals had one—often more—of three broad intellectual affiliations: to the political Left, feminism, or the artistic bohemian world."<sup>75</sup> That was the case with Goldman's neighborhood in New York. Greenwich Village witnessed a unique union of art and politics, known as "the Little Renaissance" in the 1910s.<sup>76</sup> Young writers and artists from the provinces and abroad settled in the village to create new ways of life and foster freedom of artistic creation. The novelist Malcolm Cowley categorized two mingled currents in prewar Greenwich Village: individualistically oriented bohemianism and socially inspired radicalism.<sup>77</sup> A diverse assembly of new Greenwich Village residents rebelled against the materialistic values and prudish moralism of the middle classes from which most of them came. Avant-garde ideas and practices were in vogue for these men and women who interacted intellectually and physically in an intimate way. Their longing for a free lifestyle and self-realization opened them to liberating ideologies including anarchism without committing their actions to the dictates of any doctrine.<sup>78</sup>

After 1902, laws were passed in the United States suppressing anarchist political activism, and Goldman responded with a new, inclusive approach that presented anarchism as a philosophy of life.<sup>79</sup> Principally, she had always advocated social revolution launched by workers through direct action and the general strike. But she started to target a new, native-born audience she later termed "intellectual proletarians" to broaden the general public's support for anarchism. To Goldman, all wage-earners, whether they were engaged in physical or mental labor, were proletarians. She expected that the intellectual proletarians would cast off their traditional middle-class hypocrisy and aloofness and join the revolutionary proletarians to "wage a successful war against present society."<sup>80</sup> Goldman used her inclusive approach to disassociate anarchism from violence, although she justified individual or collective self-defense in response to organized violence. Goldman's anarchism involved every aspect of life, and she was able to ensure its free reception among radicals and liberals without having to carry it out in political practice.

The prewar generation of intellectuals and social rebels who called themselves feminists, socialists, or bohemians echoed Goldman's sex radicalism. They particularly embraced Goldman's emphasis on individuality as the bedrock of her sex radicalism.<sup>81</sup> The iconoclastic spirit of anarchism empowered them to defy what they saw as the priggish genteel traditions of the middle class.<sup>82</sup> By the 1910s, many younger feminists held more open attitudes towards sex than senior feminists who sought social respectability by asserting female virtue and motherly duty.<sup>83</sup> The younger feminists were more susceptible to the new ideas and practices related to love, sex, and sexuality articulated by Goldman. She would have appreciated the feminism of lesbian writer Rose Young, who said in 1914 that woman "wants to push on to the finest, fullest, freest expression of herself."<sup>84</sup> The literary bohemians writing and illustrating for the socialist monthly *The Masses* (1911–1917), recognized as the "voice of the Village," were known for their rebellious, individualistic inclinations.<sup>85</sup> Their belief that Puritanism was synonymous with prudish bigotry in art and sex paved the way for their reception of a new sexual freedom. Many of them demanded sexual pleasure, self-expression, and free love just as Goldman did.<sup>86</sup>

Goldman was able to spread her message of sex radicalism and her version of anarchism to non-anarchist audiences easily in the bohemian and liberal milieu of New York. Several representative groups of Greenwich Village bohemians invited Goldman to lecture on various topics about anarchism, including free love. One of her celebrated rendezvous spots was the salon of Mabel Dodge, a prominent art patron and salon hostess, on 23 Fifth Avenue. Dodge invited Goldman to her salon conversations as the spokesperson of anarchism.<sup>87</sup> Goldman was a guest speaker of Heterodoxy and the

Liberal Club, two other Greenwich Village radical groups. A luncheon club organized by Marie Jenney Howe in 1912, Heterodoxy gathered unorthodox women who were dedicated to feminism in one way or another.<sup>88</sup> The Liberal Club transformed itself from a progressive forum into the social center of the village after a cohort of bohemians assumed leadership. Many members of the new Liberal Club (Henrietta Rodman, Floyd Dell, and John Reed, to name a few) supported Goldman's radical ideas on love and sexuality.<sup>89</sup> Other New York social clubs including the Harlem Liberal Alliance, the Women's Trade Union League, the Brooklyn Philosophical Association, and the Sunrise Club also invited Goldman to address them. Although the editors of *The Masses* did not endorse Goldman's calls for an anarchist, socioeconomic revolution, they defended her campaign for birth control and endorsed her idea of free love.<sup>90</sup> In sum, the radicals, bohemians, and liberal Left agreed on the basic tenets of Goldman's sex radicalism.

Goldman's cult of expressive and amorous sexuality was, notably, more attractive to young bohemian intellectuals than it was to younger anarchists and older feminists. Most anarchist communists, particularly radical laborers, prioritized socioeconomic issues over personal matters.<sup>91</sup> While some younger anarchists claimed Goldman as the matriarch in their ranks (as opposed to Alexander Berkman as the patriarch), others did not appreciate her solicitation of bourgeois audiences.<sup>92</sup> Kate Wolfson, a Russian immigrant anarchist in New York, recalled how she and her sisters went to Goldman's lectures on birth control and drama but regarded their subject matter as "secondary issues." "We were fiery young militants," claimed Wolfson, "and more concerned with economic and labor issues."<sup>93</sup> Such respectable older feminists as Charlotte Perkins Gilman . . . refused to endorse Goldman's advocacy of free love and sexual autonomy for women. Sex also mattered in Gilman's discourse on feminism but not in the exalted fashion that Goldman adopted. In Gilman's sexuo-economic analysis of "the woman question," she argued that inequality and oppression were caused by "androcentric culture."<sup>94</sup> In her view, "the male has to use violence, falsehood, bribery, legal and religious coercion, in order to obtain [sex] satisfaction."<sup>95</sup> Gilman's feminist utopia of "herland" sharply contrasted with Goldman's anarchistic vision of heterosexual harmony.<sup>96</sup>

Reaching beyond Greenwich Village and New York, Goldman propagated her sex radicalism across America via her annual lecture tours to support her magazine *Mother Earth*. Reports about *Mother Earth* and local news coverage indicated the public's growing interest in Goldman's interpretation of anarchism as a life philosophy and revolutionary practice. Numerous articles reviewing Goldman's lectures emphasized the educational effect of her sex lectures.<sup>97</sup> Goldman noted to an interviewer from the *Denver Daily News* that her comments about sex drew large audiences.<sup>98</sup>

Fellow anarchist writer Adeline Champney credited Goldman with spreading "sex-rationalism" during her tours. "No propaganda is more fearfully needed," Champney remarked, "none more far-reaching in its potentialities for human happiness than the propaganda of sex-rationalism."<sup>99</sup> Even Margaret Sanger, Goldman's protégé turned rival, admitted that Goldman's sex radicalism was stimulating discourse about sex and sexuality nationwide. When Sanger started her lecture tour on the West Coast in 1916, she found that new ideas about sex "were being constantly thrashed out. Every discourse had a challenging reception. Emma Goldman had been there year after year and had stirred people to dare express themselves. All sorts of individuals catechized you, and if you were not well grounded in your subject you were quickly made aware of your ignorance."<sup>100</sup> The ideological groundwork laid by Goldman for sexual enlightenment on both coasts impressed her contemporaries. By propagating sex radicalism as part of her anarchist project, Goldman opened up various opportunities for her audiences to learn about and adopt anarchism. The following section will reveal how the distribution of Goldman's sex radicalism expanded the audience of anarchism in and out of America while opening her sex radicalism to various interpretations (or categorization) beyond her control.

### **Receiving Goldman's Sex Radicalism in and beyond America: Successes and Limitations**

While Goldman embedded sex radicalism in her anarcho-communist vision, her audiences were free to detach it from the context of militant anarchism to suit their needs. The antiauthoritarian actions covered in Goldman's lecture themes and campaigns—free speech, free love, birth control, syndicalism, and antimilitarism, among others—were all means to an end for her. She hoped that as people practiced them they would further the development of a stateless and egalitarian anarchy. The antiauthoritarian practices of these non-anarchist intellectuals, however, mostly stopped at individual protests and philosophical criticisms. They appreciated Goldman's notions of self-realization, free expression, and social progress that her anarchistic sex radicalism stood for, but they tried to distance themselves from violence and hardly showed any intention to overthrow the state. Mabel Dodge apparently favored the peaceful methods of her "intellectual anarchist" friends like the journalist Hutchins Hapgood and the muckraker Lincoln Steffens, who "believed in dealing Death by words and influence," not by killing.<sup>101</sup> The degree to which Goldman's sex radicalism could correct the violent image of anarchism in the general public's mind was very limited. In her interview of Goldman, the Denver journalist Alice Rohe stressed that "when Emma Goldman makes a statement it is regarded as



shockingly anarchistic, but when Ellen Keyes [sic] or Karin Michaelis [Danish feminist] express the same view it is regarded as the message of the 'emancipated.'"<sup>102</sup> Goldman's call for the destruction of all sociopolitical, economic, and religious authorities, even for the sake of liberating sexuality and women, was too radical for most of her non-anarchist audiences.

Seeking their own moral and artistic regeneration, middle-class intellectuals depoliticized the elements of Goldman's anarchism that they chose to follow. Margaret Anderson's editorial in her journal, *The Little Review*, illustrated this view of anarchism after she "turned anarchist" following one of Goldman's lectures.<sup>103</sup> *The Little Review*, she declared, was "a magazine written for Intelligent people who can Feel; whose philosophy is Applied Anarchism, whose policy is a Will to Splendor of Life, and whose function is—to express itself."<sup>104</sup> As Goldman's ardent supporter, Anderson repudiated the government and its violence, exclaiming in one issue, "For God's sake, why doesn't some one start the Revolution?"<sup>105</sup> But Anderson's anarchist practice was essentially artistic, individualistic, and philosophical.<sup>106</sup> As a rule, these bohemian intellectuals either took the individualistic elements of Goldman's sex radicalism—disregarding its stateless political and communist socioeconomic premise—as the totality of anarchism or consciously filtered out Goldman's revolutionary militancy, which inevitably involved violence, and adopted as their version of anarchism only her sex radicalism and libertarian philosophy. The philosophical anarchists and literary bohemians cared more about their personal inner and sexual awakenings than the drastic institutional change agitated by anarchism. Goldman's sex radicalism, while drawing large audiences, did not elicit the collective effort for her envisioned anarchy.

The international circulation of *Mother Earth* and its publications exported Goldman's anarchism to non-Western, non-anarchist audiences. In East Asia, the selective reception of Goldman continued but with subtle differences that indicate her translators were trying to facilitate the positive reception of her ideas about sex radicalism. Anarchism in early twentieth-century East Asia stood for a radical break with repressive tradition; its iconoclastic spirit was pervasive amid the progressive-minded elites.<sup>107</sup> Anarchism's antiauthoritarian notions inspired many radicals and liberals who did not necessarily support its stateless political ideology. East Asian anarchist papers before 1910 focused on introducing the political struggles of Goldman and her magazine, while her essay collection, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, became the main source text for her East Asian translations after 1910.

It is telling that the East Asian media propagating Goldman's sex radicalism was non-anarchist journals. Although Goldman's East Asian translators were mostly anarchists, they tended to publish her works on sex radicalism



in progressive periodical press to increase their circulation. The feminist *Seitō* (Bluestocking, 1911–1916) in Japan and the liberal *Xin Qingnian* (The New Youth, 1915–1923) in China were two cases in point. *Seitō* advocated women's rights and freedom; *Xin Qingnian* was a leading left-wing liberal monthly that later promoted communism.<sup>108</sup> Itō Noe, a Japanese feminist anarchist, admired Goldman's anarchist ideas and deeds and took the initiative to translate Goldman's "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation" in *Seitō* in 1913.<sup>109</sup> The Chinese translation of Goldman's essay "Marriage and Love" appeared in *Xin Qingnian* in July 1917; another essay of Goldman's, "On Modern Drama," appeared in the same journal in February 1919.<sup>110</sup> Yuan Zhenying, the translator of both articles . . . was an English major student with anarchist leaning at Peking University. He and some like-minded cohorts organized the Society of Reality (*Shi she*) in 1917 to study anarchism.

The way that Goldman's East Asian translators chose non-anarchist periodicals to publish her works of sex radicalism indicates their intention to broaden the reach of anarchist propaganda. Self-avowed anarchists in Japan and China highlighted Goldman's sex radicalism via translation as a powerful defiance of traditional gender norms in their societies. From a dozen essays in Goldman's *Anarchism and Other Essays*, Itō chose to first translate "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation," but instead of publishing it in an anarchist paper, Itō chose *Seitō* to carry the piece. She hoped that this essay would inspire Japanese women's gender, sexual, and individual awakening. Itō later published a translated collection of Goldman's works in 1914.<sup>111</sup> She saw in Goldman's sex radicalism an ideal medium to spread new, radical, and anarchistic ideas to broader, namely non-anarchist audiences. These translations furthered the emerging Japanese New Women's reception of Goldman's free love idea.<sup>112</sup>

Likewise, Yuan Zhenying selected "Marriage and Love" for his first translation of Goldman's works and published it in the influential *Xin Qingnian* instead of an anarchist periodical. Yuan and his anarchist friends, however, later issued the translations of Goldman's "Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty" and "Anarchism: What It Really Stands For" in their anarchist society's essay volume.<sup>113</sup> Yuan tried to "smuggle" Goldman's politically revolutionary interpretation of anarchism into *Xin Qingnian*. At the end of his translated "Marriage and Love," Yuan appended a succinct sketch of Goldman's anarchist activities and *Mother Earth's* propaganda. He closed by stating that "Marriage and Love" was a must-read for all Chinese male and female youths. Both Itō and Yuan used Goldman's sex radicalism to introduce her anarchism to modernizing intellectuals in East Asia.

This translation tactic incidentally led to a partial convergence of Goldman's sex radicalism and other Western non-anarchist ideas under the category of "progressive ideas" in East Asian thought and publica-

tions. Goldman's East Asian readers were therefore free from the negative (dangerous, violent) image of Goldman that preoccupied US audiences who read about her in the mainstream press. Many modernizing elites in Japan and China were influenced by Western progressive ideas about women, gender, and sexuality despite their ideological heterogeneity. *Seitō's* concurrent introduction of the works by Goldman and the Swedish feminist Ellen Key was one example. The Japanese translation of Key's "The Evolution of Love" and Goldman's "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation" appeared back-to-back in *Seitō* in September 1913.<sup>114</sup> Key advocated the freedom of marriage and divorce and exalted the duty of motherhood; her feminist thinking did not include the abolition of marriage and other existing institutions. For some female writers in *Seitō*, Key's new sexual ethics were in line with Goldman's notion of free love despite their basic ideological differences. Even Itō, although she expressed a deeper affinity with Goldman's ideas, recognized both of their contributions to advocating new sexual freedoms.<sup>115</sup> *Seitō* took the works of Goldman and Key out of their original context and created a new discursive arena, which underlined their inspirations for female emancipation and new sexual morality. Similar cases appeared in other Japanese and Chinese publications. Goldman was translated alongside works of other Westerners—Havelock Ellis, the British writer Edward Carpenter, and the South African author Olive Schreiner, among others—who promoted libertarian, individualistic ideas.<sup>116</sup>

The Japanese and Chinese non-anarchist journals presented Goldman as more of a progressive thinker than as an anarchist revolutionary. Chiang Fengzi, a female Chinese writer, advocated women's education and emancipation in an influential liberal magazine, *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal, 1915–1931). She quoted Goldman's work alongside that of Ellen Key, Henrik Ibsen, and Margaret Sanger.<sup>117</sup> The feminist narratives in the East Asian non-anarchist journals neither highlighted nor censured Goldman's criticism of women's suffrage as American women's journals did.<sup>118</sup> These East Asian publications instead created a new context for feminists and liberals to learn about Goldman's sex radicalism outside of an anarchist framework. The choice to frame Goldman as a progressive thinker instead of an anarchist advanced the influence of her sex radicalism, and she became a pioneer of free love in East Asia, although the conflation of her thoughts with those of other Western non-anarchist thinkers weakened the political character of her philosophies.<sup>119</sup>

## Conclusion

Goldman wrote in her 1931 autobiography, "To me, anarchism was not a mere theory for a distant future; it was a living influence to free us from inhibitions, internal no less than external, and from the destructive barriers that separate man from man."<sup>120</sup> This article demonstrates the living influence of Goldman's version of anarchism to American and East Asian audiences—specifically that of her sex radicalism. Goldman's anarchism informed her discourses on women and sexuality which led her to reject gradual change, institutional reform, and civil rights granted by the government. Her proposal of "inner regeneration" for women was meant to work side by side with the socioeconomic struggles led by the workers to emancipate society. Her inclusive approach to propagating social revolution involved general strikes, women's emancipation, and sexual liberation. In her activist project, free sexuality and free motherhood was a part, rather than a result, of anarchist revolution. While other radicals and feminists advocated free love, Goldman's version of radicalism coupled free love with the abolition of marriage. Her espousal of birth control was a demand for women's sexual autonomy as the basis of a new order, rather than as the government- or expert-led project that many of her contemporaries endorsed. Her ideas made sex radicalism not just a fusion of other contemporary ideologies of women's emancipation, as Linda Gordon argues, but a revolutionary advancement of them.

Yet Goldman's discussion of women's roles did not explicate how women should acquire economic autonomy. She was too enmeshed in her egalitarian vision of anarchy to dwell upon the possibilities of gender inequality due to women's physical and biological disadvantages. Her anarchistic logic led her to believe that women should in any case be economically and physically free. This "mater-of-fact" attitude towards the issue of female economic independence did not help clarify why women should join the ranks of anarchism. Her translators in Japan and China, while promoting her sex radicalism, failed to transmit its anarchist premise of social revolution to the audience. Goldman's discourse of sex radicalism thus lacked a compelling argument and a clear agenda for middle-class women to give up their feminism for the anarchist revolution. She did not spell out what or how educated women should contribute to an anarchist society. To these women, especially the younger generation, Goldman's advocacy of women's sexual autonomy could coexist with their fights for suffrage and work. They found inspiration in Goldman's sex radicalism, but it did not turn them into anarchists.

Goldman's sex radicalism was built on a rebellious, antiauthoritarian spirit that has a timeless appeal. She was not content to ask simply for

voting rights, education, work, or egalitarian romantic relationships for women. She wanted women to be able to rely on themselves, instead of any institution or men. She moreover meant for women's emancipation to benefit both women and men. She wanted to create a new sexuo-ethical order that freed each individual, regardless of gender, to "be one's self and yet in oneness with others." Goldman's antiauthoritarian call for the free and full development of individuality, which permeated her anarchistic sex radicalism, became a lasting legacy for her. The frequent invocation of Goldman during the countercultural movements in the 1960s and 1970s "sparked the imagination of generations of free spirits," as the historian Candace Falk notes.<sup>121</sup> The essayist Vivian Gornick, in late 2011, claimed, "If ever there was a life that embodied the spirit that is driving the [2011–2012] Occupy Wall Street movement it is that of Emma Goldman."<sup>122</sup> The "spirit" invoked by Falk and Gornick is marked by its unyielding defiance of institutional authorities and power hierarchies. Such spirit that had inspired people to break free from all chains continues to be a source of inspiration for female *and* male rebels.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>"Emma Goldman Clashes with Police on Meeting," *Chicago Inter Ocean*, March 8, 1908, cited in *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years*, vol. 2, *Making Speech Free, 1902–1909*, ed. Candace Falk (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 284–87; and Kathy E. Ferguson, *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 9.

<sup>2</sup>Ethel Mannin, "Dedicatory letter to Emma Goldman," in *Women and the Revolution* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, Inc., 1939).

<sup>3</sup>Margaret Sanger, *An Autobiography* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1938), 203–4.

<sup>4</sup>Linda Gordon, *The Moral Property of Women: A History of Birth Control Politics in America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 142.

<sup>5</sup>For a comprehensive literature of the studies on Goldman, see Candace Falk, ed., "Emma Goldman: A Guide to Her Life and Documentary Sources," accessed January 2, 2016, [http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/goldman/pdfs/EG-AGuideToHerLife\\_BiographicalEssay-TheWorldofEmmaGoldman.pdf](http://www.lib.berkeley.edu/goldman/pdfs/EG-AGuideToHerLife_BiographicalEssay-TheWorldofEmmaGoldman.pdf). For more recent studies of Goldman, see Ferguson, *Emma Goldman*; and Vivian Gornick, *Emma Goldman: Revolution as a Way of Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011).

<sup>6</sup>Bonnie D. Haaland, *Emma Goldman: Sexuality and the Impurity of the State* (New York: Black Rose Books, 1993). Also see Linda L. Lumsden, "Anarchy Meets Feminism: A Gender Analysis of Emma Goldman's *Mother Earth*, 1906–1917," *American Journalism* 24, no. 3 (2007): 31–54.

<sup>7</sup>The "woman question" in the early twentieth century concerned reconciling women's physical and psychological desires with their yearning for economic independence and professional accomplishment. The issues concerning female sex and sexuality, including procreation and the traffic in women, were in Goldman's category "the sex question." See Vernon Lee, "The Economic Dependence of Women Author," *The North American Review* 175, no. 548 (1902): 71–90; and Emma Goldman, "Anarchy and the Sex Question," *The Alarm*, September 27, 1896, 3, cited from Anarchism Archives, [http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist\\_Archives/goldman/sexquestion.html](http://dwardmac.pitzer.edu/Anarchist_Archives/goldman/sexquestion.html).

<sup>8</sup>Nancy F. Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987), 3–50.

<sup>9</sup>Richard Drinnon, *Rebel in Paradise: A Biography of Emma Goldman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 55–94.

<sup>10</sup>Keith Norton Richwine, "The Liberal Club: Bohemia and the Resurgence in Greenwich Village, 1912–1918" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1968), 157.

<sup>11</sup>Leslie E. Fishbein, *Rebels in Bohemia: The Radicals of the Masses, 1911–1917* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1982), 31.

<sup>12</sup>"ANARCHISM," *Mother Earth* 5, no. 8 (1910): 246.

<sup>13</sup>Emma Goldman, "The Tragedy at Buffalo," *Mother Earth* 1, no. 8 (1906): 11–16; and Candace Falk, ed., *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years*, vol. 3, *Light and Shadows, 1910–1916* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), 511–13.

<sup>14</sup>Emma Goldman, "Anarchism: What It Really Stands For," in *Anarchism and Other Essays* (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 47–67, 50.

<sup>15</sup>Emma Goldman, "Mary Wollstonecraft, Her Tragic Life and Her Passionate Struggle for Freedom," in *The Emma Goldman Papers: A Microfilm Edition*, ed. Candace Falk (Alexandria, VA: Chadwyck-Healey Inc., 1991–1993), reel 54.

<sup>16</sup>Cott, *The Grounding of Modern Feminism*.

<sup>17</sup>Emma Goldman, *What I Believe* (New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1908), 5; and Goldman, "Anarchism," 62.

<sup>18</sup>Emma Goldman, *What I Believe*, 5.

<sup>19</sup>Goldman first came into contact with sexology during her two trips to Europe in the late 1890s. There she learned about sexual repression from Sigmund Freud and encountered Havelock Ellis's work *Sexual Inversion* (1897). Emma Goldman, *Living My Life*, vol. 1 (New York: Dover Publications, 1970), 133–74, 249–67.

<sup>20</sup>Jeffrey Weeks, *Sexuality and Its Discontents: Meanings, Myths, and Modern Sexualities* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1985), 61–95.

<sup>21</sup>For examples of the study on Ellis's sexology, see Paul Robinson, *The Modernization of Sex* (New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1977), 1–41; Jeffrey Weeks,

"Havelock Ellis and the Politics of Sex Reform," in *Socialism and the New Life: The Personal and Sexual Politics of Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis*, ed. Sheila Rowbotham and Jeffrey Weeks (London: Pluto Press, 1977), 141–85; and Chris Nottingham, *The Pursuit of Serenity: Havelock Ellis and the New Politics* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1999).

<sup>22</sup>Emma Goldman, "Marriage and Love," *Anarchism and Other Essays*, 227–39, 231.

<sup>23</sup>Goldman, *Living My Life*, vol. 1, 120.

<sup>24</sup>Emma Goldman, "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation," *Anarchism and Other Essays*, 213–25.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. 6, *Sex in Relation to Society* (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company, 1929), 95–117.

<sup>27</sup>Emma Goldman, "The Hypocrisy of Puritanism," in *Anarchism and Other Essays*, 167–76, 170–71. For Ellis's original text, see Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. 6, 111.

<sup>28</sup>Goldman, "The Hypocrisy of Puritanism," 171.

<sup>29</sup>Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. 6, 175–76.

<sup>30</sup>Emma Goldman, "The Traffic in Women," in *Anarchism and Other Essays*, 177–94.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, 183. For the original text, see Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, vol. 6, 239.

<sup>32</sup>Goldman, "The Traffic in Women," 177–94.

<sup>33</sup>Emma Goldman, "Prisons: A Social Crime and Failure," in *Anarchism and Other Essays*, 109–26, 121. Havelock Ellis, "The Criminals We Deserve," in *My Confessional: Questions of Our Day* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), 184–87.

<sup>34</sup>Goldman, "Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty," 137–38. For the original text, see Havelock Ellis, *Sexual Inversion*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis Company, Publishers, 1908), 13–14.

<sup>35</sup>Emma Goldman to Ellen A. Kennan, 6 May 1915, in *The Emma Goldman Papers*, reel 9.

<sup>36</sup>Terence Kissack, *Free Comrades: Anarchist and Homosexuality in the United States, 1895–1917* (Oakland: AK Press, 2008), 127–52.

<sup>37</sup>Goldman, "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation."

<sup>38</sup>Emma Goldman, "What is There in Anarchy for Woman?" interview with Miriam Michelson, *St. Louis Post-Dispatch Sunday Magazine*, October 24, 1897, 9, in *The Emma Goldman Papers*, reel 47.

<sup>39</sup>Haaland, *Emma Goldman*, 99–122; and Lumsden, "Anarchy Meets Feminism."

<sup>40</sup>Kathy Ferguson describes Goldman's view of human nature as "anti-essentialist." Goldman's attitude towards motherhood was based on her view of human nature. Ferguson comments that Goldman saw motherhood as "a powerful predisposition that could nonetheless be resisted." Ferguson, *Emma Goldman*, 165.

<sup>41</sup>Emma Goldman, "Victims of Morality," *Mother Earth* 8, no. 1 (1913): 19–24

<sup>42</sup>Goldman, *Living My Life*, vol. 1, 57–61.

<sup>43</sup>Emma Goldman, "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation."

<sup>44</sup>Haaland, *Emma Goldman*, 182–90; Margaret Jackson, "Sexology and the Social Construction of Male Sexuality (Havelock Ellis)," in *The Sexuality Papers: Male Sexuality and the Social Control of Women*, Lal Coveney, Margaret Jackson, Sheila Jeffreys, Leslie Kay, and Pat Mahony (London: Hutchinson Publishing Group, 1984), 45–68; and Sheila Jeffreys, *The Spinster and Her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality 1880–1930* (London: Pandora Press, 1985), 128–93.

<sup>45</sup>Emma Goldman, "Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant-Guard," *Mother Earth* 4, no. 12 (1910): 383–91.

<sup>46</sup>Ellen Carol Dubois and Linda Gordon, "Seeking Ecstasy on the Battlefield: Danger and Pleasure in Nineteenth-Century Feminist Sexual Thought," *Feminist Studies* 9, no. 1 (1983): 7–25.

<sup>47</sup>Emma Goldman, "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation," 213–25.

<sup>48</sup>Haaland, *Emma Goldman*, 96.

<sup>49</sup>Clare Hemmings, "Sexual Freedom and the Promise of Revolution," *Feminist Review* 106 (February 2014): 43–59.

<sup>50</sup>Kissack, *Free Comrades*, 127–52.

<sup>51</sup>Emma Goldman, "Woman Suffrage," in *Anarchism and Other Essays*, 195–211, 211

<sup>52</sup>Emma Goldman, "Marriage," *Firebrand* (Portland) 3, no. 24 (1897): 2.

<sup>53</sup>Ferguson, *Emma Goldman*, 249; and Hemmings, "Sexual Freedom and the Promise."

<sup>54</sup>Goldman, "Marriage and Love."

<sup>55</sup>Emma Goldman, "The White Slave Traffic," *Mother Earth* 4, no. 11 (1910): 344–51, 344

<sup>56</sup>Goldman, "The Hypocrisy of Puritanism," 167–76.

<sup>57</sup>Goldman, "Victims of Morality," 19–24; and Goldman, "The Hypocrisy of Puritanism."



<sup>58</sup>Goldman, "Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty," 141.

<sup>59</sup>Hemmings, "Sexual Freedom and the Promise." Goldman rejected the conventional notion of separate spheres because of her commitment to anarchism. See Haaland, *Emma Goldman*, 129, 182.

<sup>60</sup>Goldman, "Marriage and Love."

<sup>61</sup>Linda Gordon, *The Moral Property of Women*, 55–71.

<sup>62</sup>Goldman, "Woman Suffrage," 211.

<sup>63</sup>Goldman, *Living My Life*, vol. 2, 552–53.

<sup>64</sup>Goldman, *Living My Life*, vol. 1, 186–87.

<sup>65</sup>For the biographical study of Margaret Sanger and her contribution to the birth control movement, see Ellen Chesler, *Woman of Valor: Margaret Sanger and the Birth Control Movement in America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992).

<sup>66</sup>Chesler, *Woman of Valor*, 58–143.

<sup>67</sup>For the historical development of eugenics before WWI, see Gordon, *The Moral Property of Women*, 72–168.

<sup>68</sup>Angela Franks, *Margaret Sanger's Eugenic Legacy: The Control of Female Fertility* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2005), 40–50.

<sup>69</sup>Goldman admittedly borrowed eugenics rhetoric to assert the imperative that having fewer and better children would improve the lives of women, their relations with men, and the human race. Her eugenic vision was designed to enlighten and liberate women without regard for national and racial boundaries. Gordon, *The Moral Property of Women*, 147.

<sup>70</sup>A similar anarchist view on coercive measures in the name of eugenics could be found in Kropotkin's article. Peter Kropotkin, "The Sterilization of the Unfit," *Mother Earth* 7, no. 10 (1912): 354–57.

<sup>71</sup>Emma Goldman, "The Social Aspects of Birth Control," *Mother Earth* 11, no. 2 (1916): 468–75.

<sup>72</sup>Goldman, "Anarchism," 66.

<sup>73</sup>E. G., "An Urgent Appeal to My Friends," *Mother Earth* 11, no. 2 (1916): 450–51.

<sup>74</sup>William Marion Reedy, "The Daughter of the Dream," *Mother Earth* 3, no. 10 (1908): 355–58.

<sup>75</sup>Christina Simmons, *Making Marriage Modern: Women's Sexuality from the Progressive Era to World War II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 64.

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<sup>76</sup>Arthur Frank Wertheim, *The New York Little Renaissance: Iconoclasm, Modernism, and Nationalism in American Culture, 1908–1917* (New York: New York University Press, 1976), xi.

<sup>77</sup>Malcolm Cowley, *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* (New York: Penguin Books, 1979), 66.

<sup>78</sup>Fishbein, *Rebels in Bohemia*, 5, 113.

<sup>79</sup>The 1902 New York Criminal Anarchy Act and the 1903 federal anti-anarchist Immigration Act were two representative anti-anarchist laws passed by the state and federal government in the wake of President McKinley's assassination by a self-claimed anarchist in September 1901. Candace Falk, "Raising Her Voices: An Introduction," in Emma Goldman: a Documentary History of the American Years, vol. II: Making Speech Free: 1902–1909, ed. Candace Falk et al. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 1–80, 16–24.

<sup>80</sup>Emma Goldman, "Intellectual Proletarians," *Mother Earth* 8, no. 12 (1914): 363–70.

<sup>81</sup>Goldman defined individuality as "the consciousness of the individual as to what he is and he lives. It is inherent in every human being and is a thing of growth." She considered expression "the very essence of individuality," which thrived with "the sense of dignity and independence." Emma Goldman, "The Individual, Society, and the State," in *Red Emma Speak: Selected Writings and Speeches by Emma Goldman*, ed. Alix Kates Shulman, 3rd ed. (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 1998), 109–23.

<sup>82</sup>Fishbein, *Rebels in Bohemia*, 3–112.

<sup>83</sup>Winnifred Harper Cooley, "The Younger Suffragists," *Harper's Weekly* 58 (Sept. 1913): 7–8.

<sup>84</sup>"Talk on Feminism Stirs Great Crowd," *New York Times*, February 18, 1914.

<sup>85</sup>Fishbein, *Rebels in Bohemia*, 31.

<sup>86</sup>Judith Schwarz, *Radical Feminists of Heterodoxy: Greenwich Village, 1912–1940* (Norwich, VT: New Victoria Publishers, Inc., 1986), 75–96; and Sandra Adickes, *To Be Young was Very Heaven: Women in New York before the First World War* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997), 59–79, 89–90, 139–64.

<sup>87</sup>Mabel Dodge Luhan, *Movers and Shakers* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985), 57–59, 83–90.

<sup>88</sup>Schwarz, *Radical Feminists of Heterodoxy*.

<sup>89</sup>Richwine, "The Liberal Club," 94, 145.

<sup>90</sup>"Birth Control and Emma Goldman," *The Masses* 8, no. 7 (1916): 15; and Daniel Aaron, *Writers on the Left: Episodes in American Literary Communism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 31–32.

<sup>91</sup>H. Kelly, "Anarchism: A Plea for the Impersonal," *Mother Earth* 2, no. 12 (1908): 555–62.

<sup>92</sup>Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Voices: An Oral History of Anarchism in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 73–74; and Marie Ganz (in collaboration with Nat J. Ferber), *Rebels: Into Anarchy—and Out Again* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, 1920), 148.

<sup>93</sup>Avrich, *Anarchist Voices*, 73–74.

<sup>94</sup>Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Women and Economics: A Study of the Economic Relation between Men and Women as a Factor in Social Evolution* (Boston: Small, Maynard, & Company, 1898); and Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "Our Androcentric Culture; or The Man-Made World," *The Forerunner* 1, no. 1 (1909)—1, no. 14 (1910).

<sup>95</sup>Charlotte Perkins Gilman, "The New Mothers of a New World," *The Forerunner* 4, no. 6 (1913): 145–49, 147.

<sup>96</sup>Thomas Galt Peyser, "Reproducing Utopia: Charlotte Perkins Gilman and 'Herland,'" *Studies in American Fiction* 20 (Spring 1992): 1–16.

<sup>97</sup>Mandell, "Two Weeks Enlightenment for Chicago," *Mother Earth* 10, no. 11 (January 1916): 373–75; David Leigh, "Emma Goldman in San Francisco," *Mother Earth* 10, no. 8 (1915): 276–81; Anna W., "Emma Goldman in Washington," *Mother Earth* 11, no. 3 (1916): 515–18; Margaret C. Anderson, "Mrs. Ellis's Failure," *The Little Review* 2 (March 1915): 16–19; and George Edwards, "A Portrait of Portland," *Mother Earth* 10, no. 9 (1915): 311–14.

<sup>98</sup>"Sex Problem Talks Fill Hall to Doors, Says Emma Goldman," *Denver Daily News*, April 17, 1912, cited from *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years*, vol. 3, 352–55.

<sup>99</sup>Adeline Champney, "Congratulations—Plus," *Mother Earth* 10, no. 1 (1915): 416–21.

<sup>100</sup>Sanger, *An Autobiography*, 203–4.

<sup>101</sup>Luhan, *Movers and Shakers*, 88.

<sup>102</sup>"Sex Problem Talks Fill Hall to Doors."

<sup>103</sup>Margaret Anderson, *My Thirty Years' War: The Autobiography: Beginnings and Battles to 1930* (New York: Horizon Press, 1969), 54.

<sup>104</sup>"Editorials and Announcements," *The Little Review* 2, no. 4 (1915): 36.

<sup>105</sup>Margaret C. Anderson, "Toward Revolution," *The Little Review* 2, no. 8 (1915): 5.

<sup>106</sup>Margaret Anderson, "Art and Anarchism," *The Little Review* 3, no. 1 (1916): 3–6. Similar views could be found in Adeline Champney, "Congratulations—Plus," *Mother Earth* 10, no. 1 (1915): 416–21.

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<sup>107</sup>Thomas A. Stanley, *Ōsugi Sakae, Anarchist in Taishō Japan: The Creativity of the Ego* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982), 57; and Arif Dirlik, *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 1–46.

<sup>108</sup>Jan Bardsley, *The Bluestockings of Japan: New Woman Essays and Fiction from Seitō, 1911–16* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2007); and Yinghong Cheng, *Creating the New Man: From Enlightenment Ideals to Socialist Realities* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2009), 51–55.

<sup>109</sup>エンマ・ゴールドマン (Emma Goldman), “婦人解放の悲劇 (The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation),” trans. Itō Noe, *Seitō* 3, no. 9 (1913): 1–15; Also see Itō Noe, “‘婦人解放の悲劇’に就て (Concerning ‘The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation’),” *Seitō* 4, no. 3 (1914): 120–23.

<sup>110</sup>Mei Guo Gao Man Nü Shi (Emma Goldman), “Jie hun yu lian ai (Marriage and Love),” trans. Zhen Ying, *Xin Qing Nian* 3, no. 5 (1917): 1–9. “Mei Guo Gao Man Nü Shi (Emma Goldman), “Jin dai xi ju lun” (On Modern Drama), trans. Zhen Ying, *Xin Qing Nian* 6, no. 2 (1919): 179–95.

<sup>111</sup>Emma Goldman, 婦人解放の悲劇 (The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation), trans. Itō Noe (Tokyo: Tōundō Shoten, 1914). This translated collection included Goldman's “The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation,” “Marriage and Love,” “Minorities versus Majorities,” and Hippolyte Havel's biographical sketch of Goldman.

<sup>112</sup>Yukiko Tanaka, *Women Writers of Meiji and Taisho Japan: Their Lives, Works, and Critical Reception, 1868–1926* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2000), 142–46.

<sup>113</sup>Emma Goldman, “Ai Guo Zhu Yi (Patriotism),” trans. Chao Hai, in *Shi she zi you lu* (Reality Society: Documents of Freedom), vol. 1 (Peking: Shi She, 1917), 1–5; and Emma Goldman, “Wu zheng fu zhu yi (Anarchism),” trans. Shuang, in *Shi she zi you lu*, vol. 1, 5–8.

<sup>114</sup>“The Evolution of Love” was a chapter in Ellen Key's *Love and Marriage*. See Ellen Key, *Love and Marriage*, trans. Arthur G. Chater (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 57–106. For its Japanese translation, see エレン・ケイ (Ellen Key), “恋愛の進化 (The Evolution of Love),” trans. らいてう (Hiratsuka Raichō), *Seitō* 3, no. 9 (1913): 16–26.

<sup>115</sup>Noe, “‘婦人解放の悲劇’に就て.”

<sup>116</sup>Vera Mackie, *Creating Socialist Women in Japan: Gender, Labour, and Activism, 1900–1937* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 83–84.

<sup>117</sup>Fengzi, “nūzi jiefang yu nūzi jiaoyu (Women's Emancipation and Women's Education),” *Funü zazhi* (The Ladies' Journal) 10, no. 11 (1924): 1662–75.

<sup>118</sup>Carrie Chapman Catt, “Calumniators of Suffragists Warned,” *Woman's Journal* 1, no. 20 (1917): 373.

<sup>119</sup>Ferguson, *Emma Goldman*, 9.

<sup>120</sup>Goldman, *Living My Life*, vol. 2, 556.

<sup>121</sup>Candace Falk, "Let Icons Be Bygones! Emma Goldman: The Grand Expositor," in *Feminist Interpretations of Emma Goldman*, ed. Penny A. Weiss and Loretta Kensinger (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2007), 41–69.

<sup>122</sup>Vivian Gornick, "Emma Goldman Occupies Wall Street," *The Nation*, December 7, 2011, <http://www.thenation.com/article/emma-goldman-occupies-wall-street/>.