

for writing, which was founded on the needs of his ego, and from the prison of his ego itself, the figurative prison that resembles the "Federal prison" which "always disturbed" Dave whenever he looked at it from the shell factory where he worked (SCR, 1201). Having shed his ego, Dave passes out of the range of our own ego-bound perceptions.

In summary, Dave Hirsh's path to spiritual growth and his reflections about it emphasize a complex cosmic drama. This drama centers on a learning process in which each soul is forced to discern both its similarity to all the other souls on earth and its isolation from them. The isolation is the reflection of the distance which each soul has fallen away from God and become immersed in self. Self is therefore the enemy in this view of the world, and it must be defeated so that each soul can be re-united with God. As long as a soul remains subject to the desires and illusions of its ego, it functions on the animal level. However, in the course of spiritual evolution, everyone is pried out of the animal level by being put through a series of distressing and humiliating experiences designed to break down his ego and to make him realize that everyone else is being treated in the same way so that nobody's pride will be left intact. At a certain point in its education, each soul should reach a state of compassionate understanding in which it feels sorry about the pain in everyone's life without wishing to change or eliminate that pain. This recognition of the necessary role of suffering can come at different times for different souls since it occurs within the context of a process of reincarnation which spans eternity. Eventually, though, compassionate understanding will come to all souls, and they will all become One with God at the end of time.

SANTIAGO IGLESIAS AND THE ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN OF 1936*

GONZALO F. CORDOVA

* This article is part of Chapter IX of my doctoral thesis "Resident Commissioner Santiago Iglesias and His Times" (Georgetown University, 1982). Some minor modifications have been made.

At dawn on July 17, 1936, red flag-waving Socialists and some Republican-Unionists overcrowded the dock area around Pier 3 to welcome their great leader. Professor Clemente Pereda appeared unexpectedly, shouting, "Long live the Republic!," several times. Some Socialists became enraged at this unfortunate provocation and went after Pereda. A policeman intervened and advised Pereda that it was prudent to leave the area. At 7:35 A.M. the *Barbara* docked; two bands played music, rockets were fired, and Santiago Iglesias was thunderously cheered when he appeared. As *La Borinqueña* was being played, Iglesias and his family left the ship. Welcoming them were three daughters, Bolívar Pagán, Rafael Martínez Nadal, Miguel A. García Méndez, and other leading Socialist legislators, government officials, labor leaders, and prominent Republican-Unionists. Iglesias boarded Pagán's car but shortly afterwards was forced to leave it and join the thick parade through the streets of Old San Juan.¹

From the balcony of his residence, Pereda took a crucifix in his left hand and showed it to the crowd of Socialists as they passed by. It appears he was trying to get the red devil out of the Socialists. The crowd simply shouted to him: "madman, madman!" Pereda then made several signs of absolution with his right hand. When Iglesias and the parade passed by La Fortaleza, Governor Blanton Winship came out of the balcony to greet him warmly. The Socialist parade ended in front

¹ *El Mundo*, 20 July 1936, p. 5; Reunión del Comité Conjunto de la Coalición, 9 July, 1936, Archive of Igualdad Iglesias de Pagán.

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of the Capitol where Iglesias delivered a speech in which he talked about the joy of returning, the warm reception he was receiving, the coming activities, the Puerto Rican's love of justice and democracy, the improvements of social justice, and his ideals and principles which were the same he has espoused for forty years. Inside the Capitol, Iglesias met more prominent leaders and then left for his house in Isern Street.²

There with Martínez Nadal he had a long conversation in which they briefed each other on the latest political developments. After visits from numerous friends, Iglesias gave a short press interview. He declared that a new coalition would be made, that he would return to Washington if re-elected, that the electoral boycott was a great absurdity, and that the economic problems and not the political status should be discussed at the Socialist Convention.³

On July 22, 1936, Iglesias granted an interview to *El Mundo*. There he stated that there were no obstacles to renewing the Coalition and that the P.R.R.A. would give representation to all parties. The Insular economic situation needed many improvements. Numerous workers, especially those from the rural areas, had to markedly improve their living standards. The Department of Labor was giving emphasis to this development. Economic improvements would be achieved by working more closely with the United States and not the other way around. Congress would make changes in the Jones Act. In regard to national politics, Iglesias considered that President Franklin D. Roosevelt was likely to obtain a great victory in November.⁴

Isern Street was a very busy place. Numerous people and delegations came to talk to the Socialist leader.⁵ The Socialist Territorial Committee under Iglesias' direction met to work on party matters on July 25. Iglesias delivered a speech in which he explained his work in Washington. He urged his followers to "sincerely feel and believe in the principle of social redemption" and to use that belief to fight fascism. The Socialist Party firmly believes in democracy and rejects violence from any minority.⁶ Puerto Rico should continue in permanent union with the United States. Iglesias was authorized to name the

Socialist representation in the Pact Committee to be formed with Republican-Unionists. The Party convention was to be held in Caguas on August 14, and the Socialists were urged to select their corresponding delegates.⁷

The Pact Committee had several meetings and the terms for the 1936 coalition were essentially the same as in 1932. Some Socialists wanted the presidency of the House for their Party and Sandalio Alonso wanted Iglesias to be the Speaker. It was agreed, however, that the Speaker would be from that party which obtained the most votes. The Department of Education would be assigned to the Republican-Unionists and the Justice Department would be for the Socialists. This pact proposal would be presented to the corresponding party conventions.⁸

As Iglesias was strengthening the Socialist forces, the internal controversies of the Liberals were brewing. Antonio R. Barceló reconsidered the electoral boycott strategy and now wanted the Party to participate in the elections. Luis Muñoz Marín continued insisting on the boycott strategy. At the Liberal convention held in Yauco on July 25, there was a voting deadlock which was broken when Barceló casted his vote against the electoral boycott. However, Muñoz Marín's platform of independence with economic justice, was accepted by the Party.⁹

The Liberal city of Caguas was the seat of the ninth convention of the Socialist Party. When the convention began on August 14, 1936, the City was crowded with Socialists and red flags over filled the Campo Alegre Theater. Iglesias was warmly received as a band played

² *El Mundo*, 20 July, 1936, p. 5.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, 23 July, 1936, p. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 29 July, 1936, p. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 27 July, 1936; "Sesión del Comité Ejecutivo Territorial del día 25 de julio de 1936," pp. 126-135, Archive of Igualdad Iglesias de Pagán.

⁷ *El Mundo*, 27 July, 1936, p. 7; Bolívar Pagán, *Historia de los partidos políticos puertorriqueños (1898-1936)* (San Juan, P.R.: Editorial Campos, 1959), vol. II, p. 86; "Sesión del Comité Ejecutivo Territorial del día 25 de julio de 1936," pp. 126-159; Santiago Iglesias to Socialists members of Pact Committee, 10 August, 1936, Archive of Igualdad Iglesias de Pagán.

⁸ *El Mundo*, 29 July, 1936, p. 5; *Ibid.*, 30 July, 1936, p. 7; *Ibid.*, 11 August, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 13 August, 1936, p. 4; *El País*, 11 August, 1936, p. 1; Pagán, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 86-88; Prudencio Rivera Martínez to Santiago Iglesias, 6 August, 1936, Archive of Igualdad Iglesias de Pagán.

⁹ *La Democracia*, 28 July, 1936, p. 1; Reece B. Bothwell, ed., *Puerto Rico: cien años de lucha política* (Río Piedras, P.R.: Editorial Universitaria, 1979), vol. II, pp. 611-612; Pagán, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 84-86; Thomas Mathews, *Puerto Rican Politics and the New Deal* (Gainesville, Fla.: University of Florida Press, 1960), pp. 296-297; Surendra Bhana, *The United States and the Development of the Puerto Rican Status Questions 1936-1968* (Lawrence, Kansas: The University Press of Kansas, 1975), pp. 26-27; Luis Muñoz Marín, *Memorias, autobiografía pública, 1898-1940* (San Juan, P.R.: Universidad Interamericana de Puerto Rico, 1982), pp. 153-157.

La Marseillaise, the anthem of the Free Federation. Present were 272 accredited and 96 pending delegates. There was a considerable number of female delegates. Notably absent was Rafael Alonso Torres who was seriously ill. Present in the Theater was Tadeo Rodríguez García, the former principal leader of Socialist Affirmation who had now actively rejoined the Socialist Party.¹⁰

Iglesias opened the Convention at 10:00 A.M. and delivered a lengthy speech which was heard with "religious unction" by the audience.¹¹ In it he explained his work in Washington and what the Party should continue doing. He emphasized the importance of having a strong unity between the Free Federation and the Socialist Party since a division would be disastrous for both entities. Iglesias also spoke of the history of the Insular labor movement and the conflicts the World faced. The unity between Puerto Rico and the United States was strongly emphasized. He was given a boisterous standing ovation for over five minutes when he finished his speech.¹²

Besides dealing with Party reorganization and the work accomplished in the previous four years, other subjects were discussed. The Spanish Republic was to be supported against fascist aggression. It was reported that for the first time in its history, the Party had no debts and \$6,145.50 had been saved. The position of the Socialist Party on Insular status was vague. Congress was asked to conduct a plebiscite on the three status possibilities to finally resolve the political situation. A minimum program of seventy-seven points of socio-economic reforms to be developed in the next four years by the Coalition was approved. Iglesias was unanimously voted to run again for resident commissioner.¹³

The most controversial aspect of the convention was the renewal of the pact with the Republican Union Party. The main issue was which party was to select the Speaker of the House. The preliminary pact stated that, as in 1932, the party which polled the most votes would name the Speaker. Some Socialists led by Prudencio Rivera Martínez and Nicolás Noguerras Rivera wanted a Socialist Speaker in order to legislate more socio-economic laws. If this was not possible, the House presidency should belong for two years to one party and the remaining two years to the other party. Bolívar Pagán, who chaired the Pact Committee, defended the pact, and opposed the arguments of Rivera Martínez, Noguerras Rivera, and their followers. The debates were long and indecisive. Finally at 3:00 A.M. on August 17 Iglesias gave a speech that would break the deadlock.¹⁴

For an hour and a half Iglesias spoke, defending the pact and, especially, the issue that the Speaker should come from the party receiving the largest number of votes. He explained the history of the Party, the Coalition, European coalitions, and he argued that the Speaker's post could not be divided into two-year terms. The speech convinced the delegates in favor of the pact, which was then unanimously approved. In the following weeks, the final details were worked out with the Republican-Unionists.¹⁵

As the Socialists were meeting in Caguas, the Republican-Unionists were simultaneously holding their convention in the Broadway Theater in Ponce. The "Group of 76" had not amounted to any political force even though it had formed the Regional Party (August 4, 1935) but never registered.¹⁶ The Republican-Unionists approved a platform similar to that of 1932 and accepted the renewal of the pact as

¹⁰ *El Mundo*, 15 August, 1936, p. 5; *El País*, 15 August, 1936, p. 1; *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, 15 August, 1936, p. 1; *Socialismo*, 15 August, 1936, p. 1; *El Imparcial*, 8 October, 1937, p. 26; Archive of Igualdad Iglesias de Pagán, "Actuaciones, procedimientos, resoluciones, acuerdos y prácticas de la novena convención ordinaria del Partido Socialista, celebrada en la Ciudad de Caguas, durante los días 14, 15, 16 y 17 de agosto de 1936," pp. 1, 71, 117, 121-122.

¹¹ Pagán, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 88.

¹² "Actuaciones, procedimientos, resoluciones, acuerdos y prácticas de la novena convención ordinaria del Partido Socialista, celebrada en la ciudad de Caguas durante los días 14, 15, 16 y 17 de agosto de 1936," pp. 10-24; *El Mundo*, 15 August, 1936, p. 1; Bothwell, ed., *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 613-621; Pagán, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 88-94.

¹³ "Actuaciones, procedimientos, resoluciones, acuerdos y prácticas de la novena convención ordinaria del Partido Socialista, celebrada en la Ciudad de Caguas durante los días 14, 15, 16 y 17 de agosto de 1936," pp. 43-553; *El Mundo*, 15 August, 1936, p. 5; *Ibid.*, 16 August, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 17 August, 1936, pp. 4, 11; *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, 17 August, 1936, p. 1; Bothwell, ed., *Op. cit.*, vol. I-1, pp. 568-575.

¹⁴ "Actuaciones, procedimientos, resoluciones, acuerdos y prácticas de la novena convención ordinaria del Partido Socialista, celebrada en la Ciudad de Caguas durante los días 14, 15, 16 y 17 de agosto de 1936," pp. 248, 536-590.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 590-609; *El Mundo*, 17 August, 1936, p. 4; *Ibid.*, 18 August, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 19 August, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 21 August, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 24 August, 1936, p. 4; *El País*, 17 August 1936, p. 2; *El Imparcial*, 17 August, 1936, p. 2; Pagán, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 95; Blanca Silvestrini de Pacheco, *Los trabajadores puertorriqueños y el Partido Socialista (1932-1940)* (Río Piedras, P.R.: Editorial Universitaria 1979, pp. 100-102; Santiago Iglesias to Socialist vice-presidents, 18 August, 1936; Leopoldo Figueroa to Santiago Iglesias, 27 August, 1936; Alfonso Torres to Leopoldo Figueroa, 31 August, 1936; Leopoldo Figueroa to Alonso Torres, 1 September, 1936, Archive of Igualdad Iglesias de Pagán.

¹⁶ Pagán, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 54-55, 68-70, 95-96; *El Mundo*, 5 August, 1935, p. 7; *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, 5 August, 1935, p. 1; *La Democracia*, 8 August, 1935, p. 1.

agreed with the Socialists.¹⁷

The Liberal Party held its convention in San Juan's Municipal Theater also on August 16, 1936. Present at the convention was Jesús Benítez Castaño who became a Liberal since his Regionalist Party had vanished. Because Muñoz Marín came very close to defeating Barceló at the Yauco convention, he now tried to get the candidates he wanted nominated at the convention and thus obtain control of the Party machinery. Barceló, at 68 and in declining health, was still the indisputable leader and was not outmaneuvered by Muñoz Marín and his numerous followers. Muñoz Marín's candidacy was proposed for resident commissioner twice, but he declined. Rodolfo Ramírez Pabón, a distinguished Mason and civic leader, but not a prominent politician, was then offered the post. He also rejected the offer. No important leader was interested in running for the Congressional seat. Finally, Dr. José A. López Antongiorgi accepted the candidacy. As a result of the conflicts between the groups led by Barceló and those led by Muñoz Marín, the latter walked out of the convention and were excluded from the new hierarchy that was formed. The Liberal Party was now under the control of the conservative wing.¹⁸

Muñoz Marín then called a meeting of his followers in Baños de Coamo and contended that they did not have proper representation in the Liberal Party. At a subsequent Caguas gathering, Muñoz Marín founded *Acción Social Independentista*. This was to be the nucleus of the future Popular Democratic Party. The struggle between Barceló and Muñoz Marín concluded by the middle of September. A truce was brought about and both sides worked together in the electoral campaign.¹⁹

Utah Senator William H. King came to Puerto Rico in August. As

¹⁷ *El Mundo*, 17 August, 1936, p. 9; *Ibid.*, 18 August 1936, p. 9; *El País*, 17 August, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 18 August, 1936, p. 1; *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, 17 August, 1936, p. 1; *El Imparcial*, 17 August, 1936, p. 6; *Ibid.*, 18 August, 1936, p. 7; *La Democracia*, 18 August, 1936, p. 4; *Ibid.*, 19 August, 1936, p. 4; Bothwell, ed., *Op. cit.*, vol. I-1, pp. 578-594, vol. II, pp. 622-631; Pagán, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 96-104.

¹⁸ *El Mundo*, 17 August, 1936, p. 5; *Ibid.*, 18 August, 1936, p. 4; *La Democracia*, 18 August, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 19 August, 1936, p. 1; *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, 17 August, 1936, p. 1; *El Imparcial*, 17 August, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 18 August, 1936, p. 1; *The New York Times*, 30 August, 1936, sec. IV, p. 7; Pagán, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 105-107; Mathews, *Op. cit.*, pp. 294-298; Gustavo Jiménez Sicardó, *Un pueblo que quiso vivir* (San Juan, P.R.: Editorial Cordillera, 1972), p. 198; Bhana, *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁹ Pagán, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 108-113; Mathews, *Op. cit.*, pp. 298-300; Jiménez Sicardó, *Op. cit.*, pp. 198-200; Bothwell, ed., *Op. cit.*, vol. I-1, p. 595; vol. II, pp. 633-372; vol. III, p. 114; Muñoz Marín, *Op. cit.*, p. 157; *El Mundo*, 8 September, 1936, p. 9; *Ibid.*, 9 September, 1936, p. 9; *Ibid.*,

a member of the Insular Affairs Committee, he wanted to study the local situation first hand. His visit helped to somewhat clarify the status issue. King told the Puerto Ricans that they had to decide what status they preferred and that the United States did not need the Island. Iglesias had an interview with the Senator where he stated the need to raise the living standards of the working classes, and he explained that the coming elections were in the nature of a plebiscite, the issue being permanent union or independence. Attorney General Eugenio Fernández García, now a believer of autonomy, told the Utah Senator that a plebiscite should be held to resolve the status issue. Senator King implied that the elections would reveal the political aspirations of Puerto Ricans.²⁰

Senator King was also interested in the teaching of English in the public schools. He did not approve of Commissioner José Padín's philosophy of language education and informed Ernest Gruening of it. Gruening in turn began studying the problem and now favored the intensification of English. The days of Commissioner Padín were numbered.²¹

Ernest Gruening returned to San Juan in August and began to step up his campaign to eliminate separatist Liberals from the P.R.R.A. Rafael Fernández García, as well as other prominent Liberals, were thus removed. The principal charge was that the Liberals had set up an organization to collect funds for the Liberal Party.²² Some of the money collected in the P.R.R.A. was used to finance the activities of Senator Muñoz Marín.²³ The close association between Gruening and Muñoz Marín was coming to an end.²⁴ An investigation of the P.R.R.A. showed that "a widespread system of kickbacks" had been organized by the Liberals, and P.R.R.A. employees "were pressured to join" an organization to collect money for the Liberal Party and Muñoz

11 September 1936, p. 1; *El Imparcial*, 9 September, 1936, p. 1; *La Democracia*, 10 September, 1936, p. 1.

²⁰ Mathews, *Op. cit.*, p. 279; *El Mundo*, 20 August, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 28 August, 1936, pp. 1, 5; *The New York Times*, 30 August, 1936, sec. IV, p. 7.

²¹ Mathews, *Op. cit.*, pp. 279-281.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 271-272; Ernest Gruening, *Many Battles* (New York, N.Y.: Liveright, 1973), pp. 202-203; *The New York Times*, 30 August, 1936, sec. IV, p. 7; *El Mundo*, 28 August, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 15 September, 1936, p. 5; *El País*, 14 September, 1936, p. 1.

²³ Earl Parker Hanson to Ruby A. Black, 21 September, 1936, Eleanor Roosevelt Papers, 100 Personal Letters, Box 1329, The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y.

²⁴ Harold L. Ickes to Franklin Roosevelt, 9 March, 1942, The Papers of Harold L. Ickes, Container 256, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

Marín.²⁵ These fund raising activities were "in violation of the federal criminal code," but no charges were pressed by the Insular Department of Justice nor the Federal Bureau of Investigation.²⁶

Iglesias informed his followers that their complaints against the P.R.R.A. should be well documented.²⁷ He believed that the political firings in the P.R.R.A. were justified because no single political party should have control of that agency. The administrators of the P.R.R.A. should consist of people drawn from the three parties in order to prevent favoritism.²⁸ Gruening now had a conference with Iglesias at his Isern Street residence where the Resident Commissioner presented the complaints against Liberal favoritism in the P.R.R.A. Gruening thus continued his policy of dismissing more Liberals. He even tried to convince some Liberal leaders to drop the independence plan from the Party's platform. For him the 1936 elections were in the nature of a plebiscite.²⁹ Chardón emerged denying that "a hunt was on to eliminate independence advocates" from the P.R.R.A. while Muñoz Marín complained that apparently Washington desired "to obtain a popular mandate against independence by means of coercion, persecution, and political skullduggery."³⁰ The days of Chardón were numbered.³¹ Martínez Nadal, however, declared that the Coalition never had wanted to control the P.R.R.A. and that proof of this was that he had backed Liberal Raúl Esteves, head of personnel of the P.R.R.A. and brother of Liberal Guillermo Esteves, Assistant Regional Administrator of the P.R.R.A., to be the Regional Administrator of the agency; furthermore, he had never met with Gruening.³²

The 1936 electoral campaign began for Santiago Iglesias the day he landed, July 19. From that day on, he injected new enthusiasm into his followers, revitalized the Socialist leadership, and brought cohesion to the Coalition. After the conventions had been held and the pact renewed, Iglesias began to mobilize the Socialist masses and to intensify the electoral activities. In his Labor Day speech he told the workers

²⁵ Gruening, *Op. cit.*, p. 202.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 202-203.

²⁷ *El Mundo*, 1 September, 1936, p. 1.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 15 September, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 2 September, 1936, p. 1.

²⁹ Mathews, *Op. cit.*, pp. 272-273; *El Mundo*, 15 September, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 26 September, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 3 October, 1936, p. 1; *The New York Times*, 23 September, 1936, p. 17.

³⁰ *The New York Times*, 24 September, 1936, p. 19.

³¹ Mathews, *Op. cit.*, pp. 273-274; *The New York Times*, 22 October, 1936, p. 12.

³² *El Mundo*, 16 September, 1936, p. 1; Mathews, *Op. cit.*, p. 270; Fairbank, *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

that disorganization was the only poverty they faced, a poverty which could be evaded by organizing labor unions. The Free Federation and the Socialist Party had never promoted hate between people and races in the local social, economic, and political struggles. He condemned the attacks on the American people and its institutions which guaranteed progress in Puerto Rico. The speech ended proclaiming the sincere union between Puerto Rico and the United States.³³

The San Juan Rotary Club invited Iglesias to speak at their weekly luncheon. He informed the Rotarians that he had not found one single representative or senator in Congress that could explain to him the reason for the Tyding's independence bill. The Resident Commissioner told the audience that the Roosevelt Administration did not back the aforementioned bill. Weeks before it had been submitted, Tyding had informed Iglesias that he was thinking about presenting a bill for independence. Iglesias opposed this bill because he thought it was a grave error since 80 per cent of Puerto Ricans wanted to remain united with the States. In the remote possibility that Washington would grant independence, Iglesias wondered how could American citizenship be taken away from the Puerto Ricans who wanted to keep it?³⁴

Together with Martínez Nadal and the top Coalitionist orators, Iglesias prepared the campaign schedule with the local leaders. He requested that the American flag, together with the party flags, be displayed prominently in clubs and at all activities. The campaign plan was called the Victory Crusade and began with a rally in Caguas on September 24. After encompassing the entire Island, the campaign wound up in San Juan on November 1.³⁵ Iglesias expected the Coalition to achieve a greater victory than in 1932. Barceló, however, predicted that the Liberal Party would win the elections by getting five of the seven Senate districts.³⁶

Throughout the entire Island Iglesias campaigned with other Coalitionist leaders. On two occasions, he shared the speaking platform with former Resident Commissioner José L. Pesquera, who had rejoined the Republican Union Party. The principles and ideas

³³ *El Mundo*, 9 September, 1936, p. 5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 23 September, 1936, p. 1; Bothwell, ed., *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 679-681.

³⁵ Santiago Iglesias to Socialist leaders, 21 September, 1936; Itinerario de mítines de la Cruzada de la Victoria del 1936, Archive of Igualdad Iglesias de Pagán.

³⁶ *El Mundo*, 15 September, 1936, p. 1.

defended by Iglesias during this electoral campaign were the same ones he had espoused during his lifetime. He sought socio-economic and political justice for the working classes. Living standards should be raised and permanent union with the United States should be solidified as a guarantee for liberty, democracy, and social justice. Iglesias thought that independence would bring more exploitation for the workers as had happened in other Latin American countries. The republic would be beneficial for the capitalists, military, professionals, and Creole elite. The Roosevelt Administration and the P.R.R.A. programs were praised. The 1936 elections were considered by Iglesias as a plebiscite. The choice was between the Coalition and the Liberal Party, between permanent union with the United States and independence. The Liberals were accused of using P.R.R.A. facilities and money to control Coalitionist voters. The Socialist Party did it best to use frugally the limited funds it had for the electoral campaign.³⁷

Iglesias analyzed his concept of the fatherland at a speech he gave in the San Juan suburb of Barrio Obrero. He stated that he did not believe in the "fatherland full of poetry and lyricism." The fatherland he defended was one of "happy homes" for all Puerto Ricans with good living conditions for the workers. Iglesias was convinced of the universality of the human race and disliked racial differences. Although he had been born in Galicia, he was not sure he was an ethnic Galician because Spain was a mixture of various races. The fatherland of the human race was the whole World.³⁸ The Nationalists, naturally, were not sympathetic to Iglesias' beliefs. They condemned the Socialist leader as a defender of American tyranny and considered that he had defined the fatherland as "a trifle."³⁹

The Liberal candidate for resident commissioner, Dr. López Antongiorgi, carried on a very low profile campaign. The noted surgeon had

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 27 September, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 30 September, 1936, p. 5; *Ibid.*, 1 October, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 3 October, 1936, p. 11; *Ibid.*, 4 October, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 5 October, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 6 October, 1936, p. 4; *Ibid.*, 7 October, 1936, p. 5; *Ibid.*, 8 October, 1936, pp. 1, 8; *Ibid.*, 9 October, 1936, p. 9; *Ibid.*, 10 October, 1936, p. 4; *Ibid.*, 12 October, 1936, p. 4; *Ibid.*, 13 October, 1936, pp. 1, 5, 8; *Ibid.*, 14 October, 1936, p. 4; *Ibid.*, 15 October, 1936, p. 4; *Ibid.*, 16 October, 1936, p. 8; *Ibid.*, 17 October, 1936, p. 8; *Ibid.*, 19 October, 1936, p. 5; *Ibid.*, 20 October, 1936, p. 5; *Ibid.*, 23 October, 1936, p. 2.

³⁸ *El País*, 29 September, 1936, p. 4.

³⁹ Ramón Medina Ramírez, *El movimiento libertador en la historia de Puerto Rico* (San Juan, P.R.: Imprenta Nacional) 2nd. ed., vol. I, p. 110. This work had this alleged quote of Iglesias, but does not give its source. I have not found any contemporary documentation to back the quotation as having been said by Iglesias.

been born in San Germán in 1881. He received his bachelor's degree from Ohio University and his doctorate from Syracuse University (1904). At first he practiced medicine in New York City, and then in Arecibo and San Juan. Dr. López Antongiorgi had been active in the Unionist, Liberal, and Democratic parties. Returning to New York in 1917, he remained there until 1936 when he came back and settled in Bayamón. During the electoral campaign Dr. López Antongiorgi never seemed to have exposed his political ideals nor the plans he would promote in Congress. *La Democracia* only printed some small excerpts from two speeches he gave in which nothing of substance was said.⁴⁰ A Liberal leader, however, considered López Antongiorgi a candidate superior to Iglesias because the Doctor was of "genuine Puerto Rican blood" and the Socialist "had not done anything that procured prosperity for the Puerto Rican people."⁴¹

The Liberal Party actually did not attack Iglesias as much as it had done in previous electoral campaigns. Only one article attacking Iglesias was published in *La Democracia*. It was signed by someone who used the pseudonym of Arístides. This Liberal follower wrote that when Iglesias landed in Puerto Rico in 1896, he appeared as the "redeemer of the working classes." For him Socialism was an "instrument" by which he could become rich, thus deceiving the ignorant working people. After three decades Iglesias had been successful at making himself appear as the "promised Messiah" of the workers. The people that followed him were under the effects of the "opium of deceit and treason" with which he had sedated them. The workers were gradually being awakened by Socialist Affirmation.⁴²

Socialist Affirmation was still active with Florencio Cabello and Miguel Bernard Silva.⁴³ They condemned the Socialists as "bureaucrats

⁴⁰ *La Democracia*, 23 August, 1936, p. 4; *Ibid.*, 29 September, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 13 October, 1936, p. 4; *Ibid.*, 25 October, 1936, p. 4; Conrado Asenjo, *Quién es quién en Puerto Rico*, 2nd. ed. (San Juan, P.R.: Real Hermanos, Inc., 1936), p. 96.

⁴¹ *La Democracia*, 1 October, 1936, p. 4.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 15 October 1936, p. 1. What is interesting about all of this is that in 1952, Muñoz Marín asked the few Socialists that were left to vote for him because his Party was against independence rather than voting for the Puerto Rican Independence Party. Muñoz Marín asked the Socialists not to vote for the separatists who were the ones who had attacked Iglesias so much during the 1930's. What Muñoz Marín did not say in 1952 was that he himself had been the most important opponent to the policies of Iglesias in the 1930's, although now he was espousing basically those same policies. See Bothwell, ed., *Op. cit.*, vol. IV, pp. 163-164.

⁴³ *El Mundo*, 10 October, 1936, p. 16; *La Democracia*, 15 October, 1936, p. 7.

of yellow socialism."⁴⁴ The Coalition was accused of preventing their group from becoming registered as a party. Socialist Affirmation urged its followers to vote for the Liberal candidates.⁴⁵ But what kind of candidates were they? They were essentially the same as those of 1932: landlords and professionals.

Sunday, October 25 found Iglesias campaigning in the Western towns of Lares, San Sebastián, and Las Marías. From there he proceeded to Mayagüez where he arrived at Palma Hotel at 7:30 P.M. After so many days of speech making, Iglesias felt tired and was considering not attending a big rally that evening in the city's Columbus Square. On the way to the Hotel the Resident Commissioner had noticed some young students, members of an anti-Coalition group, mocking a Coalition parade that was passing by. This incident, plus the insistence of friends, convinced Iglesias to go to the rally where some ten thousand were listening to Coalitionist orators. Two undercover policemen were serving as his bodyguards. Shortly after 10:00 P.M. Speaker García Méndez introduced the Resident Commissioner to the enthusiastic political crowd.⁴⁶

The theme of the speech was motivated by the mocking action of the young students he had seen near the Hotel. The speech dealt with the use and abuse of public liberties. The democratic institutions which existed in Puerto Rico were praised; such institutions should be respected by the young.⁴⁷ Iglesias told the audience of the need of preserving the "loving American institutions." In a dramatic gesture he raised his right arm and cried, "Keep intact the union with the United States."⁴⁸ At this point, five shots were heard as Iglesias sank to the platform in the middle of a great commotion. It was 10:25 P.M. by the City Hall clock.⁴⁹

One of Iglesias' bodyguards jumped over the platform rail after the person who had fired the gun had run away. The Resident Commissioner was rapidly taken to Perea Hospital where Dr. Nelson Perea

⁴⁴ *La Democracia*, 23 October, 1936, p. 6.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 24 October, 1936, p. 2.

⁴⁶ *El Mundo*, 27 October, 1936, p. 1; *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, 26 October, 1936, p. 1; *El País*, 26 October, p. 1.

⁴⁷ *El Mundo*, 27 October, 1936, p. 1.

⁴⁸ *Time*, 9 November, 1936, p. 13.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, *El Mundo*, 26 October, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 27 October, 1936, p. 1; *El País*, 26 October, 1936, p. 1; *La Democracia*, 27 October, 1936, p. 1; *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, 26 October, 1936, p. 1; *El Imparcial*, 26 October, 1936, p. 3.

treated him. Only one of the bullets had slightly wounded him in the arm (close to the armpit) and it was not serious. At 11:00 P.M. Iglesias received a phone call from Martínez Nadal who was, naturally, very worried. Mrs. Iglesias, who was in San Juan, was called at this time and she left immediately for Mayagüez with some other members of the family. Iglesias spent the evening in the hospital and returned home the next morning at 8:45 A.M.⁵⁰

While the gunman was being detained, one Socialist began inciting the crowd to lynch him. The Coalition leaders promptly intervened and prevented such an action. Calm was restored by 11:30 P.M., and the rally continued until after midnight.⁵¹

The person who had fired the five bullets using a nine millimeter Smith revolver was Domingo Santaliz Crespo. He was a 32 year-old White tobacco factory worker born in Rincón, resident of Dulces Labios sector of Mayagüez, and a Nationalist. Santaliz Crespo held the rank of sergeant in the Rius Rivera Battalion of the black-shirted Cadets of the Republic. He had used an unregistered revolver. Taken before Municipal Judge Cristino R. Colón, Santaliz Crespo declared that he had decided to kill Iglesias as a result of the Resident Commissioner's February 1936 remarks in favor of the disbanding of the Nationalists. Stories soon began to circulate that there had been a plot where more Nationalists had been involved.⁵²

Political tension rose sharply as a result of the assassination attempt. Governor Winship considered that the police could maintain law and order, and that there was no need to mobilize the National Guard. The press condemned the attempt on Iglesias' life. There were countless messages, phone calls, and visits of support for the wounded labor leader. Besides the Coalitionist leaders and followers, Barceló, Muñoz Marín, Gruening, and Ickes expressed their deep concern.⁵³ The Communist Party also condemned the shooting calling it "abusive, criminal, and villainous" and considered the act prejudicial to the independence movement. The Communist Party recognized that Igle-

⁵⁰ *El Mundo*, 26 October, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 27 October, 1936, p. 1; *El País*, 26 October, 1936, p. 1; *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, 26 October, 1936, p. 1.

⁵¹ *El Mundo*, 26 October, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 27 October, 1936, p. 1.

⁵² *El Mundo*, 26 October, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 27 October, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 28 October, 1936, p. 4; *El País*, 26 October, 1936, p. 1.

⁵³ *El Mundo*, 27 October, 1936, pp. 1, 7, 8; *Ibid.*, 28 October, 1936, pp. 1, 7; *Ibid.*, 30 October, 1936, pp. 4, 17.

sias was a leader greatly loved by the Socialist masses.⁵⁴ From Atlanta, Albizu Campos joined in also condemning the violent attack against Iglesias and said he did not know Santaliz Crespo.⁵⁵

Governor Blanton Winship and Chief of Police Colonel Enrique de Orbeta came to Iglesias' residence to confer with him. Martínez Nadal also came later and had a long talk. The house at Isern Street was now more crowded than ever. The Socialist leader declared that he would continue telling the people that their happiness was under the protection of American institutions. He was greatly appreciative of all the messages and visits he had received.⁵⁶

Two days after the assassination attempt, Iglesias began working in his home office again, directing the electoral campaign as usual. He considered the elections very important since the status issue had been emphasized so strongly. At the last campaign rally held in San Juan, Iglesias did not participate for he had stopped making public appearances.⁵⁷

Since the beginning of October, Iglesias had received complaints that in some towns Liberals were using unfair tactics against Socialist and Republican-Unionist voters. The Benítez Sugar Company of Vieques (Playa Grande Central) was accused of firing Coalitionist workers from their jobs. The Eastern and Fajardo Sugar companies were believed to be taking similar action.⁵⁸ In Río Piedras' Central Vannina foremen were accused of threatening Coalitionist workers.⁵⁹ On election day Iglesias received several telegrams from Socialist leaders complaining of unfair tactics used by Liberals to prevent Socialist electors from voting. Some P.R.R.A. facilities were also being used for the benefit of the Liberal Party.⁶⁰

As in 1932 Iglesias and Martínez Nadal were convinced that the

⁵⁴ *La Correspondencia de Puerto Rico*, 29 October, 1936, p. 1.

⁵⁵ *El País*, 28 October, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 29 October, 1936, p. 2.

⁵⁶ *El Mundo*, 27 October, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 28 October, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 2 November, 1936, p. 1; *El País*, 2 November, 1936, p. 2.

⁵⁷ *El Mundo*, 28 October, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 29 October, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 2 November, 1936, p. 1; *El País*, 2 November, 1936, p. 2.

⁵⁸ Prudencio Rivera Martínez to Santiago Iglesias, 5 October, 1936; Prudencio Rivera Martínez to Santiago Iglesias, 7 October, 1936, Archive of Igualdad Iglesias de Pagán.

⁵⁹ *El País*, 31 October, 1936, p. 1.

⁶⁰ *El Mundo*, 4 November, 1936, p. 8.

Coalition was going to win.⁶¹ The electoral campaign had been the shortest ever held, lasting only one month. Radio was widely used for the first time. Now all women had the same electoral rights as men. The anxiety that women would not vote in large numbers as men did was proven wrong when they did vote normally. Iglesias was credited with making independence the electoral fighting issue and placed separatists on the defensive for the first time in twenty-five years. Bars and places that sold liquor were closed from noon the day before election day until the day after. Closed electoral polls were used for the first time in order to reduce multiple voting and further purify the electoral process.⁶² It rained on election day (November 3), thus cooling off some volative passions.⁶³ There was still, unfortunately, some violence which resulted in two dead and six wounded.⁶⁴

For the 1936 elections there were 764,602 registered to vote. The Liberal Party received 252,467 votes (45.9 per cent as opposed to 44.3 in 1932), elected five senators (as in 1932), twelve representatives (three more than in 1932), and won nineteen municipalities (seven less than in 1932). The Liberals expected to win the electoral districts of Arecibo, Humacao, and Guayama, but only won Guayama as in 1932. The only important municipalities won were Caguas and Humacao.⁶⁵ The Coalition won with 297,033 votes (54.05 per cent as opposed to 54 per cent in 1932). The Republican-Unionist received 152,739 votes, elected seven senators (as in 1932), fifteen representatives (three less than 1932), and won in twenty-seven municipalities (two less than in 1932). The Socialists obtained 144,294 votes, elected seven senators and twelve representatives (as in 1932), and won in thirty municipalities (eight more than in 1932). Iglesias was thus re-elected to Congress. It had been the Socialist Party who came out third in votes but first in winning the largest number of municipalities. No third party in the history of Puerto Rico has ever equalled this electoral achievement. The Communist Party obtained 77 votes in Utuado and 8 in Jayuya. The *Partido Independentista* got 3 votes in Maricao. The

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 2 November, 1936, p. 1; *El País*, 29 October, 1936, p. 1.

⁶² *The New York Times*, 15 November, 1936, p. 10; Pagán, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 113-114; Mathews, *Op. cit.*, pp. 301-304.

⁶³ *El Mundo*, 4 November, 1936, p. 8.

⁶⁴ *The New York Times*, 4 November, 1936, p. 22.

⁶⁵ Junta Insular de Elecciones, *Estadísticas de las elecciones de 1936* (San Juan, P.R.: N.P., N.D.), p. 3; Pagán, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 114-115; *The New York Times*, 5 November, 1936, p. 20.

Nationalist Party, which did not participate in the elections, received 1 vote in Aguas Buenas. United Workers Affirmation Party, a Socialist dissident group, obtained 8 votes in Loíza, 24 in Patillas, 28 in Salinas, and 368 in Humacao. The votes obtained in Humacao were enough to defeat the Coalition and allow the Liberals to win in that municipality by 221 votes.⁶⁶

Iglesias was quite satisfied with the electoral results.⁶⁷ The elections had proven that the majority of Puerto Ricans wanted "only union with the people of the United States" as he had always told Washington authorities.⁶⁸ The Insular electorate had decided to maintain institutions that guaranteed peace, economic betterment, and social tranquility.⁶⁹ For Muñoz Marín the electoral results were to be expected because of the negative results of the "monstrous Tyding's Bill" which assured the victory of the Coalition.⁷⁰ In the opinion of other Liberals, like Barceló and Lastra Cháriez, the Coalitionist victory was made possible thanks to corporation "gold".⁷¹ Iglesias answered this accusation by requesting that the Liberals show the list of corporations and landlords who backed the Liberal Party. Barceló and Lastra Cháriez, furthermore, said Iglesias, should not forget the P.R.R.A. facilities used and the money collected by that agency for several years from other sources.⁷² Gruening considered that the electoral results demonstrated that Puerto Rico wanted "permanent union with the United States."⁷³

El Mundo considered the 1936 elections a "model of equanimity"

⁶⁶ Junta Insular de Elecciones, *Op. cit.*, p. 3; Pagán, *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 114-115. United Workers Affirmation Party, commonly known as "pick and shovel" due to its electoral symbols, had been formed because of a conflict between Epifanio Sandó, a regional Socialist leader, and Cristóbal del Campo, Socialist mayor of Yabucoa. It had nothing to do with Socialist Affirmation. This conflict, together with another fight between Mario Fuentes and José Alvaro Salvá—Humacao Socialist leaders—plus the votes that the members of Socialist Affirmation gave to the Liberal Party, resulted in the Socialist defeat in Humacao. Interview with Ernesto Carrasquillo, Yabucoa, Puerto Rico, 30 November, 1981.

⁶⁷ *El Mundo*, 4 November, 1936, p. 8; *Ibid.*, 6 November, 1936, p. 5; *Ibid.*, 7 November, 1936, p. 1.

⁶⁸ *The New York Times*, 5 November, 1936, p. 20.

⁶⁹ *El Mundo*, 7 November, 1936, p. 1.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 5 November, 1936, p. 1.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 6 November, 1936, pp. 1, 10; *El Imparcial*, 6 November, 1936, p. 3; Bothwell, ed., *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 695-697.

⁷² *El Mundo*, 7 November, 1936, p. 1; *El País*, 18 November, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 19 November, 1936, p. 2.

⁷³ *El País*, 7 November, 1936, p. 1.

and that the amendments to the electoral law had "purified the moral atmosphere."⁷⁴ Ickes congratulated Winship for his share in conducting the elections in such an orderly fashion.⁷⁵ Barceló, however, thought differently and wrote to President Roosevelt claiming fraud and the partiality of Winship to the Coalition.⁷⁶ Furthermore, he declared that he had proof of the fraud.⁷⁷ The pro-independence *El Imparcial* in its editorial said that Barceló did not have proofs to claim electoral fraud because the elections had been honest.⁷⁸

The fight inside the Liberal Party between Muñoz Marín and Barceló had been suspended during the electoral campaign. During this truce, Muñoz Marín had campaigned actively in the districts of Arecibo and Humacao.⁷⁹ He wanted then to preserve the unity of the Party of which, he claimed, 70 per cent of its followers. After November 3, Muñoz Marín planned to form a new party the platform of which would be independence with economic justice.⁸⁰ When the electoral results of 1936 showed that the Liberals had lost, Barceló furiously blamed Muñoz Marín for the defeat.⁸¹ The truce now came to its end. Shortly afterwards the two leaders met and Muñoz Marín suggested their going to Washington to work for independence with favorable economic terms. Barceló flatly refused.⁸² Muñoz Marín was now slowly beginning to form a new party based on A.S.I. and was trying to lure some prominent Socialist to join him as vice-president.⁸³ Now he proceeded to go to Washington (November 19) to further his political goals. Barceló declared that Muñoz Marín was no longer worth of representing the Liberal Party.⁸⁴ Walter Mck Jones now

⁷⁴ *El Mundo*, 5 November, 1936, p. 8.

⁷⁵ Harold L. Ickes to Blanton Winship, 5 November, 1936, The Papers of Harold L. Ickes, Container 255, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁷⁶ *El Mundo*, 17 November, 1936, p. 1.

⁷⁷ *El Imparcial*, 18 November, 1936, p. 2; *El País*, 18 November, 1936, p. 1; *El Mundo*, 25 November, 1936, p. 1.

⁷⁸ *El Imparcial*, 20 November, 1936, p. 13.

⁷⁹ *The New York Times*, 5 November, 1936, p. 20.

⁸⁰ Luis Muñoz Marín to Ruby A. Black, 26 October, 1936, The Papers of Harold L. Ickes, Container 255, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

⁸¹ *El Imparcial*, 6 November, 1936, p. 2; Bothwell, ed., *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 700.

⁸² Mathews, *Op. cit.*, p. 306.

⁸³ Luis Muñoz Marín to Ruby A. Black, The Papers of Harold L. Ickes, Container 255, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress; Bothwell, ed., *Op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 698-699.

⁸⁴ *The New York Times*, 20 November, 1936, p. 20; Mathews, *Op. cit.*, p. 307; Muñoz Marín, *Op. cit.*, p. 158.

became the Liberal representative in Washington.⁸⁵ Lacking Gruening's and Barcelo's support, Muñoz Marín's influence in the Roosevelt administration was dramatically reduced.⁸⁶

Resident Commissioner Iglesias had originally planned to stay in Puerto Rico nursing his wound until December. The bullet had remained in the arm muscle and was never removed because it caused no pain. He was busy dealing with Party and government matters. To President Roosevelt he sent a congratulatory message, received a visit from Gruening, and had an interview with Winship at La Fortaleza.⁸⁷

The police carried out an investigation and arrested three more Nationalists who together with Santaliz Crespo had allegedly planned the murder attempt.⁸⁸ These Nationalists were found innocent and freed. Santaliz Crespo was found guilty and received a ten year jail sentence.⁸⁹

The Free Federation Executive Council met at Iglesias' house on November 19. There they approved a three-year organization plan to begin in January, 1937. The purpose was to revitalize and expand the membership of the Free Federation throughout the Island. Due to Alonso Torres' declining health, Nicolás Noguerras Rivera was named acting secretary-general of the Free Federation to relieve Alonso Torres of most of the workload. With thirty-three sugar mills out of forty-one a new *convenio* giving workers a 12 per cent increase in salaries was to be signed.⁹⁰

Early Sunday morning November 22, Iglesias left by plane for Washington. Recent political development appear to have convinced him that more important matters had to be dealt with in Washington rather than in San Juan. Pagán was again elected acting president of the Socialist Party. Mrs. Iglesias returned later to Washington.⁹¹

⁸⁵ *El Mundo*, 25 Nvember, 1936, p. 1.

⁸⁶ Mathews, *Op. cit.*, p. 307.

⁸⁷ *El Mundo*, 9 November, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 11 November, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 23 November, 1936, p. 1.

⁸⁸ *El Mundo*, 9 November, 1936, p. 5; *Ibid.*, 10 November, 1936, p. 5; *Ibid.*, 11 November, 1936, p. 1; *Ibid.*, 12 November, 1936, p. 1.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 8 December, 1936, p. 5; *Ibid.*, 26 February, 1937, p. 14; *Ibid.*, 11 March, 1936, p. 4; Transcript of Domingo Santaliz Crespo's trial, Archive of Igualdad Iglesias de Pagán.

⁹⁰ Rafael Alonso Torres, *Cuarenta años de lucha proletaria* (San Juan, P.R.: Imprenta Baldrich, 1939), p. 8; Nicolás Noguerras Rivera to Santiago Iglesias, 2 December, 1936; Santiago Iglesias to Nicolás Noguerras Rivera, 11 December, 1936; Nicolás Noguerras Rivera to Santiago Iglesias, 8 December, 1936; Annual Report of the Free Federation, 1936-1937, Archive of Igualdad Iglesias de Pagán.

⁹¹ *El Mundo*, 23 November, 1936, p. 1; *El Imparcial*, 23 November, 1936, p. 3; Santiago Iglesias

LA IDEA DE UNA CRITICA
DE LA RAZON HISTORICA
CARLA CORDUA

to Prudencio Rivera Martínez, 17 November, 1936; Santiago Iglesias to Bolívar Pagán, 20 November, 1936, Archive of Igualdad Iglesias de Pagán.