

THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF PORTO RICO

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. R. 4087

A BILL TO AMEND AND REENACT SECTIONS 20, 22, AND
50 OF THE ACT OF MARCH 2, 1917, ENTITLED "AN ACT
TO PROVIDE A CIVIL GOVERNMENT FOR PORTO RICO,
AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES"

AND

H. R. 6583

A BILL TO AMEND THE ORGANIC ACT OF PORTO RICO
APPROVED MARCH 2, 1917

FEBRUARY 13 AND 14, 1924



THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT OF PORTO RICO.

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Wednesday, February 13, 1924.

The committee this day met, Hon. Louis W. Fairfield (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, this committee has met this morning to consider two bills introduced by Mr. Davila, looking to the amendment of the organic act of Porto Rico. The gentlemen are here this morning to present to us their reasons for such amendment, and the two bills to be considered this morning are House bills 6583 and 4087:

[H. R. 4087, Sixty-eighth Congress, first session.]

A BILL To amend and reenact sections 20, 22, and 50 of the act of March 2, 1917, entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes."

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 20 of the act of March 2, 1917, entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," be amended as follows:

In line 2, after the words "salary of," strike out "\$5,000" and insert "\$7,000."

SEC. 2. That section 22 of said act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, be amended as follows:

In line 3, after the words "salary of," strike out "\$4,000" and insert "\$5,000."

SEC. 3. That section 50 of said act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico be amended as follows:

[H. R. 6583, Sixty-eighth Congress, first session.]

A BILL To amend the organic act of Porto Rico, approved March 2, 1917.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 12 of an act entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," approved March 2, 1917, be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 12. That the supreme executive power shall be vested in an executive officer, whose official title shall be the Governor of Porto Rico. He shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and hold his office at the pleasure of the President and until his successor is chosen and qualified. The governor shall reside in Porto Rico during his official incumbency, and maintain his office at the seat of government. He shall have general supervision and control of all the departments and bureaus of the government in Porto Rico, so far as is not inconsistent with the provisions of this act, and shall be commander in chief of the militia. He may grant pardons and reprieves and remit fines and forfeitures for offenses against the laws of Porto Rico, and respites for all offenses against the laws of the United States until the decision of the President can be ascertained, and may veto any legislation enacted as hereinafter provided. He shall commission all officers that he may be authorized to appoint. He shall be responsible for the faithful execution of the laws of Porto Rico and of the United States applicable to Porto Rico, and whenever it becomes necessary he may call upon the commanders of the military and naval forces of the United States in the

island, to summon the posse comitatus, or call on the militia, to prevent or suppress lawless violence, invasion, insurrection, or rebellion, and he may, in case of rebellion or invasion, or imminent danger thereof, when the public safety requires it, suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus, or place the island, or any part thereof, under martial law until communication can be had with the President and the President's decision therein made known. He shall annually, and at such other times as he may require, make official report of the transactions of the government of Porto Rico to the Executive Department of the Government of the United States to be designated by the President as herein provided, and his said annual report shall be transmitted to Congress, and he shall perform such additional duties and functions as may in pursuance of law be delegated to him by the President.

"At the general election to be held in Porto Rico in the year 1928, and thereafter at each general election, the qualified electors of Porto Rico shall elect the governor, who shall qualify as such on the first Monday of January of the succeeding year, and upon such qualification, the office of the appointed governor shall cease and determine. A vice governor shall also at such time be elected for a term of four years, under like conditions. He shall act as governor in case of vacancy, the temporary absence or removal, resignation, or disability of the governor, and shall exercise all the powers and perform all the duties of the governor, during such vacancy, disability, or absence. The vice governor shall be ex officio the president of the senate. The governor and vice governor thus elected shall hold their offices for a term of four years and until their successors have been elected and qualified."

SEC. 2. That section 13 of the said organic act, approved March 2, 1917, be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 13. That the following executive departments are hereby created: A department of justice, the head of which shall be designated as the attorney general; a department of finance, the head of which shall be designated as the treasurer; a department of interior, the head of which shall be designated as the commissioner of the interior; a department of education, the head of which shall be designated as the commissioner of education; a department of agriculture and commerce, the head of which shall be designated as the commissioner of agriculture and commerce; a department of labor, the head of which shall be designated as the commissioner of labor; and a department of health, the head of which shall be designated as the commissioner of health.

"The heads of departments shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of Porto Rico, for the term of four years, and until their successors are appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the governor.

"Heads of departments shall reside in Porto Rico during their official incumbency and shall have resided in Porto Rico for at least two years prior to their appointment.

"The heads of the departments shall collectively form a council to the governor, known as the executive council. They shall perform under the general supervision of the governor the duties hereinafter prescribed or which may hereafter be prescribed by law and such other duties not inconsistent with laws as the governor, with the approval of the President, may assign to them; and they shall make annual and such other reports to the governor as he may require, which shall be transmitted to the executive department of the Government of the United States to be designated by the President as herein provided: *Provided*, That the duties herein imposed upon the heads of departments shall not carry with them any additional compensation."

SEC. 3. That section 18 of the said organic act, approved March 2, 1917, be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 18. That the commissioner of agriculture and commerce shall have general charge of such bureaus and branches of government as have been or shall be legally constituted for the study, advancement, and benefit of agriculture, commerce, and other industries; the chief purpose of this department being to foster, promote, and develop the agricultural interests and the welfare of the farmers of Porto Rico, to improve their market conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable sales of their products, and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by law."

SEC. 4. That between sections 18 and 19 of said organic act, approved March 2, 1917, a new section is hereby inserted to read as follows:

"SEC. 18 (a). That the commissioner of labor shall have charge of such bureaus and branches of government as have been or shall be legally constituted

to foster and promote the welfare of the wage earners of Porto Rico; to improve their working conditions and to advance their opportunities for profitable employment, and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by law."

Mr. WARD. I thought we adjourned the other day pending consideration of 6294. I am not objecting.

The CHAIRMAN. We did, but that would have to be considered in executive session, and we have the Porto Rican Commission with us who desire to sail on the 16th, I think, from New York, and this hearing is called with special reference to their convenience.

Mr. WARD. Have we got this act before us to provide civil government? Is it available?

The CHAIRMAN. I have a copy of the act here. There are only four or five copies of the organic act.

Mr. WARD. We can have the proposed amendment read, and the part read in the act which they amend.

The CHAIRMAN. We will have them read from time to time, in connection with the amendments that are desired to be made.

Now, gentlemen, we do not know how long this will take, but I shall ask the Speaker of the House to ask the House to grant us permission to sit during the sessions of the House.

Mr. FULLER. To-day is calendar Wednesday.

The CHAIRMAN. To-day we will want to adjourn promptly at 12 o'clock. I am in hopes we will be able to get through before noon, but you can not always tell. If we should need more time we will have to adjourn until to-morrow, under those circumstances.

We will now hear from Mr. Davila.

Mr. DAVILA. Mr. Chairman, this House Resolution 4087 provides for an increase in the salaries of several officials in Porto Rico. It provides for the increase of the salary of the auditor from \$5,000 to \$7,000; also for the increase in the salary of the executive secretary from \$4,000 to \$5,000; also for the increase of the salary of the governor from \$10,000 to \$12,000; for the increase of the salaries of the heads of the executive departments of the insular government from \$5,000 to \$7,000, and the compensation of the judges of the supreme court, by increasing the salary of the chief justice from \$6,500 to \$9,000, and that of the associate justices from \$5,500 to \$8,000.

In arguing favorable consideration on this bill, I wish to state that I was acting under the mandate of the Legislature of Porto Rico when I introduced this bill. The island legislature at its last session enacted a bill making an appropriation for the expenses in carrying on the government of Porto Rico. In that act it was provided that the appropriation therein for the increase of the salaries of the justices of the supreme court, the heads of the executive departments, the auditor and the executive secretary should be contingent upon the authorization of these increases by Congress.

The language of that section, in part, is as follows:

SEC. 2. The increase in the salaries of the justices of the supreme court, heads of departments appointed by the President of the United States, executive secretary and auditor of Porto Rico, shall be effective provided the Congress of the United States, by adequate legislation, authorizes payment of such increases; and until such authorization is obtained the aforesaid officials shall continue to receive the salaries authorized by the provisions of the organic act of Porto Rico. And it is hereby declared that the aforesaid increases in salaries are due to the circumstance that the compensation estab-

lished by law is not in accord with the present cost of living, not with the importance of the offices in question. And to the end of doing justice to the officials affected by this provision, the Legislature of Porto Rico hereby requests the Congress of the United States to take such legislative action as may be necessary to give legal force to the will of the insular legislature.

Now the other bill, 6583, provides for the election of the Governor of Porto Rico in 1928, for the appointment of the heads of departments by the Governor of Porto Rico, with the advice and consent of the Senate of Porto Rico, and also creates a labor department, and the present department of agriculture will be known as—

Mr. WARD. Elect the governor?

Mr. DAVILA. Yes, sir.

Mr. WARD. There is not anything in here about electing a governor.

Mr. DAVILA. Yes; on page 3, line 9:

The election to be held in Porto Rico in the year 1928, and thereafter at each general election, the qualified electors of Porto Rico shall elect a governor, who shall qualify as such on the first Monday of January.

And so forth.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I do not know if the governor will want to speak on this matter, but Mr. Barcelo would like to say something.

Mr. SCHAFER. Could I ask Mr. Davila a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly.

Mr. SCHAFER. Is there any arrangement made for increase in the salaries of the low-paid employees of the Government of Porto Rico? This takes care of the people with \$5,000 and \$7,000 salaries. How about the little fellow there?

Mr. DAVILA. We come to Congress asking for this because we have not the power in Porto Rico. The salaries are fixed by the Congress of the United States and not by the Legislature of Porto Rico, but I think we are paying in Porto Rico to the people you mention salaries as far as we can go according to our resources.

Mr. SCHAFER. Are there not other employees of the United States Government, such as clerks and stenographers and secretaries, like that, that are working under the supervision of these people whose salaries are raised?

Mr. DAVILA. I do not know. We are only asking Congress for authority to increase the salaries of officials. It is not necessary for us to come to the Congress of the United States to ask to increase the salaries of stenographers and clerks, because we have that authority, according to our organic law, but these salaries are fixed by the Congress of the United States, and it is necessary that Congress give authority on these.

Mr. SCHAFER. Every employee other than those changed here are fixed by the Porto Rican Legislature?

Mr. DAVILA. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHAFER. Now, do you know whether the Porto Rican Legislature has fixed the salaries of other men to take care of the increased cost of living in proportion to the increase here?

Mr. DAVILA. I believe they have done that. That is my honest opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. I believe at this point, in view of what has developed, I should like to hear from the governor on these bills.

Mr. DAVILA. They are paid by the insular government, and the Legislature of Porto Rico in the last session increased the salaries of these officers.

Mr. SCHAFER. I have seen in various legislative departments, when courts have come in for raises, the raises would take care of the \$3,000, \$5,000 and \$7,000 employees, and they jumped the \$1,500 and \$2,000, and the little fellow who had a family, and was making \$90 a month, was forgotten in the increase, and that is what I want to find out, if the little fellow is taken care of herein.

Mr. WARD. Governor Towner is here, and he can tell us.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you finished? Have you any further questions?

Mr. WARD. I would like to hear the governor.

The CHAIRMAN. We will hear you now, Governor Towner.

STATEMENT OF HON. HORACE M. TOWNER, GOVERNOR OF PORTO RICO.

Governor TOWNER. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I am very much in favor of all these increases except the one on page 2, at the top of the page. That increases the salary of the governor from \$10,000 to \$12,000. In my judgment it would be inexpedient and unwise to do that, and I ask you not to do it. These other salaries, however, are all too low.

The heads of departments are now receiving only \$5,000 a year. The cost of living in Porto Rico, especially in the capital city, is almost, if not quite, as large as it is in the city of Washington. Rents are very high. Food and provisions of all sorts are very high, and it is almost impossible, I think it might be considered practically impossible, for the heads of departments to live on the \$5,000 a year without great sacrifice, or unless they happen to be single and without a family.

Mr. WARD. I would like to get some information, Governor, if you do not mind being interrupted?

Governor TOWNER. I will be glad to have you interrupt me.

Mr. WARD. Some of us asked the other day about the relative costs in Porto Rico and in America in building these customhouses.

Governor TOWNER. Yes, sir.

Mr. WARD. And the answer that came was that it could be done for 25 per cent, if not 50, 25 per cent less.

Governor TOWNER. Twenty-five per cent less than in the States.

Mr. WARD. That presents a strangeness to me. I expected to hear you say that living costs in Porto Rico in the capital city were less than they are here. You have no coal to buy, but I am just asking this for information.

Governor TOWNER. The rents in the city are very high. However, there are gentlemen here who can give you more definite information than I can, except that I know it is practically impossible for these heads of departments to live on the salary that they are paid, and that is true of justices of the supreme court, whose salaries are fixed. They ought to be increased without any question.

I do not know the exact terms of the act of the last legislature in which the Budget provisions was raised, with regard to these

salaries, from \$5,000 to \$7,000, but whatever it was such action is dependent upon your approval, because the salaries of these particular officers are fixed by the organic act. The salaries of all other officers of the Government are fixed by the legislature, and I think general raises were made, perhaps, proportionate with what is asked here, although that will be made definite by other gentlemen.

MR. WARD. You say we ratified that at the last session?

Governor TOWNER. Oh, no, at the last session of the legislature of Porto Rico.

MR. WARD. Oh, yes, I see.

Governor TOWNER. You gentlemen will understand these salaries are not paid by appropriations from the Treasury of the United States. It is merely the legislature asking unanimously that you raise the salaries out of their own funds.

Let me tell you one or two incidents that will show you the situation. The man who is now serving, and whom I selected to serve as secretary of agriculture, left an \$8,000 position to accept the position with the insular government.

MR. WARD. And he is now getting \$5,000 a year?

Governor TOWNER. And he is now getting \$5,000 a year, and he would, under the terms of this act, have a salary of \$7,000. Another of the members of the cabinet could quit his position at any time and receive a salary of \$10,000. These men are patriotic, serving their country, and they are proud of the service, as we all are. I think the cabinet of Porto Rico would do credit to any State. The men are very able, very capable, and are serving with wonderful self-sacrifice, most of them. I am quite sure you gentlemen, if you had the chance of knowing the work and observing its effect, would agree that they were entitled to these raises.

MR. WARD. How much of the time of the supreme court is occupied in active court work? How much is the court in session?

Governor TOWNER. I could not answer that, Mr. Ward, but some of these other gentlemen will answer that.

MR. WARD. I will ask it of them.

Governor TOWNER. I could not give you the information, although I think I am justified in saying from my knowledge of it that the supreme court is very seriously overworked. They have a good many duties imposed upon them which are not imposed upon the supreme court of either the United States or of the various States.

MR. WILLIAMS. Do you not think that a 20 per cent increase in the salaries would be wiser than making them as large as they are? For instance, some of these are 40 per cent increases. Take \$5,000 and raise it to \$7,000. Why not raise that 20 per cent? The next one is a littel over 20 per cent, and the chief justice of the supreme court from \$6,500 to \$9,000, and the associate justices of the supreme court, \$5,500 to \$8,000. That is over 50 per cent raise. It is just 60 per cent. Do you not think that a 20 per cent raise on those salaries would take care of the increase in the high cost of living?

Governor TOWNER. Gentlemen, let me just say this: I have lived for a number of years in Washington, as you know, and went from living in Washington directly to Porto Rico. My grocery bills and the bills I have to pay for family expenses are more down in Porto Rico than they were in Washington. There is no possible question in regard to that.

MR. WILLIAMS. Maybe that is not a parallel case.

Governor TOWNER. I am giving you that as one of the facts bearing upon the question.

MR. WILLIAMS. I do not want to interrupt you, but the record will show, and I have forgotten it: what was the surplus of Porto Rico last year?

Governor TOWNER. I do not understand the question.

MR. WILLIAMS. What was the surplus last year?

Governor TOWNER. About \$250,000.

MR. WILLIAMS. If you raise these salaries in this proportion, and this last provision of the bill becomes law, giving the right to the legislature to raise them, the first thing you know you will have a deficit in Porto Rico, and I believe in justice to these positions and in justice to the finances of the island that a 20 per cent increase would be adequate.

Governor TOWNER. Speaking about the surplus, let me say to the gentleman that I am quite sure the surplus at the end of this fiscal year, instead of being \$257,000, which it was last year, will be, in my judgment, over \$1,000,000, so there will not be any trouble about that.

MR. WILLIAMS. A man has got to figure his income before figuring his outgo, individually.

Governor TOWNER. That is true. What I meant is this, that we should try by some means to deal justly with these men and give them salaries commensurate with their services. I think you gentlemen will agree that it would not be a wise thing for us to drive them out of the present cabinet.

MR. WILLIAMS. I agree with you, governor, but here are these fellows down to the janitor that ought to be increased.

Governor TOWNER. They are getting an increase now.

MR. WILLIAMS. The little fellow wants to be taken care of.

Governor TOWNER. Gentlemen will correct me, but I think there was a 20 per cent increase paid all along the line, from 10 to 20 per cent.

MR. SCHAFER. Have any of the officials here got a copy of the Budget, a copy of the salary scale paid the employees before the increase and at present?

Governor TOWNER. I have the Budget in my office.

MR. WILLIAMS. If they want to make a 20 per cent increase from the bottom to the top it is all right.

MR. FULLER. Suppose we allow these salaries as fixed by this bill, do you think this last proviso should be incorporated in the bill, which will give the legislature authority to change the salary?

Governor TOWNER. I do not think so. It should be omitted. As long as the provisions for the salary are made by the organic act, as fixed by the organic act, I think this would be making this privilege absolutely nugatory.

MR. FULLER. The tendency of legislatures is to increase salaries if they have the authority.

Governor TOWNER. I do not think anyone would insist on that last provision, and I would ask to have it stricken out as far as I am concerned, and I think the increase in the salary of the governor should be stricken out also.

Now, gentlemen, in order not to have all these men called upon to speak twice, may I ask your attention to the other bill now?

MR. SALMON. Just a word before you leave us.

Governor TOWNER. Yes, sir.

MR. SALMON. Take for instance the salaries of the justices, are they allowed any assistants, such as secretaries or stenographers, who draw a salary, to assist them in the performance of their duties?

Governor TOWNER. They have stenographers, as I understand; yes, they have stenographers.

MR. SCHAFER. Can any gentleman state what the stenographers and clerical help to the justices receive?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. There is a regular clerical force in the clerk's office of the supreme court.

Governor TOWNER. Each individual judge does not have a stenographer. They call on the clerk, the employees in the clerk's office, when such services are needed.

MR. SCHAFER. I would like to see the salary schedule that is paid to those clerks.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. I have been chairman of the ways and means committee of the house, and, as such, I introduced a budget some four years ago in which a proportionate increase in all salaries was made: for instance, all those up to \$1,000 a year were increased, say, 20 per cent, and those salaries from \$1,000 to \$2,000 a year were given an increase of, say, 15 per cent, and following that scale we went up to these salaries which we can not touch, because they are fixed by the organic act approved by Congress.

MR. SCHAFER. There are government employees getting less than \$1,000 a year?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. For instance, messengers usually have \$900 a year, messengers and the men, for instance, that take care of the roads in Porto Rico. We have one road man for every three kilometers of road. His duty is to keep that part of the road in good repair. I think they are paid \$60 a month.

MR. SCHAFER. If the question is raised on account of the cost of living to raise the judge's salary \$3,000 and another man's salary \$2,000, I do not see how you get a reasonable argument, when it is admitted that somebody who has a family gets less than \$1,000 a year.

Governor TOWNER. All the salaries have been increased.

MR. SCHAFER. If a man is getting \$1,000 working there, and using the question of the cost of living as an argument to raise the judge's salary \$3,000, it does not sound reasonable.

MR. ROBINSON. You are familiar with the conditions in the State of Iowa. How does the work of the supreme court justices and associate justices compare with the work in Iowa, for instance?

Governor TOWNER. I will say with regard to the court work that it would be about the same, but the justices of the Supreme Court of Porto Rico have additional duties that are quite considerable. Following the Spanish system, they have jurisdiction of the registers of real property, of notaries, and admissions to the bar, and two of the judges are required to sit on the board of examination for admissions, and all questions requiring title of land from registers are appealed to the supreme court.

MR. ROBINSON. We have twice the population of Porto Rico.

Governor TOWNER. Yes.

MR. ROBINSON. What is the salary there now?

Governor TOWNER. \$8,000, I think.

MR. ROBINSON. I thought it was \$6,000.

Governor TOWNER. I am not certain, but that is my impression.

MR. KIESS. Pennsylvania pays \$7,500.

Governor TOWNER. One of the justices told me that the averages of the United States for the State courts, for judges of the courts of appeal, were more than those asked for in this bill.

MR. WILLIAMS. That is on an average.

Governor TOWNER. Yes, sir; on an average. Now, take more particularly one of the justices of the supreme court, and as a matter of law he has to substitute for the judge of the district court of the United States when the latter is absent or disqualified, and this is when he is on his vacation one or two months each year, without extra compensation. I do not know if there is any other extra work. A judge over there has to be able to speak two languages.

May I now go on to this other matter? I want to call attention to the provisions of H. R. 6583. In a general way this bill provides for the election of the Governor of Porto Rico at the general election in 1928. That is the next general election. The question is the broad question of whether or not you want to extend to Porto Rico a larger measure of self-government, and whether or not their record so far has been such as to warrant you in trusting them with such an extension as they ask.

I do not desire you to be influenced by what I shall say except as my own view, just as you view it. You will hear the Porto Ricans, and I am quite sure you will give full weight and credit to what they say. I am only going to say to you that in my judgment they are entitled to this extension of self-government. In my judgment they will use it wisely and well. I do not believe that the Government of the United States will feel that they have made a mistake in making this extension to the people of Porto Rico of self-government.

Of course, gentlemen, we are inclined, all of us, to jump from the bottom to the ultimate, and we are always prone and desirous of discussing what shall be the final determination of the status of Porto Rico. It would be of very little value to you to give you my idea about it.

Personally, I think the final status of the Island will be that it will become a State of the Union. When that shall take place is a question which is for the future to determine. But whatever that status may be, whether it shall be in the nature of an absolutely or almost absolutely self-governing commonwealth (it will be, if you grant them this right to elect their own governor) or whether it shall lead to Statehood, or whatever it will lead to in the future, to make the extension asked for is, in my opinion, a duty that is incumbent upon us, because we are under obligation to give to all territory subject to our jurisdiction the largest measure of self-government which the people are capable of using wisely and safely.

We are under obligations, according to the very fundamentals of our Government, to extend to them just as rapidly as we can, just as

fast as we believe we are justified in doing, the rights of self-government. Now, that being the case, it seems to me that having these evidences of progress and development that have been made in Porto Rico during the 25 years that they have been under American control, having knowledge of how well they have adjusted themselves to each increase of autonomous government as it has been granted to them, I think we are justified as citizens of the United States and as Members of Congress in allowing them to elect their governor. I think we will hardly be justified in refusing to them this extension of self-government or in longer delaying it.

They have had for some years, since 1917, they have had the power to make their own laws. Let me say that the veto power regarding general legislation has been rarely exercised in Porto Rico by the governor, and has never been exercised by Congress. The laws that are now upon their statute books are their own laws. They had a difficult and complicated problem presented to them. The basis and foundation of all their customary laws is Spanish. The manners and customs of the people were still Spanish when we assumed control. They have superimposed upon that Spanish basis of laws our American laws, that would harmonize them with American conditions, especially since they were made American citizens in 1917.

Now, gentlemen, I want to speak with reserve, but I have no hesitancy in saying that I doubt if there is any State in the Union that under the circumstances that existed, under the same conditions that these people worked under, would have given a better account of themselves or have secured a better system of laws as they have now in Porto Rico. In many respects they are better than those in many of the States. They have been quick to adjust themselves to that which is best and most progressive in many of our States. Long before we did, they had a budget, and they adhered to it. They have very many laws which I must not take the time to call attention to, in particular, that are admirable in their nature and which, as I become acquainted with them, excited my admiration and approval.

I notice Mr. Bunn is here, who is a critic of laws, as well as the organizer and formulator of some of the best of our codes in the States and is now assisting in the reunion of the present United States statutes, and he nods approval of what I say in commendation, in a general way, of the body of Porto Rican laws, and he has made a quite careful examination of those laws.

So that legislatively it can be said that they have done more than could be expected or required of them, and they merit in that regard full approval by us in the United States.

Let me speak about their judicial system. I do not think there is a more clean or intelligent State supreme court in the Union than the Supreme Court of Porto Rico. It receives the confidence of the bar and of the people absolutely. Never—and that is rather exceptional, I think—have I heard a criticism of the supreme court from either a member of the bar or the legislature. I have heard some criticisms regarding the inferior courts and the inferior system, and that we are trying to remedy and have already taken some steps in that direction, but with regard to the supreme court and with regard to the ultimate determination of the rights of the people, there is not

any possible criticism that could be made, so that these two great departments of the Government, it seems to me, are beyond any just criticism.

Now, let me speak about the administrative features, leaving out of consideration the governor entirely. All of you understand that the administration of the law must, after all, be in the hands of the heads of departments. That is true down there. The record of these heads of departments in disposing of business in the manner in which business is disposed of in the ready adaptation of new laws to the changing conditions by the various departments, and all of those things that really measure the practical administration of law by the executive departments, I think it is admirable and entitled to your full approval.

Now, the only question here is the selection of one man. We have sent governors down from the States. The record of the government of Porto Rico has been very good. There is no general criticism by Porto Ricans regarding the administration, but no matter how good it may be, no matter whether or not you think that it would be perhaps as well, perhaps, safer, perhaps better to still continue to send some man down from the States, gentlemen, you should remember the people of Porto Rico ought to be considered in regard to that. How will they regard a longer withholding of the right of electing their own governor? Will they not say to us: "You are not treating us fairly. We are just as capable in most respects, at least, of being intrusted with the election of our governor as at least some of the States are."

In my opinion it would be one of the most noble things that the Congress of the United States could do, that would reflect more credit upon it to grant this request than almost anything I can think of. The eyes of the world are upon us in regard to our record in the government of what are called dependencies. We are to determine by what we do, what they think about the United States of America. We proclaim belief in selfgovernment, as part of our American system, and we ought to practice selfgovernment whenever and wherever justified. For these reasons I believe Porto Rico should be granted the right to elect their own governor.

I do not care to take up any more time, but I want to say one thing more. Gentlemen, the people of Porto Rico do not ask to be separated from the United States. They are not asking for independence. They want to continue as part of the territory of the United States, in whatever form it may be, throughout the future years: never do they ask to be dissociated from the United States. They wish to remain, either as a part of it as a Territory, or a part of it as a State, whichever you shall determine ultimately. That is what they desire and what they will approve, so that this extension of government is not for the purpose of becoming an independent republic. That is not their thought, nor in their minds. But as the States elect their governors, so they ask to elect their governors. It does not mean independence on the part of the States; neither will it mean independence in Porto Rico. To grant their prayer will bind Porto Rico closer to the United States than if it should be longer withheld.

Eventually, why not now? That is a pretty good slogan to apply to this question. If eventually you expect (and I know you desire

to give to Porto Rico the right of electing their own governor—why not do it now? This does not mean to-morrow. It is four years from now. Why longer should it be indefinitely postponed?

MR. WARD. What do you conceive to be now the line of difference or demarcation between the rights of complete statehood and the rights which would accrue to Porto Rico under the passage of this bill, and the one which we considered at the last session of this committee?

Governor TOWNER. Mr. Ward, there is not very much of great consequence, except representation in the Congress of the United States.

MR. WARD. I do not think there would be very much difference. It would be practical statehood.

MR. SCHAFER. How about the question of Federal income taxes?

Governor TOWNER. Really, to go into that would take some time, but would you like to hear that discussed?

MR. SCHAFER. You made a statement that it would be practically the same statehood, except representation in Congress.

Governor TOWNER. I meant with regard to the rights and general relations.

MR. WILLIAMS. All the States and Territories, or the Territories that used to be Territories, never had the rights to elect their governor. That came with statehood.

Governor TOWNER. Yes, sir; that is true.

MR. WARD. I ought to know as well as you, Governor; there is no reason your position would give you the information more than I, but I have not got it. Can you tell us how England best governed the colonies, New Zealand, and Canada—can you tell us about their colonial government in this respect? Does Canada elect? I think not.

Governor TOWNER. No; their system is different in this regard. Mr. Ward. Canada has the same parliamentary system that Great Britain has. They have a governor general who occupies the position of deputy king, but like the King of England, he has no absolute power.

MR. WARD. He has the veto power by letter, but does not dare exercise it in spirit.

Governor TOWNER. That is the idea. The people elect their Parliament, which selects a Prime Minister and the Prime Minister more nearly approximates what a governor would be, than the governor general.

MR. WILLIAMS. Do you regard Porto Rico in 1928 will be in a condition for statehood?

Governor TOWNER. No, sir; I do not.

MR. WILLIAMS. Then do you believe it is wise to let them elect a governor when we have not permitted a Territory to elect a governor? Do you think that as long as Porto Rico is a Territory the President should appoint a governor and assist them in bringing them up to the time when it will be fitted for statehood?

Governor TOWNER. I do not know of any reason why it should not be given the right to elect a governor.

MR. WILLIAMS. We have never done it, and I feel like the Territories in this country, inhabited by people of America, were capable of electing a governor.

Mr. FULLER. Is it because of the lack of population, in connection with the Territory, before they became States, and were they given that power when they got sufficient population?

Governor TOWNER. That is one reason.

Mr. SCHAFER. Approximately how many voters of Porto Rico voted at the last general election, and can I be enlightened as to the qualifications of the electors, the rank and file having the right to vote, or do they have certain qualifications which will place the election in the hands of a certain few?

Governor TOWNER. Will you ask that of certain other gentlemen, who will follow me?

Mr. SCHAFER. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Was not the trouble with New Mexico and Arizona the fact that they did not have sufficient population?

Mr. FULLER. Not only the population, scattered population.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Arizona? I am asking for information.

Governor TOWNER. Let me make this observation along this line: There is a difference made, and absolutely and accurately determined, by the Supreme Court between what they called an organized Territory and an incorporated Territory. An organized Territory, such as Porto Rico, has the right to use, as Congress permits, as it has permitted, and place in their own treasury for their own use such revenues as the customs duties and the internal-revenue receipts. Now, if they become an incorporated Territory, or if they become a State, then immediately they lose that right.

I said a few moments ago it would not be wise to admit Porto Rico as a State in 1928, and one of the reasons for that is because it would not be economically independent. It would not have sufficient revenue to take care of its people, to provide its schools and roads and everything that a government needs, and Porto Rico has a large population, 1,300,000 people. It would not have this revenue if it became an incorporated Territory or if it became a State of the Union; but, gentleman, I do not know how long that will continue, and I do not know when you will be ready to admit it as a State in the Union, with two Senators and with its five or six Representatives, but in the meantime, now, why should they not have the right of electing their own governor? It might be that for years that condition will be absolutely satisfactory to them, until they became economically independent, until they had reduced their present illiteracy, now about 50 per cent, down to 20 per cent or something of that kind, until they were ready to be fully qualified as an applicant for statehood in the Union. Why should you refuse them in the meantime—which may be for a few years, but which might be for 10 or 20 years, I do not know for how long—why should you refuse them this further step or autonomous government? What particular benefit would it be to the United States to longer withhold it? What particular source of safety would it be to the United States to have the governor appointed from the United States rather than elected by the people down there? I make this suggestion for your consideration.

Mr. KIESS. Of course, the fact that in our dealings with the Territories of our own that we have the governor appointed by the President is not any good reason why we should continue that for-

ever, if in the judgment of the Congress the time has arrived when the Territory should elect its governor.

Governor TOWNER. That is what I mean.

Mr. KIESS. That is breaking precedents, but we are doing that every day.

Mr. SALMON. Would it not be a kind of tryout to permit them to elect their governor for awhile, to get an idea of how they would conduct themselves as an independent State by experiment?

Governor TOWNER. A very good reason; a very good reason, that would be. We have the power to withdraw as we have the power to give, and if they did not do well with an elected governor, we could go back to the old system, but I do not think that would happen.

The CHAIRMAN. The administration of the affairs of Porto Rico primarily, so far as the United States is concerned, is to be in the interest of the Porto Rican people. Of course, incidentally, the union is supposed to be valuable to the United States, but I say primarily the heralding before the world as such, that we have taken the attitude of a beneficent guardian of a people for a certain number of years, with the ultimate purpose of serving best their own welfare; I think every American citizen who is moved by the ideals which characterize this country will assent to that proposition.

Mr. WARD. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, these two bills are petitions unanimously passed, as I understand, by the Porto Rican Legislature, bills in which all political parties have united, asking for a little further grant of the right to determine their own government, asking the right to increase the salaries of the officers, and they believe they have that right, which they want to exercise, inasmuch as the money comes out of their own treasury, and perhaps they rightly feel that they have been subject to the lower salary as long as they should be, and when they ask the right to increase the salaries, it is simply one further step on the road toward autonomy, as well as the other application for a change in the organic law, that they might be permitted to elect their governor. Perhaps it is well for us in considering this to think of those things, and to think of the effect in the minds of the Porto Rican people themselves, as well as the wisdom which we shall exercise in passing the laws. I think both considerations should weigh very heavily in the minds of the committee in any action that we may take.

You will pardon me, Governor.

Mr. WARD. I can not help feeling that there is a possibility that Governor Towner, when he suggests the striking out of that proposed raise in the governor's salary, is actuated by personal modesty to some extent, and is not representative of the real merits of his bill, as he is of the other increases, because he is the governor general. While you were talking about that question he suggests that he is opposing it. I feel it is because he is the governor. A man goes from here down there and abandons entirely all his source of income, unless it is some property paying rent without his attention, or something of that sort. I feel like, sir, you might not have made the statement if some other man had been the governor.

Governor TOWNER. Let me state I did not care to go into the matter particularly, but in the formation of this bill, Judge Davila did not consult me with regard to putting in an increase for the governor. Now I want to be perfectly fair and free from any sort of any personal interest regarding this matter.

Mr. WARD. I know you do.

Governor TOWNER. I can get along on this salary that we have now all right, and I am not asking for an increase. I would rather you would not grant it. It gives me a freer hand and a better chance of convincing the people that I am acting not selfishly, but for the good of the people of Porto Rico. I think, gentlemen, if any of you were in my place you would do the same thing.

Mr. WARD. I expect so.

Governor TOWNER. Mr. Chairman, I must not take up any more of your time. I thank you very much for your attention. I did not intend to take so much time. I hope you will hear these representatives from Porto Rico, who can better state these matters to you than I can, and give them a fair hearing and understanding.

Mr. FULLER. I will vote for this bill 6583. I have examined it very thoroughly. It is carefully drawn. There is one question to determine—the election of the governor there in 1928. I think the committee is in favor of it, and if it is in order I will move that it be reported favorably.

Mr. WILLIAMS. We do not care to go into that now. We should take that up in executive session.

Mr. SCHAFER. Page 4, lines 18 to 22, relative to the appointments of the heads of the departments "the heads of departments shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate of Porto Rico, for the term of four years, and until their successors are appointed and qualified, unless sooner removed by the governor." Would it not be more fair to put, "unless with the advice and consent of the senate"? You give the senate the power to advise and consent to the appointment, and you are giving the governor the absolute right to nullify the appointment.

Governor TOWNER. That is only in consonance with the general constitutional provisions in the United States and in all the States.

Mr. SCHAFER. The senate advises and consents to the appointment, but they have not the right to express their views.

Mr. WILLIAMS. They can be removed without consent.

The CHAIRMAN. There was a motion made that a certain bill be reported out. I have thought we would consider that in executive session, but if the committee is ready to act—

Mr. ROBINSON. I am not ready.

Mr. WILLIAMS. All this should be considered in executive session.

Mr. FULLER. I will not insist on the motion.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to say to the committee, of course, we shall have considerable work to do, and this committee will go on meeting regularly from day to day until we work out the various bills that have been presented to us; until we have a thorough hearing, of course, it is impossible to take any definite action, and there may seem to have been a little delay, but that delay has not been purposeful. We want to get these bills properly presented, but I will say to

the committee that I expect to keep you busy from now on until we get a disposal of these bills.

Mr. ROBINSON. You do not mean to indicate that we shall have meetings every day? We have other work that we must adjust ourselves.

The CHAIRMAN. I shall consult the convenience and necessity of the case. I want you to prepare yourselves so that we may have as much activity as possible.

Mr. ROBINSON. We have been for two months, the better part of two or three months, without any hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. Some reference was made to General McIntyre and I would like to have him present a brief statement on these matters, and then we will call the other gentlemen.

STATEMENT OF MAJ. GEN. FRANK McINTYRE, CHIEF OF BUREAU OF INSULAR AFFAIRS, WAR DEPARTMENT.

General McINTYRE. I desire to say a few words only on the bill with reference to the increases in the salaries. When the present organic act was passed an effort was made to fix these particular salaries at approximately what they are now providing, and it was decided not to do that. The revenues of Porto Rico at that time were less than one-half of what they are now, and it was felt unsafe.

Now, we were particularly interested in those men who are appointed from the United States; that is, we appoint a governor from the United States and usually appoint two of the five justices of the supreme court and two of the heads of the departments. Now, when a man is selected from the United States to go to Porto Rico as governor you give him a salary of \$10,000 a year. We send an ambassador to Cuba and pay him \$17,500 a year. You send a minister to San Domingo and pay him \$10,000 a year.

Now, the Governor of Porto Rico is an important man; the position is more important than any of those. The minister to San Domingo goes to a place where the population is one-half that of Porto Rico, and the trade with the United States is a great deal less. The Governor of Porto Rico represents the Government of the United States as much as an ambassador in that region, separated as he is from the United States, and he is called on to do a great many things. If we would look to other governors, similarly situated, we would find that the governors get three or four times what we have ever given. Take the governor of Jamaica, for instance, under the British system; his salary is very much higher than that which we propose. Now, a gentleman goes to Porto Rico as governor from one of our States and he gives up his business here. Not only does he give up his business, but if he has anything to look after he turns it over to some one to look out for it for him. It is a different proposition from a man being governor of his own State, and the same applies with reference to the justices of the supreme court.

If we send an American from the United States to be a justice in Porto Rico, we must select a man very carefully, who speaks two languages, Spanish and English, who is acquainted with the civil-law as well as the common-law system, and the number of men we can send there are very few.

Now, one of the supreme court justices is from Texas, because he had practiced in Porto Rico before he was appointed, and he knew something of the civil law before he went there. The other is from the District of Columbia, and they have been there for a number of years. They have no business or relations with the United States in a legal way. Furthermore, in the case of Porto Ricans these positions are the highest legal positions in Porto Rico. A man who is judge in one of our State courts has an opening in the United States courts or other places, or comes back to the practice of his profession, with the added glory of having occupied a prominent position. That does not figure the same in Porto Rico when a man is appointed as justice of the supreme court, because he has the highest thing open to him there.

MR. WARD. How many of these do we appoint under the organic act?

General MCINTYRE. The president appoints them all, but usually he appointed three natives of Porto Rico and two from the United States. That is the custom. There is no law to that effect.

Now, with reference to the heads of the departments, the same thing comes up. The President appoints the attorney general of Porto Rico. Now, we have to send a man to Porto Rico for \$5,000, which is a very difficult thing to do. It comes down to a practical question—the type of man we would like to send there can not be secured for that amount. As a result of that (we have had five men)—but as a result of that we ordinarily have had to appoint very young men, because if a man makes a reputation here he commands so much more salary that he would not accept the office in Porto Rico.

We must have in mind, I think, in order to understand these salaries, these positions in Porto Rico, that they are the highest positions in Porto Rico. The man who is the head of any one of those departments is occupying the highest position there, and that imposes on him obligations that necessitate something of an increase in salary. This also has commanding weight, and this is the judgment of the Legislature of Porto Rico as to an appropriate salary.

Now we fixed these salaries here, having in mind the small revenues and many necessities for the use of the revenues. Now the people of Porto Rico come to us and say, "Having adjusted our budget, we do not like to have these men given these salaries; we would like to have them given more appropriate salaries."

MR. WILLIAMS. Do you not think that a 10 per cent increase all along the line, including the governor, would be sufficient? I think his salary should be increased.

General MCINTYRE. I think most essentially it should be.

MR. WILLIAMS. We recognize the modesty of the governor, but do you not think that 10 per cent increase all along the line would be enough?

General MCINTYRE. If we were asking each year, coming to you from year to year and asking 10 per cent, that would be sufficient, but these salaries were practically fixed in 1900. The law in 1900 fixed the salary very little differently from this. There were slight increases in 1917, when the organic law was passed, because during that period, until Porto Rico received the income tax in 1913, that was little increase in revenue. Prior to that time the increase has

been due to the development of the territory, but in 1915 and 1916 they received a material increase in revenue, and they now come to us asking for this increase in salary.

Mr. WARD. How long are the judges appointed for?

General McINTYRE. They are practically permanent appointments.

Mr. WARD. The attorney general is not.

General McINTYRE. He is appointed for four years.

Mr. SALMON. General, I would like to ask this question: Do you know anything of the resolutions passed in the legislature down there, whether or not there were any influences brought to bear on the legislature to pass these resolutions recommending these laws?

General McINTYRE. I think not, because these were included in the budget, and it provided an increase for every official who was appointed by the President, as well as those officials appointed by the governor, whose salaries are fixed by Congress. They have, as a matter of fact, a very liberal salary for the minor employees of the Porto Rican Government, compared to the salaries which are given to corresponding men outside.

Mr. SALMON. In other words, your understanding is that these resolutions are the deliberate, uninfluenced sentiment of the Porto Rican representatives?

General McINTYRE. Absolutely, sir.

Mr. SCHAFER. Who made up that budget?

General McINTYRE. The legislature made it.

Mr. SCHAFER. You have not a budget committee like we have here?

General McINTYRE. No, under the organic law of Porto Rico the governor is required to submit a budget at the beginning of the session, which will be the basis of the law. The legislature makes changes, as you do, and this is one of the things which the legislature put into the budget, and they have appropriated this money to pay these salaries, provided it meets the approval of Congress. That is really the situation except as to the governor, of course, the governor's salary being kept out for the reason which has been stated here.

Mr. WARD. Before you sit down, General, I want to ask you to give us your view upon the other bill with regard to the election of a governor?

General McINTYRE. On that bill I am really not prepared to make a statement.

Mr. WARD. Do you know any good reason why they probably ought not to have that right?

General McINTYRE. No; I know of no reason, and I would say there is a very good reason why sooner or later they should have that or some equivalent right. You see, our Territorial acts were prepared for Territories which were to be admitted in the Union as soon as certain conditions were satisfied. Now we have a Territory of Porto Rico, and we have not yet crossed that bridge as to whether we are going to admit it sooner or later.

Mr. WARD. Nor is it likely that we are going to admit them to full statehood for reasons that I could give.

General McINTYRE. For that reason it is necessary that the aspirations of the people of Porto Rico to control their own affairs should be appreciated. As to the question of time, I would not like to pass

on that. It is a very proper request, and it does not parallel the ordinary Territory, in that we have not in mind making it a State as soon as it has the requisite population, because it has the population now.

MR. SCHAFER. What, in your estimate, is the average increase in the cost of living of Porto Rico over that average in the United States?

General MCINTYRE. Well, the situation is this: These officials live in San Juan, which is the Capital, and it is the most expensive place in Porto Rico. It is like the most expensive place in the United States, and if we compare those I should say that their expenses are quite as great as they are here. So far as the economy in San Juan is concerned, I do not think there is any economy there.

MR. SCHAFER. How do rents in San Juan compare with those in Washington?

General MCINTYRE. Compared with the rents in Washington, here they have been very extreme, but normally the rents are much higher in San Juan than you would expect; for this reason, the people in San Juan build a house to live in. We have not a great number of houses built for the purpose of rental in San Juan, and you frequently run against the proposition that you can not rent a house at all. That is the real difficulty.

MR. SCHAFER. Bearing in mind the previous hearing, the low cost of building in Porto Rico as compared with the cost of building here, and bearing in mind what you say, that they build a house in which to live, instead of renting, as a rule, I would imagine that would have a tendency to decrease the cost of living.

General MCINTYRE. The difference in Porto Rico, of course, is this, that the extremes there are much greater than we are accustomed to in the United States. The unemployment in Porto Rico is large, but that unemployment is among the uneducated people, not available for these positions. Unfortunately, what everybody connected with Porto Rico hopes is that we can build up the bottom strata of the population and give them employment and increase their wages. Of course, wages are low for laboring men in Porto Rico.

Governor TOWNER. All of those custom houses are to be built in small towns and will cost very much less than in the city.

MR. SCHAFER. Are these Government employees scheduled in this budget natives, or is there a big percentage of Americans?

General MCINTYRE. Practically all are natives. In Porto Rico we have an ample supply of men of all classes, and it is a very densely populated island. We send few Americans there. The few that go from the United States are the few we have enumerated, and school teachers, because of the desire to introduce the English language.

The CHAIRMAN. How many Americans are in the island now? Can anyone give that information?

General MCINTYRE. I can put that in from the census, but it is just a few thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the gentlemen informs me that it is about 2,000 altogether in a population of 300,000.

MR. SCHAFER. Do you think this Porto Rican legislature, who desire to increase these salaries \$3,000, etc., are absolutely fair in

increasing salaries when the cost of living is such as you state, and the cost of living is such that it is necessary to increase the man who is getting a nice, handsome salary, \$3,000, when you have in your budget salaries for people of \$900, \$1,200 to \$1,500?

General McINTYRE. It is a question very largely of conditions there. Those salaries compare very well with those on the outside.

Mr. SCHAFER. Is it a question that might have been favored in order to be on the good side of these United States officials who get those raises? If it was for the good of the people I would believe they would increase the salaries of the little people. They have families.

General McINTYRE. The proposition is really one of demand. Take a man who is working on the road, a man who is a common laborer; you have to recognize the standard of wages in the community for men of that class. Take the best lawyer in the island, the best lawyer in the Island of Porto Rico, his earning capacity is quite as large as it is in the States, or larger.

The CHAIRMAN. As I understand it, there are only two or three of these men who are Americans?

Mr. WARD. Let me ask you this one question before you sit down. Do the increases in salaries meet with your approval?

General McINTYRE. Absolutely.

Mr. WARD. Don't you think the worst kind of economy is paying a man a salary which would not command the best ability, either in the island or in this country?

General McINTYRE. That is true.

Mr. WARD. Do you agree with me that the question of the relative justice to the lower officer and the higher could be safely left with our socialist friend over there, who spoke with us the other day, and was interrupted by the ringing of the bell?

General McINTYRE. I think so.

Mr. WARD. Governor, you approve these recommendations for increases in salary, with your knowledge of the situation?

Governor TOWNER. Yes, sir; unquestionably.

Mr. WARD. With the possible exception of your own?

Governor TOWNER. I am afraid if we do not do it, I will lose two of my most valuable men, the members of my cabinet.

Mr. DAVILA. I want to say that the governor told me that he did not want this provision in of increasing his salary. He did not want that included in the bill. I did, in spite of that, include it. If we are going to have a good and able man from the United States as governor of Porto Rico, we have to give him a reasonable compensation. It will be different in the case of an elective executive. Then the governor will have the advantage of residing in Porto Rico where he has his relations and interests which he may keep in spite of his position if they are not detrimental in the proper discharge of his duties. A man appointed from the States will be compelled to break all his connections here and when his term expires, after a period of four or more years he will return to the mainland to renew his connections and practically start again.

Let me say a few words in connection with the election of the governor as it is provided in this bill. It seems that some gentlemen object to the enjoyment of this right by the people of Porto Rico

on the grounds that no Territory of the United States has ever elected the executive. It is true that according to precedent only the States of the Union have been in possession of this right, which is in my opinion essential in a republican form of government. It is also true that Porto Rico has not any probability of being incorporated as a State of the Union, and if we are going to wait for the granting of statehood before we are given the power to elect our governor, we must inevitably come to the conclusion that Porto Rico never will have an executive elected by the people.

In regard to precedents, let me state that precedents are good when they are applied to existing conditions identical or similar to those which gave birth to precedents in the past. A community ruled exclusively by precedents is not infrequently handicapped to keep pace with the progress of the world. Let us infuse in the soul of humanity the spirit of renovation, of evolution and progress. Let us follow precedents in the ordinary course of life when it is wise and proper to follow them, but let us also be ready for a change when the opportunity comes. When new conditions come into existence and we are facing new issues we should not hesitate in establishing new precedents to deal with the problems which may confront us. There were no precedents for the present status of Porto Rico before the Spanish-American War. The theory of incorporated or unincorporated territories was unknown to the American jurisprudence. The Supreme Court of the United States is the author of this theory and it was wisely established by this high tribunal to meet the new problems brought into existence by the Spanish-American war.

There is no question that Porto Rico has a right to elect the executive of the island, provided Congress has come to the conclusion that we are ready for the enjoyment of this right. This is, in my opinion, the only question to decide. We believe that we are fully prepared for the enjoyment of full self-government, including the election of the executive. We are American citizens as you are; and if an American citizen born in New York, Nebraska, or California is qualified to be the ruler of our island, I do not see the reason why an American citizen born in Porto Rico should be disqualified to fill the same position in the land where he was born for the only reason of being a native of that land. That is a discrimination that is very far from your minds and which never will have your support. As American citizens we do not accept discriminations. We surely are entitled, as you are, to the confidence of the Nation. Do not hesitate to place that confidence in us and be sure that it is safe in our hands.

STATEMENT OF HON. ANTONIO R. BARCELÓ, PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE OF PORTO RICO.

Senator BARCELÓ. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, following the same order for discussion already established in the course of this conference, I will begin, first, by briefly discussing the bill providing the raise in salaries, and then, later on, the bill regarding the election of governor.

Our organic act bestowed upon the insular legislature the power to fix the salaries of our Government employees, except those of

presidential appointment. The salaries for the latter have already been fixed by the organic act. Unfortunately, they are not high enough to men of the highest capability and responsible positions.

The general development, improvement, and progress throughout the island is such that men of the caliber needed for these positions are in great demand by big, private enterprises and paid for at much higher salaries—even higher than from \$20,000 to \$25,000 a year. No wonder, then, we experience great difficulty in securing men of adequate mental and executive training to fill these positions at the low salaries fixed by the organic act.

The bill provides a salary of \$12,000 a year for the office of chief executive of the island. This is even too small a salary for the type of men that the United States should select to be personal representatives of the United States' sovereignty of the island. This is a most important problem if we are to secure always the highest type of capable men possible. We recommend that such increase be granted.

Frequently visitors from the States, as well as from Latin America, come to pay him their respect, and, of course, he must be in a position to tender them the customary courtesies. He should be provided with sufficient funds in keeping with the high office he represents in the island. I believe that his salary should rather be increased to \$15,000.

The cabinet positions should also be filled with men of recognized ability and standing. They should be fully competent to properly organize their corresponding departments, because, as you are fully aware, system is the first stepping-stone to success. A good, capable man at a reasonable salary will always prove himself a better investment than a mediocre executive at a small salary.

This bill grants the Porto Rican Legislature the power to assign the salaries of these offices, and when we are granted such power, we will do our best to meet this situation wisely and judiciously.

General conditions are constantly changing, and hence we should meet these problems as they arise.

The Porto Rican delegation has come to the United States by virtue of a resolution of our legislature to ask of the President and of the Congress the reforms specified in the said resolution and which are included in the memorial, a copy of which is already in your hands and in those of President Coolidge.

The different political parties into which public opinion is divided are here represented. They are members of our legislature, fulfilling the terms of the adopted resolution, and are unanimously asking you to grant to our people the power to elect our own governor and extend the other measures of self-government specified in the resolution aforesaid.

The bill before you for consideration essentially contains almost all of the reforms as suggested in the resolution, except the right to appoint the auditor and the judges to the supreme court, which we do not press now, notwithstanding the capacity and preparation of our people for the full enjoyment of self-government, as a matter of compromise and with the hope that in not a distant future the United States Congress, convinced as we already are of our capacity to control our own affairs, will recognize our right to the fullest form of self-government. Porto Rico will prove to you, by a true

fulfilment of its duties and in the discharge of the powers granted us, her full capacity to manage her own affairs. That capacity has been already shown by the wonderful progress we have accomplished and the high spirit which animates us for achievements in everything appertaining to our life and in consonance with the ideals of liberty and democracy which has made your Republic so great, and we are sure that in a short time we will show to you that no restriction is necessary and that we deserve the fullest form of self-government. No language can express the legitimate longing of our people to obtain this reform after 25 years of patient waiting.

The island that sent us here is anxiously waiting for our return, believing with full faith in the success of our mission. Never was her faith in you so great, not only because of the hopes that your institutions and history mean to our people, but also because of the justice and righteousness of the cause we defend. The legitimate aspiration for a government deriving its power from the consent of the governed is natural with every people.

When your flag was unfurled over our island as a symbol of liberty the Spanish Government, our old mother country, had already granted us full self-government very similar to that granted by England to Canada, Ireland, Australia, and New Zealand. Such form of government was succeeded, after two years of military rule, by one that was less autonomical and which lasted 17 years, at the end of which period our present organic act was given us with an elective senate instead of the old executive council appointed by the President and with legislative powers and other changes of a more liberal character, looking toward a more ample form of self-government for the future.

Our work during the last six years under the Jones Act is such that our progress in all fields of activity can not be compared, relatively speaking, with that of any other country in the world. In six years our revenues have increased twofold and our budget expenses have also increased accordingly. The former, as well as the latter, six years ago were less than \$6,000,000, and to-day that sum runs up to \$12,000,000, which represents, consequently, an increase in our schools, our roads, and better attention to public health, agriculture, labor, and in general to all public services.

For educational purposes we spend \$5,000,000; that is to say, over 40 per cent of the total budget without aggregating the municipal expenses which form a total amounting to \$2,000,000 and without taking into consideration also the expenses for superior, graded, and rural courses, a work that is carried on by means of loans that are met by an additional tax on property. There are to-day about 2,500 schools and nearly 650 of them are the property of the people of Porto Rico, and within a short time this number will be much larger, as for that purpose a bond issue for \$1,000,000 has just been sold. This is for rural schoolhouses mainly. The number of children of compulsory school age from 8 to 14 years is 210,000 and the registration is 230,000, and this difference is due to the fact that there are a great number of children under 8 and above 14 that are attending school, as registration is allowed by the law from 5 to 18 years of age. This means that nearly all our children go to school at one time or another, and were it not for the large number of adult illiterates that were in the island at the time of the American occupa-

tion in 1898 our illiteracy, excluding these adults, would not be more than 20 per cent.

We have over 1,500 kilometers of splendid roads which cross the island from north to south and from west to east, and even the farthest point in the interior can be reached by automobile. Large sums of money are devoted to complete our road system as approved by our legislature some years ago. In the completion of this work \$1,000,000, the proceeds of a bond issue, is being spent and, when this is done, another million dollars of another bond issue will be invested in accordance with a law recently approved.

Another bond issue was authorized to build public works of a permanent nature, such as a modern penitentiary, one new insane asylum, one hospital for lepers, four large district hospitals, additional rural schools, extension of graded schools, buildings for district courts, inauguration of social welfare bureau, university extension, sanatoriums and dispensaries for tuberculosis and other infectious and contagious diseases, and a handsome capitol that is being built at a cost of one and a half million dollars. In health matters we have also progressed by eliminating and getting rid of certain epidemics that were our scourge before, such as yellow fever, small pox, bubonic plague, and others already extinct. The sanitary conditions of the country are better every day, due, not only to the action of the municipal governments, but also to the insular government managing that branch of the service; and the progress made in that line is such that the death rate which amounted to 30 per millem some 10 years ago has descended to 20 per millem and is descending still.

The department of agriculture, a creation of the new organic act, is carrying on a very efficient work. The best methods are put in practice to develop our agriculture and industries by means of experimental farms conveniently situated in different parts of the island and with a central station where all sorts of experiments and investigations are carried into effect as the special conditions of our soil and our climate require. The bureau of labor attached to this department investigates and studies labor conditions and executes as well the various laws of a social character that we have approved and which in some respects are better than those in force in some of our States. The law establishing the eight-hour work day; the one fixing a minimum wage for men and women; the one prohibiting the employment of minors; the law establishing work regulations for women; the one establishing health conditions in work shops; the law providing for safe appliances; the building of workmen houses which are sold to laborers at a very small rate of monthly rent which is credited to them as part payment of the purchase price, so that the title to the property is given them in a reasonable time; the law establishing compensation for labor accidents, even in cases of contributory negligence, by way of a system of compulsory insurance of the employer under the management of the government; the mediation and conciliation law for the final settlement of strikes and, finally, all the laws that mean protection to labor and which are now in force in the best organized commonwealths of the world have been enacted by our legislature with the highest spirit of liberality that could be possible. And also to other services such as police,

transportation, harbors, rivers, irrigation, railroads, and commerce, there is to be noticed the same signs of positive progress, relatively speaking, that you observe among the great communities of this continent.

Great was indeed the progress made by our island from 1898 to 1917; but the extraordinary advance made from this last date up to the present day under the governmental régime granted us by the Jones Act is many times greater. The annual reports of governors is the best evidence of that. It will suffice to point out the fact that, from 1898 to 1917, our budget expenditures, gradually ascending from year to year, reached a figure somewhat less than \$6,000,000, and that this figure has been doubled during the last 6 years, which means double service, double activity, double efficiency, a greater enthusiasm, a greater faith and more confidence in ourselves, animated as we have been by a sense of being better treated at your hands and by the sense that the work we were realizing was our own work, the creature of our own initiative and for our own credit and in order to demonstrate some day our full capacity to control our own affairs within the shelter of your sovereignty and with your powerful help.

And it is for these reasons that we deem that the granting to Porto Rico of complete self-government, which we now ask, is just. Do not hesitate. Think of the great encouragement that such action on your part would mean, and think that in so doing you will secure the eternal gratitude of all the hearts of our people.

What of the future? Let it be solved in accord with the circumstances of the moment when that moment shall come.

Among ourselves, the members of the delegation, there is a complete unanimity of judgment in this petition for a larger degree of self-government. We only differ in regard to our future political status which is as uncertain to us as it is to you. The members of the minorities in this delegation believe in the possibility of the incorporation of our island to your federation as a State of the Union. We of the majority do not believe that this is possible so far as we can see within the conditions prevailing and surrounding our insular life; but this does not mean, however, that we fail to recognize the great dignity and the great glory that such a consummation would represent to any people on earth.

But do not follow if you wish our own statements. Follow the authority of your great statesmen. Read the citations of your own authorities as contained in the illuminating statement prepared by our colleague the speaker of the house, Miguel Guerra-Mondragon, and you will arrive with us at the conclusion that the reasonable and logical system would be a régime that would associate us to you, in a permanent and indestructible manner, in the form of an unincorporated State that would function just as one of your own free States, within the sovereignty symbolized by the flag and by the citizenship that you already have granted us.

MR. WARD. What does he mean by so many of those schools being the property of the people of Porto Rico?

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. We are called "the people of Porto Rico." That means the political entity established by Congress. It is called "the people of Porto Rico," as Massachusetts is called "the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

MR. WILLIAMS. Governor, I would like to ask you one question, speaking of the salary of the governor. Is there no contingent fund for state affairs?

Governor TOWNER. Yes, sir.

MR. WILLIAMS. What is that?

Governor TOWNER. There is a fund provided for the support of the palace, as it is called down there, which is the governor's house, in which the governor lives, and out of that fund is drawn the expenses of maintaining the palace, and the governor has the right to live in that house free of rent. Then, besides that, we have what might be called an extraordinary fund, which is under the control of the governor, to meet the emergencies such as disasters and other emergencies for which no provision is made; and those funds are also provided by the budget annually.

MR. WILLIAMS. What I mean was a fund, for instance, to entertain delegation from another country of this country. That is taken care of, is it not?

Governor TOWNER. Yes, sir.

MR. WILLIAMS. It should be.

Governor TOWNER. Generally when large parties visit the island the expense of such entertainment is provided for by a special act. I think we have now on hand some funds left from that amount by special law, which is not yet exhausted. Besides the governor's fund may be used in part for such purposes.

The CHAIRMAN. The secretary will read the section of the law which covers that.

MR. WILLIAMS. That information is sufficient. I thank you.

MR. MILLIGAN. I would like to ask a question. I believe you said a while ago that you could not answer it, but what are the qualifications to vote?

Governor TOWNER. Manhood suffrage, 21 years of age. There are no educational qualifications or any property qualifications.

MR. MILLIGAN. I thank you.

STATEMENT OF HON. MIGUEL GUERRA-MONDRAGON, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, PORTO RICO.

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Mr. Chairman, I shall first take up, with your permission, the question of the salary increase for some of our officials. It seems to me that this question has been looked at principally from the high cost of living point of view, but there are some other reasons.

As a member of the legislature of Porto Rico, who has had some experience in public life during the last 20 years, actively engaged in legislative work most of that time, I feel as if I am prepared to interpret the spirit that moved our legislature to unanimously ask for an increase in the salaries of these officials. We would best construe or interpret that spirit by saying that our legislature wants to secure the best possible men for public service in our island. Their main purpose is to get the right man for each position. Take, for instance, the justices of our supreme court. These high officials of our government, if they are to fulfill their duties conscientiously and in a proper manner, must master two languages, English and Spanish, and must be conversant with two bodies of laws—the common

and statutory laws of the United States and our civil law, that wonderful juridical monument which we inherited from Spain. In Louisiana and in California lasting traces of the old traditional civil law are still to be found. In Porto Rico it is in full force and effect. It constitutes the great body of our substantive law. But we have adopted many of your laws as well. You might say that Porto Rico has been and is a sort of a great laboratory where the legislation and the jurisprudence of two great civilizations are blending, thus showing to the world that the two great races peopling this hemisphere are not antagonistic to, but can complement each other for great achievement and results.

The type of men to sit out our supreme bench, within the prevailing conditions just alluded to, is not easily found. It is rather difficult to obtain the service of bi-lingual lawyers. It is difficult to find in any State of the Union lawyers that are able to speak and write two languages and to command a good knowledge of the jurisprudence of two races. These are the men we want to secure for Porto Rico. We have them now, but we want to see their services, which are very valuable to us, properly compensated. We are proud of our supreme court. It would reflect honor to any country. It has and commands our confidence, the bench and bar respect it, and the trust the public reposes in it is without limit. The heads of our executive departments have our full confidence also. They are upright, conscientious men. One of them, for instance, speaking at random, the commissioner of the interior, is everywhere planning and building works of a permanent nature. Roads, irrigation systems, buildings, school houses, all these fall within his jurisdiction. His services are of an inestimable value. He does for the island more than what a dozen men put together could do. His services are worth to the island four times the salary the Government pays him now. Only one of his projects, a power plant in the southern part of the island, represents to-day a profit of \$100,000 a year on an investment of approximately the same amount. He is always devising plans for true development. The Legislature of Porto Rico has lately placed upon his shoulders the responsibility of carrying out a great building program, and we know that he will come of the task well and truly. And this gentleman is only paid a salary of \$5,000 a year, whereas he could step out of his office any time to make three or four times as much.

Mr. WARD. Indicate how these profits come to the Government?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. I did not understand the question.

Mr. WARD. What do these profits accrue from?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. The legislature in 1908 passed a law providing for the construction of an irrigation system on the south of the island. Some of our best land is to be found there. Big reservoirs were built. Large dams were erected. The amount of stored-up water was sufficient to irrigate over 40,000 acres of our best land. Now, the commissioner of the interior has developed water power which is utilized in generating electricity for the whole of that region.

Mr. WARD. Is it used for developing electricity?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir. The neighboring towns use this electricity to light their streets and public buildings. It is sold to them at very reasonable rates, and some sugar mills, I be-

lieve, are using this power also. It all meant an initial investment of \$100,000 in round figures. This is yielding now, due to the efforts of our commissioner of the interior, something in the neighborhood of \$100,000 a year to the people of Porto Rico.

Mr. WARD. The Government of Porto Rico?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes: "the people of Porto Rico" is the official name of the political entity that Congress created down there.

Mr. WARD. I see.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Let me take up now another head of department, the commissioner of agriculture and labor. He is a Cornell graduate. Governor Towner was very lucky in convincing this gentleman to leave the important position he previously occupied at \$8,000 a year to assume charge of so important a department at \$5,000 only. He is a young man with legitimate ambitions and aspirations, and a high-spirited public officer. This gentleman was acting, before joining the government service, as an expert for one of the biggest sugar mills in the island. He was making \$8,000 a year. His ambition to serve his people and the love for his native land moved him, no doubt, to accept a position at a lower salary.

And so with the other heads of departments. The Governor of Porto Rico is surrounded by highly efficient men. Governor Towner made a very good selection. This means that our people were able to produce efficient men to supply the government with the best expert advice that could be gotten anywhere. We want a government whose salaries will ever be an inducement for the best talent and for the highest type of ability and integrity.

I shall now pass, with your permission, to the bill amending our organic act in so far as the election of our governor is concerned.

Mr. SCHAFER. I just ran across the very proposition that we must keep in mind, inasmuch as we have heard the stress on salaries, in order to get men of the highest type. Now, the budget for the department of education, which is, in my judgment, a very important department—according to my estimation, it is beyond the supreme court and the administrative officers—I say, you provide 50 principals in the common school at \$1,125 a year for 10 months, and your graded teachers are paid a salary of \$900.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHAFER. And we have the teachers of the rural schools, 2,100 rural teachers, at \$702.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Is that the last budget? We are asking for an increase in the salary of the commissioner of education, as well.

Mr. SCHAFER. Do you not think it is awfully peculiar when we are stressing salary raises in the amounts of \$5,000 and \$7,000, in order to bring the best talent down there—it is inconceivable that anybody would raise that as an argument when their own budget provides rural teachers at \$702 each?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. That is what they are now making in most of the States.

Mr. SCHAFER. In the States?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHAFER. How many months do they teach a year?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Nine months.

Mr. WARD. That is about the same as North Carolina.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. We want to increase the salary of the commissioner of education from \$5,000 to this amount, because, as you know, a good many supervisors of schools in some of the large cities in the States are making \$12,000, \$15,000 and \$20,000 a year. That is one other argument for increasing this salary.

Mr. SCHAFER. You have your supervisors at \$1,716?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. That is what they are making.

Mr. SCHAFER. It is logical, is it, to increase the head of the schools to \$7,000 and leave the teachers at \$900, as it would be to have a competent general in a war and have the rest of the soldiers not trained soldiers, but have some makeshift fellows that do not know about war?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. In case this should be considered by the people of Porto Rico as being unjust, we have the power in our hands to correct it, should these salaries be too low. We are in a position to raise them.

Mr. SULLIVAN. Will you answer this question: In the ordinary trial of crimes and misdemeanors what law do you invoke, the civil or the common?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. In criminal law, both in the substantive part as in the adjective procedure, we have drifted from Spanish precedent. We adapted the California law, the penal code of California, which is very similar to the ones in full force in some of your Pacific States. We adapted from California the code of criminal procedure, so that our criminal cases are conducted in Porto Rico almost in the same manner as they are here.

Mr. SULLIVAN. You have trial by jury?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Only in felonies, but there is no provision in the organic act to prevent our legislature from granting trial by jury in misdemeanors, but our system has proven very good, and so trial by jury is limited to felonies.

The people of Porto Rico were granted American citizenship in 1917. A short time afterwards America entered into the World War. When you gentlemen of the Congress, were discussing that great war measure providing for compulsory military service, we feared to be left out. We did not want our newly granted American citizenship to be a mere theory. We did not want it to mean a right but a duty as well. We wanted the great privilege of serving under one common flag and fighting the same battles under your own leaders, and so we asked you to include Porto Rico in that great war measure.

At the time the armistice was signed we had 15,000 Porto Rican soldiers ready to go over the seas, across the ocean, to fight for the same cause. We are American citizens, and you can not convince the people of Porto Rico, familiarized with your great principles of right, liberty, and justice, that the American citizens of Porto Rico must have a form of government different from the one the continental American citizens enjoy at home.

We know that the special form of government granted to us was not in disparagement of Porto Rico. It was only a beginning, to be developed until some future goal could be reached. You wanted to proceed slowly. You wanted to try us; to see and watch our progress and the use we made of the rights and privileges you conferred upon

us in 1917. No one can deny that we have come out victorious. No one can challenge our right to a larger measure of self-government. We have proved to be worthy of it. Experience has taught you that you can trust us in the future. The next logical step on your part is, therefore, to grant us the right to elect our own governor.

A distinguished member of this committee expressed some doubts the other day as to whether you could accord and recognize this right to our people, for the reason that none of the American territories were ever granted that same right by Congress before. This doubt, if any there exists, can be easily dispelled by simply recalling the policy followed by Congress, as construed by the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States on the subject. These decisions, as I have pointed out in the statement submitted to you at a previous hearing, demonstrate that the Congress of the United States is not obliged to follow the same fixed, rigid, classical, and old historical path with regard to the newly acquired organized territory of Porto Rico. They demonstrate, furthermore, that Congress meant to deviate and did in fact deviate, for potent and obvious reasons, from the classical and time-honored principles obtaining with the old contiguous territories of the United States. No, gentlemen, the Congress of the United States is not following, as regards Porto Rico, the same old territorial policy. Circumstances of race, time, and place are very different. Your territories were but large tracts of land, sparsely populated, at their inception. The colonization of these lands was to be carried on from not far distant if not contiguous States. They were to be colonized by people of your same race, of your same language, laws, customs, manners, and ideas. It was the same old family looking out for more room, as it grew. Capital and people from the east went westward in quest of opportunities and in tacit obedience to that law that makes peoples expand and realize themselves into a larger, broader nationality. As the new territories were acquired they were implicitly promised full membership into this great Union some day. They were mapped out as future States. And even as to them, Congress did not always act in accordance with a preconceived, fixed type or form of territorial government. You never had a standard type of territorial government. You never followed a single precedent. Congress always acted as circumstances justified and demanded, in each case.

From your first Territorial act, "An ordinance for the Government of the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio River," approved July 13, 1787, down to your "Act to provide a government for the Territory of Hawaii," approved April 30, 1900, you have established a great many so-called Territorial governments varying in nature, character, and form. "Whenever any of the said States"—said the ordinance for the northwest—"shall have 60,000 free inhabitants therein, such State shall be admitted, by its delegates, into the Congress of the United States, on an equal footing with the original States in all respects whatever." Other Territories were given different forms of government. The governor and some judges acted both as the executive and as the legislative branch of the Government in some of your other Territories. The work of colonization had to be carried on first under the supervision of the central Government. The large tracts of land had to be peopled, cultivated, developed, and the new community organized. This work was easy and

the task a not long one, due to geographical and ethnical circumstances. In Porto Rico the problem was and is quite different. When you come to us you found a community that was better organized and possessed of a higher degree of culture and civilization than most of your Territories at the time they were incorporated into the Union. Ours was a civilization 400 years old. We are, as you know, older than you. Porto Rico was already a highly organized and civilized Christian community at the time of the Spanish-American War. It might be admitted that then we were poorer and industrially undeveloped. That was not our fault. But material development—trade, commerce, roads, buildings—does not count when we are dealing with a problem from one people to another. Material development is a question of money and resources, and I am referring to the human, spiritual problem. Now, you did not go to Porto Rico to undo things, but to help us to do things on the historical foundation that was laid down by our forefathers four centuries before. You did not go there to colonize, as you did in the great old Territories that are now proud member States of the Nation. Our island was colonized already. You did not go to Porto Rico to eradicate the things that four centuries of Christian civilization created and formed. No; that could not be a worthy mission for the United States, the cradle of liberty and tolerance. Your mission was a higher and a nobler one. It was the unselfish mission, as I view it, to help us conform our ideals, the ideals of a people different from yours in origin and race, to the ideals and purposes of this great liberty-loving Nation that is now the hope of the whole world. In that we have followed you with great enthusiasm. We have adopted your fundamental institutions, and we pride ourselves in cherishing and upholding them.

There you have, gentlemen, a breaking off from the old-established precedents. The incorporation of the old Territories to the Union meant a rigid, almost forced process of assimilation. The government and the status, according to Porto Rico, meant a régime of autonomy. It is not to be expected that the policy of assimilation, which incorporation means, will ever be applied to Porto Rico. In other words, I do not believe that the policy of autonomy that Congress started upon in Porto Rico since 1900 will ever be departed from by you. I do not mean to enter now into a full discussion as to the wisdom or unwisdom of the assimilation policy, but I do believe that the American people, through Congress, will always be in favor of keeping up and developing in Porto Rico the régime of autonomy already established, which our isolated, peculiar position demands. This does not mean that we want to drift, in ideals or thoughts, from you. We do share, on the contrary, common human ideals and purposes. We are for all the great human ideals that Americanism means to the world. But while the old Territorial policy meant constructiveness in the continent, it might mean, if carried literally to Porto Rico, under the circumstances aforesaid, destructiveness and dissolution. And this latter policy—quite a departure from the classical one—will never be carried into practice, I am sure, by the United States. All this signifies that precedents do not count with you.

Some one has said that the governor of Canada is not elected by the people. That is true. But the governor of Canada is a mere

figurehead, so far as powers go, as compared with the governor of any of your States. In Canada a parliamentary system prevails. The premier and his cabinet, chosen by the people, are the government. The Governor of Canada, like the King of England, reigns but does not govern.

MR. WARD. I think my suggestion originated from the gentleman who said he wanted to be governed as England governs her colonies.

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes; he meant an autonomous government. And I think this would be the wisest policy. Full autonomy, as against the assimilating policy which prevailed in the old Territories of the Union. The old Territories were given certain rights, but taxation, without representation, was imposed upon them. The old Territorial form of government was not an ideal one, as you see, but the implied promise that some day they were to be admitted as States made them wait patiently, although not very comfortably, throughout hardship and ordeals, until final statehood came.

MR. WARD. That is true.

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. People from the older States, being contiguous to the Territories, emigrated there easily. The same origin, the same laws, the same traditions, the same customs, the same race; all these factors contributed to an early and prompt assimilation. Swept by the same waves of prosperity and with almost the same resources, the accomplishment of the nationalistic aims was an easy, matter-of-course task. The case with Porto Rico is entirely different. The minority of the Supreme Court of the United States thought as the distinguished member of this committee, to which I have alluded, thinks. The minority of the Supreme Court in the *Downes v. Biddle* case thought that the acquisition of Porto Rico had to be followed by incorporation; in other words, that there was but only one formula, to wit, the old classical formula for Territorial government.

MR. WARD. How many dissented?

GOVERNOR TOWNER. It was different in different cases.

MR. WARD. The *Downes* case is the first I recall.

GOVERNOR TOWNER. Some were unanimous, and some 5 to 4.

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. The latest decision on the subject was given by the Supreme Court of the United States not very long ago.

MR. WARD. That follows the majority opinion in the *Downes* case?

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes; not only it follows it, but the Supreme Court also states that—

The *Dorr* case shows that the opinion of Mr. Justice White of the majority in *Downes v. Bidwell* has become the settled law of the court.

This was decided in the October term of 1921, in which Chief Justice Taft lays down the following—

The CHAIRMAN. What is the title of that case?

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. *Balzac v. Porto Rico*. In this decision the following language is to be found:

The Insular cases revealed much diversity of opinion in this court as to the constitutional status of the territory acquired by the treaty of Paris (December 10, 1898, 30 Stat. L. 1754), ending the Spanish War, but the *Dorr* case shows that the opinion of Mr. Justice White of the majority in *Downes v. Bidwell* has become the settled law of the court.

The act is entitled, "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes." It does not indicate by its title that it has a purpose to incorporate the island into the Union. It does not contain any clause which declares such purpose or effect. While this is not conclusive, it strongly tends to show that Congress did not have such an intention. Few questions have been the subject of such discussion and dispute in our country as the status of our territory acquired from Spain in 1899. The division between the political parties in respect to it, the diversity of the views of the members of this court in regard to its constitutional aspects, and the constant recurrence of the subject in the Houses of Congress, fixed the attention of all on the future relation of this acquired territory to the United States. Had Congress intended to take the important step of changing the treaty status of Porto Rico by incorporating it into the Union, it is reasonable to suppose that it would have done so by the plain declaration, and would not have left it to mere inference. Before the question became acute at the close of the Spanish War, the distinction between acquisition and incorporation was not regarded as important; or at least it was not fully understood and had not aroused great controversy. Before that, the purpose of Congress might well be a matter of mere inference from various legislative acts; but in these latter days, incorporation is not to be assumed without express declaration, or an implication so strong as to exclude any other view.

Again, the second section of the act is called a "bill of rights," and included therein is substantially every one of the guaranties of the Federal Constitution, except those relating to indictment by a grand jury in the case of infamous crimes and the right of trial by jury in civil and criminal cases. If it was intended to incorporate Porto Rico into the Union by this act, which would, *ex proprio vigore*, make applicable the whole bill of rights of the Constitution to the island, why was it thought necessary to create for it a bill of rights and carefully exclude trial by jury? In the very forefront of the act is this substitute for incorporation and application of the bill of rights of the Constitution. This seems to us a conclusive argument against the contention of counsel for the plaintiff in error.

The section of the Jones Act which counsel press on us is paragraph 5. This in effect declares that all persons who, under the Foraker Act, were made citizens of Porto Rico, and certain other residents shall become citizens of the United States, unless they prefer not to become such, in which case they are to declare such preference within six months, and thereafter they lose certain political rights under the new government. In the same section the United States district court is given power separately to naturalize individuals of some other classes of residents. * * * Unaffected by the considerations already suggested, perhaps the declaration of paragraph 5 would furnish ground for an inference such as counsel for plaintiff in error contend; but, under the circumstances, we find it entirely consistent with nonincorporation. When Porto Ricans passed from under the Government of Spain, they lost the protection of that Government as subjects of the King of Spain, a title by which they had been known for centuries. They had a right to expect, in passing under the dominion of the United States, a status entitling them to the protection of their new sovereign. In theory and in law they had it as citizens of Porto Rico, but it was an anomalous status, or seemed to be so, in view of the fact that those who owed and rendered allegiance to the other great world powers were given the same designation and status as those living in their respective home countries, so far as protection against foreign injustice went. It became a yearning of the Porto Ricans to be American citizens, therefore, and this act gave them the boon. What additional rights did it give them? It enabled them to move into the continental United States, and, becoming residents of any State there, to enjoy every right of any other citizen of the United States—civil, social, and political.

* * * * *

It is true that in the absence of other and countervailing evidence a law of Congress or a provision in a treaty acquiring territory, declaring an intention to confer political and civil rights on the inhabitants of the new lands as American citizens, may be properly interpreted to mean an incorporation of it into the Union, as in the case of Louisiana and Alaska. This was one of the chief grounds upon which this court placed its conclusions that Alaska had been incorporated in the Union, in *Rasmussen v. United States* (197 U. S. 516; 49 L. ed. 862; 25 Sup. Ct. Rep. 514). But Alaska was a very different case from that of Porto Rico. It was an enormous territory, very sparsely settled, and offering

opportunity for immigration and settlement by American citizens. It was on the American continent and within easy reach of the then United States. It involved none of the difficulties which incorporation of Porto Rico presents.

* * * * *

We need not dwell on another consideration which requires us not lightly to infer from acts thus easily explained on other grounds, as intention to incorporate in the Union these distant ocean communities of a different origin and language from those of our continental people. Incorporation has always been a step, and an important one, leading to Statehood. Without, in the slightest degree, intimating an opinion as to the wisdom of such a policy, for that is not our province, it is reasonable to assume that when such a step is taken, will be begun and taken by Congress deliberately and with clear declaration of purpose, and not left a matter of mere inference or construction.

The language just quoted bears us out in our contention that precedent was not applied to Porto Rico by Congress: that Congress, in its wisdom, did not measure Porto Rico by the old classical standards and that precedent, therefore, should not be applied to our future or present problems. We have long passed the territorial possibilities. We will never undergo that system. We had potentially outlived it before the Spanish-American War. And incorporation, even as a mere Territory, not being in your mind, then the only possible solution, the only possible step in consonance with your great human principles of right and justice, is the granting of a larger measure of autonomy, such as the one we are asking now.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you just as leave continue to-morrow?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We will adjourn to meet to-morrow at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon at 12.30 o'clock, p. m. the committee adjourned until to-morrow, Thursday, February 14, 1924, at 10 o'clock. a. m.)

COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., February 14, 1924.

The committee this day, Hon. Louis W. Fairfield (chairman) presiding.

The CHAIRMAN. We will now proceed, gentlemen, and I trust that we can move as definitely and as rapidly as possible to the conclusion of this hearing. There is no right on the part of the chairman to limit discussion. But, at the same time, I think we might move a little more rapidly and conclude it to-day.

We will hear now the concluding statement of Speaker Guerra-Mondragon.

STATEMENT OF HON. MIGUEL GUERRA-MONDRAGON, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, PORTO RICO—Continued.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, at yesterday's meeting I confined myself almost exclusively to answering one of the points raised by Mr. Williams to the effect that inasmuch as no territory of the Union was ever given, in the past, the right to elect their governor, Porto Rico could not, therefore, be granted that right. As a further argument against such a contention I will submit that precedent ought not to control

this matter, because the Congress of the United States has already departed from precedent when dealing with Porto Rico. Something very important was granted us that is not fully in accordance with the historical precedents of the Union. Take, for instance, our American citizenship. It was entirely out of precedent to grant it to the people of far-off islands, not contiguous territory, peopled by a different race. That was not in keeping with precedent. Why did Congress depart from the beaten path? Because all these things, as you gentlemen know, were brought about by the Spanish-American war. That war marked a new era for the nation. A new situation as brought about in 1898, which the Congress of the United States had to solve, not in accordance with precedent, but in consonance with the real, actual exigencies of the case.

I do not want to create the impression that the members of our delegation are divided in our petitions. It might seem to some, judging by the discussions in regard to our final political status, that we are divided in everything; but I do hope that the Committee on Insular Affairs will observe, as it must have observed already, that there is one main point on which there is no conflict of judgment, no dissenting opinion, in our delegation, and that is, that all of the parties in Porto Rico believe, because of our having shown our capacity for self-government, that the time has come for Porto Rico to elect her own governor.

No argument has been raised and can not be raised against our right to elect our governor.

You have heard the noble words of our beloved governor, the Hon. Horace M. Tower. Those words are founded on actual experience and after observation of the facts right there on the field. Take our statistics; our progress since 1899. The volume of business amounted to only \$7,000,000. The banner year was 1920. Our total commerce, both imports and exports, amounted to \$247,000,000, \$240,000,000 more that year. This shows the tremendous development of the island, and this development of the island, of its financial resources—

Mr. WARD. Will you go back and repeat those figures? You say in 1899 your volume of trade was what?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. It was \$7,000,000.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Total imports and exports?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. In American gold dollars. I say this because we did not have United States currency at that time, as we have now, since 1900. In 1920, the banner year of the island, total imports and exports amounted to \$247,000,000.

Mr. WARD. That is something like North Carolina.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. The island has done her best to progress, to enhance all the public services. Permit me to call your attention to something that is very interesting. Let me divide our progress and work from 1900 up to the present, in two periods: one embracing the years between 1900 and 1917, the date when the Congress granted Porto Rico the new organic act, under which the people of Porto Rico were given the right to elect both houses of our legislature; and the second period would be from 1917 to the present time, six years. Now, notice the strong evidences of capacity in our people to legislate for their own country.

Mr. WILLIAMS. I do not want to interrupt you. That right was granted in 1917, to elect both houses?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Up to that time they elected the lower house.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. The lower house only.

Mr. WILLIAMS. You elected the lower house from 1900 to 1917?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. And from 1917 up to now you elect both houses?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Thank you.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Let me choose this last period of six years from 1917 as a trial to evidence our capacity. In these last six years we have doubled Government expenditures. To accomplish this taxation was increased. No criticism against the pioneer work of the first 17 years is meant; I am only speaking of results. I do not desire to go now into the cause back of results in the first 17 years; but I do desire to point out as a result, as a fact, that during these last six years, the Porto Ricans, acting as legislators, have controlled both houses of the legislature, they have enhanced and doubled all public services, such as health, education, sanitation, road building and others. The president of our senate has given you already an exact picture of this.

Education is a subject that the Porto Rican is profoundly devoted to. We have always devoted the greater part of our total expenditure to education, because we know, if we are to be on a par with other American Commonwealths, that our main duty is to keep on creating in Porto Rico a truly organized democratic form of government—a government of the people, for the people and by the people; and we are aware of the fact that the nucleus of such a community must of necessity be an enlightened citizen. To reach this end we are trying to uplift the general mass of the people, and especially of those that do not happen to be fortunate enough to pay for their educational expenses. Education is in the spirit of the whole country. That spirit is great with us. There was a time when we had to tell a great many of our children to go back home, because we did not have schools or teachers enough for all of them. Taxation is now taking care of this situation.

We are not attacking private industry. New industries are encouraged to come to Porto Rico by the operation of a 10-year tax-exemption law. We want capital to come to Porto Rico; we want American initiative to come to Porto Rico to help us develop our island. We need employment for our over-population. Porto Rico is, like three States of the Union, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and another one, very densely populated. It is one of the most thickly populated communities under the flag, but with this difference, that while Massachusetts is almost entirely devoted to industrial purposes, Porto Rico is an agricultural country as yet. Its population is scattered over valleys and mountains and not concentrated in towns.

Now, this problem would seem to have but two solutions only; emigrating from Porto Rico or the developing of new industries. The first one is not advisable, for we want this population to remain in Porto Rico. It is our best asset. The development of new in-

dustries will provide occupations that will yield higher wages and broader opportunities.

Not long ago I was discussing this same emigration problem with some friends in Porto Rico, and some one mentioned several countries the Porto Rican emigrant could go to. Then I thought of the things the Porto Rican has in his own country, which he may not find in the other country he might choose to live in. He has now in Porto Rico, I remarked, a good road leading to every one of the towns. He has a rural school in every ward of his island; free, public primary education, patterned after the American public school. He has a free graded school in every town, and free education in the high schools.

Would he have these opportunities in another country? He has also a hospital; he will have more very soon; he has the right of free speech, the right to complain for grievances. His health is protected. If he works in the fields or in the factories he is protected by one of the most liberal workmen's compensation acts in the world: for our workmen's compensation law not only protects the men that work in factories, but those also who work in the fields, an occupation that is not provided for in any of our workmen's compensation acts.

Mr. WARD. I do not know of any in any State of the Union.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Our law provides for compulsory insurance. If a man employs more than three men, he is compelled to insure these employees under Government insurance. From the very moment the laborer suffers any accident he is automatically taken care of by our workmen's compensation board. Fifty per cent of the daily wage he was making is paid weekly to his family, and, in case of a temporary or permanent injury, he is indemnified, just like in the States.

The CHAIRMAN. Does that apply to farm labor as well as to the industrial worker?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Any man that works anywhere?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir; any man. A man working in the fields, cutting with his machete sugar cane, should he cut himself or the man next to him, they are both protected by our law. We wiped out the defense of contributory negligence, as well as the defense of assumption of risk. On a par with other advanced American communities, we have entered the new era. We have started to look at the social aspect of jurisprudence.

Mr. WARD. But you adjust the claim when the accident is caused by contributory negligence?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. We start on this basis, that the State, society, should pay for industrial accidents.

Mr. WARD. Suppose the negligence is willful?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. In that case, if it be proven that the negligence was willful, or that the man was in a state of drunkenness, no compensation is paid; but we have done away with the time-honored common law defenses of contributory negligence and assumption of risk.

Mr. ZIHLMAN. Mr. Speaker, do you have an exclusive State fund?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir; we have an exclusive State fund.

Mr. ZIEHLMAN. No stock company or mutual company can write this insurance?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. No; they are not allowed to write it.

Mr. ZIEHLMAN. It is written by the insular government?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. It is compulsory, patterned after your Ohio and Washington laws.

Mr. ZIEHLMAN. It is an exclusive State fund?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes.

Mr. WILLIAMS. In connection with your statement about emigration, owing to the density of the population of Porto Rico, if you do not get industries, what will you do with the increased population?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. The new industries will be established. While chairman of the ways and means committee, about five years ago, an American lady came to my office to say that the drawing work done by our women, handkerchiefs, shirts, and underthings, was as good, if not better, as such work done anywhere. She told me that if this was taught more intensively in the schools our girls, being gifted with a genius for this kind of work, would find profitable occupation, because there would be a great demand for Porto Rican drawing work in the United States. She convinced our committee; and we reported an item whereby 40 teachers for this needlework were given our public schools, as an experiment. The result has been very good. A new industry has been created. In only five years, some municipalities are now making anywhere from \$25,000 to \$30,000 a week, and that industry has just been started. It is said that this work compares, or is better than the work from the Philippine Islands or Mexico. The American market will absorb it, and therefore, this industry will some day be a very important one in the island. And so with other industries.

As I was saying before, with regard to the Porto Rican going into other countries, I thought of the fact that he would not probably find protection for industrial accidents in the country where he went. I thought of that, and I thought of our minimum wage law, too, a law whereby no man working in public works receives less than \$1 a day. (Contractors, of course, make their figures according to that law, but the Government of Porto Rico is willing to pay whatever extra sum might be necessary in order that our men make at least \$1 a day.) I thought of this situation, and I saw that our countrymen, when emigrating, would lose the benefit of that. I thought of our minimum wage law for women, too. No woman that works in private industry in Porto Rico, I said, is allowed to earn less than \$1 a day; and I thought of the laws protecting our children and our women in the workshops, and I thought and wondered whether they would have the same protection in any other country they went to, and I came to the conclusion that after all we had a highly organized community in Porto Rico, organized by us after following your guidance and your ideas in most cases. The people in Porto Rico have a great public sentiment, a civic spirit that will never be destroyed.

An American traveler who visited Porto Rico some time ago states that we are too fond of politics. That is a compliment; that is our best asset. A people that is interested in politics, in public questions, is a wholesome people. Stagnant water is very unhealthy.

They should be interested. They are interested. They have education. If you go to a small town in Porto Rico you will find that the schoolhouse is the center of social activity. The laborers, poor men and women, who have scarcely the means of a livelihood, will spend their all to see their children go to school well dressed, good looking, and bright. This general spirit of the people has brought about fine results, the results accomplished during the special second period I mentioned.

We are not asking for any right that the American citizens of this country do not have. As I said before, we welcome duties, all the duties that our great American citizenship means, but we also want to share in all the rights that make up for that American citizenship.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Do you people take quite an interest in elections?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Do you have a heavy vote?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. What is the percentage? Do you remember?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. I could not tell you. The vote in our last election, in 1920, was 238,000.

Mr. WILLIAMS. What percentage is that? Is that a heavy vote?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. A very heavy vote.

Mr. WARD. How about the women?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. They do not vote.

Mr. WARD. You keep them going like you have got them?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. They seem to have great confidence in the men, and are willing to leave political affairs in the hands of the men.

Mr. KIESS. That is a very large percentage; much better than in our country.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Now, as to military registration. Here is a gentleman who was captain in charge of the service in our late war. The total registration of soldiers was 238,000. Most of them did it voluntarily. During the war there was not a single Porto Rican that cared to charge Uncle Sam a cent for their services as members of the boards. The National Guard of Porto Rico stands now first in efficiency under the American flag. What does all this mean? That our countrymen are alive! They want to be of the best. The only thing he needed in the past was a helping hand. He has, because the United States is helping in a noble task. Porto Ricans follow. We are easily taught. We read your books; we know what you are doing and thinking in the States. We follow as much as possible over there, while we develop our own civilization. We need now to feel more fully responsible, feel ourselves more responsible for the task at hand. The right to elect our own governor would give us that responsibility.

I know, gentlemen, that Porto Rico will make good; that we will govern Porto Rico in such a way that it will be an honor to the United States and an honor to Porto Rico. And then think of the spectacle we would offer to the rest of Latin America. Latin America is looking. The whole world is looking. They want to know what Uncle Sam is doing. We Porto Ricans know that the hand of Uncle Sam carries there a torch to light our future path, our future ways, but you want the world to look upon it with the same eyes.

You are not an imperialistic nation. You have not gone to Porto Rico but to place upon yourselves one sacred trust, the trust of helping us in a democratic, liberal, American way.

Mr. WARD. You are not far from Cuba?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. We are about 1,000 miles.

Mr. WARD. Your island was populated by exactly the same people?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. We are the same transplanted Europeans.

Mr. WARD. Just a moment.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes.

Mr. WARD. The Government of the United States did much for Cuba, probably more than it did for you. In Cuba I find an opposite spirit to the United States from what I find in these hearings. I discover no disloyalty, no hostility, no feeling of unfriendliness at all in Porto Rico toward the United States. We have gone there and broken the bond of slavery from Cuba, and yet Cuba is full of American hostility growing out of the same people. The people that ought to be the same. What is the cause?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. I do not know, sir. Well, that spirit can not be against the whole people of the United States.

Mr. WARD. It is there, and it is very perceptible, even to one who stays on the island as I did for two days.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. I know by experience how noble you are. Part of my legal education I received in the States. Twenty-four years ago I came over to study your laws, your customs, your books, the things you believe in, and I learned to admire and to believe in you.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Is the English language taught in your schools?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. In the first four grades, in the rural schools, all teaching is conducted in Spanish, as the vehicle for the undeveloped mind. From the fifth grade up, part of it is in English and part in Spanish. In the graded schools Spanish is taught as a special subject and in the high schools every subject is taught in English. English, as a special subject, is taught in the first grades. I have met boys and girls in Porto Rico, who had never had the advantage of coming to this country, who spoke English wonderfully well. Talking again about that friction in Cuba, I do not think any ill feeling is meant against America as a whole. Cubans would be ingrates if they did not love the United States.

Mr. WARD. I think so, too.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. I think "Main Street" is in line with you inquiry. By that I mean that these frictions are usually caused by the personal action of some provincial character, like some in "Main Street," whose lack of tact sometimes gives offense. We have had these same provincial friends, now and then, in Porto Rico, who would create a feeling of discontent were it not for the fact that we know them and size them and pay no attention to them. Porto Rico goes on working in spirit with you, not minding the petty, little fellows who would have it otherwise.

Mr. WARD. I think it is a very natural inquiry for me to make, to know why this difference of feeling in the islands exists?

I would like to know whether you have given any special effort toward the prevention of tuberculosis.

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir; I wish this committee could see our tuberculosis asylum. It was built by an ex-commissioner of health of ours, who did not wait for us to approve his plan, either in the budget or by special law, and grant him the appropriation he needed for that work. He went around and asked those who had the means, a thousand dollars here and \$2,000 there, and was able to build out of private donations one of the most wonderful institutions in the West Indies, that would be an honor to the United States as it is now an honor to Porto Rico.

Last year, in the last budget, which is double in amount of the budget of 1917, we devoted a great deal to uncinariacis and tuberculosis, and so far as the death rate in Porto Rico in the last 10 years is concerned, we have been able to reduce it from 31 per thousand down to 21 per thousand.

In congested cities in the United States, like New York, Chicago, or Philadelphia, your great scourge is tuberculosis and pneumonia: with us, it is tuberculosis, malaria, and uncinariacis.

Now, let me speak of the spirit that prevails in Porto Rico—

MR. WARD. One moment, if you please. I see in Governor Towner's report on the sugar plantations, the daily wage scale runs from 50 cents to \$2. I thought you said it was limited to \$1.

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. No; I referred to those who work in public works. But when the government starts upon that line of endeavor, the influence on private industry will soon be felt, because you will never be able to get a laborer for less than \$1 a day.

MR. WILLIAMS. Can the sugar men pay the \$1 a day and make money on their investment?

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. It all depends on the price of sugar.

MR. WILLIAMS. I know that.

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. The price for most of our products is fixed in this country. We do not fix them. They are fixed for us in other markets, under conditions which we do not control. When sugar went up in 1920 to 18 and 20 cents a pound, our laborers made more money.

MR. SCHAFER. How much more were they making?

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. \$2.50 a day. I think, in some districts.

GOVERNOR TOWNER. Mr. Ward will understand that report of mine ended on the 1st day of last July. The wages, understand, in the cane fields this year, will be higher than they ever were before. I think it could be safely said that they will be double those given in the report this year, and based also on the sliding scale in most instances, or at least very many instances, upon the price of sugar, so that if the price of sugar goes up a dollar, the price of a day's labor will be increased 20 or 25 cents.

MR. MILLIGAN. Why did you select 1928 as the time on the first election of the governor?

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Of course, it goes without saying that if we do not have the right to elect him now, I do not know when we would be given that right. We are entitled to it now, but we want to show you that we are not demanding things. We are not so exacting. We are American citizens who have come to our fellow citizens of the north to talk over these facts. It shows the

reasonableness of our position. You know that the time is at hand now to act.

Mr. KIESS. When is your next general election?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Next fall.

Mr. KIESS. And then the next one will be 1928?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WARD. Would not Governor Towder's term run for 4 years?

Governor TOWNER. The term of the governor is indeterminate.

The CHAIRMAN. This is most interesting, but there are a number of other men that we want to hear, and if there are any more specific questions, you may ask them.

Mr. SALMON. What is your opinion as to the rivalries of the respective parties in Porto Rico? The point I am getting at is this: In the election of your governor, is it your opinion that the rivalry between the parties over there might create some conditions as obtained in South America and other places?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. No, sir.

Mr. SALMON. Tell us about that.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. I will, with all candor. We have never had a single riot in any election. Our elections are conducted in the finest spirit of order and culture. I believe that baseball, one of your sports, has taught us the virtue of being good losers. The Porto Rican is a good loser. He is game, he is a sport.

The CHAIRMAN. He is an American. He is a real American.

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes; he is a sport.

Mr. WILLIAMS. You said you have an election every 4 years?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. You elect your lower and upper house every 4 years?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Your legislation meets every 2 years?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Is there any long term of the upper house elected twice as long, and half of them go out. Your legislature changes both houses every 4 years?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, sir; in accordance with your own law, our organic act. We elect, every 4 years, municipal officers, both houses of the legislature, two members of the public service commission, and our commissioner to Washington. I am not presenting my countryman as an angel. He is as human as you are. He likes to win, but not to the point of the dagger or the pistol. He will talk politics. In this next campaign we will start talking politics from September to November. Perhaps, we might talk all day long, discussing questions, but the rivalry between the parties, let it be said in honor of our good friends, the minorities in the legislature, is but a race to do the utmost good to Porto Rico. The leaders in Porto Rico would be better off if they were not in politics; they would be better off financially.

Mr. SALMON. You have three parties?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. We have three parties—the Socialist Party, of which Senator Iglesias is the leader; the Republican Party, of which Senator Tous Soto is the leader; and the Unionist Party, of which Senator Barcelo is the leader.

Mr. SALMON. Where is the Democratic Party over there?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. As long as democracy should mean liberty to all, tolerance to all, and a government with the consent of the governed, that spirit is to be found in all parties in Porto Rico.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOSE TOUS SOTO.

Senator SOTO. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I represent the Republican Party of Porto Rico. Porto Rico is, according to the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, an organized but unincorporated Territory. The cradle of all the Territorial system of the United States dates back to the year 1784, before the adoption of the Constitution. I refer to the ordinance for the government of the Territory of the Northwest, whose paternity is attributed to the same father of the Constitution, the great Thomas Jefferson. The Territorial acts of the Territories formed out of the vast acquisition of the Louisiana Purchase and those for the Territories acquired from Spain and from Mexico follow the general outline of the Jeffersonian act, but all such Territories were large tracts of land very sparsely populated and therefore open to settlement and colonization by people from the Atlantic side. Besides that, such Territories were far away from the seat of government, and the means of communication in those early times were few or none. On these conditions, the restricted self-government accorded to these incipient communities was more than justified without infringing the principles of democracy. But the case of Porto Rico is entirely different. We have a population of more than a million and a quarter, living in an island of less than 4,000 square miles, perhaps the densest population in America. We have an older civilization than yours, and as great and noble as yours.

Four hundred and thirty-one years ago, in the year of our Lord 1493, Porto Rico was discovered by Columbus, and some time later it was colonized by Juan Ponce de Leon, the discoverer of Florida. That was before the Pilgrim Fathers landed on this continent.

We had been granted by Spain an autonomous form of government one year before the American occupation of the island. We sent our countrymen to the constitutional assembly at Cadiz, elected by suffrage, to participate in the framing of the first Spanish constitution, that of the year 1812, under the fires of the Napoleon cannons. We abolished slavery in the year 1873, of our own will, without any revolt or bloodshed, and our glorious abolitionists in asking for the immediate freedom of slaves, with or without indemnity, since the year 1836, deserved the praise of the immortal Spanish tribune, Emilio Castelar, who said that the only parallel in history to the act of such Porto Rican delegates, who were slave owners, dispossessing themselves of their slaves, was the surrender by the French noblemen of their feudal privileges, during the days of the French Revolution.

We never revolted against the iron rule of Spain, not because we were afraid to wage war, but because we apprehended the futility of any armed attempts in a small country devoid of forests, but many Porto Ricans fought and died in Cuba for the cause of liberty, and he lieutenant of that great liberator, Antonio Maceo, and his successor, was a Porto Rican, Major General Rius Rivera. We learned the lesson of the small countries, to be patient, to wait the oppor-

tunity, to devote our efforts to upbuilding our homes and our country. We accepted with immense joy the arrival of your Army: we acclaimed your soldiers, the soldiers that brought with them the banner of the Stars and Stripes, as true liberators, because they carry also with them the one-star flag, the symbol adopted by the revolutionaries of Porto Rico against the Spanish rule pinned to their military caps.

The commander in chief of your military forces, Gen. Nelson Miles, offered us the blessing of the great and democratic institutions of this country of the brave and the free, and now, gentlemen, we are here demanding from you, that represent the will and the honor of the Nation, the fulfillment of the promises of your commander in chief. We ask as Porto Ricans and as American citizens complete self-government. We do not want to be longer a mere possession. We want to be a people in the real sense of the word, a commonwealth, a community of American citizens with all the rights and all the duties that are the common patrimony and heritage of the American citizenship, so that we may say with the same pride that you do, with the same pride that the Romans of the times of Cicero said, "We are Romans." "We are American citizens."

It is true that no territory has ever been granted the power to elect its own governor, but it is true also that the conditions existing in Porto Rico have never existed in your historical territory. We claim that we are better or at least as well prepared to assume the responsibilities of self-government as any of your old territories were when admitted to statehood: and this assertion may be proved by statistics. We have at present, it is true, a high percentage of illiteracy in our adult population: but that is due to the lack of educational facilities under the Spanish rule, and it is not our fault: and besides, these illiterate people have exercised the right of suffrage for many years with the same degree of intelligence and honesty as the literate part of the population. You could hesitate in this matter if we were asking for the privilege of electing Senators and Representatives to Congress, but what we are asking is the right to select by the will of the people, the chief magistrate of the island, and if we misuse the power granted us that will be our own blame, and we are the only ones to suffer the consequences of our wrong. You said that you are preparing us to assume control of our affairs, in a word, for self-government: but remember that the only way to learn how to swim is going into the water. Experience is the only teacher of peoples, the same as of individuals, and we think our country is now ripe to assume entire control of her own government.

There is not a single constitutional objection, in my opinion, to the granting to a territory the right to elect its own governor. Congress is empowered by the Constitution to make all necessary rules and regulations for the government of territories, and there are no limitations to this grant of authority, nor to the manner of exercising the same. No doubt the President and Congress have the supervision of territories and are responsible to the Nation for the manner in which the affairs of these wards of the Union are conducted; but the supervisory functions of both the President and Congress may be exercised, even if an elective governor is granted to Porto Rico, in a twofold way: First, through the power of Congress to annul all

the territorial legislation, and, second, through the authority of the President to remove the governor.

You may say, perhaps, that we must wait till the time comes and we will be admitted as a full-fledged State, in order to elect our governor, but in the first place, gentlemen, is Congress ready to admit us in the future, as the forty-ninth star of your glorious flag? If that is the case, and I hope it is, on what condition are you willing to admit us into the Union? What are the tests to which you wish to submit our people? It seems to me that we are entitled to know your viewpoint in this vital question, and I believe also that it will be a great step in the right direction, if you do that, and would clear the problem of our future status that has always and is now the cause of many anxieties and many inquiries in our country. By granting that you are ready to admit us to statehood, we must frankly accept that this is not an immediate solution. We must first develop our own resources, to upbuild industries to eradicate illiteracy, to raise the standard of living of our workingmen, to improve sanitation and health, and above all to satisfy Congress that we are entitled to be a self-governing commonwealth.

And here is the most potent reason for granting us now the power to elect our governor, because this is a step toward statehood, because if we do well in electing our governor and the governors elected by us prove their ability to conduct the affairs of the island in a satisfactory way, both from the national and the local standpoint, we will be justified, after a while, to come to you asking for statehood.

Of course, if after a careful consideration of the problem you reach the conclusion that it is not wise to follow in Porto Rico the traditional policy of the Nation of admitting Territories into the Union after a period of probation, you may accept the suggestion contained in the joint resolution introduced by our present governor, Hon. Horace M. Towner, that honors us, the Delegate from Porto Rico, with his valuable advice and direction, amending your Constitution in order to make possible the admission of overseas and noncontiguous territories on the basis of a limited representation in Congress. That amendment in my sense must contain also the granting to Congress of power to exempt such territories of the operation of the fiscal laws of the United States.

You will have noted that I say your and not our constitution, not because we do not love and admire and venerate that great instrument, but because the Constitution has not been extended yet to Porto Rico. It does not cover the American citizens of Porto Rico the same as the American citizens of the continent. Certainly the personal rights of liberty, property, equality, and justice are protected in Porto Rico, because the limitations imposed on Congress by the Constitution does apply when Congress is legislating for Porto Rico. Only in this sense the Constitution is in force in the island. The bill of rights included in our organic act guarantees all our rights, but we can not invoke the Constitution—for obtaining a grand jury or a petit jury in cases of misdemeanors, and our women do not have the franchise granted to their sisters of the continent by the nineteenth amendment.

The rights protected in Porto Rico by the Constitution are those natural rights inherent to the person, that are superior and in-

dependent of any written constitution, but it does not protect all the political rights. That condition of things, to my mind, is inconsistent with the granting of the American citizenship to Porto Ricans. Wherever a community of American citizens exists, the Constitution must be there ruling and protecting the rights of the people.

In regard to the extension of the Constitution, it has been contended that it will carry out to the island the entire fiscal system of the Nation, and that the revenues raised in the island under these fiscal laws would be borne necessarily into the Federal Treasury. I doubt the correctness of that conclusion. The clause of the Constitution providing for uniformity of customs duties throughout the United States is in force in Porto Rico, according to the construction of the Supreme Court of the United States, and notwithstanding the net proceeds of the customs duties collected in the island have been granted by Congress to our island, so we have here an instance of Federal revenues, collected by Federal officers, under a Federal act granted by Congress to Porto Rico. This being the case, what objection may exist to do the same thing with other Federal revenues collected in Porto Rico under the Federal authority? But granting that constitutional objections exist, why not provide in our organic act that all Federal revenues, after entering the Federal Treasury, will form a special or trust fund to be devoted to the needs of the island as the local legislature might direct, with the approval of the President? We need for the present all such revenues, because the property taxes raised in the island are devoted to the needs of the municipal governments after deducting a small percentage to cover the cost of collection. Our present rate is almost 2 per cent; that is a high rate considering local conditions. Ours is a different case from that of Hawaii.

Going back to the question of statehood, I have been surprised to hear my dear friends and political opponents, Messrs. Davila and Guerra, state that statehood for Porto Rico is an utter impossibility. I would have not been surprised to hear that statement from the lips of some of the members of the committee or some other American statesman, but I am sorry to hear such words from Porto Rican lips.

Statehood is our only hope of having a true democratic and autonomous government under the flag of America. And that is the more true since the happy day that the majority party, the unionist party, dropped from his political platform the issue for absolute political independence. If we are not going to be an independent country like Cuba, what is going to be our final destiny? A perpetual colony? That is an impossible thought to the minds of both continental Americans and insular Americans. That so-called unincorporated state by our Unionist friends could not possibly be a final solution of our status.

That form of government means only the right to elect our own governor and appoint in the island all public officers. That is self-government, very truly, but it is only a political formula that we all are seeking for the present, but what of the future? Is it possible that we will be content forever to have that restricted form

of self-government? I said restricted because the election of the governor and the appointment of officers is not all that statehood implies, is not all that you have in your own States. In the first place statehood means the framing by the people of the State of their own constitution, that, after approval by Congress, is an irrevocable compact between the new State and the union of States. That power in the nonincorporated State is not granted to Porto Rico and can not be granted to Porto Rico under the Federal Constitution, but to the incorporated States, the only States known to the public law of this country. In the second place, we, the American citizens of Porto Rico, would be deprived under said scheme of the right to participate in the election of the Chief Magistrate of the nation and would be without representation in the Senate and House of your Congress.

We would be without representation in Congress, but notwithstanding you will have the unquestionable right of legislating for Porto Rico, of framing our tariff, of imposing taxes to our country. That would be taxation without representation. That is now the case, it is true, but we are thinking of future statehood. We have the certainty that such condition of political inferiority will end when statehood be granted us. On the contrary, if we think statehood is impossible, and independence is also impossible, then we are relegating ourselves to a political limbo in which doors we will be justified in writing the words placed by Dante in the gates of hell, "l'aggiati omni speranza" (abandon all hope).

My friend the able statesman Mr. Barcelo, chairman of the majority party, has not gone so far as the distinguished gentleman above mentioned, Mr. Guerra and Mr. Davila, but I want also to take exception to his statement that the question of the status is for the future and not for the present and therefore we must leave it to the future to take care of itself. It seems to me this statement is utterly incongruous with the wording of the first recommendation made to the legislative commission of Porto Rico by the joint resolution unanimously approved by our local legislature.

If the purpose of the resolution is to ask Congress to declare its purpose in regard to our status, I cannot conceive how we can harmoniously with the ends and purposes of the joint resolution, state to Congress that the question of status is for the future and not for the present. I agree that we are not now in position to ask Congress for immediate admission to statehood, but after a quarter of a century of American rule we are entitled to know what the Nation has in store for us. We ought to know if on account of race or geographical position insurmountable difficulties exist to our admission as a State. And that is precisely the main purpose of the joint resolution of our local legislature.

You may answer our question granting us the power to enact our own State constitution and to ask for admission into the Union as soon as certain conditions are fulfilled by the people of Porto Rico. That would not be to force statehood into our people; that would be only a stimulus for Porto Rico to reach this goal and to comply with the conditions fixed by Congress and at the same time leave the door, the golden door, open to the ambition of the present and future generations.

Our unionist friends may or may not enter the door, according to their wishes, but let the door be open to those who are striving to reach the summit of statehood. Every Territory and possession of the United States has now their definite political goal. The Philippines are offered independence and they are looking to that solution with fervent zeal; Alaska and Hawaii are incorporated Territories and that implies a promise of future statehood, in the light of all precedents of American political history; Porto Rico is the only community under the flag that does not know what her future will be. That is not just, gentlemen, and you must in all fairness to us put an end to this situation crowded with doubts and fears. That feeling of restlessness for our political future, to which the memorial of the commission as a whole refers, is natural under the circumstances, and I hope that our friends of the Porto Rican Commission will be glad that Congress give us its views on the subject, in the only possible way that Congress may speak, through the enactment of a law granting the people of Porto Rico the right to form their own constitution, when we fulfill the conditions and qualifications that Congress sees fit to impose upon us. That would not be without precedent. That was done with the several subdivisions of the Northwestern Territory, imposing on them the condition of reaching a certain population for admission as a State. That has been done also in the Philippine Islands, imposing as condition for independence that the people of the islands be able to conduct a stable government.

I feel confident that the consensus of opinion in this country favor future statehood for Porto Rico. The Democratic Party is for statehood in its platform. The Republican Party has not expressed officially any opinion, but in the report of the proper subcommittee of the party submitted to the last convention in the year 1920 we read this enlightened statement in regard to the matter in discussion—

Mr. WARD. What Democratic Party?

Senator Soto. The Democratic Party of the United States.

Mr. WARD. What platform was that in?

Senator Soto. The last platform, the present platform.

Mr. WARD. You may proceed with your remarks. I will not interrupt you.

Senator Soto. The Republican platform says, "Statehood in the American Union." This is the solution preferred by the great majority of the people. In favor of the same it is argued:

- (a) That it is the only logical goal of any American Territory.
- (b) That the great majority are eager for it.
- (c) That to deprive so large a number of American citizens of it is unjust.
- (d) That the culture and orderliness of the people make them deserve it.
- (e) That Porto Rico has a population greater than that of any of the States of Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Delaware, Florida, North Dakota, South Dakota, Colorado, Montana, Idaho, Utah, New Mexico, Arizona, Wyoming, or Nevada.
- (f) That Porto Rico, though small, is larger than the States of Delaware and Rhode Island together.
- (g) That Porto Rico has an annual commerce of over \$140,000,000.

No Porto Rican argues against statehood, but unprejudiced observers advance the following reasons against conceding it at present:

- (a) That the great majority of Porto Ricans are still ignorant of the English language, and that it would be a mistake to admit into our Union of States a territory peopled by such a large body of inhabitants still unassimilated in language and customs.

(6) That the financial resources of Porto Rico are not sufficient to enable the island to assume the burdens of statehood, for even at present, though receiving customs and internal revenue collections, there is not enough to meet the island's needs.

MR. WARD. What were you reading from?

Senator SOTO. From the reports of the subcommittees of the Republican National Committee, advisory committee on policies and platform, of 1920. As I said before, the Republican Party has not made any official declaration in regard to our status, this is a solution presented by a great majority of the people: it is the only logical goal.

MR. SCHAFER. What is that, a report of the subcommittee of the Republican convention?

Senator SOTO. Yes, sir.

Governor TOWNER. Will the gentleman pardon me?

Senator SOTO. Yes, sir.

Governor TOWNER. I would like to offer a word of explanation. The gentlemen of the committee will understand that prior to the convening of the last Republican convention a large committee was formed, delegates from all of the States, to make a report to the committee on resolutions at the Republican convention, and the reasons for and against questions that might arise, so that the matter might be considered before a committee on resolutions. He has read from the report of this committee, which was merely advisory, and giving them information so that they might act intelligently upon the question.

MR. WARD. That was in the convention that nominated Harding?

Governor TOWNER. Yes, sir; the convention did not take any action upon that. It was not a recommendation so much as it was a report of information for the benefit of the committee.

MR. SALMON. Have you got the Democratic platform?

Senator SOTO. No; I can give you a copy of that.

MR. DAVILA. He is correct on that.

Senator SOTO. The late President Harding, at the unveiling of the statue of Simon Bolivar, said:

Porto Rico is a part of our own territory under a permanent policy aimed at its prosperity and progress, and we see in our Latin-American State the best agency to aid the Americas to understand each other.

Our present governor has stated:

It is not necessary longer to argue to Porto Ricans the value from every possible standpoint of their association with the United States. That value is demonstrated by even the every-day transactions of life. He is blind indeed who does not see that the destiny of Porto Rico is unbreakably linked with that of the United States. In view of these facts it is an entirely consistent and justifiable ambition that Porto Rico should ultimately be admitted as a State of the Union. It is also consistent and praiseworthy that in the meantime Porto Rico should ask for a larger measure of self-government.

You must bear in mind that Governor Towner is one of the men best qualified to express an opinion in regard to so-called colonial government.

During the hearing of the Jones bill in the United States, before the Committee on Pacific Islands and Porto Rico, Senator Broussard said:

The Territory of Louisiana in the latter part of the eighteenth century belonged to France. It passed out of the hands of France to Spain. The popu-

lation of lower Louisiana--of the present State, that is--was almost universally, if not universally, French and Spanish. In 1803, after the Territory had belonged to Spain for only three or four years, it was re-ceded to France, and immediately the retrocession took place it was ceded to the United States. A Territory was created out of it at once, in 1803, and within nine years after this Territory had been established the lower part of Louisiana, that portion settled by the French and Spanish, who spoke French and Spanish and knew no English, was admitted to the Union as a State, and has for more than 100 years been a State. I want to direct your attention to this. Isn't that an example in the American history of creating a loyal State out of a people of your own race, under those conditions, a proper precedent for your people to expect the accomplishment of the same end with regard to your own country, Porto Rico?

Similar statements to that of Governor Towner were made by Governor Yeager, during the Wilson administration, and by Governor Reiley, under the Harding administration, and of course it is natural that we, Porto Ricans, consider those expressions of opinion so clear and so reiterated as messages of the Nation to our people.

My friend, Mr. Guerra, has said that he does not favor statehood because he does not want in Porto Rico a policy of assimilation, that he wants us to preserve our own Latin soul, our idiosyncracies, our personality. That is all right. We want also what Mr. Guerra wishes; but precisely the political scheme called in public law confederation and federation has been devised and was adopted by the fathers of the Constitution in order to promote a most perfect Union and at the same time to preserve the rights of the several States as truly sovereign communities, except in regard to those powers expressly delegated to the Union. If Porto Rico would come with the Union it ought to come with her own soul, with her own personality, without surrendering any of her historical traditions, her language, her religion, her laws, and the Union would preserve and guarantee to our people the enjoyment of all the blessings of the past, together with all the blessings of her American republican form of government.

Speaking of assimilation we have already assimilated the American institutions, the jury system, the habeas corpus, the entire penal system, the codes of procedure, civil and criminal, the Anglo-Saxon principles of evidence, the system of public schools and taxation, and, in fact, the entire political and administrative system prevailing here, and that process of assimilation has been carried out with the approval of the people and by the people itself.

(Further remarks of Senator Soto are as follows:)

To the Senate committee on Territories and Insular Possessions and to the House committee on Insular Affairs.

SIRS: As members of the Porto Rican legislative commission, we are entirely in accord with the memorial presented by the same, dated January 13, 1924. But the undersigned are compelled to submit this additional memorial, not to contradict but to supplement the one presented by the commission as a whole.

Congress is asked by the legislative commission to state its opinion in regard to the political status of Porto Rico, without making any suggestion in connection with this problem. The undersigned believe that it is proper for us, in compliance with resolutions approved by the governing bodies of our respective parties, to suggest statehood as the only possible solution of this question, and as a step toward this goal, the immediate extension of the Constitution of the United States to the island of Porto Rico. We feel this way because we Porto Ricans are citizens of the United States by virtue of the organic act of March 2, 1917, more commonly known as the Jones Act. All persons born in the island

who were Spanish subjects at the time of the ratification of the treaty of peace between Spain and the United States in 1899, and their descendants; became citizens of the United States by operation of the Jones Act, with the exception of those who declared their will to retain their status as citizens of Porto Rico, as defined in the previous organic act of 1900, known as the Foraker Act; and notwithstanding this grant on the part of Congress, the Constitution does not extend to Porto Rico, and the rights and privileges of the American citizens born in Porto Rico are not protected by that great instrument.

We, as members of the Porto Rican Legislature, and all public officials in Porto Rico, in taking office, are bound to swear that we will preserve the Constitution, but the Constitution is not in the island. It did not follow the flag, and has not followed the granting of American citizenship. This anomalous state of affairs undoubtedly was not intended by Congress when it enacted the Jones Act. The general belief at the time was that the organization of the Territory of Porto Rico, plus the granting of American citizenship to the Porto Ricans, would extend the Constitution to the island and the incorporation of the Territory. That was the result contemplated by Congress, and that was also the impression created in the island. Our supreme court and the United States Court for Porto Rico decided that the Constitution was extended to Porto Rico by the Jones Act, but the Supreme Court of the United States ruled to the contrary, declaring that the Constitution ought to be extended and the incorporation of the Territory accomplished only by a direct act of Congress.

We are now asking for this act, not only in order to terminate the anomalous situation of one million and a quarter of American citizens not covered by the Constitution of the United States, but because that situation has created the impression that Congress is not disposed to treat our country the same as it treated the 35 Commonwealths that came to the Union as a result of the territorial expansion of the Nation after having been governed as Territories for more or less time. To all these Territories, after organization, the Constitution was extended, and, therefore, they were incorporated; that is to say, they received from Congress the implied promise of being admitted eventually to statehood, since the holding of peoples indefinitely in a condition of political inferiority and domain without proper sovereignty and a constitution enacted by the people themselves, is obnoxious to the American institutions. This impression has generated in the minds of many of our countrymen the idea that absolute independence for Porto Rico, as suggested for the Philippines, is a possible scheme of government for Porto Rico, notwithstanding the repeated utterances of public men against such a plan. However, if Congress does not contemplate independence for Porto Rico, as we verily believe, we are entitled to know on what conditions Congress will allow our island to form its state constitution, and ask for admission into the Union.

The necessity of such a step is emphasized when we learn that the opinion of American statesmen is far from being uniform in this respect. There are utterances of some public officials of high authority in the sense that statehood for Porto Rico is out of the question, and if this opinion is coupled with those denying the right of the island to be independent, then we must reach the important conclusion that our destiny is to be a perpetual colony, a mere possession of the United States. That can not be in the light of American history. Even the word "colony" has an opprobrious meaning in the public mind of America and would meet the reprobation of our island that was for 400 years a Spanish colony.

The problem is for you to solve. We are not urging you to decide just now our status. We are not asking for statehood at the present moment, but we need to know the future that is in store for us and our children. It is not the same thing to educate the coming generations in the idea of becoming citizens of a State of the Union, that it is to prepare them to be members of an independent Latin Republic, bound to your own Nation by the ties of gratitude and interests only. We want now the extension of the Constitution to the island and this will mean that our future is sealed forever, that our destiny is to become another star in your own flag, that is now ours, but without allowing us to be represented in the blue sky of the same.

If you find it inconvenient to accept us on the same basis of representation as your 48 Commonwealths, you may accept the plan of our present governor, Hon. Horace M. Towner, which he introduced in the House of Representatives. Sixty-seventh Congress, first session, as chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House, House Joint Resolution 68, proposing an amendment to the Constitution, providing for the admission noncontiguous and overseas

States on the basis of limited representation in both Houses of Congress, a copy of which is attached hereto. We suggest that such amendment should also include the granting of power to Congress to exempt such Territories from the operation of the fiscal laws of the United States.

Something must be done in order to put an end to the restlessness of our people, and in order to settle forever this dangerous question of the political status of the island.

It is true that the extension of the Constitution to Porto Rico may carry with it the application to the island of the internal revenue laws of the United States, and that the revenues derived therefrom may be borne into the Treasury of the United States, together with the proceeds of the customs duties collected in the island under the customs laws of the United States, as well as the inheritance and the income taxes collected under the respective laws of the United States, and that without those revenues we can hardly carry on the government of the island if we are to give proper attention to education, sanitation, public improvements, and the welfare of laborers and destitute people. Therefore, some plan must be devised whereby those revenues that Congress, with generosity which we deeply appreciate, has granted to the island, be devoted to the development of the Territory, as at present, notwithstanding the extension of the Constitution to Porto Rico.

We suggest that a provision, in the form of an amendment, such as the one annexed to this memorial, be embodied in the organic act. We do not apprehend any constitutional objection to an act by Congress appropriating the Federal funds collected in the Territory of Porto Rico, to be devoted to the needs of the island, as the Legislature of Porto Rico might direct, with the approval of the President of the United States, after said funds have been covered into the Treasury of the Nation.

That action would be justified in view of the fact that the cost of maintaining the government of the Territories has always been the duty of the Nation, and also that Congress has granted to the Territory of Hawaii the proceeds obtained from the lands belonging to the United States and located in the Territory, and has also expended large sums of money in the development of the Territory of Alaska.

"Without malice" * * * "and with charity for all," we hope that we see the solution of our problem as God gives us to see it." As American citizens we want to come under the protecting folds of the Constitution the same as we came under the flag—our flag—to remain forever after an integral part of these United States of America.

Dated and signed at Washington, District of Columbia, this 23d day of January, 1924.

JNO. LOUIS LAT.

Senator, and Chairman Republican Party of Porto Rico.

ENNINGFANOLD MANN,

Representative Republican Party.

SANTIAGO IGLESIES.

Senator, and Chairman Socialist Party of Porto Rico.

RAFAEL SLOUSO,

Representative Socialist Party.

[House Joint Resolution 68, Sixty-seventh Congress, first session.]

JOINT RESOLUTION Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States.

* ARTICLE

The Congress of the United States shall have power to fix and determine the representation in the Congress of the United States of overseas and non-contiguous territory now held or hereafter acquired as territory, possession, or dependency of the United States upon its admission and thereafter as a State of the United States. In no case shall the number of Senators so fixed

and determined exceed two for any such State; and in no case shall the proportionate number of Representatives so fixed and determined for any such State exceed the number apportioned on the basis of population to other States of the United States not overseas or noncontiguous.

SUGGESTED AMENDMENT TO HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION 65.

In line 14, after the words "United States," insert the following: "and shall also have power to exempt those Territories, possessions, or dependencies from the operation of the fiscal laws of the United States."

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 9 of the act entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico and for other purposes," approved March 2, 1917, is hereby amended so as to read as follows:

"Sec. 9. That the Constitution and all statutory laws of the United States not locally applicable will be in force in the Territory of Porto Rico the same as in the States: *Provided, however,* That all taxes collected under the internal revenue laws of the United States on articles produced in Porto Rico and transported to the United States or consumed in the island, all custom duties on articles imported in the island, all taxes on incomes derived from sources in Porto Rico, and all such other taxes now or hereafter collected in the Territory under laws of the United States shall be covered into the Treasury of the United States: *Provided further,* That the net proceeds of all such taxes imposed and duties shall form a special and separate fund in the Treasury of the United States, to be invested in the Territory as the Legislature of Porto Rico might direct, with the approval of the President of the United States, in the advancement of elementary education, public works, development of agriculture and industries of the soil, improvements of sanitary conditions, the welfare of laborers and wage earners, and the care of destitute and sick people."

AMENDMENTS SUGGESTED TO THE ACT ENTITLED "AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR A CIVIL GOVERNMENT FOR PORTO RICO, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES."

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the citizens of the United States referred to in section 5 of an act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," approved March 2, 1917, and the other citizens of the United States permanently domiciled in the island for more than three years, shall be also citizens of Porto Rico: *Provided,* That the persons born in Porto Rico of alien parents, referred to in the last paragraph of the said section, who had not availed themselves of the privilege granted to them of becoming citizens of the United States shall have the period of one year from the approval of this act to make the declaration provided for in the aforesaid section: *And provided further,* That the persons who had elected to retain the political status of citizens of Porto Rico may become citizens of the United States in the same term and manner provided for the naturalization of native Portoricans born of foreign parents.

Sec. 2. That section 26 of the organic act of Porto Rico is hereby amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 26. That the senate of Porto Rico shall consist of nineteen members elected at large by the qualified electors of Porto Rico. No person shall be a member of the senate who is not over thirty years of age, and who is not able to read and write either the Spanish or English language, and who has not been a resident of Porto Rico for at least two consecutive years; except as herein otherwise provided, the senate of Porto Rico shall exercise all of the purely legislative powers and functions theretofore exercised by the executive council, including confirmation of appointments; but appointments made while the senate is not in session shall be effective either until disapproved or until the next adjournment of the senate for the session. In electing the senators each elector shall be permitted to vote for but one candidate, and the nineteen candidates receiving the largest number of votes shall be declared elected."

Sec. 3. That section 27 of the organic act of Porto Rico is hereby amended to read as follows:

Sec. 27. That the house of representatives of Porto Rico shall consist of forty-two members elected quadrennially by the qualified electors of Porto Rico, as hereinafter provided. Each of the representative districts hereinafter provided for shall have the right to elect six representatives. No person shall be a member of the house of representatives who is not over twenty-five years of age, and who is not able to read and write either the Spanish or English language, who has not been a bona fide resident of the district from which elected for at least one year prior to his election. In electing the six representatives of each district each elector shall be permitted to vote for but four candidates, and the four receiving the largest number of votes shall be elected."

Sec. 4. That section 31 of the organic act of Porto Rico is hereby amended to read as follows:

Sec. 31. That members of the senate and house of representatives of Porto Rico shall receive compensation at the rate of \$20 per day for the first sixty days of each regular session and \$1 per day for each additional day of such session while in session, and mileage for each session at the rate of 10 cents per kilometer for each kilometer actually and necessarily traveled in going from their legislative districts to the capital and therefrom to their place of residence in their districts by usual routes of travel."

Sec. 5. That section 33 of the organic act of Porto Rico is hereby amended to read as follows:

Sec. 33. That regular sessions of the legislature shall be held annually, convening on the second Monday in February of each year, unless otherwise provided by the legislature. The governor may call special sessions of the legislature or of the senate at any time when, in his opinion, the public interest may require it, but no special session shall continue longer than ten days, not including Sundays and holidays, and no legislation shall be considered at such session other than that specified in the call."

Sec. 6. That the first paragraph of section 34 of the organic act of Porto Rico is hereby amended to read as follows:

Sec. 34. That the enacting clause of the laws shall be as to acts, "Be it enacted by the Legislature of Porto Rico" and as to joint resolutions, "Be it resolved by the Legislature of Porto Rico." Except as hereinafter provided, bills and joint resolutions may originate in either house. The governor shall submit at the opening of each regular session of the legislature a budget of receipts and expenditures, which shall be the basis of the ensuing biennial appropriation bill. No bill shall become a law until it be passed in each house by a majority yeas-and-nays vote of all of the members belonging to such house and entered upon the journal and be approved by the governor within 10 days thereafter. If when a bill that has been passed is presented to the governor for his signature he approves the same, he shall sign it; or if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to the house in which it originated, which house shall enter his objections at large on its journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of all the members of that house shall agree to pass the same it shall be sent, together with the objections to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of all the members of that house, it shall become law the same as if it had been approved by the governor. The vote of each house shall be by yeas and nays, and the names of the members voting for and against shall be entered in the journal. The President of the United States may suspend the operation of any law enacted by the Legislature of Porto Rico, but this suspension will end sixty days after the beginning of the next session of Congress, if the law was enacted during its recess, or sixty days after the approval of the law if passed when the Congress is in session. If any bill presented to the governor contains several items of appropriation of money, he may object to one or more of such items, or any part or parts, portion or portions thereof, while approving of the other portion of the bill. In such case he shall append to the bill, at the time of signing it, a statement of the items, parts or portions thereof to which he objects, and the appropriation so objected to shall not take effect. If any bill shall not be returned by the governor within 10 days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, it shall be a law in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the legislature by adjournment prevents its return, in which case it shall be a law if signed by the governor within thirty days after receipt by him; otherwise

it shall not be a law. All laws enacted by the Legislature of Porto Rico shall be reported to the Congress of the United States, as provided in section 23 of this act, which hereby reserves the power and authority to annul the same. If at the termination of any fiscal year the appropriations necessary for the support of the government for the ensuing fiscal year shall not have been made, the several sums appropriated in the last appropriation bills for the objects and purposes therein specified, so far as the same may be applicable, shall be deemed to be reappropriated item by item; and until the legislature shall act in such behalf the treasurer may, with the advice of the governor, make the payments necessary for the purposes aforesaid."

SEC. 7. That section 35 of the organic act is hereby amended to read as follows:

"That thereafter voters shall have the following qualifications: Citizens of Porto Rico and of the United States, male or females, twenty-one years of age or over. The legislature may prescribe additional qualifications, but no property qualification shall ever be imposed upon or required from the electors and no discrimination shall be made on account of race, color, sex, or religious or political opinions or affiliations."

SEC. 8. That section 38 of the organic act of Porto Rico is hereby amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 38. That all grants of franchises, rights, and privileges of a public or quasi-public nature shall be made by a public service commission, consisting of a public service commissioner appointed by the governor with the advice and consent of the senate for the term of four years and until his successor will be appointed and qualified, and four commissioners elected at each general election for the term of four years and till their successors will be elected and qualified, whose term will begin the 2d day of January following their election. In the election of the said commissioners each elector shall be allowed to vote but for two candidates. The salary of the commissioner who will preside over the commission shall be \$6,000 a year, and the compensation of each member elective shall be \$10 for each day attendance to the sessions of the commission; but in no case shall they receive more than \$1,000 during any one year. The said commission is also empowered and directed to discharge all the executive functions relating to public service corporations heretofore conferred by law upon the executive council. Franchises, rights, and privileges granted by the said commission shall not be effective until approved by the governor, and shall be reported to Congress, which hereby reserves the power to annul or modify the same.

"The interstate commerce act and the several amendments made or to be made thereto, the safety appliance acts and the several amendments made or to be made thereto, and the act of Congress entitled 'An act to amend an act entitled "An act to regulate commerce," approved February 4, 1887, and all acts amendatory thereof, by providing for a valuation of the several classes of property of carriers subject thereto and securing information concerning their stocks, bonds, and other securities' approved March 1, 1913, shall apply to Porto Rico: *Provided*, That the powers conferred by said acts to the Interstate Commerce Commission shall be vested in the public service commission, subject to revision by the former according to the rules and regulations approved by the said Interstate Commerce Commission."

SECTION 9. That the following section shall be inserted as a part of the organic act of Porto Rico, to read as follows:

"SEC. 39 (a). That the Legislature of Porto Rico is hereby empowered to enforce the provisions of the joint resolution approved May 1, 1900, with respect to the buying, selling, or holding of real estate, and is also empowered to raise the limit of the 500 acres provided for in the said joint resolution, and to impose additional and progressive taxes on all property owned or controlled in excess of 500 acres by corporations, partnerships, associations, and individuals, and to provide for the forfeiture of all lands owned or controlled by corporations in violation of the prohibition established in the aforesaid joint resolution, after giving a term of no less than one year to the owners for the disposal of their property so owned and controlled: *Provided*, That the legislature shall have power to tax the property and income of nonresidents double that of the property and income of residents."

SEC. 10. That section 41 of said organic act be amended, adding to it the following proviso:

"* * * *Provided further*, That the proceedings in said court shall be conducted either in the English or in the Spanish languages."

SEC. 11. That section 49 of the organic act of Porto Rico shall be amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 49. That hereafter and until otherwise provided by the legislature, all judges, marshals, and secretaries of courts now established or that may hereafter be established in Porto Rico, and whose appointment by the President is not provided for by law, shall be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of Porto Rico."

SEC. 12. That section 50 of the organic act of Porto Rico shall be amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 50. That, except as in this act otherwise provided, the salaries of all the officials of Porto Rico not appointed by the President, including deputies, assistants, and other help, shall be such and be so paid out of the revenues of Porto Rico as shall from time to time be determined by the Legislature of Porto Rico and approved by the governor; and if the legislature shall fail to make an appropriation for such salaries, the salaries theretofore fixed shall be paid without the necessity of further appropriations therefor. The salaries of all officers and all expenses of the offices of the various officials of Porto Rico appointed as herein provided by the President shall also be paid out of the revenues of Porto Rico on warrant of the auditor, countersigned by the governor. The annual salaries of the following-named officials shall be: The governor, \$10,000, and in addition thereto he shall be entitled to the occupancy of the buildings heretofore used by the chief executive of Porto Rico, with the furniture and effects therein, free of rental; heads of executive departments, \$7,000; chief justice of the supreme court, \$8,000; associate justices of the supreme court, \$7,000 each.

"Where any officer whose salary is fixed by this act is required to give a bond, the premium thereof shall be paid from the insular treasury."

SEC. 13. That on all coffee in the bean or ground, imported into Porto Rico, there shall be levied and collected a duty of 5 cents per pound, any law or part of law to the contrary notwithstanding.

SEC. 14. That the sum of \$3,000,000 annually during the period of 15 years is hereby appropriated to be expended under the direction of the commissioner of the interior with the cooperation of the government of Porto Rico in the eradication of illiteracy, the development of agriculture and industries of the soil, improvement of sanitary conditions, and the welfare of the wage earners.

SEC. 15. That the last paragraph of section 3 of the said organic act of Porto Rico be amended so as to read as follows:

"* * * In computing the indebtedness of the people of Porto Rico, bonds issued by the people of Porto Rico secured by an equivalent amount of bonds of municipal corporations or school boards of Porto Rico, as well as bonds issued by the municipalities with the guaranty of the people of Porto Rico shall not be counted."

Respectfully submitted.

ENRIQUE GONZALEZ MENA,

Member of the House for the Republican Party.

JOSÉ TOS SOTO,

Senator and Chairman Republican Party.

Mr. WARD. Senator Soto, in view of your speech, I want you and the delegation to hear me speak entirely for myself, as I do not assume to speak for anybody else. I think I am among the foremost men of this committee in my desire and anxiety to see both these bills pass Congress. I shall certainly vote for a favorable report. If I can do anything in the House to promote its passage I shall certainly do it, but in doing so I want the delegation to understand that they are not to draw any inference from that of my support for ultimate statehood. Sufficient for the present to give the one reason that I would not be willing to give the island participation in the affairs of the continent, that I would not be willing to let Porto Rico into the rights of representation into the Congress by which she would have the same say that North Carolina would have in the affairs of Maine and California, and I have passed out these bills to members of

the present Congress, since your hearings commenced, those Members all being Democrats, and from my conversation I most respectfully suggest, endeavoring always to promote the passage of your bill, that the advocates of this measure on the floor of the House will not promote its passage by advocating ultimate statehood.

One statement further: I not only favor these bills but will go as far as it is possible to go to get you complete political autonomy, stopping short of statehood. I wanted to make that statement.

MR. WILLIAMS. There are three parties. What is the proportionate representation of the parties in the lower house?

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. The lower house has 39 members.

MR. WILLIAMS. How many Unionists?

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Twenty-seven.

MR. WILLIAMS. How many representatives?

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. There are four Socialists and the balance are Republicans.

MR. WILLIAMS. How about the senate?

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. One Socialist.

MR. WILLIAMS. What is the number in the senate?

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Nineteen.

MR. WILLIAMS. One Socialist?

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Yes, and three representatives, and the balance are Unionists.

(Mr. Williams inserted the following statement of the parties in the House of Representatives and Senate of the Porto Rican Legislature:)

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.		SENATE.	
Unionists.....	27	Unionists.....	15
Republicans.....	8	Republicans.....	3
Socialists.....	4	Socialists.....	1

MR. WILLIAMS. What is the difference in your birth rate and the death rate in Porto Rico?

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. Pardon me.

MR. WILLIAMS. What is the difference in your birth rate and death rate in Porto Rico; in other words, how fast is the population increasing?

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. The people that are born is much greater in numbers than those that die.

MR. WILLIAMS. I understand that.

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. It is a tremendous proportion. I could not tell you exactly.

GOVERNOR TOWNER. The death rate in Porto Rico is 21.

MR. WARD. All that is in the governor's report.

(Mr. Williams inserted in the record the following:)

Porto Rico.

Total population in 1920.....	1,299,809
Total population in 1910.....	1,118,012
Increase in 10 years.....	181,797

STATEMENT OF HON. SANTIAGO IGLESIAS, A SENATOR IN THE
PORTO RICAN LEGISLATURE.

Senator IGLESIAS. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, in regard to the Socialist Party of Porto Rico, I want to answer any questions that can be put, because I do not like the fact that some people may make capital out of the title of the Socialist Party. We are organized according to the American Federation of Labor ideals and aspirations. We have been for the last 27 years organizing the workingmen all through the island, and when the workers thought they had to do something in the affairs and welfare of the country, and to take a part in the elections, they had to form a party and call themselves the Socialist Party. Maybe the Socialist Party of Porto Rico is very different from the Socialist Party that you have in the United States.

My colleagues of the Unionist Party have presented the political question fully, so far as their views are concerned, and Senator Soto, for the Republican Party, presented his own views. Maybe I may add what they have proved that the same political questions in Porto Rico has been the forced topic for the last 25 years, and have been discussed in the same way. The question of the status of the island has taken maybe two-thirds of the time of the political arguments and discussions of the campaigns at election times.

It may be so because there are differences of opinion in the island, but there are also differences of opinion here in the United States. Nobody knows there in the island what we are going to be, and so the discussion is very acute among the parties all the time. We would like to have the extension of the Constitution of the United States because we and the workingmen are claiming that we have the right to ask for that, since we are American citizens.

We believe that it has been providential for us that the American ideals and institutions went to the island, and of course until some action is taken by the Congress of the United States to settle the question of the status we are going to lose time and time in argumenting and discussing this question. My purpose at this opportunity is to talk about the other side of the question concerning the people of Porto Rico that is more interesting to me and may be more interesting to the great majority of the people of the island, and to all men who know something relative to the economic, industrial, and social questions. We, the delegation, are acting in accordance with a resolution passed by our legislature. In our legislature, the Socialist Party have approved the resolution, and I am telling it to you because some of my colleagues have done its most to instill it in the minds of everybody the Socialist title, but remember there is nothing to fear of the Socialists of Porto Rico at all. The resolution approved says that the legislature of Porto Rico should be granted power by Congress to legislate without restriction on all local matters. And that one of the petitions that the island wants to be granted is "power to legislate on all its financial problems and to regulate the acquisition of lands and to level local excise or internal revenue taxes to be collected for the benefit of the insular treasury, and in general on all such measures as may be amended for the interests and needs of Porto Rico," which are not in conflict

with such other measures of the same nature of national character. Also, that all such measures of national character that tend to benefit education, agriculture, and wealth in the island should be extended to Porto Rico in the same proportion they are extended to the States of the American Union.

I want to say that I came with this delegation and I voted in favor of this resolution not only because of the political issues, but I agree entirely with this bill now under consideration. I agree with my colleagues that if this bill passed it will eliminate many misunderstandings in civil as well as in political controversies and the administration in Porto Rico will be more responsible to the people of the island.

In regard to the section creating a department of labor in Porto Rico I desire to emphasize it because there is very much need for said labor department, taking in consideration that 95 per cent of the citizens of Porto Rico are working men, and they need help and protection, and maybe the Congress of the United States will find it more than justified to do this for the welfare of the working people of Porto Rico. So I want to say clearly that I am in favor of this bill, and now I am requesting you that this bill may pass. Also I want to relate to you some other problems that I thought my friend Mr. Tous Soto was going to present himself, as we have discussed them together. I am referring to some other reforms of our organic constitution. I have also statements here which I would like to present, and will put them in the record; they are not original statements written by me, but by officials of the government. The statements will be interesting to you, I am sure, and I hope they will be very clear to your minds.

One of the problems that Porto Rico wants to solve is the enforcement of the joint resolution, section 3, approved March 1, 1900 with regard to the buying, selling and holding of real estate. When this problem came to the United States Congress for legislation at that was when our first organic act was approved, a Senator thought and knew in advance what was going to happen in Porto Rico at which I will state hereafter. The inserted is the joint resolution of March 1, 1900, the following section 3:

No corporation shall be authorized to conduct the business of buying and selling real estate or to be permitted to hold any real estate except such may be reasonably necessary to enable it to carry out the object for which it was created, and every corporation hereafter organized to engage in agriculture shall by its charter be restricted to the ownership and control of not to exceed 500 acres of land, and this provision shall be held to prevent any member of the corporation engaged in agriculture from being in anywise interested in any of the corporations engaged in agriculture.

Now what has happened in Porto Rico was just the reverse of that the Congress was expecting. I consider it entirely a problem for the island of Porto Rico, all what has happened to-day in the holding of land; we have a monopolistic holding of land in the island of Porto Rico. Such was the case when the Jones Act was passed by Congress in 1917, and when some influences wanted to prevent the enforcement of this section 3 of the aforesaid resolution and practically legalize what was going on, a compromise came, and a clause was put in the Jones Act demanding by the United States an investigation regarding the land question at

the investigation was carried on. I will insert this document in the record to show the results of said investigation. It was signed by Woodrow Wilson at the White House on January 18, 1918.

In such document may be seen the condition of the holdings of the land, you will see corporations, associations, partnerships, controlling from 10,000 up to 40,000 and 75,000 acres of the best land of Porto Rico. The result is that the great part of the east, the south, and the north of the island is controlled by a few, and consequently the thousands and thousands of working men and working women in these sections of the island are practically at the mercy of these corporations.

Mr. WARD. But you have not satisfied me as to what was done by the Jones Act. What is the present law of Porto Rico with respect to the holdings of these corporations?

Senator IGLESIAS. Senator Broussard introduced two amendments to the Jones Act to penalize the violations that never passed.

Mr. SALMON. Covering 500 acres?

Senator IGLESIAS. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a penalty affixed in case of violation?

Senator IGLESIAS. No; the opinion has been in Porto Rico that the enforcement of the law was almost impossible and the majority of the legislature thought that we did not have authority to go into the penalties to enforce it.

Mr. WARD. Mr. Iglesias, we have nothing before this committee directed to this question. Why have you not some bill here?

Senator IGLESIAS. I am going to ask the introduction of a bill.

Mr. WARD. Mr. Davila is supposed to introduce bills that may pertain to the immediate interests of the island.

Mr. DAVILA. I introduced the bill under consideration following the unanimous views of the delegation.

Mr. WARD. You have no bill which touches the question he is on.

Mr. DAVILA. None at all.

Mr. WARD. Why do you not have some bill laid before this committee that they may pass upon it one way or the other?

Governor TOWNER. Perhaps I know about as much about the provision in the organic act as anyone. The organic act provided, as Senator Iglesias said, that the limitation should be 500 acres of land. Now, when it came to the question of paying, that is a mere declaration that it should be followed by a penalty or it should be followed by provisions by which it could be regulated or it should be provided with provisions which should enable the disposition of land already acquired and owned, all of those things were considered, so it was left entirely to the legislature of Porto Rico to do what they thought best with regard to fixing penalties, and making such arrangements, because, gentlemen, you will recognize this fact, which is well known in the jurisprudence of the United States, that the control and disposition of lands is within the control of the States exclusively, in so far as those regulations relate to the disposition and control of lands.

Now, in so far as I know neither Senator Iglesias or anybody else has ever introduced any bill in the Legislature of Porto Rico with regard to that proposition. I do not see how there can be any question regarding the legal right to do so, but the people of Porto Rico

have never thought it to their interest to even introduce any legislation like that.

MR. SCHAFER. Would it not be fair to assume that a certain class has controlled the Legislature of Porto Rico, and they have directly violated the laws laid down by Congress, and if they violate such a fundamental law, how can we trust them and give them more power? It seems there is a certain class in control like in this country.

Governor TOWNER. I would say it would be more just to say that the problem was so difficult that it was almost impossible to legislate about it.

MR. WARD. Governor, you laid down a proposition and got my consent to it, that after reflection I doubt if either of us is correct about, that it is within the States to control the ownership or limit the ownership of lands. North Carolina for 30 years had exactly that statute, and it was more honored in the breach than in the observance, and it went out of our statute law. It was eliminated from the new codification of laws, and was not enforced at all. Is it not a national constitutional question?

Governor TOWNER. Do not misunderstand me, because I think that Congress would have the power to act. I think you have the power to act.

MR. WARD. The education that you and I have as American citizens, having grown up on a great continent where we want to encourage the acquisition of property and foster progress of that sort, would seem to be quite different in an overpopulated island. I am impressed with the idea that the law ought to be enforced down there, but not in Iowa for instance, because there is so much land there.

MR. SALMON. I would like to ask you a question.

Governor TOWNER. I beg your pardon.

MR. SALMON. With reference to the policy of the State to regulate the disposition and ownership of property that the law pertains more directly to States but to Territories it does not apply, does it?

Governor TOWNER. Well, I think it does, in so far as the past history of our Territories are concerned.

Senator IGLESIAS. I want to explain that as a senator of the Legislature of Porto Rico I have in various occasions introduced bills to remedy this land problem, and when this land question came up to the floor of the Senate of Porto Rico the bill was killed, and then I have to come before several administrations and Congress of the United States to ask for the remedy, as I am doing it now. The delegation has met and discussed this matter and has approved the proposition of coming before this committee to ask you and request that a bill be introduced to insert a new clause in our organic law.

MR. WARD. Introduce what?

Senator IGLESIAS. We are asking and requesting this committee to introduce a bill by itself with the land clause in it.

MR. WARD. I doubt if you want to do it until you have gone there, to your legislature, and exhausted your authority.

MR. SALMON. He has done that.

Senator IGLESIAS. That would be almost impossible to get there any practical results.

MR. WARD. You have said you have had your bill defeated upon the argument of its unconstitutionality.

Senator IGLESIAS. Not only that, but because it has been stated that the Legislature of Porto Rico had not the authority to legislate regarding the land question.

Mr. WARD. I want to see you put it up to your court.

Senator IGLESIAS. We never even could have a hearing on it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. He is a Socialist, and the other parties are ten to his one, and how will he pass it?

Mr. SCHAFER. Who controls most of the sugar-land holdings, Americans?

Mr. IGLESIAS. Yes; and there are also tobacco corporations and others.

Mr. SCHAFER. They are in control of the legislature, are they not?

Mr. ZEQUEIRA. They are not. We protest against that.

Mr. BIRD. That is an impertinent question.

Mr. DEVILLA. We do not want to conceal anything before the committee. Anything we know we want to tell frankly to the committee.

Speaker MONDRAGON. I think I would be derelict in my duty if I left that statement go unchallenged. It is absolutely not true, and I take exception to it.

Mr. SCHAFER. I asked a question. It is fair to assume that I can have a reply to a civil question.

Mr. ZEQUEIRA. You made a statement.

Mr. SCHAFER. No, I did not. I asked a question.

Senator IGLESIAS. We want to add a new section to our organic law. We have been in accord on that, all of us. The clause we want to insert reads as follows:

Sec. 39 (a). That the Legislature of Porto Rico shall be empowered to enforce the provisions of the joint resolution, approved May 1, 1900, with respect to the buying, selling, or holding of real estate, and shall also be empowered to raise the limit of the 500 acres provided in the said joint resolution, and the power to impose additional progressive taxes on all property owned or controlled in excess of 500 acres by corporations, partnerships, associations, and individuals, and to provide for the forfeiture of all lands owned or controlled by corporations as aforesaid in violation of the prohibition established by the joint resolution, after giving a term of not less than one year to the owners for the disposal of their property so owned and controlled: *Provided further*, That the term "corporation" used in said joint resolution shall be construed to include all artificial persons whose capital stock is represented in shares transferable by indorsement of the shareholder: *Provided further*, That the legislature shall have power to tax double the real property and income of nonresidents in excess of the property and income of the residents.

Mr. ZIHLMAN. What did you say? That the legislature shall have the power to tax double the property of nonresidents on income?

Senator IGLESIAS. Yes, sir. The speaker of the house and Senator Barcelo explained to the committee the attainments and achievements of the people of Porto Rico. I do not deny a single word of what they have said in regard to the work done by the Legislature of Porto Rico in connection with certain conditions that they have described. They have pictured the island and the people of Porto Rico in the best and optimistic way, so that anyone that may investigate their views will find that their statements are true, but I want to say that the paramount problem of the people of the island

of Porto Rico is the deplorable condition that prevails among the masses of the workers. That is the greatest problem of our island.

Mr. BRUMM. What has that got to do with the bills we are considering now? I for one member of the committee am very busy. I am on five committees, and I made a special point to get here, and I should like to have these bills made clear so I can form my opinion. I do not see where we are drifting to. If there is anything else that Porto Rico wants, my judgment is that they should have a bill before this committee before we can consider anything else. I do not know what the judgment of the other members of the committee is, but I should like to get these bills before me clearly.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee has under consideration of course the bills that were before you yesterday. In the progress of the investigation we have to allow as much liberality as possible to get the whole situation of Porto Rico before the committee, because we have to do some fundamental work in connection with it.

Mr. WARD. The delegation leaves in a few days.

The CHAIRMAN. The delegation leaves in a few days, and some of them have not had an opportunity to present some things that ought to be presented before the committee, although I can not see any immediate connection between the bills we are considering and the discussion that the gentleman is making with regard to the land.

Mr. SCHAFER. Mr. Chairman, the preceding speakers have diverted themselves from the bill in just as a great a manner in my estimation as this speaker has.

The CHAIRMAN. I think they have taken some liberties.

Mr. SCHAFER. This gentleman's opportunity was cut short on the last hearing on account of the bell ringing. I think what he is saying has some bearing on the question.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman extended his remarks in the last hearing, so he got what he wanted to say in the hearings.

Mr. WILLIAMS. We have not been furnished a copy.

The CHAIRMAN. The proofs have not been returned. It generally takes two or three weeks.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Do you intend to proceed? It is after 12 o'clock, and there is a very important matter before the House.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, I would like to conclude this hearing to-day. There are two men who came down here, sent down by Congressman Sullivan, who want to say something to the committee. However, the whole hearing is in the hands of the committee.

Mr. WARD. I will say to Mr. Iglesias, and any other member on the committee, that my view on the question is that he should have in extension of his remarks. There are members of this committee who will take the trouble to investigate it, because I believe he has impressed more than one member of this committee. The members of the committee will take time to read his remarks.

Mr. SCHAFER. I am in full accord with the preceding speaker on that subject. If you will put a full extension of your remarks in the record you may be certain that there are members of the committee who will read every part of it.

Mr. WILLIAMS. When could this committee be furnished with this record?

The CHAIRMAN. Just as soon as we can get the proofs back.

Mr. WILLIAMS. Will they be furnished the committee before a vote on these measures? I think it is very necessary that we have this information.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say to the members of the committee that the last hearings just got back yesterday, and the committee will be given those hearings. I did not know but what there might be some members of the committee who would be willing to go over the details before we could get the full hearings.

Mr. WILLIAMS. How many more gentlemen are to be heard?

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Iglesias, how much time will it take you?

Mr. WILSON. I do not think it is right to cut him off.

The CHAIRMAN. He has been cut off before, and I felt we ought to hear him.

Senator IGLESIAS. I want to be clear before this committee; I want to say that the members of this committee should know everything in regard to the Porto Rican situation. My other friends have stated many pleasant sides of the situation, but there are sides that are in connection with the needs of the people of Porto Rico, conditions to be remedied, the economic conditions that prevail among the masses of the people and which are in accord with our mission here.

Mr. WARD. What other proposition besides the one you have mentioned have you in regard to corporate holdings of land?

Speaker GUERRA-MONDRAGON. I want our position to be clearly understood. If we did not go into this matter that is brought up now so ably by my colleague, it is because we thought, acting as lawyers, that the pertinent question was the subject matter of the two bills before the committee. I am in full accord with Senator Iglesias, that the legislature should be empowered as he has stated. The Legislature of Porto Rico should be empowered to handle this situation down there if it has not up to the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Iglesias has the floor, and it will not be taken from him without his consent.

Senator IGLESIAS. Mr. Barcelo can speak on this question for a minute.

Mr. BARCELO. I uphold what Senator Iglesias has said for the following reasons, because every time a bill covering these propositions has been introduced in the Legislature of Porto Rico we have been confronted with the following situation: During the first 17 years the executive of Porto Rico understood, the administration understood, that the main policy to follow was to encourage the influx of capital from the north into Porto Rico to develop the island, and when the Jones Act was passed we were given full legislative power under the Jones Act, a situation which was already created during 17 years. We had hearings on this subject, and there were different opinions there. Some were of the opinion that the limitation instead of being 500 acres, should be limited to 3,000 or 10,000 to sugar mills, because it would be unprofitable, according to our opinions, to establish this enterprise with only 500 acres. In Porto Rico we can make these limitations more extensive, because the Foraker Act limited it to 500 acres. What we want is power to do what we should do, adequate power, in consonance with the

conditions there and in accordance with the circumstances of the moment that we might be confronted with.

Senator IGLESIAS. My interest in these matters is because Porto Rico has been for years and years subjected to the exploitation of absentee landlords who take out of the islands the many millions of dollars of wealth that has been produced by the masses of the workers; the people have not benefited by this, and consequently we have now entire districts where the working man and the working woman and children are living in acute poverty and misery, and this situation does not give credit to the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. Under the circumstances you may make any extension in your remarks, and there is one gentleman here who came down from New York in order to be heard to-day, and I have a request from one of our colleagues in Congress for this gentleman to be heard, and another member of the commission is to speak very briefly, so I believe we will have to conclude with you at this time, if you please.

Mr. SCHAFER. He might bring out some propositions that would practically open up the avenue for questions. Now, I think it is extremely unfair not to allow this man the same length of time that the other speakers had, in view of the fact that his remarks were cut off once before. He was cut off at the last hearing. I should think if the time was short that he should have had the first opportunity to speak here to-day.

The CHAIRMAN. The chairman is doing the best he can under the circumstances, and, as you know, Mr. Iglesias, no discourtesy is intended, and I think he has gotten fairly well before us his purpose. However, we must remember the commission is here on three bills, which they have had the representative introduce. These bills are the ones that will come immediately before the committee, and I understand Mr. Iglesias is in full accord with the three bills. Am I right?

Senator IGLESIAS. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. Our fundamental business now is to see that that legislation, in answer to a unified petition, shall be taken care of. At a later date, if there are other matters to come before us, we will take care of them as they arise.

Mr. SCHAFER. I would like to ask the gentleman about three questions directly pertaining to these bills that are open for discussion:

On page 4, lines 23 and 25, "heads of departments shall reside in Porto Rico during their official incumbency and shall have resided in Porto Rico for at least two years prior to their appointment." Now, the impression has come to me that there is a scarcity of qualified men to fill these positions. That was one of the reasons to increase the salaries. What is going to happen here if some of the men resign and you can not get a qualified man within the Territory of Porto Rico to fill these positions? Would it not be better to say a citizen of Porto Rico or the United States?

Senator IGLESIAS. As a matter of fact, we have plenty of men that can fill the positions as heads of departments in Porto Rico. We assume that a head of department shall know what is going on in his department; that he should be some one who has known the life of Porto Rico. As a matter of fact, to hold such an office, it is absolutely necessary to be a citizen of the United States.

MR. SCHAFER. Another question; you being a member of the legislature at the time the budget was adopted, taking in view the matters brought to the committee's attention as to the necessity for making a \$3,000 salary raise for one official, do you think there is very much consistency in the budget providing for \$3,000 salary raises for high officials and at the same time your education department has such small salaries, when the educational problems are perhaps the most important?

Senator INGLESIA. We have been in accord with the raising of salaries of everybody in the government. We have raised all through the departments, 20 per cent, 15 per cent, and 10 per cent. The highest salary has gotten a 10 per cent increase, and so on, and our policy in regard to labor there is that we had to organize them to elevate their conditions of life. At the same time, as enterprises in sugar, tobacco, transportation, etc.—the administrators of these corporations get \$50,000 a year, \$25,000, \$15,000, as it has been stated, and therefore many of our very capable men are going in the service of these corporations. Consequently, we are in favor of high salaries in order to keep such men in public service.

MR. SCHAFER. I would like to ask another question: Do you think it is very consistent for a schedule to be made up to pay the teachers in the schools, principals, \$1,125 per school year; teachers, some of them, as low as \$702; and at the same time going on record for a \$3,000 increase for some of the officials?

Senator INGLESIA. That is only one, the commissioner of education, and the teachers are several thousand.

The CHAIRMAN. Those positions are filled by school teachers in a single room in the country or on the hillside.

Senator INGLESIA. They had to organize. Every workingman from the teachers down had to organize and work out their own salvation, and we will fight for their salaries, as we did in the past; the organized workers there do not pay much attention if the government pays \$5,000 to a high official, because, as most of the wealth produced in Porto Rico is spent out of the island, any salary increase paid to island employees remains there. In other words, the fellows that get millions of dollars in profits are spending them out of the island.

MR. CHAIRMAN, I am sorry, of course, to be too hasty in the presentation of the case of the masses of the workers of Porto Rico.

MR. WARD. Have you any other concrete proposition that you want to lay before the committee?

Senator INGLESIA. Yes, sir; my statement contains another proposition in regard to the income tax law, asking power for the legislature to enact a law by which the income tax of Porto Rico will be collected in the proper way.

The CHAIRMAN. There is not any possibility that this committee can consider at the same time a whole lot of blanket propositions. We have three concrete bills before us. Would it not be well to get those in a form of a bill and later have them introduced, so the committee could give adequate attention to it? It confuses the committee rather than clarifies its judgment on matters of legislation, and I must insist, in deference to the committee, that you confine your remarks to these bills.

SPEAKER GUERRA-MONDRAGON. I will ask permission from the committee, in order to show our position as to the point Senator Iglesias made, that we be allowed to extend our remarks in support of that.

THE CHAIRMAN. The privilege is given to you, gentlemen.

SENATOR IGLESIAS. The Porto Rican Legislature has decided to send a delegation with a mission to the United States, said mission has the purpose to convince the President and the Congress of the United States that the people of Porto Rico should be granted a larger share of economic and political freedom so that the island may be land whose people may enjoy the same standard of life and civilization that is generally and ordinarily enjoyed by the States of the Union.

Resolutions indorsed by the American Federation of Labor conventions I will put in the record with this brief summary of the various causes responsible for the tribulations of the people of Porto Rico in their economic, social, and political life will give you an idea of the needs of legislation that in behalf of the people of Porto Rico the Congress should approve.

The solution of the economic and social problems of Porto Rico has been delayed for years, it is said, because of the fact that the President and the Congress of the United States have not been sufficiently informed as to these problems. As a matter of fact, Porto Rico has not the proper standing in the national life. The people of the island have not the proper representation in Congress with the right to voice and vote. Very few officials of the Federal Government have had a thorough knowledge regarding the deplorable economic conditions of the people of that island, and more especially of the financial organization imposed upon them through a colonial system of unlawful monopoly of the lands and business controlled by nonresident enterprises which are exploiting that people. Two-thirds of the annual profits yielded by the agricultural, commercial, and industrial producing masses of Porto Rico leave the country in the shape of rents, commissions, and dividends, estimated at 60 per cent. to be distributed and invested in other communities outside the island.

Therefore it is not strange that more than half of a million of workers, men, women, and children, engaged in farm and industrial work are continually in a depressing condition. The exportation of the profits in such amount has prevented any reinvestment of same in new enterprises and industries within the island for the last 20 years. Many millions of dollars have already been lost to the progress and welfare of the people of Porto Rico.

Under the present colonial economic status of the agricultural and industrial conditions in Porto Rico, there will always be an enormous oversupply of labor slowly but surely starving, and with the miserably low wages paid, not even those lucky enough to get employment are able to get sufficient food to keep body and soul together.

As one of the remedies to ameliorate this situation we have to suggest to Congress to take some action in the land question.

That nothing in any act to be legislated shall be so construed as to abrogate or in any manner impair or affect the provision contained in section three of the joint resolution approved March 1, 1900, with respect to the buying, selling, or holding of real estate.

"The Congress of the United States had the purpose of preventing the monopolization of land and business, as shown by the following paragraph:

SEC. 3. No corporation shall be authorized to conduct the business of buying and selling real estate or to be permitted to hold or own real estate except such as may be reasonably necessary to enable it to carry out the purpose for which it was created, and every corporation hereafter authorized to engage in agriculture shall by its charter be restricted to the ownership and control of not to exceed five hundred acres of land; and this provision shall be held to prevent any member of the corporation engaged in agriculture from being in any wise interested in any other corporation engaged in agriculture.

The terrible curse of absentee landlordism cuts deeply into the economic heart of Porto Rico. Hundreds of thousands of its most fertile acres are owned by nonresidents. As quickly as the rich crops are collected, they are taken out of the country and the supply of sugar, tobacco, coffee, and others, an almost infinite source of profit and wealth, lost to the island forever.

Upon the officials of the Government and Congress rests the responsibility for the last 20 years for this law not being enforced in Porto Rico. It has been proven so by a legal document forwarded to the Senate by the President of the United States on January 18, 1918, which says:

The President of the United States has sent to the Senate and the House of Representatives of the National Congress on date of January 18, 1918, a message and document relative to lands held, directly or indirectly, by corporations, associations, and individuals in Porto Rico, in violation of the organic act and in excess of 500 acres; and the message and document of the President of the United States states the following:

To the Senate and House of Representatives:

Section 39 of the act of Congress approved March 2, 1917, entitled "An act to provide a civil government for Porto Rico, and for other purposes," contains the following provision:

That the Governor of Porto Rico shall cause to have made and submitted to Congress at the session beginning the first Monday in December, 1917, a report of all the real estate used for the purposes of agriculture and held either directly or indirectly by corporations, partnerships, or individuals in holdings in excess of 500 acres.

In accordance with this provision, there is submitted herewith a report prepared under the direction of the Governor of Porto Rico.

As will be noted, this report covers all real estate used for the purposes of agriculture and held either directly or indirectly by corporations, partnerships, or individuals in holdings in excess of 500 acres.

Very respectfully,

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, January 18, 1918.

(The paper referred to is as follows:)

REMARKS IN CONNECTION WITH THIS STATEMENT

In the following statement there have been included persons, associations, and corporations holding less than 500 acres of land. Explanation therefor is given in the following notes:

Partners in associations holding more than 500 acres: Genaro Cautiño, of Sucesores de José González, & Co.; Prudencio Eugui Barriola, of Muñoz, Eugui, Matanzo; José E. Muñoz, of Muñoz, Eugui, Matanzo; Sucesión Luis M. Cintrón, of Giorgetti, Cintrón, Aboy & Co.; Luis Riefkohl Sánchez, of Clausell & Verges; Marcial Suárez, of Sucesión Cándido Suárez; José F. Santiago, of Sucesión Teodoro Santiago Colón.

Santiago Hermanos: Partners Florencio Santiago Rivera and Clotilde Santiago Rivera own land, individually, in excess of 500 acres.

Central Columbia: The principal partners in this central are also principal partners of Clausell & Verges.

Compañía Azucarera Central Machete: The principal partners in this central are also partners of A. Hartman & Co.

Damián Morell y Bauzá: His wife, Emilia Victoria Henna, in partnership with Gustavo Cabrera Henna appear with more than 500 acres of land.

Central Aguirre Co. (corporation): Central Aguirre Co. and Charles L. Crehore are generally known as one simple corporation. Central Aguirre Co. The total land of both the central and Charles L. Crehore is 19,084 acres. The total value of the real property for agricultural purposes is \$5,265,510.

Compañía Azucarera "El Ejemplo" (corporation): Mr. Antonio Roig, the president and principal stockholder of this corporation, holds more than 500 acres of land, which are considered as the lands of the central. The total land of both the central and Mr. A. Roig is 4,942 acres. The total value of the real property for agricultural purposes is \$908,164.

Garzot y Fuertes: The incorporators of this central, Juan R. Garzot, Faustino R. Fuertes and José R. Fuertes, hold individually more than 500 acres, and these are considered as the lands of the central. The total lands of both the central and partners is 3,868 acres. The total value of the real property for agricultural purposes is \$563,544.

Some of the individuals, partnerships, and corporations mentioned in these notes are formed into groups, and their business is so closely related that, although acting as separate companies, they are generally considered as different branches of one single company. These groups, besides those already mentioned, are as follows:

Group known as "La Colectiva" is made up of: Porto Rican American Tobacco Co., Porto Rico Leaf Tobacco Co., American Cigar Co., Industrial Co. of Porto Rico, all incorporated. The total lands held by this group is 6,879 acres. The total value of the real property for agricultural purposes is \$1,613,787.

Group known as "La Guánica Central" is made up of: Bernal Estates (Inc.), Fortuna Estates (Inc.), South Porto Rico Sugar Co. (Inc.), Russell & Co. (not incorporated).

The last two control all property owned, and the other two all property held under lease. The total land held by this group is 52,947 acres. The total value of the real property for agricultural purposes is \$10,239,435.

Group known as Central Plazuela is made up of: Plazuela Sugar Co. (Inc.), Balseiro and Giorgetti (not incorporated), Florida Agrícola Co. (not incorporated). The total land held by this group is 11,815 acres. The total value of the real property for agricultural purposes is \$2,109,615.

Group known as Central San Vicente is made up of: Rubert Hermanos, Brull & Co., and Rubert, Zabala & Co., none incorporated. The total land held by this group is 9,391 acres. The total value of the real property for agricultural purposes is \$1,307,510.

Group known as Central Fajardo is made up of: Fajardo Sugar Co. (Inc.) and Fajardo Sugar Growers' Association (not incorporated). There is also included in this group the Fajardo Development Co., owner of the railroad connected with the central. The total land held by this group is 30,799 acres. The total value of the real property for agricultural purposes is \$4,272,379.

Group known as Central Playa Grande is made up of: Benítez Sugar Co. (Inc.), and José J. Benítez. The total land held by this group is 11,089 acres. The total value of the real property for agricultural purposes is \$1,122,155.

Group known as Central Eureka is made up of: Central Eureka (Inc.) and Mateo Fajardo Cardona. The total land held by this group is 4,209 acres. The total value of the real property for agricultural purposes is \$740,010.

The lands appearing in the name of Central Coloso, Succe-sores de Bianchi, were acquired by them for the purpose of organizing a corporation, now being organized, and this is why they have been given separately from the rest of the lands held by this estate.

From the message and document hereinbefore inserted it is made known, without room for doubts, that numerous corporations, associations and individuals have violated the provisions of section 3 of the joint resolution of the Congress of the United States, approved May 1, 1900, relative to the purchase, sale or possession of real property, which provisions are in force pursuant to the second paragraph of section 39 of our present organic act.

The fact that this law on land control has not been enforced, has contributed largely to the present deplorable condition of the people of Porto Rico.

This combined system of land and commercial monopoly automatically takes away the legitimate profits from the workers and the farmers.

The difficulty, then, with large holders of agricultural lands—a high official stated in his confidential report to the President—arises not from the size of the holdings but from the disposition of corporations and large absentee owners holding lands in the tropics to loot the property annually; that is, instead of studying the situation with a view of developing a property for all the time, with tenants and laborers living under real living conditions and with a fair share of contentment, the disposition is to secure for each year the maximum return on the money invested. It is for this reason that suitable land for food crops will not be made available for that purpose normally and it is also for this reason that the labor troubles are almost continuous where this condition prevails.

The census of the United States for 1920 has stated that in 1910, Porto Rico had 59,000 small farm owners, while in the last 10 years that number has been reduced by 17,000, leaving 42,000 farm owners at present according to the census of 1920. This is another proof of the control and monopolization of land, largely to the benefit of nonresident corporations as well as large absentee owners.

Therefore, we want to suggest that between sections 39 and 40 of our organic act, approved March 2, 1917, be inserted a new section, corrected and approved by the delegation to read as follows:

SEC. 39. (a) That the Legislature of Porto Rico is hereby empowered to enforce the provisions of the joint resolution approved May 1, 1900, with respect to the buying, selling, or holding of real estate, and is also empowered to raise the limit of the 500 acres provided in the said joint resolution, and to impose additional and progressive taxes on all property owned or controlled in excess of 500 acres by corporations, partnerships, associations, and individuals, and to provide for the forfeiture of all lands owned or controlled by corporations in violation of the prohibition established in the aforesaid joint resolution, after giving a term of no less than one year to the owners for the disposal of their property so owned and controlled: *Provided further*, That the term "corporation" used in the said joint resolution shall be construed to include all artificial persons whose capital stock is represented in shares transferable by indorsement of the shareholder: *Provided further*, That the rule of taxation in Porto Rico shall be uniform, but this provision shall not interfere with the power of the legislature to tax the real property and incomes of the nonresidents of the island in excess of the property and income of the residents, neither prevent the passage of any law establishing additional taxes on the property held by any artificial person in excess of 500-acre limitation.

When the Congress of the United States passed the Federal income tax law, some forces in the United States succeeded in having representations made before this body which resulted in its striking

out the words "Porto Rico" under a plea of "self-government" from the provisions of the Federal income tax law, thus giving our legislature the power to make its own law. Porto Rico has lost, as a result of this self-government piece of legislation, approximately \$9,500,000 during the last five years, which might have been expended for public education, sanitation, and public works.

Therefore we want to suggest that the principles of the Federal income tax law be put in force in the island of Porto Rico, that a clause be inserted in our organic law stating:

That the rule of taxation in Porto Rico shall be uniform, but this provision shall not interfere with the power of the legislature to tax the real property and incomes of the nonresidents of the island in excess of the property and income of the residents, neither prevent the passage of any law establishing additional taxes on the property held by any artificial person in excess of the 500 acres limitation.

Of course, the idea that we have in mind to redeem and reconstruct once and forever the standard of living conditions and the education, sanitation, credit, and industrial development to a level comparable to that of the United States, is by a suggestion of the following clause to be embodied in our organic law:

That there is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$50,000,000, \$5,000,000 each year from July 1, 1925, to July 1, 1935, to be loaned to the government of Porto Rico for the use and benefit of the people of Porto Rico under the supervision and inspection of the Treasurer of the United States.

Said loan of money shall be refunded by the people of Porto Rico beginning June, 1940, at the rate of \$500,00 a year until the total sum is paid to the Treasury of the United States.

The government of Porto Rico shall use this sum for---

- (a) The fullest extension and support of the common and vocational schools within the said island of Porto Rico, especially in the rural districts;
- (b) The permanent public health and sanitation;
- (c) The women and children's welfare;
- (d) The permanent public works and physical and industrial development within the island;
- (e) The cancellation at any time of all public debts of the people of Porto Rico:

Provided, That the sum of \$50,000,000, hereby loaned, shall be used only as hereby stated, for the welfare and benefit of the people of Porto Rico, for purposes of education, public health, and sanitation, women and children's welfare, permanent public works, and physical and industrial development within the island and the cancellation as speedily as possible and at any time of the public debts of the people of Porto Rico.

This great project would elevate, foster, and promote the standard and living conditions of all the people of Porto Rico to a similar standing to any of the communities of the mainland.

The island should no longer be utilized merely or primarily as a means of providing opportunities for investment and commercial exploitation by absentee landlords and other citizens; the policy of educating the people should not be held up further on account of its expense and alleged uselessness; and the standards of living of the people and the conditions of Porto Rican agricultural and industrial laboring classes must be improved, against the desires and maneuvers of invisible powers.

The program which the American people must carry out in order to live up to the theory under which the island of Porto Rico was acquired, and to improve the conditions of the laboring and other population of the island, is necessarily an extensive one, but it must

be carried out in order to give the Porto Rican people a fair opportunity, and these Federal laws will help that program.

Last official reports show that Porto Rico's importations and exportations in the year 1901 reached approximately \$17,502,103; while during the fiscal year of 1923 they were \$154,237,555, showing evidently that the island has increased its business every year. The official statistics demonstrated that in the last 22 years there were \$945,606,949, for imports and \$1,170,567,445 for exports, giving a "superavit" in the said 22 years of over \$228,341,191, the difference between exportation and importation showing such balance which is supposed to be in favor of the people of the island.

By virtue of our coastwise trade the people of Porto Rico are obliged to consume the domestic articles of the United States, whose cost is increased by tariffs and the superior status of the standards of living conditions and wages of the Nation; thus making commercialism for the poor masses in the islands a means of exploitation more intolerable than that of any other community in the United States.

The official report of General McIntyre, Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, to the Secretary of War, in 1921, in reference to Porto Rico, has this to say:

The evidence on every hand of prosperity and progress in Porto Rico and the prosperity and progress shown by the commercial statistics and by the increased revenues by the Government may easily mislead one into the belief that progress in all directions has been satisfactory. This is not the case. It has been impossible to distribute this progress in Porto Rico in such a way that the very large extremely poor element in Porto Rico could participate fairly in it. These people, because of their relative helplessness, must for some years receive special governmental consideration.

The budget of the island under Spanish Government totaled approximately 3,000,000 pesos, while in the fiscal year of 1923 it reached \$12,000,000, of which over \$4,000,000 are expended for educational purposes.

Education in Porto Rico is now free. English and Spanish being taught gratis in all the grades.

Now to show the status of taxation of the island of Porto Rico as compared with that of continental United States, I am giving these few figures: The greater burden of municipal indebtedness in normal times as is exhibited by the per capita debt in about 300 cities of the United States, was \$77.86, and for the Federal Government was \$10.95 per capita while in the island of Porto Rico in 1922 the per capita debt was only \$16.92.

The governmental cost payments for the year in normal times, as reported in the United States for the Federal Government, was \$10.52; and \$34.53 per capita for city governments, while the general expenses for the insular government and the cities of Porto Rico altogether cost each citizen \$9.70.

The average per capita of general property taxes levied for all purposes in about 300 cities of the United States was \$27.82. Many cities, however, pay a general property per capita tax of \$34.05 per cent greater than the other cities. This tax does not include income tax and customhouse and internal revenue, while in Porto Rico the per capita of general property, personal taxes, income tax, customhouse revenue, for all purposes was only \$9.70 per capita.

for the municipal and insular government cost payments. In fact, while the average of the taxes in the United States are about 4 per cent of the property taxation, in Porto Rico our average is 1.65 per cent, and the income tax collected has been always about 45 per cent less than in the United States.

Despite the great progress reached in the last 25 years, Porto Rico still has over 200,000 girls and boys between the ages of 5 and 18 who do not attend school, so illiteracy unfortunately still reaches a high mark. Considering this problem of education in Porto Rico, would you consider that the island now has sufficient wealth, created by labor, to place all of its children in the schools? Maybe we have produced enough wealth in the island, but unfortunately Porto Rico has been deprived of its wealth through the system of nonresident landlords and shareholders.

(The paper on illiteracy is as follows:)

Percentage of illiteracy—population, 10 years of age and over.

Age period.	Percentage, all classes.		
	1920	1910	1890
10 years and over.....	59.1	66.5	79.6
10 to 14 years.....	34.6	49.2	82.1
15 to 19 years.....	40.6	59.0	77.9
20 to 24 years.....	55.6	66.7	75.3
25 to 34 years.....	67.7	71.5	78.3
35 to 44 years.....	75.9	73.6	79.8
45 to 54 years.....	78.0	77.5	82.6
55 to 64 years.....	80.4	80.3	84.0
65 years and over.....	83.8	82.4	84.0

Governor Towner read the most splendid message to our insular legislature. It was an inspiration and I am glad to state that the workers feel deeply concerned with the various matters involved in such a message, economically, industrially, or politically, which in many ways is perfectly in accord with the declarations, suggestions, and worthy recommendations of the American Federation of Labor, and with which we fully and heartily adhere to such program as outlined by Governor Towner in his message and to such remedies as recommended to ameliorate prevailing social and economic conditions to bring about dignification and recognition of labor, and to prevent industrial strife through the proper means of discussion, mediation, and conciliation which is most essential for the progress and prosperity of the people.

The condition of labor on the island should be of first consideration. Everything that legislation can accomplish should be done to reduce unemployment; the wage scale should be increased as rapidly as can be done, and so far as possible a minimum wage should be established; encouragement in securing homes for families and both a general and industrial education for the children of workingmen should be given; sanitary appliances and improved working conditions should be provided. Strikes should be prevented by providing satisfactory means for the peaceful settlement of all disputes between the employer and the employed. Under existing law which we can not change the legislature has no power

to fix wages in private contracts. But on all Government and municipal contracts of labor, it is with the power of the legislature to fix a minimum wage, and this I strongly urge should be done. Bills are now pending carrying out this idea. With the large amount of Government work to be carried on during the next year there should be few, if any, unemployed, and with steady work at fair wages there should be a considerable improvement in general working conditions. Nothing in the work of this administration will have greater attention or be more within the desire and purpose of your governor than to lessen the burdens, to increase the happiness and to elevate and dignify the laboring men of Porto Rico.

First, and most important of all, the public men of the island, regardless of party affiliation, should unite in the effort to secure favorable consideration by the administration and by Congress. A divided sentiment or a half-hearted support by our people will not create a favorable impression. We have many friends both in the Senate and House who will aid us, and with a persistent, determined, and united effort a large measure of success would be assured.

I am not authorized to speak for Congress or for the administration, but I do not hesitate to express my own belief and desire that eventually Porto Rico should become a State of the Union. I am in favor, also, of a constantly increasing measure of self-government until statehood is obtained. Whatever extension of self-government will best conduce to the welfare of Porto Rico, and will not by its grant or in its exercise unduly delay the admission of Porto Rico as a State, I am ready to advocate and support.

It is not necessary longer to argue to Porto Ricans the value from every possible standpoint of their association with the United States. That value is demonstrated by even the every-day transactions of life. He is blind indeed who does not see that the destiny of Porto Rico is unbreakably linked with that of the United States. In view of these facts, it is an entirely consistent and justifiable ambition that Porto Rico should ultimately be admitted as a State of the Union. It is also consistent and praiseworthy that in the meantime Porto Rico should ask for a larger measure of self-government.

It should be recognized that to secure either statehood or preliminary extension of self-government there must be unity of purpose and action. Diversity of demand will weaken the cause. No State has ever been admitted unless the people were practically unanimous in asking for it. It is probably true that we shall not succeed if we ask for immediate statehood. Some preliminary status should be agreed upon and pressed.

But mere appeals and expressions of desire will not be sufficient. In order to obtain any of these concessions we shall best serve our purpose by uniting to bring existing conditions in Porto Rico up to the best possible standard. In the legislation which we pass, in the prosperity which we induce, in the security of life and property which we insure, in the execution of our laws, and in the administration of justice, in wiping out illiteracy and in the education of the people, in the aid we give the sick and afflicted, in the steps we take to elevate labor and lessen the burden of poverty, in all that makes for a clean and efficient administration of government—these are the things that will be most effective in convincing a just and generous Nation of the reasonableness of our claim for a larger measure of autonomy and for a place among the brotherhood of States.

In fact, the time when statehood can be obtained, or a larger measure of self-government secured, will depend almost entirely on the people of Porto Rico. If they shall show by their desire for and their support of good government, by their readiness to sacrifice to the utmost for the education of the people, by their careful and scrupulous regard to their credit, if care for the unfortunate is shown, if consideration for the poor is given, if labor is dignified and elevated, and the general standards of living advanced, if even reasonable advances along these lines shall be made, the public opinion of the United States will demand that Porto Rico be given what it asks.

Nothing that you may have in mind regarding the final status of Porto Rico, whose people are all Americans and loyal citizens, is so important as the first need, that is, to give means, power, and opportunities to elevate the standards of education and living conditions of that people and in the same way as the people in the United States and especially the working men and working women are doing.

It is true that the conditions of the toilers of Porto Rico have improved somewhat, relatively speaking, though not in proportion to the vast wealth that these same toilers have produced, and much less in comparison with the great fortunes amassed by the monopolists of finance, commerce, and industry.

Many labor laws of Porto Rico are already serving the purpose of protecting the labor masses when they are properly enforced. We need not point out the great value of the labor unions as an Americanizing influence in the island of Porto Rico. In conclusion, I desire again to request the members of the committee as a whole to recommend favorably to the Senate and House the extension of the Federal laws that are embodied in H. R. 6294 so that they be made applicable to Porto Rico, thus giving assistance which is badly needed by the people of the island and H. R. 6583 to amend the organic act of Porto Rico enclosing the clauses and suggestions favored and recommended in this statement.

Now, I am going to submit a very important statement. I do not desire to reveal the name of the high official who has prepared this official memorandum that I now present to you, because I have not the right to do it, but it contains such kind of official information that should be known by the members of your committee. This memorandum reads as follows:

This subject has been so constantly reviewed that I shall confine myself at this time largely to quotations from memoranda heretofore prepared on this general subject. Particularly is this done because of the fact that bringing such memoranda up to date would simply destroy the informative value by using the data of abnormal rather than of the normal times in which the memoranda were generally prepared.

In June, 1915, I prepared a memorandum on this general subject, from which I will state as follows:

The Island of Porto Rico has an area of approximately 3,600 square miles. On taking this island over, it had a population of 953,243. The inhabitants of the island were almost entirely dependent upon agriculture, the principal products being sugar, coffee, and tobacco. Of these products, generally speaking, all were exported from the island. On the other hand, with the exception of bananas and, to a lesser extent, other tropical fruits, all of the food of the people was imported. This food consisted, in the main part, of codfish and rice, and, as an additional vegetable product, beans. The people whose fare was better than this, or more varied, were so few in number that they could be ignored in a discussion based on numbers. The people of Porto Rico were poor beyond anything which has come within the experience of the United States and bordered at all times on a condition of famine.

To improve the conditions of the people of Porto Rico was not difficult, but to improve the condition to the extent that would make it comparable to that of the least fortunate Americans has been found to be practically impossible owing to the density of the population.

Little has been or could be accomplished by a redistribution of the people, due to the fact that the entire island is occupied, that practically all arable land is in private ownership, that the urban population is not less prosperous than the rural population.

A great deal has been done for the health of the people of Porto Rico and to any one who visited Porto Rico in 1898 or 1899 and now returns, this difference

in the health of the people is manifest without reference to statistics. It is only necessary to observe the people met on the roads.

A great deal has been done in the way of education, but it is doubtful if education under the conditions can do much more than create dissatisfaction with a condition which becomes the more intolerable as it is the more intelligently viewed.

A great deal has been done by the introduction of fruit-growing, by which quite large sections of land, formerly grazing lands, have been transformed into citrus orchards and cultivated with pineapple.

More has been done by extending the area cultivated with sugar cane, thus increasing the production of sugar from 50,000 tons per annum to approximately 350,000 tons per annum, and having the important effect of giving occupation to many people who were of little use so long as this land was grazing land.

The coffee industry is approximately as we found it.

What has been said of sugar is, in a lesser degree, true of tobacco, with the same beneficial results. In an industrial way little has been done beyond the increase in the manufacture of cigars and cigarettes. This, in turn, has given employment to many people.

Coincident, however, with these beneficial changes there has been, from natural causes, a very material increase in the population of Porto Rico. This is, from 900,000 in 1898 to 1,118,012 in 1910.

Efforts to produce in Porto Rico the food of the people have not been attended by success, and as we found it in 1898 so it is now. Practically all of the food of the people is imported, while all of the products of the island are exported.

Before acknowledging the impossibility of radically improving the condition of the Porto Rican people by changing conditions in the island, it is well to compare the population and production in Porto Rico with the population and production in other districts having similar products.

The population of Cuba in 1907 was approximately 2,048,980. In the year 1913 Cuba exported \$164,611,059, and in the year 1914, \$174,535,447, consisting principally, with the exception of coffee, of products identical with those of Porto Rico. In the same two years Porto Rico exported \$49,103,565 and \$43,102,762, respectively. It should be noted that in the latter case the statements are for fiscal years, whereas in the Cuban case the statements are for the calendar years, which, however, has no effect on the comparison. In each of these two years Porto Rico imported \$36,000,000 of goods from foreign countries, and Cuba imported in 1913 \$140,000,000 and in 1914 a total of \$118,000,000.

In Hawaii, an agricultural territory whose products are similar to those of Porto Rico, with the exception of tobacco, there is a population, estimated as of June 30, 1914, by the governor of 219,018. The exports for the fiscal year 1913 were \$43,471,940, and for 1914, \$41,594,072, the imports for these two years being \$36,000,000 and \$35,000,000, respectively.

One is at once impressed with the fact that the production per capita in Hawaii is almost five times that in Porto Rico. In Cuba, where to other conditions is added a similarity of population, the production per capita is about twice that in Porto Rico.

It is obvious that this brief statement does not exhaust the subject of comparison, but a further study but adds to the relative disadvantage of Porto Rico as compared with Cuba or Hawaii.

In Porto Rico, for the first time, the United States is brought face to face with the conditions arising from a population too dense to be supported by the Territory inhabited. In other words, the only solution for the difficulty existing in Porto Rico at all within reasonable possibility of attainment is to transfer in some way a great part of the population to some other district.

The remedies for a situation such as that outlined are naturally divided into those productive of more or less immediate results and the slower remedies producing beneficial results slowly over a long period.

I addressed myself at the time to what I believed could be done immediately; that was, to the transplanting of a considerable part of the population of Porto Rico to localities where their opportunities for work and employment would be greater.

Because of its great need of population, considerable areas of idle land, the identity of language and similarity of people, I recommended a governmental effort to locate in Santo Domingo colonies of Porto Ricans. It would be necessary to do this by agreement between our Government and the Government of Santo Domingo—this purely because of the relative helplessness

of many of the immigrants that should go from Porto Rico to the new country, and the consequent necessity of the Government extending to them a helping hand for some years and to this extent requiring the good will and permission of the Dominican Government.

I suggested also the suitability of the Porto Ricans to meet the labor necessities of Hawaii. The Porto Ricans are now American citizens, loyal to us, having been preceded to Hawaii by other peoples not racially widely different and, in fact, by some of their own people. In this case, there should be an understanding between our Government and the Hawaii sugar planters by which the Porto Ricans would be made available in Hawaii as cheaply in so far as transportation and similar expenses were concerned as could Asiatic and other labor.

In addition to these two possible outlets for the surplus population of Porto Rico, it should be remembered that a very slight participation by Porto Ricans in the emigration to continental United States, would entirely solve this problem, and if the Porto Rican Government should direct itself to an effort to locate in the United States its surplus labor it would have relatively little difficulty in so doing. When we consider that we receive annually approximately a million immigrants from Europe, the absorption of 50,000 or 100,000 per annum from Porto Rico, would seemingly be by no means impossible. This is stated with a full appreciation of the fact that Porto Ricans are not naturally immigrants and would compete with many of the immigrants coming to the United States at a great disadvantage. They are, however, American citizens entitled to our protection and our personal interest in them should overcome the disadvantages. This is the only remedy which would be productive almost immediately of beneficial results; that is, the migration of the excess population elsewhere.

The population of Porto Rico would not be excessive were it a highly developed industrial community. To make it such would require years, but during the years there should be constant effort to increase the number and variety of industries in Porto Rico, so as to give employment to the people. This remedy has also received consideration in the past.

In 1920, on returning from a visit to Porto Rico, in a brief statement I said:

"The labor situation in Porto Rico is not a happy one. The island is almost exclusively agricultural. The population is so great that it could only live under reasonable conditions if half of the people were engaged in industrial occupations. It is quite as important that there should be produced in Porto Rico the clothing, the shoes, the material of which the houses are built, etc., as it is that food should be produced there. Yet all of these things are imported into Porto Rico in the manufactured state.

"The labor being plentiful, industries would be attracted to the island were it not for the existence of the continuous labor agitation. The labor agitation, on the other hand, would cease were it not continually fed by the justifying grievances. We thus have in full effect a vicious circle. The effect of the labor agitation, as well as the cause, is well shown in the annual report of the governor for the current year. On page 563 there is a table showing the prevailing wages in the sugar-cane plantations during the fiscal years 1919 to 1920, to which there is this foot-note:

"Wages shown in this section prevailed before the strike; after the strike, wages were increased from 10 per cent to 50 per cent according to the kind of work."

"Notwithstanding this increase, the profit of sugar growers in Porto Rico was, measured by any rule, excessive, and a reasonable increase of wages should not have been the product of a strike but of a little enlightened selfishness on the part of the cane growers. So long as this grievance is offered and so long as the strikes result in this way they will be continued and the loss to the planter will far exceed that resulting from reasonable wages.

"Porto Rico offers many advantages to the smaller industries. It is not necessary to enumerate these. The articles imported into Porto Rico indicate the most desirable industries. Labor is cheap and abundant and must continue so. This would attract the industries were it not that agitation had become a habit among the industrialized workers in Porto Rico. The history of the cigar industry of Porto Rico is an example of what the prospective investor fears. A prosperous industry was built up employing many laborers and was followed by agitation and labor troubles until at one time it looked as though the industry were to be destroyed. Every effort should be made

to introduce new industries into Porto Rico and to develop those now there. The government should give its first efforts to the development of a proper relation between proprietors and laborers in the interest of both and in the interest of the island.

"The two outstanding remedies, therefore, of the present condition in Porto Rico are, first, emigration, and second, the development of industries. As essential to both of these there should be a steady effort to develop the physique of the people through an improvement in sanitation and in living conditions."

In this same memorandum, with reference to certain other usually suggested remedies for the present situation, I said:

"Agriculture: Practically the entire population of Porto Rico is dependent on agriculture. Much work has been done by the agricultural experiment station and the agricultural college, but this amounts to but little in comparison with what is naturally left to private initiative and direction. Naturally, there is no control of what shall be planted and advice given is followed or not, as suits the farmer. During the war a great, and to some extent successful, effort was made to induce the cultivation of foodstuffs. The results, however, were not lasting and the high price of tropical products—sugar, tobacco and coffee—has pushed those products (particularly sugar) to the front, and to-day we have more land devoted to sugar than ever in the history of Porto Rico. Not only the land which might normally be classed as sugar land, but grazing and fruit land are now cultivated largely in sugar-cane."

There is a continuous discussion in Porto Rico of the question of large or small agricultural holdings. It seems fairly well established that the production of tropical products is greatly increased by large as against small holdings. In those tropical countries such as the Philippines, where land is abundant, the average laborer is not interested in holding land so long as he can secure employment on a large holding. In other words, the argument which is now made in Porto Rico in favor of small holdings, arises where the land is held privately, but receives no application where the land is idle. It is exceptional in those countries for the man of small means to go out and undertake the development of a tract of land. Where it is done at all, it has been done under some form of leadership. In the Philippines it was done by the church, and, to some extent recently, by the Government, and now that the Filipinos are being trained to agriculture, some of the more progressive are taking up homesteads, but the number remains amazingly small.

Hawaii, Cuba, and Porto Rico itself show a great increase in production with increased size of holdings. If Porto Rico be compared with the neighboring islands, the advantage, in so far as production is concerned, of the large holdings is made obvious. In Haiti, we have relatively small holdings and, measured by exports, the production per capita in Porto Rico is between seven and eight times as great as Haiti. On the other hand, the small holdings has led to the greater production of foodstuffs for local consumption in Haiti and the imports per capita to Haiti are but one-tenth of the imports per capita to Porto Rico.

Obviously, so long as sugar and other tropical products for export maintain the high prices of recent years, large holders will use all of their land that can be so used for the cultivation of these products, and this will be true to a lesser extent even of small holders. Whether the holdings be large or small, the advantage of continuous production of food crops can not be overestimated. Any theory that food crops can be substituted at will for others is baseless. It is only by the continuous production of food crops that the farmers and laborers learn how to cultivate them intelligently and have at hand the means of so doing. If the country be devoted exclusively to the production of crops for export and prices or other conditions make it necessary to produce food for home consumption, the change can only be made with great difficulty and can only be made effective after some years. Good economy, as well as good public policy, requires the continuous production of a certain amount of all food crops that can be economically produced in the country. The large holders find in doing this through their tenants or laborers a great help in holding the tenants and laborers to their estates, and the small man who must sell his products, if for export, to the central or factory, finds in the readiness with which he may change from the export to the crop for home consumption practically his only means of securing a fair price for his product. If he devotes himself, for exam-

ple, exclusively to the cultivation of cane, he must sell his cane to the factory at the price which the factory pays and any threat to give up the cultivation of cane is futile unless he is prepared by his own personal experience to make the change.

The difficulty, then, with large holders of agricultural lands arises not from the size of the holdings but from the disposition of corporations and large absentee owners holding lands in the tropics to loot the property annually; that is, instead of studying the situation with a view to developing a property for all time, with tenants and laborers living under real living conditions and with a fair share of contentment, the disposition is to secure for each year the maximum return on the money invested. It is for this reason that suitable land for food crops will not be made available for that purpose normally, and it is also for this reason that the labor troubles are almost continuous where this condition prevails.

Summarizing, efforts should be directed—

First, to directed emigration of the surplus population.

Second, to the introduction and development of industries. Essential to the success of this is the discontinuance of labor agitation, accompanied by the proper treatment of labor.

Third, to a continuous campaign looking to the improvement of the health and physique of the people. Essential to the success of this campaign is the improvement of the economic condition of the people. The normal laborer is a sick man, with insufficient food. A cure is but temporary unless conditions of life are improved.

Fourth, to a continuous campaign for the production of foodstuffs, both in connection with large estates and in the case of the small farmers and householders. The extensive cultivation of small gardens should be insisted on.

There should be a discontinuance of the agitation for the division of properties that are now operated so as to produce fully; on the other hand, there should be insistence that on these large properties tenants and laborers are properly treated and given opportunities to produce their own food. Much work on the lines outlined must be done before the people are ready to operate small holdings efficiently.

The question naturally arises as to the extent to which the government should intervene in the several propositions, the extent to which the matter should be left to the public press and to private initiative.

Taking the several suggestions in order, it is believed that—

First. The legislature should by enactment recognize the necessity of encouraging emigration, assign the necessary work to the Department of Agriculture and Labor, and make a small appropriation to enable the department to accomplish something. The cost of this work to Porto Rico should be small. The cooperation of the several interested United States executive departments may be secured. The real work would be, on the one hand, to eradicate the prejudice against emigration; the success of European emigration furnished the material for this; on the other hand, to avoid hysteria and to insure conservative handling of the problem.

Second. The Governor should determine the industries that could profitably be introduced in Porto Rico, what encouragement from the Government was necessary, and should recommend to the legislature the necessary action. While such efforts have not always been successful, the precedents are so many that lines of endeavor could be selected. The assistance of the press and of the chamber of commerce should be secured and the Government, through every available agency and with the assistance and cooperation of the press, should set its face against labor agitation in the island and equally against anything in the way of ill or unfair treatment of labor.

Third. The appropriation for the health department in Porto Rico should be as large as can be efficiently used and could be spared from absolutely necessary public expenditures.

Fourth. The health department, uniting with the Department of Education and of Agriculture and Labor, should carry on an active campaign to improve the cultivation of necessary food products, to correct evils in the preparation of food, and, in general, to instruct the people in all matters connected with the procurement and preparation of food within their resources. Intensive work of instructing the people in the essential rules of healthful living should be carried on through these agencies, and such nongovernmental agencies as would undertake the work.

(The papers referred to are as follows:)

OTHER REPORTS SAY THE TRUTH.

Health surveys in the island, of which there are records as far back as 1731, have all resulted in one common conclusion, according to Dr. J. C. Townsend of the United States Public Health Service, that a meager and one-sided diet is responsible for much of the sickness in Porto Rico. Black coffee for breakfast, rice, and beans and sometimes codfish and plantain for dinner—and the same for supper, if anything—"is the kind of diet you would select if it was desirable to take steps to propagate the disease."

By checking reports from doctors and the civil registry Doctor Townsend said it had been possible to establish the fact that there had been 6,000 deaths from tuberculosis during the past two and one-half years. Fully 60 per cent of those suffering from the disease, he said, are never reported as cases and are not known as such until they are dead. "The reason why the case rate in Porto Rico is so low is because the death rate is so high," he said.

"A careful scrutiny of reports from various sources, together with personal field observations, places the number of clinical tuberculosis cases on the island at about 14,000—8,000 of whom have consulted the doctor or have been under treatment, while the remaining 6,000 are going their way with their conditions in all probability unknown to themselves and the medical profession.

"The factors causing tuberculosis in Porto Rico are obvious.

"A survey of over 1,000 houses among the laboring classes in seven of the larger cities of the island reveals an average of six people living in a two-room house with one window to each room averaging 95 square feet and all doors and windows closed at night to keep out the life-giving substance, which is so much dreaded—the night air. Result—tuberculosis.

"The average diet among the people most heavily infected with tuberculosis is the kind of diet you would select if it was desired to take steps to propagate the disease. For breakfast, black coffee. Dinner, rice and beans always; sometimes bananas, plantains, and bread. Supper (if any) the same. Much has been said and much written on this subject but never too much has been said or written—for with this food deficiency the result is tuberculosis.

"Wage scales of 30 cents to \$1 a day (generally 50 cents) makes it impossible for the laborer to support his family, to furnish livable homes, and to purchase adequate food. The capitalists say the laborer does not work enough to entitle him to more wages. The laborer is handicapped in furnishing good work because he is sickly not only from malnutrition but from infection of hookworm and malaria. He is not able to do the things his doctor advises because he can not afford to; and because he can not afford to is only able to give his employer 50 cents' worth of labor a day. So it is a vicious circle, but not unbreakable.

"The burden of responsibility in tuberculosis-control measures does not rest with the medical profession alone.

"The profession can point out the way and advise what should be done, but when the patients are unable to put into effect the simpler measures on account of extreme poverty and economic conditions the doctor is frightfully handicapped.

"The establishment of clinics, of social-service workers, free sputum cups, educational propaganda, the backing of the profession in reporting cases and the extension of a hospital service are all goals to which the health department can strive.

"It is also necessary for the education of the children in the schools along public health lines and the support of the bureau of education is vital.

"The department of agriculture has a part to play in concerted effort to demonstrate that fresh garden vegetables can be grown, distribution of seed and field workers to show the way.

"All this, with the help of the department of labor, to work out, if possible, some equitable wage scale with the capitalists whereby the laborer will have a chance to put into effect what the doctors advise, will be necessary and indispensable toward the prevention of the great white plague.

"Public health is purchaseable. The trouble is, it is hard to value it in dollars and cents, but nevertheless is to be had as returns on an investment

in proportion to what municipal councils and legislatures will invest in the project."

"Porto Rico, a possession of the sugar, coffee and fruit trusts of the United States, is the smallest and last of a chain of islands called the Lesser Antilles. It is 1,380 miles from New York City. In spite of a salubrious climate and a rich soil, this island has 460,000 workers who live in semistarvation." (Based on a government report by Joseph Marcus, special agent of the United States Employment Service.)

"The 'jibaro' (pronounced hee-bah-ro), or the mountain dweller, is the principal factor in the labor problem of Porto Rico, since he constitutes a majority of the population of the island."

"No government for the island can be effective that is not based upon correct information of industrial and economic conditions existing, and which does not take into account the industrial, economic, and educational needs of all of the people of Porto Rico."

"The ultimate purpose of government is the welfare of the people. That purpose can not be achieved in Porto Rico or in any other place intelligently without a clear understanding of the needs, difficulties, ideals, and the spirit of the people to be governed."

REPORT OF THE BUREAU OF LABOR OF PORTO RICO FOR THE YEAR 1921.

"It is urgent to adopt new measures in accordance with varied conditions. It is of inevitable necessity to penetrate more deeply into our social problems and seek their solution with our point of view toward the future. We have acquired great experience during seven and a half years of observation, study, and constant investigation, guided by a spirit of good will and progress, and feel that we can reach conclusions and exact responsibilities. The hour is come to do something in order to better the present economic situation of the laboring masses and guarantee the social and economic future of all the producing classes of the country.

"Laborers, in general, are defenseless beings in the daily struggle for life.

"Governor Colton, under President Taft's administration, in discussing the political as well as the economic and the social problems of Porto Rico, has this to say:

"The organized labor movement of Porto Rico has been patriotic and one of the most effective factors in Americanizing the people of the island. It is to the credit of the American Federation of Labor in Porto Rico that there exists now a loyal feeling and identity of interest between the labor people of Porto Rico and the United States."

STATEMENT OF HON. RAFAEL CUEVUS ZEQUEIRA, SENATOR IN THE PORTO RICAN LEGISLATURE.

Senator ZEQUEIRA. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, if I understand the situation clearly before the committee to-day there is just one question to be dealt with, and that is the question of whether Porto Ricans should be given the right to elect their own governor or whether we shall import our governor from the United States.

The 1900 Congress passed an act giving a certain degree of self-government to Porto Ricans. The act was commonly known as the Foraker act. It provided for the election of the lower house of the legislature and the upper house, and for other purposes. We made a great deal of progress under that system of government until 1917, when Congress passed the Jones bill, the new constitution of Porto Rico, our present organic law. The Jones bill gives Porto Rico, the qualified voters in Porto Rico, the right to elect both houses of the legislature, the Senate, and House of Representatives, but the governor is still appointed by the President of the United States with the advice and consent of the Federal Senate. We now claim,

gentlemen, that you should give the Porto Ricans the right to elect their own governor.

You have heard here the different views expressed by the different political parties in regard to that matter. You have heard our great governor, Governor Towner, and he is in favor of that measure. You have heard General McIntyre. General McIntyre is a great officer of the Government in the War Department, and he is at the head of the bureau taking care of the insular affairs, and he knows the conditions down in Porto Rico, and he says there is no objection whatever to the adoption of this measure.

You have heard Senator Tous Soto, the leader of the Republican Party. He is in favor of this measure, and Senator Iglesias, the distinguished Socialist leader in the island, is in favor of giving the Porto Ricans the right to elect their own governor.

Gentlemen, citizenship was granted to the Porto Ricans with the present organic law, the Jones bill. Before that time we were not American citizens, and it seems to me that when the Porto Ricans were given the right of citizenship it was the intention of Congress to give us some kind of representative government, and that representative government is not complete unless we share in the responsibility of electing our own executive officers.

I should say, gentlemen of the committee, that we have had different experiences with our governors down there. We have had several kinds of governors down in Porto Rico; we have now the type of a true American representative, a man of the great ideals and of this democracy. Here is the man. We all like Governor Towner. We love Governor Towner, and we are thankful to your late President Harding when he sent down there one of the most distinguished Members of Congress, the man who was the head of this very Committee on Insular Affairs, knowing all the problems in Porto Rico, knowing our condition, knowing the life, and knowing everything a governor should know before he goes down there to be chief executive of a community of American citizens.

We have had other experiences.

Mr. WARD. And you are going to have them after you elect them. They will not all be good.

Senator ZEQUIRA. I do not want to mention any names, but it is sufficient to say that history repeats itself, and we do not like that history; the sad part of that history repeating itself is that we do not want to get a bad man. We want to get the right kind of governor.

We have used the right to elect our legislature, and we have used that right in a decent, honorable, and most respectful way. Even Senator Iglesias, Socialist leader, would not have any complaint against the Legislature of Porto Rico. He is sharing with the Republicans in making our laws, and he is given opportunity to bring out his views, and, in some cases, he has passed some bills; therefore this shows that the electors in Porto Rico are qualified, notwithstanding the fact that we have some degree of illiteracy down there: that is, they use suffrage in a proper way, in the same way that those that are able to read and write. Therefore, gentlemen, if we have American citizenship, why not give use the right to elect our own governor? Is it that you have given Porto Ricans a second-class citizenship? You hesitated to give it to us from 1900 to 1917. Then you came to the conclusion that the Island of Porto Rico

should be entrusted with that same great privilege of your citizens. You have given us citizenship. Why not give us all the rights pertaining to that great capacity? Why not give Porto Rico the right to demonstrate that we have men capable of sharing that great responsibility. Give us a chance to share that great responsibility, to elect our own governor, and we will show the United States that we deserve the right we are now asking for.

There is no way to prepare the people for the responsibility, for the life of self-government, unless you give them a chance. I do not think there is any community in the United States that is using the right of citizenship, all the political rights, in a better way than we are doing in Porto Rico. We take care of our educational problems, our sanitation problems, and problems in regard to public works. We take care of our social problems. Senator Iglesias has been claiming all the time that no State in the Union, no nation in the world, has done as much for the working people as has been done in Porto Rico. Isn't that a fact?

Senator IGLESIAS. Yes.

Senator ZEQUIRA. We are, therefore, a community of American citizens that are doing a great work. We really deserve to be entrusted with the right to elect our own man.

That is all I had to say in regard to this; and I think that Mr. Guerra-Mondragon, and all the gentlemen that have made speeches, have all agreed in respect to this important matter, and now I will answer any questions that you will like to ask me.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you kindly make an extension of your remarks if you have anything further to say?

Senator ZEQUIRA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I am under the necessity of hearing another man.

Senator ZEQUIRA. I will do that. Now I want to thank this committee and I want to thank you before ending these remarks, and ask that you think of this problem very carefully, and think that the Porto Ricans who are enjoying the right of American citizenship, who are glad to be American citizens; who were ready to give their lives, when the great struggle in Europe was going on, will be disappointed if you refuse them the right to elect their own governor, because they will think that American citizenship imposes duties but does not give them any privileges.

The CHAIRMAN. At the request of the Congressman from New York, Mr. Sullivan, we have Mr. Mazorana.

STATEMENT OF MR. TORRES MAZORANA, NEW YORK CITY.

Mr. MAZORANA. I have been sent here by an organization of Porto Rican citizens in New York City to formulate a radical protest against all political liberties which are being asked for by the members of the joint commission from the legislature of Porto Rico.

The CHAIRMAN. These people that you represent live in Porto Rico?

Mr. MAZORANA. They live in New York City, but they number about 80,000.

Mr. WARD. Will you please describe them? Who are they and what are their interests?

Mr. DAVILA. Are you the representative of 80,000 people?

Mr. MAZORANA. I would not be able to answer that question to you, Mr. Davila. You ought to know.

Mr. DAVILA. I know you do not represent them. I know that you do not.

Mr. WARD. I want you to designate and define that class, and what their interests are. Let us know who you represent.

Mr. MAZORANA. Our interest is this: Since we live in New York City, and we have resided there for a number of years, we are able to think of all Porto Rican problems in broader terms of American citizenship than the members of the political parties of Porto Rico who always come to Congress, see their own political policies, and therefore this Porto Rican citizenship who are living in New York City have a very special interest in what is going on in the government of Porto Rico. If we have not that interest then we ought to have.

Mr. BRUMM. What is the name of the organization you represent?

Mr. MAZORANA. The Porto Rican Civic Club.

Mr. BRUMM. Of New York?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHAFER. How many actual bona fide members are there of that club?

Mr. MAZORANA. I do not know exactly the number of members: it varies according to the different periods in which the club opens its activities.

Mr. SCHAFER. Approximately how many members are there? You ought to know how many members you represent?

Mr. MAZORANA. In the last election about seven or eight hundred men voted in New York City, and they were organized under the auspices of the Porto Rican Civic Club.

Mr. SCHAFER. Seven or eight hundred: and you said before somewhere around seventy or eighty thousand.

Mr. MAZORANA. I mean 80,000 people living in New York City, and this organization, the Porto Rican Civic Club, is one of the representative organizations of the city.

Mr. SCHAFER. Then you were in error in stating that you represented before this committee 70,000 or 80,000 Porto Ricans?

Mr. MAZORANA. I beg your pardon: I did not say I represented that number. I said I represented an organization which is a political organization, which is organized under the laws of the State of New York, for the purpose of having the Porto Rican citizens living in New York City exercise the rights of American citizens at the polls, with the purpose of acting as a retribution for that favor that we do for the Congress in voting for them.

Mr. SCHAFER. I may not have understood you, but I will check back the record. Didn't you mention something about 80,000 Porto Ricans?

Mr. MAZORANA. I said there were 80,000 Porto Ricans in New York City.

Mr. SCHAFER. You conveyed the impression that you represented 80,000, and I wanted to find out.

Mr. DAVILA. May I ask a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. DAVILA. Have you adopted any resolution, or, has your organization adopted any resolution to send you here?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes.

Mr. DAVILA. Have you that resolution?

Mr. MAZORANA. No: I have not a credential.

Mr. DAVILA. There is not any proof here that they have sent anybody.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a moment, please. At the request of Mr. Sullivan, of New York, who is a most respected Member of Congress, I have consented to hear Mr. Mazorana.

Mr. DAVILA. He has been imposing upon this gentleman.

The CHAIRMAN. I have telegrams here from the organization which this gentleman represents, and I would like to ask him a question. Do you people vote in New York?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You are really voters in New York City?

Mr. MAZORANA. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. And not in Porto Rico?

Mr. MAZORANA. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I will read these telegrams.

(The telegrams referred to are as follows:)

NEW YORK, N. Y., February 14, 1924.

CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE INSULAR AFFAIRS.

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

We share and indorse the opinions Torres Mazorana will express at the hearing on Porto Rican affairs.

LUIS G. MUNIZ.

Chairman of Porto Rican Forum.

NEW YORK, N. Y., February 14, 1924.

CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE INSULAR AFFAIRS.

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

We second declarations to be made by Torres Mazorana before your committee.

TORRES LOPEZ.

ANTONIO GONZALEZ.

GADEA PICO,

JOSE G. BENITEZ,

ARMANDO SCHMIDT.

NEW YORK, N. Y., February 14, 1924.

CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE INSULAR AFFAIRS.

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Torres Mazorana, who is to appear before your committee, has our full confidence and we share his views.

J. R. SANJURJO.

President Porto Rican Section Spanish-American Association.

NEW YORK, N. Y., February 14, 1924.

CHAIRMAN COMMITTEE INSULAR AFFAIRS.

House Office Buildings, Washington, D. C.:

Statements to be made before your committee by Mr. Torres Mazorana have our fullest indorsement.

JOSE MARTINEZ,

President Porto Rican League.

The CHAIRMAN. I will say frankly to the committee that the only reason for hearing Mr. Mazorana is that Mr. Sullivan asked it, and I think the committee will justify the chairman.

Mr. WARD. Certainly. You had it to do.

Mr. BRUMM. Why is not Mr. Sullivan here at the meeting? If Mr. Sullivan sent this man down, here is the place for him.

The CHAIRMAN. His office said he was bringing them down, and I thought he was coming with you. I supposed Mr. Sullivan would be here. He is the ranking Democratic member of the committee.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Are you a Porto Rican yourself?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MILLIGAN. How long have you lived in the United States?

Mr. MAZORANA. I have lived in the United States five years.

Mr. MILLIGAN. You are a voter in New York?

Mr. MAZORANA. In New York City.

Mr. MILLIGAN. What is the object of this organization which you say sent you here?

Mr. MAZORANA. The object of this organization is the following: We give our votes to the Congressman from New York City, and in exchange for the votes that we give them we ask them to help Porto Rico when matters like this and problems like the problems that are presented to this committee are brought on the floor of Congress.

Mr. SCHAFER. You give them for that reason; nothing else makes any difference?

Mr. MAZORANA. We also give our votes for the purpose of exercising the right that we have to vote as citizens, and also we give our votes in order to help the people of the United States to co-operate with them, in order to create a sane and decent Government.

Mr. WARD. There is no fault with that. What interest have you especially; what special interest have you in the affairs of Porto Rico except sentiment?

Mr. MAZORANA. Not sentiment.

Mr. SALMON. It seems to me the gentleman is not getting fair treatment.

Mr. MAZORANA. My family lives in Porto Rico, my mother lives in Porto Rico, my sisters live in Porto Rico. I expect to settle down in Porto Rico, and unless the conditions of life in the island of Porto Rico are going to be for the happiness of my family, and for my own happiness I will not be content.

Mr. WARD. You have answered that.

The CHAIRMAN. You are opposing the position that the unified commission have taken here. What is your idea as to what the future of Porto Rico ought to be, and the desire which you have?

Mr. MAZORANA. Politically?

The CHAIRMAN. I mean politically.

Mr. MAZORANA. Politically we take no stand, because we firmly believe that no political settlement of our problems will ever result. The real economic troubles of the people of Porto Rico, and therefore thinking an elective governor will not help in any way the people of Porto Rico to get an adequate means of living, we oppose that measure.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Another question I would like to ask about this organization. You say at the last election of this organization you had 700 members.

Mr. MAZORANA. Between seven and eight hundred members voted under the organization of the Porto Rican Civic Club, which is located

in the Chelsea district of New York City. Mr. Davila has been present in our club.

Mr. DAVILA. Are you not the editor of the paper Puerto Rico?

Mr. MAZORANA. I am; it is a very nice paper. It is a paper you do not like.

Mr. DAVILA. It is not true that they bought you for \$1,000?

Mr. MAZORANA. It is not true.

Mr. DAVILA. They gave you \$1,000, did they not, to keep you from publishing an edition of the paper?

Mr. MAZORANA. It is not true.

Mr. DAVILA. Mr. Chairman, this is important. I have a paper in my office, and I understand these people were bought not to publish it. The only number was sent to me from New York, and I can show that to the committee, if the committee will allow me to go to my office.

Mr. MAZORANA. If Mr. Davila says so, why does he not prosecute me?

Mr. DAVILA. I will bring the number of the paper to show you that this man sold himself for money in New York.

Mr. MAZORANA. That is very nice of you.

Mr. MILLIGAN. You have several hundred members of this organization, or did have at the last election?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

Mr. MILLIGAN. How is your organization supported?

Mr. MAZORANA. Who?

Mr. MILLIGAN. How is your organization supported?

Mr. MAZORANA. The organization, did you say?

Mr. MILLIGAN. Yes; I would like to know how your organization supports itself.

Mr. MAZORANA. It is supported by the fees that the members pay.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Is that the only revenue, no other revenue?

Mr. MAZORANA. That is the only revenue, no other revenue.

Mr. MILLIGAN. No donations outside?

Mr. MAZORANA. So far as I know, no donations, and if you want to go further into the question of the finances, fees for this organization, you might get in touch with the secretary or treasurer of the club, because I am only representing them in other matters.

Mr. MILLIGAN. You are not acquainted?

Mr. MAZORANA. I am not acquainted as to the administration of the organization. All I know is the organization exists; we have given meetings there in which many Congressmen have spoken in election time, and Mr. Davila has visited us, and once he tried to get our influence, and he tried to be backed by us, but he could not, because we would not give it to him.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Do you run a newspaper in connection with this organization?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes; I am a contributor to the paper. They print a weekly paper.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Does this organization run a newspaper itself?

Mr. MAZORANA. The paper is not run by the organization, but it cooperates with the ideals of the organization for the purpose of benefiting the suffering masses of Porto Rican people.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Then there is a connection between this organization and the newspaper?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes: there is a collection of individuals, personalities.

Mr. MILLIGAN. Is this organization incorporated?

Mr. MAZORANA. It is.

Mr. MILLIGAN. And your newspaper is a separate corporation?

Mr. MAZORANA. What is that?

Mr. MILLIGAN. Your newspaper is a separate corporation, is it?

Mr. MAZORANA. The newspaper is in the corporation?

Mr. MILLIGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. MAZORANA. It handles the matter, and is incorporated.

Mr. MILLIGAN. What do you think about giving the Porto Rico people the right to elect their own governor? How would that affect the masses of the people of Porto Rico?

Mr. MAZORANA. The following things: In January, 1923, Senator Brookhart introduced a resolution in the Senate, a copy of which I handed to a gentleman sitting there, and another copy to the leader of the Socialist Party, Mr. Iglesias, in which he said that the government of Porto Rico was practically in the hands of corrupted individuals from top to bottom, that the private corporations seemed to be controlled, the legislature and the government: that they paid the taxes, and it needed an investigation of Congress. Our point is this, if, as provided by the Foraker bill, and by the Jones Act, the Congress of the United States gave to the Porto Rican Legislature full power to put a finish to the abuses of the sugar mills and the private corporations who were trying to get all the land in the island. This would hurt the working masses, and the legislature at that time, having full power in their hands, did not exercise it to the extent that they would protect the interests of the masses, what would happen if those same gentlemen, who did not protect you from those sugar-cane mills and corporations, if they would get the whole of the government in their hands, from the governor down?

Mr. MILLIGAN. Who are the shareholders of this corporation who conduct this newspaper? Can you give a list?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes: I will give the names to the gentleman.

Mr. SCHAFER. You can put them in the record.

Mr. MILLIGAN. When you put this list of shareholders in this newspaper in the record I wish you would state their business and profession, and whether they have a property interest in Porto Rico.

Mr. MAZORANA. All right: I will.

Mr. WILSON. You say you have been in this country five years?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. You are a citizen of the United States now and you vote in New York?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. You swap your votes up there for votes down here or Congressmen in this body?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

Mr. WILSON. Your position is that the people of Porto Rico have not yet reached that stage of intelligence where they can run their own government?

Mr. MAZORANA. Exactly.

Mr. WILSON. And yet you have lived in the United States five years and you vote for Congressmen of the United States and for President of the United States?

MR. MAZORANA. You should not judge the masses of the people by the benefits I have enjoyed by schools run by the United States Government.

MR. WILSON. You voted for the United States officers all the way from the President to constable?

MR. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

MR. WILSON. You think you are qualified?

MR. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

MR. WILSON. You deny the same right to the people in the island you come from?

MR. MAZORANA. That is what I say.

MR. WILSON. You say they are not qualified yet, but you have been living in the United States of America five years, and you think you are qualified to elect the President of the United States?

MR. MAZORANA. I do not know; that is the right that you have given to me.

MR. SCHAFER. Do you think the delegation who have appeared before the committee are just as qualified to vote as you?

MR. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

MR. SCHAFER. Don't you think the people should determine who shall rule them?

MR. MAZORANA. In a democracy?

MR. SCHAFER. Yes, sir.

MR. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

MR. SCHAFER. Why should you oppose giving the people of Porto Rica a right to select who shall rule them?

MR. MAZORANA. Because past experience has shown the Porto Ricans that the men whom they select to run the government do not run the government for the benefit of the people, but for the benefit of private corporations.

MR. SCHAFER. I suppose now if it is shown that an administration in the United States elected an administration and had Government officials that run the Government for the purpose of big interests. that should prevent the people from voting?

MR. MAZORANA. No; but you should make it public.

MR. SCHAFER. Make it public?

MR. MAZORANA. And that is what we are endeavoring to do.

MR. SCHAFER. I would like to ask a question. Does that association, representing what you finally stated was 800 Porto Ricans, did they ever vote on bills before us one way or the other, or is it a few self-appointed leaders in that association who expressed the sentiments here? Has the association that you are representing ever taken action through their members on these various bills before us?

MR. MAZORANA. The general sentiment among the members of the club is that they are against political confessions in so far as those confessions would not benefit in any way the economic condition of the people of Porto Rico.

MR. SCHAFER. Who determines whether this bill follows out their opinion? Who determines it, the editor of the newspaper?

MR. MAZORANA. Oh, no; I think the moral sense of Congress should govern that.

Mr. SCHAFER. I mean in your organization who determines whether you should come here and represent the organization opposed to this bill or for it?

Mr. MAZORANA. We determine our own questions.

Mr. SCHAFER. Who is "our own"?

Mr. MAZORANA. General sentiment of the members.

Mr. SCHAFER. How did you get the expression of opinion?

Mr. MAZORANA. Because there were no protests from the organization. The people behind the paper, who subscribe to the paper and pay for the paper, that means that sentiment is pretty well generalized.

Mr. SCHAFER. So really your organization of 800 has not gone on record to send you down here?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHAFER. Only the paper in the final analysis?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes; I have presented the chairman with a credential.

The CHAIRMAN. I will ask one question: Who is the principal stockholder in this paper?

Mr. MAZORANA. Mr. Gustavo Valdestino.

The CHAIRMAN. He is the principal stockholder?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are any sugar refiners backing you up?

Mr. MAZORANA. No; we are against the sugar refiners.

Mr. SCHAFER. Are the sugar refiners advertising in your paper?

Mr. MAZORANA. They do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you the editor of this paper?

Mr. MAZORANA. I am one of the contributors.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the main object of the paper? What does it further in its editorials as to Porto Rico?

Mr. MAZORANA. The paper endeavors to put the problems of the island as they really are to the people.

The CHAIRMAN. Have you any specific, definite object for the future which you definitely work toward in the editorials and contributory articles in your paper?

Mr. MAZORANA. Politically, none.

The CHAIRMAN. You do not look toward statehood or independence?

Mr. MAZORANA. We do not.

The CHAIRMAN. Or any other matter in connection with Porto Rico?

Mr. MAZORANA. No.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you want this committee to do nothing because you have no policy that you are to follow in connection with it?

Mr. MAZORANA. We have a policy. We think that our point of view is entirely ruled by economic necessities.

Mr. BRUMM. If nothing political is done who will solve these economic problems in Porto Rico? Who will do that?

Mr. MAZORANA. If the actual machinery of government as provided for by the Jones Act is not capable of handling the situation, which I think it is, if there is not good will on the part of our legis-

lature, then I think that the Congress of the United States ought to do it.

The CHAIRMAN. You think the Jones Act is sufficient?

Mr. MAZORANA. I do think so.

The CHAIRMAN. To solve the economic problems satisfactorily?

Mr. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

Mr. SALMON. I rise to a point of order.

The CHAIRMAN. State the point.

Mr. SALMON. I think quite a number of this committee would like to hear the statement of this gentleman. I think the gentleman has not been treated fairly. He has been cross-examined before he testified in chief. I am not with him, but I do stand for fair play. He is a citizen of the United States, and he comes here at the request of a New York delegation, and I think he is entitled to a decent hearing, and I would like to voice the sentiment, and I would like to hear him and see that he gets a hearing, and then we will act according to the judgment of the committee after he is heard. I move now that he be heard, and that no questions be asked him until he has finished.

Mr. SCHAFER. Speaking on the motion, I would also say that I do not see how I can sit on the committee and listen to an argument against this proposition when we do not really know who he is appearing for, what he is appearing for, and I think the cross-examination was right and just, so we as members of the committee can take into consideration the man's testimony, and we should at least know who he is representing and whether he is representing an organization. I have had a lot of experience in organizations, and I know there are a few self-styled leaders who try to say they represent the whole membership when they do not. This printing deal here in Washington has been exposed along those lines.

The CHAIRMAN. We will let the gentleman make whatever statement he may like to make, and I request that he be no further interrupted until he concludes.

Mr. MAZORANA. I was very glad to hear Mr. Iglesias go into the question of the limitations of the property rights in Porto Rico. I wanted to state that if the Legislature of Porto Rico which was given power to enforce that law would have enforced that properly, the situation in Porto Rico would not be as it is.

I have here a pamphlet printed in the Government Printing Office in 1910, and going over it I find that Secretary of War Dickinson makes a thorough explanation of the economic distress of the inhabitants of the Island of Porto Rico. If you gentlemen would care to go over this and over the situation to-day, as reported by the Bureau of Porto Rico, and some organizations, and as can be testified to by the leader of the Federation of Workmen of Porto Rico, Mr. Iglesias, you would be astonished to find that the conditions there in 1924 were there in 1910. At that time 400,000 workmen were sick with anemia, and Doctor Astor, of New York City, said 900,000 are to-day sick of anemia. The Rockefeller Institute reports that 95 per cent of the people of Porto Rico are sick with the hookworm, yet all this is due to the miserable life these workmen are living in their own land, under the benefits of the American flag, and yet when you come to see the situation it is not due to a defi-

ciency in the American method of governing the island, but it is the inefficiency of the politicians of the island who do not know and are not capable, or perhaps do not want, to deal squarely with the people. That is the truth, and that is what I come to expose here.

In a few instances Porto Rican officials tried to put the corporations to a test in the courts, and sometimes the question of constitutionality is raised, and sometimes other questions are raised in order to prevent the public from being protected from the private corporations, but in general it can be said that while all this situation was developing a very distressing and miserable condition of life among the workingmen, the politicians of Porto Rico and the Legislature of Porto Rico were doing practically nothing to put an end to it, and this situation created by the admiralty of the Government, as conducted by the Navy, was the main factor that created anti-American feeling in the island, because the politicians would go to the people and say, "You see, we are hungry; we do not have bread; we are in a bad condition, because the American Government is suppressing us. What we want is independence, hooray for independence, and the voters who were not sufficiently qualified to think on account of their anemic condition, on account of the situation, on account of their own sicknesses, they go and vote for the politicians, aroused by the sentiment of the speakers, and you who know nothing about that, a situation brought about by these same men.

Mr. WARD. Have you read Governor Towner's report?

Mr. MAZORANA. I have not been able to get a copy, but before I leave I hope to get some reports that I have not read.

Maybe Commissioner Davila does not like what I am saying now, but we have a paper in New York City, and we expect to write half in English, and we put all the things there clearly and briefly.

Mr. WARD. Other people have come here and spoken with an entirely opposite view from what you have stated.

Mr. MAZORANA. The information I have has been gathered from official documents, which, to my mind, are as good and as reliable as those of Governor Towner.

Mr. SCHAEFER. Before you complete your address I want to ask you a couple of questions.

Mr. MAZORANA. So, in general, what we wanted to put before the members of this committee was this: that we are perfectly willing that the people of Porto Rico have all the rights and privileges that the political parties have and enjoy under the American flag, but if we give them their own governor, there is not any reason to believe that when these problems are brought to their attention they will act any differently, and the Congress of the United States politically should be allowed to have their share, and when a representative of the people comes, when the workingman asks for his share, he will not have it on other grounds perhaps, or perfectly legal grounds perhaps, but not the moral sense of you good Americans—for my own reasons I want to state that I just received yesterday, together with a telegram from Congressman Sullivan, a letter from my mother, which I would like to read, as a human document, which is of more importance to you than all the legal documents or literature that might be put in front of you men, in which she says she is not able to cope with life because milk is 18 cents a liter. Do you know why

she said milk is 18 cents a liter? Because there are no cows. The sugar-cane mills control the land, and as they control the lands, the pastures disappear, and those lands which were dedicated for the raising of cattle disappear, and there is no more cattle, and therefore the workmen in the country do not enjoy any more meat. They can not eat it because it is too dear. They can not afford to pay for it, and they can not drink milk; the poor babies can not drink milk because it costs 18 cents, and condensed milk costs 20 cents.

I was reading the other day the tabulations in which was given the cost of all commodities in Porto Rico, and the situation is such that you can not stand it. The cost of living goes up in higher proportion than salaries, and when the cost of living goes down the salaries go down in higher proportion than the cost of living. It is all the same. The situation is such that the people can not do it.

MR. SCHAFER. Has your organization got any solution of the problem?

MR. MAZORANA. What is that?

MR. SCHAFER. Has your association a solution for this situation?

MR. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

MR. SCHAFER. For the 18-cent milk?

MR. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

MR. SCHAFER. What is it?

MR. MAZORANA. Let me explain for the solution of the situation already created, as explained by Mr. Barcelo, there is no problem now, there are no cows or cattle in Porto Rico. The sugar plantations and sugar mills are in the hands of three or four individuals, and the government can not confiscate that property. It is impossible, but there is one way: in the first place, tax the corporations as they should be properly taxed; in the second place, let the Legislature of Porto Rico enforce the law as Mr. Iglesias was asking you. Let them put through an investigation of those corporations that violated the law of the land in regard to property rights, and then the situation would be practically remedied. Mr. Barcelo put up the argument to combat the argument of Mr. Iglesias. He said no sugar mill can sustain itself with 500 acres. The sugar mill is expected to grind the cane and the plantations are supposed to be in other hands. But in Porto Rico the corporations or the sugar mill and the lands and the plantations are everything. They control everything, you know, so there is not a chance for the workingman.

MR. BRUMM. Do they control the land where the people have their homes?

MR. MAZORANA. Yes; the homes that they have. They call them *alematos*. They have miserable homes made of hay.

MR. BRUMM. Thatched?

MR. MAZORANA. Yes; they are very poor, go barefoot and eat fish and bananas; but now there are no bananas in Porto Rico. Before the Americans went there we cultivated coffee to a great extent, but in order to cultivate coffee, in order that coffee might be properly cultivated, the farmers must cultivate also bananas, because the banana trees gave shade to the coffee to protect it from the sun, in order that the crop might be taken care of properly, and so the ones who were in the industry of coffee had bananas to eat. But when sugar cane went into business in Porto Rico, they con-

trolled the lands, and those lands that were cultivated to coffee were dedicated to sugar cane and no bananas, so now they have no bananas. The people lost in the game.

MR. SCHAFER. Your organization has an interest, I assume from your statement, in the affairs of Porto Rico. On whose shoulders does the blame rest now that these corporations now have more than 500 acres of land, on Congress or on the Porto Rican Legislature?

MR. MAZORANA. According to the point of view of the political parties, who always want to blame on Congress these troubles in order to secure the votes of the people, you have the responsibility; but, according to logic, they have the responsibility, because your responsibility ceased when you gave them power to enforce the law and they did not enforce it.

MR. SCHAFER. You believe that they have full power to take care of that?

MR. MAZORANA. Yes, sir.

MR. SCHAFER. Are you in business in New York or in Porto Rico?

MR. MAZORANA. I am in the export business in New York. I am an export clerk.

MR. SCHAFER. Do you not think that, seeing you have such an interest in the affairs of the Porto Rican Government, and the politics has been controlling, do you not think it would be a grand and glorious thing for you to say in Porto Rico and combat the politics and give the people light and show them the way?

MR. MAZORANA. NO, SIR. I will tell you why not. The only thing to do would be for me to use my pen and write articles, and the papers are controlled by the politicians.

MR. SCHAFER. As far as politics in Wisconsin is concerned, a man was elected to the Senate with 300,000 majority and he had only two papers with him. Papers do not always cut a figure.

MR. MAZORANA. In Porto Rico that is another thing. If there was any place where I could get a position I would be willing to go.

MR. SCHAFER. You say politics controls. Politics controls branches of this Government.

MR. MAZORANA. That is a critical source, a position in this country, but in Porto Rico there is no position because parties are together. Don't you see them together in Congress?

MR. SCHAFER. They do not sound like it.

MR. MAZORANA. There is no position in Porto Rico, but there is a position in the United States.

MR. SCHAFER. To hear the views of these different representatives you would not think they were together.

MR. MAZORANA. They are in accord.

MR. SCHAFER. I do not get that from the hearings.

THE CHAIRMAN. Just a statement: After all, most of the legislation in the United States, which is fundamental, is not political. I think Democrats and Republicans alike vote for more laws together than they vote in opposition. The political parties of Porto Rico might be together on some things, because they might recognize the full benefit of the law they are asking. We have that situation before the committee, and the committee has been very, very patient. It is now nearly 2 o'clock.

Mr. DAVILA. Will you show this paper to the gentleman? Is this the paper you are publishing in New York.

Mr. MAZORANA. It is the former paper. In the beginning it was like that, but now it is this big [indicating].

Mr. DAVILA. Examine the number of that paper.

Mr. WARD. What is the date of it?

Mr. MAZORANA. August 5.

Mr. DAVILA. Was the number of that paper published—

Mr. MAZORANA. There is a comment there.

Mr. WARD. What is the date of that paper?

Mr. MAZORANA. August 5, 1923, volume 1, No. 14.

Mr. DAVILA. Was that paper published, that number?

Mr. MAZORANA. I am only a contributor to the paper. I do not know if it was published.

Mr. DAVILA. Did anyone from Porto Rico pay any amount of money to you, for you to destroy the whole edition of that paper?

Mr. MAZORANA. Not me or anybody.

Will you allow me to ask you a question, Mr. Davila, and I will bet you will not answer it?

Mr. DAVILA. This man comes here as a representative of those people, and he has no further representation, and I want to show that those people have sold themselves.

Mr. MAZORANA. Why not prosecute them?

The CHAIRMAN. I think that is all extraneous.

Mr. SALMON. Absolutely.

The CHAIRMAN. And in justice to the committee I think we may wisely adjourn.

Mr. EDWARD F. McGRADY. I am the legislative representative of the American Federation of Labor. We are in favor of this bill, and if I have the consent of the committee, I would like to submit a statement from the American Federation of Labor's viewpoint.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. I would like to say that I received a letter from Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, and he is in favor of a bill which we considered in our first hearing, and I shall bring that in executive session, bring the letter before the committee.

Governor TOWNER. Just one word for the record: I want to say on behalf of the Porto Rican delegation, at the close of this testimony, that we feel under obligations to the chairman and the members of this committee for the courteous hearing they have given our delegation from Porto Rico on these bills, and we realize that you have made many sacrifices yourself for the purpose of giving the delegation a full hearing. We are very grateful for it and desire you to know this, and we wish to place on record our acknowledgment of our obligation to you for this.

The CHAIRMAN. We will meet to-morrow at 10 o'clock, and I shall endeavor to begin the hearing promptly at 10.

(Whereupon, at 1.30 o'clock p. m., the committee adjourned until to-morrow, Friday, February 16, 1924, at 10 o'clock a. m.)

(The following papers were ordered to be incorporated in the record:)

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 15, 1924.

HON. LOUIS W. FAIRFIELD.

Chairman Committee on Insular Affairs.

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I am submitting a statement on the position of the American Federation of Labor on H. R. 6583, and I trust it will be published in the record of the hearing as a part of my remarks to that committee.

Yours very truly,

EDWARD F. McGRADY.

Legislative Representative, American Federation of Labor.

STATEMENT BY EDWARD F. McGRADY, LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVE, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

I desire to inform the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives that the American Federation of Labor gives its whole-hearted support to H. R. 6583, which provides that the people of Porto Rico shall have the right to elect their own governor and vice governor, and it is our sincere wish that this bill will pass the Congress at this session, for we believe that the privilege of choosing their own governor has already been withheld too long. There is no logical reason why the people of Porto Rico should not enjoy this privilege. They are law-abiding and hard-working people. Their leaders are men of great capacity, ability, and intelligence.

It may be said that there is considerable illiteracy on the island, and this is true, but it is fast being overcome, and nowhere even in the United States are the children more eager to learn or more capable of learning than they are in Porto Rico. All of the schools are overcrowded and most of them have the double-enrollment system. At the close of the present year there are about 2,000 rural schools in operation. The number of buildings in which schools are conducted in Porto Rico are 2,322.

In addition to the above there are 1,471 parent-teachers' associations. They also have the University of Porto Rico, which consists of the college of liberal arts, college of law, college of pharmacy, normal school (high-school division), normal school (rural teachers' course), high school, practice school, and college of agriculture and mechanic arts.

The above facts in themselves prove beyond a shadow of doubt that the people of Porto Rico will take their place, as far as learning is concerned, with the States of the Union in a short time.

I do not intend to discuss the industrial situation, but I would briefly like to point out to the committee the many progressive laws that have passed the Porto Rican Legislature within recent years: Law amending the homestead act, the mortgage law, the income tax law, the election and registration law, the civil code, the excise tax law, the banking law, a retirement law for the aged officials and employees of the people of Porto Rico, the appointment of a rural improvements commission, an act creating the puericulture and maternity institute, a general employment agency and labor exchange for the purpose of reducing unemployment, a minimum wage act for working women, an act regulating the employment of women and children, and a law for the protection and for sanitary appliances for working men and women in factories.

The above clearly demonstrates that the chosen representatives of the people have capacity and ability, and that they are keeping abreast with the progressive ideas of the present day. So much so that they should be allowed the privilege of choosing their own governor and vice governor. Trusting them with this responsibility will not only make them more self-reliant but I believe it will more closely cement the bonds of friendship between these people and the United States.

This act, if passed, will not take effect until the year 1928, so the change will not be sudden. Conditions will not be upset, for by that time the people will have amply prepared themselves for this new order.

In conclusion I want to offer my tribute of respect to the very able, justice-loving American gentleman who is now persisting over the destinies of Porto Rico as its governor, the Hon. Horace M. Towner. He has always stood for

the right and has been ever alert and keenly sympathetic for the welfare of the people. Under his administration the people of Porto Rico are assured of an honest and just administration of the law.

To the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives

Under the leave granted me I beg to submit to your consideration the following statement:—

I have the honor to be the president of the Porto Rican Democratic Club, first assembly district of Brooklyn, N. Y., as can be best shown by the two credentials attached to this statement as an integral part thereof.

The said organization is a political club with a membership of over 5,000 natives of Porto Rico who are citizens of the United States and residents of the city of New York. The political activities of the said club have been officially recognized by the authorities of the State of New York. The members of the said club have taken part in political elections held at the said city.

Your informant begs to state that in spite of the fact that the membership of the said club belongs to the three different political parties of the island of Porto Rico, they are closely united, nevertheless, in indorsing and upholding any favorable amendment to the organic act of Porto Rico that would result in a larger measure of self-government to that island.

Your informant begs to state that he knows the contents of Mr. Luis Torres Colon's statement to this committee with regard to Mr. Torres Mazzorana, and that he, your informant, indorses every word therein written in regard to the said gentleman.

Your informant begs to state that he has learned of the approval of the Legislature of Porto Rico of an unanimous resolution wherein and whereby the right to elect the Governor of Porto Rico is asked for. The trend of opinion among the membership of the said club runs unanimous in favor of the granting of the said right by Congress to the people of Porto Rico.

Your informant begs further to state that the whole membership of the club of which he is the president unanimously condemns the stand taken by Mr. Torres Mazzorana, before you, as not voicing the sentiments of the Porto Rican colony of the city of New York.

Washington, D. C., February 16, 1924.

JOSE V. ALONSO.
President Porto Rican Democratic Club (Inc.).
Brooklyn, N. Y.

THE PORTO RICAN DEMOCRATIC CLUB (INC.).
Brooklyn, N. Y., February 15, 1924.

TO THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS:

This is to certify that Mr. Jose V. Alonso is the president of the Porto Rican Democratic Club, first assembly district, of Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. Alonso is the sole representative of the aforesaid club, which is a political organization made of natives of Porto Rico, numbering over 5,000 members, whose citizenship is purely and sincerely American, with all the privileges and rights granted to them by the great Constitution of the United States of America.

Given under my hand and seal of the organization this 15th day of February, A. D. 1924.

[SEAL]

JOSEPH MELENDEZ, *Secretary.*

BOARD OF ALDERMEN.
Brooklyn, February 15, 1924.

To whom it may concern:

This will introduce the bearer, Jose V. Alonzo, the president of the Porto Rican Democratic Club, of Kings County, who resides at 50 Johnson Street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Mr. Alonzo has been president of the above organization for the past two years, and since his term of office the association has become the largest and best known of its kind throughout the city of New York.

I have known Mr. Alonzo for the past five years and, coming in contact with him in a civic, fraternal, and political capacity. I can truthfully state that I have found him an honest, upright, capable American citizen and a credit to the cause he represents.

Very respectfully yours,

PATRICK J. MCCANN,
Alderman, Thirty-third District.

To the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives:

Under the leave granted me I beg to submit the following statement to your consideration:

I have the honor to be the president of the Porto Rican Democratic Federation of America, with main offices at 33 Sands Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. Said federation embraces four political clubs, duly organized, with an official registration of members of 8,860. All of the members of these organizations are natives of Porto Rico who are citizens of the United States and residents of New York City. The four clubs alluded to are the following:

1. Porto Rican Democratic Club (Inc.), first assembly district, Brooklyn.
2. Porto Rican Democratic Club, third assembly district, Brooklyn.
3. Porto Rican Democratic Club of Harlem, New York City.
4. Porto Rican Democratic Club of Chelsea, New York City.

Other associations of Porto Ricans residing in the said city and which are now in process of formation in the borough of Bronx and East Side are likely to become members of the aforesaid federation within a short time. The political activities of the said Porto Rican Democratic Federation of America has been officially recognized by the authorities of the State of New York. The membership of these associations has taken part in political elections in the said city of New York.

Your informant begs to state that in spite of the fact that the membership of these different clubs belongs to the three different political parties of the island of Porto Rico, they are closely united, nevertheless, in indorsing and upholding any favorable amendment to the organic act of Porto Rico, that would result in a larger measure of self-government to that island.

Your informant begs to state that Mr. Torres Mazzoranna, the gentleman who appeared before you during the last hearing held to consider the Porto Rican bills now under your consideration, is a man of no standing, either politically speaking or otherwise, among the Porto Rican colony of the city of New York.

The said Mr. Torres Mazzoranna has expressed himself on many occasions as a radical anti-American and has endeavored to preach that sentiment among the members of the Porto Rican colony of the city of New York, thus misleading them into a wrong attitude.

Your informant begs to state that he is conversant with the resolution unanimously approved by the Legislature of Porto Rico, whereby the right to elect the governor is sought. The trend of opinion among the membership of the said federation is unanimous for the granting of said right by Congress to the people of Porto Rico. Those members who come from the labor ranks in Porto Rico favor Senator Iglesias's position on the matter. Those that are Unionists indorse Mr. Barcelo's attitude. Those that belong to the Republican Party of Porto Rico support Senator Tous Soto in his statement to you.

Your informant begs further to state that the civic club to which Mr. Torres Mazzoranna referred is out of existence now and was out of existence when the said gentleman endeavored to have you understand that he represented it and was its spokesman before you during the said hearing.

Your informant begs further to state that the whole membership of the federation of which he is the president unanimously condemns the attitude taken by Mr. Torres Mazzoranna before you as not voicing the sentiments of the Porto Rican colony of the city of New York.

Your informant attaches hereto a copy of a letter signed by the secretary of the said federation as part of this statement.

Washington, D. C., February 16, 1924.

LUIS TORRES COLON.

PORTO RICAN DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION OF AMERICA
Brooklyn, N. Y., February 15, 1924

To all whom it may concern:

This is to certify that Mr. Luis Torres Colon is the president of the Porto Rican Democratic Club (Federation of America), an organization made up of four clubs scattered all over the municipality of New York.

This organization is a political body with the following numerical standing:

First assembly district (Brooklyn).....	5,000
Hamilton, third assembly district.....	1,600
Harlem, twenty-third assembly district.....	460
Chelsea, third assembly district.....	1,800
Total.....	8,860

Given under my hand and seal of the federation this 15th day of February, A. D. 1924.

JUAN E. LÓPEZ, *Secretary.*

To the Committee on Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives:

Under the leave granted me I beg to submit the following statement:

I have the honor to be the legal president of the Porto Rican Labor Alliance, which is a labor organization devoted to solving economical problems and fostering the best interests of the laboring classes of Porto Rico, nonpolitical in character, with a membership of about 300 men and who are Porto Ricans, citizens of the United States, and residents of the City of New York.

Your informant begs to state that he has learned of the attitude taken by a certain Mr. Torres Mazzoranna before your committee during the last hearing held to consider the passage of one of the Porto Rican bills under your consideration; and your informant further states to you that the said Mr. Torres Mazzoranna has imposed upon the good faith of your honorable committee, because there is not any "liberal association," nor a "Porto Rican league," nor a "civic club" in existence in the city of New York, and that the said Torres Mazzoranna did not have therefore any representative capacity when he appeared before the said hearing.

Your informant begs to state that the board of directors of the organization he has the honor to preside over, upon learning of Mr. Torres Mazzorannas's attitude, passed a resolution condemning and denying the said gentleman's statement, because of its not being in accord with truth and the facts.

Your informant begs further to state that the association which he now represents is unanimous in favor of the granting to Porto Rico of the right to elect her own governor directly by the people of the island. This was evidenced at a large convention held recently in New York City, at which time and occasion every one of the members of the said labor union expressed themselves in favor of such measure. Your informant further begs to state that the labor union over which he presides is unanimous in backing the activities of the American Federation of Labor and the attitude that this latter union has taken with regard to the unanimous petition of the Legislature of Porto Rico favoring an elective governor for the island.

Washington, D. C., February 16, 1924.

LUPERCIO ARROYO,
President Porto Rican Labor Alliance, New York City.

ALIANZA OBRERA PORTORRIQUEÑA,
New York, N. Y., February 15, 1924.

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS AND SENATE COMMITTEE ON TERRITORIES
 AND INSULAR POSSESSIONS:

GENTLEMEN: We certify by the present letter that the bearer, Mr. Lupericio Arroyo, is the legal president of the above-named society and has been officially elected our representative before the honorable committees that are actually attending to the petitions presented to the United States Government by the joint Porto Rican commission now at Washington:

Respectfully,

ALIANZA OBRERA PORTORRIQUEÑA DE NEW YORK.

By the correspondent secretary.

JESÚS COLÓN.