

## IV

### GOVERNMENT

FORMS OF GOVERNMENT—EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS—THE JUDICIARY—  
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#### Forms of Government of Porto Rico

And Aspects of the Insular Progress

(1898-1923)

By Antonio R. Barceló, LL.B.,

President of the Insular Senate. President of the "Union Party of Porto Rico."

**Establishment of the Regime.** At the time the change of sovereignty took place in 1898, as a result of the war between the United States and Spain, the Island had been able to obtain from the metropolis, after a struggle of many years, an autonomic form of government, similar to that of Canada, which it had just begun to enjoy and the bases of which were, in synthesis, the following:

A Parliament with two Chambers, a Governor and five executive chiefs known as the Secretaries of State.

The Lower Chamber was elected by popular vote, the representatives apportioned one for every twenty-five thousand inhabitants.

The Higher Chamber or Council of Administration was composed of eight members elected by the people, by means of electors, and seven appointed by the King. Those appointed by the King to be natives of Porto Rico or residents of the Island for not less than four years.

The Governor was appointed by the King, and the five Secretaries of State by the Governor, chosen from among the members of the political party having the majority in Parliament.

**Faculties of Parliament.** The Parliament was empowered to legislate on public education, public works and services, public health, mail, telegraph, police, public credit, banks, monetary system, agriculture, qualification of voters and electoral procedure, administrative organization, judicial, municipal and territorial division, insular budget with the obligation of including in it the expenses inherent to the

Sovereignty fixed by the "Cortes" of the Kingdom (National Parliament), commercial treaties, tariffs, land and water transportation, taxes, and duties and in general, on those questions affecting Porto Rico principally and which were not specifically and especially reserved to the "Cortes" by law.

The laws and resolutions of the Parliament were sanctioned or promulgated by the Governor, but when in his judgment they were prejudicial to the national or insular interests, he sent them, with his objections to the Council of Ministers of Spain, who could sanction or disapprove them within the term of sixty days at the end of which, if the Council had not taken action, it became the duty of the Governor to promulgate them. Parliament could, in case of disapproval, reconsider the law or resolution in accordance with the objections presented by the Council of Ministers and in this case such law or resolution was considered sanctioned.

The insular tariffs and treatises as well as the national ones affecting the Island, were discussed and approved by delegates from the National and Insular Parliaments, appointed in equal number, who had power to correct any difference affecting the Island or the Nation, leaving always a protective margin on the tariff schedule in favor of the Island or Nation, not exceeding thirty-five per cent.

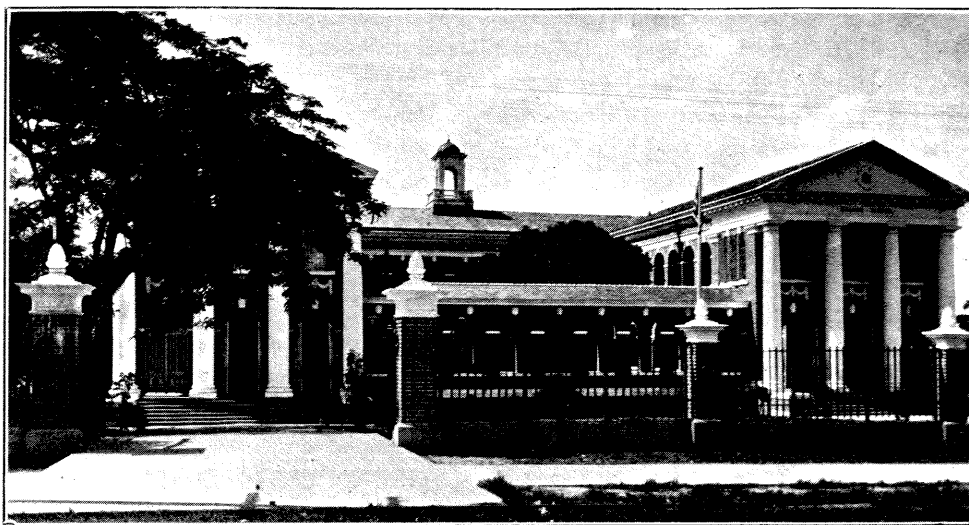
**Representation of the Island in the Spanish "Cortes" (Parliament).** Porto Rico was represented at the National Parliament (Courts of the Kingdom) by deputies and senators elected

in the Island, who intervened in all questions under the jurisdiction of said Parliament, with the same rights and privileges as the other members.

**Secretaries of State.** The Secretaries of State in the Colony and the Ministers of the Crown in Spain, exercised the same power in their respective governments. There were five secretaries, i.e., Attorney-General; Secretary

representative of the King, and exercised his power through the Secretaries of State. Every order or resolution passed by the governor had to be countersigned by the corresponding Secretary, according to the nature of the order or resolution, before it could have executive force.

**Townships.** The townships governed themselves autonomically in all those questions of a local character, which did not affect the gen-



ESCUELA RAFAEL MA. DE LABRA, SANTURCE.—ONE OF PORTO RICO'S MANY FINE SCHOOL BUILDINGS.

of State; Secretary of the Treasury; Secretary of Public Education; Secretary of Public Works and Transportations (Of the Interior); Secretary of Agriculture, Industries and Commerce.

Parliament had power to increase or diminish the number of Secretaries and to determine the jurisdiction of each.

The deputies and Senators sent by the Island to Congress were chosen in general elections held throughout the Nation, every five years, or in elections convened by the King whenever the "Cortes" (Parliament) was dismissed on account of some ministerial crisis.

In the same way elections were held in the Island, every five years, for constituting the Insular Parliament, or every time the Governor, acting for the King, dismissed Parliament due to some crisis in his cabinet. In this case new elections had to be held within the ninety days following that dismissal.

**The Governor.** The governor was the repre-

eral laws and could contract for loans for public works with the consent of their residents, ad referendum.

**Constitutional Guaranty.** The autonomical constitution of Porto Rico could not be modified except by law, and by petition of the Insular Parliament.

#### CHANGE OF SOVEREIGNTY

**American Invasion.** On the 25th of July, 1898, the United States Military forces landed at Guánica and Nelson A. Miles, the General in Chief, issued on the 28th of the same month a proclamation "To the inhabitants of the Island," in which he said:

"We have not come to make war upon the people of a country which has been for several centuries oppressed, but on the contrary, to bring protection to you and to your properties, exalting and imposing on you the guaranties and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government. It is not our purpose to interfere

with existing laws and customs which are good and beneficial to your people, provided they are in accordance with the principles of the military administration and with those of order and justice."

**Treaty of Peace.** On April 11th, 1899, Congress ratified the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, in virtue of which Porto Rico was ceded to the former. Congress retaining the power to determine the civil and political condition of the inhabitants of the Island.

**Military Government.** On the 18th of October, 1898, an order was issued by the Military headquarters, which among other things, made the following statement:

"With the cession of Porto Rico and adjacent islands to the United States, the political bands joining its inhabitants to the Spanish monarchy have been severed and meanwhile until Congress takes final action, the President of the United States, as General in Chief, has placed the recently acquired territory under military government, which is absolute and supreme."

And the Island, during this period of time, was governed by orders from General Headquarters.

#### LAWS OF THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES—FORAKER ACT

**Civil Government for the Island.** On the 12th of April, 1900, a law was passed known as the Foraker Act, entitled "An act to provide temporarily with revenue and a Civil Government for the Island of Porto Rico."

By means of this law the government of Porto Rico was organized with a governor appointed by the President as chief executive, an Executive Council and a House of Delegates.

The Executive Council was composed of eleven members, appointed by the President of whom five should be natives of Porto Rico.

The House was composed of thirty-five members, elected every two years by popular vote.

In virtue of this law the executive power was for over sixteen years vested in the Gov-

ernor and the six members of the Council not native of Porto Rico, who acted as chiefs of the departments created: Interior, Treasury, Auditor, Public Education, Executive Secretary and Justice.

**Legislative Powers.** The House of Delegates had power to legislate on all matters of local character, except on franchises and concessions for public services which were granted by the Executive Council, and the governor. The laws and resolutions had to be approved by the Executive Council, which when the Legislature was in session acted as a legislative body also, forming, in this case, with the House of Delegates the Legislative Assembly of Porto Rico.

The tariffs and treaties of commerce, as well as the law in bankruptcy and others of vital importance were of the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress, and were applied without limitations here. All Customs House receipts, as well as internal revenues, entered the Treasury of the Island to be used for the expenses and budgets of the Island.

**Representation in Congress.** A resident Commissioner at Washington, elected by the people of Porto Rico, represents the island, without voice or vote, in Congress.

**Citizenship.** The inhabitants of the Island were declared "citizens of Porto Rico", and the citizens of the United States residing there were made into a body politically denominated as "The People of Porto Rico".

**Townships.** The townships were subjected to the action of the Legislative Assembly.

**Action of Congress.** Congress retained the power to legislate on the Island.

**A Rule of Congress.** By a rule of Congress the Resident Commissioner at Washington was authorized to speak in Congress.

#### JONES ACT

**Political Status of the Porto Ricans.** By a law, passed on March 2, 1917, Porto Ricans were declared citizens of the United States, and were given a term of six months in which to express their preference, by means of an oath before a Court, to remain under the old status of "Citizens of Porto Rico", losing thereby their rights to be voters or eligibles,

or to discharge public offices in their country. Two hundred and eighty-eight Porto Ricans who resigned the American citizenship in this way, were deprived by disposition of the Organic Act, of the right to vote, be eligibles or occupy public offices in their country.

**The Constitution.** By express and specific

was given the power of absolute veto on budget matters and appropriations and the conditional veto, on other laws and resolutions, providing in the last case, that if two-thirds of both Houses voted a law over the Governor's veto, the latter could appeal to the President of the United States, who should



EL ORGULLOSO CENTINELA DE LA CURVA.—MILITARY ROAD.

dispositions of the same law, the constitutional precepts of the United States and some special ones on legislative procedures, were applied to the Island.

**Legislative Assembly.** A Legislative Assembly was created composed of a Senate with nineteen members and a House with thirty-nine, both elected by the people. The Governor

decide for or against within the term of ninety days, at the expiration of which, no action having been taken, the law or resolution went into effect.

**Executive Department.** In addition to the departments existing under the Foraker Act two more were established, one of Agriculture and Labor, and one of Sanitation, and the

heads of these, together with those of the Treasury, the Interior and the Executive Secretary, are appointed by the Governor with the advice and consent of the Senate. The departments of Justice, Education, and the Auditor continued under the control of the President, as with the Foraker Act, the two latter acquiring more power than they had under the old law.

**Franchises for Public Service.** A Public Service Commission was created to attend to franchises and concessions for public services, composed of the chiefs of Departments, the Auditor and two members elected by the people in general elections.

**Other Provisions.** Practically all the other provisions of the Foraker Act remained in force with slight changes.

#### MANIFEST TENDENCIES

The author does not propose to enter into a comparative study of the fundamental laws outlined above, but prefers to let the reader form his own judgment and conclusions on this exceptionally important matter.

The mere examinations of these laws shows, however, the tendency to provide the Island with a form of government with its own special features within the national organization. This, which as regards Spain seemed logical and necessary in spite of the similarity between both countries as regards the United States is becoming more indispensable every day, for obvious reasons.

Several American Statesmen, among them Stimpson, Root and Taft, have agreed on this point, and have emphatically expressed their opinion contrary to the incorporation of Porto Rico. Taft, while president, declared in a message to Congress recommending the granting of citizenship to the Porto Ricans, that such concession would not necessarily commit Congress to the incorporation of the Island later as a State. And the Supreme Court of the United States, in passing resolutions involving the matter, has always decided in accordance with these conclusions.

A bill has been recently presented in the House, and another in the Senate of the United States by representative Campbell in the for-

mer and by Senator King in the latter, constituting Porto Rico into a free State, associated to the United States by the bonds of citizenship and the flag. The majority of the people approve of these bills in their basic idea. May it please to heaven to enlighten everyone in this just and human accomplishment for the glory and honor of the United States and for the welfare of Porto Rico!

#### ADDITIONAL CONSIDERATIONS

**Natural Disposition.** Porto Ricans are convinced that it is an absolute necessity for them and a guaranty for their life as a free people to be associated permanently to the great nation which is the mother of liberty and democracy, and to which they are bound by natural links of interest and affinity.

They volunteered as soldiers to fight under the Stars and Stripes in the great world war, in which many died, while others to the number of fifteen thousand made ready to sail for Europe. They filled the quota assigned to them in the purchase of Liberty Loan Bonds and carried to completion every sort of work commended to them.

Lastly, the National Guard, Porto Rico section, has been classified as the first among all the states of the Union.

All this shows the natural disposition of the people of Porto Rico toward a better comprehension in their relations with the United States in the accomplishment of their aims and progress.

**Progress of the Island.** The Island has accomplished greater progress than some states of the Union with similar population and resources. Almost half of the total amount of the budget is spent for public education, not counting the amounts appropriated by each municipality for this service. It is expected that by the elimination of the adult illiterates existing in 1898, which is being accomplished gradually, through the action of time and by the agency of night schools and with the resources now applied, the percentage of illiteracy will very soon be of not more than fifteen per cent. Based on the number of children of school age only the Island is already very near this figure. The children are taught Eng-

lish, besides, and almost all of them speak this language in addition to their own native tongue—Spanish.

There is in Porto Rico a University, a College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts, eleven high schools, 1,275 graded schools and 1,702 rural schools, with an average daily attendance of 157,551 pupils. The teaching is mostly done in buildings especially constructed for the purpose out of the resources of the Island, and recently important loans have been floated for the construction of a great number of additional rural schools.

Roads traverse the island in every direction, so that there is not a single town that cannot be reached by automobile.

The municipalities improve greatly, and help out with considerable amounts of money in the work of public education.

In almost every town there are aqueducts, hospitals, electric light, public hygiene service and, in general, every requirement of modern life.

Approximately 700 policemen keep the order and peace, in which they are greatly aided by the peaceful disposition of the people of the Island, where there has never been a revolution and any citizen may safely go to the most remote corner of the mountains with the assurance that he will find aid and hospitality from Porto Rico's honest rural laborers.

There is in the island a regiment formed of Porto Ricans incorporated to the U. S. Army, and elsewhere there are two more. The National Guard is composed of eighty-two officers, of which six belong to the Staff, seventy-four to the first regiment and twelve to the second regiment, and of 1,773 soldiers. It is fair to say that there has never been occasion to call out these troops to aid the police in maintaining order.

According to the statistics for the last five years, the Island has had an average annual importation of \$76,240,620 and an export amounting to \$99,570,201. The annual average for those five years of the chief sources of production has been as follows: Sugar, \$62,975,045; Coffee, \$6,369,984; Cigars, \$8,270,564; Fruits, \$3,541,489.

There is a complete judicial organization

with municipal and District Courts and a Supreme Court of whose resolutions appeal may be made to the Circuit Court of Boston and to the Supreme Court of the United States. In the District Courts, the grand jury and the petit jury function. There is also a United States District Court for cases of federal jurisdiction, whose resolutions may be appealed in the same form as those of the Insular Supreme Court.

The legislature has made laws adapting itself to the modern spirit, whose movements it follows with great interest.

Every male citizen of over twenty-one years of age has a right to vote. The labor problem has received special attention by means of laws beneficial to the working classes, such as the eight hour law; the minimum wage for women; regulation of women and children's work; guaranties of hygiene and protection while at work; compensation for accidents by means of insurance under the control of "The People of Porto Rico"; loans building homes for workmen which they can acquire at moderate prices, and pay for on long terms with a reduced interest; law of mediation and conciliation for cases of strikes and lockouts. It must be admitted, however, that the rural agricultural workers live under bad conditions, with scarcity of proper nourishment, and overburdened, a poor and miserable life.

#### FACING THE FUTURE

The food question is the most serious of the Island's problems. The excess population of the Island, with 135 inhabitants per square kilometer, is responsible for the reduction in wages, and the proportions attained by the sugar industry, controlling almost all the fertile lands, brings about the scarcity of land for the cultivation of other essential food products, which have to be imported from outside at high prices, with the consequent high cost of living.

If she were to reduce the sugar production by imposing limitations on the ownership of land, the excess unemployed labor would be even greater and the Island would be unable to remedy the situation by the introduction of new crops that require only very few hands.

Based on the foregoing the conclusion has been reached that the problem of the Island's working classes can only be solved by the establishment of new industries which do not require the monopoly of the land (see article on New Industries in this book) and promoting at the same time the emigration of Porto Ricans, well educated and well prepared in her schools, so that they may exercise their ability, their work and their intelligence in their natural fields of expansion, for the welfare of the country to which they may go, and for the

prestige and the benefit of their native land. The solution is: industries, schools, emigration.

In this way the Island of Porto Rico will be placed in an advantageous position to take part, as one of the most important factors in the progressive development of the countries of Central and South America, which are related to her by tradition, language and customs, at the same time transmitting to those countries the sap of progress and of activity which she receives through her intercourse with the people of the United States.

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## Executive Departments of the Government of Porto Rico and Functions of Same

By **Manuel Camuñas**,

Economist; Ex-Secretary of State, Autonomic Cabinet; Chief of the Bureau of State under the Military Government; former Member of the Executive Council and of the House of Delegates; former Director of Prisons, of the Department of Labor, Charity and Correction and of the Department of Agriculture and Labor; Ex-President of the Workmen's Relief Commission.

When the Spanish sovereignty ceased in Porto Rico, a military government was established and functioned from October 18, 1898, to April 30, 1900.

**Departments.** Thru the Organic Act passed by the United States Congress, April 12, 1900, and applied to the Island on May 1 following, a civil government was established in Porto Rico, and six executive departments were created, as follows: Secretary of Porto Rico, Department of Justice, Treasury Department, Auditing Department, Department of the Interior and Department of Education, the heads of these departments to be appointed by the President, for a term of four years, by and with the advice and consent of the United States Senate.

**Function of Each Department.** The functions imposed on these departments were as follows:

To the Secretary of Porto Rico, that of recording and safekeeping the acts of the Executive Council and the laws of the Legis-

lative Assembly, and publishing the decrees of the council, the Governor's orders and all the laws of the Legislature.

The Attorney-General possessed all the powers that by law belong to an Attorney-General of a Territory of the United States, as far as locally applicable.

The Treasurer to collect and keep in custody the public funds, paying out the amounts designated by law on warrants signed by the Governor.

The Auditor to keep a detailed account of all incomes and expenditures.

The Commissioner of the Interior to supervise all the work of a public character and to be in charge of all the buildings, farms and public lands not Federal property.

The Commissioner of Education to supervise public instruction, and every expense incurred to be approved by him.

**Other Obligations.** All these department executives to perform such other duties as designated by law and to render annually thru

the Governor reports to their similar departments in Washington, for transmission to Congress.

**Executive Council.** These six department executives to be members of the Executive Council, a legislative and administrative body, to which was delegated the power of giving franchises and performing all functions designated by law. The complete Executive Council to be composed of eleven members, five to be natives of Porto Rico.

**Provisional Department Executives.** Due to the fact that on April 30, 1900, the day before the Organic Law became effective, all departmental executives were not as yet appointed by the President, General Davis, Military Governor of Porto Rico, on that day appointed provisionally the following men to fill such vacancies on the establishment of the law on May 1: N. B. H. Pettingill, Secretary of Porto Rico; J. H. Hollander, Treasurer; A. F. Odlin, Attorney-General; J. R. Garrison, Auditor; Cayetano Coll y Toste, Commissioner of the Interior; George Groff, Commissioner of Education.

**Official Organisms Then in Function.** Before the application of the Organic Law the following departments functioned independently: The Insular Police; the Prison Board, who administered and managed the penitentiary and the prisons of the Insular Government, located in each of the seven districts of the island; the Board of Charity, in charge of all charitable institutions, and the Board of Sanitation. The Insular Police continued as an independent department under a chief and a commission. The Prison Board was annexed to the Attorney-General's department and the Boards of Charity and Sanitation to the Department of the Interior.

**Creation of the Department of Health, Charity and Correction.** On May 10, 1904, a law was passed consolidating the Department of Health, Charity and Prisons into a special Department of Health, Charity and Correction, each one becoming a bureau of the new department; the director of this new department becoming a member of the Executive Council and to be appointed by the Governor,

for a term of four years, with the consent of said Council.

**Creation of the Civil Service.** The law creating the Civil Service was passed on March 14, 1907, to come into effect the first of January, 1908. It established a commission composed of three members appointed by the Governor, with the consent of the Executive Council; of these three members two were to be affiliated with the two leading political parties of the island, the other to be designated by the Governor to become president of the commission; the President to act as chief examiner and secretary of the commission and head of the office. This legislation guaranteed the rights of the employees and orders and regulates their admission, promotion or dismissal from the Insular Service, for reasonable cause.

**Creation of the Special Board of Health.** A law was passed March 9, 1911, organizing the Board of Health, within the Department of Health, Charity and Correction, with a special director; an Insular Board of Health and the necessary personnel for the different offices that made up the department.

By the law passed on March 14, 1912, the Sanitary Service was definitely dismembered from the Department of Health, Charity and Correction, and a Department of Health properly organized was then formed.

**Department of Labor, Charity and Correction.** On March 14, 1912, a law was passed creating the Bureau of Labor annexed to the Department of Charity and Correction, the latter being transformed by virtue of this fact into a Department of Labor, Charity and Correction.

This bureau was constituted with a chief, an assistant-in-chief and the necessary personnel for the various services prescribed by law.

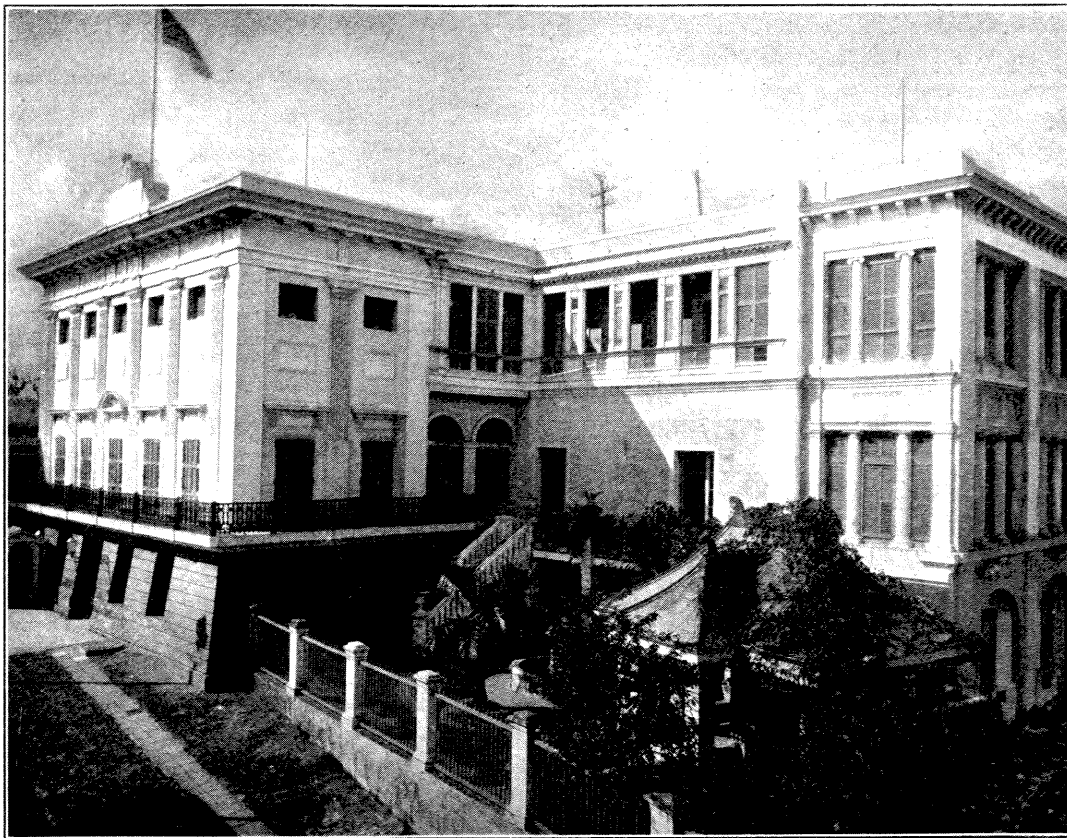
**Functions of the Bureau of Labor.** The functions imposed on it were the gathering of information concerning labor, its relation to the industries of the country; the wages and hours of labor of workers of both sexes, means of improving their material welfare, socially, intellectually and morally; to investigate the causes related to the controversies between



employers and employees, and in general to use its influence in maintaining the best harmony between capital and labor.

**Commission for Workmen Homes.** A law was passed on March 11, 1915, creating a Commission for Workmen Homes. This law was amended in 1919 and became part of a law passed July 11, 1921, the object of said law being the selection of sites on which to build suitable homes, at a reasonable cost, for work-

men, covering an area of about one hundred acres, on which fifteen streets and two avenues have been laid out. This district is supplied with water, sewerage and electric lights and is composed of one thousand urban sites on which about six hundred cement and wooden houses have been built. These structures afford lodging for more than three thousand persons, and at present the development of the district is making rapid headway.



"LA FORTALEZA". GOVERNOR'S PALACE.

men, to be paid by long term installments. The commission was organized in 1919, with the Commissioner of the Interior as president, the Treasurer, the Commissioner of Health, the Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor and three other members designated by the Governor by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, with due representation of the two principal political parties and the labor organizations of the country provided for. Thanks to the work of this Commission, a workers' residential district was built in San-

**Creation of the System of Workmen's Compensation.** On April 13, 1916, a law was passed providing for compensation to injured workmen or to families dependent on those who might lose their lives while engaged in trades or occupations. This system was based on the optional insurance of the employer, and in order to administrate its service a commission was formed composed of the Treasurer, the Commissioner of Labor, Charity and Correction, the Attorney-General and two other Commissioners appointed by the Governor

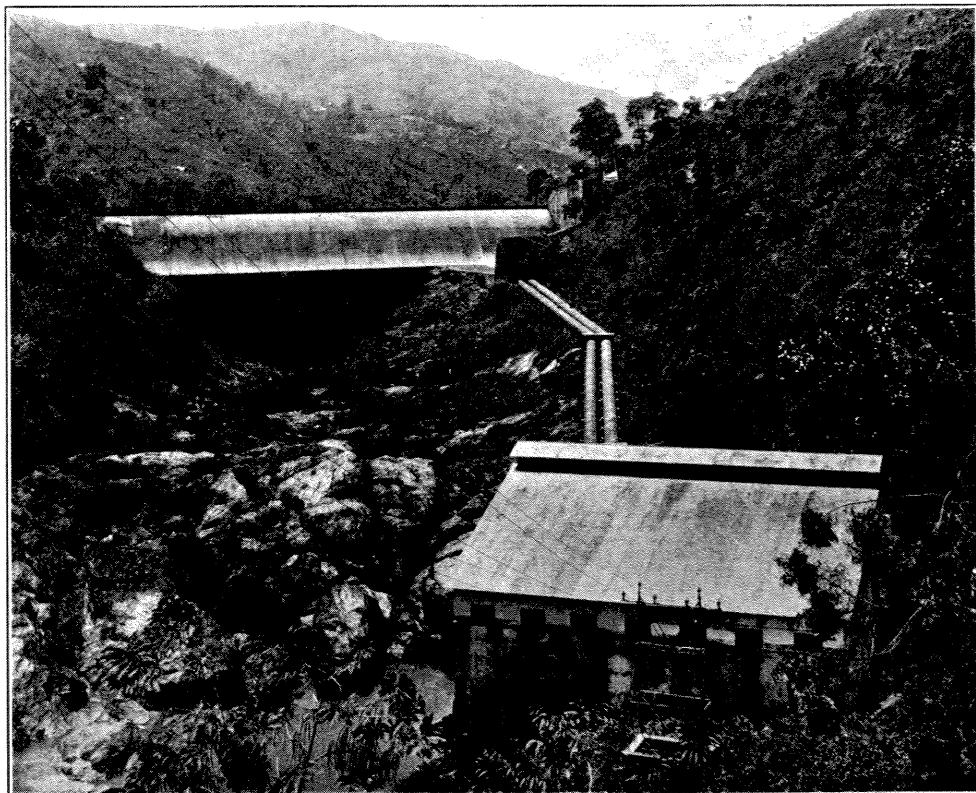
with the consent of the Executive Council. In 1917-18, 1919-20, 1920-21, this law was amended to broaden the workmen's compensation, to establish compulsory insurance and to modify the Commission. This Commission consists of a president, a permanent member appointed by the Governor by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and three commissioners elected by the people in a general election, candidates to be designated by each of the three major political parties of the country.

**Establishment of the New Organic Law, Six Departments.** The Organic Law passed by the United States Congress on March 2, 1917, and applied to Porto Rico, created six executive departments, whose heads are to be appointed for four years, with the following duties and powers. These departments are:

Attorney-General, in charge of the administration of justice in Porto Rico, and who is the legal counsellor of the Governor and of the department executives, and to be respon-

sible for the adequate representation of the people of Porto Rico, of its properly constituted officers, and of all claims and prosecutions—civil or criminal—before the Supreme Court of Porto Rico, in which the people of Porto Rico might be interested, or is to be a party, and may, if ordered by the Governor, represent the people of Porto Rico or its properly constituted officers before any other tribunal or before any other officer or council, in any action or proceeding—civil or criminal—in which the people of Porto Rico is a party or is interested.

The Treasurer shall gather and safekeep the public funds, disbursing them according to law thru warrants signed by the Governor. He shall designate banking institutions in the United States or in Porto Rico as depositaries of the Government of Porto Rico, with subjection to the conditions prescribed by the Governor, provided they have given to said Treasurer a satisfactory evidence of their good economic condition and have deposited



PLANTA HIDROELÉCTRICA—COMERÍO.  
HYDROELECTRIC PLANT OF THE P. R. RAILWAY, LIGHT & POWER COMPANY.



SALTO DE LOS "MORONES"—UTUADO.—LATENT WHITE COAL, THE MAIN SOURCE OF ENERGY.

United States bonds or bonds of the Government of Porto Rico or other satisfactory guarantees to the Governor for the amounts that the Treasurer shall indicate, paying interest on such deposits.

**Commissioner of the Interior.** This official shall direct all works of public character, and shall be in charge of all public buildings, farms and lands, with the exception of those which belong to the United States.

The Commissioner of Education shall direct public instruction, every expenditure proposed on account of same to be approved by him. He shall prepare all courses of study, subject to approval of the Governor. He shall prepare regulations for the selection of teachers, and their appointments made by the school boards will be subject to his approval.

**Commissioner of Health.** To be in charge of all the matters relating to sanitation and public charities.

**Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor.** To be in charge of the affairs and branches of the Government that have been or might be legally constituted for the study, benefit

and progress of agriculture and other industries. It is the principal aim of this department to patronize, encourage and develop the agricultural interests and the welfare of the workmen of Porto Rico, improve their working conditions and promote their opportunities for obtaining employment at just compensation.

**Executive Council.** These six department heads shall constitute collectively a consultation board to the Governor that shall be known as the Executive Council, and all of them shall discharge other obligations not incompatible with the Organic Act that may be assigned by law.

**Appointments of the President and Governor.** The Attorney-General and the Commissioner of Education shall be appointed by the President by and with the advice and consent of the United States Senate. The executives of the other four departments shall be appointed by the Governor by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of Porto Rico.

**Auditor.** The President, by and with the



PUENTE DEL FERROCARRIL SOBRE EL RÍO CIALES.—SCENE ON THE PORTO RICO-AMERICAN R.R.

advice and consent of the United States Senate, shall appoint an auditor for a term of four years, to have extensive powers in the examination, intervention and liquidation of all the accounts concerning the revenues and incomes, of whatever origin, belonging to the Government of Porto Rico and to the Municipal Government.

**Executive Secretary.** The Governor shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, an Executive Secretary, who shall register and keep the acts and proceedings of the Public Service Commission; shall publish all the decrees and orders of the Governor and all the laws decreed by the Legislative Assembly; shall discharge all duties of the Secretary of Porto Rico and comply with all obligations imposed by law.

**Commission of Public Service.** The Organic Act mentioned above created a Public Service Commission, composed of the six executive heads of the departments, the auditor and two commissioners elected, in general elections,

for a term of four years. Every concession of franchises, rights and privileges of a public or semi-public character shall be granted by said commission.

A law of the Legislative Assembly of Porto Rico, passed December 6, 1917, imposed on said commission all the executive functions relating to public service companies, which up to the time had been exercised by the extinct Executive Council.

According to that law, the public service companies are the natural or juridical persons engaged in the following: Transportation of persons or freight, utilizing maritime ways, rivers and land, telegraph and telephone communications, docks and shipyards, generation of motive power of any origin and destined to any purpose; lighting, heating and sewerage; irrigating lands and navigation on irrigation channels and any other similar purpose.

The following table shows the development of all the executive departments since their inauguration:

THE BOOK OF PORTO RICO

COMPARATIVE  
BUDGETS OF THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS OF PORTO RICO  
BY ECONOMIC YEARS

	1901-02	1914-15		1917-18	1921-22
Governor's Office .....	\$12,740	\$14,310	Governor's Office .....	\$49,310	\$58,022
Insular Police .....	204,350	427,035	Insular Police .....	461,690	753,305
Department of the Secretary of Porto Rico..	29,620	31,840	Department of the Secretary of Porto Rico..	33,340	42,474
Bureau of Weights and Measures .....	.....	21,185	Bureau of Weights and Measures .....	18,150	33,940
Bureau of Printing, Supply and Transportation .....	.....	.....	Bureau of Printing, Supply and Transportation .....	32,120	134,249
Archive of History .....	.....	.....	Archive of History .....	.....	8,395
Insular Board of Elections .....	.....	.....	Insular Board of Elections .....	.....	10,958
Attorneys - General Department .....	17,600	37,120	Attorneys - General Department .....	57,270	76,222
Insular Courts and Registry of Property.....	161,830	414,570	Insular Courts and Registry of Property.....	443,938	577,661
Penal Institutions .....	111,652	.....	Penal Institutions .....	227,646	361,768
Treasury Department...	148,660	236,896	Treasury Department...	248,926	406,792
Auditor's Offices.....	47,040	65,490	Auditor's Offices .....	84,170	114,004
Department of the Interior .....	455,342	485,071	Department of the Interior .....	913,480	1,646,038
Charitable Institutions..	92,595	.....	Charitable Institutions..	.....	.....
Superior Board of Health	16,348	.....	Superior Board of Health	.....	.....
Department of Instruction .....	499,160	1,388,485	Department of Instruction .....	1,601,024	4,034,861
Insular Library.....	4,000	10,020	Insular Library.....	15,440	18,790
Department of Labor, Beneficence and Correction .....	.....	398,857	Department of Labor, Beneficence and Correction .....	.....	.....
Department of Health ..	.....	270,329	Department of Health ..	346,138	809,856
Institute of Tropical Medicine .....	.....	.....	Institute of Tropical Medicine .....	14,740	27,358
Department of Agriculture and Labor.....	.....	.....	Department of Agriculture and Labor.....	76,550	280,927
Government of the Island of Culebra .....	.....	.....	Government of the Island of Culebra .....	4,210	7,814
Civil Service Commission .....	.....	8,020	Civil Service Commission .....	7,680	10,360
Commission of Public Service .....	.....	.....	Commission of Public Service .....	8,800	20,520
Commission for Workmen's Compensation ..	.....	.....	Commission for Workmen's Compensation...	.....	6,450
Commission of Workmen's Homes.....	.....	.....	Commission of Workmen's Homes.....	.....	12,620
<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$1,800,937</b>	<b>\$3,809,228</b>	<b>Total .....</b>	<b>\$4,684,622</b>	<b>\$9,453,384</b>

The officials who alternated in the various executive offices created by the Organic Law and the date of their taking charge and their discontinuance in office here follow:

**Governors.** Charles H. Allen, May 1, 1900, to September 14, 1901; William H. Hunt, September 15, 1901, to July 3, 1904; Beekman Winthrop, July 4, 1904, to April 17, 1907; Regis H. Post, April 18, 1907, to November 5, 1909; George R. Colton, November 6, 1909, to November 5, 1913; Arthur Yager, November 6, 1913, to May 16, 1921; E. Montgomery Reily, May 17, 1921, to April 1, 1923; Horace M. Towner, April 1, 1923.

**Secretaries of Porto Rico.** William H. Hunt, June 9, 1900, to September 15, 1901; Charles Hartzell, November 1, 1901, to September 1, 1904; Regis H. Post, September 2, 1904, to April 17, 1907; William F. Willoughby, July 1, 1907, to August 29, 1909; George Cabot Ward, August 30, 1909, to March 8, 1910; M. Drew Carrell, April 20, 1910, to June 30, 1914; Martín Travieso, Jr., September 17, 1914, to March 2, 1917.

**Executive Secretary.** R. Siaca Pacheco, March 3, 1917, to September 1, 1922; Eduardo Saldaña, September 1, 1922.

**Attorneys-General.** John A. Russell, July 13, 1900, to November 12, 1900; Arthur F. Odlin, November 13, 1900, to March 7, 1901; James T. Harlam, March 8, 1901, to April 15, 1903; Willis Sweet, March 18, 1903, to March 3, 1905; Albert P. Steward, March 4, 1905, to May 30, 1905; Frank Fewille, June 1, 1905, to October 16, 1907; Henry Hoyt, December 18, 1907, to April 4, 1910; Foster V. Brown, May 10, 1910, to April 20, 1912; Walcott H. Pitkin, Jr., April 21, 1912, to December 5, 1914; Howard L. Kern, December 6, 1914, to September 1, 1919; Salvador Mestre, April 7, 1920, to March 31, 1923; Judge Coates, April 1, 1923.

**Treasurers.** J. H. Hollander, May 1, 1900, to July 15, 1901; William F. Willoughby, November 16, 1901, to June 30, 1907; Samuel A. Cromer, July 1, 1901, to Jan. 24, 1912; Allan H. Richardson, January 25, 1912, to November 3, 1915; Charles G. Hill, November 4, 1915, to September 5, 1917; José E. Benedicto, Septem-

ber 6, 1917, to September 1, 1922; Ramón Aboy, Jr., September 1, 1922, to April, 1923; J. W. Bonner, April, 1923.

**Auditors.** John R. Garrison, May 1, 1900, to April 30, 1903; Regis H. Post, May 1, 1903, to August 31, 1904; E. S. Rockwell, September 1, 1904, to March 4, 1905; Thomas W. Hynes, March 5, 1905, to February 22, 1906; George Cabot Ward, February 23, 1906, to September 12, 1909; A. P. Sawyer, September 13, 1909, to November 30, 1910; J. N. Bonner, October 13, 1911, to October 5, 1921; William L. Kessinger, October 6, 1921.

**Commissioners of the Interior.** William H. Elliot, June 15, 1900, to February 8, 1905; John Steward Elliot, February 9, 1905, to October 2, 1905; Lawrence A. Graham, November 4, 1905, to January 5, 1910; John A. Wilson, January 19, 1910, to January 18, 1914; Manuel V. Domenech, September 17, 1914, to February 17, 1918; Guillermo Esteves, February 18, 1918, to October 31, 1921; John A. Wilson, November 1, 1921, to April, 1923; Guillermo Esteves, April, 1923.

**Commissioners of Education.** Martin G. Brumbaugh, August 8, 1900, to November 18, 1901; Samuel M. Lindsay, February 12, 1902, to October 20, 1904; Roland M. Flakner, October 2, 1904, to August 8, 1907; Edwin G. Dexter, August 9, 1907, to June 30, 1912; Edward M. Bainter, July 1, 1912, to May 15, 1915; Paul G. Miller, August 19, 1915, to September 29, 1921; Juan B. Huyke, September 30, 1921.

**Heads of the Department of Health, Charity and Correction.** José Gómez Brioso, April 1, 1904, to December 13, 1904; Andrés Crosas, December 14, 1904, to January 24, 1907; Francisco de Paula Acuña, March 1, 1907, to May 20, 1908; Juan Vías Ochoteco, May 21, 1908, to June 27, 1911; Manuel Camuñas, July 13, 1911, to March 14, 1912.

**Head of the Department of Labor, Charity and Correction.** Manuel Camuñas, March 15, 1912, to March 2, 1917.

**Commissioners of the Department of Health.** W. F. Lippit, April 1, 1912, to September 3, 1917; Alejandro Ruiz Soler, September 4, 1917, to October 31, 1921; W. F. Lippit, November 1, 1921, to May, 1923; Pedro N. Ortiz, May, 1923.

**Commissioners of Agriculture and Labor.** Manuel Camuñas, March 3, 1917, to October 31, 1921; Carlos Toro Labarthe, November 1, 1921, to May 1, 1922; Leopoldo Feliú, June 16, 1922, to May, 1923; Carlos Chardón, May, 1923.

The alternation in the governmental departments by the persons named above comprise three distinct epochs that may be classified as follows:

(First) from May 1, 1900, down to September 14, 1914. During that time the Executive Council, an important legislative and administrative body, was composed of a majority of six Americans over five natives. And the six government departments were discharged exclusively by continental Americans, as was also the new Department of Health, created by the Legislature of Porto Rico. This epoch covers the budget from 1901-02 down to that of 1914-15;

(Second) from September 14, 1914, to the application of the new Organic Act on March 2, 1917. During that time and in the beginning of the government of Arthur Yager, Governor of Porto Rico, thru his recommendation the President appointed, on September 17, 1914, Mr. Martin Travieso, Jr., Secretary of Porto Rico, and Mr. Manuel V. Domemnech, Commissioner of the Interior. This gave the Executive Council a majority of seven natives to four continental Americans, the latter governing the departments of the Attorney-General, Treasury, Auditor, Education and Health, and the natives the departments of the Secretary of Porto Rico, Interior and Labor, Charity and Correction;

(Third) from the application of the new Organic Act on March 2, 1917, down to the present time. During the beginning of this period four natives were appointed to be the four executive officers of the departments whose appointment was left to the Governor,

with the consent of the Insular Senate. And the two departments whose heads were to be appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate continued to be discharged by two continental Americans. Later on, on April 7, 1920, thru recommendation of Governor Yager, Mr. Salvador Mestre was appointed Attorney-General, and still later on the President, on September 30, 1921, thru recommendation of Governor Reily, appointed Juan B. Huyke Commissioner of the Department of Education.

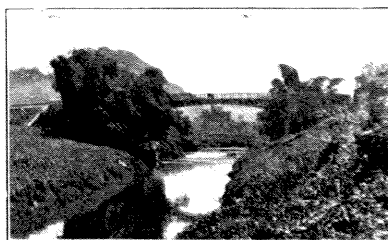
On November 1, 1921, Governor Reily appointed as executives of the Departments of Health and the Interior Mr. W. F. Lippit and Mr. John A. Wilson, respectively, and since that time the six executive departments established by the new Organic Act have been discharged by two continental Americans and four natives. This epoch covers the budget from 1917-18 to that of 1921-22.

Due to the new Organic Act, put into effect in Porto Rico on March 2, 1917, the Porto Ricans have control of a majority of the government departments, of the Executive Council and of the Public Service Commission, fundamental ones in the administration of the Island.

It should be noted that the increment of the important branches represented by the Departments of Education, Interior, Health, Agriculture and Labor as shown by their budgets is as follows:

	1917-18	1921-22
Education . . . . .	\$1,601,024	\$4,034,861
Interior . . . . .	913,480	1,646,038
Health . . . . .	346,138	809,856
Agriculture and Labor..	76,550	280,927

These figures show how the development of the material and intellectual progress of Porto Rico progresses thru the home rule functions vested in the Porto Ricans by the Jones Act.





LA HONORABLE CORTE SUPREMA DE PUERTO RICO.—THE SUPREME COURT ON THE BENCH, JUDGE DEL TORO PRESIDING.

## The Judiciary—Its Importance and Influence

By Emilio del Toro Cuebas,

Presiding Judge, Supreme Court of Porto Rico.

**Spanish Courts.** When the American troops landed in Porto Rico in 1898, they found a complete judicial organization in operation here, similar to that of Spain. There existed peace courts, municipal courts, courts of the first instance and investigation, an Audiencia de lo Criminal (Criminal Court) in Ponce, one in Mayaguez and an Audiencia Territorial (Supreme Court of the Territory) divided into two sections, criminal and civil. This last-named court was located in San Juan. The court of last resort was the Supreme Court of the nation at Madrid. The Supreme Court of Porto Rico was created by Royal Commission of June 19, 1831, and the Illustrious Bar Association was organized July 27, 1840.

**Judicial Reforms by the Military Government.** The Military Government having been established, it gave special attention to the courts of justice. Among the General Orders promulgated on the subject special mention should be made of No. 118, series of 1899. The Criminal Courts and the Courts of First Instance and Investigation, were substituted by five district courts located one each in San Juan, Ponce, Mayaguez, Arecibo and Humacao. The district attorneys took charge not only of the prosecution of delinquents, but also of the investigation of crimes. Oral public hearings which already existed in criminal cases were extended to civil suits.

**Judicial Reforms Due to Foraker Act.** Sections 33, 34 and 35 of the first Organic Act (1900) establishing a civil government in the island dealt exclusively with the judiciary. This Act left in operation the insular courts then existing and provided that the justices of the Supreme Court should be appointed by the President of the United States, with the advice and consent of the Senate. Within the federal organization, the Act provided for the judicial district of Porto Rico and established the "United States District Court for Porto Rico." In 1902 the insular Legislature enacted the Political and Penal Codes and the Code of Criminal Procedure, and in 1904 the Code of Civil Procedure, all of them genuinely American. In general terms it may be said that the substantive civil law was left in effect, while the political code, administrative law, penal law and the adjective civil law, were all completely changed.

**Power of Legislature to Organize the Courts of Justice.** The second Organic Act (1917), which is now in effect, provides that the judicial power shall reside in the courts and tribunals of Porto Rico as already established, and grants the Legislature power to organize, modify or rearrange such courts and their jurisdiction and procedure, except the United States District Court for Porto Rico. For Porto Rico it is the Congress of the United



States and the Legislature of the island who enact laws. The former has generally limited itself to organic acts, while the latter has exercised its ample powers by adopting a complete system of laws adapted to the new order of things.

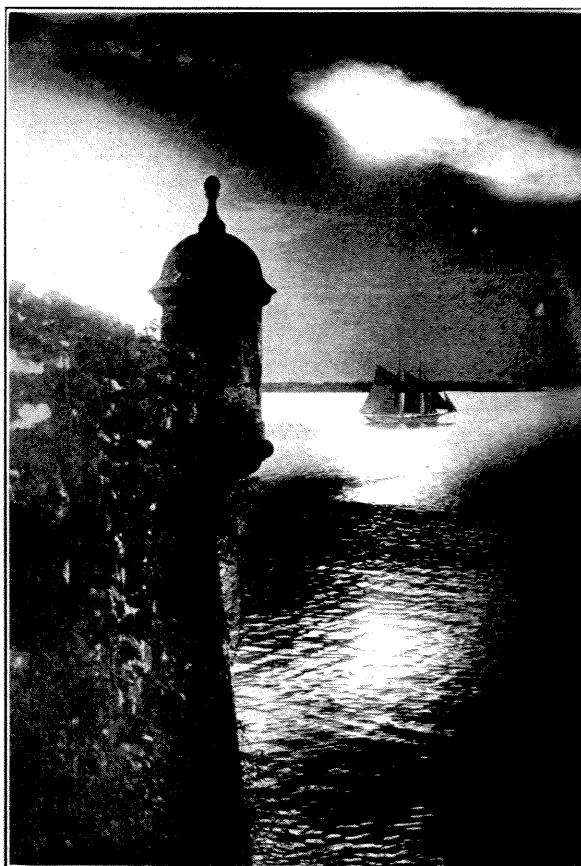
**Present Organization of the Courts.** The present organization of the courts includes municipal courts, whose judges must be lawyers, and whose civil jurisdiction extends to cases involving \$500, while their criminal jurisdiction comprises misdemeanors, and the district courts, the judges of which must be attorneys-at-law. These courts have original jurisdiction in all criminal cases and in civil cases involving an amount exceeding \$500. On appeal on a trial de novo they have jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases decided by the municipal courts. And finally there is the Supreme Court composed of five justices (attorneys-at-law) to which appeal may be taken from the judgments of district courts. The Supreme Court can originally issue writs of habeas corpus, mandamus, certiorari, injunction and inhibition, and is empowered to admit lawyers to the bar and to disbar them upon proper proceedings. The decisions of the Supreme Court are published in English and Spanish. Twenty-nine volumes have already been issued, while volume 30, both editions, is at present in press.

**United States District Court.** The United States District Court for Porto Rico has the same jurisdiction as federal courts on the continent. This court takes cognizance in admiralty and bankruptcy cases, naturalizes foreigners and Porto Ricans, and has jurisdiction in cases involving over \$3,000 wherein all the parties on any side of the litigation are citizens or subjects of a foreign state or states, or citizens of a state, territory or district of the United States, not domiciled in Porto Rico.

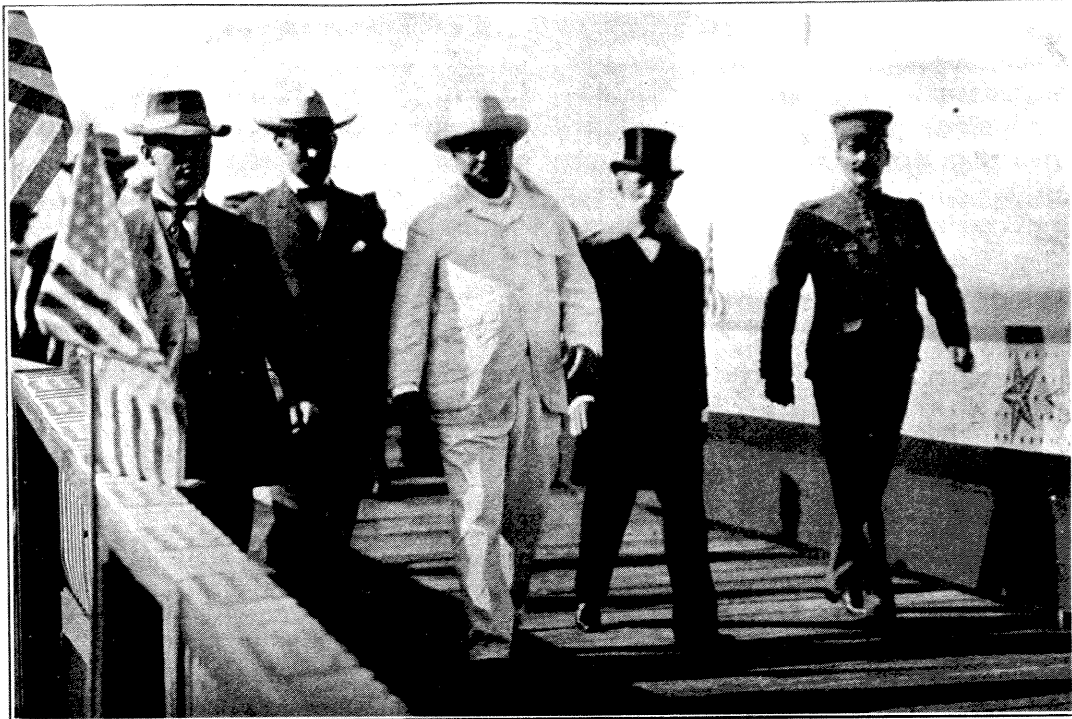
**Appeals.** The last word in matters of legal construction is pronounced de facto in many cases by the Supreme Court, but even its decisions, in cases where the amount involved exceeds \$5,000, or where an Act of Congress or the Constitution of the United States must be interpreted, are appealable to the Circuit Court of Appeal of the United States for the first cir-

cuit, and to the National Supreme Court. To these high tribunals appeals may also be taken from judgments of the Federal Court.

**Stability of our Judicial Institutions.** The foregoing sketch is sufficient to convey an exact idea of the stability of Porto Rico's judicial institutions and of the safety they offer to all citizens equally. Ours is a government of law, and it is in such government that courts are most necessary and where their influence is greatest. They recognize and secure the rights of citizens; decide conflicts between them and between citizens and the government in proper cases; interpret the institutions of the country as living and progressive bodies; punish the guilty and acquit the innocent, and if any law violates rights acknowledged by the Constitution, the courts acknowledge the fact and declare such law unconstitutional, provided that they are requested to do so, in due form.



ANTIGUO E INCÓLUME CENTINELA DE NUESTRA CIVILIZACIÓN.—A SENTRY BOX OF OLDEN TIMES.



GRATA VISITA DEL PRESIDENTE ROOSEVELT A PUERTO RICO EN EL 1904.  
 "I HAVE BEEN TENDERED ONE OF THE HEARTIEST WELCOMES IN MY LIFE".—ROOSEVELT.

## National Viewpoint on the Future Status of Porto Rico

Inaugural Address by Governor Towner, delivered at San Juan, P. R.,  
 on April 6, 1923.

By Horace M. Towner.

In assuming my duties as your Governor it is difficult to announce a policy for my administration. Only in general terms is it wise to speak. This is a free government, a government of the people. The administrative head of such a government should never forget that important fact. He may lead, but he should not coerce. He may advise, but he should not impose policies. Progress is possible in a free country only through the harmonious operation of its coordinate parts. This can only be obtained by conference and consideration, by mutual concession and accommodation, and as a result of common counsel, agreements may thus be secured both as to general policies and particular measures.

There are some things which are fundamental about which there should be no disagreement and regarding which it would seem

proper to refer in an inaugural address. And first, with regard to your relations as an organized and acknowledged part of the Union to the General Government. Porto Rico is a part of the United States. It has a republican form of government, patterned on that of the General Government, and of like character with that of the other States and Territories, which, with it constitute the Union.

No two States or Territories of the Union have exactly the same form of government. They must all be Republican in form, they are alike in general characteristics, but modifications exist in order to best adapt the form of government to the local needs of the people of the particular State or Territory. Such distinctive modifications as are found in the form of government of Porto Rico were made because they were deemed advantageous, and

they were enacted for the particular benefit of Porto Rico.

No form of government in free nations is or should be permanent and final in every particular. We are changing by amendment even the Constitution of the United States. Perhaps we might not agree as to what changes should be made in the Organic Act of Porto Rico, but we would all agree, I presume, that some changes should be made. These alterations I shall be glad to consider with you, so that we may join in asking Congress for desired amendments. I think I know the attitude of this administration and of Congress toward Porto Rico. It is more than friendly; and I am sure that any change in the existing law that will better conditions in the Island will be sympathetically considered by the President and by the Congress.

#### STATUS

I think that practically all those who have given the subject consideration realize that Porto Rico is permanently a part of the United States. I feel sure that the people of Porto Rico now can have no other wish than to remain a part of the United States, as fixed and secure beneath her flag as is Massachusetts or California. To the people of Porto Rico the progress and prosperity of the Union is as much an assurance of safety and progress as it is to the people of Iowa or Ohio. The safety of the Union will be your safety, the progress of the Union will be your progress, and the prosperity of the Union will be your prosperity.

This does not mean that Porto Ricans will be compelled to give up their ideals, their individuality, or their racial characteristics. It does not mean that Porto Ricans should lose their love or relinquish their pride in their beautiful island home. Far from it. Porto Ricans have enough of those distinctive qualities which are lovely and valuable to hold their affections and win and keep the admiration and esteem of their fellow citizens of other parts of the Republic. Each State has its own qualities that make its people proud of their state citizenship. This does not detract, rather

it enhances their joy and pride that they are citizens of the best, the freest and the greatest nation in the world. That dual citizenship is yours as well as theirs, and I am sure there is not a citizen of Porto Rico who is not as proud of his citizenship of your great Republic as is any other citizen of any other part of the Union.

#### PROGRESS

The accomplishments of the past give promise of an assured future.

One of the first interests of a government should be the education of the people. You have had a most difficult task in that regard. But when it is remembered that during the past twenty years illiteracy has been reduced from about 90 to 50 per cent; that now there are about 2,000 buildings used for school purposes, with nearly 200,000 pupils enrolled, and 3,000 teachers employed; when the Government annually expends over \$4,000,000, or about 37 per cent of its budget for educational purposes, there is certainly ground for believing that it will not be many years when the distressing burden will be lifted.

The health of the people is of the greatest importance, and in securing it governments must now take an important part. In this respect also the record thus far made is encouraging. The total mortality rate in 1898 was 41 per 1,000. This has been reduced to 18.6. Better conditions and better methods will undoubtedly result in a still greater reduction.

The economic and commercial progress of the Island has been remarkable. The total value of exports and imports in 1901 was but \$17,000,000. In 1920 it was \$247,000,000.

The value of the exports from Porto Rico in 1901 was only \$8,000,000. In 1920 it was \$150,000,000.

The total amount of trade between Porto Rico and the United States in 1901 was \$12,000,000. In 1920 it was \$223,000,000.

The value of sugar exported from Porto Rico in 1901 was \$4,000,000. In 1920 it was \$98,000,000.

These items give an indication of the marvelous material development during but twenty

years of the Island's history. It would seem impossible to equal this progress during the next two decades, but it is certain that a large and steady increase can be maintained. The resources of the Island are so great that with intelligence and energy the limit of production will not be reached for years to come.

With this increase of production should come a general betterment of the condition of the people, especially of those who work for wages. With a constant enlargement of the productive capacity of the Island with a resultant increase of its wealth there will be greater resources for securing better educational facilities, better sanitary provisions, and better housing and living conditions. Prosperity should not augment the store of the fortunate only, it should help and benefit all the people.

#### THE FUTURE

In this record of progress and development we may all take pride. I doubt if anywhere any isolated section, a part of any other nation, can show a like record. It proves—does it not?—that our relations are mutually beneficial. We have on the part of the General Government granted the greatest possible measure of liberty. You have privileges in some regards of greater worth than those enjoyed by any other part of the Union. You have a constantly increasing measure of local self-government, and you have given to the world a splendid example of what may be done in less than a single generation by a liberty-loving, capable and intelligent people under republican institutions. We shall ever regard your advancement as one of the proudest chapters in the nation's history, and this record is alike creditable to Porto Rico and to the United States.

You have accepted with intelligent appreciation the forms of government which seemed best suited to your particular situation and condition and best adapted to the progress and development of a free people. You have been quick to adopt yourselves to those forms, and your local administrative, your legislative and judicial accomplishment have been not only creditable, but remarkable. Everything



SECRETARY WEEKS' RECENT VISIT TO THE ISLAND.

(DE IZQUIERDA A DERECHA) HON. ANTONIO R. BARCELÓ, PRESIDENTE DEL SENADO INSULAR; HON. FELIX CÓRDOVA DÁVILA, COMISIONADO A WASHINGTON; HON. JOHN WINGATE WEEKS, SECRETARIO DE LA GUERRA, Y EL CORONEL TENNY ROSS, COMANDANTE DEL REGIMIENTO DE PUERTO RICO.

in government is comparative. Perfection is not to be obtained by any nation or by any people. There are mistakes, lapses, things to regret to be found in the record of all nations, including the United States. But while these incidents may be found in your past as in others, yet on the whole you have made a record of which we all are proud. We will all do well if we remember mistakes only to avoid them. The activities and duties of the present, I hope, will so awaken our ambitions, and so absorb our energies that we will have little time to dwell on the faults and mistakes of the past. I have come to Porto Rico to serve my country and to serve you; not always perhaps as I would wish, not always may be as you would desire. We must together work out those policies and activities which will make for the progress, the betterment, and the happiness of all the people. And we should remember that it is not for today or for this generation alone that we serve; it is for the coming generation as well. If we can make their problems easier, if we can make their

burdens lighter, if we can hand down to them a happier, better, lovelier place in which to live, at least we will have justified our service, so that those who come after us, as they

think on the work that we have done, may say, "Those who thus served the people in the days gone by did all their duty in the fear of God and for the good of man."

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### The Porto Rican Viewpoint

Speech delivered at the banquet by the People of Porto Rico to the  
Hon. Edwin Denby, Secretary of the Navy.

**By Antonio R. Barceló, LL.B.,**

President of the Porto Rican Senate.

This is a happy and fortunate moment for Porto Rico. There are gathered here, at this banquet, some of the highest representative personalities of the United States, in close association with Porto Rico's highest representation, while there are also with us representatives of the great American press. It seems to be my duty, therefore, to say a few words in connection with this function which will convey to the minds of our visitors an idea of the sentiment which animates the people of Porto Rico.

I shall be brief. I know that circumstances demand brevity, and, therefore, I shall not trouble you for long.

You have seen how our people, crowded into an imposing but respectful mass, listened to the speech of Governor Towner—who, fortunately for us, has today taken charge of the government of this island—and how they applauded him with the greatest enthusiasm.

That applause must have told you clearly how anxious Porto Rico was to hear from authorized lips such beautiful, generous, promising, and hopeful words as were uttered by the Honorable Horace M. Towner.

What you saw in front of the stand erected for the inaugural ceremony was the entire island in its most genuine representation. In a few hours, when all that crowd will have dispersed over our island, its members will carry to the farthest corners of Porto Rico the message of love, faith, hope, liberty, and progress contained in the eloquent and masterly words of our Governor. A shout of joy and enthusiasm will be heard everywhere an-

nouncing the good news of a new era of peace and welfare.

If I had been Governor of Porto Rico today, under the same circumstances, something I must set aside as impossible, I should have delivered the same speech, in the same words used by Governor Towner.

For, gentlemen, aside from the pleasant and deeply-felt words addressed by the Governor to my people, words for ever so long unpronounced by any governor, I wish to say that our minds and our hearts, as regards all the purposes of our life, without reserve, are set on living in frank solidarity of action with the great people of the United States, because that is our natural inclination, and because such a close and permanent association will guarantee our existence, our progress, and our liberty in the world concert.

And I will say more. I will say that if at this very moment the people of the United States would allow us to enter the Union as a State, they could do nothing more satisfactory to us and give us no cause for more legitimate pride; for we would join the Union immediately, as our Governor very well said, with the personality, characteristics and idiosyncrasy of a people, whose character is already formed and who have for centuries had a civilization perhaps older than yours. What we do not wish, what frequently disturbs our minds, is the thought of having to undergo a painful, indefinite process, during which all those characteristics will perish and which will annul our personality to such an extent that,

upon the accomplishment of that solution, if it ever be accomplished, it will not be we who will share the immense benefits to be derived therefrom, but a shapeless hybrid, resembling us in nothing and differing from you also.

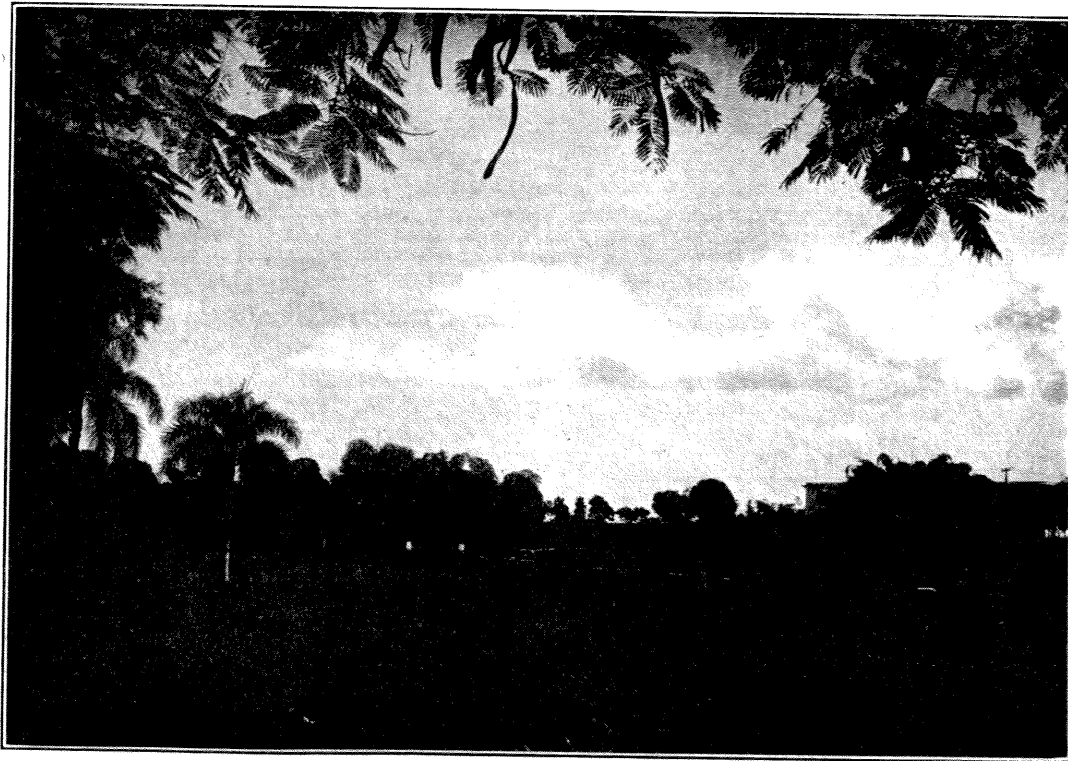
We have and feel self-pride, and we desire to evolve so as to adapt ourselves to our environment, without detriment to our personality and our dignity.

The idea of being a mere and perpetual possession of the United States disturbs our spirit and defrauds our greatest hopes. In view of that idea, it is wholly excusable, and I hope that—as the Americans and free men that you are, you will so understand—if there are some among us who think of other solutions compatible with the sentiments of liberty and dignity proper in all beings who feel in their souls the natural inclination of being free in the land of their birth.

Think well over this. Carry to your good people these essentially American ideas, and tell them that we Porto Ricans want to be their brethren in equality, dignity, liberty and

duty. Tell your people that the progress we have attained with the aid of your institutions, under the protection of your flag, and with your aid, is really extraordinary. You are witnessing with your own eyes, in all that lies before you, how great this progress is in all the spheres of our life. Tomorrow you will leave on an excursion over the island, and in its interior you will admire our roads, which climb over our hills and meander in our valleys, connecting all and everyone of our towns. You will see the profusion of schools everywhere, and learn of the attendance thereto of our children, in such a proportion that I can assure you that already we have a better record established than many of your Southern states. Our Governor, in his speech, spoke to you at length about these matters, he having been familiar with all our affairs for a long time.

Think of this, gentlemen, and accept, all of you, the fraternal greetings of Porto Rico as expressed through me and as it comes from the bottom of our hearts.



HERMOSOS JARDINES DE LA UNIVERSIDAD DE PUERTO RICO, RÍO PIEDRAS.  
WHERE LAVISH NATURE SUPPLIES BOTH PICTURE AND FRAME.

## The Union Party of Porto Rico

By Antonio R. Barceló, LL.B.

President of the Insular Senate. President of the "Union Party of Porto Rico".

The party "Unión de Puerto Rico" (Union of Porto Rico) was organized in February, 1904, as a League of Patriots rather than an actual political party. Its aim was to ask the Congress of the United States for a system of government for Porto Rico of any one of the following types:

- (a) Autonomy or self-government;
- (b) Statehood;
- (c) An Independent Republic under the United States Protectorate.

On November 22, 1922, the Party met in General Assembly and left out of its platform the Statehood Plank, public opinion in the United States and in Porto Rico having expressed itself openly against the incorporation of the Island as a classical state, the idea of organizing a special form of government prevailing.

Consequently, the "Union of Porto Rico" in its general assembly of February 11, 1922, stood for the following platform:

"That it always having been the supreme ideal of the Unionist Party—just as it has been and is that of all worthy peoples throughout History—the institution of a free country, master of its own destiny, for the present and the future:

"And it being highly desirable that for the better assurance of said liberty there must exist an Association of a permanent and indestructible character, between the Island and the United States of America, the advantages and conveniences of which can be conceived of from what has been derived for both the United States and Porto Rico out of a mere association during the last twenty-three years, and the results of such association being felt beyond the territorial limits of Porto Rico and the United States, because far beyond those limits said Association would revive many hopes and cause the disappearance of many fears; it is resolved by the party "Unión de Puerto Rico" gathered in Supreme Assembly: that the founding in Porto Rico of a state,

country or a community which may be free and may be associated with the United States of America, is the aim and aspiration of Porto Ricans, thus solving honestly, satisfactorily and finally the problem pending solution as to what are to be the relations between both countries".

In virtue of the above the Assembly declares that the creation of the Free Associated State of Porto Rico is from this day on, the Program of the party "Unión de Puerto Rico", and to the realization of that Program the glorious party will devote all its earnest efforts, that party which was founded in a solemn hour by immortal men of our country, and which is yet bound to create, just as they do, an immortal work."

The purpose of the "Union of Porto Rico" as regards other subjects remains the same as in former assemblies.

In the Assembly held in Mayaguez in 1912, the following declaration was issued:

"The Unionist Party will not support anarchistic doctrines nor systems disturbing the common life and harmony of the different social elements, but it does declare that the proletariat more than any other class needs the help and solidarity of the country. Porto Rican laborers should receive higher wages, own their own homes, have sufficient food and clothing and decent footwear, and their labor should be limited to eight hours a day, with the enjoyment, in their sad condition, of all the moral and physical pleasure that life affords. We also demand laws which, without whimsical limitations, will establish compensation for labor accidents, cooperative societies, shop hygiene, premiums for perseverance and intelligence in manual labor, pensions for labor invalids, regulation and protection of women and child labor, and loans enabling laborers to acquire homes at low prices payable on long terms. We desire, without vain formulas, but by tangible acts, to strengthen each day the social brotherhood that obliges the leaders of

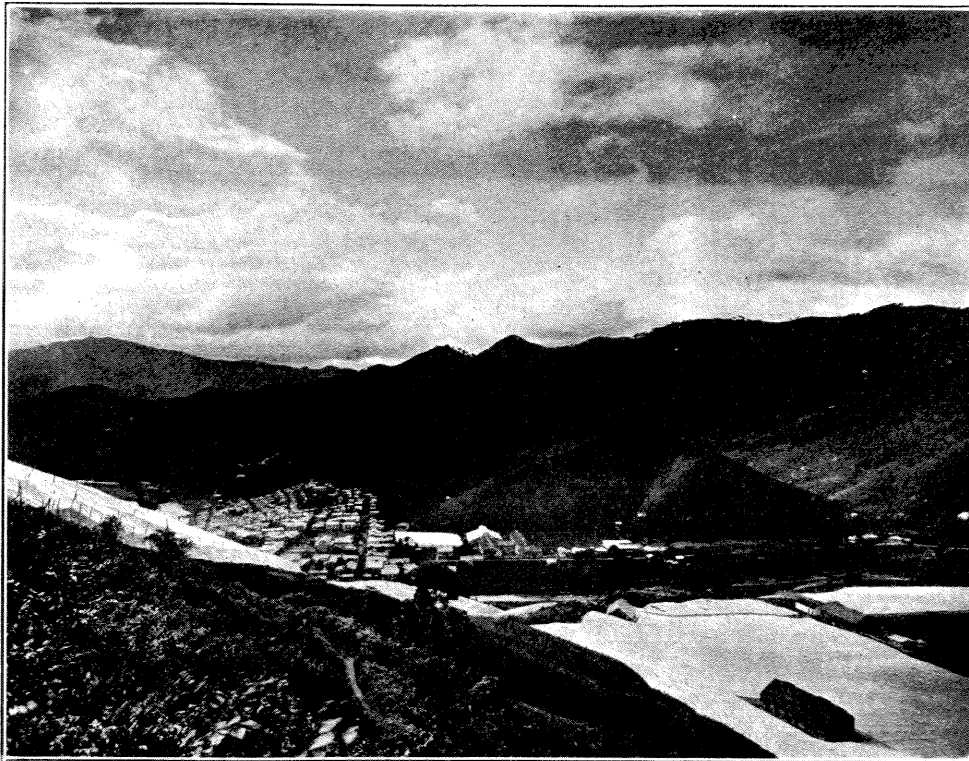
the people to feel the sorrows of the people and to remedy them insofar as power to do so is given them, thus rendering fervent homage to the new world era through the sentiment of human fraternity."

In 1920 a general assembly of the Party ratified the foregoing declaration adding:

"According to the finality pursued by the Unionist Party it is the party's policy more efficiently to prepare the people morally, politically and economically for the exercise of the rights and duties of free citizens capable

for the purpose of establishing their just claims for social and financial improvement. It also upholds that principle of equality which is based on the acknowledgment of the innate privilege of each individual, as increased by the fruit of his labor, study, volition and abnegation, and the principle of fraternity which does away with prejudices of race, religion and social standing in the interest of greater harmony in the community.

The social problem, it might be said, is the sole and fundamental problem. All others are



BALUARTE UNIONISTA.—COMERÍO, NOTED FOR ITS TOBACCO AND ITS BEAUTY.

of handling their own affairs, and it will not hesitate in solving the problems affecting human life which are condensed in democracy's august trinity: Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. And in this effort it will not yield the position which it holds in the conception and execution of ideas compatible with conditions of human nature.

The Unionist Party, therefore, upholds the principle of liberty which consecrates man's inalienable right to the free expression of thought and to the organization of all classes

inherent therein because they converge towards the organization of the individual for his relations with other beings in the formation of communities that make up a people and a nation. Thus the political problem is inherent in the social so far as it tends to establish the constitutional formula or system of government serving as a rule for human initiative and activities. And so also is the financial problem which establishes the means necessary for the development of the community along all lines.



Laws protecting rights and regulating duty, justice, public education, health, charity, finance, agriculture, commerce, industries, banks, means of transportation, public works and services and, in short, everything representing life and progress should be looked after with the purpose of raising to the highest possible degree the moral and material level of the people.

Since the year 1905, when the Unionist Party, through its majority began to act in the Legislature, it has directed its effort and all its diligence to the satisfactory solution of these problems of public character in conformity with the powers granted by the Organic Act and the resources at its command."

Following the above declarations the Union Party of Porto Rico added some others in concise form, regarding Public Education, Health and Beneficence; Agriculture, Industry and Commerce; Justice, Public Works and Public Services; Labor and Finance in order that they might serve as a guide to legislators in their aim to better each one of these branches of the Insular Administration.

Regarding Education, "the Union Party favors the teaching of English as a subject in our schools, making it as extensive as may be necessary, but it is opposed to the use of any language other than that of the country as a means for the transmission of knowledge.

The Unionist Party declares that public education is the basis on which all properly understood democracy stands. School is the training ground of future generations to substitute the present in the direction of public problems, and it is necessary to provide equal opportunities for all citizens without privileges, offering to the poorer classes the means of learning and of obtaining an education commensurate with their capabilities. This is a task that pertains exclusively to the public power. It is from the bottom, from the environment where move the beings who suffer and struggle, that come the souls tempered and prepared by suffering conscientiously to direct, with rectitude and fairness, the interests of the community. In modern democracies the poorest and most obscure citizens have

almost always been the ones to reach the high public posts, and the great geniuses of history have come from the anonymous numbers of the unhappy masses. The Unionist Party renders tribute to and acknowledges this unquestionable truth.

Agriculture, industry and commerce, the fundamental bases of the country's financial prosperity, demand in this island more than elsewhere an assiduous protection favoring the development of our wealth and preventing monopoly and the high cost of articles necessary to life. The establishment of modern scientific measures to obtain products that will meet the needs of the country and compete with those of foreign origin, as well as the development of industries affording an outlet for those products and furnishing work for laborers, is as necessary, it might be said, as education, because if one represents the moral, the other represents the material part of life, each being the complement of the other in their finality, and neither being able to exist without the other.

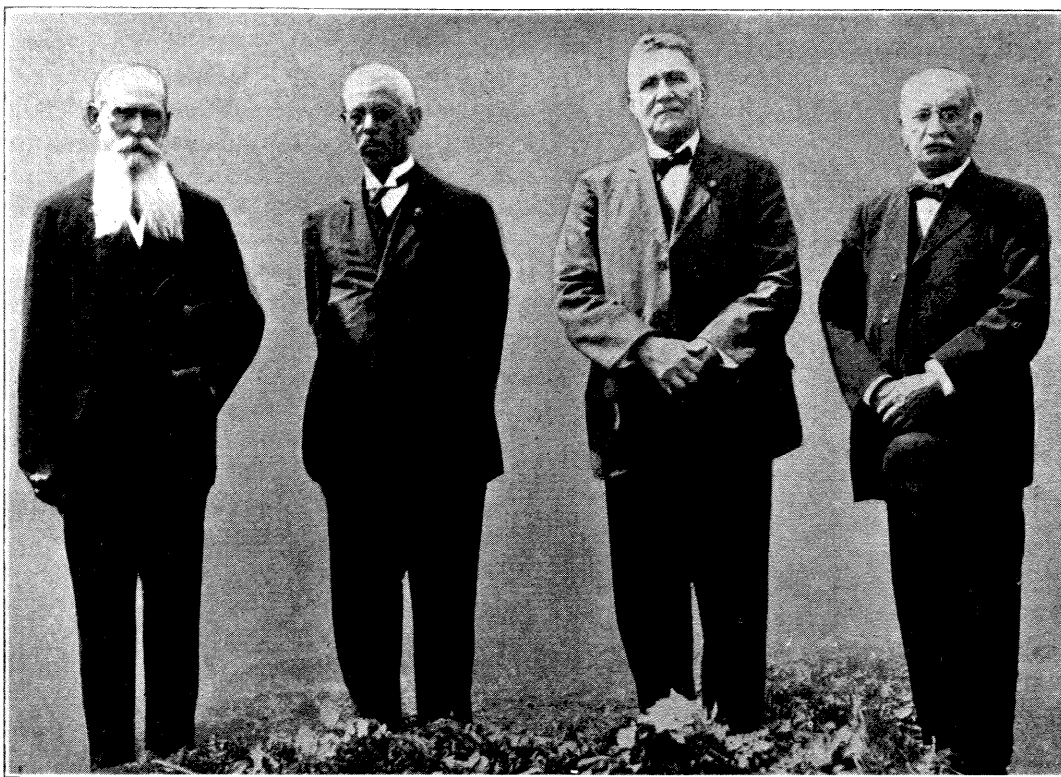
Commerce should also be regulated so as to make difficult all unreasonable speculation tending to raise the cost of living and which fills the coffers of a few, while the people, represented by the middle class and the proletariat, squirm in misery and despair. Cooperative societies may be a simple remedy for this evil and we already have on our statute books a law allowing and protecting them, but it may be necessary to intervene in a more effective manner in order to avoid the serious threats that sordid selfishness always maintains in the life of the community.

The obstacle offered by constitutional prescriptions frequently make it difficult for our legislature to adopt radical measures to prevent this grave evil which concerns not only Porto Rico but the whole world. However we must continue to study and to seek the remedy in wise and prudent legislation which without curtailing the scope of legitimate and necessary mercantile transactions, will make it impossible for monopoly and usury to thrive thereunder."

These are, in short, the fundamental ideas of the Unionist Party of Porto Rico, expressed in

its platform and for which she has stood and stands in her life activities for the betterment and happiness of the country, without limiting herself to political activities of a mere po-

litical character, but also asking all possible aid from all well-meaning organizations and individuals, to help her in her endeavors for a greater and better Porto Rico.



CUATRO DE LAS MÁS SÓLIDAS COLUMNAS DEL PARTIDO REPUBLICANO.  
FOUR PILLARS OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.—(LEFT TO RIGHT)—HON. SANTIAGO VEVE, EX-PRESIDENT AND ADVISER; HON. JOSÉ CELSO BARBOSA, FOUNDER AND FATHER; HON. JOSÉ GÓMEZ BRIOSO, EX-PRESIDENT AND STAUNCH SUPPORTER; HON. MANUEL F. ROSSY, FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE PARTY.

## Republican Party of Porto Rico

By José Tous Soto, B.A., B.Sc., LL.B.,

Senator. Chairman of the Republican Party of Porto Rico. Member of Various Professional and Scientific Associations.

The Treaty of Paris of December 10, 1898, which ended the Spanish American War, stated in its second article that "Spain ceded to the United States of America the island of Porto Rico." Article nine stated: "the civil rights and the political condition of the natives of the ceded territories, will be decided by the American Congress"; while article first simply said that "Spain gave up all her rights of sovereignty and ownership over Cuba."

**Formation.** By these clear and categorical

reasons which showed the intention and the will of the American people, of instituting an independent nation of Cuba, and of retaining Porto Rico as national territory, a great number of Porto Ricans, considering the actual facts and trying to obtain the greatest benefit for their island, formed the Republican Party of Porto Rico (Partido Republicano Puertorriqueño), and held a meeting under the presidency of Mr. Manuel F. Rossy, in order to adopt the constitution of this new party.

The constitution so adopted was published in March, 1898, and was publicly acclaimed in the first general assembly of the party on July 4th of the same year.

**Constitution.** Said constitution stated explicitly the following:

"Our substantial principles comprise two categorical declarations: Definite and sincere annexation of Porto Rico to the United States of America. Recognition of Porto Rico as an organized territory, as a preliminary step to its admission as a state in the Federal Union."

"We swear loyalty to the flag of the United States and to American ideals, looking toward the prestige of Porto Rico as a member of the Federal Union, as this will reflect the greatness of the nation of which we desire to be a part."

**Porto Rico Organized into a Political Body styled "El Pueblo de Puerto Rico."** In the year 1900 Porto Rico was organized into the body politic styled "El Pueblo de Puerto Rico" (The People of Porto Rico), and the first Organic Law of April 10th of that year, known as the "Foraker Law," created a local citizenship and a civil government such as those established in the former territories acquired from France and Spain. The government consisted of a Governor, chosen by the President of the United States; an Executive Council, made up of eleven members, also appointed by the President, there being in that council six departmental heads, the Secretary of Porto Rico, the Attorney General, the Treasurer, the Commissioners of Education and of the Interior and the Auditor—and a House of Delegates elected by the people, which House with the Executive Council made up the Legislative Assembly.

**The Only Party to Elect Delegates to the First House; Legislative Activities.** The Republican Party was the only one which elected Delegates to the first House, that of 1900, and in 1902 its majority was far the greatest in the House elected. The activities of the Legislative Assembly were mainly dedicated to harmonizing the laws in force with the democratic principles of the constitutional and political doctrines of the American people. The Civil code was modified with the introduction of the fundamental principle of article 21, that the

civil law is equal for all without any distinction as to person or sex; and article 159 stated that the husband could never pawn the property of his conjugal partner; establishing at the same time the divorce, and recognizing the legal rights of both legitimate and illegitimate children, even without the express consent of the wife. New codes were substituted for the penal and the code of criminal procedures, the new ones being in accordance with the democratic doctrines concerning oral trial and the system of prosecution, the rights of the accused being fully protected.

**Adoption of Complete Legislation.** A new code of legal procedures was adopted based on the oral proceedings as well as on due publicity and promptness of trials. The Petty Jury was then inaugurated which rests on a unanimous verdict in criminal cases. That jury being completed by the institution of the Grand Jury, the object of which is the authorizing of indictments when justified, thus assuring those accused, a fair trial. Individual rights were guaranteed for the person and home, liberty of conscience, freedom of speech, assembly and petition were also guaranteed. The right of Habeas Corpus was established; a rational system of taxation was put in force based on the value of property, and individual free trade with the United States became established.

Public education was also greatly developed, the public school coming to the front with a teacher for each grade. Special attention being given to the study of the English language which is so necessary to Porto Ricans in their political, social and business relations. The youth being greatly benefitted by this system of education in their professional, industrial and commercial work. In short, complete legislation, scientific, democratic and efficient, was adopted and the methods then inaugurated have been the basis for the development of Porto Ricans in their civil relations, and the efficient exercise of a genuine American government.

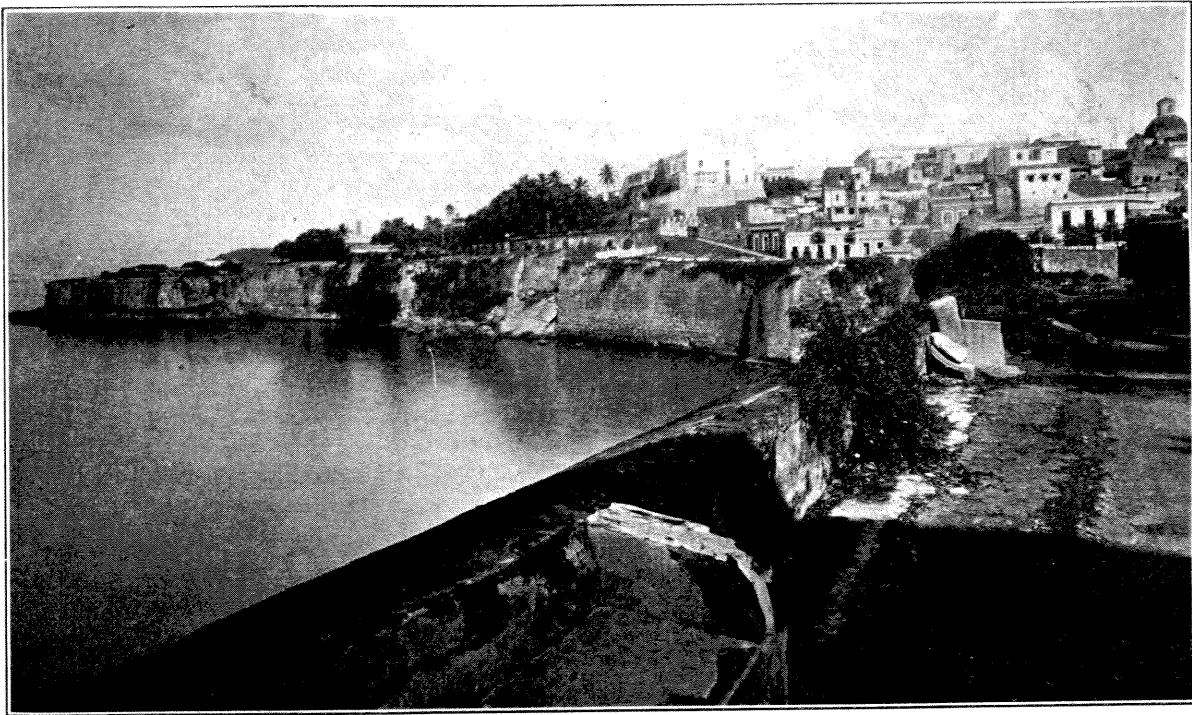
The new organic law, known as the "Jones Act" extended the local government and bestowed American citizenship on the Porto Ricans, this working greatly towards statehood and also constituting a very strong and

unbreakable link between the island and the continental States.

**Ideals and Work of the Party.** The Republican Party works earnestly toward its principal ideal, i.e. that Porto Rico should become in the near future a State of the American Union; the Party realizes that this depends on the effort of the island more than on the consent of Congress, and that when the people of Porto Rico reach in their social and political career, the proper stage, the island will be

exist among them, and that is why each territory has been granted a form of government in accordance with its condition. Porto Rico, therefore, might become a self-governing territory.

In the program approved by the Republican Convention that met in the city of Guayama in 1910, complete separation of functions between the legislative and executive powers was demanded, also that the Senate be totally elective and that the budget of expenses be origi-



CASA BLANCA VISTA DESDE EL PALACIO DE SANTA CATALINA.—THE OLDEST RESIDENTIAL SECTION OF SAN JUAN.

admitted as a State of the Union, without Congress placing obstacles in the way to such a patriotic purpose.

In the mean time the Republican Party has time and again urged the extension of the territorial government that we now enjoy, until we finally reach full self-government; the Party has stated in its platforms many petitions intended to reach this end, and every time it has had an opportunity to approach the national government it formulated similar petitions. It is well known that all territories are not alike because of the difference in population, habits and specific conditions which

nated in the Lower Chamber. The same petition was made in the platform endorsed by its Convention held in the city of Aguadilla in 1913, and the platform of the Convention held in the city of Humacao in 1914, expresses the following:

“We request that a territorial form of government be organized in Porto Rico, putting into effect the genuine constitutional principles of the American nation, thus satisfying the just aspirations of the Porto Rican people. Therefore, we ask: (1) separation of functions between the executive and legislative powers, organizing the latter into a popular Senate,

elected exactly as the House of Delegates is today; (2) recognition and practice of Home Rule doctrines in order that native Porto Ricans as well as continental Americans, who have resided for at least two years in the country, may be the only ones legally fitted to fill public office; (3) that the Governor appoint all departmental heads of the Insular Government, with the consent and approval of the Insular Senate; (4) that in the same way the Governor should appoint the judges of the district courts and prosecuting attorneys as well as the judges and attorneys of the Supreme Court, and all other employees stated by the law; (5) that the general budget be initiated in the House of Delegates; (6) that the island be divided into senatorial districts, so that each one may elect two senators, and also in unipersonal districts in order that each may elect one delegate to the House, several senators and delegates being also elected at large, providing that no elector may vote more than once for each of these legislators."

**Present Platform.** This petition referred to the Organic Law of April 1900 called the "Foraker Act." When the new Organic Law came into force in March 1917 (Jones Act) the Republican Party assembled at the city of San Juan and adopted its platform for the year 1917, which is the existing one, declaring that the "organic law puts into actual exercise the greater part of our political program granting us citizenship and territorial organization, now lacking only the declaration to let the American Constitution extend to Porto Rico and that this will come, because from the very moment that the Porto Ricans become citizens of the United States it is impossible to conceive this privilege without the granting of the law that defines the immunities, privileges and rights of such citizens, and without the protection of the flag, for whose glorification was shed the blood of the heroes and martyrs of the country during the times of Washington, Lincoln and McKinley, spreading the spirit of liberty, democracy and harmony throughout all the world, so that mankind may be happier."

A reaffirmation was made to the effect that the island be considered as an integral part of

the United States of America, organizing it definitively as an incorporated territory, preparatory to admittance as a State equal to the others to enjoy the benefit and the fulfillment of the general responsibilities of the nation.

Also we demand the complement of the territorial law for the amendment of the organic law in the sense that (1) Veto be suspensive, it being subject to revision by two-thirds of the votes of the Insular Legislature; (2) that the Governor should appoint the three departmental chiefs, now appointed by the President, i.e. the Attorney, the Commissioner of Education and the Auditor, there being no cause for such an exclusion; (3) the Insular budget be originated in the House of Representatives; (4) that the regulations dictated by the Auditor be submitted to legislative sanction and that its decisions may be appealed before the courts of justice; (5) the Public Service Commission to be of popular origin; (6) the faculties of the Commissioner of Education to be coordinated with the intervention of the people in its own education so that same be in accordance with its genius and necessities; (7) the Federal Court to be placed on the same footing as that of any state of the Union; (8) the Governor to appoint in conjunction with the Senate the judges of the Supreme Court. These amendments obtained, the organization of the state would be completed with the election of the Governor by the people themselves as well as the election of its Senators and Representatives to the American Congress.

**Debate on Campbell Bill.** In February 1922, a memorable debate took place in the Insular Senate apropos to the limits of a message approving the so-called Campbell Bill, whose purpose was to create the free and associated state of Porto Rico by the American Congress. The Republican minority thru the voice of the chief of the Republican Party, presented an amendment so that such bill might be accepted by the Insular Republicans and congratulated the author of the bill, taking exception however to the novelty contained by the bill in question, of a Federal Resident Commissioner with the power of veto over the Insular Legislature.

## The Socialist Party

By Santiago Iglesias Pantín,

Senator. President of the Socialist Party. President of the Free Federation of Laborers of Porto Rico. General Organizer of the American Federation of Labor.

"The harder the conflict, the greater the triumph," such the words of a writer which aptly apply to the work of the Socialist Party in Porto Rico.

**Start and Spread of Socialist Ideals.** The principles of socialism began to spread thru the island in 1896 simultaneously with the international organization of workers. The development of the socialist ideals in its first years was slow and its results small, owing to the ignorance of the principles of the socialist doctrine and that the then existing Spanish colonial regime was not propitious to its growth, the local authorities considering that militant socialism was enormously destructive to order.

The advocates of socialism had the honor of introducing from Spain and Cuba the ideals of the movement and those of the international labor organization. Since then the party has been steadily propagating their ideals throughout the island, among all classes and conditions of people.

Such work has caused many afflictions, prison terms and personal attacks, as the creation and growth of the Socialist Party had to face great public and private hostility, and the repulsion of its advocates everywhere. Public speakers were easily imprisoned and many times accused of imaginary delinquencies.

**First Steps Under Two Sovereignties.** In May, 1897, the author published in "Ensayo Obrero" the first suggestions concerning the socialist organization, and the first meeting of importance in the island, called to advocate the cause, was held at the Municipal Theater, March 25th, 1898. At this meeting the first novices among the workmen were born as socialist public speakers. This gathering was dissolved by the authorities.

On October 18th of that year the American forces took possession of San Juan and definitely of the entire island, and five days later, on October 23, the Socialist Party first issued



HON. SANTIAGO IGLESIAS PANTÍN.  
PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

"El Porvenir Social," that paper to which the island owes the most intensive diffusion of labor and socialistic ideals, and destined to serve as a guide to the multitude of workers throughout Porto Rico.

So great was its apostleship that the government threatened to suppress it and to exile its Director, the autonomic authorities accusing the paper of advocating subversive and disassociating political ideas.

But the Military Governor, General Brooke, announced that this paper could not be suppressed nor its Director exiled.

**Governor's Effective Acknowledgment of Socialism as a Factor.** On May 1st, 1899, the workers issued a petition and manifestation and soon after General Brooke as Military Governor of the island issued a general order proclaiming the eight-hour work day, this being the first effective acknowledgment of the rights of the socialists, and it was from

then that socialists and labor organizations commenced to have some beneficial influence.

**Industrial Strikes.** Industrial strikes began to occur accompanied by some public conflicts between the socialists and the authorities, which attracted the attention of the socialists of the United States. In April, 1899, the Socialist leaders, Daniel D. Leon, John W. McFall, and especially Henry Kuhn and Er-

the United States a commission, said body being composed of Eduardo Conde and the author. These Porto Rico delegates appeared before the members of the National Executive of the Socialist Labor Party which was presided over by Morris Hilquit, and asked them for protection and solidarity in defending the public rights that had been denied to the workers and socialists of Porto Rico.



CASA DE LABRIEGOS EN LAS PLAYAS DE LUQUILLO.  
"WE ADVOCATE BETTER HOUSING CONDITIONS".

nest Bohn, offered their support to the growing socialist labor movement of the island.

**Formation of Party.** The first essay of the formation of the Socialist Labor Party in Porto Rico was made at the assembly of October 20 and 22, 1899, at which, besides socialists, only those were recognized, who were members of trade unions.

The intolerable hostility with which the first Socialist Labor organization in the island was received, determined the denial of electoral political rights. By a general order, General Davis, the Military Governor, granted the right of eligible citizens to hold municipal office, only to taxpayers and those engaged in the professions. The Socialist Party then decided not to attend the election and to send to

**Warm and Cordial Reception Awarded.**

The socialists and Central Labor Union of New York received the delegates from the island with great proof of sympathy and sincerity, treating them most fraternally, and on March 8, 1900, a great meeting was held in Cooper Union, New York, six thousand persons of both sexes being present at that demonstration for the purpose of giving publicity to the complaints and petitions of the Porto Rico socialists, delegates.

In this meeting a leading part was taken by the most prominent American socialist leaders, such as Hilquit, Stodbin, Hanford, Julius Gerber, etc., and speeches were made by Eduardo Conde and the author of this article, and interpreted into English. At it also was unani-

mously approved a resolution addressed to President McKinley asking for an end to the military regime, and accelerating the concession of civil government to Porto Rico.

The New York press gave great importance and praise to this demonstration for the progress and welfare of Porto Rico.

**First Socialist Congress.** On May 1, 1900, two important happenings for the island took place—the inauguration of Porto Rico's first Civil Governor under the Foraker Act which had been approved by Congress in Washington, April 12th. of that year, and the holding of the first Congress of the Socialist Party, at the Municipal Theater of San Juan. In that same year, too, Insular Socialism was represented at the Socialist convention at Indianapolis by the author.

**Development of the Social-Labor Votes.** In 1902-1904 the Socialist Labor Party did not appear at the elections, its retirement being due to the exceptional conditions which then existed in the island, and to the lack of legal guarantee which obliged the Socialists to temporarily dissolve the party.

In the elections of 1906, the socialists of the island voted under the name of "Federación Libre," and obtained 1,345 votes, and in 1910 the Socialist Party again in the field obtained 64 votes in San Juan and 802 in Arecibo.

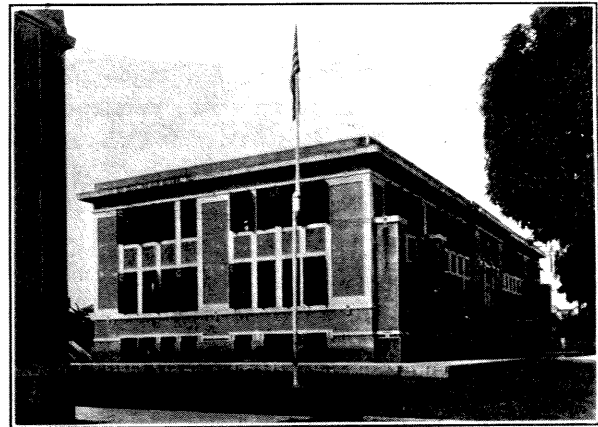
**The Free Federation of Laborers.** In 1912, the Free Federation of Laborers having prohibited the use of its name on the electoral ballots, the Insular Labor Party obtained 2,359 votes in Arecibo, and in 1914 the party obtained 4,398 all over the island, being victorious over the Unionist Party in the municipality of Arecibo.

In 1917 the Socialist Party, already better organized, and understood, showed a vote of 24,468 votes and elected a Senator. In 1920 the strength of the movement was demonstrated by the force of 59,140 votes, electing one senator and four representatives to the Insular Legislature. The party also electing a representative in the Workmen Compensation Commission, and in the Commission of Insured Homes, and being victorious in the Guayama, Arroyo, Fajardo, Río Grande, Caro-

lina, Luquillo, and Ceiba municipalities, as well as in half of that of Ponce.

**Affiliation with the American Federation of Labor.** The Socialist propaganda in Porto Rico and its doctrines are completely united to the trade unions as in Europe. The initiation of Socialism is the laborers' movement, the influencing leaders of the Socialist Party, are at the same time the organizers of trade-unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

The socialist organization has reached undeniable importance in later times, this being due to the ill treatment and poor conditions of the urban and rural laboring classes, due to oppression. The concentration and exploitation of the great occupations of the island are made by means of great corporations of what may be termed the "American Wall Street" type, absent capitalists that draw their annual profits without employing them in the island. Consequently, this system has changed Porto Rico into a huge factory of what may rightfully be called, half slaves, proletariats and countrymen, who work for miserable wages, and most of the time are left without work, half hungry, half naked, and without adequate places to live in. It was not strange, therefore, that Socialism has realized such surprising



MAYAGÜEZ HIGH SCHOOL.  
NUESTRO PORVENIR DESCANSA EN LA ESCUELA.

progress and that for the people it constitutes the just hope for a better future.

**The Porto Rican Socialists' Definition of Wealth.** Defining wealth the Porto Rican Socialist Party says: "Wealth is, undoubtedly,



all welfare: all elements of obtainable and enjoyable life, all tangible or intangible matter that furnished welfare, food, strength, instruction and recreation. In a word, wealth is all that is useful to satisfy man's needs and intellectual, aesthetic and nutritive desire. But before and above all, wealth is the direct emanation of the functions of human work, intellectual, spiritual and physical, applied to the various primal sources of nature. In fact, they agree with Abraham Lincoln, "that capital is the product of work."

**Employ the Wealth Created in Porto Rico for Porto Rico and Porto Ricans.** When criticising the existing hopeless condition of so vast a portion of the island's industrial workers, the Porto Rican socialists state: "that if in the industrial, agricultural and social order, the profits that in themselves dormant carry all wealth, were employed in the same fair and just way with which they are invested in the natural order; if the beneficent advantages of industrial labor or factory work, were employed in the island, preferably to restore the mental and physical energies lost by the laborers in long, hard vigils and manipulations of general production and in the creation of welfare and happiness among all the citizens, instead of permitting the degenerating absenteeism, that is, the boundless exploitation of the human being in industry, commerce and credit, then the holiness and abundance of the accumulated wealth could be valued with tangible and just acts."

"And if we have in mind that the working population in the fields, factories, workshops and offices, have manufactured products and enriched commerce and industry in the last twenty years to the amount of \$1,800,000,000, and, nevertheless, the immense majority of the people remain without proper homes such as civilization, morality and comfort require, and go half naked and half hungry, then on looking for the causes of this terrible abnormality, we will find them in the present social, economical and political organization, which is unscientific, unjust and confusing to the cooperation in the increase of its population."

**The Doctrine Matters.** The Socialist Party

of Porto Rico declares that it is a partisan to the most close unity between Porto Rico and the United States, and that the constitution ought to be extended to all Insular American citizens, because it thinks it is the most stable guarantee for the development of the public interests and for the protection of its absentees by the American nation.

The short immediate program of Socialism in Porto Rico is defined in three desires, as follows:

"Democracy in the Government of Porto Rico." That is, the just and proportional representation by election of all the productive capacities, of all the tendencies, with the unequivocal purpose for the country to have insured the just consideration and opportunities of establishing a perfect economic welfare of all the social groups.

"Fraternity in Society." The equality of rights and privileges in the enjoyment of natural wealth through the efforts of labor, and the diffusion of universal education that might convey the island of Porto Rico to the highest opinion of society by the culture of intelligence, the extension of its knowledge and the enjoyment of equal opportunities.

"Social Democracy." This is the highest ideal of humanity, the most exact form of liberty, equality and fraternity that move the heart and nourish the mind of all altruistic men and women in the world.



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By Frank A. Martínez,

Chief Clerk, Senate of Porto Rico.

A before a date indicates date of approval, while

AA before a date indicates the date of an amendment.

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- AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATIONS, Providing for the organization of—A, Mar. 14, 1907.
- AGRICULTURAL LOANS, Regulating loans with guaranty of agricultural products and implements—A, Mar. 10, 1904.
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- AUTOMOBILES, Regulating the service of automobiles belonging to The People of Porto Rico—A, Mar. 12, 1914.
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- BLIND ASYLUM, Establishing a Blind Asylum and regulating admission of blind people—A, Feb. 25, 1902.
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- CIGARS, Stamp law to protect them against fraud—A, Mar. 10, 1910. AA, Mar. 9, 1911; Mar. 7, 1912; Mar. 13, 1913; Mar. 11, 1915.
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- CIVIL SERVICE, Regulating it, organizing a board, classifying the services, etc.—A, Mar. 14, 1907. AA, Mar. 7, 1911; Mar. 13, 1913.
- COAT OF ARMS, Describing the Coat of Arms of Porto Rico—Mar. 9, 1905.
- CODE OF CIVIL PROCEDURE, To establish said code—A, Mar. 10, 1904. AA, Mar. 1, 1905; Mar. 9, 1905; Mar. 14, 1907; Mar. 9, 1911; Mar. 11, 1913; Mar. 11, 1915; Apr. 13, 1916.
- CODE OF COMMERCE, Amending the law of June 10, 1897—A, Aug. 22, 1885; AA, Mar. 7, 1912.
- CODE OF CRIMINAL PROCEDURE, To establish said code—A, Mar. 1, 1902. AA, Mar. 12, 1903; Mar. 10, 1904; Mar. 9, 1905; Mar. 14, 1907; Mar. 12, 1908; Mar. 9, 1911; Mar. 11, 1913; Apr. 8, 1916.
- COFFEE, Regulating the sale of foreign coffee—A, June 5, 1919; To guarantee the origin of Porto Rican coffee—A, Nov. 23, 1917.

- COLUMBUS DAY, Twelfth of October to be called, and observed as a legal holiday—A, Aug. 18, 1913.
- COMMON CARRIERS, Defined, examination and inspection of books, records, etc.—A, Feb. 25, 1907.
- CONDEMNATION OF PRIVATE PROPERTY, Providing for the condemnation of private property when declared of public utility—A, Mar. 12, 1903. AA, Mar. 12, 1908.
- CORPORATIONS, Organization, powers, incorporation and dissolution of private corporations—A, Mar. 9, 1911. AA, Mar. 7, 1912; Apr. 13, 1916.  
Regulating the operation of public service corporations—A, Mar. 12, 1908.
- DEAF AND DUMB CHILDREN, Appropriating \$5,000 for the education of—A, Nov. 30, 1917; To reserve certain number of places in the Boys and Girls Charity Schools for the instruction of—A, Mar. 10, 1904.
- DEATH PENALTY, Temporarily abolished—A, Nov. 30, 1917.
- DE DIEGO, JOSE, Granting a site for the erection of a monument to—A, July 7, 1921.
- DOCKS AND HARBORS, Regulating the service of docks and harbors—A, July 14, 1906.
- EJECTMENT, To establish ejectment proceedings and prescribing rules for appeals—A, Mar. 9, 1905.
- ELECTIONS AND REGISTRATIONS, Regulating them—A, Mar. 8, 1906. AA, Mar. 12, 1908; Mar. 14, 1912; Mar. 17, 1916.
- EMIGRATION, To regulate emigrations from Porto Rico—A, May 29, 1919.
- EMPLOYEES, Providing for the creation of a savings and loan fund for the insular employees—A, July 11, 1921.
- EPIDEMICS, Creating an emergency fund to be used in cases of—A, Mar. 7, 1912.
- EVIDENCE, Regulating the introduction of, in civil proceedings—A, Mar. 9, 1905.
- EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, Determining the powers of the Executive Council—A, Mar. 17, 1917.
- FAIRS, Organizing a board for the holding of annual fairs—A, Mar. 10, 1910.
- FISHING, Regulating the fishing in the interior waters of the island—A, Mar. 12, 1908.
- FLAG, Preventing and punishing its desecration—A, Mar. 10, 1904.
- FOOD, Organizing a Food Commission for the period of the European War—A, Apr. 12, 1917.
- FORESTS, Providing a forest service in Porto Rico—A, Nov. 22, 1917.
- GRAND JURY, Establishing the grand jury and regulating the proceedings thereof—A, June 18, 1919.
- HABEAS CORPUS, Who may prosecute a writ of habeas corpus—A, Mar. 12, 1903.
- HENEQUEN AND SISAL, To promote the cultivation of henequen and sisal—A, July 12, 1921.
- HIPPODROMES, Prohibiting the operation of pools outside of—A, Apr. 13, 1916. AA, Apr. 12, 1917.
- HISTORIAN, Creating the office of Historian of Porto Rico—A, Mar. 13, 1913.
- HISTORICAL ARCHIVE, Creating the Historical Archive of Porto Rico—A, June 20, 1919.
- HOMESTEAD, To define homestead and to exempt it from forced sale—A, Mar. 12, 1903.
- HOURS OF LABOR, Establishing the duration of the official working day—A, Mar. 10, 1904.  
Regulating the hours of labor on all public works—A, Aug. 19, 1913.
- HUNTING, Providing a game law for the island—A, Apr. 13, 1916. AA, Dec. 3, 1917.
- INJUNCTIONS, On what grounds can it be allowed—A, Mar. 8, 1906.
- INSANE ASYLUM, Authorizing to exchange it for other federal buildings—A, Apr. 12, 1917.
- INSTITUTE OF TROPICAL MEDICINE, Creating an institute for the study of tropical diseases—A, Mar. 13, 1912. AA, Mar. 13, 1913; Mar. 12, 1914.

- INSULAR BANK, Granting charter to an insular corporation to operate under the name of Insular Bank, appropriating funds, etc.—A, Aug. 8, 1913. AA, Apr. 13, 1916.
- INSULAR POLICE, Organizing and regulating the Insular Police Corps—A, Mar. 12, 1908. AA, Mar. 11, 1915. To compensate members dying in performance of duty—A, Mar. 11, 1915. To provide for the retirement of the members of the insular police force—A, July 16, 1921.
- INSURANCE COMPANIES, Providing for the incorporation of domestic insurance companies—A, July 16, 1921.
- IRRIGATION, Establishing a system of irrigation of the southern coast—A, Sept. 18, 1908. AA, Mar. 9, 1911; Aug. 8, 1913. To establish a system of irrigation in Isabela and Aguadilla—A, June 19, 1919. To study a system of Irrigation for Lajas and Isabela—A, Apr. 13, 1916.
- JUDGMENTS, To secure their effectiveness—A, Apr. 13, 1916.
- JUDICIARY, Reorganizing the judiciary system—A, Mar. 10, 1904.
- JURY TRIALS, Right to be tried by a jury—A, Jan. 21, 1901.
- LABOR, Organizing a Bureau of Labor—A, Mar. 14, 1912; AA, Mar. 13, 1913.
- LABORERS, Determining the procedure in cases of claims for wages—A, Nov. 14, 1917; Regulating the load or weight they may carry—A, Apr. 12, 1917; Their assemblies will not be unlawful—A, Mar. 1, 1902; To protect them in their right to be members of labor associations—A, Nov. 30, 1917; To provide for a dispensary, a surgeon and a minor surgeon in sugar factories, workshops, etc.—A, Nov. 30, 1917; To sell them certain public lands—A, Mar. 11, 1915.
- LAND, To sell certain public land to laborers—A, Mar. 11, 1915.
- LANGUAGE, Providing that the English and Spanish languages shall be used indiscriminately—A, Feb. 21, 1902.
- LAW, Prescribing rules for the practice of the law profession—A, Mar. 8, 1906. AA, Mar. 14, 1907; Mar. 11, 1909; Mar. 9, 1911; Apr. 13, 1916.
- LAWS, To determine rules of legal construction applicable in cases of discrepancies between the Spanish and English texts—A, Nov. 12, 1917.
- LEPROSY, Establishing an asylum for the treatment of lepers—A, June 24, 1919.
- LIBEL AND SLANDER, Defining what constitutes libel and slander and authorizing claims for damages in cases of—A, Feb. 19, 1902. AA, Mar. 9, 1911.
- LIBRARY, Providing for the government of Carnegie Library—A, Nov. 22, 1917. Establishing the Insular Library and organizing a board of Trustees to govern it—A, Mar. 12, 1908.
- LUNATICS, Establishing certain judicial proceedings in cases of insane persons—A, Mar. 14, 1907. AA, Mar. 7, 1912; Mar. 13, 1913; Mar. 13, 1914.
- MANDAMUS, Determining when can be granted—A, Mar. 12, 1903.
- METERS, Inspection and testing of gas and electric meters—A, Apr. 13, 1916.
- MILITARY CODE, Providing a military code for Porto Rico—A, Apr. 12, 1917.
- MINORITY REPRESENTATION, Establishing it in the House of Delegates—A, Mar. 14, 1912.
- MINORS, Regulating their employment and ordering their compulsory attendance to school—A, July 20, 1921.
- MONOPOLIES, To protect trade and commerce against unlawful restraints and monopolies—A, Mar. 14, 1907.
- MORTGAGE LAW, Adoption of the Spanish Mortgage Law—A, May 1, 1880; Mar. 7, 1912.
- MOTHER'S DAY, Designation of the second Sunday of May to be known as Mother's Day—A, Mar. 11, 1915.
- MOTOR VEHICLES, To regulate the use of—A, Apr. 13, 1916.

- MUNICIPALITIES, Authorizing the association of two or more municipalities to issue bonds—A, Nov. 30, 1917. Establishing a system of municipal government—A, Mar. 8, 1906. AA, Mar. 14, 1907; Mar. 11, 1909; Mar. 10, 1910; Mar. 4, 1912; Mar. 6, 1912; Mar. 13, 1913; Mar. 11, 1915; July 31, 1919.
- MUÑOZ RIVERA, LUIS, Declaring his birthday a legal holiday—A, Dec. 1, 1917. To erect a monument at the university—A, July 22, 1919.
- MUSEUM OF HISTORY AND ARCHEOLOGY, Authorizing the Board of Trustees of the Insular Library to install it—A, Mar. 9, 1905.
- NATIONAL GUARD, Organizing it in Porto Rico—A, Apr. 12, 1917.
- NOTARIES, Regulating the exercise of the notarial profession—A, Mar. 8, 1906. AA, Feb. 29, 1912; Mar. 13, 1913; Mar. 12, 1914.
- NURSES, Establishing an Insular School for trained nurses—A, Mar. 8, 1906.
- ORPHANS, Regulating their admission in certain asylums—A, Mar. 10, 1904.
- PARKS, To establish and maintain at San Juan a park to be known as "Muñoz Rivera Park"—A, Nov. 30, 1917.
- PENAL CODE, To establish said code in Porto Rico—A, Mar. 1, 1902. AA, Mar. 10, 1904; Mar. 9, 1905; Mar. 8, 1906; Mar. 14, 1907; Mar. 12, 1908; Mar. 9, 1911; Mar. 7, 1912; Mar. 13, 1913; Aug. 9, 1913; Mar. 12, 1914; Mar. 28, 1914; Apr. 13, 1916.
- PENSIONS TO TEACHERS, Creating a board to determine on some pensions requested by certain teachers—A, Mar. 12, 1903; AA, Mar. 10, 1904; Mar. 14, 1907; Mar. 12, 1908; Mar. 10, 1910.
- PHYSICIANS, DENTISTS AND PHARMACISTS, Organizing Boards of Examiners for said professions—A, Mar. 12, 1903. AA, Mar. 9, 1905; Mar. 8, 1906; Mar. 12, 1908; Mar. 10, 1910; Mar. 7, 1912; Mar. 13, 1913; Mar. 11, 1915.
- PLUMBERS, Law to regulate the examinations for master plumbers—A, May 24, 1919.
- POLITICAL CODE, To establish said code in Porto Rico—A, Mar. 1, 1902. AA, Mar. 12, 1903; Mar. 10, 1904; Feb. 23, 1905; Mar. 8, 1906; Mar. 14, 1907; Mar. 11, 1909; Mar. 7, 1911; Mar. 7, 1912; Mar. 13, 1912; Mar. 14, 1912; Mar. 10, 1913; Mar. 13, 1913; July 26, 1913; Aug. 2, 1913; Aug. 9, 1913; Mar. 27, 1914; Mar. 11, 1915; Apr. 13, 1916; Apr. 7, 1917.
- POOLS, See HIPPODROMES.
- PRISONERS, Reduction of time for good conduct and establishing a parole system—A, Mar. 14, 1907.
- PUBLIC SERVICE, Establishing a Public Service Commission and defining public service corporations—A, Dec. 6, 1917.
- QUO-WARRANTO, Application for writ of, how and by whom made—A, Mar. 1, 1902.
- RAILROADS, Providing for the construction of secondary railroads subventioned by the People of Porto Rico—A, Mar. 27, 1914. AA, Mar. 2, 1915; Apr. 13, 1916. For the construction of railroads in the eastern part of the island—A, July 26, 1921.
- RAILROADS, LAW OF, Promulgated in Porto Rico, Jan. 10, 1888, and AA, Jan. 27, 1888; Mar. 11, 1915.
- REFORM SCHOOL, Establishing a reform school for juvenile delinquents—A, Mar. 9, 1905. AA, Mar. 8, 1906; Feb. 20, 1906; Feb. 13, 1909.
- REGISTRIES OF PROPERTY, Establishing the Registers of Property—A, Mar. 10, 1904. AA, Mar. 9, 1911.
- RIGHTS, To define religious, civil and political rights of the people—A, Feb. 27, 1902.
- ROADS, Regulating their maintenance and policing—A, Mar. 1, 1902. AA, Mar. 10, 1910; Mar. 7, 1912; Mar. 13, 1913.
- SANITATION, Establishing an Insular Service of Sanitation—A, Mar. 9, 1911. AA, Mar. 14, 1912; Mar. 28, 1914.
- SAN JUAN, Appropriating \$600,000 to reimburse the Federal Treasury for the dredging of the San Juan harbor—A, May 22, 1919.
- SCAFFOLDS, Ordering their construction—A, May 13, 1913. AA, Dec. 1, 1917.

- SCHOOL BOARDS, Granting women the right to be elected as members of School Boards—A, Mar. 11, 1915.
- SCHOOL LAW, Establishing a system of free public instruction, organizing school boards, fixing the school year and determining authority and duties of the teachers—A, Mar. 12, 1903. AA, Mar. 10, 1904; Mar. 11, 1913; Mar. 13, 1913; Apr. 6, 1916; Apr. 13, 1916.
- SENTENCES, Authorizing the suspension of sentences imposed on certain minors and adults—A, Mar. 12, 1914.
- STAIRWAYS, Providing for the installation of safety stairways in houses of more than one story—A, Nov. 30, 1917.
- STRIKES, To determine certain duties of employers in case of strike—A, Apr. 12, 1917. To prevent and aid in the settlement of strikes and lockouts—A, June 3, 1919.
- SUITS, Authorizing suits against the People of Porto Rico under certain conditions—A, Apr. 13, 1916.
- TEACHERS, Regulating the issuance of life certificates to teachers—A, Nov. 25, 1917. To create a pension fund for teachers—A, Dec. 5, 1917.
- TELEGRAPH MONEY ORDERS, Establishing a system of insular telegraph money orders—A, June 5, 1919.
- TEXT BOOKS, To furnish them to certain high school pupils—A, Nov. 9, 1917.
- TICKS, Providing means for the combating and extinction of cattle ticks—A, June 9, 1921.
- TUBERCULOSIS, Appropriation for the Anti-Tuberculosis League of Ponce—A, Mar. 12, 1914. Appropriating \$10,000 to establish a sanitarium for combating of—A, Mar. 7, 1912. AA, Feb. 25, 1913.
- UNIFORM LEGISLATION, Organizing a board of commissioners to promote uniformity of legislation—A, Mar. 10, 1910.
- UNIVERSITY, Establishing the University of Porto Rico—A, Mar. 12, 1903. AA, Mar. 7, 1912; Mar. 13, 1913.
- USURY, Repression of—A, Apr. 13, 1916.
- VETERINARIES, Organizing a Board of Veterinary Examiners—A, Apr. 13, 1916.
- WAGES, Penalty for their payment to laborers in anything other than lawful money—A, Mar. 12, 1908.
- WAREHOUSES, To make uniform the law of warehouse receipts—A, Feb. 21, 1918.
- WEIGHTS AND MEASURES, Establishing model systems of weights and measures—A, Aug. 18, 1913. AA, Mar. 10, 1914; Mar. 12, 1914.
- WOMEN, Establishing minimum wages for workingwomen—A, July 9, 1919.
- WOMEN AND CHILDREN, Regulating the work of women and children—A, Mar. 13, 1913. AA, Aug. 19, 1913; July 1, 1913; July 14, 1913; Aug. 1, 1913.
- WORKMAN'S RELIEF, Fixing the responsibilities of employers for accidents sustained by their employees while in their service—A, Mar. 1, 1902. AA, Mar. 13, 1913; Apr. 13, 1916; Apr. 12, 1917; Feb. 25, 1918; Jan. 19, 1919; May 6, 1920; July 14, 1921.

