



EMMA GOLDMAN: A GUIDE TO HER LIFE AND DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

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CHRONOLOGY (1920 - 1940)

1920

January 2 and 6

U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, in coordination with Justice Department agent J. Edgar Hoover and immigration commissioner Anthony Caminetti, orders the arrest of approximately ten thousand alien radicals.

January 17

S.S. *Buford* lands at Hangö, Finland. On Jan. 19 the deportees are met at the Russo-Finnish border by Russian representatives and received warmly at a mass meeting of soldiers and peasants in Belo-Ostrov.

February

Goldman and Berkman settle in Petrograd where they renew their friendships with William Shatoff, now working as Commissar of Railroads, and John Reed. Meet with Grigory Zinoviev, director of the Soviet Executive Committee, and briefly with Maxim Gorki at his home in Petrograd.

Attend a conference of anarchists, including Baltic factory workers and Kronstadt sailors, who echo criticisms of the Bolsheviks voiced by Left Social Revolutionaries and others who have paid visits to Goldman and Berkman in this period.

February 7

Death of Goldman's sister Helena Zodikow Hochstein.

March

Goldman and Berkman travel to Moscow where they meet with Bolshevik leaders, including Alexandra Kollontai, Commissar for Public Welfare; Anatoly Lunacharsky, Commissar for Education; Angelica

Balabanoff, Secretary of the Third International; and Grigory Chicherin, Assistant Commissar for Foreign Affairs.

After attending a conference of Moscow anarchists, Goldman and Berkman are granted a meeting with Lenin on March 8 where they express concern about the suppression of dissent and the lack of press freedom and propose the establishment of a Russian society for American freedom independent of the Third International. Protests of the arrest and Trotsky's threatened execution of anarchist V. M. Eikhnenbaum (Volin) lead to his transfer to Butyrki prison in Moscow and later his release.

Goldman and Berkman travel to Dmitrov to meet with Peter Kropotkin.

Mid-March

Goldman and Berkman return to Petrograd to secure work in support of the revolution.

Ninth Congress of the All-Russian Communist party is held in Moscow; militarization of labor stirs much debate.

April

Goldman and Berkman, frustrated with the Bolshevik leaders' pettiness and gross mismanagement, express dissatisfaction with their work assignments.

Goldman tours Soviet factories in Petrograd with journalist John Clayton of the *Chicago Tribune*, who previously interviewed her upon her arrival in Finland. Learns firsthand of the poor conditions and dissatisfaction among the workers.

May

Goldman and Berkman meet with members of the first British Labor Mission; dine with British philosopher Bertrand Russell, an unofficial member of the delegation. Through Russell, they meet American journalist Henry Alsberg.

Two Ukrainian anarchists, recently released from a Bolshevik prison, meet with Goldman and Berkman to inform them about the persecution of the revolutionary peasants movement led by anarchist Nestor Makhno.

As she learns more about Bolshevik misdeeds, Goldman becomes reluctant to obtain a position directly accountable to the Bolshevik regime. She and Berkman finally agree to work for the Petrograd Museum of the Revolution because the extensive traveling will give them an opportunity to study Russian conditions with the least interference from the Bolsheviks.

Goldman protests the unjust imprisonment of two teenage anarchist girls to the chief of the Petrograd Cheka.

Following a period of unsuccessful peace negotiations with Russia and buoyed by support from France and the United States, the Polish army occupies Kiev, eliciting a military response from the Soviets through June and July.

May 5

Italian anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti are arrested in Brockton, Mass., in connection with a payroll robbery and the murder of two payroll employees.

May 10

U.S. immigration act passed, authorizing the deportation of all radical aliens convicted under the war statutes and certified as "undesirable residents."

June

Goldman nurses John Reed, in poor health following his release from a two-month prison term in Finland for unauthorized travel.

Goldman tours two legendary Czarist prisons; shocked to discover that many members of the intelligentsia had been routinely executed following the October Revolution.

John Clayton's interview with Goldman is published in several American newspapers, attributing to her a blunt criticism of the Bolshevik regime and a longing to return to the United States. To refute the claim that Goldman and Berkman oppose the Soviet government, Stella Ballantine releases a letter written by Goldman the previous month to demonstrate their support for the Bolsheviks.

June 30

Goldman and Berkman travel to Moscow to collect permits necessary for their museum expedition through Russia to gather historical material.

July

Goldman and Berkman meet with many foreign delegates, including European and Scandinavian anarcho-syndicalists, in Moscow for the Second Congress of the Third International; they inform the delegates about Bolshevik imprisonment of anarchists and other revolutionaries.

Meet Maria Spiridonova, leader of the Left Social Revolutionaries and former political prisoner under the Czar. They find Spiridonova, critical of the Bolshevik regime, living in disguise to avoid further imprisonment.

Meet again with Kropotkin.

July 15-August 6

Eight-member museum expedition, including Henry Alsberg, travels through the Ukraine. Goldman given responsibility for collecting materials from education, health, social welfare, and labor bureaus. Though they discover alarming poverty and overt criticism of the Bolshevik regime, they are hesitant to condemn publicly the Soviet experiment until they have the opportunity to gather more evidence.

Travel to Kursk, a large industrial center. In Kharkov they meet a number of anarchists they had worked with in the United States, including Aaron and Fanya Baron, Mark Mratchny, and Senya Fleshin. Tour factories, a concentration camp, and a prison, where they meet an anarchist political prisoner. Receive plea to aid Nestor Makhno's movement, but are reluctant to discontinue their work with the museum.

Mid-August

In Poltava they meet with the leader of the Revkom, a non-soviet ruling body. Meet the Russian writer Vladimir Korolenko who speaks to them about his disenchantment with the Bolsheviks. Also meet with local Zionists who, although critical of anti-Semitism of the Bolsheviks, report no evidence of Bolshevik pogroms against the Jews.

In Fastov they collect historical materials on pogroms, including the Sept. 1919 pogroms led by General Denikin of the White Army.

During this period the Polish army gains strength, beginning a counteroffensive against the Bolsheviks.

Late August

Visit Kiev, where the majority of the population is Jewish. Find valuable material on the Denikin pogroms; interview local Jews whose views on Bolshevik anti-Semitism differ.

Goldman tours local health facilities, including the Jewish hospital and the hospital for disabled children; also visits the local anarchist center.

With other members of the museum expedition, Goldman attends lavish functions held in honor of a visiting Italian and French delegation; meets two French anarcho-syndicalists one of whom is preparing a manuscript exposing Bolshevik wrongdoings. Later they are reported to have drowned off the coast of Finland; manuscript never published.

Goldman and Berkman visited by two women representing Makhno, who requests again that they aid him by circulating his call to the international community. They determine it is too risky to meet with him in person as he has proposed.

August 30

Henry Alsberg is arrested traveling from Kiev to Odessa with the museum expedition; authorities claim he is traveling without permission. Goldman and Berkman protest the arrest by immediately sending telegrams to Lenin and Chicherin; no response received. Alsberg is temporarily detained while the expedition travels on.

September

Expedition stops in Odessa; advancement of Polish troops prevents them from traveling further.

In Odessa, Goldman meets with local officials and again polls members of the Jewish community about their experience with and views about anti-Semitism. Meets the famous Jewish poet Hayyim Nahman Bialik.

Attends a gathering of anarchists in Odessa.

Late September

On the way to Kiev, Berkman is robbed of a large amount of his and Goldman's savings.

Expedition spends a few days in panic-stricken Kiev as residents brace for a potential attack by Polish forces.

October

Reports in the United States and Europe continue to attribute to Goldman a negative view of the Bolsheviks; though she privately acknowledges Bolshevik wrongdoings, she denies all published accounts and refuses to grant any interviews.

Makhno's defeat of Baron Peter Wrangel, the last of the White Army generals, wins him temporary good favor from the Bolsheviks.

Russia's armistice with Poland concedes substantial territory to Poland.

Kropotkin and Gorki protest Soviet plan to halt all private publishing establishments.

Maria Spiridonova arrested.

October 17

Death of John Reed.

When Goldman arrives in Moscow a few days later, she consoles Reed's wife, Louise Bryant. Goldman postpones her return trip to Petrograd to attend Reed's funeral in Moscow on Oct. 23.

Late October

Goldman returns to Petrograd with museum expedition to deposit the historical material they collected.

November

Following the Red Army's killing of Makhno's commanders in the Crimea, Trotsky orders an attack on Makhno's headquarters; Makhno manages to escape, eventually reaching Paris where he lives in exile. Trotsky orders the arrest and imprisonment of Russian anarchist Volin.

November 7

Goldman attends the third anniversary of the October Revolution in Petrograd, in her estimation "more like the funeral than the birth of the Revolution."

November 28

Goldman travels north with Berkman and another member of the museum expedition to Archangel.

The *San Francisco Examiner* publishes an unauthorized account of Goldman's experience in Russia, quoting from a series of letters it claims were written by Goldman to John Reed; the letters were in actuality written by Goldman to her niece Stella Ballantine.

December

In Archangel the expedition collects leftist and anarchist underground publications produced during the rule of the Czar. Also obtains letters written by Nicholas Chaikovsky from the period of his provisional government leadership.

Goldman favorably impressed with the efficiency and integrity of Bolshevik operations in Archangel.

Late December

Museum expedition returns to Petrograd.

1921

January 20

Goldman and Berkman leave Petrograd for Moscow to prepare for second journey with the museum expedition; they stay with Angelica Balabanoff, head of the Russo-Italian bureau. Goldman offers to nurse Peter Kropotkin when she learns he is very ill.

February

During an especially harsh winter, workers from several Petrograd factories strike to protest unbearable shortages of food, fuel, and clothing; Soviet authorities suppress street demonstrations.

Ludwig C. A. K. Martens, the Soviet government's representative in the United States, is deported; Goldman expresses no interest in seeing him in Russia.

Goldman returns to Petrograd. When alerted to Kropotkin's deteriorating condition, she promptly returns to Moscow.

February 8

Goldman arrives in Dmitrov shortly after Kropotkin's death.

On Feb. 13, Goldman, among others, delivers a public remembrance at Kropotkin's funeral in Moscow. Soviet leaders release only a handful of anarchist political prisoners following an appeal to allow all incarcerated anarchists to attend the ceremony.

Later, Goldman and Berkman decide to discontinue their work with the Petrograd Museum of the Revolution in order to accept an invitation to participate in the organizing committee of a museum honoring Kropotkin, independent of Soviet financing and oversight.

Mid-February

Goldman receives permission to visit anarchist prisoners at Butyrki prison; among others, sees Fanya and Aaron Baron and Volin.

Goldman and Berkman return to Petrograd.

Goldman prepares articles about Kropotkin's death for the *Nation* and the *Manchester Guardian*; rejects offer to write about Soviet Russia for the *New York World*.

March 1-17

Kronstadt uprising in support of striking Petrograd factory workers; sailors demand democratic election of Soviet representatives. Goldman attends March 4 meeting of the Petrograd Soviet, which votes to accept Zinoviev's proposal to force the surrender of Kronstadt sailors upon penalty of death.

March 5

Goldman, Berkman, and several others send a letter of protest to Zinoviev, proposing a commission to settle the dispute with the Kronstadt sailors peacefully; no response received.

March 7

Trotsky orders the artillery bombardment of Kronstadt.

Feeling that their last tie to the Bolsheviks has been broken, Goldman and Berkman decide to leave Russia and alert the world to what they have witnessed.

April

Goldman and Berkman return to Moscow determined to cut off all relations with the Bolshevik government. Plan to request permission to leave the country; prepared to exit secretly if necessary.

Agree to appeal to anarchists in the United States for funds to support the Kropotkin Museum.

Goldman accompanies Louise Bryant to meet Stanislavsky, "the father of the modern Russian theater."

April 17

New York Times publishes excerpts from a letter from Goldman to her niece Stella Ballantine disclaiming Dec. 1920 reports by American businessman Washington B. Vanderlip that Goldman had requested he use his influence to gain her return to the United States.

Late April

Goldman and Berkman alerted about the April 25 Soviet night raid of the Butyrki prison intended to break prisoner solidarity; Fanya Baron is among those relocated. Soviets attempt to repress all political protests of the raid. Goldman helps collect food provisions for the starving anarchist prisoners.

In light of Soviet constraints on independent political expression, Goldman and Berkman postpone efforts to organize support for the Kropotkin Museum.

May

Goldman and Berkman begin to receive visits from many foreign delegates in Russia for the International Congress of the Third International; visitors include Americans Bill Haywood, Agnes Smedley, Bob Robins, Mary Heaton Vorse, Ella Reeve Bloor, William Z. Foster, and Robert Minor. Goldman disparaging of Haywood's flight from the United States; compares his action to a "captain leaving the ship," abandoning fellow IWW members who remain imprisoned.

June

Berkman sustains a foot injury, delaying their departure from Russia.

Goldman and Berkman meet regularly with the European and Scandinavian anarcho- syndicalists, delegates to the international congresses.

The Cheka raids Goldman's Moscow apartment.

Goldman and Berkman renew their friendship with Vera Figner, a leader of the Narodnaya Volya ("People's Will") movement.

July

Goldman and Berkman persuade some of the foreign delegates, including Tom Mann, to protest the imprisonment of Volin, G. P. Maksimov, and other anarchists who have begun a hunger strike. A delegation meets with Lenin on July 9; Lenin is only willing to deport the anarchists, upon penalty of death if they return to Russia. Offer is accepted and hunger strike is terminated on July 13. Goldman notes that the American Communists remain silent on the issue and distance themselves from association with the anarchists.

Goldman attempts also to convince delegates to pressure the Soviet authorities to allow Maria Spiridonova to obtain medical treatment overseas. Meets with German socialist Clara Zetkin. Spiridonova is eventually released from prison.

August

Lenin's New Economic Policy begins, a pragmatic retreat from communist economic principles in favor of market mechanisms.

September

Goldman visits briefly with the "millionaire American hobo" James Eads How, who, she believes, does not have the ability to make a worthwhile assessment of the situation in Russia. Goldman disappointed by most published accounts of events in Russia, including reports by Louise Bryant.

September 29

Fanya Baron and nine other anarchist prisoners, including the poet Lev Tcherny, are shot to death by the Cheka.

November

Isadora Duncan, sympathetic to the Soviets, attempts to meet with Goldman.

December 1

Under the pretext of representing the Kropotkin Museum at an anarchist conference in Berlin, Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro are authorized to leave Russia.

Early December

Goldman and Berkman settle in Riga, Latvia. Write to Harry Weinberger about chances of getting back into the United States. Allowed only a temporary visa in Latvia, they seek entry to either Germany or Sweden.

Goldman distressed that she and Berkman depart Russia just days before the arrival of Mollie Steimer, Jacob Abrams, Samuel Lipman, and Hyman Lachowsky, deported from the United States on Nov. 24.

December 14

Goldman and Berkman granted Swedish visas.

December 22

On the train to Reval, Estonia, Goldman and Berkman are arrested by the Latvian secret service; accused of being Bolshevik agents. Detained for several days, preventing them from attending the anarchist congress in Berlin.

1922**January**

Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro arrive in Stockholm, Sweden, and are met by birth-control advocates Albert and Elise Jensen; Goldman becomes lover with thirty-year-old Swedish anarchist Arthur Svensson shortly after arrival.

Volin, Maksimov, and other hunger strikers are deported from Russia; resettle in Berlin.

March

Goldman and Svensson fail in their attempt to surreptitiously enter Denmark.

March 26-April 4

The *New York World* publishes a series of controversial articles by Goldman exposing the harsh political and economic conditions in Russia.

April

Finally obtaining temporary German visas, Goldman and Berkman travel to Berlin.

May-June

Arthur Svensson joins Goldman and Berkman in Berlin. Later, her niece Stella Ballantine visits with six-year-old son Ian.

Develops friendship with anarchist theorist Rudolf Rocker and his wife, Milly, with whom she had begun to correspond while in Russia.

Goldman begins work on book-length manuscript with the intended title *My Two Years in Russia*.

July-December

Goldman completes her manuscript and sells the rights to her book to Clinton P. Brainard; receives \$1750 in advance against royalties and 50 percent for serial rights.

Ends relationship with Arthur Svensson.

November 21

Ricardo Flores Magón dies in Leavenworth Penitentiary.

1923**January-February**

Visits Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld at the Institute for Sex Psychology in Berlin.

March-May

Goldman travels to cities throughout Germany, including Stuttgart, Frankfurt, and Bremerhaven.

Anti-German sentiment in the United States makes it difficult for Goldman to earn a living writing topical articles for the American press.

June-August

Travels to Bad Leibenstein in Thüringen for niece Stella Ballantine's eye treatment with Dr. Graf M. Wiser; Goldman writes an article about the doctor's unorthodox therapy, which is later published in a Calcutta magazine.

Goldman notified that her manuscript on Russia has been sold to Doubleday, Page and Company.

Receives visits from many American friends, including M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, Ellen Kennan, Michael Cohn, Henry Alsberg, and Agnes Smedley.

July 9

Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin are arrested in Russia for propagating anarchism; released soon after they begin a hunger strike.

July 24

Goldman's mother, Taube, dies in Rochester, N.Y.

Mid-August

Goldman and her niece Stella are arrested by the Bavarian police following their arrival in Munich. Police allege that Goldman conducted a secret mission in 1893 (during the period when she was imprisoned at Blackwell's Island). Both are ordered to leave Bavaria. Stella later returns to the United States.

September-October

Following their deportation from Russia, Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin join Goldman and Berkman in Berlin.

November

Goldman's manuscript published under the title *My Disillusionment in Russia*; the last twelve chapters have been cut without her permission. Weinberger negotiates the dispute on Goldman's behalf; wins agreement from publisher to print the remaining chapters in a separate volume with the stipulation that Goldman pay for the printing costs, for which she secures a loan from Michael Cohn.

1924**January 15-16**

Goldman travels to Hamburg.

January 21

Lenin dies.

February

Goldman travels to Dresden before returning to Berlin.

April

Goldman is unable to solicit writing contracts with European and American magazines; finds that mainstream magazines are interested only in her experience in Russia, thus thwarting her attempts to earn a living.

April 24

Goldman howled down during a meeting of five thousand workers in Berlin when she criticizes the Soviet government. Goldman warned about the consequences of expressing further criticism of the Soviet Republic.

June

Following her expulsion from Moscow, Angelica Balabanoff initiates correspondence with Goldman.

July 26-27

Leaving Berkman in Berlin, Goldman travels to the Netherlands; speaks at the celebration organized by

Dutch anti-militarist Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis for the twentieth anniversary of the International Anti-Militarist Association.

August

Enters France from Germany under the name E. G. Kersner; visits a number of friends in Paris, including Harry Weinberger and Frank and Nellie Harris. Meets Arthur Leonard Ross who she later hires as her attorney. Meets Ernest Hemingway at a party given by English novelist Ford Madox Ford.

September

Leaves Paris for London where she hopes to find it easier to earn a living. Resides at the home of Doris Zhook.

Goldman's closest associates in London include John Turner, Thomas H. Keell, and William C. Owen.

October

Meets with British author Rebecca West.

November

The twelve chapters omitted from Goldman's book on Russia are published separately with a new preface as *My Further Disillusionment in Russia*.

Among Goldman's speaking engagements is a talk before the American Students Club at Oxford University.

November 12

In London, a reception for Goldman is sponsored by Bertrand Russell, Rebecca West, and socialist and sexual theorist Edward Carpenter; presided over by Col. Josiah Wedgewood, M.P. Her views on Russia are met with vocal protests.

December

Writes an article on Russia for the *New York Herald-New York Tribune* Sunday edition.

1925

January

In London, Goldman continues her efforts to expose the Bolsheviks as betrayers of the revolution and violators of civil liberties, a task made more difficult and more urgent by the return of a British trade union delegation that reports favorably on conditions in the Soviet Union.

January 29

Goldman lectures on "The Bolshevik Myth and the Condition of the Political Prisoners" at South Place Institute, London, her first public meeting in England at which she denounces the Bolsheviks, prompting vocal protests from some members of the audience.

February

Goldman and her political associates organize the British Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners in Russia. The committee solicits support from celebrities and organizes a conference of trade union branch secretaries to discuss conditions in the Soviet Union. Many political figures and intellectuals

are alienated by Goldman's stand, though novelist Rebecca West and publisher C. W. Daniel remain her stalwart supporters.

Goldman lectures on the Soviet Union at a meeting in the East End of London on Feb. 26.

March

Goldman's lectures on conditions in the Soviet Union include two in London--in Islington on March 6 and the East End on March 17--and one at Northampton Town Hall.

At the end of the month she gives three lectures on "Heroic Women of the Russian Revolution," and "The Bolshevik Myth" in the Amman Valley, a series organized by the South Wales Freedom Group.

March 4

Goldman convenes an informal meeting in London of branch secretaries of trade unions to discuss conditions in Russia.

April

Boni and Liveright publishes Berkman's *The Bolshevik Myth* in New York.

In an attempt to refute the report of the British trade union delegation, Goldman and her comrades--as the British Committee for the Defence of Political Prisoners in Russia--publish a pamphlet, *Russia and the British Labour Delegation's Report: A Reply*.

Goldman continues speaking on conditions in the Soviet Union with a lecture at South Place Institute on April 16, "An Exposure of the Trade Union Delegation's Report on Russia"; she delivers a second lecture in London on April 27.

April 19-29

Goldman fills speaking engagements in Norwich, Leeds, and Manchester with lectures on Soviet Russia.

May

In Bristol, Goldman lectures on "Labour under the Dictatorship in Russia" at the YMCA on May 1, and on "Heroic Women of the Russian Revolution" at the Folk House on May 4.

At the end of the month she meets with Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis in the same week, two writers she admires for their pioneering work on sexuality.

Time and Tide (London) publishes her article, "Women of the Russian Revolution."

June

Discouraged by the public response to her lectures on Russia and with little enthusiasm left among the active members of the committee, Goldman focuses on her own precarious financial situation. During the summer she writes lectures on drama, hoping to reach British drama societies, and, at the same time, tries to interest London producers in American plays.

June 27

On her birthday, Goldman marries James Colton, an elderly anarchist friend and trade unionist from Wales, in order to obtain British citizenship and the right to travel and speak more widely.

July

Time and Tide publishes Goldman's article, "The Tragedy of the Russian Intelligentsia."

Goldman spends two weeks vacationing in Bristol, where friends propose that she deliver a series of lectures on Russian drama in the fall and offer to raise the initial expenses.

August

Goldman spends most of the month in the British Museum reading Russian dramatists in preparation for her upcoming lectures.

M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, Goldman's close associate from New York, visits at the end of the month and through her Goldman meets African-American singer and actor Paul Robeson, who is starring in Eugene O'Neill's *The Emperor Jones* in London.

Prompted by a publisher's fleeting interest in a book of reminiscences, Goldman begins asking her correspondents to send her the letters she had written them over the years.

September

The one-volume English edition of *My Disillusionment in Russia*, with an introduction by Rebecca West, is published by C. W. Daniel of London; Goldman has borrowed \$250 from Michael Cohn to underwrite its publication.

Through the British Drama League Goldman solicits lecture dates from 250 affiliated local playgoers societies.

Continues her reading of Russian dramatists in the British Museum.

October

In the middle of the month Goldman travels to Bristol for a lecture series; she also delivers individual lectures, including one at exiled American pastor Gustav Beck's church on "Trends in Modern Education."

October 19-November 5

Goldman teaches a six-lecture course on Russian drama at Oakfield Road Church, Bristol.

October 30-31

Attends British Drama League conference in Birmingham.

November 1-9

Goldman lectures on drama in Birmingham, Bath, and Birkenhead, and in Manchester delivers her first lecture on Eugene O'Neill.

November 12-December 17

Goldman repeats her lecture series on Russian drama at Keats House, Hampstead, London; despite excellent publicity, her lectures draw only a small audience and receipts barely cover her expenses. Publisher C. W. Daniel, however, considers issuing a book of her lectures on Russian dramatists and supplies a stenographer to record them.

In East London, Goldman repeats the lecture series on Russian drama in Yiddish.

November 21-22

Goldman speaks twice--once on birth control--under the auspices of the Trades and Labour Council in Neath, South Wales.

December 20

After the lecture series ends, Goldman leaves for France where she spends the holidays in Nice at the home of Frank and Nellie Harris.

1926**January**

Goldman remains in Nice for most of the month, finishing a prospectus for "Foremost Russian Dramatists," a book based on her lectures, for which she hopes to receive an advance from Doubleday, Page and Company. Berkman is also in Nice, helping Isadora Duncan edit her autobiography.

Goldman leaves for Paris Jan. 25.

February

Goldman works at the Bibliothèque Nationale researching lectures on Ibsen; at the same time she writes a character sketch of Johann Most for the June issue of *American Mercury*. She returns to England Feb. 27.

Berkman receives temporary permission to stay in France.

March

After returning to England, Goldman delivers a number of lectures in Bristol on drama, especially Ibsen's plays; she also travels to Liverpool in mid-March to lecture on drama.

March 25-April 29

Goldman returns to London for a series of six lectures on dramatists, including O'Neill, Ibsen, Susan Glaspell, and the German expressionists; she also delivers the same lectures in Yiddish as well as lecturing on Yiddish drama, and on political topics, such as "The Menace of Dictatorship: Bolshevist or Fascist," with British feminist Sylvia Pankhurst and William C. Owen at Essex Hall on April 14.

April

Goldman continues her work for political prisoners in Russia, focusing her efforts on imprisoned women; enlists the support of influential women politicians like Lady Astor.

Ben Reitman and his family visit Goldman in London.

Goldman lectures in Norwich on April 8.

May

The British general strike is called off by the Trades Union Congress after nine days, though the coal miners remain out through the summer.

May-September

Goldman returns to France and with Berkman rents a cottage in St. Tropez, where she finishes her manuscript on "Foremost Russian Dramatists" and writes a sketch of Voltairine de Cleyre.

Friends and political associates in the United States raise money for Goldman to visit Canada to lecture.

During the summer American visitors, including authors Howard Young and Theodore Dreiser and philanthropist Peggy Guggenheim, encourage Goldman to write her autobiography.

October

Goldman sails for Canada, where she arrives Oct. 15, to lecture; proximity rekindles her hope for readmission to the United States.

Shortly after Goldman's arrival, Leon Malmed, her longtime friend from Albany, N.Y., visits and they become lovers.

October 20

Eugene Debs dies.

October 31

Goldman gives her first lecture in Montreal before an audience of seven hundred at His Majesty's Theatre on "The Present Crisis in Russia."

November

Most of the remaining lectures in Montreal are in Yiddish; Goldman focuses on raising funds for political prisoners in Russia, an impassioned appeal at one banquet yields \$300.

Travels to Toronto on Nov. 26, where she finds the anarchists more numerous and better organized than in Montreal.

November 29

Goldman lectures on Ibsen to an audience of five hundred at Hygeia Hall; the interest shown persuades her to initiate a series on drama.

December

Goldman's lectures on Russian drama this month cover Griboyedev, Gogol, and Ostrovsky, though the attendance is disappointing.

More successful are her three lectures to the Arbeiter Ring: six hundred attend her Dec. 12 lecture in Yiddish on Gorki. In addition, she lectures twice at Hygeia Hall, on modern education on Dec. 3 and on the dictatorships of Bolshevik Russia and Fascist Italy on Dec. 5.

Among her visitors are her brother Morris, her sister Lena, and Lena's children, Saxe Commins and Stella Ballantine.

1927

January

Goldman concludes her lecture series in Toronto on Russian dramatists with talks on Turgenev, Tolstoy, Chekhov, and Andreyev; she also goes to London, Ontario, to lecture on Communist and Fascist dictatorships on Jan. 7. After Leon Malmed visits briefly, at the end of the month she travels to Winnipeg to lecture.

January 27-30

Goldman's first two lectures in Winnipeg draw large audiences: a Yiddish lecture attracts four hundred, and a thousand attend an English lecture on "The Labor Situation in Europe."

February

Goldman discovers that Communist influence is stronger and opposition to her is more organized in Winnipeg than in other cities. Nonetheless, she speaks nearly twenty times to large and varied audiences during her month in the city, including Yiddish groups, a group of college women, even the local Kiwanis Club (on "Ideals in Life"); among her topics are drama, anarchism, birth control, and women and the Russian revolution.

March 3-11

In Edmonton, where Goldman expects to give just two lectures, she addresses fifteen meetings in a week, speaking on trends in modern education, Ibsen, birth control, women's emancipation (to the Women's Press Club); she speaks to factory girls during their lunch hour and to large Jewish audiences under the auspices of the Jewish Council of Women, the Arbeiter Ring, Hadassah, and Poale Zion, as well as to professors at the University of Alberta and a Sunday audience of fifteen hundred.

March 18

Goldman returns to Toronto.

March 24-April 26

Goldman's English-language lecture series in Toronto covers social topics as well as drama, including plays of Susan Glaspell, Eugene O'Neill, and Russian drama. She also researches a new lecture on "The Awakening in China," which draws eight hundred people. After protests from the Catholic community, Goldman delivers the final lecture of the series, on birth control, to a packed hall.

She also lectures in Yiddish on the history of anarchism and on art and revolution.

May

Goldman gives a May Day lecture in Toronto on "The Spirit of Destruction and Construction."

Her drama lecture course this month covers Russian theater, Strindberg, and the German expressionists.

Also lectures on China in London, Ontario.

Leon Malmel's wife discovers his correspondence with Goldman, revealing their relationship, and the intensity of Goldman's tie to him wanes.

A fund is established to support Goldman while she writes her autobiography; Peggy Guggenheim and Howard Young are among the first contributors, and W. S. Van Valkenburgh coordinates an appeal to raise funds.

June-September

Goldman spends much of the summer researching and writing new lectures for her fall series. She is greatly distracted, however, by the impending execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. She addresses a meeting on the case in Toronto on Aug. 18, a few days before their execution on Aug. 23. Goldman speaks at a memorial meeting on Sept. 1.

October 11-December 8

Goldman's ambitious lecture series at Hygeia Hall, Toronto, consists of eighteen lectures and covers drama as well as social and literary topics, including the plays of Shaw, Galsworthy, and Ibsen, Walt Whitman, "Crime and Punishment," "The Menace of Military Preparedness," "Evolution versus Religious Bigotry," "The Child and Its Enemies," "Sex--A Dominant Element in Life and Art," and "Has Feminism Achieved Its Aim?"

The audiences for her lectures are disappointing, and Goldman determines to return to Europe in the new year and begin writing her autobiography.

1928

January

Family members visit Canada from the United States to see Goldman before she departs for France; a farewell banquet is held in her honor on Jan. 29.

As she anticipates writing the autobiography, Goldman asks a wider circle of friends to loan her her past correspondence to refresh her memory.

February

On Feb. 7, in her final appearance in Toronto, Goldman lectures on two books by Judge Ben Lindsey, *The Revolt of Youth* and *Companionate Marriage*.

On Feb. 9 Goldman travels to Montreal, where she gives two lectures in Yiddish--on birth control and on art and revolution--and one on Walt Whitman delivered in a private home. She leaves Montreal on Feb. 18 for Halifax, Nova Scotia, where she embarks for France on Feb. 20.

March-May

In Paris, Goldman is reunited with old friends and comrades, including Berkman, Mollie Steimer, and Senya Fleshin. She arranges to rent the same cottage in St. Tropez that she had in the summer of 1926, and makes a brief excursion to London in May to pick up material she had left two years earlier.

Goldman tries to organize a small gathering of anarchist writers and theoreticians in Paris in May to discuss the future of anarchism and especially its propaganda, circulating an agenda and soliciting comments. Though the meeting does not occur as planned, Goldman is gratified that the effort generates ideas and discussion.

June-December

Goldman settles in St. Tropez to write her autobiography; a young American writer Emily Holmes Coleman, "Demi," acts as her secretary.

Rudolf and Milly Rocker spend much of the summer with Goldman in St. Tropez.

By October she has written 100,000 words.

December 14-30

Goldman, accompanied by Henry Alsberg and Otto Kleinberg, vacations in Spain; in Barcelona, she meets anarchist intellectuals Federico Urales and Soledad Gustavo, and their daughter Federica Montseny.

1929

January-February

After two weeks in Paris, Goldman returns to St. Tropez, where she learns that friends, principally Peggy Guggenheim and Mark Dix, have contributed enough money to help her purchase the cottage and ensure her a place to live and write.

Goldman returns to working full-time on her autobiography, interrupted only by the visit in February of her nephew Saxe Commins and his wife Dorothy.

March-July

Goldman is completely absorbed in writing her book, though the departure in May of Emily Holmes Coleman, whose assistance and companionship have been invaluable, is disruptive; eventually her friend's daughter Miriam Lerner serves as secretary through the summer.

Goldman takes time out of her busy writing schedule to celebrate her sixtieth birthday on June 27 with Berkman and visiting American friends Ben and Ida Capes.

American publishers express interest in Goldman's autobiography; eight of them make offers.

July-September

Lawyer Arthur Leonard Ross and Saxe Commins act as Goldman's representatives in New York, negotiating the terms of the book contract with publisher Alfred A. Knopf.

As Goldman writes, she continues to ask friends to corroborate her memory of events and furnish details of personalities; some of her former acquaintances, however, request to be omitted from her book.

September 30

Goldman's representatives sign a book contract with Knopf; she receives an advance of \$7,000.

October

A slow decline in stock prices accelerates dramatically; on Oct. 29--Black Tuesday--the stock market crashes, precipitating the Great Depression.

By mid-month Goldman has reached 1915 in the narrative of her life.

At the end of the month Goldman moves to Paris for the winter to continue work on her autobiography; British friend Doris Zhook acts as her secretary.

1930

January

In Paris for the winter, Goldman continues writing; Berkman, who lives nearby in St. Cloud, helps edit her manuscript.

Goldman mails the first installment of her autobiography to Knopf.

American journalist and editor H. L. Mencken visits Goldman.

March

Presented with an expulsion order dating from March 1901, Goldman is taken immediately to police headquarters. She demands and receives a stay of ten days; lawyer Henri Torres ultimately succeeds in overturning the expulsion order.

Mencken petitions the U.S. Department of State to revoke Goldman's deportation and grant her a visitor's visa, and requests that the Department of Justice return her personal papers seized in the 1917 raid on the *Mother Earth* office.

April-May

Goldman sends the publisher what she assumes is the last installment of her autobiography--concluding with her deportation from the United States aboard the *Buford*--but Knopf insists on additional chapters covering her years in Russia and Europe.

May 1

Berkman is arrested and expelled from France the same day; spends next three weeks in Antwerp and Brussels, applying for a new French visa. Both French attorney Torres and Pierre Renaudel, a French deputy, work for Berkman's readmission.

By the end of the month Berkman's expulsion is revoked, and he is promised a three-month renewable visa for France.

June

Goldman travels to Bad Eilsen, Germany, for treatment of her eyes by Dr. Graf M. Wiser; she is visited by Danish novelist Karin Michaëlis. Goldman then vacations in Berlin.

July

Returns to St. Tropez; pleased with the editor's revisions of her manuscript, she begins work on the two final chapters.

November

Knopf postpones publication of Goldman's autobiography until the fall of 1931.

Eunice M. Schuster, writing a Master's thesis on anarchism, asks Goldman for information and assistance; Goldman encourages comrades--W. S. Van Valkenburgh, Hippolyte Havel, Max Nettlau, and anarchist publisher Joseph Ishill--to assist Schuster; her thesis is published in 1932 as *Native American Anarchism*, one of the earliest studies of American anarchism.

November 8

Berkman, denied renewal of his visa once again, is given fifteen days to leave France; by mid-month he receives another three-month extension.

On Nov. 21, 450 people attend a fund-raising banquet for Berkman in New York City to celebrate his sixtieth birthday.

December

Stella Ballantine and her son David join Goldman in St. Tropez.

1931

January

Goldman finishes her autobiography, *Living My Life*, having written 100,000 words since she began the last two chapters in July 1930.

February

Ben Reitman's *The Second Oldest Profession*, a study of pimps, is published.

February-April

Goldman, Stella Ballantine, and her son David vacation in Nice; Goldman catches up on her much delayed correspondence. Berkman, now living in Nice, contemplates opening a typing and translation bureau.

April

Fall of the monarchy in Spain. Many anarchists, including some of Goldman's closest associates, are enthusiastic about the prospects for anarchism there, while Goldman remains skeptical.

May

Goldman learns that, despite the dreadful economic situation, Knopf intends to publish *Living My Life* in two volumes at what she considers an exorbitant price.

May 17

Goldman is included in John Haynes Holmes's sermon in New York on "The Ten Greatest Living Women."

May 18

Together in St. Tropez, Goldman and Berkman celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of his release from prison.

May 30

The *Forward*, a Yiddish socialist daily in New York, begins serialization of Goldman's autobiography; Goldman is dissatisfied with both the translation and editor Abraham Cahan's introductory reminiscence of her.

June

Goldman continues to catch up on her correspondence, returning all the material--correspondence, clippings, etc.--she borrowed from friends to write her autobiography.

The Ballantines leave after nearly six months with Goldman.

June 11

National Congress of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT) begins in Madrid.

June 28

Berkman is presented with another expulsion order, the third in fifteen months; he rushes to Paris to try to get an extension of his papers.

July

The *Buford* episode from Goldman's autobiography appears in the *American Mercury*.

Goldman contributes an essay to an anthology being compiled by Peter Neagoe, published as *Americans Abroad* (1932).

Modest Stein and German anarcho-syndicalists Augustin and Therese Souchy visit Goldman at Bon Esprit.

August-September

Goldman is preoccupied throughout the summer with the urgency of Berkman's need to secure new papers and with Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin's precarious financial situation in Berlin, and consumed by mounting disappointment over the prospects for *Living My Life*.

Among the visitors to St. Tropez are Harry Kelly, Anna Strunsky Walling and her three daughters, American sculptor Jo Davidson, and Peggy Guggenheim.

Writer and editor Frank Harris dies in Nice on Aug. 26; Goldman hurries there to be with Nellie Harris, Frank's widow, and to help arrange his funeral; spends the last week of September in Nice helping Nellie Harris sort out her affairs.

At the end of September, Berkman gets an extension of his papers to Dec. 21.

October

Unable to bear the thought of being alone at Bon Esprit, Goldman begins considering where she will spend the winter and what she will do after the publication of her autobiography. She hopes to arrange a lecture tour: Dutch anarchist Albert de Jong assures her that lectures could be arranged in the Netherlands, the German Civil Liberties League expresses interest in Berlin lectures, and other engagements elsewhere in Germany are possible.

Goldman travels to Nice to visit Berkman on Oct. 12, and with Nellie Harris to Paris on Oct. 15.

Living My Life is published; a laudatory review appears on the front page of the *New York Times Book Review*.

November

Inscribes copies of her autobiography slated for friends as she awaits book reviews from the United States.

December

Earlier prospects for lectures in Germany, Holland, and Norway dim.

Growing interest in dramatizing *Living My Life* prompts Goldman to grant lawyer Arthur Leonard Ross full charge of negotiations over dramatic, radio, and cinema rights to her life.

John Haynes Holmes lectures on *Living My Life* to an overflow audience at Temple Emanu-El in New York City on Dec. 31.

1932

January

The *Nation* includes *Living My Life* among its list of most notable books of 1931.

The Rand School in New York City holds a symposium on *Living My Life* on Jan. 15.

February 13

Goldman lectures at Copenhagen University on "Dictatorship, a World Menace" to an audience of one thousand after lectures scheduled there earlier in the month are canceled for fear of Communist demonstrations.

February 16-20

Goldman's tour of Germany, organized by the Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands (FAUD), begins with a meeting in Hamburg followed by meetings in Bremen, Braunschweig, and Magdeburg. While the meetings of the Gilde freiheitlicher Bücherfreunde book club are open to the public, the FAUD meetings are open to members only, which accounts in part for the meager attendances.

February 22-March 10

In addition to lecturing, in Berlin Goldman is preoccupied with schemes to earn money--a CBS radio broadcast to America, for which Berkman works up themes; a German translation of her autobiography; and German translation projects for Berkman.

Goldman speaks to a well-attended meeting of the League for Human Rights on "Crime and Punishment in America," confining herself to political and labor cases; to the Gilde freiheitlicher Bücherfreunde on "The Drama as a Social and Educational Factor"; to the Anarcho-Syndikalistischer Frauenbund on "The Child and Its Enemy"; and to a FAUD meeting on "Is the Spirit of Destruction a Constructive Spirit?" She also speaks in Oberschoneweide and Potsdam.

March 11-12

The second leg of Goldman's tour begins with two successful meetings in Breslau (now Wroclaw, Poland)--a lecture to FAUD members on the American labor movement and a public meeting of the Gilde freiheitlicher Bücherfreunde.

March 14-23

The tour continues with two meetings in Dresden and Leipzig, and further engagements in Naumburg, Zella-Mehlis, Erfurt, and Sömmerda.

March 24-April 10

Back in Berlin, Goldman continues to solicit the interest of American publishing houses in translations of German and Russian works for Berkman.

Lectures to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) on "Woman's Achievement in the United States"; and to the women of the FAUD.

April 11-13

In Denmark, Goldman lectures in German at the student union in Copenhagen under the auspices of the Society for the Defense of Personal Liberty on "Social Problems in a Contemporary Light"; in Odense; and in Aarhus to a large and enthusiastic audience on the effects of prohibition in the United States.

April 16-18

Goldman in Oslo, her first visit to Norway, where she has "three wonderful meetings." One lecture is

canceled by the Communist-controlled student association, which objects to her criticism of the Soviet Union.

April 20

In Stockholm, Sweden, Goldman lectures on the Mooney-Billings case.

April 22

Arrives back in Berlin, where she learns that CBS has canceled her planned radio broadcast, fearing that it will be interpreted as an effort on her part to reenter the United States.

April 25-May 15

On the last leg of her German tour--through Bavaria, Baden-Wurtemberg, and Hessen--all meetings are sponsored by the FAUD. She lectures in Schweinfurt, Furth, Nuremberg, Stuttgart, Heilbronn, Göppingen, Ulm, Offenbach, Darmstadt, Mannheim, and Ludwigshafen. Among her lecture topics are "Birth Control," "The American Labor Movement," "Art and Revolution," and "Women's Role in the Russian Revolution."

May 17-December

Goldman returns to St. Tropez on May 17, exhausted from her lecture tour, which earned her little income; spends much of the rest of the summer trying unsuccessfully to interest American publishers in translations of three Malik Verlag books, and German and Swedish publishers in translating her autobiography. She is assisted financially by her brothers Morris and Herman, the latter contacting her for the first time in years.

Among Goldman's visitors in St. Tropez are Modest Stein, who contributes to Goldman and Berkman's economic survival; Henry Alsberg; Harry T. Moore, biographer of D. H. Lawrence; and artists Edmund and Alice Kinzinger.

Goldman starts making plans for the coming winter; she considers a visit to Spain to collect material for articles and possibly for a book, and writes Federica Montseny in Barcelona, asking her advice; Montseny encourages her to come. She also considers another lecture tour, for which initially German and Dutch comrades express enthusiasm. In November she determines to lecture in Holland in the new year, but the German comrades discourage a tour due to lack of funds--only the Berlin and Dresden branches of WILPF offer definite bookings.

July 22

Errico Malatesta dies.

October 20

Living My Life published by Duckworth in London; Goldman is appalled at the high price of two guineas. Because of low sales, within a month the price is reduced in hopes that good reviews will spur library sales.

November 8

Franklin D. Roosevelt elected president of the United States.

December 17

Goldman leaves St. Tropez, arriving the following day in Paris, which she finds the perfect antidote to the loneliness and drudgery of her last seven months.

1933

January 10-13

Goldman travels from Paris to the Netherlands via Reims, Brussels, and Antwerp.

January 13-23

Goldman's lecture tour of the Netherlands takes her to The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht, and Hengelo; she speaks on "Dictatorship, the Modern Religious Hysteria."

January 24

In London, Goldman begins her stay with a dizzying week of welcome meetings and dinners with political associates and old friends, including Paul Robeson and Emily Holmes Coleman; prepares her British lecture series.

January 30

Hitler becomes chancellor of Germany.

February-March

Goldman tries to interest London publishers in Berkman's proposed translations of German and Russian books.

February 4-16

Goldman's vacation in Bristol at the home of English friends Thomas and Nell Lavers includes informal meetings with local anarchists.

February 16-22

Delivers four well-received lectures in South Wales, including "Crime and Punishment" and "The Spirit of Destruction and Construction."

February 24

Lectures in London on "Constructive Revolution."

March

After fire destroys the Reichstag building in Berlin on Feb. 27, the Nazis move to consolidate their power; Communist deputies are arrested, opposition meetings broken up, speakers assaulted, and newspapers suppressed.

Goldman's attempts to organize a mass meeting in London to protest the Nazi takeover ultimately fail because she insists on denouncing dictatorship in the Soviet Union as well, a position that alienates many on the British Left.

At the end of the month Rudolf and Milly Rocker arrive in London, exiles from Hitler's Germany.

March 1

"An Anarchist Looks at Life" is Goldman's subject at Foyle's literary luncheon attended by six hundred; Paul Robeson sings and proposes a vote of thanks, seconded by Rebecca West.

March 4-5

Goldman acts as a delegate to the International Anti-War Congress, London; finds the congress dominated by Communists.

April 3-10

Gives three lectures in Bristol, including "Modern Trends in Education" and "Dictatorship--A Modern Religious Hysteria."

May-June

Before returning to St. Tropez for the summer, Goldman is reunited in Paris with Mollie Steimer, Senya Fleshin, and Alexander Schapiro, who have escaped from Berlin. Visitors at Bon Esprit include American liberal Mabel Carver Crouch, and Rudolf and Milly Rocker.

Goldman begins considering a tour of Canada in early 1934, after Rocker has completed his projected tour of Canada and the United States.

July-August

Goldman solicits fall lecture dates in both Canada and England.

October

Mabel Carver Crouch works furiously for Goldman's readmission to the United States, organizing a committee and soliciting the help of lawyers and others with contacts in the new administration in Washington, D.C.

Toronto anarchists pledge funds to pay for Goldman's passage to Canada.

November 1-16

In Paris, at a Yiddish meeting she addresses on Nov. 11, she learns from German refugees about the growing horrors in Nazi Germany.

November 17-24

Lecture tour of the Netherlands meets with mixed success: Goldman lectures in Hilversum and Amsterdam on *Living My Life*, but her lecture in Rotterdam on dictatorship is prohibited. Under surveillance throughout the trip, she is arrested at Appeldorn on Nov. 23 and expelled from the country the following day.

December

Roger Baldwin works with the U.S. immigration authorities, attempting to secure a visa for Goldman, while the committee organized by Mabel Carver Crouch issues a formal invitation to Goldman to visit the United States. Commissioner of Immigration Daniel W. MacCormack advises Baldwin that it is Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins who has the legal right to admit Goldman.

Goldman leaves France for Canada; she arrives in Toronto on Dec. 15, where she applies for a visa at the U.S. consulate for a proposed three-month lecture tour.

Goldman is offered, but declines, a large sum to appear in vaudeville theaters in the United States.

1934

January

U.S. Department of Labor approves a three-month visa, effective Feb. 1, for Goldman to lecture on nonpolitical subjects, which may include *Living My Life* under the category of literature. Once word of her tour leaks out, many lecture agencies in the United States offer their services.

Goldman's brother Morris suffers a mild heart attack.

January 15-31

Goldman gives a well-attended series of lectures at Hygeia Hall in Toronto; her topics include "Germany's Tragedy and the Forces That Brought It About," "Hitler and His Cohorts," "The Collapse of German Culture," and "Dictatorship Right and Left--a Religious Hysteria." A talk to a Jewish meeting also raises money for anarchists forced to flee repression in Nazi Germany.

February

Goldman stops to visit relatives in Rochester, N.Y., before arriving Feb. 2 in New York City, where she is mobbed by reporters and photographers at Pennsylvania Station and the Hotel Astor. Overwhelmed by the demands on her time, she is nevertheless pleased and surprised by the warmth of the reception. The major exception is the hostility of the Communists toward her.

February 6

"Welcome home" dinner meeting at Town Hall, New York City, is oversubscribed: a thousand people apply for the 350 tickets.

February 10

Goldman speaks at a Yiddish meeting at the Cooper Union organized by the Jewish Anarchist Federation, the Arbeiter Ring, and several unions.

February 11

Goldman speaks on Kropotkin's life and work at John Haynes Holmes's Community Church services at Town Hall; the lecture draws a huge audience, and more than a thousand people are turned away.

February 13-28

Goldman's lectures on *Living My Life* under the auspices of the Pond lecture bureau draw disappointingly small crowds; she chafes under the Labor Department's restrictions on the subjects she may address, especially as questions from the audience are almost invariably about the current world situation, which she is forbidden to discuss; grows critical of Pond's management of her tour.

She speaks three times in New York, and in Boston, Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia.

At the end of the month Goldman's attorney appeals to the secretary of labor to lift the restriction on her public utterances and allow her to address contemporary affairs.

March

Generally dismal response to Goldman's lectures outside New York continues in Newark, N.J., where she lectures to the Essex County Socialist party on "The Menace of Reaction" on March 1 and in Baltimore on "The Collapse of German Culture" on March 4 where she also attends the "War and the Student" conference at Johns Hopkins University. Only the meetings organized by Goldman's anarchist associates are successful--a luncheon and lecture organized by the Jewish anarchists in Philadelphia on March 2 and a lecture on "The Drama of Europe" at Webster Hall, New York City, on March 5 that draws an audience

of twelve hundred. The money Goldman raises at the latter function she pledges to the Vanguard and Freedom groups to publish a pamphlet on the CNT in Spain.

Goldman grows increasingly frustrated with the efforts of the Pond Bureau, complaining that the theaters booked for her lectures are too large, that ticket prices are too high, and that advertising is misdirected. By contrast, publicist Ann Lord's advance work for Goldman's lectures, directed especially to Goldman's anarchist associates and the Yiddish Left, improves the overall audience turnout.

Goldman pins her hopes for a successful tour on obtaining an extension of her visa, which Roger Baldwin pursues in Washington, D.C.

March 10

Goldman's lecture in New Haven on *Living My Life* and "Today's International Problems" attracts only a small audience.

March 15-20

On a whirlwind visit to her former home town, Rochester, N.Y., on March 17, Goldman addresses members of the City Club, one of her most successful meetings since the opening week of the tour.

The first part of Goldman's tour of the Midwest meets with mixed success: disappointing turnouts in Toledo on March 19 and Cleveland on March 20, though eight hundred attend her March 18 lecture in Detroit.

March 21-April 2

Goldman's five lectures in Chicago, organized by her political associates, are the most successful of her tour; sixteen hundred attend the lecture under the auspices of the Free Society Forum on March 22, twelve hundred at the University of Chicago on March 23, and a thousand at Northwestern University on March 26. Fifteen hundred attend a banquet in her honor at the Medinah Hotel on March 28. The warmth of the reception boosts her morale and convinces her that her ideas still have an audience.

In Chicago she meets new comrades who become valued friends, especially Jeanne and Jay Levey, and Frank Heiner, a blind sociology graduate student at the University of Chicago, who impresses Goldman as a promising anarchist leader.

Goldman also lectures twice in Wisconsin, on March 24 in Milwaukee, an afternoon meeting that draws only a small audience, and at the University of Wisconsin at Madison on March 27.

April 3-9

Goldman visits St. Louis, where the receipts for her April 5 lecture on "The Collapse of German Culture" fail to cover the rental expenses for the large hall.

Her brother Morris and his wife Babsie visit Goldman in St. Louis.

April 10-20

Goldman's lectures on the last leg of her tour continue to meet with mixed success despite the advance work of Ann Lord.

In Pittsburgh on April 11 she draws eight hundred people; in Rochester, seven hundred, where she lectures under the auspices of the Rochester branch of the National Council of Jewish Women on April 15;

the turnouts in Buffalo on April 16 and Albany on April 18, by contrast, are disappointing, though the Yiddish meetings in those cities are comparatively successful.

April 21-30

Goldman's last days in New York are occupied by visits with friends, families, and political associates.

On April 25 she speaks at Dana College in Newark, N.J.

Farewell gatherings include one at Webster Hall on April 26 and a luncheon sponsored by the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme* on April 29.

Goldman leaves New York for Canada on April 30. Though her lecture tour brings her little financial reward, in the course of it she raises over \$1000 for the political prisoners in and refugees from Russia and Germany.

May

Fatigued from her tour of the United States but with the continuing assistance of Ann Lord, Goldman spends the first three weeks of the month in Montreal organizing and delivering lectures. Despite her disappointment over the failure of her tour, Goldman feels more acutely than ever the pain of her exile from the United States.

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover writes to the attorney general asserting that Goldman violated the agreement on which she entered the country, thus jeopardizing her chances of return.

Following on the heels of Rudolf Rocker's U.S. and Canadian lecture tour, Goldman continues her efforts to find an American publisher for his manuscript "Nationalism and Culture"; Berkman begins translating it, after he finishes drafting ideas for the articles that the *American Mercury*, *Harper's*, the *Nation*, and *Redbook* have commissioned Goldman to write.

Through correspondence with her new protégé Frank Heiner about anarchism and its prospects, their relationship grows more intimate.

May 14-21

Goldman's lectures in Montreal draw audiences of three to four hundred: she speaks on Hitler and Nazism, "The Collapse of German Culture," and *Living My Life*, as well as lecturing in Yiddish on May 21.

May 22-31

Back in Toronto, Goldman finds an apartment; after a disappointing lecture on the New Deal on May 28 she determines to curtail her public speaking and concentrate on writing.

June

Goldman has difficulty settling down to write especially without Berkman's editorial assistance; *Redbook* rejects the article she submits about her impressions of the United States.

Goldman finds Toronto dull and feels starved for intellectual companionship; she urges her American friends and comrades to visit over the summer.

Goldman's affection for Heiner grows as does her anticipation of his visit; she expects him to become an important force in the American anarchist movement.

June 27

Goldman celebrates her sixty-fifth birthday in Toronto with a party attended by forty friends.

June 30

Erich Mühsam, German anarchist poet, dies in a Nazi concentration camp.

July

The *American Mercury* accepts Goldman's article, "Communism: Bolshevist and Anarchist, A Comparison," which it publishes--to Goldman's disgust--in a truncated form as "There is No Communism in Russia" in April 1935, violating the spirit of the original article. *Harper's* rejects her article "The Individual, Society, and the State"; unwilling to revise it, she submits instead the article about her U.S. visit that *Redbook* rejected. She finishes writing "The Tragedy of the Political Exiles," which the *Nation* accepts.

Goldman hosts a gathering of young people with the aim of starting an anarchist group in Toronto and meets with them weekly throughout the summer.

Among her visitors are Jeanne and Jay Levey from Chicago and her brother Herman and his son Allan.

Berkman's health and mental state decline while translating Rocker's manuscript.

July 16

San Francisco general strike, the first general strike in U.S. history, begins in support of twelve thousand striking International Longshoremen's Association members.

July 25

Nestor Makhno, Ukrainian anarchist leader, dies in exile in Paris.

August

Goldman's sister Lena and family visit.

The weekly gatherings of young people at her apartment continue; Goldman finds it hard to disabuse them of their attachment to the state or dictatorship and is pessimistic about making any new converts.

Goldman hatches a scheme to get Berkman a Lithuanian passport so he can at least travel to Canada.

August 10-11

Anarchist conference at Stelton, N.J., organized to discuss the creation of an English-language anarchist weekly; Goldman contributes in writing her ideas on anarchists building alliances with other groups.

August 18

Frank Heiner arrives and stays with Goldman until the beginning of September; they become lovers.

August 23

Goldman presides over a poorly attended meeting at Hygeia Hall organized by the Libertarian Groups of Toronto to commemorate the seventh anniversary of the executions of Sacco and Vanzetti; Heiner also speaks at the meeting.

September

Goldman misses Heiner after he returns to the United States, and hopes that Roger Baldwin will be successful in his efforts in Washington to gain a U.S. visa for her.

Works hard writing the lectures for the following month.

Submits "Was My Life Worth Living?" to *Harper's*, later accepted for publication.

September 25

Lectures to a Jewish women's organization in Toronto on "The New Approach to the Child."

October

Goldman delivers a series of eight lectures at Forester's Hall, Toronto, on literary and political topics, including George Bernard Shaw, munitions manufacturers, Russian literature since the revolution, and German literature and the Nazi book-burnings. Attendance is very disappointing, and Goldman worries about financial survival if refused permission to reenter the United States; considers the possibility of dramatizing *Living My Life* for theater or film.

She is concerned about her brother Morris who suffers repeated heart attacks.

Of five other meetings during the month, only a lecture to a mostly unemployed workers' organization on "The American Labor Movement and the General Strike" on Oct. 2 gives her much satisfaction; even a free anarchist meeting on Oct. 31 fails to draw a good crowd.

Roger Baldwin discusses Goldman's application for a new U.S. visa--and Rudolf Rocker's application for an extension of his stay--with the authorities in Washington, who advise him that at present they would deny Goldman's request; only Rocker's application is approved.

October 5-18

The uprising in the mining districts of Asturias, Spain, is followed by severe repression; thousands of miners are executed, thousands more tortured, and thirty to forty thousand are imprisoned.

November

Goldman decides to stay in Canada until the spring in the hope of reentering the United States and seeing Heiner again.

Goldman is more sanguine about her work in Toronto: she sees promise in the small group of comrades--especially Dorothy Rogers and Ahrne Thornberg [as Ahrne Thorne, later the editor of the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*]-and is gratified by the circular against war and fascism they publish at the end of the month.

After farewell parties in Toronto, Goldman travels to Montreal, where she discovers little preparatory work has been done for her lectures.

Jeanne Levey informs Goldman that she is discreetly raising a fund to support her and, if necessary, pay her passage back to Europe.

November 12-December 11

Goldman's lectures at the Windsor Hotel and the YMCA in Montreal include topics such as George Bernard Shaw, the individual in society, and a comparison of Bolshevik and anarchist communism. Again

the lectures are not well attended; furthermore, a Quebec law prohibits Goldman from selling or distributing literature at her meetings unless it is first submitted to the police, a condition she refuses to accept.

After a promising start, neither the Yiddish meetings nor the English meetings Goldman addresses are well attended, so she determines to organize a series for the new year on a subscription basis instead.

December

Harper's publishes Goldman's "Was My Life Worth Living?".

Roger Baldwin advises Goldman that in the current atmosphere of hostility toward alien radicals she is unlikely to be granted a U.S. visa.

December 12

Goldman's brother Herman dies.

1935

January

In Canada, Goldman is absorbed writing lectures with the hope that a new lecture series and published articles will provide a meager livelihood, as well as spread anarchist ideas. She considers writing a book of portraits of famous people she has known, an idea first suggested by Frank Heiner. She suggests that the sustaining fund Jeanne Levey is helping to raise might be designated to support its writing.

After a disappointing turnout for her Jan. 17 lecture on moral censorship of current films Goldman cancels further lectures; by contrast, talks to Jewish audiences--the Temple Emanu-El adult school on Jan. 7, the second meeting arranged by Rabbi Harry Stern, and the women's branch of the Arbeiter Ring on Jan. 12--are well received and buoy her spirits.

January 9-March 13

Goldman's ten-week lecture series on drama and literature at the Central YMCA in Montreal includes lectures on Russian and Soviet drama, German literary works destroyed by the Nazis, and American drama, especially Eugene O'Neill. Only fifty people subscribe for the series, and few others attend.

February

Goldman's four lectures in Yiddish this month continue to be her most successful in Montreal, drawing an audience of two hundred when she speaks on "the element of sex in unmarried people" on Feb. 1 and raising some money for the first time in Montreal when she speaks again to the women's branch of the Arbeiter Ring on Feb. 17.

Goldman decides to return to France in the spring after receiving further discouraging reports from friends who have met with Labor Department officials in Washington, D.C., about chances for readmission.

As other possibilities close, Goldman looks increasingly to her proposed book venture as a means of support; she also pursues the idea of a sustaining fund as she inquires about receiving an advance from a publisher.

March

Two further lectures to Jewish groups--on "Crime and Punishment" on March 4 and birth control on March 15--and the last in her drama series conclude Goldman's lectures in Montreal; she returns to Toronto on March 17.

Goldman speaks at two Yiddish meetings in Toronto at the end of the month, one a lecture, the other a seventieth birthday celebration for Chaim Zhitlovsky, the exiled Russian revolutionary.

By the end of the month a formal committee to raise a "Sustaining Fund for Emma Goldman" is organized in New York by her niece Stella Ballantine and Roger Baldwin, and three hundred fund-raising letters solicit \$3,000 in contributions to support Goldman while she is writing a book; Jeanne Levey helps with the appeal from Chicago.

Goldman grows increasingly concerned about Berkman's financial condition and raises emergency funds for him and Emmy Eckstein.

March 19-April 9

Goldman delivers a series of four lectures at Toronto's Hygeia Hall organized by a group of young anarchists; she speaks on "The Element of Sex in Life," "Youth in Revolt," "The Tragedy of the Modern Woman," and "Crime and Punishment."

April

In her last month in Canada Goldman speaks in Hamilton, Ontario, under the auspices of the National Council of Jewish Women on April 11, and twice in Toronto, on "Youth in Revolt" to a branch of the Arbeiter Ring on April 14, and on birth control at Hygeia Hall on April 16, after meeting with the head of a Toronto birth control clinic.

Harper's rejects Goldman's suggestion that she write a monthly column about the European situation.

The effort to aid Berkman is formalized with the creation in New York of the Alexander Berkman Provisional Committee which plans fund-raising events to celebrate the anniversary of his release from prison and his upcoming sixty-fifth birthday.

April 15

Goldman attends a farewell dinner in her honor in Toronto that raises \$95 toward her sustaining fund.

April 22

Goldman returns to Montreal where her niece Stella Ballantine visits her on April 26.

May 2

Telegrams of tribute greet Goldman at a farewell event hosted by Rabbi Stern of Montreal.

May 4-14

Goldman sails from Canada to Le Havre, France; she reaches Paris on May 15.

May 18

Goldman arrives back in St. Tropez in time to celebrate the anniversary of Berkman's release from prison in 1906; she finds him in better health than she expected.

June

Relations between Goldman, Berkman, and his companion Emmy Eckstein are surprisingly harmonious given that the three are living in close proximity at Goldman's cottage in St. Tropez.

The serenity is disrupted by the news of Rudolf Rocker's dissatisfaction with Berkman's translation and editing of Rocker's book and his decision to abandon the project.

Goldman receives reports of the progress of the fund-raising appeal that ultimately brings over \$1,000.

Begins mobilizing anarchist writers and editors of the movement's press--for example, Rocker, Nettlau, and Albert de Jong--to publish articles to mark Berkman's sixty-fifth birthday in November.

July

As the weeks pass, Goldman grows restless without an outlet for political activity and wonders whether returning to France was wise, especially as she is even further away from Frank Heiner. She weighs her options for the fall and winter, and considers returning to Canada or lecturing in England.

Relations between Goldman and Eckstein deteriorate to the point that they can no longer live in the same place; at the end of the month Goldman goes to Nice with Berkman and visits Nellie Harris; on Goldman's return Eckstein leaves St. Tropez.

August

Among Goldman's visitors this month in St. Tropez are Ben Reitman's son Brutus and Dutch friends Dien and Tom Meelis from Toronto.

In the middle of the month Berkman returns to Eckstein in Nice; once apart, Goldman and Berkman are able to discuss their differences and their disappointment with each other's attitude after a long separation.

September

Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin from Paris and Modest Stein from New York visit Bon Esprit this month.

At the end of the month Goldman begins organizing her papers, manuscripts, lecture notes, and letters before she leaves Bon Esprit for the winter.

Emmy Eckstein reports that Berkman is weak and tires quickly, though he edits Goldman's "Two Communisms: Bolshevist and Anarchist."

October

Berkman helps Goldman to organize her papers and writes letters to publishers on her behalf asking for review copies of books to use in her upcoming lecture tour of England.

October 3

Italian troops invade Ethiopia, prompting League of Nations sanctions against Italy.

October 19-November 14

Goldman stays in Paris, visiting friends and political associates, including Jacob Abrams, who encourages her to lecture in Mexico. While there she learns that Berkman's weakness may be attributable to prostate trouble.

November 14-27

After traveling to London, where she plans to make her home for the winter, Goldman begins a series of lectures on Nov. 21 with "Traders in Death" to an audience of about one hundred at the National Trade Union Club. She follows this with "Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin" at a packed meeting at Workers' Circle House, where she is heckled by Communists, and "Fallacies of Political Action" at Broadway Congregational Hall, Hammersmith.

December

In Leeds on Dec. 1 Goldman gives such a highly successful lecture on German literature to the Workers' Circle that the members ask for other dates.

In Plymouth Goldman speaks to the Tamaritans on Dec. 7 on "The Soviet Theatre." The success of her lectures on political topics surprises her: Six hundred people--the largest meeting she has ever had in England--attend her lecture on "Mussolini, Hitler, and Stalin" on Dec. 9, though two subsequent lectures draw smaller crowds.

1936

January

Goldman begins a lecture tour, hopeful that she can establish a lecture base in London for six to eight months a year and spend the summers in St. Tropez. The death of King George V on Jan. 20, however, plunges the country into mourning, resulting in poor attendance at her lectures.

Deaths of Louise Bryant, journalist and companion of the late John Reed, and Dr. William Robinson, early birth control advocate in the United States.

January 5

Lectures to the Leicester Secular Society on "Traders in Death (The International Munitions Clique)."

January 19

Lectures to the Southend Labour League of Youth on "Youth in Revolt."

January 20-30

Goldman gives three lectures in London. The first, at the Workers Circle House on "The Two Communisms (Bolshevist and Anarchist--A Parallel)," is disrupted by Communists. She also lectures on "Russian Literature" at the National Trade Union Club, and on "Mussolini, Hitler and Stalin (How Far Do Their Common Methods Lead To Similar Results?)" in Hammersmith.

February

Goldman considers publishing a new book of essays drawn from her recent lectures, not only as a source of income but also to appease contributors to the Emma Goldman Publication Fund established to enable her to write another book.

Jeanne Levey organizes the publication of twelve thousand copies of "The Place of the Individual in the Society" in pamphlet form to raise additional funds.

Berkman has a prostate operation in Nice, unbeknownst to Goldman. Later in the month, Emmy Eckstein enters the hospital for gastrointestinal observation. Berkman has a second prostate operation the following month. Goldman learns of their condition while completing her scheduled lectures.

February 17-23

Goldman's three lectures in Plymouth draw enthusiastic audiences, though at the last she is heckled by local Communists.

February 28

Goldman lectures again to the Workers Circle in London.

March

Goldman's friendship with Eslanda and Paul Robeson deepens, as does her friendship with her new admirer and benefactor, Shloime Sutton. Garden City Publishing Company prints a cheaper edition of *Living My Life* after purchasing the rights from Knopf.

March 7

Germany remilitarizes the Rhineland in direct contravention of the Treaty of Versailles.

March 8

Goldman lectures again to the Leicester Secular Society.

March 15

Speaks on "The Russian Theatre" to a thousand members of the Coventry Repertory Circle, one of the most successful meetings she has ever had in England.

March 19

Goldman's lecture in Hammersmith, London, on "Anarchism (What It Really Stands For)" is sparsely attended.

March 25-27

Goldman delivers three lectures to miners in South Wales--at Mountain Ash, Ystradgynlais, and Aberdare--sponsored by the National Council of Labour Colleges. Her lectures on "Mussolini and Hitler" and on "The Two Communisms" are surprisingly well received, as it is the first time that the Labour Colleges had provided a hearing for anarchism and a critique of Soviet Russia.

March 31

Goldman lectures on *Living My Life* at Conway Hall, London.

April

Goldman leaves London, arriving in Nice on April 6. Berkman is still hospitalized; in spite of Emmy Eckstein's worsening health, the two women visit him daily.

Goldman writes to drama organizations in Britain and places advertisements in drama publications, soliciting lecture dates for the fall: she offers to speak on Eugene O'Neill, Clifford Odets, and other contemporary playwrights, as well as on "Soviet Literature, Its Struggle and Its Promise."

May 27

Berkman is released from the hospital and returns to his domestic life with Emmy Eckstein and Goldman in Nice.

June

Goldman returns to St. Tropez for the summer, unable to bear the building tension between her and Emmy Eckstein; she determines to sell Bon Esprit and advertises it for rent with an option to purchase.

Berkman--whose recovery is slow--discovers that, for the first time, his residency papers have been renewed for a whole year.

June 27

Goldman celebrates her sixty-seventh birthday with visiting American anarchist and benefactor Michael Cohn and his family. Too ill to celebrate with her, Berkman telephones in the afternoon.

June 28

In the early hours, unable to endure the physical pain, Berkman shoots himself; the bullet lodges in his spinal column, paralysing him. Goldman rushes to Nice to be at his side. He sinks into a coma in the afternoon and dies at 10 P.M.

June 30

Berkman is buried in Nice.

July

Grief-stricken, Goldman tries to fulfill Berkman's charge that she take care of Emmy, who is impaired by her continuing illness.

Memorial meetings for Berkman are held in New York City, organized by the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*; at Mohegan Colony, N.Y.; and in Paris.

July 19

Spanish Civil War begins.

August

Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin arrive in St. Tropez to comfort Goldman during her worst period of grief and psychological depression. Her spirits are lifted by Augustin Souchy's invitation to Barcelona to work for the foreign-language press office of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo-Federación Anarquista Ibérica (CNT-FAI).

Convicted of high treason in the first of the Moscow show trials, the old Bolsheviks Kamenev and Zinoviev are executed.

August 5

James Colton, the man Goldman married in 1925 to establish British citizenship, dies of cancer.

September 15

Goldman leaves St. Tropez for Spain.

September 16-December 10

Based in Barcelona, the anarchist stronghold in Catalonia, Goldman helps to write the English-language edition of the CNT-FAI's information bulletin, visits collectivized farms and factories, and travels to the Aragon front, Valencia, and Madrid.

She spends the first weeks working closely with Russian-born anarchist Martin Gudell of the CNT-FAI's Foreign Propaganda Department and broadcasts two English-language radio addresses; Goldman hopes to conduct publicity from Barcelona, as she does not want to leave Spain.

October

Visits the Aragon front for two days where she is honored to meet Buenaventura Durruti, a leading FAI activist and militia commander.

October 18

Goldman addresses a mass meeting of sixteen thousand people organized by the FAI youth in Barcelona.

October 20-26

In Valencia, with German exiles Anita and Hanns-Erich Kaminski, Goldman tours collectivized villages and farms.

November

Increasingly aware of how her inability to speak Spanish hinders her work in Spain, Goldman plans to shift to publicity work and fund raising in Great Britain or the United States, where she could make a greater contribution.

The threat of Nationalist forces to Madrid prompts the government to relocate to Valencia on November 7.

November 3

The CNT joins the Largo Caballero government, accepting four ministries. While recognizing the paramount need to fight the fascists, Goldman is troubled by the CNT-FAI's direction, especially its decision to join the government and effectively align itself with pro-Soviet forces. In her correspondence with close friends, Goldman is highly critical of the collaborative direction of the CNT, while publicly she remains supportive.

November 19

Durruti is shot by an unknown gunman during the defense of Madrid; his funeral in Barcelona on Nov. 22 draws hundreds of thousands of mourners.

December

Goldman is named official representative in London of the CNT-FAI and of the Generalitat of Catalonia.

December 10

Leaves Barcelona for Paris with the Kaminskis, arriving on Dec. 14.

December 23

Goldman arrives in London and finds the propaganda bureau of the Generalitat in a shambles. Vernon Richards's twice-monthly *Spain and the World* appears to be Goldman's most reliable vehicle for communicating about the conditions and aspirations of the Spanish anarchists.

1937

January

Begins organizing publicity campaign about the Spanish revolution, including planning mass meetings in

London and the provinces, but is hampered by poor communication with and lack of urgency among key anarchist leaders in Barcelona.

Aside from the London anarchists, Goldman finds allies among leading members of the Independent Labour Party (ILP), including Fenner Brockway and especially writer Ethel Mannin, who becomes a close friend. The first fruit of this alliance is Goldman's joining forces with a broad English coalition sympathetic to the Republican cause to mount an exhibition in February of photographs, cartoons, posters, and pamphlets from Spain.

The death on Jan. 1 of Commissioner of Immigration Daniel W. MacCormack threatens to weaken the confidence built up in the Department of Labor and delay any chance of her return to the United States.

January 18

Goldman speaks on "The Spanish Revolution and the CNT-FAI" at a large meeting chaired by Ethel Mannin in London.

January 31

Lectures on Spain in Plymouth.

February 8

Malaga falls to Franco's forces.

February 13-14

In Glasgow, Goldman meets with local anarchists at the home of Frank Leech, secretary of the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation. On Feb. 14 she speaks in Glasgow to an audience of six hundred on "The Part of the CNT-FAI in the Spanish Revolution" in the afternoon; and in Paisley on "The CNT-FAI and Collectivisation" in the evening.

February 19

Goldman and Ethel Mannin speak on "The Relation of the Church in Spain with Fascism," at Friends House, London, under joint auspices of the CNT-FAI London Committee and the ILP.

February 28

With Ethel Mannin, Goldman speaks on Spain in Bristol.

March

Disappointed by the financial failure of the Spanish exhibition that opened Feb. 20, Goldman begins organizing a benefit performance in London for the refugee women and children in Spain.

March 11

Gudell notifies Goldman of the establishment of a new committee composed of members from the CNT and the FAI to handle all foreign propaganda matters, in order to alleviate inefficiency caused by the personal and political rivalry between Souchy and Rudiger over propaganda.

March 31

Goldman lectures on Spain at a meeting in East London.

April

In her correspondence with the Spanish comrades Goldman criticizes the CNT for collaborating with the Communists and accepting Soviet support; publicly she remains an unwavering supporter.

April 4

In Bristol Goldman speaks in the afternoon to a conference of ILP delegates and in the evening on "The Relation of the Church in Spain with Fascism" at a meeting arranged by the local ILP.

April 25

The benefit concert for the Spanish refugees, which Goldman has worked frantically to produce, takes place at Victoria Palace. With Paul Robeson's performance, it is an artistic success but raises less money than Goldman had hoped.

April 28

Manchester Guardian publishes Goldman's letter criticizing its report that Catalonia had contributed little to the defense of Madrid.

May 1

Sixty thousand people take part in a May Day demonstration and march that includes anarchists for the first time in thirty years. Under the auspices of the London Committee of the CNT-FAI, Goldman speaks at the conclusion of the march in Hyde Park.

May 3-7

The "May events" in Barcelona pit rank-and-file anarchists and members of Partido Obrero de Unificacion Marxista (POUM) against Catalan government troops in armed clashes after assault guards attempt to take over the CNT-controlled telephone exchange; anarchist workers interpret this action as the beginning of an attempt by Moscow-aligned forces to suppress the anarchists and destroy the social revolution in Spain; CNT-FAI leaders, by contrast, are less alarmed by the actions and, rather than fight, call for a cease-fire. The Republican government dispatches troops from Valencia, but by May 7 when they arrive, resistance has virtually collapsed.

May 17

The Largo Caballero government is replaced by a government led by Juan Negrin that excludes the CNT and reflects an increase in Communist influence.

May 23

Goldman speaks on the Spanish revolution in Norwich at a well-attended meeting sponsored by the Norwich Freedom Group, the ILP, and the Labour League of Youth.

June 4

Goldman and Fenner Brockway speak on "Conditions in Spain" in London.

July

Goldman writes the introduction to a new commemorative edition of Berkman's *ABC of Anarchism* to be published by the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*.

Views "Fury Over Spain," a film by American Louis Frank; considers organizing a public showing of the film to raise funds for *Mujeres Libres*.

August

In Paris, Goldman is troubled by the violent opposition among her closest anarchist comrades to the CNT-FAI's unwillingness to confront the Communists' assault on its opponents on the Left and its undermining of the revolution. Obtains Spanish and French visas that will enable her to travel to Spain after all.

On Aug. 21 she travels to Nice and later in the month to St. Tropez for her final stay at Bon Esprit, which is sold shortly after her departure for Spain the following month, temporarily freeing Goldman from financial worries and allowing her to continue her work for Spain.

September 15

Goldman leaves Marseille for Valencia.

September 16-November 5

Goldman in Spain, primarily Barcelona: finds the agricultural and industrial collectives in Catalonia in better condition even than a year before, though overall conditions in Barcelona are very discouraging compared to Madrid and Valencia, especially for refugee women and children.

Alarmed by the number of political prisoners being held by the Republican government, especially anarchists and POUM members.

Receives promises of support for a more intensive campaign on behalf of the CNT-FAI in England, including funds for an office and for the publication of *Spain and the World*.

September 20-24

Visits Madrid and the front.

September 28

With Souchy, Goldman leaves Valencia for Barcelona, which comes under bombardment by Franco's forces a few days later.

October

Pedro Herrera confirms Goldman's new role as the London representative of the SIA (International Antifascist Solidarity), which was formed during the summer to provide relief to Spanish refugees and to promote international solidarity for the Spanish anarchists.

Goldman's chances of receiving a U.S. visa are slim, the commissioner of immigration informs Roger Baldwin, due to pending legislation and the potential for adverse publicity.

October 31

Republican government begins move from Valencia to Barcelona.

November 6-15

Goldman meets and consults with many anarchists in Paris.

November 16

Returns to London; begins searching for premises for an SIA office and reading room.

December

Goldman continues her campaign against the imprisonment of anti-Stalinist leftists and anarchists in

Spain, writing an article on the subject for *Spain and the World* and trying to enlist the assistance of sympathetic Members of Parliament.

December 8-17

In Paris for the International Working Men's Association (IWMA) Congress at Vazquez's request: French comrades, knowing that publicly she is sympathetic to the CNT-FAI's policies, try to prevent Goldman from addressing the Congress because she is not an official delegate. The Spanish and Swedish delegates prevail in their attempt to have her speak, and she defends the CNT-FAI's actions and the difficult decisions it has made against criticism from comrades outside Spain.

1938

January

Moves into new offices for the CNT-FAI, SIA, and *Spain and the World* in central London, but finds little enthusiasm for the SIA venture, as numerous antifascist organizations and Spanish aid committees already exist.

Having read Goldman's article in December's *Spain and the World*, Vázquez and Herrera warn her that frequent publicity about political persecution by the Negrín government and the Communists only undermines enthusiasm among the international proletariat for the cause of anti-fascism; Goldman replies by noting widespread distrust of the Communists and concern that CNT-FAI tactics have dampened the workers' general enthusiasm for the revolution.

Goldman acknowledges that Paul Robeson and his wife are distancing themselves from her as a result of their close association with the Communists.

U.S. labor leader Rose Pesotta meets with Goldman in London; promises to help organize a committee to obtain a U.S. visa for Goldman.

January 14

Goldman and Ethel Mannin speak on "The Betrayal of the Spanish People" at a CNT-FAI program in London; the audience turns against the Communists when they attempt to break up the meeting.

February

Goldman plans a spring benefit for the SIA; feels more confident about its prospects when more individuals agree to serve as sponsors, including art critic Sir Herbert Read, Laurence Housman, Havelock Ellis, John Cowper Powys, George Orwell, and Rebecca West, among others.

Exhibition of drawings by children in Barcelona schools and lace work by women refugees opens at the SIA office but draws only a handful of visitors despite extensive publicity.

First issue of the *S.I.A. bulletin* is published.

February 20

Goldman speaks at a small meeting arranged by the ILP in Eastbourne at which Communists in the audience attack her.

March

Goldman determines to go to Canada in the fall regardless of the chances of getting a U.S. visa, convinced that she could do more good for Spain there than in England.

Goldman writes the preface for a collection of writings by Camillo Berneri, the exiled Italian anarchist intellectual kidnapped and murdered in Barcelona during the 1937 "May events," which the Italian comrades are publishing in his memory.

March 6-13

In Scotland, Goldman lectures on Spain three times in Glasgow and once in Edinburgh; her topics include "The Betrayal of the Spanish People" and "The Constructive Achievements of the CNT-FAI," but the meetings are not well attended.

March 9

Franco's forces, with overwhelming air superiority, launch a major assault on the Aragon front; the Republican forces, torn by internal disputes, collapse; and by Apr. 15 the Nationalists reach the coast, splitting Republican territory in two.

March 12

German troops occupy Austria; the following day the Anschluss is proclaimed.

March 19-20

Goldman speaks at a well-attended fund-raising meeting in Leicester for the SIA; also shows the Louis Frank film, "Fury over Spain."

March 24

Large meeting and showing of the Louis Frank film in Peckham, East London.

April

Herrera calls on Goldman to do all in her power to prevent the repatriation of the refugee Basque children (most of their parents are supporters of Loyalist Spain) from England to Nationalist Spain.

Goldman suffers from shortness of breath, fainting spells, and general fatigue.

April 10-11

In Liverpool, Goldman speaks on Spain at two meetings: on the first day to a thousand people at an ILP-sponsored event; on the second to a small gathering of the Workmen's Circle. Both meetings are disrupted by Communists.

April 13

"Fascism Is Destroying European Civilisation" is the theme of a protest meeting in London sponsored by the CNT-FAI; Goldman makes an appeal for money for arms--illegal under the terms of the Non-Intervention Pact.

April 23

As a delegate, Goldman attends an all-day National Conference on Spain in London, which she is convinced is contrived by the Communist party.

April 29

Literary and musical evening in London for the SIA draws a small audience and is a financial flop; Mannin finds Goldman's militant speech inappropriate to the occasion, organized to promote humanitarian ends.

May

At the beginning of the month, Goldman is reading Orwell's *Homage to Catalonia* and writing "Trotsky Protests Too Much," a reply to two articles on the Kronstadt rebellion that appeared in the New York Trotskyist journal *New International*.

Herrera announces his intention to leave his position as secretary of the General Council of the SIA; his replacement will be Lucia Sanchez Saornil.

May 1

Large demonstration ends at Hyde Park where the CNT-FAI platform speakers--Goldman, British anarchist Ralph Barr, and veteran activist Matt Kavanagh--attract an enthusiastic crowd.

May 22

W. S. Van Valkenburgh, American anarchist editor and devoted friend and correspondent of Goldman's, dies of a heart attack.

June

Goldman asks anarchist friends in the United States and Canada to begin again to raise funds for a trip to Canada; encourages Carlo Tresca and Margaret De Silver to help her get a U.S. visa through their contacts in Washington, D.C.

Advises Vázquez that the CNT-FAI bureau should continue its operation while she is in Canada and urges him to support *Spain and the World*.

Herrera, in his new capacity at the anarchist Tierra y Libertad publishing company, expresses interest in publishing Spanish translations of *Living My Life* and Berkman's *Prison Memoirs*.

The International Institute of Social History (IISH) contacts Goldman about depositing her and Berkman's correspondence at their archive in Amsterdam.

June 8

Goldman attends a Writers against Fascism meeting organized by the Association of Writers for Intellectual Liberty; Goldman describes it as "almost entirely C.P."

June 26

Thomas H. Keell, British anarchist and one-time editor of *Freedom*, dies.

July 17

Goldman is one of several speakers at a Hyde Park demonstration to celebrate the second anniversary of the Spanish revolution; it draws a small crowd, largely because the Communists and their allies hold a rally in Trafalgar Square at the same time.

July 30-31

At the anarchist Whiteway Colony in Gloucestershire, Goldman examines the late Thomas H. Keell's papers on behalf of IISH, which hopes to acquire part of his collection.

August

Goldman offers IISH her unpublished sketches and large collection of newspaper clippings as well as Berkman's diary. She agrees to help IISH obtain other collections of personal papers from her circle of anarchist friends.

Goldman receives several hundred dollars from anarchists in New York and Chicago to pay for her travel expenses.

She is disturbed by reports of her niece Stella Ballantine's depression and awaits news about her condition.

August 25

Leaves London for Paris, having secured a British visa for Spain at the last moment.

September

The war scare over events in Czechoslovakia transfixes Goldman as it does all other Europeans.

She learns that her niece has been hospitalized after suffering a nervous breakdown; though the long-term prognosis is good, Ballantine's recovery is very slow.

September 14

Leaves Paris for Toulouse, and from there flies to Spain the following morning.

September 15-October 29

In Spain, many leading anarchists express to Goldman their strong opposition to the policies of the CNT's National Committee and its conciliation of the Negrin government. They are especially critical of Vázquez, who now acknowledges the destructive actions of the Communists but still wants them treated gently. Goldman complains to him, for example, that all the money raised in other countries for antifascist women goes to Communist organizations and none to the anarchist organization Mujeres Libres. The FAI by contrast is anxious to begin a campaign abroad exposing the activities of the Communists in Spain.

Goldman is shocked by the number of anarchists and other leftists held in prison, among them Jeannette Kiffel, a Polish anarchist and acquaintance of Goldman's, who has been held incommunicado three months but is released after Vázquez and Goldman appeal to Segundo Blanco, CNT minister of education in the Negrín government.

Goldman visits the metal, transport, and milk syndicates; schools modeled on libertarian principles; and the SIA colonies for refugee children. Notes that many collectives have been destroyed.

Goldman witnesses the continuing bombardment of Barcelona from the air and the chronic shortage of food and electricity.

Attends the CNT-FAI plenum (Oct. 16-30) and the trial of POUM militants charged with espionage and desertion (Oct. 11-22), charges on which they are found innocent; they are found guilty, however, of rebellious acts during the May events of 1937.

September 25-26

Accompanied by Gudell and Herrera, Goldman visits the 28th division headed by Gregorio Jover and the 26th division headed by Ricardo Sanz at the battlefront.

September 30

Munich agreement signed by Great Britain, France, Germany, and Italy, ceding the Sudetenland of Czechoslovakia to Germany.

October 30

Goldman arrives in Paris from Barcelona for the SIA congress, which meets at the same time as the IWMA; Goldman joins delegates from Sweden, Spain, and France.

November

Ethel Mannin successfully assumes Goldman's role as SIA representative in London; raises significantly more financial support for the SIA than Goldman had.

Goldman advises Gudell that the next propaganda campaign undertaken by the CNT-FAI should be aimed at the release of the political prisoners in Spain.

November 9

Kristallnacht in Germany: This episode, coming on the heels of the Munich crisis, causes outrage in the Western democracies and diverts attention from developments in Spain.

December

Goldman spends much of the month in London completing a report on her visit to Spain for publication in the anarchist press.

CNT decides to close its offices in London and North America for economic reasons. Saornil pledges to continue relations with Goldman and Ethel Mannin and hopes that, despite the closure of the CNT-FAI London bureau, the propaganda for the SIA will continue.

Goldman sends five hundred pounds of clothing to Spanish refugees through the SIA in Perpignan.

Goldman learns that Emmy Eckstein's health is in serious jeopardy and that she must undergo surgery again.

December 12

Goldman and John McNair of the ILP speak at a poorly attended meeting in London on the crisis in Spain.

December 22

Goldman travels to Amsterdam to organize Berkman's and her papers at the International Institute of Social History.

December 23

Franco's forces launch an offensive in Catalonia.

1939

January

Working every day since late December at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, Goldman finds it impossible to arrange Berkman's papers without also organizing her own; she finally finishes the work on Jan. 14.

Learns that Emmy Eckstein's entire large intestine must be removed.

January 7

Tom Mooney, wrongly convicted of murder in the San Francisco Preparedness Day bombing in July 1916, is granted an unconditional pardon and released by Governor Culbert Olson.

January 19

Goldman arrives back in London.

January 26

Barcelona falls to Franco's forces.

February

Goldman is frantic with worry until she receives firm news of the whereabouts of anarchists who have escaped from Catalonia after the collapse of the resistance in Spain. Most find sanctuary in France but face harsh conditions in internment camps; others reach Paris without permits.

Vázquez's account for the suddenness of the collapse in Catalonia names exhaustion among the armies after the counterattack by Franco's forces on the Ebro front, shortages of military personnel, war-weariness and declining morale among the civilian population exacerbated by food shortages, and the hurried and open removal of the government from Barcelona that led to panic among the population.

IISH informs Goldman that her archive has been sent to England in case the Nazis invade the Netherlands.

February 7

Goldman's letter protesting Zenzl Mühsam's second disappearance in the Soviet Union appears in the *Manchester Guardian*.

February 24

Vázquez and Herrera's circular letter announces that the CNT-FAI will cease activities abroad and thanks the international community for its efforts on behalf of the Spanish anarchists.

February 27

Great Britain and France extend diplomatic recognition to Franco's government.

March 5-6

The Negrín government is overthrown in an overnight coup in Madrid; CNT members in the south-central zone are involved in the coup and occupy posts in the new National Council of Defense.

March 15

Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia.

March 26

Goldman travels to Paris to meet refugee Spanish anarchists who are demoralized and fraught with misery and internal recriminations and suspicion.

April 1

Franco declares the Spanish civil war at an end.

April 3

Goldman returns to London: on the trip she meets a group of fifty refugees from Madrid and Valencia and in her final days in London organizes a committee to support them.

April 8

Goldman sails for Canada, arriving in Toronto on April 21, where she establishes residence.

April-May

Beginning April 27, Goldman lectures in English and Yiddish in Toronto and Windsor on "Who Betrayed Spain?" to raise money for Spanish refugees.

June 8

Emmy Eckstein, Berkman's longtime companion, dies.

June 27

Goldman's seventieth birthday is marked in Toronto with a celebration that elicits cables from friends, comrades, and labor organizations around the world.

August 15

Marks the fiftieth anniversary of Goldman's entry into anarchist ranks; she organizes a celebration for September to mark the occasion and to create a long-term Spanish Relief Fund.

August 23

Nazi-Soviet Pact is signed.

September 1

Hitler invades Poland; two days later Great Britain and France declare war on Germany, and World War II begins.

September 19

Goldman delivers a lecture in Toronto on the Nazi-Soviet Pact to an audience of eight hundred.

September 27-30

Goldman addresses two long-promised though poorly attended meetings in Windsor.

September 30

Dinner to honor Goldman and to launch the Emma Goldman Spanish Refugee Rescue Fund features labor leader Rose Pesotta as guest speaker and attracts the attendance and financial support of many of Goldman's closest friends and family.

October

On Oct. 4, under the provisions of Canada's War Measures Act, three Italian immigrant anarchists, Arthur

Bortolotti, Ruggero Benvenuti, Ernest Gava, and a Cuban, Marco Joachim, are arrested for possession of antifascist "subversive literature," including anarchist classics; Bortolotti is also found in possession of a handgun and faces deportation to Mussolini's Italy if convicted. Goldman works tirelessly over the succeeding months for Bortolotti's defense, organizing a committee, hiring counsel, and raising funds from sympathizers in Canada and the United States.

Goldman postpones her proposed lecture tour to western Canada in order to give her full attention to the defense of the Italian comrades.

Goldman contacts Viking Press with a proposal to write a book about her experiences in Spain.

Ben Reitman suffers a mild stroke.

The sentence of Warren Billings, convicted in the 1916 San Francisco Preparedness Day bombing, is reduced to time served and he is released from Folsom Prison.

November

Fortieth anniversary of the New York anarchist newspaper, the *Freie Arbeiter Stimme*.

On Nov. 2, Arthur Bortolotti's trial begins.

December

Goldman spends the first two weeks in Winnipeg and speaks five times, reaching fourteen hundred people in two weeks: once in Yiddish to a women's organization on *Living My Life*; to a large audience on the Nazi-Soviet Pact; a lecture on Hitler and Stalin; a talk to the IWW; and a lecture on "The Jew in Literature in England until the End of the Nineteenth Century" to the Jewish Woman's Cultural Club.

Goldman attempts to raise \$5,000 bail for Bortolotti's release, with the help of Dorothy Rogers.

1940

January

Goldman's mail is intercepted by Canadian censors, their suspicion raised by the many letters containing money pouring into her address for the defense of Bortolotti, whose case attracts further attention in the United States through articles in the *Nation* and the *New Republic* solicited by Goldman.

Bortolotti is released on bail, charged now with immigration violations rather than a breach of the War Measures Act.

By mid-January, Goldman returns to raising funds for the Spanish anarchists and continues to raise funds and awareness about Bortolotti's case.

Goldman's niece Stella Ballantine recovers from a nervous breakdown after almost two years.

February 17

Goldman suffers a stroke that leaves her paralyzed on the right side and unable to speak; she is rushed to the hospital where she remains for six weeks.

April

Goldman returns home to her Toronto apartment on April 1 after regaining consciousness but not the ability to speak.

May

Stella Ballantine and Goldman's brother Morris and his wife Babsie travel to Toronto to join Dorothy Rogers and Arthur Bortolotti at Goldman's bedside after she suffers a second hemorrhage on May 6.

May 14

Goldman dies at the age of seventy; tributes and messages of condolence stream in from around the world; her body is taken to the Labor Lyceum in Toronto to allow friends and comrades to pay their last respects; Rev. Salem Bland delivers a eulogy.

May 17

Goldman is buried in Waldheim Cemetery, Chicago, close to the Haymarket martyrs, her casket covered by an SIA-FAI flag and bouquets of flowers sent by friends and organizations across the nation.

May 31

A memorial meeting is held at New York's Town Hall, presided over by Leonard Abbott; films of Goldman in Spain, Canada, and of her funeral are shown; and speakers include Norman Thomas, Rudolf Rocker, Roger Baldwin, Harry Kelly, Carlo Tresca, Eliot White, Rose Pesotta of the ILGWU, Martin Gudell, Dorothy Rogers, and Harry Weinberger.

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