As with every argument, there is also evidence of an alternative viewpoint. That is to say that despite the litany of sensationalist press coverage of Emma Goldman from 1892-1901, there were some news sources that presented her favorably in the public eye. For example, following the McKinley assassination Alice Wexler argued that, “While grotesque caricatures and harsh attacks still appeared in the commercial press, she also received some very favorable coverage.”\(^3\) In August 1894, the New York World published an article titled, “Hailed Emma Goldman” a title that implied she was a valued member of society. The author of the article reflected on the crowd’s positive response to Emma Goldman, which showed the press’s indifference to her as a political figure. The article stated, “The crowd was glad to see her. There was no doubt of that. There was

\(^{34}\) Ibid.

whopping, howling, yelling and cheering...\textsuperscript{36} Articles like this showed a unbiased media, despite the widespread skepticism and fear surrounding Goldman at the time.

What’s more interesting is the picture that accompanied the article. The title of the picture “Anarchists in Action”, is a neutral heading, as it does not denote they are conspiring to do evil or good. The picture does present the anarchists favorably; some even appear as though they are waiving. Emma Goldman, however, appeared to be somewhat of the dominant figure in the photo, her outstretched arms perhaps indicative of her freedom considering this press article followed a prison release from Blackwell’s Island. Evidence of Goldman’s power at the time is evident in the titles of each of the people pictured in the image below. Some figures remain nameless. For example, one character is captioned “Miss Goldman’s friend” while another is captioned “She Introduced Miss Goldman”. Both of these titles, along with Goldman’s body language depicted her as a leader, without much reference to her public spectacle, psychological torment or violent nature which represents an unbiased press.

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., 203.
Similarly, in January 1901, a long, sympathetic interview in the *New York Sun* titled, “Woman Anarchist Says She Opposes Violence” showed an instance of neutral or pro-Goldman press. Content in this article stated Goldman, “Insisting that she never advocated violence and would think any man an ‘utter fool’ who told her he was planning an assassination…” This headline showed certain media outlets were not afraid to depict Goldman’s peaceful side. However, though these pro-Goldman and neutral articles were few, they proved that not all press coverage of her from 1892-1901 depicted a terrorist. Some news sources defended her, others reported circumstances strictly as they were without contributing their own personal biases towards Emma Goldman. Though there are citable instances of positive press coverage that did not portray Emma Goldman as a rabid and violent terrorist, the articles that do present her positively or neutrally, do not overrule the *plethora* of press coverage that did undoubtedly give Emma Goldman the unmentioned title of terrorist.

The implications of this conclusion are important for all acts of terrorism that are covered by the press or mainstream media. Though this research study does not address whether Emma Goldman was truly guilty of planning spectacle events, psychologically manipulating her audiences, or resorting to violence, the media undoubtedly proved that she was all of the above. Whether Goldman was guilty of terrorism, is not for us to determine. However, it is easy to identify how quickly she fit the persona of a terrorist based on the media’s coverage of her. What perhaps is most important to conclude is that the press caters to the audience which they are trying to impress and knowingly place titles or put individuals in convicted roles they may not genuinely inhabit. For instance,  

38 Wexler, 101.
the picture of Goldman with a burning fire surrounding her face spurned her public image and proved highly accusatory based solely on the press's interpretation of her. Despite the "not guilty verdict" that was released following her trial, Americans thought Goldman was guilty because of the press. This article along with press releases from the *New York World*, *San Francisco Call*, *New Yorker*, *New York Times*, *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, and *Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* show how the innate biases of the media and desire to attract readers incorrectly comes to define the character of popular or infamous personalities like Goldman. Evidently, from 1892 to 1901 the press depicted Emma Goldman, notorious anarcha-feminist, as a terrorist by publishing articles that exemplified the attention she attracted through her theatrical ways, her subsequent psychological impact on her audiences, and violent implications.
Bibliography


"Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a U.S. Dollar Amount, 1774 to present."
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Bibliography

Primary Sources


Published after Emma Goldman’s NYC campaign against the mayor, this article reveals her bitter detestation for him and the harsh words she used that were indicative of impending anarchist violence. The intended audience was the American people, particularly those who were following or considering following Goldman, because the author concludes by stating that the police intervened and the crowd obeyed them which showed the government’s desire to control Goldman’s actions and influence. Therefore, this source is biased against Goldman and in favor of law enforcement. This resource will be relevant because it shows Goldman’s implication of violence through her rhetoric.


Intending to paint Emma Goldman as the reason for President McKinley’s death, this article published a series of interview questions to the Hartford Courant in an interview with Goldman following McKinley’s assassination. The interview questions ask her if she played a role in influencing Czolgosz’s decision, to which she replied that she is not responsible and that he took her words out of context. It is notable that in the article Goldman satirically thanked law enforcement, claiming even the best anarchist leaders never would have gained this much attention without their help. Though initially this article seems to fuel the fires against Goldman, the newspaper’s inclusion about the growing cause of anarchy leads one to believe the intended audience was diverse with both anti-anarchists and anarchy sympathizers being targeted. This
article shows Goldman’s enemies as well as her appeal despite her radical ideals but is ultimately biased against her because the newspaper never ascertains that they agree with her ideals.


This article informs the public of Emma Goldman’s accusation for starting a riot alongside Ben Reitman. The article was intended for Connecticut citizen’s receiving the Hartford Courant. It is relevant to my research because it shows an instance where Goldman was arrested for alleged violence. It possesses bias towards Goldman and Reitman because it fails to acknowledge why they were inciting to riot or if they had any legitimate reasons to riot, posing primarily as an accusatory article.

“Emma Goldman Defies The Police: Says She’ll Speak or Land on Black well’s Island,” The Hartford Courant, July 3, 1909.

This article explains the contentious interactions between Goldman and the police during her preaching in New York City. It emphasizes that the police did not interfere with Goldman’s preaching but the hall proprietor where she was speaking warned her not to proceed. The article is aimed at Connecticut citizens whom the newspaper aims to influence by depicting a poor image of Goldman. This source is relevant because it shows Goldman’s defiance of law enforcement though it is inherently biased in favor of law enforcement and fails to advocate or share Goldman’s political opinions in a positive light.

“Emma Goldman at Unity Hall: Radical Lecturer Denounces Social Conditions,” The Hartford Courant, November 11, 1913.

The purpose of this article was to highlight the topics included in Goldman’s radical preaching about atrocious social conditions. The article is biased in favor of Goldman and seeks
to appeal to her potential sympathizers. Unlike previous articles, this article seems to be written for Goldman’s sympathizers, which is relevant to my research because I will need to explore Goldman in a terroristic framework but also as a sympathetic and relatable public speaker that appeals to widespread political and social causes.


In this article, Goldman chastises the American belief that anarchists are violent; claiming any violence by anarchists has been marginal in comparison to the violence enacted by the American capitalist government. Goldman criticizes the government, the media for blaming her for allegedly being involved in McKinley’s assassination, and traces multiple instances of anarchist violence from around the world. Her audiences are those who believe anarchy is a violent political theory and dismiss it for this purpose. Goldman is innately biased towards those who reject anarchy which is evident in her effervescent and repeated advocate of the anarchist cause. This source will be very important in understanding what Goldman preached regarding violence and anarchy, as they relate to one another.


Living my Life is a journal-like chapter book written by Goldman to explain in her own words, her life experience. Goldman’s unabridged novel is a brutally honest and descriptive portrayal of the many trials and tribulations she endured and unearths the movements she was apart of in including the free love, anarchist and birth control movements. In addition, the novel depicts Goldman’s relationships with comrades, lovers, family and enemies from her authentic perspective. Goldman’s intended audience aimed was undoubtedly her supporters in each movement but also the skeptics and enemies of her cause which she aimed to convince through her prose. This source is perhaps the most important to my research because it recalls Goldman
as she was during her lifetime, not according to someone else's interpretation. There is inherent bias in that Goldman may have excluded or altered some ideologies/storylines to save her own fate which potentially hinders the truth of her words.


Emma Goldman wrote this chapter to reveal why two of the principle objections to anarchism should *not* be perceived negatively. First, the belief that while anarchism is seemingly good intentioned; it is highly impractical, and second, the notion that anarchism is violent and destructive. Goldman vehemently argued that neither of these beliefs was true and instead advocated for why anarchism, not religion, property, or government, was the answer to success. The chapter is undoubtedly aimed at those who are apprehensive of or in objection to anarchism and presents a bias because Goldman never addressed any valid reasons why people might object to anarchism in the first place, she merely aims to defend her position.


This article was published after Emma Goldman hosted a large meeting in opposition to the draft, the meeting location was discovered, and the men in attendance were detained, apprehended and then arrested for meeting to discuss matters that opposed the government's jurisdiction. The intended audiences of this article were individuals seeking to follow Goldman or reject the draft because it shows what the repercussions would have been. This article is biased in favor of governmental policies and against Goldman. This will be useful for my argument because it illuminates the violence and force used by the police force, not Goldman.

This source was published to gather informed about 100,000 handbills that were distributed regarding an active non-conscription league. The handbills were likely distributed by Goldman to encourage resistance to the draft. This article is aimed at anyone who may have more information regarding the distribution of the pamphlets. It is relevant to my research because if I argue that Goldman is a terrorist, this proves she was spreading propaganda to sway people to follow her political and social ideologies. The article is anti-Goldman showing it is allegiant to law enforcement and bias against anarchy and Goldman.


This article was written to inform the public about the conviction and trial of Leon Czolgosz and the subsequent search for Emma Goldman. Specifically, it talks about what charge Czolgosz received, the questioning process and general ongoing investigation. Information is included that describes where Goldman was last seen, and what she looks like showing that the intended audience of this article is for those who may be able to provide law enforcement with more information. This is relevant to my project because it shows how feared Goldman was to the American public and the potential psychological impact she procured as a result of her anarchist preaching’s. This article is biased against Czolgosz and Goldman as it only depicts them negatively.

**Secondary Sources**

This book was written to show the intense camaraderie and lengthy relationship between Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman. The book in essence traces the history of their relationship; it's ebb and flow, their romance, friendship, togetherness and separation and overall their lifelong bond. The book is intended for readers that are curious about their anarchist collaborations. It is relevant to my research because Berkman, or Sasha as Goldman called him, was key in fueling Goldman's violent side that could help me align Goldman with terrorist-like behaviors. The novel is biased because the author introduction focuses on the author, and the author's family's adoration for the pair, so while it may be an honest depiction of their life, their positives and downfalls included, it is essentially in favor of the anarchist duo.


Tracing Goldman's life from the time she was a little girl, Drinnon's life-long analysis of Goldman provides readers with an in-depth and comprehensive look at her life spanning across political, social and personal involvements. Drinnon's primary audience was likely a combination of Goldman fans as well as skeptics however he does present a bias in that he strives to present Goldman from a favorable viewpoint despite the understanding that many of Goldman's causes weren't popularly favored or supported at the time whatsoever. This resource is vital to my research because it presents Emma Goldman's life in sequential order and doesn't neglect any particular period of her life.


Love, Anarchy and Emma Goldman came about after Falk's discovery of Goldman's personal letter to and from Ben Reisman. Piecing together what the letters meant in relation to
Goldman’s life, Falk explains she became consumed with the letters and the ways in which they transformed her view of Goldman. Falk’s primary goal was to create a more complete picture of Goldman’s life to supplement her own biography through analyzing Goldman’s political ideals, personal life and inner secrets. Falk’s primary audience is those that view Goldman through a singular lens: a narrow, anar-feminism framework that does not consider the personal or sensitive aspects of the female revolutionist’s complex life. Falk does innately present some bias towards readers who may not view Goldman in a positive manner; it is evident she is very supportive and in awe of Goldman’s life herself. This source will be particularly helpful to unearth Goldman’s depth and true inner feelings, as they are interpreted by a modern historian, and will help to differentiate the media’s portrayal of her, from her own.


Falk and her coeditors argue that Emma Goldman was a complex, contradictory and knowledgeable early advocate for numerous social reforms believing that her writings should serve as reminders and warnings for us living in the modern era. Their intense compilation and reflections on Goldman’s writings between the years 1890 - 1901 serve as a Emma Goldman fanatic’s dream from it’s convenient chronology and comprehensive inclusion of Goldman’s documents. This documentary history will be monumental in revealing Goldman’s years of political discourse during her active and fiery first decade as an American immigrant.


Kathy Ferguson analyzes the political discourse surrounding Emma Goldman’s presence and radical agenda in the United States, carefully observing Goldman’s responses while also
scrutinizing the obsession with labeling Goldman as violent when, as Ferguson suggests she may not have been as violent as perceived. Ferguson also unearthed why it was so important to label Goldman as violent, instead focusing on how the labor movement was cruel and violent to their own workers. Ferguson’s critique of how the government, media and science blamed Goldman was aimed towards those who believed her to be of malicious intentions though is seemingly biased towards Goldman’s violent actions, downplaying her major contributions to acts of key anarchist violence. This will be useful


Kensinger draws a close comparison between the writings of Emma Goldman and the practices and general approaches to violence and terrorist today. Though Kensinger analyzes post-9/11 violence from works published by Goldman, through her analysis she also argues alongside Goldman for the justification of violence in revolutionary-based scenarios, appealing primarily at those who believe we should not response to violence with further violence. Kensinger’s application of Goldman’s literature is useful to my research regarding Goldman’s justification of violence. The source however is biased in favor of Goldman as Kensinger does support Goldman’s notion that violence, under revolutionary circumstances, or in lieu of a destructive governmental system, is justified and essential in reforming corrupt systems.


Kraut outlines the differences between philosophical and violent anarchy, and reveals the political actions and laws implemented to curb the anarchist movement including the actions
taken against Goldman’s newspaper, Mother Earth, and other actions taken to obstruction of free speech. It is innately biased because it reports primarily on the suppression of free speech by the government and overarching fear of foreigners but does not explore suppression of free speech beyond the government, public perception of anarchy or non-governmental fear that anarchists like Goldman may have sparked in the American public. This resource is beneficial because it highlights the governmental response towards anarchist preaching and the reactions of Goldman which are resoundingly peaceful.


Morton analyzes Goldman’s autobiography In My Life to draw conclusions about her personal life and her political ideologies. Though Goldman believed herself to be ‘nowhere at home’, Morton argues throughout the novel that she did indeed have a home in the ‘old Lefty’ budding anarchist movement at the beginning of the 20th century. His audience is undoubtedly those with politic curiosities regarding the early pioneers of the anarchist movement though he does present a bias toward Goldman herself as he focuses primarily on her political involvement but neglects other areas that Goldman was also a pioneer in. This resource will be relevant to my research in helping me understanding the political involvement and motivations of Goldman.


Alice Wexler analyzed many facets of Emma Goldman’s life including her political affiliation to the McKinley assassination, journal publication, relationship to Ben Reitman, avocation for female rights to free love and contraception, Wexler argued throughout her novel that Goldman was one of the first pioneers that urged American’s to move in liberal directions, though she didn’t make much impact in converting Americans to the anarchist cause. Wexler
bias, like Candace Falk's, is that she's resoundingly pro-Goldman. Though she is truthful about the violent and harsh sides of Goldman's character, she presents them in favorable ways or dismissing them rather than labeling them Goldman's downfalls.