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***Introduction for Pedro Esteve's Socialismo anarquista: La ley, la violencia, el anarquismo, la revolución social***  
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INTRODUCTION FOR PEDRO ESTEVE'S  
*SOCIALISMO ANARQUISTA: LA LEY, LA VIOLENCIA,  
EL ANARQUISMO, LA REVOLUCIÓN SOCIAL*

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INTRODUCTION

Although Pedro Esteve was an important anarchist activist in Spain, United States and Cuba, and who wrote in Spanish, Italian, English, and probably in Catalan, he is almost unknown in both Spanish and American historiography. It seems that these two historiographical traditions have failed to explore the important exchange of people and ideas between Spain and the United States. The study of Spanish anarchism has been focused almost exclusively in Spain, without much use of the non-Spanish foreign press. There is a similar problem with the study of the U.S. anarchism, but with the difference that it is the U.S. press itself, in several languages, that has been insufficiently used to analyze this exchange.

Pedro Esteve was the most prominent anarchist from Spain in the U.S. As a preliminary requirement for understanding the relevance of *Socialismo Anarquista: La Ley, La Violencia, El Anarquismo, La Revolución Social* («Anarchist Socialism: The Law, The Violence, The Anarchism, The Social Revolution» [Paterson, N. J.: Tipografía de *El Despertar*, 1902; VII+79 p.]) we have to know something about its author: his origins, formation, and connections with other people and organizations — specially, for the period of his life before to 1902. In a second section, we will

analyze Pedro Esteve's ideas in *Socialismo Anarquista...* as a result of a particular historical context.

## I. BRIEF PEDRO ESTEVE'S BIOGRAPHY

### I.1. BARCELONA (1866-89): SYNDICALISM, ANARCHISM AND MASONRY

Pedro Esteve was born in Barcelona,<sup>1</sup> the principal city of Catalonia (an area in the North East of Spain), in 1866. Two years after, the antibourbon revolution, known as «La Gloriosa», («The Glorious») took place in Spain, which opened an interval of strong social and political change, culminating in the creation of the First Spanish Republic (February 1873-January 1874). «La Gloriosa» permitted the creation, in February 1869, of the Catalan provisional nucleus of the International Workingmen's Association (IWA) in Barcelona; and, as a result of that, the bakuninist «Federación Regional Española» («Spanish Regional Federation», FRE) of the IWA took shape in June 1870.

Esteve came from working class background, and so he started to work young, as happened in those years. His main intellectual formation came as a result of his artisan training as a typographer, a profession that stimulated intellectual training, and implied contact with both intellectuals, and a wide range of workers. Some of the typographers could readily be seen as intellectuals by the intellectuals, and as workers by the workers. Hence, their important role in the foundation of worker organizations. As an anarchist typographer told me in 1986, the typographers were "the workers' elite".<sup>2</sup> According to Palmiro de Lidia, a Mason and Esteve's companion: "The culture that [Es-

<sup>1</sup> Abad de Santillán, Diego, *Contribución a la Historia del movimiento obrero Español. Desde sus orígenes hasta 1905* (Buenos Aires, 1973), I, 393.

<sup>2</sup> Interview with Josep Porta (Barcelona, April 1986).

teve] possessed he had acquired it [...] in his work as a typographer, and he completed it with readings.”<sup>3</sup>

Following the Bourbon Restoration in Spain, when the conservative Cánovas' government took over, the FRE was declared illegal in January 1874, beginning a period of clandestine activity. The secret Bakuninist «International Alliance of Socialist Democracy» was constituted then in the Iberian Peninsula.

The 10th General Congress of the IWA (anarchist) took place in London, between July 14th and 19th 1881, where anarcho-communism, promoted mainly by Errico Malatesta (1853-1932)<sup>4</sup> and Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921), became predominant everywhere in Europe except in Spain, where the bakuninist anarcho-collectivism<sup>5</sup> remained for many years, creating an isolating si-

<sup>3</sup> Lidia, Palmiro de; «Evocando el Pasado (1886-1891)». Fragmento de las memorias que Adrián del Valle publicó en la «Revista Blanca», de Barcelona.» C. P., II 79 (IX-8-1928). Palmiro de Lidia is a pseudonym of Adrián del Valle, that is also a pseudonym of another «symbolic name» (the one used as a Mason). Some indicate that his original name is Abdó Terrades (Era 80; *Els anarquistes educadors del poble: "La Revista Blanca" (1898-1905). Introducció i selecció de textos d' Era 80. Pròleg de Federica Montseny*; Barcelona, 1977; 415). Nevertheless, Palmiro de Lidia has a Masonic relation with «Valle», as for the Masons «Valle» mean: «En el «Rito Escocés Antiguo y Aceptado», nombre dado a una ciudad en la que reside un Capítulo de Grado 18». (Álvarez Lázaro, Pedro F., *Masonería y librepensamiento en la España de la Restauración*; Madrid, 1985; 279); «Palmira» was a Syrian city in Asia Minor, and «Lidia» is a region in western Asia Minor and an Asteriod.

<sup>4</sup> «Errico Malatesta, figura clau de l'anarquisme a Europa i a l'Amèrica Llatina [and I add the U.S.]. Lligat a Bakunin i a la Internacional, manté durant tota la seva vida una intensa activitat organitzativa i de propaganda difícil de seguir.

Fonamentalment home d'acció, estava convençut de la necessitat de la insurrecció popular, i sovint el trobarem allí on aquestes es produïran; en canvi refusà l'acció individual plasmada en l'atemptat. Viatjà diverses vegades per Espanya». (In: Abelló i Güell, Teresa; *Les relacions internacionals de l'anarquisme català (1881-1914)*; Barcelona, 1987; 24).

<sup>5</sup> The main anarchist theoretician in the 1860s and 1870s is Michael Bakunin, whose theories, not exposed systematically, were later known as «anarcho-collectivism». After the death of Bakunin in 1876, Peter Kropotkin be-

tuation for the FRE in the IWA. Also it was a Congress where the FRE delegate coincided with Malatesta to pronounce himself partisan of the parallel secret organization within the IWA as a revolutionary medium.<sup>6</sup>

In February of 1881, Práxedes Mateo Sagasta and the Liberal party replaced the conservative government and this allowed more opportunity for the labor associations. Therefore, the Labor Congress meeting in Barcelona, in September of 1881, substituted the clandestine FRE for the legal «Federación de Trabajado-

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came the foremost anarchist theoretician in the Western world. Miller synthesizes both social projects as follows: "Bakunin considered himself a collectivist in two senses. First, he adopted the term as a result of the ideological division with Marx on the question of collective property. Collectivism, then, was the anticentralist and antistatist alternative to Marx's theory of society. Second he used the term to indicate group or popular control of the means of production as opposed to individual possession of the means of production under capitalism. Workers were to share in the processes of production and distribution, not to be isolated units producing for the profits of another class.

While Kropotkin was not in basic disagreement with this formulation, he was critical of Bakunin's inability to deal properly with the issue of wages. [...Bakunin] pointed out that although the ideal of the social revolution was labor without wages and the free distribution of products to the society on the basis of need, there would have to be a transition period for some years after the revolution during which a system of remuneration would be necessary. Hours of labor would be fixed by the community, communal labor would be contracted under agreement of mutual benefit, «and each member will receive remuneration for his labor either in the form of commodities [...] or in currency. In some communities, remuneration will be in proportion to hours worked; in others *payment will be measured by both the hours of work and kind of work performed*». [Quote from J. Guillaume, «On Building the New Social Order» (1876), in *Bakunin on Anarchy*; emphasis by Miller].

It was precisely this remuneration system that Kropotkin wanted to end immediately at the time of the revolution. He preferred the free and voluntary distribution of productive necessities, the common use (not ownership) of land and institutions of production, together with the abolition of the entire wage system." (Miller, Martin A.; *Kropotkin*, Chicago, U.S.; 144-145) In 1880, Kropotkin termed this project «anarcho-communism».

<sup>6</sup> Abelló, *Les relacions...*, 40.

res de la Región Española» («Workers' Federation of the Spanish Region», FTRE), composed mainly by anarcho-collectivist syndicalists. Within the FTRE, anarchists of Barcelona united anarchist and syndicalist tendencies, causing a turn in the Spanish internationalist movement, opening it to other organizations, also eager to look for a «different» society. The new tendency opened the path to double pronged anarchist militancy, not only with the labor movement, in fact never broken, but with the Masons and the freethinkers.<sup>7</sup> Through them anarchists could ally with the people against the Restoration political system and the Catholic Church. There had already been an anarcho-Masonic tradition; Bakunin himself and Malatesta had been Masons.<sup>8</sup> Besides, a tradition of collaboration with the republicans existed in the Catalan anarcho-syndicalist movement from the founding of the FRE in 1870,<sup>9</sup> continuing with the

<sup>7</sup> Olivé i Serret, Enric. «El movimiento anarquista catalán y la masonería en el último tercio del siglo XIX. Anselmo Lorenzo y la logia «Hijos del Trabajo»»; in Ferrer Benimeli, Antonio [Coord.]; *La masonería en la historia de España*, (Zaragoza, Spain: 1985), 135.

Álvarez distinguishes freethinkers from masons (Álvarez, «Masonería y librepensamiento españoles de entresiglos»: *Ibid.*, 105-130), but since the anarchist themselves used «freethinking» to allude to «Masonry» in their esoteric language, here we have to understand this term as a synonymous of «Masonry».

<sup>8</sup> Malatesta «In un breve articolo, «A proposito di Massoneria», *Umanità Nova*, [x-7-1920...] dice: Io fui masone quando ero un pò più giovane di adesso - dal 19 ottobre 1875 al marzo o aprile del 1876'. As a reason to this belonging to Masonry, he affirms that: «mi era sorta in mente l'idea di ripetere il tentativo fallito a Bakunin di riportare la Massoneria alle sue originali idee e farne un'associazione realmente rivoluzionaria». But he quitted himself because in March 1876, his lodge received with honors an Italian minister. (Nettlau, Max; *Errico Malatesta, vita e pensieri*; «Preface» by Pedro Esteve; New York, N. Y. 1922; 136-37. It is relevant that Esteve wrote the «Preface», as it is explain below, he was fully committed to Malatesta's project).

<sup>9</sup> It is very relevant to take into account what Josep Termes indicates about the resolutions of the 1st Labor Congress summoned in Barcelona in 1870: «Por un lado, [the congress] no se decide al antipoliticismo (la lucha sistemática y completa contra los partidos políticos, los parlamentos, las elecciones, etc.)

FRE and the FTRE, to the Spanish Second Republic (1931-1939).<sup>10</sup>

Spain is a more complicated society than it appears, more ideologically differentiated than any social theory indicates it ought to be. The Masonic movement was a good location for making alliances with these different ideological tendencies, so during the 1880s in the Catalan «ranks of freethinking» (that is to say Masonry), there were: “spiritists, spiritualists, positivists, materialists, atheists, as for philosophical criteria; republicans, socialists and anarchists, as for political one”. Because of these origins, “within the freethinking centers would predominate the republican element, on the one hand; and the spiritist one, on the other”.<sup>11</sup>

In 1893, Esteve wrote a very interesting report explaining the anarchist tactical approach to other organizations:

[...] unos entran en los Ateneos, otros cooperan en las sociedades librepensadoras, aquellos «trabajan» en la Masonería y esotros, si hallan ocasión propicia, se deslizan hasta en los clubs políticos. Pero entran en estas corporaciones, burguesas por excelencia, no negándose a sí mismos, sino afirmándose como anarquistas. Precisamente van allí para dar a conocer quiénes somos, a dónde vamos y qué queremos. [...] Si se

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sino apoliticismo que al recomendar a las sociedades obreras renuncien, como colectividades, a la política, no impide la acción política a los individuos (y en consecuencia, por ejemplo, el sindicato de tejedores debería ser apolítico — no actuar en política — pero sus dirigentes, por su cuenta, podrían ser miembros — o líderes — del partido republicano federal, o de otro cualquiera)”. (Termes, Josep; *Anarquismo y sindicalismo en España. La Primera Internacional [1864-1881]*; Barcelona, 1971;85).

<sup>10</sup> To know about the origin of these connections see: Lida, Clara E.; *Anarquismo y Revolución en la España del XIX*, (Madrid, 1972); Maluquer de Motes, Jordi, *El Socialismo en España 1833-1868*, (Barcelona, 1977); and Zavala, Iris; *Masones, comuneros y carbonarios*, (Madrid, 1971).

<sup>11</sup> Lidia, *Evocando el pasado, II*, 138. (in Álvarez, “Masonería y librepensamiento españoles...”, 136).

alcanza que en un Ateneo los «sabios» burgueses se ocupen de y estudien [...] nuestros principios, y en una sociedad librepensadora [Masónica] que varios comprendan que el pensamiento, [...] es y ha sido siempre libre, y que, por tanto, lo que importa es estar en condiciones de poderlo emitir con entera libertad, acto verdaderamente imposible en tanto la igualdad de condiciones económicas, la completa emancipación, no sea un hecho, y si en la Masonería se logra desvanecer a algún joven la preocupación que con simbolismos y rituales se revoluciona y practica la libertad, la igualdad y la fraternidad, y si de los clubs políticos se logra atraer a nuestro campo a los verdaderos revolucionarios que por error allí estaban, no se considera dicho trabajo del todo perdido.<sup>12</sup>

In short, the anarchist participation in Masonry was clearly a tactical decision.

About 1882, just after the FTRE foundation, organization's typographers intended to compel the «Typographer Workers' Society» enter in FTRE, having not achieved it they created the «Solidaria» in mid-1882. The leaders of this anarcho-sindicalist split group were A. Pellicer, Llunas, Pedro Esteve and others.<sup>13</sup> Pellicer Paraire (1851-1916), like Llunas, was an anarcho-collectivist

<sup>12</sup> Esteve, Pedro; "Un viejo informe", *C. O.*, 184 (XI-18-1916). Esteve, representing the Spanish and Cuban anarchists in the Congress of Chicago, wrote a report titled: *A los anarquistas de España y Cuba* (1893) (in Junco, *La ideología política del anarquismo español* (1868-1910); Madrid, 1976). This report was later printed under the title: *Memoria de la conferencia anarquista internacional, celebrada en Chicago, en septiembre de 1893. A los anarquistas de España y Cuba*, (NY City: «Tipografía El Despertar»; 1900). (Reproduced in *C. O.*: Esteve, Pedro; "Un viejo informe", *C. O.*, IV, 184 [XI-18-1916], 185 [XI-25-1916], 186 [XII-2-1916], 187 [XII-9-1916]; at the beginning of this reproduction, Esteve affirms that "[p]asaron veintitrés años [since 1893] y no sentimos necesidad de rectificación alguna"; so we do not know if this connection with Masonry continued after the crisis of the 1890s).

<sup>13</sup> Termes, Josep; *Anarquismo y sindicalismo...*, (Barcelona, 1971), 264 and fn. 96.



typographer and a Mason.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, we can conclude that about mid-1882, at the age of sixteen, Esteve already was an Internationalist militant, and probably a recently initiated member of the Masons. His role in the «Typographer Workers' Society» was supervising «learning and amusement»<sup>15</sup> supposedly for members' children.

Moreover, in 1883, at the age of 17, Esteve was a significant member of the syndicates of Barcelona, since he got the representation of the «Barcelona Workers' Section» in the «Congress

<sup>14</sup> Pellicer left Spain in 1875, and «durante cuatro años vivió en México, Cuba y Estados Unidos (donde se hizo amigo del tipógrafo cubano J. C. Campos, quien colaboraría en *Acracia, El Productor, El Despertar* [...]. Pellicer Paraire se trasladó en 1891 a Buenos Aires [...])» (*Ibid.*, 275 n. 122) where he died. In this trip, Pellicer established the connections, that later, Lidia, Esteve, and others will follow; it is very important to point out the Cuban J. C. Campos, who collaborated with Esteve in *El Despertar* (NY City-Paterson, NJ; 1891-190?). Also, Pellicer, probably contacted with the people who were publishing a magazine in Catalan in New York, *La Llumanera* (XI-1874/V-1881), and who were Masons. In Catalan the word «Llumanera» can be translated as «Big light», that has relation to «Hijos de la luz [that is the]: forma frecuente de designar a los masones».

(Álvarez, *Masonería y librepensamiento en la España...*, 279). The end of *La Llumanera* coincides with the beginning of *La Tramontana* (1881/XI-1893), also in Catalan, in Barcelona, and the beginning of *El Despertar* in April of 1892 in New York City coincides with the beginning of economic difficulties and police repression for several Catalan anarchist newspapers; thus, we see that in hard times New York was one of the scape valves for the Spanish anarcho-Masonic press. «Despertar» in the Masonic vocabulary means “[v]uelta a la actividad masónica de un francmasón o de una logia en sueño”. (*Ibid.*, 277) Lluís Urpinell affirms “que *La Llumanera* tenia connexions amb la maçoneria, concretament amb la lògia Hijos del Trabajo [Sons of Labor], per les similituds dels símbols de la capçalera de la revista i els símbols de la lògia. D'altra banda, Rossend Arús, un dels col·laboradors més importants de la revista a Barcelona [...] va ser gran mestre de la lògia catalano-balear”. (In: Guerrero, Manel, “La conquista d'Amèrica de la «La Llumanera de Nova York»”, *Diari de Barcelona*, February 21, 1988). For the lodge «Sons of Labor», see below pg. 12.

<sup>15</sup> Nettlau, Max; *La Première Internationale en Espagne (1868-1888)*, 391 (Dordrecht, Netherlands; 1969). (In Olivé, “El movimiento anarquista...”, 148.)

of All Profession Unions' Delegates» called by the «Catalan Sector Commission» of the FTRE.<sup>16</sup>

By 1885, Pedro Esteve had established contact with Anselmo Lorenzo (1841-1914), a typographer from Madrid who had participated in the founding nucleus of the IWA in Spain in January 1869. In 1874, he went to Barcelona, where he was expelled from the FTRE in 1881, parting from the Catalan labor movement for ideological reasons. Lluñas and Lorenzo were still contentious because of Lorenzo's incomprehension towards the differential Catalan reality, and Lorenzo's margination would explain his entrance in Masonry. As Lorenzo himself wrote: "I was initiated in the Respectable Lodge «Sons of Labor» [«Hijos del Trabajo»] on December 13th 1883".<sup>17</sup> Therefore, it was within the 1883-93 period when Anselmo Lorenzo increased his rank within Masonry. Finally, Lorenzo was admitted in the FTRE and could become a member of the society of his profession in Barcelona, the «Typographer Workers' Society» in 1885, and he did it abetted by the group of «The Academy» («La Academia» that was the name of a press) and by the «Typographer Workers' Society».<sup>18</sup>

It was through Masonry, apparently, that Lorenzo was reaccepted. By 1885, Lorenzo could have become important as a bridge between anarchism and Masonry. Lidia affirms that Esteve played an important role in Lorenzo's reacceptance, contributing "to vanish any misgiving and reestablish the currents of frank cordiality [...] among comrades".<sup>19</sup> S. Espí, another friend of Esteve, points out that Lorenzo «governed» «The Academy» press, and: "In it there worked the most capable personnel of the [Typographer's] Union. Pedro was one of the outstanding

<sup>16</sup> Espí, S., "Un Recuerdo", *C. P.*, 1 27 (IX-10-1927).

<sup>17</sup> Letter written by Anselmo Lorenzo reproduced in Olivé, "El movimiento anarquista...", 143.

<sup>18</sup> Olivé, "El movimiento anarquista...", 147-48.

<sup>19</sup> Lidia, "Evocando el pasado...", *C.P.*, II 79 (IX-8-1928).

[...and] in the freethinking [or Mason!] circle, Pedro did not hinder [...] to support the anarchic principles".<sup>20</sup> Therefore, we see the connection between Esteve and Lorenzo through «The Academy» and Masonry. Finally, Esteve himself admitted that the anarchist press

LA ACADEMIA [...] lo que era no sólo de arte revolucionario tipográfico, si[no] que también de ideales emancipadores. Fargas [Rafael Farga Pellicer, 1844-1890], el maestro [21] de los anarquistas catalanes había reunido en ella la flor y nata de los tipógrafos idealistas y revolucionarios, convirtiéndola en foco irradiador. Casi no había uno que no fuera, al menos, un adalid de la causa del trabajo.<sup>22</sup>

Consequently, it is very important to know a little bit of the history of «The Academy» since it was the center where almost certainly Esteve established contact with Masonry. Olivé indicates that «The Academy» operated from 1877-78 till May

<sup>20</sup> Espí, S., "Un Recuerdo", *C.P.*, I 27 (IX-10-1927).

<sup>21</sup> Álvarez indicates that "Maestro: Corresponde al grado 3.º, último del simbolismo. Se considera en masonería que su iniciación contiene todos los misterios y conocimientos necesarios para poder dirigir un masón a sus hermanos. Viene a ser el fin de la formación masónica propiamente dicha, aunque el masón considera que nunca ha terminado su formación". (Álvarez, *Masonería y libre-pensamiento en la España...*, 1985; 281). Therefore, Farga, probably, became a Master in the lodge «La Luz de la Verdad» [«The Light of the Truth»] with his cousin Antonio Pellicer Paraire "otro maestro de verdad". (Esteve, Pedro; "Anselmo Lorenzo", *C. O.* III, 93 (1-9-1915)). Santillán, wrote about Farga that "[c]oncurrió a varios congresos obreros internacionales y a casi todos los de la Internacional española. Por impulso principal suyo se fundó *El Productor* [(1887-93) and] la revista *Acracia* [1886-88, ...]. Hasta su muerte fue el eje principal de la propaganda social en Cataluña. [...] J.J. Morato escribió [(in «Los redentores del obrero», *La libertad*; Madrid; IX-18/IV-25/X-2-1927)...:] «jefe de una dinastía que ha honrado y honra el arte de Gutenberg». (Santillán, *Contribución...*, I, 186) Since Lorenzo had the Mason rank of «Gutenberg, grado 18», (Olivé, "El movimiento anarquista...", 145), I presume that «Gutenberg» is a way to designate a Mason among the typographers.

<sup>22</sup> Esteve, Pedro; "Anselmo Lorenzo", *C. O.*, III, 93 (1-9-1915).

1892, and that employed about sixty workers, among them: Farga Pellicer, Pellicer Paraire, A. Lorenzo, Lluñas, etc. Between 1886 and 1892 «The Academy» had several financial problems that forced it to close definitively in 1892.<sup>23</sup> I presume, that the closing of «The Academy» in May 1892, was also provoked by the governmental repression because of the First of May mobilization.<sup>24</sup>

As Olivé points out, «The Academy» “played a decisive role in the attempt to proclaim the compatibility between anarchism and Masonry, between militant laity, freethinking and anarchy, and even between Catalanism and libertarian movement”. And the fulfillment of this anarchist opening was likely to be produced through the relation between the group of «The Academy», with significant liberal Masons and supporters of the workers’ cause. But “The Academy” was not a lodge, only the bridge between anarchism and Masonry. For the period 1886-91, Lidia claimed that in «freethinking societies», that is to say Masonic, like «The Light» gathered so disparate people, but all of them involved to workers’ movement and anarchism, like Tarrida, Lluñas, Farga Pellicer or Lorenzo. So we see that, among the people assiduous to «The Light» there was the typography «The Academy»,<sup>25</sup> and the people who published *La Tramontana*.<sup>26</sup> «The Light» operated, at least between 1885 and 1892,<sup>27</sup> but we know

<sup>23</sup> Olivé, “El movimiento anarquista...”, 136.

<sup>24</sup> Certainly there was repression against the anarchists for the First of May celebration; as *El Despertar* reflects organizing a meeting “[p]ara socorrer á los obreros en España y Cuba á raíz del 1º. de Mayo” (*El Despertar*, II 35 [VI-1-1892]).

<sup>25</sup> Olivé, “El movimiento anarquista...”, 136-137.

<sup>26</sup> See above fn. 14 (pg. 8). In order to understand the relevance of the anarchist press, we have to remark it had two objectives, to ideologize the readers, and to debate intellectually the anarchist ideas.

<sup>27</sup> Álvarez indicates that in 1886 there existed a “Resp.: [Respectable] Log.: [Lodge] «La Luz de la Verdad» en Barcelona, de Ser.: [Service] Gr.: [Great] Or.: [Orden] de España” (Álvarez, *Masonería y librepensamiento en la España...*; 73).

something more about the other lodge that had connections with «The Academy»: «Sons of Labor».

The lodge «Sons of Labor» was founded at the end of the 1880s, the name itself given to the lodge seems to inform about its pro-working class vocation. As we have said above, Lorenzo had belonged to it since 1883, and in 1886 a majority of its 34 members were Catalan, 6 from other parts of Spain and one foreigner. Elected as «Master orator», in 1886 Lorenzo became the principal promoter of the lodge.<sup>28</sup> After 1886, «Sons of Labor», began to have economic problems, that lasted till 1893, when its internal crisis coincided with the governmental repression against the anarchist and the labor movement in general. Simultaneously to this repression, in 1893 there was also a crisis in the relations between anarchists and Masons in Spain, and in December of 1893 Lorenzo was not reelected as orator of «Son of Labor».<sup>29</sup>

In July 1885, «The Cosmopolitan Congress of Barcelona» took place to oppose the possibility of isolation of the Spanish anarchism, and to “reinforce the position of the collectivist tendency, predominant in the Spanish State, through public and open debate with the anarcho-communists”.<sup>30</sup> The Congress was almost ignored internationally, and only few organizations gave support to it, among them «the Anarcho-collectivist Association of workers that speak Spanish language residents in New York».<sup>31</sup>

In 1886-87, Esteve worked to organize the anarchist group «Benevento»<sup>32</sup> that promoted the publishing of *El Productor* (1887-93), and its cultural center, «Regeneración». It is at this stage

<sup>28</sup> Olivé, “El movimiento anarquista...”, 143-144.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 149-150.

<sup>30</sup> Abelló, *Les relacions...*, 47.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 53-54.

<sup>32</sup> This name comes from the anarchist insurrection occurred in Benevento, Italy, in 1877, where Malatesta participated. (Nettlau, *Errico Malatesta...*)

that Esteve “made himself known in public, taking a very active part as orator in the meetings that anarchists celebrated very often [...] in many Catalan towns”;<sup>33</sup> for example in the conferences about «socialism» that took place in a cultural center, the «Ateneu Barcelonès», in April 1887.<sup>34</sup> In this period, the collectivist FTRE was internally divided between collectivists and communists. Thus, anarcho-syndicalists gathered in May 1888 in Barcelona to constitute the Spanish Federation of Resistance to Capitalism, weak syndical confederation habitually called «Pact of Union and Solidarity of the Spanish Region», (PUSRE),<sup>35</sup> in which Esteve collaborated. In September, Esteve was designated to represent the «Federation of Barcelona» of the FTRE Labor Congress of Valencia, in September of 1888, to debate the non continuation of this organization.<sup>36</sup> The Congress of Valencia decided to dissolve the FTRE, which implied the extinction of the First International in Spain.<sup>37</sup> This situation resulted more from internal division within the Spanish movement than from a conflict with the IWA, that was almost inexistent by then.

## I.2. EUROPE 1889-92: MALATESTA, THE II INTERNATIONAL AND DEPARTURE TO THE U.S.

Between 1889 and 1896 the anarchists struggled to participate in the II International, trying to avoid the exclusion promoted by Marxists. In this attempt, the anarchist movement faced the problem of not having a unified and well organized movement. In fact, after the Congress of London in 1881, the idea to form an international revolutionary structure, had been rejected. Only

<sup>33</sup> Espí, S., “Un Recuerdo”, *C. P.*, 1 27 (10-IX-1927).

<sup>34</sup> Olivé, “El movimiento anarquista...”, 149.

<sup>35</sup> Kaplan, Temma, *Orígenes sociales del anarquismo en Andalucía*, (Barcelona, 1977), 186-87.

<sup>36</sup> Espí, S., “Un Recuerdo”, *C. P.*, 1 27 (10-IX-1927).

<sup>37</sup> Lida, Clara E.; *Anarquismo y Revolución...*, 258-59.

in Italy there were attempts in this direction since 1887, but they had a null repercussion.<sup>38</sup> At this point, in September 1889, Errico Malatesta wrote his famous «Appello di Nizza» “with the purpose to form a *socialist-anarchist-revolutionary* international party”<sup>39</sup> in order to unify the anarchists of all tendencies. The «Appello» exposed how the anarcho-socialist revolution had to be accomplished departing from the expropriation of all goods, that would become common property of the whole society through free association and organization; parallel to this procedure the state and the bourgeoisie would totally lose power. Through this project, Malatesta, who declared himself anarcho-communist and defended social organization from this idea, tried to unify all the anarchist tendencies establishing agreements with any other revolutionary school, avoiding confrontation in any case.<sup>40</sup> Therefore, it was a tool to overcome the division among the main anarchist tendencies: collectivists, communists, and individualists,<sup>41</sup> promoting what he termed «Socialism», but which had to be accomplished by anarchists. In fact, Malatesta’s project, represented a reinforcement of the anarchist participation within the syndicates, which provided an organizational basis for anarchism.

<sup>38</sup> Abelló, *Les relacions...*, 60.

<sup>39</sup> Malatesta, Errico; “Apello [di Nizza]” (in: Nettlau, Max; *Errico Malatesta*, 211-212).

<sup>40</sup> Abelló, *Les relacions...*, 63.

<sup>41</sup> Anarcho-individualism is a tendency of the anarchist movement native to U.S. that has depended on U.S. natives for its promotion. “The individualist anarchists held that the collective society in any form was an impossibility without the eventuality of authoritarianism, and ultimately, totalitarianism, and adhered resolutely to the concept of private property insofar as the term could be defined as the total product of a given individual’s labor, but not more broadly than this. They abandoned the idea of an equalitarian utopia, and worked for a world free from arbitrary restrictions on opportunity and legal privilege, which breakdowns they claimed «laissez faire» really produced”. (Martin, James Joseph; *Men against the State: the expositors of individualist anarchism in America, 1827-1910*, 1st. Ed. 1953; Colorado Springs, Colo., 1970; x-x1)

Thus, it is not surprising that Malatesta's «Appello» attracted the catalan anarchist movement, which already had a «anarcho-syndicalist» tradition.<sup>42</sup> The «Appello» was immediately reproduced in *El Productor* (n.º 164, 2-oct.-1889), the paper for which Esteve worked, and from this moment on the group of *El Productor* became fully committed to Malatesta's project. Tarrida del Mármol (1861-1915)<sup>43</sup> labeled Malatesta's project «anarchy without an adjective», «in an article published in *El Productor*.<sup>44</sup> With this article, Tarrida revealed himself to be an anarchist intellectual whose thought evolved from collectivism in 1885, to intend to demonstrate the necessity to avoid any theory transformed into dogma, in order to achieve a truly revolutionary theory from the point of view of the «Appello», that would near him to different anarchist currents.<sup>45</sup> Furthermore, another companion of Esteve from *El Productor*, Ricardo Mella, was deeply influenced by Benjamin Tucker's individualism,<sup>46</sup> the most important U.S. individualist theoretician. Thus, Tarrida and Mella,

<sup>42</sup> In fact it is not possible to talk properly of anarcho-syndicalism till 1907 when this tendency was recognized by the just founded Anarchist International in Amsterdam.

<sup>43</sup> Tarrida is a key figure to understand the international relations of the Spanish anarchism. Esteve wrote about Tarrida that: «Nació en Santiago de Cuba. [...] De padre catalán y madre cubana, llevado a Europa cuando era un niño, pasó su adolescencia en los colegios de Francia, su juventud en Barcelona y la edad madura en Londres». Tarrida «era grande por su inmensa bondad y por sus vastos conocimientos científicos. [...] Hijo de padres ricos, educado a la burguesa, [...] [q]uería vivir entre los trabajadores y no podía, viéndose forzado a desenvolverse en el ambiente burgués. [...] Sin embargo jamás supo negarse a contribuir con su palabra con sus escritos, o con su dinero a la propagación de nuestros ideales». (Esteve, «Fernando Tarrida del Mármol», *C. O.*, III, 104 [IV-10-1915])

<sup>44</sup> Tarrida del Mármol, in *El Productor*, (VIII-7-1890) (in Nettlau, Max; *Errico Malatesta...*, 214).

<sup>45</sup> Abelló, *Les relacions...*, 205.

<sup>46</sup> Álvarez Junco, José; *La ideología política del anarquismo español*, (Madrid, 1976), 365-366.



played a notable role in introducing the U.S. individualist thought Spain, establishing an important relation between both movements.

Esteve, with his companions of *El Productor*, supported the «Appello» as the following quotation shows:

[...] Comunismo, colectivismo, mutualismo, individualismo, cuantos sistemas conciba la mente humana, no son más que métodos, formas diversas en la manera de aplicar la humana actividad. Que exista quien quiera vivir solo, aislado, manteniéndose de lo que cace o pesque, de lo que él produzca, sin querer nada de los demás, ni tampoco darles nada [the individualists]; que haya quienes convengan en reunirse y trabajar juntos, determinando después cuanto cada uno ha producido para repartírselo conforme al esfuerzo por cada uno realizado, calculándolo mediante los medios por ellos convenidos [the collectivists]; que otros consideran esto una molestia, se reúnan, produzcan y consuman sin fijarse en quien produzca menos y en quien consuma más, poniéndolo todo a disposición de todos [the communists]; todo esto son diversos modos de efectuar la producción, el cambio y el consumo que caben en la práctica del principio anarquista. [...]47

In conclusion, we can see that the anarchist movement in Italy and Spain evolved from a pure anarcho-communism or anarcho-collectivism, towards a position in which organization became more important. It was a tool for both, to strengthen the world anarchist movement to achieve the social revolution, and to predominate in the II International against the Marxists. Let us refer to this tendency as «anarcho-socialism». A tendency that internationally had little echo, because it is the period when any organization was rejected, and when international anarchism was fascinated by Kropotkin, who did not foresee more than personal or group relations.<sup>48</sup>

47 Esteve, Pedro; "Un viejo informe", *C. O.*, IV 184 (XI-18-1916).

48 Abelló, *Les relations...*, 63.

In 1890, at the age of 25, Esteve was working and propagating in trade societies of the Barcelona metropolitan area,<sup>49</sup> to organize a May Day "general strike to achieve the eight hours".<sup>50</sup> Because of its participation in this mobilization, *El Productor* was closed by the authorities, along with its cultural center, «Regeneración», and "several trade societies".<sup>51</sup> The celebration of this May Day included a fierce confrontation between, anarchists – promoting the indefinite general strike –, and Marxists – who did not promote a so radical celebration –, over the leadership of this mobilization. Finally, the success of the strike indicated the anarchist predominance in Barcelona.<sup>52</sup>

In August 1891, Esteve and Tarrida were delegated by the PUSRE, to represent forty-four societies in the Congress of Brussels of the II International.<sup>53</sup> The Marxist sector of the Congress decided to exclude the anarchists,<sup>54</sup> thus, Esteve and Tarrida "were not admitted for being anarchists".<sup>55</sup> Just after the

<sup>49</sup> Espí, S.; "Un Recuerdo", *C. P.* 1 27 (IX-10-1927).

<sup>50</sup> Lidia, "Evocando el pasado (1886-1892)", (VII-15, IX-15-1927) (in Santillán, *Contribución...*; 1, 422.

<sup>51</sup> Espí, S.; "Un recuerdo", *C. P.*, 1 27 (10-IX-1927).

<sup>52</sup> Abelló, *Les relacions...*, 81-83

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 88. About Esteve's collaboration with Tarrida, he wrote: "jóvenes ambos, íbamos juntos de un pueblo al otro, ora desafiando a la palestra ora a cuantos no estaban con nosotros, bien preparando movimientos como el memorable del 1º. de Mayo de 1980...". And, about the Congress of Brussels wrote: "Pretextando que le convenía para perfeccionar sus estudios arrancó cantidades a su padre que utilizó para costear sus gastos cuando fuimos delegados al Congreso Internacional de Bruselas, al cual no fuimos admitidos por ser anarquistas, a pesar de llevar la representación de 200 sociedades obreras de España, y para giras de propaganda" (Esteve, "Fernando Tarrida del Mármol", *C. O.*, III 104 [IV-10-1915]). Probably, Esteve is exaggerating the number of labor societies they were representing in Brussels.

<sup>54</sup> Letter from Engels to Lafargue, London (IX-2-1891). Reproduced in *El Socialista*, 291 (X-2-1891). (In Abelló, *Les relacions...*, 87.)

<sup>55</sup> Esteve, "Fernando Tarrida del Mármol", *C. O.*, III 104 (IV-10-1915).

Congress they wrote *Memoria de la delegación española al Congreso de Bruselas* 1891.<sup>56</sup>

About September 1891, Malatesta arrived in Barcelona. Santillán described Malatesta's sojourn in Barcelona:

[...] señaló una nueva orientación. En conversaciones particulares y en conferencias, discutió el tema candente del colectivismo y del comunismo [...]; aunque de momento no convirtió a los colectivistas recalcitrantes, hizo que perdieran acritud las antiguas diferencias y que muchos abandonaran el colectivismo y se declararan simplemente anarquistas sin adjetivos [...].

And to accomplish his proposal:

Malatesta dio muchas conferencias en [...] ciudades de Cataluña, acompañado por *Pedro Esteve*, [...] continuó luego la gira de propaganda por [Spain...]. En la gira de propaganda *Pedro Esteve* mantenía la posición colectivista, Malatesta la comunista anarquista; [...] pero la prédica de Malatesta no era la de los comunistas anarquistas conocidos hasta allí y logró que los colectivistas se acercasen a su manera de ver, hasta poco a poco confundirse [...].<sup>57</sup>

About this tour around Spain, Malatesta wrote: "Who writes this had the opportunity in 1893 [*sic.*: 1891-92] to go on a propaganda tour around Spain with him [Esteve] and appreciate all his value".<sup>58</sup> Hence, as Esteve was Malatesta's companion in this propaganda tour, he was the person from the Spanish anarchist movement most closely united to Malatesta's proposal. As Esteve later wrote: "Malatesta is like a new Christ".<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> Published in: *La Anarquía*, Madrid, 58 (x-16-1891), 60 (x-30-1891), 61 (x1-6-1891). In Abelló, *Les relacions...*

<sup>57</sup> Santillán, *Contribución...*, 1-424-25. The bold is mine.

<sup>58</sup> Malatesta, Errico, "Ricardo Mella e Pedro Esteve", *Pensiero e Volontà*, II 13 (6-x-1925).

<sup>59</sup> Esteve, "Profazione"; in Nettlau, Max; *Errico Malatesta, vita e pensieri*, (New York, N.Y., 1922), XI.

But in January 1892, in the middle of Malatesta's tour, when he was in Madrid, was surprised by the piece of news of the insurrection in Jerez, Andalusia. Malatesta travelled to Andalusia, but he soon had to escape from police pursuit taking a ship<sup>60</sup> with Esteve to London. Lidia, who was also in London, related that, from there, Malatesta went to New York, while Esteve returned to Spain:

A últimos de Febrero de 1892 Esteve se despidió de mí en Londres, para volver a España. Yo seguí viaje para Nueva York. En esta última ciudad me recibió otro amigo y compañero inolvidable, J. C. Campos, a quien Esteve había anunciado por carta mi próxima llegada. Campos me presentó al grupo de camaradas que desde hacía algunos meses venían publicando *El Despertar*.<sup>61</sup>

Moreover, this text discloses Esteve's connections before his departure to New York 1892: the Cuban typographer J.C. Campos – who had previously been in contact with Pellicer at the end of the 1870s<sup>62</sup> – and Lidia,<sup>63</sup> that is to say the group of *El Despertar* («The Awakening», 1891-190?) closely connected from the beginning with *El Productor* and Masonry.<sup>64</sup>

The fact that Esteve wrote a letter, from Barcelona, to his friend, Lidia, in New York, confirms that Esteve was in Barcelona working in «The Academy», after his short brief scape to London:

<sup>60</sup> Santillán, *Contribución...*, I 426.

<sup>61</sup> Lidia, "Pedro Esteve (1892-1896)", *C. P.*, I 27 (10-IX-1927).

<sup>62</sup> See above ftn. 14 (pg. 8).

<sup>63</sup> It seems that Lidia played an important role to make decide Esteve to go to New York, since they were close friends, as this dedication of a Lidia's article demonstrates: "A mi queridísimo amigo, P. E. [Pedro Esteve...]. A nadie mejor que á ti pudiera dedicar este escrito, que fuiste el primero en leer. Recibe pues esta dedicatoria como una prueba de amistad que desde esta tierra americana te envía tu cariñoso amigo". *El Despertar*; NY City, II 34, v-15-1892).

<sup>64</sup> For *El Despertar* see above ftn. 14 (pg.8). Some articles of *El Despertar* contain Masonic references.

Sin conocer a Campos le tenía en un concepto excelente; tú [Lidia] lo has comprobado y de lo que me alegro infinito. Campos me pide dirección para mandar cuanto se recaude para Jerez. Puede usar la de *El Productor* o la de la Academia o aún la mía. [...] Malatesta me pregunta por ti, no le has escrito? [...] Ya he leído tu primer artículo «Las Leyes» en *El Despertar*. [Published in March 1892]<sup>65</sup>

But Esteve got soon into economic trouble. «The Academy» closed in May 1892 for financial reasons, and probably as a result of governmental repression after the May Day rally.<sup>66</sup> As Lidia reports:

En las cartas que me escribía Esteve me ponía de manifiesto lo precario de su situación en Barcelona, por carencia de un trabajo fijo. Contando con la promesa de Campos de que no le sería difícil trabajar en Nueva York en su oficio de tipógrafo, y la solidaridad que pude yo ofrecerle, embarcó a Nueva York, a últimos de otoño o principios de invierno de dicho año 1892.<sup>67</sup>

Esteve's departure to New York can therefore be explained by two factors: the May Day repression, that I presume affected «The Academy», and on the other, general economic depression that afflicted Spain after 1892.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Letter from Esteve to Lidia written about april 1892, provided by Lidia to be published in *C. P.*: «Cartas de Pedro Esteve», *C.P.*, II 79 (1X-8-1928). Lidia's article, «Las Leyes» (*El Despertar* [Consulted in: II, 31, IV-1-1892; 33, V-1-1892; 34, V-15-1892; 35, VI-1-1892]), is very important to know Esteve's sources for his chapter «La Ley» in *Socialismo Anarquista...*

<sup>66</sup> About this repression see above fn. 24 (pg.11).

<sup>67</sup> Lidia, «Pedro Esteve (1892-1896)», *C. P.*, I 27 (10-IX-1927). This quotation clarifies exactly why and when Esteve departed for New York, against the indications of Santillán (*Contribución...*, 426), S. Espí («Un recuerdo» *C. P.*, I 27 (10-IX-1927), and J. Romero Maura («Terrorism in Barcelona and its Impact on Spanish Politics 1904-1909», *Past and Present*, 41 [XII-1968], 134).

<sup>68</sup> Vicens Vives, J. (Director) *Historia de España y América* (Barcelona, 1961), v, 304-5. About this crisis, Esteve wrote: «Se va a la bancarrota y a la ruina [...] Tal vez por este lado se precipite la revolución pues el descontento es general hoy en todas las clases de la sociedad». («Cartas de Pedro Esteve», *C. P.*, II 79, 1X-8-1928).

Additionally, in October the «Congreso Internacional de Libre-pensamiento de Madrid de 1892» took place. Very different political tendencies participated in this Congress: republican, conservative, radical, socialist and anarchist. This last, included with lodges like «Sons of Labor»<sup>69</sup> and «The Light».<sup>70</sup> Llunas, one of Esteve's comrades, took part presenting a report, that was a declaration of principles promoting close collaboration between anarchism, syndicalism and freethinkers, and to reaffirm the old demand of free education.<sup>71</sup> Thus, it is possible that Esteve participated in the Congress in one way or another before leaving for the U.S.

### 1.3. UNITED STATES AND CUBA (1892-1925)

When Esteve arrived in the U.S., he immediately began collaborating with the group named «Parsons» of Brooklyn, N.Y., that edited *El Despertar*, "and initiated with Palmiro de Lidia, Campos and others, an intense campaign of agitation and education".<sup>72</sup> This coincides with Lidia's relate:

Dado el carácter dinámico de Esteve y la fama de que ya gozaba entre los compañeros, su llegada dio motivo a una intensificación de la propaganda entre la colonia de habla hispana y a una mayor relación con los compañeros de las demás colonias extranjeras, particularmente la italiana. El grupo «Parsons», editor de *El Despertar*, engrosó notable-

<sup>69</sup> Álvarez, *Masonería y Libre-pensamiento en la España...*, 215-373.

<sup>70</sup> Lidia, "Evocando el pasado, 1886-1891", 116-17 (in Olivé, "El movimiento anarquista...", 139).

<sup>71</sup> Olivé, "El movimiento anarquista...", 140-41. The report presented to the Congress was J. Llunas y Pujal and J. Torres, "Relaciones del libre-pensamiento con la cuestión social. Al Congreso Universal de Libre Pensamiento Madrid", *La Tramontana*, 583 (1X-30-1892). (In Olivé, "El movimiento anarquista...", 140).

<sup>72</sup> Müller, Roberto A., "Biografía de Pedro Esteve", *C. P.*, 1 27 (10-IX-1927). The name «Parsons» comes from one of the people involved in the Haymarket affair.

mente, [...] se celebraron conferencias y veladas y se editaron algunos folletos.<sup>73</sup>

*El Despertar* was edited by Lidia, in close collaboration with *El Productor*. Therefore, it is not surprising that when the anarchist Congress of Chicago was announced in 1890, *El Productor* started to encourage participation in it. *El Productor* was interested in knowing "ideals little known in Spain, such as mutualism and anarchic individualism, worthy to be consciously studied and popularized".<sup>74</sup> Thus, from March 1893, *El Productor* and *El Despertar* promoted a collection of money, and the election of representatives. About the representatives of this Congress, Lidia narrates:

Los compañeros de la Habana eligieron para delegado suyo a Pedro Esteve, quien obtuvo además la representación de los compañeros de España. Yo fui designado para representar al grupo «Parsons», de Nueva York.<sup>75</sup>

The Congress took place in September, and attempted to unify the different anarchist tendencies. Also the Congress decided to promote «individual action», like the one that the typographer Paulino Pallàs had just undertaken in Barcelona, throwing a bomb at Martínez Campos, the Captain General (name of the military governor) of Catalonia. Those were the years of militant «propaganda by the deed», and with them a wave of repression by several states was launched.<sup>76</sup> From this Congress,

<sup>73</sup> Lidia, "Pedro Esteve (1892-1896)", *C. P.*, 1 27 (10-IX-1927).

<sup>74</sup> *El Productor*, 342 (III-16-1893), (in Abelló, *Les relacions...*, 95).

<sup>75</sup> Lidia, Palmiro de, "Pedro Esteve (1892-1896)", *C. P.*, 1 27 (10-IX-1927).

<sup>76</sup> It is important to remark that it was in the 1890s that Barcelona earned the reputation of being a violent city. Just after this attempt, in November another bomb was thrown in the Barcelona Opera House, killing twenty people. But this process is parallel to other countries: on December 9, 1893, a bomb thrown by August Vaillant exploded in the Chamber of Deputies, in France, and a wave of repression started there; on June 24, 1894, Carnot was stabbed to death by the Italian Caserio. U.S. was not exempt of this process: in July 1892, Alexander Berkman had attempted assassination of Frick, a New York businessman.

and as emissary, Esteve wrote his *Memoria de la Conferencia Anarquista Internacional Celebrada en Chicago. A los Anarquistas de España y Cuba*, not published until 1900.<sup>77</sup>

Just after the Congress of Chicago, in December, Esteve went to Cuba to report personally to his comrades of La Habana. About his activities in Cuba Lidia told:

Durante los pocos meses que estuvo en Cuba realizó una buena labor, no obstante haberse iniciado la decadencia del movimiento libertario y mantenerse alejados del mismo los antiguos luchadores únicamente le secundó el malogrado Enrique Creci. Tomó parte en mítines y veladas celebradas en la Habana y pueblos cercanos. Inició la publicación de *La Alarma* de vida efímera por suspender su publicación el Gobernador, sustituyéndola con *Archivo Social*. [...] <sup>78</sup>

Coming back from Cuba to New York, in Spring 1894, Esteve spent some days in Tampa, Florida, "where he offered a speech and participated in a soiree that took place in the colored people's society",<sup>79</sup> and probably participated in the foundation of *El Esclavo* (June 1894-189?). Returning to New York, Esteve collaborated in *El Despertar*.

In this year of 1894, Esteve also met Maria Roda, his future wife. Roda, a sixteen years old Sicilian, had just arrived in the U.S. escaping from repressive operations following of the assassination of Sadi Carnot, the President of the French Republic, by the Italian anarchist Santa Caserio. Maria entered into Caserio's anarchist group through their friendship in school; hence her need to escape persecution in Italy.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>77</sup> NY City: «Tipografía de *El Despertar*», 1900.

<sup>78</sup> Lidia, Palmiro de, "Pedro Esteve (1892-1896)", *C. P.*, I 27 (IX-10-1927). In Cuba, Esteve also collaborated in *La Lucha*. (Letter from Esteve to Lidia written in XII-5-1893. "Cartas de Pedro Esteve", *C. P.*, II 79, IX-8-1928)

<sup>79</sup> Lidia, "Pedro Esteve (1892-1896)", *C. P.* I 27 (10-IX-1927).

<sup>80</sup> Goldman, Emma; *Living my Life*, (NY City, 1934; first ed. 1931), 150. After a meeting, Goldman talked with Maria Roda, and the translator of the conversation was Pedro Esteve.



In 1895, the Cuban Revolution began. This circumstance split the group of *El Despertar* ideologically, Campos and Lidia supporting the Cuban Revolution, while Esteve opposed it. Lidia related this as follows:

Aunque manteniendo siempre la amistad y solidaridad con los compañeros de *El Despertar*, una cuestión de táctica nos distanció. Entendían ellos [Esteve and others] que siendo la Revolución Cubana un movimiento político, no ameritaba estimularla y laborar en su favor. Otros compañeros, menores en número, estimábamos que todo movimiento revolucionario de un pueblo oprimido por otro, merecía nuestras simpatías y apoyo, tanto por lo que tenía de lucha libertaria, como porque al quedar solucionada la cuestión nacionalista, se podían propagar nuestras doctrinas en el pueblo liberado sin que ofreciera tanta resistencia la preocupación patriótica.

*El Esclavo*, de Tampa, del que era el alma el antiguo y excelente camarada Luis Barcia, mantenía este último criterio, que yo compartía, en oposición a la actitud de indiferencia ante la Revolución Cubana asumida por *El Despertar*.

As a result of this conflict, in 1898, Campos and Lidia started to publish *El Rebelde*.<sup>81</sup> This split within *El Despertar* reveals one of the main problems of anarchism in building a unified movement: the absence or lack of a principle of collaboration with other political movements — in the present case, the Cuban independence movement. This was a recurrent problem for the anarchist movement, one which surfaced again during the First World War.

But other issues, aside from the Cuban Revolution, were creating problems for the anarchist movement. On June 7th 1895, a bomb exploded in Barcelona in the Corpus Christi procession killing twelve people. The bomb thrower escaped, and the police launched a campaign of indiscriminate arrests and torture known as the «Montjuic repression» — so named after the fortress

<sup>81</sup> Lidia, "Pedro Esteve...", *C. P.*, 1 27 (10-IX-1927).

where prisoners were held, tortured, tried and executed. As a result, beginning with 1896, the Spanish government promoted specific laws against the anarchists.<sup>82</sup> As a response, in August 1897, the Italian anarchist Michele Angiolillo shot to death the Spanish Premier, Antonio Cánovas del Castillo. Immediately after this assassination, *El Despertar* published a full Angiolillo's biography and *La Questione Sociale* (Paterson, N. J.; 1895-1916) published his photograph with a martyr halo.<sup>83</sup>

Additionally, definitive exclusion from the II International in 1896 (London), was another important factor that influenced the international anarchist movement. It is relevant that in this Congress Malatesta represented the Spanish anarchist, and like Esteve in Brussels, he was expelled.<sup>84</sup> After the Congress of London, both Marxists and anarchists inaugurated a new phase of international meetings,<sup>85</sup> particularly the anarchists, who had lost a international structure to coordinate the movement.

About 1895, *El Despertar* moved from Brooklyn to Paterson, N. J., a town named by Esteve as «The Rome of anarchism».<sup>86</sup> Paterson, with large silk industries and mainly inhabited by Italian immigrants, had a strong anarchist movement that published *La Questione Sociale* (1895-1916). On 23 October 1897, Kro-

<sup>82</sup> Cadalso, Fernando, *El anarquismo y los medios de represión. Por D. Fernando Cadalso, doctor en derecho, vocal de la junta de prisiones de Madrid, director de la celular de esta corte, etc., etc.*, (Madrid: Romero, Impresor; 1896).

<sup>83</sup> *El Despertar*, 172 (1X-10-1897). (In Abelló, *Les relacions...*, 171). Almost certainly was Esteve who wrote this biography. Esteve wrote about Angiolillo, some years later, that: "L'atto di Angiolillo infatti provocò un cambiamento immediato nell'ambiente politico, giacché al salire, dopo la morte de superbo despota, del partito liberale al potere, si concessero radicali riforme in Cuba e nelle Filippine, s'indultarono gli anarchici e si tollerò la propaganda fatta dai partiti avanzati". (Esteve, Pedro; *A proposito d'un regicidio*; Paterson, N. J.: Tipografia de *El Despertar*, 1900; 43 pp.; col.: «Biblioteca della *Questione Sociale*», No.9; 31).

<sup>84</sup> Abelló, *Les relacions...*, 109.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>86</sup> Esteve, "La Roma del anarquismo", *C. O.*, 1 20 (IV-12-1913).

potkin arrived to New York, a meeting was held congregating anarchists and other radicals; and in November he lectured to his comrades of Paterson<sup>87</sup> where he probably met Pedro Esteve.

Just after the war between Spain and the U.S., in August 1899, Malatesta arrived in the U.S., having arranged the trip with Esteve, and planing to reside in his house.<sup>88</sup> The purpose of Malatesta's trip was to take part in the controversy, between individualists and «anarcho-socialists», over the issue of the organization and free initiative that was having the people of *La Questione Sociale* from Paterson. After a ballot, the individualists were excluded from the group, and Malatesta started to direct temporarily *La Questione Sociale* second series. However, this provoked a strong conflict between the two tendencies and, in a debate, one of the individualist anarchist shot at Malatesta who was not injured. Malatesta worked for the journal for some months, and in the spring of 1900 he tried to travel to Cuba, but he was not allowed to enter in the country. At the end of the winter of 1900-1901, Malatesta was back to London.

Esteve was Malatesta's closest collaborator: together they published the booklet *I Congressi socialisti internazionali* with articles by Kropotkin, Malatesta and Esteve.<sup>89</sup> These articles were related to the preparation of the Congress of Paris, that took place in August of 1900. In Paris, the anarchists generally agreed on the necessity of an organization to reinforce their position. Hence, the emphasis on syndicalism as an organizational basis.

<sup>87</sup> Avrich, Paul, "Kropotkin in America", *International Review of Social History*, xxv (1980, 1), 15-16.

<sup>88</sup> As Malatesta wrote: "Mon adresse permanente pour le temps que je resterai en Amérique sera chez Esteve", (Ms. Carta de Malatesta a Nettlau, London 4-8-1899, Nettlau archive, IISG; in Abelló, *Les relations...*, 193).

<sup>89</sup> Paterson: «Library of *La Questione Sociale*», 1900 Kropotkin wrote «I Congressi Internazionali ed Il Congresso di Londra del 1896» (pp.6-42); Malatesta «El Congresso di Londra» (pp.43-57); and Esteve «I Prossimi Congressi» (pp. 58-72; articles published before in *El Despertar*, [III-V, 1900]).

In addition, the Congress promoted the general strike as a revolutionary tactic.<sup>90</sup>

On July 29, 1900 Gaetano Bresci, a weaver who had been "one of the founders of *La Questione Sociale*" in Paterson, assassinated King Humberto of Italy.<sup>91</sup> Immediately after this «tyrannicide», Esteve wrote a booklet titled *A proposito d'un regicidio*, applauding Bresci's action as a good example of «propaganda by the deed» and clearly expressing his position:

[...] Noi che l'abbiamo conosciuto, che abbiamo avuto da fare con li, sappiamo che ciò che egli voleva lo vogliamo noi pure: convincere tutti della iniquità dell' attuale regime perchè tutti lavorassero per distrogerlo. Non era nella lotta individuale ch'egli confidava, ma in quella collettiva. Perciò il suo grande affanno era di preparare il popolo per la rivoluzione[...].<sup>92</sup>

And from Bresci's act he concludes:

[...] Ciò che non aveva potuto raggiungere il migliore dei nostri pensatori; ciò che mai poté ottenere la più importante manifestazione anarchica, lo ottennero le bombe di Ravachol, Pallas, Vaillant, [...] Angiolillo e Bresci.<sup>93</sup>

As we will see below, by 1902, Esteve had changed the way to express his opinion on the «individual act», but not his opinion.

Malatesta's sojourn in the U.S. generated an outpouring of anarcho-socialist propaganda. *La Questione Sociale* published his booklet *Al Caffè. Conversazioni sul socialismo anarchico* (Paterson; Library of *La Questione Sociale*, 1902, 63 pp.), the anarcho-socialist group of New London (Conn.) published *Il Nostro Programa* (Pa-

<sup>90</sup> Abelló, *Les relations...*, 119-120.

<sup>91</sup> Goldman, *Living my Life*, 289.

<sup>92</sup> Esteve, *A proposito d'un regicidio*, 6. See above fn. 83 (pg. 27).

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

terson 1903). However, this increase in the campaign to promote anarcho-socialism had already begun in Barcelona about 1899, encouraged by the group of *El Productor*: Lidia wrote *Del Socialismo*,<sup>94</sup> and Mella *El socialismo anarquista*.<sup>95</sup> It was in this context that, in 1902, Esteve wrote several articles for *El Despertar*, that were compiled in the booklet *Socialismo Anarquista: La Ley, La Violencia, El Anarquismo, La Revolución Social*.

Nonetheless, as we later will see, another factor which determined the printing of *Socialismo Anarquista...*, was the assassination of president McKinley. This murder took place in Buffalo, on September 6 of 1901, by Leon Czolgosz, an alleged Polish anarchist. The death of McKinley precipitated the resurgence and merging of the anti-radical and nativist traditions of nineteenth-century American life, as the authorities assumed an alien, anarchist conspiracy. A repressive campaign was launched, including a general investigation of the Polish quarter of Buffalo, arrests in Chicago, and collaboration with Scotland Yard to locate foreign anarchists in the U.S. With McKinley's death, public sentiment was aroused against "anarchy" and its adherents. Finally, U.S. passed special legislation to suppress anarchism and anarchistic societies. And in 1903, for the first time, the «Immigration Act» required inspection of the political opinions of immigrants, fusing nativist with anti-radical sentiments, added «anarchists» to the restricted list.<sup>96</sup> This wave of repression in the U.S. created severe problems for the anarchist movement in the U.S., which would not recover until the founding of an anarcho-syndicalist Union, the International Workers of the World (IWW, the «Wobblies»).

<sup>94</sup> *La Revista Blanca*, 1, 382 (1-1-1899). (In Era 80, *Els anarquistes...*, 67-68.

<sup>95</sup> Mella, Ricardo; *Ibid.*, II, 158-161 (1X-15-1899) (in *Ibid.*, 62-66). This article was enlarged in *Natura* num. 17-18 (VI-1904) (from the introduction by Félix García to: Mella, Ricardo *La ley del número. Contra el parlamento burgués*; Madrid, 1976).

<sup>96</sup> Raat, William Dirk, *Revoltosos: Mexico's Rebels in the United States, 1903-1923* (Texas, 1981).

After this conjuncture, about 1904, Esteve began a cycle of conferences, in Paterson, to promote «rationalist education», of children. These conferences “were extended to Connecticut, Pennsylvania and other places”.<sup>97</sup> And on September 15, 1905 Esteve started to publish the weekly *La doctrina anarquista* in Paterson.<sup>98</sup>

On September 1st, 1907, Esteve’s ten year old son, died as a result of a petrol explosion; his wife, Maria Roda, relates that:

La causa que produjo la desgracia fatal no se supo nunca. Al día siguiente el niño, que tenía diez años de edad, falleció [...] Esteve [...] exclamó:

— Ah! es por este lado que me quieren herir! En mis hijos llevan el odio y esperan que abandone el país; pues no! No lo lograrán!<sup>99</sup>

Therefore, we do not know if this was an accident or an attempt against Esteve.

It was also in 1907 that the Anarchist International (AI) was founded in Amsterdam. Its resolutions creating an international anarchist organization and stressing on the syndicalism as the only instrument able to accomplish the social revolution, can be considered a Malatesta’s victory.<sup>100</sup>

In 1911 it came out *La Legge* in Ybor City, Florida, that it is the first chapter of *Socialismo Anarquista: La Ley...* translated into Italian, probably because Esteve was in Florida.<sup>101</sup> Coming back

<sup>97</sup> R[oda] Esteve, María; “A la memoria de Pedro Esteve”, *C. P.*, I 27 (10-IX-1927).

<sup>98</sup> Santillán, *Contribución...*, I 393.

<sup>99</sup> [Roda] Esteve, María, “Pedro Esteve”, *C. P.*, III 132 (14-IX-1929).

<sup>100</sup> Abelló, *Les relacions...*, 129-130.

<sup>101</sup> Esteve, P.; *La Legge*, (Ybor City, Tampa, Florida; «Imprenta la Poliglota», 1911; 22 pp.). In the back cover there is the following explanation: “Ci siamo proposti di riunire in un opuscolo una serie di articoli che sotto il titolo: *Le Legge, La Violenza e L’Anarchismo* furono pubblicati dal compagno Pedro Esteve nella «Questione Sociale»”.

from Florida, on November 4th 1911, Esteve started to edit the weekly *Cultura Obrera* (first series),<sup>102</sup> in collaboration with his friend Jaime Vidal in Brooklyn,<sup>103</sup> as organ of the «Marine, Fireman, Oilers and Watertenders' Union of the Atlantic and Gulf».<sup>104</sup> Before the first anniversary of the publication «the federal government of the United States, prohibited the publication of the weekly» in 1912.<sup>105</sup> I presume, that this prohibition was related to the defeat of the sea workers' strike. Just after it,<sup>106</sup> on December 1, 1912, Esteve started to edit again *Cultura Obrera*, with the header «Published by the 'Cultura Obrera' Group». Aware of the police watch on the publication, Esteve warned the readers:

El hecho es que ahora seguramente antes de admitirnos como «materia de segunda clase» en correos, se buscarán todos los apellidos, obligándonos a darles traducido una idea de cuánto se stampa en el periódico todas las semanas y a tener siempre a su disposición una lista de suscriptores al corriente de pago, y a otros mil detalles que no se exigen a los demás periódicos. En tanto el envío del periódico nos costará cuatro veces de lo que nos costaba.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Santillán, *Contribución...*, I 393. Dieppa and Müller indicate that about these years, Esteve was publishing *Cultura Proletaria* (first series) (Müller, «Biografía de Pedro Esteve», *C. P.*, I 27, IX-10-1927; and Dieppa, A., «Un recuerdo y una lágrima», *C. P.*, II 79, IX-8-1928), but they are wrong, since in December, 2, 1912, *Cultura Obrera* indicates that is the second year of the publication.

<sup>103</sup> Dieppa, A., «Un recuerdo y una lágrima», *C. P.*, II 79 (IX-8-1928). Dieppa indicates that *Cultura Proletaria*, first series, was published from 1910 until 1912.

<sup>104</sup> Esteve, Peter; *Vest-Pocket Essays for the Laborer*, «The foregoing ten essays originally appeared as editorials Spanish as well as in English, in 'Labor culture', published every Saturday by the Marine, Fireman, Oilers and Watertenders' Union of the Atlantic and Gulf»; (translated from Spanish by M.H. Woolman (New York: «Labor Culture», 1912; p.64).

<sup>105</sup> Dieppa, A., «Un recuerdo y una lágrima», *C. P.*, II 79 (IX-8-1928).

<sup>106</sup> Müller, «Biografía de Pedro Esteve», *C. P.*, I 27 (IX-10-1927).

<sup>107</sup> «Aún no asamos y ya pringamos», *C. O.*, II 2 (XI-2-1912). Almost certainly, Esteve wrote this article.

In May 1913, *Cultura obrera* became the «organ of the Maritime Transportation Workers' Industrial National Union and of the local Tobacco Unions which were adhered to International Workers of the World»,<sup>108</sup> and voice, not official organ, of the IWW.

It was also in these years that Esteve published two articles in *Mother Earth* – the monthly magazine founded by Emma Goldman<sup>109</sup> – on the death of two friends: «Pietro Gori» (an Italian) and «Manuel Pardinás»<sup>110</sup> (a Catalan). Pardinás was an anarchist executed for the assassination of Canalejas, the Spanish liberal ex-premier, in 1912; he had been in several countries, among them Cuba and U.S., and was a friend of Esteve.<sup>111</sup> These publishing in *Mother Earth* indicate that Esteve was in connection with Goldman, almost since he came to the U.S. As Goldman latter wrote:

[...] I had been thrown with Spanish men and women in America for over a period of thirty-five years. We had quite a Spanish movement when Esteve was alive. Not only did I know all the comrades merely in a public way from meetings and gatherings, but I knew their private lives.[...]<sup>112</sup>

<sup>108</sup> «A los sostenedores de «Cultura Obrera», C. O. II 23 (v-3-1913).

<sup>109</sup> Emma Goldman (1869-1940) was one of the most famous persons of the anarchist movement. Born in Russia, arrived in the U.S. at the age of seventeen, where she knew her companion, Alexander Berkman (1870-1936), the man who attempted assassination of the businessman Henry Clay Frick in July, 1892.

<sup>110</sup> Esteve, «Pietro Gori», *Mother Earth. Monthly Magazine Devoted to Social Science and Literature*, v, 12 (NY City; II-1911), pp. 384-385; in a footnote there is the following indication: «The Spanish MS. translated for *Mother Earth* by M.H. Woolman»; and «Manuel Pardinás», *Ibid.*, VII, 11 (1-1913) pp. 379-381.

<sup>111</sup> The following relate reveals this last affirmation: «I can see him giving baths to my children and constructing a sun parlor in the yard of the house in which he lived, in order to given them a sun-bath!» (Esteve, «Manuel Pardinás», *Mother Earth*, VII 11, 1-1913; 379).

<sup>112</sup> Goldman, Emma; *Vision on fire: Emma Goldman on the Spanish Revolution*. Edited with introduction by David Porter. (NY City, 1983), 252.



In 1912, Esteve also published the booklet *Vest-Pocket Essays for the Laborer*,<sup>113</sup> that is a manual of revolutionary tactics for the workers, and probably was published in occasion of the strike mentioned above.

From this moment, Pedro Esteve worked editing the weekly *Cultura Obrera*, which, like all the anarchist papers, acted as a cultural center through which conferences, meetings, and social activities were organized. In them, Esteve was one of the important figures.

With the First World War, "that was a landmark for the [anarchist] ideas",<sup>114</sup> another deep split occurred within the International Anarchist Movement. Some anarchist thinkers published a manifesto inviting all the anarchists to fight against Germany, and this provoked a strong reaction from several anarchists, among them, Malatesta and Esteve. As Malatesta wrote:

Kropotkin, Grave, Malato y una docena más de viejos compañeros, han publicado una Declaración, en la cual, haciendo eco a los órganos de los gobiernos de la Cuadruple [alliance] que piden la guerra a fondo y el aniquilamiento de Alemania, se combate toda idea de «paz prematura».<sup>115</sup>

Therefore, Esteve wrote his «Open Letter to Peter Kropotkin», in October 1914, that generated a intense debate.<sup>116</sup> Esteve's position isolated himself from some anarchist sectors: "Those were the moments when [Esteve] was put to the test, being criticized, sneered, for opposing the avalanche of the entire world".<sup>117</sup>

<sup>113</sup> New York: «Labor Culture», 1912. See above fn. 104 (pg. 32).

<sup>114</sup> Müller, "Biografía de Pedro Esteve", *C. P.*, I 27 (IX-10-1927).

<sup>115</sup> Malatesta, Errico; "Anarquistas gubernativos", *C. O.*, IV 155 (IV-22-1916).

<sup>116</sup> Esteve, "Carta abierta a Pedro Kropotkin", *C. O.*, II 33 (X-24-1914). For the controversy Esteve-Kropotkin see the following articles: Kropotkin, "Contestación de Kropotkin a la «Carta Abierta» de Pedro Esteve", *C. O.* II 90 (XII-12-1914); and Esteve, "Discutiendo. Para P. Kropotkin", *C. O.* II 91 (XII-19-1914) and 92 (I-2-1915).

<sup>117</sup> Müller, "Biografía...", *C. P.*, I 27 (10-IX-1927).

Concerning Esteve's family, by 1915 he had five children with Maria Roda: Violeta, Sensitiva, Sirio, Helios, and the one that had died in 1907. With his family, Esteve used to participate in celebrations organized by *Cultura Obrera*.<sup>118</sup> In addition, Esteve used to participate in meetings, like the ones advertised in *Cultura Obrera*, where he was considered one of the good orators in Spanish and other languages.<sup>119</sup> On July 24, 1916, we find Esteve working hard in *Cultura Obrera*, as it is reflected in a letter to Lidia:

[...] escribo en condiciones tan pésimas! Cuando no hago el artículo en el mismo componedor, es contestando una pregunta a uno, oyendo discutir a otros, dejando cincuenta veces la pluma para atender a uno que trae una lista para Cultura, o viene a pagar una cuota para la Unión o me pide... cualquier cosa!<sup>120</sup>

Few months latter, *Cultura Obrera* was "banned by the American authorities",<sup>121</sup> in November 1917, probably because of Esteve's campaign against the war and the Red Scare after the Russian Revolution, which implied strikes and violence. It was a period of home inspection, arrest and deportation of individuals suspicious of being anarchists.

The prohibition of *Cultura Obrera*, forced Esteve to look for a new job, so he left New York with his family, for Tampa,

<sup>118</sup> I have found information of Esteve's children participation in two celebrations: 1) "La Fiesta de la Fruta" (*C. O.*, III 129 [X-23-1915]) where "Sensitiva Esteve hizo las delicias del público en el piano [...], acompañada por su joven hermanito Sirio [...]. Por último, [...] Violeta Esteve [...] cantó"; and 2) "Nuestra Fiesta", *C. O.* IV 149 (III-11-1916).

<sup>119</sup> Related to Esteve's features as orator Dieppa affirmed: "Conferenciante de altos vuelos tal vez era el mejor de habla española de Estados Unidos (Dieppa, "Un recuerdo y una lágrima", *C. P.*, II, 79, IX-8-1928). Müller said that Esteve "hablaba en público en italiano, inglés y castellano" (Müller, "Pedro Esteve", *C. P.*, I 27, ix-10-1927).

<sup>120</sup> Esteve to Lidia: New York (VII-24-1916). *C. P.*, II 79 (IX-8-1928).

<sup>121</sup> Müller, "Biografía..." *C. P.*, I 27 (IX-10-1927).

Florida, where he had connection with the Tobacco Workers' Union through *Cultura Obrera*. In Tampa, "soon grew [...] among the Italian and Spanish comrades the great enthusiasm that Esteve brought wherever he went". In the transferral, his belongings were damaged intentionally, and compilations "very valuable intellectually and intimate letters had disappeared, without knowing, till now, how nor where it happened. It was evident that the authorities of Florida were not welcoming Esteve. The loosing affected him". But this was not the only problem that Esteve's family got in Tampa. As Roda narrates:

The landlord dismissed him because negroes from humble trades used to come to his house, which were admitted as equals [...] so from one landlord to another they denied us a house to rent. [...] It was necessary to resort to tricks and stratagems to find habitation and refuge.

Additionally, another problem emerged: "a navy captain that was also the typographer's secretary, [...] imposed the owner of the typography where Esteve worked, to fire him immediately".<sup>122</sup> Probably, these problems were the reason that forced Esteve's family to move back to New York, where on September 2, 1922 "came out the second series of *Cultura Obrera*.<sup>123</sup> Some of the articles that Esteve wrote in this period were published under the title *Reformismo, dictadura, federalismo*.<sup>124</sup> Nevertheless, *Cultura Obrera* got soon into some problems, and about 1924, «Cultura Obrera» "did not have place to be composed; it was being printed in a companion's room, that kindly ceded it". Fi-

<sup>122</sup> [Roda] Esteve, Maria; "Pedro Esteve", (IX-14-1929).

<sup>123</sup> Müller, "Biografía de Pedro Esteve", C. P., 1 27 (IX-10-1927).

<sup>124</sup> NY City: Tipografía de *Cultura Obrera*, 1922. This articles were latter translated to Portuguese in the booklet: *Do reformismo, do estado e do federalismo. (Artigos publicados em «Cultura Obrera», de Nova York em 1922, translation of Reformismo, dictadura, federalismo, notes by Francisco Quintal, (Lisboa, Comissão Escolar e de Propaganda do Sindicato do Sessoal de Câmaras de Marinha Mercante, 1931; 116 pp.).*

nally, a dwelling was rented, and Esteve "suggested the idea of bringing some books and having a little library, and he ordered the first books from Spain", creating a labor cultural center that became bigger and remained for many years.<sup>125</sup>

On 13th Sunday of September 1925, Esteve participated in a picnic organized by *Cultura Obrera*, like the remainder of the participants "ate, drunk, and talked with every body cheerfully". But as Cosme Blanco narrates, just some hours after he had departed his companions received the message that he was seriously ill, and "before being able to overcome our astonishment another call announced his death".<sup>126</sup> He died at the age of 59 "in his humble house No. 611 Gregory Avenue, in Weehauken, N.J., the master of a generation". His body was incinerated "in the crematory of Queens, N.Y.". <sup>127</sup> Just after Esteve's death, Malatesta wrote:

Pedro Esteve è morto combattendo. La domenica aveva parlato in una città degli Stati Uniti ad un'assemblea di spagnoli ed il lunedì, 14 settembre, moriva di colpo per congestione cerebrale.<sup>128</sup>

It seems that after his death, *Cultura Obrera* ceased to be printed, but one year and a half later, on March 12, 1927, *Cultura Proletaria* began to be published as the «Voice of the Anarchist Groups of Spanish Language in the United States Federation», continuing Esteve's labor until 1953.

As a conclusion, we see that Esteve played a key role in a period when strong links between the Spanish, American and Latin American Anarchist movements were established. This tradition started with *La Llumanera* as a precursor publication, and finished in 1953 with the end of *Cultura Proletaria*.

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<sup>125</sup> Blanco, Cosme, "Recordatorio", *C. P.*, v 235 (IX-12-1931).

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>127</sup> Müller, "Biografía de Pedro Esteve", *C. P.*, II 27 (IX-10-1927).

<sup>128</sup> Malatesta, Errico, "Ricardo Mella e Pedro Esteve", *Pensiero e Volontà*, II 13 (6-X-1925)

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